A Heterodox Publishing Enterprise of the Thirty Years’ War. The Amsterdam Office of Hans Fabel (1616–after 1650)
by
LEIGH T. I. PENMAN

The Thirty Years’ War was the most disruptive event of the seventeenth century, creating seismic shifts in matters political, economic, religious, and intellectual throughout central and northern Europe.¹

One of the most marked effects of the war was its creation of exiled communities. Previously tight-knit populations in areas affected by conflict — in Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, the Palatinate, Prussia, Hessen, and elsewhere — were suddenly forced to flee their homes, on religious grounds or for self-preservation. The fragmentation of central European states and their populations did not, however, cause the sudden collapse of local exchanges, but exploded them across Europe, creating wide-reaching networks based on relationships economical, religious, diplomatic, intellectual, academic, and commercial.

Amsterdam became a particularly attractive destination for those exiles who sought to give literary expression to their discontent. The experience of war hardened the heterodox convictions of several authors appalled by its results, who in turn hoped that a period of worldly or spiritual peace would soon deliver them from the chaos and confusion of their times.² These convictions were expressed in tracts devotional, chiliastic, prophetic, alchemical, mystical, theosophical, and anticlerical in content. As János Bruckner’s pioneering bibliographical study has indicated, the history of German-language printing in the United Provinces during the seventeenth century was to a certain extent the history of German-language heterodox printing more generally.³ In the early 1620s, the previous centres of heterodox book

¹ For a recent accessible summary see Peter H. Wilson, The Thirty Years War: Europe’s Tragedy (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).
production in Halle (Joachim Krusicke, Christoph Bißmarck), Magdeburg (Johann Francke), Frankfurt am Main (Lucas Jennis, Matthäus Merian senior), and Tübingen (Eberhard Wild) collapsed or contracted. The authors of heterodox works who used these presses found themselves in search of new printers and publishers. Largely through the efforts of displaced intermediaries, these were discovered in the United Provinces — more especially in Amsterdam — where Dutchmen like Abraham Willemsz. van Beyerland (1587–1648), Jan Jansson (1588–1664), and Nicolaes van Ravesteyn (d. 1676), and displaced Germans such as Benedikt Bahnsen (d. 1669) and Heinricus Betkius (also Beets, c. 1625–1708) served the marketplace throughout Europe.

Yet perhaps the most significant printer discovered by these authors is also simultaneously the least well known. Between 1645 and 1650, Hans Fabel printed or published at least sixty-two books by authors of heterodox religious works like Jacob Böhme (1575–1624), Paul Felgenhauer (1593–1661), Abraham von Franckenberg (1593–1652), Georg Hartlib (c. 1590–1651), Ludwig Friedrich Gifftheil (1595–1661), and others. Indeed, Fabel’s business appears to have been the first commercial printing office in Europe devoted entirely to the production of heterodox books. This was an enterprise determined to offer an alternative to the moribund spirituality of the established churches of the period, the so-called Mauerkirchen, or churches of mere stone.

It is somewhat surprising to note, then, that Fabel has been dismissed as fictive in modern literature on the European book trade. Given the abundance of false imprints in early modern Germany, and that the contemporary term Fabelhans denoted a teller of ‘tall stories’, one might expect that this scepticism has been long standing. In fact, it was first voiced by Isabella Henriette van Eeghen in 1978. While researching her standard work on the Amsterdam book trade, Eeghen searched for mention of Fabel in records of the printers and booksellers guilds, city burgher lists (poorterboeken), and baptismal, marriage, and burial registers of Amsterdam religious


5 See Willem Heijting, ‘Hendrick Beets (1625–1708), Publisher to the German Adherents of Jacob Böhme in Amsterdam’, Quaerendo, 3 (1973), 250–80.


7 Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, Deutsches Wörterbuch, 15 vols (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1854), iii (1862), col. 1215.
communities. Finding no trace of him, Eeghen concluded that the Fabel imprint was fictitious (een gefingeerde naam), and attributed his books to other Amsterdam firms, such as Jan Jansson. Eeghen’s conclusions have been widely accepted by specialists of Dutch and German book history, and have since found their way into the major bibliographical databases Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts (VD17) and Short Title Catalogue Netherlands (STCN). Eeghen’s conclusion has also been taken up in further scholarship on seventeenth-century literature, technology, and heterodoxy.

However, there exists plentiful evidence not only to demonstrate Fabel’s existence, but also to provide some insights into his activities, networks, interests, and personal circumstances. For example, Fabel is mentioned several times in the correspondence of the Lutheran pastor and chiliast Georg Lorenz Seidenbecher (1623–1663), as well as that of the Silesian mystic Abraham von Franckenberg. More valuable light is shed on his activities in documents collected by the Anglo-Prussian intelligencer in London, Samuel Hartlib (c. 1600–1662), who was a major supporter of Fabel’s enterprise. Such evidence demonstrates that it is ‘absurd,’ as Didier Kahn wrote, to consider Fabel merely a fictive imprint. He should rather, as Joachim Telle has asserted, be treated as a printer who has ‘descended into biographical obscurity’.

The aim of the present article is to rescue Fabel from this obscurity and set him firmly, to employ the motto of his printing house, in sole. It brings together overlooked evidence preserved in German, Danish, Dutch, Estonian, French, Polish, and English libraries and archives to provide an outline and evaluation of Fabel’s life and activities, together with an extensive survey

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of his more than sixty known publications (see Appendix One). This material not only illuminates the circumstances of one printer, but also adds to our knowledge of the practices and problems faced by printers of heterodox material during the seventeenth century more generally, as well as informing us about the nature of the contemporary market for such works. This article is conceived, therefore, as a contribution to ongoing research concerning heterodox subcultures in Protestant northern Europe during the mid-seventeenth century. Fabel’s enterprise was strongly linked to the upheavals of the Thirty Years’ War, which shaped not only his religious outlook and business plans, but also his customer base and the content of the prophetic, chiliastic, pacifistic, chymical, and anticlerical works he set in print.

From Hessen to Amsterdam, 1616–1645

In a letter dated Amsterdam 13 September 1646, the German physician Heinrich Appelius informed the Scots minister in Winchester, John Dury (1596–1680), that he had recently become acquainted with a local printer who had employed him as a proofreader. ‘The Printer,’ Appelius wrote, ‘is a Countryman of mine’ — that is to say, a German — adding that he ‘hath many fine Tractates [...] to be printed’. In a subsequent letter to Dury’s friend Samuel Hartlib, dated 16 October 1646, Appelius was more specific concerning his employer: ‘He is from Wetzlar in the Wetterau, and only recently began printing’. As Appelius’s subsequent communications make clear, the name of this ambitious young printer was Hans Fabel.

The painstaking genealogical research of Ludwig Fabel has revealed that the Fabel family was indeed deeply rooted throughout the Wetterau region of Hessen. In the free imperial city of Wetzlar, the patriarch was Heimerich Fabel (fl. before 1614–after 1649). His only son, Johannes — who is undoubtedly our printer — was baptized in the city’s Stiftskirche on 2 April 1616. Wetzlar, like many imperial free cities, possessed a comparatively diverse religious make-up. The Reformation was introduced in 1525, and by 1545 the city’s population was overwhelmingly evangelical, albeit with a sizeable Catholic minority. Both confessions worshipped in the Stiftskirche, together with a small Walloon community. Raised as a Lutheran, Fabel was probably educated at the city’s Latin school, and eventually he would master Latin — as well as perhaps Dutch and Greek — in addition to his native German.

14 Sheffield, Sheffield University Library, Hartlib Papers 45/1/27a (16 October 1646): ‘Er ist von Wetzlar, aus der Wetteraw, hat erst newlich angefangen zu trucken’. Letters are quoted from The Hartlib Papers. A Complete Text and Image Database of the Papers of Samuel Hartlib (c. 1600–1662) CD-Rom 2nd edn (Sheffield: HRI, 2002), although I have checked and revised all passages cited against the original documents. All translations are my own.
15 Ludwig Fabel, Stammfolge der Familie Fabel (Düsseldorf: L. Fabel, 1932); [Ludwig Fabel], ‘Evangelische Pfarrer der Familie Fabel’, Monatshefte für rheinische Kirchengeschichte, 28/1 (1934), p. 352.
16 Boppard, Archivstelle der evangelischen Kirche im Rheinland, Kirchenbücher Wetzlar 408/1, 2 April 1616.
As a youth, Fabel would have witnessed at first hand the unrest of the Thirty Years’ War. Wetzlar was obliged as a member of the Protestant Union to billet troops traversing the Wetterau, a disastrous obligation that often led to food shortages, property damage, and general discontent. In 1626, the city was besieged and occupied by Spanish troops, who enforced the edict of Restitution in 1629, restoring the religious primacy of the city to its Catholic population and excluding the majority Lutheran community from the Stiftskirche.¹⁷ This situation endured until 1632, when the approaching Swedish army, under Gustav Adolf (1594–1632), prompted the hasty departure of the Spanish. In the years subsequent, the city was continually threatened by marauding soldiers, both Catholic and Protestant.¹⁸ Such conditions may have been conducive to a desire to find a new spiritual path independent of the established churches and territorial leaders.

We know nothing of how Fabel was first led to printing, or of his professional education. He issued his first book late in 1645, as a twenty-nine year old; as such he had probably completed his journeyman travels several years earlier. As there was no printer in Wetzlar before 1695, Fabel’s education must have been undertaken abroad, probably in nearby Frankfurt am Main, or indeed in the United Provinces.¹⁹

Fabel’s books contained no self-authored introductions, dedications or forewords that unambiguously indicate his own beliefs vis-à-vis the products of his press. Nonetheless, there is ample evidence to suggest that he harboured heterodox sympathies. Fabel may have been raised in a chymical milieu — often attractive to those inclined to heterodox religiosity — for his father was said to possess ‘many Experiments and secrets’, and achieved ‘very great cures of the stone’.²⁰ In addition, his hometown of Wetzlar was no stranger to Rosicrucian intrigues.²¹ It is striking that several of Fabel’s early publications bore the false imprints Hermanstein and Königstein. These were the names of two fortresses in the Wetterau, the first of which was visible from Wetzlar. Their employment might indicate that Fabel linked the religious discord witnessed during his youth with the content of his publishing enterprise.

More evidence concerning Fabel’s interests stems from his contact with heterodox figures. His first printed work, which may have been issued at his

²¹ Georg Molther, De Quodam Peregrino, Qui anno superiore M.DC.XV. Imperialem Wetzlariam transiens, non modo se Fratrem R. C. Confessus Fuit (Frankfurt: Bringer, 1616).
own cost, was an anonymous pamphlet [see Appendix One, item 1] by the Württemberg Prophet Ludwig Friedrich Gifftheil, one of the most ferocious critics of the contemporary religious and political order (Fig. 1). As the Amsterdam chymist Johann Moriaen (c. 1591–1668) remarked in 1647, Fabel was a personality inclined to Samuel Hartlib’s plans of universal reformation, who might, should he follow his conscience and natural inclination to spiritual reform, be ‘readily employed’ in Hartlib’s enterprises (der wohl zu gebrauchen ist). Finally, several of Fabel’s printers’ ornaments portrayed lilies, fleurs de lys, and other flourishing plants, which may be references to Jacob Böhme’s chiliastic Lilienzeit, a period of peace which would begin at the dawn (Morgenröthe) of the Last Judgment. Taken together, the evidence suggests that Fabel was a supporter of nonconformist Protestantism, who, through his publishing ventures, aimed to propagate chymical knowledge, as well as, to borrow from the title of a tract he printed, the ‘blessed independent belief’ (seeligmachendes unpartheyisches Glauben) [17].

Fabel’s contemporaries saw him as a youthful, dedicated, industrious, and sedulous printer, who produced works characterized by painstaking attention to detail. The Dillenberg Paracelsian Johann Brünn, alias Unmüßig, who personally inspected Fabel’s business, offered a short description of its simple workshop in a letter to Samuel Hartlib:

I have seen Herr Fabel’s printery and found it unusually compact. The room in which it is situated is not larger, indeed slightly smaller than your [sc. Hartlib’s] dining room. It contains two presses; ten or eleven journeymen might composit simultaneously. The typefaces are all stored in little cases which can be shut in a fashion that admits not one mite of dust or foreign matter. It also contains a small cast-iron oven. Altogether then, upon his arrival in Amsterdam, probably in late 1645, Fabel appears to have possessed the necessary skills, attitude, equipment, and contacts to succeed in the crowded Amsterdam marketplace, and to provide literature for the community of exiled German-speaking religious dissenters and dissidents throughout Europe.

References to items in the appendices hereafter appear in the text in [square brackets].


Hartlib Papers 37/120a (Moriaen to Hartlib, 2 May 1647): ‘[E]in Iunger Man, guttwillig, fleißig und unverdroßen.’

Hartlib Papers 39/2/9b (Unmüßig to Hartlib, June 1649): ‘Herrn Fabels Truckerey habe ich gesehen, vnndbier die maßen Compendios gefunden welches Compendium bestehet in diesem, Nemlich sie hatt 2. Preißen, 10. oder 11. gesellen können zugleich setzen; die Characteräs bin alle in Schachtlein eingeschuben vnnd kann alles beschloßen, also dz im geringsten kein staub noch vnsauberkeit das Komm kommen kan, dz Gemach darinnen sie ist, ist nicht größer, ja bald nicht so groß, als des H. Speißkämmer. Hatt auch einen kleinen Eysen offen darinnen.’
INSCRIPTIO

Ad

SUPREMOS EXERCITUUM
DUCES, TRIBUNOS ET MILES
PSEUDO-CHRISTIANORUM,

Qui haberi volunt Euangelici, uti &
IMPERATORIS & reliquorum CATHOLI-
CORUM, qui Hierosolymam
obederunt,

LUCAS CAP. 21.


ISAIAH. 52. 54. 62. APOCAL. 21.

ANNO 1645.

Fig. 1  [Ludwig Friedrich Giftheil], Inscriptio Ad supremos exercituum Duces, Tribunos et
Miles Pseuido-Christianorum . . (1645). Item 1. Sig. 61 D 21 (25). Courtesy of Halle,
Bibliothek der Franckeschen Stiftungen.
Among Hartlib’s papers is a small quarto sheet in Appelius’s hand, headed ‘Catalogus der Tractätlein bey Johan Fabeln gedruckt’ (Fig. 2). This list of eleven books, which Appelius sent to Hartlib in mid-October 1646, provides a snapshot of Fabel’s business during its first throes of activity.27 Before the end of 1646, Fabel had issued at least twenty-one books and pamphlets: fourteen in German and seven in Latin. Only one, a technical treatise on fortifications [18] by the Prussian mathematician Christian Otter (1598–1660), did not consist of chymical, anticlerical or theosophical content.28 The twenty remaining books and pamphlets comprise a representative selection of Fabel’s output. Four tracts were polemical open letters directed against European powers by the notorious Württemberg prophet Ludwig Friedrich Gifftheil [1, 12, 13, 14], which advertised his unique mixture of religious and political heterodoxy and his desires to establish a universal peace. In addition to two chymical tracts of Johann Rudolf Glauber (1604–1670) [15–16], and two more concerning the eirenical Thorn colloquy of 1645 [19–20],29 Fabel issued twelve works which promoted a distinctly anticlerical brand of spiritual Christianity.30 Five of these [2–6] were by the dissenting Lutheran pastor of Schwelm, Johann Jacob Fabricius (1618/20–1660). Five more were edited or written by the Silesian spiritualist Abraham von Franckenberg [7–11], while two were authored by personalities from within Franckenberg’s circle: the Brieg jurist Johann Theodor von Tschesch (1595–1649) [21], and Paul Kaym (d. 1634), a toll collector and visionary from Liegnitz [17]. If Glauber’s chymical works seem at first out of place on this list, he personally supported the doctrines of independent spiritual Christianity.31

The origins of Fabel’s associations with his authors are almost entirely obscure. They seem to have been split between his connections to pre-existing epistolary networks and the melting pot of Amsterdam. Johann Moriaen, originally of Nuremberg, was a key contact, and almost certainly introduced Fabel to Glauber — whom he knew since at least 1642 — as well as to Otter.32 For Fabricius, who lived in Schwelm near Dusseldorf, contact

27 Hartlib Papers 45/1/60a.
28 On Otter see Friedrich Johann Buck, Lebens Beschreibungen derer verstorbenen Preußischen Mathematiker überhaupt … und des … Christian Otters insbesondere (Königsberg: Zeise, 1764), pp. 201–104.
30 The term ‘anticlerical’ is here used in the inclusive sense described by Heiko Obermann, ‘Anticlericalism as an Agent of Change’, in Anticlericalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe, ed. by Heiko Oberman and Peter A. Dykema (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. ix–x, to identify a vehicle for social and intellectual calls for reform of established religious authority, rather than the materially oriented interpretations that prevail in the historiography of the French Revolution and later movements.
31 See his Glauberus ridivivus […] (Amsterdam: Jansson, 1656), pp. 76–83, at p. 79.
32 For Glauber, see Hartlib Papers 37/118a (Moriaen to Hartlib, 7 February 1647). For Otter, see Buck, Lebensbeschreibungen, pp. 248, 267.
may have been established through the evangelical pastor in Monnickendam, Hermann Jung (1608–78) who studied with Fabricius in Rostock.33 The tracts of Tschesch and Kaym probably reached Fabel through Franckenberg’s Amsterdam contacts, such as Johann Scheffler (1624–1677). The books on the Thorn colloquy, on the other hand, were personally delivered to Fabel by

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The Amsterdam Office of Hans Fabel

Fig. 3 [Ludwig Friedrich Gifftheil], *Ad Reges Hispaniae & Galliae, omnesque Italiam Principes, Equites & Status ...* (1646), Item 12, Sig. 61 D 21 (31). Courtesy of Halle, Bibliothek der Franckeschen Stiftungen.
the author Valerianus Sigismundus Rosen (b. c. 1623), who, in September 1646, secured a subvention for their publication from the reformed classis of Gouda.34 So too, it appears, were Gifftheil’s tracts.

Duodecimo was Fabel’s preferred format, in a small-point font. The small volumes ensured cost-effective distribution by mail and discrete personal exchange, but did little to ensure their survival. Today Fabel’s titles are generally very rare, and several survive only as unica. Unfortunately, no data exists concerning the size of Fabel’s editions, although one author claimed to have received between twenty and fifty copies of his book from Fabel upon publication, which could indicate a print run of as many as 500 copies, although this undoubtedly varied.35

Fabel’s intensive productivity in his first year required significant funding. While some capital presumably derived from his prior savings, his imprints make clear that a major source of income was subventions provided by authors and their patrons. In the course of his career Fabel published only a handful of books [25, 29, 33, 35, 49], as well as perhaps some or all of Gifftheil’s tracts.36 In the majority of cases, however, Fabel served only as printer. This was even the case with Fabel’s most successful project, Glauber’s six-volume Furni novi philosophici. Despite the sales success of this work, Fabel would only issue each part ‘as soone as there bee men to beare y” printing charges’.37

A second stream of income derived from sales. Fabel sold books at his Amsterdam premises, by post, and at the annual Frankfurt book fair.38 If the sales catalogue of Hendrick Beets — Fabel’s spiritual and commercial successor in Amsterdam — is any indication, Fabel’s stock would have been overwhelmingly German-language, therefore largely, if not exclusively, intended to serve the German exile community in the city.39 The very limited data we possess suggests that the books themselves were priced according to their length, in line with contemporary retail prices.40 In 1646 Glauber’s De

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34 Gouda, Streekarchief Midden-Holland, ac56/2, fol. 162v–163r (Analyses acta classis Gouda Midden-Holland, 4 September 1646).
35 Hannover, Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Cal.Br.23 Nr. 654, fol. 64r, ‘Peinliche Verurteilung des Paul Felgenhauer wegen Ketzerei und seine Gefangenschaft zu Syke’.
36 According to Gifftheil’s disciple Friedrich Breckling, Fridericus Resurgens: Anfang und Aufgang des Wortes und Zeugnissen GOTTES Welches ... Ludwig Friedrich Gifftheil ... bezeugt hat ([Amsterdam]: s.n., 1683), p. 7, all of the prophet’s writings were issued ‘wenn Gott Drücker und Verleger dazu erwecken wird/ die Gott darin dienen und ihre Güter und Arbeit des HERREN ihren Gott zum gemeinen nutzen/Dienst und Beö[derung seiner Warheit heiligen wollen’.
37 Hartlib Papers 45/1/34 (Appelius to Hartlib, 1626 Aug 1647).
38 The imprints of [25] and [29] indicate that both were ‘bey Johann Fabeln zu finden.’ In 1648 Fabel sold astrological almanacs issued by Wolfgang Endter in Nuremberg, see Hartlib Papers 31/22/9b (Ephemerides 1648); Karl Gustav Schwetschke, Codex mundanarius Germaniae literatarum bisecularis (Halle: Schwetschke, 1850), pp. 101–03; M. M. Kleerkooper & W. P. van Stockum, De Boekhandel te Amsterdam voornamelijk in de 17e eeuw. 2 vols (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1914–16), vol. ii, p. 1467.
39 Hendrick Beets, Catalogus Librorum officinæ Heinrici Betkii (Amsterdam: Betkius, 1663).
The Amsterdam Office of Hans Fabel

auri tinctura [15], numbering forty pages in octavo (two and a half sheets) was offered for sale in England by Heinrich Appelius for four pence, while Franckenberg’s Christ-Fürstliches Bedencken [9], at 120 pages in duodecimo (five sheets) cost one shilling.\(^{31}\)

Interestingly however, Hartlib’s correspondence reveals a further funding strategy. Namely, Fabel systematically exploited pre-existing heterodox correspondence networks in order to secure financial pledges. The basics of this arrangement are illustrated by the case of the Brandenburg diplomat in Cleves, Joachim Hübner (1611–1665).\(^{42}\) Around April 1647, Fabel contacted Hübner, sending him several documents for his consideration. Hübner’s reaction, contained in a letter to Hartlib, emphasizes the significance of Fabel’s manifold connections to Hartlib’s circles, which situated his proposal within a pre-existing economy of trust crucial to the maintenance of dissident networks:

Several days ago I received a letter from an Amsterdam printer who was previously entirely unknown to me named Hans Fabel. He reported that he had contacted me according to your [sc. Hartlib’s] request […] This Hans Fabel sent me a catalogue of the books he has already printed, together with a letter of recommendation from Appelius.\(^{43}\)

Although Fabel sent Hübner a catalogue, the product he was hawking was not a mere book. He was rather proposing, as Hübner called it, a ‘contract’. The terms of this contract are outlined in a letter of Appelius to Hartlib, in which he remarked that ‘several have promised him [sc. Fabel] 10 Reichsthaler every year, in exchange for sending one copy of all the works that he prints in that year’\(^{44}\). At first glance, such an arrangement appears economical. In 1647, ten Reichsthalers bought around two and a half pounds sterling.\(^{45}\) However, the average Fabel publication of 1646 was three sheets in length, equating to a price, if those quoted by Appelius above were representative, of eight pence per book. The sum total for a person in England buying the entirety of Fabel’s known 1646 inventory individually, then, would have only been around ten shillings, or only slightly more than two

\(^{41}\) Hartlib Papers 45/1/27a (Appelius to Hartlib, 16 Oct 1646).


\(^{43}\) Hartlib Papers 59/9/44a ([Hübner] to [Hartlib], 6/16 April 1647): ‘Für etlichen tagen habe Ich ein schreiben von einem mir hiebevor gantz vnbekannten Buchdrucker von Amsterdam Hans Fabeln bekommen, welcher berichtet daß er auff deß herren begehren an mich geschrieben […] Eshatt mir gedachter Hans Fabel einen Catalogum seiner bißher gedrucken sachen, wie auch ein recommendations schreiben seiner von Appelio […] zugeschicket.’

\(^{44}\) Hartlib Papers 45/1/27a (Appelius to Hartlib, 16 Oct 1646): ‘Es seind etliche, die ihm jährlichs 10 Reichstaler versprochen, darfür soll er jedem 1. exemplar von allen sachen die er des jahrs trucket zuschicken.’

and a half Reichsthaler. Even if Fabel’s books actually cost twice as much as Appelius stated, those who agreed to Fabel’s offer must have been aware that they not only bought his books, but also contributed capital to the venture itself.

Cost was not necessarily an obstacle for those desirous of universal reformation and the rejection of the Mauerkirchen. In consideration of these contributions, Fabel offered the possibility of active participation in his publishing program. When Hübner informed Hartlib that he would think about how he might supply Fabel with ‘this or that piece of useful or vendible material’, he was evidently responding to a request by the printer himself. Indeed, as a testament to his enthusiasm for the program, Hübner volunteered to find other pledgers for Fabel in Cleves; no doubt foremost among his targets was his father-in-law, the Brandenburg Kriegskommisar Johann Paul Ludwig (1600–1665), a great patron of several dissident figures.

Fabel’s business model thus appears to have been shrewdly conceived. His output was relatively homogenous and consisted almost entirely of mystical-theosophical, prophetic, and chymical books. The topical unity of this output was emphasized in the (very incomplete) ‘Catalogus’ sent to Hartlib by Appelius, which omits — with the exception of Glauber’s — authors’ names, aiming to appeal to the customer by title alone. Fabel’s core market was also carefully cultivated, consisting of interested personalities participating in long-established epistolary and interpersonal networks. By soliciting material from his investors and readership, Fabel hoped to create something of a self-sustaining demand for his books. His funding model created a pool of capital employed to subsidize publications and perhaps his own living costs. Unless the authors were also prepared to act as publishers, the choice of books printed presumably remained at Fabel’s discretion.

It is difficult to gauge the strength of contemporary support for Fabel’s enterprise. In late 1646, Appelius informed Hartlib that ‘several’ (etliche) persons had already agreed to Fabel’s contract. It is unclear who these early supporters were. Equally unclear is whether their pledges were fulfilled. Other than Hübner, we know that Hartlib himself agreed to invest. Perhaps Johann Paul Ludwig, who ‘invested a great deal of money for the

46 This calculation assumes that all known books printed by Fabel were indeed sent to pledgers, which may well not have been the case. Appelius’s catalogue (Fig. 2) suggests, for example, that Gifftheil’s works were not offered for sale by Fabel.
47 Hartlib Papers 59/9/4b: ‘Ich were darauff bedacht [...] wie diesem gueten mann eines vnd das andere von nutzlichen vnd vendibilibus materijs möge zu hand geschaffet werden.’
49 Hartlib Papers 59/9/4a–b.
printing of correct (rechten) writings', also contributed.\textsuperscript{50} Maybe Johann Scheffler, who owned at least two of Fabel's books, also invested.\textsuperscript{51} Despite this, it is difficult to imagine — particularly given the chronic impecuniousness inherent in northern Europe's heterodox communities — that there would have been a large number of persons in a position to offer generous support to a fledgling printer, no matter how good an impression he had made on their peers.

**Plans and Propositions**

After the intense activity of his inaugural year, Fabel's firm witnessed a contraction in 1647. In this year he issued nine new titles. Anticlerical and theosophical material was again well represented, in the works of Fabricius [23] and Franckenberg [24–26]. One work, the *Krämer-Korb* [29], was a reprint of a devotional tract first issued by the Frankfurt publisher Lucas Jennis (1590–after 1630) in 1622.\textsuperscript{52} In terms of alchemical books, there was a German translation of Jean d'Espagnet's (1564–c.1637) *Arcanum hermeticae philosophiae* [22], possibly translated by Fabel himself, and the second volume of Glauber's *Furni novi philosophici* [28]. Another Fabel product was a decidedly more scholarly affair; Georg Klenck's *Philosophica disputatio Super naturali Dei notitia* [30], a disputation defended at the Amsterdam Athenaeum on 12 January 1647. This, the first Athenaeum disputation to appear in print, was supervised by Klenck's older brother, the philosopher Johannes (1618–1672). As Dirk van Miert has observed, this nepotistic element may have influenced its printing, particularly given that the disputation was an *exercitii gratia*, and that Amsterdam disputations did not otherwise begin to appear regularly in print until 1649.\textsuperscript{53} A friend of Hartlib's, the mathematician John Pell (1611–85), who lectured at the Athenaeum between 1644 and autumn 1646, probably played a key role in creating Fabel’s commission.\textsuperscript{54}

The lull in Fabel’s production can be explained on two fronts. First, for much of the year Fabel suffered from a debilitating illness.\textsuperscript{55} Additionally, and perhaps more influentially, in April 1647 he was contracted by Lowijs


\textsuperscript{52} [Lucas Jennis], *Krämer-Korb, mit sieben beschlossenen Laden* (Frankfurt: Jennis, 1622), copies in Salzburg UB, Duke UL.


\textsuperscript{55} Hartlib Papers 37/125b (Moriaen to Hartlib, 30 Dec 1647).
Elzevir III (1604–1670) to print the collected works of the Flemish physician Jan Baptista van Helmont (1579–1644) in two volumes, the *Ortus medicinæ* and *Opuscula medica inaudita*. Produced under the editorship of Francis Mercury van Helmont (1614–1699), the circumstances behind these volumes’ commission were described by Appelius, who on 2 May 1647 informed Hartlib that because his presses are at capacity, Elzevir entrusted them [sc. Helmont’s works] to Fabel for printing. With him [sc. Fabel] is dwelling, free of cost, an old Doctor of medicine, N. Adamus, who was expelled from Helmstedt on account of his religion. Adamus will assist and, should it be necessary, supervise any revisions.56

The protracted printing period of this collection, perhaps exacerbated by Fabel’s illness, spanned late April 1647 to February 1648, although it seems that Elzevir had always made ‘reckning against [the] Easter messe’.57 The two volumes [31, 32], printed using Elzevir’s typographical materials, and issued under his imprint, were indeed sold together in Leipzig.58 The Helmont edition again emphasizes the crucial role played by displaced central Europeans — here the otherwise unknown Adamus — in the publication and dissemination of chymical and heterodox literature, and in Fabel’s business more particularly. Presumably, Fabel accepted the Elzevir commission because it offered a financially viable alternative to printing heterodox works alone: it also offered an opportunity, however, for him to establish connections to the chymical royalty of Europe.

In addition to diversifying his output with the Klenck dissertation and the Helmont edition, Fabel also attempted to stimulate his business in other ways. One potential boon was brought to his attention by Hartlib. Early in 1647 Hartlib sent, via Moriaen and Johann Rulice (1602–1666), a recipe for a ‘meliorated inke’ invented by Edward Adeling or Odeling, a London watchmaker and inventor, which could purportedly print a book using only a third of the quantity of regular ink.59 Fabel duly set to work on experimenting with the recipe. After toiling for several months without success, in August he declared Adeling’s proclaimed invention a canard, stating it

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57 Hartlib Papers 45/1/34a (Appelius to Hartlib, 16/26 Aug 1647).


59 Hartlib Papers 31/22/33a (Ephemerides, 1648); 8/31/9a–10b and 71/2/1a–1b, ‘Dr Adelings experiment for meliorating of Printers Inke’ (undated prospectus). See further 28/1/24b, 28/1/33a (Ephemerides 1649).
apparent that even ‘a continental journeyman in training has more understanding in this subject than even the master printers in England’.  

While this project came to naught, Fabel had other, more traditional plans to further his business. As seen above, he contacted Hübnner in Cleves to encourage further subscribers. Fabel also largely abandoned the practice of using false imprints, possibly in an attempt to establish a consistent commercial identity in the marketplace. Simultaneously, he proposed to his supporters a new multi-volume publication project: dual Latin and German editions of the complete works of the Lusatian theosopher Jacob Böhme.

**Fabel’s Böhme edition (1647–1649)**

The impetus for this audacious project apparently came, once more, from Hartlib. Our knowledge of it derives from the already familiar letter of Hübnner to Hartlib of April 1647. In his original communication to Hübnner, Fabel apparently mentioned that Hartlib and other ‘good friends’ desired that ‘Böhme’s books might all be printed together in German and Latin’. Hübnner, a long-standing reader and admirer of Böhme’s works, was captivated by the idea:

> I too desire well that Böhme’s works should be available together in High German. I have found no Godlier writings than these outside of scripture, even though the devil and his minions, along with the enemies of the cross of Christ, do clamour and fulminate against them, and discover in them I no not what sort of awful heresies, which are however not present in them.

Böhme was a major influence upon the circles Fabel served. His works expressed themes of tolerance, theosophy and anticlericalism, which characterized Fabel’s output and the outlook of many of his customers. Böhme himself was a cobbler and writer who emerged from the Paracelsian, Weigelian, and Schwenckfeldian intellectual milieu of Görlitz, Upper Lusatia. After 1600 he experienced a series of revelations, which led him to believe he had been granted insight into nature by God. In more than thirty manuscript tracts that followed — including *Morgen Röte im Aufgang*

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60 See Hartlib Papers 37/120a (Moriaen to Hartlib, 2 May 1647); 37/121a (Moriaen to Hartlib, 27 August 1647).
61 Hartlib Papers 59/9/44-b ([Hübnner] to [Hartlib], 6/16 April 1647): ‘[…] neben anderen gueten freunden wünschen, daß Iacob Böhmen seelig sachen alle möchten in hochdeutsch vnd lateÿnisch gedruckt sein.’
62 ibid.: ‘Iacob Böhmen sachen möchte ich auch wol gerne wünschen, daß in hochdeutsch alle mit einander heraußen wären. Nechst der Heiligen Schrift finde ich keine Göttlichere Schrifffen allß dieselben, ob gleich der Teuffel durch die Gerichtsdiener vnd feinde deß Creutesz Christi noch so sehr darwieder wütet vnd tobet, vnd Ich weiß nicht was für gewliche Ketzereyen daraus erzwingen will, die aber doch darinn nicht zu finden.’
(1612) and Mysterium Magnum (1624) — Böhme outlined an implicitly anticlerical vision of spiritual Christianity. At the time of his death in November 1624, however, only one small selection of his writings had appeared in print.

Fabel’s proposed Böhme editions represented the first concerted effort to publish a collection of the theosopher’s writings since 1639. That year

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Abraham von Sommerfeld (d. 1651) and Abraham von Franckenberg offered a near complete series of definitive manuscript versions of Böhme’s works to the Amsterdam publisher Abraham Willemsz. van Beyerland as the basis for a projected ten volume edition. Ultimately, however, nothing reached the presses, possibly due to editorial differences. In particular, Sommerfeld desired that the edition be printed in quarto format, in a large point, following a methodus scientificus, where texts would be ordered according to their ‘difficulty’, beginning with the simplest, and ending with the most complex. Franckenberg, on the other hand, desired the works to be printed chronologically.

With Fabel acting as both publisher and printer, the new Böhme edition was undoubtedly funded from the pool of capital gathered from investors. Fabel approached his task, however, in a circumspect manner. In order to minimize costs he sought not to issue a multi-volume set of Böhme’s books, but rather to issue single volumes annually. The first to see print was the inaugural German edition of Viertzig Fragen von der seelen Vrstand in 1648 (Fig. 5). In 1649 there followed Dialogus oder Gespräch/ einer hungergeigen/ dürstigen Seelen, another inaugural German edition. With the exception of their duodecimo format, the books bore no indication that they were part of a collection. Bafflingly, the Dialogus was even issued anonymously.

The manuscripts for both editions probably stemmed from Beyerland’s collection, which, after his death in 1648, were administered by his son Willem (1627–1669). The Viertzig Fragen was possibly typeset from the ‘correct enough’ (correct genug) manuscript transmitted to Beyerland by Sommerfeld and Franckenberg in 1639. The Dialogus, despite cosmetic differences in the title, may have been typeset directly from Böhme’s autograph manuscript, or from the copy made by the Swedish diplomat Michel le Blon (1587–1658) in September 1646. It is possible that le Blon also served as editor of Fabel’s editions.

While Fabel’s access to choice Böhme manuscripts bespeaks once more his close ties to heterodox circles of the period, the printer paid little heed to the wishes of his predecessors in executing the new edition. Ignoring the...

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65 Franckenberg, Briefwechsel, pp. 119–21, at p. 121 (Franckenberg to Beyerland, 22 April 1640).
66 The engraved title-page was inspired by Beyerland’s Dutch edition of 1642. On the prior Latin (1632) and Dutch (1642) translations, see Werner Buddecke, Die Jakob-Böhme Ausgaben: Ein beschreibendes Verzeichnis, 2 vols (Göttingen: Hantzsche, 1937–57), i, no. 129; ii, nos 1, 18; Christoph Geissmar, Das Auge Gottes: Bilder zu Jakob Böhme (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), p. 24.
67 A Dutch translation had been printed in 1639. See Buddecke, Verzeichnis, 1, no. 173; ii, no. 5.
70 Buddecke, Böhme Handschriften, nos 7, 165.
proposed chronological or ‘scientific’ ordering of texts, Fabel’s selection of Böhme’s works was apparently inspired by commercial considerations. Both volumes marked the first time either appeared in German. This represented a sounder commercial strategy than beginning with a new edition of, say, Böhme’s *Morgen Röte*, which had first appeared in print in Amsterdam in 1634 through Jan Jansson, and was still available in 1647. Of the potential Latin edition, however, nothing further is known. It is likely that Fabel was unable to attract sufficient interest among his supporters for the costly task of translation.

72 See Buddecke, *Verzeichnis*, i, nos 115–16, pp. 143–45; *Catalogus librorum variorum ex pluribus regionibus in officinam J. Janssonii advectorum* (Amsterdam: Jansson, 1647).
Fig. 6 [Ludwig Friedrich Gifftheil], *Die Fürsten und Richter/ Regenten oder Ampt-leute in dem gantzen Teutschen Lande betreffend...* (1648). Item 41. Sig. 6r D 21 (37). Courtesy of Halle, Bibliothek der Franckeschen Stiftungen.
War and Peace in Europe, 1648–1649

Despite Fabel’s grand plans and diverse commercial strategies, it is evident that by early 1648 his enterprise was stalling. Our first hint of trouble comes from Moriaen, who in a letter of 28 May 1648 informed Hartlib that ‘our Fabel will in due course leave us and return home. He complains that no money comes in and his debts are too great to repay. It is a shame, for the man is hard-working and knows his trade well’. This passage paints a dire picture. Fabel’s books were not selling as well as hoped and, additionally, the promised contributions of his investors were not coming in as readily as expected. His overheads were, apparently, high: in addition to his business, Fabel also supported his wife and child, as well as his father, who shared their dwelling.

However, it is clear that other factors also played a crucial role in shaping Fabel’s ambition to return to Germany. First, Fabel’s ruminations coincided with a similar fancy expressed by his great friend Glauber. The second was political. On 14 May 1648 the Peace of Münster, a treaty between Spain and the United Provinces, initially signed in January 1648, was finally ratified. This pact engendered widespread hope that the Thirty Years’ War might be drawn to a swift conclusion. Fabel could hardly have been unaware of the negotiations. As we have seen, one of his major authors was Ludwig Friedrich Gifftheil, who had long petitioned the princes and leaders of the Holy Roman Empire for peace, and had addressed several tracts, printed by Fabel himself, to the negotiating parties in Osnabruck and Münster.

In any event, 1648 would prove a busy year for Fabel. In addition to completing the Helmont edition for Elsevir, Fabel issued at least sixteen works, all in German. The first Böhme volume was released [35], as well as works by Franckenberg [36] and Gifftheil [37–42]. Volumes three and four of Glauber’s *Furni novi philosophici*, together with a revised edition of the first volume [43–45] also appeared. Fabel also managed to attract several new authors: evidence that his strategy of infiltrating heterodox correspondence networks to solicit texts had begun paying dividends. In 1648 he issued Floretus à Bethabor’s *Traum-Gesicht* [34], a mystical alchemical vision accompanied by a strange account of the journey of Friedrich Galli, who allegedly discovered lost works of Paracelsus in a ruined monastery in the Austrian Alps (Fig. 4).

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73 Hartlib Papers 37/136a: ‘unßer Fabel wird Unß mit der zeit entgehen vnd in seinem heymath dz land bawen klaget das so gar kein gelrt einkombt vnd der vorschuß ihme zue schwär fält ist schade fvr den Man verstehet sein handwerkh woll vnd ist fleißig.’


authored apocalyptic tract written in Königsberg in 1642, was also printed. A further new author was Samuel Hartlib’s brother Georg, whose manual of practical Christianity *Diarium Christianum* [46] was issued alongside a German translation of the third edition of Edward Reyner’s (1600–c. 1668) *Precepts for a Christian Practice* [47] (Figs 7 and 8).76 Unfortunately, Hartlib’s extant papers are almost completely silent concerning these publications.77 Yet another new author was Tobias Schneuber (1603 – after

76 Edward Reyner, *Precepts for a Christian Practice, or the Rule of the New Creature, containing Duties to be Daily Observed by all Believers*, 3rd edn (London: John Bellamie, 1646).

77 Hartlib Papers 1/33/103b (Cyprian Kinner to Samuel Hartlib, 7 Jan 1649).
1657), a notorious Bußprophet of Rötel in Baden-Durlach, who in this year issued his Kurtze Einfältige Glaubens Bekänntniß through Fabel [48]. Schneuber was a follower of Gifftheil and a correspondent of Franckenberg and Beyerland. It is perhaps no coincidence that Schneuber’s biggest supporter was Johann Paul Ludwig, in Cleves, which might explain how his treatise came to Fabel’s attention.


On 24 October 1648, the treaties of Münster and Osnabruck were concluded, ending the Thirty Years’ War and promising a new era of peace in Europe. There can be little doubt that these events strengthened Fabel’s ambition to return to Germany. His printing of Gifftheil’s works demonstrates his familiarity with the negotiations. Didier Kahn has also suggested that Fabel’s *Von der Reise Friederich Galli* [34], issued in late 1648 and containing a subtle reference to Maximilian von Trautmannsdorf (1584–1650), one of the key diplomats involved in the negotiations, may well have been intended as ‘une modeste contribution alchimique et paracelsienne’ to the *Flugschriften* celebrating the Peace of Westphalia.  

But despite mounting financial difficulties and a heart that evidently lay elsewhere, Fabel’s presses were not idle in 1649. In total, he issued at least thirteen books, including tracts by Böhme [49], Fabricius [51, 52], Franckenberg [54], and Gifftheil [55–58], as well as the fifth volume of Glauber’s *Furni novi philosophici*, together with a revised edition of the second volume [59–60]. Additionally, Fabel also issued works by three new authors: the Bremen-based chiliast Paul Felgenhauer [53], his disciple Christoph Andreas Raselius (1590–1644) [61], and the playwright Hendrick de Bruynbeeck [50]. Bruynbeeck’s Dutch-language comedy, performed at the Amsterdam Stadsschouwburg on Keizersgracht, is perhaps Fabel’s most radical departure from his regular oeuvre, and it is the only work he is known to have printed in Dutch. Whether the inspiration behind the printing of this work was financial, or whether this is an indication of Fabel’s personal taste in entertainment, remains in question.  

The influx of new authors and occasional expansion into diverse genres were perhaps encouraging signs for his business, but in the spring of 1649 Fabel finally committed himself to returning to Germany. Why Fabel waited so long to make this commitment is unknown. He may have been hoping for business to pick up and turn a profit in order to repay his debts, or to secure funding enough to transport his presses back to Germany and re-establish himself there. Alternatively, he may have been waiting on some other, now obscure, contingency. By summer, Fabel had evidently decided that the only way to raise the funds necessary for his return was to sell his presses, typefaces, and remaining stock, at the heady asking price of 1,000 Reichstaler. One potential customer, significantly enough, was Samuel Hartlib in London, who perhaps desired to put the press to his own purposes in promoting the cause of universal reformation. According to Johann Unmüßig,
Leigh T. I. Penman

Fig. 9 [Ludwig Friedrich Gifftheil], Von wegen der Schrifft: Jesai. 10.56 und Welt-Gelehrten Männer (1649). Item 58. Sig. 61 D 21 (39). Courtesy of Halle, Bibliothek der Franckeschen Stiftungen.
who had inspected Fabel’s workshop and thought it ‘a real treasure’ (*einfacher Schatz*), the asking price — which might be bargained down to as little as 200 pounds sterling — was a steal, particularly given that Fabel was prepared to travel to England and arrange the workshop for the purchaser. Undoubtedly expecting that Fabel’s assets would sell quickly, Unmüßig counseled that ‘it would be prudent for you [sc. Hartlib] to find a buyer as soon as possible’.84

In reality, however, the process of selling the presses was slow. And, having no other choice, Fabel continued to plan further publications throughout the second half of 1649. During a conversation in Danzig in September, for example, Franckenberg informed Seidenbecher that Fabel intended to print correspondence from the collection of Heinrich Hein (1590–1666), rector of the university at Dorpat (Tartu).85 In the 1620s and 1630s, Hein was a correspondent of Johann Valentin Andreae (1586–1654) — the man at the centre of the Rosicrucian mystery — as well as a key figure in the utopian *Antilia* society.86 The planned publication may have consisted of letters concerning *Antilia*, or a more devotional aspect.

Late in the year, Fabel also prepared a publication by the Anglo-Dutch projector Francis Lodwick (1619–1694).87 The text in question was a tract on *Brachygraphia*, or short writing, probably in Dutch, which, as Rhodri Lewis suggests, Lodwick may have created in collaboration with the Dutch diplomat Gerard (also Gerrit) Pietersz. Schaep (1599–1654).88 Schaep was connected to Fabel’s circle through his friendship with Michel le Blon, and he also corresponded with Franckenberg and Tschesch.89 In a letter dated 21 January 1650, Moriaen informed Hartlib that the *Brachygraphia* had long been typeset, but the contracted woodcutter had not yet cut the special characters required for the book. The question, of course, was one of money; as Moriaen pointed out, since Fabel himself personally composited the text, which now languished in forms, he would suffer ‘greatest losses’ if the project did not go ahead.90

84 Hartlib Papers 39/2/9b (Unmüßig to Hartlib, June 1649): ‘es wehre also rahtsam dz der H. zum ehesten fvr einen Kaufman sich bemühete.’
89 Franckenberg, Briefwechsel, pp. 252–55 (Franckenberg to Schaep, 3 March 1650).
90 Hartlib Papers, 37/1403: ‘H. Fried: Lodowyk wolle […] anzeigen das seine brachygraphia schon lange gesetzt gewesen mangel aber an den holzsche[n]der der die figuren schneÿden soll, mag auch woll an Fabeln mangeln das Er nicht mehr darauff dringet oder wegen der kosten sich recht mit Ihm vergleicht, es mangelt eben dem guten Fabel woran es vielen mangeln sonst hat Er gleichwoll bewiesen das es Ihm ernst ist weil Ers selbsten gesetzet vnd den grosten schaden leyden würde wans nicht fortgehen solte.’
The Return to Germany (1650)

Ultimately, neither the Hein project nor Lodwick’s short writing came off the presses. In the opening months of 1650, Fabel printed Glauber’s Annotatio[nes] [62], a defence and amplification of the Furni novi philosophici. Shortly thereafter, he appears to have successfully sold his presses and typographical materials. The buyer of these is unknown, but it was certainly not Hartlib. In March or April, accompanied by his friend Glauber, Fabel’s family departed Amsterdam for Germany. Contemporary rumour held that Fabel’s destination was Frankfurt am Main.91

The journey, however, was complicated by Glauber’s attempts to raise money to establish a public chymical laboratory in Germany.92 Together with Glauber, Fabel spent several weeks travelling up and down the river Weser, acting as a fundraiser, and not without success. In a letter to Moriaen of June 1650, Caspar Merian (1627–1686) wrote that Fabel had managed to raise a ‘substantial’ sum of money from Moriaen’s brothers-in-law in Kassel and Bremen.93 Whether this money was exclusively for Glauber, or instead for Fabel himself, remains unknown. But while these trips proved financially fruitful, they were disastrous in other ways. The roundabout itinerary on the Weser caused tension between Fabel and his wife, which resulted in a misadventure (infortunium) as their ship passed a forest south of Bremen in May or June 1650:94

With his wife and child Fabel once more went up the Weser towards Bremen in Glauber’s company, but while underway he, his wife and child were thrown off the ship and set upon dry land by the captain, on account of the disorderly relationship between Fabel and his wife.95

His progress retarded, Fabel finally reached Frankfurt shortly before 22 July 1650.96 His chosen destination may have been prompted by an association with the publisher and engraver Matthäus Merian senior. Merian possessed strong ties to the heterodox subcultures of the Empire, and, in 1647, he had briefly considered departing Frankfurt after coming under suspicion of...
heterodoxy by local authorities. In addition to publishing works by the Schwenckfelder Daniel Sudermann (1550–1631), Joachim Betke (1601–1663), Christian Hoburg (1607–1675) and others — figures not unknown to personalities within Fabel’s circles — Merian was also a correspondent of the Austrian chiliast Johann Permeier (1597–1644), and the Fabel author Tschesch. Fabel’s association with Merian was perhaps mediated by Moriaen, whose niece Rachel had married Merian’s son Caspar earlier in 1650, although the two men may have been linked professionally before this point.

A crucial question is whether Fabel intended to resume his printing career in Frankfurt. Georg Lorenz Seidenbecher, who wanted to buy books from Fabel upon his arrival, seemed to think so. Additionally, shortly after the death of his father, Caspar Merian informed Moriaen, rather cryptically, that the third part of Glauber’s *Furni novi Philosophici* was going to be reprinted, although whether Fabel himself would be responsible for this new issue is unsaid. Together with the fact that Fabel had managed to raise money from Merian’s brothers-in-law, this notice suggests that Fabel may well have intended to pursue once more his printing career in Germany.

**Fabel as Virtual Publisher, 1650–1656**

Sure enough, in 1650 and 1651 three further books — all of them by the Bremen-based chiliast Paul Felgenhauer — appeared under Fabel’s imprint; *Deipno logia* (1650), *Mysterium Magnum* (1651), and *Tuff Spiegel* (1651) [Appendix Two, items 1, 3, 4]. At first glance, it seems possible, even likely, that Fabel was involved in the production of these books. He knew Felgenhauer, having previously printed one of his works, and had spent time in Bremen immediately before his arrival in Frankfurt. The three books were additionally all printed on the same press, which, judging from the Teutonic mise-en-page and low-quality paper utilized, was probably located in Germany. While the typefaces varied from those employed by Fabel in Amsterdam, he may well have purchased new typographical material from the aforementioned funds secured from Merian’s brothers-in-law.

However, I do not believe these books were printed by Fabel, for two reasons. First, if Fabel sold his presses in Amsterdam on account of a lack of financial success printing and publishing heterodox works, why would he...
purchase new typographical materials and resume in the same specialization in Germany? The second reason is typographical. Not only are there minor but telling stylistic ticks in the Felgenhauer books — including the use of *und* instead of Fabel’s otherwise ubiquitous *vnd*, as well as bordered title-pages on two of the three works — but they are also set in a manner entirely unlike Fabel’s prior publications. Indeed, these books are messily and carelessly printed, with all three volumes necessitating the inclusion of lengthy errata lists. They cannot be said to have been printed with the attention to detail typical of Fabel’s Amsterdam product.

In 1658, several of these material points were noticed by Matthäus Krägel, a reformed pastor in Debstädt near Bremen, who voiced his concerns in a lengthy *Apologia* directed against Felgenhauer. According to Krägel:

Because he [sc. Felgenhauer] is possessed by the spirit of untruth (*Lügengeist*), he naturally parades a lie on the first leaf of his books, which are supposed to have been printed in Amsterdam by Hans Fabel. Yet one can see from the paper and typography that this is a lie. And shall Fabel still print his books in Amsterdam, even though he is no longer in Amsterdam, but instead in Heidelberg?102

In addition to providing evidence of contemporary scepticism concerning Felgenhauer’s claims, Krägel’s statement gives us a major clue to Fabel’s post-Amsterdam fate, placing him in Heidelberg sometime between 1650 and 1651. Unfortunately, due to the destruction of Heidelberg’s administrative records during the Palatine–Orléans war in 1693, Krägel’s statement has proven impossible to corroborate.103 If his report is reliable, Fabel probably found employment as a *Faktor* (master typesetter) with Aegidus Walter (*c.* 1610–1664), the only printer then active in the city.104 There can be little doubt that Fabel’s experience in setting German, Latin and Greek type would have been ideal for a printing house specializing in primarily academic material for the newly re-established university. It may be significant that many of Walter’s prints from 1651 bear a resemblance to Fabel’s Amsterdam product in *mise-en-page*.

But that Fabel was no longer active as an independent printer or publisher of heterodox material after July 1650 is also suggested by other evidence.

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102 Matthäus Krägel, *Apologia & Triumphus Veritatis, das ist, Verthätigung undd Triumph der Wahrheit Wider Pauli Felgenhauers Gottslästerung …* (Bremen: Jakob Köhler, 1658), pp. 10–11: ‘Weil er nun die Lügengeist hat/ so setzet er gemeiniglich auch eine Lügen auf das erste Blad seiner Bücher/ daß sie seyen gedruckt in Amsterdam bey Hans Fabel/ da man doch aus dem typo vnd Papier sehen kan, daß es Lügen sind. So ist auch Hanß Fabel nicht mehr zu Amsterdam, sondern zu Heidelberg/ vnd so gleichwohl noch zu Amsterdam Bücher drucken.’

103 By kind information from Günther Berger, Stadtarchiv Heidelberg.

Firstly, after September 1650, he is entirely absent from the correspondence of Hartlib, Franckenberg, Seidenbecher, Sarnow, Moriaen, and others, all of whom had previously expressed the greatest interest in his activities. Secondly, in 1650 and 1651, several of Fabel’s authors, including Franckenberg, Fabricius, Gifftheil, and Glauber found new printers for their books, most in Amsterdam.\(^{105}\) Cumulatively, this evidence strongly suggests that the Felgenhauer books, despite their respective imprints, should be considered spuria.

Interestingly, however, these are not the only books said by Felgenhauer to have been printed by Fabel. In 1657, during an inquisitorial trial in Syke, the prophet was asked where and by whom his many works had been printed. In his response, Felgenhauer named, in addition to the three titles discussed above, a further ten books printed and/or published by Fabel in Amsterdam between 1651 and 1656:

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None of these books appeared under Fabel’s imprint. And although several bibliographers have uncritically accepted Felgenhauer’s word on this matter, even when only second or third hand, his testimony must be treated with extreme caution.\(^{107}\) For even if we accept the unlikely scenario that the \textit{Deipnologia} and two other works printed under Fabel’s imprint in 1650 and 1651 were products of a Fabel-led printing enterprise in Germany, even the most cursory examination of the differing papers, typefaces, ornaments, and typesetting techniques in the ten additional titles suggest that they were printed by at least three different offices located in Germany and the United Provinces. Furthermore, that Fabel would be in a financial position to publish, in addition to print, nine of these works beggars belief in light of his conservative publishing policy in Amsterdam. Failure of memory may have played some role in Felgenhauer’s false attributions — he also claimed that Jan Jansson printed his 1648 \textit{Harmonia Sapientie} \(^{53}\) when in fact

\(^{105}\) Franckenberg, \textit{Trias Mystica} (Amsterdam: Joris Trigge, 1650); Klueting, \textit{Reformatio vitae}, p. 189; Gugel, Johann Rudolf Glauber, pp. 54–58.

\(^{106}\) Hannover, Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Cal.Br.23 Nr. 654, fol. 64\textsuperscript{vii}, ‘Peinliche Verurteilung des Paul Felgenhauer wegen Ketzerei und seine Gefangenschaft zu Syke’.

it was issued by Fabel. But it appears that, being fully aware that Fabel was no longer active, Felgenhauer deliberately gave the printer’s name to authorities, perhaps to protect the true identities of the printers he actually employed. Until evidence to the contrary is adduced, the ten additional works named by Felgenhauer must also to be considered spurious.

**Conclusion: Ends and Means**

Fabel’s fate after 1650 is unknown. He may have lived out his days in Heidelberg to an old age, or died shortly after his arrival there. We have nevertheless been able to establish some concrete details concerning his life and work. Fabel was active as a printer in Amsterdam between 1645 and February or March 1650. During this period, he printed and/or published at least sixty-two books and pamphlets. The copy texts, funding, distribution and sales of these works relied extensively on networks of displaced central European intellectuals, with Samuel Hartlib being a key figure. Fabel, however, quickly ran into financial difficulties that compounded a genuine desire to return to Germany, a proposition made viable following the settlement of the Peace of Westphalia late in 1648. After his return to Germany a couple of years later, Fabel’s name was utilized by Paul Felgenhauer in a false imprint for three further works issued in 1650 and 1651. In 1657, Felgenhauer also claimed that Fabel printed and published ten additional works between 1650 and 1656, an assertion refuted by typographical comparison.

Fabel’s career shines a rare light on the nature and problems faced in the market for heterodox books in seventeenth-century Europe, which has previously been glimpsed mainly from the perspective of censorship history. The quick-fire collapse of his business may not necessarily have been a result of a lack of demand for his product, but rather the universal problems of poor financial judgment and an inability to unite potential customers with the fruits of his press. Fabel’s specialized enterprise was essentially a shoestring operation with no broad commercial appeal. It relied on a chronically impecunious body of investors for funding, as well as a widely distributed customer base for sales. Despite the fact that heterodox books could sometimes command high prices as curiosity pieces, Fabel priced his books cheaply. And although he owned and operated two presses, it appears that their capacities were never realistically tested.

The results are epitomized in the case of Glauber’s *Furni novi philosophici* (6 vols, 1646–50). Although Fabel reprinted the first two volumes to keep pace with demand [45, 59], after his departure for Germany other publishers transformed Glauber’s work into an international bestseller. Complete German editions were issued in 1650 and 1661 by Jan Jansson, 1652 by Merian, and 1700 by Kaspar Wussin. Latin editions were issued in 1651 and 1658, and English (1651) and French (1659) versions further addressed the seemingly unquenchable international demand for this
The Amsterdam Office of Hans Fabel

work. Fabel could not achieve this. Unlike his larger commercial competitors in Amsterdam, such as Jan Jansson, his business was not underwritten by a solid foundation of previous personal mercantile success or financial stability. If Fabel had been able to exploit more of this demand, he may well have been able to establish an enduring presence in the European marketplace.

There remain several further tasks for research. A broader study of religious dissent during the middle decades of the seventeenth century is sorely needed; such a study would provide a matrix for better understanding the contours of Fabel’s business, and of his supporters and opponents. Also of interest is the contemporary reception and translation of Fabel’s works, which could reveal more about their distribution and readership. Careful examination of further library collections is likely to reveal further tracts printed by Fabel, which could provide additional new avenues of investigation.

The available evidence suggests the crucial significance of the Thirty Years’ War to the arc of Fabel’s career. Born on the eve of the catastrophe, his inclination to heterodox material was perhaps shaped by the injustices he witnessed during his youth. His intellectual circle, both personal and epistolary, as well as his clientele and investors, were drawn from ranks of central European intellectuals displaced by the war. Ultimately, it also appears that Fabel’s decision to sell his Amsterdam business and return to Germany was decisively influenced by the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia. Given that several of Fabel’s chief authors prophesied an imminent chiliastic period, advocated pacifism and condemned the war as a manifestation of the religious troubles of the period, perhaps this end was not only predictable, but also appropriate.

Brisbane

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108 See Dünnhaupt, Personlabibliographien, iii, pp. 1622–52.
110 For Bethabor’s Traum-Gesicht and Friederich Galli [34] see a French manuscript translation in Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS 3022 (168 S.A.F.); English manuscript translations are in London, British Library, MS Sloane 3724, 94–98; MS Sloane 2194, 25–28; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1459(II), pp. 111–16. Unnoticed by Bruckner, Franckenberg’s Relation [35] was printed as Nevves from Holland or A short Relation of two witnesses now living, of the suffering and passion of our Savour, Jesus Christ (London: Thomas Williams for Humphrey Blunden, 1648); Hartlib’s Diarium and Reyner’s Fürschrifft [46, 47] were also translated by into Danish by Christen Pedersen Abel as Nogle herlige, deylige oc skøne Regle oc Lærdomme om et Ræt sand christeligt Leffnet ... (Christiania: Mickel Thomeson, 1658, repr. Amsterdam 1663).
APPENDIX ONE
Chronological List of Fabel Titles, 1645–1650

Below is a list of sixty-two books, pamphlets, and broadsheets known to me that were printed by Fabel between 1645 and 1650. Appendix Two presents a list of fourteen works that have been incorrectly attributed to Fabel. By comparison, Bruckner’s pioneering list records thirty-six titles, including fourteen errata; STCN records eighteen items, including two errata (returning seventeen results, two of which are errata, when searching for ‘Fabel’); while VD17 records forty-four items, including eleven errata (returning nineteen results, including three errata, when searching for ‘Fabel’).

The attributions to Fabel’s office are, in the majority of cases, based on the printer’s use of distinctive ornaments — usually on title pages, but also sometimes at the conclusion of his books — several of which are depicted in the illustrations to this article. Further ornaments are reproduced in Bruckner’s bibliographies, as well as in VD17.111 Several of Fabel’s publications appeared without an imprint, and in the case of some of Giftheil’s works, without the use of his ornaments. In these cases, the attributions based on typographical comparison (particularly a series of miscast characters which recur throughout Fabel’s oeuvre), paper type, as well as the mise-en-page.

The lists below include a short title and imprint, as well as format and length. When a book is unrecorded in STCN or VD17 at least one holding library is named, following Dünnhaupt’s institutional designations. Books are ordered chronologically, then alphabetically according to author. Readers aware of additional Fabel titles are invited to contact the author.

Bibliographical Authorities

1645
1. [LUDWIG FRIEDRICH GIFTHEIL], Inscriptio Ad supremos exercituum Duces, Tribunos et Milites Psevdo-Christianorum . . . ‘Anno 1645’ (Fig. 1)
   4°, 4 fols
   Utrecht UB, Halle FS, Wesel Stadtarchiv

1646
2. [JOHANN JAKOB FABRICIUS], Beschreibung des ietzigen Haus-standes unter de Lutherischen und anderen: Oder Nabals-haus . . . ‘Hermanstein’
   12mo, 30 fols
   Br131°, K7
   Copenhagen KB

111 Bruckner, Bibliographical Catalogue; Bruckner, Franckenberg; http://www.vd17.de.
3. [Johann Jakob Fabricius], Beschreibung Des itzigen unlauteren Lutherthums; Oder Babel und Sodom . . . ‘Hermanstein’
   12mo, 24 fols
   Br132, K8
   Copenhagen KB

4. [Johann Jakob Fabricius], Im Namen Jhesu! . . . Satans-Synagoga . . .
   12mo, 24 fols
   Br133, K4
   Copenhagen KB

5. [Johann Jakob Fabricius], In Namen Jhesu! . . . Von dem unnützen Disputergeschwätz . . . ‘Hermanstein’
   12mo, 18 fols
   Br134, K5
   Copenhagen KB

6. [Johann Jakob Fabricius], Kurtze und wahrhafte Beschreibung der Geistlosen Geistlichen . . . ‘Gedruckt im Jahr des Herrn’
   12mo, 18 fols
   Br135, K3
   Copenhagen KB

7. [Abraham von Franckenberg, ed.], Admonitio de rationis humanæ Deceptione in Spiritualibus . . . ‘Regio-Monti’
   12mo, 36 fols
   FrA61, VD17 23:649751A

   12mo, 48 fols
   FrA14, VD17 7:709625V

   12mo, 60 fols
   Br136, D21.1, FrA15, STCN 087481731

10. [Abraham von Franckenberg], Conclusiones de Fundamento Sapientiae . . . Das ist, Endlicher Beschluß vom Grunde der Weißheit . . . ‘Königstein’
    12mo, 6 fols
    Br137, FrA23, VD17 1:073252B

11. [Abraham von Franckenberg], Schrift- und Glaubens-gemässe Betrachtung . . . ‘Königstein’
    12mo, 18 fols
    Br138, D22.1, FrA25, VD17 1:073250M

12. [Ludwig Friedrich Gifftheil], Ad Reges Hispaniae & Galliae, omnesque Italie Principes, Equites & Status . . . ‘Anno 1646’ (Fig. 3)
    4°, 2 fols
    Halle FS
Leigh T. I. Penman

13. [LUDWIG FRIEDRICH GIFFTHEIL], Die Regierung Der Landgraffschaft Hessen betreffende... ‘Im Jahr 1646’
   4°, 4 fols
   Halle FS

14. [LUDWIG FRIEDRICH GIFFTHEIL], Ein Starcker Donner Oder Posaune...
   ‘Anno 1646’
   4°, 9 fols
   Not extant

15. JOHANN RUDOLF GLAUBER, De auri Tinctura, sive Auro Potabili vero...
   ‘Amsterdam/ Gedruckt bey Johann Fabeln’
   8°, 20 fols
   Br139, D6.I.1, STCN 169227243

16. JOHANN RUDOLF GLAUBER, Forni novi philosophici I... ‘Amsterdam/ Gedruckt bey Johann Fabeln’
   8°, 52 fols
   Br140I, D7.I.1, STCN 169226158, VD17 1:684244F

17. P[aul] K[aym], Bekäntnüs Eines unpartheyischen Christen Wegen des einigen
   seeligmachenden Glaubens... ‘Im Jahr 1646’
   12mo, 48 fols
   Br142, VD17 39:118079M
   Halle FS, Jena ThLUB

18. C[HRISTIAN] O[TTER], Specimen problematum hercetectorico-geometricorum
   quo ut Fortificationis... ‘Amsterodami/ Excudebat Johannes Fabel’
   4°, 12 fols + 2 folding plates
   Oxford BodL, Leiden UB, Uppsala UB

19. VALERIANUS SIGISMUNDUS ROSEN, Synopsis bacutenus a pluribus theologis
   exoptata actorum colloqui Thoruniensis... ‘Amstelodami Typis Johannes
   Fabelii’
   12mo, 22 fols
   Gotha FB, Greifswald UB, Halle FS, Wolfenbüttel HAB

20. [THORN COLLOQUI], Specialior declaratio doctrine catholicae ecclesiæ
    reformatorum de praecipuis fidei controversiis, publice in conventu
    Thoruniensi lecta... ‘Amstelodami Typis Johannes Fabelii’
    12mo, 18 fols
    Gotha FB, Greifswald UB, Wolfenbüttel HAB

    der einigen wahren Religion... ‘Amsterdam’
    12mo, 24 fols
    Br149, VD17 1:073248R

112 A reprint of 1655 exists with the imprint: ‘Erstlich im Jahr 1646. nun aber in diesem 1655. Jahr/
    zum andernmahl gedruckt’ [Halle FS 61 D 21 [35]]. The layout of this reprint suggests that the original
    was issued by Fabel.

113 Also printed in Scripta Partis Reformatæ In Colloqvio Thoruniensi, Anno M. DC. XLV. Parti
    Romano Catholicae exhibita [...] (Berlin: Christopher Rungius, 1646), pp. 21–68.
The Amsterdam Office of Hans Fabel

1647

22. [Jean d’Espagnet], Das Geheimüß Der Hermetischen Philosophey …
   ‘Amsterdam/ Bey Hans Fabeln getruckt’
   12mo, 36 fols
   STCN 088028704, VD17 29:720511V

23. “[Johann Jakob Fabricius], Römischer Adler: oder die gottlose Tyranne
   und Räuberische Obrigkeit, des falsch berühmten Heiligen, vielmehr
   Babylonischen Röm. Reichs … ‘Hermanstein’
   12mo, 24 fols
   Add175°, K6, K18
   Not extant114

24. [Abraham von Franckenberg, ed.], Christ-Fürstliches Bedencken …
   ‘Amsterdam/ Gedruckt bey Hans Fabeln’
   12mo, 42 fols
   Br154, D21.2, FrA16
   Jena ThLB

25. [Abraham von Franckenberg], Relation oder Kurzer Bericht von Zweyen
   Zeugen des Leydens unsers geliebten Heylandes Jesu Christi … ‘Amsterdam/
   bey Johann Fabeln zu finden’
   12mo, 12 fols
   Br155, D24.1, FrA27
   Copenhagen KB, Wroclaw UB

26. [Abraham von Franckenberg, ed.] Hugo de Palma, Theologia mystica sive
   trivium sacrum … ‘Amstelodami, Typis Johannis Fabelii, 1647’
   12mo, 40 fols + table
   D25, FrA31, STCN 087479222

27. [Ludwig Friedrich Gilftheil], Die Völcker dieser Vierdten Monarchia …
   No Imprint [c. 1647]
   4°, 2 fols
   VD17 3:656507T
   Halle FS

28. Johann Rudolf Glauber, Furni novi philosophici II ‘Amsterdam/ Gedruckt
   bey Johann Fabel’
   8°, 94 fols + plate
   Br140II, D7.1.1, STCN 090017986, VD17 1:684247D

29. [Lucas Jennis], Krämer-Korb mit Sieben beschlossenen Laden …
   ‘Amsterdam/ bey Johan Fabeln zu finden’
   12mo, 12 fols
   Br156
   München LMU, Wroclaw UB

114 Kluteng, Reformatio vitae, pp. 29, 338 suggests that this book was printed instead in 1646, given
that it was cited by Fabricius on p. 16 of our no. 3. While the text may well have been authored in 1646,
and handed to the printer in that year, there is no evidence to suggest that it was made available to the
public before 1647.
30. Johannes Klenck (præs.), Georg Klenck (resp.), Philosophica disputatio super naturali Dei notitia . . . ‘Amstelodami, Typis Johannis Fabelii’
   4°, 17 fols
   Basel UB, Dresden SLUB

1647–1648

31. Jan Baptista van Helmont, Opuscula medica inavdita . . . ‘Amsterodami, apud Ludovicum Elzevirium’
   4°, 168 fols
   STCN 089405099

32. Jan Baptista van Helmont, Ortus medicæ, Id est Initia physicae inavdita . . . ‘Amsterodami, apud Ludovicum Elzevirium’
   4°, 400 fols
   STCN 089407512

1648

33. [ANON], Das Geheimnūs der Boßheit von dem Grewel der Verwüstung . . . ‘Amsterdam/ bey Hanß Fabeln’
   12mo, 24 fols
   Br165, VD17 7:706954

34. Floretus à Bethabor, Traum-gesicht . . . Mit noch einem . . . Tractātlein Von der Reise Friederich Galli . . . ‘Ambsterdam/ gedruckt bey Hanß Fabeln’
   (Fig. 4)
   12mo, 12 fols
   Br163, VD17 32:670016

35. Jacob Böhme, Viertzig Fragen von der seelen Vrstand . . . ‘Gedruckt und verlegt durch Hans Fabeln’
   (Fig. 5)
   12mo, 96 fols + plate
   Br160, Budd.129, D18.1, STCN 090535251, VD17 12:103489

36. [Abraham von Franckenberg], Die kleine Hauß-Schule oder Kinder-Tempel . . . ‘Gedruckt zu Amsterdam Durch Hans Fabeln/ in verlegung des Authoris’
   12mo, 72 fols
   Br164, D26, FrA34
   Copenhagen KB

37. [Ludwig Friedrich Gifftheil], Abn Die Plenipotentiarios, oder Volmächtige zugelangen . . . alda zu Münster vnd Osnabrück des Friedens halb . . . [No imprint, c. 1648]
   2°, 1 fol
   Halle FS

115 Johann Christoph Mylius, Bibliotheca anonymorum et pseudonymorum, 2 vols (Hamburg: Brandt, 1740), i, p. 1126 attributes this book to Georg Hartlib; Arnold, Fortsetzung, p. 94, suggests instead Franckenberg.
The Amsterdam Office of Hans Fabel

38. [Ludwig Friedrich Gifftheil], Allens menschen ins gemein/ und einen jeden insonderheit; zum Leben oder Todt betreffende. ‘Im Jahr 1648’
   4°, 2 fols
   VD17 1:o63406G
   Halle FS

39. [Ludwig Friedrich Gifftheil], Den Keyser/ die Schweden vnd andere ihres gleichen Tyrannen ... betreffende ... ‘Gegeben zu Londen in Engeland/ den 8. Novembris, Anno 1648’
   4°, 2 fols
   Halle FS

40. [Ludwig Friedrich Gifftheil], Erkantnuß/ Waß dem Käyser/ den Schweden/ allen Reichs-Fürsten und Ständen ... nun noch ferner angezeigt wird ... ‘gegeben zu Londen in Engeland den 24. Novemb. 1648’
   4°, 4 fols
   E.vii.6; VD17 1:o63406G
   Halle FS

41. [Ludwig Friedrich Gifftheil], Die Fürsten vnd Richter/ Regenten oder Amt-leute in dem gantzen Teutschen Lande betreffend ... ‘Im Jahr 1648’
   (Fig. 6)
   4°, 4 fols
   Halle FS

42. [Ludwig Friedrich Gifftheil], Gottes Vrtheil vnd Gericht betreffend ...
   [No imprint, c. 1648]
   4°, 2 fols
   Halle FS

43. Johann Rudolf Glauber, Furni novi philosophici III ... ‘Amsterdam/ Gedruckt bey Hans Fabeln’
   8°, 32 fols + plate
   Br140III, D7.1.2, STCN 090018427, VD17 1:684248M

44. Johann Rudolf Glauber, Furni novi philosophici IV ... ‘Amsterdam/ Gedruckt bey Hans Fabeln’
   8°, 54 fols + plate
   Br140IV, D7.1.2, STCN 090018761, VD17 1:684249U

45. Johann Rudolf Glauber, Furni novi philosophici I ... ‘Amsterdam/ Gedruckt bey Johann Fabeln’
   8°, 40 fols + plate
   Br166I, D7.1.2, STCN 090016793, VD17 1:684244F

46. Georg Hartlib, Diarium Christianum ... Darinnen gezeiget wird wie man täglich sein Christenthumb ... werckstellig machen solle ... ‘Amsterdam/ Gedruckt bey Hans Fabeln’ (Fig. 7)
   12°mo, 36 fols
   Br167, VD17 7:719179K

47. [Edward Reyner], Für-schrift zu einem Christlichen Wandel ...
   ‘Amsterdam/ Gedruckt bey Hans Fabeln’ (Fig. 8)
   12°mo, 11 fols
   Br167, VD17 7:707058W
48. Tobias Schneuber, Kurze Einfaltige Glaubens Bekänntnüß Tobiah Schnäubers ... ‘Ambsterdam/ Gedruckt bey Hans Fabeln’
8º, 32 fols
Tallinn ÜAR

1649

49. [Jacob Böhme], Dialogus oder Gespräch/ einer hungerigen/ dürstigen Seelen ... ‘Gedruckt und verlegt durch Hans Fabeln’
12mo, 12 fols
Br174, Budd173, D19.1, STCN 087237830, VD17 12:101400L

50. Hendrick de Bruynbeek, Een klucht, van de Vyaensche Reys ... ‘t’Aemsteldam, Ghedruckt by Hans Fabel’
4º, 12 fols
STCN 85108166

51. Johann Jacob Fabricius, Das Alten vnnd Newen Testament Bücher ... ‘Ambterdam/ Gedruckt bey Hans Fabeln’
8º, 64 fols
Add175º, K11
Herborn Bibl. d. theol. Seminars

52. Johann Jacob Fabricius, Das viel-geplagte vnd doch Verstockte Egypten ... ‘Ambsterdam/ Gedruckt bey Hans Fabeln’
8º, 45 fols
Add174º, K10
Jena ThLB; Herborn Bibl. d. theol. Seminars; UB Rostock

53. [Paul Felgenhauer], Harmonia Sapientiæ ... Einigkeit der Weißheit ... ‘Gedruckt bey Hans Fabeln’
12mo, 36 fols
Br175, W77, D22, STCN 328599492, VD17 23:666615S

54. [Abraham von Franckenberg], Copia eines Christ-Eiferigen Klage-Schreibens ... ‘Gedruckt zu Amsterdam/ bey Hans Fabeln’
4º, 12 fols
Br176, D 29.1, FrA35, VD17 1:1071478N

55. [Ludwig Friedrich Gifftheil], Den Römischen Kayser/ Churfürsten von Sachsen/ Brandenburg/ andere Reichs-Fürsten und Stände ... betreffend ... [no date or imprint, 1649]
4º, 2 fols
E.vii.4; VD17 1:066309Z

56. [Ludwig Friedrich Gifftheil], Die Fürsten/ Richter vnd Stände In dem Teutschlande betreffendt ... ‘Ambsterdam 1649’
4º, 2 fols
Br178 (not attr. to Fabel); E.vii.7; VD17 1:0663409E

116 I thank Jürgen Beyer for alerting me to the existence of this copy, which I previously knew through Jakob Wilhelm Blaufus, Vermischte Beyträge zur Erweiterung der Kentnüß seltener und merkwürdiger Bücher (Jena: Melchior, 1753), pp. 172–74.
The following fourteen works have been attributed falsely or dubiously to Fabel. One
[6] was identified in the index of Bruckner, Bibliographical Catalogue, p. 550, as
being printed by Fabel, but is not described as such in the text itself (p. 150, no. 177).
This book was in fact printed after Franckenberg's death in 1652, and thus could not
have been issued by Fabel. The other thirteen works [1–5, 7–14] were said by their
author, Paul Felgenhauer, to have been printed and/or published by Fabel. As
discussed in the text above, three [1, 3, 4] appeared under Fabel's imprint, while the
rest were attributed to him by Felgenhauer during an inquisitorial trial. In the
opinion of the author, these attributions are spurious.

APPENDIX TWO

Dubia and Spuria

The Amsterdam Office of Hans Fabel

57. [LUDWIG FRIEDRICH GIFFTHEIL], Die Vnglaubige Gott vnd gewissen-lose
Frevel-Regenten in dem Teutschlandt betrefendt . . . [no date or imprint, 1649]
4°, 2 fols
E.vii.5; VD17 1:063393N
58. [LUDWIG FRIEDRICH GIFFTHEIL], Von wegen der Schrifft: Jesai. 10.36 vnd Welt-
Gelehrten Männer . . . ‘Gegeben in dem 1649. Jahr’ (Fig. 9)
4°, 4 fols
VD17 1:063427C
59. JOHANN RUDOLF GLAUBER, Furni novi philosophici II . . . ‘Amsterdam/
Gedruckt bey Johann Fabeln’
8°, 88 fols + plate
Br166II, D7.1.2, STCN 090017684
60. JOHANN RUDOLF GLAUBER, Furni novi philosophici V . . . ‘Amsterdam/
Gedruckt bey Hans Fabeln’
8°, 32 fols
Br140V, D7.1.2, STCN 090019042, VD17 12:644404C
61. CHRISTOPH ANDREAS RASELIUS, Das Geheimnüß Der Geistlichen
Wiedergeburth . . . ‘Gedruckt zu Amsterdam/ Bey Hans Fabeln’
12mo, 36 fols
Br181
Copenhagen KB

1650

62. JOHANN RUDOLF GLAUBER, Annotationes Vber den Appendicem Welcher zu
Ende des Fünften Theils/ Philosophischer Oefen gesetzet . . . ‘Gedruckt zu
Amsterdam/ Bey Hanß Fabeln/ Buchdr. Daselbst’
8°, 48 fols
VD17 12:644409R

1. [PAUL FELGENHAUER], Διηνωλογία . . . Eine Rede oder Schrift vom
Abendmahl . . . ‘Amsterd. Gedruckt bey Hans Fabeln’
12mo, 125 fols
Br185, W77, D25, VD17 23:649520N
2. [Paul Felgenhauer], θεανθρωπολογεία ... Eine Rede von der wahren Menschheit ... ‘Gedruckt im Jahr 1650’
   12mo, 80 fols
   Br187, W78, D23, VD17 1:073205S

1651
3. [Paul Felgenhauer], Mysterium Magnum ... ‘Gedruckt zu Amsterdam Durch Hans Fabeln’
   12mo, 90 fols
   Br194, W78, D27, VD17 25:649446R
4. [Paul Felgenhauer], TauffSpiegel ... ‘Gedruckt zu Amsterdam Durch Hans Fabeln’
   12mo, 52 fols
   Br195, W78, D26
   Copenhagen KB

1652
5. [Paul Felgenhauer], Informatorium Catecheticum ... ‘Gedruckt im Jahr Christi 1652’
   12mo, 59 fols
   Br198, W78, D28, VD17 39:118417D

[after 1652]
   4o, 4 fols
   Br177, FraA38
   Wroclaw UB

1653
7. [Paul Felgenhauer], Examen Das ist ... Prüfung über das ... Buch Matthæi Kregelij ... ‘Gedruckt im Jahr 1653’
   12mo, 144 fols
   Br204, W79, D30, VD17 75:668713S

1654
8. [Paul Felgenhauer], Harmonia Fidei ... ‘Amsterdam/ in verlegung deß Autoris’
   12mo, 108 fols
   Br209, W79, D34.1, VD17 23:681777N
9. [Paul Felgenhauer], Lucerna Sapientæ ... ‘Gedruckt vor den Autor zu Amsterdam’
   12mo, 89 fols
   Br210, W79, D32, STCN 328604070, VD17 23:660617G
10. [Paul Felgenhauer], Phares, Das ist: Scheidung Gerichte und Prüfung … ‘1654’
   12mo, 100 fols
   W79, D31, VD17 23:681776E

1655
11. [Paul Felgenhauer], Postilion Oder Newer Calender … ‘Gedruckt Im Jahr des HERRN 1655’
   12mo, 83 fols
   Br214, W81, VD17 1:073170U
12. [Paul Felgenhauer], Sendbrieff an alle Gottselige und Gottliebende Menschen … ‘Gedruckt 1655’
   12mo
   W80, D36
   Kassel LB, Nuremberg LKA

1656
13. Paul Felgenhauer, Clavis sapientiae … ‘Gedruckt Zu Amsterdam’
   12mo, 131 fols
   Br226, W80, D40, STCN 328604151, VD17 1:073214R
14. [Paul Felgenhauer], Refutatio Paralogismorum … ‘Vor den Autor gedruckt zu Amsterdam’
   12mo, 90 fols
   Br230, W81, D43, VD17 1:072971R