Edited by
Anna Dlabačová, Andrea van Leerdam
and John J. Thompson

Vernacular Books and Their Readers in the Early Age of Print (c. 1450–1600)

Intersections

Interdisciplinary
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Notes on the Editors

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Notes on the Contributors

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Union Theological. Images in English Manuscripts from the time of Chaucer to Henry VIII, c. 1380–c. 1509, with Michael Orr (2007), and *The Image in Print: Book Illustration in Late Medieval England* (2004), among others.

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Stefan Matter

studied German, History and History of Art at the University of Fribourg in Switzerland. He wrote his doctorate (2006) on the relationship between text and image production in the Early Nazarenes and subsequently wrote his habilitation (2011) on dialogues and images of *minne*. Between 2017 and 2021 he has led the SNF-funded research project *Deutschsprachige Gebetbuchliteratur des Mittelalters. Untersuchungen zu ihrer Überlieferung, Form und Funktion*, and has worked at the University Library of Berne since 2022. His publications include (with Maria-Christina Boerner) *... kann ich vielleicht nur dichtend mahlen? Franz Pforrs Fragment eines Künstlerromans und das Verhältnis von Poesie und Malerei bei den Nazarenern* (2007) and *Reden von der Minne. Untersuchungen zu Spielformen literarischer Bildung zwischen verbaler und visueller Vergegenwärtigung anhand von Minnereden und Minnebildern des deutschsprachigen Spätmittelalters* (2013).

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Karolina Mroziewicz

is a philologist and art historian. In 2015 she received her PhD in cultural studies from the Faculty of Artes Liberales, University of Warsaw. Currently she is an assistant professor at the Institute of Art History, University of Warsaw. Her fields of study encompass reception of early modern printed books and illustrations, colour and coloured prints in the Polish Kingdom and Grand Duchy

of Lithuania, reception of classical culture in Central Europe and the polemical and identity-building role of images in the early modern era. Her publications include *Imprinting Identities: Illustrated Latin-Language Histories of St. Stephen's Kingdom (1488–1700)* (2015) and the collective volume *Premodern Rulership and Contemporary Political Power: The King's Body Never Dies* (2017), edited by Karolina Mroziewicz and Aleksander Sroczyński.

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Tillmann Taape

is a historian of science and medicine exploring the intersection of artisanal, alchemical, and learned traditions of knowledge in early modern Europe. Having obtained his PhD from Cambridge University, he has held research and teaching positions at Columbia University, the Huntington Library, and the Warburg Institute. He is currently a fellow at the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel.

Introduction

Anna Dlabačová and Andrea van Leerdam

Who read in the vernacular in the early age of print? Why did they do so? And how were reading practices and experiences shaped in the triangle between books, book producers and users? This volume focuses on vernacular reading at a time when the vernaculars steadily gained ground as languages of the new medium of the printed book. Authors, translators, editors, and printers across Europe endeavoured to cater to readers who preferred the vernacular over Latin, the language traditionally associated with the Church, scholarship, and science. While initially titles in Latin dominated, printer-publishers pioneered new markets already in the early decades after Gutenberg's invention of printing with moveable type.[1] Printed books in German started to appear in the 1450s and were commonly produced by the early 1460s.[2] The next decade saw the appearance of the first printed books in Italian (1471), Spanish (ca. 1472), Catalan (ca. 1474), French (ca. 1473–1477), Dutch (1477), and English (1477).[3] Other European vernaculars followed suit and readers could obtain printed books in most vernaculars by the early 1500s.[4] The development of print culture thus added new impulses to the dynamic relations between Latin and the vernaculars, as well as between vernaculars themselves. The increased mobility of texts and visual motifs between various vernaculars, in particular French, English, and Dutch, is a case in point.[5]

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1   Barbier F., *Gutenberg's Europe. The Book and the Invention of Western Modernity* (Cambridge, UK – Malden, MA: 2016).

2   For example, by Albrecht Pfister in Bamberg, who also printed the earliest illustrated books in German. Häussermann S., *Die Bamberger Pfisterdrucke. Frühe Inkunabelillustration und Medienwandel* (Berlin: 2008).

3   Italian: several editions from 1471; Spanish: proceedings of the synod at Segovia dated after 10 June 1472; Catalan: *Obres o trobes en laors de la Verge Maria*, after 25 March 1474; French: several editions dated ca. 1473–1477 by Guillaume Le Roy in Lyon (on the possibility that William Caxton also printed French texts in the same period in the Low Countries, see the Afterword by John Thompson); Dutch: the so-called *Delft Bible* is the first dated edition (10 January 1477); English: several editions by William Caxton at Westminster. Details can be found in the Incunabula Short Title Catalogue, https://data.cerl.org/istc (select language, sort by year).

4   Portuguese: 1486–1493, first dated edition 1489; Czech: 1488; Danish and Swedish: 1495. See https://data.cerl.org/istc.

5   See the essays in this volume by Elisabeth de Bruijn, Alexa Sand, and Martha W. Driver.

The growing role of vernaculars in printing shops across Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth century warrants a dedicated study of vernacular books and their readers. This volume offers an exploration of approaches to study vernacular books and reading between ca. 1450 and 1600 by investigating the material book as an interface between book producers and users. The presentation of the text, its mise-en-page, the presence of paratexts, images and other features of book design reveal the strategies and assumptions of printers and their employees (as well as other book producers) as they strived to tailor their books to the needs of readers and cater to certain ways of reading.[6] Individual copies may contain traces left by book owners and users that can range from simple underlining to marginal notes and the addition of manuscript leaves. These traces serve as clues to understanding how readers interacted with the book and they document readers' responses to decisions made in the printing shop.[7] By focusing on material aspects of vernacular books and what they tell us about readers and reading, essays in this volume bring together questions on the production and consumption of vernacular books across Europe through a variety of approaches.[8]

At the same time, by bringing contributions on different regions, languages, and book types into dialogue, the volume hopes to advance the comparative study of vernacular books in the early age of print. This was one of the main aims of the 2021 conference 'Vernacular Books and Reading Experiences in the Early Age of Print', organized by the authors of the present introduction, which intended to provide a platform for broader comparison of findings across multiple languages, genres, and areas in the early age of print.[9] In recent years, a wealth of case studies has suggested that developments and demands for books in vernacular languages varied between regions, languages, as well as book types.[10] To uncover larger patterns and acknowledge idiosyn-

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6   See below, "Real and Imagined Readers".

7   These traces warrant careful and critical scrutiny as many books have been manipulated in later times (e.g. rebound, trimmed, dismembered). See n. 41 below for literature on users' traces.

8   The 2019 volume *Vernacular Manuscript Culture 1000–1500* edited by Erik Kwakkel teases out precisely such interconnections (between vernacular and materiality) with respect to manuscript culture: it explores vernacular traditions in the written culture of Europe from the eleventh century onward, with a strong focus on material features of vernacular manuscripts.

9   The conference was originally planned for August 2020 but due to the COVID-19 pandemic we decided to postpone the event for one year. Eventually, due to continuing restrictions, the conference was held online from 25 to 27 August 2021.

10   E.g. Bellingradt D. – Nelles P. – Salman J. (eds.), *Books in Motion in Early Modern Europe. Beyond Production, Circulation and Consumption* (Cham: 2017); Besamusca B. –

crasies across time and space, an international and interdisciplinary perspective is essential. The conference brought together scholars from the fields of literary studies, book history, art history, and history of knowledge working on a wide range of printed – as well as manuscript – materials that pertain to such different genres as religious, medical, magic, and chivalric literature. The contributions covered a variety of languages, including English, German, French, Dutch, Italian, Arabic, and Polish, which made for a stimulating exchange. As editors we have endeavoured to capture this cross-fertilization in the present volume.

Essays in this volume have been grouped together to highlight intersections between vernacularity and materiality from three perspectives: real and imagined readers, mobility of texts and images, and intermediality. These perspectives emerged from the conference as common threads for fruitful explorations across genres and languages. They are complementary and may be combined in various ways, whilst the choice of perspective might depend on the nature of the material under scrutiny and the research questions posed. Before further introducing the three perspectives, we will first discuss the chosen periodization and the key concepts underlying the central questions posed at the start of this introduction. Then, for each perspective we will outline its indebtedness to previous scholarship, the approaches developed in the individual contributions and the ways in which these essays expand, nuance, or problematize established insights.

1 Conceptual Considerations: Defining Vernacular Books and Readers

The period under consideration covers the first hundred and fifty years after the introduction of printing with moveable type, from ca. 1450 until 1600. During these formative years the printed book developed into a sustained, autonomous medium with its own design conventions – many of which are still recognizable in present-day books –, trade, channels of distribution and increasing specializations.[11] At the same time, manuscripts continued to be produced and

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Willaert F. – De Bruijn E. (eds.), *Early Printed Narrative Literature in Western Europe* (Berlin – Boston: 2019); Minuzzi S. (ed.), special issue "Printing Medical Knowledge: Vernacular Genres, Reception and Dissemination", *Nuncius* 36.2 (2021); Oates R. – Purdy J.G. (eds.), *Communities of Print. Books and their Readers in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden – Boston: 2022).

11 On design conventions: Smyth A. – Duncan D. (eds.), *Book Parts* (Oxford: 2019); Reid P., *Reading by Design: The Visual Interfaces of the English Renaissance Book* (Toronto: 2019).

circulated. Particularly in the late fifteenth century manuscript and print took on an almost symbiotic relationship resulting in 'hybrid' books.[12] In the course of the sixteenth century manuscripts circulated on a smaller scale than printed books, often for specific purposes and specific people.[13] The period thus transcends traditional scholarly divisions between medieval and early modern, manuscript and print, and it spans important societal and religious developments that influenced how certain languages were valued in relation to others, including the rise of humanism and the Reformation.[14] The diversity of production techniques current in this period is reflected in the material studied in the contributions, which frequently look beyond the printed book and explore its relation to manuscripts, hybrids, and broadsides.

The use of the vernacular is of course not exclusive to the early printed book, nor is it new in this period. Dynamics between Latin and the vernaculars, as well between vernaculars themselves, had been at play already for hundreds of years when the new medium of print arose in the mid-fifteenth century.[15] For most European vernaculars, a written culture had developed well before, especially since the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Vernacular texts were produced in areas of written culture as varied as jurisprudence, administration, literature, religion, and science.[16] Especially in the cities, a growing part of the population acquired pragmatic literacy, a level of literacy (most often in the vernacular) that was required for professions in trade and administration, for example.[17] This growing literacy also enabled people to read other texts, for

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On book trade: Hellinga L., *Incunabula in Transit: People and Trade* (Leiden – Boston: 2018); McLean M. – Barker S. (eds.), *International Exchange in the Early Modern Book World* (Leiden – Boston: 2016). On specialization: Kirwan R. – Mullins S. (eds.), *Specialist Markets in the Early Modern Book World* (Leiden – Boston: 2015).

12   See the essay by Walter S. Melion.

13   See the essay by Heather Bamford. McKitterick D., *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450–1830* (Cambridge: 2003).

14   The role of humanism is discussed in the essay by Margriet Hoogvliet.

15   Bloemendal J. (ed.), *Bilingual Europe: Latin and Vernacular Cultures. Examples of Bilingualism and Multiculturalism c. 1300–1800* (Leiden – Boston: 2015).

16   Literature on this topic is vast; examples include Wogan-Browne J. – Watson N. et al. (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory 1280–1520* (Exeter: 1999); Corbellini S. – Hoogvliet M. – Ramakers B. (eds.), *Discovering the Riches of the Word: Religious Reading in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: 2015); Besamusca B. – Sonnemans G. (eds.), *De crumen diet volc niet eten en mochte. Nederlandse beschouwingen over vertalen tot 1550* (The Hague: 1999); Crossgrove W., "The Vernacularization of Science, Medicine, and Technology in Late Medieval Europe: Broadening Our Perspectives", *Early Science and Medicine* 5.1 (2000) 47–63.

17   On this notion see in particular Mostert M. – Adamska A. (eds.), *Writing and the Administration of Medieval Towns* (Turnhout: 2014) and Parkes M.B., "The Literacy of the

example for devotion, moral education, entertainment, or practical instruction. Initially, then, printers/publishers targeted existing audiences for vernacular works, but the technique of print and the commercial strategies that book producers developed in relation with broader, societal developments fuelled a rapid expansion of vernacular readership, particularly during the sixteenth century.[18] In printed book production the vernaculars thus quickly gained ground as languages of arts and sciences, commerce, religion, and literary expression.

We should be mindful of the fact that the choice to publish in a vernacular language was always a deliberate one. Language is never neutral but conveys a message and has implications for 'what can be expressed in which forms'.[19] Comparably, the choice to read in the vernacular was in many cases not simply determined by a lack of knowledge of Latin, but rather connected to a reader's purposes, interests, preferences, habits, as well the specific context in which a book was to be read. All these factors determined which language was considered appropriate. As Peter Burke has argued, the 'division of labour between Latin and vernacular' was everchanging throughout the early modern period.[20] Since the medium is part of the message, as scholars of material culture and media history now commonly agree, the choice of the vernacular had consequences for and was closely intertwined with decisions regarding the presentation of a text, from the quality of paper to type face and format.[21] Features of individual copies, such as annotations, ownership marks, manipulations/customization, and any other traces of use can reveal readers' incentives as to language choice. Thus, the considerations and motivations of book

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Laity", in idem, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers. Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London – Rio Grande: 1991 (1973)) 275–297.

18   Koppitz H.-J. (ed.), "Verbreitung von Drucken in den Landessprachen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert", thematic section in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 62 (1987) 15–108.

19   Winkler A. – Schaffenrath F. (eds.), *Neo-Latin and the Vernaculars: Bilingual Interactions in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden – Boston: 2019) 5–6 (citation: 6). See also Burke P., "The Social History of Language", in idem (ed.), *The Art of Conversation* (Cambridge: 1993) 1–33.

20   Burke P., "'Heu domine, adsunt Turcae': A Sketch for a History of Post-Medieval Latin", in idem (ed.), *The Art of Conversation* (Cambridge: 1993) 56. See also Burke P., *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: 2004).

21   The idea that a book's physical appearance affects its reception and interpretation by readers was foundationally advanced by Donald F. McKenzie and Roger Chartier. McKenzie D.F., *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, Panizzi Lectures 1985 (Cambridge: 1999 (1986)); Chartier R., "Communities of Readers", in idem, *The Order of Books. Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford: 1994) 1–24.

producers as well as readers to choose a particular language are reflected in the material characteristics of early printed books.

Two examples from the Low Countries and the German lands, some thirty years apart, serve to illustrate the deliberate concern with vernacular readers that becomes apparent in many early printed books produced throughout Europe.[22] In 1484, the prolific Netherlandish printer Gerard Leeu (active 1477–1492) who worked in Gouda and Antwerp published a Dutch translation of a work on the devotion to the Rosary [Fig. 0.1], which contains an explicit reflection on the merits of publishing religious works in the vernacular:

> And because it is very meritorious to bring others to virtues and to serving God, therefore this present small book has been translated [or: has been given to translate] and transferred from Latin into correct Dutch so that laypeople who do not understand Latin – of whom there are many – may also be informed and perfectly instructed in the virtues and exceptional merits of the Rosary, and due to this instruction [they will be] attracted to the devotion and fervour of that same Rosary.[23]

The reflection on the use of Dutch suggests that the vernacular was considered appropriate to stimulate devotion, to 'inform' and 'instruct' a substantial group of 'laypeople' with a lack of knowledge of Latin but with a potential interest in reading or owning books.

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22   Both examples stem from the respective research projects of the authors of the present Introduction: Anna Dlabačová's project "Leaving a Lasting Impression. The Impact of Incunabula on Late Medieval Spirituality, Religious Practice and Visual Culture in the Low Countries" (Veni grant, Dutch Research Council NWO, 2018–2022) and Andrea van Leerdam's project "Woodcuts as Reading Guides: How Images Shaped Knowledge Transmission in Medical-Astrological Books in Dutch (1500–1550)" (PhDs in the Humanities grant, Dutch Research Council NWO, 2016–2022).

23   *Van Marien rosencransken* (Gouda, Gerard Leeu: 1484) fols. a2v–a3v: *Ende om dattet seer verdientlijc is ander menschen tot doechden ende tot godliken dienste te porren ende te trecken, so is dit tegenwoerdighe boexken doen translateren ende oversetten uten Latyne in gueden Duytsche op dat die leke luden die gheen Latijn en verstaen – die men veel vint – oec mogen geinformeert ende volmatelic gheleert worden in die doechden ende sonderlinghe verdienste des rosen crans, ende alsoe gheleert sijnde tot devocien ende innicheyt des selven rosen crensken ghetoghen worden.* See Resoort R., "De presentatie van drukwerk in de volkstaal in de Nederlanden tot 1501: waar zijn de auteurs, vertalers en opdrachtgevers? Een verkenning", in Pleij H. – Reynaert J., *Geschreven en gedrukt: Boekproductie van handschrift naar druk in de overgang van Middeleeuwen naar Moderne Tijd* (Ghent: 2004) 188–189, 192, 203 and Dlabačová A., "Marian Devotions from a Printer's Perspective. The Rosary, the Seven Sorrows, and Gerard Leeu (d. 1492)", in Clifton J. – Haeger B. – Wise E. (eds.), *Marian Images in Context: Devotions, Doctrines, and Cults* (Leiden: forthcoming).

FIGURE 0.1 Title page of *Van Marien rosen cransken een suuerlic boexken*, with hand-colouring, pen flourishes and rubrication (Gouda, Gerard Leeu: 9 March 1484), 8°. Leiden, University Library, 1370 G 35
IMAGE: LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

Uan die namen der cruyden.

souden connen verstaen. Daer om sullen die vrouwen die
des behoeuen toeganck hebben tot den doctoren/ende tot
ten apotekers/dpe welcke hem bescheets ghenoech van
den seluen latijnschen woorden / cruyden ofte substancien
doen sullen. En oock en hebben die cruyden alleleens na-
men niet in alle duytsche landen. Daer om volghen dpe
cruyden hier nae in latijne ende in duytsche.

Absinthium Alsene.
Abrotanum Aueroone.
Arthimesia Biuoet.
Anthea Witten homst
Anisum Anijs.
Ambra Walrode.
Amidum Ameldonck.
Accatia sleesap.
Alipta muscata Ee welriec-
kende confectie.
Aloes lignum Een hout.
Antera Die gelu sade in dpe
roosen.
Aloe epaticu Een bitter sap.
Anetum Dille.
Amigdalu dulce Soete ama
delen.
Amigdalum amaru Bitter
amandelen.
Arthanita
Anthimoniu Anthimonie.
Aristologia longa osterlucie
Aristologia rotunda Hol.
wortel.

Azaru Hasel wortel.
Armoniacu Een gomme.
Aza fetida duuels dreck.

Balaustia garnaetbloeme
Bacce lauri Bakelare.
Barotus Syns ooghen.
Bdelliu eenderhade gome
Bitume iudaicu iode lijm.
Bolus armene?rodel steen
Branca vrsina beren clau.
Bother marien.
Bursa pastoris Tesken
crupt.
Butirum Boter.
Camomilla Camil bloeme
Capill? veneris Murrute.
Castanea Castanie.
Copule glandinum eeckel
hupskens.
Corallus albus wit corael.
Corall? rubeus root corael.
Coagulum leporis Hasen
rentsel.

FIGURE 0.2 Index of herb names in Latin with Dutch translations, with an
entry added by a reader. Rösslin Eucharius, *Den Roseghaert vanden
beuruchten Urouwen* (Antwerp, Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten:
1529), 4º, fol. N4v. Allard Pierson – the Collections of the University
of Amsterdam, OTM: Ned. Inc. 125
IMAGE: ALLARD PIERSON

Some thirty years later, in 1513, the German physician Eucharius Rösslin (ca. 1470–ca. 1526) explicitly envisioned his obstetrics manual *Der Swangern Frauwen vnd hebammen Rosegarten* – the first such publication to gain wide popularity and impact – to be used by midwives and pregnant women alike, not all of whom were familiar with Latin.[24] Introducing a Latin-German glossary of specialist terms at the end of his work, Rösslin reflects on the difficulties of translating a text into the vernacular: there is no German equivalent for many of the Latin terms he uses, and the herbs that are required for medicinal recipes often have different names in different German regions [Fig. 0.2].[25] Rösslin, moreover, argues that women should have access to physicians and doctors who can explain the Latin terms to them. Similar to Leeu, Rösslin thus sees language in direct connection with accessibility of knowledge.

The matter of the plant names brings to the fore that even within a single vernacular, issues of comprehensibility could arise due to a large variation in dialects and locally used terms. As an umbrella term, 'vernacular' may falsely suggest more uniformity than actually existed: numerous different mother tongues were spoken across Europe, each of which developed in their own way and had their own cultural significance. Moreover, language borders were highly fluid. Rösslin's remark points to the plurality and regional variation within vernaculars, which the printing press gradually helped to reduce by contributing to the development of uniform languages. Linguists have argued that the publications of Gerard Leeu, for example, contributed to the standardization of written Dutch.[26]

What binds all European vernacular languages, however, is that they were not the prerogative of a learned elite, but accessible to a wider audience of readers who read in the tongue commonly spoken in the region where they lived and worked. This does not mean, however, that 'the vernacular' should be considered in binary opposition to (Neo-)Latin. Recent studies have pointed

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24 Rösslin Eucharius, *Der Swangern Frauwen vnd hebammen Rosegarten* (Strasbourg, Martin Flach: 1513).

25 Rösslin, *Rosegarten*, fol. O1r: *Item hie in disem cleinen büchlin stand vil latynischer wörter, vnd darumb das man das selbig latyn nit zuo guottem ttsch bringe[n] mag, das es den frawen verstendig sy, Sollent sy zuoflucht habe[n] zuo den doctores vnnd apoteckern, die werden inen gnuogsamen bescheid ber yedes geben. Darzuo so habe[n] die krüter nit einen name[n] in allen tütschen landen, als absinthium zuo latyn würt zuo Fryburg genannt wermuot, zuo Franckfurt wygen krut, zuo Trier alsen. Darum[b] so volget nach ein tafel darin man findet das latyn vnd tütsch etc.*

26 Marynissen A. – Bock D. – Terhalle A., "Op weg naar een geschreven eenheidstaal. De ontdialectisering van de schrijftaal bij Gheraert Leeu, drukker in Gouda en Antwerpen", *Taal en tongval* 73 (2001) 245–295. On the influence of the printing press on the development of French, see Chenoweth K., *The Prosthetic Tongue: Printing Technology and the Rise of the French Language* (Philadelphia: 2019).

to the interplay between these languages, and the literatures and cultures connected to them.[27] Even though the examples from Leeu and Rösslin cited above illustrate that contemporaries often thought about their 'own language', or 'common language' (i.e. what we call vernacular) in distinction from Latin, vernacular books should always be viewed in relation to their Latin counterparts, if only because most printers worked in both languages, many texts appeared in both languages and books often combine the two languages.[28] Moreover, languages such as Hebrew and Arabic also played a part in European written culture, in scholarly contexts as well as within Jewish and Muslim communities.[29]

Considerations regarding 'vernacular readers' are largely analogous to the reflections on vernacular books: they did not constitute a well-delineated group, fully distinct from 'latinate readers'.[30] Vernacular readers, in the broad sense of any early modern person who ever leafed through a printed book in the vernacular, were a highly diffuse group in themselves, and a great many of them were by no means unlearned or illiterate. As was already mentioned above, reading in the vernacular could be a matter of preference or even of intellectual statement or religious ideology just as well as a matter of literacy.[31] Anja Wolkenhauer's project "Versio Latina" draws attention to texts that were translated from vernacular into Latin rather than the other way round.[32] Moreover, readers could of course use more than a single vernacular. A telling example is the recent exploration of how different vernaculars – Dutch and French – and Latin intermingled in all kinds of ways in Flanders.[33] These cases

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27 E.g. Deneire T.B. (ed.), *Dynamics of Neo-Latin and the Vernacular: Language and Poetics, Translation and Transfer* (Leiden – Boston: 2014).

28 See the essays in this volume by Walter S. Melion who discusses a bilingual manuscript and by Suzan Folkerts and Martha W. Driver who both mention several bilingual schoolbooks.

29 See the essay by Heather Bamford.

30 See the essay by Tillmann Taape.

31 An example of the use of the vernacular as an intellectual statement is provided by the chambers of rhetoric (*rederijkerskamers*) in the Low Countries: Van Dixhoorn A. – Mareel S. – Ramakers B., "The Relevance of the Netherlandish Rhetoricians", *Renaissance Studies* 32.1 (2018), special issue "The Knowledge Culture of the Netherlandish Rhetoricians", 8–22. The essay by Folkerts discusses the Modern Devotion as a stimulant of religious reading in the vernacular.

32 The project "Versio Latina" is funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) and executed at the Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen; https://uni-tuebingen.de/de/231683 (accessed 7 February 2023).

33 Explored in the project "Multilingual Dynamics of Medieval Flanders", funded by the Dutch Research Council (NWO) and led by Bart Besamusca at Utrecht University (2018–2023); https://multilingualdynamics.sites.uu.nl/ (accessed 7 February 2023).

demonstrate that there was not necessarily a hierarchy between languages – i.e. Latin was not necessarily valued higher than vernaculars –, but that they served different purposes.[34] Other studies also challenge notions of linguistic hierarchy, as they show that Latin was not exclusive to the intellectual and cultural elite: in religious and medical contexts, for example, a basic familiarity with Latin terms and phrases was likely present among a wide readership (e.g. prayers, jargon).[35] In other cases, issues of social status of languages were certainly at stake, and not only between vernacular and Latin but also among vernaculars. The French vernacular had a relatively high cultural status in literary circles of the Low Countries, for example, and rhetoricians in the Low Countries and France endeavoured to raise the status of the vernacular.[36] A focus on readers of vernacular books therefore does not mean we exclude Latin from consideration, but instead this focus allows us to explore the manifold intersections between different languages: to explore how book producers conceived of their target audiences and how these vernacular books were designed and read in practice.

Finally, reading and reading practices should be briefly clarified. Inspired by historical studies as well as theories of reading, we propose to approach reading in the early age of print as an embodied, material practice that is affected both by texts and their presentation.[37] This view underlies all contributions in the present volume. Language choice is an important factor that influenced the reading experience, along with book design, marketing strategies, reading purposes, world view and prior knowledge of readers, their use of other media, and the place or setting in which they read. Many different modes of reading are testified for the early period of print [Fig. 0.3]: browsing and searching,

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34   See also Burke P., "Translations into Latin in Early Modern Europe", in Burke P. – Po-chia Hsia R. (eds.), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: 2007) 65–80.

35   On the use of Latin jargon and standard phrases in medical vernacular texts, see Pahta P., "Code-Switching in Early Modern English Medical Writing", in Taavitsainen I. – Pahta P. (eds.), *Medical Writing in Early Modern English* (Cambridge New York: 2011) 115–134. On Latin and vernacular in prayer practice see e.g. Reinburg V., *French Books of Hours. Making an Archive of Prayer, c. 1400–1600* (Cambridge: 2012) 84–112; Pahta P. – Nurmi A., "Multilingual Discourse in the Domain of Religion in Medieval and Early Modern England: A Corpus Approach to Research on Historical Code-Switching", in Schendl H. – Wright L. (eds.), *Code-Switching in Early English* (Berlin – Boston: 2011) 219–252.

36   See the essays by Margriet Hoogvliet and Elisabeth de Bruijn.

37   Littau K., *Theories of Reading: Books, Bodies and Bibliomania* (Cambridge: 2006); Rautenberg U. – Schneider U. (eds.), *Lesen: Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch* (Berlin – Boston: 2015). On the influence of the spaces in which reading took place, see e.g. Flannery M. – Griffin C., *Spaces for Reading in Later Medieval England* (New York: 2016).

FIGURE 0.3   A man at a lectern with two open books. Woodcut with hand-colouring.
Brunschwig Hieronymus, *Medicinarius: Das buch der Gesuntheit* (Strasbourg:
Johann Grüninger, 1505), 2°, fol. A6r. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek,
Rar. 2128
IMAGE: BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK

cover-to-cover, discontinuous, re-reading, looking at or even meditating on images, reading aloud or discussing passages in social settings, for example in class.[38] Therefore, not everyone who looked at a book was a reader, let alone an owner. To understand the diversified possibilities for engagement with vernacular books, and identify idiosyncrasies as well as patterns, it is important to study reading practices meticulously and to beware of hasty assumptions based on what we associate with 'reading' today.

2   Real and Imagined Readers

The diversity in forms of reading already becomes apparent in the first perspective on vernacularity and materiality in the early age of print presented here: the identification of intended and real readers. Imagined or intended and real readers were driving forces of interventions – and hence of innovations – in early printed books. On the production side, layouts, paratexts and other features of book design were tailored to intended readers and ways of reading; on the reception side, it was common for early modern readers to read with pen in hand or physically alter or manipulate books in other ways. Moreover, buyers or owners of books were in most cases responsible for decoration and binding, and in that sense had a decisive influence on the way a book looked and, in case an edition was bound together with other books, on the immediate contexts in which a text was read.[39]

Over the past decades, an increasing number of studies have pointed out how matters of layout, paratext, illustration, and language were tailored to appeal to or to persuade an intended readership.[40] To reconstruct reading

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38 For the two latter examples see the essays by Melion and Driver.

39 On the combinations of different texts in a single volume see the essays by Hoogvliet and Lavéant and Knight J., *Bound to Read: Compilations, Collections, and the Making of Renaissance Literature* (Philadelphia: 2013). The constitution and appearance of early modern Sammelbände is also investigated in the project "Sammelband 15–16" by Malcolm Walsby, Katell Lavéant, Ann-Marie Hansen and others; https://sammelband.hypotheses .org/ (accessed 7 February 2023); Hansen's contribution to our conference discussed several examples from the collection of the Utrecht theologian Huybert van Buchell (1513–1599).

40 E.g. from Brill's Intersections series: Enenkel K.A.E. – Neuber W. (eds.), *Cognition and the Book: Typologies of Formal Organisation of Knowledge in the Printed Book of the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: 2005); Brusati C. – Enenkel K.A.E. – Melion W.S. (eds.), *The Authority of the Word. Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe, 1400–1700* (Leiden: 2011); Corbellini – Hoogvliet – Ramakers, *Discovering the Riches*. See also Silva A., *The Brand of Print. Marketing Paratexts in the Early English Book Trade* (Leiden – Boston:

practices and identities of real readers, substantial scholarly attention is being paid to the traces that they left in printed books.[41] These traces range from marginal annotations to underlining of words, and from stains to wax drops. So far, this strand of research is still in the early stages of moving from the singularity of case studies towards more comparative, synthetic overviews. Moreover, many of these studies do not relate traces of actual readers to the intended readership as envisioned by the book producers, an issue that most contributions subsumed under the first perspective explicitly address. How can we move beyond individual case studies towards a more integral understanding of readers' traces? What can we deduce from such traces, especially when we know that so many copies have been lost, and particularly those that were used most heavily?[42]

We argue that traces left by readers are a useful source for understanding practices of reading, especially when research is conducted on a substantial corpus of extant copies. Moreover, identifying patterns across regions and languages will help us better understand developments in reading practices, especially during the age in which the printed book developed into a full-grown means of communication and articulation. The essays that focus on the ways in which readers engaged with the book in the early age of print – and the ways in which book producers presumed they would – can in this sense be seen as a step toward a more comparative approach.

In the opening essay, Heather Bamford unsettles common assumptions about several phenomena that are key to this volume. In the first place, her essay reminds us that in the 'early age of print' texts were not exclusively printed and the word was frequently still written by hand, particularly – although not

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2019); Smith H. – Wilson L. (eds.), *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge: 2011); Mak B., *How the Page Matters* (Toronto: 2011); Slights W.W.E., *Managing Readers. Printed Marginalia in English Renaissance Books* (Ann Arbor: 2001).

41 Examples are numerous. A small selection: Grafton A. – Jardine L., "'Studied for Action:' How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy", *Past & Present* 129 (1990) 30–78; Jackson H.J., *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (New Haven: 2001); Myers R. – Harris M. – Mandelbrote G. (eds.), *Owners, Annotators and the Signs of Reading* (New Castle (DE): 2005); Sherman W.H., *Used Books. Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: 2008); Blair A.M., "The Rise of Note-Taking in Early Modern Europe", *Intellectual History Review* 20.3 (2010) 303–316; Orgel S., *The Reader in the Book: A Study of Spaces and Traces* (Oxford: 2015); Leong E., "Read. Do. Observe. Take note!", *Centaurus* 60.1–2 (2018) 87–103; Margócsy D. – Somos M. – Joffe S.N., *The Fabrica of Andreas Vesalius. A Worldwide Descriptive Census, Ownership, and Annotations of the 1543 and 1555 Editions* (Leiden – Boston: 2018); Acheson K. (ed.), *Early Modern English Marginalia* (London: 2019).

42 Bruni F. – Pettegree A. (eds.), *Lost Books: Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe* (Leiden – Boston: 2016).

exclusively – in cases where print was simply not an option. A case in point are the manuscripts at the centre of her contribution, that contain magic texts produced and used in the sixteenth century by Moriscos, muslims in Spain who were forced to convert to Christianity. By interrogating the nature and materiality of Morisco talisman recipes, Bamford also warns against a too limited view of reading practices and argues for a broader conceptualization of 'reading' and 'manuscript culture'. The Morisco 'readers' did not necessarily *read* talisman recipes in the conventional sense that they derived meaning from the text's semantics. Rather, as Bamford argues, talismans produced meaning through a combination of faith in their magic powers and mastery of rules and principles to perform magic. For example, some recipes indeed contain symbols and formulas that were purposely indecipherable, and certain texts were considered to exert magic powers simply by being present in a certain location: hidden inside a building or carried close to the human body. Bamford's contribution further demonstrates that the linguistic situation in the era of the Spanish Inquisition was much more fraught than a dichotomy of Spanish and Latin: the magic texts she studies contain Aljamiado (Spanish vernacular in Arabic script), vernacular Arabic, and classical Arabic in quotations from the Qur'an.

In the next essay, Tillmann Taape confronts imagined readers with real readers of Hieronymus Brunschwig's *Distillation Books* published in the early sixteenth century by the Strasbourg printer Johann Grüninger. Taape derives the imagined or intended audience that Brunschwig had in mind for his printed works from the author's statements, the images and paratexts, as well as the historical intellectual context. Brunschwig describes his intended reader as the 'common man', an identification which, Taape argues, intentionally resonates with the figure of the 'striped layman' as depicted in the books' woodcuts. This figure was a popular trope in the region around Strasbourg that represented a socially and intellectually ambitious middling man who combined limited learned knowledge with the 'embodied skill' of artisans. Taape shows that this half-Latinate, half-vernacular practitioner as the reader of Brunschwig's books is reflected in the material traces left by real readers in extant copies. The annotators often reveal themselves to be 'hybrid readers' who used both Latin and the vernacular and who read Brunschwig's *Distillation Books* in a discontinuous manner, looking for knowledge they needed at a particular moment or to fulfill a specific task. To facilitate this usage of the book, readers modified printed tools such as indices and tables of contents and added their own by hand. Imagined and real readers overlap, yet further complicate the category of 'vernacular readers' who, like the striped layman, in Taape's words 'inscribe themselves somewhere between lay and learned culture'.

Stefan Matter focuses on another edition that originated in the very same printing shop of Johann Grüninger in Strasbourg, i.e., the earliest edition of the *Hortulus animae* prayer book in German. In tandem with Taape's contribution, Matter's analysis demonstrates just how much pioneering work was involved in Grüninger's endeavours to attract new audiences for works that had never before been published in the vernacular. While the *Hortulus animae* would become the most successful printed prayer book in the German lands before the Reformation, Matter argues that the format of the very first vernacular edition, published in March 1501, can be viewed as something of 'a failed publishing experiment'. Grüninger did not simply translate the texts of the previous Latin editions, which were directed at a clerical audience, but selected texts that better suited the preferences of a German-speaking readership of laypeople. Furthermore, and unparalleled for this type of vernacular book, he spared no effort in adding different kinds of marginalia. Some of these refer to passages in the Bible, others are glosses that elucidate the text or point to the Latin source texts. A highly uncommon category are glosses that provide alternative translations of Latin terms from the source texts. While the references to the Bible were a frequent feature of scholarly and Humanist texts, including Grüninger's own edition of Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff*, the glosses explicating the process of translation appear to be a feature entirely unique to the first German-language edition of the *Hortulus animae*. As Matter argues, this arrangement demanded a great deal of the printer as well as the reader. He tentatively suggests that the commercial failure may also have been due to Sebastian Brant's support of a rival edition that set the standard for subsequent vernacular editions.

As such, Grüninger's edition of the *Hortulus* can possibly be considered something of a hybrid, in between learned and lay reading culture, – in similar vein as the 'hybrid reader' proposed by Taape – a German text arranged and published in a complex scholarly format normally used for Latin works. Apparently, unlike in the case of Brunschwig's successful distillation manuals, the readership and reading practices Grüninger imagined when creating his *Hortulus* edition were not common enough to become a success.

Trial and error in publication strategies for devotional books also take centre stage in Suzan Folkerts' contribution. She looks at the strategies of the earliest printers in the city of Deventer – the top producer of printed books in the Low Countries until 1501 – when issuing vernacular devotional books and the ways in which readers responded to the finished product. Many books produced by the local printers Richard Pafraet and Jacob van Deventer were in Latin; only a small portion of their publisher's list was in the Dutch vernacular, of which the lion's share was made up of schoolbooks, many of them in Dutch and

Latin. In fact, Folkerts finds that only a small fraction of these printers' vernacular works consisted of devotional books. Nevertheless, these editions show that both Deventer printers were prepared to invest in features particular to this type of book: their use of woodcuts set within the text was for example restricted to devotional books. Unlike Johann Grüninger, then, these Deventer printers did not venture into experiment and innovation when publishing devotional works, but instead they relied on tested strategies for a genre that was outside their core business. Even though their production of devotional books in the vernacular was limited, owners' inscriptions suggest that these editions did contribute to making Biblical and devotional texts available to lay readers. Jacob van Deventer's edition of the *Epistles and Gospels* serves as a case study of how printers built upon the previous success of vernacular devotional texts: following the work of other printers, van Deventer included navigation tools and woodcuts in his editions that stimulated interaction with the text. Traces of colouring and inscriptions in extant copies testify to such reader interactions, some of which enabled intensified devotion while others were more concerned with the structure of the book.

Studying an entirely different genre, that of chronicles, Karolina Mroziewicz applies a similar approach that combines close analysis of design and paratext with a study of owners' traces in extant copies. Mroziewicz compares three subsequent editions of Marcin Bielski's world chronicle, the first chronicle printed in Polish, that appeared in the mid-sixteenth century (1551, 1554, 1564). In this case, the author played an active part in the publication process and was responsible for reworking the text and for paratextual elements that had implications for how these books were used. A striking change is that the woodcuts become increasingly refined in subsequent editions, which contrasts with the more commonly observed pattern of increasing crudeness in many early printed works, as woodcuts were copied repeatedly.[43] Although Bielski's chronicle was addressed to a broad vernacular audience, the actual readership consisted of the Polish nobility – to which the author himself belonged – who could afford a copy of such a voluminous book. Several of these readers kept the copy in family possession, which resulted in ongoing interactions with the book even until the nineteenth century. Mroziewicz's approach particularly demonstrates the importance of taking readers' engagement with images into consideration. Her analysis reveals that certain images, including portraits of the author, Luther, and popess Joan, were particularly subjected to readers' marks of criticism or approval. Readers used text passages as well as images to leave their confessionally and emotionally motivated responses.

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43   For examples, see the section on "Mobility of Texts and Images".

As various essays in this section demonstrate, early printed books could provoke lively interactions with their readers well past the century in which they had appeared. This observation makes us aware that many notes, especially those that are notoriously difficult to date, such as underlining or other relatively simple marks, do not necessarily tell the story of a book's earliest readers but rather that of the later reception of a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century book. These stories of early modern reception could be long and vivid indeed.

3   Mobility of Texts and Images

Book historical studies into early print culture are still often conducted along national lines. Nevertheless, in recent years the insight has been established that printing was a fundamentally transnational enterprise, in which book producers were often highly aware of what colleagues and competitors elsewhere were up to.[44] They exchanged (loaned, sold, inherited) each other's material (typefaces, woodcuts) and they copied from one another. The technology of print increased the transnational dissemination of texts and images among large groups of readers. Once published in print, texts as well as images tended to travel relatively quickly across Europe, and sometimes even beyond. These links have been studied for a long time from a predominantly philological and bibliographical perspective, to establish lines of transmission in order to date or attribute certain editions.[45] The fundamental mobility of texts and images, however, must also have impacted readers and their interpretations and associations.[46] For certain visual motifs, we even need to think in terms of a shared, pan-European visual culture across language boundaries. The essays by Alexa Sand and Martha Driver included in this section and discussed below provide telling examples.

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44   E.g. Rospocher M. – Salman J.L. – Salmi H. (eds.), *Crossing Borders, Crossing Cultures: Popular Print in Europe (1450–1900)* (Munich – Vienna: 2019); Coldiron A.E.B., *Printers without Borders. Translation and Textuality in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: 2015) chapter 1: "'Englishing' Texts: Patterns of Early Modern Translation and Transmission", 1–34.

45   E.g. Schramm A., *Der Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke*, 23 vols. (Leipzig: 1920–1943); Fischel L., *Bilderfolgen im frühen Buchdruck: Studien zur Inkunabel-Illustration in Ulm und Strassburg* (Konstanz – Stuttgart: 1963); Hellinga W. – Hellinga L., *The Fifteenth-Century Printing Types of The Low Countries* (Amsterdam: 1966); Kok I., *Woodcuts in Incunabula Printed in the Low Countries*, 4 vols (Houten: 2013).

46   For woodcuts: Fumerton P. – Palmer M.E., "Lasting Impressions of the Common Woodcut", in Richardson C. – Hamling T. – Gaimster D. (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Material Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London – New York: 2016) 383–400; Leerdam A. van, "Talking Heads. The Visual Rhetoric of Recurring Scholar Woodcuts in a Sixteenth-Century Handbook on Chiromancy", *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis* 26 (2019) 11–29.

A growing number of studies is now devoted to such questions as: What adaptations did book producers in different regions make with regard to the text, images, format, and lay-out? How and why did publication and adaptation strategies differ between various vernaculars, and between vernacular and Latin? And what can these modifications tell us about (envisaged) changes in the readership of a book? What networks did printers maintain, how did they acquire (new) material and how did they decide what to select for publication? The essays that study the vernacular book in the early age of print from the angle of mobility develop approaches to answer these questions.

One effect of printers' exchange of woodcuts and their design(s) was that a particular type of image could become familiar among readers in various geographical regions who learnt to associate the iconography with a particular type of text and reading setting. Martha W. Driver traces the use of the 'schoolmaster image', deriving from Continental sources, in English vernacular works, especially those printed by Wynkyn de Worde. Showing a schoolmaster seated in his chair and surrounded by students, the image provides a flavour of actual practices in the late medieval classroom. Vernacular books in which the image was included were considered suitable for the instruction of younger readers, who constituted a substantial target audience in the market for vernacular books, as also became clear in Suzan Folkerts' contribution. Tracing the image's presence across titles allows Driver to not only shed light on practices of language education but also on some rather surprising choices of schoolbooks. Moreover, she is able to identify many business connections of Wynkyn de Worde in the Low Countries. Engaging in a long-running debate on the possible Dutch origins of Wynkyn de Worde, Driver points out the pitfalls of using woodcuts as evidence to determine the printer's origins.

Alexa Sand's essay further explores Wynkyn de Worde's innovative and clever re-use of images. She shows how readers' likely familiarity with a certain visual language made it possible for de Worde to introduce a ludic aspect and sense of humour to his edition of *The Art and Craft of Dying Well*. Sand argues that de Worde played a formative role in expanding the English audience of printed illustrated pastoral works. He developed the visual literacy of this audience through the re-use of the established Continental *ars moriendi* tradition and translated it into the 'idiom of the early English printed book'. As Sand points out, the *ars moriendi* can be considered a 'born visual' work. By changing the factotum text in the banderole of one of the *ars moriendi* images in his edition of *The Art and Craft of Dying Well*, de Worde gives a sarcastic twist to the speech of the depicted demon that would be appreciated all the more by an audience that recognised the *ars moriendi* setting.

In her essay, Elisabeth de Bruijn takes a quantitative as well as qualitative comparative approach to the international nature of the printing business.

Combining book history, literary analysis, and translation studies, she traces the dissemination of chivalric romances from a Western-European perspective. She does not confine her research to the printed book but also considers the manuscript transmission as well as the strategies of adaptation applied by the translators of these romances. Drawing on the notions of appropriation, foreignization, and domestication, her careful analysis of twelve romances that were printed in at least three of the four languages French, Dutch, English, and German reveals three major patterns of transmission. A first cluster of romances displays strong interconnections between editions in French, Dutch, and English: the printers seem to have kept a close eye on each other's output, and they made relatively few adaptations to the local market. While these romances evidently owe their international dissemination to the printing press, a second cluster reveals the undeniable and continued influence of manuscript culture: several romances did not need the press to circulate widely. The influence of manuscript transmission was particularly strong in German-language regions, where links with the nobility persisted even when the printed romances started to reach a wider readership. For a third cluster of romances, De Bruijn points out further differences between the transmission in German and in the other languages. Again, the relatively strong involvement of aristocratic book producers as well as readers in the German-speaking regions helps to explain why the German texts show a higher degree of local appropriation, whereas Dutch and English translations were often more literal and more indebted to French editions and therefore show a higher degree of foreignization.

4   Intermediality

For a better understanding of vernacular reading practices in the early age of print we not only have to look beyond geographical and linguistic borders, but also beyond the printed book. Elisabeth Eisenstein's influential view of the printing press as a revolutionary 'agent of change' has been criticised – among many other reasons – for considering print in 'relative isolation' rather than in relation to other media.[47] A growing body of research and theorising now challenges the isolated approach of print by exploring the interplay between books and other media, including the visual arts, theatrical and festive

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47   Briggs A. – Burke P., *A Social History of the Media: From Gutenberg to the Internet* (Cambridge: 2009) 19. Eisenstein E.L., *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: 1979).

performances, music, religious rituals, and household objects. These studies build on the notion that communicative expressions through different media are not merely complementary, but that they may generate additional layers of meaning in some cases and frustrate meaning-making in others. The foundational notion of intermediality, and the critical apparatus to reflect on it, primarily derives from the field of (modern) media and communication studies and is now fruitfully being applied and adapted to the study of premodern media, even though the term 'media' itself did not obtain its current use (in the plural) until the mid-nineteenth century.[48] There is some overlap between 'intermediality' and 'multimodality': the latter emerged from linguistics (especially social semiotics) and considers specifically how different (graphic, aural, textual) modes interact in a single instance of communication to create additional meanings.[49]

Research into image-text relations was thriving already before the concepts of intermediality and multimodality took off in historical research. Various studies have explored the functions of images in vernacular books as mnemonic aids, stimulants of devotion, means of legitimisation, or as visual arguments in epistemological debates.[50] The accent has shifted from makers and

48   Bellingradt D. – Rospocher M., "The Intermediality of Early Modern Communication. An Introduction", *Cheiron* 2 (2021), special issue, 5–29. On the meaning of the term 'media': Eliassen K.O., "Remarks on the Historicity of the Media Concept", in Nünning V. – Nünning A. – Neumann B. (eds.), *Cultural Ways of Worldmaking: Media and Narratives* (Berlin – New York: 2010) 124.

49   Key publications on present-day multimodality include Bateman J.A., *Multimodality and Genre: A Foundation for the Systematic Analysis of Multimodal Documents* (Basingstoke etc.: 2008); Jewitt C., *The Routledge Handbook of Multimodal Analysis* (London: 2009); Bateman J.A. – Wildfeuer J. – Hiippala T., *Multimodality: Foundations, Research and Analysis. A Problem-Oriented Introduction* (Berlin – Boston: 2017); Nørgaard N., *Multimodal Stylistics of the Novel: More Than Words* (London: 2018). Multimodality approaches of early modern sources: e.g. Gloning T., "Textkomposition und Multimodalität in Thurneyssers Buch über die Erdgewächse (1578). Eine Erkundung", in Schuster B.-M. – Dogaru D. (eds.), *Wirksame Rede im Frühneuhochdeutschen. Syntaktische und stilistische Aspekte* (Hildesheim – Zurich: 2015) 177–211; Armstrong G., "Coding Continental: Information Design in Sixteenth-Century English Vernacular Manuals and Translations", *Renaissance Studies* 29 (2015) 78–102.

50   E.g. Luborsky R.S., "Connections and Disconnections between Images and Texts: The Case of Secular Tudor Book Illustration", *Word & Image* 3.1 (1987) 74–85; Orgel S., "Textual Icons: Reading Early Modern Illustrations", in Rhodes N. – Sawday J. (eds.), *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print* (London: 2000) 59–94; Chatelain J.-M. – Pinon L., "Genres et fonctions de l'illustration au XVIe siècle", in Martin H.-J. (ed.), *La naissance du livre moderne. Mise en page et mise en texte du livre français (XIVe–XVIIe siècles)* (Paris: 2000) 236–269; Ott N.H., "Word and Image as a Field of Research: Sound Methodologies or Just a Fashionable Trend? A Polemic from

intentions to readers/viewers and the effects of the interplay between texts and images. This shift is paired with more theoretical substantiation of the nature and communicative potential of textual and visual media, respectively, and of the complex acts of reading and viewing. Extensive attention is being paid to current as well as early modern conceptualizations of the sense of sight, of what it means to see, and to 'read' images.[51] In addition to images in a narrow sense, the effects of other visual elements on reading processes are increasingly scrutinized, including typography, layout, and 3D elements such as volvelles and flaps.[52] Some scholars argue for an even broader, multi-sensory approach of books: along with sight, reading experiences are equally shaped by sounds and smells in the reading environment, and by what it feels like to touch the book.[53]

The contributions in this volume focus on 'media' and therefore 'intermediality' to emphasize that the interplay between different signs systems not only takes place within printed books but also between books and other media. Daniel Bellingradt and Massimo Rospocher have recently offered a systemic approach to assess early modern 'intermedia situations or processes' both from

a European Perspective", in Starkey K. – Horst W. (eds.), *Visual Culture and the German Middle Ages* (New York: 2015) 15–32; Meier C., "Typen der Text-Bild-Lektüre. Paratextuelle Introduktion – Textgliederung – diskursive und repräsentierende Illustration – bildliche Kommentierung – diagrammatische Synthesen", in: Lutz E.C. – Backes M. – Matter S. (eds.), *Lesevorgänge. Prozesse des Erkennens in mittelalterlichen Texten, Bildern und Handschriften* (Zurich: 2010) 157–181; Dackerman S. (ed.), *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: 2011).

51   Reid, *Reading by Design*; De Hemptinne T. – Fraeters V. – Góngora M.E. (eds.), *Speaking to the Eye: Sight and Insight through Text and Image (1150–1650)* (Turnhout: 2013); Melion W.S. – Palmer Wandel L. (eds.), *Early Modern Eyes* (Leiden: 2010); Clark S., *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture* (Oxford: 2009); König A.-R., *Lesbarkeit als Leitprinzip der Buchtypographie. Eine Untersuchung zum Forschungsstand und zur historischen Entwicklung des Konzeptes "Lesbarkeit"*, dissertation Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nuremberg 2004, https://nbn-resolving.org/urn/resolver.pl?urn:nbn :de:bvb:29-opus4-58359 (accessed 7 February 2023); Kress G. – Van Leeuwen T., *Reading Images. The Grammar of Visual Design* (London – New York: 2006 (1996)).

52   Münkner J., *Eingreifen und Begreifen. Handhabungen und Visualisierungen in Flugblättern der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin: 2008); Mak, *How the Page Matters*; Carroll R. – Peikola M. – Salmi H. et al., "Pragmatics on the Page", *European Journal of English Studies* 17.1 (2013) 54–71; Karr Schmidt S.K., *Interactive and Sculptural Printmaking in the Renaissance* (Leiden – Boston: 2017). See also the essays on various book design features on the website *Architectures of the Book*, https://drc.usask.ca/projects/archbook/index.php (accessed 7 February 2023).

53   Raven J., "Sensing Books. Communication By More Than Sight and Sound", *Jahrbuch für Kommunikationsgeschichte* 2019, 7–15.

producers' and receivers' perspectives.[54] They propose 'to access intermedia situations or processes by firstly assessing the different media involved, secondly by analyzing the additional or new quality of the interaction or coexistence created, and thirdly by considering the temporal dimension: the special follow-up communications' dynamic of intermedia'.[55] This approach allows for analysis of a single object, such as an illustrated book in which 'intermedia processes' unfold, as well as of different objects in relation to each other. Both kinds of analysis are undertaken in the present volume.[56]

For the early age of print, an important category of intermedial interactions is that of printed books and manuscripts. The still dominant narrative of a 'transition' from an 'old' medium to a 'new' one is undermined and problematized in many recent studies that show that manuscript culture continued to thrive as it underwent influences from the new medium of print and its developing conventions.[57] Moreover, a growing number of studies examine the experimental, often hybrid formats that combined manuscript and print, text and image.[58] These mixed media products consisted, for example, of printed text with drawings or painted miniatures, or of handwritten text with printed images. A telling example can be found in the work of the already mentioned printer Gerard Leeu: the blank spaces in the 1479 edition of a Dutch adaptation of *De ludo scachorum* by Jacobus de Cessolis (ca. 1250–ca. 1322), a moralising treatise on the game of chess, gave buyers the possibility to have illustrations added by hand [Fig. 0.4].[59]

In scholarship, but especially in preserving institutions, a persistent divide continues to exist between manuscripts, printed books (typically collected by

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54   Bellingradt and Rospocher, "The Intermediality".

55   Idem, 14.

56   See e.g. the essays by Sand, Hoogvliet, and Melion.

57   Daybell J. – Hinds P., *Material Readings of Early Modern Culture: Texts and Social Practices, 1580–1730* (Houndmills etc.: 2010); McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript*.

58   Examples include Rudy K.M., *Image, Knife, and Gluepot: Early Assemblage in Manuscript and Print* (Cambridge: 2019); Hauwaerts E. – Wilde E. de – Vandamme L. (eds.), *Colard Mansion: Incunabula, Prints and Manuscripts in Medieval Bruges*, exh. cat., Groeningemuseum Bruges (Ghent: 2018); Hindman S., *Pen to Press – Paint to Print: Manuscript Illumination and Early Prints in the Age of Gutenberg* (Paris – Chicago: 2009); Weekes U., *Early Engravers and Their Public: The Master of the Berlin Passion and Manuscripts from Convents in the Rhine-Maas Region* (London: 2004). Dlabačová A., "Compiled Compositions. The Kattendijke Chronicle (c. 1491–1493) and Late Medieval Book Design", in Melion W.S. – Fletcher C. (eds.), *Customized Books in Early Modern Europe, 1400–1700* (Leiden: forthcoming). At the University of Groningen, Anna de Bruyn is currently conducting PhD research on "The image between manuscript and print: re-reading the 'printing revolution'".

59   Cf. Kok I., *Woodcuts in Incunabula printed in the Low Countries*, vol. 1 (Houten: 2013) 150–151.

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Dat vierde capittel

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FIGURE 0.4 Coloured drawing at the start of chapter 4 on the King's advisors in *Dat Scaecspel*
(Gouda, Gerard Leeu: 1479), f°. Manchester, John Rylands Library, 17262
IMAGE: THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER LIBRARY

libraries), single-sheet prints (typically collected by museums), and ordonnances and similar ephemera (typically collected by archives). These divides interfere with the study of intermediality and its influence on reading practices. Books that consisted of manuscript leaves and printed gatherings or images have often been dismembered in the past to make them forcefully fit scholarly disciplines and institutional departments.[60] Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen have called the attention of book historians to printed ephemera kept in archives.[61] Elizabeth Savage and Suzanne Karr Schmidt have been preparing the ground for a more integrated approach of printed images within and outside of books.[62] Such an integrated approach is all the more urgent as both types of prints were frequently produced by the same printers. The work of Peter Schmidt, Susan Dackermann, and especially David Areford has been foundational in showing how the reception of printed images can be studied through users' manipulations of individual copies, an approach that has become well-established for the study of books.[63]

The contributions in the present volume's section 'Intermediality' shed light on intermedial dynamics both within books and between books and other media, including manuscripts and broadsides.

Questions about readership and modes of reading are notoriously difficult to answer for the largely vernacular genre of joyful books, as Katell Lavéant discusses in her contribution. These works with comic, parodic or other

60   Rudy, *Image, Knife, and Gluepot* 3.

61   Pettegree A. – Weduwen A. der, "Forms, Handbills and Affixed Posters", *Quaerendo* 50.1–2 (2020) 15–40; Pettegree A. (ed.), *Broadsheets. Single-sheet Publishing in the First Age of Print* (Leiden – Boston: 2017).

62   Savage E., *Early Colour Printing: German Renaissance Woodcuts at the British Museum* (London: 2021); Savage E. – Stijnman A., *Printing Colour 1400–1700: History, Techniques, Functions and Receptions* (Leiden – Boston: 2015); Karr Schmidt, *Interactive and Sculptural Printmaking*; idem, *Altered and Adorned: Using Renaissance Prints in Daily Life* (Chicago: 2011). Grössinger C., *Humour and Folly in Secular and Profane Prints of Northern Europe, 1430–1540* (London: 2002) discusses motifs that were widespread in prints as well as other (visual) media.

63   Areford D.S., *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe* (Farnham: 2010); Dackerman S., *Painted Prints: The Revelation of Color in Northern Renaissance & Baroque Engravings, Etchings & Woodcuts* (Baltimore – University Park: 2002), Schmidt P., "Beschriebene Bilder. Benutzernotizen als Zeugnisse frommer Bildpraxis im späten Mittelalter", in Schreiner K. (ed.), *Frömmigkeit im Mittelalter: Politisch-soziale Kontexte, visuelle Praxis, körperliche Ausdrucksformen* (Munich: 2002), 347–384; Schmidt P., "Beschrieben, bemalt, zerschnitten: Tegernseer Mönche interpretieren einen Holzschnitt", in Eisermann F. – Griese S. et al. (eds.), *Einblattdrucke des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts: Probleme, Perspektiven, Fallstudien* (Berlin – Boston 2011) 245–276. In the present volume, see the essay by Mroziewicz.

entertaining subject matter survive in few copies and hardly contain any paratexts and traces of use. Lavéant tackles these issues by bringing together material bibliography, performance studies, and intermediality theory in her approach of the French tale of the monsters Bigorne and Chicheface. These two creatures feed, respectively, on obedient husbands (of which there are many, as the story jokes) and devoted wives (of which there are few). The monsters' appearance in divergent formats, including manuscripts, broadsides, booklets, and even mural paintings, illustrates their popularity as well as the ease with which such popular stories transcended media boundaries. Even though few copies of the earliest transmission in print are extant – a broadside published in Paris toward the end of the fifteenth century and booklets published in Lyon in the 1530s – the broadside and booklet formats already suggest divergent modes of reading. In the later dissemination in broadsides – that appeared in French, German, English as well as Dutch – the images become increasingly large and more dominant, which demonstrates an increased pictorial approach to this tale. Lavéant's careful analysis of the contexts in which the copies have come down to us and in which they circulated shows a surprisingly broad readership that included the higher echelons of French society. The "intermedial transposition" of the printed material to murals in two castles of the French social elite facilitated an interactive, communal, and performative mode of reading that was actually very similar to the type of reading facilitated by broadsheets. Lavéant thus shows how another medium can be used to uncover settings and modes of reading of vernacular texts of which few printed copies survive.

In the next essay, Margriet Hoogvliet also investigates the long-term transmission, in manuscript and print, of a single work, in this case the religious-moralising *Danse aux aveugles* by Pierre Michault. The concepts of the 'implied reader' and of the 'ideal reading practice' are central to Hoogvliet's analysis that considers text, paratext, illustrations, and other aspects of materiality. Based on all these features together, Hoogvliet proposes that the implied reader is one who understands Michault's allegorical dream narrative 'as a lesson in medieval humanist and Christian Neo-Stoic moral values'. She argues that the lively allegorical images of the 'three horrible dances' in the first part of the book served as reminders of – or invitations to search for – the 'refined' moral lessons in the second part of the book. This latter part, though usually unillustrated, contains the book's most important message as it teaches readers how to resist temptations.

To support this reconstruction of the reading experience, Hoogvliet points to two influential contemporary examples where ekphrastic allegorical visualisations served to trigger moralising interpretations: Petrarch's *Trionfi* and

Alciato's *Emblemata*. The ideal reading practice for the second and most important part of the *Danse aux aveugles*, as Hoogvliet goes on to show, entailed a performative setting to which the images of the protagonists Acteur and Entendement in the first part already point. The second part's format of a didactic teacher-pupil dialogue suggests an ideal reading practice similar to the so-called *tafelspelen* or table plays that featured personifications and were performed in an informal, semi-theatrical setting (often during banquets) by companies of rhetoricians in the Low Countries. The wide readership of Michault's work that can be deduced from the 'affordable quality and the number of early printed editions' was thus presented with a variety of modes of reading in a single book.

Walter S. Melion's concluding essay likewise focuses on intersections of image and text and of manuscript and print and, moreover, of vernacular and Latin. In this case, all of these intersections converge in a volume that can be considered a mixed media product par excellence. While many contributions in this volume recognize the continued importance of manuscript culture, Melion offers an extensive close reading of the various kinds of interplay between hand-written text and printed images (a series of twelve engravings as well as two woodcuts) in a single manuscript known as the *Groenendaal Passion* (New York, Metropolitan Museum Album 2003.476). The makers of this prayer book – members of the community of Augustinian Canons at Groenendaal near Brussels – brought together imprints of the *Grosse Passion* by Israhel van Meckenem with an extended version of a Middle Dutch recension of Heinrich Suso's *Hondert articulen der passien Iesu Christi* that incorporates excerpts from various other devotional texts. Marginal glosses in Latin taken from Ludolphus of Saxony's *Vita Christi* offer the reader condensed summaries that are in line with the Middle Dutch text. A third sequence of texts, again in Latin, can be found on the versos of the engravings. These present the reader with an 'alternative register' to meditate Christ's death: while the corporeal language of the Middle Dutch texts expands on Christ's suffering, the Latin texts emphasize salvation and Christ's divinity. The different foci of the texts and the mental images they evoke influenced the reader-viewer's perception of the pictorial images and their role in meditative practices. Melion's meticulous in-tandem reading of text and image as well his historical contextualization of reading practices at Groenendaal uncovers the role (or indeed roles, dependent on the language(s) in which a reader read) this prayerbook played in the meditation and spiritual growth of the canons.

The three intersecting perspectives presented here provide a structure for exploring the identities and interests of those who engaged with early printed books in the vernacular as consumers, as well as those involved in producing

and selling these books. The afterword by John J. Thompson will turn to the
beginnings of printing in English to comment on the yields of the essays. His
analysis of William Caxton's commercial insight and strategies shows how the
three perspectives that group the essays in this volume naturally cross-fertilize
to reveal the profoundly transnational nature of vernacular printed books.

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PART 1

Real and Imagined Readers

∵

Reading Magic in Early Modern Iberia

Heather Bamford

Occult texts include recipes to confect talismans to use to a variety of ends, such as to cure reproductive difficulties, to prevent adultery, and to woo a woman. They generate meaning in several ways through diverse content, including fragments of the Bible, the Gospels, and the Qur'an, as well as symbols, spirits, motives, and beliefs from Babylonian, Greco-Latin, Hellenistic, and philosophical traditions.[1] In addition to this conglomeration of sources, talismans always suggest a bipartite process consisting of the preparation of a recipe or the reading of existing recipes to create magic objects, which in nearly all cases are inextant.

This is certainly the case for the talisman recipes conserved in the clandestine manuscripts that belonged to the Moriscos, forcibly baptized Christians of Muslim heritage in early modern Spain. In the early sixteenth century, the Catholic Church and the Spanish Crown ordered Muslims to convert to Christianity or face compulsory exile after Spain outlawed the practice of Islam by its sizeable Muslim population.[2] All of the Morisco writings were prohibited and were necessarily handwritten and produced and circulated in secret, for reason of content and the languages in which they were copied, including Aljamiado (Spanish vernacular in Arabic script) and vernacular Arabic, and some classical Arabic quoted from the Qur'an. Throughout the sixteenth century, and more intensely from about 1550 onwards, the Spanish crown, local authorities, and the Spanish Inquisition enacted policies to confiscate books in Arabic characters and in general to erase the Arabic language, as it was identified with Islam and with the secret practice of Islam.[3] The fear, but also the

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1 Labarta A., "Supersticiones moriscas", *Awraq: Estudios sobre el Mundo Árabe e Islámico. Contemporáneo* 5–6 (1982–1983) 34–35.

2 Good general sources on the Moriscos include Harvey L.P., *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614* (Chicago: 2005) and more recently, podcasts from the *Ottoman History Project*, see especially Green Mercado M., "Episode 525: Moriscos and the Early Modern Mediterranean", hosted by White B., *Ottoman History Project*, podcast audio, 11 April 2022, https://www.ottomanhistory-podcast.com/2022/04/moriscos.html [accessed 30 July 2022].

3 García Arenal M., *Inquisición y moriscos: los procesos del Tribunal de Cuenca* (Madrid: 1978) 137. On the category of "Aljamiado literature", Montaner Frutos A., "La literatura aljamiada", in Mateos Paramio A. – Villaverde Amieva J.C. (eds.), *Memoria de los Moriscos: Escritos y relatos de una diáspora cultural* (Madrid: 2010) 45–55.

reality reflected in the extant codices, was that many Moriscos were only nomi-
nally Christian and practiced Islam in a clandestine fashion.

Morisco codices mix texts destined for private use, such as letters, bills, and
ephemerides, with those intended for use by the Morisco public. Qurʾanic
texts, namely quarters of the Arabic Qurʾan or a condensed "Morisco Qurʾan"
composed of certain sections in Arabic, Aljamiado, or both, comprise a
substantial portion of these manuscripts.[4] Morisco talisman recipes often
include Qurʾanic text. The magic texts of the Moriscos are oftentimes mixed
classical-vernacular texts, combining languages such as classical Arabic, Latin,
and classical Hebrew with Spanish, Aljamiado and magic symbols.[5] The com-
bination of languages and types of text in Morisco magic raise key questions
for the study of early modern vernacular reading in the first two centuries of
print, most principally: what is the vernacular, what is reading, and what type
of meaning results from this act?

This chapter uses the terms talisman and amulet to examine intention
and meaning in magic texts. My analysis of these categories in the context of
Morisco occult texts reveals forms of early modern vernacular reading that
may not look like reading (or the vernacular) at all. In English and romance
literatures, "manuscript culture" and "reading practices" are the central critical
categories to discuss how and why manuscripts were produced, the ways in
which they were used, and the extant evidence that they were read, including
annotations and processes of excerption and commentary.[6] If we interrogate

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4   On the Morisco Qurʾan and the Qurʾan generally among the Moriscos, see Martínez de
    Castilla N., "Quranic Manuscripts in Late Medieval Spain", *Journal of Quranic Studies* 16.2
    (2014) 89–138.

5   For instance, García Arenal notes that by the sixteenth century there were two levels of
    Arabic in Granada, classical Arabic and the local Granadan vernacular Arabic. García Arenal,
    Inquisición y moriscos 137.

6   There are countless studies that invoke manuscript culture, either in contrast to print cul-
    ture or more recently, as part of a continuum to describe contexts, habits, and techniques
    of medieval and early modern reading. See Stephen Nichols' take on manuscript culture
    in Nichols S., "What Is a Manuscript Culture?: Technologies of the Manuscript Matrix", in
    Johnston M. – Van Dussen M. (eds.), *The Medieval Manuscript Book: Cultural Approaches*
    (Cambridge: 2015) 34–59. The notion of reading practices is perhaps even more ubiqui-
    tous. Ann Blair cautions against over-generalizing about early modern reading and col-
    lapsing its complexity into restrictive categories, such as rumination. Blair A.M., "Reading
    Strategies for Coping with Information Overload, ca. 1550–1700", *Journal of the History of
    Ideas* 64.1 (2003) 11–28. For a recent definition of reading practices which appropriately
    begins with 'Reading practices in the early modern period were distinguished by their huge
    variation', see Buning M., "Reading Practices in the Early Modern Period", in Jalobeanu D. –
    Wolfe C.T. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Early Modern Philosophy and the Sciences* (Cham: 2020) 1–3.
    doi:10.1007/978-3-319-20791-9_321-1.

these categories, the culture part of manuscript culture would seem to be the most difficult piece to define, but reading practices is no less problematic. While culture generalizes about manuscripts with vastly different creators and purposes, the category of practices either discourages a recognition of differences among similar methods of reading or fixates on specific aspects of an instance of reading. The early modern reception of the Morisco talisman evinces an unusual range of reading practices and a culture that cause us to question these basic terms in the history of reading. This chapter thus does not discuss printed books or print culture; instead it challenges us to think manuscript culture anew, not only by means of a different sort of vernacular, but during the early centuries of print.

1 Forms of Meaning and Reading

The two-part structure of the talisman underscores the importance of these questions and how difficult they are to answer. The fact that we conserve none of the talismans, the physical texts or objects produced from the recipes I will study here, makes referring to their "materiality", including materiality in the form of the term "material text", ambiguous. This is plain when looking at the sample folio [Fig. 1.1], in which there are no symbols, no diagrams, and no trace of the objects produced from the recipe. Material text can refer to the way in which the physical form and appearance of a manuscript or printed text impacts the meaning of the text. In the 1990s, Roger Chartier argued that the historical expression of the reading experience cannot be independent from the material form of the text. One cannot understand the meaning of a document without considering the form in which it reaches its readers.[7] D.F. McKenzie argued that studying material texts entails examining how the forms of manuscripts and printed books impact the meaning of the texts they contain.[8] Jerome McGann's assessment of editorial theory as 'hermeneutic idealism and textual positivism' called for attention to the material and institutional conditions in which books were produced as well as to the readings they received.[9] It is not apparent, however, how this meaning is constituted if it is indeed a synthesis of semantics and material support. And what of meaning that does not result purely from semantics but from an early modern or

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7   Chartier R., *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, CA: 2014).

8   McKenzie D.F., *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: 1999) 17.

9   McGann J.J., *The Textual Condition* (Princeton: 1991) 21.

FIGURE 1.1   Folio from *El libro de dichos maravillosos* [The Book of Marvelous Sayings],
Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás (CCHS-CSIC) M-CCHS RES RESC/22
WITH PERMISSION FROM THE CONSEJO SUPERIOR DE INSTITUCIONES
CIENTÍFICAS

modern reader's affective experience with a text, including their pleasure and pain? Finally, though the recipes were for the most part written in the vernacular, many include quotations of the Qur'an in classical Arabic or phrases or words in Latin and Hebrew, making them vernacular texts, but rarely uniquely so: does this combination of languages produce any meaning beyond a testament to Abrahamic holy books in writing and performing magic?

Readers both early modern and modern refer to meaning as a key outcome of the act of reading. We can measure the depth or superficiality of a given reading of a text based on the profundity or utility of the semantic meaning gleaned from the act of reading. One way by which medieval readers uncovered meaning was exegesis, which hispanomedievalists might summarize in the hermeneutic *corteza y meollo*, or husk and core. Husk and core denotes a dual process of interpretation. The *corteza y meollo* hermeneutic refers to an activity by which the reader penetrates an exterior husk with the aim of reaching a core. This inside can be a specific content, but it can also refer to a less tangible, though not necessarily unambiguous, meaning. Fulgentius Planciades, author of late antiquity, defines *meollo* as something definitively allegorical; he speaks of a shell and kernel, comparing reading and eating, with the shell being the literal meaning and the kernel allegory to be discovered and savoured on the 'palate of understanding'.[10] Shifting to the early modern period, a humanist could glean meaning from the process of creating a commonplace book, which began with reading manuscript or printed books and marking passages of interest, followed by copying those marked passages into a notebook and then, in the third phase, inputting a neat copy of them in a commonplace book organized by themes and topics.[11] Exegesis and commonplacing are two forms of conceptualizing premodern reading and the sense then can result from this act.

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10   Fulgentius Fabius Planciades, *Opera: Accedunt Fabii Claudii Gordiani Fulgentii De Aetatibus Mundi Et Hominis Et S. Fulgentii Episcopi Super Thebaiden*, ed. R. Helm (Stuttgart: 1970) 240.

11   Work on commonplace books is vast, see, for instance, Havens E., *Commonplace Books: A History of Manuscripts and Printed Books from Antiquity to the Twentieth Century* (New Haven: 2001); Blair A.M., *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information Before the Modern Age* (New Haven: 2010); Boffey J. – Thompson J., "Anthologies and Miscellanies: Production and Choice Texts", in Griffiths J. – Pearsall D. (eds.), *Book Production and Publishing in Britain, 1375–1475* (Cambridge: 1989) 279–315; Grafton A. – Jardine L., *From Humanism to the Humanities* (Cambridge, MA: 1986); Moss A., *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: 1996), and Sharpe K., "Uncommonplaces? Sir William Drake's Reading Notes", in Alcon Baron S. (ed.), *The Reader Revealed* (Seattle, WA: 2001) 59–65.

But meaning can be conveyed in other ways, including through instinct, sound, smell, taste, pain, and pleasure. It can result from belief and faith. A symbol, in Paul Ricoeur's scheme, has both semantic and non-semantic meaning, where 'the symbol's semantic aspect evinces the capacity for interpretation', and 'the symbol's non-semantic aspect points toward a pre-linguistic stratum of understanding, towards a more profound, a more primordial order of signification'.[12] For example, the meaning produced by the pronunciation of a series of consonants that form no recognizable word has both semantic and non-semantic elements in that the reader attributes specific sounds to the letters, but the meaning produced from their pronunciation together is not that of a specific word or concept but from the sound itself.

The meaning produced from the use of Morisco talismans in the early modern period and in the present-day critical reception of the recipes results from multiple kinds of text, as noted above. The majority of the some 200 extant Morisco manuscripts are miscellanies with varying degrees of thematic coherence that contain textual fragments of longer works, especially translations of works in Arabic, including legends of pre-Islamic and Islamic prophets and eschatological texts, as well as unintentionally incomplete texts resulting from lost or damaged folios. These forms of texts result from the intersection of three spheres: the occult, religious texts and faith, and law, conceived broadly as rules. These rules refer to juridical and doctrinal codes for human behaviour, which in the case of Morisco talismans, could refer to mean principles of magic, such as the use of certain symbols or a magic circle, and rules of Islamic law in the Qur'an. In a vast majority of cases, Morisco magic contains direct citations of the Qur'an and will only work with God's blessing. Even when this magic includes magic symbols and is invoked for mundane reasons, among them health and preventing adultery, it is never separate from the Qur'an. Magic is thus not only informed, on the one hand, by the Islamic law of the Qur'an and the rules of magic, but also, on the other hand, by faith in God and faith in the magician. Magic is thus both a specialized knowledge, something that can be learned, but also requires a leap of faith, belief that it can make change.

Magic, religion, and law are all means to understand the world and to control it, each relying to differing degrees on a prescribed content and an intended impact of that content. These institutions and systems of knowledge have points in common and magic texts, in the way in which they seemed to have been regarded and performed by their early modern readers, evince these

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12   Ricœur P., *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning*, trans. D. Pellauer (Fort Worth: 1976) 56.

connections. The intersection of magic, law (conceived as rules, rites of religion), and religion (here: faith) comprises what Louis Gernet called *pré-droit*, or prelaw, which refers to a state in society in which religion, law, and magic were not yet separated, but also unable to become one: a system of rules and prescriptions that evolved into law only with the birth of an 'autonomous legal function', one that serves no master other than justice.[13] Prelaw is a figure for the ways in which amulets and talismans are thought to produce meaning, including through faith in an amulet's ability to perform magic without intervention from the user and through a magician's or user's belief in their capability to produce magic from a talisman produced from reading grimoires (manuals of magic), and learning rules. Magic can thus work based on a user's faith that magic objects themselves have the power to make change, that this power comes from within, and through a magician's mastery of magic principles or rules to imbue them with the power to generate magic, having read and learned magic from books or through observation of successful magicians. Oftentimes magic involves both faith and following specific rules and principles, both those of magic and of religious law, most especially in this case, of the Qur'an. Some magic thus requires study and a series of specific steps to work. Magic objects, on the other hand, function primarily because the users seeking protection or aid believe in them. Magic can thus be initiated in two, not necessarily opposing ways: from the mechanics of study or from belief that a previous act resulted from magic and that an object present can produce the same result or another beneficial or malevolent outcome.

2 Talisman, Amulet, and Intention

There is little consensus on the meaning of the terms amulet and talisman.[14] Ana Labarta, a scholar of Morisco literature, proposes that amulets are objects taken directly from nature, or by extension, from daily life that produce magic in their crude, unmodified state.[15] Amulets offer general, all-encompassing

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13 Gernet L., *Anthropologie de la Grèce Antique* (Paris: 2002) 175–260. Giorgio Agamben (b. 1942) develops a notion of prelaw in his analysis of Saint Paul, Romans, and messianism, with messianism, in a most general sense, referring to a belief in a messiah as the saviour of humankind. Agamben G., *The Time That Remains: A Commentary on the Letter to the Romans*, trans. Patricia Dailey (Stanford, CA: 2005).

14 For an overview of the terms amulet and talisman and their inconsistent use, see Skemer D.D., *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* (University Park: 2006) 6–19.

15 Labarta, "Supersticiones moriscas" 167.

protection in an indiscriminate fashion as soon as a user believes in them. In contrast, the talisman is artificial, is based in processes of abstraction and logical association, requires preparation in specific conditions, and has a specific end. Labarta states that the magic recipes conserved in Morisco codices, which, as said, were prohibited by the Spanish Inquisition and therefore produced and stored in a clandestine fashion, are talismans.

Though unstated in her framework, I argue that Labarta ascribes attributes to magic objects using the criterion of intention, even if these attributes are never viewed as essential to amulets or talismans. For the purposes of examining reading in magic texts, I propose that we can regard an amulet as an object considered magic or magical based on the belief that the object itself has intentions: that an object, in its raw, natural, unmodified state, can produce magic without human modification. A talisman, on the other hand, is a magic text or an object containing magical and astrological characteristics that possess a magical effect stemming from the intentions that a human user attributes to it or that a human user believes the stars can activate in the object. A talisman thus combines the collection of objects and their confection or exposure to certain astrological conditions, as opposed to an amulet, which can produce magic in its natural state. In the case of amulets, belief is the means by which magic effects are ascribed to a text or object. However, with talismans, notable human intellectual intervention is required, followed by a human's ascription of intentions or a combination of human and astral attribution of intentions to the text or object. Ana Labarta's conceptualization of these two terms underscores the notions central to prelaw as outlined above, the contrast but also coexistence of belief (faith) and law (instrumentation).

The Qur'an was critical in many of the codices that circulated among the Moriscos, including those containing magic recipes. Both licit and illicit magic employed by the Moriscos could nevertheless include semi-Qur'anic and extra-Qur'anic phenomena, such as the seal of Solomon and a five-pointed star, as well as natural and spiritual phenomena related to the number seven. This combination of texts and symbols, when present, provided the recipes and their objects with a magic aesthetic. The recipes for talismans conserved in manuscripts produced and circulated among Moriscos combine text and images that require multiple types of reading. There are instances of magic consisting of pseudo-Kufic characters combined with symbols (what López Baralt has called 'pure magic') and Arabic letters combined with Kufic writing.[16] Scholars, including Labarta, have been able to decipher some of these formulas

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16　　López Baralt L., *La literatura secreta de los últimos musulmanes de España* (Madrid: 2009) 278.

in the text that Albarracín and Martínez Ruiz edited as the *Misceláneo de Salomón* (Miscellany of Solomon) and in the *Libro de dichos maravillosos* (Book of Marvelous Sayings).[17] But others remain incomprehensible, even when the function of the formula is clear, such as to prevent a certain action or happening (like preventing the breakup of lovers or manipulating the characteristics of stones), as the letters were chosen for unknown reasons (e.g., to refer to a planet, a day of the week, or a sign of the zodiac), perhaps at random or because the characters or signs were thought to have power in themselves.[18] Indeed, this literal incomprehensibility in many cases seems to produce the magic and any meaningful outcome. The impossibility of reading the text literally creates magic.

3 Reading Morisco Talisman Recipes

The first talisman recipe in *The Book of Marvelous Sayings*, a work extant in a single late sixteenth-century Morisco manuscript, is a recipe to keep the devil from entering one's home.[19] It combines text that can be read literally with text with non-semantic meaning. An invocation of angels initiates the recipe, which includes seven seals in the form of six-pointed stars and the first verse of the Qurʾan, followed by fragments of four other verses. The talisman is effective if placed in different areas of the house, including the front door and entryway, the stable, and in the walls of the buildings themselves. The talisman contains Qurʾanic verses very likely known to the preparers and the users of the talisman, though not necessarily in written form. The talisman's text also contains seals that have meaning, though not a semantic one. Further, once placed in the house or the walls of other relevant buildings, the talisman does not protect the residents through their reading of the talisman text, but rather through knowledge of its presence in a particular location and perhaps through recollection of the Qurʾanic text and memory of the symbols.

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17   Labarta A., "Supersticiones moriscas" 38–41. Martínez Ruiz J. – Albarracín Navarro J., *Medicina, farmacopea y magia en el "Misceláneo de Salomón"* (Granada: 1987). *Libro de los dichos maravillosos: misceláneo morisco de magia y adivinación*, ed. A. Labarta (Madrid: 1993).

18   Montaner Frutos A., "Sobre el alcance del 'ocultismo' renacentista", in Lara E. – Montaner Frutos A. (eds.), *Señales, Portentos y Demonios: La magia en la literatura y la cultura españolas del Renacimiento* (Salamanca: 2014) 696–703.

19   *The Book of Marvelous Sayings* (*El libro de dichos maravillosos*) forms part of ms. M-CCHS RES RESC/22 (formally Junta XII) held at the Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás [CCHS-CSIC] in Madrid, Spain, fols. a v–b r.

Other talismans, however, function only when a lengthier talisman text, which might consist of full suras or substantial excerpts of suras of the Qurʾan, is read precisely and completely. The first chapter that follows the first mention of the title *Book of Marvelous Sayings* comprises a talisman recipe (the instructions to create a talisman) to see what one desires to see in a dream, and which contains only text, no illustrations or diagrams [Fig. 1.1]. The user must first perform ablution and then put on clean clothing to wear to bed. Afterwards, the person lays on their right side, turns towards the qibla (the direction of the sacred shrine of the Kaaba in Mecca), and abstains from lying with women. After these preparations, the user reads four specific suras from the Qurʾan seven times each and then makes a direct request to God to allow them to see whatever they desire in their dream, as well as whatever God wants them to see, and so forth. The conclusion of the talisman recipe links precision in reading with positive outcomes in dreams, in this case, seeing what one desires to see:

> *Pues ello es que si verá aquello en la noche primera; si no, verlo á en la segunda noche o en la cinqueña o en la setena; y si no lo verá, pues ya se abrá olvidado alguna cosa de su leir.*
>
> (You will see it on the first night; if not, you will see it on the second night or on the fifth or sixth; and if you do not see it, then you must have forgotten to read something.)[20]

Whereas in this talisman magic is produced only if complete suras are read in their entirety and correctly, the previous talisman and many others combine Qurʾanic verses with magic symbols. The magic that the latter produce results neither from literal understanding nor necessarily from active reading of the Qurʾanic verses but from a visual association of symbols with the ability to produce action, and in certain cases, perhaps with a specific meaning that a user attributes to the symbol alone or when it appears with others.

The above talismans evince the importance of Qurʾanic text in talisman recipes. It is also clear that the recipes employ the Qurʾan differently and that its meaning and role in producing a desired magic effect can result from a direct reading of specific suras or the presence of verses on material that is able to produce magic even when hidden from view. Speech and reading are neither the only forms of communication nor the only ways of conveying meaning and bringing about magic, as well as any intentional beneficial or nefarious results.

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20   *Libro*, ed. Labarta fol. 2 r.

This is illustrated by suras 78 and 36, which declare that the body, including a person's ears, eyes, arms, hands, feet, and skin, will testify to past misdeeds without the deeds themselves being spoken. Two Qur'anic verses that precede the first chapter of the *Book of Marvelous Sayings* are highly relevant here. The verses, which are in Arabic, address communication, specifically the act of speaking. In the first verse, speaking is limited to the one who the Most Merciful allows, and this person will speak what and as they should. The second verse conveys that even when words do not come out of one's mouth, their hands and feet give testimony to what they have earned in the earthly life, a reference to how those going to hell will lose their ability to speak orally, but their hands will bear witness to their wrongdoings. These reporting motifs appear in Sura 41.19–23, in which the skin testifies against sinners for their misdeeds:

> On the Day when God's enemies are gathered up for the Fire and driven onward, their ears, eyes, and skins will, when they reach it, testify against them for their misdeeds. They will say to their skins: 'Why did you testify against us?' And their skins will reply, 'God, who gave speech to everything, has given us speech – it was He who created you the first time and to Him you have been returned – yet you did not try to hide yourselves from your ears, eyes, and skin to prevent them from testifying against you'.[21]

Meaning can result from the act of reading, or from recalling a text previously read, but the body can also speak through gesture and give wordless testimony that others can interpret.

Contact between a talisman text, including its Qur'anic text, and the body can produce magic. A section toward the end of the *Book of Marvelous Sayings* includes talismans in which users activate Qur'anic material and prayers primarily through physical, rather than intellectual, means. For instance, there is a lengthy text to be applied to a person upon burial; the text is to be placed under the deceased person's head while another text is read aloud for their benefit. The end of these instructions includes a note indicating that all Muslims, including women, should learn the prayer in life, preferably by writing it down and reading it. However, for those unable to learn the prayer while living, the handwritten prayer can convey benefit through contact with the deceased person's head with no loss of one's reward in the

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21   Abdel Haleem M.A. (trans.), *The Qur'an: English Translation and Parallel Arabic Text* (Oxford – New York: 2010) 308.

afterlife.[22] Direct reading and memorization of the prayer while living were the preferred methods of acquisition, but a human conduit with knowledge of the prayer's capabilities coupled with physical contact after death could act as an acceptable replacement. Here again, direct reading by which meaning is conveyed through semantics is not required for a text to have meaning and apotropaic effects.

4   Knowledge of Magic

The above examples prompt not only an examination of reading and an attempt at its definition but also a query of the meaning of meaning and of what constitutes "knowledge" of magic, including how this knowledge is produced and how it is perceived by others. The above talismans are bipartite; they consist of instructions and a text capable of a magic effect. The sources and directions of intention are similarly often dual or even multiple. A talisman's instructions suggest that the talisman's intention comes from the person who reads the recipe and prepares the object accordingly. But can the magic words and symbols inscribed on the talisman intend? In other words, once the inscriptions have been made do they bring about magic on their own, in that the characters alone possess magic value in themselves, in addition to the potency generated in their combination with other elements, as stipulated in a recipe? We can also ask about the reception of the talisman, the created object. How did a layperson, unfamiliar with the combination of symbols and sensical text read the talisman? Perhaps through recognition of certain symbols, through the ability to pronounce a series of sounds that formed no recognizable word, and so forth?

The Inquisitorial record prompts similar questions regarding the diversity of ideas, systems of thought, and actions that constitute knowledge of magic or possession of magical material. In 1320, Pope John XXII (1316–1334) brought practices of black magic under the jurisdiction of the medieval inquisition, assimilating them into the crime of heresy in part because he feared magical assaults and assassination attempts on his own person.[23] The Spanish Inquisition's Toledo and Valladolid Indexes of 1551 and Valladolid's Index of 1559 evince this prohibition and suggest, as well, that the proscription of magic fostered the creation and clandestine circulation of handwritten books of

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22   *Libro*, ed. Labarta 179.

23   Iribarren I., "From Black Magic to Heresy: A Doctrinal Leap in the Pontificate of John XXII", *Church History* 76.1 (2007) 32–60.

magic. Most extant grimoires are fragmentary manuscript copies that passed through the hands of inquisitors. They are also derivative, oftentimes partial copies of manuscript compilations of other magicians, parts of which were likely copied from printed grimoires. These manuscript compilations could reflect the particular interest of the user or, literally, whatever the individual could get their hands on. As Roberto Morales Estévez notes, drawing on Rafael Martín Soto and José Manuel Pedraza García, many of these manuscripts were recreations of codices from France, which were themselves copies of earlier grimoires.[24] Among the offenses mentioned in processes of those detained for necromancy was the possession of books containing magical material. Some of the accused aim to separate this charge from a number of closely related or essentially identical offenses, including the acquisition of these books' content, the involvement of other individuals in their use of the books, and a belief that the books themselves had magical properties. Knowledge of magic thus spanned a variety of receptions of magic texts and intentions which may seem subtle at first sight but were important in Inquisitorial contexts. One intention was to learn the content of the books, while another was to learn and perform the magical content. Another was to learn and perform the content, as well as to actually succeed in doing so. Yet others revolved around attempts to involve other people in acquiring and using the content and appealing to people associated with magic to serve as instructors.

The range of activities that could be considered as "knowledge" of magic illustrates that a tome containing magic could be used as a magical object without a complete understanding of its content or, in some cases, any significant understanding at all. For example, a material book could be considered amuletic – the physical book itself – simply by word of mouth, and not for any specific knowledge of its content. We can take the case of Pedro Bernardi, for instance, tried by the Spanish Inquisition in Zaragoza between 1509 and 1510 for possession of magical material. The accusations contemplate Bernardi's past, present, and any futures that would have been possible had he escaped detection. The Inquisition accused Bernardi of the physical acquisition of a

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24   Morales Estévez R., "Los grimorios y recetarios mágicos: Del mítico Salomón al clérigo nigromante", in Lara E. – Montaner Frutos A., *Señales, Portentos y Demonios. La magia en la literatura y cultura españolas del Renacimiento* (Salamanca: 2014) 537–554; Martín Soto R., *Magia e Inquisición en el antiguo Reino de Granada* (Málaga: 2000) 108–109; Pedraza García J.M., "De libros clandestinos y nigromantes: en torno a la posesión y transmisión de grimorios en dos procesos inquisitoriales entre 1509 y 1511", *Revista General de Información y Documentación* 17.1 (2007) 66–68; Gari Lacruz A., *Brujería e inquisición en el Alto Aragón en la primera mitad del siglo XVII* (Aragón: 1991) 56–58; and Montaner Frutos, "Sobre el alcance" 95–96.

book of magic, partial or complete acquisition of its content, and the copying of the content with the intent to disseminate it or consult it in the future. In his testimony, Bernardi notes that he had studied books containing magic on several different occasions and had witnessed the copying of a particular volume that he had stolen (along with another on alchemy) into a little white book by a man named Mosén Pedro. The merchant thus studied magical material and was accused of wanting to distribute the information. Bernardi, Mosén Pedro, and another Florentine man also attempted to perform magic from the book as a group, intending to learn, share magic, and produce a copy for safekeeping, dissemination, or both.

Both the intention of the user and their level of understanding of the relevant magic text impact their ability to produce magic and the results they desire. In the stolen book on necromancy, Bernardi identified confusing parts of the text. He noted that the book lacked a title and that its handwriting was scarcely legible, which he attributed to his ignorance of Latin. However, the Inquisition process suggested that his difficulties may have extended to other elements, as he mentioned 'certain figures with certain names written in a way that I could not understand'.[25] Although these techniques of creating distance between the accused and the texts with which they were associated could simply be acts of self-preservation, they do provide insight into the range of uses of magic texts and meaning that could come from any sort of reading of these texts.

On the one hand, books containing magic could function magically without their users being fully aware of the literal meaning of their content, provided that a substantial literal meaning existed. On the other, books devoid of content that was explicitly magical could be thought to possess magic power. It was possible for a user with a limited ability to read a magic text to use the book containing magic as an amulet, in the sense that Labarta outlines above. A book employed as an amulet by a user without knowledge of its content could also contain recipes to create talismans that could be used to produce magic in the hands of a knowledgeable user.

The Zaragozan Inquisition tried another priest, Juan Vicente, in 1511. He asserted that his intent in obtaining magic books was not to gain a thorough understanding of their content but simply to perform magic. He did possess several magic books, but to the accusation that he had read them with the intent of performing magic and invoking evil spirits, he responded that he had read the books once but never desired to know what they said, *nunca deseo saber lo que rezavan*.[26] He had only read them at the insistence of a man by

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25   Quoted in Pedraza García, "Libros clandestinos" 73.
26   Quoted in Pedraza García, "Libros clandestinos" 77.

the name of Miguel Sánchez and after urging by other magicians. He further declared that he had had no interest in magic until he witnessed the drowning of a magician by the devil in Rome. However, he did admit to performing magic, including conspiring with fellow magicians to create a magic circle with four knives and four swords soaked in blood and herbal extracts and inscribed with certain words, and to decapitating a gosling. When these and other preparations were complete, he confessed to saying psalms and diabolic prayers with his companions and to blessing the magic apparatus. But he denied, among other accusations, that he had then said nine masses according to how they appeared in the *Clavícula de Salomón* (The Key of Solomon) or that he swore with his peer magicians on a host to keep their illicit activities secret. Vicente's admissions and denials may reflect the reality of his engagement with magical material and performance of magical acts, yet, as with Bernardi's Inquisition process, it was beneficial for him to deny any intent to acquire, understand, or recall magical material rather than insisting that he had never actually performed magic. The desire to know the magic contained in textual form in magic books and the possession of this knowledge was more dangerous than performing magic, suggesting that the danger of known magic is that it can be remembered, repeated, and continuously disseminated.

Other codices containing magic texts suggest that they were compiled very intentionally for personal use, tailored to the interests of the owner. One example of these books is Jaime Manobel's *Dietario mágico*, which served as both ledger and magic compilation.[27] Manobel was a necromancing cleric, not an uncommon combination in the sixteenth century, who was born in 1572 in Huesca (in northeastern Spain) and was detained and imprisoned by the Inquisition in 1590. His magic book is some forty pages, bound in a parchment cover, which bears no title, and introduced by printed images of Saint John and Mary Magdalene [fig. 1.2]. Manobel's *Dietario* reflects two main areas in which he hoped magic would have an effect: to cure the sick and to mediate relationships between men and women. It includes popular medicine, such as prescriptions for treating chaffing, softening ulcers, combating lice, curing haemorrhoids, and so forth, as well as magic, including instructions for invoking the devil, two recipes that make a woman love a man, another to ensure that the female friends of clerics do not leave the church, and an invocation of demons to open doors.[28]

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27   Manobel's notebook (Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional Inquisición 90, exp. 6) is available at the *Portal de Archivos Españoles*, http://pares.mcu.es/ [accessed 30 July 2022].

28   For a recent study on Manobel, see Morales Estévez, "Los grimorios".
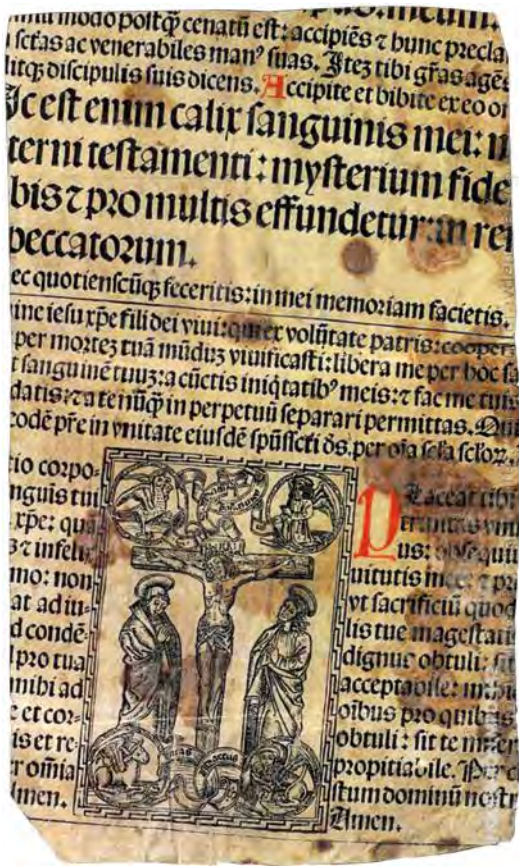
FIGURE 1.2
External and internal covers of
Jaime Manobel's magic notebook,
Dietario Mágico [Magic Ledger]
(1590), Archivo Nacional Histórico,
INQUISICIÓN, MPD.442
WITH PERMISSION FROM THE
ARCHIVO HISTÓRICO NACIONAL
(MADRID)

There is yet another way in which a text can have a protective effect, even if the content of the text itself is only rarely thought to produce magic. There is a curious example of medieval material fragments of the Qur'an and inscriptions discovered in the rafters of the Aljafería Palace in Zaragoza, Spain in the 1990s; these likely had an apotropaic function.[29] Found in the ceiling of Peter IV's throne room, the Qur'an folios come from two different fourteenth-century Qur'ans, one paper and the other parchment, neither of which is extant apart from the fragments. The words written in Arabic on the rafters are visible only from the vantage point of the ceiling itself and do not form a complete prayer, but they are clearly inspired by Qur'anic text and contain some of the Beautiful Names and phrases from suras on the greatness and oneness of God (20/6–8, 57/3, and 59/22–24). The Aljafería Palace was built as the residence of the Banu Hud, an Arab dynasty that ruled the Islamic principality of Zaragoza from 1039 to 1110, and today it is the only extant example of a large building of Spanish Islamic architecture from the era of the Taifas (independent Muslim-ruled principalities) in Spain. The Qur'an folios and inscriptions were not found in a room used during Muslim control of the palace, which lasted until 1118, or in a room constructed by Muslim workers labouring for the Catholic Monarchs, who took up residence in the palace in 1492. The Qur'anic texts, both the folios and the inscriptions, were found in the room of Peter IV, who ruled Aragon from 1319–1387, a time when there was no Spanish Inquisition or intensely systematized persecution of the Mudejars, or Muslims who lived with relative autonomy in medieval Spain under Christian rule.

It is doubtful that the Qur'an folios were hidden in the ceiling for fear of censorship and even more unlikely that anyone climbed up to read them or confirm that they were there. This is also true of the inscriptions, which are visible only from the ceiling itself. If these fragments could not be read, but rather, at best, remembered by those who placed them in the ceiling, what type of "reading practices" and "manuscript cultures" do they evince? Any sort of meaning creation that would come from such a remembering is antithetical to the marginalia and annotation techniques that are often connected to the phrase "reading practices", even more so because scholarship in the history of the book that manages this terminology frequently centres on manuscripts in English, as noted above.

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29   On the discovery of the Qur'an folios in the Aljafería, see Cervera Fras M.J., "Palabras árabes en el artesonado del Salón del Trono de los Reyes Católicos", in Beltrán Martínez A. (ed.), *La Aljafería*, vol. 2 (Zaragoza: 1998) 447–451.

The purpose of the literally inaccessible names of God and other Qur'anic text may have been to protect or to bring good luck to the Muslims and even Christians who constructed the room. The text may have functioned as an amulet whose power resulted from a human's active belief in it, a belief generated and sustained by knowledge of its presence as opposed to reading, or by a dynamic process of the unconcealment of its hidden meanings through interpretation. The names contained in the inscriptions could not be pronounced because they were impossible to read from the floor of the room, but it is notable that this lack of pronunciation is consistent with the early modern belief that the utterance of holy names on amulets rendered them ineffective.[30]

5   Conclusions

Using the terms talisman and amulet, I have argued that there are two modes of producing magic: through instrument and study and through belief. Reading not only has a variety of meanings in these magic texts, but in some instances, is difficult to detect at all. As Roger Chartier notes, the paradox of the history of reading is that we must capture the variation of "practice" in discrete manifestations.[31] The magic texts studied here should caution us that a hyper focus on any single way or instance of reading may be misleading as regards early modern vernacular reading. It is just as ineffective, however, to generalize about vernacular reading, implicitly ascribing the same habits and intentions to readers who read in a wide range of languages and guided by different religious and magic beliefs. The *Book of Marvelous Sayings* contains an entire chapter of texts that can be used to make potions or talismans; in the case of the former, the text, which consisted of symbols and was oftentimes confected under certain astrological conditions or with inks made of specific materials, such as saffron, could be dissolved in water (rainwater, for instance) and consumed by the user. Here the text, after being written, is literally dissolved and drank by the user. Can we call this textual consumption reading? Does it count as making meaning of the text at all?

In the realm of magic, we find cultures that draw on multiple spheres of thought and influence, some of which might appear to be wholly incompatible with modern sensibilities. In a recipe for making a person follow you, the user writes a text on a clean sheet of paper or the palm of their hand.[32] The user

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30   Skemer, *Binding Words* 187.

31   Chartier, *The Order of Books* 23.

32   *Libro*, ed. Labarta 179–180, fols. 523 v–524 r.

then touches this text to the person they desire follow them. The instructions then provide a means of protection if the user fears their wishes and presence will be discovered; the user reads the first verse of Sura 112: 'Say, O Prophet, He is Allah – One and Indivisible'. The instructions for creating the talisman text, in this case a seal, follow. After inscribing pseudo-Arabic and magic characters in a square, the user perfumes the seal with pure frankincense, the suet of a black goat, and juniper gum. In this talisman, there is text that must be properly copied but cannot be read in a literal sense: magic symbols, characters that look like Arabic but are not. There is a Qur'anic verse that must be read aloud to reduce the suspicions of the person the user desires to control. Magic is initiated by the visual appearance of text without semantic meaning, through touching the person the user desires to control, and through the smell conveyed by the potpourri of natural ingredients. Finally, there is belief: the user must believe that this magic can work if they follow the steps. The types of reading involved in the creation and use of a talisman like this one might seem antithetical to Renaissance reading and commentary practices and even to the types of unstructured uses studied by many, including William Sherman and Sasha Roberts.[33] Nonetheless, Morisco talismans remind us of the complexity of culture and how it is made through exchanges among faith, religious texts, and magic. These same texts show us unusual reading practices that, while perhaps far afield, bring to our attention questions related to intention and meaning that are important in any discussion of reading.

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33   The majority of Sherman's works examines early modern reading but see in particular Sherman W.H., *Used Books: Marking Readers in the English Renaissance* (Philadelphia: 2008). Sasha Roberts cautions against making too much of marginalia or generalizing exceptional cases like John Dee as a norm or practice. Roberts S., "Reading in Early Modern England: Contexts and Problems", *Critical Survey* 12.2 (2000) 1–16. See also the bibliography in n. 13.

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Vernacular Readers of Medicine: Imagined Audiences and Material Traces of Reading in Hieronymus Brunschwig's Distillation Books

Tillmann Taape

1 Introduction

If we are to attempt a history of vernacular readers, the early printed book in the German lands is an obvious place to look for them. Especially in the South, some of the most important printing houses provided a wide readership with volumes of poetry, ancient classics, chivalric tales, and moralising satire in both Latin and German, often with lavish illustrations. Among these, a book on distilling medicinal waters might seem like a less obvious choice. However, as I show in this chapter, this is precisely where some of the key questions about vernacular print and its readers were most hotly contested and where we see some of the most pioneering publishing ventures in the early sixteenth century.

Hieronymus Brunschwig's *Liber de arte distillandi de simplicibus. Das buoch der rechten kunst zü distilieren*, was published in 1500 by Johann Grüninger, whose press was one of the most prolific in Strasbourg, known especially for its generous use of woodcut images as well as its sloppy proofreading.[1] Despite its hybrid Latin-German title, the *Small Book of Distillation*, as it became known, was written entirely in German, as was its companion volume, the *Liber de arte distillandi de simplicibus* (or *Large Book of Distillation*) of 1512. Unusually for the time, these books were not written by a university scholar, but by a local craftsman. Hieronymus Brunschwig trained as a surgeon in a local guild, and later ran a pharmacy shop near the fish market. Along the way, he supplemented his artisanal expertise with a surprising amount of theoretical knowledge from medical and alchemical texts, many of which circulated in German

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1 On Grüninger, see Kristeller P., *Die Strassburger Bücherillustration im XV. und im Anfange des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: 1888) 24–50; Zimmermann-Homeyer C., *Illustrierte Frühdrucke lateinischer Klassiker um 1500: Innovative Illustrationskonzepte aus der Straßburger Offizin Johannes Grüningers und ihre Wirkung* (Wiesbaden: 2018) 23–30.

translation.[2] His other works include a book on surgery titled *Cirurgia* and a short plague treatise. Brunschwig's books went through numerous editions, including translations into Dutch and English of both the *Cirurgia* and the *Small book of distillation*. Writing in his native German dialect, Brunschwig addresses his books to other craftsmen, but also to householders and ordinary people who did not have what we would now call professional medical credentials. Brunschwig's aim, as he put it, was to provide "common medicine" for the "common man" – a term that, over the sixteenth century, became increasingly frequent as a descriptor of a printed book's intended audience.[3]

Such ordinary (and often vernacular) readers have attracted increasing attention in the growing literature on early modern medical books and the politics of reading.[4] In the German lands, broadly speaking, the "common man" refers to a portion of the population who could not pay a physician, but had the means to consult surgeons or other medical artisans and to buy and read recipe books or other vernacular medical genres to take care for himself or his family, in his capacity as the head of the household or *hausvater*.[5] It has proved an elusive category, however, since what constituted a "common" citizen or reader was subject to local negotiation.[6]

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2   Bachoffner P., "Jérôme Brunschwig, chirurgien et apothicaire strasbourgeois, portraituré en 1512", *Revue d'histoire de la Pharmacie* 81:298 (1993) 269–278; Taape T., "Distilling Reliable Remedies: Hieronymus Brunschwig's *Liber de Arte Distillandi* (1500) Between Alchemical Learning and Craft Practice", *Ambix* 61:3 (2014) 236–256.

3   Taape T., "Common Medicine for the Common Man: Picturing the 'Striped Layman' in Early Vernacular Print", *Renaissance Quarterly* 74:1 (2021) 1–58.

4   Fissell M., "Readers, Texts, and Contexts: Vernacular Medical Works in Early Modern England", in Porter R. (ed.), *The Popularization of Medicine, 1650–1850* (London: 1992) 72–96; Fissell M., *Vernacular Bodies: The Politics of Reproduction in Early Modern England* (Oxford: 2004); Leong E., "Herbals She Peruseth: Reading Medicine in Early Modern England", *Renaissance Studies* 28:4 (2014) 556–578; Rankin A., "Germany", in Raymond J. (ed.), *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, vol. 1 (New York: 2011) 205–213.

5   Eamon W., *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton: 1994) 99–102; Friedrich C. – Müller-Jahncke W.-D., *Geschichte der Pharmazie*, vol. 2 (Eschborn: 2005) 79–92; Schenda R., "Der 'gemeine Mann' und sein medikales Verhalten im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert", in Telle J. (ed.), *Pharmazie und der gemeine Mann: Hausarznei und Apotheke der frühen Neuzeit* (Braunschweig: 1982) 9–20; Telle J., "Wissenschaft und Öffentlichkeit im Spiegel der deutschen Arzneibuchliteratur. Zum deutsch-lateinischen Sprachenstreit in der Medizin des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts", *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 14 (1979) 32–52; Telle J., "Medizin für den gemeinen Mann", in Mittler E. (ed.), *Bibliotheca Palatina. Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 8. Juli bis 2. November 1986, Heiliggeistkirche Heidelberg* (Heidelberg: 1986) 335–340.

6   Roper L., "'The Common Man', 'The Common Good', 'Common Women': Gender and Meaning in the German Reformation Commune", *Social History* 12:1 (1987) 1–21.

Brunschwig's native Strasbourg was a hotbed of such negotiations. Despite the absence of a university, there was a strong intellectual culture, notably a circle of humanist scholars around the city scribe Sebastian Brant who discussed educational reforms, explored the opportunities of vernacular print, and worried about its dangers. In her survey of Strasbourg imprints, Miriam Usher Chrisman points to a thriving culture of vernacular publishing that included illustrated books for laypeople, but also medical, scientific, and legal texts, with Brunschwig's publisher Grüninger at the forefront.[7] However, her thesis that printing further entrenched a clear division between a Latinate "learned culture" and a vernacular "lay culture" proves untenable when we take a closer look at the books Grüninger and others produced. Brunschwig's books are a striking example of the intermingling of learned and artisanal cultures to produce a new kind of hybrid knowledge. When it comes to readers, the division is even less clear cut. As I show in the first part of this chapter, Brunschwig's audience statements map out a spectrum of readers with a range of educational and linguistic abilities. Reading the images as well as the text, I argue that Brunschwig's core audience of the 'common man' deliberately resonates with the local trope of the 'striped layman', representing this controversial in-between figure as a model vernacular reader.

Brunschwig's distillation books are a rich case study in a second sense. A commercial success, they were re-issued in numerous editions until well into the seventeenth century, and there are enough surviving copies to support an analysis of readers' material engagement with these books. Building on scholarship in the history of reading, the second part of this chapter surveys the evidence from annotated copies to highlight patterns in provenance, language, and purpose of the annotations.[8] While I refer to Dutch and English copies as points of comparison, my focus here is on Brunschwig's original editions and their German context. Overall, based on what we can learn about Brunschwig's readers, both imagined and real, the chapter unearths not a straightforward vernacular reader, but a new kind of hybrid reader.

7   Usher Chrisman M., *Lay Culture, Learned Culture: Books and Social Change in Strasbourg, 1480–1599* (New Haven: 1982).

8   Jardine L. – Grafton A., "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy", *Past & Present* 129 (1990) 30–78; Brayman Hackel H., *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: 2005); Sherman W.H., *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: 2008).

2   Brunschwig's Vernacular Readers: The 'Common Man' and the 'Striped Layman'

Brunschwig quite explicitly frames a readership that is mostly vernacular. His first publication, the *Cirurgia*, and the *Liber pestilentialis* are both addressed to 'young prospective master surgeons and barbers', but whereas Brunschwig insists on a modicum of theoretical learning in his surgery, the plague treatise explicitly excludes 'the learned [...] because they have greater and better things to do'.[9] Instead, it is addressed to the 'common citizens' of Strasbourg and the 'common man in villages and castles'.[10] The *Small Book of Distillation* is presented as a beginners' guide to the art, for 'those who desire to learn the manner and art of distillation and to begin this work'.[11] As such, Brunschwig writes, it is especially suited 'for the common man who has neither doctor nor medicine, and could not pay for it'.[12] Already in the first edition, Brunschwig announced that he was working on a companion volume: 'in good time I will also publish the large book for learned people'.[13] Indeed, the *Large Book of Distillation* comprised far more complex procedures for distilling 'quintessences' or composite aqua vitae, and some treatments fall within 'internal medicine, which belongs to the physician'.[14] Accordingly, Brunschwig also delves much deeper into medical and alchemical theory in his magnum opus. Nonetheless, the *Large Book* was not exclusively for the learned; Brunschwig insists that 'this book and other books that I have made are for the commoner and those who do not have a learned and experienced doctor'.[15] This section of his intended audience comes to the fore in the fifth part of the book, titled *Thesaurus Pauperum*. Translating the title, Brunschwig states that it is intended as a 'treasury of poor people's medicine, and also for those who live in small towns and villages', and

9   Brunschwig Hieronymus, *Liber pestilentialis de venenis epidimie. Das buoch der vergift der pestilentz das da genant ist der gemein sterbent der Trüsen Blatren* (Strasbourg, Johann Grüninger: 1500), fol. A3r.

10   Brunschwig, *Liber pestilentialis*, fols. 15r–v.

11   Brunschwig Hieronymus, *Liber de arte distillandi de simplicibus. Das buch der rechten kunst zü distilieren die eintzigen ding* [...] (called *Small Book of Distillation*) (Strasbourg, Johann Grüninger: 1500), fols. A2r–v.

12   Brunschwig, *Small Book*, fol. E1r.

13   Brunschwig, *Small Book*, fol. C1v.

14   Brunschwig Hieronymus, *Liber de arte Distillandi de Compositis. Das buch der waren kunst zü distillieren die Composita vnn simplicia / vnd dz Buoch thesaurus pauperum / Ein schatz der armen* [...] (called *Large Book of Distillation*) (Strasbourg, Johann Grüninger: 1512), fol. 140r.

15   Brunschwig, *Large Book*, fol. 56v.

he underscores this with an anecdote about a dream in which a mob of poor country dwellers appear in his study and exhort him to write a book for them.[16]

While Brunschwig's target audience shifts towards the more artisanal or the more learned across his works, they remain committed to readers of middling education and financial means – what he calls the 'common man'. This term was frequently used to describe audiences of vernacular books, but it did not correspond to any clear-cut social category. As Lyndal Roper has shown, to be 'common' implied a sense of communal belonging that had to be negotiated.[17] From Brunschwig's references to the 'common man' throughout his works, a distinctly middling audience emerges, including urban citizens, sandwiched between wealthy patricians and unincorporated day labourers, or country dwellers who had some disposable income but lived too far from the nearest doctor. In terms of education and literacy, too, Brunschwig's common man was somewhere in the middle of the spectrum from bare literacy in the vernacular to full mastery of Latin.

Brunschwig himself had picked up some Latin, perhaps in the local cathedral school, but he was not entirely at home in the language. In the preface to the *Large Book*, he begs his learned readers' forbearance, 'especially concerning my Latin, if at times it does not agree properly or is not quite grammatical'.[18] Apologies for one's poor Latin were common in early modern paratexts, but they were usually thinly-veiled statements of false modesty, sometimes expressed in particularly technical and polished Latin. Brunschwig's is more likely a rare case of true modesty. And he expected most of his readers to be in a similar position. At the back of the *Large Book*, he provides an extensive errata list, so that the reader 'may be spared what happened to me when I was reading medical books printed in Latin'.[19] These remarks indicate an intellectual middling sort that was quickly becoming an important audience for printed books, literate in the vernacular but not necessarily in Latin – a kind of reader clearly distinct from the learned readers to whom some parts of the *Large Book* were addressed.

Around the time Brunschwig wrote his books, this kind of reader had begun to attract the attention of local intellectuals, notably a circle of Strasbourg humanists around the lawyer and satirist Sebastian Brant.[20] In his well-known

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16   For the image and the full dream scene, see Taape, "Common Medicine".

17   Roper, "The Common Man".

18   Brunschwig, *Large Book*, fol. 2v.

19   Brunschwig, *Large Book*, fol. 357r.

20   Chrisman, *Lay Culture, Learned Culture* 81–102; Schmid Blumer V., *Ikonographie und Sprachbild: Zur reformatorischen Flugschrift "Der Gestryfft Schwitzer Baur"* (Tübingen: 2004) 137–196.

satire, the *Narrenschiff* (Ship of Fools) of 1494, the folly of overreaching ambition is a central theme. Even peasants, Brant complains, were no longer content to wear their customary rough linen, but dressed above their station, in garments 'slashed and lined with all sorts of colours', according to the new fashion for striped and parti-coloured hose and short doublets introduced from Northern Italy by travelling mercenaries.[21]

The striped appearance of such upstarts became symbolic of their intellectual as well as social ambitions. Brant's book fool hoards books without reading them, and yet thinks himself 'striped and learned'.[22] One of Brant's local colleagues, the preacher Johann Geiler von Kaysersberg, developed the theme in his sermons based on Brant's *Ship of Fools* at the Strasbourg cathedral, coining the term 'striped laymen' (*die gestreifletten leyen*) to describe these fools who think themselves more learned than they are.[23] The Latin version of the sermons calls them 'half-learned laymen' (*laici semidocti*).[24] Thomas Murner, another local humanist, contributed to the same satirical tradition in his *Adjuration of Fools*, where he has the striped layman say 'I once ate a school bag, so I can never forget my Latin', making his intellectual pretensions specifically a question of language.[25]

In this striking metaphor, the layman's stripes reflect his in-between status: rather than being of one colour, he is half ignorant and half learned, literate in the vernacular if not in Latin, a liminal character somewhere between illiterate peasants and the learned elite. To the Strasbourg humanists, this was a troubling new development. While their views on the education of laypeople in different areas were more complex than can be discussed here, they were on the whole uneasy about the striped layman's claim to learned knowledge, especially in theology.[26]

As I have shown in detail elsewhere, Brunschwig's publisher, Johann Grüninger, was aware of the meaning of stripes in the local visual culture, and deliberately used them as a social label in his own vast output.[27] The illustrations in Brunschwig's works frequently show striped figures doing the skilled

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21   Brant Sebastian, *Das Narren Schyff* (Basel, Johann Bergmann: 1494), fol. o3v.

22   Brant, *Das Narren Schyff*, fols. i6v–i7r.

23   Geiler von Kaysersberg Johann, *Des hochwirdigen Doctor Keiserspergs Narrenschiff so er gepredigt hat zuo Straßburg* [...] (Strasbourg, Johann Grüninger: 1520), fol. Z2r.

24   Geiler von Kaysersberg Johann, *Navicula sive speculum fatuorum* (Strasbourg, Matthias Schürer: 1510), fol. Z3v.

25   Murner Thomas, *Doctor Murners Narren Bschwerung* (Strasbourg, Mathis Hupfuff: 1512), fol. p1r.

26   On the striped layman, see also Schmid Blumer, *Ikonographie und Sprachbild*.

27   Taape, "Common Medicine".

work of medicine-making – cooking ointments, collecting herbs, or tending a distillation furnace to keep it at the right temperature. These images break away from the learned reservations about the striped layman, and re-cast him instead as the ideal reader. Where Brant, Geiler, and Murner bemoan the layman's striped, half-learned status, the images in Brunschwig's works speak even more clearly than the text in claiming that half-learned is exactly what a medical artisan or household practitioner should be. The other half is not, as the humanists suggested, ignorance, but rather the embodied skill that comes not with reading, but with years of apprenticeship and practical training.

3   Vernacular Knowledge and Its Discontents

The notion that the striped layman had a distinct form of knowledge of his own was already present in Brant's satire. Where the original German version describes the fool as 'striped and learned' (*stryffecht und gelert*), the later Latin edition renders this as *docti tamen atque periti*, aligning 'striped' (*stryffecht*) with 'experienced' or 'skilled' (*peritus*).[28] The vernacular key term for this kind of knowledge was *erfarung*. It could refer to knowledge in a general sense but, etymologically related to the verb *fahren* (to travel), it specifically denoted impressions, experiences, or knowledge gathered by displacing oneself in the world, and was used to gloss the exploits of John Mandeville and other adventurers in the German titles of popular travel literature.[29] The Strasbourg humanists took a dim view of such experiential knowledge. Developing Augustine's criticism of idle curiosity, Brant spent an entire chapter lampooning fools who aspire to '*erfarung* of all lands', and Geiler, too, insisted that travelling and chasing after new things made for an unsteady mind, too distracted to focus on salvation through introspection.[30] To them, experience was the knowledge of the superficial and the semi-literate, inferior to proper rational inquiry.[31]

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28 Brant, *Das Narren Schyff*, fol. i6v; Brant Sebastian, *Stultifera Navis* (Basel, Johann Bergmann: 1497), fol. 53v.

29 Müller J.-D., "'Curiositas' und 'erfarung' der Welt im frühen deutschen Prosaroman", in Grenzmann L. – Stackmann K. (eds.), *Literatur und Laienbildung im Spätmittelalter und in der Reformationszeit* (Stuttgart: 1984) 252–271; Müller J.-D., "Erfarung zwischen Heilssorge, Selbsterkenntnis und Entdeckung des Kosmos", *Daphnis* 15 (1986) 307–342.

30 Brant, *Das Narren Schyff*, fol. l3v.

31 On humanist criticism of *erfarung*, see Kiening C., "Erfahrung und Vermessung der Welt in der frühen Neuzeit", in Kiening C. – Glauser J. (eds.), *Text – Bild – Karte: Kartographien Der Vormoderne* (Freiburg im Breisgau: 2007) 221–251; Müller, "Erfarung" 312–321; Schmid Blumer, *Ikonographie und Sprachbild* 245–250.

During the later sixteenth century, of course, experience was gradually recognised as the necessary labour of insight, especially in medicine and natural history.[32] Although these changes form an integral part of larger narratives about the Scientific Revolution, Brunschwig articulates a remarkably early and distinctly vernacular re-valuation of experiential knowledge. The *Small Book of Distillation*, he claims, contained what he had 'compiled, read, seen, and *erfaren* with much labour over thirty years', through 'his own daily handwork' or from other 'experienced masters of medicine'.[33] While artisanal expertise of distilling and healing ultimately had to be acquired through personal experience of materials and techniques, Brunschwig does his best to provide a sort of surrogate apprenticeship in print, by showing distilling apparatus in numerous woodcut illustrations, describing key sensory cues in technical processes, and highlighting common pitfalls, including anecdotes about his own past mishaps, often in a rich and entertaining tone reminiscent of the vernacular travel accounts that were the most common published form of *erfarung*.[34] Much like travel, artisanal knowledge and training dealt with particulars of the sensory world, in a rich vernacular of specific things and gestures rather than abstract ideas.

Brunschwig's striped layman may have been only half a Latinate scholar, but this was no deficit; rather, it was one of two complementing halves of a new kind of medical expertise that combined learning with the skill of the artisan and vernacular *erfarung*. This ideal is summarised in a large woodcut of a scholar delivering a medical lecture to a small audience [Fig. 2.1].[35] While the other students distractedly look out the window or demurely listen with cap in hand, the central student, in boldly striped clothing, appears to be arguing a point of his own. While he does not have access to the scholar's large book, he, too, wields written forms of medicine, as indicated by the single sheet of paper – perhaps a medical recipe – in his left hand. In both text and image, Brunschwig's works turn the early humanists' unease about the striped layman on its head, in a bold mission to educate laypeople in medical matters through

32 	The literature on experience is too vast to cite exhaustively here; see in particular Dear P., "The Meanings of Experience", in Daston L. – Park K. (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Science*, vol. 3, Early Modern Science (New York: 2006) 106–131; Kintzinger M., "Experientia Lucrativa? Erfahrungswissen und Wissenserfahrung im europäischen Mittelalter", *Das Mittelalter. Perspektiven Mediävistischer Forschung* 17:2 (2012) 95–117; Kusukawa S., *Picturing the Book of Nature: Image, Text, and Argument in Sixteenth-Century Human Anatomy and Medical Botany* (Chicago: 2012); Ogilvie B., *The Science of Describing: Natural History in Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: 2006).

33 	Brunschwig, *Small Book*, fol. A2r.

34 	Taape, "Distilling Reliable Remedies".

35 	For a study of this type of printed image see Driver's contribution in the present volume.
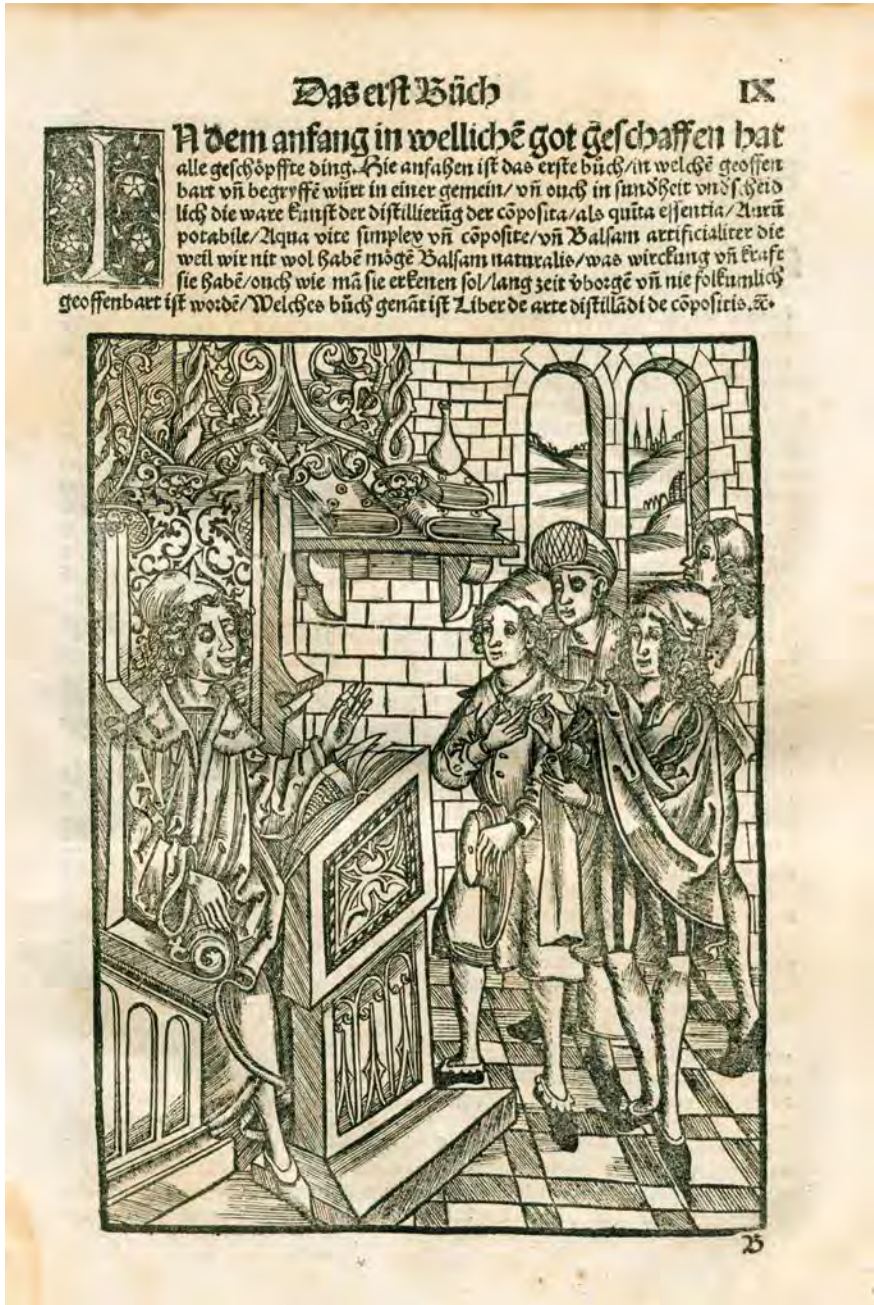
FIGURE 2.1   A man wearing stripes, and students listening to a medical lecture. Woodcut.
Hieronymus Brunschwig, *Liber de Arte Distillandi de Compositis* (Strasbourg,
Johann Grüninger: 1512), fol. B1r. London, Wellcome Library, EPB/D/1114

print. Half learned, half artisan, or half Latinate, half vernacular – the contrasting stripes need not precisely map on educational or linguistic faultlines; the rich visual trope of the striped layman points to an emerging middling sort that, while it unsettled humanist elites, became the new ideal reader for vernacular books such as Brunschwig's, and a key figure in calls for educational reform and Reformation.

The impact of his work is clear in subsequent vernacular publications from Strasbourg. The local physician Lorenz Fries vaunted his The *Spiegel der Artzney* (*Mirror of Medicine*), published in 1518, as a vernacular work on learned medicine, 'the like of which has never before been published in German by a doctor'.[36] It contained not only the 'teachings of famous ancient masters', but also 'many good experienced [*erfarnen*], tried-and-tested pieces' from Fries's own practice.[37] Where Brunschwig's striped figures speak more clearly in the images than in the text, Fries writes on his title page that this is a book explicitly for 'striped laymen' (*gestreiffelten leyen*). The second edition of Fries's *Spiegel* was edited by Otto Brunfels, another Strasbourg humanist, better known for his illustrated herbal. In his preface to the *Spiegel*, Brunfels endorsed Fries's emphasis on experience and, intriguingly, also his choice of the vernacular. While he was initially skeptical, Brunfels writes, he soon had to concede that

> although it is translated into the German language, it nevertheless has everything in it which is found in the best authorities of medicine, which I myself had not previously believed possible.[38]

Like many other writers, Brunfels wondered (not without reason) to what extent the German vernacular, with its many dialects and a grammar that lacked the rigour and clarity of Latin, could function as a technical language – what historians have termed *Fachprosa*.[39] Whereas Brant, Geiler, and other humanists of the previous generation were suspicious of experiential knowledge in the vernacular, Brunfels had a significant change of heart on the

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36   Fries Lorenz, *Spiegel der Artzny des geleichen vormals nie von keinem Doctor in tütsch vßgangen* […] (Strasbourg, Johann Grüninger: 1518), title page.

37   Fries, *Spiegel der Artzny*, fol. 9r.

38   Fries, *Spiegel der Artzny*, fol. a2r.

39   Crossgrove W., "The Vernacularization of Science, Medicine, and Technology in Late Medieval Europe: Broadening Our Perspectives", *Early Science and Medicine* 5:1 (2000) 47–63; Giesecke M., "'Volkssprache' und 'Verschriftlichung des Lebens' im Spätmittelalter am Beispiel der Genese der gedruckten Fachprosa in Deutschland", in Umbrecht H. (ed.), *Literatur in der Gesellschaft des Spätmittelalters* (Heidelberg: 1980) 39–70.

matter, brought about by Fries's book, which in turn took up Brunschwig's thrust to provide vernacular books for the layman. In what follows, I explore how Brunschwig's intended audience, from the common man to more learned people, maps onto the actual readers who left their traces in surviving copies.

4   Vernacular Annotators? Material Traces of Book Use

The study of annotations in books as traces of early modern reading habits began, quite naturally, with prominent figures such as Gabriel Harvey and John Dee who left behind large and heavily scribbled-in personal libraries.[40] More recently, historians have increasingly turned to the material traces of less extraordinary and often less goal-oriented readers to explore typical reading habits and how they fit in everyday life, from casual browsing to opinionated commentary or censorship.[41] The recent worldwide census of the surviving copies of Andreas Vesalius's *Fabrica* provides a detailed quantitative as well as qualitative "material reception history" of a key medical work, albeit an instant classic written in Latin, and aimed at a learned audience.[42] Although my study is far from a complete census of Brunschwig copies, it reveals patterns that suggest what his "vernacular" readership looked like in practice.

Of the total fifty-two copies I examined (thirty-nine copies of the *Small Book of Distillation*, including ten of its English translation and one Dutch copy, and thirteen of the *Large Book*), thirty-five bear annotations – a proportion of roughly 68%. This is a high annotation rate, even compared with the impressive rates of upwards of 50% that William Sherman determined for the sixteenth century in the Huntington Library's STC collection,[43] and it comes close to the 70% of copies in the Vesalius census that bear at least one annotation other than an ownership inscription.[44] These annotations take different forms and serve a range of purposes that are typical for the early modern period.

40   Jardine – Grafton, "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy"; Jardine L., "'Studied for Action' Revisited", in Blair A. – Goeing A.-S. (eds.), *For the Sake of Learning: Essays in Honor of Anthony Grafton*, vol. 2 (Leiden: 2016) 999–1017; Sherman W.H., *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst, MA: 1995).

41   Blaak J., *Literacy in Everyday Life: Reading and Writing in Early Modern Dutch Diaries* (Leiden: 2009); Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material*; Sherman, *Used Books*.

42   Margócsy D. – Somos M.– Joffe S.N., *The Fabrica of Andreas Vesalius: A Worldwide Descriptive Census, Ownership, and Annotations of the 1543 and 1555 Editions* (Leiden: 2018).

43   Sherman W.H., "What Did Renaissance Readers Write in Their Books?", in Andersen J. (ed.), *Books and Readers in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: 2002) 119–137; Sherman, *Used Books* 9.

44   Margócsy – Somos – Joffe, *The Fabrica of Andreas Vesalius* 1–12.

The simplest forms consist in underlining text or inking a mark in the margin – a curly brace, a vertical line, a simple cross or tick mark, a *nota bene* (often in abbreviated form), or a stylised pointing hand known as a manicule.[45] Such marks generally do not specify anything about the content of a passage, but serve as visual aids to draw attention to it. In the herbal section of the *Small Book*, for example, a number of annotators used crosses and other marks to indicate specific uses of distilled waters against a disease. Keywords written in the margin are a content-specific version of such finding aids. For example, the word *Zehenwehe* written next to a chapter on toothache draws the eye to the passage and at the same time indicates what it is about. While this kind of annotation usually copies or paraphrases the printed text, others provide additional information, such as readers' responses (incredulous, critical, or approving) to the text. For example, the claim that nettle water prevents cold hand and feet prompted one annotator to scribble a scornful *dis mag man so glauben ob man will* (this may believe who will) in the margin, and another reader helpfully observed that the distilled water of human feces *Stinckht grausa[m] ubell* (stinks cruelly foul).[46] Other kinds of annotations provide alternative names for body parts or diseases (sometimes in a different language), or intervene in the printed table of contents or indices to customise their function. Relating less directly to the printed text, one sometimes finds inscriptions of ownership, or supplementary material such as additional recipes scribbled into margins or on empty pages. Finally, there are pen trials and doodles that bear no obvious relation to the text at all.

There are some methodological caveats as to what these annotations can and cannot tell us. First, as William Sherman reminds us, annotations signal a variety of interactions with books, and should not necessarily be assumed to be traces of "reading" in a narrow sense – someone who writes their name in a book, uses blank spaces for pen trials and recipes, or underlines chapter headings may not be reading the book at all.[47] Second, with such a large corpus of copies, often without clear provenance, there are limits to reconstructing individual annotators' "user stories". Even where ownership inscriptions are present, books were handed down generations and sometimes annotated by more than one person. In some copies, it is difficult to tell how many annotators left their mark, since one well-practised early modern hand might look

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45   For an overview of readers' marks, see Sherman, *Used Books* 3–24; on the manicule see 25–52.

46   Brunschwig Hieronymus, *Liber de arte distillandi de simplicibus* (Strasbourg, Johann Grüninger: 1509), copy Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, A: 21.2 Phys. 2°, fol. 53r; Brunschwig, *Small Book*, copy London, British Library, IB.1495, fol. 77v.

47   Sherman, *Used Books* xi–xx.

virtually the same as another, and two distinct-looking scripts might in fact be the same person, using italic script for Latin and cursive for the vernacular. A single annotated copy does not necessarily represent a single annotator, and annotations are not a straightforward reflection of reading habits. Some inscriptions include a date, and the majority of the rest can be roughly located in the sixteenth or seventeenth century based on the script, but they do not yield a fine-grained chronology of changes in reading over time. With these caveats in mind, however, we can identify patterns that can tell us something about the use of language and the question of "vernacular" readers, book ownership, discontinuous reading practices, and recurring topics that engaged annotators' attention.

To explore patterns of language use and vernacularity we must of course look to keywords and other textual annotations that provide linguistic information, rather than underlining, crosses or other such marks. Even marks that are technically abbreviations for *nota bene*, I would argue, are commonly used in much the same manner as a non-verbal mark, and should not be taken as a straightforward sign of a Latinate reader. It is often used in combination with the vernacular – for instance, one English annotator wrote *nota for an yll desposed and a hote wond* in his copy of the *Vertuose boke* – and appears in the margins of copies that are otherwise annotated exclusively in German.[48]

Focusing on slightly more articulate annotations such as keywords and comments (which are present in twenty-four copies total), the following picture emerges. Of the *Small Book*, four copies are annotated exclusively in German, one in Latin (albeit with only very few annotations), and seven in a combination of German and Latin. With the *Large Book*, there is one copy annotated in Latin and one in German, and here, too, these are outweighed by the five copies with both German and Latin annotations. The majority of the German copies of Brunschwig's works, then, bears annotations in both languages, which can sometimes be ascribed to the same hand and sometimes to different hands, although in many cases such a distinction is difficult to make with any confidence. While there clearly are readers who annotate only in the vernacular, a small proportion prefer Latin, and a perhaps surprising majority of hands use a combination of both languages. The six copies of the English *Vertuose boke* show a different picture: only one has annotations in Latin as well as English, while the rest are annotated exclusively in the vernacular. Six copies of the *Homish apothecarie*, an English translation of a recipe collection

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48 Brunschwig Hieronymus, *Vertuose Boke of Distyllacyon of the Waters of All Maner of Herbes / with the Fygures of the Styllatoryes*, trans. Laurence Andrewe (London, Laurence Andrewe: 1527). Copy San Marino, Huntington Library, 61514, fol. U4r.

originally included in Brunschwig's *Large Book*, are all annotated in English. The annotator of a Dutch copy of the *Small book* added several plant names in French.[49] These anecdotal examples suggest differences in annotation habits that call for a more systematic comparative study.

We should of course be wary of jumping to conclusions based on these often terse and isolated words and phrases. For instance, one frequently finds Latin technical terms for body parts or diseases used as keywords in the margins of Brunschwig's books, and while these indicate a degree of familiarity with learned terminology (especially where the Latin terms are not provided in the printed text), we should not assume that we are necessarily dealing with a fully Latinate or even university-trained reader. A learned physician would certainly know such terms, but so might a surgeon who was familiar with vernacular medical texts, or a functionally Latinate apothecary who knew hundreds of Latin terms for medical simples and methods of preparation, but had never translated a line of Cicero – after all, Brunschwig himself did not have any formal university training but read medical and alchemical texts, many of which circulated in German translation. Medicine was a subject that thrived in both learned and vernacular spaces and moved between them. In the emerging medical vernacular, Latin and Greek terms were often retained as a scaffold for their clarity and precision. Uwe Pörksen coined the term *Fachwerksprache* for this kind of language, which he observed in the writings of Paracelsus – a 'timber-frame language', in an architectural play on the notion of *Fachsprache* (technical language).[50] The supporting beams of this specialist language were often glossed with their German synonyms, and could be learned by heart with little to no further knowledge of the Latin language.

Thus far, we see a bell curve of annotations, with surprisingly few copies annotated in German only, the great majority of copies bearing both German and Latin annotations, and fewer still annotated entirely in Latin. This suggests a wide spectrum of readers, from those who think and write mostly in the vernacular to those more familiar with Latin medical terminology, with a majority of hybrid or *Fachwerk* readers in the middle.

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49   Copy Washington DC, Library of Congress, Rosenwald Collection RS81.B673.

50   Pörksen U., *Wissenschaftssprache und Sprachkritik: Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 22 (Tübingen: 1994) 64–65. On Brunschwig's language, see also Benati C., "The 1518 Low German Edition of Hieronymus Brunschwig's *Buch Der Cirurgia* and Its Terminology", in Jefferis S. (ed.), *Medieval German Textrelations: Translations, Editions, and Studies* (Kalamazoo: 2010–2011; Göppingen: 2012) 189–245.

5   Binding, Inscription, Rubrication: Material Practices of Ownership

Ownership inscriptions are one way of further unpicking this readership. Five copies of the *Small Book* and three copies of the *Large Book* contain such inscriptions. One copy of the *Vertuose boke* is signed *hic liber attinet ad Johannem Awbrey paterno dono*, indicating that the owner knew some Latin and valued the book as a gift from his father.[51] While we do not know anything further of John Aubrey, in other cases the owner can be identified. A copy of the *Small Book* inscribed *Hanns Risheymer zu Seeholtzn* likely belonged to the Hans Rißheimer who has a street in Munich named after him, or one of his descendents.[52] He was an administrator of the districts Menzing and Seeholzen, inspector of the mills in the Würm valley, and sometime owner of Schloss Seeholzen, a castle (no longer extant) on a peninsula in the river Würm, a few kilometres south of Munich. In his book, Hans signs in a bold, decorative script as the proud master of Seeholzen, complete with a drawing of a coat of arms (which I have been unable to trace); perhaps the book was part of an effort to build a library worthy of his castle.

Where they are dated, ownership marks remind us that books were owned, read, and annotated by a succession of people, often long after publication. One copy of the *Large Book*, first published in 1512, is inscribed *Guilhelmus Prugkmoser*, and below, *ex libris Georgii Prugkmoser*, with a note indicating that Georg died in 1601. Perhaps Wilhelm was Georg's descendant and received the book as a gift or inheritance.[53] Some annotators liked to announce their ownership with a little more fanfare. In a copy of the *Vertuose boke*, a previous owner found an otherwise empty page, warmed up his writing hand with a few pen trials, and practised the beginning of his inscription twice before writing it out in full: *To all men to Whom these presentes shall com, I William Thurbern the younger* [...] *doo one this boocke 1608*. It was perhaps William's elaborate inscription that prompted a later owner to assert, on the facing page, that this was now *Anna Corselles hur booke*. Her name also appears on the verso of the title page, and her large italic hand added, on the last printed page, *This Book is two hundr*[ed] *years since the Printing of, only Deduct 19 yea*[rs]*, that is one hundred & eighty one yeares ago, this Being 1708*.[54] Subtracting the date of publication from the present year is a fairly common form of annotation in early modern books, marking the passage of time and inscribing the owner's or their

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51   Brunschwig, *Vertuose Boke*. Copy Cambridge, University Library, sss.60.20, fol. E4r.
52   Brunschwig, *Small Book*. Copy London, British Library, ib.1495.
53   Brunschwig, *Small Book*. Copy London, Wellcome Collection, D/1114.
54   Copy San Marino, Huntington Library, 61514.

family's name in history.[55] Anna did not leave any other annotations in her book – there are keywords and other marks in the margins, but they do not match her distinctive hand, and are more likely the work of William or another previous owner. Based on her inscriptions, we only know that she was keen to emphasise that the book was impressively old and that it belonged to her. Perhaps those really were her main interests in the volume, but of course for all we know she might have read and used it extensively without leaving any further marks. It was certainly not unusual for early modern women to own, use, annotate, and excerpt vernacular medical books in the pursuit of their gendered household duties.[56]

In five copies of Brunschwig's distillation books, the inscribed owners are monasteries rather than individual readers. Underneath Hans Rißheimer's inscription in his copy of the *Small Book*, a second hand noted *das puch angehörtt dem closter Anndex auf dem heiligen perg* (the book belongs to the Andechs monastery on the holy mountain).[57] The Benedictine foundation can still be found no more than twenty-five kilometres from the former Schloss Seeholzen, so Hans's copy did not have to travel far, if indeed it passed from him to the monks of Andechs. Two other institutions acquired their copies so soon after their publication that they were probably the first owners. Himmerod Abbey inscribed their copy of the *Small Book*, which was published in 1500, with the date 1503.[58] The monastery of St. Quirinus in Tegernsee lost even less time: the ownership inscriptions are dated 1501 in the *Small Book*, and 1513 in the *Large Book*, indicating that both were bought in the year following their publication.[59] Finally, a copy of the *Large Book* is inscribed, without a date, *Sum ex Bibliotheca Conventus S. Petri Salisburgi* (I am from the library of the convent of St. Peter in Salzburg), likely referring to the convent of the *Petersfrauen* attached to the well-known Salzburg institution.[60]

These monastic copies show some of the most extensive annotation activity. In the Himmerod volume, for example, the herbal section is annotated throughout, suggesting that it was read more or less cover to cover. Here and in the Tegernsee and Salzburg copies, disease indications that are given

55   Sherman, *Used Books* 83.
56   Leong E., "Collecting Knowledge for the Family: Recipes, Gender and Practical Knowledge in the Early Modern English Household", *Centaurus* 55 (2013) 81–103; Rankin A., *Panaceia's Daughters: Noblewomen as Healers in Early Modern Germany* (Chicago: 2013).
57   Copy London, British Library, IB.1495.
58   Copy San Marino, Huntington Library, 85769.
59   Copies Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2 Inc.c.a. 3867; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 2166.
60   Copy London, Wellcome Collection, D/1114.

in German in the printed text are often glossed with Latin keywords in the margin. This is hardly surprising in learned and Latinate communities that sometimes included academically trained physicians to whom Latin technical terms were no doubt a snappy aide-memoire. None of these copies, however, are annotated exclusively in Latin. They include the German version of *nota* (*merck*) as well as keywords for techniques and symptoms that were perhaps closer to daily life than medical theory and thus more recognisable in their vernacular form, for example *honig distillieren* (distilling honey) or the generic 'evil stomach'. Overall, the annotations in the monastery copies are systematic and more learned than most others, but they remain a hybrid engagement that combines highly codified Latin terminology with the colour and granularity of the vernacular.

The Andechs copy is annotated with similar dedication – all the chapter headings in the extensive disease register are written out in the margin – but exclusively in German. Other annotations, in a less regular hand than those of the chapter headings, reminds us that this copy had not always been in a monastery library. At the end of the short entry on distilled pig's blood, one witty annotator provided an additional application of this remedy at the bottom of the page. Emulating Brunschwig's formula, it states 'pig's blood, in a gut casing and eaten at ten o'clock in the morning (but first boiled) is good for the hunger'. This jocular diversion of pig's blood from medical application to a second breakfast of black pudding seems to have prompted a second annotation. Directly below, a slightly different hand commented in darker ink, 'my journeyman thinks this is true'.[61] At some point during its career – perhaps before it entered Rißheimer's castle library and then the Andechs monastery – this copy seems to have spent some time in the household of an apothecary or another artisan, and a jolly one at that, if he was in the habit of cracking jokes with his journeyman.

The Tegernsee copies offer some insight into the material treatment books like Brunschwig's might receive in a monastic context. While the inscription in the *Small Book* states that it was *emptus in sua ligatura* (bought in its binding), the *Large Book* was *emptus et inligatus anno d[o]m[ini] 1513*, which suggests that it was bought as loosely-gathered printed sheets and then custom-bound by the monks. Significant labour was then spent on rubricating the books. Skilled hands not only filled in the gaps – left by the printer for just this purpose – with elaborate initials in red ink, but also marked the beginnings of chapters and sections with red underlining and paragraph symbols. In the *Small Book*, the rubricator ran out of steam less than a quarter of the way through the volume's

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61   Copy London, British Library, IB.1495, fol. 99v.

over four hundred pages, but the much longer *Large Book* is lavishly rubricated throughout, with a vivid blue as well as a red ink, and occasional ornamental flourishes. The Andechs copy, too, is rubricated throughout, with an intriguing twist: for a sizeable portion of the disease register, the chapter headings are copied out by hand into the margin as an additional finding aid, and these annotations are underlined using what looks like the same red ink as the rubrications in the printed text. The rubrication effort was extended to handwritten annotations, or, to put it differently, the annotations were part of a larger culture of material interventions in printed books, from binding to rubrication to handwritten keywords, with functional as well as representational implications for a book's use in a monastic context.

6 Discontinuous Reading

A significant group of annotations engage with the navigation devices in Brunschwig's books, notably with the tables of content and indices that allowed readers to find their way around. The Grüninger press spared no efforts in providing such finding aids – in fact, the first edition of the *Small Book* was rather overburdened with over two hundred pages' worth of alphabetical lists of plants and two cross-referencing head-to-toe indices of diseases and remedies. As the preface to the second edition freely admits,

> the previously printed book of distillation had a register at the back, which took up nearly as much space again as the book, and was unnecessarily printed twice; then it referred back into the book proper. This has now been left out and a new register made, easier to understand and faster to find.[62]

Although these navigation devices were far from perfect (and there were other problems in both distillation books, such as incorrect folio numbers), they were recognised as key components, worthy of the painstaking labour of indexing. While Brunschwig does not explicitly state to what extent he was involved in that labour, the wordiness of the first edition's index betrays the author's chatty voice. We can also surmise the involvement of the 'corrector' or

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62 Brunschwig Hieronymus – Ficino Marsilio, *Medicinarius Das buch der Gesuntheit Liber de arte distillandi Simplicia et composita Das nüv buoch der rechten kunst zuo distillieren. Ouch von Marsilio Ficino vnn andere hochberoepmter* [*sic*] *Artzte natürliche vnn gute künst* [...] (Strasbourg, Johann Grüninger: 1505), fol. 1v.

proofreader whom Brunschwig blames for the remaining typos,[63] or another such shadowy member of the 'literary underworld' of printing houses.[64] This work warranted particular attention in Brunschwig's books because they were not necessarily intended to be read cover to cover, especially sections such as the herbal in the *Small Book* or the medical recipes in the *Large Book*. They were made up of self-contained textual units (recipes or chapters on a specific herb) whose order (head to toe or alphabetical) was important for locating an individual unit, but did not affect the overall meaning of the collection.

Literary scholars have characterised such texts as 'discourse colonies', in analogy with a colony of bees or ants whose independent units form a concerted, highly functional whole.[65] Texts such as these – miscellanies, encyclopaedias, or recipe collections – rose to great popularity over the course of the early modern period, embodying and facilitating discontinuous reading habits.[66] This kind of reading was the norm rather than the exception for most early moderns – the Bible, for instance, was commonly read in a liturgical sequence of Old and New Testament selections, and the idea of reading a book cover to cover would have been alien to most people before the rise of the novel in the eighteenth century.[67] The Vesalius census suggests that medical books in particular were perused in discontinuous chunks, with readers looking up, underlining, excerpting, and skipping over information according to their needs and interests.[68]

The annotations in Brunschwig's books suggest that many readers proceeded in just such a targeted, discontinuous way, and used the provided indices to do so. One simple but effective way in which annotations could be used to facilitate navigation was by correcting the folio numbers printed at the top right of each recto page, which are out by a count of ten or have their Roman numerals scrambled for stretches at a time. The folio numbers in the indices, too, are occasionally unreliable. In the Tegernsee copy of the *Large Book*, one annotator went through five densely-printed pages of an alphabetical index of remedies with pen in hand, marking each entry with a cross to indicate that the

63   Brunschwig, *Small Book*, fol. 210r.
64   Grafton A., *Inky Fingers: The Making of Books in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: 2020) 29–55.
65   Alonso-Almeida F., "Genre Conventions in English Recipes, 1600–1800", in DiMeo M. – Pennell S. (eds.), *Reading and Writing Recipe Books, 1550–1800* (Manchester: 2013) 68–90.
66   Kenny N., *The Palace of Secrets: Béroalde de Verville and Renaissance Conceptions of Knowledge* (London: 1991).
67   Stallybrass P., "Books and Scrolls: Navigating the Bible", in Andersen J. (ed.), *Books and Readers in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: 2002) 42–79.
68   The annotations studied in the Vesalius census characterise a 'sporadic reader', see Margócsy – Somos – Joffe, *The Fabrica of Andreas Vesalius* 56–77.

folio number had been checked, and correcting it where necessary [Fig. 2.2].[69] After about a page and a half, there are no more crosses, but the emendations of folio numbers continue. This requires looking up the indicated folio for each entry and, if it turns out to be wrong, hunting around for the correct folio. As one quickly realises when one retraces the annotator's steps to verify even just a few entries, this is a weary task indeed. To warrant such trouble, a functioning index must have been of great utility to the reader.

A number of readers went beyond correcting the indices and customised them to their interests and needs. As is clear from the quotation above, from the second edition of the *Small Book* onwards the previously clunky set of indices was replaced with a more streamlined version. Under the heading for a disease, it no longer listed the relevant plant names and their use, but merely a folio number and key letter that helped locate the passage on the page. In some copies, readers went to the trouble of looking up the entry and writing the plant names back into the index. This suggests that this information was useful to them, and that they found the new index perhaps a little too streamlined. But it also shows us how readers imposed their priorities. In a copy of the *Vertuose boke*, the plant names are written back in for about seventy diseases in the index, sometimes for every single entry. Conversely, for some distilled waters in the main body of the herbal section, all its indications against various diseases are indicated by keywords in the margin – perhaps these waters were readily available to the reader, and they wished for a quick overview of how they could be used. The result is a highly customised copy geared towards the reader's interest in certain diseases and certain remedies, but also to a certain way of retaining, visualising, and navigating that information.[70]

One annotator of the *Large Book* went further still; as well as correcting the printed table of contents, they decided to construct their own index altogether on an empty flyleaf [Fig. 2.3].[71] For most parts of the book, this index provides a selection of topics that broadly follows Brunschwig's structuring principles, such as chapters dedicated to certain distillation techniques or to the treatment of specific diseases. But for the book's second part, which deals with the manufacture of compound remedies, the annotator uses their own categories. Where the printed index listed compound remedies according to disease indications, this reader indexed them according to their form – as syrups, electuaries, oils, etc. In this part of the book at least, the reader seems more interested in the physical forms of remedies and how to make them than in Brunschwig's

69   Copy Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 2166, fol. 18r.

70   Copy Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Botany Arnold GEN Ka B83.2 le.

71   Copy Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/2 M.med.38.
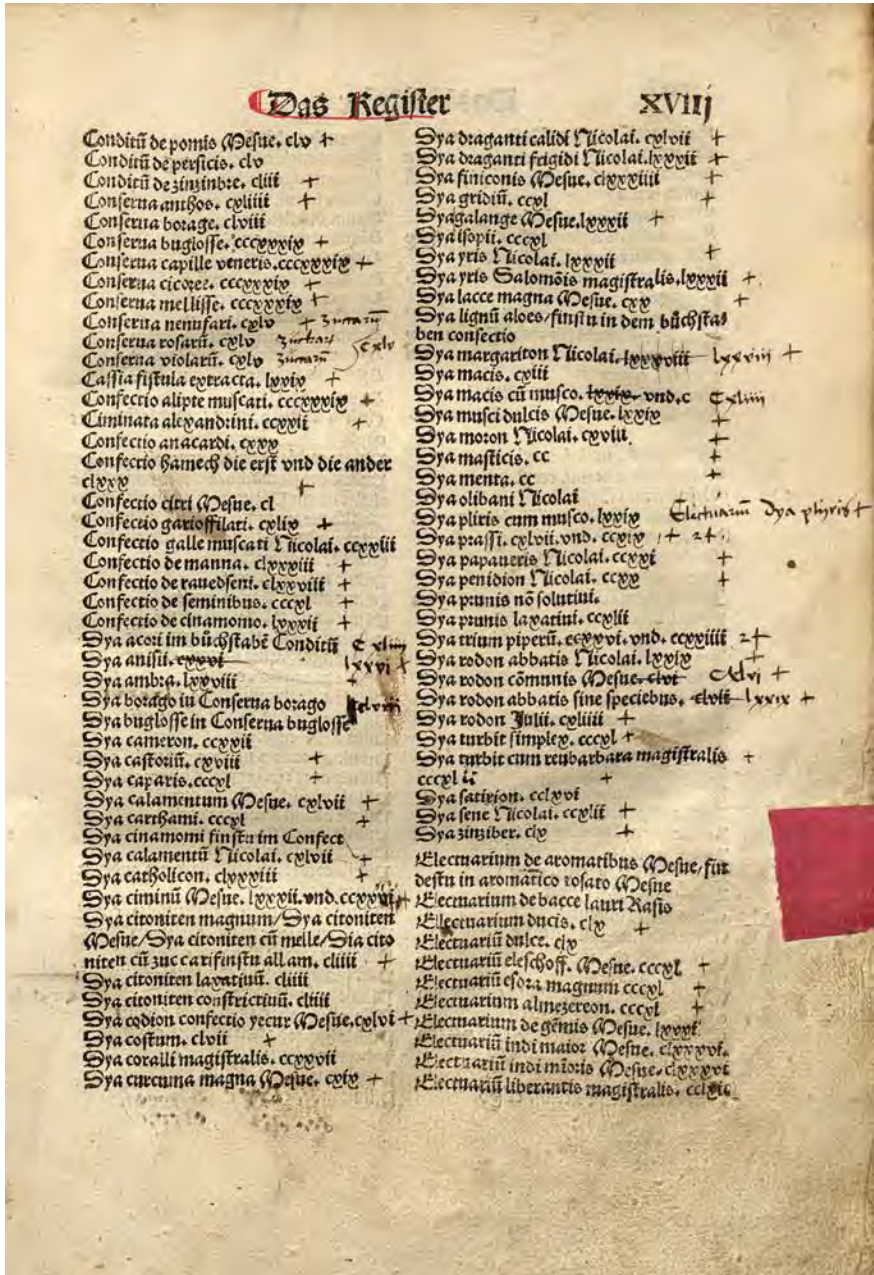
FIGURE 2.2 Printed alphabetical index with handwritten notes and corrections. Hieronymus Brunschwig, *Liber de Arte Distillandi de Compositis* (Strasbourg, Johann Grüninger: 1512), fol. 18r. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 2166
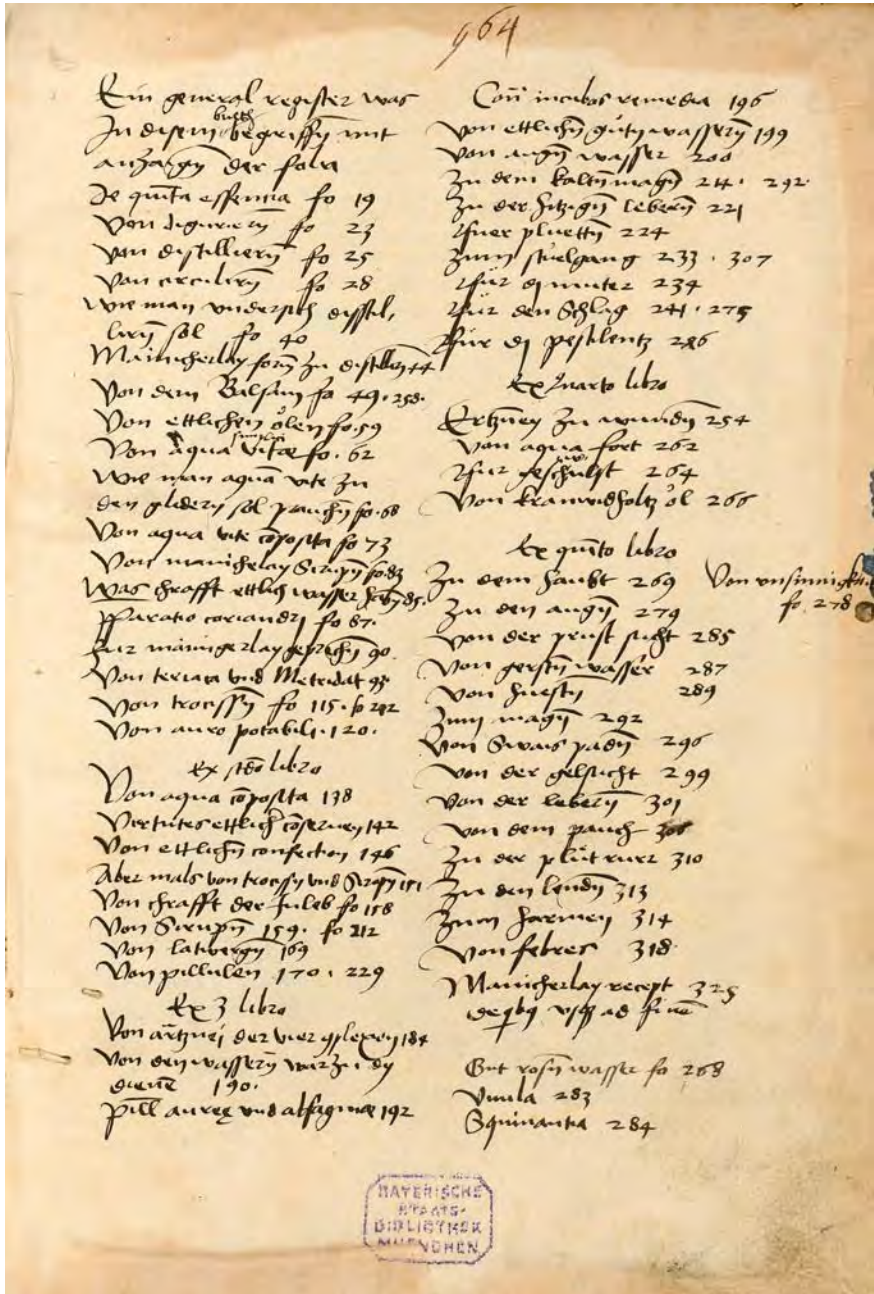
FIGURE 2.3 'A general list of what is contained in this book, with indication of the folio'.
           Handwritten customised index on pre-bound flyleaf in Hieronymus Brunschwig,
           Liber de Arte Distillandi de Compositis (Strasbourg, Johann Grüninger: 1519).
           Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/2 M.med. 38

nosological categories, and customised their copy accordingly with a bespoke navigation tool.

These kinds of interventions are a prime example of why we should think of annotations not merely as signs of "reading" but of different modalities of "book use". They show not only what people read, but also how they chose to navigate and organise the text, using, correcting, and modifying the printed tools provided, or constructing their own according to their priorities. In this way, annotations highlight the different pathways of discontinuous reading by which users navigated the 'discourse colony' of Brunschwig's more miscellaneous sections.

7 Reading Matter: Stones, Cataracts, and the Vernacular of Disease

Within their discontinuous reading, book users quite naturally focused on some areas more than others. Generally speaking, annotations are more frequent in the indices and the herbal than in the chapters on distilling techniques. This could mean that some readers preferred to use their copies more as medical reference works than as technical manuals, but we must also bear in mind that the sequence of technical chapters invited more continuous reading and perhaps did not need as much customisation.

Where readers focused their annotation efforts on particular medical topics, two sets of conditions stand out: 'the stone' and diseases of the eyes. This can be seen quite clearly in annotated indices; for example, in a copy of the *Vertuose boke*, the annotator inserted the plant names for about half of the entries in the index under *for to withdryve and consume the stone*, and even manually added an entry that had perhaps been missed in the compilation of the index.[72] In nine other surviving copies, passages concerning the eyes and the stone stand out in the amount of annotation they receive. This includes the full spectrum of interventions we see in Brunschwig's books, from crosses or other marks in the margin to keywords ('against the stone', 'for the eyes', etc.), to the addition of entire recipes on a flyleaf.

In a few copies, all of these annotations are in the vernacular. In other cases, German and Latin are used interchangeably. Within the same copy of the *Small Book*, eye remedies are annotated *pro oculis* and *clare augen*. The annotator of another copy wrote a number of Latin disease terms in the margins, and where the printed text states that cocklebur water is good for stones both in the bladder and the kidney, this is reflected in the margin by the words *lapidem*,

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72   Copy Manchester, John Rylands Library, 18946, fol. c4v.

renibus, and *vesica*, connected by inked lines to form a tiny branching diagram of the kind scholars liked to use for organising and memorising information. On one occasion, however, even this learned reader annotated in German, *für den stain*.[73] Copies of the *Small Book* with annotations for the stone include two of monastic provenance, and here the annotations are mostly in Latin, as might be expected. In the Himmerod copy, variations on *contra calculum* are used throughout. In the Tegernsee copy, the annotations use either *lapis* or *calculus* for most indications, but revert to the vernacular to mark a passage *für den gryeß* (for the grit), a condition where the mineral substance does not form a single stone, but a sand-like grit. It is tempting to speculate that the annotator used the Latin technical terms for what he thought of as textbook examples of a solid stone, but resorted to a less codified term in the vernacular to highlight a condition that, just as it was caused by a less concrete substance, was also less clearly defined in the annotator's mind.

To understand why readers seized upon these complaints in particular, it will be helpful to explore what they meant for the patient, and how they were usually treated. 'The stone' could refer to solid concretions in the urinary tract, such as bladder and kidney stones, or, as we have seen, to a sort of grit that could be passed in the urine. These were much more common complaints in the early modern period than they are now, often causing prolonged, excruciating pain and bloody urine. One of the most common eye complaints was a partial or entire loss of sight caused by clouding of the cornea or lens, sometimes known as cataracts. Both types of conditions could be treated by surgical interventions, but lithotomy (or 'cutting for the stone') and couching cataracts were painful and risky – so much so that many practitioners wanted nothing to do with them. In fifteenth-century Italy, many general surgeons and learned doctors explicitly refused to perform the operation, so that it was left in the hands of a distinct group of practitioners who exclusively performed one specific procedure, hundreds of times per year. Difficult and risky treatments such as cutting for the stone, repairing hernias, or couching cataracts cried out for such narrow specialisation of manual skill, which was passed on by apprenticeship, often within the same families.[74] We know less about these operations in the German lands except that here, too, it was often done by specialists. For instance, the author and learned surgeon Jakob Ruf from Zurich was known as

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73   Copy Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/2 M.med. 35.
74   Park K., "Stones, Bones and Hernias: Surgical Specialists in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Italy", in French R.K. et al. (eds.), *Medicine from the Black Death to the French Disease* (Aldershot: 1998) 110–130; Savoia P., "Skills, Knowledge, and Status: The Career of an Early Modern Italian Surgeon", *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 93:1 (2019) 27–54.

a *lithotomus* or *steinschnyder* (stone-cutter) rather than a general *scherer*, and wrote a manual on the 'ophthalmic art' in the 1540s. Another surgeon, Kaspar Stromayr, penned a *Practica* that described cutting for stones and hernias as well as removing cataracts. Neither work was published, serving instead to pass on technical knowledge to sons and apprentices.[75]

Brunschwig himself emphasises the specialist skill required for the procedure. 'As for the cutting', he writes, 'one can hardly write about it properly, because it should be cut by masters who have seen it before and learned it, so I will not write of it here'.[76] Even in the *Cirurgia*, where such a discussion might be more appropriate, Brunschwig does not mention the operation, which perhaps indicates that he was not one of those specially trained masters. Nor does he advertise the remedies in his distillation books as a straightforward substitute for the operation. In the disease index of the *Small Book*, he writes 'in truth I have rarely seen a solid, hard stone expelled except by cutting'. However, when the concretion is not yet 'complete and solidified', then 'it may be consumed with these waters'. The index contains five whole sections on stone-related treatments, from 'gravel in the loins or bladder' to waters that 'expel and consume' a more solid stone.[77] Distilled waters could help with eye problems, too; for example, 'radish water melts away the moisture that is in the cornea of the eyes, which is how people are blinded by cataracts'.[78] Whereas surgical treatment required access to a specialist and remained both risky and painful, Brunschwig's distilled waters offered relatively safe, less invasive alternatives that could be purchased in a pharmacy or prepared in a well-equipped kitchen.

In addition to their curative effect, Brunschwig's treatments of the stone and the eyes might also have appealed to readers and annotators because they couched disease in relatable language. He explains the formation of stones and cataracts in terms of humours and primary qualities, the basic terms of learned theory familiar to many people. Stones or gravel form through the concretion of accumulated phlegm, either through the influence of excessive heat or cold, resulting in different symptoms that need to be treated with corresponding cold or hot medicines. Similarly, cataracts could form in response to excessive heat or cold in the head.[79] In his proposed cures, however, Brunschwig talks less about humours or qualities and more about localised material changes.

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75   Steinke H., "Vom Schererlehrling zum Chirurgenmeister", in Keller H. (ed.), *Jakob Ruf, ein zürcher Stadtchirurg und Theatermacher im 16. Jahrhundert* (Zurich: 2006) 55–65.
76   Brunschwig, *Large Book*, fol. 332v.
77   Brunschwig, *Small Book*, fol. 169r.
78   Brunschwig, *Small Book*, fol. 135v.
79   Brunschwig, *Large Book*, fol. 210v.

As we have seen, he claims that his distilled waters 'melt away', 'expel', or 'consume' the peccant matter of cataracts and stones. He even invites readers to look out for the material evidence: 'receive the urine in a glass, and you will find something resembling sand in it; thus you see that the stone is driven from the person'.[80] While his account of cataracts and stones begins with principles of traditional Galenic medicine, in framing the action of his remedies and people's bodily experience of the disease, he shifts to specific pathological substances in particular parts of the body and how they could be dispersed or expelled.

This sort of hybrid account of the body and its diseases was widespread among early moderns. Laypeople without university training were often familiar with the basic concept of the four humours, but they were far more likely to frame their experience of disease by referring to the movement of matter in the body, causing 'fluxes' or obstructions.[81] Physicians often spoke the same language to communicate with their paying clients, and even though they were trained in theory to understand disease as an imbalance of the humours, in practice they, too, often approached the problem as one of specific corrupt matter that had to be purged from the patient.[82] As a distiller and a surgeon, Brunschwig was used to thinking about health and disease in terms of material substances, their formation and transformation, within and without the body. Thus his writing on stones and cataracts perhaps attracted annotators' interest not only because they promised safer, less painful alternatives, but also because they were written in a language that resonated with their bodily experiences.

That language was infused with the vernacular of craft practice and daily experience. Even the Latinate annotator of the Tegernsee copy, as we have seen, used Brunschwig's German *gryeß* (grit) as an apt description for something more likely found in one's chamber pot than in a learned medical treatise. A couple of decades after Brunschwig, the medical iconoclast Paracelsus took this kind of medical discourse to the extreme, calling for an entirely vernacular medicine based on the experience of craftsmen, local plants and minerals, and daily life, while rejecting wholesale the Latinate academic tradition. His new

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80   Brunschwig and Ficino, *Medicinarius*, fol. 42v.

81   Rankin A., "Duchess, Heal Thyself: Elisabeth of Rochlitz and the Patient's Perspective in Early Modern Germany", *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 82:1 (2008) 109–144; Rublack U., "Fluxes: The Early Modern Body and the Emotions", *History Workshop Journal* 53:1 (2002) 1–16; Weisser O., "Grieved and Disordered: Gender and Emotion in Early Modern Patient Narratives", *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 43:2 (2013) 247–273.

82   Stolberg M., *Experiencing Illness and the Sick Body in Early Modern Europe* (Basingstoke: 2011) 95–142.

approach sought to explain human physiology and pathology entirely in terms of specific substances and their actions and movements in the body, guided by an inner alchemist. In this chemical view, the mineral deposits that gave rise to 'the stone' were elevated from an idiosyncratic condition, the domain of a specialist, to a general paradigm for a whole class of 'tartaric' diseases.[83] My point here is not to paint Brunschwig as any kind of teleological forerunner of Paracelsianism; rather, he illustrates a more subtle blend of Latinate and vernacular medical cultures in the early decades of the sixteenth century, which are still something of a blind spot in the history of medicine, overshadowed by an ostensibly radical Paracelsian moment. Brunschwig was himself something of a striped layman, more secure in the vernacular than in Latin, combining his understanding of medical theory with his hands-on experience of matter and disease, in a language that resonated with a range of readers and annotators.

8   Conclusion

Brunschwig had a clear didactic mission to provide medical knowledge in the vernacular, to an audience that coalesced around the common man. While this was not a clearly-defined category, Brunschwig's audience statements and especially the images in his works can tell us something about this new kind of vernacular reader. By superimposing the visual trope of the striped layman on his audience, Brunschwig's books construct a model reader of the emerging middling sort, with the capacity to supplement the experiential knowledge of the artisan with a modicum of bookish learning. While this sort of social upstart was a thorn in the side of the older intellectual elite, Brunschwig's books signal a change in attitude towards experience, particulars, vernacular books, and their readers, causing even such a dyed-in-the-wool humanist as Brunfels to change his mind.

As the annotations in surviving copies show, Brunschwig's unapologetically vernacular project did not always attract readers who thought and annotated exclusively in the vernacular. A large proportion of annotations combine German and Latin, sometimes interchangeably, sometimes using Latin terms for well-known medical conditions but resorting to Brunschwig's apt vernacular descriptions of less codified symptoms such as the dreaded 'grit'. From learned physicians to artisans, readers made books their own – through material practices of binding, inscribing, and rubrication, but also by appropriating

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83   Pagel W., *Paracelsus: An Introduction to Philosophical Medicine in the Era of the Renaissance* (Basel: 1958) 152–161.

the content through marks on the page, annotated tables of contents, and bespoke indices. These reflect discontinuous reading practices that allow us to identify common emphases on certain topics, notably debilitating and widespread diseases such as cataracts or the stone. Here Brunschwig offers not only self-help alternatives to painful and risky surgery, but also, I argue, a relatable vernacular of bodily experience that describes diseases in familiar material terms of movement, concretion, and dispersal.

What kind of vernacular reader, then, emerges from Brunschwig's printed books and their annotated survivors? Both Brunschwig's imagined readers and his real annotators fall on a skewed spectrum. While his intended audience ranges from those who can just about read in the vernacular to learned readers, his core readership is the striped layman, who could grasp theoretical points, perhaps including Latin terminology, as well as practical instructions. The annotations range from vernacular artisanal voices to Latinate readers, but the majority of copies show a combination of languages. These point towards a "vernacular" reader as a somewhat elusive hybrid category. Just like the layman's stripes resist binary categorisation and insist upon being both, or in between, most annotators inscribe themselves somewhere between lay and learned culture. A surgeon or other medical artisan, even one less well-read than Brunschwig, might organise his expertise and reading around Latin medical terms, and a learned physician might find much of practical use in Brunschwig's book and use annotations to relate their findings back to their formal training. Going back to the timber-frame model of medical language, perhaps we can usefully characterise vernacular readers of medical books as *Fachwerk* readers. They appreciate Brunschwig's rich vernacular of practical medicine, for all that it is occasionally cobbled together haphazardly from his reading and personal experience, and their annotations serve to strengthen and re-order the timber framing of the edifice for their own purposes, adding a Latinate supporting beam or filling in a corner with their own vernacular knowledge.

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The *Hortulus animae* – An Archive of Medieval Prayer Book Literature

Stefan Matter

1 The *Hortulus animae* – An Early Printed Prayer Book

Although books were produced in considerable numbers for private prayer in the Late Middle Ages, suggesting that demand for them must have been enormous, printing played only a subordinate role in this particular field during the first decades after the introduction of the printing press. At first glance this may seem surprising, since it is the very essence of printed books to be orientated towards a broad market and hence to have a distinct preference for seizing on secular and spiritual reading matter for lay people.

The fact that this reluctance to employ the press to produce prayer books applies in particular to the German-speaking realm and thus to the home of the art of printing may well be connected to the intimate character of this type of book. Throughout the entire Middle Ages and long after, books for private, non-liturgical prayer were generally in the personal possession of individual readers. The conversation between the individual and God, for which these books were used, is of its very essence a personal one. This is reflected in the outward appearance of the books as well as in the selection of texts. With regard to the latter in particular, it can be observed that German-language prayers books are, in general and in the best sense of the word, unique items: such prayer books hardly ever exhibit the same combination of texts. While the prayers and meditations themselves may have been transmitted to us many – in some cases hundreds of – times, each manuscript prayer book arranges them in a new and different sequence, one which appeared meaningful to the scribe or commissioner, whether a man or a woman. Against this particular book-historical background, the idea of a printed prayer book with a predetermined order of the individual texts was not immediately obvious.

Circumstances were different in Romance-speaking Europe, where the Book of Hours became widespread as a book type from the fourteenth century onwards. The Book of Hours (*Livre d'heures*) has at its command a fairly stable

core of largely standardized texts.[1] Nonetheless, some degree of individualization took place, albeit primarily in the realm of decoration.[2] This type of book was ideally suited for printed editions and it is, therefore, hardly surprising that during the 1480s printers in Venice, Lyon, and then especially in Paris, recognized this potential and exploited it. In the decades around the turn of the century a total of several thousand editions were published by dozens of printers, the majority with Latin texts, but also some in the vernacular. It is no coincidence that the specific marker of these printed prayer books is precisely their ornamentation with images and decorative borders. It is the design and layout of these books that the printers could vary and even advertise on the title pages as a distinguishing feature of their editions which actually vary little in terms of their textual content.[3]

The Book of Hours never really gained a foothold in German-speaking areas: instead, prayer books continued to be characterized by motley collections of texts compiled according to personal preference, collections most easily realizable in manuscript form.[4] Various printed prayer books did indeed exist, especially of shorter individual texts, but hardly any of these editions were printed more than once.[5] That did not change until the *Hortulus animae* (first published in 1498) which for this reason alone marks a turning point in prayer-book literature.

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1 A good introduction is provided by Wieck R.S., "Prayer for the People: The Book of Hours", in Hammerling R. (ed.), *A History of Prayer: The First to the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden – Boston: 2008) 389–440; most recently also Reinburg V., *French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c. 1400–1600* (Cambridge: 2012); still essential: Leroquais V., *Les livres d'heures*, 4 vols. (Paris: 1927–1943).

2 For an introduction see Plotzek J.M., "Breviar, Stundenbuch, Gebetbuch", in Euw A.v. – Plotzek J.M. (eds.), *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig*, vols. 1–2 (Cologne: 1982), vol. 2, 11–47.

3 Zöhl C., "Die zentrale Rolle der Marginalien und der Reichtum des Bordürendekors im Stundenbuchdruck", in Tenschert H. – Nettekoven I. (eds.), *Horae B.M.V. 365 gedruckte Stundenbücher der Sammlung Bibermühle 1487–1586*, 9 vols. (Ramsen: 2003–2015), vol. 9, 4145–4218.

4 Hamburger J.F., "Another Perspective: The Book of Hours in Germany", in Hindman S. – Marrow J.H. (eds.), *Books of Hours Reconsidered* (Turnhout: 2013) 97–152.

5 The earliest dated edition of a book of hours was printed by Günter Zainer in Augsburg in 1471 (GW 12981, Germ.), then Italian places of publication initially became dominant and only individual editions appeared in German-speaking areas: Strasbourg (ca. 1478 with Reyser, GW 12967); Basel (1480 with Richel, GW 12948; ca. 1482/86 with Amerbach, GW 12949); Nuremberg (ca. 1482 by the Augustinian Hermits, GW 12965); Augsburg (ca. 1483 and again ca. 1485 with Sorg, GW 12982 or 12983); Ulm (ca. 1482 with Johann Zainer the Elder, GW 12975; 1484 with Dinckmut, GW 12990); and Lübeck (ca. 1477/78 with Brandis, GW 12959; 1485 with Ghotan, GW 13003).

The *Hortulus animae* can most simply be described as a book type, much like the Book of Hours, since not every edition of the *Hortulus animae* includes the same texts, although the compilations of texts largely coincide.[6] Approximately the first fifteen editions of the *Hortulus animae* still diverge considerably from one another with regard to their selection and combination of texts, but then the corpus of texts soon becomes stable. Hitherto, barely any research has been carried out into this aspect, possibly because the uniform title of the printed collection of prayers and the subsequent stabilization of the text gave a misleading impression of homogeneity and uniformity.[7]

The following discussion will focus on one particular edition of the *Hortulus* which plays an exceptional role in the early history of the text, namely through its attempt – not taken up again later – to establish an, as it were, scholarly arranged edition of the text. The edition in question is listed as L5 in Oldenbourg's bibliography of *Hortulus* editions and appeared with the Strasbourg printer Johann Grüninger on 4 March 1501.[8] This edition was preceded by four earlier ones, the first in March 1498, and over one hundred further editions followed in the approximately twenty-five years leading up to the Reformation. The four preceding editions were all in Latin; hence our edition

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6   Haimerl F.X., *Mittelalterliche Frömmigkeit im Spiegel der Gebetsbuchliteratur Süddeutschlands* (Munich: 1952) 123–131, 138–148 and *passim*; Ochsenbein P., "Hortulus animae", in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, 2nd ed., vol. 4 (Berlin/New York: 1983) 147–154; Oldenbourg M.C., *Hortulus animae. [1494]–1523. Bibliographie und Illustration* (Hamburg: 1973) (in the following, individual editions listed in this catalogue will be referred to with the L-numbers used there). All editions and known copies prior to 1500 are recorded in the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (GW); those which appeared subsequently are listed in the *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts* (VD16); its constantly updated online versions list all openly available digitized editions: http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/HORAE.htm bzw. http://www.vd16.de/ [accessed 28 April 2021].

7   Initial observations, developed further here, can be found in Matter S., "Transkulturelle Gärten. Zu den frühen Ausgaben des *Hortulus animae*, des *Seelengärtleins* und des *Wurtzgartens*", in Kasten I. – Auteri L. (eds.), *Transkulturalität und Translation. Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters im europäischen Kontext* (Berlin – Boston: 2017) 291–299.

8   VD16 H 5076. I have compared two copies of this edition: 1) Adelhausenstiftung Freiburg i.Br., A 1229 (previous inventory number 11747); digitized at http://dl.ub.uni-freiburg.de/diglit /adhs-1229. Cf. Heim I., "Ein 'Hortulus animae' aus Straßburg als Beispiel für Laienfrömmigkeit am Oberrhein", in Bock S. (ed.), *Zu Dürers Zeiten. Druckgraphik des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts aus dem Augustinermuseum Freiburg* (Freiburg i.Br.: 1991) 27–34 and 220, cat.-no. 160; Bock S., *Der Inventar- und Ausstattungsbestand des säkularisierten Dominikanerinnen-Neuklosters Adelhausen in Freiburg i.Br.* (Freiburg i.Br.: 1997) 454; 2) Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, Inc. 766 (FF links VI 13), cf. Scherrer G. (ed.), *Verzeichnis der Incunabeln der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen* (St. Gallen: 1880) 125. The illustrations in this chapter stem from this edition.

is the first *Hortulus animae* in German and its title was translated into German as *Wurtzgarten*. In this edition, however, the original Latin texts are not simply translated but are, in many cases, replaced by texts in German, which were apparently regarded as a more suitable alternative. Despite all of this the German *Hortulus* largely retains the original structure and sequence of the textual compilation and thus the overall concept of the Latin *Hortulus animae*.

This arrangement comprises the following sections: title page, calendar, table of contents, various offices, i.e., collections of prayers which follow the liturgical Hours (including the *Officium parvum Beatae Mariae Virginis*), prayers for individual feast days and to a large number of saints (so-called suffrages), prayers for attending Mass and for the commemoration of the dead, and, finally, numerous prayers by various authorities (by popes, Bernard of Clairvaux etc.) for all possible occasions as well as an exhaustive allegorical interpretation of the Mass. Without exception, all editions of the *Hortulus* – Latin as well as German – are illustrated throughout with mostly small-format woodcuts. This, too, is a singular feature that was not common in German-language prayer books.[9] The illustrations in particular may have contributed significantly to the popularity of this prayer book.

The compilation of texts reveals the *Hortulus animae* to be a private prayer book.[10] While it may have been taken into the choir, it could not be used during the choir office itself. Unlike the breviary it does not provide a cleric who is travelling, for example, with the texts for the liturgy of the Hours. Rather, in the hours reserved for private reading and devotion the worshippers immersed themselves in the various prayers, prayer cycles and the few explanatory texts. This was also done by the clerics who were obliged to pray the Hours, and who are identified as the primary target readership of the *Hortulus animae* simply through its use of Latin. The renditions in the vernacular were the first to target a different purchasing public.

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9   On the illustration of prayer books in German see also Cermann R., "Über den Export deutschsprachiger Stundenbücher von Paris nach Nürnberg", *Codices manuscripti* 75 (2010) 9–24, as well as the pertinent volumes of the *Katalog der deutschsprachigen illustrierten Handschriften des Mittelalters*.

10   On this category see Ochsenbein P., "Deutschsprachige Privatgebetbücher vor 1400", in Honemann V. – Palmer N.F. (eds.), *Deutsche Handschriften 1100–1400. Oxforder Kolloquium 1985* (Tübingen: 1988) 379–399.

2 The Two Earliest German-Language Editions of the *Hortulus animae* and the Influence of Sebastian Brant

The edition of the *Hortulus animae* presented here in more detail is of particular interest from a book-historical point of view. It belongs in the early phase of the textual history of the *Hortulus*; indeed, it is an edition which can possibly be described as a failed publishing experiment. Whatever the case may be, it bears witness to the tentative attempts on the part of the printers to gain a foothold, with varying degrees of success, in the market for printed private prayer books, a market already fiercely competitive around 1500. Despite the enormous overall success enjoyed by the *Hortulus animae*, the first German-language edition, introduced here, was one of the unsuccessful versions, which only serves to increase its interest for the scholar.

Here it is worth turning our attention to the very chequered genesis of the earliest *Hortulus* editions, which reveals a possible reason for the fact that the first German-language edition (L5) did not become a success in the sense that it was never re-issued in the format Grüniger introduced. Moreover, a look at these early days of the *Hortulus* allows us some insight into the world of the intellectual elite in the city of Strasbourg around 1500. A leading role was played by one of the protagonists on the stage of European Humanism, namely Sebastian Brant (1458–1521). He accepted an offer from his native city in 1500 and in spring 1501 finally exchanged his position as Professor of Law in Basel for the city administration of Strasbourg, assuming its leadership in the role of Chancellor.[11] Brant exercised a decisive influence on the textual history of the *Hortulus animae*, even if it is not entirely clear whether the prayer book as such particularly interested him. But first things first.

A mere three printers, all of them active in Strasbourg, were responsible for the first fourteen editions of the *Hortulus animae* (1498–1503). The oldest preserved *Hortulus* (in Latin) is at the same time the very first attested edition printed by Wilhelm Schaffener (L1), who published it only two more times, namely in 1500 and 1502 (L4 and. L8).[12] The development of the *Hortulus* and its translations was shaped in the early years by two other Strasbourg printers, Johann Grüninger (Reinhard) and Johannes Wähinger.

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[11] On Brant's biography see Wilhelmi T., "Sebastian Brant. Beiträge zur Biographie", in Roloff H.-G. – Valentin J.-M. – Wels V. (eds.), *Sebastian Brant (1457–1521)* (Berlin: 2008) 11–35.

[12] On Wilhelm Schaffener see Geldner F., *Die deutschen Inkunabeldrucker. Ein Handbuch der deutschen Buchdrucker des XV. Jahrhunderts nach Druckorten*, vol. 1, *Das deutsche Sprachgebiet* (Stuttgart: 1968) 83.

Johannes Reinhard took his name from his Swabian birthplace, Grüninger, and in 1498 was already an established Strasbourg printer who possessed some experience in the field of prayer books as well. Prior to the *Hortulus* (titled *Wurtzgarten*) he had already printed various breviaries and a Book of Hours, as well as four editions of the *Antidotarius animae*.[13] Sebastian Brant's involvement in the history of the *Hortulus* may have been sparked by Grüninger's influential editions of his *Narrenschiff*. Only a few months after the Basel first edition of the *Narrenschiff* (1494), Grüninger produced a reprint with interpolations, which he printed again in 1496 and finally, in 1497 – alongside a reprint of the Latin edition – followed up with *Das nuw schiff von narragonia* as well. With a text considerably altered from Brant's own, Grüninger's highly successful editions constituted not only the basis for the renowned *Narrenschiff* sermons by the preacher at Strasbourg Minster, Johannes Geiler von Kaysersberg, but also the sources for the translations of the *Narrenschiff* into Low German and Dutch. This 'second strand in the history of *Narrenschiff* reception, which runs parallel to the textual history of the original editions by Brant', is sharply criticized by Brant himself in a so-called *Verwahrung* (Protest) which he added to the third Basel edition published by Bergmann von Olpe in 1499.[14] The *Verwahrung* may name no names, but Brant certainly had his eye solely on Johann Grüninger, the very Grüninger who printed the edition of the *Hortulus animae* discussed here.

Johannes Wähinger, on the other hand, does not seem to have worked primarily as a printer at all, since his *Hortulus* editions (L7, L9, L10, L13, L14) are apparently the first products from his press and remain the only ones apart from two smaller printed works.[15] Nonetheless, it was he who, with his first printed edition, could offer a German-language *Hortulus* edition, now under

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13   Breviaries: Schmidt C., *Répertoire Bibliographique Strasbourgeois jusque vers 1530*, 9 vols. (Strasbourg 1894–1958), vol. 1 (1894), nos. 8, 19; numerous others follow. Book of Hours: GW 12968, before 1496. *Antidotarius animae*: Schmidt, *Répertoire Bibliographique Strasbourgeois*, vol. 1, nos. 10, 13, 15, 16; supplemented by a further edition, probably published on 30 June 1503 (no. 63), which, if properly dated, would have come between his *Hortulus* editions L11 and L12.

14   Cf. Voss F., *Das mittelniederdeutsche Narrenschiff* (*Lübeck 1497*) *und seine hochdeutschen Vorlagen*, Niederdeutsche Studien 41 (Cologne – Weimar – Vienna: 1994) esp. 25–35, quotation 27 (*zweite[r] Strang in der Wirkungsgeschichte des Narrenschiffs, der parallel zu der Textgeschichte der Brantschen Originalausgaben verläuft*). The *Verwahrung* is printed there on pages 321–322.

15   It is not possible to identify him unambiguously: cf. Dupeux C. – Lévy J. – Wintzerith A. – Wirth J. (eds.), *La gravure d'illustration en Alsace au XVIe siècle* (Strasbourg: 1992 ff.), vol. 2 (2000) 79–80.

the title *Seelengärtlein* and approved by Sebastian Brant himself.[16] Thus it stands to reason that Sebastian Brant purposefully participated in an enterprise designed to compete with the Grüninger print shop, which over the years had angered him repeatedly through its reprints of the *Narrenschiff*.

This is, of course, merely an assumption. It is, nevertheless, evident that the appearance of Wähinger's *Seelengärtlein* editions that included Brant's approval meant that Grüninger's *Wurtzgarten* was no longer able to compete. Today it is naturally no longer possible to establish with any certainty which of two factors was decisive: a somewhat different selection of German texts translated from the individual Latin texts in the *Hortulus* published in Wähinger's *Seelengärtlein* edition; or the prominence on the title page of the name Brant (and later of Wimpfeling, too, for the Latin editions). However, if Brant had wished, through his involvement in Wähinger's edition, to visit retribution on Grüninger because of the latter's *Narrenschiff* reprints, he doubtlessly succeeded. Be that as it may, it was only with its text in the form for which Brant shared responsibility that the German *Hortulus* went on to become the most successful printed prayer book in the German-speaking territories before the Reformation and to be translated into various other vernaculars.

3   The *Wurzgarten* of 1501 and Its Characteristics

Even though unsuccessful, the work at the centre of this analysis, Grüninger's *Wurtzgarten* of 1501, thus represents the earliest printed edition of the *Hortulus* in German, an edition which was produced with considerable effort and expense. For one thing, this can be deduced from the fact that already in the translation of the first sizeable group of texts Grüninger systematically undertook well-considered substitutions specifically aimed at the target readership he must have had in mind for his printed edition. For example, Grüninger retained only the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, whereas the Latin editions of the *Hortulus* commence with four Offices: the *Officium parvum Beatae Mariae Virginis* is followed by the hymn for the Hours *Matutino tempore Mariae nuntiatur*, with the heading *hore compassionis beate Marie virginis* (AH 30, No. 46). Then follows an Office of the Passion which tradition – as

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16   The complete text of the front matter – according to L9, since L7 can no longer be traced – can be found in Sebastian Brant, *Kleine Texte*, ed. T. Wilhelmi, vols. 1–2 (Stuttgart: 1998), vol. 1.2, 510, no. 380. The exact nature and extent of Brant's participation in the texts of the *Seelengärtlein* await investigation. It will certainly not be possible to assert, as Wilhelmi does, that he translated the *Hortulus animae* into German soon after relocating to Strasbourg (Wilhelmi (ed.), *Sebastian Brant*, vol. 2, Noten zur Edition 150).

here – frequently ascribes to Bonaventura.[17] This, for its part, is supplemented by the hymn for the Hours *Patris sapientia veritas divina* (AH 30, Nr. 13).[18] In the *Wurtzgarten* the latter three Divine Offices are replaced by shorter texts for the Hours of the day.[19] The printed work explicitly comments that these are intended for *ein schlechten leien, der den Curß wie vor stet nit betten kan* (a simple layman who is incapable of praying the set that was laid out here) (fol. 50r). All three of these so-called substitute Offices are structured along analogous lines: for every hour of prayer a certain number of *Pater nosters* and *Ave Marias* are prescribed, seventy-seven in total, which are always to be recited after a short meditation taken from a longer text that is made central to the Office. In the first substitute Office this core text is a translation of the *Patris sapientia*; in the second one of the *Matutino tempore*, and finally, in the third another Passion meditation that was widespread in manuscript (incipit: *Alle herrschaft diente*).[20] Thus while the structure is more or less adopted since the text remains divided into four sections, nonetheless a shift takes place towards a selection of texts obviously intended to conform to the preferences of the German-speaking readership.

Much more complex than adapting the contents of the volume to suit a lay public was the consistent provision of almost all the texts with marginalia, that is, with additional terms and concepts inserted into the margins of the page (*margines*). The marginal glosses are specifically explained in an introductory rubric: *so hat* [*das büchlin*] *Concordanz der bibel neben im spatium und etlich tütsche wort die zweierley gesprochen mögen werden* (Thus [the little book] has a Bible concordance in the space next to the text and a number of German

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17   Bonaventura, *Opera omnia*, ed. A. Lauer, 10 vols. (Quaracchi: 1882–1902), vol. 8, 152–158: *Officium de passione Domini*. On this cf. Distelbrink B., *Bonaventurae scripta authentica, dubia vel spuria critice recensita* (Rome: 1975) 27–28.

18   On the *Patris sapientia veritas divina* see Matter S., "Das Stundenlied *Patris sapientia* und seine deutschsprachigen Übertragungen. Zu einem Schlüsseltext der spätmittelalterlichen Gebetbuchliteratur", in Holznagel F.-J. – Bauschke-Hartung R. – Köbele S. (eds.), *Die Kunst der brevitas. Kleine literarische Formen des deutschsprachigen Mittelalters* (Berlin: 2016) 501–517.

19   For a general overview on texts for the hours see Matter S., *Tagzeitentexte des Mittelalters. Untersuchungen und Texte zur deutschsprachigen Gebetbuchliteratur* (Berlin – Boston: 2021).

20   On such substitute hours see Matter S., "Mittelhochdeutsche Tagzeitentexte im Spannungsfeld von Liturgie und Privatandacht. Zu Formen des Laienstundengebetes im deutschsprachigen Mittelalter", in Lähnemann H. – McLelland N. – Miedema N. (eds.), *Lehren, Lernen und Bilden in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters. XXIII. Anglo-German Colloquium Nottingham 2013* (Tübingen: 2017) 171–185.

FIGURE 3.1 *Hortulus animae* [*Der Wurtzgarten*] (Strasbourg, Johann Grüninger: 4 March 1501), 8°.
St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Inc. 766 [FF links VI 13], fol. [unpag.]/B1r
PHOTO AUTHOR

words that may be spoken (c.q. translated from Latin) in two different ways)
(fol. B1r) [Fig. 3.1].

Thus, two types of marginalia are addressed in this rubric: references to the
Bible and variants in translation. The *Concordanz der bibel* is one of the tradi-
tional apparatus with which scholarly literature was equipped and which was
common in learned writing. It is also encountered as a form of support for the
rubrication of authorities in manuscripts and subsequently carves out a career
in the textual culture of the Humanists. An almost random, but at the same
time telling example can be found in the German and Latin editions of the
Narrenschiff mentioned above. While the margins of the pages in the German
editions are covered with floral borders, in Locher's *Stultifera navis* we find
innumerable references to passages from the Bible and classical literature. Of
course, in the *Hortulus animae* they only appear selectively, for example in the
excerpt from the Passion according to St. John's Gospel from folio 51 onwards
(fol. J3r) [Fig. 3.2].

FIGURE 3.2 *Hortulus animae* [*Der Wurtzgarten*] (Strasbourg, Johann Grüninger: 4 March 1501), 8°.
St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Inc. 766 [FF links VI 13], fols. J2v–J3r
PHOTO AUTHOR

Though uncommon in vernacular prayer books, these kinds of marginal references by no means constitute an exceptional feature in scholarly (printed) texts. This cannot be said about the variant translations noted in the margins of the first *Wurtzgarten* edition. In fact, I know of no other such case in which the process of translation itself is so systematically made evident and reflected upon as in this book. The fact that the majority of German texts in prayer books are translations from Latin source texts is normally not immediately apparent in prayer books. When entire Offices are translated, or the more frequently used individual liturgical prayers, they are generally easy to identify; the Latin *incipit* is also quite often quoted. With most other texts, however, it was quite clearly not in the least important to draw attention to possible sources or to endow the text with authority by citing the name of an author. The procedure employed in this edition of the *Hortulus animae*, namely the systematic citation in a German-language prayer book of the *incipit*s found in the Latin source text, is, therefore, extraordinary.

What this can look like in concrete terms is best illustrated by a double page (fol. 19v–20r) [Fig. 3.3]. It contains passages from the *Laudes* of the Little Office
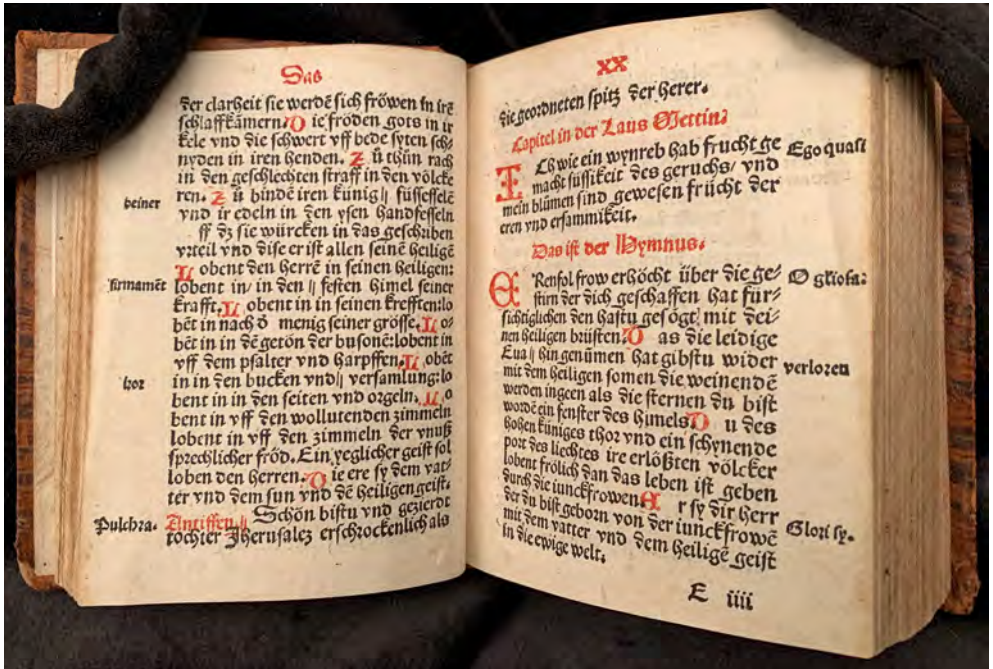
FIGURE 3.3 *Hortulus animae* [*Der Wurtzgarten*] (Strasbourg, Johann Grüninger: 4 March 1501), 8°.
St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Inc. 766 [FF links VI 13], fols. E3v–E4r
PHOTO AUTHOR

of the Blessed Virgin Mary, specifically psalms; the corresponding antiphon; a short chapter reading; and a hymn. The beginnings of texts are indicated by the antiphon; *Pulchra* is printed next to it in the margin at the very bottom of the verso page. The complete antiphon runs *Pulchra es et decora filia Jerusalem terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinate.*[21] It is the antiphon which, in the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, normally accompanies Psalm 148, the last of the five psalms in the *Laudes*, which – as here – is sometimes supplemented by Psalms 149 and 150. The *incipit* to the psalm is only included in the printed *Hortulus* from Psalm 148 onwards; the transitions to the two other psalms are not marked at all (Psalm 150 begins on line ten of folio 19v with *Lobent den herren in seinen heiligen* [Praise ye the Lord in His holy places]). The chapter reading is Ecclesiastes 24:23 (*Ego quasi vitis fructificavi suavitatem odoris et flores mei fructus honoris et honestatis*) and the *incipit* is cited as well. Finally, the

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21 CAO 4418, *Commune Virginum.*

same also applies to the hymn, which is identified by the words *O gloriosa* as the start of the sixth stanza of the second half of the hymn *Quem terra, pontus, aethera*.[22] This second part of this hymn by Venantius Fortunatus was in widespread use in the liturgy as an independent song of praise [Fig. 3.3].[23]

The *incipit*s of source texts cited in the margins provide the reader with references which would, if need be, enable him or her to identify a source text, something which was increasingly important in the scrutiny of sources by Humanist scholars of the period. However, the authority of the prayers printed here in German, marked by the references to the sources, probably carried greater weight. The marginalia sanction the status of the vernacular texts as liturgical prayers, and precisely this liturgical connection seems to have enjoyed particular significance in prayers for the laity.

Let us turn to the *tütsche wort die zweierley gesprochen mögen werden* (German words translated in different ways), since variants in the formulation of a text translated into the vernacular provided in marginal annotations are considerably more unusual than the Latin *incipit*s. Here Grüninger breaks new ground, which makes it harder to classify these marginalia. In the text of the Vulgate the opening verse of Psalm 150 reads: *alleluia laudate Dominum in sanctis eius laudate eum in firmamento virtutis eius*. Here as elsewhere the printed edition offers a literal translation: *Lobent den herren in seinen heiligen: lobent in in den festen himel seiner krafft* (Praise ye the Lord in His holy places: praise ye Him in the firmament of His power). Two parallel dashes before *festen himel* indicate that an alternative formulation for this phrase – namely 'firmament' – is given in the margin. In the text of the Vulgate line 4 of Psalm 150 reads: *laudate eum in tympano et choro laudate eum in cordis et organo*. The printed edition translates this as: *Lobent in in den bucken und versamlung: lobent in in den seiten und orgeln* (Praise Him with the timbrel and dance: Praise Him with stringed instruments and organs). The alternative formulation here pertains to the word *versamlung*, for which *kor* is given in the margin. In both cases the marginal note provides the Germanified Latin lexeme of the Vulgate text. The same principle may be observed in the opening words of the hymn, where the *Gloria tibi Domine* of the main text is translated by *Er sy dir herr*, whilst *Glory sy* is still found in the margin.[24]

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22   AH 50, no. 72, 86–88, here stanzas 6–8 and a doxology.

23   Printed with a modern German translation in Zoozmann R. (ed.), *Laudate Dominum. Lobet den Herrn. Altchristliche Kirchenlieder und geistliche Gedichte* (Munich: 1928) 70–71.

24   The doxology is not printed in the *Analecta Hymnica* but is in Zoozmann, *Laudate Dominum* 70: *Gloria tibi, Domine, / Qui natus es de Virgine, / Cum Patre et Sancto Spiritu, / In sempiterna saecula*.

One at least potentially meaningful variant occurs earlier in the hymn. In the seventh stanza – the second in our Hours – we read: *Quod Eva tristis abstulit, Tu reddis almo germine*. In the main text of the printed edition this is translated as: *Das die leidige Eva hin genummen hat, gibstu wider mit dem heiligen somen* (That which the wretched Eve took away, you restore with the holy seed). In the margin the word *verloren* (lost) is suggested for *hin genummen*, the past participle of the verb *abstulere*. Here, for once, it makes a difference whether Eve, as it were, actively "took away" divine grace or whether she passively "lost" it, in other words, it was stolen from her. However, it would undoubtedly go too far to ascribe to the editor or publisher a position in a theological controversy about Eve's role in the Fall.

Finally, a small number of marginalia serve to elucidate the text. They function on a completely different level. Such marginalia are widespread in the book culture of almost all periods, even if they are commonly added by hand by later readers. In printed books, however, they can also be encountered as printed marginalia. A prominent example from only a little later are the editions of Martin Luther's Bible translation printed in Wittenberg, in which, alongside the prefaces, 'marginal glosses [ensured] that his exegesis of the individual books provided a framework commentary which facilitated comprehension during the reading of them'.[25] Our edition of the *Hortulus* contains an example of such an elucidatory marginal note on fol. 68v [Fig. 3.4], where, in the context of the exegesis of the Mass, the matter of the renunciation of the Hallelujah in the liturgy for Lent is discussed. In the main text it says: *Wan man dz Alleluia, das frölich lobgesang, hinlegt, als im sübitzgisten, so nimpt man ein Tract, das bedüt armuot unnd arbeit dis iomertals* (When the Hallelujah, the joyful song of praise, is omitted, as in the *Septuagesima*, then you [instead] take a *tractus* which signifies the poverty and toil in this valley of woe). The marginal note refers to the term *sübitzgisten* (*Septuagesima*), which, in the first instance, is even repeated in the marginal note: *sübitzgsten das ist der .ii. sonntag vor der herren fastnach und weret biß an Osterabend* (*sübitzgsten*, that is the second Sunday before the Lords' Carnival and lasts until the eve of Easter). Surprisingly, the corresponding Latin term, *Septuagesima*, is not used in this very practical explanation, although in the 'incipit-marginalia' it is precisely the Latin equivalents which are important. This marginal note also strives to facilitate understanding of the text, here by making a technical term from the liturgy accessible [Fig. 3.4].

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25   [...] *Randglossen* [*sorgten dafür*]*, dass seine Auslegungen der einzelnen Bücher einen kommentierenden Verständnisrahmen bei ihrer Lektüre bildeten.* Michel S., *Die Kanonisierung der Werke Martin Luthers im 16. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: 2016) 19.
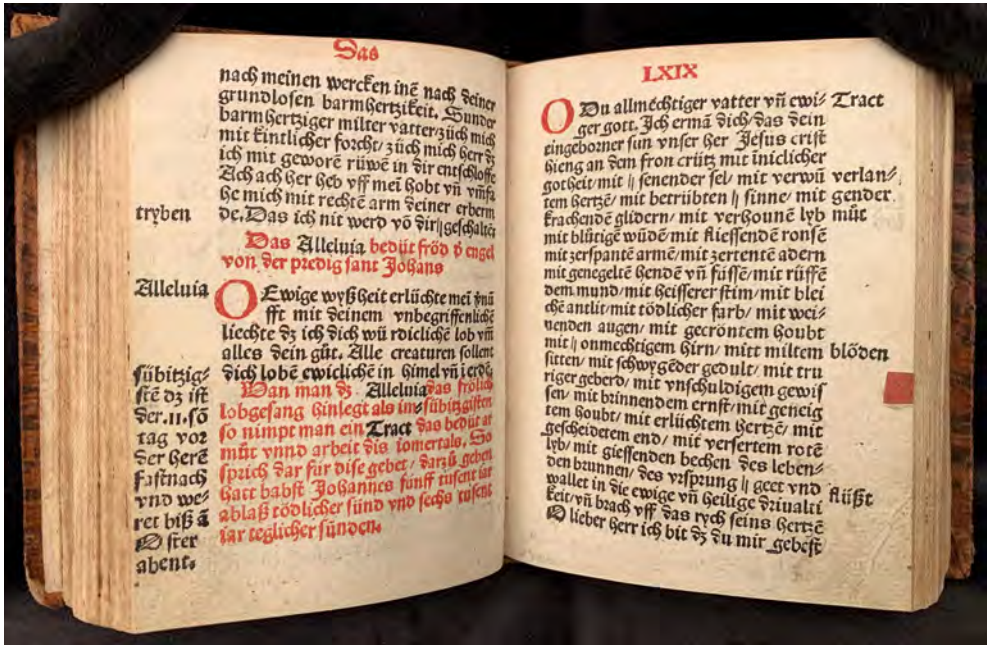
FIGURE 3.4   *Hortulus animae* [*Der Wurtzgarten*] (Strasbourg, Johann Grüninger: 4 March 1501), 8°.
St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Inc. 766 [FF links VI 13], fol. L4v–L5r
PHOTO AUTHOR

What emerges from all these examples of marginalia employed in the 1501 *Wurzgarten* is the awareness of the difficulty of adequately translating a Latin text – what is more, a liturgical, hence canonical, one – into the German idiom. Moreover, they also express the attempt to meet this difficulty head on, namely by using the tools of philology, almost of textual criticism. In all its simplicity, this strategy is able to create awareness of the problematic nature of verbal expression in prayer (and beyond) and at the same time it supports the efforts to establish authority by means of the *incipit*s.

4   The Place of *Der Wurtzgarten* in the Printing History of the *Hortulus animae*

To sum up, it can be stated that, thanks to the marginal notes, an edition was created which makes it easier for the reader to connect to the Latin textual tradition and thereby, in certain cases, to the liturgy as well, while simultaneously endeavouring to provide comprehensible prayer texts. This procedure

demanded a great deal of the reader and also of the printer. Grüninger's format with marginal glosses was not adopted by any of the later printers during the long history of the *Hortulus animae* printing tradition. Even Grüninger's own, second edition of the *Wurtzgarten* (L12) is, as far as its scholarly apparatus is concerned, of an almost astonishing simplicity: the edition contains no marginalia, and the reader even had to do without, for example, an index.[26]

Despite this particular publishing failure – to which Sebastian Brant's support of a competing edition might well have contributed – the *Hortulus animae* became one of the most frequently re-issued and reprinted books in the early sixteenth century. The beginnings of its textual history can be described as a repeatedly renewed compilation of the medieval prayer tradition transmitted in manuscripts; its further development – the standardisation of the textual compilation – so to speak as the canonization of this tradition. For this reason, it is not inappropriate to describe the *Hortulus animae* as the archive of medieval prayer-book literature.[27]

In the context of the Reformation new, confessional prayer books were produced, and the *Hortulus animae* was refashioned in the process. Luther himself still read his *Hortulus* as a matter of course. He even had Georg Rhau in Wittenberg publish his own *Hortulus animae*, the *Lustgertlin der Seelen*, which was conceived according to Reformation principles and only has the title in common with the medieval book.[28] That would, however, be a different textual history and require a study of its own.

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26   VD16 H 5079. As well as the marginalia, it lacks, obviously even deliberately, a table of contents, for example, as can be surmised from the codicological details.

27   On the concept of the archive see Singelin M., "Archivmetapher", in Lepper M. – Raulff R. (eds.), *Handbuch Archiv. Geschichte, Aufgaben, Perspektiven* (Stuttgart: 2016) 21–27.

28   VD16 ZV 13181. On this, see, e.g., Cerkovnik G., "Hortuli animae iz let 1516 in 1548 v Narodni in univerzitetni knjižnici v Ljubljani: predreformacijski molitvenik in njegova luteranska transformacija" [Hortuli animae from the Years 1516 and 1548 in the Collection of the National and University Library of Ljubljana: The Pre-Reformation Prayer Book and its Lutheran Transformation], *Ars & Humanitas* 5 (2011) 123–139.

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Ortulus Anime. Dyses Büchlin Ein Wurtz Gart Ist Der Sel, Die Sich Dar in Erfrist In Einem Schowenden Leben Dardurch Ir öwigs Würt Geben (Strasbourg, Johann Grüninger: 1501).

Ortulus anime. Der selen gärtlin wurde ich gnent Von dem latein man mich noch kent Zuo Straßburg in seym vatterlant Hat mich Sebastianus Brant Besehenn vnnd vast corrigiert Zuo tütschem auch vil transferiert (Strasbourg, Johannes Wähinger: 1501).

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Printers' Strategies and Readers' Responses: Vernacular Editions of the Deventer Printers Richard Pafraet and Jacob van Breda

Suzan Folkerts

1 Introduction

The publication of this volume and the conference preceding it is an indication of how, after one or two decades of focusing on the reader and the use of books, the time is ripe for a renewed focus on the production of books, a focus in which printers' strategies and readers' responses to those strategies converge. In order to contribute to the knowledge of vernacular European printing history, I would like to discuss in this essay the vernacular works of the first Deventer printers, Richard Pafraet and Jacob van Breda. At the dawn of the sixteenth century, Deventer (at the IJssel river in the diocese of Utrecht) was the most important centre of book production in the Low Countries. About 25% of all printed books in the Low Countries were produced there.[1] Thus far, Richard Pafraet's and Jacob van Breda's production has mainly been studied in relation to humanism and the Latin school of Deventer. Their vernacular works have not been studied as such, nor have their devotional books. Due to the highly influential Devotio Moderna movement, which developed from Deventer, the circulation of vernacular devotional literature already flourished in this region before the coming of the printing press. Therefore, it is interesting to study the influence of the printing press especially for this genre. This impact is not straightforward.

As outstanding examples of the literary production of the Devotio Moderna and of the wider European tradition of vernacular Bible translations, after presenting Richard Pafraet's and Jacob van Breda's vernacular editions, I will

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1 Cooijmans-Keizer L., "Early Printing along the IJssel: Contextualising Deventer's Success as a Centre of Incunabula Production", in Hagan A. (ed.), *Spotlights on Incunabula: Production, Reception, Collection* (Leiden: in preparation). The *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* (ISTC) gives 1554 editions for the Netherlands and 846 for Belgium, in sum 2400. Deventer has 641 hits in the ISTC, which is 26,7%. In the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (GW) Deventer has 707 hits whereas the sum of editions of the towns in the Northern and Southern Low Countries is 2670, so again Deventer accounts for 26,4%.

focus on Jacob van Breda's editions of the Middle Dutch *Epistles and Gospels*, also called plenaries. They contain Bible readings for the entire liturgical year with accompanying sermons. The translation of these readings from the Latin Vulgate originates in the Devotio Moderna movement, making the Middle Dutch *Epistles and Gospels* a very popular genre, forming, in the words of Van Thienen and Goldfinch, 'bulky quartos'.[2] They were printed around 45 times in the Low Countries in the period from 1477 until 1541.[3] The essay follows up on my previous research projects, in which I studied readers and their uses of Middle Dutch Bible manuscripts and Middle Dutch printed New Testament editions.[4] As part of that research, my study of the printed *Epistles and Gospels*, as a special redaction of the New Testament translation, focused on owners, readers, and traces of use in individual copies. The research corpus of 45 editions and around 200 copies was so large that the individual printers and the differences between the editions could not receive the attention they deserve, as they were not the main research topic. Focusing now on one place of production, namely Deventer, makes it possible for me to make a turn from readers towards producers and study in more detail the two editions of the *Epistles and Gospels* that were printed there by Jacob van Breda.

In this contribution, I will first discuss the vernacular output of the first Deventer printers Richard Pafraet and Jacob van Breda in relation to their Latin work and to their intended or real public, and then focus on the editions of the Middle Dutch *Epistles and Gospels* by Jacob van Breda. He presented his editions as a second version, which suggests that he did not simply copy previous

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2   Van Thienen G. – Goldfinch J., *Incunabula printed in the Low Countries. A Census* (ILC) (Nieuwkoop: 1999) xi.

3   Mertens Th., "The Gouda Gospel Sermons. The Glosses of a Successful Middle Dutch Peri-cope Collection (1477–1553)", in O'Mara V. – Stoop P. (eds.), *Circulating the Word of God in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Catholic Preaching and Preachers across Manuscript and Print (c. 1450 to c. 1550)* (Turnhout: 2023) 411–444, Appendix 2: Preliminary List of Manuscripts and Printed Editions. Mertens excluded the first edition of the *Epistles and Gospels* from his list, because it does not contain the sermons he studied: Gouda, Gerard Leeu: 24 May 1477 (ILC 942; Camp 686; ISTC ie00064700; GW M34242). The list contains some uncertain editions.

4   'Holy Writ and Lay Readers' (ERC Starting Grant of Prof. Dr Sabrina Corbellini, 2009–2013) and 'From Monastery to Marketplace' (NWO Veni Grant of Dr Suzan Folkerts, 2013–2017). Main publications: Corbellini S. – Duijn M. van – Folkerts S. – Hoogvliet M., "Challenging the Paradigms. Holy Writ and Lay Readers in Late Medieval Europe", *Church History and Religious Culture* 93 (2013) 171–188 and Folkerts S., "Reading the Bible Lessons at Home: Holy Writ and Lay Readers in the Low Countries", *Church History and Religious Culture* 93 (2013) 217–237. On *Epistles and Gospels*: Folkerts S.A., "Middle Dutch Epistles and Gospels: The Transfer of a Medieval Bestseller into Printed Editions during the Early Reformation", in François W. – Den Hollander A. (eds.), *Vernacular Bible and Religious Reform in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Era* (Leuven: 2017) 53–73.

editions.[5] What choices did he make in presenting the text to readers? How did he make use of paratextual elements such as title pages, tables, introductions, colophons, and illustrations? Combining the results of my previous project on Bible readers and their uses of manuscripts and individual printed copies with new research on printing strategies of the Deventer book producers, I will be able to contribute to the aim of this collection, which is to study vernacularity and readership along the line of the materiality of the printed book, thereby addressing the problem of real and imagined readers. To that end, I will not only study the production of these vernacular devotional books, but also consider them in a wider perspective of devotional reading in urban contexts.

2   The First Deventer Printers and Vernacular Book Production

The first person to start a printing press in Deventer was Richard Pafraet. In 1476 he arrived there from the German city Cologne, where he probably received a training in the print workshop of Ulrich Zell. Deventer was a perfect place to start a printing press for several reasons. As a flourishing Hanseatic town Deventer was home to some important yearly markets. The citizens were well-educated; most boys learned to read and write, and also girls attended small primary schools (the secondary Latin schools were only accessible for boys). The flourishing commercial and trading activities were promising in terms of sales market. Moreover, the religious houses in Deventer and surroundings were famous for book production. These were mainly houses of the Devotio Moderna movement, in which the reading, writing, and discussion of religious books was stimulated. A century earlier, the charismatic preacher Geert Grote (1344–1384) had preached on the question of the responsibility of the individual to read and internalize religious knowledge on how to become a good Christian. He and his followers founded Houses of Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life, in which the inhabitants took no monastic vows but lived a devout life among their fellow citizens. The core of their devotional practice was the translating, copying, and reading of devotional texts. Bringing the Holy Writ in the vernacular language into common hands and into the houses of illiterate brothers and sisters and laypeople was one of their missions. Together with educated devout laypeople, who also strived for a pious life and for gaining religious knowledge, they were responsible for the production and circulation of more theological and devotional books than ever before. Presumably

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5   Thom Mertens, who studied the sermons in the *Epistles and Gospels* editions, noticed this. We discussed this finding via e-mail. See also Mertens, "The Gouda Gospel Sermons".

with the help of the Brothers of the Common Life of the Heer Florenshuis, who were his neighbours, Richard Pafraet in his early years published folio-sized theological bestsellers such as the *Legenda aurea* and his very first dated book of 1477, the *Liber bibliae moralis*.[6]

Richard Pafraet was probably also attracted to Deventer by the presence of the well-known Latin school, which in this period offered the best preparation for university in the northern Low Countries. Hundreds of schoolboys attended the school, among them the young Erasmus. This Latin school gained even more prestige when in 1483 Alexander Hegius became its rector. He introduced new humanistic methods of teaching Latin and was the first in Europe north of the Alps to introduce the teaching of Greek. The presence of the Latin school was a great stimulus for the book market because the students needed schoolbooks. Teachers like Johannes Synthen (ca. 1450–1533), who taught Greek, and Jacobus Faber (1473–1517) also wrote new schoolbooks themselves. In addition to being teachers at the Latin School, Synthen and Faber were also brothers of the Heer Florenshuis and mentors of schoolboys living there and in the Domus Parva or poor clerics' house. Whereas Pafraet in his first years mainly published folio-sized theological books, from 1488 he specialized in Latin schoolbooks. It is not known why Pafraet changed his specialization but, aside from commercial advantage, the influence of people in his surroundings must be part of the explanation. Hegius happened to live in the house of Pafraet and stimulated Pafraet to publish Latin humanists and Greek texts. Already in 1488 Pafraet printed books with a Greek typeface, which was very rare in Europe.[7]

In the same year as Hegius, 1483, a second printer, Jacob van Breda, arrived in Deventer. Before he opened his own workshop in 1485, he probably worked in Pafraet's. Jacob van Breda produced a slightly more diverse body of works than Pafraet, but, again, schoolbooks dominate. In the following decades, Richard Pafraet and Jacob van Breda together produced more books than were printed in any other town in the Low Countries, even more than in Antwerp,

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6 Slechte H., *Geschiedenis van Deventer*, vol. 1: *Oorsprong en Middeleeuwen* (Zutphen: 2010), 324–328; Folkerts S., "People, Passion, and Prayer. Religious Connectivity in the Hanseatic City of Deventer", in idem (ed.), *Religious Connectivity in Urban Communities. Reading, Worshipping, and Connecting through the Continuum of Sacred and Secular 1400–1550* (Turnhout: 2021) 271–274.

7 The first edition in which Pafraet used Greek typeface is Philelphi F., *Epistolae* ([Deventer, Richard Pafraet: ca. 1488]). ILC 1752; Camp 1412; ISTC ip00588000; GW M32973.

which became the book capital in the sixteenth century.[8] The total number of books (editions) printed in Deventer before 1520 is no less than 1230, according to the Short-Title Catalogue of the Netherlands, which includes the data of the Incunabula Short Title Catalogue.[9] Richard Pafraet was active from 1477–1511 and accounts for 463 items in the STCN, of which 29 (were at least partly) in Dutch. Jacob van Breda was active in the period 1485–1519 and accounts for 446 items in the STCN, of which 26 (were at least partly) in Dutch. When Richard died in 1511, his son Albert continued his press, which explains the higher total number.

For this contribution I made an inventory of the vernacular devotional editions of Richard Pafraet and Jacob van Breda. An overview of these ten titles is given in Appendix 1, supplemented with two titles of other Deventer printers who worked during the same period (Albert Pafraet and Dirk van Borne, the stepson of Jacob van Breda). Of the total number of 1230 editions 69 contain Dutch texts, of which 55 were printed by Richard Pafraet and Jacob van Breda.[10] Almost all of these editions contain school texts, such as sentences and proverbs, which present Latin text with Dutch translation. A few others contain secular texts, such as prognostications and ordonnances, and broadsheets with an advertisement or an indulgence. Another title is the *Sydrack*, a Middle Dutch life of the ancient philosopher.[11]

In a period of four decades, then, Richard Pafraet and Jacob van Breda published only ten Middle Dutch devotional editions we know of. At first, these numbers may seem surprising. In a literate urban community such as Deventer, one would expect that printers jumped into the market to meet the demand

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8   Vervliet H.D.L. (ed.), *Post-incunabula en hun uitgevers in de Lage Landen. Een bloemlezing gebaseerd op Wouter Nijhoff's L'Art typograhique / Post-incunabula and their publishers in the Low Countries. A selection based on Wouter Nijhoff's L'Art typographique* (The Hague: 1979) 122. It is often stated that in Deventer more books were printed than in Paris at that time, but the numbers in the ISTC and GW testify against that claim.

9   The *Short-Title Catalogue of the Netherlands* (STCN) is hosted at the KB, National Library of the Netherlands and will move to the international CERL platform in 2023, see: www.stcn.nl. The URL of the database in 2022: https://picarta.oclc.org/psi/xslt/DB=3.11/ (accessed 21 January 2022). The results are cleaned up; uncertain but clearly later sixteenth-century editions and other false hits have been removed.

10   These 55 editions in Dutch are 0,06% of their total production, whereas 1,9% of the total production of incunabula was in Dutch, according to the ISTC.

11   *Hier beghint een schoneswerlicke hystorie, geheyten Sydrack, den grote meister welke was vij hondert iaer voer Goeds gheboerte* (Deventer, Jacob van Breda: 6 September 1496). ILC 2067; Camp 982; ISTC is00879500; GW M42006. Camp = Campbell M.F.A.G., *Annales de la typographie néerlandaise au XVᵉ siècle* (The Hague: 1874).

of devotional laypeople eager for books and texts supporting their devotional hunger. On second thought, Richard Pafraet and Jacob van Breda may have had little interest in printing devotional books because they were already specializing in Latin school books and made enough money out of producing them. Given the humanistic environment of the Latin school, where speaking the mother tongue was forbidden and the vernacular was seen as inferior, their primary public gave them no reason to invest in vernacular books.[12] Other target audiences such as laypeople and religious houses had other ways to acquire books. They could buy their vernacular devotional books elsewhere, from printers in Gouda, Delft, Utrecht, or Zwolle. We should also bear in mind that manuscripts circulated widely as well – as a matter of fact, the second half of the fifteenth century was the most productive period in the Low Countries (and this is why printers settled in centres of manuscript production).[13]

Be that as it may, it is possible that many titles are unknown because no copies have survived. Considering that prognostications were printed in Deventer from 1480 and that only few copies from the sixteenth century survive, we should be aware that many books were lost, especially small, cheap, and intensively used books. Less than 2% of the copies of the known editions of incunabula have survived, and for every three known editions, probably two have been lost.[14] Is it possible that dozens of devotional publications from the Deventer presses are lost and unknown? For example, the accounts of the Domus Parva in Zwolle of Brothers of the Common Life mention that the brothers are indebted to Jacob van Breda for *xxv sequentiaria* and *xxxv oraria*, while we do not know an edition of *Horae* by Jacob van Breda, in either Latin or Middle Dutch.[15] In any case, we can conclude that Jacob van Breda and

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12   Langereis S., *Erasmus dwarsdenker. Een biografie* (Amsterdam: 2021) 89.

13   Hogenelst D. – Van Oostrom F., *Handgeschreven wereld. Nederlandse literatuur en cultuur in de middeleeuwen* (Amsterdam: 1995) 17; Klein J.W., "(Middelnederlandse) handschriften: productieomstandigheden, soorten, functies", *Queeste* 2 (1995) 14–15 and 17–18; Hermans J.M.M., *Zwolse boeken voor een markt zonder grenzen 1477–1523* ('t Goy-Houten: 2004) 24.

14   Hermans, *Zwolse boeken* 33; Green J. – McIntyre F. – Needham P., "The Shape of Incunable Survival and Statistical Estimation of Lost Editions", *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 105:2 (2011) 141–175.

15   Hermans, *Zwolse boeken* 25. Fortunately, after writing this article, a copy of thus far unknown Latin *Horae* appeared on the market, presumably printed and decorated in Deventer. Enluminures in Paris sold to the KB, National Library of the Netherlands a small prayer book with manuscript sections containing Latin and Middle Dutch prayers and printed *Horae* (call number KW 2901 E 40). According to Oliver Duntze the *Horae* were printed with types used by Jacob van Breda between ca. 1500 and 1506, see https://www.textmanuscripts.com/medieval/printed-book-of-hours-use-of-utrecht-196308 (TM 1211, accessed 5 January 2023).

Richard Pafraet couldn't resist responding to the demand and invested in some vernacular devotional titles, such as Passion meditations, a book on confession and penitence, Petrarch's *History of Griselda*, the *Life of Saint Catherine*, and the *Life of Saint Anne*. Titles like these – especially passion meditations and hagiography – are found very often in the (manuscript) libraries of the Sisters of the Common Life and other convents of the Devotio Moderna movement. With these editions Richard Pafraet and Jacob van Breda made their contribution to the culture of bringing the Holy Writ and devotional literature into common hands as the following discussion of individual items in their oeuvres will demonstrate.

One of the Deventer vernacular devotional works in question is the *Kersten Spiegel* (Mirror for Christians), a catechetical work by the Franciscan brother Dirk Coelde van Münster, printed by Richard Pafraet between 1492 and 1500 (according to Ina Kok: 1493–1494).[16] He was not the first to publish this work; printers in Antwerp, Gouda, Delft, and Louvain preceded him. The edition contains several woodcuts, partly from a series originally cut for Gerard Leeu, partly from a series which was made for this edition.[17] Pafraet also used a woodcut in the *Kersten Spiegel* that was made for *Our Lady's crown*, discussed below. The woodcuts depict various scenes from the lives of Christ and Mary, and more abstract images such as a cross in a crown of thorns, and the mouth of hell. Only one copy of the Deventer edition is known, in which a user wrote a note in an Eastern Middle Dutch or Low German dialect: *Wilt v[m]me ih[esu]s wille[n] dit bock rerlike vn[de] wal vorwaren vppe dat na wwer tijt en ander des wal gebruke[n] moge vn[de] gi so bi gade des gude[n] deelachtich werden* (Christ willing, please keep this book well, so that another person can use it after you, and you will receive good things from God).[18] This suggests that the book was transferred from one user to another. Could this be in a library setting, perhaps in some kind of religious house? The person who inserted rubrics also painted red spots in the woodcuts and thus interacted with the contents of the book. For example, he or she coloured the blood drops from the wounds of Christ. Elsewhere also the lips and cheeks of a praying woman are painted red.

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16   ILC 595; Camp-Kron I 601a; ISTC ic00747500; GW 7143; Kok I., *Woodcuts in Incunabula Printed in the Low Countries*, 4 vols. (Leiden: 2013) vol. I, 499. Kok made a suggestion for this new dating on the basis of traces of damage on the woodblocks. Camp-Kron = Kronenberg M.E., *Campbell's Annales de la typographie néerlandaise au XVᵉ siècle: contributions to a new edition. I) Additions. II) Losses, doubtful cases, notes* (The Hague: 1956).

17   Kok, *Woodcuts in Incunabula*, vol. I, 496–499, nos. 235.1, 3–10 and 76.86, 87, 91, 94, 98, 100 (the 76 series is from Leeu).

18   Stuttgart, Würtembergische Landesbibliothek, Inc.qt.6094 b, verso of flyleaf preceding fol. A1r.

Another devotional book, printed by Richard Pafraet in 1492, is a fixed collection of three titles, namely *Our Lady's crown*, *Our Lady's psalter*, and *Our Lady's cloak*.[19] This same collection was printed earlier by Gerard Leeu and Christiaen Snellaert. Pafraet used these editions as examples.[20] Nevertheless, he inserted a text called *Our Lady's rosary* on blank leaves at the back of the psalter. His edition is preserved in seven copies, one of which was recently sold at auction.[21] Again, Pafraet included woodcuts. For the three main titles he used one and the same woodcut several times, with the depiction of Mary with the Christ Child, crowned by two angels.[22] *Our Lady's rosary* has its own woodcut: a heart within a crown of thorns.[23] The copy in the University of Ghent Library has interesting user traces.[24] Again, the person who inserted the rubrics also painted red dots in the woodcuts. This time, he is known by his name, because he wrote it on the first page: Johannes de Scoenhoven. Given the fact he did not present himself as a cleric or religious person, he was presumably a layman, possibly from Holland, as Schoonhoven is a town in Holland. This Johannes frequently names himself in his interactions with the book. We read, among other notes: 'Joh[annes] de Scoenh[oven] 1496'; 'Joh[annes] est'; 'Joh[annes] oret[ur] p[ro] eo 96'; 'Joh[annes] est nome[n] eius'; '1496 oretur'.

Although Richard Pafraet and Jacob van Breda specialized in Latin school books and published far fewer bestselling devotional titles, the above examples, however few, give us a glimpse of the readership of vernacular devotional editions and the relevance of each single publication to the history of devotional reading. There is no reason to assume Richard Pafraet and Jacob van Breda had only a local or regional public in mind, as they were used to distributing their Latin books all over Europe. One of the copies in Appendix 1 (no. 1, a Passion harmony) was owned by Saint Michael's convent of Sisters of the Common Life in Lübeck. The extant copies in Appendix 1 give no further clues as to where they were disseminated, yet they do suggest the identity of some contemporary owners. Apart from the sisters in Lübeck, we find only owners' inscriptions of laypeople: Johannes de Scoenhoven, Delegnen Claes dochter, Peter and Jan

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19　ILC 649; Camp 330; ISTC ic000978700; GW 7839.

20　This information was kindly shared with me by Anna Dlabačová in an unpublished paper.

21　Haarlem, Bubb Kuyper, Auction 73 (24–27 Nov 2020), Lot no. 2745 (description and pictures available on the website of Bubb Kuyper in the rubric 'Auction results' https://www.bubbkuyper.com/index.php?keyword=%232745&limitstart=0&option=com_virtuemart&view=category&virtuemart_category_id=0&abcveilingnr=73 (accessed 21 January 2022)).

22　Kok, *Woodcuts in Incunabula*, vol. I, 496–497, no. 235.1.

23　Kok, *Woodcuts in Incunabula*, vol. I, 496–497, no. 235.2.

24　Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Res. 212 I.

Verrijdt, Anselmus and Neeltken Ansselmus, and Margaretha[?]. The above-mentioned examples imply that Pafraet must have known well how to produce books for a vernacular public of devout layfolk and religious readers, and was prepared to invest in them. He made use of woodcuts which illuminated the text and supported the devotion to Mary or the life and passion of Christ. In Latin schoolbooks he rarely inserted woodcuts: only printer's devices on title pages and a series of logical diagrams are found. Especially for his *Our Lady's crown* and *Kersten Spiegel* editions he bought or borrowed a series of woodcuts and had new woodcuts cut. Jacob van Breda did the same: he acquired woodcuts from the workshops of Gerard Leeu and Jacob Bellaert, which he used in his editions of *Sydrack* and the *Epistles and Gospels*.[25]

3 Jacob van Breda's Edition of the *Epistles and Gospels*

The bestseller on the list in Appendix 1 is the Middle Dutch *Epistles and Gospels* (with accompanying sermons), which was printed around 45 times in several towns in the Low Countries between 1477 and 1541. The *Epistles and Gospels* contains the Bible lessons which were read on the Sundays and Feast days during Mass and could be read at home, in preparation for Mass. The first editions were printed by Gerard Leeu in Gouda – first the Epistle and Gospel lessons without sermons (24 May 1477), then the Gospel lessons with sermons ([after 7 October] 1477).[26] Thus far the source for the 51 sermons, which were first included in Leeu's edition, has not been found.[27] However, the audience that seems to be addressed is a lay audience, as some sermons are about marriage, raising children, and observing Sundays as the Sabbath.[28] The Bible text which

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25 In *Sydrack* Jacob van Breda used woodcuts from Gerard Leeu's Middle Dutch edition of the *Vita Christi* by Ludolphus de Saxonia: *Tboeck vanden leuen ons heeren ihesus christi* (Antwerp, Gerard Leeu: 3 November 1487). ILC 1503; Camp-Kron 1181; ISTC il00353000, GW M19261. Kok, *Woodcuts in Incunabula*, vol. I, 237–242, nos. 85.2–3, 85.111 and 391–394, no. 170.8 (the latter was first used in an unknown edition of Jacob Bellaert).

26 *Hyer beghinnen alle die epistelen en[de] ewangelien vanden gheheelen iaere die een na den anderen volghende: ende oec mede die prophecien ghenomen wt der bibelen volmaectelijc ende gherechtelijck ouer gheset wt den latine in goeden duytsche. ghelikerwijs alsme[n] houdende is ind[er] heiligher kercken* (Gouda, Gerard Leeu: 24 May 1477). ILC 942; Camp 686; ISTC ie00064700; GW M34242. *Hier beghinnen alle die ewangelien vanden gheheelen iaer. ende vanden sonnendaghen mitter glosen* (Gouda, Gerard Leeu: [after 7 October] 1477). ILC 943; Camp 685; ISTC ie00064800; GW M34243.

27 Mertens, "The Gouda Gospel Sermons", 422. Mertens counted fifty Sunday sermons and one sermon for the feast day of the Dedication of the Church.

28 Mertens, "The Gouda Gospel Sermons", 421.

was used for these editions was an already existing Middle Dutch translation of the New Testament, made as early as the 1380s.[29] Leeu probably was the one who commissioned the extraction of the Epistle and Gospel lessons from this translation; they have not been found elsewhere. In a previous publication I have argued that he probably made this choice because readers preferred Bible lessons above the complete Bible, and they were cheaper to print as they contained less text.[30] A special feature of the collection is that the four Passion narratives are replaced with a Passion harmony.[31] The extant manuscript copies which include this collection of *Epistles and Gospels* with sermons are copies of printed copies.[32] In other manuscripts, apart from a few exceptions, the New Testament was usually transmitted in the form of complete Bible books. Nevertheless, these manuscripts were provided with tables and in-text indications of the Epistle and Gospel lessons, so the function and use of these manuscripts was the same as those of the printed *Epistles and Gospels*.[33] Leeu published exactly what readers needed and wanted. Considering the number of editions, I would suggest that the *Epistles and Gospels* was the most widely produced and widespread Middle Dutch book in print in the decades around 1500, and was a title whose significance no printer would have failed to appreciate.

In Deventer, the *Epistles and Gospels* was printed by Jacob van Breda in 1493 and 1496, the latter being a page-for-page reprint of the first [Fig. 4.1].[34] His 1493 edition was the twentieth in a row. According to the title, he promised to present the text in a second, improved, edition. It says that the Epistle and Gospel lessons are *ouer gheset vten latine in goeden duytscen. en[de] nu anderwerf v[er]betert en[de] ghecorrigeert* (transferred from Latin into good Dutch and now improved and corrected again/for the second time). The earlier editions just say that the text is *volma[ec]telijc ende gherechtelijck ouer gheset wt den latine in goeden duytsche* (perfectly and justly transferred from Latin).[35]

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29   Folkerts, "Middle Dutch Epistles and Gospels" 54.

30   Folkerts, "Middle Dutch Epistles and Gospels" 59.

31   I investigate the transmission of the Middle Dutch Passion narratives and Passion harmonies in Folkerts S., "Appropriating the Passion: On the Uses of Middle Dutch Gospels in Manuscript and Print", in Doležalová L. – Veysseyre G. (eds.), *The Same and Different: Strategies of Retelling the Bible within the "New Communities of Interpretation" (1350–1570)* (Turnhout: in preparation).

32   Mertens, "The Gouda Gospel Sermons", 413 and Appendix 2.

33   Folkerts, "Reading the Bible Lessons at Home" 226–228 and 234–236.

34   Kok, *Woodcuts in Incunabula*, vol. 1, 393, 445–446.

35   The complete title is: *Hier beghinnen alle die epistelen ende ewangelien mitten sermonen vanden ghehelen jaere die een na den anderen volghende: ende oec mede die prophecien ghenomen wt der bibelen volmatelijc ende gherechtelijck ouer gheset wt den latine in*

FIGURE 4.1 Incipit of *Epistles and Gospels* with blue painted initial and red decorations. *Hier beghinne[n] alle die epistolen en[de] ewangelien [...]* (Deventer, Jacob van Breda: 1 March 1496). Deventer, Athenaeumbibliotheek, 101 N 45 KL, fol. 2r (a2r)
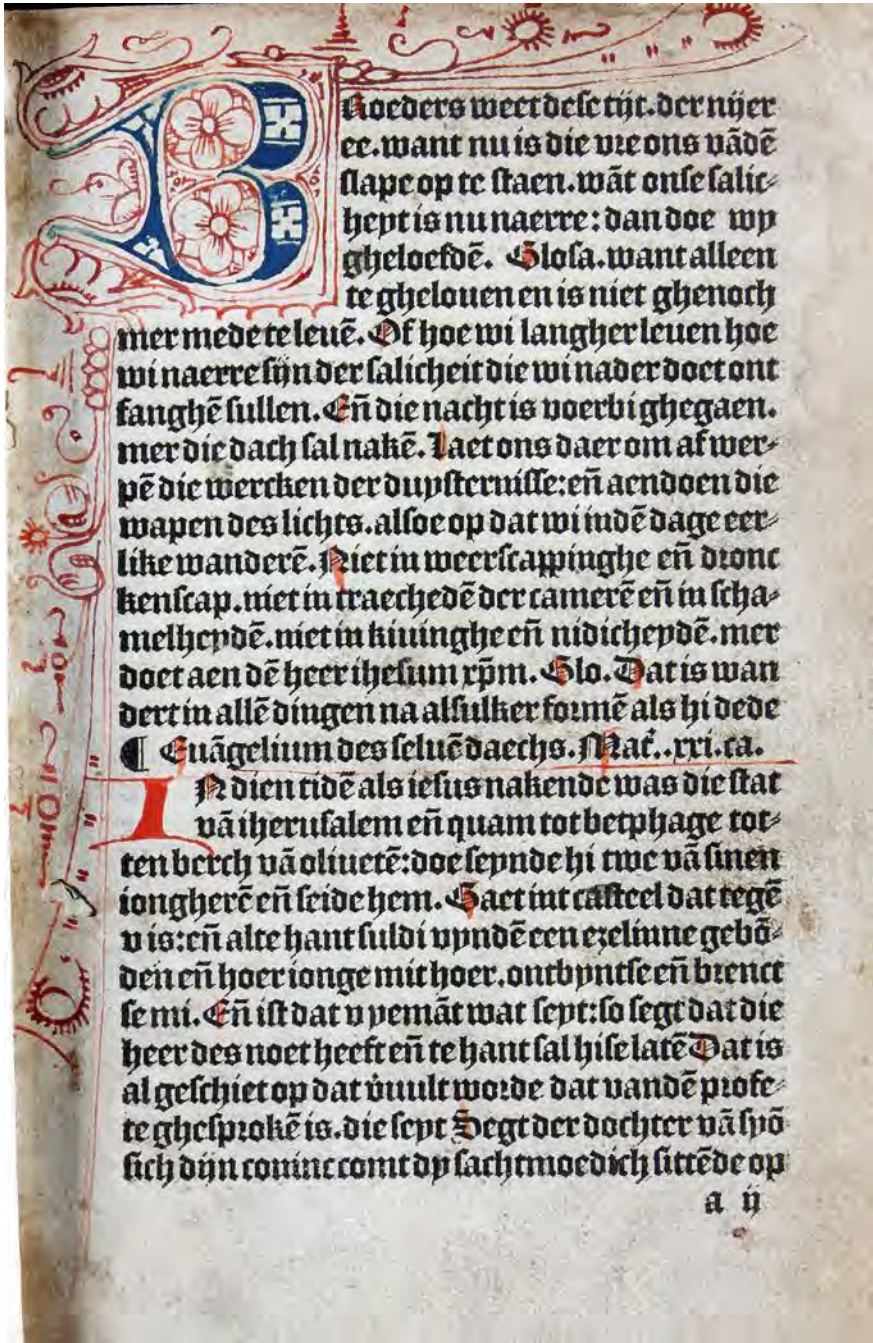
For this article, I made a comparison of some extracts of both Bible lessons and sermons in order to investigate which changes and improvements Jacob van Breda has made. I compared his edition with the first complete edition by Johann Veldener (Utrecht: 1478) and, as a 'control group', another edition by Peter van Os (Zwolle: 1487).

The textual comparison of Bible lessons from Romans and the Passion harmony (Luke and Mark) and two sermons brought no clear or definitive insights. Some new wordings in Jacob van Breda's so-called second revision were already present in the Zwolle edition (*dese tijt. der nijer ee / dese nye tijt der ewe* (this era of this new century / this new time of this century) in the first Epistle lesson from Romans; *mit bedroch* (deceit) instead of *in scalcheden* (mischief) in the Passion harmony). The Zwolle edition even has variations that are not found in Jacob van Breda's edition: two extra glosses, *twistinge* instead of *kyvinghe* (both meaning 'fighting'), and *scote* (lap) instead of *stede* (place) in the first Epistle lesson; the addition of *van dat vreselike ansichte des strenghen richters* (of the terrible sight of the austere judge) in the second sermon. Many variations are just synonyms or different spellings, due to dialectal differences between Holland/Utrecht and the Eastern Low Countries. Given the variations already present in the titles of the first editions by Leeu and Veldener (*volmatelic* versus *volmaectelijck*), it appears to me that each edition gives slightly different spelling of words, synonyms, and word order. At this time in the Low Countries, there existed no tendency towards standardization of the vernacular Bible text, a feature that only emerged in the sixteenth century and later.

Perhaps we should not interpret Jacob van Breda's words 'improved and corrected' as anything more than a sales trick. From 1485, he also published the Latin *Epistles and Gospels* (not the source for the Middle Dutch *Epistles and Gospels*, which was, as explained above, the complete New Testament translation). His fifth Latin edition of 1495 bears a similar recommendation as his 1493 vernacular edition: *noviter emendattum* (newly modified).[36] He may have learned the use of sales gimmicks from his competitor Peter van Os in nearby Zwolle, who inserted in his 1487 edition of the Middle Dutch *Epistles and Gospels* a title page with a woodcut and, apart from the usual long title

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    goeden duytsche. ghelikerwijs alsmen houdende is inder heiligher kerken (Utrecht, Johann Veldener: 4 November 1478). ILC 944; Camp 687; ISTC ie00064900; GW M34250. Compare the title of Gerard Leeu's very first edition of the *Epistles and Gospels* of 1477 above, n. 26.

36   *Euangeliare et Epistolare per totum annum Nouiter emendattum / Incipiunt epistole* [*et*] *evangelia p*[*er*] *totum annu*[*m*]. *tam de t*[*em*]*p*[*or*]*e q*[*uam*] *de s*[*an*]*c*[*t*]*is cum co*[*mmun*]*i s*[*an*]*c*[*t*]*orum bene emendata* ([Deventer, Jacob van Breda: 14]95). ILC 939; Camp 683; ISTC ie00064680; GW M34041. This edition also has the same title page woodcut with the symbols of the four evangelists. Kok, *Woodcuts in Incunabula*, vol. I, 451–459, no. 213.

at the beginning of the text, another, more catchy title *Dit sijn die duytsche epistelen en[de] euangelijen mitte[n] figure[n] doer den gantsen iaer* (These are the Dutch Epistles and Gospels with illustrations through the entire year).[37] In this case, the inclusion of illustrations was mentioned to attract buyers. In 1486–1487 Peter van Os also presented his Latin *Epistles and Gospels* as *bene emendate ac correcte* (well modified and corrected).[38]

4 Paratextual Elements and Woodcuts in the *Epistles and Gospels*

Printers had various options to recommend their products and to interact with their readers. I have already mentioned the use of woodcuts in vernacular devotional literature but other paratextual elements that structured the text made interaction with the reader possible as well. Besides woodcuts, Jacob van Breda inserted in his edition of the *Epistles and Gospels* a title page, a colophon, a table at the back of the book, and captions. The colophon is captured in between the explicit of the text and the incipit of the table of lessons:

> *Hier voleynden alle die epistelen en[de] die eua[n]gelien mitten sonnendaegschen sermonen va[n] den gehelen iare en[de] vanden heylige[n] Gheprent te deuenter inde[n] stichte van Utrecht bi mi Jacob van breda. inden iaer ons heren .M.cccc.en[de].xciij. Opten iirsten dech inder meerte. Hier nae volghet die tafel van desen tege[n]woerdighen boeck.*[39]

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37 The complete title, with which the text starts on fol. 2r, is: *Hier beghinne[n] al die Epistelen en[de] Euangelien mitten sermone[n] vanden gehele[n] iaer die een naden andere[n] volghende: en[de] oec mede die prophecien genome[n] vter bibelen volcomelike en[de] recht ouergeset vten latijn in goede[n] duutsche[n]: alsme[n] houdende is inder heiligher kerken* (Zwolle, Peter van Os: 5 January 1487). ILC 956; Camp 697; ISTC ie00069500; GW M34258. Notice the slightly different wordings, compared to the title of Gerard Leeu and Johann Veldener (*volcomelike* instead of *volma[ec]telijc*, which both mean 'perfect').

38 *Epistolare et euangeliare per totu[m] annum. tam de tempore q[uam] de sanctis / Incipiunt epistolare [et] evangeliare. per totu[m] annu[m] tam de t[em]p[or]e q[uam] de sanctis. cu[m] [com]muni s[an]c[t]or[um]. bene emendate ac correcte* ([Zwolle, Peter van Os]: [between 28 Aug. 1486 and 1487]). ILC 932; Camp 682; ISTC ie00064400; GW M34057.

39 *Hier beghinnen alle die epistolen en[de] euangelien [...]* (Deventer, Jacob van Breda: 1 March 1493), fol. 250v. Colophon of the 1496 edition: *Hier voleynden alle die epistelen en[de] die ewa[n]gelien mitten sonnendaechschen sermoenen va[n] den gehelen iare en[de] vanden heylige[n] Gheprent te Deuenter inde[n] stichte van Vtrecht bi mi. Iacob van breda. Inden yaer ons heren .M.cccc. ende. xcvi. Opten vierden dach inden meerte Hier nae volghet die tafel van desen teeg[n]woerdighen boeck.*

(Here all Epistles and Gospels with the Sunday sermons of the entire year and of the Saints come to an end. Printed in Deventer in the diocese of Utrecht by me, Jacob van Breda, in the year of Our Lord 1493 on the first day of March. Here follows the table of the present book.)

The table contains an overview of the lessons of the liturgical year, first the Sundays and feast days (*temporale*), then the feast days of the Saints (*sanctorale*), starting with the first Sunday of Advent. It is printed as a separate quire and bound at the back, whereas Johann Veldener inserted the table at the beginning of his third edition of 30 July 1479. In his first two editions, Veldener did not include a table at all, nor did Gerard Leeu and Peregrinus Barmentlo (Hasselt [diocese of Utrecht]: 1480). In these editions, readers had to seek out the lessons of the day by searching the captions throughout the text, although, of course, they could also use their own bookmark. The tables made it possible for readers to search for the correct lessons with help of the corresponding folio numbers, which were then also inserted. The captions, next to *Sermo* above each of the sermons, contain the names or indications of the days on which the lessons were read and often also the relevant biblical book or chapter, for example: *Epistel des maendages na palme[n] Isayas de propheet* (Epistle of the Monday after Palm Sunday, prophet Isaiah) and *Epistel opte[n] andere[n] sondach na paeschen Petrus int .iij. capittel* (Epistle on the second Sunday after Easter. Peter, in the third chapter). That these captions, together with the table, proved very useful to the readers is demonstrated by the many additions and corrections in dozens of copies throughout the corpus of editions.[40] From the perspective of the printer's strategies, it is interesting to investigate whether Jacob van Breda also added or deleted particular occasions or lessons from the earlier list of Veldener. No aberrations are found. Some lessons were left out of the table, but they are present within the main text.[41]

From the edition of the *Epistles and Gospels* of 9 October 1481 by the Utrecht printer Johann Veldener on, printers added woodcuts to illustrate the text. In his edition of 30 July 1479, Veldener already inserted one woodcut depicting

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40   Folkerts, "Middle Dutch Epistles and Gospels" 61–64; Folkerts S., "Reading the Scriptures during the Early Reformation: Continuities in the Production and Use of Printed Dutch Bibles", in Lange van Ravenswaay J.M.J. – Selderhuis H.J. (eds.), *Renaissance und Bibelhumanismus: Bibel und Reformbewegungen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts und ihre Bedeutung für das Werden der Reformation* (Göttingen: 2020) 162–164.

41   For example, the lessons to be read at the occasion of Saints Tiburtius's and Valerian's feast day on the one hand, and Saint George's on the other, were given in the table as one occasion: *op sint iorijs ende tiburcius dach*.

Jesus as Salvator Mundi at the end of the book, as well as his device.[42] Of the nineteen editions that appeared before Jacob van Breda's first edition in 1493, ten contained woodcuts within the text. Many of these had been used previously in other works with New Testament material, such as the *Biblia pauperum* and the *Leven ons Heren* (Life of Christ).[43] Jacob van Breda inserted twenty woodcuts into his first edition. For the title page (fol. 1r) he used a large woodcut with the letters *ihs* (*Ihesus*) in the centre, surrounded by the symbols of the four evangelists [Fig. 4.2]. He had this illustration cut especially for this edition of the *Epistles and Gospels*; afterwards he used this woodcut on no fewer than 76 title pages, including his Latin *Epistles and Gospels*.[44] The woodcut fits the contents of the *Epistles and Gospels* perfectly, but it matches other titles less well (presumably as the recognizability of Jacob van Breda's work increased, the woodcut seems to have become his trademark). On the verso side of the title page, we find a woodcut with the depiction of Jesus' Entry into Jerusalem, which matches the contents of the first sermon on fol. 2v.[45] We find this same depiction of Jesus' Entry (but printed from other woodcuts) on the same leaf in earlier editions of the *Epistles and Gospels* by the Delft printers Jacob Jacobszoon van der Meer and Christiaen Snellaert, and Peter van Os in Zwolle. Printers carefully looked at each other's editions for examples and precedents.

Furthermore, Jacob inserted eighteen smaller woodcuts in the text, mainly in the Passion harmony.[46] In his second edition of the *Epistles and Gospels* of 1496, Jacob van Breda used the same woodcuts, in exactly the same places, but

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42 *Hier beghinnen alle die epistelen ende ewangelien* [...] (Utrecht, Johann Veldener: 30 July 1479). ILC 946; Camp 688; ISTC ie00066000; GW M34253; Kok, *Woodcuts in Incunabula*, vol. I, 37–39, no. 14.9 (first used in Veldener's Louvain edition of the *Fasciculus temporum* of 1475) and 39–40, no. 15 (printer's device, second state, first use).

43 Kok I., "Enkele voorbeelden van gebruik en hergebruik van houtsneden bij twee 15de-eeuwse Overijsselse drukkers: Peter van Os in Zwolle en Jacobus de Breda in Deventer", in Knapen L. – Kenis L. (eds.), *Hout in boeken, houten boeken en de "fraaye konst van houtdraayen"* (Leuven: 2008) 88.

44 Kok, *Woodcuts in Incunabula*, vol. I, 451–459, no. 213. See also Kok, "Enkele voorbeelden van gebruik" 88–90.

45 Kok, *Woodcuts in Incunabula*, vol. I, 166–181 and 459, no. 74.24 (Entry into Jerusalem, from Gerard Leeu's edition of *Korte lering uit de schrifturen der heiliger leraars* [Gouda 30 April 1481–5 September 1482]).

46 The woodcuts depict the Resurrection of the Dead (fol. 6r), the Annunciation (fol. 11r), the Nativity of Christ (fol. 18r), the Circumcision of Christ (fol. 25r), the Adoration of the Magi (fol. 25v), the Baptism of Christ (fol. 27v), the Boy Jesus in the Temple (fol. 28r), the Wedding at Cana (fol. 30v), the Temptation in the Desert (fol. 51r), the Raising of Lazarus (fol. 84v), Saint Gregory's Mass (fol. 95v; demarcating the Passion harmony, to be read on Palm Sunday), the Crucifixion (fol. 105r), the Last Supper (fol. 109r), the Resurrection
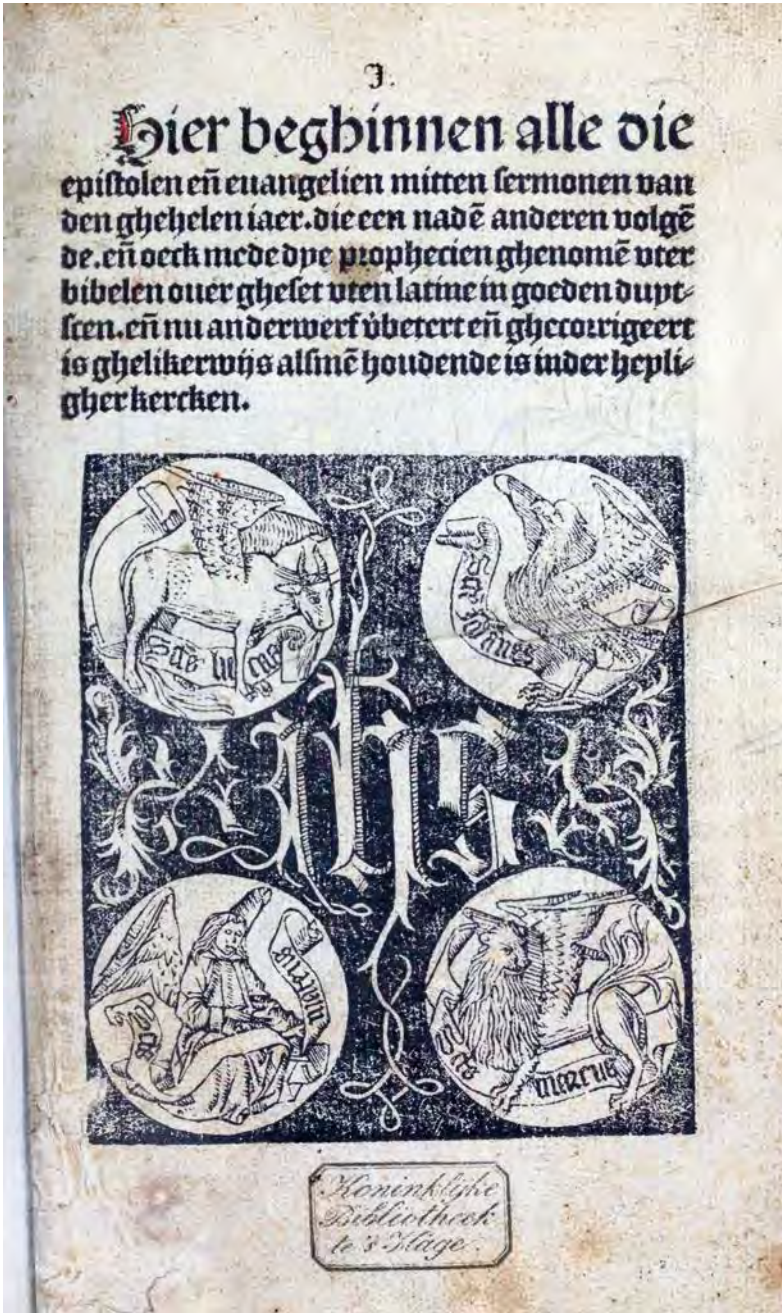
FIGURE 4.2   Title page of *Epistles and Gospels* with name *ihs* and symbols of four
               evangelists. Woodcut illustration, 1493. *Hier beghinnen alle die epistolen
               en[de] euangelien* [...] (Deventer, Jacob van Breda: 1 March 1493).
               The Hague, KB, National Library of the Netherlands, KW 171 G 27, fol. 1r (a1r)

it lacks the depiction of the Raising of Lazarus on fol. 84v and the Resurrection on fol. 115v, where blank spaces are left. As Ina Kok found in her magnum opus on woodcuts in Dutch incunables, these woodcuts were first owned and used in an as yet unknown edition by Jacob Bellaert, then (only two of the series) by Claes Leeu in Antwerp [Fig. 4.3].[47] Jacob van Breda must have acquired them somehow, like many printers borrowed, bought, or received each other's woodcuts.[48] In the early age of printing, this practice of exchange was widespread. It also becomes apparent in Jacob van Breda's use of two woodcuts deriving from the Zwolle printer Peter van Os as illustrations on other title pages.[49] Actually, Jacob van Breda owned only nine woodcuts that were cut originally for his editions, four of which he used on title pages. Furthermore, Jacob van Breda and Peter van Os also shared typefaces.[50]

As printers of mainly Latin schoolbooks, both Jacob van Breda and Richard Pafraet did not use woodcuts often, and when they did, then mainly on title pages or as printer's devices. Although together they produced most editions in the Low Countries, Deventer comes only in fourteenth place on the list of places where original woodcuts were used, and on the list of printers with the greatest output of original woodcuts we find Richard Pafraet only in the twenty-fifth place.[51] As illustrations within the text, the Deventer printers used woodcuts more often in vernacular devotional books than in Latin books. As a matter of fact, Jacob van Breda did not illustrate his Latin *Epistles and Gospels* with any other image than a title page woodcut – firstly Saint Gregory's Mass,[52] later (1495, 1497), as mentioned above, the well-known woodcut with the name *ihs* within the symbols of the four evangelists. This practice is also visible in the work of Peter van Os in Zwolle: in his Latin *Epistles and Gospels* he only

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of Christ (fol. 115v), Christ appears to his Apostles (fol. 118v), the Ascension of Christ (fol. 136v), Pentecost (fol. 142v), and the Anointing of Christ by Mary Magdalene (fol. 189r).

47   Kok, *Woodcuts in Incunabula*, vol. I, 391–394, 446, and 459–460, nos. 170.2–19 (first used in an unknown edition of Jacob Bellaert).

48   Kok, "Enkele voorbeelden van gebruik" 90–92.

49   Jacob van Breda used one woodcut of Pieter van Os van Breda in 1487 (depicting the Last Supper), and another in several editions from 1493 (depicting one of the Seven Wise Men before the Emperor Pontian). Kok, *Woodcuts in Incunabula*, vol. I, 313 and 321–322, no. 130.4, and 342–343, no. 141.

50   Hellinga W. and L., *The fifteenth-century printing types of the Low Countries*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: 1966) vol. I, 107 and vol. II, 405 and 449.

51   Kok, *Woodcuts in Incunabula*, vol. I, xxi–xxii.

52   *Epistolare et eua[n]geliare per totum annu[m] / Incipiunt epistolare [et] evangeliare p[er] totum annu[m]. tam de tempore q[uam] de sanctis. cum co[m]muni s[an]c[t]or[um] bene emendata* ([Deventer], Jacob van Breda, [after 21 May] 1490). ILC 935; Camp II 682a; ISTC ie00064600; GW M34043; Kok, *Woodcuts in Incunabula*, vol. I, 448–451, no. 212.

gedenct dat zijn naem hoech is. Singet dē heer
want hi heuet grotelic gedaen. boetscapt dat in
alle eertrike.

¶ Euangelium opten
seluē dach Marc̹. iij.

Jndē tiden quam
ihesus vā galileē
in die iordane tot iohā-
nem dat hi gedoept sol
de werdē van hem Jo
hannes vboet hem eñ
seyde Jc soude van dy
ghedoept wesen eñ du
comste tot my. Jhesus
antwoerde hē eñ seide
Laet dit nu zijn aldꝰ be
hoert ōs alle gerectichept
te vuullē. doe liet hi hē dopen. doe ihs ghedoept
was clā hi te hants op vandē water eñ die heme
lē wordē opgedaen eñ hy sach dē geest gods ned
comē als een duue eñ quam op hē Eñ daer was
een stēme vāden hemel gehoert. Dit is mij vcoꝛē
rē soen daer ic mi wel in behage ¶ Epistel op
ierstē zondach nae dertien dach Ad romanos

Broeders aldus bid ic v bid ontfermhticheit
gods dat ghi v lichaem biedet eenreyn leuē
de offerhāde gode behagēde. v dienst sy redelick
En wilt dese werlt niet gelijc wesen. mer wert v
nijet in die nijhept uwes sins op dat ghi proeuē

FIGURE 4.3 The Baptism of Christ. Woodcut by Master of Jacob Bellaert, before 1486.
Hier beghinne[n] alle die epistolen en[de] ewangelien [...] (Deventer, Jacob
van Breda: 1 March 1496). Deventer, Athenaeumbibliotheek, 101 N 45 KL, fol. 27v

used a title page woodcut (Saint Luke), whereas in the vernacular *Epistles and Gospels*, he inserted several illustrations besides the same title page woodcut.

5 Readers' Responses to the *Epistles and Gospels*

Jacob van Breda must have thought of his intended public when illustrating the vernacular *Epistles and Gospels*. Woodcuts made printed books more attractive to (vernacular) readers, and they made it also possible for readers to connect with the text. By presenting a series of woodcuts illustrating the life and Passion of Christ, Jacob van Breda worked in a general visual culture of imagining the life of Christ, especially his Passion. Depictions of the Passion of Christ in books not only served as a didactic illustration of the text, but also as *Andachtsbilder*, to meditate personally on the Passion, to feel empathy, and to actively imagine the suffering of Christ.[53] Readers responded to the images presented to them as well, first by colouring them or having them coloured. Colouring was not just embellishment but made the (interpretation of the) meaning of illustrations clearer and thus served as a tool for meditation and contemplation.[54] As we saw in the examples of Richard Pafraet's *Kersten Spiegel* and *Our Lady's crown*, readers made their copies and the contents their own by colouring the images. In the copy of the *Kersten Spiegel*, a reader painted red blooddrops on two impressions of the same woodcut depicting Christ bearing the cross. Here we almost see this reader in action, focusing on the Passion of Christ.

Readers responded to the text and images of the *Epistles and Gospels* in several ways. In my previous research project on the readers of the *Epistles and Gospels* I studied dozens of copies of several editions, and distinguished six types of readers' traces: 1) ex libris or other ownership marks, 2) corrections to the text, 3) summaries of and other comments on the text, including *Nota bene* remarks and manicula, 4) reading instructions, navigating tools, additions to the table or reading list, 5) historical notes and family history, 6) comments

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53   Bussels S., "The Diptych of the Lentulus Letter: Building Textual and Visual Evidence for Christ's Appearance", in De Hemptinne Th. – Fraeters V. – Gongora M.E. (eds.), *Speaking to the Eye: Sight and Insight through Text and Image (1150–1650)* (Turnhout: 2013) 248–249; Aelst J. van, "Visualizing the Spiritual: Images in the Life and Teachings of Henry Suso (c. 1295–1366)" in De Hemptinne – Fraeters – Gongora (eds.), *Speaking to the Eye*, 129–152.

54   Dlabačová A., "Illustrated Incunabula as Material Objects: The Case of the Devout Hours on the Life and Passion of Jesus Christ", in Hofman R. – Caspers C. – Nissen P – Dijk M. van – Oosterman J. (eds.), *Inwardness, Individualization, and Religious Agency in the Late Medieval Low Countries* (Turnhout: 2020) 181–221, at 216–217.

on the book or edition itself, like a written colophon.[55] We could add now the colouring of woodcuts, just as rubrication, neither of which were mentioned as one of these six categories. Both colouring and rubrication were probably done before other interactions, and presumably often by an artist, on the command of the buyer of the book. It is important to state at this point that 'readers' in my understanding consist of a broad group of all persons involved with the preparation and use of a book. Even the printers could be called readers, but here the boundary is set at the point where the bundle of printed leaves had left the printing press.

What do the copies of Jacob van Breda's editions of the *Epistles and Gospels* tell us about the practice of reader interaction with both text and images?[56] In the copy of the 1493 edition at the University Library of Cambridge, Inc. 5 E.4.4 (3016), all woodcuts are coloured with purple, red, yellow, and green. On the woodcut depicting the Annunciation the words *ave gratia plena* (Hail [Mary] full of grace) and *fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum* (let it be done to me according to thy word) are inserted with red ink on banderols. These famous Latin words, spoken by the Archangel Gabriel and the Virgin Mary in response, are often inserted as text on medieval visual representations of the Annunciation scene. In this case, the woodcut (originally from Jacob Bellaert) even left white space on banderols to write these words. It was expected that text and image went hand in hand, and the person who was asked to paint the rubrication was probably also asked to write these words. On the flyleaf at the back of this copy, a contemporary or early sixteenth-century owner wrote her name a couple of times in a playful manner, in different styles (a large textualis and in cursive script): *Dit boeck hoert Delegnen Claes dochter / Dit boeck hoert Dieliegnen Claes Dochter / Diet vijnt die gefft hoer weeder om gads willen* (This book belongs to Delegne / Dieliegne Claes' daughter. Who finds it, please return it to her, God willing).[57] Below she wrote a word-play poem *ghoet mack moeit / moeyt mack strijt / strijt mack armoet / armoeyt mack vrede / vrede dair is god meede* (good makes trouble / trouble makes conflict / conflict makes poverty / poverty makes peace / where peace is, there is God), a series of figures (*1, 2, 3, 4 …*, presumably *probatio pennae*), and with a large textualis *Help God*. On fol. 30v she wrote the numbers 2 to 10 again (1 and 7 were cut off), and on fol. 49v we

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55   Folkerts, "Middle Dutch Epistles and Gospels" 64.

56   Due to covid-related restrictions in 2021 traveling and studying all copies was impossible. Some are available online as digital copies, and some I was able to study during my earlier research project 'From Monastery to Marketplace' (2013–2017).

57   Another line on the same page says: *Dit boick hoirt delegnen claes thoe mer*[*iis?*]*sen dochter thoe / Diit vint gheeff off brent hoir weeder om gads wille.*

find a vague marginal note: *pater*. Delegne thus combined pious words with playful scribbles.

Two copies of the 1496 edition bear the names of their owners. We find sixteenth-century inscriptions on the final leaf (fol. 256v, at the end of the table) of copy Cambridge, UL, Inc. 5.E.4.4 (3026): *Desen boeck hoort toe* [erased: Peter? verrijdt?] *Jan verrijdt* (This book belongs to [Peter? Verrijdt?] Jan Verrijdt). Above that we see another earlier inscription, which is struck through. This copy bears many underlinings with brown ink of textual passages, especially in the Passion Harmony: personal names; the words *Mijn lichaem ... mijn bloet* (My body ... my blood, fol. 97r); *droppelen bloets* (blood drops, fol. 98v); *ginc wt ende weende bitterlic* (went away and cried bitterly, fol. 100r); *Jhesus ginc wt ende droech een doernen crone* (Jesus went away bearing a thorned crown, fol. 103r). With the same brown ink, the woodcut with the Crucifixion on fol. 105r was given a decorative frame. On the same leaf a word was written in the margin next to the third word of Jesus at the Cross, *Wijf sich dijn kynt* (Woman, behold, your son): *bewaerth*, which means 'take care of' and explains to the reader the printed word *sich* (see), which is open for interpretation. This reader thus read the text carefully and paid special attention to the Passion scenes where the woodcuts were painted with light yellow and orange colours.

In the copy of the 1496 edition in The Hague, KB, National Library of the Netherlands, KW 171 G 43, the names of Anselmus and Neeltken Ansselmus, presumably father and daughter, are written in sixteenth-century hands on the first leaf, the latter with the addition: *Niet sonde godt* (Not without God). In this copy the table is bound in the front of the book, before the title page. Some feast days and most Sundays in the table are underlined with red. Some blue initials are decorated with red penwork and the woodcuts are painted carefully with bright colours. The book is thus decorated beautifully and the decoration serves as guide through the text, but later owners left no other traces than their names. The copy of the 1496 edition in the Deventer Athenaeumbibliotheek (101 N 45 KL) also has coloured woodcuts [Fig. 4.4]. It lacks an owner's inscription as well as the title page, but a sixteenth-century hand inserted the title on a flyleaf. The incipit has a blue initial beautifully decorated with red penwork. The rubricator had a part in the decoration of the woodcuts. He inserted thick red dots on holy 'elements' such as halos of the Virgin Mary and the Apostles and blood drops on Christ's wounds, whereas the rest of the woodcuts are painted with multiple water colours. This is the same in the first copy of the 1493 edition I mentioned, where the rubricator inserted words in the banderols and the painting of the woodcuts is done with light water colour. Rubricators

rrviij

moget welc die goede wille gods si eñ wel beha-
gende eñ volmaect. wāt ic segge bið genadē dpe
mi gegeuē is hē allen de onð v zij dat uwer geen
meer en smake Glo. onðsoecke vā vborgē diugē
gods dant behoert te smakē totℭ soberheit Glo.
dats sonð vmetelheit. enē iegelikē. Glo. gebiet
te smakē als hē god de mate des geloefs gedeilt
heeft. wāt als wi in een lichaem veel ledē hebbē
mer alle ope ledē eñ hebbē geen een werck alsoe
zijn wi veel in een lichaem in cristo: mer sonðlin
ghe zijn wi die een des anderen leden

Euāgeliū des seluē
ñðē tidē (dages
doc iℏesus .rij. ia
rē out was eñ si op clō
men te iℏerusalē naeð
gewoente des feestda-
ges. eñ als die dagen ð
gecomen waren dat si
weðkeerden doe bleef
dat kpnt iℏesus te iℏe-
rusalē eñ zijn onðs en
wistens niet ɧi meen-
dē dat hi inðē geselscap
waer: eñ quamen een
dach repse eñ sochtent onð die magē eñ onð dpe
bekenden. Eñ doe si hē niet en vondē keerden si
weð tot iℏerusalē eñ sochtenē daer Eñ na .iij. da
gē vonden si hē inden tēpel sitten iut middel ð le

FIGURE 4.4   The Boy Jesus in the Temple. Woodcut by Master of Jacob Bellaert, before 1486.
Hier beghinne[*n*] *alle die epistolen en*[*de*] *ewangelien* [...] (Deventer, Jacob van
Breda: 1 March 1496). Deventer, Athenaeumbibliotheek, 101 N 45 KL, fol. 28r

as well as painters had a role in the colouring of woodcuts and making them more meaningful.

Finally, a word about the interaction that I have described above as one of the types of readers' traces that often occur in the *Epistles and Gospels*: the correction and addition of occasions on which to read the Epistle or Gospel readings, or the addition of navigation tools. In the copy of the 1496 edition in the Athenaeumbibliotheek a note is written on fol. 63v that says: 'You should not read this Gospel lesson, but instead you should read the Gospel of the rich man. It comes hereafter, on the first Sunday after Trinity'.[58] In the table, this Sunday actually was called the first Sunday after the Octave of Pentecost, terminology a reader must be familiar with in order to search for the relevant lesson. On fol. 64r a similar cross reference is written, but here with a reference to a folio number, which makes it much easier to find the lesson. It says: *Dat ewangelij opte[n] anderde[n] vridach na die octaue van dertienendach int xxxij blat* (The Gospel lesson for the second Friday after the Octave of Epiphany (Three Kings' Day)). This reference may concern an additional lesson to be read here. In any case, the notes demonstrate that the readership of the *Epistles and Gospels* used these books intensively.

In other copies of Jacob van Breda's *Epistles and Gospels* the names of lessons were corrected or added in the cases where they were lacking. In the copy of the 1496 edition in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris (B-1645), a reference to fol. 94r is written on fol. 132r, next to lessons for Monday and Friday after the fourth Sunday after Palm Sunday: *.xciiij. ewa[n]gelie i[n] die[n] tide[n] sloech ih[esu]s sij[n] oge[n] op. f[er]ia vi[a]* (94. Gospel. Then Jesus looked toward heaven. feria sexta). This lesson is read on the Evening of Palm Sunday (fol. 94r) and on the Evening of Ascension Day, a couple of folios later (fol. 135v), so it is not clear why the scribe put the reference here. On fol. 160v another hand wrote a (wrong) correction *iiij* next to *Opten v. sondach* (On the fifth Sunday). Other examples of these types of users' traces are found in a copy of the 1493 edition in The Hague, KB, National Library of the Netherlands (KW 171 G 27). On fol. 2r a reader wrote the caption of the very first lesson, which Jacob van Breda omitted in both editions: *Epistel op den eersten sondach in advent. Ro. xiij ii* (Epistle on the first Sunday in Advent. Romans 23, 11). Another reader wrote on fol. 156r: *Des sondags na sunte Joh[annes]* (On Sunday after Saint John). The lesson next to which the note is written is the Epistle reading for the third Sunday after the

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58 *Dit ewangelij en[de] selt gi niet houde[n] mar gi selt houde[n] dat ewangelij van de[n] rike[n] man het staet hier na opte[n] eerste[n] sonnendach nader drieuoudich[eit]'. Hier beghinnen alle die epistolen en[de] euangelien [...]* (Deventer, Jacob van Breda: 1 March 1493). Copy Deventer, Athenaeumbibliotheek, 101 N 45 KL, fol. 63v.

octave of Pentecost. In a particular year, this Sunday could have fallen after 24 June, the feast day of Saint John.

All these examples regarding the tables and lessons demonstrate how actively readers interacted with the structure of the Bible text as presented by the printer. They made detailed adjustments to the liturgical scheme, made corrections, and wrote down extra reading occasions, thereby demonstrating how intensely they read the Bible lessons through the year. The interaction of readers with the Deventer editions do not differ from the traces I found in copies of other editions. The overall conclusion that readers read the Biblical materials as presented in the *Epistles and Gospels* intensively and that they preferred the method of reading the Bible lesson by lesson, also applies to the readers of the Deventer editions.[59] One wonders if printers listened to their public and made adjustments after consulting readers, although, admittedly, such a conclusion is not warranted by the case of Jacob van Breda's *Epistles and Gospels*, as his second edition is simply a reprint of his first. A future detailed analysis of tables of feast days in a large series of editions might prove worthwhile.

6   Concluding Remarks

When Gerard Leeu and Johann Veldener construed and improved a book with Epistle and Gospel lessons, accompanied by Sunday sermons, they invented a bestseller. The Middle Dutch *Epistles and Gospels* was an innovative product, directed at the market of private devout lay readers. They optimized the edition of the New Testament as transmitted in medieval manuscripts. Jacob van Breda presumably did not want to miss out on this profitable title, although his niche interest was primarily the Latin school book. He even set a trend by calling his edition a 'second improved revision': all editions after his took over this title (except one by Peter van Os in Zwolle, which was printed a couple of months after Jacob van Breda's).[60] On the basis of first investigations, we

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59   Folkerts, "Middle Dutch Epistles and Gospels" 60–64; I also drew this conclusion about readers' preferences for the use of vernacular Bible manuscripts: Folkerts, "Reading the Bible Lessons at Home".

60   Mertens, "The Gouda Gospel Sermons". This is true until 12 February 1528, when the Antwerp printer Willem Vorsterman published a third revision with the title *HIer beginnen alle die Epistolen ende Evangelien metten Sermonen vanden gheheelen jare die een naden anderen volghende Ende oec mede die Prophecien ghenomen uuter Bibelen ende overgheset uuten latijne in duytsche. Ende nu derdewerf verbetert ende ghecorrigeert, ghelijkerwijs alsmen die inder heyligher kercken houdende is.* […]. Not in NK.

can conclude that Jacob van Breda did not improve the text of the *Epistles and Gospels* more than other printers did: they corrected small mistakes and adapted the text to the regional dialect. Jacob also was not the first to find innovative ways to address the readers: the use of woodcuts and other paratextualia were already implemented in earlier editions of the *Epistles and Gospels*. He simply seems to have built further on the success other printers had already had by the printing of this best-selling vernacular title.

The relevance of Jacob van Breda as well as Richard Pafraet printing a modest set of devotional books besides their immense output of Latin school books lies in their efforts to meet the needs of devout lay people. They selected Middle Dutch devotional texts that fitted well in the culture of contemplating the Passion of Christ, the veneration of the Saints, or participating in the liturgical cycles. They had woodcuts cut for their editions of these texts, however few, or bought them from other printers who had a more diverse oeuvre of vernacular devotional literature. We do not know if any of Jacob van Breda's and Richard Pafraet's devotional works were commissioned, in a manner similar to the editions of ordinances for the town's government or books by the Latin school masters. Would the Deventer printers have had their fellow town's people in mind as their intended public? If so, they must have thought of laypeople who ordered prayer books or books of hours, like the laywoman Katherina Kerstkens, who lived in Deventer and donated her personal prayer book to her cousins or nieces Agnes and Derck, Sisters of the Common Life in Deventer convents.[61] Nearly all copies of the printed Middle Dutch *Epistles and Gospels* in my entire research corpus of all editions, which have an owner's inscription, can be attributed to laypeople. The owners mentioned in this contribution, Johannes de Scoenhoven, Anselmus and Neeltken Ansselmus, Delegnen Claes dochter, Peter and Jan Verrijdt, were probably all laypeople as well. They bought copies of the *Epistles and Gospels*, customized them by adding notes and corrections and colouring woodcuts, and later in life passed them on appropriately to other readers.

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61   This Katherina was the main person in the walking tour app Hidden Deventer and is discussed in Folkerts, "People, Passion, and Prayer" 268–269 and Boonstra P. – Corbellini S., "Navigating Places of Knowledge: The Modern Devotion and Religious Experience in Late Medieval Deventer" in Nevola F. – Rosenthal D. – Terpstra N. (eds.), *Hidden Cities: Urban Space, Geolocated Apps and Public History* (London & New York: 2022) 103–124.

Appendix 1

Middle Dutch Devotional Books Printed in Deventer before 1520

1. *Die passy off dat lyde[n] ons heren ihesu [crist]i alzo als sie de vier ewangeliste[n] gescreuen hebben* ([Deventer, Richard Pafraet: 1477–1479]). ILC 1448; Camp-Kron I 1155a; ISTC il00213050; GW M29672.
   1 copy: Lübeck, Bibliothek der Hansestadt Lübeck (SB), I.-K. 983, in: Ms. theol. germ. 68.
   Provenance copy Lübeck, SB, I.-K. 983: copy is bound together in a contemporary binding with a manuscript prayer book, written in 1488 and owned by Saint Michael's convent of sisters of the common life in Lübeck.[62]

2. *Een suuerlic boexken van onser lieuer vrouwe[n] croen / Onser liever vrouv-ven souter / Een seer deuoet boecxke[n]. ende is gehieten onser lieuer vrou-wen mantel* (Deventer, Richard Pafraet: 1492).
   ILC 649; Camp 330; ISTC ic000978700; GW 7839.
   7 copies: Cambridge, University Library, Inc.6.E.4.3[2972]; Ghent, Univer-siteitsbibliotheek, Res. 212 I (digitized); London, British Library, IA.47667; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Inc. c. a. 128m (digitized); The Hague, KB, National Library of the Netherlands, KW 150 F 1; The Hague, Museum Meermanno / Huis van het Boek, 001 F 014; Haarlem, Bubb Kuyper, Auction 73 (24–27 Nov 2020), Lot 2745.
   Provenance copy Ghent, UB, Res. 212 I: according to several inscriptions, copy was owned by Johannes de Scoenhoven in 1496.

3. *Eene schoone lere ende onderwysinghe van berou ende van der bijcht: ende van voldoen voer die sunde: ende oeck een schoone lere hoe men bidden sal als men totten heilighen sacramente sal gaen* ([Deventer, Richard Pafraet: between 12 March 1492 and 6 June 1500]).
   ILC 1425; Camp 1105; ISTC il00178200; GW M17730.
   1 copy: Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, LTK 237:6.

4. Münster Dirk Coelde van, *Kerstenspiegel* ([Richard Pafraet, between 12 March 1492 and 6 June 1500 or, based on condition of woodcuts, 1493–1494]).

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62   Hagen P., "Ein bisher unbekannter niederländischer Wiegendruck", *Het Boek* 10 (1921) 265–267; Hagen P., *Die deutschen theologischen Handschriften der Lübeckischen Stadtbibliothek. Veröffentlichungen der Stadtbibliothek der freien und Hansestadt Lübeck* 1,2 (Lübeck: 1922) 55–57.

ILC 595; Camp-Kron I 601a; ISTC ic00747500; GW 7143.

1 copy: Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Inc.qt.6094 b (digitized).

5. Petrarch Francesco, *Die hystorie vander goeder vrouwen Griseldis die een spieghel is gheweest van patientien* (Deventer, Jacob van Breda: [not before 2 November 1492]).

ILC 1739; Camp 1386; ISTC ip00402750; GW M31600.

2 copies: Cambridge, UL, Inc.5.E.4.4[3049]; Haarlem, Noord-Hollands Archief, Stadsbibliotheek, 56 D 16.

6. *Hier beghinnen alle die epistolen en[de] euangelien mitten sermonen van den ghehelen iaer. die een nade[n] anderen volge[n]de. en[de] oeck mede dye prophecien ghenome[n] vter bibelen ouer gheset vten latine in goeden duytscen. en[de] nu anderwerf v[er]betert en[de] ghecorrigeert is ghe-likerwijs alsme[n] houdende is inder heyligher kercken* (Deventer, Jacob van Breda: 1 March 1493).

ILC 961; Camp 703; ISTC ie00071750; GW M34236.

8 copies: Brussels, KBR, INC A 1715 (RP) (wanting the last leaf; leaves 1 and 2 mutilated); Cambridge, UL, Inc. 5 E.4.4 (3016); Cambridge, UL, Inc. 5 E.4.4 (2905); Cuyk / Sint Agatha, Bibliotheek Erfgoedcentrum Nederlands Kloosterleven, Kruisheren, I-0145 (ISTC: incomplete); Langres, Bibliothèque de la Société Historique et Archéologique de Langres (not found in catalogue, ISTC: incomplete); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, A-5269; The Hague, KB, National Library of the Netherlands, KW 171 G 27; USA, [LeaBS]?

Provenance copy Brussels, KBR, INC A 1715 (RP) as found in catalogue: Handwritten annotations on fols. a1r and a1v: 'Anno 1617 den 26 februari is ghesterven Dirick Blomm[?]'; 'Anno 1619 den irste maii is Peeter Nijs van Duras ghestorven den [?] Wauter Renarts vice pastoer van Corsem begraven hebbe den iiden maii 1619'; 'Anno 1617 obiit Anna Bosmans. 2 maii eadem mense obiit Catharina Bosmans. 7 maii die Linder[?] van Catharina Bosmans'.

Provenance copy Cambridge Inc. 5 E.4.4 (3016): Pen trials and inscriptions in a fifteenth-century hand on last leaf verso: 'Dit boeck hoert Delegnen Claes dochter / Dit boeck hoert Dieliegnen Claes Dochter / Diet vijnt die gefft hoer weeder om gads willen / Dit boeck hoirt delegnen claes thoe meri[iis?]sen dochter thoe / Diet vint gheeff off brent hoer weeder om gads willen / [notes and figures] / help got'.

7. *Hier beghinne[n] alle die epistolen en[de] ewangelien mitten sermonen va[n] den ghehelen iaer. die een nade[n] anderen volge[n]de. en[de] oeck*

mede dye prophecien ghenome[n] vter bibelen ouer gheset vten latine in goeden duytscen en[de] nu anderwerf v[er]betert en[de] hecorrigeert is ghelikerwijs alsme[n] houdende is inder heyligher kercken (Deventer, Jacob van Breda: 4 March 1496).

ILC 963; Camp 705; ISTC ie00071850, GW M34238.

6 copies: Brussels, KBR, INC A 1.724 (RP); Cambridge, UL, Inc.5.E.4.4[3026]; Deventer, Athenaeumbibliotheek, 101 N 45 KL (wanting title page fol. ai); Liège, Bibliothèque universitaire, Bibliothèque générale: XVᵉ s, C 136 (wanting two leaves to the last quire); Paris, BnF, B-1645; The Hague, KB, National Library of the Netherlands, KW 171 G 43 (quire with table bound in the front of the book).

Provenance copy Cambridge, UL, Inc.5.E.4.4[3026]: Inscription on final leaf fol. S6v: 'Desen boeck hoort toe [erased: Peter? verrijdt?] Jan verrijdt'. Above that an inscription which is struck through. On the following fly-leaf (verso) a manuscript mark with a design of crosses flanked by letters 'K' and 'L'.

Provenance copy The Hague, KB, National Library of the Netherlands, KW 171 G 43: Inscriptions on fol. 1r (S1r): Anselmus […?] and 'neeltken ansselmus niet sonde godt'.

8. *Leven van Sinte Katharina* (Deventer, Jacob van Breda: 1498).
ILC 517; Camp 1126, ISTC ic00278980; GW M17506.
1 copy: Cambridge, UL, Inc.5.E.4.4[3043].

9. Bor Wouter (trans.), *Die historie van die heilige moder sint anna ende va[n] haer olders daer si va[n] geboren is en[de] va[n] horen leue[n] en[de] haer penitencie en[de] miraculen mitten exe[m]pele[n]* (Deventer, [Richard Pafraet]: 19 Jan. 1504).
NK 1082.
1 copy: Düsseldorf, ULB, OUHG 586: INK.

10. [Boeckman Pauwel], *Dyt is de bloyende rosengarde (aller gestlicken ionffere[n] christo gehilghet) van me[n]nigerlei walruke[n]de rosen vn[de] blomen als en gyestlicke bruyt Christi begeren mach to syre[n] orer siele[n]* (Deventer, Jacob van Breda: 1516).
NK 3820.
3 copies: Brussels, KBR, INC A 1.779/1 (RP); Schloss Vörden near Brakel, B.II.61; The Hague, KB, National Library of the Netherlands, KW 151 F 11.
Provenance copy Brussels, KBR, INC A 1.779/1 (RP): Inscription: 'Dit boeck hoert margaretha[?]'.

11. [Boeckman Pauwel], *Die gulden krone Marien van lilyen van lxiij rosen myt eynen schonen mirakel* (Deventer, Albert Pafraet: [1516]).

Not in NK.

2 copies: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek (not found in catalogue); Schloss Vörden (near Brakel, B.ɪɪ.61).[63]

12. *Een devote meditacie op die passie ons liefs heren* ([Deventer, Dirk van Borne: ca. 1514]).

Not in NK

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63 About Pauwel Boeckman as author of this work and the previous: Hollaer J., "Deventer drukkers in de zestiende eeuw. De tweede en derde generatie Pafraet", *De Boekenwereld* 29 (2012) 72. Peters R. – Schütz E., "Die Deventer Drucke eines bisher anonymen Benediktiners", in Hermans J.M.M. – Peters R. (eds.), *Humanistische Buchkultur, deutsch-niederländische Kontakte im Spätmittelalter 1450–1520* (Münster – Hamburg: 1997) 164–167.

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Slechte H., *Geschiedenis van Deventer*, vol. 1: *Oorsprong en Middeleeuwen* (Zutphen: 2010).

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Vervliet H.D.L. (ed.), *Post-incunabula en hun uitgevers in de Lage Landen. Een bloemlezing gebaseerd op Wouter Nijhoff's L'Art typographique / Post-incunabula and their publishers in the Low Countries. A selection based on Wouter Nijhoff's L'Art typographique* (The Hague: 1979).

CHAPTER 5

Personalizing Universal History: Noblemen's Responses to the Polish-Language *Chronicle of the Whole World* by Marcin Bielski

Karolina Mroziewicz

Marcin Bielski's *Kronika wszytkiego świata* [Chronicle of the whole world] is considered the earliest printed universal history written in Polish.[1] It was released three times by three different Cracow printers in 1551, 1554 and 1564.[2] Each edition had a different visual and textual content, but all were published during the lifetime of Marcin Bielski (ca. 1495–1575), who corrected and expanded his text on an ongoing basis. All three editions resulted from close collaboration between a printer and the author, who attempted to create a book as attractive and appealing to his readers as possible. All received great attention from their Polish audience, of predominantly noble origin, and were subsequently reshaped by their numerous users, who left traces of their reading interests, family histories and confessional identities.

Complete copies of Bielski's chronicle are exceptionally rare today. The majority of the extant copies are deprived of the title page – sometimes supplanted by a late nineteenth-century facsimile or a hand-made copy of the original page – and, as a result of more deliberate interventions by readers, of the parts indicating the pro-Lutheran stance of the author. Yet the owners, apart from clearing their books of unwanted content, made their own additions too. Sometimes they inserted additional pages and filled them with a chronicle of their family life. More often they made use of the margins and pictorial space to leave private notes, drawings or they added simple colouring to

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1 The copy-specific research concerning Marcin Bielski's world chronicle was conducted as a part of the 2019/35/D/HS2/01354 research project entitled "Searching for a Palette: Colour Printing and Print Painting in the Kingdom of Poland and Grand Duchy of Lithuania (ca. 1470–1600)", financed by the SONATA programme of the Polish National Science Centre (NCN).

2 The 1597 edition of the chronicle, Bielski Joachim, *Kronika polska, Marcina Bielskiego. Nowo przez Ioach. Bielskiego syna iego wydana* (Cracow, Jakub Siebeneicher: 1597) is excluded from the examination, because the text of the chronicle was significantly changed and expanded by Marcin Bielski's son, Joachim, and the book had different typographic and illustrative content than the previous three editions of the chronicle.

the illustrations, and by so doing they interpreted the book's textual and visual content. In contrast to Latin historical works, the range of readers' responses was both in their quality and quantity unusual in early modern Poland.[3] The uncoordinated but unceasing work of generations of readers transformed copies of Bielski's chronicle into multi-layered, highly personalized objects testifying to the active and often very intimate involvement of the owners with their vernacular books.

The traces of readers' interactions with the printed page show a steady prominence of the chronicle in the lives of the Polish nobility until the nineteenth century, when Bielski's work obtained an antiquarian status as a significant Polonicum and bibliophiles' *rara avis*.[4] The main objective of this paper is to present the results of copy-specific research on material evidence to demonstrate the ways in which the layout, text and illustration in successive editions guided readers' responses throughout three centuries. Combining the methodology of history of reading, which determines what was being read, by whom and how, with the analysis of the organization of the printed book offers an insight into the agency of the book and allows modern scholars to trace the interplay between early modern owners and their books. Such an approach also takes into account the active role of bookmakers: authors, printers, typesetters and, to a lesser extent also form-cutters, even if their individual contribution is not always easily identifiable.

The authorial and typographical changes in the content of the chronicle will first be discussed in order to show how the chronicle was updated and made more visually attractive and user-friendly. Determining the impact of these shifts on the reactions of the Polish nobility is one of the goals of the subsequent discussion. Another one is to show the distinctive reading habits of the Polish nobility, who constituted a particularly idiosyncratic, somewhat traditionalist, audience. Their attitude to the text was structured by a shared

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3　The readers' annotations in the first illustrated chronicle printed in Poland, i.e. *Chronica Polonorum* by Maciej of Miechów (1519/1521), which was popular among Polish noblemen, are much more sparse than in the copies of Bielski's chronicle. Cf. Mroziewicz K., "Limitations of the Reception and Consumption of Illustrations in *Chronica Polonorum* by Maciej of Miechów (Cracow, 1521)", in Jurkowlaniec G. – Herman M. (eds.), *The Reception of the Printed Image in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Multiplied and Modified* (New York: 2021) 134–150.

4　In the nineteenth century the language barrier also became an obstacle in the reception of Bielski's text. This is documented by the appendix with the translation of the old-Polish words into the contemporary Polish added in 1814 to the copy of the 1564 edition of the chronicle held today in the Scientific Library of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences (PAAS) and the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAS) in Cracow (hereafter PAU i PAN), St. Dr. 4050.

set of values and similar cultural formation, in which both native language and Polish history shared a place of high importance.

1   Marcin Bielski and the Three Editions of His Book

Bielski's chronicle was a book written by a nobleman, for noblemen. The author was a soldier, landowner, a Catholic favourable to the Reformation postulates of Luther, and most probably a self-taught man. His biography is not well-documented, but it is known that Bielski spent considerable time in the cultural circle of Piotr Kmita, an influential patron of arts and literature with a rich collection of historical books, to which Bielski might have had access.[5] As a published author, Bielski debuted in Cracow in 1535 with his Polish translation of *Životové a mrávná naučenie mudrcuo přirozených* [Life and moral teachings of the sages] by Mikuláš Konáč of Hodiškov, which was a Czech version of the fourteenth-century *De Vita et Moribus Philosophorum*.[6] His translation abilities are also visible throughout the world chronicle, which is a well-written and captivating compilation of several, predominantly Latin, fifteenth- and sixteenth-century historical works.[7]

The content and format of the world chronicle changed from edition to edition. The first one is a thick *in quarto* book printed in 1551 by the Cracow printer Helena Unglerowa. It opens with a title page with Bielski's coat of arms, his motto and a Latin quote referring to Virgil (*The Aeneid* 10.468–9). The verso contains a large-size Polish coat of arms with the monogram of

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5   Chrzanowski I., *Marcin Bielski. Studjum historyczno-literackie* (Lviv – Warsaw: 1926) 1–31; Śnieżko D., *"Kronika wszytkiego świata" Marcina Bielskiego: Pogranicze dyskursów* (Szczecin: 2004) 92–98 (with references to the earlier literature).

6   Bielski Marcin, *Zywoty philozozophow to jest mędrców nauk przyrodzonych. Y też inszych mężów cznotami ozdobionych ku obyczynemu nauczaniu człowieka każdego krotko wybrane* (Cracow, Florian Ungler: 1535).

7   A list of Bielski's sources and a discussion on the ways in which he referred to and used other historical works is provided by Dariusz Śnieżko in the introduction to his critical edition of Bielski's world chronicle: Bielski Marcin, *Kronika, to jest historyja świata*, eds. D. Śnieżko, D. Kozaryn with collaboration of E. Karczewska, 3 vols. (Szczecin: 2019) vol. 1, 14–20; in Śnieżko, *"Kronika wszytkiego świata" Marcina Bielskiego* 56–88 and in idem, "Jak Marcin Bielski przerabiał z dobrego na lepsze", in Wiśniewska L. (ed.), *Tożsamość i Rozdwojenie: Rekonesans. Materiały V Sesji Naukowej z cyklu "Świat jeden, ale nie jednolity", Bydgoszcz, 22–23 października 2001 roku* (Bydgoszcz: 2002) 211–220. Among Bielski's sources, apart from the Latin works, was also *Kronika česká* [Czech chronicle] by Václav Hájek of Libočany.

King Sigismund II Augustus.[8] The title page is followed by a dedication to the king in Polish and an index. Then a poem follows in which Bielski addresses his readers, and three short laudatory poems in Latin by Andrzej Trzecieski and Wacław of Szamotuły. The next item is a world map, executed after Peter Apian's map of 1520, most probably copied after Johannes Honter's *Rudimenta Cosmographica*, printed in Cracow in 1530. The map precedes a cosmography and a short explanation about chronological systems, which in the subsequent edition was expanded to detailed chronological tables. After the cosmographic description, including Asia, Africa and Europe as well as the earthly paradise, the text of the world chronicle follows. It is arranged chronologically in accordance with the concepts of the six ages of the world and the history of four monarchies. After the biblical narrative, the life of Christ and Roman history, the description of the Christian past follows, including brief lives of popes and emperors, up to 1550. Subsequently there are separate chapters on the history of various lands, their rulers and inhabitants. The largest of them, comprising over half of the volume, presents the history of the Polish Kingdom up to 1548 and closes with the description of the funeral of King Sigismund I the Old. This part of the chronicle, along with the history of the neighbouring lands of Bohemia and Hungary, is treated in more detail than the accounts on the remaining parts of the world. There is an errata list, compiled by Bielski, at the end of the book. The author lists numerous typos and omissions – mainly the lack of foliation – the majority of which, he claims, resulted from not being present while the work was being printed. The long list of mistakes marks the limitations of authorial control over the text of the chronicle and its typographical shape.

Unglerowa's edition was illustrated with over 265 illustrations, but several woodblocks with generic likenesses of rulers were used repetitively. Part of the woodblocks initially belonged to the equipment of Unglerowa's late husband, Florian Ungler (such as a woodcut depicting Isaac impressed on fol. 6v, which originally illustrated Andrzej Glaber's *Problemata Aristotelis* of 1535),[9] or were impressed in her earlier publications (as for instance the woodcut representing the garden of earthly delights on unnumbered fol. Fiiir, which initially illustrated the vernacular edition of Pietro de' Crescenzi's *Ruralia Commoda*

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8   The inclusion of the state coat of arms with the royal initial on the verso of the chronicle's title page was a convention dating back to the first illustrated chronicle, namely Miechów Maciej of, *Chronica Polonorum* (Cracow, Hieronim Vietor: 1519).

9   Kawecka-Gryczowa A.– Mańkowska A., "Unglerowa Helena", in Kawecka Gryczowa A. (ed.), *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII wieku. Tom 1: Małopolska, część 1: wiek XV–XVI* (Wrocław – Warsaw – Cracow – Gdańsk: 1983) 323.

of 1549). The majority of woodblocks, however, was executed for the needs of Bielski's chronicle. Among them were eleven woodcuts with classicizing likenesses of the Roman emperors copied after Johannes Cuspinian's *De Caesaribus atque Imperatoribus Romanis Opus Insigne*, printed in Strasbourg in 1540 by Kraft Müller.[10] The woodcutter(s) working for Unglerowa skipped the identifying legends, included in the original woodcuts, and by so doing obliterated the identity of the depicted figures.[11] As a result, the woodblocks could be impressed as likenesses of biblical figures, Roman emperors or even Polish rulers.[12] Three classicizing depictions, serving as portraits of Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar and emperor Augustus, were copies after the woodcuts used in successive chronicle editions published in Frankfurt am Main by Christian Egenolff in 1533–1535.[13] Another group of likenesses were copied after illustrations to the *Chronica Polonorum* by Maciej of Miechów (1519/1521), which established the visual canon of the depictions of series of Polish rulers. Furthermore, popular engravings and woodcuts by Hans Sebald Beham were used as models for several illustrations.[14] Still, the lack of technical sophistication of the form-cutters working for Unglerowa is clear throughout the book. It must have bothered the two later printers, as the visual content was refined in the subsequent editions, as we will see.

Bielski's chronicle was one of the last products of Unglerowa's printing shop. According to the inventory of 1551, drawn up shortly after her death, there were 404 copies of the chronicle left in her shop, which suggests that the print run of this book was relatively high.[15] Yet, the extensive use of the book and the subsequent censorship of anti-Catholic comments, anecdotes and remarks – slightly mitigated in the subsequent editions – resulted in the fact that only around sixteen copies of the 1551 edition are known today and all are defective.[16]

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10   Jaworski P., "O podobiznach Aleksandra, Cezara i Augusta oraz skutkach zacierania tożsamości: Nowe ustalenia w sprawie wzorów graficznych dla antykizujących drzeworytów 'Kroniki wszytkiego świata Marcina Bielskiego'", *Notae Numismaticae-Zapiski Numizmatyczne* 10 (2015) 225–226; Jaworski P., "Ikonografia antykizujących wizerunków władców w pierwszym wydaniu 'Kroniki wszytkiego świata' Marcina Bielskiego (1551)", *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej* 42 (2011) 205–229.

11   Jaworski, "O podobiznach Aleksandra, Cezara i Augusta" 226.

12   Ibid. 226.

13   Ibid. 227–233.

14   See the data collected by the authors of the Urus-database: https://urus.uw.edu.pl/complex/45428.html [accessed 3 November 2022].

15   Benis A., *Materyały do historyi drukarstwa i księgarstwa w Polsce* (Cracow: 1890) 50.

16   The Central Catalogue of Polonica, held in the Polish National Library in Warsaw (hereafter BN), mentions only sixteen extant copies. I have examined six of them.

The second edition of Bielski's work was published three years later by the less-prolific Cracow printer Hieronim Szarfenberg. As part of this new edition, Bielski supplemented and corrected his narrative, increasing the informative value of the chronicle. The revised text was printed in a larger *in folio* format – the only example known in Szarfenberg's oeuvre – with more attention paid to typography, quality of illustrations and organization of the material than in the Unglerowa edition.

The book opens with a decorative title page, which in the majority of the preserved copies is not extant.[17] The title stresses that the book includes the description of the New World and was more diligently written and embellished with illustrations than the first edition. In between these remarks the printer's device with the depiction of two black men wearing the laurel wreath on their heads is impressed.[18] The placement of the printer's device on the title page was more conventional than the impression of the author's coat of arms, as deployed for the first edition.

The verso of the title page, as in Unglerowa's edition, was embellished with the woodcut depicting the Polish coat of arms with the monogram of the ruling Sigismund II Augustus. Then followed the modified dedication letter to the king along with the slightly changed poem by Bielski addressed to the reader.[19] Already at the beginning of the chronicle – the text was also expanded and updated – the printer added chronological and genealogical plates, and further images were included throughout the book to guide the readers through the wealth of information. The cosmographic description was moved from the opening section to the back of the book and significantly enlarged by the addition of several accounts, among which were for instance descriptions of Slavic lands, British islands and, above all, some much awaited information about geographical discoveries along with an account on the inhabitants of the New World. The efforts to ensure the attractiveness, adequacy and user-friendly character of the book content are reflected in the inclusion of a more accurate

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17　The copy with the preserved title page is kept in the collection of the Kórnik Library, Cim.F.4062. The remaining copies that were consulted lack this page. As in the case of the first edition, the majority of the extant copies are defective and the Central Catalogue of Polonica notes sixteen preserved copies only. I have examined twelve of them.

18　Kiliańczyk-Zięba J., *Sygnety drukarskie w Rzeczpospolitej XVI wieku. Źródła ikonograficzne i treści ideowe* (Cracow: 2015) 86; Krzak-Weiss K., *Polskie sygnety drukarskie od XV do połowy XVII wieku* (Poznań: 2006) plate X, printer's device no. 2, 124–125. The device was a copy of Denis de Harsy, a printer working in Lyon. Krzak-Weiss also established that this device was impressed in Glareanus Henryk, *De VI. Arithmeticae practicae speciebus* (Cracow, Hieronim Szarfenberg: 1554).

19　Śnieżko, *"Kronika wszytkiego świata" Marcina Bielskiego* 36.

map copied after Apian's one of 1550 as well as by the relocation of an index from the beginning to the end of the book.

The second edition of the chronicle was illustrated with over 381 woodcuts. Even though Szarfenberg made use of some of Unglerowa's woodblocks and those inherited from his father, a large number of illustrations were newly executed for the needs of the chronicle, which ensured greater uniformity of the visual content.[20] Among the freshly cut woodblocks was a likeness of the author at work in his studio that shows Bielski in his middle age, surrounded by the utensils of a man of letters and the lute of a poet. The interior of the provincial manor house, the chronicler's exquisite garments and the Prawdzic coat of arms, placed on the leg of the writing desk, remind the viewers about the author's noble origin and the nobility of his endeavour.

With the exception of the individualized likeness of the author, Szarfenberg used mainly generic images of rulers, among which was a new series copied after Maciej of Miechów's *Chronica Polonorum* and a cycle of *all'antica* medallions. The latter comprise thirty-three likenesses based on woodcuts illustrating Johann Huttich's *Imperatorum et Caesarum Vitae cum Imaginibus ad Vivam Effigiem Expressis* printed in 1550 by Balthazar Arnoullet in Lyon.[21] A new set of larger and more detailed woodcuts was based on the works by Hans Holbein the Younger, Hans Sebald Beham, Georg Pench and other German masters.[22] Some of the new woodblocks were signed by Crispin Scharffenberg, from the Silesian branch of the Scharffenberg family. His works also illustrated other works printed in Cracow. Between ca. 1532 and 1543 Crispin worked for his distant relative Maciej Szarfenberg, and several of his blocks were inherited by Maciej's successors, among whom was Maciej's son Hieronim from his first marriage.[23]

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20   Kawecka-Gryczowa, "Szarfenberg Hieronim" in *Drukarze dawnej Polski* 236–237. For instance Hieronim Szarfenberg impressed woodblocks, signed by Crispin Scharffenberg, previously used to illustrate religious works such as *Żywot Pana Jezu Krysta* [Life of Lord Jesus Christ, after 1539] by Baltazar Opec and various Polish-language *hortulus* books printed by Maciej Szarfenberg: Bogusz M., "Wyposażenie graficzne 'Kroniki wszystkiego świata' Marcina Bielskiego (1554, 1564): Pierwowzory, praktyka i strategia", *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 84/1 (2022) 27.

21   Jaworski, "O podobiznach Aleksandra, Cezara i Augusta" 234; Jaworski P., "*Figurae absurdae et inelegantes?* Ikonografia medalionów all'antica w drugim wydaniu 'Kroniki wszytkiego świata' Marcina Bielskiego (1554)", *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej* 43 (2012) 87–111.

22   Bogusz, "Wyposażenie graficzne 'Kroniki wszystkiego świata' Marcina Bielskiego" 12–13, 16–21.

23   Kawecka-Gryczowa, Mańkowska, "Szarfenberg Maciej" in *Drukarze dawnej Polski* 248.

Part of the woodblocks illustrating the second edition passed by Hieronim Szarfenberg's widow Elżbieta to the printer of the 1564 edition of the chronicle, Mateusz Siebeneicher, whom Elżbieta Szarfenberg married in 1557. For the third edition of his work, Bielski provided a new dedicatory letter to the king, this time written in Latin. Again he shortened the poem addressed to the reader and enlarged the text of the chronicle with additional geographical, ethnographical, cultural and confessional information. He added new chapters with an abridged history of the Reformation by Johannes Sleidan, a history of the Ottomans with brief biographies of the sultans along with the life of the military commander Skanderbeg and an account on Muscovy.[24] Moreover, the description of the New World was given a separate chapter. Poems by Andrzej Trzecieski, Wacław of Szamotuły and a new addition, verses by Andrzej Ciesielski, were placed at the end of the book, just after the index, Bielski's epilogue and errata listing the main typographical mistakes.

The final product was a folio volume much thicker than the 1554 edition. It opens with a title page decorated with the woodcut frame with depictions of Old Testament scenes and an elaborate heraldic woodcut with the coats of arms of the Polish lands on the verso.[25] Then follow the chronological explanation, the dedicatory letter and the likeness of the author, known already from the 1554 edition. The woodcut on the verso, the depiction of the creation of the world by Master MS, marks the beginning of the chronicle.[26] A simple system was developed to guide the readers through the historical content. The running

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24   *Księgi trzecie Kroniki świata Jana Szlejdana o stanowieniu kościoła Krześcijańskiego i Rzeczypospolitej za czasu Cesarza Karła piątego z domu Rakuskiego, tak w Niemczech, Francyjej i Anglijej, w Węgrzech, jako i we Włoszech krótszym wypisaniu.* This section of the chronicle was based on *De Statu Religionis et Reipublicae Carolo V. Caesare Commentarii*, printed in 1555 in Strasbourg. The part *Księgi czwarte Kroniki świata wszystkiego o Turczech i o Skanderbegu* was based in large part on Marino Barlezio's *De Vita et Laudibus Scanderbergii*, printed in 1552. Information on Muscovy *Księgi dziewiathe kroniki wszytkiego świata. O narodzie moskiewskim albo ruskim według wypisania Zygmunta Herberstyna ktory tam trzykroć iezdzil w poselstwie of Cesarzow Krzescijanskich* was based on *Rerum Moscoviticarum Comentarii Sigismundi Liberi Baronis in Herberstain.* Furthermore, the depiction of Ivan IV, included in the 1564 edition, was a copy of the depiction of Vasili III of Russia, an illustration to Herberstein Siegmund von, *Rerum Moscoviticarum Comentarii Liberi* [...] (Basel, Johannes Oporinus: 1551) fol. A1r: https://urus.uw.edu.pl/influenced /34876.html [accessed 3 November 2022].

25   The iconography of this woodcut is analyzed by Bogusz, "Wyposażenie graficzne 'Kroniki wszystkiego świata' Marcina Bielskiego" 23–24 and Jakimowicz T., *Temat historyczny w sztuce epoki ostatnich Jagiellonów* (Warsaw – Poznań: 1985) 75.

26   Bogusz discusses this woodcut in "Wyposażenie graficzne 'Kroniki wszystkiego świata' Marcina Bielskiego" 22.

title in the upper margin on the verso of each folio page gives the number of Bielski's book, whereas the running title on the recto provides information about the age of the world which Bielski covers. To further improve the book's layout and its content, the printer added more chronological and genealogical charts. The typographic ornaments, which filled numerous blank spaces, gave the printed page a more decorative character too. The page was also structured by vertical lines encompassing the column of the text and indexing words. The most intricate and elegant layout was given to the final pages, which were filled with large floral ornaments, the colophon and the printer's device.

The main aesthetic achievement of the new edition was, however, the higher quality and quantity of illustrations. Their number grew to almost 430. Siebeneicher still reused numerous woodblocks from Unglerowa's and Szarfenberg's shops, the latter included *inter alia* several scenes from the Old Testament, images of sibyls, likenesses of Czech and Hungarian rulers, the world map, and the depictions of the inhabitants of the Americas and Africa. Among the new woodcuts was a series of repeatedly-used battle scenes and more faithful copies of selected illustrations of the *Chronica Polonorum* (such as twelve captains on fol. 340r and Leszek II who won the race for the crown by trickery on fol. 34v) than in the two previous editions.[27] Other novelties, closely corresponding to the growing interest in the emerging genre of portrait and costume books, were a likeness of Ivan the Terrible (fol. 426v) and a depiction of oriental sabres, saddles, boots, quivers and knives, entitled *Stroje Moskiewskie* ([Moscovian costumes] fol. 440r), mirrored copies of the illustrations to *Rerum Moscoviticarum Comentarii* by Siegmund von Herberstein.[28] The interest in the individualized portraits is also evident in the addition of the large-size likeness of Martin Luther (fol. 193v), a copy of a woodcut by Lucas Cranach the Younger.[29] Several newly added woodcuts were signed by the monogrammists IB and MS, who worked for Mateusz Siebeneicher.[30]

2   Readership of Bielski's Chronicle

Numerous provenance notes suggest that the nobility was the main readership of the chronicle and that the book often passed as an important family

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27   The interpretation of the content and function of the battle scene is discussed by Jakimowicz, *Temat historyczny w sztuce epoki ostatnich Jagiellonów* 101–103, 105–108.

28   Herberstein Siegmund von, *Rerum Moscoviticarum Comentarii Liberi* […] (Basel, Johannes Oporinus: 1556) 156.

29   Bogusz, "Wyposażenie graficzne 'Kroniki wszystkiego świata' Marcina Bielskiego" 31–32.

30   Ibid. 23–24.

heirloom from father to son, or from grandfather to grandson.[31] The presence of Bielski's work among noblewomen, townspeople and clergymen is also evident, but more sporadic.[32] The book's high price limited the prospective owners of the chronicle to the most wealthy individuals. Around 1585 the second or third edition of the chronicle was valued at 6 florens, one floren more than the elegant *Chronica Polonorum* by Maciej of Miechów and twice as much as Bartosz Paprocki's illustrated heraldic work, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego* [Coats of arms of Polish nobility].[33] This price made Bielski's chronicle an expensive publication on the Polish market of the late sixteenth century.[34]

The text of the chronicle makes it evident that Bielski wrote this work with the Polish noble readers in mind and selected the materials with the interests of his audience in mind. Instead of Latin, which was the language of historiography deeply rooted in Polish literary tradition, he opted for the vernacular. Explaining his decision, the chronicler notes that he used Polish in order to provide easy access to his work.[35] Similarly, in the 1551 version of the dedicatory letter, Bielski criticizes the clergy for not promoting the national language enough and as a result for limiting access to God's word for ordinary people.[36] Yet, in the dedication to the 1554 edition, Bielski gave up on this pro-Lutheran remark and instead highlighted the prominence of Polish for the political nation, that is the nobility, which he thought was excluded from the readership of the Latin-language historical works.[37]

Bielski was fully aware of the high demand for a Polish-language chronicle. Even though the number of Polish-language editions grew significantly from

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31 Cf. Śnieżko, *"Kronika wszytkiego świata" Marcina Bielskiego* 304.

32 Torój E., *Inwentarze księgozbiorów mieszczan lubelskich z lat 1591–1678* (Lublin: 1997) 67; Żurkowa R., "Miejsce literatury historyczno-politycznej w księgozbiorach mieszczan krakowskich XVII w.", *Rocznik Biblioteki PAN w Krakowie* 20 (1974) 73–83.

33 Budka W., "Bibljoteka Mikołaja Bronowskiego", *Przegląd Biblioteczny* 4 (1930) 209–215.

34 Cf. Urban W., "Ceny książek w Polsce XVI–XVII w.", *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej* 46 (1996) 61–67.

35 Kuran M., "O wypowiedziach zalecających w polskich kronikach z XVI i początku XVII wieku", in Jarczykowa M., Mazurkowa B., Marcinkowska M. (eds.), *Wypowiedzi zalecające w książce dawnej i współczesnej* (Katowice: 2015) 76.

36 Bielski Marcin, *Kronika wszytkiego swyata na ssesc wyekow, monarchie czterzy rozdzielona, s Kozmografią nową y z rozmaitemi krolestwy tak poganskimi zydowskyemi yako y krzescianskyemi, s Sybillami y proroctwy ich, po polsku pisana s figurami [...] od poczatku aż do [...] 1551 [...] myędzy ktoremi też nasza Polska na ostatku zosobna yest wypisana* (Cracow, Helena Unglerowa: 1551) fol. ŋ2r.

37 Bömelburg H.-J., *Frühneuzeitliche Nationen im östlichen Europa: Das polnische Geschichtsdenken und die Reichweite einer humanistischen Nationalgeschichte (1500–1700)* (Wiesbaden: 2006) 103.

the 1520s onwards, there were no world or national histories among them.[38] Hence, one of the main goals of his work was to impart universal knowledge and numerous curiosities, collected from widely-available Latin-language books, on the Polish readership. By doing so, Bielski wrote an entertaining and edifying compilation of various chronicles, full of humour and witty anecdotes that could satisfy the expectations of his noble audience. His interests and skills were those of a curious reader and apt translator, not a scholar using the achievements of humanistic philology. His method produced an all-encompassing compendium, which educated the readers about the world's geography and history and encouraged them to use the book for moral and political edification.

An even broader audience of the chronicle is hinted at in Andrzej Trzecieski's *Lectori candido*.[39] The poet expresses hopes that Bielski's Polish-language book will reach a wide readership and will be constantly passed from hand to hand, being read throughout the country by the representatives of all estates. Trzecieski draws a rather universal and inclusive image of the book's audience and lists various benefits for different age and gender groups of the readers. As he claims, the chronicle presents examples of heroism to young men; more mature and old men are offered role models; and women, both unmarried and married, will greatly profit from getting to know this work as it will be a decent entertainment for them, distracting them from idle follies. In his following poem, entitled shortly *Aliud*, Trzecieski further acknowledges the value of the vernacular by noting that a work in the mother tongue reaches a wider audience, because it can be read not only by well-educated people and scholars, but also by simple folk.[40] The low literacy rate among Polish commoners and the high price of the book in the late sixteenth century suggest that Trzecieski's postulates were both exaggerated and unrealistic.[41]

In fact, as Hans Jürgen Bömelburg observes, the political and cultural undertones of Bielski's chronicle clearly demonstrate that the representatives of the nobility constituted the main target audience of the chronicle. He notes that Bielski often narrates his story in the first person plural, directly or indirectly

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38   Ibid. 102.

39   Trzecieski Andrzej, *Lectori candido*, in Bielski Marcin, *Kronika* (Cracow, Helena Unglerowa: 1551) unsigned fol. Separately reprinted in Trzecieski Andrzej, *Dzieła wszystkie. T. 1: Carmina. Wiersze łacińskie*, ed. J. Krókowski (Wrocław: 1958) 368–369.

40   Ibid.

41   Urban W., "Umiejętność pisania w Małopolsce w drugiej połowie XVI wieku", *Przegląd Historyczny* 68/2 (1977) 231–257.

identifying himself with the nation of the Sarmatians.[42] This ethnogenetic concept, along with notions of the fatherland, as well as an attachment to genealogical structures and shared history also referred to in the chronicle, constituted the core of the collective identity of the Polish nobility in the early modern era, actively enforced by Bielski's narrative.[43]

Furthermore, the reception of Bielski's chronicle in Lithuanian, Moscovian and Ruthenian historiography demonstrates that the book was also read by noblemen from the linguistic neighbourhood, who found it easier to read in Polish than in Latin.[44] The popularity of the chronicle in Eastern Europe grew along with the spread of the Reformation. As Bömelburg observes, Bielski's chronicle offered the most widespread presentation of Polish history in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and in the Ruthenian lands in the first decades of the seventeenth century.[45]

At the same time, Bielski's name was listed in the *Index Auctorum et Librorum Prohibitorum* of 1617 and his chronicle was removed from the Catholic libraries in the Polish Kingdom.[46] Along with the growing importance and impetus of the Counter-Reformation movement in Poland, the pro-Lutheran sympathy of the author began to be treated with more distrust and hostility. Another determinant which decreased the impact of Bielski's work was the growing competition in the Polish-language book market. The translations of widely-read Latin-language chronicles by Marcin Kromer and Alessandro Guagnini were published in 1611 which ensured their wide reception outside a humanistic audience.[47] In the second quarter of the century, several popular historical compendia addressed to a broad audience entered the book market.[48] Yet, even if the chronicle's influence on historiography significantly declined, its impact on individual readers remained strong. Numerous annotations as well as provenance notes attest that the book was in constant circulation among

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42 Bielski's understanding of Sarmatia is discussed by Śnieżko, *"Kronika wszytkiego świata" Marcina Bielskiego* 101–103.

43 Bömelburg, *Frühneuzeitliche Nationen im östlichen Europa* 103. The nobility as the main target readership is also alluded to in *Andrzej Ciesielski łaskawemu Czytelnikowi* [Andrzej Ciesielski to the benign reader], added to the third edition of the chronicle.

44 Bömelburg, *Frühneuzeitliche Nationen im östlichen Europa* 107; Śnieżko, *"Kronika wszytkiego świata" Marcina Bielskiego*, 285–289.

45 Bömelburg, *Frühneuzeitliche Nationen im östlichen Europa* 107.

46 Ibid. 108.

47 *Marcina Kromera biskvpa warmienskiego O sprawach, dzieiach y wszystkich inszych potocznosciach koronnych polskich kśiąg xxx* (Cracow, Mikołaj Lob: 1611); Guagnini Alessandro, *Kronika Sarmacyey Europskiey* […] (Cracow, Mikołaj Lob: 1611).

48 Janik M., "Wśród form popularyzacji historii w xvii wieku", in Dacka-Górzyńska I., Partyka J. (eds.), *Staropolskie kompendia wiedzy* (Warsaw: 2009) 203–224.

Polish nobility – often bought, gifted or inherited – and did not cease to be used in the noble households.[49]

3   Readers' Responses

Polish noble readers treated their copies of the chronicle without much reverence, as becomes clear from my analysis of thirty-four copies of all three editions. If something interested them, they generally marked it with 'NB', left an affirmative response or underlined a given passage, and often added an indexing note in the outer margin. Much more destructive, diverse and common were their expressions of discontent with Bielski's text. The remarks pointing out the chronicler's mistakes and correcting the confused facts were rather moderate in their tone. More fierce were comments on the confessionally-charged passages, especially those criticizing the Catholic Church, popes or concepts such as purgatory. These notes aimed to discredit and defame the author as well as undermine the credibility of his narrative.[50] Sometimes they were as short as 'you lied', 'it is false', or 'the author is a liar'.[51] Frequently they included a few swear words as in 'you lie, Bielski, son of a bitch'.[52] At times they stirred an exchange of opinions between two or more readers: 'stupid author / [in a later hand:] it is true that the author is very stupid'.[53] In the most radical cases, the controversial parts were made to disappear by blackening the disputable lines or, more often, by tearing out the whole page. The practice of purging the

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49   Examples of the provenance notes testifying to gifting, buying and inheriting the book are mentioned in Śnieżko, *"Kronika wszytkiego świata" Marcina Bielskiego* 304.

50   Ibid. 305.

51   In the original it reads: *Zkłamałeś*: Bielski Marcin, *Kronika wszytkiego swyata* (1551), Cracow, Jagiellonian Library (hereafter BJ), Cim 4059, unnumbered fol.; *fałsz, kłamca jest autor*: Bielski Marcin, *Kronika tho iest historya swiatana sześć wiekow, a czterzy moliarchie, rozdzielona z rozmaitych historykow, tak w świętym pismie krześćiańskim zydowskim, iako y pogańskim, wybierana y na polski ięzyk wypisana dosthathecżney niż pierwey, s przydanim wiele rzeczy nowych: od początku swiata, aż do tego roku, ktory sie pisze 1564 s figurami ochędożnymi y własnymi* (Cracow, Mateusz Siebeneicher: 1564), PAU i PAN, St. Dr. 4050, fols. 174r, 173v.

52   *Łżesz skurwysynie Bielski*: Bielski, *Kronika tho iest historya swiatana* (1564), BJ, Cim. 8175, fol. 213v.

53   *A! głupi Autor* / [later hand] *prawda, że bardzo głupi ten autor*. This comment was noticed by Śnieżko, *"Kronika wszytkiego świata" Marcina Bielskiego* 306. Dariusz Śnieżko notes that not only the author, but also the printer, could become the object of the insults: 'printer, son of a bitch': Originally: *skurwysyn drukarz*: Śnieżko, *"Kronika wszytkiego świata" Marcina Bielskiego* 305.

chronicle of unwanted "heretical" content is apparent in the majority of the studied copies.

Apart from the harsh tone and emotional load of readers' reactions, another striking feature of the readers' responses is how they shortened the distance that separated them from the author. The commentators frequently turned directly to Bielski and addressed him as a peer, using second person singular. The author's likeness [Fig. 5.1] added to the second and third edition of the chronicle sometimes served as a convenient locus of the imaginary encounter between the chronicler and his audience. This pictorial space preserved numerous opinions about his status and the value of his work. The familiar setting depicted in this woodcut might have brought the image of the author closer to his readers' realities and incited their sharp reactions. It also provoked labelling of the author as a 'Polish chronicler' and 'nobleman'.[54] An anonymous, most probably Catholic, user of the chronicle also characterized the book content here with 'Much smells like Calvin and Luther', yet the reader confirms that despite the influence of the Reformation, Bielski wrote many good things in his book. The fact that Bielski is a 'Polish chronicler' was stressed twice in the handwritten notes.[55]

The close connection between the readers and the author went along with a strong, often intimate relationship between the owners and their copies of the chronicle. The books were often entrusted with the histories of their owners' family lives, as exemplified by an anonymous sixteenth-century noblewoman who left a personal note about her marriage, the premature death of her child and the circumstances of her husband's murder.[56] Bielski's awareness of the role of tradition, memory and history in supporting ties between the

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54 *Kronikarz Polski / Malowany / Lutrem i Kalwinem dużo pachnie / Marcin Bielski / Kronikarz Polski / Szlachcic / iednak wiele dobrych rzeczy według inszych kronikarz pisze: Marcin Bielski*: Bielski Marcin, *Kronika wssythyego swyata na ssesc wiekow a na czwory księgi takież monarchie rozdzielona* [...] *s kosmografią nową* [...] *od początku swyata aż do* [...] *roku* [...] *1554, myedzy ktoremi też nassa Polska yest z osobna położona, y swyata nowego wypisanye* (Cracow, Hieronim Szarfenberg: 1554), Warsaw, University of Warsaw Library (hereafter BUW), SD 612.223, unfoliated page.

55 Ibid.

56 *Z.K.* [....] *Lata Bożego 1551 wydanam yest zamąsz.* [...] *A Cyprijanek urodził się 20 dnia lutego 16 godziny Roku Pańskiego 1560. Umarł thegosz roku 22 marca 20 godziny. A.D. 1562 we czwartek 12 dnia Marcza marnie iesth zabith Małżonek Moy miły zdradą od człowieka złego thowarzysza swego w drodze.* [...]. This note, left by an anonymous noblewoman, reads in English translation: Z.K. [...] In God's year 1551 I got married [...] And little Cyprian was born on 20 February, AD 1560 at 4 PM. He died the same year on 22 March at 8 PM. AD 1562 on Thursday, 12 March my dear husband was badly killed by the betrayal of a bad man, who accompanied him during travel [...]: Bielski, *Kronika wssythyego swyata* (1554), BJ, Cim 8172, fol. 304v.
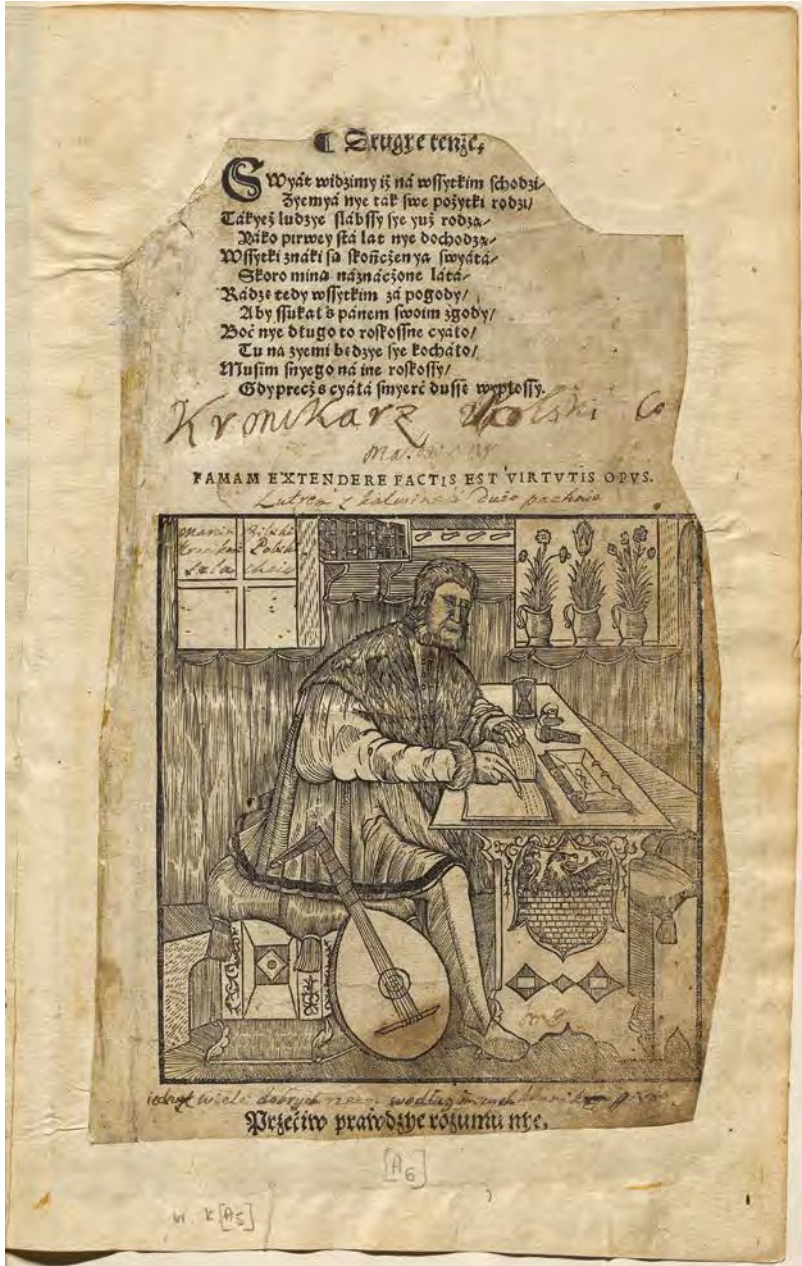
FIGURE 5.1 Anonymous woodcut depicting Marcin Bielski. *Kronika wssythyego swyata*
(Cracow, Hieronim Szarfenberg: 1554). Warsaw, University Library (BUW),
SD 612.223, unnumbered page. Public domain

generations of readers found its practical realization in these kinds of notes. They not only preserved the history of the book owners, but also enriched the content of the chronicle, inscribing individual experience into the framework of the universal history.

Individual reading interests of the book users are still recognizable in the extant copies as some parts of the chronicle are clearly more worn than others. Whereas some readers devoted more attention to the chapters on Polish history, others annotated passages devoted to the classical past more attentively. The chapters about the lives of popes, particularly the passage about the female pope Joan, caused the fiercest responses in ten studied copies of all three editions.

The account on popess Joan, based on the thirteenth-century legend, was either heavily annotated or obliterated by blackening particular lines or by crossing out the whole text and the woodcut [Fig. 5.2].[57] Still more commonly, the whole page was removed. An anonymous commentator of the 1554 edition annotated the likeness of Joan with the words *Papa prostibulum*, then switched to Polish and concluded that the story is a heretical fabrication.[58] A reader of the 1564 edition repudiated the legend as a lie, because Bielski was not there or alive at the time. If popess Joan were wise, argued the reader, she would not go out around the time of labour.[59] Hence, the story must have been a heretical invention turned against the Roman Church. Readers' reactions to Joan's story demonstrate that the ongoing interconfessional discussion on its credibility received a rather radical form among the vernacular audience. The Polish noble users were more prone to throw invectives and use common sense arguments than to search for historical arguments or engage in source criticism, characteristic for the historiographical discussion of that time.

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57   Bielski, *Kronika wszytkiego swyata* (1551) fol. 81r; Bielski, *Kronika wssythyego swyata* (1554) fol. 155v; Bielski, *Kronika tho iest historya swiata* (1564) fol. 171v. On the role of popess Joan in the interconfessional polemics see: Boureau Alain, *The Myth of Pope Joan* (Chicago: 2001).

58   *Papa prostibulum* [Pope prostitute], *Nigdy tak nie było wymysł to heretycki* [It was never like this; this is a heretical fabrication] in: Bielski, *Kronika wssythyego swyata* (1554), BJ, Cim 8689, fol. 155v.

59   The original text reads: *NB Anno a parta Virginis 856 Kobieta Janem nazwana Papieżem była. to anegdota* [later hand] *To jest kłamstwo czemu o tym zaden Rzymski Kronikarz nie pisze, a Polak ktory tam nie był ani żył tego czasy zkąd to wyczytał. Jeżeli była mądra, pewnie by na czasach porodzenia nigdzie nie wychodziła, znac tedy ze to iest iedyny wymysł heretycki ktorzy rozne bayki na na kościoł Rzymski zwykle zmyślać* [another hand]: Bielski, *Kronika tho iest historya swiata* (1564), Cracow, The Princes Czartoryski Library / National Museum, 22 III Cim, fol. 171v.
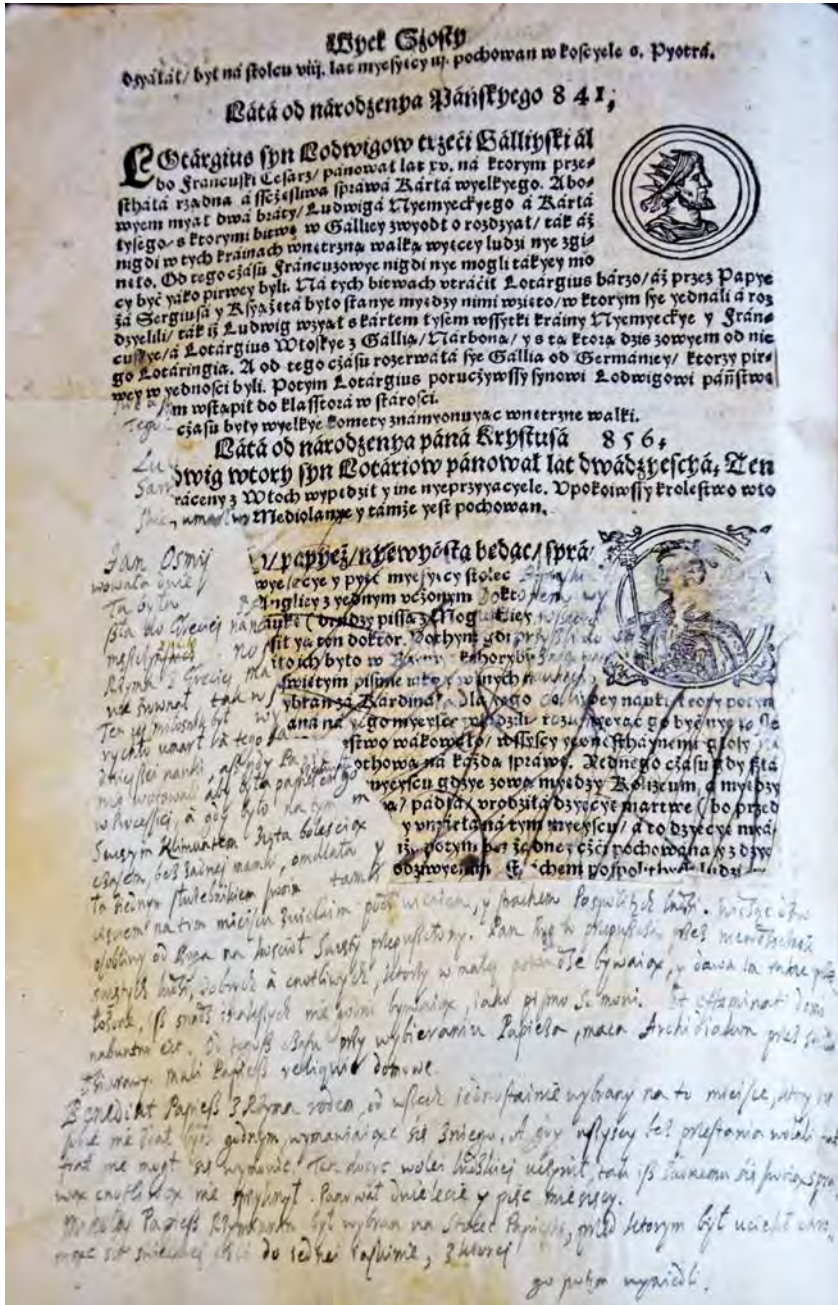
FIGURE 5.2 Obliterated text narrating the legend about popess Joan and her likeness.
Marcin Bielski, *Kronika wssythyego swyata* (Cracow, Hieronim Szarfenberg:
1554). Warsaw, National Library (BN), XVI.F.109, fol. 155v
IMAGE © WARSAW NATIONAL LIBRARY

The history of the Reformation by Johannes Sleidan also caused much controversy. The readers warned one another about the "heretical" author and his text and they shared their impressions such as 'Having read this Sleidan with great attention, I consider him a dog and worse than Satan'.[60] Anonymous commentators also cautioned other readers about the damaging influence and deceptive nature of this part of the chronicle.[61] Positive, pro-Lutheran responses to this section of the chronicle are rare and sometimes obliterated by later reactions and comments that were inspired by a strong counter-reformational zeal.

Readers' marks indicating their curiosity were of a more restrained nature. The description of the New World, included in the second and third edition of the chronicle, as the only one available in Polish language until the first decade of the seventeenth century, must have been appealing to the vernacular audience.[62] Still, the only indicators of the readers' high interest in this section are often two handwritten letters NB in the outer margins, suggesting that those things were worth noting.[63] In other copies, numerous passages were underlined and summarized next to the printed indexing notes, which shows that readers took some effort to organize and perhaps also memorize the bulk of the information. An unknown reader commented on the unusual physiognomy and habits of the foreign people that were visualized by the series of illustrations. For instance, on the woodcut showing a long-eared Pygmy this reader wrote 'These are the ears of these people' [Fig. 5.3].[64] In another copy of the chronicle, some user painted a cleaver and body parts of cannibalism victims in red, which added a sensational character to the image and made it correspond better to the vivid description.

Colour was an important means of interpreting book illustrations, but it was used only incidentally by Bielski's readers. None of the studied copies had all

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60   The original quote, cited by Dariusz Śnieżko, is as follows: *Przeczytawszy z wielką uwagą tego Szlejdana, liczę go za psa i gorszego niż szatana*: Śnieżko, *"Kronika wszytkiego świata" Marcina Bielskiego* 307.

61   *Ten Jan Szleydan heretyk, przeto ostro zniem trzeba bydz by niewierzy z wszystkiemu co tu pisz*: Bielski, *Kronika tho iest historya swiata* [1564], PAU i PAN, St. Dr. 4050, fol. 193r.

62   Buchwald-Pelcowa P., "Marcin Bielski o odkrywaniu nowych światów", in Goliński J.K. (ed.), *Wyobraźnia epok dawnych. Obrazy, tematy, idee. Materiały sesji dedykowanej Profesorom Jadwidze i Edmundowi Kotarskim* (Bydgoszcz: 2001) 153–165.

63   As in Bielski, *Kronika tho iest historya swiata* (1564), BJ, Cim. 8174.

64   Annotated images of the inhabitants of the New World are extant in Bielski, *Kronika wssythyego swyata* [1554], BN, XVI.F.33, fols. 308r, 309r, 310r.
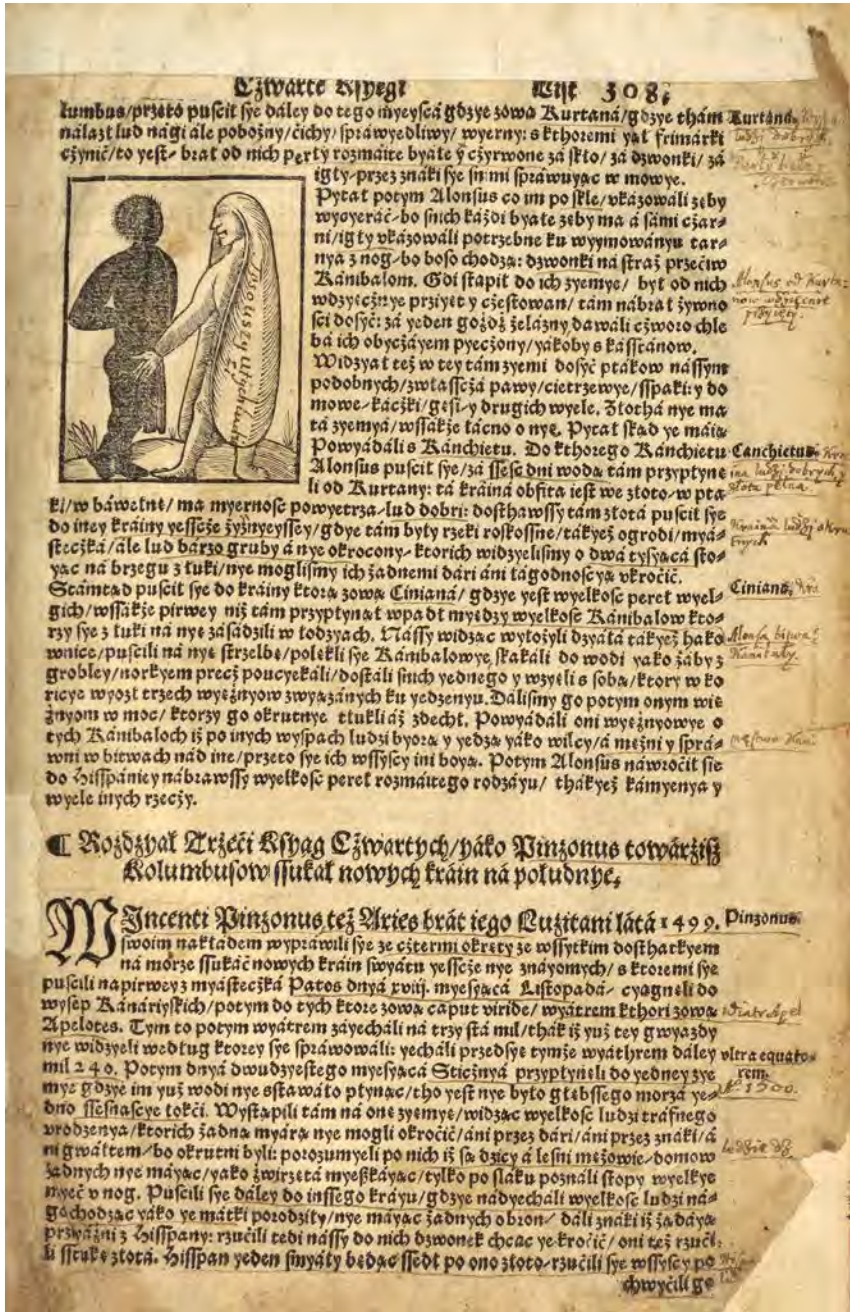
FIGURE 5.3 Annotated image of the inhabitants of the New World. Woodcut. Marcin Bielski, *Kronika wssythyego swyata* (Cracow, Hieronim Szarfenberg: 1554). Warsaw, BN, XVI.F.33, fol. 308r. Public domain

SOURCE: POLONA.PL

woodcuts skilfully coloured, as was sometimes the case with richly illustrated Latin chronicles printed in Poland, for instance the *Chronica Polonorum* by Maciej of Miechów.[65] This suggests – rather surprisingly – that Bielski's work rarely, if ever, was used as a refined presentation book. More generally, one colour, customarily red, was added clumsily to selected images or their parts, most commonly the frames of the generic likenesses, as a way of adding variety to the process of reading and viewing.[66] Sometimes the same ink was used to underline the text, write comments and colour the woodcuts.[67] However, in the case of the depiction of the Last Judgment, red colour proved useful for increasing the dramatic effects of the scene [Fig. 5.4].[68] The readers also interacted with the images by drawing something in black ink. Often they added new motifs such as birds, swords, stones or rain drops [Fig. 5.5].

The more detailed the illustration was, the easier it became to supplement it with additional elements. Hence, in the copies of the first edition of the chronicle, users' interventions are generally limited to supplementary inscriptions with names of the represented figures written next to or within the typified depictions of the historical figures.[69] The number of amateurish drawings significantly grew in the copies of the second and third edition of the chronicle, which were illustrated with more refined and individualized sets of woodcuts.

The individualization of likenesses of historical figures, most notably Martin Luther, also sharpened the reactions of the readers. The earliest generic depiction of the reformer (fol. 113r), used also to represent Solon (fol. 27v) in the first edition of the chronicle as well that of Luther in the second edition, and impressed as a likeness of Aristotle (fol. 116r) and Quintilian (fol. 196v), incited only short textual responses. Readers sometimes inscribed Luther's name, thus strengthening the connection between the typified image of a scholar and the text referring to Luther [Fig. 5.6]. The identifying inscription could be combined with vivid and explicit invectives such as 'Martin Luther, devil's meretricious tool, a cursed heretic'.[70] Yet harsh comments rarely affected this likeness of Luther. It was after the inclusion of a more accurate portrait of the reformer, a faithful copy of a woodcut by Lucas Cranach the Younger, which was familiar

65   Mroziewicz, "Limitations of the Reception and Consumption of Illustrations" 138.

66   An exceptionally rich colour palette of three different hues was used to colour the likenesses of European and Phrygian sibyls in the copy of Bielski, *Kronika wssythyego swyata* (1554), PAU i PAN, St. Dr. 4027, fol. 122v.

67   As in Bielski, *Kronika wszytkiego swyata* (1551), PAU i PAN, Cim 470 I.

68   Bielski, *Kronika tho iest historya swiata* (1564), BN, SD XVI F. 429, fol. 136r.

69   An example provides Bielski, *Kronika wssythyego swyata* (1564), BN, XVI.F.33.

70   The original note reads: *Marcin Luter diabelski instrument wszeteczny, heretyk przeklęty*: Bielski, *Kronika wssythyego swyata* (1554), BUW, SD 612.220, fol. 172r.

FIGURE 5.4   Hand-coloured scene of the Last Judgment. Woodcut. Marcin Bielski,
Kronika wssythyego swyata (Cracow, Hieronim Szarfenberg: 1554).
Warsaw, BN, XVI.F.109, fol. 124r

FIGURE 5.5   Hand-drawn landscape added to the illustrations depicting the Hanging of the kings of
the Amorites. Woodcut. Marcin Bielski, *Kronika wssythyego swyata* (Cracow, Hieronim
Szarfenberg: 1554). Warsaw, BN, XVI.F.33, fol. 42v. Public domain
SOURCE: POLONA.PL

to the readers, that the image faced various destructive responses. At best the
woodcut was supplemented with a mocking drawing such as a demon com-
ing out of Luther's mouth [Fig. 5.7].[71] Conversely, in order not to let anything
harmful come out of Luther's mouth, one user scratched away his lips.[72] Most
commonly, however, the woodcut was densely covered with invectives, heav-
ily destroyed or fully removed, as in the copy held in the University of Warsaw
Library [Fig. 5.8].[73]

The changes in book layout also affected the ways in which the chronicle
was annotated. The most radical changes in regard to the composition of
the page were introduced in the third edition, copies of which are preserved
in much higher numbers and more intact than those of the previous two

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71   Bielski, *Kronika tho iest historya swiata* (1564), BJ, Cim. 8174, fol. 193v.

72   Bielski, *Kronika tho iest historya swiata* (1564), BUW, 612.225, fol. 193v.

73   As for instance in Bielski, *Kronika tho iest historya swiata* (1564), BUW, 612.226.

FIGURE 5.6　Likenesses of Martin Luther with hand-written comment. Woodcut. Marcin
Bielski, *Kronika wssythyego swyata* (Cracow, Hieronim Szarfenberg: 1554).
Warsaw, BUW, SD 612.220, fol. 172r
IMAGE © UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW LIBRARY

FIGURE 5.7 Portrait of Martin Luther, after Lucas Cranach the Younger, with hand-drawn demon. Woodcut. Marcin Bielski, *Kronika tho iesth Historya swiata* (Cracow, Mateusz Siebeneicher: 1564). Cracow, BJ, Cim. 8174, fol. 193v
IMAGE © JAGIELLONIAN LIBRARY

Kſiegi trzecie

[Two-column page of early-modern Polish text in blackletter; large central portion cut out. Marginal notes at left: "Lata 1518.", "Niegrodzie Kardynałem.", "Luter Dozwan. Sdietan Legat.", "Collegium Witemberskie.", "Maleyszns." The legible text is partial and fragmentary due to the excision and script.]

FIGURE 5.8 Page of the chronicle from which the portrait of Martin Luther was cut out. Marcin Bielski, *Kronika tho iesth Historya swiata* (Cracow, Mateusz Siebeneicher: 1564). Warsaw, BUW 612.226, fol. 193v
IMAGE © UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW LIBRARY

editions.[74] The change of the book's graphic design, especially the addition of large decorative ornaments and a strictly structured page layout, limited the space for readers' reactions. Particularly, the typographic *horror vacui* confined the possibility of annotating the blank parts of the pages. The inscription fields on the woodcut representations of the apostles Peter and Paul, executed by Crispin Scharffenberg, are an example. While in the 1554 editions they were often filled with handwritten inscriptions identifying the figures, invocations to the Virgin Mary [Fig. 5.9] or with other kinds of notes, in the 1564 edition they were decorated with typographical ornaments and as such could no longer serve as a space suited for readers' responses [Fig. 5.10].[75] At the same time readers were particularly encouraged to interact with genealogical and chronological charts, as exemplified by readers' own calculations, which often accompanied these charts. Usually the calculations themselves are the only precise indicators of when particular readers annotated their books.

Even though there is a considerable number of notes which include late sixteenth-century dates, the majority of reader's responses can be dated only approximately to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, on the basis of the provenance notes, mentioned facts, calculation of time passed between the described events and the reader's time, as well as the style of handwriting. Similarly rare are the early users' interventions in the illustrations, and in this case the datable evidence is even rarer. The year of 1638, left by one of the book's users on the depiction of the Egyptian pyramids is an exceptional example.[76] As the addition of drawings was often a distraction from the hardship or monotony of reading, numerous amateurish images can also be linked to the later centuries, during which Bielski's chronicle was clearly outdated and its impact on the public sphere significantly dropped. Yet the book did not cease to resonate among noble readers, many of whom were of a traditional and parochial formation. Some of the notes and drawings can be linked to particular noblemen, more rarely noblewomen, who signed the book with their

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74 The Central Catalogue of Polonica has registered over 40 copies of this edition, I have examined sixteen copies.

75 Depiction of St. Peter with handwritten inscription in: Bielski, *Kronika wssythyego swyata* (1554), BN, XVI.F.349; BN, XVI.F.109, fol. 129v.

76 Bielski, *Kronika wssythyego swyata* (1554), PAU i PAN, St. Dr. 4027, fol. 188v.

FIGURE 5.9   Crispin Scharffenberg, St. Peter. Woodcut. Marcin Bielski, *Kronika wssythyego swyata* (Cracow, Hieronim Szarfenberg: 1554). Warsaw, BN, XVI.F.109, fol. 129v
IMAGE © NATIONAL LIBRARY

names, but the majority of commentators remain anonymous and their social, political and confessional identities remain unknown. Still, these written notes are of unique value for research on the native readers and their attitudes to vernacular chronicles, as these readers were virtually nowhere as effusive as on the pages of their own books.
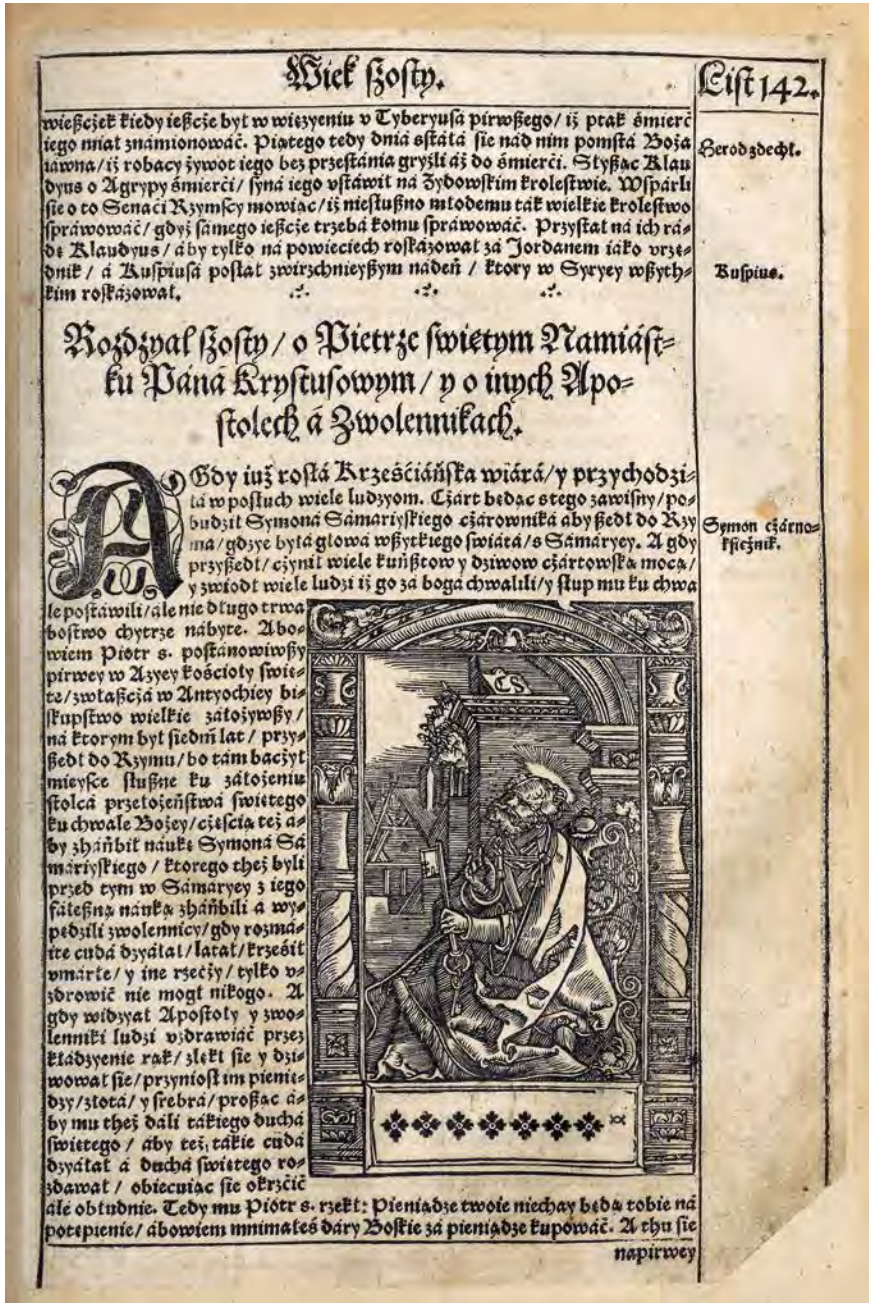
FIGURE 5.10 Crispin Scharffenberg, St. Peter. Woodcut. Marcin Bielski, *Kronika tho iesth Historya swiata* (Cracow, Mateusz Siebeneicher: 1564). Warsaw, BN, XVI.F.15, fol. 142r. Public domain

SOURCE: POLONA.PL

4   Conclusions

Between the mid-sixteenth and late eighteenth centuries, Bielski's world chronicle was highly popular among the Polish nobility. The author and the printers worked out a book format that could reach the noble audience and attract its interest. Three successive editions of Bielski's work gave them a chance to experiment with the chronicle's layout, its textual and visual content, and offer a book which proved useful for three centuries, even though the text was outdated and the woodcut illustrations must have looked archaic from the seventeenth century onwards. The main recipients of Bielski's work, even though they belonged to a socially- and politically-privileged group, generally had traditionalist attitudes, somewhat crude manners and graphic language, but also a great curiosity, which an all-encompassing and richly-illustrated book could satisfy. From the seventeenth century onwards the majority of them became Catholic, which directly translated into their hostile approach to the pro-Lutheran passages of the chronicle. They tended to clear their volumes, which they considered an important family souvenir, often inherited from their ancestors, from what they might term as 'heretical' content. By doing so they personalised the content of the chronicle, turning it into a safe space for universal and personal history. The annotations reflected the common interests in the classical, Church and local history, and generally not-too-polite language of the noble readers. Emotional reactions to some of the chronicle's contents document both the heated confessional debates of the time and the relative ease of interacting with a vernacular book – for reasons sometimes of a social-political and sometimes of a distinctly personal nature.

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PART 2

Mobility of Texts and Images

∵

The Schoolroom in Early English Illustration

Martha W. Driver

Popular English woodcuts of a schoolmaster teaching his students [Fig. 6.1] date from the 1490s and were used into the early sixteenth century, employed by Wynkyn de Worde, Richard Pynson, and other printers in England to advertise and identify the contents of schoolbooks. William Caxton had initiated this practice by employing small woodcuts of scholars or schoolmasters with their pupils in his first illustrated book, *The Myrroure of the Worlde*, printed in October of 1481 and again about 1489, and in his *Paruus Catho* of 1483.[1] These books, along with several others printed by Caxton, were likely intended for younger readers, especially for students in school.[2]

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1 Beauvais Vincent of, *The Myrrour of the worlde*, trans. William Caxton (Westminster, William Caxton: 1481), STC 24762; *Hic incipit paruus Catho* (Westminster, William Caxton: 1483), STC 4852. Printed editions are cited from *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640*, first compiled by Pollard A.W. – Redgrave G.R., 2nd ed., rev. and enlarged, begun by Jackson W.A. – Ferguson F.S., completed by Pantzer K.F., 3 vols. (London: 1976–1991). See also Needham P., *The Printer & the Pardoner: An Unrecorded Indulgence Printed by William Caxton for the Hospital of St. Mary Rounceval, Charing Cross* (Washington: 1986) 83–91 (Cx 46, Cx 56, Cx 95); and Hodnett E., *English Woodcuts 1480–1535* (Oxford: 1973) 111–112, items 1, 2, 5–9. Caxton's schoolmaster cut from *The Myrroure of the Worlde* is reproduced in Hind A.M., *An Introduction to a History of Woodcut*, 2 vols. (New York: 1963) vol. 2, 708, fig. 443, who says it was 'drawn and cut by a manifestly unpractised hand, no doubt in Caxton's workshop'.

2 Among Caxton imprints for younger audiences are *Paruus Catho* and *The myrrour of the worlde*, cited in the text, along with Lydgate John, *The Churl and the Bird* (Westminster, William Caxton: [1476]), STC 17009, Needham, *Printer & the Pardoner* Cx 13; another edition (Westminster, William Caxton: [1477]), STC 17008, Needham, *Printer & the Pardoner* Cx 19; Lydgate John, *The Horse, the Sheep and the Goose* (Westminster, William Caxton: [1476]), STC 17019, Needham, *Printer & the Pardoner* Cx 14; another edition (Westminster, William Caxton: [1477]), STC 17018, Needham, *Printer & the Pardoner* Cx 18; Lydgate John, *Stans puer ad mensam* (Westminster: William Caxton [1476?]), STC 17030, Needham, *Printer & the Pardoner* Cx 15; *The Book of Courtesy* (Westminster: William Caxton [1477]), STC 3303, Needham, *Printer & the Pardoner* Cx 29; Pisan Christine de, *Moral Proverbs*, trans. A. Woodville, E. Rivers (Westminster: William Caxton, 20 February 1478), STC 7273, Needham, *Printer & the Pardoner* Cx 30; *The Doctrine to Learn French and English* (Westminster: William Caxton[1480]), STC 24865, Needham, *Printer & the Pardoner* Cx 41; Tour-Landry Geoffroy de La, *The Knight of the Tower*, trans. William Caxton (Westminster: William Caxton, 31 January 1484), STC 15296, Needham, *Printer & the Pardoner* Cx 69; Aesop, *Fables*, trans. William Caxton (Westminster: William Caxton, 26 March 1484), STC 175, Needham, *Printer & the Pardoner* Cx 70.

FIGURE 6.1   John Lydgate, *Here begynneth the chorle & the byrde* (Westminster, 'In Caxtons house by Wynken de worde': 1497), STC 17011
LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, © BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD, IA.55265,
TITLE PAGE

The schoolmaster woodcuts used by de Worde and Pynson illustrate the title pages of the grammars and vocabularies of Robert Whittinton, John Stanbridge, John of Garland, Donatus, and other educators, and in at least one instance, a schoolmaster woodcut introduces an English-Latin phrasebook drawn from Ovid's famous seduction manual, the *Ars Amatoria*, which strikes me as a book that schoolchildren might not be encouraged to read today.[3] The illustration of the master with his students also prefaces John Lydgate's *Chorl and the Byrde*, a poem in Middle English, and the Fables of Aesop in Latin, which suggests these works were read and studied by young scholars.[4]

The schoolmaster woodcuts were used in England initially to promote pedagogical texts, which were usually written in Latin. Though their iconography is fairly static – the master sits in a large chair before his students, holding a switch in his hand – study of their patterns of use reveals a subtle movement from teaching Latin to instruction in English, as well as, perhaps, a broadening of appeal to a wider reading audience beyond schoolchildren or university students.

The first part of this essay briefly examines illustrations of schoolmasters and their students to recover some of the actual practice of the late-medieval schoolroom, as shown in their iconography, supported by evidence found in contemporary school notebooks. Next, several English printed texts, all prefaced by the same schoolmaster woodcut, are considered: how do these communicate their lessons? How and what, in fact, were students learning? Discussion of the sources of the schoolmaster woodcut follows, along with its Dutch connections, and Dutch (and German) influence more generally on the first generation of English printers. Among these, as is well known, William Caxton was the only native English printer who spent most of his adult life in the Low Countries and was fluent in several languages. Caxton's assistant and later successor, Wynkyn de Worde, and Richard Pynson, de Worde's rival and sometime colleague, were not native to England, yet these three printers

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3   Robert Whittinton, now known more commonly as 'Whittington', is cited in STC and on early printed title pages with the former spelling. Ovid, *The flores of Ouide de arte amandi and two alphabete tablys* (London, Wynkyn de Worde: 1513), STC 18934. Thomson D., *A Descriptive Catalogue of Middle English Grammatical Texts* (New York: 1979) cites only one instance of Ovid in a manuscript schoolbook, extracts from *Heroides* (49–54, 335). For an overview of English printed grammars, see Lily William, *Lily's Grammar of Latin in English: An Introduction of the Eyght Partes of Speche, and the Construction of the Same*, ed. H. Gwosdek (Oxford: 2013) 58–74.

4   Lydgate John, *The Chorle and the Byrd* (London, 'In Caxtons house by Wynken de worde': 1497), STC 17011; Aesop, *Fabule Esopi cum co[m]mento* (London, Wynkyn de Worde: 1503), STC 169; (1514), STC 169.5; Hodnett, *English Woodcuts* 264, item 918; 265, item 920.

shaped vernacular reading tastes in England, in some cases for hundreds of years, using Continental picture, and sometimes text, models. The particular focus in this section is on de Worde, who was London's predominant publisher of schoolbooks, particularly Latin grammars, and who makes the most use of one very popular schoolmaster woodcut that he initially acquired from printers in the Netherlands. Study of this single woodcut gives insight into the practices of one early print shop and its international connections. The last section further considers books introduced by or marketed with the schoolmaster cut and how one apparent outlier, *The Chorl and the Byrde*, fits into this picture.

1   The Schoolmaster Woodcut and the Medieval Classroom

What do the schoolmaster woodcuts suggest about the practice of teaching and learning in the later Middle Ages? Manuscript examples dating from the twelfth through fifteenth centuries show scenes similar to those that eventually come into print. In the miniature from the Hours of Catherine of Cleves [Fig. 6.2], for example, the master holds a switch, which functions as an attribute, as one sees in depictions of saints or apostles, that identifies him as the teacher.[5] The master is usually shown seated on a large and imposing chair, his students gathered below him or on a bench at his feet. The schoolmaster's switch, his chair, and the students all suggest aspects of the actual experience of schooling in the later Middle Ages, some of which is recorded in student notebooks, as we will now see.

The schoolmaster's switch, which was usually made of birch or willow twigs, simultaneously symbolizes his authority and his capacity to punish, and first-hand accounts of students beaten in late-medieval schools are numerous. Exercises in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lincoln College Lat. 129, a fifteenth-century manuscript miscellany compiled by Thomas Schort, include this Latin-English translation: *My fellow y-bete with a birch ȝerd, y ham to be bete with a whyppe. Socio meo vapulante cum virga lentiscina, ego sum vapulaturu cum scotia* (My fellow being beaten with a birch rod, I am to be beaten with a whip).[6] Cambridge, University Library, MS Additional 2830, a manuscript copied by a student in the grammar school of Beccles, Suffolk, in the 1430s,

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5   *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, ed. J. Plummer (New York: 1966; repr. 1975) item 56, the illumination representing knowledge, 'the fifth gift of the Holy Ghost' (Morgan M.927, p. 62). Some ideas here appeared earlier in Driver M.W., *The Image in Print: Book Illustration in Late Medieval England and Its Sources* (London: 2004) 159–163.

6   Orme N., *English School Exercises, 1420–1530* (Toronto: 2013) 54, 1.27.

FIGURE 6.2 Hours of Catherine of Cleves. Utrecht, the Netherlands, ca. 1440
NEW YORK, MORGAN LIBRARY & MUSEUM, M.917/945, M.917, P. 62

has this to say: *Susceptum est mihi discere quam a magistro vapulare* (I have undertaken to learn rather than to be beaten by the master).[7] And in London, British Library, Additional MS 37075, a fifteenth-century collection of school texts written by John Calveryng, a youth named Warrewyke and John Chaloner, we are told: *Virga magistralis, que timetur magis omnibus armis que fiunt ex ferro uel ex calibe, est que vrgebit pueros maliuolos cui nullo modo parcetur quia qui parcit virge odit filium.* (The master's rod, which is feared more than all the weapons that are made from iron or from steel, is what will urge ill-disposed boys, who shall in no way be spared, for 'he who spares the rod hates [his] child'.)[8] Though alien to us, corporal punishment was accepted and even promoted in the medieval classroom as an effective tool for learning.

The schoolmaster's chair might be read as a signifier of the classroom itself, which was located wherever the master chose to be. David Cressy has pointed out that 'Charters and charitable instruments did not determine where education took place. […] The crucial element was the presence of a competent teacher, whose school would operate for as long as he was available'.[9] In other words, schoolmasters were often mobile and could set up a classroom in any spare room, teaching students of disparate ages and sometimes of both genders. In the English prints, the chair comes to symbolize the master's classroom, just as the switch signifies his authority. Writing in the mid-fifteenth century, Reginald Pecock, bishop of Chichester, directs that one of his works, *The Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy* (composed about 1449), is *To be rad […] in the chaier of scolis*, the chair here representing the seat of academic authority, a precursor perhaps to our contemporary "chair of department" or "academic chair".[10]

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7 Ibidem 97, 2.125.

8 Ibidem 213, 6.77a. Willemsen A., *Back to the Schoolyard: The Daily Practice of Medieval and Renaissance Education* (Turnhout: 2008) includes an illustration of twigs found in a girl's grave along the Voorstraat in Dordrecht (of about 1450), along with a paddle and writing tablet (ill. 58, 82); the rod becomes the attribute of Grammar when personified as one of the seven liberal arts (215) and is cited as one of 'the first necessities' in teaching (279).

9 Cressy D., *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: 1980) 35. The travelling teacher has an ancient history, predating Christianity, and the teacher, rather than a fixed classroom, was the centre of English education until the sixteenth century, though there remain college buildings that date from the late fourteenth century. See Willemsen, *Back to the Schoolyard* 31–32, 105–106, 263.

10 Cited in "Chair", *Oxford English Dictionary* online. An example of a teacher's chair dating from the late sixteenth century is reproduced in Willemsen, *Back to the Schoolyard* ill. 240, 266. A recent TV sitcom, *The Chair* (2021), features Sandra Oh as the first chair of colour of a large English department in a New England college who must cope with competitive, querulous colleagues and fractious students.
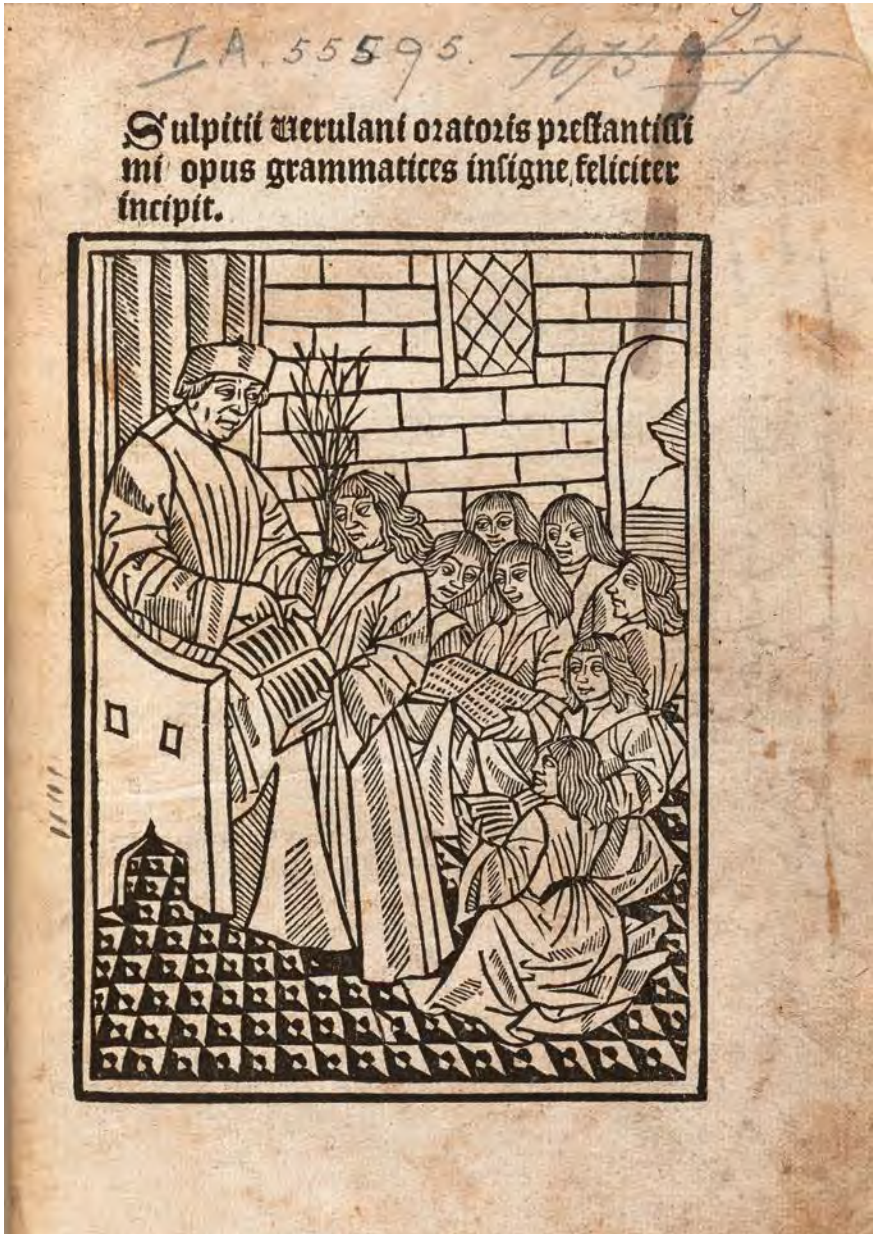
FIGURE 6.3 Johannes Sulpitius, *Sulpitii Verulani oratoris prestantissimi opus insigne grammaticum feliciter incipit* (London, Richard Pynson: 1498), STC 23426
LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, © BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD, IA.55595,
TITLE PAGE

In the English prints, students are sometimes shown with open books before them [Fig. 6.3]. These are perhaps a reference to reading schools, as reading and writing were separate subjects and were taught separately. More likely, however, the books are an allusion to the materials studied in grammar schools, where the main business was the teaching of Latin. In English books, the schoolmaster woodcut occurs at the beginning or on the titlepage of the volume (or at the end) and is often the only illustration in the book. The image thus introduces the student of Latin (or of English or of another language) to an imagined intellectual space, the classroom where grammar and rhetoric are learned and where the teacher is in authority, a picture in which students see themselves and their teacher portrayed. I shall now turn to discussion of the uses and the origin of one of the most popular schoolmaster woodcuts.

2 The Schoolmaster in Printed Latin and Vernacular Books

In 1935, Edward Hodnett identified sixteen books published by de Worde that are illustrated by one schoolmaster woodcut [Fig. 6.1]. What were these books, and how were they used in education? The schoolmaster woodcut appears in de Worde's editions of William Horman's *Introductorium lingue latine*, the *Paruulorum institution* and *Accedence* attributed to John Stanbridge, and the *Synonyms* of John of Garland, among others.[11] One might expect these to be written entirely in Latin, as is the case with the *Synonyms*. However, some grammars were composed in both Latin and English, like the Latin-English schoolbook exercises. Bilingual grammars were intended as guides to learning Latin, with the assumption that students could read English. Such books, however, simultaneously provide instruction in English grammar, promoting vernacular usage. For example, the grammarian Horman includes declensions both in Latin and in English: *wold to god I loued / wolde loue or wolde a loued / sholde loue or sholde a loued*, and after Latin translation, the text returns again to English: *wolde to god I were loued / wolde be loued / or wolde a beloued / or sholde a beloued*.[12] Horman also includes shorter phrases with the Latin immediately following, for example, *Teche thy scolers. Doce tuos discipulos*, and *I loue*

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11   Horman William, *Introductorium lingue latine* (London, Wynkyn de Worde: 1495), STC 13809; Stanbridge John, *Louge Peruula* (London, Wynkyn de Worde: [1499?]), STC 23163.16; Stanbridge John, *Peruula* (London, Wynkyn de Worde: [1501?]), STC 23163.11; Stanbridge John, *Accedence* (London, Wynkyn de Worde: [1499]), STC 23153.4; Garland John of, *Synonyma* (London, Wynkyn de Worde: 1500), STC 11610.

12   Horman, *Introductorium* 21.

to teche. Ego amo docere, which suggest that this book is for the reading of masters as well as of students.[13]

The *Peruula* or *Paruulorum*, attributed to Stanbridge, opens with the schoolmaster woodcut, while the final page repeats the schoolmaster woodcut with the title also repeated: *Here endith a treati se kalled. Peruula*, an effective way of enclosing a text for which a binding would often be purchased later.[14] Stanbridge narrates his text in English but includes many illustrative Latin examples from classical authors, including Cicero, Pliny, Terence, Ovid, Virgil, and others.[15] At the beginning of his grammar book, he advises the student to repeat the English phrase to be translated into Latin *ones, twyes or thryes*, then to find the *principal verbe and aske him this question who or what. And that worde that answerith to the question shal be the nominative case to the verbe*, again teaching English grammatical forms as well as Latin ones.[16]

The schoolmaster woodcut also introduces the *Long Accedence*, an English version of Donatus's *Ars minor*. These are popular grammars again attributed to Stanbridge, ranging in length from four to eighteen leaves. The text takes the traditional form of question and answer, for example: *What is a qualite in a nowne* and *How knowest a qualite in a nowne*, or for Latin, *How knowest the masculine gendre.* [...] *How knowest the feminine gendre*.[17] As Hedwig Gwosdek comments, practice in translation 'exposed the children to the language in use and fostered bilingual comparisons of Latin and English'.[18] The copy of the *Long Accedence* printed by de Worde about 1495 in the Bodleian Library lacks its title page but reproduces the schoolmaster woodcut at the end of the volume (fol. 86v) and likely opened with that illustration, like de Worde's edition of the *Peruula* discussed above.[19] Some of these grammars remained in use through the seventeenth century.[20] In the process of teaching Latin, they promoted good grammar skills in English, too, along with proficiency in reading vernacular texts. The schoolmaster woodcut, which originates, as we shall see, in Gouda, is used from the start to introduce (and sometimes to conclude) English grammar books, which were in wide circulation.[21] De Worde uses this block, and later copies of it, as a clear marker of his books' contents.

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13   Horman, *Introductorium* 26, 28.

14   Stanbridge, *Louge Peruula* fol. A7v. See also Driver, *Image in Print* 93, 102, 106.

15   Orme N., *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (London: 1973) 108.

16   Stanbridge, *Peruula* fol. a1v.

17   Stanbridge, *Accedence* fols. a1v, a4r.

18   Lily, *Lily's Grammar of Latin* 79.

19   Stanbridge, *Accedence* fol. 86v, reproduced in Gwosdek H., *Early Printed Editions of the Long Accidence and Short Accidence Grammars* (Heidelberg: 1991) 98–99, plate 1a, plate 1b.

20   Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* 109.

21   Willemsen, *Back to the Schoolyard* 32, 40–42, 55–56, 275–277.

3   The Schoolmaster Woodcut and Its Continental Associations

In her 1995 essay, "Wynkyn de Worde's Native Land", Lotte Hellinga uses the schoolmaster woodcut discussed by Hodnett as her primary piece of evidence to make the case that de Worde, long thought to have come from Lorraine, from a place called Wörth, in truth hailed from Holland from the small town of Woerden, which may make better linguistic sense. This, by the way, was originally the idea of Konrad Haebler in 1924.[22]

Hellinga says the schoolmaster woodcut used by de Worde is based on one that appears in a Dutch and Latin grammar book, the *Opusculum quitupartitum grammaticale*, printed in 1486 by Gotfridus de Os. This Gotfridus, according to Hellinga, may have been 'the same person as Govert van Ghemen', about whom a fair amount is known.[23] Hellinga aptly describes van Ghemen as 'a peripatetic printer who is known to have worked in Gouda, Leiden and Copenhagen'.[24] The same woodcut is more recently described by Ina Kok in her magisterial *Woodcuts in Incunabula Printed in the Low Countries* as 'deriving from Govert van Ghemen in Gouda', that is, as coming from van Ghemen's shop.[25] Like Hellinga, Kok cites its appearance in the 1486 *Opusculum* printed in Gouda by Gotfridus de Os. According to Kok, however, Gotfridus de Os and Govert van Ghemen were two separate people, despite the similarity of their first names, a judgment Kok bases on their types.[26]

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22   Hellinga L., "Wynkyn de Worde's Native Land", in Beadle R. – Piper A.J. (eds.), *New Science out of Old Books: Studies in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Honour of A.I. Doyle* (Aldershot: 1995) 342–359, esp. 343, 344. De Worde used a set of woodcut initials 'which must be the work of an artist active in Gouda' (347) and a typeface made by the Gouda Typecutter (349), though not exclusively. To further her argument, Hellinga also cites the *De proprietatibus rerum* printed by de Worde in 1495 with woodcuts based on those produced in the Haarlem edition in Dutch printed Christmas Eve 1485 by Jacob Bellaert in Haarlem. For this, de Worde, in fact, used two picture models, filling in pictures omitted by Bellaert with those in a French edition printed in Lyon by Mathias Huss on 12 October 1485 (see Driver, *Image in Print* 40–43). See also Levelt S. – Putter A., *North Sea Crossings: The Literary Heritage of Anglo-Dutch Relations 1066–1688* (Chicago: 2022) 111–112 who, following Hellinga, say de Worde 'was almost certainly a Dutchman'. While the surname of Dutch printer Hugo Janszoon van Woerden (active 1494–1518), a near contemporary of de Worde (who has no known connections with him), suggests the former hailed from Woerden, the name 'Wynkyn de Worde' is more ambiguous.

23   Hellinga, "Wynkyn de Worde" 347.

24   Ibidem, 346.

25   Kok I., *Woodcuts in Incunabula Printed in the Low Countries*, 4 vols. (Houten: 2013) vol. 1, 416.

26   Ibidem vol. 1, 415.

Whatever the identity of the printer(s), a short history shows the movement of the schoolmaster woodblock from Gouda to de Worde's print shop. The woodcut first appears in a Dutch grammar published in Gouda by Govert van Ghemen before 13 November 1486. In its first state, it also illustrates Gotfridus de Os' *Opusculum* of that same year. In its second state, the woodcut appears again in Gouda in the *Opus Minus* on 16 September 1488, printed by an anonymous person (possibly Gotfridus de Os), as well as in at least five editions printed by de Worde from about 1495, which suggests de Worde acquired this block early on to introduce his schoolbooks.[27] Comparison of de Worde's woodcut illustration with that in the *Opus Minus* shows that the block has been substantially cut down, and there are discernible breaks in the foot of the teacher's chair and the platform on which it stands. Breaks in the block would not be unusual over a seven-year period. In its third state, the woodcut is found in at least eleven more editions printed by de Worde between 1499 and 1516.[28]

But can one extrapolate further from this woodcut, as Hellinga does, to argue that de Worde himself was Dutch? There are some problems with this. The first is that we still have letters of denization for de Worde dated 20 April 1496 that identify him as a Lorrainer and a printer of books: *Winando de Worde de ducatu Lothoringie oriundo impressori librorum* (Wynkyn de Worde, printer of books, by origin from the duchy of Lotharingia [my translation]).[29] Many bibliographers, including Norman Blake and E. Gordon Duff, have interpreted this to mean that de Worde was from Wörth in Alsace. Other surviving records relating to de Worde are confusing. In both her essay and later book chapter, Hellinga lists documents referring to de Worde as 'Johannis Wynkyn', 'Johannes Wynkyn', 'John Wynkyn Emprenter', and even 'Willelmo Wynkyn', forms of his name that do not appear in any of his printed editions.[30]

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27   Ibidem vol. 1, 407, vol. 4, 800, item 178 in three states.

28   Ibidem vol. 1, 407. Hodnett, *English Woodcuts* 263–264, item 918, fig. 75 lists sixteen editions without differentiating states; Kok, *Woodcuts in Incunabula* vol. 1, 407 finds five in the second state and 'at least eleven' in the third state.

29   London, The National Archives, Public Record Office, patent rolls, 20 April 1496, C 66/577–66/578; Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry VII, 1494–1509, 2 vols. (London: 1914–1916) vol. 2, 45, 20 April 1496. See also *England's Immigrants 1330–1550: Resident Aliens in the Late Middle Ages*, https://www.englandsimmigrants.com/ [accessed 27 July 2022].

30   Duff E.G., *A Century of the English Book Trade* (London: 1948) 173; and Blake N.F., "Worde, Wynkyn de (d. 1534/5)", *Dictionary of National Biography*, https://www.oxforddnb.com [accessed 27 July 2022]. For Dutch origins, see Haebler K., *Die deutschen Buchdrucker des XV. Jahrhunderts im Auslande* (Munich: 1924) 275; Hellinga, "Wynkyn de Worde" 342–347; Hellinga L., *Incunabula in Transit: People and Trade* (Leiden: 2018) 323–329, 325–326.

There is an issue that might muddy the waters further in terms of using illustration as evidence to argue for a printer's nationality. Copies of the useful schoolmaster woodcut first employed by Gotfridus de Os and Govert van Ghemen were also used by German printers about ten years before it appears in de Worde's books, and as happened in England, the woodcut was recopied by German printers from the 1490s through 1500.[31] In Basel, from 1480, Johann Amerbach used it to introduce a German and Latin phrasebook, the dialogues of Paulus Niaus (1460–1514), texts by Donatus, and a Latin vocabulary.[32] In 1497, the Nuremberg printer Friedrich Creusner used a copy of Amerbach's copy of the Dutch woodcut to illustrate his schoolbooks, the Latin idioms of Paulus Niaus and the *Rudimenta grammatice ad pueros*.[33] Other German printers used copies or copies of copies of the woodcut to introduce their editions of Donatus, Latin grammars, Cato, and related works, all appropriate for the fledgling student. While de Worde seems to have acquired his schoolmaster block from Gotfridus de Os or Govert van Ghemen, and a comparison with the German woodcut copies suggests this, he was also following not only Caxton's lead in *The Myrroure of the Worlde* but also a Continental fashion by using the schoolmaster cut to identify and promote pedagogical books.

And de Worde's use of originally Dutch materials is not uncommon among other early English printers. William Caxton, for example, translated *The History of Reynard the Fox* from the Dutch, as he tells us. In the epilogue to that work, Caxton says he has *folowed as nyghe as I can my copye whiche was in dutche* into *this rude & symple englyssh*.[34] Caxton's Dutch source is thought to have been the printed edition 'issued by Gerard Leeu in 1479 at Gouda, though it may have been (from) a manuscript closely related to the one used by Leeu'.[35] After Caxton's first edition was published in 1481, the story of Reynard the Fox went on to have a life in print in England through ten editions, the last

31   Schreiber W.L. – Heitz P., *Die deutschen 'Accipies' und Magister cum Discipulis-Holzschnitte* (Strassburg: 1908, repr. Baden-Baden: 1973) 39–42. Thanks to Anna Dlabačová for suggesting I consult this volume.

32   Ibidem 39–40, fig. 35.

33   Ibidem 40, fig. 36.

34   *The Historye of reynart the foxe*, trans. William Caxton (Westminster, William Caxton: 1481), STC 20919, fol. L5v. See also Blake N., "William Caxton's Reynard the Fox and his Dutch Original", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 46 (1963–1964) 298–325.

35   Schlusemann R., *Die Hystorie van Reynaert die vos und The history of Reynard the fox: Die spätmittelalterlichen Prosabearbeitungen des Reynaert-Stoffes* (New York: 1991) 26, 28, 30–31. Backhouse J. – Foot M. – Barr J. (eds.), *William Caxton, An Exhibition to Commemorate the Quincentenary of the Introduction of Printing into England* (London: 1976) item 42, 49–50. See also Blake N., *William Caxton and English Literary Culture* (London: 1991) 231–244.

published in 1640. By alluding to Geoffrey Chaucer's Nun's Priest's Tale, Caxton makes his text more English, and his translation of this beast fable, though flawed, 'is one of the best and liveliest translations that Caxton made'.[36]

There is also a curious (possible) connection between Caxton and the printer Mathias van der Goes, who was active in Antwerp between 1481 and 1492. A trial impression of a Caxton woodblock made about 1490 appears on the final leaf of the *Colloquium peccatoris et crucifixi Jesu Christi* by Jacobus de Gruytrode, a book printed in Antwerp by van der Goes between 14 February 1487 and 21 May 1490.[37] On the block was carved an Image of Pity accompanied by the instruments of the Passion; a xylographic indulgence text in English appeared beneath it. This text is barely legible in the surviving image, which is also difficult to see, visible only in faintest outline. It has not been pasted in but has been printed in light brown ink on the book's blank final page.[38] Though many Caxton indulgences survive, this one is otherwise unknown, and the block has long since disappeared.[39] How might its occurrence in a book printed in Antwerp be explained? Kok suggests that this material evidence points 'to contacts between Van der Goes and Caxton' and says further that van der Goes acquired Caxton's woodblock soon after Caxton used it.[40] Or was the *Colloquium* already in Caxton's shop, its blank final leaf used to make a trial impression there? While it is well known that Caxton imported books for sale,[41] might this evidence further suggest that Caxton was engaged more directly in commercial enterprise with van der Goes? These questions remain unresolved, but they illustrate that much remains to be discovered about early printers' networks.

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36   Blake, *William Caxton* 258. Subsequent editions of Caxton's translation are these: *the historye of reynart the foxe* (Westminster, William Caxton: 1489), STC 20920; *the hystorye of reinard the foxe* (London, Richard Pynson: 1494), STC 20921; another edition (London, Richard Pynson: before 1506), STC 20921.5; another edition (London, Wynkyn de Worde: ca. 1525), STC 20921a; *the booke of Raynarde the Foxe* (London, Thomas Gaultier: 1550), STC 20922; another edition (London, Edward Allde: ca. 1600), STC 20922.5; *The most delectable history of Reynard the fox* (London, Edward Allde: [1620]), STC 20923; another edition (London, Elizabeth Allde: 1629), STC 20924; another edition (London, Richard Oulton: 1640), STC 20925; a variant (London, Richard Oulton: 1640), STC 20925a.

37   Cambridge, University Library Inc. 5.F.6.3 [3409], online exhibit "Image of Pity", https://exhibitions.lib.cam.ac.uk/incunabula/artifacts/image-of-pity [accessed 27 July 2022].

38   Kok, *Woodcuts in Incunabula* vol. 1, 476–477, item 24, 479, item 224. Hodnett, *English Woodcuts* 163, item 380.

39   For a checklist, see Needham, *Printer & the Pardoner* Appendix D, 83–91.

40   Kok, *Woodcuts in Incunabula* vol. 1, 479.

41   Driver M., "Caxton, William", in Echard S. – Rouse R. (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Medieval Literature in Britain: A-Cha*, 4 vols. (Oxford: 2017) vol. 1, 391, 393, 396–398.

Richard Pynson, de Worde's colleague and competitor, said to have been a Norman, tended to use woodcut models that came through French intermediaries, especially those that illustrated volumes printed for the great impresario and publisher Antoine Vérard in Paris. Many of these, in turn, originated in Germany.[42] But Pynson used Dutch materials, too. This can be seen in his *Troilus* edition, for example, published in 1526, which features on its title page a woodcut of a 'courtier and a lady' [Fig. 6.4] which may have first been used in England on the title page of Pynson's edition of *Bevys of Southampton*, printed about 1503.[43] To introduce Book IV of *Troilus*, Pynson used a woodcut with several figures, including a messenger with a letter, a woodcut that had appeared earlier in the first printed edition of John Lydgate's *The hystorye, Sege and dystruccyon of Troye*, produced in 1513 by Pynson (possibly with de Worde).[44] These are copies of woodcuts that originally appeared in *Paris et Vienne*, printed in Antwerp by Gerard Leeu in 1487, the earliest known printed text of the *History of Paris and Vienne* in French.[45] On Pynson's titlepage, the scene intended to be Troilus and Criseyde (with the smaller figure perhaps meant as Antigone, Criseyde's niece) originally represented, in *Paris et Vienne*,

42   For Pynson's origins, see Johnston S.H., *A Study of the Career and Literary Publications of Richard Pynson* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Western Ontario: 1977) 1–10. For discussion of Vérard in England, see Winn M.B., *Anthoine Vérard: Parisian Publisher 1485–1512: Prologues, Poems, and Presentations* (Geneva: 1997) 139–140: forty-two books 'were presented or sold to Henry VII', with 'an average of three Vérard books per year (from 1492 to 1507) [entering] the royal collection'. See also Winn, *Anthoine Vérard* App. III, 478–479. See Driver, *Image in Print* 14–35, 46–72, 90–93, 125, 132–137, 152, 170; Driver M., "Revisiting *Nychodemus Gospell*", in Connolly M. – Radulescu R. (eds.), *Editing and Interpretation of Middle English Texts: Essays in Honour of William Marx* (Turnhout: 2018) 285–316.

43   *Here begynneth the boke of Troylus and Creseyde* (London, Richard Pynson: [1526?]), STC 5096. This was thought to have been the title woodcut of Pynson's *Bevis* (London, Richard Pynson: [1503?]), STC 1988, printed in 1503, though that page is now missing; Hodnett, *English Woodcuts* 387, item 1933, fig. 158; see Johnston, *Study of the Career* 282–282, item 53. For *Troilus*, see Johnston, *Study of the Career* 453–454, item 211.

44   Lydgate John, *The hystorye, Sege and dystruccyon of Troye* (London, Richard Pynson: 1513), STC 5579. Johnston, *Study of the Career* 333–336, item 106. Johnston says, 'The work is of special interest in that there is considerable evidence of de Worde's involvement in its production', and cites, 335, Pynson's borrowing of de Worde's woodcuts (but not Hodnett, item 1625) with de Worde's 'six-petaled floral ornament to the left of each signature', a method of signing found in some de Worde-Pynson collaborations. Hodnett, *English Woodcuts* 361, item 1625.

45   *Paris and Vienne, Translated from the French and Printed by William Caxton*, ed. M. Leach (New York: 1957 [for 1951]; repr. 1970) xi. Kok, *Woodcuts in Incunabula* vol. 1, 233 says 'Leeu's French edition of *Paris et Vienne* was printed simultaneously with a Dutch-language edition, which left his presses four days later'. The *Paris et Vienne* editions are part of the corpus of romances studied in the contribution by Elisabeth de Bruijn in the present volume.

FIGURE 6.4   Geoffrey Chaucer, *Here begynneth the boke of Troylus and Creseyde* (London,
             Richard Pynson: ca. 1526), STC 5096
             HARVARD UNIVERSITY, HOUGHTON LIBRARY, HEW 5.11.8, TITLE PAGE

the Dauphin Godevaert Dallenson with his wife, Dyane, and their daughter Vienne.[46] The woodcut of a messenger with a letter had formerly illustrated a scene in Leeu's text that shows Paris, the hero of the story, accompanied by two Friars Minor, presenting the emir of Alexandria with the sultan of Babylon's warrant allowing him safe passage.[47]

For his *Troilus* edition, de Worde did not have access to the Dutch picture source, so he used a woodcut based on a French model instead [Fig. 6.5].[48] De Worde, in fact, used many more French than Dutch models for his illustration, including, like Pynson, woodcuts drawn from pictures in books published for Antoine Vérard; de Worde further imported 'eighty-four used French border cuts', either metal or wood, that appear in his Books of Hours and elsewhere.[49] Rather than indicating the printer's nationality or birthplace, de Worde's use of French woodcuts, as with the Dutch (and German) models, demonstrates his willingness to use a range of models from a variety of sources to illustrate his books. While Hellinga offers an enticing proposition on de Worde's origins, and I cannot fully discount the idea that de Worde was Dutch, there are likely many more connections between Dutch and English printers to be explored.

Perhaps a few final examples of schoolmaster woodcuts will suffice to demonstrate the existence of such connections. An illustration of a schoolmaster with his three students [Fig. 6.6] occurs on the titlepage of the bilingual *Lac puerorum*, or *Milk for Children*, composed by the English grammarian John Holt (d. 1504) and printed by de Worde in 1508.[50] Holt was a grammar master of the boys and youths of Archbishop Morton's household at Lambeth Palace, and this work includes a dedication to Morton. Like the grammar books discussed earlier, this book is written in Latin and English, with much English explanation of parts of speech, declensions, conjugations, and the like. It also includes Latin verses by Thomas More (d. 1535) and mnemonic diagrams of hands to help students retain rules of both English and Latin grammar.[51] *Milk*

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46   Cépède Pierre de la, *Paris et Vienne* (Antwerp, Gerard Leeu: 1487). Kok, *Woodcuts in Incunabula* vol. 1, 230–235, vol. 4, 537, item 168.1.

47   Kok, *Woodcuts in Incunabula* vol. 1, 231, vol. 4, 547, item 168.20.

48   *The noble and amerous auncyent history of Troylus and Cresyde* (London, Wynkyn de Worde: 1517), STC 5095. The title woodcut with the names of the title characters in banderoles has been derived from Vérard's models. See Driver, "Revisiting *Nychodemus Gospell*" 286, 293–312.

49   Hodnett, *English Woodcuts* 31.

50   Holt John, *Lac puerorum* (London, Wynkyn de Worde: [1508]), STC 13604. A previous de Worde edition, Holt John, *Lac puerorum* (London, Wynkyn de Worde: [1505?]), STC 13603.7, exists only in a few leaves of text. Hodnett, *English Woodcuts* item 920, 264.

51   Orme N., "John Holt (d. 1504)", *Dictionary of National Biography*, https://www.oxforddnb.com [accessed 27 July 2022]; Orme N., "John Holt (d. 1504), Tudor Grammarian", *The Library*, 6th ser., 18 (1996) 283–305.

FIGURE 6.5 Geoffrey Chaucer, *The noble and amerous auncyent history of Troylus and Cresyde*
(London, Wynkyn de Worde: 1517), STC 5095
LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, © BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD, C.132.I.38,
TITLE PAGE

FIGURE 6.6 John Holt, *Lac puerorum, or mylke for chyldren* (London, Wynkyn de Worde: 1508),
STC 13604
LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, © BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD, C.33.B.47,
TITLE PAGE

for Children was also printed for the English market in Antwerp by three printers (who mainly printed books in Dutch or Latin): Jan van Doesborch about 1507, Adriaen van Berghen around 1510, and Govaert Bac about 1511.[52] In addition, Govaert Bac, or Godfrey Back as he calls himself in this book's colophon, is the publisher of Stanbridge's *Shorte Accedence*, a work entirely in English, and illustrates this book with a variation of the schoolmaster woodcut.[53] These were all bids to enter the lucrative English market for schoolbooks, and they demonstrate the interplay (and competition) between Dutch and English printers.

4 The Chorl and the Byrde

As noted at the beginning of this essay, in every case where the schoolmaster woodcut appears in the publications of de Worde, it serves as a marker for a schoolbook; this follows earlier Continental fashion, Dutch as well as German. Most of de Worde's pedagogical books with the schoolmaster woodcut are in Latin; some are English and Latin with English translations or titles; there is one example of a book teaching basic French conversation and vocabulary printed by de Worde in 1497 that includes a copy of a copy of the original schoolmaster woodcut on its title page.[54] Other grammars, like Stanbridge's *Accedence*, are in English prose. There is, however, one book printed by de Worde that is introduced by the schoolmaster cut and is in Middle English verse: Lydgate's *Chorl and the Byrde*.[55] What is one to make of this outlier? Was Lydgate's poem employed as a school text? Or is this a random usage of the schoolmaster cut?

The Chorl and the Byrde is essentially a beast fable, a dialogue between a talking bird and a peasant, and like some of the best medieval stories, it derives from the *Disciplina clericalus* written in the twelfth century by Petrus Alfonsi, the court physician of Henry I of England. Beast fables like those told by Alfonsi and Aesop were popular teaching texts from the classical period directed to both adults and children, and in various forms remained so in printed books.

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52   Holt John, *Lac puerorum* (Antwerp: [1510?]), STC 13606; Holt John, *Lac puerorum* (Antwerp: ca. 1511), STC 13606.3; Holt John, *Lac puerorum* (Antwerp, [1507?]), STC 13606.5.

53   *Here begynneth the shorte Accedence* (Antwerp, Govaert Bac: ca. 1510), STC 23155. See *Gwosdek, Early Printed Editions of the Long Accidence* 232–236.

54   *Lytell treatyse for to lerne Englysshe and Frensshe* (Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde: [1497]), STC 24866.

55   *Here begynneth the chorle & the byrde* (Westminster, 'In Caxtons house by Wynken de worde': [1497?]), STC 17011. MacCracken H.N., *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, 4 parts (London: 1934; repr. 1961) pt. 2, 468–485.

But all of de Worde's printed Aesops with the schoolmaster illustration on their titlepages are in Latin.

Lydgate, however, may have been popularly identified as an effective instructor of the young because of his English translation of *Stans puer ad mensam* (The Child at the Table) from the Latin poem by Robert Grosseteste, the thirteenth-century bishop of Lincoln. This instructs children in proper behaviour both at home and in the schoolroom: *Pike nat thy nase, and in espe-cyall / Be right weell war, and set hit in thy thouht, / To-fore thy souereyn cracche ne rubbe nought* (Picking your nose is nasty for us all; / Your master wants you quiet and alert, / Not scratching some imaginary hurt); the envoy directs the poem, or the *lytel bylle*, to *yonge childer þat þe shall se or reede, / Thogh thou be compendious of sentence, / Of thy clauses for to taken heede* (pray young children that shall see and read, / That though you do not teach omniscience, / Of all your clauses they should take good heed).[56] This didactic verse makes the leap from manuscript to print and exists in many copies. The writings of Lydgate are further promoted to children in another educational text, the *Book of Curtesye*, also known as "Little John", which was first printed by Caxton, then by de Worde. In it, Lydgate's works are presented as both educational and learned in their use of rhetoric: *redeth his volumes / that ben large & wyde* [...] *Enlumyned with colours fresh on euery side*.[57]

Lydgate's *Chorl and the Byrde* opens with a meditation on rhetoric and the uses of authority, which seems apropos to teaching: *Problemes of olde liknes and figures / Whiche prouyd ben fructuous of sentence, / And auctoritees grounded on scriptures / By resemblance of notable apparence / With moralites concludyng on prudence / Lyke as the bible reherceth by writyng* (Problems of old likenesses and [rhetorical] figures / Which are proven as fruitful sayings / And authorities grounded in Scripture / By their notable resemblances / With moralities concluding in prudence / Just as the bible rehearses by writing).[58] The grammatical structure of these Middle English lines is faulty, as Derek Pearsall has observed; the passage 'looks unfinished, but to continue would not

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56   MacCracken, *Minor Poems* pt. 2, 739–744, 739–740, 744. Verse translation from Orme N., *Fleas, Flies and Friars: Children's Poetry from the Middle Ages* (Exeter: 2011) 42, 44. My more direct prose translation is this: 'Do not pick your nose and pay attention not to rub or scratch before your lord'. The personified poem is directed to 'young children that will see or read you, though you are comprehensive, children should heed your advice'.

57   [*Book of Courtesy, or, Little John*] (Westminster, William Caxton: 1477–1478), STC 3303, Needham, *Printer & the Pardoner* Cx 29; another edition (Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde, 1492), STC 1492.

58   Transcribed from *Churl & Bird*, STC 17009, n.p.; my translation.

FIGURE 6.7   John Lydgate, *Here begynneth the chorle and the byrde* (London, Wynkyn
de Worde: 1510), STC 17012
CAMBRIDGE, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, SEL.5.23, TITLE PAGE

help for the sentence never reaches its verb'.[59] Lydgate's poem, in other words, is not a grammar book, as so many of de Worde's schoolbooks are, nor are its verses always grammatically constructed, but the book is still intended to be instructional, particularly in its condemnation of the churl's foolish choices. Like Aesop's fables of the country and town mouse or the dog and the wolf, the story concludes with this familiar moral lesson: *Better is freedom with litel in gladnesse, / Than to be thral in all wordly richesse*.[60] Nicholas Orme points out that *The Churl and Bird* was published first by Caxton 'in a modest format, suggesting he had young people in mind'.[61] For de Worde's first edition, published in 1497, we see the familiar schoolmaster woodcut [Fig. 6.1], the colophon telling us it was printed by de Worde *in Caxtons house*.[62] In this case, de Worde may simply have been following the lead of his master in promoting the book for children or young students. For de Worde's subsequent edition of about 1510, however, there is a different title cut [Fig. 6.7] specifically made for this volume that shows the churl, his hand on a fencepost, speaking to the bird in a tree. This illustration is more specific to the action of the text and may also suggest a broadening perception of audience, the newly made illustration on its title page directing this book to readers who were more familiar with the vernacular than with Latin.[63]

5   Conclusion

In conclusion, the schoolmaster woodcut instructs us in several ways. Its iconography suggests elements of actual practice in the medieval schoolroom. Its origins seem to signal business connections early on between Wynkyn de Worde and the printers Gotfridus de Os and/or Govert van Ghemen in the Netherlands. German use of related woodcut copies to introduce schoolbooks may also have played a part in de Worde's illustrative choices. Further, there is admiration of English grammars, if not downright appropriation, in the case

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59   MacCracken, *Minor Poems* pt. 2, 468. Pearsall D., *John Lydgate* (Charlottesville: 1970) 11.

60   MacCracken, *Minor Poems* pt. 2, 484; Gibbs L. (trans.), *Aesop's Fables* (Oxford: 2002) 5, Fable 3, "The Wolf, the Dog, and the Collar" ('Therfore there is no rychesse gretter than lyberte'); 190–191, Fable 408, "The City Mouse and the Country Mouse" ('It is better to live in self-sufficient poverty than to be tormented by the worries of wealth').

61   Orme N., *Medieval Children* (New Haven: 2001) 285.

62   *Here begynneth the chorle & the byrde* (Westminster, 'In Caxtons house by Wynken de worde': [1497?]), STC 17011.

63   *Here begynneth the chorle and the byrde* (Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde: [1510?]), STC 17012.

of *Milk for Children* and other school texts published by Jan van Doesborch, Adriaen van Berghen, and Govaert Bac, among others, for students in England. Finally, the schoolmaster woodcuts help us to recover the kinds of books, both in Latin and in English, and ranging from Ovidian amatory verses to Lydgate's poetry, thought appropriate for students and younger readers in the later Middle Ages.

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Moving Pictures: The Art and Craft of Dying Well in the Woodcuts of Wynkyn de Worde

Alexa Sand

Wynkyn de Worde was one of the most prolific of the early Fleet Street printers and book-merchants. As the putative heir to William Caxton, he was no slavish imitator of his former employer's methods, but instead introduced many innovations, most imported from the Continent, including the use of title pages and a much-expanded approach to the illustration of printed texts.[1] His use of a repertoire of woodcuts in relation to a whole variety of different texts allowed de Worde to create intertextual tensions and games of allusion that would have enriched the experience of his readers, many of whom bought multiple books from his production, as well as owning books printed in France, the Netherlands, Germany, and even Italy, and in some cases manuscript books.[2] Scholars of early English book culture and literary history have long attended to Wynkyn de Worde's critical role in shaping an audience for illustrated printed books in England, with a primary focus on his interventions in such genres as romance and secular verse. His contributions to the development of the illustration of religious and catechistic texts has received less attention, though it has not been ignored.[3] This essay looks at de Worde's

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1 Driver M., "The Illustrated de Worde: An Overview", *Studies in Iconography* 17 (1996) 349–403; *The Image in Print: Book Illustration in Late Medieval England and its Sources* (London: 2004). See also Blake N.F., "Wynkyn de Worde: A Review of his Life and Work", in Buschinger D. – Spiewok W. (eds.), *Études de linguistique et de la littérature en l'honneur d'André Crépin* (Greifswald: 1993) 21–40.

2 While a comprehensive study of early Tudor libraries known to include a significant number of de Worde's editions awaits, studies of specific book-collectors' inventories include Smith M., "Some Humanist Libraries in Early Tudor Cambridge", *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 5 (1974) 15–34; Powell S., "Lady Margaret Beaufort and her Books", *The Library* 6 (1998) 197–240; Schutte V., "Royal Tudor Women as Patrons and Curators", *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 9 (2014) 79–88.

3 Driver M., "Picture in Print: Late Fifteenth- and Early Sixteenth-Century English Religious Books for Lay Readers", in Sargeant M.G. (ed.), *De Cella in Seculum: Religious and Secular Life and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge: 1987) 229–244; Marx C.W., "Julian Notary, Wynkyn de Worde, and the Earliest Printed Texts of the Middle English 'Gospel of Nicodemus'", *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 96 (1995) 389–398; Gwara J., "Dating Wynkyn de Worde's Devotional, Homiletic, and Other Texts, 1501–11", in Driver M. – O'Mara V. (eds.),

engagement with a well-established visual tradition of the *Ars moriendi* and considers what it says about how he translated and transformed his source materials, and how in so doing he shaped the expectations and reading habits of pious (or aspirationally pious) English people of the early Tudor period. In offering his readers a series of visual templates for contemplating their own mortality, he not only developed his own commercial enterprise, but he also contributed to the vividly imaginative and richly visualized vocabulary of learning to die in sixteenth-century England.

Reading, or more precisely interacting with the verbal and pictorial texts contained within the pages of a book has formative power; it can shape the ways in which individuals experience their own subjectivity and it can knit together networks of individuals into textual communities.[4] In my own previous work, I have discussed the role of illuminations in devotional manuscripts for the laity as a mirror of the self, making the reader reflexively visible to the reader and situating her or him within an internalized, idealized space of interaction with the sacred.[5] Jennifer Bryan observes that about half the books in print in England between 1476 and the 1540s were religious and devotional in nature, and that these books 'taught generations of English readers [...] to "see themselves" and to reflect on what they saw, initially as a habit of reading and then as a habit of mind'.[6] Furthermore, as Kathleen Tonry notes, it is not so much the case that printed books were agents of change in the spiritual self-consciousness of any individual or community, but that the very "capaciousness" of print, its ability to adapt, translate, reuse, and redeploy letters, words, and pictures made it an apt tool for the agency of printers and their publics in articulating and expanding what she calls "lexicons" of morality.[7] The habits of mind associated with illustrated devotional and pastoral reading in England in the first half of the sixteenth century owed their existence to many factors, but among these, de Worde's interventions that take advantage of the protean nature of print are salient. Here, I investigate one particularly central instantiation of de Worde's molding of not just the reading habits,

Preaching the Word in Manuscript and Print in Late Medieval England (Turnhout: 2013) 193–234.

4   In the formulation of Brian Stock, a textual community arises when a group of individuals make a shared investment in the proper interpretation of a specific, authoritative text. Stock B., *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: 1983) 88.

5   Sand A., *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation in Late Medieval Art* (Cambridge: 2004).

6   Bryan J., *Looking Inward: Devotional Reading and the Private Self in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: 2008) 3.

7   Tonry K., *Agency and Intention in English Print, 1476–1526* (Turnhout: 2016) 166.

but the spiritual subjectivity and community sensibilities of the early Tudor period, with the goal of demonstrating how intentional and transformational his approach truly was.

1   From *Ars Moriendi* to *The Crafte to Lyue Well and to Dye Well*

Sometime between 1503 and 1505, Wynkyn de Worde acquired – probably by commission or by hiring a block-cutter to work directly for him – a set of eleven woodcuts that reproduced a standard series of images found in continental block-books of the *Ars moriendi*. Composed in Latin around 1415 by a Dominican friar, the *Ars moriendi* began as a rather lengthy Latin guidebook to achieving the good death through orthodox Christian spiritual discipline and deathbed performance on the part of the dying person and his or her attendants. Manuscript versions of the *Ars moriendi* began to be produced in substantial numbers even before print; it was one of those books that we like to characterize, anachronistically, as a "medieval best seller".[8] In an abridged version of about 1450, its second chapter concerning the five temptations of the dying, and the five remedies for these temptations, was cut down so that the text for each of the five temptations and their remedies fit onto a single folio that faced a corresponding illustration across the opening, conforming to the technical demands of block book printing. A final text-image pairing portrayed the moment of the good death itself, with the soul of the dying man departing his body under the protection of Christ and the saints. This suite of block-printed texts and images, which was reproduced in Latin, French, German, Dutch, Spanish, and Italian, was one of the most widely circulating illustrated works of the fifteenth century. In addition, the eleven scenes were sometimes also included in early printed editions of the longer version of the text, its translations, and adaptations.

The *Ars moriendi* illustrations serve as visualizations and dramatizations of the themes in the text, rather than as documentary records of sickbed and deathbed procedure. Each pair, as mentioned above, deals with one of the

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8   O'Connor M.C., *The Art of Dying Well: The Development of the Ars Moriendi* (New York: 1942); Saxl F., "A Spiritual Encyclopedia of the Later Middle Ages", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942) 82–142; Rudolf R., *Ars moriendi: Von der Kunst des heilsamen Lebens und Sterbens* (Cologne – Graz: 1957); Beaty N.L., *The Craft of Dying: A Study in the Literary Tradition of the Ars Moriendi in England* (New Haven, CT: 1970); Chartier R., "Les arts de mourir, 1450–1600", *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 31 (1976) 51; Campbell J., *The 'Ars Moriendi': An Examination, Translation, and Collation of the Manuscripts of the Shorter Latin Version* (MA thesis, University of Ottawa: 1995).

temptations that present themselves to the dying and the spiritual counter-measures to these traps. Table 7.1 gives a precis of the series as it appears in the majority of the extant block books, as exemplified by what is generally thought to be one of the earliest examples, that acquired by the British Library from the collector Theodor Weigel in 1872, an edition of about 1465–1475 possibly from Cologne.[9]

Despite its widespread currency in western Europe, the *Ars moriendi* was never printed in block book format in England, though copies in other languages indubitably crossed the Channel.[10] William Caxton published his own translation of the French long version of the text in 1490 as *The art and crafte to knowe well to dye*, and the following year he brought out the pamphlet-length short version as *Ars moriendi* (*The craft for to deye*): neither edition included illustrations.[11] The first appearance of the *Ars moriendi* picture series in an English-language version was published in Paris in 1503, by Antoine Vérard, the leading French printer of the day. He had already released several editions of Guillaume Tardif's *L'art de bien vivre et bien mourir*, a French translation of an anonymous Latin compendium of religious instructional texts that included a

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9   *Ars moriendi. QVamuis secundum philosophū Tercio ethicorum*, District of the Rhine, 1465? (London, British Library, I.B.18) The Wiegel copy is likely the second oldest extant exemplar after a partial copy in the Lambeth Palace Library, (shelfmark 1472.2). Blockbooks are not cataloged in the ISTC. Weigel T., *Ars moriendi: Editio princeps. Photographisches Facsimile des Unicum in Besitze von T.O. Weigel in Leipzig* (Leipzig: 1869); Rylands W., *The Ars Moriendi* (*Editio Princeps ca. 1450*)*: A Reproduction of the Copy in the British Museum* (London: 1881); Cust L., *The Master E.S. and the Ars moriendi: A Chapter in the History of Engraving during the xvth Century, with Facsimile Reproductions of Engravings in the University Galleries at Oxford and in the British Museum* (Oxford: 1898); Olds C., *Ars moriendi: A Study of the Form and Content of Fifteenth-Century Illustrations of the Art of Dying* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania: 1966); Stevenson A., "The Quincentennial of Netherlandish Block Books", *The British Museum Quarterly* 31 (1967) 83–87; Palmer N., "Woodcuts for Reading: The Codicology of Fifteenth-Century Blockbooks and Woodcut Cycles", *Studies in the History of Art* 75 (2009) Symposium Papers LII: The Woodcut in Fifteenth-Century Europe, 92–117. For a digital facsimile of the 1881 reproduction of the Weigel copy see the *Wellcome Collection*, https://wellcomecollection.org/works/a7gma2ur/items?canvas=9 [accessed 11 October 2022].

10   There is no evidence of block book printing in England, and prior to Caxton's introduction of illustration woodcuts to his printed editions in the 1480s, no evidence of relief or intaglio printmaking either.

11   *The art and craft to know well to die*, trans. William Caxton ([Westminster, William Caxton: after 15 June] 1490), STC 789. STC numbers refer *to A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640*, first compiled by Pollard A.W. – Redgrave G.R., 2nd ed., rev. and enlarged, begun by Jackson W.A. – Ferguson F.S., completed by Pantzer K.F., 3 vols. (London: 1976–1991). *The craft for to deye* ([Westminster, William Caxton: about 1491]), STC 786.

TABLE 7.1   The block book *Ars moriendi* cycle

	Matched to text	Iconography (block books)	Inscriptions (factotum)
1	Temptation: Loss of faith	– The dying man in bed assailed by demons; – three physicians; – a queen worshiping an idol; – a half-nude woman with a flail and a fully dressed man; – Christ with the Virgin and John	Demons: *Infirmus factus est* *Fac sicut pagani* *Interficias te ipsum*
2	Remedy: Faith	– The dying man in bed comforted by an angel; – the Father and Son, Moses, the Virgin, and a host of saints; – demons cast down	Angel: *Sis firmus in fide* Demons: *Fugiamus* *Victi sumus* *Frustra laboravimus*
3	Temptation: Despair	– The dying man in bed surrounded by accusatory demons, one brandishing a list of his sins; – various figures representing the victims of his sins	Demons: *Ecce peccata tua* *Perjurus es* *Fornicatus es* *Avare vixisti* *Occidisti*
4	Remedy: Hope of redemption for sinners	– The dying man in bed comforted by an angel; – Mary Magdalen, the Good Thief, St. Peter with the cock, Saul falling from his horse; – fleeing demons	Angel: *Ne quaquam desperes* Demon: *Victoria michi nulla*
5	Temptation: Impatience	– The dying man in bed, lashing out with one leg to kick at the attending physician; – physician and woman; – serving woman with tray and upset table; – demons taunting	Woman: *Ecce quantam penam patitur* Demon: *Quant bene decepi eum*
6	Remedy: Patience/ martyrdom	– Dying man prays, comforted by angel; – Man of Sorrows, Father with signs of passion;	Demons: *Labores amisi* *Sum captivatus*

TABLE 7.1   The block book *Ars moriendi* cycle (*cont.*)

	Matched to text	Iconography (block books)	Inscriptions (factotum)
		– Saints Barbara, Catherine, Laurence, Stephen with attributes of their martyrdoms;	
		– demons driven off	
7	Temptation: Vainglory	– Dying man in bed, holding a crown;	Demons:
		– demons caper around the bed brandishing crowns;	*Tu es firmus in fide*
			Gloriare
		– Christ, God the Father, the Virgin, and Holy Innocents stand behind demons	*Coronam meruisti*
			In paciencia perseverasti
			Exaltate ipsum
8	Remedy: Humility	– Dying man in bed comforted by three angels;	Angels:
			Superbos punio
		– Saint Anthony;	*Sis humilis*
		– Holy Trinity with Virgin;	Demon:
		– hellmouth swallowing sinners;	*Victus sum*
		– vanquished demon	
9	Temptation: Avarice/worldliness	– Dying man taunted by demons in bed behind a street scene with a warehouse full of barrels and a man drawing from a cask, a youth leading a horse;	Demon: *Provideas amicis* *Intende thesauro*
		– behind the demons, a man and three women, one with a baby	
10	Remedy: Renunciation	– The dying man comforted by an angel;	Angel (with dying man):
		– the Crucifixion with the Virgin;	*Non sis aurarus*
		– three sheep;	Angel (with cloth):
		– a group of standing men and women;	*Ne intendas amicis*
		– an angel holding up a cloth in front of which stand a man and woman;	Demon: *Quid faciam*
		– a defeated demon	
11	The Good Death	– The dying man, candle in hand, comforted by a monk;	Demons:
			Heu infamo
		– the soul of the dying man in the form of a naked child taken up by angels;	*Furore confumor* *Confusi sumus*
		– a Crucifixion scene with Mary, John, and other saints;	*Animam amisimus* *Spes nobis nulla*
		– demons expostulating in defeat	

version of the long-form *Ars moriendi* text, accompanied by the eleven illustra-
tions of the block book cycle in a slightly altered sequence, as well as numerous
other illustrations that accompany the other chapters of the book, concerned,
successively, with Creation, the Fall, and the Incarnation as a history of sin;
the Sacraments; the punishment of the cardinal sins in Hell; Purgatory; the
advent of the Antichrist; and End Times. In 1503, Vérard launched a commer-
cial foray into the anglophone market with an English translation of Tardif's
text, *The book intytuled The art of good lywyng* [*and*] *good deyng* by Thomas
Lewington, illustrated with the same set of blocks that had served for Vérard's
French editions.[12] Lewington's Scots dialect, probably combined with the lin-
guistic lack of English expertise of Vérard's French compositors, resulted in an
almost unreadable text.[13] This apparent misfire may have stimulated Wynkyn
de Worde to bring out his version of the book, *The crafte to lyue well and to dye
well* translated by Andrew Chertsey, in 1505.[14] The de Worde/Chertsey edition
matches the Vérard/Lewington edition almost woodcut for woodcut (and that
almost is important, as I discuss below).[15] Unlike Lewington's translation, how-
ever, Chertsey's is in good, readable English. At least eight copies of the 1505
edition exist, a survival commensurate with a typical early sixteenth-century
print run of around 600–1,000 copies.[16]

   Vérard's 1503 edition was part of a two-edition effort to establish a bridge-
head amongst English-language readers, paired with his *Kalandayr of the shy-
ppars* of the same year, both translated by Lewington from French editions
Vérard had previously published and illustrated with woodcuts.[17] The wood-
cuts used to illustrate the Lewington *Art of good lywyng* are identical to those
that illustrate Vérard's 1493–1494 and 1496 editions of Tardif's *L'Art de bien viure
et de bien mourir*.[18] The only difference between the two French editions and

12   *The book intytuled The art of good lywyng* [*and*] *good deyng*, trans. Thomas Lewington
      (Paris, Antoine Vérard: 1503), STC 791.

13   Withington P., "The Invention of 'Happiness'", in Braddick M. – Innes J. (eds.), *Suffering
      and Happiness in England 1550–1850: Narratives and Representations: A Collection to
      Honour Paul Slack* (Oxford: 2017) 29.

14   *The crafte to lyue well and to dye well*, trans. Andrew Chertsey (London, Wynkyn de Worde:
      1505), STC 791.

15   Hodnett E., *Early English Woodcuts 1480–1535: With Additions and Corrections* (London:
      1973) 19.

16   White E.M., "A Census of Print Runs for Fifteenth-Century Books", *Consortium of Euro-
      pean Research Libraries*, https://www.cerl.org/_media/resources/links_to_other_resources
      /printruns_intro.pdf [accessed 21 January 2022].

17   Stubbings F., "The Art of Good Living (STC 791)", *Transactions of the Cambridge
      Bibliographical Society* 10 (1994) 535–538. *Kalandayr of the shyppars*, trans. Thomas
      Lewington (London, Wynkyn de Worde: 1503), STC 22407.

18   *L'art de bien mourir*, trans. Guillaume Tardif (Paris, André Bocard: 12 February 1453
      [= 1493–1494]), USTC 766555 and *L'art de bien mourir*, trans. Guillaume Tardif (Paris,

the Scots/English edition is the removal of the bands of floral framing that sur-round three sides of each of the blocks in the French versions, a change that makes the 1503 edition look a bit more bare-bones than its predecessors, but otherwise does not impact the flow between text and image, the organization of the page, or the iconographic content [Figs. 7.1–7.2].

Reflecting Tardif's adaptation of the text, the sequence of the temptations and remedies in these editions differs a bit from the cycle found in the block books. Notably, the third temptation, 'Impatience', and its remedy are pushed to the fourth position, while the fifth temptation, 'Avarice', and its remedy are inserted between the second and fourth position. The new sequence other-wise cleaves closely to the block book model both in its iconography and its factotum-printed inscriptions in the banderoles, as Table 7.2 demonstrates. Vérard's illustrator seems to have cut the blocks working from a model – the left-to-right reversal of the orientation of each image from the standard orien-tation found in the block books would result from this process. However, the printmaker did not trace and identically reproduce any known set of block book prints, adding numerous elements of architectural and landscape detail, as for example in the 'Impatience' illustration, where the bare bedroom of the *Ars moriendi* prints gains a window that looks out onto a suburban scene where a star shines in the sky, perhaps an emblem of hope. Vérard's blocks also include a fictive architectural frame around each image consisting of tall, thin colonettes surmounted by crocketed gables, with a striped arcade connecting them, another element not found in the block books.

Thus, Vérard's set of blocks contain some unique details that identify them and make evident that when Wynkyn de Worde set out to acquire a set of illus-trations for his edition, he relied on the model supplied by Vérard. Table 7.3 shows how the *Ars moriendi* series moved from French editions by Vérard into his English editions, and subsequently into the woodcut vocabulary of Wynkyn de Worde. While de Worde's blocks are smaller and square, and much less refined in execution, they contain the same spatial elements, and they approximate the fictive architectural frames. Specifically, it seems likely that de Worde's model was one of the two French editions, because in addi-tion to adopting the indicative features of the blocks themselves, five of the blocks in de Worde's edition are flanked by two vertical strips of foliate border,

FIGURE 7.1 Impatience. Woodcut illustration, ca. 1496. From Guillaume Tardif, *L'art de bien mourir et de bien vivre* (Paris, Antoine Vérard: 1496), fol. ciir. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, RES-D-852
PHOTO © BNF
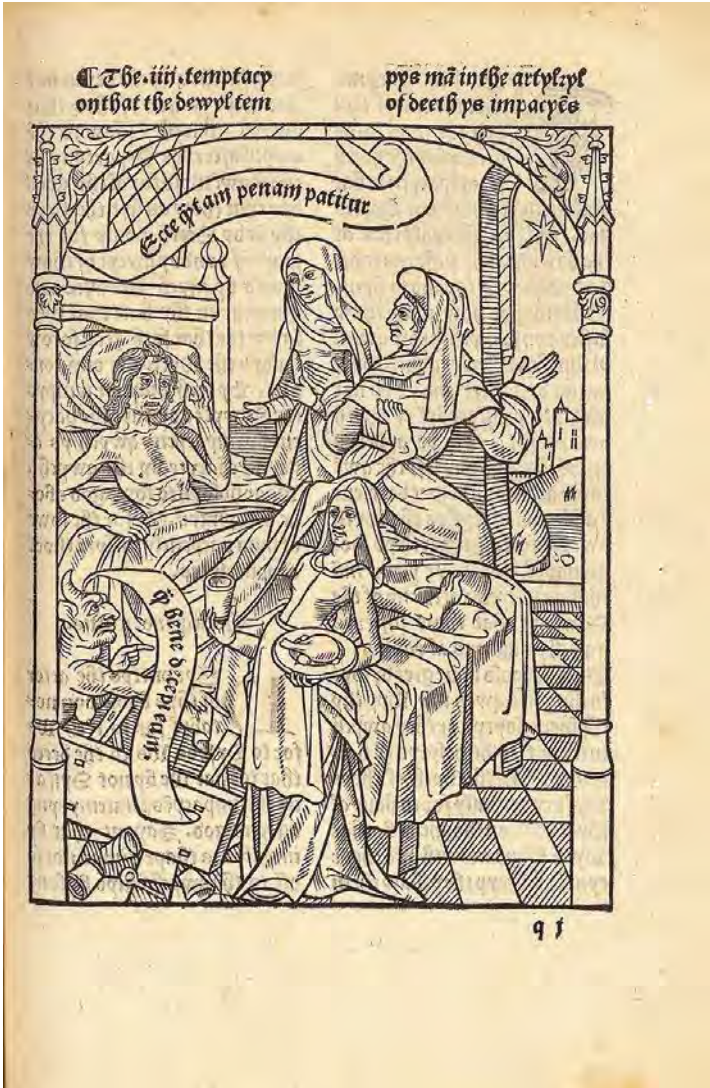
FIGURE 7.2   Impatience. Woodcut illustration, ca. 1496. From Thomas
Lewington, *The art of good lywyng* [*and*] *good deyng* (Paris,
Antoine Vérard: 1503), fol. q1r. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de
France, RLR-D-1299
PHOTO © BNF

TABLE 7.2   Comparison of Vérard and de Worde editions

	Vérard (trans. Lewington, 1503)	De Worde (trans. Chertsey, 1505)
1	Match to 'Loss of Faith' (#1) in original series (L/R orientation reversed). *Same Latin texts in banderoles as original.*	Match to 'Loss of Faith' (#1) in original series (L/R orientation restored). *No text in banderoles.*
2	Match to 'Faith' (#2) in original series (L/R orientation reversed). *Same Latin texts in banderoles as original.*	Match to 'Faith' (#2) in original series (L/R orientation restored). *No text in banderoles.*
3	Match to 'Despair' (#3) in original series (L/R orientation reversed). *Same Latin texts in banderoles as original.*	Match to 'Renunciation' (#10) in original series. *Same Latin texts in banderoles as original.*
4	Match to 'Hope of Redemption' (#4) in original series (L/R orientation reversed). *Same Latin texts in banderoles as original.*	Match to 'Hope of Redemption' (#4) in original series (L/R orientation restored). *No text in banderoles.*
5	Match to 'Avarice' (#9) in original series (L/R orientation reversed). *Same Latin texts in banderoles as original.*	Match to 'Avarice' (#9) in original series (L/R orientation restored). *No text in banderoles.*
6	Match to 'Renunciation' (#10) in original series (L/R orientation reversed). *Same Latin texts in banderoles as original.*	Match to 'Despair' (#3) in original series (L/R orientation restored). *No text in banderoles.*
7	Match to 'Impatience' (#5) in original series (L/R orientation reversed). *Same Latin texts in banderoles as original.*	Match to 'Impatience' (#5) in original series (L/R orientation restored). *Same Latin texts in banderoles as original.*
8	Match to 'Patience' (#6) in original series (L/R orientation reversed). *Same Latin texts in banderoles as original.*	Match to 'Patience' (#6) in original series (L/R orientation restored). *Same Latin texts in banderoles as original.*
9	Match to 'Vainglory' (#7) in original series (L/R orientation reversed). *Same Latin texts in banderoles as original.*	Match to 'Vainglory' (#7) in original series (L/R orientation restored). *Same Latin texts in banderoles, except missing 'Gloriare'.*
10	Match to 'Humility' (#8) in original series (L/R orientation reversed). *Same Latin texts in banderoles as original.*	Match to 'Humility' (#8) in original series (L/R orientation restored). *Same Latin texts in banderoles as original.*
11	Match 'Good Death' (#11) in original series (L/R orientation reversed). *Same Latin texts in banderoles as original.*	Match 'Good Death' (#11) in original series (L/R orientation restored). *Same Latin texts in banderoles as original.*

TABLE 7.3   Redeployment of *Ars moriendi* cycle of woodcuts in editions by Vérard and de Worde

Ars Moriendi block	Vérard	de Worde
Temptation: Loss of Faith	– *L'art de bien vivre et bien mourir* (Pierre Le Rouge and Gillet Couteau with Jean Ménard for Vérard, 1492), ISTC ia01122000 – *L'art de bien vivre et bien mourir* (1496), ISTC ia01123250 – *L'art de bien vivre et bien mourir* (1498), ISTC ia01123300 – *The book intytuled The art of good lywyng* [*and*] *good deyng* (1503), STC 791	– *The crafte to lyue well and to dye well* (1505), STC 792
Remedy: Faith	Same as above	– *The crafte to lyue well and to dye well* (1505), STC 792 – *The rote or myrroure of consolacyon* (1511), STC 21336 – *The rote or myrroure of consolacyon* (1530), STC 21337
Temptation: Despair	Same as above	– *The crafte to lyue well and to dye well* (1505), STC 792
Remedy: Hope of redemption for sinners	Same as above	– *The crafte to lyue well and to dye well* (1505), STC 792
Temptation: Avarice/ worldliness	Same as above	– *The crafte to lyue well and to dye well* (1505), STC 792 – *Doctrynall of dethe* (1532), STC 6932
Remedy: Renunciation	Same as above	– *The crafte to lyue well and to dye well* (1505), STC 792 – *The deyenge creature* (1507), STC 6034 – *The deyenge creature* (1514), STC 6035 – *Xii profytes of tribulacyon* (1530), STC 20413 – *The deyenge creature* (1532), STC 6035a

TABLE 7.3   Redeployment of *Ars moriendi* cycle of woodcuts in editions by Vérard and de Worde (*cont.*)

Ars Moriendi block	Vérard	de Worde
Temptation: Impatience	Same as above	– *The crafte to lyue well and to dye well* (1505), STC 792 – *Thordynary of Crysten men* (1506), STC 5199 – *The boke named the Royall* (co-published with Richard Pynson, 1507), STC 21340 and STC 21340a – *Doctrynall of dethe* (1532), STC 6932
Remedy: Patience/ martyrdom	Same as above	– *The crafte to lyue well and to dye well* (1505), STC 792
Temptation: Vainglory	Same as above	– *The crafte to lyue well and to dye well* (1505), STC 792 – *Parlyament of deuylles* (1509), STC 19305 – *The complaynte of the soule* (1532), STC 5610
Remedy: Humility	Same as above	– *The crafte to lyue well and to dye well* (1505), STC 792 – *The deyenge creature* (1507), STC 6034
The Good Death	Same as above	– *The crafte to lyue well and to dye well* (1505), STC 792 – *A lytell treatyse called Ars moriendi* (1506), STC 788 – *Thordynary of Crysten men* (1506), STC 5199 – *The boke named the Royall* (co-published with Richard Pynson, 1507), STC 21340 and STC 21340a – *The deyenge creature* (1507), STC 6034 – *The deyenge creature* (1514), STC 6035 – *Complaynte of the soule* (1519), STC 5609

a nod to the borders found in the French editions but missing in the Lewington edition.[19] And just as Vérard's printmaker reversed the left/right orientation of the block book series in copying them, so de Worde's reversed them back, so that the 1505 woodcuts restore the original orientation [Fig. 7.3].

As indicated by the shaded areas in Table 7.2, de Worde's compositor was not as attentive to the work as might have been hoped. The blocks for 'Despair' and 'Renunciation' have been switched, despite obvious visual cues: the angel comforting the sick man in 'Renunciation' and the predominance of the demons in 'Despair'. This error – for it certainly does not appear to be an intentional twist on convention – reveals a certain carelessness about text-image relations that is perhaps surprising given de Worde's overall enterprise as an innovator and canny manipulator of images. That the printer would go to the extent of commissioning an entire set of replica images to go along with the translated text (perhaps also a commission) and then disregard fundamental principles of organization seems odd, as does the rather haphazard adoption of the factotum-printed Latin inscriptions in the banderoles; these are omitted in the first half of the series (except for the misplaced 'Renunciation'), despite their presence in the Vérard editions.

De Worde's decision to print an illustrated replica in English of *L'art de bien vivre et bien mourir* shortly after the publication of Vérard's attempt at the same hints at his opportunistic bent – he seems to have been closely attentive to market demand for certain types and formats of book, and he could relatively quickly respond to emerging trends. Perhaps the speed of response accounts in part for the somewhat sloppy execution in this instance. De Worde never issued another edition of the text, nor was it reprinted by rival publishers, which suggests that it was not such a runaway success as some of his other forays into the market for illustrated books, but that did not mean that his investment in the programme of illustration was wasted. While this specific guide to the good death may have received a lukewarm reception, the early Tudor period saw a rapid growth of interest among de Worde's clientele for what Amy Appleford terms 'death rehearsal' – that is the spiritually roborative practice of imagining and internally enacting the scene of one's own mortal demise as a safeguard against eternal damnation.[20]

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19   The Chertsey translation is also directly from Tardif, rather than incorporating elements of the Lewington translation, which supports the idea that de Worde provided Chertsey with a copy of one of Vérard's editions.

20   Appleford A., *Learning to Die in London, 1380–1540* (Philadelphia: 2015) 40.

The arte or crafte to dye Well.

so mayst þ posede the realme þ vnto the is dewe by the promysse of god þ hath sayd. Bti paupes spū qm ipor e̅ t̅ regnū celor. Blyssed ben the poo re of speryte þ haue pouerte volunta ry for the realme of paradyse is vnto them. And also sayth the aūgell. my frende cōmytte þ aboue all vnto the wyl of god in good fayth þ hope. The whiche shall gyue the rychesses sem pyternalles. Nota qñ infirmus. &c Here techeth the auctour of this bo ke þ pacyent doutynge þ dethe & sa yeth / whan the seke hym feleth to be tempted by coueytyse or loue of thy ges erthely he sholde consyder fyrst þ loue is the thynge þ departeth & that hy excludeth from þ loue of god

wytnesse saynt gregori þ sayth. Tā to q̃s a supno amore disiūgit quanto hic inferius in creaturis delectat. Of as moche as ony here alowe hym de lyteth in these creatures þ more is he dysioynt & departed from the loue so uerayne of god. Secondly he sholde consyder how moche pouerte volun tary is prouffytable the whiche bea tefyeth and bryngeth the man vnto heuen as it is sayd by þ worde of our lorde. Beati pauperes spiritu. &c.

The fourthe temptacion wherof the deuyll tempteth the man in the artycle of dethe is impacyence.

FIGURE 7.3   Impatience. Woodcut illustration, ca. 1505. From Andrew Chertsey, *The crafte to lyue well and to dye well* (London, Wynkyn de Worde: 1505), fol. lvir. London, British Library, C132. H40

De Worde's limber use of his stock of *Ars moriendi* blocks in subsequent publications forms the subject of the last section of this essay, but before turning to the redeployment of the series in related works throughout the next three decades (as indicated in Table 7.3), the formative role of de Worde in creating a new set of expectations and indeed interpretive skills among his expanding readership, and the implications of those new expectations and skills for the spiritual lives of English men and women in the early Tudor period can be best understood when set against the wider context of early illustrated print books in England.

2   Reframing the *Ars Moriendi: The Crafte* as a Born-Visual Book for English Readers

Printing came relatively late to England for a variety of reasons, not least, as Lotte Hellinga observes, because of the ready availability of Continental print books to the traditional market, namely the learned and the aristocratic readers who had already been amassing manuscript books for centuries.[21] This elite class of book buyers and users had been shaped by manuscript culture, and exercised in many cases a visual hermeneutic addressed to the illustrated or at least illuminated page, and as David McKitterick suggests, this *habitus* informed the visual design of many Continental incunabula.[22] However, the early English printers actively sought new audiences and therefore new markets for their products, and in the process laid the foundation for and gave form to the reading habits and expectations of a much wider swathe of the English populace, especially Londoners. Here, I focus on how Wynkyn de Worde expanded the pictorial horizons of English readers of pastoral literature (one of the most popular categories of literature in the period) through a series of appropriations, reimaginings, and reframings of a long-established iconographic repertoire associated with the art of the good death.

Prior to 1505, de Worde had published at least eighty-two and his closest competitor, Richard Pynson, at least thirty-four illustrated editions, and de Worde had been a member of William Caxton's workshop, which produced the

21   Hellinga L., "Importation of Books Printed on the Continent into England and Scotland before c. 1520", in Hindman S. (ed.), *Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books, circa 1450–1520* (Ithaca – London: 1991) 205–224.

22   McKitterick D., *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450–1830* (Cambridge: 2003) 69–75.

first illustrated printed English-language book in England in 1481, *The Myrrour of the World*.[23] Thus, the concept of the illustrated typographic book was already a quarter of a century old in England when *The crafte* was published. Most books with illustrations, however, had very few woodcuts. For example, of the eleven illustrated editions published in (or thought to be published in) 1500 by de Worde, seven have only one illustration, three have two, and one has four.[24] Caxton's illustrated editions, of which there are only nineteen, tend to have more extensive programmes of illustration, most notably the 175 small blocks that illustrate the 1484 *Fables of Esope*.[25] Still, more than half of Caxton's illustrated works contain fewer than ten illustrations. The books that did receive extensive programmes of illustration with more than twenty illustrations in the first twenty years of the English illustrated print book can be broadly categorized as literary/historical on the one hand, or as time-honored devotional texts on the other.[26]

That many of them were published multiple times, often using the same blocks or copies of the same blocks, suggests that the initial printing with illustrations set standards, both on the part of the printer's workshop and on the part of book buyers and users. For example, thanks to Caxton's monumental investment in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* as an illustrated text, subsequent editions were expected to and generally did follow the pattern. In some cases, printers in England followed the lead of their continental

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23   *Myrrour of the worlde*, trans. William Caxton ([Westminster, William Caxton: 1481, after 12 August]), STC 24762. Hodnett, *Early English Woodcuts* 1–2; Driver, *The Image in Print* 8.

24   Hodnett, *Early English Woodcuts* 78.

25   Aesop, *Fables*, trans. William Caxton (Westminster, William Caxton: 26 Mar. 1484), STC 175.

26   Aesop, *Fables*, trans. William Caxton (Westminster, William Caxton: 26 Mar. 1484), STC 175 and ([London], Richard Pynson: [about 1497]), STC 176; ([London], Richard Pynson: [about 1500–1501]), STC 177. Chaucer Geoffrey, *Canterbury Tales* ([Westminster], William Caxton: [1483]), STC 5083; ([London], Richard Pynson: [between June 1491 and 13 Nov. 1492]), STC 5084; (Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde: 1498), STC 5085. Pseudo-Bonaventure, *Speculum vitae Christi*, trans. Nicholas Love ([Westminster, William Caxton: about 1484]), STC 3259; ([Westminster], William Caxton: [about 1489–1490]), STC 3260; (Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde: 1494), STC 3261; ([London]: Richard Pynson, [1494]), STC 3262. Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, trans. William Caxton (Westminster, William Caxton: 1487), STC 24874; ([Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde]: 20 May 1493), STC 24875; (Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde: 1498), STC 24876; ([London, Julian Notary: 1504]), STC 24877. Sarum Hours ([Westminster], Wynkyn de Worde: [about 1494]), STC 15875/6; (Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde: 1502), STC 15898; ([London], Richard Pynson: [about 1497]), STC 15886; (London, Julyan Notary: 1503), STC 15900. Malory Thomas, *Le morte d'Arthur* (Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde: 25 Mar. 1498), STC 802. Mandeville Jean de, *Travels* (Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde: 1499), STC 17247; (Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde: 1503), STC 17249. Le Fevre Raoul, *The Recuyles of the hystories of Troye* (Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde: 1502), STC 15376; (Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde: 1503), STC 15377.

counterparts – French, German, Italian, and/or Netherlandish editions of the devotional texts tended to be illustrated, and in this they were informed by manuscript traditions. Animal fables based on Aesop also tended to be illuminated, and then illustrated with woodcuts as well; indeed, one of the earliest illustrated typographically printed books was Ulrich Boner's *Edelstein* (a collection of Aesopian fables in German), printed in Bamberg in 1461, which included over 100 woodcuts.[27]

The crafte belongs to this born-visual group in its relationship to the tradition, half a century old at the time, of illustrated *artes moriendi*, including the *Ars moriendi* block books, and the illustrated incunable editions of both Latin and vernacular versions and variations of the original, long text, notably Tardif's *L'art de bien vivre et bien mourir* in its editions by Vérard. Two points must be borne in mind. First, the manuscript tradition of the *Ars moriendi* (both the shorter and longer versions) did not have a strong pictorial element associated with it. An intriguing demonstration of this non-pictorial approach to the manuscript *Ars moriendi* comes from a compendium of the second or third quarter of the fifteenth century that once belonged to Cardinal Wolsey (London, British Library, Harley 1197); it contains notations that describe the pictures of the *ars moriendi* block book tradition but is itself without illustrations. It is almost as if the existence of the illustrated, printed text precluded or superseded the need for illustrations in the manuscript. Second, among the versions of *artes moriendi* printed before 1505 in English, namely Caxton's 1490 and 1491 editions mentioned above, and *The doctrynall of dethe* (de Worde, 1498, one illustration as frontispiece), illustration is infrequent and often not specifically adapted to or created for the text.[28] Furthermore, the manuscripts of various learn-to-die texts studied by Amy Appleford do not include extensive programmes of illumination.[29] Together, these facts suggest that de Worde's potential customers – Londoners in the market for spiritually improving vernacular works – prior to 1503 had no reason to anticipate that such a book would necessarily contain woodcut illustrations. With the publication of the Lewington translation of Tardif by Vérard in 1503, that began to change, and de Worde rose to the occasion by quickly mustering the full series of illustrations proposed by his French competitor's edition.

27   Ulrich Boner, *Der Edelstein* (Bamberg, Albrecht Pfister: 14 Feb. 1461), ITSC ib00974500, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, A: 16.1 Eth. 2° (1), http://diglib.hab.de/inkunabeln /16-1-eth-2f-1s/start.htm [accessed 11 October 2022].

28   *The doctrynall of dethe* (Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde: 1498), STC 6931.

29   Appleford, *Learning to Die in London* 98–180.

But what happened next shows that de Worde's emulation of Vérard was no simple reaction, rather part of a broader and more farsighted strategy to expand his market and create new tastes and new demands among his potential customers. Carol Meale and A.S.G. Edwards write that his 'sustained effort […] to create new commercial possibilities […] served to enable him to create a previously non-existent market for contemporary religious materials'.[30] Moreover, Martha Driver has cogently pointed out that while there was an element of economic expediency in de Worde's decision to invest in extensive (and no doubt expensive) sets of illustration blocks for this edition, there was also a more intellectual, and even socially conscious element, in that the illustrations signaled to readers the connection between the English, vernacular text and the *Ars moriendi* block books, encouraging them to move from picture to text, and to understand their reading in the larger framework of learn-to-die practices.[31] As Amy Appleford has demonstrated, the opening decade of the sixteenth century stands at the apogee of 'late medieval death culture in England', a period when the social world of London, in particular, articulated itself through communal and (increasingly) individual engagement with the rehearsal and performance of death.[32]

In creating a fully English version of *The crafte*, de Worde launched himself into a previously underdeveloped territory for English printing, namely the extensively illustrated spiritual instruction book, a distinct genre from the illustrated devotional books and literary texts that had gone before.[33] It was a fertile field; the fourteenth and fifteenth century had seen the massive expansion of *pastoralia* adapted for lay use, and with these spiritual "self-help" texts a growing interest on the part of the laity in adopting the practices such as meditation on one's own mortality, contemplation of the torments of hell and the delights of heaven, and internal reenactment of the sacraments recommended therein.[34] What is more, the development of word-and-image ensembles specifically designed for this kind of lay religiosity had been prodigious; works such as *La Somme le roi* and *L'Horloge de sapience* had established a precedent

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30   Edwards A.S.G. – Meale C.M., "The Marketing of Printed Books in Late Medieval England", *The Library* (series 6) 15 (1993) 117.

31   Driver, "Picture in Print" 240–241.

32   Appleford, *Learning to Die in London* 140–144.

33   da Costa A., *Marketing English Books 1476–1550: How Printers Changed Reading* (Oxford: 2020) 38–43.

34   Brantley J., *Reading in the Wilderness: Private Devotion and Public Performance in Late Medieval England* (Chicago: 2008); Rice N., *Lay Piety and Religious Discipline in Middle English Literature* (Cambridge: 2008); Bryan, *Looking Inward*; Kumler A., *Translating Truth: Ambitious Images and Religious Knowledge in Late Medieval France and England* (New Haven, CT: 2011).

for books that both facilitated visual meditation and encouraged more systematic and didactic reading. The illustration programme of *The crafte* positioned de Worde to take advantage of the market opportunity for printed books in this category, but it also allowed him to contribute to the spiritual development and well-being of his clientele by encouraging them, through engagement with the printed image, to think across and through texts as well as within them. The reproducibility and mobility of the woodcut image empowered both the printer and the printer's audience to move far more fluidly between points of reference, bringing to a broader readership the kinds of interconnected reading and viewing experiences once reserved for those with the wealth and social privilege great enough to own substantial libraries of illuminated manuscripts.

3   Economies of Recycling, Networks of Signification, and Mordant Humour

The materiality of the print medium, most notably the reusability of the typographic and pictorial elements, facilitated the linkage of diverse texts through shared, literally identical visual marks. De Worde exploited this materiality to create a vocabulary of ideas and images around the approach to death, reusing particular, memorable elements of the *Ars moriendi* to knit together a network of learn-to-die texts and associated practices that went far beyond the scope of the Continental blockbook tradition. With attention to the material mutability of specific scenes from the series when their factotum-printed banderoles were either left blank or inhabited with variant texts, de Worde was able to introduce an element of dark humour into the grim topic at hand, and at the same time to offer the perceptive book-user a correctively humbling view of his or her own dying self.

The practice of creating a collection of woodcuts that can be easily reused in a variety of different editions was introduced in England by William Caxton, who frequently reused blocks. The set of illustrations that appeared for the first time in his 1484 edition of the *Speculum vitae Christi* had likely been purchased readymade from the Continent; these pictures illustrate a variety of other Caxton-printed texts, including the *Ryal book* (1485), the *Doctrinal of sapyence* (1484), and the *Myrrour of the World* (1490).[35] While all three of these could be said to belong to the same genre of pastoralia as *The crafte*, none of

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35   Pseudo-Bonaventure, *Speculum vitae Christi*, trans. Nicholas Love ([Westminster, William Caxton: about 1484]), STC 3259; Laurentius Frater, *Ryal book*, trans. William Caxton ([Westminster, William Caxton: 1485]), STC 21429; *Doctrinal of sapyence*, trans. William

them were provided by Caxton with a purpose-made set of blocks, and none are extensively illustrated, containing seven, two, and ten illustrations, respectively. De Worde, who inherited much of the 'materiel' from Caxton's shop reused these same cuts in heavy rotation right up to 1530, as Hodnett noted.[36] Reuse was economical and could function as hypertext, denoting ideological, thematic, or authorial continuities between disparate texts.[37] Each printer of illustrated books might command an arsenal, or just a few, woodcut blocks, and could commission specific images or buy or borrow individual or sets of blocks already used.[38]

Early in his independent career as a printer, de Worde relied heavily on the blocks he had inherited from Caxton, and, as I have already mentioned, tended to employ them in reeditions of texts Caxton had also published, often reusing the same blocks in the same places and supplementing them with others from his collection. However, around 1505, de Worde appears to have begun to invest in expanding his repertoire of images, particularly those lending themselves well to use in the moralizing, instructional spiritual guides that were so popular in manuscript and unillustrated typographic form. It seems probable that as he went about acquiring the woodcuts for *The crafte* he did so with an eye to their reuse in other books.

Notably, in 1506, he brought out an English version of another popular French book also translated by Andrew Chertsey: *Thordynary of Crysten Men*.[39] This text, similar in many ways to *The crafte*, includes five chapters, each dedicated to a core concept for Christian salvation: first the redemptive promise of baptism, second, the Decalogue, third, the Seven Works of Corporal Mercy, fourth, the pains of Hell, and fifth, the joys of Paradise. The edition contains two of the larger woodcuts, one depicting the sacrament of Confession, the other the Good Death (the final *Ars moriendi* episode) from *The crafte* as title pages, one at the front and the other at the back of the volume, 'enveloping' the book, as Martha Driver has written, 'in two powerful images', one of confession, the other of the moment of death.[40] The French editions which served as the basis for the translated text are unillustrated, or at most contain a standardized

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Caxton ([Westminster], William Caxton: [after 7 May 1489]), STC 21431; Myrrour of the World, trans. William Caxton ([Westminster], William Caxton: [1490]), STC 24763.

36   Hodnett, *Early English Woodcuts* 5.

37   Echard S., *Printing the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: 2008) 78–79.

38   Driver, *The Image in Print* 46–48.

39   *Thordynary of Crysten Men* (Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde: 1506), STC 5199. This was his second edition of the text but contains a completely different and more extensive programme of illustration than his 1502 edition (STC 5198). See Driver, *The Image in Print* 47.

40   Driver, *The Image in Print* 93.

author portrait, making de Worde's decision to borrow from the image stock of *The crafte* significant.[41] The formulaic and expected authorial presence gives way to the more imaginative and dramatic tableaux of *The crafte*, linking the diverse texts of *Thordynary* to the larger sphere of learn-to-die literature and imagery.

De Worde enriches *Thordynary* with imagery from start to finish. Some of the woodcuts appear to be new. For the chapter on Baptism, he employs a woodcut that matches those in the sacrament series from *The crafte* but is only seen in this edition. For the Decalogue, a two-part image framing typographically set text depicts Moses on the left and a group of churchmen and laity on the right – de Worde seems to have owned either multiple cuts of this image or to have recut the original block several times, but it appears first in this edition. The chapter on the Seven Works of Corporal Mercy, by contrast, wears borrowed finery in the form of the 'Impatience' image from *The crafte*. However, whereas in its first outing the block includes in the speaking banderoles of the demons text identical to that found in the typical *Ars moriendi* cycle, here, the text has been altered to better suit the context [Fig. 7.4]. In scholastic thought, the corporal works of mercy were to feed the hungry, give drink to the thirsty, clothe the naked, give shelter to travelers, visit the sick, visit or redeem the imprisoned, and bury the dead, a series of actions encoded in the Latin mnemonic *visito, poto, cibo, redimo, colligo, condo*.[42] Accordingly, the factotum text in the upper banderole now reads, *Tego, colligo, condo*. While this hardly seems an invitation to levity, like the original Latin text that translates 'What suffering he undergoes!' it can read as sarcasm in the mouth of a demon. Further suggesting that the text in the banderoles can be understood in this light, the demon popping from beneath the bed helpfully joins in, adding *visito, poto, cibo, etc*. The contrast between the patient's fractious behaviour and the well-intended enactment of corporal mercy implied by the presence of the doctor, the woman, the servant, and the overturned table injects mordant humour into the deathbed scene.

Humour may seem out of place in a discussion of the somber focus on mortality of early learn-to-die culture, but in fact laughter in the face of perdition has a long and unbroken history in western culture. The Tudor period was no stranger to gallows humour; Shakespeare did not invent the graveyard

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41   The *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue*, https://data.cerl.org/istc/ [accessed 11 October 2022] lists fifteen editions published before 1506. Half of these were published by (or on behalf of) Vérard.

42   Aquinas Thomas, *Summa Theologiae: Vol. 34, Charity*, ed. and trans. Batten R.J. (New York – Cambridge: 1975), 240 (Latin), 241 (English translation).

& derkeneſſe of ypocrſye/vaynglozye & folyſſhe though
tes. The.ii.poynt is þ þ perſone þ wyll here founde his
medytacyon may & ought to take feruoure & deſyre to
pzofyte in graces/in vertues/in clymynge from ſtayre
to ſtayre wout euer hym to contempte tyll vnto þ þ ſhe
may come vnto the vyſyon of god in þ realme of para⸗
dyſe. That by his blyſſed grace vnto vs wyll gyue þ fa
der/þ ſone/& þ holy gooſt/one god in trynyte of pſones.

¶ Here foloweth þ thyrde party of this boke wherin is
made mencyon of the ſeuen werkes of mercy/ & it con⸗
teyneth fyue chapytres.

Tego. Colligo. Condo.

Diſſic. Voto. Cibo. &c

FIGURE 7.4　Impatience. Woodcut illustration, ca. 1505. From _Thordynary of crysten men_
(London, Wynkyn de Worde: 1506), unpaginated (image 75 of 221 in EEBO).
London, British Library, 224.G.3
PHOTO © BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD

scene in Hamlet with its dreadful puns at the expense of Yorick (a jester, no less) in a vacuum.[43] The chaos of the 'Impatience' illustration, alongside the reformulated text, hints at satire. In this, de Worde exploits what was probably an existing aspect of the 'Impatience' illustration from the outset; alone among the eleven standard subjects, this one depicts the dying man as active and volitional, indeed deeply contrarian, a rupture characteristic of humour. Graveyard, or more to the point, deathbed humour took root early in English literary culture, as Simon Fortin argued in his 2016 doctoral thesis, exploring the linkage between the *Ars moriendi* and the 'dying voice literacy' of Tudor and Jacobean drama.[44] In a sense, the humour inherent in 'Impatience' allows the image to comment engagingly on the rather dry and sententious prose it accompanies, whether the inveighing against sin of *The crafte* or the urging to virtue of *Thordynary*.

The engaging humourous potential of the 'Impatience' illustration seems to have appealed to de Worde. It appears again in 1507, with the same factotum text as that found in *Thordynary*, as the title page image at the opening of the *The Boke named the Royall*.[45] This time the text is Caxton's 1484 translation of *La Somme le roi*, the illustrated moral treatise composed in 1279 for Philip III of France by one of his Dominican advisors.[46] This text mirrors many of the same catechistic and moral concerns as *Thordynary*, but does so with abundant recourse to humour, characteristic of the Dominican sermon-craft upon which it draws. Amusing anecdotes, such as the so-called 'Glutton's hours' (in which the stomach voices a rather crude parody of the Little Hours of the Virgin) are folded into the serious instructional and devotional material, making it one of the more readable medieval conduct-of-life texts. Opening the book with the scene of the fretful patient defying his caregivers' attempts to perform their Christian deathbed duties not only helps de Worde's potential readers

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43   Neill M., *Issues of Death: Mortality and Identity in English Renaissance Tragedy* (Oxford: 1997) 51–101; Belsey C., *Shakespeare and the Loss of Eden: The Construction of Family Values in Early Modern Culture* (Basingstoke: 1999) 129–174.

44   Fortin S.G., *Dying to Learn, Learning to Die, The Craft of Dying in Early Modern English Drama and the Cultivation of Dying-Voice Literacy* (Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York: 2016) 174–176.

45   *The Boke named the Royall* ([London, Wynkyn de Worde: 1507]). A joint effort of de Worde and Richard Pynson: two versions of the edition are known, one with de Worde's mark and the other with Pynson's: STC 21430 and 21430a. See Sand A., "The Fine Art of Dying: Envisioning Death in the *Somme le Roi* Tradition", in Melion W.S. – Pastan E.C. – Wandel L.P. (eds.), *Quid est sacramentum? Visual Representation of Sacred Mysteries in Early Modern Europe, 1400–1700* (Leiden – Boston: 2019) 431–455.

46   The Caxton edition is Laurentius, *Ryal book*, trans. Caxton, STC 21429.

understand *The Boke named the Royall* as an entry in the learn-to-die category, but also seems to allude to its lively, incident-rich prose.

Additionally, in *The Boke named the Royall* the 'Good Death' prefaces the section of the treatise concerning the art of dying well (Caxton's translation exhorts, 'Remembre frendes grete and small/for to be redy when dethe do the call'), a prime example of adapting a very text-specific picture to a new textual partner. Throughout *The Boke named the Royall*, an ample programme of illustration including woodcuts found in a variety of de Worde's earlier publications, some of which also appear in Caxton's works, enlivens the verbal text. This pictorial wealth suits the text's history – in manuscript it has a well-established cycle of fifteen miniatures that appears with the earliest copies in the late thirteenth century and continues, with variation and adaptation, through over a hundred manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in French, English, Italian, and Provencal. However, it contrasts to Caxton's edition of 1484, which had only seven woodcuts to *The Boke named the Royall*'s twenty-seven. Martha Driver observes that this augmentation of the pictorial content in the 1507 edition, which includes more pictorial content than even the most lavishly illuminated manuscripts of *La Somme le roi*, 'indicates that De Worde and/or Pynson intended that it reach a larger audience of lay readers than it ever had before'.[47]

The period of 1505–1508 saw de Worde relying heavily on his new set of *Ars moriendi* woodcuts, along with the other visual material developed specifically for *The crafte*. *The Dyenge creature* of 1507 is framed as a call for help by its eponymous protagonist as he musters his final strength to endure the process of death without falling into error.[48] He summons Reason, Dread, Conscience, the Five Senses, Faith, Hope, Charity, in quick succession, before remembering to appeal to the Virgin on the grounds of her son's redemptive sacrifice.[49] The book is only twenty-eight typeset pages, but it is illustrated with three of the woodcuts from *The crafte*, opening with 'Patience' on the incipit page, and on the reverse of the same page, the 'Good Death'. The final image in the book, 'Humility', is also the penultimate printed page before de Worde's printer's mark. When de Worde reprinted the text in 1514, he used 'Humility' twice, substituting it at the beginning as well, and leaving out the original Latin texts from the banderoles, which did appear in the 1507 edition. The *Dyenge creature*, unlike *The crafte* and the other books in which de Worde had reused its

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47   Driver, "Picture in Print" 240.

48   *The Dyenge creature* (Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde: 1507), STC 6034.

49   A modern edition of the text, based on de Worde's printing of 1514 (STC 6035) is Anon., "The Dyenge Creature", ed. Debax J.-P., *Caliban* 11 (1974) 3–48.

blocks up to this point, is a far more focused entry in the learn-to-die category, but like the more wide-ranging texts before it, it used these now-familiar illustrations to prompt its readers' visualization of the deathbed scene.

Other woodcuts from *The crafte* continued to appear in de Worde's editions throughout the succeeding decades, as in his 1508 edition of John Mirk's *Festyuall*, where the 'God in Majesty' that first appears at the opening of *The crafte's* section on the pleasures of Paradise serves as a frontispiece.[50] It does the same duty in the 1510 *Court of sapyence*.[51] But the *Ars moriendi* series disappears for almost a dozen years after a 1519 edition of *Complaynt of the soule* with the 'Good Death' as its frontispiece.[52] Perhaps the woodcuts were wearing out, had started to look a bit old-fashioned, or had been damaged or lost, but it also true that de Worde turned away from the production of learn-to-die texts for most of the 1510s and 1520s, focusing his energy on schoolbooks, literary texts, and other types of religious texts, such as sermons. One can almost imagine that the *Ars moriendi* blocks were tucked away, gathering dust on a high shelf, but lodged nevertheless in the master printer's memory, and in 1530, he took them down and began to use them again.

4   Last Things

In 1532, shortly before his own demise, de Worde printed *The Doctrynall of Dethe*, yet another treatise on resisting the temptations that might result in end-of-life sin and eternal suffering, along with some practical advice on writing a will before it is too late.[53] He had first engaged with this text while still operating out of Caxton's workshop in 1498, when he published an edition with a frontispiece woodcut of the three living and the three dead; there were no other illustrations.[54] However, he now turned to the long-dormant 'Impatience' block as the title-page illustration. The Latin exhortations to the Seven Acts of Corporal Mercy are still embedded in the banderoles, as if they have sat there since they were set for *Thordynary*. De Worde also dusted off the 'Avarice' illustration and added that to the section of the *Doctrynall* concerned with the danger of worldly preoccupations for the dying man. Here, he did not include any factotum text, but the scene itself, with its groupings of

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50   Mirk John, *Festyuall* (Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde: 1508), STC 17971.

51   *Court of sapyence* (Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde: 1510), STC 17016.

52   *Complaynt of the soule* (Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde: 1519), STC 5609.

53   *The Doctrynall of Dethe* (Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde: 1532), STC 6932.

54   *The doctrynall of dethe*, STC 6931.

young women and a child, the groom leading a horse, and the servant drawing wine from a cask suits the text set immediately beneath it, which reads 'Suche temporal thynges as a man hath moost oft used in his lyfe he shall be moost tempted with to haue his mynde moost upon it in his departynge as ryches, fleshly pleasure, honour, wyfe and chyldren'.

The block, reproducing iconography already half a century old at the time of its making in 1505, nevertheless seems perfectly attuned to the purpose to which de Worde put it in 1532, and even to de Worde's own situation as a man approaching the end of a long, prosperous, and productive life (he would likely have been in his late seventies or early eighties by 1530). The insistent repetition of the image of the character of the dying man in the *Ars moriendi* cycle offers the pious viewer a strong prompt to see himself reflected in the mirror of the page, and so one might imagine de Worde himself as the man for whom it is difficult to detach his mind from 'ryches, fleshly pleasure, honour, wyfe, and chyldren'. Benefitting from the technology of self-scrutiny and self-correction he had helped to create and disseminate, the printer could have looked upon this pictorial warning against vainglory with a certain degree of ironic self-awareness. Whatever the case, de Worde's contribution to the 'late medieval death culture' of England (to return to Appleford's formulation) was instrumental.

Across fourteen editions of ten distinct texts and over a period of almost thirty years, the set of woodcuts that Wynkyn de Worde originally acquired for Chertsey's 1505 English translation of the *L'art de bien vivre* proved a solid investment (see Table 7.3). When he brought the blocks back into circulation in the last few years of his life, he once again associated them with texts concerned with the tribulations of the human soul as it faces the body's mortality. Such is the case of the 1530 edition of *The rote or Myrrour of consolacyon*, which like the 1511 edition features the block for 'Faith' as its sole illustration in the form of a frontispiece.[55] The short treatise constitutes a reflection on the necessity of temporal suffering and tribulation for salvation, and as its title indicates, it serves, like *The doctrynall*, as precisely the kind of tool for self-reflection that was so critical to the devotional lives of late medieval people in general, and so characteristic of English communities of devotion in the early Tudor period in England in particular as described by such scholars as Tonry, Bryan, and Appleford. De Worde's return to the *Ars moriendi* blocks in the early 1530s corresponds with his earlier deployment of these visual resources and ties these late editions back to the larger body of learn-to-die literature and the

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55   *The rote or Myrrour of consolacyon* (Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde: 1511), STC 21336 and (Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde: 1530), STC 21337.

associated practices of death-centered piety he had helped to disseminate through his editions of the 1500s and 1510s.

5   Conclusion

The network of images and texts represented by the *Ars moriendi* visual tradition within the woodcut vocabulary of Wynkyn de Worde is just one instance – albeit an important one – of the instrumentality of the printed page in the formation of distinctive, sophisticated, and reflective spiritual habits amongst the increasingly literate laity in England on the brink of the Reformation. That the tools provided by such words and images had real significance for the lived – and the dying – experiences of individuals is borne out by the very public performances of the kind of stoicism and denial of worldly concerns on the part of martyrs on both sides of the religious divide that was already taking shape by the time de Worde reactivated the *Ars moriendi* illustrations in 1530. Descriptions of the deaths of both Catholic and Protestant martyrs, such as found in John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (conventionally known as Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, and first published in 1563 by John Day) and in Richard Verstegan's *Theatrum Crudelitatum haereticorum nostri temporis* (1587) depict them as meeting death with prayer, renunciation of worldly concerns, remorse for their sins, and a calm countenance, like the dying man in the *Ars moriendi* who has, with angelic aid, resisted the intensified temptations put before him in his final hours.[56] As Beach Langston remarked, almost three quarters of a century ago, the men and women 'of the English Renaissance are widely reputed to have faced death on the scaffold magnificently', and they were able to do so (whether on the scaffold or in bed), thanks to long practice at envisioning their own final hours, their own resistance to the last and greatest onslaught of temptation, and their own reconciliation with and redemption by God.[57] Wynkyn de Worde, through his translation of the *Ars moriendi* visual tradition into the pictorial idiom of the early English printed book, contributed – materially and beyond – to the fortitude and dignity with which English men and women of the later sixteenth century greeted even the cruelest experiences of dying.

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56   Foxe John, *Actes and Monuments* (London, John Day: 1563); Verstegan Richard, *Theatrum Crudelitatum haereticorum nostri temporis* (Antwerp, Adrien Hubert: 1587).

57   Langston B., "Essex and the Art of Dying", *Huntington Library Quarterly* 13 (1950) 109.

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The Boke named the Royall (London, Wynkyn de Worde: 1507).

The Dyenge creature (Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde: 1507).

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Catering to Different Tastes: Western-European Romance in the Earliest Decades of Printing

Elisabeth de Bruijn

1   Introduction

Chivalric romances and heroic epics can be found among the earliest printed editions in Western Europe. A dozen of these narratives crossed multiple linguistic boundaries within a relatively short period of time.[1] In this article, the focus will be on works of chivalry that were printed in at least three of the following Western-European languages: French, English, Dutch and German. Their first editions were all printed before 1500, most of them initially in French. The fact that these works crossed linguistic borders either already in the fifteenth century, or within the first third of the sixteenth century, testifies to their European-wide appeal during the earliest decades of printing. That does not mean, however, that these stories were adopted by all the various language areas for the same reasons, nor that the audiences valued only a certain fixed version of the works. This article assesses the circulation of chivalric romances in these four Western-European languages as well as the way in which the texts and the editions preserving them were modified to cater to different vernacular audiences. As will become clear, patterns of their distribution in these vernaculars tend to be somewhat erratic and cannot solely be ascribed to the advent of printing. Moreover, the works themselves reveal differences in local appropriation across different linguistic areas and most profoundly in German territories.

The corpus consists of the following works, indicated here by their common French title: *Histoire de Jason, Recueil des histoires de Troyes, La Généalogie avecques les gestes* (the Knight of the Swan), *Bueve de Hantone, Paris et Vienne, Ponthus et Sidoine, Mélusine, Pierre de Provence, Les quatre fils Aymon, Fierabras*

(Life of Charles the Great), *Olivier de Castille* and *Valentin et Orson*. The corpus can be broadly divided into two sub-genres: *Bueve*, *Aymon*, *Fierabras* and *Valentin* are *chansons de geste* (songs of heroic deeds, some of which date back to the twelfth century), whereas the other works are romances of more recent date – around the turn of the fifteenth century. Well-established research traditions explain why both sub-genres are not commonly studied together in, for instance, French and German philology.[2] In the fields of English or Dutch studies it is much more common to group the works together, simply using the umbrella term "romance" for both sub-genres. In this article, this term will also be used in this broad sense, not only for the sake of convenience (to avoid the full phrase "chivalric romance and heroic epic"), but also because the protagonists – including the heroes of antiquity, such as Jason and Hercules – are all presented as knights. It has been pointed out before that the romance and the *chanson* were not sharply delineated genres, but instead stood in a dialectical relationship and mutually influenced each other.[3] The emergence of prose is thought to have further blurred the boundaries between both genres.[4] Moreover, in the age of printing, romances and *chansons* are presented in a similar fashion, for instance by the (re)use of woodcuts showing knights on horseback, by blending terminology (cf. the use of *roman* in *Cy finist le romant de Fierabras le geant* in the 1478 *Fierabras* edition) or by publishing practices such as the German double-edition of *Olivier* and *Valentin*.[5] Rather than reflecting this generic categorization of these romances, this contribution is organized according to patterns in their cross-border distribution and the degrees of adaptation this brought with it. It subsequently discusses the interrelatedness of French, Dutch, and English editions, the importance of manuscript transmission, and the special status of German romance translations.

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2 Besamusca B. – Bruijn E. de – Willaert F., "Introduction", in Besamusca B. – Bruijn E. de – Willaert F. (eds.), *Early Printed Narrative Literature in Western Europe* (Berlin – Boston: 2019) 1–14.

3 Kay S., *The Chansons de Geste in the Age of Romance: Political Fictions* (Oxford: 1995).

4 Gaunt S., "Romance and Other Genres", in Krueger R.L. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance* (Cambridge: 2000) 57 observes that 'the growing hegemony of prose probably also served to elide differences between longer narrative texts and therefore to reduce the specificity of romance'.

5 The 1478 edition of Jean Bagnyon's French *Fierabras* was published by Adam Steinschaber in Geneva. Both the German *Olivier* and *Valentin* were translated by Wilhelm Ziely between 1511–1521 and first published in 1521 as a double issue by Adam Petri in Basel. For the terminological assimilation of romances and *chansons de geste* (but also, for example, saints' lives) in the Dutch printed tradition, see the in-depth study of Vermeulen Y., *Tot profijt en genoegen. Motiveringen voor de produktie van Nederlandstalige gedrukte teksten 1477–1540* (Groningen: 1986) esp. 180.

2 The Interconnectedness of French, Dutch, and English Printed Editions

The first cluster of romances discussed here is defined by a commonality in their geographic dissemination. What unites *Histoire de Jason*, *Recueil des histoires de Troyes*, *La Généalogie avecques les gestes* (hereafter: the Knight of the Swan), *Bueve de Hantone* and *Paris et Vienne* is the fact that these texts were not published in German-speaking regions. A Low German edition of *Paris et Vienne* does exist, but it was printed by Gerard Leeu in Antwerp. Although there are no concrete factors that explain why these texts were *not* printed in the German language area, their publication in French, English and Dutch is unequivocally linked to the emergence of printing. The editions in these three vernaculars moreover demonstrate a high degree of interconnectedness: their printers either published the works in several languages themselves or they published stories that had recently been put into print by their foreign colleagues.

The intercultural beginnings of printing are closely connected with multilingual individuals. The first printed book in English, the *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troy* (ca. 1473–1474) was translated from the French *Recueil des histoires de troyes* by the native-English William Caxton, who was trained in Cologne and started out in the printing business in Flanders, possibly in Ghent. Caxton also published the French version of the *Recueil* around 1474–1475, soon followed by a French edition of the *Histoire de Jason* (1475–1476) and its English translation *History of Jason* (1477). Both Burgundian romances were originally written by Raoul Lefèvre between 1460 and 1464 and dedicated to duke Philip the Good. In the Low Countries it was the Haarlem printer Jacob Bellaert who not only provided Dutch translations of *Jason* (1483–1485) and the *Recueil* (1485), but also published both works in French (between 1485 and 1486). This shows that early printers such as Caxton and Bellaert targeted different linguistic markets from the start.

The fact that Caxton and Bellaert accounted for romance editions in more than one language themselves might explain – at least partially – why deviations between these editions are generally modest. We must not forget that in these early days of printing, people like Caxton took on the role of printer, publisher and translator all at the same time. The same applies to Bellaert: he or someone close to him is believed to have carried out the translations of *Jason* and the *Recueil*. One passage from the Dutch *Recueil* (*Vergaderinge der historien van Troyen*) may serve to illustrate how close Bellaert remains to the Latin-French vocabulary, in spite of the availability of Dutch alternatives:

*Uranus, haer vader, doer een siecte quijte hem [se acquitta] van de tribuyt
[tribut] die alle menschen sculdich sijn den Doot, ende overleet van dese
werelt in die derde etaet [aage] vander werelt, achterlatende Vesta, sijn wijf,
grote duwarie [douee] van possessien [possessions]. Sijn overliden dede
Vesta ende haer kinderen menighen traen laten. Sij deden sijn obsequie
[obseque] eerlic mit bitteren druc.*[6]

(Uranus, their father, through his illness, paid [*se acquitta*] the price
[*tribut*] that all men owe to death, and passed from this world in the third
Age [*aage*] of Man, leaving Vesta, his wife, gifted [*douee*] with large pos-
sessions [*possessions*]. His death brought many tears to the eyes of Vesta
and their children. They performed their obsequies [*obseque*] sincerely
with bitter sorrow.)

It has been pointed out before that William Caxton used similar French bor-
rowings in his English *Recuyell*. Recently, Ad Putter noted that '[a] search in
OED for French loans first attested in [the *Recuyell*, EdB] produces a list of
forty-six words'.[7] Moreover, Putter draws attention to the multilingual registers
in the minds of printer-translators such as Caxton. Based on several examples,
he convincingly shows that 'even while translating from French into English,
Caxton was often thinking in Dutch'.[8] While marketeers like Caxton must have
had a certain readership in mind and did their utmost to accommodate read-
ers with a comprehensible translation, printing at this early stage depended on
their own linguistic abilities.

Theoretically, of course, Caxton and Bellaert could have striven to tailor
the English and Dutch editions much more to a local audience. Yet neither
of them appears to have felt the need to do so. They provided translations of
which both the text and the lay-out were highly indebted to their Burgundian
exemplars. This approach turned out better for Caxton than for Bellaert.
It is believed that the latter went bankrupt because he could not market his

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6   Kuiper W. (ed.), *Synoptische kritische editie van* Die vergaderinge der historien van Troyen,
    zoals gedrukt door Jacob Bellaert te Haarlem in 1485 [*Library of Congress, Lessing J.
    Rosenwald Collection, Incun. 1485.L43*] *en een diplomatische editie van* Recueil des histoires de
    Troyes, *zoals gedrukt door Colard Mansion* [*?*], *Brugge* [*?*] *1477* [*?*] [*Bibliothèque nationale de
    France, RES-Y2-170*] (Amsterdam: 2016–2017) https://bouwstoffen.kantl.be/bml/Vergaderinge
    _der_historien_van_Troyen/Vergaderinge_kritisch_cumulatief.pdf [accessed 23 June 2022].
7   Putter A., "Dutch, French and English in Caxton's *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*", in
    Edwards A.S.G. (ed.), *Medieval Romance, Arthurian Literature* (Cambridge: 2021) 212.
8   Putter, "Dutch, French and English" 206.

rather expensive and luxurious editions, probably due to a lack of well-to-do buyers in the vicinity of Haarlem.[9] During Bellaert's active years as a printer, the trade metropolis of Antwerp was to develop into the most important centre of romance production in the Low Countries. At the same time, the long-established mercer Caxton still held a monopoly in English romance printing. Caxton probably knew that he could not rely too much on noble support. Alluding to aristocracy in his editions seems to have been a way of attributing literary authority to them.[10] 'Merchants, clerics, lawyers, landed families, servants of the nobility, and state officials – rather than aristocrats – seem to have formed the major readership of Caxton's romances'.[11] Interestingly, not only Caxton's *Recuyell*, but also the text's sixteenth- and seventeenth-century reprints managed to appeal to an English readership.[12]

Even when independent translations of these early romances were published in French, Dutch and English, their publishers seem to have kept a close eye on the market on both sides of the Channel. This seems to be the case with the publication of *Bueve de Hantone* in French, English and Dutch. There is no textual relation between the printed edition of the French *Bueve de Hantone* (Paris, Antoine Vérard: ca. 1499–before 1502) and the English *Bevis of Hamptoun* (London, Wynkyn de Worde: ca. 1500): both works had a long manuscript tradition in their respective languages which provided the basis of the printed traditions.[13] Yet, it can hardly be a coincidence that *Bueve* was published at the same time as *Bevis*, knowing that the French publisher Antoine Vérard had an interest in conquering the English book market and published some English books himself.[14] In turn, several of the woodcuts in de Worde's editions

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9   Keesman W., "Jacob Bellaert en Haarlem", in Grootes E.K. (ed.), *Haarlems Helicon. Literatuur en toneel te Haarlem vóór 1800* (Hilversum: 1993) 28–30 and Keesman W., *De eindeloze stad. Troje en Trojaanse oorsprongsmythen in de (laat)middeleeuwse en vroegmoderne Nederlanden* (Hilversum: 2017) 47–49 and 57.

10   'Caxton's prologues and epilogues, with their emphasis on the court and courtliness, appealed to this market by drawing on the court's status as a traditional center for literary authority. The value that noble patrons lent to mass-produced books was symbolic, even when the printer had also received a fee for his translation', see: Wang Y.C., "Caxton's Romances and Their Early Tudor Readers", *Huntington Library Quarterly* 67 (2004) 177.

11   Wang, "Early Tudor Readers" 188.

12   Coldiron A.E.B., *Printers without Borders. Translation and Textuality in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: 2015) 40.

13   See for an introduction to the English *Bevis*: Fellows J., "The Middle English and Renaissance *Bevis*: A Textual Survey", in Fellows J. – Djordjević I. (eds.), *Sir Bevis of Hampton in Literary Tradition* (Woodbridge: 2008) 80–113.

14   Febvre L. – Martin H.-J., *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450–1800* (London – New York: 1997 [1958]) 92. See also Alexa Sand's essay in the present volume.

were demonstrably influenced by those of Vérard.[15] Already in 1504 the Dutch translation, *Buevijn van Austoen*, followed the French and English editions. Even though we do not know the direct source of the Dutch *Buevijn*, we must consider this edition in the light of these international contacts. The Antwerp publisher of *Buevijn*, Jan van Doesborch, also accounted for other texts previously published by Vérard. Even more obvious is Van Doesborch's relationship with the English market: not only must he have maintained contacts with Wynkyn de Worde, one third of his publisher's list was intended for an English readership.[16] The printers discussed here thus seem to have been well-informed about each other's publications and released them within a narrow period of time.

The publications of the Swan Knight story in French, English and Dutch show a similar degree of international awareness – and these editions are actually interdependent: the Dutch and English editions are highly indebted to the French text and copy the woodcuts in mirror image (showing that they were cut after a printed French exemplar, which they clearly strove to imitate).[17] Similarities between the Dutch and English chapter headings as opposed to the French give the impression that the Dutch printer – again Jan van Doesborch – may in addition have had knowledge of an English edition.[18] *Paris et Vienne*, attributed to Pierre de la Cépède, is a unique case, as the publication of this story in four languages was a one-man undertaking by Gerard Leeu in Antwerp.[19] Leeu was well aware of the book market in France and England. Perhaps inspired by Caxton's English edition of 1485, Leeu printed a French edition in 1487, which was probably made after the second Lyon edition (Mathias Huss: ca. 1485).[20] The Antwerp printer published a Dutch edition

15   See for example Driver M., "Woodcuts and Decorative Techniques", in Gillespie V. – Powell S. (eds.), *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain 1476–1558* (Cambridge: 2014) 99.

16   For an English introduction to Van Doesborch see Franssen P.J.A., "Jan van Doesborch (?–1536), Printer of English texts", *Quaerendo* 16 (1986) 259–280.

17   Bruijn E. de, "Reculer pour mieux sauter: de bronnenproblematiek en de literaire eigenheid van de Middelnederlandse *Helias*", *Verslagen en Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 126 (2016) 227–263.

18   De Bruijn, "Reculer pour mieux sauter" 247.

19   For Leeu's international aspirations see *De vijfhonderdste verjaring van de boekdrukkunst in de Nederlanden. Catalogus* (Brussels: 1973) 302–303 and recently Pairet A., "From Lyons to Antwerp. *Paris et Vienne* in the Low Countries", *Queeste* 28:1 (2021) 333–352. See also Schlusemann R., "Ein Drucker ohne Grenzen: Gheraert Leeu als erster 'europäischer Literaturagent'", in Bastert B. – Hartmann S. (eds.), *Romania und Germania. Kulturelle und literarische Austauschprozesse im Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Wiesbaden: 2019) 337–359.

20   Pairet, "From Lyons to Antwerp" 346–348.

in the same month (1487), followed by a Low German one in 1488 and a second English edition in the year of Caxton's death (1492). Leeu used three different printing types for his French, Dutch/Low German and English editions, indicating that he catered to the different regional tastes of his local audiences.[21] Still, changes on the level of content are minor and the use of specially designed woodcuts in all four editions makes them look even more uniform.

In sum, there is no doubt that the romances of this first cluster crossed linguistic borders *thanks to* the printing press and were prompted by the wish to appeal to local markets. It may therefore seem somewhat paradoxical that the texts and images of these English and Dutch romances do not display a significant degree of local appropriation. Especially in the translations of *Recueil* and *Jason*, the preservation of the Burgundian embedding as well as the French vocabulary (to the extent that it would have a lasting influence on the target languages, particularly in English) shows a striking level of "foreignization" rather than "domestication".[22] Although it is quite conceivable that printers did their best to consciously align their translations with the French tradition, practical factors may also have played a role. We must not forget that Caxton served both the English and the French markets, the same way Bellaert served the French and the Dutch markets. For that reason alone, it is perhaps not surprising that their translations are very literal. Moreover, printers may have been reluctant to change a successful formula, or they may have considered a swift production process to be commercially advantageous.

3   The Importance of Manuscript Culture

Unlike the texts in the first cluster, the late-medieval romances *Ponthus et Sidoine*, *Mélusine*, and *Pierre de Provence* were repeatedly printed in the German language area. As the graph [Fig. 8.1] shows, these texts are the three most printed romances of "European" stature in the German language up to ca. 1550. However, the fact that these romances were favoured as printing material does not mean that their success can solely be attributed to the advent of printing. In fact, manuscript culture had a significant impact on the transregional dissemination of these romances. This impact seems to have been much greater for German literature than for the other languages; as we will see, this implies

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21   See for Leeu's Dutch and French types: *De vijfhonderdste verjaring* 302–303. According to Pollard A., *Old Picture Books: With other Essays on Bookish Subjects* (London: 1902) 106–108, Leeu cut a new font for his English-language publications.

22   For this terminology, see Venuti L., *The Translator's Invisibility* (New York: 1995).
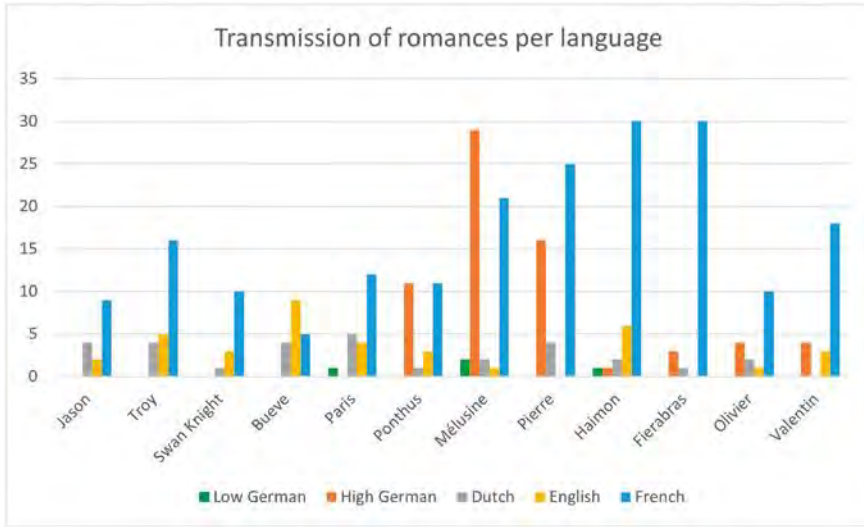
FIGURE 8.1   Transmission of romances per language

a greater distance between the original and the later readership in the German language area.

The initial history of transmission of *Mélusine* not only indicates huge differences in the story's success throughout Western Europe, but also stresses the importance of manuscript culture prior to, and alongside, the story's transmission in print [Fig. 8.2].[23] The original prose composition by Jean d'Arras (ca. 1393) was rendered into verse just a few years later by an author named Coudrette and became known as the *Roman de Parthenay*. Already in 1456, the story entered the German language area through the prose translation of Coudrette's verse adaptation by Thüring von Ringoltingen, a famous descendent of a patrician family in Bern, who dedicated his *Melusine* to Count Rudolf IV of Hochberg.[24] In his translation, Thüring reduced the size of the text by 40%, focusing on the historical importance of the Melusine lineage.[25] He gave the story a bourgeois, moral slant and emphasized the protagonists'

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23   For the transmission of *Mélusine* see Zeldenrust L., *The Mélusine Romance in Medieval Europe. Translation, Circulation, and Material Contexts* (Woodbridge: 2021) and Schnyder A. – Rautenberg U. (eds.), *Thüring von Ringoltingen. Melusine (1456). Nach dem Erstdruck Basel: Richel um 1473/74*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: 2006).

24   Zeldenrust, *The Mélusine Romance* 66.

25   Caemmerer C. – Delabar W. – Jungmayr J. – Neuber W., "Thüring von Ringoltingens *Melusine*", in idem (eds.), *Kleine Schriften zur Literatur des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Amsterdam – New York: 2003) 36.
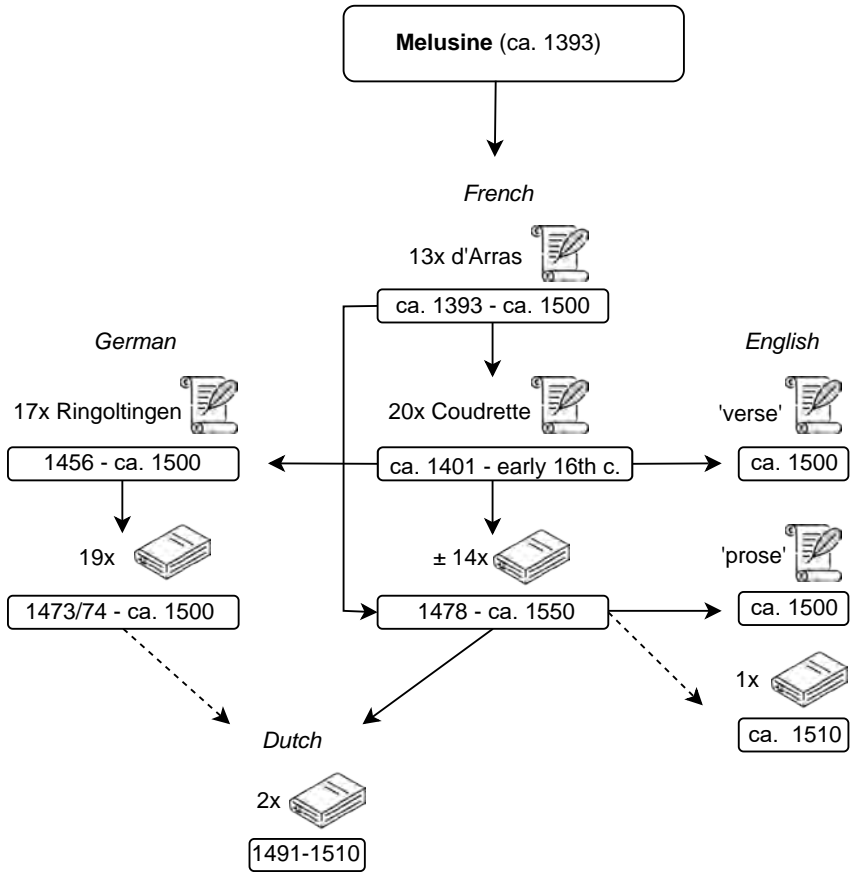
FIGURE 8.2   Transmission of *Melusine* up to ca. 1550

"Christian" character more than the author of his French source did.[26] His translation enjoyed a success comparable to Jean d'Arras' prose composition, first in manuscript, later on in print as well (Coudrette's version was never printed). Whereas the *editiones principes* of all other works discussed here were in French, it was Thüring's German *Melusine* which initiated the printed transmission of the story as early as ca. 1473–1474. No fewer than seventeen manuscripts written before 1500 are known, some of them dating from before the printed edition, some after.[27] Notes in these manuscripts connect them with the 'higher civic classes', the landed gentry and urban patricians, in contrast

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26   Caemmerer et al., "Thüring von Ringoltingens *Melusine*" 39.

27   An overview of the German manuscript transmission is presented in the appendix to Zeldenrust, *The Mélusine Romance* 240.

to the French manuscripts that 'circulated among the higher nobility'.[28] Only after 1500 did printed editions of *Melusine* gradually reach a wider (urban) audience.[29]

The *Mélusine* romance reached England via two different routes. An English verse translation of Coudrette's *Parthenay* survives in a manuscript from around 1500.[30] The fact that the *Mélusine* story entered the English language independent of the printing press stresses the importance of manuscript culture in this late medieval period. Around that same time another English manuscript, in prose, was copied from a printed edition of Jean d'Arras' *Mélusine*, which was also at the basis of an English printed edition of ca. 1510.[31] It is interesting that Jean d'Arras' printed *Mélusine* also provoked a printed edition in English, as well as in Dutch and Castilian, showing how printers attempted to target new markets with this story. In spite of these attempts, the Castilian *Melosina*, the Dutch *Meluzine* and English translations would never match the success of the story in German and French.[32]

Manuscripts also play an important role in the transmission of *Ponthus et Sidoine* [Fig. 8.3]. This romance had an extensive manuscript tradition in French and already crossed English and German borders before printing was well-established. In England, the story is preserved in a manuscript from the mid-fifteenth century (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 185) and another from the late fifteenth century (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 384).[33] In German, as many as three independent fifteenth-century adaptions of *Pontus und Sidonia* are known to us: A (1465), B (ca. 1440–1460) and C (ca. 1450).[34]

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28 For remarks on the audience of *Melusine* see Zeldenrust, *The Mélusine Romance* 70, referring to Backes M., *Fremde Historien: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte französischer Erzählstoffe im deutschen Spätmittelalter* (Tübingen: 2004) 173.

29 Zeldenrust, *The Mélusine Romance* 71, referring to Rautenberg U., "New Books for a New Reading Public: Frankfurt 'Melusine' Editions from the Press of Gülfferich, Han and Hairs", trans. Jonathan Green, in Kirwan R. – Mullins S. (eds.), *Specialist Markets in the Early Modern Book World* (Leiden: 2015) 85–109.

30 Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R. 3. 17.

31 London, British Library, MS Royal, 18. B. II (prose manuscript). Only fragments of the printed edition, which was probably published by Wynkyn De Worde, survive: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Vet. A1 d.18, ESTC: S105069. An overview of the English transmission can be found in Zeldenrust, *The Mélusine Romance* 183–198.

32 The Castilian *Melosina* was printed in 1489, 1526 and possibly in 1512. Dutch editions of 1491, 1510 and 1602 are known, see: Zeldenrust, *The Mélusine Romance* 243–244.

33 Mather F.J., "King Ponthus and the Fair Sidone", *Modern Language Association* 12 (1897) i–lxvii and 1–150.

34 For these three independent versions see Steinhoff H.-H., "Eleonore von Österreich", in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, 2nd ed. (Berlin – New York:

FIGURE 8.3   Transmission of *Ponthus et Sidoine* up to ca. 1550

Only the German translation known as "A" made it into printing. This version is ascribed to the originally Scottish princess Eleonore, Archduchess of Austria, who married the Tyrolean Duke Sigmund. The French printed edition initiated a new strand in the transmission (just as we have seen with *Mélusine*): it was at the basis of the one known Dutch edition, which dates only from 1564, and three English editions dating from 1506–1511. Brenda Hosington has made a plausible case that the English *Ponthus* was translated by Henry Watson, one of the translators employed by Wynkyn de Worde.[35] Watson also translated *Olivier de Castille* and *Valentin and Orson*, making *Ponthus* fit into the list of translated French editions. These English and Dutch translations, however, were nowhere near as popular as the story was in German-speaking regions, where it was repeatedly printed well into the eighteenth century.

1978/79) col. 470–474; Ertzdorff X. von, "Pontus und Sidonia (Fassung B)", in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon,* 2nd ed. (Berlin – New York: 1989) col. 780–782 and Streun K., "Pontus und Sidonia (Fassung C)", in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon,* 2nd ed. (Berlin – New York: 2003) col. 1259–1260.

35   Hosington B., "Henry Watson, 'Apprentyce of London' and 'Translatoure' of Romance and Satire", in Jenkins J. – Bertrand O. (eds.), *The Medieval Translator. Traduire au Moyen Âge* 10 (Turnhout: 2007) 12.

The story of *Ponthus et Sidoine* is one of the late medieval chivalric tales that function as a mirror of good behaviour, containing explicit moralizations and glorifying the ideal of the love marriage. Since the adventures of a loving couple often take centre stage, this type of romance, which includes *Paris et Vienne* and *Pierre de Provence*, is referred to as a *roman de couple*.[36] Although the French *Ponthus* originated in noble circles in South-Eastern France, its morals were found to be suitable for young people in all the upper echelons of society: both the French and German manuscripts, the French and German printed editions and the Dutch edition explicitly address an audience of young people.[37] The only point that makes the German edition stand out is the explicit reference to duchess Eleonore and her husband Sigmund on the opening page of the 1483 *editio princeps* and its many reprints [Fig. 8.4].

The fact that Eleonore is mentioned as the author in the printed tradition, and not in any of the manuscripts written during her lifetime, has led researchers to question Eleonore's authorship in favour of the view that the publication was a mere promotional stunt to solve her husband's financial problems. The question of whether the translation can be attributed to Eleonore, and whether she used the help of another writer, can probably never be settled with certainty.[38] Regardless of the duchess' actual part in the translation, there can be no doubt that the German printed tradition explicitly wanted to emphasize the link with the aristocracy.

The history of transmission of *Pierre de Provence* demonstrates a rather erratic relation between manuscript and printed texts [Fig. 8.5]. Just like *Mélusine* and *Ponthus et Sidoine*, *Pierre de Provence* crossed German and English borders in manuscript first. The only attestation of the story in England are fragments of a little-known manuscript dating either to the fifteenth or the first half of the sixteenth century; no printed editions in English survive.[39] A first German translation, possibly translated from Italian, is believed to have been made

36 Otis-Cour L., "Mariage d'amour, charité et société dans les 'romans de couple' médiévaux", *Le Moyen Âge* 111 (2005) 277.

37 Hahn R. "Zum Verhältnis von Belehrung und Unterhaltung im Prosaroman. Nochmals *Pontus und Sidonia*", *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistic* 89 (1993) 50–69, esp. 54–55.

38 For a summary of the discussion on Eleonore's authorship, see Classen A., "Marital and Ethical Problems at Court: Pontus und Sidonia by Eleonore of Austria", *Rocky Mountain Review of Language and Literature* 70 (2016) 23–24 and the 'Nachwort' to the facsimile edition Diehl G. – Finckh R. (eds.), *Pontus und Sidonia. Augsburg 1485* (Hildesheim – Zurich – New York: 2002).

39 Zettersten A., "Pierre of Provence and the Fair Maguelonne, a prose romance edited from Bodleian MS. Lat. misc. b. 17 and Bibliothèque nationale ms. fr. 1501", *English Studies* 46 (1965) here 190.
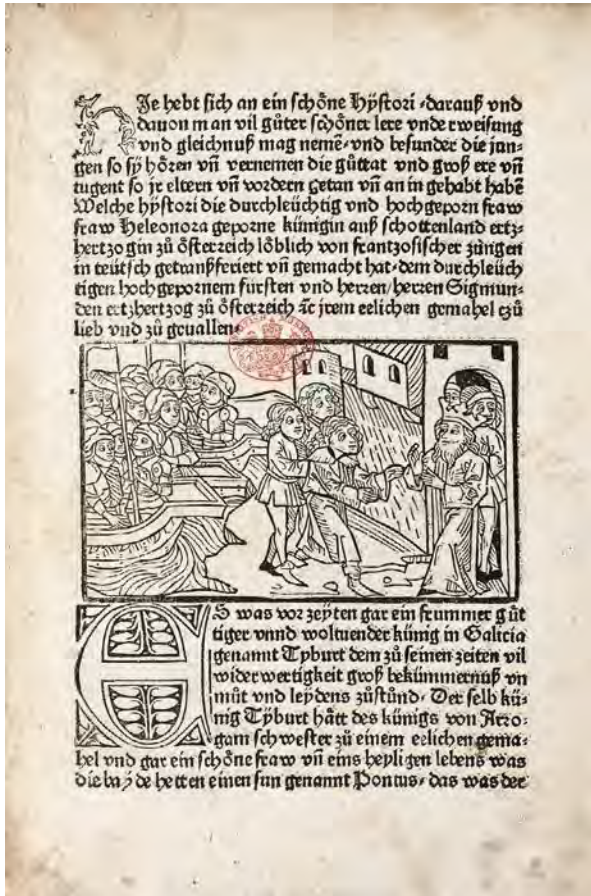
FIGURE 8.4   Opening page of *Ponthus und Sidonia* (Augsburg,
Johann Schönsperger: 1483). London, BL, IB.6275
IMAGE © BRITISH LIBRARY (PUBLIC DOMAIN)

around 1470, even though the one manuscript containing this *Piro de Prouenze*
dates from around 1525.[40] But it was another German translation, made by Veit
Warbeck around 1527, which would be printed no fewer than seventeen times
in the sixteenth century and which initiated translations into Danish, Swedish,
Bohemian, Polish and Russian.[41] The history of transmission from the French

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40   Cracow, Bibl. Jagiellońska, mgq 1579 (olim: Berlin, SPK, Germ. 4° 1579).

41   For the success of the story, see: Caemmerer C. – Delabar W. – Jungmayr J. – Neuber W.,
"Veit Warbecks *Schöne Magelona*", in idem (eds.), *Kleine Schriften zur Literatur des 16.
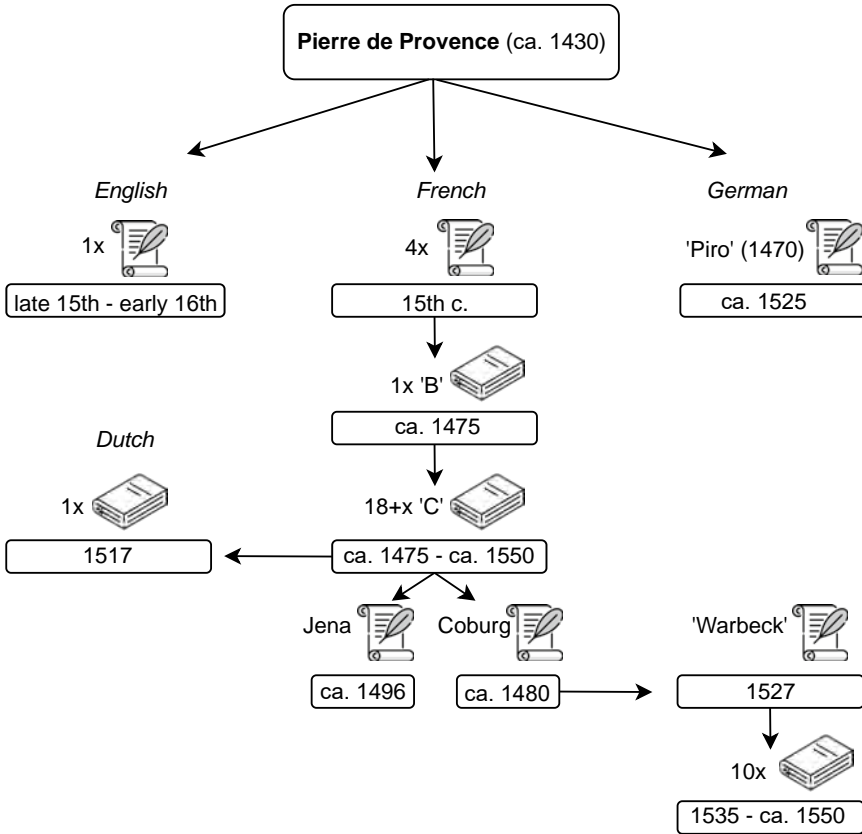Jahrhunderts* (Amsterdam – New York: 2003) 53.

FIGURE 8.5 Transmission of *Pierre de Provence* up to ca. 1550

manuscripts onwards is complex. A French version of the story known as "B" survives in four manuscripts and was printed only once (Lyon, Guillaume Le Roy: ca. 1475). According to Christine Putzo, the printed version known as "C" was derived from the B version and was reprinted more than 30 times in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[42] It must have been one of the printed French C editions on which the Dutch edition of ca. 1517 was based.

Interestingly, the printed C version was in turn the basis of two French manuscript copies, which were made in the German language area. One of them, manuscript Coburg (ca. 1480), contains the French text with interlinear

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42   Putzo C., "Pierre und Maguelonne in Sachsen. Die Rezeption der Belle Maguelonne am kurfürstlichen Hof und Veit Warbecks deutsche Fassung (1527)", in Bastert B. – Hartmann S. (eds.), *Romania und Germania: kulturelle und literarische Austauschprozesse in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Wiesbaden: 2019) 224–250.

Latin glosses. Following Putzo, this 'learning and exercise book' was meant for a German-speaking student of French, who also mastered Latin, probably Frederick the Wise of Saxony.[43] Putzo points out that a total of two manuscripts and two printed editions can be linked to the Saxon court, which in her opinion indicates that the interest is not so much literary or cultural, but rather in the area of language teaching.[44] It was the Coburg manuscript that was the direct example for Veit Warbeck's German translation of ca. 1527. Warbeck, a Lutheran diplomat at the Saxon Electoral court stemming from a patrician family, may have been entrusted with this translation task by Frederick's nephew John Frederick (Elector of Saxony) or the latter's cousin Francis of Brunswick-Lüneburg, both of whom were less proficient in French.[45] His translation is permeated by protestant religiosity, as evidenced, amongst others, by the deletion of references to Mary and saints or the consistent translation of 'Catholic' as 'Christian'. In 1535, a year after Warbeck's demise, his Lutheran friend Georg Spalatin published the translation in the printing shop of Heinrich Steiner. In the *Sendbrief* (open letter) that Spalatin added to his edition, he explicitly addressed a new audience, consisting of *frawen vvnd junckfawen* (women and young girls) as well as *die eltern* (their parents). Probably in line with the general Protestant-pedagogical aims he pursued with his edition, Spalatin assigned the female protagonist a prominent place in the title – hence in the German-speaking world the story became known as *Die schöne Magelone*.[46] According to Caemmerer *et al.* it was the Christian mindset of the German translation rather than the love story it presents which explains the success of the story in the centuries after.[47]

The previous examples all show the significance of manuscript culture well into the era of printing. In spite of the French subject matter they contain, the German editions of romances discussed here were not (or not directly) based on French printed editions, nor was the appropriation of these stories initially prompted by commercial considerations. Instead, the German translations circulated in upper-class and aristocratic circles for a certain period before they were made available in print. Even when printed, the editions make no effort to conceal their links with the nobility, quite the contrary.

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43   Putzo, "Pierre und Maguelonne in Sachsen" 229.

44   Putzo, "Pierre und Maguelonne in Sachsen" 236.

45   Putzo, "Pierre und Maguelonne in Sachsen" 240–244 and Theiß W., "Die Schöne Magelona und ihre Leser. – Erzählstrategie und Publikumswechsel im 16. Jh", *Euphorion* 73 (1979) 143.

46   Theiß, "Die Schöne Magelona und ihre Leser" 146–147 and Caemmerer et al., "Veit Warbecks Schöne Magelona" 47–53.

47   Caemmerer et al., "Veit Warbecks *Schöne Magelona*" 52.

The prologue to *Melusine* preserves Thüring von Ringoltingen's dedication to Margrave Rudolf IV of Hochberg, Count of Neuchâtel, who had connections to the Burgundian court. As indicated above, all reprints of *Pontus und Sidonia* preserve the reference to Eleonore of Austria. Finally, in the prologue to the printed edition, Georg Spalatin dedicates *Die schöne Magelone* to Elisabeth of Einsiedel-Gnandstein. She was the wife of a chivalric nobleman to whom Spalatin offered legal assistance. The actual readership Spalatin had in mind, which consisted of (well-to-do) women only, could perhaps more easily identify with these lower noble circles than with the members of the Saxon court among whom the text primarily circulated.[48]

4   Idiosyncrasies in the Early Sixteenth Century: German vs. French, Dutch, and English

For the three most popular stories in the corpus that were translated from French into German – *Ponthus et Sidoine*, *Mélusine*, and *Pierre de Provence* –, it could be concluded that the printing press played a secondary role in the transfer of these stories. German literature here differs significantly from English and Dutch, where printers relied heavily on French-language printed editions, as we have seen with the first cluster. This does not mean, however, that none of the "European" romances entered the German language area through printed editions. The German translations of *Fierabras*, *Les quatre fils Aymon*, *Olivier de Castille*, and *Valentin et Orson* were probably based on French printed editions, but only from the first decades of the sixteenth century onwards. Yet here, too, German literature differs in some respects from the "international" tradition. In order to provide insight into these differences, attention will first be paid to the French editions and their English, Dutch and/or Spanish counterparts, before shifting the focus to the highly curious position of late-medieval German romance.

4.1   *Knightly Alliances in the Printed Tradition*
Editions of chivalric romances rarely stand alone. The fate of *Les quatre fils Aymon* and *Fierabras*, both reworkings of original *chansons de geste* that feature the emperor Charlemagne, seems to have been tied already in the earliest

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48   According to Theiß, Spalatin had a female audience in mind: *Es kommt Spalatin also gar nicht allein, wie es zunächst schien, auf ein adliges Leserpublikum an, sondern er öffnet die Publikumsgrenze auf alle Frauen, für die offenbar damals noch zu wenige geeignete deutschsprachigen Bücher existierten.* See Theiß, "Die Schöne Magelona und ihre Leser" 146.

days of printing. It was in the city of Geneva, which played a pioneering role in the publication of heroic subject matter, that *Fierabras* is likely to have been the first *chanson de geste* ever to be printed, apparently with some success. The story was republished three times in Geneva in the period 1479–1483 and three more times between 1484 and 1487 by Guillaume Le Roy in Lyon. The Lyon printing press, which had been operating since 1473, had by then accounted for several romances, such as *Pierre de Provence* and *Paris et Vienne*. Somewhere between 1483 and 1485 the first edition of *Les quatre fils Aymon* was published in Lyon (*l'imprimeur de l'Abuzé en Court*: ca. 1483–1485), soon followed by a reprint by Guillaume Le Roy (ca. 1485–1486) and many more reprints before and after 1500.

That Guillaume Le Roy published two *chansons de geste* around the same time was no exception. Something similar occurred with the Lyon printer Jacques Maillet. In May 1489, he published *Valentin et Orson*, which is the first known book published by Maillet. Significantly, in July of that same year, Maillet republished *Fierabras*. It is plausible that the success of a certain text (*Fierabras*) may have triggered the publication of another famous *chanson de geste*. Both texts were reprinted in Lyon by Martin Havard in 1505, again demonstrating that these publications were rarely isolated initiatives. We find a similar pattern with the parallel publication of a single *chanson de geste* within two different cities. Sergio Cappello demonstrates through the example of *Aymon* that this text has a history of parallel republications (*un curieux parallélisme*) in Lyon and Paris, starting around 1499 (Jean de Vingle in Lyon and Pierre Le Caron in Paris), followed by editions in 1506 (Lyon, Claude Nourry) and 1506–1508 (Paris, Thomas Du Guernier) and then, after an interruption of more than ten years, by reprints in 1526 and 1531 by Nourry in Lyon and by the widow of Michel Le Noir (1521) and Alain Lotrian (ca. 1530) in Paris.[49] It is well-established that chivalric and heroic texts were published by a limited number of printers in a limited number of printing centres. It seems as if, every now and then, the time was right for the publication of *chansons de geste*.

Caxton must have seen a business opportunity in publishing both *chansons*. His translation of *Fierabras*, the oldest printed *chanson* in the French language, was published as soon as 1485. Caxton himself is believed to have been responsible for the translation of this *Lyf of the Noble and Crysten Prynce, Charles the Grete* (henceforth: *Life of Charles the Great*). Other versions of *Fierabras* already circulated in England, but Caxton, famous for having favoured works of French origin, used a French example. He was highly indebted to the French

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49   Cappello S., "L'édition des romans médiévaux à Lyon dans la première moitié du XVIe siècle", *Réforme, Humanisme, Renaissance* 71 (2011) 63.

book market and 'frequently used books printed in Lyon as the basis for his translations'.[50] Whether this was the case with the *Life of Charles the Great* is uncertain, as editions had by then been published in Geneva and Lyon.[51] Just like in his translations of the *Recueil* and *Jason*, Caxton remains extremely faithful to his French source text in his *Life of Charles the Great*, to the extent that it is difficult to understand the meaning of his translations without the French originals.[52] In the long run, *Fierabras* did not have the international success that Caxton must have hoped for. Regarding other romances of European stature, such as *Paris et Vienne* or *Jason*, Alexandra da Costa observes the following:

> the only one to enjoy comparable success to *Paris and Vienne* or *Jason* was the source text for *Charles the Great*, Jean Bagnyon's prose *Fierabras*, which had been printed seven times in French. But Leeu probably regarded its appeal as limited outside of France and not worth the risk of a second edition. De Worde, Caxton's successor, may have shared this view as he also chose not to print it.[53]

Caxton's edition of *Four Sons of Aymon* (1490), on the other hand, was considerably more successful. This English translation of *Les quatre fils Aymon* enjoyed several reprints in the sixteenth century. Although we may never know for sure why this was the case, it is a fact that *Aymon*, unlike *Fierabras*, had proven to be highly popular outside of France in the age of manuscripts, both in written culture and beyond. This may explain why the transmission of this story was more erratic. A Dutch edition must have appeared around the same time as Caxton's translation, presumably after October 1489. Interestingly, the Dutch text does not go back to a French source but is instead dependent on the Dutch manuscript tradition (in contrast to all other Dutch-language

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50   Hellinga L., "From Poggio to Caxton: Early Translations of some of Poggio's Latin Facetiae", in Meale C.M. (ed.), *Makers and users of medieval books: Essays in honour of A.S.G. Edwards* (Cambridge: 2014) 103.

51   Hellinga, "From Poggio to Caxton" 92, notes that 'any of the five editions could therefore possibly have been used by Caxton'.

52   Caxton's faithful method of translation has recently been aptly described in Hardman Ph. – Ailes M. (eds.), *The Legend of Charlemagne in Medieval England: The Matter of France in Middle English and Anglo-Norman Literature* (Cambridge: 2017) 21, referring to Herrtage S. (ed.), William Caxton, *The Lyf of Charles the Grete*, EETS ES 36, 37 (London: 1880–1881), vii and Richardson O. (ed.), William Caxton, *The Four Sons of Aymon*, EETS ES 44, 45 (London: 1884–1885), who labelled the work 'perhaps one of the most literal that has ever been produced in the English language' (viii).

53   Costa A. da, *Marketing English Books, 1476–1550: How Printers Changed Reading* (Oxford: 2020) 102.

editions discussed here). The Dutch edition gave way to a Ripuarian rendering, *Die hystorie van den vier heimschen kynderen*, in 1493.[54] Independently of this Low German edition, a handwritten High German rendering of the Aymon legend, *Haimonskinder*, was made in Aarau in 1531, again demonstrating a parallel manuscript tradition.[55] The translator was probably a Protestant, as he omitted the legendary parts on Saint Reinold.[56] Just like Thüring's *Melusine* and Wilhelm Ziely's translations of *Olivier de Castille* and *Valentin et Orson* discussed below, the Aarau translation came into being in the Alemannic region, present-day Switzerland, which was in closer contact with the French-speaking world than the more centrally situated German cities.

4.2   *Getting on the High Horse: Johann II of Simmern and the Role of German Nobility*

For another, independent High German translation of *Les quatre fils Aymon*, we must focus once again on the nobility. This German *Haymonskinder* was put into print in 1535, following a French printed edition and preserving the legendary parts. It was printed in the small princely court of Simmern, where Palsgrave Johann II of Simmern had installed a printing workshop in which the tradition of luxurious manuscript making was combined with the technical possibilities of printing.[57] Ten books, most of them first editions, are known to have been printed by Johann's chancellor and secretary Hieronymus Rodler in the period between 1530 and 1535. Among these books is not just the *Haymonskinder*, but also a *Fierrabras* (1533) (there is no relationship between Johann's and Caxton's editions, despite their similarities in literary taste). Werner Wunderlich, the editor of both texts, is one of the few who closely looked into the German editions. According to him, the literary humanist Johann II had an interest in the aristocratic virtues of these "old" stories, which value kindness, humility and faithfulness over boldness and strength.[58] Rather than chivalric duels, the translation emphasizes war, diplomacy, negotiations and agreements, demoting the medieval, chivalric-courtly forms of life

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54 Weiffenbach B., "Johann Koelhoff der Jüngere: *Die vier Heymschen Kinderen*. Zur Bedeutung der Kölner Inkunabel aus dem Jahre 1493 für die Drucktradition von Haimonskindertexten in Deutschland", *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 51 (1999) 180–182.

55 Aarau, Aargauische Kantonsbibliothek, Ms ZF 41, olim MS. BibI. ZurI. 41. F°.

56 Weiffenbach, "Johann Koelhoff der Jüngere" 181.

57 Wunderlich W., *Johann II. von Simmern, Die Haymonskinder* (Hildesheim – Zurich – New York: 1989) 521.

58 Wunderlich, *Johann II. von Simmern, Die Haymonskinder* 535.

as "staffage".[59] Judging from the 'princely splendour' of these printed books, Wunderlich notes that they were 'evidently not intended for distribution at fairs and for sale through the book trade'.[60] This becomes even more apparent when one looks at the title page of *Haymonskinder*, which comes with a privilege under the illustration: *mit Römiser Königlicher Maiestat freiheyt, in sechs jaren nit nachzudrucken* (with the privilege of the Roman Royal Majesty, not to be reprinted within six years) [Fig. 8.6]. Whether it was because of, or in spite of, this warning, the book would never be reprinted.

Johann's edition of *Fierrabras* contains the same privilege and was printed under similar conditions. In order to understand the German appropriation of the text, it is worth looking at the international tradition. The French source text is called *La conqueste du grant roy charlemaigne des Espaignes et les vaillances des douze pers de France, et aussi celles du vaillant Fierabras* and basically tells the life of Charlemagne in three books. Both the English and the Spanish translation adopt this threefold division. The title page of the Spanish edition, *La Historia del Emperador Carlo Magno* even includes a title woodcut showing Charlemagne on his throne [Fig. 8.7], leaving no doubt that this is a compilation of the emperor's life. The High German text differs significantly from this international tradition in that Johann II only printed the second book about the pagan hero Fierabras. His translation is relatively faithful at the textual level, but he gives it his own accents. In some places Johann omits narrative commentary on Charlemagne and Olivier.[61] And while the English and Spanish editions adopt the French chapter headings, Johann reorganizes the text with his own headings, the first 54 initials of the chapters creating an acrostic of his name (just as in his *Haymonskinder*). The title page of the edition depicts Fierabras in a large woodcut [Fig. 8.8]. Prominent is the coat of arms hanging in the tree, linking the German imperial coat of arms (eagle) with the French coat of arms of the king of Valois (three lilies).[62]

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59   Wunderlich, *Johann II. von Simmern, Die Haymonskinder* 539.

60   *So ein Bücherschatz war auch materieller Ausdruck fürstlicher Prachtentfaltung, und diese Bücher waren offenbar nicht zum Vertrieb über Messen und zum Verkauf über den Buchhandel vorgesehen*, see Wunderlich, *Johann II. von Simmern, Die Haymonskinder* 521.

61   The most striking example of this is the omission of an entire chapter in the first part of the second book, entitled *Comme le roy Charles et Roland sont repris par l'acteur et excusés aucunement sus ce debat devant dit le .v^e. chappitre* which was also translated into English and Spanish. Probably, such a meta-commentary by an *acteur* (whom Hans-Erich Keller, editor of the French *Fierabras*, could not identify) did not fit well with the adventurous character of the German roman. Keller H.-E. (ed.), *Jehan Bagnyon, L'histoire de Charlemagne* (*parfois dite* Roman de Fierabras) (Geneva: 1992) XIII.

62   Wunderlich W. (ed.), *Johann II. von Simmern, Fierrabras* (Tübingen: 1992) 175.
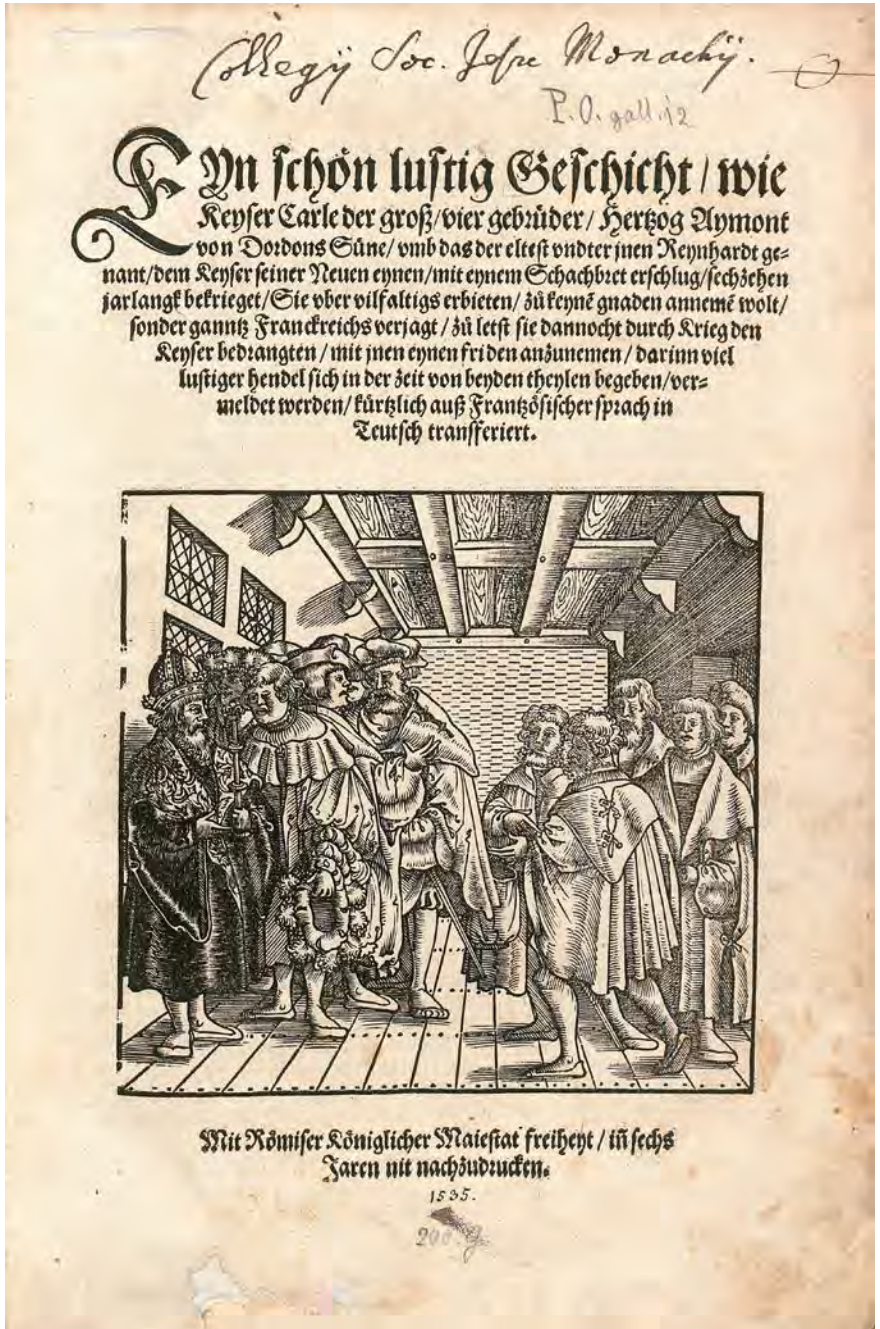
FIGURE 8.6   Johann II of Simmern, *Haymonskinder* (Simmern, Hieronymus Rodler: 1535).
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 2299
IMAGE © BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK (PUBLIC DOMAIN)

FIGURE 8.7   Nicolás de Piamonte, *La Historia del Emperador Carlo Magno* (Sevilla, Jacobo Cromberger: 1525). Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/12097

FIGURE 8.8   Johann II of Simmern, *Fierrabras* (Simmern, Hieronymus Rodler: 1533).
Frankfurt am Main, Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg,
Ausst. 240 Nr. 1
IMAGE © UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK JCS (PUBLIC DOMAIN)

It is clear that both High German editions came into being under completely different circumstances from their English counterparts published by Caxton. As printing was Caxton's way of making a living, he was necessarily driven by a commercial interest and had to select books which he believed would appeal to a wide audience. Even though Caxton occasionally mentions beneficiaries and patrons in his editions (Sir John, Earl of Oxford, for example, commissioned his *Four Sons of Aymon*), these noblemen did not engage in the editions themselves. Johann II of Simmern, on the other hand, was a man of literature who did not have to make any profit from his own translations. His editions, which reflect his personal interest in the same stories, were printed for his own constituency. Moreover, by translating French romances, Johann II continued a literary tradition already initiated by his great-grandmother, Elisabeth of Nassau-Saarbrücken, who translated four *chansons de geste* into German in the first half of the fifteenth century. Her translations also originated in the private sphere and three of her works ended up being printed between 1500 and 1514. Elisabeth's and Johann's translations thus came about not only within a noble family, but also within the same noble family.

If we look at the whole set of German romances printed in the incunabula period up to ca. 1535, it is striking that many of them can be linked to the nobility. Exceptions are Johann of Würzburg's *Wilhelm von Österreich* (1481) and the anonymous *Herzog Ernst* (1476), *Tristrant und Isalde* (1484) and *Wigoleis* (1493), all adaptations of Middle High German verse epics of which the *editiones principes* were published in Augsburg. Another exception is *Florio und Bianceffora* (1499), which, rather than being a prose rendering of Konrad Fleck's verse romance, was instead a translation of Giovanni Boccaccio's "humanist" version. All other romances, Thüring's *Melusine* (Basel, 1473–74), Eleonore's *Pontus* (Augsburg, 1483), Marquart von Stein's *Ritter vom Turm* (Basel, 1493), Elisabeth of Nassau-Saarbrücken's *Hug Schapler* (Strasbourg, 1500), *Loher* (Strasbourg, 1514) and *Herpin* (Strasbourg, 1514), Johann's *Fierrabras* and *Haymonskinder* and Warbeck's *Magelone* (Augsburg, 1535) either originated in or address the higher nobility. Whereas *Pontus* and *Magelone* were first published in Augsburg, the other texts came off the Basel, Strasbourg or Simmern presses, stressing the "Burgundian-French" orientation Christa Bertelsmeier-Kierst observed for the South-West (and which is also mirrored in the luxurious folio-production of many of these books that were clearly oriented towards the manuscript tradition).[63]

63　　Bertelsmeier-Kierst C., "Druchbruch zur Prosa und der Einfluss des Buchdrucks", in Besamusca B. – Bruijn E. de – Willaert F. (eds.), *Early Printed Narrative Literature in Western Europe* (Berlin – Boston: 2019) 35–40.

Unlike in England and the Low Countries, French romances were not translated into German at the behest of printers and publishers in the earliest decades of printing. This may have been a logical consequence of the fact that the romance genre was favoured by the German nobility, who supplied their own demand for these books with a flourishing manuscript culture. Bertelsmeier-Kierst points to the fact that up to 1500 more than twice as many prose texts were written down in manuscripts than editions were printed, something she attributes to the important role of the aristocratic libraries.[64] The situation in the Low Countries could not have been more different. In the fifteenth century, hardly any romance literature was transmitted in manuscript form. The romance re-entered the Dutch language with the advent of the printing press, now suddenly in prose.[65] The Antwerp printer Gerard Leeu especially, gave a new impulse to this genre by translating new romance material from the French. In England, these Franco-Burgundian romances were introduced to an English-speaking audience by William Caxton. Both examples show that the publication of romances was thus strongly linked to certain individuals – who, in England and the Low Countries, were printers instead of noblemen. The fact that German printers also recognized the commercial value of these romances at some point, which happened in places like Augsburg, Strasbourg and Basel, did not mean that the aristocratic origin of these stories was concealed. Quite the contrary: the publishers seem to have turned this into a selling-point.

4.3   *A Piece of Self-Assurance*

The last two texts in the corpus, *Olivier de Castille* and *Valentin et Orson*, owe their European distribution in print unequivocally to the printing press, also in the German language area.[66] As mentioned above, texts were often transmitted in pairs – and this also applies to *Olivier* and *Valentin*. It is highly curious that, probably independently of each other, both texts were rendered

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64   Bertelsmeier-Kierst, "Druchbruch zur Prosa" 36.

65   Besamusca B. – Willaert F., "Continuities and Discontinuities in the Production and Reception of Middle Dutch Narrative Literature", in Besamusca B. – Bruijn E. de – Willaert F. (eds.), *Early Printed Narrative Literature in Western Europe* (Berlin – Boston: 2019) 49–92.

66   A verse adaptation of *Valentin et Orson* was also transmitted in Dutch, Low German and Swedish manuscripts, but interestingly not in French. It was the French prose adaptation, printed by Maillet in Lyon in 1489, which was the basis of the English, High German and Dutch printed editions. For an overview of the European transmission, see Lodén S., *French Romance, Medieval Sweden and the Europeanisation of Culture* (Cambridge: 2021) 119–122. The six French manuscripts which preserve *Olivier de Castille* all circulated in Burgundian circles. Only the second French edition initiated translations into English, German, Spanish and Dutch.

into English and German by two different translators around the same time. In England, Henry Watson embarked on a translation of *Valentin et Orson* between 1503 and 1505, perhaps even around 1510.[67] This was not a stand-alone project, as he also translated the romance *Olivier de Castille* as *Olyver of Castylle* (which was printed around 1518, but must have been translated several years earlier).[68] As mentioned above, Brenda Hosington has pointed out that Watson was responsible for the translation of a third romance: *King Ponthus and the faire Sidone*, which is just as faithful a translation as the previous two. Around the same time, probably between 1511 and 1521, Wilhelm Ziely, an upstanding citizen in Bern, made German translations of both *Olivier* and *Valentin* in Basel. The romances were printed together in one volume in 1521. The stories were probably connected through their common theme: the Twin Brother motive.

Although the first Genevan edition of the French *Olivier de Castille* in 1482 remained without effect, the story's many reprints from 1492 onward provided the basis of translations into Spanish, Dutch, English and German. The vocabulary of these translations is quite close to the French source text. The most important deviations are found in the second prologue, where the French text reads:

> *Je phelippe camus esperant la grace de dieu ay enteprys de translater ceste presente hystoire de latin en francoys a la requeste et commandement de mon tresredoubte seigneur monseigneur Jehan de ceroy seigneur de chimay, non regardant de la coucher en aultre ou en plus beau language que le latin le porte.*

> (I Philippe Camus, hoping for the grace of God, have undertaken to translate this present history from Latin into French at the request and command of my very respected count, Milord Jean de Croÿ, count of Chimay, not aiming to cloak it differently or in a more beautiful language than Latin does.)[69]

As I have discussed elsewhere, the other prologues adjust the references to the source and target language (*latin en francoys*) as well as of the names of patrons or beneficiaries (*mon tresredoubte seigneur monseigneur Jehan de ceroy seigneur de chimay*) and the translator (*phelippe camus*) to the local context.[70]

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67   Hosington, "Henry Watson" 2.
68   Hosington, "Henry Watson" 3.
69   *Olivier de Castille* (Geneva, Louis Cruse: ca. 1491–1492), fol. a4r.
70   Bruijn E. de, "De Nederlandstalige druk van *Olyvier de Castillen* (circa 1510). Een ongewoon getrouwe vertaling", *Queeste* 25:2 (2018) 67–86. The Spanish edition retains the name of the French translator (who is in fact the author) Philippe Camus: […] *fue la dicha ystoria*

At first sight, the German prologue contains the same ingredients as the French and other European versions: the name of the translator, the language of the source and of the translation.

Nach dem der groß natürlich meyster Aristoteles spricht im anfang syner Metaphysick / Daß allenb menschen yngepflanzt ist in ir natur / daß sy natürlich begeren zuo wissen / Ist mir Wilhelm Zyely von Bern vß Oechtlandt fúr kommen in französischer sprach, ein gar seltzame hystory / in dem iar so man zalt von der gerburt Christ M.D. xj. zuo welcher zyt ich miner günstigen herren von Bern diener gsin bin in irem kouffhus, [...], vnd han vnderstanden sy von der welschen zungen zuo bringen mit der hilff gottes uss vnsere dütsche sprach, in der mehnung, es werd mine arbeit manchem vertrüssigen menschen ein kurtzwil bringen, wo im das buoch vnderhanden kompt zuo lesen.

(As the great Master of sciences Aristotle says in the beginning of his *Metaphysics*, that a natural desire for knowledge has been planted in human nature, a very rare history in the French language has come before me, Wilhelm Ziely of Bern from Üchtland, in the year 1511 counting from the birth of Christ, at which time I was working in the 'kouffhus' of my good Lord of Bern, and I have taken it upon me to translate this from French into our German language with the help of God, thinking that my work will bring diversion to many dejected people, when the book comes into their hands for reading.)[71]

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*por excelencia leuada en el reyno de francia, e venida en poder del **generoso e famoso cauallero don johan de ceroy, señor de chunay**: el qual, desseoso del bien comun, la mando boluer en comun **vulgar francés** [...] E la traslado el honrrado varón **felipe camus**, licenciado en vtroque* (*Oliveros de Castilla* (Burgos, Fadrique de Basilea: ca. 1499), fol. [*4v]). The English edition replaces these names with those of the English translator and the English printer: ***I Henry Watson apprentyse of London** trustynge in the grace of god hathe enterprysed for to translate this present hystorye out of **Frensshe** in to **Englysshe** oure moders tongue at the commaundement of my **worshypfull master Wynkyn de Worde** not havynge regarde for to laye in it more dyffused termes than the Frensshe dothe*; *Olyver of Castylle* (London, Wynkyn de Worde: 1518). In Dutch, the names have been replaced by the anonymous '.N.', short for 'Nomen': *Ic **.N.** hopende inder gracien godes hebbe begrepen dese teghenwoerdighe hystorie te translateren ende ouer te setten vanden **walsche** in **duytsche** ter begherten ende beuelen van **.N.** Niet aensiende noch denckende die in ander schoone tale te setten dan si in walsche staet oft geseit is*; *Olyvier van Castillen* (Antwerp, Hendrik Eckert van Homberch: 1510), fol. a5r.

71   Wilhelm Ziely, prologue to *Olwier und Artus*.

But when one has a closer look, it turns out that Ziely does not follow the international tradition. He takes over the phrasing of another well-known romance: that of *Melusine* of Thüring von Ringoltingen, complete with reference to Aristotle (corresponding text is in bold):

> **Sid das der große natürlich meister Aristoteles spricht an dem anefang** und vorrede **syns** ersten buchs **Methavisice: Ein yeglich mönsch begert von natur viel zu wissend,** harumb so **hab ich,** Türing von Ringgoltingen **von Bern uß Oechtland, ein zuomol seltzen** und gar wunderlich frömde **hystorien funden in franckzoyser sprach** und welscher zungen, die aber ich zuo eren und **zuo dienst** des edlen wolgeboren **heren** marggraff Rudolffs von Hochberg, hern zuo Röttlen und zuo Susenburg, **mynß gnedigen heren, zuo tütscher zungen gemacht** und translatiert hab nach mynem besten vermogen.

> (As the great Master of sciences Aristotle says in the beginning and the preface to the first book of his *Metaphysics*: Every human being desires by nature to know much, therefore I, Türing von Ringoltingen of Bern from Üchtland, found an especially rare and very wondrous, strange history, written in the French language and French tongue, which I, however, have translated into German to the best of my ability in honour and to the service of the noble, highborn lord, Margrave Rudolf of Hochberg, Count of Röttlen and Susenburg, my gracious lord.)[72]

Although this intertextuality has been observed in the research literature before, it has not yet been associated with the international transmission of the *Olivier* story. It is precisely in this European context that this deviation becomes all the more significant: whereas the prologues of all other languages are indebted to the "international" tradition at the level of syntax, the German *Olivier* alludes to a well-known German romance instead, placing the translation in the *local* romance tradition and engaging in a dialogue with indigenous literary examples.[73] Although the German translation in no way seeks to disguise the French origin, it shows a much higher degree of local appropriation and even domestication.

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[72]   Thüring von Ringoltingen, prologue to *Melusine*.

[73]   It is unclear whether Ziely wished to imitate Thüring von Ringoltingen's *Melusine* or rather criticize its supposed historical truth in favour of the aesthetic and moral values of his own translation. See for the latter view: Hon J., "Die Melusine Thüring von Ringoltingens und das Berner Münster", *Berner Zeitschrift für Geschichte* 79 (2017) 63.

5   Conclusion

A few tendencies in the development of these romances and epic stories in the first decades of printing have become clear. First, the advent of printing did play a significant role in the distribution of certain texts. There is no doubt that *Jason*, the *Recueil*, *Paris et Vienne*, the Swan Knight and *Olivier de Castille* owe their rapid international dissemination to the advent of printing. Second, we should not underestimate the importance of manuscript culture in the earliest decades of printing: many of the romances discussed here would still count as "European" when leaving their printed editions out of consideration. Third, even if stories were already known in a certain language area, a printed edition often *did* initiate a new branch in the transmission. As it appears, those branches often did not have long-term success (this applies for instance to *Melusine* and *Ponthus et Sidoine* in Dutch and English as well as to Johann II of Simmern's *Haymonskinder* and *Fierrabras*). Fourth, the Low Countries and England were much more indebted to French printed editions than the German language area and many of the French, Dutch, and English editions show a strong interconnectedness. It is particularly the English editions, and not just the ones by Caxton, that stay quite close to the French. Fifth, unlike in the Low Countries and England, there were no printers or printing centres in the German area that translated French romances with the clear aim of opening up new markets. This is linked to the final observation, namely that German translations of French romances mainly occurred within aristocratic circles who thereby put their own stamp on these translations. But it seems that there is also something more elusive at play in the way German territories appropriated this "European" narrative material: in their deliberate deviation, disregard even, of the international printing business, German romances demonstrate a strong literary consciousness. This is undoubtedly due to their rich local literary history, one that was able to rival French literature both in terms of size and status.

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  Desrey Pierre, *La Généalogie avecques les gestes* (Paris, Jean Petit: ca. 1500)
  Helias, ridder metter swane (Antwerp, Jan van Doesborch: ca. 1512–1520)
Jason, Histoire de
  Bellaert Jacob [?], *Historie van Jason* (Haarlem, Jacob Bellaert, ca. 1483–1485)
  Caxton William, *History of Jason* (Bruges/Ghent?, William Caxton: 1477)
  Lefèvre Raoul, *Histoire de Jason* (Bruges/Ghent?, William Caxton: ca. 1475–1476)
  Lefèvre Raoul, *Histoire de Jason* (Haarlem, Jacob Bellaert: ca. 1485–1486)
Mélusine
  Arras Jean d', *Mélusine* (Geneva, Adam Steinschaber: 1478)
  Melusine (London, [Wynkyn De Worde]: ca. 1510)
  Melosina (Toulouse, Johannes Parix and Stephan Cleblat: 1489)

Meluzine (Antwerp, Gerard Leeu: 1491)

Ringoltingen Thüring von, *Melusine* (Basel, Bernhard Richel: ca. 1473–1474)

Olivier de Castille

Camus Philippe, *Olivier de Castille* (Geneva, Louis Cruse: 1482)

Oliveros de Castilla (Burgos, Fadrique de Basilea: ca. 1499)

Olyvier van Castillen (Antwerp, Hendrik Eckert van Homberch: 1510)

Watson Henry, *Olyver of Castylle* (London, Wynkyn de Worde: 1518)

Ziely Wilhelm, *Olwier und Artus* (Basel, Adam Petri: 1521)

Paris et Vienne

Caxton William, *Parys and Vyenne* (Westminter, William Caxton: 1485)

Cépède Pierre de la, *Paris et Vienne* (Lyon, Guillaume Le Roy: 1480)

Parijs ende Vienna (Antwerp, Gerard Leeu: 1487)

Paris et Vienne (Antwerp, Gerard Leeu: 1487)

Paris unde Vienna (Antwerp, Gerard Leeu: 1488)

Pierre de Provence

Peeter van Provencen (Antwerp, Willem Vorsterman: ca. 1517)

Pierre de Provence (Lyon, Guillaume Le Roy: ca. 1475–1477)

Warbeck Veit, *Die schöne Magelona* (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1535)

Ponthus et Sidoine

Eleonore of Austria, *Pontus und Sidonia* (Augsburg, Johann Schönsperger: 1483)

Ponthus ende Sydonie (Antwerp, Claes van den Wouwere: 1564)

Tour Landry Geoffroy IV de la [?], *Ponthus et Sidoine* (Geneva, Simon du Jardin: ca. 1480)

Watson Henry, *King Ponthus* (London, Wynkyn de Worde: ca. 1506)

Recueil des histoires de Troyes

Bellaert Jacob [?], *Vergaderinge der historien van Troyen* (Haarlem, Jacob Bellaert: 1485)

Caxton William, *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troy* (Bruges/Ghent?, William Caxton: ca. 1473–1474)

Lefèvre Raoul, *Recueil des histoires de troyes* (Bruges/Ghent?, William Caxton: ca. 1474–1475)

Lefèvre Raoul, *Recueil des histoires de troyes* (Haarlem, Jacob Bellaert: 1485)

Valentin et Orson

Valentin et Orson (Lyon, Jacques Maillet: 1489)

Watson Henry, *Valentine and Orson* (London, Wynkyn de Worde: ca. 1509)

Ziely Wilhelm, *Valentin und Orsus* (Basel, Adam Petri: 1521)

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Elisabeth of Nassau-Saarbrücken, *Hug Schapler* (Strasbourg, Johann (Reinhard) Grüninger: 1500)

Elisabeth of Nassau-Saarbrücken, *Loher und Maller* (Strasbourg, Johann (Reinhard) Grüninger: 1514)

Florio und Bianceffora (transl. after Giovanni Boccaccio, *Il Filocolo*) (Metz, Caspar Hochfeder: 1499)

Herzog Ernst (Augsburg, Anton Sorg: ca. 1476)

Johann of Würzburg, *Wilhelm von Österreich* (Augsburg, Anton Sorg: 1481)

Marquart von Stein, *Ritter vom Turm* (Basel, Michael Furter: 1493)

Tristrant und Isalde (Augsburg, Anton Sorg: 1484)

Wirnt von Gravenberg, *Wigoleis* (Augsburg, Johann Schönsperger: 1493)

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PART 3

Intermediality

∵

Moveable Types of Merry Monsters: Joyful Literature on Paper and on the Walls

Katell Lavéant

1 Introduction

For specialists of literary history, it sometimes remains a mystery why some stories so popular in the past have now vanished from our collective memory. In the Middle Ages and in the early modern period, the story of Bigorne and Chicheface (with variations on their names) seems to have largely circulated in the French, Dutch, German, Italian and English-speaking spaces, yet it is now forgotten, contrary to other merry tales narrating the adventures of Till Eulenspiegel, or Gargantua and Pantagruel – helped by the formidable author Rabelais who contributed to committing the stories about these giants to paper. It is obvious that the tale of Bigorne and Chicheface was well-known in the late medieval and early modern period, given the numerous allusions to these monsters in literary texts, especially in the French domain, made in passing by authors who evidently expected that the story would not need to be explained to readers.[1] In the more developed versions of this story, Bigorne was described as a fat monster feeding on obedient husbands (who are many, hence its corpulence), while Chicheface (literally 'lean face', in middle French) was a skinny monster because it fed only on obedient wives (who are few). The narrative played of course with the stereotype of the unruly women who boss around benevolent men, a topic often evoked in playful literature.[2]

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1   The most exhaustive studies on Bigorne and Chicheface are: Bolte J., "Bigorne und Chicheface", *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* CVI (1901) 1–18 and "Nog einmal Bigorne und Chicheface", *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* CXIV (1906) 80–86; Novati F., "Bigorne e Chicheface. Ricerche d'iconografia popolare", *Mélange offerts à M. Émile Picot par ses amis et ses élèves*, vol. 2 (Paris: 1913) 67–87; Jones M., "Monsters of Misogyny: Bigorne and Chicheface – Suite et Fin?", in Jones T.S. – Sprunger D.A. (eds.), *Marvels, Monsters, and Miracles. Studies in the Medieval and Early Modern Imaginations* (Kalamazoo: 2002) 203–221, in which one will find a comprehensive list of imprints that guided my research.

2   There is an extensive body of literature on the topic of unruly women in the early modern period. One can cite in particular the influential chapter "Women on Top" in Davis N.Z., *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: 1975); Wiltenburg J., *Disorderly Women and*

Contrary to other types of books in the vernacular, there are some serious limitations as to how much of the reading experience we can grasp in the case of joyful books.[3] These imprints contained comic plays, parodic rewritings of serious texts and collections of witty anecdotes, songs and jokes, that derived their topics from issues such as gender relations and social inequality. Because these playful books were meant for leisure, not for study or work, we can observe limitations of two kinds. First, relatively few copies have survived compared to the numbers that were produced, because such books were usually 'used to death and discarded'.[4] Second, most of the time the extant copies display no annotations or other material indications regarding their use by readers, other than marks that show they were indeed read, such as stained and torn paper. Often, there is no paratext either, such as prologues and other explicative texts, that indicate how their producers intended the books to be read, and by whom. Scholars agree that we face a general lack of information that could be derived from the material and textual analysis of books of leisure, which makes it very difficult to bring a precise answer to the questions of who read these books, and how they were read.[5]

This essay will demonstrate that a careful analysis of some copies of such imprints may still yield important clues regarding their circulation. It will show how the printed versions of the tale of Bigorne and Chicheface from the late fifteenth century to the seventeenth century present a useful case-study that can help us understand the reach of joyful imprints and their modes of reading. To arrive at such conclusions, I propose to combine the methods of material bibliography for the analysis of the copies with a cultural approach informed by recent developments in performance studies and the use of intermediality theory in book history.

Female Power in the Street Literature of Early Modern England and Germany (Charlottesville: 1992); Martin A.L., *Alcohol, Sex, and Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Basingstoke: 2001); Amussen S.S. – Underdown D.E., *Gender, Culture and Politics in England, 1560–1640* (London: 2017); and for a more art historical approach, Grössinger C., *Picturing Women in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art* (Manchester: 1997) and *Humour and Folly in Secular and Profane Prints of Northern Europe, 1430–1540* (London: 2002).

3   I have defined and worked on joyful culture and its literary production during the project *Uncovering Joyful Culture: Parodic Literature and Practices in and around the Low Countries (13th–17th Centuries)* (2015–2022), that benefitted from a Vidi-grant from the Dutch Research Council (NWO).

4   Although Andrew Pettegree refers more specifically to the use of catechisms, schoolbooks and newsbooks, this observation certainly also stands for books read for leisure: Pettegree A., *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven: 2010) 333.

5   For an overview on books of leisure, see Walsby M., *L'imprimé en Europe occidentale, 1470–1680* (Rennes: 2020) chapter 8 "Le divertissement".

I will first present the earliest printed appearances of Bigorne and Chiceface in the French domain, and the earliest iconographic representations that have survived, to investigate the parallel existence of books and broadsides on the topic in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. I will then extend the field of investigation to other language areas where prints on the topic were created in the sixteenth century, to show both the extent of the tale's circulation and its material evolution.[6] Finally, I will show how the elements we have gathered about the circulation of the French Bigorne and Chicheface imprints in the sixteenth century allow us to reconstruct the circulation of these objects among elite circles as well as offer hypotheses regarding their modes of consumption, beyond the solely individual mode of reading to which we are used today. I will thus demonstrate that it is possible to draw solid conclusions on the readership of these playful imprints thanks to a careful reconsideration of contextual and material elements.

2 First Printed Appearances of Bigorne and Chicheface

The tale of Bigorne and Chicheface circulated in manuscript and most likely also orally in the late Middle Ages, and the verses gave a vivid description of the two monsters, yet no image has survived from that period. A French version of the tale of Chicheface has been preserved in Ms. fr 837 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, one of the most important manuscripts for the French comic and oral literary tradition since it contains a number of light and even bawdy poems and fabliaux, as well as several other texts meant for dramatic performance.[7] A poem on Chicheface by the English poet John Lydgate (ca. 1370–ca. 1451) in another manuscript also reveals it was meant for a performance, for which painted cloths were made to create a stage. The mention in the manuscript of these now-lost props is the only surviving trace of possible medieval iconographic sources representing the two monsters.[8] However, it is worth noting that the visual aspects must have played an important role in the transmission of the tale in the late Middle Ages, as both manuscript sources point toward a dramatic performance of these texts, a point we will return to at the end of this article. We thus need to turn to printed sources to observe in

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6 All the imprints studied here are listed in a Table of Editions at the end of the article.

7 Collet O., "'Encore pert il bien aus tés quels li pos fu' (*Le Jeu d'Adam*, v.11): le manuscrit BnF fr. 837 et le laboratoire poétique du XIIIᵉ siècle", in Mikhaïlova M. (ed.), *Mouvances et jointures. Du manuscrit au texte médiéval* (Orléans: 2005) 173–192.

8 Jones M., *The Print in Early Modern England. An Historical Oversight* (New Haven – London: 2010) 338–340; Jones, "Monsters of Misogyny" 204.

detail the precise combinations of texts and images that allowed the monsters to be depicted (see also the Table of Editions in the Appendix).

It is worth noting that the very first extant printed object relevant to this discussion is a broadside rather than a book. This also brings our attention to the type of interaction that was envisaged with the readers. This broadside was printed by Guy Marchant and produced in Paris around 1495 [Fig. 9.1]. The only copy we have left survived by accident, as is often the case with such imprints, that are ephemeral by nature.[9] Even though this specific copy was used to reinforce a book binding, it survived in a rather good shape.[10] A large illustration depicts the monster Chicheface seizing a woman, above ten stanzas of a dialogue between the monster, the woman, and her husband, that is different from the earlier French verse version kept in manuscript.[11] It is also worth noting that the text we can assume was uttered by the husband is limited to one stanza carefully divided to fit on both sides of a small vignette representing a fool. There is no clear indication of the character who utters it, contrary to the clear indications attributing other verses to *Chicheface* and *La bonne femme*, but it is clear from the lines that they must come from the husband of the woman who is being devoured by Chicheface.

This suggests Marchant had a source text at his disposal that may have been longer but could not be reproduced in its entirety on the broadside, maybe because of lack of space. While the woodcut depicting Chicheface seems to have been made specifically for this broadsheet, other elements of decoration have been reused, as is evident from a woodblock representing Job and his wife, that was already present in a *Calendrier des bergers* printed by Marchant in 1493.[12]

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9   See the various contributions in the volume by Pettegree A. (ed.), *Broadsheets. Single-Sheet Publishing in the First Age of Print* (Leiden: 2017). There is no real consensus among specialists regarding the alternate use of 'broadside' and 'broadsheet' to designate this type of imprint. In this article, I will use the term 'broadside' to designate the object understood as a one-side imprint presenting a poetic text and an illustration, the term 'broadsheet' when studying technical aspects of the production and conservation of these single-sheet items, and the term 'print' when dealing specifically with imprints where the engraved image takes precedence on the text to the point that the latter can disappear altogether.

10   *Chicheface* (Paris, Guy Marchant: ca. 1495), 376 × 236 mm, ISTC ic00450700, GW 0661520N, number 1 in the Table of Editions at the end of this article. Digitised version available on the website of the library where it is kept, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich; Geldner F., "Chicheface. Ein unbekannter französischer Einblattdruck", *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 34 (1959) 41–44.

11   The images measure 155 × 230 mm, taking up about 40 percent of the printed space.

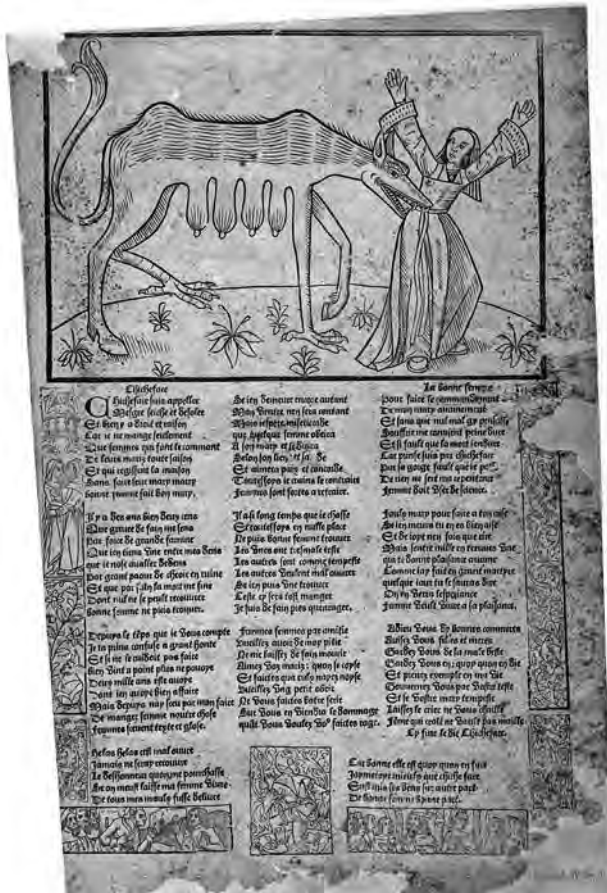12   *Compost et kalendrier des bergiers* (Paris, Guy Marchant: 18 April 1493), ISTC ic00054000, GW 05908.

FIGURE 9.1 *Chicheface*, woodcut illustration and printed paper,
37.6 × 23.6 cm (Paris, Guy Marchant: ca. 1495),
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
IMAGE © BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK

This reuse of decorative elements was not random. Three elements present men and women either embracing (most likely a reuse of an element showing Anna and Joachim meeting at the Golden Gate) or turning their back to each other and even quarrelling (such as a scene representing Job's wife lecturing her husband), while two others display jesters, which underlines the merry content of the text. Contrary to the widespread idea that printers of such cheap imprints often chose their illustrations randomly to reduce the production costs, it is worth underlining that this was not the case here, nor does it seem to be the case in many of the joyful imprints I have studied. The choice of the theme was often thought through, to match the content of

the text and give buyers obvious clues about what they could expect to find in the text.[13] The format of this imprint makes it a peculiar object in the landscape of the early printed French literary production. Scholars have noted that while France quickly became a major centre of the early age of print, single-sheet printing remained surprisingly limited there, compared to the high numbers of broadsheet production that have been reconstructed for the neighbouring countries.[14] This apparent contrast may be nuanced by the fact that the conditions of survival of such broadsheets in France were less favourable than, for instance, in Germany and England, where such items, especially broadsides produced for leisure entertainment, seem to have been collected and preserved in a much more systematised way than in France.[15]

The format in which the same *Bigorne and Chicheface* text was subsequently re-edited in the next imprint is, on the contrary, similar to the many other surviving French joyful imprints from the sixteenth century. It is an in-quarto booklet of four pages that was most likely produced in Lyon, probably in 1537, based on specific political news and events evoked in a short poem following the *Chicheface* text in the imprint.[16] This booklet faithfully reproduces the text of the broadside, save for the husband's stanza, that has disappeared from this new edition, and a woodcut using the same elements as the one on the Marchant broadside is used to illustrate the title page. What is more, there is also a *Bigorne* booklet that matches the *Chicheface* one, produced in two different editions [Fig. 9.2].[17] The only text contained in this booklet is a verse dialogue between Bigorne and 'the Good Husband'. The man complains about his evil wife and begs the monster to devour him, as he prefers to be eaten by Bigorne rather than to keep suffering at the hands of his wife. Both editions of *Bigorne* differ slightly in layout and typography, but, similarly to the *Chicheface*

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13   On the reuse of woodblocks for the illustration of joyful books, see Lavéant K., "Faire feu de tout bois: imprimeurs et illustrations de livres joyeux au XVIe siècle", scholarly blog *Histoire du Livre* (13 July 2019), https://histoirelivre.hypotheses.org/4302 [accessed 18 November 2022].

14   Pettegree A., "Broadsheets. Single-Sheet Publishing in the First Age of Print. Typology and Typography", in idem, *Broadsheets* 11.

15   As appears from the numbers and cases cited by Pettegree, "Broadsheets" 7–13 and 27–31.

16   Only one copy has survived, kept in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France in the Rothschild collection: Rothschild 528; number 2 in the Table of Editions in the Appendix below. For more information on this copy and its texts, see: Picot E., *Catalogue des livres composant la bibliothèque de feu M. le Baron James de Rothschild* (Paris: 1884–1920), vol. 1, 339–340.

17   One copy of each edition has survived, both are kept in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, one in the Rothschild collection: Rothschild 527, the other one in the Réserve des livres anciens: RES-YE-919. Number 3 in the Table of Editions in the Appendix below.

FIGURE 9.2 *Bigorne qui menge tous les hommes* [...], woodcut
illustration and printed paper, 1.89 × 1.35 cm
(s.l. [Lyon], s.n.: s.d. [1537?])
PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE
FRANCE © BNF, GALLICA

booklet, they both present the general features of French gothic imprints. They
also display the same image on the title page, representing the man kneeling
before Bigorne.[18] Based on material characteristics and on the assumption that
the two stories were a set, the two *Bigorne* can also be dated around 1537 in
Lyon, as a companion to the *Chicheface* booklet.

The analysis of the images on the titlepages and the similar positioning of
cracks in the block clearly show that the same woodblock was used for the

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18 On French gothic imprints, see Pouspin M., *Publier la nouvelle. Les pièces gothiques.
Histoire d'un nouveau média (XVe–XVIe siècles)* (Paris: 2016).

illustration on the title page of both *Bigorne* editions. Such cracks, that are also visible on the *Chicheface* woodcut, underline that the woodblocks used for these illustrations were not new when they were used to make these editions, and that they must have been used for previous editions so often that the woodblock wore out. The orientation of the images on the title pages above is surprising, as they are positioned vertically, making the readers turn their heads or the imprint to have a good look at them. The reason is quite obviously that they were too large to be printed horizontally in these in-quarto editions.[19] This leads us to suspect they were first made for imprints in another format, either bigger in-quartos, or broadsides.

What we can thus reconstruct is that the story must have been successful enough for the printer or the publisher to publish several editions of it, of which we now have two *Bigorne* and one *Chicheface* booklets left that reuse texts and woodblocks from previous, now-lost editions. It is quite likely Marchant produced a set of broadsheets with the two monsters in the late fifteenth century in Paris, of which only the *Chicheface* version has survived, and that these broadsheets were successful enough to spawn other broadsheets and booklets produced between the late fifteenth century and the 1530s. There was obviously a degree of interaction between the two types of imprints, since we find in the Lyon booklet a text already present in the Marchant broadside, and there are indications that the woodblocks may have been used for booklets and for (now-lost) broadsheets. That joyful books produced in Paris were copied in Lyon (or vice-versa) was a common phenomenon that was only amplified in the sixteenth century, when other centres of production such as Rouen extended this practice. These texts were popular enough to entice book producers to copy previous editions. More often than not, these editions were not protected by a privilege, and they were so cheap to produce that there would be no reason for a bookseller to spend time and money in acquiring them and having them transported from Paris to Lyon when he could invest a small sum in their local production. What is more striking is that they are preserved in two very different formats, that imply different types of reading and of interaction with an audience, for the same set of texts. This draws our attention to the possibility that more broadsides with comparable merry texts may have been produced in the period and it signals the popularity of the Bigorne and Chicheface tale over a long period of time.

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19   Although it is worth noting that the printer managed to position the woodcut horizontally on the title page of the other edition of the *Bigorne* booklet (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, RES-YE-919), digitised and available on www.gallica.bnf.fr.

3 The Long and Prosperous Life of Bigorne and Chicheface

The popularity of the two figures did not wane during the sixteenth century, nor did it remain limited to the French printing world. Two stages in the evolution of the production can be identified, in terms of visual format. First, a series of broadsides continued to use the model of the Marchant broadside with text and image throughout the sixteenth century. Then, from the beginning of the seventeenth century, the imprints shifted towards a more pictorial approach. In both stages, it is worth noting that the surviving imprints all take the form of single-sheet items: aside from the Lyon booklets I have described, no other books have been preserved that circulate this story. This preference for the broadsheet format could be linked with a more communal and social way of consuming these imprints, as I will analyse when turning to their uses and circulation. It is also striking that the theme and its printed handling spread to other countries neighbouring France, a testament to its universal and enduring appeal.

Next in the chronological order of appearance of the surviving imprints is a broadside not in French, but in German [Fig. 9.3]. Entitled *Zwey Wunderthier so erst newlich ins Teütschland gebracht sind worden* ('Two wonderful animals that have only recently been brought to Germany'), it was printed in 1586 in Augsburg by Hans Schultes the Elder (1542–1619), who, as a woodcutter, may also have made the image himself.[20] It features the vertical format, the proportions, and the text-image layout and ratio we have already observed in Marchant's broadsheet. The illustration is composed of two woodcuts placed side by side that reproduce the model of earlier images, with Bigorne on the left and Chicheface on the right. The monsters are represented in a very similar way to their earlier avatars, the major difference being that their victims are now dressed in late sixteenth-century Germanic clothes, to adapt the images to the latest, local fashion. The text in stanzas below the woodcuts offers a close translation into German of the dialogue between Bigorne and the Good Man we find in the 1530s Lyon book, and of the first part of the *Chicheface* text already present in the 1490s broadside and 1530s booklet.

It is notable that the woman's reply has disappeared from this version, but also that this broadside is the first known example of what was going to

20 *Zwey Wunderthier so erst newlich ins Teütschland gebracht sind worden* […] (Augsburg, Hans Schultes the Elder: 1586), 396 × 287 mm, USTC 750188, number 4 in the Table of Editions. The only surviving copy is kept in Zurich, Zentralbibliothek; Strauss W.L., *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut, 1550–1600: A Pictorial Catalogue* (New York: 1975), vol. 2, 944–945; Harms W. – Schilling M., *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: 1980–2005), vol. 7, 338–339.

FIGURE 9.3 *Zwey Wunderthier so erst newlich ins Teütschland gebracht sind worden*
[…], 39.6 × 28.7 cm (Augsburg, Hans Schultes the Elder: 1586)

become standard practice, namely, to unite in one imprint the illustrations and texts that were earlier separated in one set devoted to Bigorne, and the other one to Chicheface. However, it was probably not the first ever produced. Malcolm Jones points to the existence, in the now-lost collection of prints assembled by Hernando Colón or Ferdinand Columbus (1488–1539), of an image that represented both Bigorne and Chicheface and their victims,

in one scene.[21] The manuscript catalogue of the print collection of Colón, made before his death, clearly describes the two monsters with details that correspond with their representation in the woodcuts of the Marchant and Lyon imprints. However, the description is too succinct for us to establish now whether it refers to a broadside with text and image or to a woodcut or engraving without text.[22] It gives no indication either regarding the origin of this print as neither its place of production nor the names of the monsters are given, but the description at least underlines that one or several prints of the two monsters represented in one image were made long before the 1586 German broadside.

Two more French imprints presenting the two monsters and their victims were published later, around 1600, one in Paris by Simon Graffart, and the other in Lyon by Léonard Odet (Figs. 9.4 and 9.5). Both imprints are broadsheets of a respectable size, larger than the previous examples. They adopt the presentation that reunites the texts about both monsters below a single illustration that synthetises the elements of the earlier separate images.[23] The dimensions and the style of the two woodcuts make clear they were made separately. However, it is evident from the common organisation of the scene and from the similarities of details that one was copied after the other or that they were made following the same compositional model. Such a model may date back to the beginning of the sixteenth century if we consider the lost engraving in Hernando Colón's collection as an early archetype. Both French broadsides show, on the left side, Bigorne eating a man, and on the right side, Chicheface devouring a woman. Smaller groups are scattered around them in a rudimentary landscape, with couples in which the woman is bullying her

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21   Jones M., "Washing the Ass's Head: Exploring the Non-Religious Prints", in McDonald M.P. (ed.), *The Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus (1488–1539): A Renaissance Collector in Seville* (London: 2004), vol. 1, 221–245 and vol. 2, 378–379. Number 5 in Table of Editions in the Appendix.

22   McDonald, *The Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus*, vol. 2, item 2111, described in the inventory as such: *Una mugger que la tiene un animal por la çintura con la boca y tiene las manos alçados cara arriba y un dragon tiene tragado un niño que se pareçe desde la çintura abaxo y otro honbre esta hincado de rodillas delante del el qual animal tiene alçada la mano diestra y entre la pierna diestra tel que come y la suya ay dos gotas de sangre y el animal de nuestra siniestra tiene 9 tetas y no se le pareçen mas de cinco peçones dellas.*

23   *Histoire facecieuse de la Bigorne* [...] (Paris, for Simon Graffart: [ca. 1600]), 510 × 380 mm, USTC 29413, one copy kept in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France; *Histoire facecieuse de la Bigorne* [...] (Lyon, Leonard Odet: [ca. 1600]), 332 × 443 mm, USTC 750676, one copy kept in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek. Number 6 and 7 in the Table of Editions in the Appendix.

FIGURE 9.4   *Histoire facecieuse de la Bigorne* [...], 51 × 38 cm (Paris, for
Simon Graffart: [ca. 1600])
PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE © BNF

spouse, and one group of men waiting to be eaten. With its vertical format
and an engraving that occupies roughly forty percent of the printed space, the
Graffart broadside closely follows the organisation of the earlier Marchant
version. However, the text presents significant variation from this version,
although it follows the same structure, and the general meaning of the stanzas
remains the same. The Odet broadside, by contrast, reuses the Marchant and
Lyon texts, but presents a different composition, with more space given to the
image (half of the printed space) in a horizontal format.

FIGURE 9.5 *Histoire facecieuse de la Bigorne* [...], 33.2 × 44.3 cm (Lyon, Leonard Odet: [ca. 1600])
WOLFENBÜTTEL, HERZOG AUGUST BIBLIOTHEK © HERZOG AUGUST BIBLIOTHEK

Both Graffart and Odet produced more of these broadsides on popular and satirical themes, where the image came to occupy an increasingly larger and more central place. As the commercial details on his broadside reveal, Simon Graffart (ca. 1570–ca. 1630?) printed and sold his imprints in the rue Montorgueil, a street of Paris away from the major printing and bookselling streets such as the rue Saint-Jacques, where printers and sellers of popular broadsides and prints called *images* and *histoires* (literally: 'stories') had developed this specific branch of the printing trade.[24] It seems at least two other merchants of the rue Montorgueil, Denis Mathonière and Nicolas Proué, made and sold broadsheets on the *Bigorne and Chicheface* topic, which have not been preserved, although, fortunately, woodblocks with this motif are mentioned in the inventories of their shops made after their death.[25] Léonard Odet (active

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24 Lepape S., *Gravures de la rue Montorgueil* (Paris: 2016) 126–127.
25 Lepape, *Gravures de la rue Montorgueil* 103–131.

between 1578 and 1610) had his shop in the major bookselling street in Lyon, the rue Mercière. In addition to broadsheets, he sold books in various formats and on diverse topics, from other merry titles to literary and more political works. He was also an engraver (*tailleur d'histoires*).[26] Was he the author of the woodcut in the *Bigorne and Chicheface* broadside? Unfortunately, we cannot reconstruct this from the broadside alone, as he signed only the colophon of the text with his name.

The horizontal format became characteristic of the design of the seventeenth-century broadsheets that were published around the theme of *Bigorne and Chicheface* in France's neighbouring countries: it signals a shift from the text, that becomes more and more scarce, to the image, that becomes central. The composition of the image that was used in both broadsides also inspired later artists from other countries to reproduce it for their own local market.

4   Evolutions of the Broadsides in the Seventeenth Century

Researchers who have extensively studied the appearances of Bigorne and Chicheface in prints, have reconstructed their complex early seventeenth century genealogy, which I will summarise here to give an overview of how the same image inspired a series of prints (see Appendix).[27] A metal engraving was made by the Dutch engraver Claes Jansz. Visscher (1587–1652) and published in 1611 in a broadside that also contains a lengthy poem *vande goede mannen en quade wyven* ('on good men and nasty women') to explain the content of the image. The publisher was David de Meyn, an Amsterdam-based publisher (active between 1611 and 1618).[28] This engraving was based on the composition of the two French broadsides produced around 1600, and it inspired the metal engraving made by the English artist Renold Elstrack for the publisher William Butler, registered as 'A picture of the fat monster and the leane, the one called Bulchim [sic], and the other Thingul [sic] grauen by Renold Elstrak', in the Registers of the Stationers' Company of London on 10 July 1620.[29] A

26   Baudrier H.-L., *Bibliographie lyonnaise: Recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon au XVIᵉ siècle* (Lyon: 1895) 313–315.

27   Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England* 338–340; Jones, "Monsters of Misogyny"; Novati F., *Bigorne e Chicheface, ricerche d'iconografia popolare* (Paris: 1913).

28   Bolte J., "Bilderbogen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts", *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 19 (1909) 60–62 (who also gives an edition of the Dutch poem under the image); Novati, "Bigorne e Chicheface" 11; number 8 in the Table of Editions in the Appendix.

29   Jones M., "Engraved Works Recorded in the 'Stationers' Registers', 1561–1656: A Listing and Commentary", *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 64 (2002) 1–68, #166. Number 9 in the Table of Editions in the Appendix.

later impression of Elstrack's engraving by the English publisher Robert Pricke (active 1655–1700) still survives, below which a short poem in English appears (6 × 6 lines).[30] The same year, an anonymous woodcut that reproduces the same scene in a cruder way was printed by Edward Allde for Henry Gosson, also in London, featuring a poem in English by John Taylor (4 × 4 lines), in which the monsters are called Fill Gutt and Pinch Belly ('One being Fat with eating good Men, the other Leane for want of good Women') [Fig. 9.6].[31]

The Visscher composition was subsequently copied in similar German and Dutch broadsides that featured the engraving above a short verse poem. Bigorne retained its name, but Chicheface was renamed Sharminkel in German and Scherminckel in Dutch (with spelling variants that complicate the hunt for such prints in library and museum catalogues). Without being exhaustive, let us first look at a print made by the Augsburg-based printer Johann Klockers (active in the first half of the sixteenth century), executed in the 1620s by the Flemish engraver Pieter van der Keere (1571– ca. 1646). This is not a print in one piece, but rather a new version of the scene in two separate companion parts, each of which survives in at least one copy, first in the British Museum in London featuring half of the scene with Bigorne, and second in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam featuring Sharminkel.[32] The Rijksmuseum print also has a title above and a text below the image (4 × 6 lines), both in German, and a colophon by Klockers that is lacking in the edition that the British Museum copy represents. Another print at the Rijksmuseum, obviously copied after these two prints and published by Hugo Allard the Elder (1627–1684) in Amsterdam in the second half of the sixteenth century, reunites the two animals with their preys, but not entirely, as only half of Scherminckel is reproduced in the image, presumably due to lack of space [Fig. 9.7].[33] It also presents a poem in Dutch below the image (6 × 8 lines). Finally, a later German

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30   Only one copy has survived, now kept in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library: O'Connell S., "The Peel Collection in New York", *Print Quarterly* 15.1 (1998) 66–67. Number 10 in the Table of Editions.

31   One copy left, kept in London, Society of Antiquaries, 358 × 479 mm, USTC 3009460, number 11 in the Table of Editions in the Appendix. Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England* and Jones M., "The English Print, c. 1550–c. 1650", in Hattaway M. (ed.), *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture* (Oxford: 2000) 352.

32   *Bigorne*, engraved by Pieter van der Keere ([Augsburg], [Johann Klockers]: [1621]), London, British Museum, 330 × 398 mm; *Sharminkel*, engraved by Pieter van der Keere (Augsburg, Johann Klockers: [1621]), Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 408 × 395 mm; Bolte, "Nog einmal Bigorne und Chicheface" 60–62. Number 12 in the Table of Editions in the Appendix.

33   *Bigorne en Scherminckel* (s.l. [Amsterdam], Hugo Allard: s.d.), Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 389 × 510 mm, number 13 in the Table of Editions in the Appendix.

FIGURE 9.6 *Fill Gut and Pich Belly* […], 35.8 × 47.9 cm (London, Edward Allde: 1620)
LONDON, SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES © SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

print (ca. 1735) again reproduces the same model but features a title in Latin and German above the image and a German poem (12 × 4 lines) below it.[34]

What is worth noting about these different avatars, is that, despite the different language areas and places in which they were produced, they are remarkably uniform in appearance. They all adopt the same iconographic features to represent the two monsters and their victims, and the same horizontal format, which, even with varying dimensions, gives a prominent place to the image. The attention of the viewer is centred on this image, with only a minor space and role given to the poem below it, to the extent that the text may have been cut away or omitted in some cases, as is the case in the Klockers print kept at

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34   This print is kept in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France and reproduced in Novati's analysis, although I have not been able to localise it in the collections of the Cabinet des Estampes, Novati, *Bigorne e Chicheface* 12. Number 14 in the Table of Editions in the Appendix.

FIGURE 9.7 *Bigorne en Scherminckel* (s.l. [Amsterdam], Hugo Allard: s.d.), 38.9 × 51 cm
AMSTERDAM, RIJKSMUSEUM © RIJKSMUSEUM

the British Museum. It is safe to assume with Malcolm Jones that the image in these prints became central because their use was primarily decorative, whether in private homes or in public places such as inns and alehouses.[35] However, it is important to note that each new version of the print also generated a new version of the poem, which went beyond the mere translation of the same set text from one language to the other.

While it is easy to see how the iconographic theme inspired artists and poets to make new versions of the two monsters and to reproduce each other's models, it is more difficult to grasp the significance and the reach of these prints in their context of production and circulation in the seventeenth century. Undoubtedly, however, the *Bigorne and Chicheface* theme remained very popular throughout Northern Europe. While the 1620 woodcut version printed by Edward Allde for Henry Gosson must have been aimed at an audience of modest means, possibly well-to-do craftsmen and shopkeepers in London, the

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35 Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England* 6.

metal engravings, more expensive to make and more aesthetically refined, may have been produced for somewhat wealthier buyers. But because the copies of these seventeenth-century prints have entered public library collections only relatively recently after having survived in the collections of several generations of private collectors, it is now impossible to reconstruct their original circulation context. Paradoxically, we can gather more information about the older versions of the *Bigorne and Chicheface* tale on this question, thanks to the modes of survival of the early broadsides in France and in Germany between the end of the fifteenth century and the end of the sixteenth century.

5   Understanding the Circulation and Audience of Sixteenth-Century Merry Imprints

Let us go back to the German broadside *Zwey Wunderthier* produced by Hans Schultes the Elder in 1586. Its single surviving copy is now kept at the Zentralbibliothek in Zurich and was originally part of a manuscript (Ms F 33) that belongs to what is now called the Wickiana collection. This collection was assembled by the Zurich theologian Johann Jakob Wick (1522–1588), who, thanks to his network of correspondents, gathered broadsides and illustrated pamphlets from German publishers but also from other European countries, on notable natural phenomena, births of monsters, historical events, crimes and so on. Wick also wrote and illustrated his own collection of news and anecdotes of the time. Our broadside was added to one of these composite volumes, made in 1585 and composed of printed material, manuscript notes and hand-drawn painted scenes. It was bound in this volume until separated by the library, presumably during a restoration campaign, at which point it was preserved as a single item with its own separate shelf mark.

As Franz Mauelshagen has shown, Wick's collection of sensational broadsides and pieces of news was guided by the need to make sense of events occurring in a world that was rapidly changing, amid evolving religious beliefs and associated instability and anxiety.[36] Although *Zwey Wunderthier* may have been produced by Schultes on the model of the French *Bigorne and Chicheface* broadsides as a light piece of entertainment, Wick brought it into his collection as yet another example of a world turned upside down. Monsters, whether they appeared literally or metaphorically, were the results of a loss of social and moral bearing that brought households into turmoil. They were brought

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36   Maulshagen F., *Wunderkammer auf Papier. Die Wickiana zwischen Reformation und Volksglaube* (Zürich: 2008) 86–106.

upon the world not by the merrymakers of Carnival, but by upheavals bearing a much darker meaning. In these troubled times, this is not the only example of a French joyful text that took on a meaning for its readers that was very different from what we would now expect when reading it.[37] Wick's example warns us of the importance of considering the context in which such a textual object was collected, to correctly interpret the type of readings it could generate, together with other texts and images. In this respect, the reception of this broadside and its inclusion in Wick's collection are much more revealing than the presence of the now presumably lost *Bigorne and Chicheface* identified in the collection of Hernando Colón, who gathered books and prints indiscriminately, for the sole purpose of constituting a universal library in which the content of the items did not have a specific significance.[38]

The survival of our earliest Chicheface imprint, the late fifteenth-century Marchant broadside, is also revealing regarding the circulation of such imprints, albeit for different reasons. One way of interpreting the status of this broadside is to consider the accidental way in which the sheet was preserved. As mentioned above, it has survived in a book binding. The book in question is a copy of a French edition of the *Codex Justiniani* printed by François Fradin in Lyon in 1527. It belonged to Claudius Pius Peutinger (1509–1551), a lawyer from Augsburg who studied at the French university of Orléans in 1527–1528 and possibly in Bourges in 1529, before continuing his studies in Italy.[39] Given the thirty-five years or so that separate the production of the broadside from this edition of the *Codex Justiniani*, it is quite likely that the broadside was first stored among the papers of someone who had acquired it and preserved it as an interesting textual object, a fun broadside to read and look at. However, these papers changed purpose when they changed hands, maybe after the death of their owner, or when that person decided they were no longer needed and could be sold. In any case, they must have been acquired by a bookseller or a binder who merely considered their material utility, to reinforce bindings: it was common practice for these book professionals to acquire old paper as cheap material for such purposes. Given the presence of Peutinger at Orléans

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37 See also my analysis of another joyful text read in the context of the French wars of religion: Lavéant K., "Usages et intérêts d'un recueil factice du XVIᵉ siècle: la trajectoire d'un Sammelband de Paris à Utrecht", scholarly blog *Histoire du Livre* (18 January 2019), https://histoirelivre.hypotheses.org/3447 [accessed 18 November 2022].

38 See Wilson-Lee E., *The Catalogue of Shipwrecked Books. Young Columbus and the Quest for a Universal Library* (London: 2018); Pérez Fernández J.M. – Wilson-Lee E., *Hernando Colón's New World of Books. Toward a Cartography of Knowledge* (New Haven: 2021).

39 Geldner, "Chicheface"; *Repertorium Academicum Germanicum*, https://resource.data base.rag-online.org/ngBR6M678Az47qxFvAUqlZnM [accessed 14 February 2022].

in the year in which the *Codex* was printed, it is quite likely he bought the volume new, not second-hand. It is safe to assume he had it bound where he bought it, in the shop of one of Orléans' booksellers specialising in furnishing such books to the students and lawyers of the town.[40] Contrary to cheap, joyful imprints that could easily be reproduced by local printers if deemed interesting enough to justify a reedition, such expensive law books were produced in specialised Lyon workshops. They were then distributed to other university cities in France via a circulation network that was already well-established in the 1520s, and they were often bound only after they reached their destination.[41] The Marchant broadsheet thus ended up inside the binding of the *Codex* purely because of its value as paper recycled during the binding process, and it is quite likely Peutinger had no idea such a broadside was present in the binding of his law book.

The coexistence of the joyful imprint with a legal work is purely coincidental in this case, but in other cases the joyful and the legal worlds existed side-by-side in the same bookshops. A contemporary mention of Chicheface can be found in the *Droitz nouveaulx*, a humorous text replete with scenes parodying jurisprudence, composed by Guillaume Coquillart (ca. 1452–1510). It was printed for the first time after his death, around 1513, but Coquillart wrote it when he was still a law student in Paris, around 1480.[42] In the text he describes the abundant breasts of wet nurses and ironically declares: *sont pensues comme chiches faces / qu'on vent tous les jours au palays* ('their [breasts] are swollen like the pinch-bellies that are sold every day at the Chancellery').[43] Quite clearly, not only the readers of Coquillart knew enough of the story to enjoy the playful antiphrasis in these lines. They would also not have been surprised, and neither should we, that such merry imprints could be sold in the gallery leading to the Parliament of Paris and its legal offices. On the one hand, we know that the booksellers who had their shops in this gallery offered a large choice of books, beyond the standard law works needed by the legal

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40   For profiles of such specialised booksellers in Orléans, see Walsby M., *Booksellers and Printers in Provincial France 1470–1600* (Leiden: 2020), especially François Gueyard 434–435, Jacques Hoys 465 and Claude Marchant 625 (no relation with the Parisian Guy Marchant).

41   I thank Malcolm Walsby for pointing out to me these elements regarding the commerce of (law) books. See Walsby M., *Entre l'atelier et le lecteur. Le commerce du livre imprimé dans la France de la Renaissance* (Rennes: forthcoming).

42   First edition: Coquillart Guillaume, *S'ensuyvent les droitz nouveaulx* […] (Paris, Veuve Jean Trepperel: [ca. 1513]). A modern edition with an in-depth introduction of Coquillart's poems: Coquillart Guillaume, *Oeuvres*, ed. M.J. Freeman (Geneva: 1975).

43   Coquillart, "Droitz nouveaulx", *Œuvres* 150, l. 433–434.

profession.[44] On the other hand, there was a tradition among this community to produce and enjoy parodies of official texts, via the merry activities of the Basoche, the guild of legal clerks in Paris as well as in other French cities such as Rouen and Lyon.[45] Prominent lawyers did not shy away from writing legal parodies, from Martial d'Auvergne (1420–1508) with his *Arrêts d'Amour* ('Love rulings', first printed ca. 1500) to Étienne Pasquier (1529–1615) with his *Ordonnances d'Amour* ('Love ordinances', first published in 1564). Both works, among other legal parodies, enjoyed sustained popularity in the sixteenth century among and beyond legal circles.[46] It is therefore not surprising that a light piece like this *Chicheface* broadside had its place in the booksellers' shops around the Parliament.

The circulation of merry imprints among the social elite, alongside the legal profession, and beyond the world of merchants and craftsmen traditionally seen as the privileged place of consumption of such joyful works, is illustrated by another profile of a reader of the Marchant broadside or its reeditions. This case also points toward another important aspect to study, regarding the status of the text and image of this broadside.

Rigaud d'Aureille (1455–1517) was an Auvergne knight and a steward and ambassador to four French kings, from Louis XI to Francis I.[47] He had a castle built on the site of Villeneuve-Lembron between 1488 and 1515, and some of the murals decorating the inner courtyard, made around 1500, were inspired by our merry broadsides. One represents Rigaud himself, while two others depict Bigorne and Chicheface once again as they devour their victims, with an excerpt of their tales (*Dit*) painted next to their image, in letters that mimic gothic typography [Figs. 9.8 and 9.9].

The visual aspects of this depiction of Chicheface are similar to the Marchant broadside and its later printed avatars. The text is different and shorter (12 lines for Chicheface and 6 for the woman) but it borrows words

44   Lavéant K., "Comment séduire son public? Stratégies commerciales des éditeurs et lectorats des livres joyeux au XVIe siècle", *Les publics de la facétie (XVe–XVIIe siècles). Actes de la journée d'études organisée par le projet Facéties (Labex OBVIL) le 1er juillet 2017*, Sorbonne Université, Labex Observatoire de la vie littéraire (OBVIL), https://dspace.library.uu.nl/bitstream/handle/1874/414561/K_LAVEANT_publics_facetie_livres_joyeux.pdf?sequence=1 [accessed 18 June 2023].

45   Bouhaïk-Gironès M., *Les clercs de la Basoche et le théâtre politique (Paris, 1420–1550)* (Paris: 2007).

46   Lavéant K. – Versendaal R., "Les Ordonnances d'Amour d'Étienne Pasquier. Le « jeu sérieux » d'un orateur juriste", *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 40.2 (2020) 343–357.

47   Fournier P.F., "Origines de la seigneurie de Villeneuve-Lembron", *Revue d'Auvergne* (1960) 161–167.

FIGURE 9.8–9.9   *Bigorne* and *Chicheface* (wall paintings, Villeneuve-Lembron, s.n.: s.d. [ca. 1500])
© CASTLE OF VILLENEUVE-LEMBRON

and expressions from the Marchant text. The depiction of Bigorne is similar to the later imprint produced in Lyon around 1537, and the text on the mural is a mix of new lines and stanzas that are also present in the Lyon imprint (in total 29 lines for the Husband and 26 lines for Bigorne).

Another similar painting of Chicheface is to be found in the Castle of Plessis-Bourré, close to Angers, in the Loire Valley, which was built for Jean Bourré between 1468 and 1473. Jean Bourré (1424–1506), son of a bourgeois, entered the service of king Louis XI after his law studies in Paris, and occupied important functions: he became one of the general treasurers of the kingdom, and governor of the Dauphin Charles VIII. He had one room of the castle decorated with an elaborate coffered ceiling on which were represented allegorical scenes evoking alchemy, and profane scenes pertaining to joyful culture. One of these reproduces the same Chicheface scene in which the monster holds a woman between its teeth, accompanied by two stanzas identical to the ones on the walls of Villeneuve-Lembron, minus four lines. Rigaud d'Aureille and Jean Bourré belonged to the same circles and evidently had access to the same source, which inspired them to decorate their respective castles, perhaps even around the same time.

The existence of these paintings in two different private residences and the analysis of the textual similarities and differences with earlier and later imprints reinforce our hypothesis that there were one or several more sets of dual imprints representing Bigorne and Chicheface that were produced between the Marchant broadsides (ca. 1495) and the Lyon booklets (ca. 1537), around 1500. Their presence on the walls and ceiling of two different castles is striking. Courtiers of the king had these imprints in hand, which underlines again how widely they circulated. These courtiers decided they appreciated the tale enough to place it as decoration in places that would be visible to all the visitors of their private residence. The transposition of the tale to the walls and ceiling of these dwellings reinforces the probability that the original imprints that inspired Rigaud d'Aureille and Jean Bourré were broadsides (either Marchant's or lost ones) rather than booklets, because of the similar functioning of these items as visual objects put on display on walls (or ceilings) to be seen and read publicly and in a group setting, and not just by individual readers. D'Aureille and Bourré would have wanted to put on their walls a durable version of the more fragile imprints, by having their content painted. This is a clear case of "intermedial transposition", that is, a transfer of the same content between two media, here, from the printed medium to the painted one.[48]

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48 Wolf W., "Intermediality Revisited. Reflexions on Word and Music Relations in the Context of a General Typology of Intermediality", in Lodato S.M. – Aspden S. – Bernhart W.

Interestingly, while one would expect that this transposition changes the reader's experience, this does not necessarily need to be the case here. As the original printed medium was most likely a broadside, it would encourage the type of public, group reading that was also facilitated by the painted medium. Whether in the inner courtyard of the castle or in a walk-through room, the text and the image could become a conversation piece for the people who wandered there, looked at the image and read the text together, maybe even gave one another a performed reading of it. This case is fascinating not only for the type of material evidence it offers on the circulation of merry imprints in sixteenth-century France, but also because it helps us to better comprehend how joyful books, and books of leisure more broadly, could be read in group settings and in performed readings in the early modern period. The reading experience of this comic literature for leisure was not solely an individual one, but a communal one. It is also a striking example of the survival of a printed item, now lost, via another, more durable medium, which opens new avenues of research for the study of similar Renaissance paintings with a literary subject.

6   Conclusion

Exploring the notion of reader's experience through the analysis of early modern printed objects, the traces they left in their time, and their conservation process, leads us to a more precise understanding of the functioning of such objects. In the case of the merry imprints considered here, new elements emerge, which were not immediately palpable from the simple reading of the text, but which appear clearly in context. It is worth noting that, contrary to other joyful tales that lived through words and therefore were mostly or exclusively printed in book form, most of the imprints we have kept with the *Bigorne and Chicheface* tale are broadsides with a very strong common iconographic programme. Does this survival in single-sheet items reflect the visual appeal of this specific story and the long-standing fascination for striking illustrations that gradually came to survive without the need of textual commentary? The survival of joyful broadsides with other topics in the Dutch and German contexts leads us to think that the whole production of this type of single-sheet items was certainly much more important than suggested by

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(eds.), *Essays in Honor of Steven Paul Scher and on Cultural Identity and the Musical Stage* (Amsterdam – New York: 2002) 19; Rajewsky I.O., "Intermediality, Intertextuality, and Remediation: A Literary Perspective on Intermediality", *Intermédialités / Intermediality* 6 (2005) 43–64.

the traces it has left in the scattered surviving copies. By any standard, it is clear that the *Bigorne and Chicheface* case must have been exceptional, given the amount of editions and formats that circulated in several language areas, based on the corpus that we still have.

The predominance of the broadsheet format for this corpus also reveals more clearly than for other printed forms the specific interactions that readers had with joyful imprints at large, not merely via individual, silent reading, but with more interactive and performative options. We should not exclude, however, the possibilities that more traditional formats of books allowed for such an interactive reading as well, as can be gathered from more scattered evidence that needs further exploration.[49] The case study of the *Bigorne and Chicheface* imprints points, in any case, to the necessity to continue this search for more contextual elements pertaining to the circulation of joyful imprints, that may further reveal how they were used by their readers, for their enjoyable content and for their striking appearance.

Appendix: Table of the Editions Cited in the Article

	Standardised title of the imprint (language)	Publishing details; artist responsible for the image/author of the text	Number of copies kept; locations cited in the article
1	*Chicheface* (FR)	[Paris, Guy Marchant: ca. 1495]; artist unknown	1 copy; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Einbl IV b, 1
2	*Chicheface qui mange toutes les bonnes femmes* (FR)	[Lyon, s.n.: ca. 1537]; artist unknown	1 copy; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds Rothschild 528
3	*Bigorne qui menge tous les hommes qui font le commandement de leurs femmes* (FR)	[Lyon, s.n.: ca. 1537]; artist unknown	3 copies from 2 editions. 1 copy of each edition in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, BnF RES-YE-919 and Fonds Rothschild 527 (third copy at castle of Villeneuve-Lembron)

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49   See for instance the remarks of Cécile de Morrée on the collective use of (joyful) songbooks: Morrée C. de, "De la musique sans notes au XVIᵉ siècle: chansonnier, parolier, recueil de poèmes", scholarly blog *Histoire du Livre* (23 June 2019), https://histoire livre.hypotheses.org/4249 [accessed 22 November 2022].

	Standardised title of the imprint (language)	Publishing details; artist responsible for the image/author of the text	Number of copies kept; locations cited in the article
4	*Zwey Wunderthier so erst newlich ins Teütschland gebracht sind worden* (GER)	Augsburg, Hans Schultes the Elder: 1586; artist unknown	1 copy; Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Graphische Sammlung (GSB) PAS II 22/8
5	*Bigorne and Chicheface* (unknown)	s.n., s.l., s.d.; artist unknown	1 copy, lost; previously in the collection of Hernando Colón
6	*Bigorne* (FR)	Paris, for Simon Graffart: [ca. 1600]; artist unknown	1 copy; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Estampes, RESERVE QB-201 (13)-FOL <p. 20>
7	*Bigorne* (FR)	Lyon, Leonard Odet: [ca. 1600]; artist unknown	1 copy; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, IP 21
8	*Vande goede mannen en quade wyven* (NL)	Amsterdam, David de Meyn: 1611; artist: Jansz. Visscher	2 copies; Gotha, Herzogliches Museum and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Estampes, Tf 2, Res, p. 48
9	*A picture of the fat monster and the leane, the one called Bulchim, and the other Thingul* (ENG)	London, William Butler: 1620; artist: Renold Elstrack	Lost edition
10	*A picture of the fat monster and the leane, the one called Bulchim, and the other Thingul* (ENG)	London, Robert Pricke: [after 1620]; artist unknown, after Ronald Elstrack	1 copy; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library
11	*Fill Gutt and Pinch Belly* (ENG)	London, Edward Allde for Henry Gosson: 1620; artist unknown; text by Johan Taylor	1 copy; London, Society of Antiquaries, Cab Lib g
12	*Bigorne / Scharminkel* (NL)	[Augsburg, Johann Klockers: 1621]; artist: Pieter van der Keere.	Several copies; cited: London, British Museum 1885,1114.103 and Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum RP-P-OB-78.806
13	*Bigorne en Scherminckel* (NL)	(s.n., Hugo Allard: s.d.); after Pieter van der Keere Unknown	At least one copy; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-1951-337
14	*Bigorne and Chicheface* (GER)		1 copy; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (not found)

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Bigorne ([Augsburg], [Johann Klockers]: [1621]).

Bigorne en Scherminckel (s.n., Hugo Allard: s.d.).

Bigorne qui mange tous les hommes [...] (s.l. [Lyon], s.n., s.d.).

Bigorne, engraved by Pieter van der Keere ([Augsburg], [Johann Klockers]: [1621]).

Chicheface (Paris, Guy Marchant: [ca. 1495]).

Chicheface qui mange toutes les femmes (s.l. [Lyon], s.n., s.d.).

Compost et kalendrier des bergiers (Paris, Guy Marchant: 18 April 1493).

Coquillart Guillaume, *S'ensuyvent les droitz nouveaulx* [...] (Paris, Veuve Jean Trepperel: [ca. 1513]).

Fill Gutt and Pinch Belly [...] (London, Edward Allde for Henry Gosson: 1620).

Histoire facecieuse de la Bigorne [...] (Lyon, Leonard Odet: [ca. 1600]).

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Pour ce fault morir en vivant: Medieval Humanist Readings of Text and Images in Pierre Michault's *Danse aux aveugles*

Margriet Hoogvliet

In overviews of French literary history, the author Pierre Michault is usually grouped among representatives of the literary movement known as *les Grands Rhétoriqueurs*. Likewise, his work *La danse aux aveugles*, an allegorical text written in verse and prose, was qualified recently as a "rhetorical play".[1] There are, however, also reasons to consider this ingeniously composed text not only as a work with aesthetic and literary aspirations, but also as a key work in the textual culture of religion in the French vernaculars during the fifteenth century, a quality that has not been noted before in modern scholarship. In this essay I will argue that the *Danse aux aveugles* is manifestly inspired by the moral philosophy of medieval humanism, Christian Neo-Stoicism, and late medieval movements that pleaded for religious improvement.[2] In this

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spirit, the text addresses questions concerning a good life and a good death, and it teaches strong moral attitudes that help its readers to face the difficulties and temptations of life. Seen from this perspective, the worldview as presented in the *Danse aux aveugles* is close to the *Livre de bonnes meurs*, written ca. 1404/1410 by the Augustinian friar Jacques Legrand, with which the *Danse* shares its inspiration from Neo-Stoic philosophy on the importance of overcoming the fear of death, and ideas concerning the importance of using one's rational mind for religious matters.[3]

Bible-based and religious texts in the French vernaculars dating from the late Middle Ages constitute a vast and understudied field.[4] A remarkably high number of different texts were available for readers to choose from. The textual output was characterised on the one hand by a strong variability (*mouvance*) of texts, while on the other hand many texts survive in only one material witness. From a reader's perspective this textual culture can be typified as easily accessible by lay readers, due to the high number of copies in circulation. This was the result of a widespread peer-to-peer and decentralised dissemination among the laity, which was less susceptible to control and censorship by religious and political authorities than often thought.[5] The *Danse aux aveugles*

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improvement, see: Hoogvliet M., "Questioning the 'Republican Paradigm': Scripture-Based Reform in France before the Reformation", in François W. – Den Hollander A. (eds.), *Vernacular Bible and Religious Reform in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Era* (Leuven: 2017) 75–106.

3   Legrand Jacques, *Archiloge Sophie. Livre de bonnes meurs*, ed. E. Beltran (Geneva: 1986) 285–419. See further: Hoogvliet M., "Brave burgers dankzij de Bijbel: leesaanwijzingen in Jacques Legrands *Livre de bonnes meurs*", *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 126/2 (2013) 194–205. It is important to note that Legrand's book and the *Danse* are bound together in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (hereafter: BnF), MS fr. 1119 and that Michault was familiar with Legrand's Latin work, see: Beltran E., "Un passage du *Sophilogium* emprunté par Michault dans le *Doctrinal*", *Romania* 96 (1975) 405–412.

4   Hasenohr G., *Textes de dévotion et lectures spirituelles en langue romane (France, XIIe–XVIe siècle)* (Turnhout: 2015); Boulton M., *Sacred Fictions of Medieval France: Narrative Theology in the Lives of Christ and the Virgin, 1150–1500* (Cambridge: 2015); Passot-Mannooretonil A., *Poètes et pédagogues de la Réforme catholique* (Paris: 2019); Hoogvliet M., "Reading the Gospels in the Life and Passion of Christ in French (ca. 1400–ca. 1550)", in Ardissino E. – Boillet É. (eds.), *Lay Readings of the Bible in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: 2020) 139–169; Hoogvliet M., "*Car dieu veult estre serui de tous estaz*. Encouraging and Instructing Laypeople in French from the Late Middle Ages to the Early Sixteenth Century", in Corbellini S. – Hoogvliet M. – Ramakers B.A.M. (eds.), *Discovering the Riches of the Word: Religious Reading in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: 2015) 111–140.

5   Hoogvliet M. – Corbellini S., "Writing as a Religious *lieu de savoir*", *le Foucaldien* 7/1 (2021) 4, DOI: http://doi.org/10.16995/lefou.92; Long M. – Snijders T. – Vanderputten S. (eds.), *Horizontal Learning in the High Middle Ages. Peer-to-Peer Knowledge Transfer in Religious Communities* (Amsterdam: 2019); McCutcheon R.W., "Silent Reading in Antiquity and the

is one work among the vast number of religious and moralising texts in the French vernaculars that were written and read by both laity and religious.

Since the author had connections with the Burgundian court, modern research has often assumed that the work's readership consisted mainly of royalty, high aristocracy, and courtiers of the French and Burgundian courts. While several of the surviving manuscripts were undoubtedly made for this group of readers, in an earlier publication I have identified manuscripts that circulated in the hands of merchants and subaltern municipal officers living in the urban societies of Lille, Paris, Troyes, and Rouen.[6] In this essay, I intend to focus on the texts and images in the handwritten and printed material witnesses of the French *Danse aux aveugles*, in order to uncover information that allows us to retrace some aspects of historical reading experiences of this work. I will argue that indications present in the material books, together with suggestions in the text itself and in the illustrations, all considered together invite the readers to read and to understand the *Danse aux aveugles* as a lesson in medieval humanist and Christian Neo-Stoic moral values. Methodologically, I will above all consider how directions in the actual text, paratext, illustrations, and materiality of the books invite the reader to identify with a textual 'implied reader' and to perform an 'ideal reading practice'.[7] These suggestions were not necessarily followed by all historical readers, but they nevertheless provide valuable information about historical conceptualisations of reading techniques and interpretative strategies. Furthermore, my approach will also be informed by Evanghelia Stead's ideas concerning books as cultural objects that should be studied from an interdisciplinary perspective on the nexus of

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Future History of the Book", *Book History* 18 (2015) 22–24; Johnston M. – Van Dussen M., "Introduction: Manuscripts and Cultural History", in Johnston M. – Van Dussen M. (eds.), *The Medieval Manuscript Book: Cultural Approaches* (Cambridge: 2015) 9–10.

6   For example, Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1696 belonged to the French king Louis XII (formerly Gruuthuse collection) and Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1989 has the arms of Pierre de Beaujeu, duke of Bourbon, who was married to Anne de Beaujeu, sister of the French king Charles VIII and regent of France between 1483 and 1491. Dlabačová A. – Hoogvliet M., "Tekstuele mobiliteit en gedeelde leescultuur: religieuze literatuur tussen het Frans en het Middelnederlands", *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 136/3 (2020) 99–129.

7   On the notion and function of paratext: Brown-Grant R. et al. (eds.), *Inscribing Knowledge in the Medieval Book: The Power of Paratexts* (Berlin: 2019) and Smith H. – Wilson L. (eds.), *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge: 2011). For implied readers: Campbell K., *The Call to Read: Reginald Pecock's Books and Textual Communities* (Notre Dame: 2010) 148–180; Strohm P., "Chaucer's Audience(s): Fictional, Implied, Intended, Actual", *The Chaucer Review* 18/2 (1983) 137–145; Evans R., "Readers/Audiences/Texts", in Wogan-Browne J. (ed.), *The Idea of the Vernacular* (Philadelphia: 1999) 115–116.

codicology, literary analysis, and cultural factors determining textual production, dissemination, and reception.[8]

After a presentation of the author and the text of the *Danse aux aveugles*, I will proceed with a close reading of the text and its material manifestations, while taking into account the media changes from written images (*ekphrasis*) to visual images, as well as the transfer from manuscript to print, with a main focus on those textual parts that were singled out for illustration.[9] Surprisingly, the second and most important part of the *Danse aux aveugles*, where the reader can find remedies that will help him or her resist the allure of the three horrible dances, was only rarely singled out for illustration. As I will suggest, most notably this part of the text was intended to be read aloud by a company of readers as a semi-theatrical dialogue. Furthermore, I will argue that the ekphrastic descriptions of composite and allegorical scenes in the first part of Michault's text triggered the insertion of an illustration.[10] A comparison with two similar, highly influential and almost contemporary ekphrastic, allegorical and moralising texts and their visualisations, Francesco Petrarchs's *Trionfi* (third quarter of the fourteenth century) and Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata* (first quarter of the sixteenth century), suggests that late medieval and early modern readers were trained by cultural scripts to expect 'refined' meanings and moralising lessons (as given in the second part of the *Danse aux aveugles*) when confronted with composite and allegorical images. As I will argue, this may in part explain the absence of images in the second and most important part of the *Danse aux aveugles*, where the readers could find moral and spiritual remedies against the three dances.

1   The *Danse aux aveugles*: The Cultural Context and Medieval Humanism

The person signing the *Danse aux aveugles* in the last stanza with 'Pierre' and 'Michault' can hardly be documented beyond this name, which has been

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8   Stead E., "Introduction", in Stead E. (ed.), *Reading Books and Prints as Cultural Objects* (Cham: 2018) 1–30.

9   For ekphrasis in medieval literature and culture, see: Wandhoff H., *Ekphrasis: Kunstbeschreibungen und virtuelle Räume in der Literatur des Mittelalters* (Berlin: 2012); Johnston A.J. – Knapp E. – Rouse M. (eds.), *The Art of Vision: Ekphrasis in Medieval Literature and Culture* (Columbus: 2015); DiFuria A.J. – Melion W. (eds.), *Ekphrastic Image-making in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1700* (Leiden: 2022).

10   For allegorical literature in French, see: Minet-Mahy V., *Esthétique et pouvoir de l'œuvre allégorique à l'époque de Charles VI. Imaginaires et discours* (Paris: 2005).

retraced in only two archival pieces: in 1466 Pierre Michault was identified as secretary of Charles, the future duke of Burgundy (1433–1477), and in 1468 in a donation of books by Philip the Good he was referred to as chaplain of the *protonotaire de Bourbon*.[11] Michault's connections to the Burgundian court are further testified by his work the *Complainte sur la mort d'Isabeau de Bourbon*, written after the death of Charles the Bold's spouse in 1464, and the *Doctrinal du temps présent*, which was dedicated to Philip the Good and his son Charles in 1466. The *Danse aux aveugles* was not dedicated to an aristocratic patron, nor does it contain references to the period it was written. Modern research usually dates the work to 1464, or before 1465.[12]

The *Danse aux aveugles* is an allegorical dream narrative, most likely intended as a critical rewriting of the *Roman de la Rose*, which was considered immoral and irreverent by many intellectuals in the fifteenth century.[13] The narrator of the *Danse aux aveugles* is named Acteur and the narrative starts with his account of a sleepless and worrisome night during which he encountered his own intelligence in human form, an allegorical character who introduced himself as Entendement and who proposed to show to the narrator three vain and worldly dances.[14] Entendement would later reveal that he is the servant of Dame Raison (Lady Reason), to whose reign God has submitted the entire world.[15] Raison is also one of the important allegorical voices in Jean de Meun's part of the *Roman de la Rose*. Just like Dame Raison, Entendement should be interpreted as an advocate of medieval Aristotelian moral philosophy and theology based on logical reasoning.[16]

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11   Michault Pierre, *Oeuvres poétiques*, ed. B. Folkart (Paris: 1980) 71–139. See also: Folkart B., "Structures lexicales et idéologiques au xve siècle: la *Danse aux aveugles* de Pierre Michault", *Cultura neolatina* 37 (1977) 41–74.

12   For Pierre Michault and his works, see: Lefèvre S., "Pierre Michault", in Zink M. – Hasenohr G. (eds.), *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises*, vol. 1: *Le Moyen Âge* (Paris: 1994) 1186–1188.

13   Pisan Christine de – Jean Gerson – Jean de Montreuil – Gontier et Pierre Col, *Le débat sur le "Roman de la Rose". Édition critique, introduction, traductions, notes*, ed. E. Hicks (Paris: 1977).

14   The French text uses the word *mondain*, which can mean the material world (as opposed to the spiritual world) and being attached to the vanities and material goods of the world, source: the online *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français*, http://zeus.atilf.fr/dmf/.

15   Michault, *Oeuvres poétiques* 107.

16   Campbell, *The Call to Read* 148–180; Kenny A. – Pinborg J., "Medieval Philosophical Literature", in Kretzmann N. – Kenny A. – Pinborg J. (eds.), *Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge: 1982) 11–42; Robertson K., *Nature Speaks: Medieval Literature and Aristotelian Philosophy* (Philadelphia: 2017) 127–176; Robert A., "L'idée de logique morale aux xiiie et xive siècles", *Médiévales* 63 (2012) 27–45; Zumthor P., *Le masque et la lumière. La poétique des grands rhétoriqueurs* (Paris: 1978) 99–103. For

With Entendement as his guide, Acteur visited three vast enclosed spaces where people were dancing, unable to resist, in each case in front of a blindfolded and omnipotent ruler (the *aveugles* of the title): Cupid, Lady Fortune, and Lady Atropos; the last referring to the Greek personification of destiny who cuts the line of life.[17] The account of each visit follows the same structure: Acteur describes in prose the horrible scene they witnessed with much attention for visual detail. For example, the first dance was presided by a winged and naked young man, blindfolded and carrying a bow and a bunch of arrows. On his right side sat a woman, her dress strewn with flames and with a burning torch in her hand, as if it were a sceptre. On each side of the space two minstrels were playing melodious music: one was a handsome young man, the other an elegant young woman. A huge crowd of men and women, of all ages and from all countries, including people from 'strange' nations, such as 'Heathens, Indians, Chaldeans, Jews, Turks, Saracens, and many more', were completely subjected to the dance [Fig. 10.1].[18] In a following prose dialogue Entendement explained the meaning of the scene they were witnessing, by answering Acteur's questions and addressing the latter's feelings of fear and abhorrence. Each time after the initial part in prose, Cupid, Lady Fortune, and Lady Atropos declared, in monologues consisting of a long series of verse stanzas, their all-invading power over humanity. The alternation of verse and prose parts is typical of the poetical production of the French-speaking 'Rhétoriqueurs'.[19]

The second and most important part of the *Danse aux aveugles* is composed of 64 stanzas of seven lines each. The eight-foot verse used here is the traditional form of verse narrative in French, often used for reading aloud in front of an audience.[20] Consequently, this presentation of the text must have been a format that the historical audience was used to listen to and which they could follow with ease.

"faith-guided reason" see: Grant E., *God and Reason in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: 2001) 217.

17   In Greek her name is Ἄτροπος.

18   Michault, *Oeuvres poétiques* 86.

19   On *prosimètre*, see: Armstrong A. – Kay S., *Knowing Poetry: Verse in Medieval France from the Rose to the Rhétoriqueurs* (Ithaca: 2011) 160–163; Hemelryck T. Van, *Le prosimètre à la Renaissance* (Paris: 2005); Armstrong A., "'Half dicht, half prose gheordineert': vers et prose de moyen français en moyen néerlandais", *Le moyen français* 76–77 (2015) 7–38.

20   Zink M., *Littérature française du Moyen Âge* (Paris: 1992) 72, 131–132; Stefano G. di, "Structure métrique et structure dramatique dans le théâtre médiéval", in Braet H. – Nowé J. – Tournoy G. (eds.), *The Theatre in the Middle Ages* (Leuven: 1985) 194–206. For medieval practices of public reading, see: Coleman J., *Public Reading and the Reading Public in late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge: 1996).

FIGURE 10.1   The dance of Cupid, manuscript painting, third quarter of
                the 15th century. Pierre Michault, *La danse aux aveugles*.
                Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 1989, fol. 7r
                SOURCE: GALLICA.BNF.FR / BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE
                DE FRANCE

The stanzas of the second part alternately represent the voices of Acteur and
Entendement while they are discussing the remedies against these horrifying
dances. This is the most important part of the text, because here Entendement,
and, as the conversation continues, increasingly Acteur, express the moral ideas
of medieval humanism and Christian Neo-Stoicism, together with ideals con-
cerning the importance of using one's faculty of rational reasoning in matters

of religiosity and ethics, and the importance of having control over one's passions. Firstly, the remedies against the powers of Cupid are self-control, moderation, and teaching strong moral values, most notably to young people:

> *Tant qu'ilz seront dessous sobresse*
> *et soubz bon regime tenuz,*
> *Ayans d'exercite l'adresse*
> *ilz n'auront cure de Venuz.*[21]

> (As long as they [young people living in the world] pursue moderation and they are subjected to good guidance that has moral improvement as its main goal, they will not be interested in Venus.)

This emphasis on the importance of having good moral values and control over one's passions is an early manifestation of an attitude that is expressed in a very similar way in later humanist works on education, such as Erasmus' *On Good Manners for Boys* (*De civilitate morum puerilium*, 1530) and Rabelais' character Eudemon, figuring in *Gargantua* (1534), the well-educated boy with exemplary manners and behaviour thanks to his humanist teachers.[22]

Lady Fortune, who arbitrarily distributes and withholds wealth and good luck, can be combatted by giving away one's possessions:

> *Quand povreté est voluntaire*
> *Elle ne peut nul maleur craindre*
> *Ne Fortune ne la peut faire*
> *Par son tourner chanter ne plaindre.*[23]

> (When poverty is voluntary, it loses fear of misfortune, and Lady Fortune cannot make it happily singing or complaining by turning the wheel.)

The medieval idea of voluntary poverty was inspired by the Evangelical ideals of charity and poor relief. It was also a response to Christ's statement that rich people cannot enter Paradise and his injunction to give away one's possessions: 'If you want to be perfect, go, sell your possessions and give to the poor,

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21   Michault, *Oeuvres poétiques* 125.

22   Referring to the Greek philosophical ideal of *eudaimonia*, a flourishing life and happiness, see: Robert A., *Épicure aux enfers: hérésie, athéisme et hédonisme au Moyen Âge* (Paris: 2021) 235.

23   Michault, *Oeuvres poétiques* 131.

and you will have treasure in heaven. Then come, follow me'.[24] The ideal of voluntary poverty was shared by a broad range of late medieval spiritual reform movements and religious groups of laypeople.[25]

Finally, Entendement explained that people cannot escape death and the dance of Lady Atropos, but having a good life and contemplating the moment of one's death can put an end to being consumed by fear, and thus it is, paradoxically, an inspiration to live:

> On dit "De tel vie, tel fin":
> Pour ce fault morir en vivant
> Et recorder sa mort, afin
> Qu'on puisse bien vivre en morant
> Tu as assez sceu cy avant
> Et ne fault ja que le t'escrive:
> Qui bien voldra morir, bien vive.[26]

(People say: 'As life was, so its end will be'. Because of this, one should die while living and remember one's death, so that one can live well while dying. You should be aware of this by now, and it should not be necessary to write this for you: The person who wants to die well, should live well.)

In the discussion of the remedies against the dance of death, the author of the *Danse aux aveugles* shows again that he is an early humanist and a representative of Christian Neo-Stoic thought, following the ideas of such philosophers as Epicure, Socrates, and Seneca, who all propagated the importance of remaining calm in the face of death and of preparing oneself for the end of life

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24   Matthew 19:21, see also Mark 10:21, Luke 10:22. See also Legrand, *Archiloge Sophie. Livre de bonnes meurs* 331: 'povreté [est] bonne quant elle est voulentaire' (poverty is good when it is voluntary).

25   Engen J. Van, *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life: The Devotio Moderna and the World of the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: 2009) 26, 122, 241–248, 265; Little L.K., *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (London: 1978); Farmer S., "Introduction", in Farmer S. (ed.), *Approaches to Poverty in Medieval Europe: Complexities, Contradictions, Transformations, c. 1100–1500* (Turnhout: 2016) 1–22; de Miramon C., *Les "donnés" au moyen âge: une forme de vie religieuse laïque (v. 1180–v. 1500)* (Paris: 1999); Vauchez A., "La pauvreté volontaire au Moyen Âge", *Annales: Économies. Sociétés. Civilisations* 25/6 (1970) 1566–1573.

26   Michault, *Oeuvres poétiques* 137. See also the remark by Entendement: 'Maiz le penser en la mort et en ses effectz ne tue point gens, ains les fait vivre comme aprés pourras ouyr' (But the thought of death and its effects does not kill people, but allows them to live, as you can hear hereafter): Michault, *Oeuvres poétiques* 121.

by living well in order to achieve a good death.[27] The dance of Lady Atropos closely resembles late medieval texts that seek to inculcate a terror of death, such as the *Danse macabré* (ca. 1423).[28] However, the remedy against the dance of death as outlined in the second part of the *Danse aux aveugles* proposes an entirely different attitude: *contemplatio mortis*, thinking continuously of death and therefore escaping the fear it inspires, and, paradoxically, enabling life. *Contemplatio mortis* is often discussed in modern scholarship as a typical feature of sixteenth-century Renaissance culture.[29] However, the idea must have circulated earlier, during the late Middle Ages. For example, Michault may have found his inspiration in such vernacular works as Jacques Legrand's *Livre de bonnes meurs*, who highly recommended following the ancient philosophers in contemplating death:

> *Tulle allegue Socrates ou premier livre de ses questions Tusculaines, qui disoit que la vie des philosophes estoit de penser a la mort. ... Seneque aussi dit en sa .XVIIIe. epistre que l'omme devient franc pour penser a la mort, car elle fait eschever pechié, du quel vient servitude.*[30]

> ([Marcus Tullius Cicero] refers to Socrates in the first book of his *Tusculanae Quaestiones*, who said that the life of philosophers consists of contemplating death. Seneca also writes in his eighteenth letter that people can free themselves by thinking of death, because it makes people stop sinning, which causes servitude.)

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27   The notions of *apatheia* and *mens immobilis* in the face of death were also discussed by Saint Augustine and Boethius, see: Colish, *The Stoic Tradition*, vol. 2, 221–225 and 282–285.

28   Zvonareva A. – Wijsman H. (eds.), *Les danses macabres, la* Danse Macabré: *textes and contextes*, special issue of *Le Moyen Âge* 127/1 (2021). I strongly disagree with the qualification of the *Danse aux aveugles* as being typical of the "language of terror" of the late medieval Church, as in: Roy B., "Pierre Michault choréographe. La danse des trois Aveugles", in idem, *Cy nous dient ... Dialogue avec quelques auteurs médiévaux* (Orléans: 1999) 53–67; idem, "Amour, Fortune et Mort: la danse des trois aveugles", in Sutto C. (ed.), *Le sentiment de la mort au Moyen Âge. Études présentées au Cinquième colloque de l'Institut d'études médiévales de l'Université de Montréal* (Montreal: 1979) 119–137.

29   Flachmann M., "Fitted for Death: 'Measure for Measure' and the 'Contemplatio Mortis'", *Studies in Shakespeare* 22/2 (1992) 222–241; Ariès P., *L'homme devant la mort* (Paris: 1977) 293–297.

30   Legrand, *Archiloge Sophie. Livre de bonnes meurs* 393. As indicated above in footnote 3, the *Danse aux aveugles* is bound together with Legrand's *Livre de bonnes meurs* in one volume, showing that historical readers did perceive conceptual elements linking these two works.

Another possible inspiration for Michault's ideas concerning death may have come from texts that originated in the movements of religious renewal in the northern Low Countries, such as the *Cordiale de quatuor novissimus*, written between 1380 and 1396 by Gerard van Vliederhoven, member of the Teutonic order in Utrecht, who discussed in the first part of his text the importance of the contemplation of death.[31] In the fifteenth century this work became one of the central texts of the Modern Devotion movement, both in the Latin original and translations into Middle Dutch.[32] The influence of this work has also been retraced in the poetry in Middle Dutch written by the *Rederijkers* in the southern Low Countries.[33] Since Michault was living and working in these regions as well, he may have come into contact with these ideas.

In spite of its philosophical inspiration, which may have been difficult to grasp entirely for some readers, and the strong moral directions that could be hard to apply in real life, the *Danse aux aveugles* did have an impressive dissemination during the late Middle Ages and early sixteenth century, with at least twenty surviving medieval manuscripts, eight incunabula editions, and four more printed editions until 1543.[34] In addition, the text was translated into Middle Dutch and printed by Gerard Leeu in Gouda in 1482.[35] As a consequence, the *Danse aux aveugles* enjoyed a broad geographical dissemination, from the northern Low Countries to French Brittany, Paris, Geneva, and Lyon. The small format and low-quality paper of the printed editions of

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31   Dusch M., *De Veer Utersten. Das Cordiale de quatuor novissimis von Gerhard von Vliederhoven in mittelniederdeutscher Überlieferung* (Cologne: 1975).

32   Gerrits G.H., *Inter timorem et spem: A Study of the Theological Thought of Gerard Zerbolt of Zutphen (1367–1398)* (Leiden: 1986) 252–253.

33   Oosterman J., "Het rekenboek geopend. De laatste dingen in de vroege Brugse rederijkers-lyriek", *Queeste* 7/1 (2000) 151–153.

34   The surviving manuscripts are listed on the website of the Jonas database, maintained by the IRHT in Paris: http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/4077 [accessed 10 November 2022]. The first printed editions are Geneva, [Louis Cruse: about 1479–80], ISTC im00564850 and [Bruges, Colard Mansion: 1479–84], ISTC im00564900; the other incunabula editions are ISTC im00565000, ISTC im00565300, ISTC im00565500, ISTC im00565700, ISTC im00566000, ISTC im00566200. ISTC numbers refer to the *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue*, https://data.cerl.org/istc/ [accessed 10 November 2022]. The latest printed edition of the text was Lyon: Olivier Arnoullet, 1543, USTC 40236. USTC numbers refer to *Univerisal Short Title Catalogue. An Open Access Bibliography of Early Modern Print Culture*, https://www.ustc.ac.uk/ [accessed 10 November 2022].

35   Michault Pierre, *Van den drie Blinde Danssen* (Gouda, Gerard Leeu: 1482), ISTC im00566500. Dixon R., "The Blind Leading the Blind? Choreographing the Transcultural in Pierre Michault's *La Danse aux aveugles* and Gheraert Leeu's *Van den drie blinden danssen*", in Armstrong A. – Strietman E. (eds.), *The Multilingual Muse: Transcultural Poetics in the Burgundian Netherlands* (Cambridge: 2017) 149–161; Dlabačová – Hoogvliet, "Tekstuele mobiliteit en gedeelde leescultuur".

the *Danse aux aveugles* suggest that in addition to the high aristocracy and university-trained readers, this work was within reach of middle-class readers, who were probably skilled enough to appreciate the poetical qualities of the text and its intellectual humanist and religious message.

The manuscript witnesses of the *Danse aux aveugles* have regularly survived together with other texts, bound in multi-text manuscripts.[36] This codicological context suggests the thematic and cultural expectations of the historical readers, reflecting too the intertextual links that inspired Pierre Michault, as discussed earlier: *Rhétoriqueur* poetry, works of moral and religious instruction, and allegorical and ekphrastic texts. For example, in manuscript Brussels, Royal Library, 11020–11033, the *Danse aux aveugles* can be found among *Rhétoriqueur* poetry by Georges Chastellain, Alain Chartier, and others.[37] In manuscript 146 of the Bibliothèque du Château in Chantilly, the *Danse* is reproduced together with two religious and devotional texts, the *Discipline de sapience* (fols. 1r–34r; a shortened version of Heinrich Suso's *Horologium sapientiae* in French translation), and the *Jardin amoureux de l'âme dévote* (fols. 34r–40v), attributed to Pierre d'Ailly.[38] In manuscript français 1186 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, Michault's *Danse* was copied together with Christine de Pizan's *Epistre Othea* (fols. 1r–54v), also an allegorical work combining prose and verse, voiced by Othea writing a letter with moral guidance and spiritual instructions to the young Hector.[39] In manuscript français 1119 in the same

36 Bausi A. – Friedrich M. – Maniaci M. (eds.), *The Emergence of Multiple-Text Manuscripts* (Berlin: 2019); Corbellini S. – Murano G. – Signore G. (eds.), *Collecting, Organizing and Transmitting Knowledge: Miscellanies in Late Medieval Europa* (Turnhout: 2018); Connolly M. – Radulescu R. (eds.), *Insular Books: Vernacular Manuscript Miscellanies in Late Medieval Britain* (Oxford: 2015); Hemelryck T. Van – Marzano S. – Dignef A. (eds.), *Le recueil au Moyen Âge: la fin du Moyen Âge* (Turnhout: 2010).

37 Copied by one hand and ex-libris notes of Jean de Clèves throughout the manuscript. A digital version of this manuscript can be consulted online: https://opac.kbr.be/LIBRARY /doc/SYRACUSE/18409980 [accessed 10 November 2022].

38 Copied by one hand and all decoration painted by the same artist. A digital version of this manuscript can be consulted online: https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult .php?REPRODUCTION_ID=272 [accessed 10 November 2022].

39 Copied by different hands, but a late fifteenth-century hand has added running titles throughout the manuscript. A digitised black-and-white microfilm of this manuscript can be consulted on *Gallica*: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90591173 [accessed 10 November 2022]. The *Epistre Othea* itself is also a strongly intertextual work, see: Parussa G., "Le concept d'intertextualité comme hypothèse interprétative d'une oeuvre. L'exemple de l'Epistre Othea' de Christine de Pizan", *Studi francesi* 37 (1993) 471–493. For the illustrations of the *Epistre Othea* and their interpretative function, see: Barbier A.-M., "La mise en page de l'illustration dans un manuscrit de l'*Epistre Othea* du début du XVᵉ siècle: fonctions et signification", in Charron P. – Gil M. – Vilain A. (eds.), *La pensée du*

library, the *Danse aux aveugles* is combined with several texts, among which is a French translation of Petrarch's *Trionfi* (fols. 1r–46r), with which the *Danse* shares its ekphrastic visual descriptions of composite allegorical images, as well as a strong moralising message concerning love, fame, and death.[40] I will come back to this point below. As mentioned earlier, this last manuscript also contains Jacques Legrand's *Livre de bonnes meurs* (fols. 211r–272r).[41] All printed editions of the *Danse aux aveugles* as we know them now are 'stand-alone' texts, which does not preclude that in the past the text may have been bound together with other works in now-lost *Sammelbände*.

2 Reading the *Danse aux aveugles* in Text, Image, and Company

Turning now to the illustrations of the *Danse aux aveugles*, not every surviving manuscript copy is illustrated with miniatures or drawings, while all printed editions have illustrations, or have spaces left open for them.[42]

In manuscript français 1654 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, the *Danse aux aveugles* is illustrated with four half-page manuscript paintings: one at the beginning of the text, showing Acteur in his bed and Entendement standing beside him while emphasising the points of his argument by pointing at his fingers (fol. 149r).[43] The beginning of Cupid's, Lady Fortune's, and Lady Atropos' verse monologues are illustrated with miniatures visualising the dances and their blindfolded leaders [Fig. 10.2], while Entendement and Acteur are depicted discussing the dances they are witnessing (fols. 153r, 161v, 171r). Manuscript français 1989 in the same library has a very similar programme of illustration: sleeping Acteur, this time in a tent named

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      regard. Études d'histoire de l'art du Moyen Âge offertes à Christian Heck (Turnhout: 2016) 37–45.

40   This manuscript was copied by different hands, and it has now a seventeenth-century binding with the coat of arms of Jean-Baptiste Colbert, but five circular marks (quincunx) left by the metal bosses of the medieval binding on both the first and the last folios show that the texts were originally bound together. A black-and-white microfilm of this manuscript can be consulted on *Gallica*: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90074352 [accessed 10 November 2022]. On French translations of Petrarch's *Trionfi*: Parussa G. – Suomela Härmä E. (eds.), *Les Triomphes de Pétrarque, traduction française de Simon Bourgouin* (Geneva: 2012). On a few occasions, Petrarch visited Paris and several Italian masters were teaching at the university of Paris, see: Gorochov, "Maîtres et étudiants italiens à Paris".

41   See footnote 3.

42   In some manuscripts as well, spaces were left blank but were never filled with images, such as Brussels, Royal Library, MS 11020–11033.

43   A digital version of this manuscript can be consulted on *Gallica*: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b85100277 [accessed 10 November 2022].

FIGURE 10.2   The dance of Cupid, manuscript painting, 1475–1480.
Pierre Michault, *La danse aux aveugles*. Paris, Bibliothèque
nationale de France, MS fr. 1654, fol. 153r
SOURCE: GALLICA.BNF.FR / BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE
DE FRANCE

Esperance (Hope) (fol. 1r), and the three dances (fols. 7r [fig. 10.1], 19r, 34r) at
the beginning of each of the three monologues.[44]

A slightly different approach to the illustration cycle of the *Danse* can
be found in manuscript français 182 of the Bibliothèque de Genève: on the

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44   A digital version of this manuscript can be consulted on *Gallica*: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark
        :12148/btv1b532329894 [accessed 10 November 2022].

opening page of the text the sleeping Acteur is depicted with Entendement as well as the three dances together in one frame [Fig. 10.3].[45] This manuscript was left unfinished, but spaces were left blank for images at the beginning of each prose description of the three dances, and many other smaller miniatures throughout the text. In this manuscript the final discussion about the remedies against the dances was also intended to start with an image and a rubric signalling its content:

> S'ensuyt l'ordonnance et ordre de se bien conduyre en celle vie transitoire ainsy comme Entendement a l'Acteur de ceste danse l'exorte.

> (Here follow the methods to behave well in this transitory life, as well as how Entendement sermonises Acteur about this dance.)

Manuscript français 1696 of the Bibliothèque nationale is the only other manuscript to mark the beginning of the final discussion between Acteur and Entendement with an image (fol. 28r) [Fig. 10.4].[46] Their discussion is situated in a domestic interior with an opened book just behind Entendement, as if their voices are emerging from the written text. As I will argue below, reading aloud was probably an intended reading practice of the *Danse aux aveugles*, suggested by the text and paratext.

The earliest printed editions of the French texts are all illustrated, or were at least intended to be illustrated.[47] The incunabula editions from Geneva, Bréhan-Loudéac, and Lyon have a very similar illustration programme that strongly resembles that of the manuscript copies.[48] Following the example of the illustrations in the manuscript versions, in the early printed editions

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45   Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, MS français 182, fol. 198r. A digital reproduction can be consulted online https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/bge/fr0182 [accessed 10 November 2022].

46   A black-and-white microfilm of this manuscript can be consulted on *Gallica*: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9059041d [accessed 10 November 2022].

47   Michault Pierre, *Les trois danses aux aveugles* ([Bruges: Colard Mansion, 1479–1484]), Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ink 21.E.30, only has a space left blank for an illustration at the beginning of the text.

48   Michault Pierre, *La danse des aveugles* (Geneva, [Louis Cruse: about 1479–1480]), Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Rés Inc 342(3), online https://numelyo.bm-lyon.fr/f_view/BML:BML_00GOO0100137001103719048 [accessed 10 November 2022]; Michault Pierre, *La danse des aveugles* ([Bréhan-Loudéac, Robin Fouquet and Jean Crès: about 1485]), Paris, BnF, RES P-YE-230, online https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k15218690 [accessed 10 November 2022].

FIGURE 10.3   Opening miniature: Sleeping Acteur with Entendement; the three dances, manuscript painting, late 15th–early 16th century. Pierre Michault, *La danse aux aveugles.* Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, MS 182, fol. 198r
WWW.E-CODICES.CH
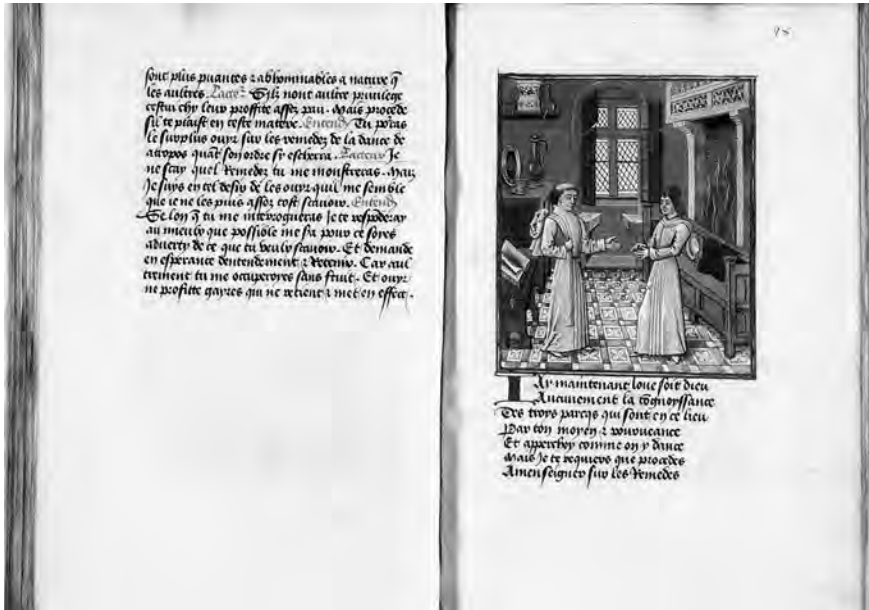
FIGURE 10.4   The beginning of the discussion between Acteur and Entendement about
                  the remedies against the dances, manuscript painting, third quarter of the
                  15th century. Pierre Michault, *La danse aux aveugles*. Paris, Bibliothèque
                  nationale de France, MS fr. 1696, fol. 28r
                  SOURCE: GALLICA.BNF.FR / BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE

the three dances are introduced by a woodcut visualising the dances and their
blindfolded leaders. The only innovation of the printed editions is a woodcut of
Acteur holding a scroll at the beginning of the text [Fig. 10.5] and Entendement
as a winged spirit on the next page.

Modern theoretical reflections on the history of books and reading have sug-
gested that illustrations in books can be "read" as paratexts: verbal and visual
accessories that were added to the text with specific purposes. For example,
title pages often function as a liminal space between the reader and the book,
thus proposing a gateway to the text and preparing the reader's expectations
for its content or argument.[49] Illustrations can translate the text visually or
they give a visual comment on the text, but they are also often employed in

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49   Sherman W.H., "On the Threshold: Architecture, Paratext, and Early Print Culture", in Alcorn
      Baron S. et al. (eds.), *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*
      (Amherst: 2007) 67–81.

FIGURE 10.5   Opening woodcut: Acteur with scroll. Pierre
Michault, *La danse des aveugles* (Lyon, [Guillaume
Le Roy]: [ca. 1487–1488]). Paris, Bibliothèque
nationale de France, RES YE-277, n.p.
SOURCE: GALLICA.BNF.FR / BIBLIOTHÈQUE
NATIONALE DE FRANCE

order to highlight the internal subdivision of a text, to attract the reader's
attention, and to guide them through the text.[50]

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50   Hasenohr G., "Le système de repérage textuel", in Martin H.-J. – Vezin J. (eds.), *Mise en
page et mise en texte du livre manuscrit* (Paris: 1990) 273–287; Toubert H., "Formes et fonc-
tions de l'enluminure", in Chartier R. – Martin H.-J. (eds.), *Histoire de l'édition française –
Vol. 1, Le livre conquérant du Moyen Age au milieu du XVIIe siècle* (Paris: 1982) 87–130;

Interestingly, the images of the *Danse aux aveugles* were added to mark the textual beginning of each of the three dances or the beginning of the verse monologues by Cupid, Lady Fortune, and Lady Atropos. However, the most important message of the text with the remedies against the dances is only rarely highlighted with illustrations. This raises an interesting question: How were the historical readers guided by paratextual elements to the final dialogue between Acteur and Entendement? This final dialogue is the most important part of the *Danse aux aveugles*, because here the readers could find remedies against the three horrible dances. In fact, I would like to argue, the remedies teach the readers the correct "reading" of the visualisations of the three dances as described in the first part of the text and they contain deeper spiritual and moral meanings that the readers were expected to recall when seeing images of the dances.

Older theories of text-image relations have now largely given way to a variety of different approaches, most notably as stated by Michael Curschmann. He has underscored different possibilities for the entanglement of text and illustration, which in Curschmann's words 'create a dynamic that can be played out in a multitude of different ways, depending on individual intent, the temper of the times, regional developments and the different genres of written and pictorial representation'.[51]

On closer examination, the dynamic of the links between text and illustration in the manuscripts and printed editions of the *Danse aux aveugles* can be described in the following manner: firstly, the illustrations visualise Acteur and Entendement as personifications of the text's voices, and secondly, the images of the dances are direct visual translations of the textual descriptions, to such a point that it is possible to suppose that the ekphrastic descriptions of the dances triggered an illustration. For example, the dance of Lady Atropos is described by Acteur as a composite and allegorical scene: a human skeleton (Lady Atropos) with a blood-dripping spear in her hand, riding an oxen with a white cloth between its horns. She is preceded by a pale-skinned woman (Maladie) bearing a banner with the text *Atropos*. Furthermore, there is a

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Stallybrass P., "Books and Scrolls: Navigating the Bible", in Andersen J. – Sauer E. (eds.), *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies* (Philadelphia: 2002) 42–79.

51   Curschmann M., "Epistemological Perspectives at the Juncture of Word and Image in Medieval Books before 1300", in Hoogvliet M. (ed.), *Multi-Media Compositions from the Late Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period* (Leuven: 2004) 1–26. For more approaches to the various links between text and image, see: Hoogvliet M., "L'image légendée: théories modernes et cartes médiévales", in Heck C. (ed.), *Qu'est-ce que nommer? L'image légendée entre monde monastique et pensée scolastique* (Turnhout: 2010) 219–233; Wetzel R. – Flückiger F. (eds.), *Au delà de l'illustration: texte et image au Moyen Âge. Approches méthodologiques et pratiques* (Zurich: 2009); Bateman J.A., *Text and Image: A Critical Introduction to the Visual/Verbal Divide* (Oxon: 2014).

FIGURE 10.6   The dance of Lady Atropos, woodcut.
Pierre Michault, *La danse des aveugles*
([Bréhan-Loudéac, Robin Fouquet and Jean Crès:
about 1485]), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de
France, RES P-YE-230, n.p.
SOURCE: GALLICA.BNF.FR / BIBLIOTHÈQUE
NATIONALE DE FRANCE

white-bearded old man (Eage) with drums and a flute made from bone. At
the end of this gruesome procession walks an old man blowing an animal's
horn (Accident). All dancers leave the scene through a small door.[52] The illus-
trations of the *Danse aux aveugles*, both in manuscript and print, follow the
ekphrastic descriptions closely [Fig. 10.6].

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52   Michault, *Oeuvres poétiques* 110–111.

Ekphrastic descriptions triggering an illustration or another kind of visual representation are a phenomenon that can be found in relation to other late medieval and early humanist texts as well. A first and highly influential example is Petrarch's *Trionfi* (written during a period of over twenty years between 1351 and 1374), which contains ekphrastic descriptions of six complex and allegorical triumphal processions with moralising implications – those of Love, Chastity, Death, Fame, Time, and Eternity –, composite images described with much visual detail, not unlike Michault's descriptions of the dances. As noted above, Michault's *Danse aux aveugles* was bound together with the French translation of Petrarch's *Trionfi* in one manuscript.[53]

At first the manuscripts of the *Trionfi* were not illustrated, but starting in the middle of the fifteenth century illustrated manuscripts appeared, as did other visual representations of the processions described by Petrarch in different media, sometimes without accompanying texts, such as panel paintings, wall paintings, tapestries, and furniture, most notably Italian decorated *cassoni* (marriage chests).[54]

In France, too, artists made visualisations of Petrarch's triumphs, in manuscripts with French translations and adaptations of the text, or in other media, such as the stained-glass windows in the church of Ervy-le-Châtel, south of Troyes, that were made in 1502 [Fig. 10.7].[55] French texts below each triumph explain their moral and spiritual implications, while banderols with Latin texts represent the voices of the allegorical characters. Although these windows were made thirty years after the redaction of the *Danse aux aveugles*, it is important to stress that – as evidenced by the all-pervading cultural influence of Petrarch's *Trionfi* and its visualisations – readers were trained to read

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53   See note 40.

54   Zaho M.A., *Imago Triumphalis. The Function and Significance of Triumphal Imagery for Italian Renaissance Rulers* (Frankfurt a.M.: 2004) 36–45 (esp. 38, n. 48, no Florentine illustrated manuscripts of the *Trionfi* predates 1442); Dodge B., "Petrarch and the Arts", in Eisenbichler K. – Iannucci A. (eds.), *Petrarch's Triumphs: Allegory and Spectacle* (Ottawa: 1990) 177–182; Nyholm E., "A Comparison of the Petrarchan Configuration of the Trionfi and their Interpretation in Renaissance Art", in Eisenbichler K. – Iannucci A. (eds.), *Petrarch's Triumphs: Allegory and Spectacle* (Ottawa: 1990) 235–255; Hodne L., "Faces of Time: Allegories of Change and Fortune in Petrarch's *Trionfi* and Their illustrations", in Guest C.L. (ed.), *Rhetoric, Theatre, and the Arts of Design: Essays Presented at Roy Eriksen* (Oslo: 2008) 69–89.

55   Illustrated manuscripts: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. gall. 14; Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 1125 (damaged); Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 6480 (damaged); Paris, BnF, MS fr. 12423. For the stained-glass in Ervy-le-Châtel: Masson J.-Y. – Amblard P. – Vincent-Petit F., *Les triomphes de Pétrarque: illustrés par le vitrail de l'Aube au XVIe siècle* (Paris: 2018).

FIGURE 10.7   *Top*: Trinity, Mary, symbols of the Evangelists. *Starting upper left*: John the Baptist, soul (of Laura?), John the Evangelist, Petrarch's Triumphs of Fame, Eternity, Time, Love, Chastity, Death, Pierre Girardin (donor), the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, Jehanne Le Clerc (donor). Stained glass, 1502. Church of Saint-Pierre-ès-Liens, Ervy-le-Châtel, France
SOURCE: WIKIMEDIA COMMONS
(HTTPS://COMMONS.WIKIMEDIA.ORG/WIKI/FILE:LE_TRIOMPHE_DE _PÉTRARQUE_DÉTAIL_EVRY_ÉGLISE_ST_PIERRE_BAIE_8_76754.JPG)

complex and allegorical images and they expected to find a deeper spiritual and moralising meaning attached to such visual representations.

A second widely followed text with ekphrastic descriptions of composite images is Andrea Alciato's Latin work *Emblemata*, first printed in 1531.[56] It is relevant to discuss Alciato's *Emblemata* in relation to the *Danse aux aveugles* because Alciato has left a meta-comment on the visuality of emblems and their deeper meaning that suggests the intended interpretative strategies late medieval and early modern readers were expected to deploy.

Alciato originally conceived this Latin work as epigrammatic poetry, without images and consisting of three textual parts: firstly, the title; then a descriptive part, usually with ekphrastic qualities; and finally, a moralising explanation. The images were probably inserted by the printer Heinrich Steiner and were not originally planned as such by Alciato. However, in a letter from 1523 Alciato stated that he would be applauding visual translations of his ekphrastic epigrams by painters and other artists:

> In each epigram I describe something (*aliquid describo*) which is taken from history, images (*ex historia*)[57] or from nature (*ex rebus naturalibus*) and which means (*significet*) something refined (*aliquid elegans*), from which painters, goldsmiths, and metalworkers, can fashion the kind of objects which we call badges (*scuta*) and which we attach to our hats or use as personal devices (signs; *insignia*), like Aldus' anchor, Froben's dove or Calvo's elephant which is labouring so long but gives birth to nothing.[58]

Alciato's statement also shows that he considered the deeper meaning attached to an image as important as the image itself: the *insignia* of the anchor, the dove, or the elephant are in fact shorthand reminders of moralising lessons, while referring to a 'refined meaning' (e.g. prudence, prudent simplicity, and long gestation).[59] His statement also makes explicit a reading technique that

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56 Alciato Andrea, *Emblematum Liber* (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531). With woodcuts by Jörg Breu.

57 'Historia' also refers to an image, see: Blaise A., *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs du Moyen Âge* (Turnhout: 1975) 439.

58 Quotation slightly adapted from: Enenkel K., *The Invention of the Emblem Book and the Transmission of Knowledge, ca. 1510–1610* (Leiden: 2018) 4. See further: Drysdall D.L., "Andrea Alciato, Pater et Princeps", in Daly P.M. (ed.), *Companion to Emblem Studies* (New York: 2008) 79–98; Bässler A., *Die Umkehrung der Ekphrasis. Zur Entstehung von Alciatos "Emblematum liber" (1531)* (Würzburg: 2012).

59 Scholz B.F., "The Truth of Printer's Marks: Andrea Alciato on 'Aldo's Anchor', 'Froben's Dove' and 'Calvo's Elephant'. A Closer Look at Alciato's Concept of the Printer's Mark", in

must have been more generalised around the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century: readers were familiar with composite images, often of an allegorical nature, which they were trained to read and to relate to a spiritual and moralising message.

Returning now to the illustrations of the manuscript and printed copies of Pierre Michault's *Danse aux aveugles*, these were probably not primarily intended as straightforward paratextual navigation tools guiding the readers' attention to the textual descriptions of the three dances. The visualisations of the three dances were most likely triggered by the ekphrastic descriptions. As discussed above, this is a cultural phenomenon that profoundly characterises the visual culture the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, as happened in the case of the ekphrases in other key-texts, such as Petrarch's *Trionfi* and Alciato's *Emblemata*.

In addition, the specific particularities of these two influential and widely imitated examples suggest that late medieval and early sixteenth-century readers were expecting to find 'refined' and moralising meanings attached to this type of composite and allegorical image, or to reactivate the memory thereof from earlier reading sessions. Visualisations of the descriptions were also circulating without the explaining texts, in which case the images functioned as shorthand reminders of the moralising lessons. As a consequence, the images of the three dances did probably not – or not only – function as an incentive for the historical readers of the *Danse aux aveugles* to start reading the ekphrastic descriptions, but rather to search for moralising lessons, which could be found in the second part of the text.

The woodcuts in the printed editions actually suggest such a reading practice, with a focus on the dialogue with remedies against the dances in the second part of the work. The depiction of Acteur at the beginning of some of the earliest printed editions [Fig. 10.4] with a scroll in his hand is an instantly recognisable reference to actors in a theatre play, who also learned their roles from scrolls.[60] The final part of the *Danse aux aveugles* is in fact a semi-theatrical 'teacher and pupil' dialogue with didactic qualities, written in octosyllabic verse that was an invitation to perform the text by reading it aloud in company.[61]

Wolkenhauer A. – Scholz B.F. (eds.), *Typographorum emblemata: The Printer's Mark in the Context of Early Modern Culture* (Berlin: 2018) 269–296.

60   Kelly T.F., *The Role of the Scroll: An Illustrated Introduction to Scrolls in the Middle Ages* (New York: 2019) 101–112.

61   Waters C.M., *Translating Clergie: Status, Education, and Salvation in Thirteenth-Century Vernacular Texts* (Philadelphia: 2016).

As Pierre Michault was active in the Burgundian Netherlands, he must have been familiar with the Middle Dutch rhetorician culture of the *Rederijkers*. In addition to *Rhetoriqueur*-style poetry, these groups also wrote and performed *tafelspelen* (table plays): theatrical dialogues performed by reading aloud in company, not unlike the dialogue between Acteur and Entendement. Bart Ramakers characterises these performances as taking place during banquets of the Chambers of Rhetoric:

> Table plays were staged at ground level, in front of or amidst the banquet-ers, without the use of a platform. They featured one to four characters – mainly personifications – who engaged in a witty, spirited exposition, usually in an allegorical manner.[62]

Although it was written in a more serious tone than the *tafelspelen*, the final dialogue of the *Danse aux aveugles* invites a similar reading aloud performance by a small group of like-minded people who appreciated the allegories, the sophisticated poetical forms as well as the humanism-inspired moral and spiritual implications of the text. The visual layout of this part, both in the handwritten and printed versions, each verse being preceded by an indication of the voice that is speaking, is a manifest clue for the amateur performers enacting the voices of Acteur and Entendement.

3   Conclusion

Pierre Michault's *Danse aux aveugles* (1464) is not only an ingeniously composed text with literary aspirations following the poetical ideas of the *Rhétoriqueurs*. It is also a religious text expressing Christian and medieval humanist values by advocating control of the passions, a good education of

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62   Ramakers B.A.M., "That's What Friends Are for: Amicable Exchanges in Cornelis Everaert's Play of a Jubilee", in Chapman P. (ed.), *Ars Amicitiae: The Art of Friendship in the Early Modern Netherlands* (Leiden: 2020) 9–61; Ramakers B.A.M., "Books, Beads and Bitterness. Making Sense of Gifts in Two Table Plays by Cornelis Everaert", in Corbellini S. – Hoogvliet M. – Ramakers B.A.M. (eds.), *Discovering the Riches of the Word. Religious Reading in Medieval and Early Modern Times* (Leiden: 2015) 141–170; Goldstein C., *Pieter Brueghel and the Culture of the Early Modern Dinner Party* (Farnham: 2013) 75–85; Pikhaus P., *Het tafelspel bij de rederijkers*, 2 vols. (Ghent: 1988–1989).

moral values, charitable donations coupled to the Evangelical ideal of voluntary poverty, and shunning the fear of death by contemplating it frequently, because this would bring about a good death and a meaningful life. Although this work now survives in some splendid and richly illustrated manuscripts that were in the possession of members of the highest aristocratic circles in France and the Burgundian Netherlands, the affordable quality and the number of early printed editions, together with their geographical spreading show that the text must have had a wide readership.

The illustrations in some of the manuscripts and in the printed editions were probably not only intended as paratexts guiding the readers' attention to the descriptive ekphrastic texts that followed immediately, but the combination of image and text operates in a subtler and more dynamic way that is less familiar to modern readers. The images of Acteur and Entendement at the beginning of the material texts function as liminal images guiding the readers into the text by showing them the two voices speaking in the text. The woodcuts of Acteur with a scroll in his hand in the earliest printed editions are a first suggestion of the performative implications of the text. The illustrations accompanying the three dances follow the ekphrastic descriptions in the text closely. In a similar way to the visualisations after the descriptions in Petrarch's *Trionfi* and Alciato's *Emblemata*, the illustrations in the copies of the *Danse aux aveugles* were probably reminders of the moralising and 'refined' messages attached to them, and which could be found in the dialogue in the second part of the text. Late medieval and early modern readers were familiar with this reading technique, because of the widespread cultural influence of texts as Petrarch's *Trionfi*, Alciato's *Emblemata* and an enormous production of other texts and images following their example.

As such, the illustrations in the printed and manuscript copies of the *Danse aux aveugles* likely functioned as an invitation to search further in the text for this deeper, 'refined' and moralising message, which could be found in the second and most important part: the remedies against the dangers of lust, greed, and excessive passions, as discussed in the dialogue between Acteur and Entendement. The specific format of the didactic dialogue that forms the second part of the *Danse aux aveugles* (e.g. clear indications of the voice that is speaking and very readable eight-foot verses) was an invitation to the historical readers for a specific reading practice, intended by the author: reading the text aloud in semi-theatrical performances, not unlike the *tafelspelen* (table plays) of the Middle Dutch-speaking *Rederijkers* in the Burgundian Netherlands.

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Meditating the Unbearable in a Fifteenth-Century Netherlandish Manuscript Prayerbook with Printed Images

Walter S. Melion

1   The *Groenendaal Passion* as *Rapiarium*

Compiled in late fifteenth-century Brabant, Metropolitan Museum Album 2003.476, known as the *Groenendaal Passion*, is a customised manuscript prayerbook organised around first-state impressions of the *Grosse Passion*, a series of twelve prints designed, engraved, and published ca. 1480 by the master engraver-goldsmith Israhel van Meckenem, who was resident in Bocholt (North Rhine-Westphalia) [Figs. 11.1–11.20].[1] All twelve show evidence of plate tone, and the set as a whole is an early printing, exceptionally fine, probably acquired for the express purpose of illustrating the meditative spiritual exercises on the Passion of Christ that the series currently anchors [Figs. 11.4–11.15].[2] The book takes the form of a *rapiarium*, a collection of religious texts in Latin and Middle Dutch gathered from various sources in order to facilitate pious devotion and prayerful edification.[3] As a rubricated title on fol. 16r indicates,

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1   The moniker *Groenendaal Passion* was first applied by the auction house Sotheby's, London, in 2003, when it offered for sale the manuscript now known as Metropolitan Museum Album 2003.476. According to Sotheby's anonymously authored *Catalogue of Old Master, Modern, and Contemporary Prints* (London: 2003) 25, the manuscript contains traces of the coat-of-arms of the Fonteneys and Fonteyn families, from whom it passed to the family of the Prince de Croÿ sometime in the eighteenth century; also see Bambach C.C. – Barker E.E. – Plomp M.C. – Orenstein N. – Stein P. – Rippner S., "Recent Acquisitions: A Selection, 2003–2004", *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 62.2 (2004) 14.

2   On Van Meckenem's *Grosse Passion*, see Riether A. – Metzger C., "Katalog", in Riether, *Israhel van Meckenem (um 1440/45–1503): Kupferstiche – Der Münchner Bestand*, exh. cat., Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München (Munich: 2006) 211–225; on the early impressions pasted into the *Groendaal Passion*, see *Sotheby's Catalogue* 22. On Van Meckenem's strategic efforts to market prints exploitable for the production of manuscript prayerbooks, see Rudy K., *Image, Knife, and Gluepot: Early Assemblage in Manuscript and Print* (Cambridge, UK: 2019) 226–239, 293–294.

3   On *rapiaria* and their close association with the meditative practices of the *devotio moderna*, see Hascher-Burger U. – Jodersma H., "Introduction: Music and the *Devotio Moderna*", *Church History and Religious Culture* 88.3 (2008) 313–328, esp. 320, 323–324.

FIGURE 11.1   Articles 41 and 42 of the *Hondert articulen der passien Iesu Christi* and Israhel
van Meckenem, *Flagellation of Christ*, from the *Große Passion*, ca. 1480. Engraving.
Groenendaal Passion, fols. 23v and 24r. Album: late fifteenth century; each folio
ca. 260 × 204 mm
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, 2003.476

it mainly consists of extensive excerpts from Heinrich Suso's *Hondert articulen
der passien Iesu Christi*, a Middle Dutch translation of the *Hundred Meditations
on the Passion of the Lord* that serves as Part III of his *Büchlein der ewigen
Weisheit* (*Little Book of Eternal Wisdom*).[4] Amplified by texts perhaps borrowed

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4   The *titulus* reads "Centum Articuli dominice passionis". On Suso's *Büchlein*, the second of his
four German books compiled in the *Exemplar*, and its close relation to the *Horologium sapi-
entiae*, the most widely circulated of his Latin mystical treatises, see Künzle P., O.P., *Heinrich
Seuses Horologium Sapientiae: Erste kritische Ausgabe unter Benützung der Vorarbeiten
von Dominikus Planzer O.P.*, Spicilegium Friburgense 23 (Freiburg Schweiz: 1977) 28–54.
On early Dutch versions of Suso's *Hundert Betrachtungen über das Leiden Jesu Christi*,
and their transmission and popularity, see Meyboom H.U., "Suso's *Honderd artikelen* in
Nederland", *Archief voor Nederlandsche kerkgeschiedenis* 1 (1885) 173–207; Parshall P., "A
Dutch Manuscript of ca. 1480 from an Atelier in Bruges", *Scriptorium* 23.2 (1969) 333–337;
and Deschamps J., "De Middelnederlandse vertalingen en bewerkingen van de *Hundert
Betrachtungen und Begehrungen* van Henricus Suso", *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 63 (1989) 309–369.

from an assortment of Dutch manuscripts known as the *Secret Passion*,[5] from a Middle Dutch (partial) manuscript of the Pseudo-Bonaventure's *Meditationes vitae Christi*, and possibly also from incunabula such as *Dat liden ende die passie Ons Heren Jhesu Cristi* (*Life and Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ*), *Tboeck vanden leven Jhesu Christi* (*Book on the Life of Jesus Christ*), and *Devote getijden van het leven Ons Heren* (*Devout Hours of the Life of Our Lord*), this extracted and augmented version of the *Hundred Articles* coalesces into an intensely affective indeed distressingly vivid account of the physical and spiritual suffering of Christ (fols. 14v–41v) [Fig. 11.1].[6] Most of the prints are embedded as

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On dissemination of the *Honderd articulen*, with specific reference to the text's primary audience, Franciscan Tertiaries, both Regulars and Seculars, see Aelst J. van, *Vruchten van de Passie. De laatmiddeleeuwse passieliteratuur verkend aan de hand van Suso's Honderd artikelen* (Hilversum: 2011) 46–92, esp. 46–67; on Suso's portrayal of sanguinary cruelty in the Passion, ibid., 68–77. On Suso's two conceptions of *bild* (image), respectively apophatic and cataphatic, as a transient stage in the process of mystical elevation and as a necessary instrument of mystical knowledge and instruction, see Falque I., "'Daz man bild mit bilde us tribe': Imagery and Knowledge of God in Henry Suso's *Exemplar*", *Speculum* 92.2 (2017) 447–492, esp. 452–464.

5   On the sobriquet *Secret Passion*, used to refer to extra-scriptural Passion narratives such as the *Heimelike Passie*, the *Christi leiden in einer Vision geschaut*, and Heinrich of St. Gallen's *Die Extendit-manum-Passion*, see Marrow J.H., *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance*, Ars Neerlandica 1 (Kortrijk: 1979) 24, 259 n. 100; and Ampe A., "Naar een geschiedenis van de passie-beleving vanuit Marrow's *Passie-boek*", *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 58 (1984) 130–175, esp. 132–149. Marrow codified use of the term to cover a wider range of Passion narratives greatly amplified by apocryphal anecdotes not licensed by the Gospels; see Marrow, *Passion Iconography* 95–170. On the *Heimelike Passie*, also see Stracke D.A., "Een brokstuk uit de Passie des Heeren", *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 11 (1937) 121–190; and Ampe A., "Losse aantekeningen bij de 'Heimelike Passie'", *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 35 (1961) 186–214.

6   On these and other amplified *Lives of Christ*, see Goudriaan K., "Middle Dutch Meditative *Lives of Jesus* on the Early Printing Press: An Exploration of the Field", in idem, *Piety in Practice and Print: Essays on the Late Medieval Religious Landscape*, ed. A. Dlabačová – A. Tervoort (Hilversum: 2016) 219–239; on the publics addressed by *Lives* of this type, see Dlabačová A., "Drukken en publieksgroepen: productie en receptie van gedrukte Middelnederlandse meditatieve Levens van Jezus (ca. 1479–1540)", *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 79 (2008) 321–368. On *Dat liden ende die passie Ons Heren*, see De Bruin C.C., "Middeleeuwse Levens van Jesus als leidraad voor meditatie en contemplatie", *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 58 (1983) 129–173, esp. 168; Moolenbroek J.J. van, "'Dat liden ende die passie ons heren Jhesu Christi': een bestseller uit het fonds van Gheraert Leeu in vijftiende-eeuwse context", in Goudriaan K. et al. (eds.), *Een drukker zoekt publiek: Gheraert Leeu te Gouda 1477–1484* (Delft: 1993) 81–110; and idem, "De gevarieerde overlevering van een vijftiende-eeuws prozaverhaal over het lijden van Christus en de mirakelen na zijn dood", *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 68 (1994) 30–75. On *Tboeck vanden leven Jhesu Christi*, see Willeumier-Schalij J.M., "Grondpatronen voor Middelnederlandse Levens van Jezus in gebeden (Ludolphus van Saksen, Jordanus van Quedlinburg e.a.)", *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 93 (1977) 76–85; Deschamps J., "De 'Vita Christi' van Ludolf van Saksen in het Middelnederlands", in *Historia et spiritualitas cartusiensis. Colloquii*

folios within this recension of Suso's Passion sequence ordered in conformity to the canonical hours, from Prime to Vespers, and written in dual columns beneath brief rubricated *tituli* numbered 1–100 to coincide with the respective *articulen* [Figs. 11.1 & 11.19], and surrounded by/annotated with marginal glosses in Latin.[7] Plate 1, *Christ Washing the Disciples' Feet and the Departure of Judas, with the Agony in the Garden and the Last Supper* (in the background), initiates the articles (fol. 15v) [Fig. 11.4]. Interspersed amongst them are plates 2–10, *Betrayal and Capture of Christ* to *Pietà and Lamentation over the Body of Christ* (fols. 18v, 20v, 24r, 26r, 28r, 30r, 32r, 34r, 39r) [Figs. 11.5–11.13]. Plate 11, *Resurrection, with the Harrowing of Hell and the Three Maries en route to the Tomb* (in the background), demarcates the manuscript's final section, which consists of exercises, mainly scriptural paraphrases interwoven with prayers suitable for Compline, focusing on events after the Deposition and Lamentation, especially the preparation of Christ's body for burial, the final parting of Mary and Jesus, the Entombment, and the Resurrection, Harrowing of Hell, and apparitions of the risen Christ (fol. 41r) [Fig. 11.14]. Plate 12, *Supper at Emmaus, with Christ and the Two Disciples on the Way to Emmaus and Christ and the Magdalene in the Garden* (in the background), marks the conclusion of the manuscript (fol. 44r) [Fig. 11.15]. Moreover, in the early sixteenth century, Latin texts were written on the versos of most of the prints. In all cases, the texts of the Middle Dutch articles as well as the Latin glosses and the inscriptions on the versos are closely coordinated to the Passion prints, even while elaborating upon them in ways to be discussed *infra*.

The Middle Dutch recension of the *Hundred Articles* is preceded by the book's other texts, written in Latin and included in the following order: a comprehensive list of monastic orders that follow the Rule of Saint Augustine, starting with the Canons Regular (rubricated) and including the Johannites, Alexians, Ruthenians, the Hospitallers of Saint James in Altopascio, the

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quarti internationalis acta, Gandavi Antverpiae Brugis 16–19 Sept. 1982 (Destelbergen: 1983) 157–176; De Bruin, "Middeleeuwse Levens van Jesus" 146–152; Kok I., "A Rediscovered *Devote ghetiden* with Interesting Woodcuts (CA 1117)", *Quaerendo* 13 (1983) 167–190, esp. 171–172; Dlabačová, "Drukken en publieksgroepen" 330–346, 357–361; and eadem, "Chatten met Scriptura: het leven van Jezus in een Antwerpse bestseller", *Boekenwereld* 33 (2017) 25–29. On the *Devote getijden van het leven Ons Heren*, see Kok, "A Rediscovered *Devote ghetiden*"; and Dlabačová A., "Illustrated Incunabula as Material Objects: The Case of the *Devout Hours on the Life and Passion of Jesus Christ*", in Hofman R. – Caspers C. – Nissen P. – Dijk M. van – Oosterman J. (eds.), *Inwardness, Individualization, and Religious Agency in the Late Medieval Low Countries: Studies in the* Devotio Moderna *and its Contexts*, Medieval Church Studies 43 (Turnhout: 2020) 181–221.

7   Each *titulus* offers a brief Latin condensation of the material covered in the column of Dutch text below.

Canons Regular of the Valley of Scholars, etc., followed by lists of apostles and early Christian 'canons', canon-popes (up to the twelfth century), and other celebrated canons (fol. 2 verso ff); a liturgical calendar for the use of Canons and Canonesses Regular, including two clerics associated with the abbey of Groenendaal, *Johannus Leuwis conversus totus* (28 February) and *Johanis Ruysbroec primus prior, 1384* (2 December), founder of Groenendaal (fol. 3 recto ff); a passage from the *Speculum perfectionis* of Brother Leo (fol. 6r), which serves as preface to the sayings of the Twelve Masters of Paris (fol. 6v) and other masters, such as Saint Bernard and Albertus Magnus (fol. 7r); an opening admonition and a "Fine, Devout, Spiritual Epistle" (fol. 10r); a list of Suso's hundred articles, in the condensed form of *tituli*, subdivided into the seven canonical hours, from Matins to Compline (fol. 10r); another calendar, this time consisting of 'Churches, Relics, Indulgences, [and] Stational [Churches] of Rome', organized according to Augustinian usage and once again making mention of *Johann Ruysbroec, primi prioris viridisvallis* (fol. 11 recto ff); and liturgical prayers commemorating the Last Supper and focusing on the eucharistic bread and wine (fol. 14r). These texts are followed by the amplified *Hundred Articles*, beginning on fol. 14v. The book ends, as mentioned above, with further spiritual exercises on the Passion, aligned with Compline. An appendix of Latin notes on bodily medicaments, written at a later date, serves as a kind of epilogue to the spiritual exercises that concern the health of the soul. In fact, the pharmacopia enumerates the 'virtues of Cardoanis' solely (stalks of artichokes or white thistles); variously prepared, this ingredient can be drunk to bring down fever, chewed to sweeten the breath, applied as an anointment to heal burns, etc.

The auction house Sotheby's examined the manuscript before offering it to the Metropolitan Museum. Codicological analysis demonstrates that the Passion series was inserted into the original collation before binding.[8] Watermarks in the paper of several text pages can be identified as Briquet 1811 (Louvain, 1485–1498), and the original blind- and panel-stamped leather

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8　*Sotheby's Catalogue* 24: '46 leaves (last 2 blank, i.e., 32 leaves plus 14 prints), plus contemporary flyleaf, 261 × 187 mm, complete, collation: original flyleaf + i[6], ii[2 + 4] (2 prints added), iii[8 + 4] (4 prints added), iv[8 + 5] (5 prints added), v[6 + 3] (of 8 + 3, 2 further blanks cancelled at end, 3 prints added)'. As in the case of another folio-size manuscript prayerbook organized around Van Meckenem's *Grosse Passion* – British Library, Sloane Ms. 3981 – the image sequence was the likely starting point of the *Groenendaal Passion*. The two manuscripts differ, however, in that BL Sloane Ms. 3981 primarily consists of the Hours of the Virgin, supplemented by excerpts from the Hours of the Cross, the Hours of the Holy Spirit, the Penitential Psalms, and the Vigil of the Dead, whereas Metropolitan Museum Album 2003.476 collocates Van Meckenem's prints to Suso's *Hondert articulen*. On BL Sloane Ms. 3981, see the trenchant discussion in Rudy, *Image, Knife, and Gluepot* 294–299.

binding resembles Bodleian Auct[arium]. 2.Q.3.33, a manuscript from a Belgian house of the Windesheim Congregation. The opening list of monastic orders that follow the Rule of Saint Augustine, with the Order of Canons Regular marked in red, along with the two calendar entries on Jan van Ruusbroec, founder of the Groenendaal Priory, and the death entry on Jan van Leeuwen, the so-called *goede kok* of Groenendaal (in calendar one), suggests that the volume may have belonged to that famous monastery.[9] Not only are the calendars and many of the listed names Augustinian, they are also adapted to Windesheim usage. No less significant, the manuscript is marked with the coat of arms of the Fonteneys and Fonteyns families (from whom it passed into the collection of the family of the Prince de Croy); they would have acquired it upon the suppression of Groenendaal in 1784 and the dispersal of its library. If the manuscript is indeed from Groenendaal, it may have been written by members of the scriptorium, such as Nycholaus Sybrand, Petrus van der Ee, Henry Heest, and/or Jan Haren, and bound by the house binders, Giles Pijns and/or Jan Peters (Kinderen). More than one scribe worked on the manuscript; although the hands are for the most part conformable, at least two, a tighter and a looser one, are discernible. The anonymous author of the entry in the *Sotheby's Catalogue* points out that the flyleaf (mis)attribution of the *Hundred Meditations* to 'Bonaventura', partly erased but still legible, lacks the honorific 'Sanctus', which might date portions of the manuscript to before his canonisation in 1482.[10]

Tacitly written in the voice of a spiritual adviser who admonishes and encourages an exercitant but also often makes common cause with him in meditating the corporeal and spiritual suffering of Christ, the *Groenendaal Passion* is agentive in form and function. It not only describes a set of spiritual exercises but purports to engage fully in their implementation. The book both offers a plan of action and activates that plan. To whom was this *machina* (apparatus) directed? Groenendaal was an Augustinian priory whose canons regular, bound by the Rule of Saint Augustine, had been affiliated with the confederation of Victorine monasteries since the mid-fourteenth century.[11] The Chapter of Groenendaal formally joined that of Windesheim in 1412. As it

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9   On Van Leeuwen, a fervent follower of Jan van Ruusbroec, who laboured in the monastic kitchen and may have learned how to read and write at Groenendaal, see Warnar G., *Ruusbroec: Literature and Mysticism in the Fourteenth Century*, trans. D. Webb, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 150 (Leiden: 2007) 211–219.

10 On these circumstances of production, see ibid. 23–25.

11 Ruusbroec and his confrère Vranke vanden Coundenberg received the habit of the Canons Regular of Saint Augustine on 10 March 1350, the former as prior, the latter as provost; see ibid. 185.

happens, a Middle Dutch translation of the Rule together with the commentary by Hugh of St. Victor was composed at Groenendaal around this time.[12] The Rule, in its "Regulations for a Monastery", stipulates that devout reading be part of the monk's daily activities:

> Let them work from early morning till noon
> And take leisure for reading from noon till three,
> And at three o'clock return the books.[13]

And chapter 5, section 9 of the Rule proper enjoins the brother tasked with caring for and distributing the house's books to perform his service responsibly 'without grumbling'.[14] In the fourteenth century, the example of Jan van Leeuwen, who is said to have learned how to read and write at Groenendaal,[15] of the learned Willem Jordaens, who strove to balance his daily commitments to contemplative prayer and the 'handiwork' of 'reading or writing',[16] and of Jan van Dureghem (also known as Jan Spiegel), who continually meditated the Passion, reading, writing, and praying in his cell,[17] reveals the extent to which holy books were woven into the fabric of daily life at the Groenendaal Priory. The priests and lay brothers also encountered books at mealtimes: the "Regulations" command that 'when seated at table, they are to be silent and listen to the reading'.[18] These books would have been scriptural or exegetical, but chapter 5, section 10 of the Rule casts a wider net, stating simply: 'Books are to be requested at a definite hour each day; requests made at other times will be denied'.[19] As Geert Warnar puts it: 'For most of Groenendaal's clerics [...] contact with books was a daily activity'.

By the later fifteenth century, when the *Groenendaal Passion* was compiled, the house's clerics and lay brothers were expected to be literate both in Dutch, on the model of their spiritual founder Jan van Ruusbroec, and in Latin, on the model of scriptural exegetes such as Willem Jordaens.[20] Within this commu-

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12   Ibid. 210.
13   See Lawless G., OSA, *Augustine of Hippo and his Monastic Rule* (Oxford: 1987) 75.
14   Ibid. 97.
15   See note 9 *supra*.
16   See Warnar, *Ruusbroec* 238.
17   Ibid. 229.
18   See Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo and his Monastic Rule* 77.
19   Ibid. 97.
20   See Warnar, *Ruusbroec* 196: 'Men such as Walter van Heyst, Hendrik Bondewijn, Johannes Fracijs, Willem Jordaens, and Johannes Stoever, who are recorded in the Groenendaal *obituarium* as having taken holy orders, were learned enough to understand the methods and techniques of exegetical commentary'.

nity, the *Groenendaal Passion*, written in Dutch and Latin, would have appealed both to novices receiving spiritual instruction and to full-fledged canons regular adept at spiritual exercises. The book would also have been seen as fully consistent with two aspects of meditative prayer endorsed and exemplified by Ruusbroec in such treatises as the *Spiritual Tabernacle*. First, as he here dwells with incredible specificity on the material construction and appurtenances of the Solomonic tabernacle before pivoting to consider the spiritual significance of its constituent parts, so the *Groenendael Passion* describes the corporeal suffering of Christ in painstaking detail before reflecting upon its beneficial spiritual effects on the votary.[21] (As we shall see, this shift in emphasis from the corporeal to the spiritual is underscored in the *Groenendaal Passion* by the parallel shift from reading in Dutch to reading in Latin.) Second, as Ruusbroec acknowledges that the cruelties of the Passion, spiritually nourishing as they are, can yet be difficult to ingest, especially for newcomers to the spiritual life, so the *Groenendaal Passion* first delivers in large measure the bitterness of Christ's suffering, then circles back to temper this mordancy by affirming that the chief cause and effect of the Passion are the loving mercy of Christ.[22] Viewed in this light, the *Groenendaal Passion* perfectly matches the skills, interests, and preoccupations of the community housed at Groenendaal Priory.

2   Dual Meditative Modes

Written in dark brown ink by multiple hands, in what the Metropolitan Museum describes as a 'Netherlandish hybrid bookhand', the double-columns of text of the amplified recension of the *Hundred Articles* include short Latin headings in red, numbered 1–99, that itemize the hundred stages of the Passion at the top of the respective folios, in tandem with the subjects of the longer Dutch texts below.[23] Numerous short marginal glosses in Latin, excerpted from Ludolphus of Saxony's *Vita D.N. Iesu Christi*, reinforce the Dutch descriptions of episodes from the Passion, offering a condensed account of the fuller portrayal in the adjoining column of text [Figs. 11.1 & 11.19]. Here the Latin and Dutch are firmly coordinated. On fol. 21v, for example, next to the graphic description of how Christ was spat upon and slapped in the house of Caiaphas, the Latin reads:

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21   On Ruusbroec's embrace of material specificity as a source of spiritual allegoresis, see ibid. 206.

22   On Ruusbroec's analogy of the Passion to myrrh, aromatic yet 'extremely bitter in flavour', see ibid. 208.

23   See Bambach et al, "Recent Acquisitions" 14.

Then they spit upon his face. [Whence Matthew] does not say [simply] that they spit, but rather, that they spit up, as if to say that they spit by hawking. [But] others struck his face with their palms […] from which blows the man was more afflicted that by the blows to his neck, more than those to his head. For all senses are in the face, and there the tender members are easily injured.[24]

And on fol. 29v, next to the description of Christ shown to the people and condemned to die by the cross, the Latin tag, paraphrasing Psalm 21:7 and Isaiah 9:6, reads:

See, my soul, how that man was pressed down by all things and despised. Oh, do you see the spectacle? Behold the government upon his shoulder.[25]

A second sequence of Latin texts, far longer than the marginal tags, appears on the versos of several of the prints – *Christ Washing the Disciples' Feet* (fol. 15r), *Betrayal and Capture of Christ* (fol. 18r), *Christ Brought before Annas, with Denial of Peter and Mocking of Christ* (fol. 20r), *Flagellation of Christ in the Presence of Pilate, with Christ Brought before Herod* (fol. 24v), *Christ Crowned with Thorns, with Mocking of Christ* (fol. 26v), *Christ Carrying the Cross* (fol. 32v) – and on the recto of *Ecce Homo* [Figs. 11.9, 11.16, & 11.17]. Likewise excerpted from Ludolphus's *Vita Christi*, these texts markedly differ in content and tone from the Dutch. Written in a more cursive hand, in lighter brown ink, most likely in the (early) sixteenth century, they invite the reader-viewer to contemplate the pictorial images in a new light, that is, in a way different from that exemplified by the very detailed and, in their verbal imagery, insistently corporeal Dutch texts. One might best think of them as constitutive of a complementary mode, an alternative register, whereby to meditate the death of Christ. I shall presently have much more to say about this dual meditative mode. One of the prints, the *Ecce Homo*, incorporates a handwritten inscription in Latin that draws a parallel between what the Jews saw when Christ was shown on the podium and what the congregation sees (but also cannot see) when the priest displays the host during the consecration rite; just as the printed image

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24   See Appendix 1. Cf. *Vita Jesu Christi e quatuor Evangeliis et scriptoribus orthodoxis concinnata per Ludolphum de Saxonia ex ordine Cathusianorum*, ed. A.-C. Bolard – L.-M. Rigollot – J. Carnandet (Paris – Rome: 1865) 621.

25   *Groenendaal Passion*, fol. 29v: *Vide anima mea quomodo vir iste per omnia coarctatur et spernitur. O spectaculum vides ne? Ecce principatus eius super humerum eius.* Cf. *Vita Jesu Christi* 647.

depicts how Christ was beheld by the people, so the host, when it is elevated, is Christ himself, notionally visible in the fullness of his suffering humanity, even as his impassible divinity is withheld from human eyes [Fig. 11.9]. The inscription paraphrases Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* 111ᵃ q.74–77, on the Eucharist:

> For the sacrament of the altar is a memorial of the Lord's Passion, and Christ suffered according to [his] humanity, but he was impassible according to [his] divinity. Therefore the priest, there showing Christ, more properly says, 'Behold the man' than 'Behold God', although he was himself both man and God; but as he was a suffering man in that showing, so as God he lies hid.[26]

The *Ecce Homo* is thus an image of Christ as he appeared in the flesh to the Jews, and as he now appears to us sacramentally, again in the flesh, not as a mere image but as a living sacrifice, humanly passible and divinely transcendent. The manner in which the inscription highlights the paradoxical status of the print – more than simply picturing Christ, it bears witness to how he was seen then and should be seen now, as present rather than mediated through an image – testifies to the nuanced consideration of images that the *Groenendaal Passion* in its current form, compounded of Van Meckenem's prints and of texts written in Dutch and Latin, invites and cultivates.

Two further images were placed at the front of the manuscript: a Netherlandish woodcut of *Christ the Man of Sorrows*, ca. 1490–1500, appears on fol. 8v, facing *Saint Jerome Kneeling in Penitence before the Crucifix*, ca. 1470–1480, on fol. 9r [Figs. 11.2 & 11.3]. Unlike the Passion series, which is bound, both these prints are pasted in. Framed in black, as if draped in mourning, the *Man of Sorrows* contains three xylographic inscriptions in Dutch: above, a brief ejaculatory prayer ('Hail, most merciful man, Jesus'); within the pictorial field, 'Behold the Man', a call to set eyes on this image of Christ portrayed in the form he takes in Isaiah 53, a prophecy of the whole of the Passion; below, a prayer of supplication in verse.

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26   *Groenendaal Passion*, fol. 28r, inscription on recto of *Ecce Homo*: *Quia enim sacramentum altaris memoriale est Dominicae passionis et Christus est passus secundum humanitatem secundum divinitatem vero est impassibilis*[.] *Ideo sacerdos ostendens ibi christum congruentius dicit ecce homo quam ecce deus licet ipse et homo sit et deus*[;] *sed homo patens fuit in illa ostensione et Deus latens*. Cf. *Vita Jesu Christi* 643.

> O Lord Jesus Christ, your Passion, cross, nails, and deathly spear, scourges, tears, red wounds, sweat, water, blood, and great pain must be a comfort to my soul in the utmost necessity.[27]

The *Man of Sorrows* is hand-coloured in brown, flesh colour, yellow, black, and red lake, which is used to portray his many bleeding wounds.[28] The Cologne School *Saint Jerome in Penitence* is a metalcut embellished with punched dots and hand-coloured in green, yellow, brown, orange, gold, and red lake.[29] Staring intently at the Holy Face, Jerome bares his chest, preparing to strike it with a stone, thereby striving to imitate the battered body of Christ. His creased sternum and sunken diaphragm resemble Christ's, and so, too, does his pale flesh colour – comprised by the natural colour of the unpainted paper. Together the two prints imply that Jerome perfectly conforms himself to Christ, abiding by the injunction to 'Behold the man', inscribed on the *Ecce Homo*; he beholds the Man of Sorrows *in effigie*, suffering with him by way of the effigy of Christ hanging dead from the cross, before which he earnestly kneels and prays. This exemplification of the *imitatio Christi* or, better, of the *imitatio imaginis Christi*, anticipates the argument of the "Fine, Devout, Spiritual Epistle" that immediately follows on fol. 10r.

The epistle introduces the preliminary list of the hundred articles that does double duty as a table of contents for the fuller treatment of these articles soon to follow. The votary, addressed as 'dearly beloved and cherished brother', is given a template for meditating upon Christ in the Passion, implicitly modeled on the metalcut exemplum of Saint Jerome kneeling before an effigy of the Crucified. If he is properly to fulfil his professed vocation and show himself obedient to the divine will (*naest alre professie ende gehoersamheit*), the canon must daily fashion for himself an interior image of Christ on the cross (*gecruyste beelt*) – literally, a 'crucified image', connately, a 'crucifix', and metonymically, 'Christ crucified' – which he shall set within his heart for at least a quarter-hour, mornings and evenings, training his eyes upon the Holy Face, more particularly upon the Savior's weeping, blood-stained eyes.[30] The term

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27   *Groenendaal Passion*, fol. 8v: *O here ihesu christe dijn passie cruys nagelen ende doot-speer gheesselen tranen wonden root, sweet water bloet ende u pijne groot, moet mijnder zeeilen troost sijn ter lester noot.*

28   See Schreiber W.L., *Handbuch der Holz- und Metallschnitte des xv. Jahrhunderts* (*3. Aufl.*), 12 vols. (Stuttgart: 1969–1976) 2: nr. 908A; and *Sotheby's Catalogue* 22.

29   See Schreiber, *Handbuch* 4: nr. 2674; and *Sotheby's Catalogue* 22.

30   Although I focus on canons as the book's primary readers, novice brothers, as well as lay brothers, may also have had access to it. The latter group would have relied mainly if not exclusively on the texts in Dutch.

gecruyste beelt conveys the impression that this heartfelt image, if it is truly to be efficacious, must have a material presence similar to that of an actual effigy, comparable in this respect to the crucifix before which Jerome kneels and castigates himself. The visible traces of carving in both the woodcut *Man of Sorrows* and metalcut *Saint Jerome* provide further allusions to this requisite material effect, which then gives substance, by process of metonymic transference, to the body and flesh of Christ whose suffering the votary strives to experience. In the epistle, the 'crucified image'/'crucifix' transforms seamlessly into a living image of Christ or into Christ himself, who responds to the votary by gazing back at him.

> I adjure you with all my strength that you be pleased to [recite] mornings and evenings, for about a quarter hour, more or less, some verses most fitting, as the grace of God allots and allows. At which time you shall turn inward (*inkeren*) and set in your heart that crucified image/crucifix (*gecruyste beelt*) of our most dear Lord Jesus Christ. And you shall then train your inner eyes, with great humility and self-abnegation, on that head crowned and pierced with wounds, and on that marred, torn face hanging down to one side on his blessed shoulders, made like unto a leprous man. When you behold this image/effigy standing in your heart, think then how he trains his bloody, tear-stained eyes on you and speaks, lamenting and saying, 'O my dear child, see what I suffer for you. I have chosen you for my bride; my joy is to be beside you. And thus be not content to cast me off, for to be parted from you is more bitter to me than this heavy passion and pain, than dying that miserable death'. These words and their like, you will fix in memory.[31]

Christ is as if brought to life by the heartfelt exercise of seeing him in the form of a *gecruyste beelt* while reciting select prayers.[32] The phrase 'made like unto a leprous man' (*gelijc gemaect eenen melaetsschen mensch*), a condensation of Isaiah 53:4 – 'and we thought him as it were a leper, and as one struck by God and afflicted' – licenses the votary to amplify the image he conjures up, by seeing it as the fulfillment of the Isaian prophecy of the Passion. The epistle's author adds that the truth of the speaking image we seem to hear has a fully sensory force, even if our ears do not actually hear what is spoken

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31   *Groenendaal Passion*, fol. 10r: see Appendix 2.

32   Seen in conjunction with the *Ecce Homo* and *Saint Jerome*, the term *inkeren* may possibly embed a punning reference to *inkt* (ink), that is, to the two printed images that help the epistle's reader to visualise Christ in the Passion.

(or, presumably, see what is visualised): 'And then, evenings and mornings, think upon the Son of God's suffering, and upon his presence speaking to you. And so it is, in truth, even if our external ears do not hear his voice'.[33] In conclusion, he avers that this speaking image is so efficacious that it will prove more beneficial to the exercitant than reading the Psalter or practising the discipline, that is, drawing blood with the scourge or fasting rigorously.[34] Engaging with the image of the Crucified, in other words, is more powerful, not only spiritually but also bodily, than communing with Christ by denying one's appetite or lacerating one's flesh.

The epistle, in its emphasis on efficacious image-making, responds to the book's opening admonition, taken from the *Speculum perfectionis* by way of Hendrik Herp's *Spieghel der volcomenheit*, which urges the votary to conceive of God as his intimate 'secret friend' who adorns his soul in the manner of a 'skilled image-maker' (*beeltmaker alsoe abel*) [Fig. 11.18].[35] God's incomparable skill is discernible in the two kinds of image he has wrought: first, in the loving gift of his Son (who is the image of God) to his secret friends, whose souls he thereby ornaments; second, in gifting them with sorrows whereby they are given the opportunity to suffer with Christ and, having thus been converted themselves into likenesses of him, to become living warrants of God's ability, as *beeltmaker*, to fashion multiple images of Christ in the Passion.

> For these are the loving gifts of God, which he gives to his secret friends in order to ornament their souls. For never was there so skilled an image-maker, who with greater, more diligent care did draw after the lines of an image wrought after the perfection of the model from which

33   *Groenendaal Passion*, fol. 10r: *Ende dan des tsavons ende smorgens dencken van des soens gods lijden, ende u toe sprekende wesen. Ende het is alsoe oec inder waerheit, al en horen wi niet sijn stemme met onsen wtwendigen oren.*

34   Ibid.: see Appendix 3.

35   The term 'secret friend' ultimately derives from Jan van Ruusbroec's *Vanden blinken-den steen*, in which there are three categories of mystical disciples – 'faithful servants' (first rung of the mystical ladder), followed by 'secret friends' (second, higher rung), and then finally 'hidden sons' (highest rung). See Ruubroec Jan van, *Vanden blinken-den steen, Vanden vier becoringhen, Vanden kerstenen ghelove, Brieven*, ed. G. de Baere – Th. Mertens – H. Noë, trans. A. Lefevere, in *Jan van Ruusbroec, Opera omnia, vol. 10*, ed. De Baere, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis (Turnhout: 1991) 126–136. The phrase 'beeltmaker alsoe abel' is a citation from chapter 11 of Hendrik Herp's *Spieghel der volcomenheit*; see *Hendrik Herp O.F.M. Spieghel der volcomenheit. Deel I: Inleiding. Deel II: Tekst*, Tekstuitgaven van Ons Geestelijk Erf 1–2 (Antwerp: 1931), 2:79, line 39. On this passage and its derivation from a Middle Dutch sermon by Johannes Tauler, see Dlabačová A., "Tauler, Herp, and the Changing Layers of Mobility and Reception in the Low Countries (c. 1460–1560)", *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 84.1 (2013) 120–152, esp. 125–126.

he makes it, than God almighty who from eternity, out of his immeasurable wisdom, did foresee and foreordain how he should bring his secret friends, by means of such [co-]suffering, to a perfected likeness of Jesus Christ.[36]

The process of suffering after the image of Christ brought forth and fixed firmly in the heart, as described in the epistle, derives from the *Speculum*'s conception of God as the *beeltmaker* who supplies his votaries with the wherewithal to convert themselves into living images of the Son. The technical complexity of the process – consisting of an image of an image, more particularly, of lines diligently drawn after an image exactingly mimetic of its model – speaks to the decidedly pictorial character of the divine image-making at issue. The opening admonition and the epistle also provide a joint rationale for the use of the printed images that anchor the fuller text of the *Hundred Articles* and the additional texts interpolated or appended to it.

The admonition also recalls and, I would venture to guess, is modeled on the prefatory statement that initiates the *Hundred Articles* in Heinrich Suso's *Büchlein von der ewigen Weisheit*. The *Articles* consist of meditations and prayers on the Passion, subdivided into the seven days of the weeks and the seven canonical hours. Suso explains that these brief meditative exercises were dictated to him by a preacher who received them by divine revelation 'at a time when he stood before a crucifix after Matins, and fervently complained to God that he could not well meditate on his torments'.[37] The *Articles* are therefore

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36 *Groenendaal Passion*, fol. 6r: see Appendix 4. Cf. *Speculum perfectionis*, ed. Antonius Hemertius (Antwerp: Symon Coquus, 1547) fol. 69r: Cap. XIIII. In fact, the passage closely follows Herp's characterisation of God as a *beeldemaker* of the human soul, in chapter 11 of the *Spieghel der volcomenheit*; see *Spieghel*, ed. Verschueren, 2: 79, lines 39–46: 'Want noeyt en was beeldemaker also abel, die mit so groter neernstighe sorchvoldicheit die trecken van een beelde arbeit te trecken na der volcomenheit des exemplaers, daer hijt na maket, als God almechtich van ewicheit wt sijnre onghemetenre wijsheit hevet voersien ende voer gheordiniert vanden verborghen vrienden, hoe Hise brenghen solde mit sodanighen middel des lidens tot een volcomen ghelikenisse Cristi Ihesu'. The passage from the *Groenendaal Passion* also paraphrases chapter 49 of the *Spieghel*; see ibid. 2:315–317, lines 21–30. On Herp's conception of God as a *beeldemaker*, as it relates to the teachings of Tauler, see Dlabačová, "Tauler, Herp, and the Changing Layers" 125–126. Whereas Herp argues that metaphorical images of this type must finally be jettisoned by the exercitant who progresses toward imageless union with God, the *Groenendaal Passion* fully embraces images as meditative instruments. On the three-part process whereby Herp, having furnished various meditative images, gradually strips them away from the faculties of memory and will, see ibid. 123–128.

37 See *Blessed Henry Suso's Little Book of Eternal Wisdom*, trans. R. Raby (London: 1866) 187. Cf. *Heinrich Seuse, Deutsche Schriften: Im Auftrag der Württembergischen Kommission*

said to originate from the action of looking intently at an image of Christ cruci-
fied, a counterpart to the *gecruyste beelt* invoked at the start of our manuscript.
At the close of the *Hundred Articles*, after the exercises on the Passion of Mary,
above all on her empathetic co-suffering with Christ, Suso recounts how the
final section resulted from the author's encounter with a second sacred image,
this time embroidered rather than sculpted. Hesitant and unsure how to finish
the chapter appertaining to Mary, the author had left the last page of the man-
uscript blank, impeded by 'a state of spiritual dereliction'. Having besought
Mary's help, he was visited in his chamber by a choir of angelic youths who
'had in their hands a picture, above all measure lovely, of our Blessed Lady […]
worked in cloth', her mantle red and purple, with damask embroidery, but the
unfinished ground still 'white as snow'. One of the youths then takes a needle
and thread and adds cross stitches to the 'forepart of the mantle', showing that
'it was given him [too] to complete the ground, the blank space, and the spiri-
tual picture, which had so long been denied him'. Suso adds that this author's
every spiritual exercise was based on images like these, sent by God 'in the
way of some similitude' clearly 'manifested to him'.[38] The connection drawn in
our manuscript between God the *beeltmaker* and the votary whose meditative
exercises are inspired by a *gecruyste beelt*, perfectly aligns with Suso's emphasis
on material images as spiritual instruments that facilitate meditation on the
Passion of Christ and the Virgin's compassion.

3   Complementarities of Image and Text

Although Van Meckenem's Passion prints are situated condignly throughout
the manuscript, in places where they correlate to the figurative imagery of the
adjacent prayers, the nature of the Dutch and Latin texts – the ways in which
they read the pictures and are variously anchored by them – differs consid-
erably. Let us begin by looking briefly at some of the links between text and
image. Take the *Flagellation* (fol. 24r), which depicts Christ, his body facing
forward, bound to a column at his wrists and ankles, so tightly that his feet
dangle in mid-air [Fig. 11.7]. This is how the Dutch text describes him (fol. 25r):
'[…] and they turned our Lord around, with his holy face forward, and with
his wounded back against the column, and bound his injured, bloody hands
very high above his head, tightly with cutting cords. And they bound cutting

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          für Landesgeschichte, ed. K. Bihlmeyer (Stuttgart: 1907; reprint ed., Frankfurt am Main:
          1961) 314.

38   *Suso's Little Book of Eternal Wisdom* 201–202. Cf. *Seuse, Deutsche Schriften* 323–324.

cords [...] round his holy feet, so tightly against the column that he could not move, and only the tips of his holy feet grazed the floor'.[39] The verbal account, though it diverges slightly in saying that his toes barely touched the floor, agrees with the picture's emphasis on the fact that Christ had no place to rest his feet. The long Latin text written on the back of the print (fol. 24v) coordinates with the forward-facing pose of Christ, who is fully displayed to the viewer, as if addressing him. The Latin emphasises that Christ finds himself in this position as a direct consequence of our sinful condition; he has been made visible by reason of our contrition and exigent shame. The prayer is dialogic: 'I have come forth/been made visible (*ex*[*s*]*titi*) as a man abandoned by cause of your remorse and total perplexity'.[40] That Pilate stands at the front of a group of onlookers at left behind Christ, lays stress on our more privileged position vis-à-vis the Lord. The faded drops of red on the feet of Christ were perhaps added in response to the Dutch's text's particularising description of the blood that flowed over his ankles and feet.[41] The touches of gold applied to Pilate's turban and scepter, the helmets, headgear, swords, and daggers of the people around him, the cords, whips, and scourges, and the candle above the door, as also to Christ's hair and, in the background, to Herod's crown and cloth of honor, illustrate the notion that the sorrows of the Passion are spiritual adornments; as stated explicitly in the opening epistle, we become perfected by turning these accessories into objects of meditative devotion.

The *Carrying of the Cross* (fol. 32r) resembles the *Flagellation* in that Christ is shown face-forward, with no other figure looking directly at the Holy Face [Fig. 11.11]. (Just behind him, the stooped figure of Mary making the sign of the cross, her head inclined in parallel to her Son's, alone registers that she participates fully in his suffering.) Most of the henchmen are positioned behind Christ, and neither of the two men in front of him meets his gaze. The Dutch exercise answers to the print, stating that none of the soldiers could bare to look at the face of Christ, quite unlike the votary whose task it is to attend to the Holy Face (fol. 33r): 'Then could they not stand to see that merciful visage [...]. Ah, hold this sweet, tender countenance always before your external eyes, and on his account eschew every adornment of [your] head'.[42] As Van Meckenem

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39   *Groenendaal Passion*, fol. 25r: see Appendix 5. Touches of red, perhaps added in response to the descriptive text, call attention to Christ's bloodied feet.

40   *Groenendaal Passion*, fol. 24v: *Ego homo perditus totius contritionis totius confusionis tuae causa extiti.*

41   Ibid., fol. 25r: *Ons lieve here stont in sinen eigenen bloede overgoten tot over sijn enkel met menich dusent wonden verladen.*

42   Ibid., fol. 33r: *Doen en consten si dat goedertieren gesicht niet gesien [...]. Och dit suete deerlijc aenschijn hout dit altijt voer van [wt]wendige oogen, ende laet om sinen wille alle cierheit*

portrays Jesus turning his face toward us, so the Dutch text insists that our face must ever be turned toward his. His eyes swivel round toward Simon of Cyrene but also toward the host of his tormentors processing behind the cross, and the Dutch coincides by declaring that even though 'they handled him cruelly, he yet looked at them gently and kind-heartedly, as if to say, "O dear children, if you have no compassion for me, at least have compassion for yourselves"'.[43] By contrast, the compassion shown by Mary correlates to the Latin text written on the back of the print: referring to Thomas's words in John 11:16 ('Let us also go, that we may die with him'[44]) and Peter's in John 13:37 ('Why cannot I follow thee now? I will lay down my life for thee'), none of which came to fruition, the Latin eulogizes Mary's steadfast accompaniment of Jesus: 'Let it suffice to bring these words to remembrance, so that the attentive eye of piety, feeling compassion for the groaning affections of so great a mother, may merit hereafter to be rewarded with the fruit of that pious love'.[45] The phrase 'eye of piety' refers both to the votary's outer eyes that are encouraged attentively to study the print, and to his inner eyes that are expected meditatively to dwell on its particulars.

The *Betrayal and Capture of Christ* (fol. 18r) depicts Jesus offering no resistance to his captors, neither to Judas who kisses and embraces him nor to the soldiers who seize and bind him [Fig. 11.5]. Indeed, his head inclines toward Judas, and his eyes meet his gaze sidewise. The Latin, inscribed once again on the verso, corresponds to these features of the print (fol. 18r):

> You made apparent, good Jesus, how ready your spirit was for the Passion.
> [...] and at the sign they received from him who was first in disgrace, you
> revealed yourself. For you turned not away from the kiss of the beast
> stained with blood, approaching to kiss [your] most holy mouth. You in

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des hoefts. Although *wendige* could be read, alternatively, as [*in*]*wendige*, i.e., "internal eyes", the adjacency of the pictorial image causes the term to drift toward *wt* (outer) rather than *in* (inner).

43   Ibid., fol. 33r: [...] *daer hadden si hem so wreedelijc op onsen here mer hi sach so onnoselijc ende goedertierlijc op hen recht of hi segggen woude. O lieve kijnderen en hebdi geen ont-fermherticht op mi, ontfermt toch u selven.*

44   Throughout this essay, biblical citations are closely based on the Douay-Rheims translation of the Vulgate published by the English College at Douay in 1582 (New Testament) and 1609 (Old Testament): see *The Holy Bible, Translated from the Latin Vulgate and diligently compared with the Hebrew, Greek, and other editions in divers languages*, ed. R. Challoner (New York: 1941; reprint ed., Fitzwilliam, NH: 2013).

45   *Groenendaal Passion*, fol. 18r, inscription on verso of *Carrying of the Cross*: *Verum haec verba ex magnae pietatis affectu producta ita ad hoc memorasse sufficiat ut* [*ea*] *oculus pietatis attendens. Dum tantae matris gemebundis affectibus compatitur, fructui pij amoris illius aliquando remunerari mereatur.* Cf. *Vita Jesu Christi* 648.

whose mouth no evil was found, sweetly brought yourself into close contact with that mouth abounding in malice.[46]

Christ, continues the Latin, was staging an image of his benignity, 'exhibiting all [such] things as might soften the pertinacity of [Judas]'.[47] The print centers on two antitheses: Christ again faces the viewer, whereas Judas is shown in profile, and his resignation contrasts not only with the violence of the soldiers but also with Peter's attack on Malchus. The Latin, picking up on these devices, directly addresses the reader, urging him not to react like Peter, to be neither enraged nor indignant:

> But if he suffers, for whom, I ask, does he suffer? Why do you desire the sword? Why are you enraged. Why are you indignant. If like Peter you were to cut off someone's ear, if you were to raise your sword arm, if you were to cut off someone's foot, he himself would heal every [limb], raise up every person slain.[48]

The Dutch, likewise consonant with the print which shows Judas enfolding Christ in a tight embrace, declares that that he grasped him so fiercely in his arms that he could feel the Lord's heart beating heavily in his chest (fol. 19r). So, too, the swordsman seizing his arm, and the thug grasping his hair and raising his arm to strike a blow, are consistent with the characterisation of the henchmen as 'cruel wolves who took hold of the dear Lord with devilish fury and pulled him with great violence, some grasping his neck, some his beard, some his hair'.[49]

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46   *Groenendaal Passion*, fol. 18r, inscription on verso of *Betrayal and Capture of Christ*: *Quam promptus bone ihesu spiritus tuus ad passionem fuerit evidenter ostendisti.* [...] *et signo quod acceperant a duce flagitij teipsum manifestasti. Nam accedentem ad osculum sanctissimi oris tui cruentiam bestiam aversatus non est. Se os in quo dolus inventus non est ori quod habundavit malitia dulciter applicuisti.* Cf. *Vita Jesu Christi* 612.

47   *Groenendaal Passion*, fol. 18r, inscription on verso of *Betrayal and Capture of Christ*: *Sed et hoc benignitatis tuae erat domine ut omnia illi exhiberes quae pravi cordis sui pertinatiam emollire potuissent.* Cf. *Vita Jesu Christi* 612.

48   *Groenendaal Passion*, inscription on verso of *Betrayal and Capture of Christ*: *Sine rogo patiatur qui pro te patitur? Quid optas gladium? Quid irasceris? Quid indignaris? Si instar petri cuiuslibet auriculam abscideris. Si ferro brachium tuleris. Si pedem truncaveris. Ipse restituet omnia qui etiam si quem occideris suscitabit.* This extended apostrophe distills and paraphrases the argument of *Vita Jesu Christi* 613–614.

49   *Groenendaal Passion*, fol. 17v: [...] *als die wreede wolven met duvelscer verwoetheit onsen lieven here so wreedelijc grepen, ende trocken met so groeter felheit. Sommege grepen hem metten halse. Die sommege metten baerde. Die sommege metten hare.*

The Latin text on the verso of *Christ before Annas, with the Denial of Peter and the Mocking of Christ* accords with the complex twisting stance of Jesus (fol. 20v): as soldiers haul him before Annas, he turns his head gently toward Peter, who enacts his threefold denial at left; at the same time, his left leg and knee project forward, more toward the viewer than Annas [Fig. 11.6]. The Latin tallies with both aspects of the print, calling upon the beholder to see how Jesus laid eyes kindly on Peter, even while his disciple repudiated him, and then calling upon Christ to look upon the votary as lovingly as he gazed at Peter when, soon after, he repented his betrayal:

> See with what affectionate eyes, with how much mercy and efficacy he gazed at Peter denying him for the third time, at the moment when, having converted and returned to himself, he wept bitterly. Good Jesus, would that your sweet eye would gaze at me, I who at the voice of the wanton handmaid, namely, of the depraved works and passion of my flesh, have so often denied you.[50]

The Dutch text associated with *Pietà and Lamentation* (fol. 39r) supplies a rationale for the notably different presentation of Christ here, versus the prior print, *Christ Awaits Crucifixion* (fol. 34v), in which his face is wan and drawn, his limbs gaunt, his chest caved in, and his overall appearance deathly [Figs. 11.12 & 11.13]. In *Pietà and Lamentation*, on the contrary, he looks robust and muscular, even in death; his eyes and cheeks are no longer sunken, and his wounds appear discreetly visible rather than conspicuous. The Dutch elucidates these changes apropos the miracle wrought by Christ for the benefit of his followers who up to now were sore-oppressed:

> When the worthy mother of God and the whole of this dear company were thus in great sorrow, then did our dear Lord purge his holy body of all its wounds, intending this miracle and solace for his honorable mother and cherished friends who were so disconsolate, that his holy body might show none other than the five holy wounds, in his hands, feet, and his hallowed right side, which he held open for us as a sign of victory […]

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50   Ibid., fol. 20v, inscription on verso of *Christ before Annas, with the Denial of Peter and the Mocking of Christ*: *Intuere quam pijs oculis quam misericorditer quam efficaciter tertio negantem respixit petrum quando ille conversus et in se reversus flevit amare. Utinam bone ihesu tuus me dulcis respiciat oculus qui totiens ad vocem ancill[a]e procacis. Carnis scilicet me[a]e pravis operibus affectibusque negavi.* Cf. *Vita Jesu Christi* 626.

> O when they saw that holy body so beautiful and made whole, with no injuries displayed other than the five holy wounds, then were the worthy mother of God and the others very comforted.[51]

The Dutch also comments on the empathetic relation between Mary and Jesus, made apparent by the parallel tilt of their heads: in particular, it calls attention to the way in which she holds up her Son's lifeless head while staring intently into the Holy Face.[52]

The Dutch, more than the Latin, remarks upon specific details of the prints, such as the smooth surface of the bread held by Christ in *Supper at Emmaus* (fol. 44r) [Fig. 11.15]. The text observes that when he broke bread with his disciples, the pieces he blessed were so even that they looked as if cut by a knife.[53] And with regard to the *Pietà and Lamentation*, the text states that Christ's body was too long to lie wholly upon the Virgin's lap; she propped up his shoulders with one arm, whereas his limbs and legs lay upon the ground.[54]

In more general terms, the Dutch texts provide a raison d'être, ex post facto, for several distinctive structural features of Van Meckenem's print series. First, there is the graduated scale of the multiple episodes that appear in the fore-, middle-, and background of many of the images: the *Washing of the Disciples' Feet*, for instance, incorporates the Washing in the foreground, the Last Supper in the middle-ground, and the Agony in the Garden in the background [Fig. 11.4]. The Dutch dwells equally on all three events, but the order of presentation matches the gradually diminishing scale in the print, with the Washing coming first temporally and the Agony last. The art historical literature often points out that the Last Supper has been relegated to a less prominent place than the liturgically insignificant Washing, and that this poses a heuristic and hermeneutic challenge to the viewer, who must labour to grant the Last Supper its due. The Dutch normalises the print's configuration on temporal grounds, but in calling upon the votary scrupulously to visualise the various scenes, as a prelude to full if virtual participation in these events, it also assists him to move through the picture and to foreground each successive episode as he

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51   *Groenendaal Passion*, fol. 40v; see Appendix 6.

52   Ibid., fol. 42r: […] *so hielt altijt maria sijn heylige hoeft tusscen haer meechdelike handen ende sach een paerlijc op sijn suete aenscijn, ende custet so menichwerven, ende bestortet met haren heylige tranen.*

53   Ibid., fol. 45r: […] *ende bract so effen, of met enen messe gesneden hadde geweest.*

54   Ibid., fol. 40r: […] *ende met sijnen heylige scouderen op onser lieve vrouwen rechten arm, ende sijn doerwonden heylige leden als sijn heylige beene ende doerwonde voeten lagen op dat wit cleet.*

does so.[55] Wherever the scenes lie in the prints, the texts encourage the exercitant to bring them fully into view, moving them into the forefront of consciousness, so to speak.

Second, just as Van Meckenem includes both near and far views, so the Dutch texts explicitly acknowledge that meditation on the Passion involves shifting from a near to a far view and vice-versa. To cite a few examples: we are asked to keep vigil with Christ in the garden of Gethsemane, visualising his anxious, sweat- and blood-stained face, and then to discern, as did he, how Judas and the high-priest's henchmen entered the garden, approaching from a distance.[56] Having drawn near to Christ, in other words, we join him in seeing from a distance what approaches from afar. This process is consonant with the staged viewing experience offered by print's multiple foci: we see Christ's face, already anxious in the scene of Washing, from close by; then from farther off in the Last Supper, and still farther away in the Agony in the Garden. Farthest away is the approaching mob [Fig. 11.4]. By moving our eyes closer to the image, we can bring its smaller, more distant details into ever clearer focus. The texts facilitate this process by urging the votary to draw near to Christ, to gaze at his face, and feelingly to observe how he reacts to impending events: 'Consider, O my soul, how tired your bridegroom was when in the night he saw that light from afar and heard those people coming, armed and greatly clamorous'.[57]

The Latin texts occasionally do this as well, though less frequently than the Dutch. Written on the verso of *Washing of the Disciples' Feet*, the long inscription first positions the votary at the threshold of the image, where he too waits expectantly for the Lord to wash his feet: 'See and await, and last of all, offer him your feet to be cleansed, since he whom he has not washed will have no part in him'.[58] Then the votary is transported to Gethsemane where he accompanies Peter, James, and John, seeing Christ, who has withdrawn to pray, from a distance. But unlike them, he can and must situate himself closer, and, from this more privileged vantage point, bear witness to the showing forth by Christ of his passible, vulnerable humanity:

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55   Ibid., fols. 14r–16v.

56   Ibid., fol. 17r.

57   Ibid.: *Denct o mijn siele hoe dijnen brudegom te moede was, doen hi inder nacht van verre sach dat licht, ende hoerde dat volc comen met groeten geruchte al gewapent.*

58   Ibid., fol. 30r, inscription on verso of *Washing of the Disciples' Feet*: *Specta et expecta et ultimo omnium tuos ei tuos pr[a]ebe pedes abluendos quoniam quem non laverit non habebit partem cum eo.*

And though he had taken Peter and the sons of Zebedee with him, he withdrew to a solitary place. If you will, see from a long way off how he gave himself over to our need. See how he to whom all things belong began to be afraid and to sink down sadly, saying, 'My spirit unto death'. And from this, my God, take pity on me, you who showed your humanity, in a certain manner seeming to forget that you are God.[59]

Another example of the close correlation between the Dutch texts and the prints occurs in relation to the *Carrying of the Cross* [Fig. 11.11]. As Mary stands behind Christ, sharing his burden spiritually, so the text asks us to imagine how he approached her and she him, while he moaned and sighed under the weight of the cross. At the moment they meet, she is heard to say: 'O my one and only son, ill-fated, desolate, disconsolate; your heavenly Father has abandoned you, your angels dare not help you, your apostles have fled, and I your poor mother cannot help you who abandon yourself to the most pressing necessity'.[60] Then Christ moves on, climbing to the summit of Golgotha, leaving Mary, John, and the holy women behind at the foot of the mountain, debarred by thronging mob.[61] This second episode correlates to the background scene in the print, which depicts Mary swooning amongst Christ's followers, at the base of a rocky escarpment. With regard to *Christ Awaits Crucifixion*, in which the crucifixion scene, seen from below, appears in background, just beyond the shadowy cliff-side beside which Christ is seated, the Dutch describes how Mary reached the summit only after the cross had already been raised [Fig. 11.13]. We are to imagine her arrival, the bitter grief she felt when she first laid eyes on her crucified Son, and how she cast her gaze upward at Jesus, then downward at the mob who had robbed her of her Son.[62] The background scene allows for these meditative devices, inviting the viewer to climb up the mountainside (and up the

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59   Ibid.: *Et licet assumpto petro et duobus filijs zebedei ad secreta secesserit, vel a longe. Intuere quomodo in se nostram transtulerit necessitate. Vide quomodo ille cuius sunt omnia pavere c[o]epit et sedere tristis est inquiens anima mea usque ad mortem unde hoc deus meus. Ita compateris mihi exhibens hominem ut quodammodo videaris nescire quod deus es.*

60   Ibid., fol. 29r: *O mijn enich ellendich gelaten troesteloes sone, u hemelste vader laet u, u engelen ende dorven u niet helpen, u apostelen sijn nu van u gevloen, ic u arm moeder en can u niet gehelpen, ende gi laet u selven in die alder meeste noet.*

61   Ibid., fol. 31v: *Mer si en mocht bi hem niet comen, overmids die grote menichte des gewapende volcs, beide te voete ende te perde. Mer si bleef benede aenden voet des berchs met haren bedructen vriendekens iohannes, magdalena ende met haren twee susteren met groten moederliken drucke.*

62   Ibid., fol. 36r: *Si saget nederwaert ende scouwende daer die gene met onsprekeliken rouwe, die uwen scat u beroeft hadden ende also iammerlijc pijnden.*

image) and find Christ a second time, hanging on the cross, after having first seen him waiting in the foreground, his eyes fixed on the hole being drilled in the crossbeam.

Third, the Dutch texts, such as the lengthy passage adjacent to *Christ Washing the Disciples' Feet*, occasionally expound upon the multifold appearances of Christ in the prints, which often portray him two or three times in succession [Fig. 11.4]. Having itemized one set of torments they then compound it in quick and iterative succession with another episode, adjacent in space and time, which then concatenates breathlessly to a third, a fourth, a fifth (fols. 14v–16v). This profusion of episodes attests to the multiplicity and immensity of the Lord's suffering, and also speaks to his desire to suffer on behalf of humankind, as one of the prayers of supplication, spoken in the voice of Christ, affirms by imagining his body greatly manifolded:

> O my heavenly Father, this is now my affliction, that the whole of the human race will not be saved. And then I wept for the death of the sinner, and for those who would make themselves unworthy of my suffering and bitter death. Were it possible to have as many bodies as there are stars in the sky, I would fain give them all up to the death I have suffered, rather than allowing even one sinner to remain lost on my account.[63]

The strength of the assertion becomes all the more evident later on, in one of the prayers attached to *Christ Awaits Crucifixion*, which instructs the votary to consider how Christ shed all his blood when one drop would have been sufficient to save the human race [Fig. 11.12].[64] The multiple Christs, seen from this perspective, are iterative warrants of the Saviour's love for his fellow men.

4   *Affabulatio* and *Visieringh*

There are many other points of intersection between the Dutch and Latin exercises and the Passion prints they accompany, but it is also true that the nature of the relation between the prints and these texts, written as they are in various inks and hands, the Latin for the most part directly on the prints, the Dutch on the surrounding folios, is markedly different. The differences mainly turn

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63   Ibid., fol. 16v; see Appendix 7.

64   *Groenendaal Passion*, fol. 38r: *Ons here hadde ons mogen verlossen met enen dropel bloets, mer sijn minne was soe groot dat hi niet eenen dropel bloets en woude behouden in allen sijnen lichaem hi en wout al wtstorten.*

on the kinds of amplification engendered by the mutual association between text and image; the texts elaborate upon the images, projecting layers of verbal imagery onto them. Whereas the Latin layers can best be designated *affabulationes* (narrative enhancements adapted from the exegetical tradition), to use a term codified by Geert Grote in *Tractatus quattuor generibus meditabilum*, the Dutch layers are narrative enhancements based on rhetorical conjecture only loosely connected to Scripture or the exegetical tradition.[65] For want of terminology as precise as Grote's, one might refer to them as *visieringhen*, a fifteenth- and sixteenth-century term that derives from *visieren* (in Latin, *speculari, contemplari, imaginari, excogitare*, respectively, 'to conjecture', 'view attentively or observe contemplatively', 'imagine', 'devise, contrive, invent').[66] *Visieren* also correlates to the Latin term *adinvenire* (to find out, devise).[67] It appears in the *Exposicie der Passien*, a fifteenth-century manuscript known in two copies, where *visieren* signifies the action of elaborating upon the Passion without scriptural or exegetical warrant.[68] To understand how these two systems of amplification operate, the key sources of both sets of texts should be kept in mind: whereas the Latin cites Ludolphus of Saxony's liturgical, exegetical treatise, *Vita Christi*,[69] the Dutch augments Suso's *Hundred Articles* by citing a congeries of manuscript sources known for their graphic accounts of the Passion, including Heinrich von St. Gallen's *Die Extendit-manum-Passion*, studied by Kurt Ruh,[70] the anonymous *Christi Leiden in einer Vision geschaut*,

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65   On *affabulationes*, which are based on plausible conjecture licensed by Scripture, see Groote G., *Il trattato "De quattuor generibus meditabilium"*, ed. I. Tolomio (Padua: 1975), l. 71–76, 274–282, 344–358, as discussed in Ampe, "Naar een geschieden van de Passie-beleving" 137–140. On the Dutch cognate *visieringhe* and the closely related term *versie-ringe*, see Maldoets A. – Kiliaan C. – Steenhart Q. – Hasselt A. van, *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae. Schat der Neder-duytscher spraken* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1573) n.p.; Kiliaan Cornelis, *Etymologicum teutonicae linguae sive dictionarium Teutonico-latinum* (Antwerp: Jan Moretus, 1599) 625; and Verdam J. – Ebbinge Wubben C.H., *Middelnederlandsch handwoordenboek* ('s-Gravenhage: 1911; reprint ed., 1981) 689, 717.

66   On *visieren*, see Maldoets et al., *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae*, n.p.; and Kiliaan, *Etymologicum teutonicae linguae* 625.

67   Ibid.

68   On this usage in the *Exposicie*, see note 81 *infra*. On the *Exposicie*, see Marrow, *Passion Iconography* 184–186.

69   On the *Vita Christi*, see Baier W., *Untersuchungen zu den Passionsbetrachtungen in der 'Vita Christi' des Ludolfs von Sachsen: Ein Quellenkritischer Beitrag zu Leben und Werk Ludolfs und zur Geschichte des Passionstheologie*, Analecta Catusiana 44, 3 vols. (Salzburg: 1977).

70   See Ruh K., *Der Passionstraktat des Heinrich von St. Gallen* (Thayngen: 1940); idem, "Studien über Heinrich von St. Gallen und den 'Extendit-manum'-Passions-traktat", *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* 47 (1953) 210–230, 241–278; Hilg H. – Ruh K., "Heinrich von St. Gallen", in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters, Verfasserlexikon, III, 2/3* (Berlin: 1981) cols. 738–744; and Ampe, "Naar een geschiedenis van de Passie-beleving" 136–141.

studied by Ruh and Albert Ampe, s.j.,[71] and the diverse community of Passion manuscripts dubbed the *Secret Passion* by the art historian James Marrow (not to be confused with *Dit es de heimelike passsie ons Heeren Ihesu Christi*, studied by Desiderius A. Stracke, s.j.).[72] Paraphrases from these Passion texts, collated with passages from Suso, greatly extend the sequence of meditative exercises attached to Van Meckenem's plates 1–10, from *Christ Washing the Disciples' Feet* to *Pietà and Lamentation* (fols. 14v–41v) [Figs. 11.4–11.13]. (The exercises associated with plates 11–12, the *Resurrection* and *Supper at Emmaus*, are mainly paraphrases from Scripture, from the Pseudo-Bonaventure's *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, and from incunabula such as the *Devote getijden van het leven Ons Heren*, which assimilates the life of Christ to the canonical hours [fols. 42r–45v].[73])

The Dutch extracts from the *Secret Passion*, *Christi Leiden*, and *Extendit-manum-Passion* minutely focus on the bloody wounds of Christ, dissolving or, better, anatomising his body into its torn and shredded particulars. The Latin excerpts from Ludolphus's *Vita Christi* are incarnational in a more strictly theological sense: they anchor episodes from the Passion in the whole of the *verum corpus* and, implicitly, in the mind, heart, and spirit of Christ that inhere in this incarnate body. Inscribed, as we have seen, on the versos of the printed sheets, these extracts are modally distinct from the more aggregative Dutch texts. The Latin moderates the horrors of the Passion, constantly reminding the votary to consider the relation between the *vita mortalis* and *vita vitalis* (i.e., *spiritualis*) of Christ. By contrast, the Dutch externalises and exacerbates the bodily horrors of the Passion, harping on the hundreds of cuts, bruises, and wounds, administered violently and repetitively, that ultimately lead to the inhumane death of Christ. Van Meckenem's plates function as the common ground for both manners and modes of Passion meditation. Indeed, one might argue that the narrative coherence of these semi-liturgical, bi-modal meditative exercises derives from Van Meckenem's images, which depict the Passion as a series of scripturally-based events susceptible to the kinds of extra-scriptural elaboration on show in the Latin and Dutch texts.

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71   See Ruh K., "De *Heimelike Passie ons Heeren Jesu Christi*", in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters, Verfasserlexikon III, 2/3*, cols. 642–644; Ampe, "Losse aantekeningen"; and idem, "Naar een geschiedenis van de Passie-beleving" 136–143.

72   See note 5 *supra*.

73   On the *Meditationes vitae Christi*, see McNamer S., "The Origins of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*", *Speculum* 84.4 (2009) 905–955. On the *Getijden van het leven Ons Heren*, see note 6 *supra*.

The type of *affabulatio* found in the Latin insertions consists of the explicit use of typological allegory to characterise the Passion of Christ. The allegorical tropes, taken mainly from Isaiah and the Psalms, are applied to Christ so as to inspire the reader to reflect on how and why the Lord suffered on his behalf, and on how and why he should respond accordingly, amending himself bodily and spiritually by following the pattern set by his Saviour. For instance, the Latin text appended to Van Meckenem's *Washing of the Disciples' Feet* begins by referring to Christ the Lord as a shepherd come to save the perishing sheep of the House of Israel (fol. 15r) [Fig. 11.4]: 'At last you came, Lord, to the sheep of the House of Israel who perished, openly exalting the light of the divine Word for the illumination of the world, and announcing the kingdom of God to all who were attending your word'.[74] The passage is exegetical in that it comprises and condenses four prophetic texts, construing them as allusions to Christ:

> Psalm 77:52: 'And he took away his own people as sheep: and guided them in the wilderness like a flock'.
> Psalm 79:2: 'O thou that rulest Israel: thou that leadest Joseph like a sheep'.
> Isaiah 40:11: 'He shall feed his flock like a shepherd. He shall gather together the lambs with his arm and shall take them up in his bosom, and he himself shall carry them that are young'.
> Jeremiah 31:10: 'He that scattered Israel will gather him: and he will keep him as the shepherd doth his flock'.

This leads to a further application of an Old Testament prophecy to Christ, whose entire life is seen as a prelude to the Passion, at the threshold of which he is now poised. Blasphemed by his detractors who called him the son of Beelzebub and attempted to stone him, Jesus yet remained patient, 'having been made before them like unto a man neither hearing nor having reproaches in his mouth'.[75] This is a paraphrase of Psalm 37:15: 'And I became as a man that heareth not: and that hath no reproofs in his mouth'. It here serves to anticipate how peaceably and resignedly Jesus will respond to Judas and the mob when they come to capture him.

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74   *Groenendaal Passion*, fol. 30r, inscription on verso of *Washing of the Disciples' Feet*: *Demum venisti Domine ad oves quae perierunt Domus Israel Divini verbi lampadem palam extollens ad illuminationem orbis terr[a]e, et regnum Dei cunctis annuntians obtemperantibus verbo tuo.* Cf. *Vita Jesu Christi* 574–575.

75   *Groenendaal Passion*, fol. 30r, inscription on verso of *Washing of the Disciples' Feet*: *[…] et factus es coram eis sicut homo non audiens et non habens in ore suo redargationes.* Cf. *Vita Jesu Christi* 575.

Similarly, the Latin text appended to *Christ Crowned with Thorns* describes him in terms of the fourth Servant Song from Isaiah 52 and 53, embedding this prophecy of the Passion within a paraphrase of Matthew 27:28–29 and Mark 15:17, on the Crowning with Thorns and Mocking of Christ (fol. 26v) [Fig. 11.8]. The paraphrase reads:

> He is clothed in royal purple, but in that is more despised than honored. He wields a scepter but his reverend head is struck by the same. Their knees bent down to the earth before him, they acclaim him king and repeatedly leap up to spit at his gracious cheeks. With their palms they strike his jaws and dishonor his honorable neck. Behold, my soul: who is that who enters, who advances crowned, having the likeness of a king and yet filled full with the shame of a contemptible slave? But that self-same crown is a torment to him, and wounds his beauteous [brow] with a thousand pricks.[76]

The passages from Isaiah, patently distilled in the catachresis of king and slave, are read by Ludolphus in the *Vita Christi* as an oracle of this episode from the Passion. For the canon aware of this citation and its scriptural sources, the clear implication to be drawn is that Christ was fully cognizant of the relation between his present circumstances and the prophecy they body forth.

Affabulationes of this sort were sanctioned by luminaries such as Geert Grote, founder of the Brethren of the Common Life and enthusiastic proponent of the Canons Regular of Saint Augustine. In *De quattuor generibus meditabilium*, he writes that everything that may be conjectured, examined, or incontestably proved by reference to the Old Testament is most necessary to meditation, and that Christ and his actions may fully be discerned therein through the application of tropological and anagogical allegory; conversely, when Christ and his actions are interpreted spiritually, one can see through them to the plethora of Old Testament prophecies they fulfil. Allegorical

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76 *Groenendaal Passion*, fol. 26v, inscription on verso of *Christ Crowned with Thorns*: *Regali purpura induitur sed plus in ea despicitur quam honoraetur. Sceptrum in manu gestat sed eoipso reverendum caput eius feritur. Adorant coram ipso positis genibus in terra et regem conclamant et continuo ad conspuendum amabiles eius genas subsiliunt. Maxillas palmis concutiunt et honorabile collum exhonorant. Attende anima mea quis est iste qui ingreditur habens imaginem quasi regis et nihilominus servi despectissimi confusione repletus est coronatus incedit. Sed ipsa eius corona cruciatus est illi et mille puncturis speciosum* [*caput*] *eius verticem divulnerat.* Adapted from *Vita Jesu Christi* 642–643, this paraphrase elaborates upon Isaiah 52:13–14 and 53:3ff: 'Behold my servant shall understand: he shall be exalted and extolled, and shall be exceeding high. As many have been astonished at thee, so shall his visage be inglorious among men and his form among the sons of men, etc.'

exegesis furnishes the key link between the Old and New Testaments when they are meditated in tandem; this is where *affabulatio* comes into play, as an image-based exegetical practice that amplifies the Gospels by layering upon them the figurative imagery of the prophets. *Affabulatio* is the defining feature of Grote's fourth category of meditative praxis:

> But in the fourth order, many things are imagined and devised [...] according to and in support of the humbleness of our self, not so that such things are believed to exist, but because it is helpful to our feeble fantasy thus to imagine [them], and because [this] nourishes our slight mind more forcefully and fittingly and leads more firmly to the love of Christ.[77]

The Latin inscriptions added to Van Meckenem's Passion prints comply with this conception of licit scriptural fabulation.

Contrariwise, the Dutch paraphrases added to the extracts from the *Hundred Articles* elaborate upon the Passion in ways that contravene Grote's rule of allegory and system of covenantal analogy, as explicated by Marrow for the visual arts of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and by Ampe for Middle-Dutch Passion treatises of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[78] They convert the repertory of Passion prophecies into Passion imagery so concrete and graphically descriptive that it seems to operate more in the realm of the real than the allegorical, of visceral fact rather than of figurative exegesis. This type of fabulation dwells upon every blow and every humiliation, counting every species of wound and numbering them. The *Revelations* of Saint Bridget is repeatedly cited as the chief source of the precise numbers of tormentors and outrages enumerated: he was struck 60 times in the neck, 30 times on the mouth, spat upon 20 times in his face, and thrown 5 times to the ground and yanked up again in the garden of Gethsemane; blood flowed from his mouth 33 times at the Crowning with Thorns, his stomach, back, and ribs were pummeled 35 times, and his tormentors scowled at him viciously

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77   Groote, *De quattuor generibus meditabilium*, ed. Tolomio, l. 71–76: *In quarto autem ordine multa secundum et ad nostrae parvitatis adminiculum imaginata et ficta modo inferius annotando assumuntur, non quod talia esse creduntur, sed quia sic imaginari iuvat nostrum imbecillem phantasiam, quia hoc et mentem parvulam lacte Christi fortius et aptius nutrit et ad Christi amorem reducit tenacius.* On this passage, see Ampe, "Naar een geschiedenis van de Passie-beleving" 138–139.

78   See note 5 *supra*.

80 times.[79] The interior suffering of Christ is seen to originate from his exterior suffering, and both categories of tribulation are characterised as expressive of his superhuman love of sinful humankind:

> Consider how the foul stinking spittle of the Jews made his tender heart fearful and faint when they spat at his graceful face and into his sweet mouth [...]. And as if he were [truly] a transgressor, he became [truly] fearful [...]. Whereupon his eyes were broken and caked with rheum from his bloody tears and the stinking spew of the loathsome ruffians. There were you, dear Lord, mocked, spat upon, defied, reviled, libeled, cursed, threatened, reproached, censured, defamed, blamed, humiliated [...]. And the more you were debased and defamed for my salvation's sake, the more you loved me, and so the more I hold you dear.[80]

Fabulation of this kind, as Marrow has demonstrated, literalises the prophetic imagery of Psalm 21 (the Good Friday Psalm), Wisdom 2:12–20, Isaiah 52:13–53:12, and Zechariah 12, by cataloguing in excruciating detail every injury inflicted on Christ, from cuts and bruises to stains and defilements. As documented by Ampe, certain commentators were resistant to this usage, claiming that it transgressed the bounds of exegetical propriety; the anonymous author of the *Exposicie der Passien*, for instance, contests the *visieringhen* characteristic of such exercises, mainly because they purport to be verifiably true rather than allegorically amplified, to be factual rather than fabricated. With reference to the two nail-studded boards that are said to have been hung before and behind Christ to pierce his shins and calves as he trudged to Calvary, the *Exposicie* asseverates:

> It is thus to be feared that these two boards said to have hung from his garment are a willful lie. For the evangelists write nothing about them, nor does any teacher, nor anyone else, upon which to base a foundation of truth. But one reads [about them] only in a little book called *Die verholen passie* [i.e., *Die heimelike passie*], which was revealed, as they say, to a

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79 See, for example, with respect to the number of Christ's persecutors at Gethsemane, *Groenendaal Passion*, fol. 17v: *Sinte Birgitta vraechde onsen here ofter oec vele waren wtgeseynt om hem te vangen. Ons here antwoerde. Dochter gi selt weten datter gewapender mannen waren, cccc [= 400], ende cc [= 200] voetgangers. xxx [= 30], scutters, lx [= 60] mannen die vakelen droegen, ende l [= 50] die lanternen droegen.*

80 Ibid., fol. 21v: see Appendix 8.

spiritual person. But therein stand many things that bear the likeness of truth. I fear that they greatly err who devise (*visieren*) such things for the sake of manufacturing compunction and devotion in the hearts of men, for the Passion of Christ is great enough in itself, and has no need of such things which fortify it with lies.[81]

As we shall soon see, the Dutch amplifications in our manuscript, perhaps to controvert scruples such as these, are said to have been ratified by Christ himself, who discerns amidst his current afflictions that he is fulfilling the key prophecies of his Passion. It is Christ, source of all truth, who attests that these *visieringhen* are real, not mere affective embellishments.

5   Two Routes to Golgotha: Affective Violence and Meditative Reflection in the *Groenendaal Passion*

Let us now more closely examine the differences between the adjacent Dutch texts and inscribed Latin inscriptions. Whereas the Latin tends to moderate the expression of strong emotion, the Dutch intensifies and expands upon Van Meckenem's subtle portrayal of Christ's felt emotions, visible in his face, whether the sad resignation of the *Betrayal and Capture of Christ,* the desperate exhaustion of the *Carrying of the Cross*, or the anxious dejection of *Christ Awaiting Crucifixion.* Take the texts attached to the *Capture of Christ* [Figs. 11.5, 11.11, & 11.12]. The Latin emphasises that Christ controls the circumstances of his Passion, here fashioning them into a series of performative, meditative images for our benefit: in the garden of Gethsemane, at the moment he is seized, he stages one such image, making a show of his spirit's willingness to suffer for our sakes.

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81   See *Exposicie der Passien* (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 2694), fols. 85v–86r, as cited in Ampe, "Naar de geschiedenis van de Passie-beleving" 164–165: *Daer om es te duchten, dat ene voirsienige loegene es van desen tween borden, die men seit, dat aen dit cleet hingen. Want de evangelisten en scrivent niet, noch geen leerare en seget, noch niemant, dair men enich fundament der waerheit op stichten mach. Maer men leset alleen in een boexkin dat men heet* Die verholen passie, *die geopenbairt was, alsmen seit, enen geesteliken person. Mair daer staen vele dingen in, de gene ghelikenisse en hebben metter waerheit. Ic duchte dat si grotelec misdoen, die sulke dingen visieren om compunctie ende devocie inder menschen herten te maken, want de passie Christi is groot genoech in hairselven, ende en heeft van genen dingen not, dat men se met loechenen versterken.*

How ready your spirit was for the Passion, good Jesus, you clearly showed, when of your own accord you went to meet the men of blood coming at you in the company of your betrayer, with lanterns, torches, and arms seeking after your spirit contemptuously. And at a sign from him who was first in disgrace, you revealed yourself.[82]

Everything that occurred there was exhibited to men's eyes, above all the eyes of Judas, for the purpose of mollifying obdurate, sinful hearts (*ut omnia illi exhiberes quae pravi cordis sui pertina*[*n*]*tiam emollire potuissent*).[83] The Latin closes by addressing the exercitant, urging him not to react as Peter did toward Malchus, to be neither enraged nor indignant, and to keep in mind that Christ, howsoever abject, remains ever mighty, having the power to heal every limb, raise up any person slain (*ipse restituet omnia qui etiam si quem occideris suscitabit*).[84] Contrastingly, the Dutch brings the repudiation of Christ to the fore, along with the violence perpetrated against him (fol. 19r):

And we had better believed that he who ate great herbs (i.e., John the Baptist) was the Son of God, than this wine-drinker. And with this they struck his mouth and ears and cheeks [...]. With a great clamor, they brought him into the city, leapt upon him like ravening wolves. His pain and confusion could in no wise content them. They cast him down 40 times, and as he was half falling yanked him upright, pulling on the rope [around his waist], piercing him 43 times with goads, setting their fingers 15 times upon the dear Lord's face, as if ripping it to pieces.[85]

The reference to 'ravening wolves' identifies Ezechiel 22:27 – 'Her princes in the midst of her are like wolves ravening the prey to shed blood and to destroy souls' – as the distant source of this passage.

The Latin texts tend to cleave more closely than the Dutch to Van Meckenem's images, and in elaborating upon them, they appear to respond to specific features rather than interpolating violent details into them. The Latin inscribed

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82   *Groenendaal Passion*, fol. 18r, inscription on verso of *Betrayal and Capture of Christ*: *Quam promptus bone ihesu spiritus tuus ad passionem fuerit evidenter ostendisti, quando venientibus una cum proditore tuo viris sanguinum et quaerentibus animam tuam cum lanternis et facibus et armis per contem ultro occuristi. Et signo quod acceperant a duce flagitij teipsum manifestasti*. Cf. *Vita Jesu Christi* 611.

83   *Groenendaal Passion*, fol. 18r, inscription on verso of *Betrayal and Capture of Christ*: [...] *ut omnia illi exhiberes quae pravi cordis sui pertina*[*n*]*tiam emollire potuissent*. Cf. *Vita Jesu Christi* 612.

84   See *Groenendaal Passion*, fol. 18r, inscription on verso of *Betrayal and Capture of Christ*.

85   See Appendix 9.

on *Christ before Annas* is a good case in point (fol. 20r) [Fig. 11.6]: it calls atten-
tion to Christ gazing at Peter, and begs the Lord to cast his gaze at the votary
just as he looked lovingly at Peter at the time of his threefold betrayal (*Utinam
bone ihesu tuus me dulcis respiciat oculus*).[86] Like a chastened Peter, the votary
should observe the circumstances in which Christ finds himself and learn to
express merciful contrition at this sight, which should be appreciated as an
epitome of patient modesty (*insuper intuere nunc opprobrijs Dominum vere-
cundum in tormentis vero patientem*).[87] To cultivate penitential compassion,
the reader-viewer must reflect on the antitheses here made apparent: brought
before Annas, Christ the truth is falsely adjudged blasphemous, the living
source of joy and worthy object of prayerful devotion is instead defiled and
disgraced, the Lord of all creation is treated like a contemptible servant. On
the contrary, the Dutch concentrates fixedly on imagining excesses of defile-
ment so extreme that words cannot describe them (nor images picture them):
'[Then] with devilish, fell cruelty they led our dear Lord to Caiaphas. O, how
they do treat our dear Lord, mishandling him on the street in ways not to be
expressed in words (*wt te spreken*)'.[88]

The horror of the judgment scene is to be exacerbated by imagining how
Mary came upon Christ being dragged away, so maltreated and debased that
she could barely recognize his form and face (*dat si sijn gestelnisse nau gesien
conste*).[89] Conversely, the votary is to visualize how Christ, upon seeing his
tearful, deathly pale mother, is cut to the quick by a sword of sorrow no less
sharp than the one that cut through her (*want als ons lieve here sijn lieve moeder
aensach, dootverwich gedaen van weenen* [...] *och hoe doersneet dat sweert des
rouwen deser twee alder haer herten*).[90] Another inciteful device involves visu-
alising how the mob saw Christ: his captors stood at a distance to allow the
people to see him and cast aspersions on him, but what they beheld was a man
so battered as to be unrecognizable. Then one must imagine how the angels
saw their Lord scorned and maltreated, but were not allowed to assist him. And
finally, one should envisage Mary forced to observe her Son from afar, shunted
aside by the great press of people.[91] Each of these imagined details is a further

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86   *Groenendaal Passion*, fol. 19v, inscription on verso of *Christ before Annas*. Cf. *Vita Jesu
       Christi* 626.

87   *Groenendaal Passion*, fol. 19v, inscription on verso of *Christ before Annas*.

88   *Groenendaal Passion*, fol. 19v: [...] *ende gingen onsen lieven here leyden met duvelscer felheit
       tot cayphas wert. Och hoe si doen op onsen lieven here gebeerden opter straten dat en waer
       niet wt te spreken.*

89   Ibid., fol. 22v.

90   Ibid.

91   Ibid., fols. 22v–23r: see Appendix 10.

blow-by-blow image laminated onto the printed image, pushing far beyond the limits of what is pictured and what Scripture corroborates.

Another difference between the Latin and the Dutch is temporal: the former often stops in mid-stride to digress on the meaning of the image we are viewing and its true cause and purpose. The Latin addendum to the *Flagellation*, to cite one example, explains that he 'made himself visible (*extiti*), a man abandoned by reason of our absolute contrition and shame' (fol. 24v) [Fig. 11.7].[92] This is to say that he is the veritable image of our sinful condition, a condition needful of atonement and fit to arouse feelings of guilt. The Dutch instead particularises the punishments visited on Christ, recounting that he was striped by three kinds of scourges – respectively formed of rods, cords knotted with metal hooks, and dried ox-sinews – wherefrom blood spurted everywhere, flooding the floors, while thick lumps of flesh adhered to the scourges. The emphasis falls on the horror of the scene, at the climax of which 'the Lord was pitiable to see, for then from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet there was nothing that had not been thoroughly wounded'.[93] The votary is then urged to think of Jesus as his bridegroom, who holds himself still, both in body and soul, amidst all this suffering, which he feels more grievously from within than from without.[94] The abruptly sudden shift to the bridal imagery of the *Song of Songs*, and the concomitant adjuration, '[…] attend to your bridegroom Jesus with your inward eyes', brief as they are, function less to foster contemplative devotion than to shock the votary into acknowledging his sinful guilt and shame.[95] He has betrayed his spouse, thrown him to the wolves devouring him.

In contradistinction to the *Exposicie der Passien*, cited above, the juxtaposition of the Latin and the Dutch does not constitute an implicit critique by the former of the latter's form, tenor, and function. It makes better sense to consider how they work in tandem, as complements, the Dutch arousing horror and shame conducive to self-accusation and penitential contrition, the Latin harnessing that self-loathing to the task of meditative reflection and contemplative devotion. This becomes specially evident in the relation between the Latin and Dutch texts attached to *Christ Crowned with Thorns* [Fig. 11.8]. The Latin, as discussed *supra*, having framed this Passion episode in terms of Isaiah 52:13–14 and Isaiah 53:3ff, then addresses the votary's soul, enjoining

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92 *Groenendaal Passion*, fol. 24v, inscription on verso of *Flagellation*: *Ego homo perditus totius contritionis totius confusionis tuae causa extiti.*

93 Ibid., fols. 25r–v: *Och hoe deerlijc was ons here doen aen te siene. Want hi niet geheels en hadde vander cruynen sijns hoefs totten planten sijnre voeten ten was al doe[r]wont.*

94 Ibid., fol. 25v: *O devote siele merct nu uwen brudegom, ende siet hoe stil ende lijdsamlijc dat hi al dit swaer liden lijt van buten, ende noch is sijn liden veel swaerder van binnen.*

95 Ibid.: [...] *hebt altoes u inwendige ogen op uwen brudegom ihesum.*

it attentively to consider, i.e., to meditate, the paradoxical image of Christ the King as the Isaian servant (*Attende anima mea quis est iste qui ingreditur habens imaginem quasi regis et nihilominus servi despectissimi*).[96] The Dutch instead demands that the votary scrutinise Christ's face and body caked with drying blood, his features so obscured that he appears barely human, the thorny crown pressed low on his head, streams of blood flowing from 72 puncture wounds.[97] The compassion one perforce feels is described as reactive, the natural result of viewing this dire and pitiable spectacle, the sort of reaction sights distressing as these inevitably elicit. The mode might best be characterised as narrative rather than meditative, intensely poignant rather than affectingly ruminative. Encapsulated within the cascade of graphic particulars are a few brief thoughts about the love that motivated Christ to endure all this pain and suffering: 'And if the pain and great humiliation of our Lord are very much to be marveled at, still more the great love that surpasses all. One drop of his holy blood had been enough to redeem every one of us, but so great was his love, that in order to draw us to it he could neither spare himself in any degree, nor wished to do so'.[98] But the emphasis falls not on thoughts such as these but on the material details of the Passion; these start up again immediately after the two lines just quoted. The verbal depiction of the Crowning with Thorns leads directly into a description of the Ecce Homo, the subject of the next print in the series; tellingly, instead of calling upon the votary to give thought to the Man of Sorrows and consider what it means to ruminate him, the text recounts how and why Pilate put Christ forward as an epitome of suffering, making him maximally visible to the people as a would-be king, scorned and chastised (*op dat men onsen here so mismaect te bat soude sien*) [Fig. 11.9].[99] Not the image we should fashion meditatively, but the circumstances of Pilate's image-making, his calculated strategy in showing Christ (in hopes of freeing him from certain death) is the topic at hand.

The difference between the two modes becomes all the more apparent through the collocation of texts adjacent to the *Carrying of the Cross* [Fig. 11.11]. The Dutch augments its account of outrages committed on the road to Calvary by describing a scene not pictured by Van Meckenem, the nailing of Christ

96   Ibid., fol. 26v.

97   Ibid., fol. 27r: *Denct hoe dat die dorne crone op sijn hoeft gedruct wort, so dattet dbloet tot lxxij. steden wtvloyede met strangen als dumen.*

98   Ibid.: *Ende al is dit seer te verwonderen die pijne ende die grote smaet ons heren, nochtans die grote minne gaet boven al. Hi hadde ons allen mogen verlossen met enen druppel sijns gebenedijts bloets, mer die minne was so groet, dat hi hem geen sins gesparen en conste, noch en woude op dat his ons tot sijnre minne trecken soude.*

99   Ibid.

to the cross once he reached the summit of Mount Golgotha. Laid prone upon the cross, his limbs are painfully stretched, his hands and feet pierced by large, faceted nails that push his flesh and sinew into the wood. So dreadful is the nailing, so shameless and baleful the executioners, that they surpass the human capacity to know or understand what actually transpired (*dat men te gronte niet geweten en can*).[100] And yet the votary is given to see the Lord's face, trampled by executioners who revile his merciful countenance, finding it unendurable (*doen en consten si dat goedertieren gesicht niet gesien*).[101] All the suffering incurred at Calvary must be held before one's bodily eyes, i.e., seen as if veritably present, the Holy Face above all: 'Ah, hold this sweet, pitiable face ever before [your] external eyes ([*wt*]*wendige oogen*)'.[102] The directive to gaze unflinchingly at the Lord's bloody mouth, nose, cheeks, eyes, and beard harmonises with Van Meckenem's *Carrying of the Cross* and *Christ Awaiting Crucifixion*, both of which center on a frontal view of the face of Jesus, turned toward the beholder [Figs. 11.11 & 11.12]: 'Ah, look at him well, who is nothing but wounds and blood, his holy beard plucked, holy mouth bruised and blood-soaked, nose split in two and burst open, cheeks broken and torn, eyes maimed and blood-stained, and holy hair damp and red with blood'.[103] A new outrage is now added to the ones that preceded: once nailed to the cross, he is raised then thrown downward, the weight of the wood bearing down upon him.[104]

The Latin takes, so to speak, an alternative route to Golgotha. It asks the exercitant to see the spectacle unfolding as the fulfillment of Psalm 44:7, 'Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever: the scepter of thy kingdom is a scepter of uprightness'; Hebrews 1:8, 'but to the Son: Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever: a scepter of justice is the scepter of thy kingdom'; and Isaiah 9:6, 'For a child is born to us, and a son is given to us, and the government is upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called, Wonderful, Counsellor, God the Mighty, the Father of the world to come, the Prince of Peace'.[105] The eyes of the soul, the 'eye of devotion' (*oculus pietatis*) is advised to see the cross as an

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100   Ibid., fol. 31v.

101   Ibid., fol. 33r.

102   Ibid.: *Och dit suete deerlijc aenschijn hout dit altijt voer van [wt]wendige oogen, ende laet om sinen wille alle cierheit des hoefts.* See note 42 *supra* on the term *wendige*, its inflections ([*wt*]*wendige* or [*in*]*wendige*), and its likely use here to signify external vision.

103   Ibid.: see Appendix 11.

104   *Groenendaal Passion*, fol. 33v: *ende wreeden gebeere hieffen si dat cruys in die locht, ende lietent swaerlijc neder vallen tegen den steen achtigen berch, met sijnen h[eilige] bloedigen doerwonden leden ondert swaer cruce, ende met sijnen bloedigen aenscijn inder onreynder erden.*

105   Ibid., fol. 32v.

instrument of the triumph of Christ, a warrant of his power to save but also to judge the whole world.[106] The process whereby abject suffering is converted into glorious victory is exegetical: not only are passages from Psalms, Isaiah, and Hebrews marshalled, but also Peter's avowal in John 13:37, 'Why cannot I follow thee now? I will lay down my life for thee', and Thomas's in John 11:16, 'Let us also go, that we may die with him'.[107] Quite unlike them, the *meditans* must cleave close to Christ, refusing to fall away, instead dying with him to arise with him, an implicit allusion to Romans 6:4: 'For we are buried together with him by baptism into death: that, as Christ is risen from the dead by the glory of the Father, so we also may walk in newness of life'. Whereas the Dutch invokes the [*wt*]*wendige oogen*, the meditative, exegetical work of reading the Passion as a prophecy of the Resurrection and all it portends for sinful human-kind proceeds, in the Latin, by way of mobilising the *oculus pietatis* (fol. 29v):

> See, my soul, how that man was pressed and spurned in all things, ordered to bend his back under the weight of the cross and to bear ignominy upon himself. O, do you see the spectacle? Behold his government upon his shoulder; this is the scepter of justice, the scepter of his rule.
>
> I imagine that pious mother following [her] son, her voice saying: Thither you go, the sole propitiator, making sacrifice for all. Peter comes not to meet you, he who says, 'For you I would die'. Thomas deserts you, who says, 'With him let us all die'. And none of these but you alone are led forth, you who preserved me chaste, you my Son and my God. Even so, let it suffice to bring these words to remembrance, that the eye of piety, feeling compassion for the groaning affections of so great a mother, may merit to be rewarded with the fruit of his/her godly love hereafter.[108]

The theme of Mary's love for Jesus is layered onto that of Jesus's love for humankind, and his redemptive power is tied implicitly to her power of merciful intercession.

The final Latin inscription, one of the longest, when read in conjunction with the adjacent Dutch texts, serves to transmute their emphasis on the corporeal aspect of Christ crucified, as seen first by the crowd on Golgotha and then by Mary upon her arrival, into a contemplative vision of Calvary as the site of divine love, and of Jesus as its immeasurable source. The text is written on the recto of the sheet with *Christ Awaiting Crucifixion* on the verso (fol. 34r)

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106   Ibid.
107   Ibid.
108   Ibid.: see Appendix 12. Cf. *Vita Jesu Christi* 647.

[Fig. 11.12]. The Dutch turns on the antithesis between the manner of the people's viewing of Christ and the manner of the Virgin's. The mob mocks the man they take for a criminal, sneering and shaking, wagging their heads and laughing to scorn, bodying forth the imagery of Psalm 21:7–9, as well as John 2:19: 'They cried out, are you the one who would destroy the temple and in three days raise it up?'[109] Oppositely, Mary's heart is wounded to the core when, after Jesus has been crucified, she pushes through the crowd to see her Son hanging from the cross, cruelly torn, pierced, and bloody.[110] In the Latin, it is the soul that beholds Christ on the cross, hears him utter the prayer of supplication, 'Father forgive them' (Luke 23:34), and interprets the sight and the words by visualising an image of the Lord hanging between heaven and earth, uniting and conjoining them by means of the cross: 'Mediator of God and men, hanging midway between heaven and earth, nay rather, he who unites, conjoins terrestrial things to supernal, celestial ones'.[111] Christ in the Passion is transmogrified by the soul that sees through his suffering to its redemptive effect, recognising him at first sight as the most gentle and benign of men. Indeed, the Latin insists that one consider how neither his injuries nor the penalty he pays concern him or disturb his sweetness and tranquility of heart: 'What man have you seen, more gentle, more benign? And again: in all this look closely at that most sweet heart, at the tranquil sense of duty it preserved. It attends to no injury, counts no penalty, feels no contumely, but instead feels compassion for those who torment him'.[112] For this reason, the soul finds itself contemplating Christ's humanity inseparably conjoined with his majesty, divine mercy, and ineffably loving piety: 'Behold me, Lord, one who adores your majesty, not a slayer of your body, one who venerates your death, not a scoffer at your Passion, a contemplator of your mercy, not a contemner of your infirmity. Let

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109   *Groenendaal Passion*, fol. 33v: *Ende al dat quade volc liep om dat cruce, daer ons here so deerlijc aen hinc roepende al spottende ende blasphemerende. Doen mochte ons here wel seggen. Al die mi sagen bespotten mi, si waechden haer hoefde ende riepen.*

110   Ibid.: *Och doen si haren lieve sone ontefermelijc aensach so iammerlijc begaet doerwont, ende al bebloet gelaten van sijnen hemelscen vader, ende bespot vanden menscen doen ginc een doot wee doer haer moederlijc herte.*

111   Ibid., fol. 34r: *Mediator Dei et hominum inter c[a]elum et terram medius pendens, imo superis unit c[o]elestibus terrena coniungit.*

112   Ibid.: *Quid hoc viro mansuetius quid benignius anima mea vidisti. Et iterum: In omnibus his considera illud dulcissimum pectus quam tanquillitatem servavit pietatis. Non suam attendit iniuriam non p[o]enam reputat non sentit contumelias sed ipsis potius a quibus patitur ille compatitur.*

your sweet humanity advocate on my behalf; let your ineffable piety commend me to your Father'.[113]

If the soul now approaches closer to the cross and views the pallid face of Jesus from nearby, continues the Latin, let it feel compassion like that felt by Mary, and then, hearing Christ's words, 'Father, why hast thou forsaken me?' (Matthew 27:46 and Mark 15:34), let it recognise that he was showing forth, i.e., exposing to view, as if in an image, the purpose and proficient effect of ejaculatory prayer (*Insuper addidisti, 'Deus meus ut quid dereliquisti me', ut ostenderes effectum orationis*).[114] Citing Psalm 41:2, 'As the hart panteth after the fountains of water, so my soul panteth after thee, O God', the soul gives voice to its realisation that what Christ truly exemplifies in the Passion is neither the suffering nor death to which mortal life is subject (*vita mortalis*), but the vital life of the spirit (*vita vitalis*), whose eternal font is Jesus himself, the fountainhead of beatitude and spiritual joy:

> Also you added, Lord Jesus Christ, 'I thirst'. For what do you thirst, Lord Jesus: the wine of the vine or a river's water? Your thirst [is] my salvation, your food, my redemption. […] Why, then, do you, [my soul,] not desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ? Why does the mortal life hinder you, and why does the vital life not incite you, beatitude flowing like a fountain, spiritual companionship and joy? Therefore long for, consider how great is, the multitude of your sweetness, how glorious are the things said about the city of God, where the light of life is, the font of absolute sweetness, the felicity of every man.[115]

In conclusion, the inscription calls upon the votary to be crucified with Christ, but in doing so, to train one's thoughts on the salvation enduringly to be attained (*ut salute consequaris perseverantia*).[116] This text furnishes the perfect complement to Van Meckenem's still figure of Christ awaiting crucifixion in the foreground, as also to the Crucifixion scene in the background [Fig. 11.12]. Whereas the Dutch amplifies both scenes by imagining them corporeally, the

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113   Ibid.: *Ecce ego Domine tuae majestatis adorator non tui corporis interfector[,] tuae mortis venerator non tuae passionis derisor[,] tuae misericordiae contemplator[,] non infirmitatis contemptor[.] Interpellat pro me tua humanitas dulcis[;] commendet me patri [tuo] tua ineffabilis pietas.*

114   Ibid.

115   Ibid.: see Appendix 13.

116   *Groenendaal Passion*, fol. 34r.

Latin elaborates upon them contemplatively, fixing the soul's spiritual eyes on the conciliatory, pacifying, and joyful effects secured in and through Christ by all who trusting him fully, cultivate the *vitam vitalem* he bestows.

6   A Modal Turn: Asserting the Primacy of Marian Affection

The inscription discussed above is the last of the Latin inscriptions, even though three prints follow – *Pietà and Lamentation*, *Resurrection*, and *Supper at Emmaus* [Figs. 11.13, 11.14, & 11.15]. The reason that the three latter prints lack a text in Latin, I think, is that the substance and tone of the Dutch texts changes after the death of Christ on the cross. They become less visceral, more reflective, and exegetical, diverging from the imagery of the *Extendit-manum-Passion*, the *Christi Leiden in einer Vision geschaut*, and the *Secret Passion*. Instead, they more closely resemble the argument of Ludolphus's *Vita Christi*. This thematic change is in part a consequence of the focus on the Virgin's empathetic, loving relation to Christ in the final section of the manuscript. Latin addenda modally distinct from the main text in Dutch were thus no longer required. The brief Latin heads atop the columns of text shift in tone: whereas they formerly compressed various Passion themes, they now function as ejaculatory prayers pleading for consolation of the spirit [Fig. 11.20].

   Typical of this section of the manuscript is the account of how Mary beheld the Crucified: sorrowfully and thoughtfully, she first looked up at him, then down at the people standing round the cross, and considered the difference between his piety and their impiety (*ende saget daer hange*[*n*] *u lief kijnt* [...] *saget nederwaert ende scouwende daer die gene* [...] *die uwen scat u beroeft hadden*).[117] Mary exemplifies and, more than this, models for our benefit a meditative connection to Jesus. This leads further to a series of meditations, more subdued than the previous ones, on the kinds and degrees of pain felt by Jesus in his five senses as he hung dying on the cross.[118] Previously, his eyes, to cite one of the chief organs of sense, were said to have been punched, poked, and bloodied; now they cause pain at one remove, allowing him to bear witness to, to see as if presaging, the spiteful gestures directed against him and the visible sorrow experienced by his mother and friends. In consequence, after entrusting his mother to John and John to his mother (John 19:26–27), he pauses to meditate the mystery of the Passion, 'raising his voice in a long

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117   Ibid., fol. 36r.

118   Ibid.: *Aldus hangende was ihesus gepijnt in allen sijn vijf sinnen.*

prayer' that begins, 'My God, my God, look upon me'.[119] This is the opening line of Psalm 21, and the reference to the prayer's length (*hief hi op een lanc gebet*) makes clear that he recited the whole of the psalm, which is to say that even in the throes of the Passion, he chose steadfastly to reflect upon its typological meaning:

> And he spared neither his bruised mouth nor his holy mangled, parched head, but read out the holy psalms of his sacred Passion, in order that his Father might look, with satisfaction, upon the misdeeds of men. And his godly voice trembled and burned, and was soft, and now was loud and wailing. And at once the world was covered over by a great darkness, [and] the sun left off from shining from the sixth hour to the ninth. Then our Lord cried out in a loud voice, 'Heli, heli lamasabathani', that is, 'My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?' And think not that Christ murmured against his Father, for his will was in all things like unto the Father's will. [...] O devout soul, suffer as if you had been abandoned, and pay heed to your hapless bridegroom on the holy cross.[120]

The earlier call to consider how Jesus suffered in his sense of sight sets the scene for this recitation of the Psalms, wherethrough the Crucifixion, indeed the whole Passion, is viewed through the lens of the Psalmist's prophecies thereof. Jesus is to be seen considering himself and his straitened circumstances in light of the imagery of these Psalms:

– Psalm 21:2, 'O God, my God, look upon me: Why hast thou forsaken me?';
– Psalm 26:2: 'Whilst the wicked draw near against me, to eat my flesh';
– Psalm 26:9: 'Be thou my helper, forsake me not';
– Psalm 30:6: 'Into thy hands I commend my spirit';
– Psalm 34:11–12: 'Unjust witnesses rising up have asked me things I knew not';
– Psalm 34:15: '[...] scourges were gathered together upon me, and I knew not';
– Psalm 34:19: '[...] who have hated me without cause and wink with the eyes';
– Psalm 54:4–5: 'For they have cast iniquities upon me: and in wrath they were troublesome to me';
– Psalm 56:5: '[...] the sons of men, whose teeth are weapons and arrows, and their tongue a sharp sword';
– Psalm 68:21–22: 'In thy sight are all they that afflict me: my heart hath expected reproach and misery';

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119   Ibid.: *Als die suete goedertieren here sijnder liever moeder toegesproken hadde so hief hi op een lanc gebet. Deus Deus meus respice.*

120   Ibid.: see Appendix 14.

– Psalm 87:7–8: 'They have laid me in the lower pit';
– and Psalm 108:25: 'And I am become a reproach to them'.
– And most relevant, since it prophecies this very scene of Christ crucified meditating upon the Psalms, Psalm 108:4: 'Instead of making me a return of love, they detracted me: but I gave myself to prayer'.[121]

At the conclusion of this episode, the soul is charged to see how not even one kind word was offered to the crucified Lord, and how, on the contrary, his tormenters gnashed their teeth against him.[122] Following the meditative example set by Christ, his situation can be identified as fulfilling Isaiah 63:3, 'I have trodden the winepress alone', and Psalm 111:10, 'The wicked shall see and shall be angry, he shall gnash with his teeth and pine away'. Soon after, in a prayer of supplication, the votary pleads for divine assistance in keeping the Lord's death ever present in his heart, as it was ever present to the heart of Christ, there to be meditated (*doer die tegenwordicheyt uwer bitter doot, die u altoes voer stont, dat u werdige doot nummermeer en moet comen wt mijnre herten*).[123]

In sum, the final portion of the manuscript assimilates the modal characteristics of the prior Latin inscriptions which, cleaving close to the relatively subdued but expressive manner of Van Meckenem's prints, provide a gloss on his images parallel to and distinct from that furnished by the Dutch texts that constitute the bulk of the book. Whereas these texts amplify Suso's *Hundred Articles* by reference to treatises associated with the *Secret Passion* (as well as the *Revelations* of Saint Bridget and other Passion cycles), and enrich Van Meckenem's Passion series by layering upon it detailed verbal images of the corporeal atrocities visited on Christ, the Latin texts instead focus on bringing the theme of divine mercy to the fore and on cultivating thoughts and feelings associated with the contemplative spousal imagery of the *Song of Songs*. The two sets of texts qualify each other, as well as commenting upon the printed images, in a proto-emblematic compound of the verbal and the pictorial that, in triangulating amongst a series of engravings and a series of texts, invokes two registers of vision to allude to dual meditative modes. The fact that the prints are material images lends a material effect to the verbal images, incarnational with respect to the Latin, corporeal with respect to the Dutch.

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121   *Groenendaal Passion*, fol. 36r–v.
122   Ibid., fol. 36v: *Want in alre sijnre pijnen ende noot, soe in sprac hem niemant toe een troestelijc woort, mer wt spotte, ende scipmpte scudden si haer hoeft op hem, ende arselden met haren tanden op hem.*
123   Ibid., fol. 37v.

FIGURE 11.2   Cologne School, *Saint Jerome Kneeling in Penitence before the Crucifix*,
ca. 1470–1480. Metalcut, hand-coloured in green, yellow, brown, orange, gold,
and red lake, 255 × 179 mm

FIGURE 11.3   Netherlandish School, *Christ the Man of Sorrows*, ca. 1490–1500. Woodcut,
                  hand-coloured in green, two shades of brown, flesh colour, yellow, black, and
                  touches of red lake, 257 × 170 mm
                  NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, 2003.476

FIGURE 11.4   Israhel van Meckenem, *Christ Washing the Disciples' Feet and the Departure of Judas, with the Agony in the Garden and the Last Supper,* from the *Große Passion,* ca. 1480. Engraving, ca. 205 × 151 mm
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, 2003.476

FIGURE 11.6   Israhel van Meckenem, *Christ Brought before Annas, with Denial of Peter and Mocking of Christ*, from the *Große Passion*, ca. 1480. Engraving, ca. 205 × 151 mm
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, 2003.476

FIGURE 11.8   Israhel van Meckenem, *Christ Crowned with Thorns, with Mocking of Christ*, from the *Große Passion*, ca. 1480. Engraving, highlighted in gold, ca. 205 × 151 mm
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, 2003.476

FIGURE 11.9   Israhel van Meckenem, *Ecce Homo, with Pilate and his Wife*, from the *Große Passion*, ca. 1480. Engraving, ca. 205 × 151 mm
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, 2003.476

FIGURE 11.10   Israhel van Meckenem, *Pilate Washing his Hands, with Workmen Building the Cross and Judas Returning the Thirty Pieces of Silver*, from the *Große Passion*, ca. 1480. Engraving, ca. 205 × 151 mm
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, 2003.476

FIGURE 11.11   Israhel van Meckenem, *Christ Carrying the Cross, with Mary, John, and the Holy Women in the Distance*, from the *Große Passion*, ca. 1480. Engraving, ca. 205 × 151 mm
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, 2003.476

FIGURE 11.12   Israhel van Meckenem, *Christ Awaiting Crucifixion, with the Crucifixion in the Distance*, from the *Große Passion*, ca. 1480. Engraving, ca. 205 × 151 mm
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, 2003.476

FIGURE 11.14 Israhel van Meckenem, *Resurrection, with Christ Breaking the Doors of Hell*, from the *Große Passion*, ca. 1480. Engraving, ca. 205 × 151 mm
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, 2003.476

FIGURE 11.15   Israhel van Meckenem, *Supper at Emmaus, with Christ and the Two Disciples on the Way to Emmaus and Christ and the Magdalene in the Garden,* from the *Große Passion*, ca. 1480. Engraving, ca. 205 × 151 mm
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, 2003.476
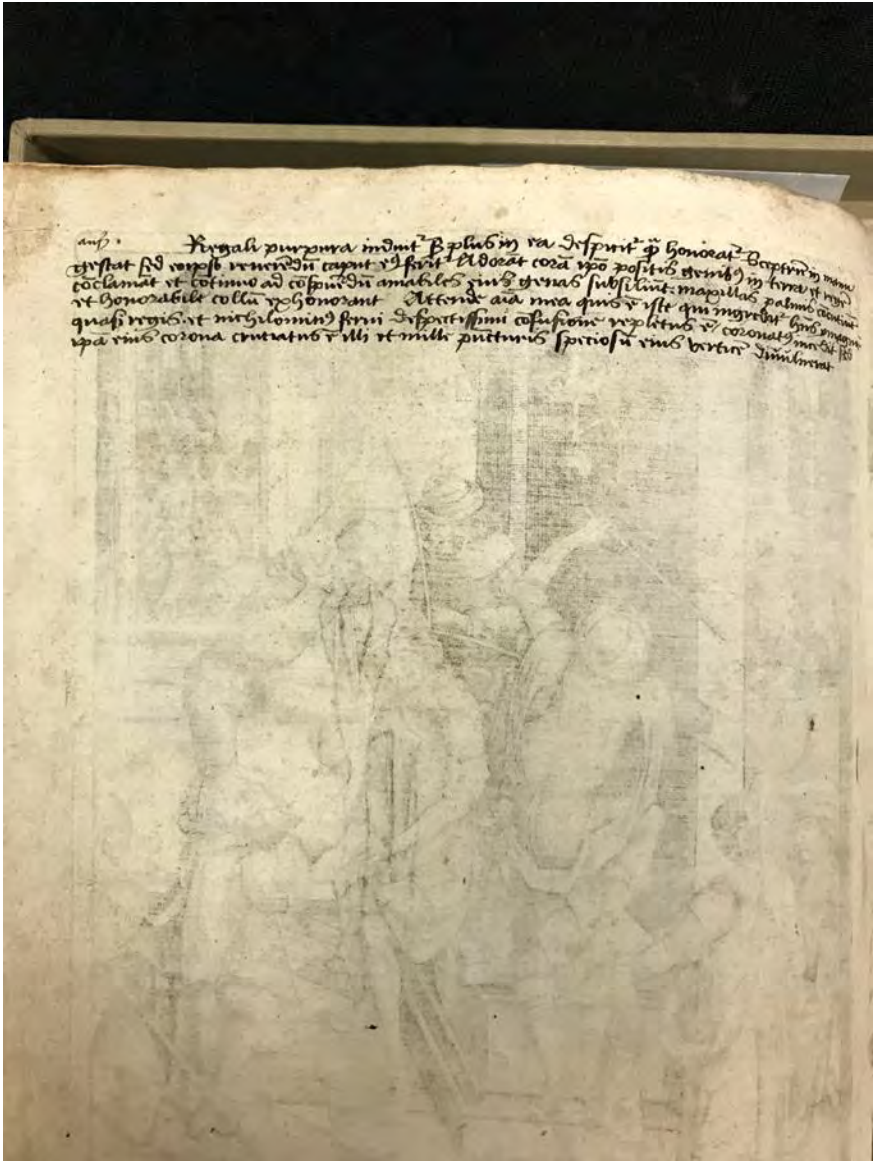
FIGURE 11.16   Verso of sheet with *Christ Crowned with Thorns. Groenendaal Passion,* fol. 26v
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, 2003.476
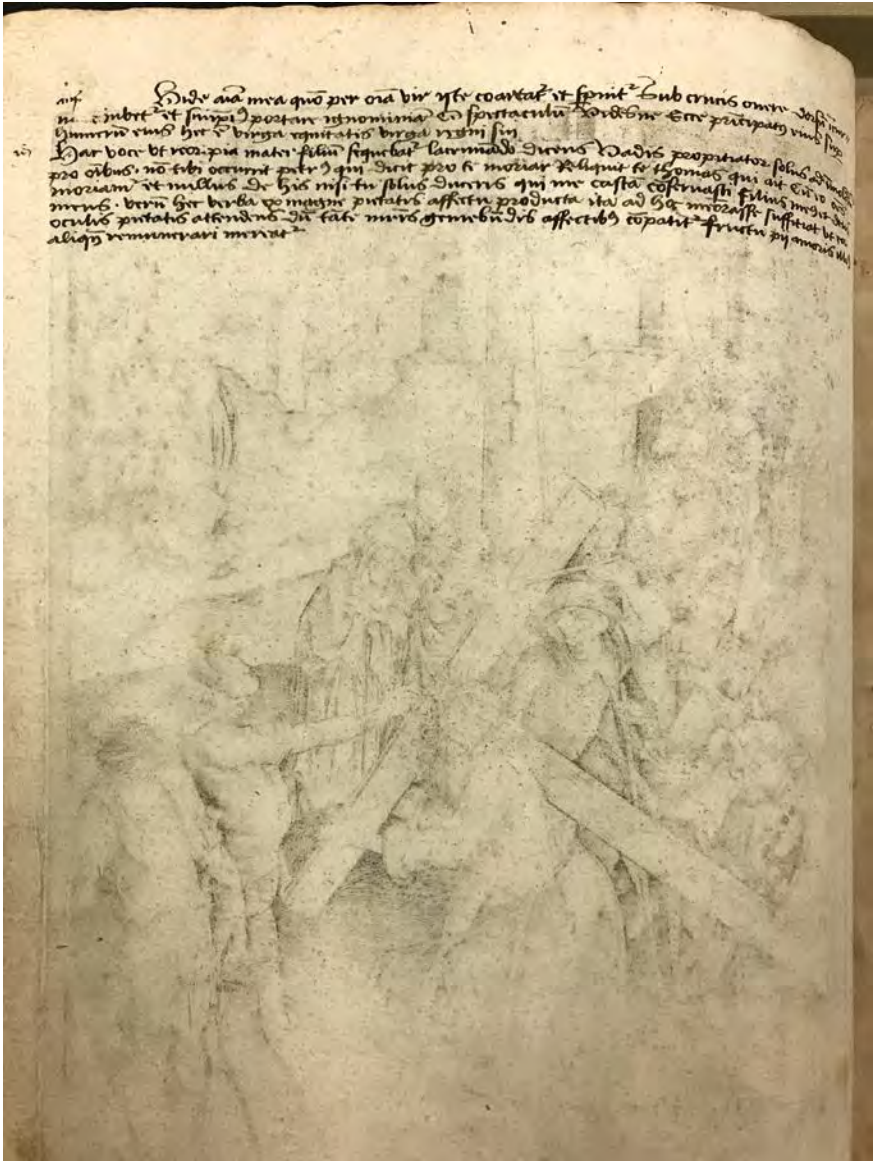
FIGURE 11.17   Verso of sheet with *Christ Carrying the Cross. Groenendaal Passion*, fol. 32v
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, 2003.476
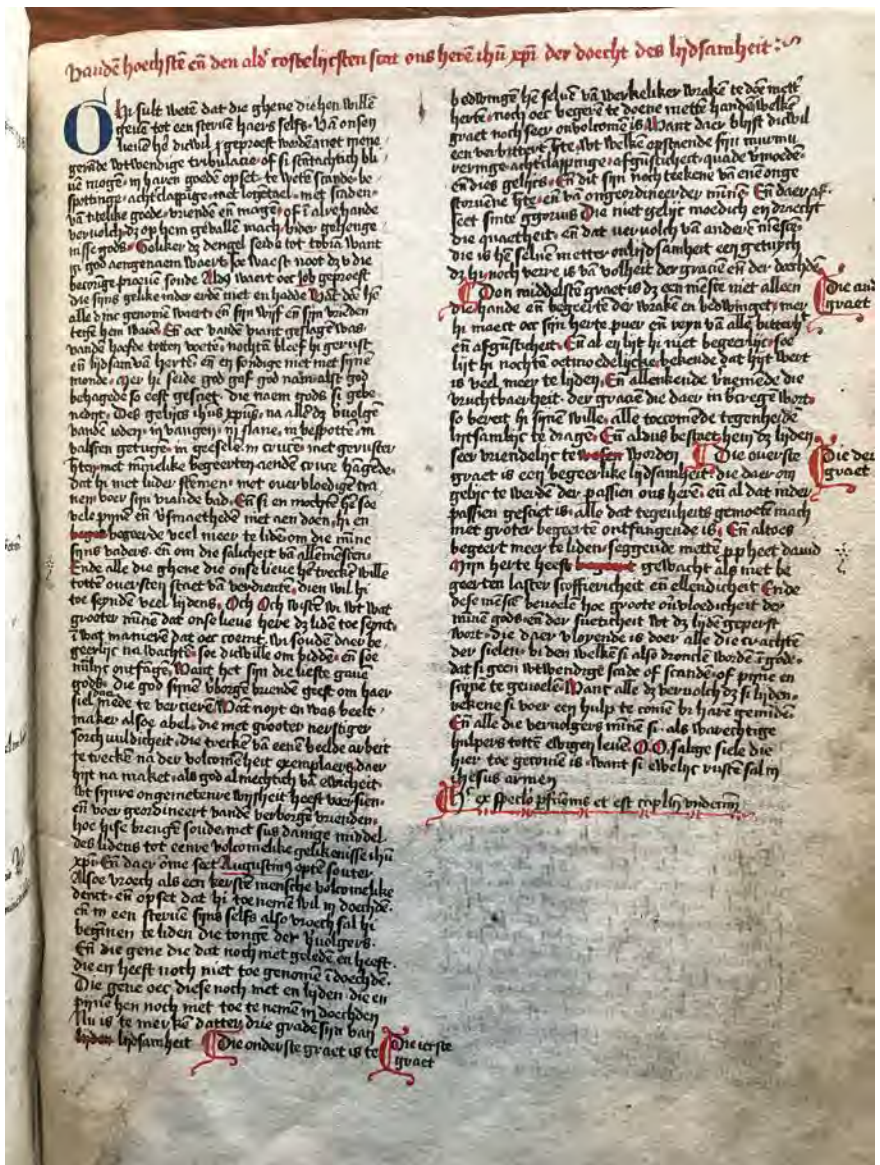
FIGURE 11.18   "Vanden hoechsten ende den alder costelijcsten scat ons heren ihesu christi
der doecht des lijdsamheit". *Groenendaal Passion*, fol. 6r
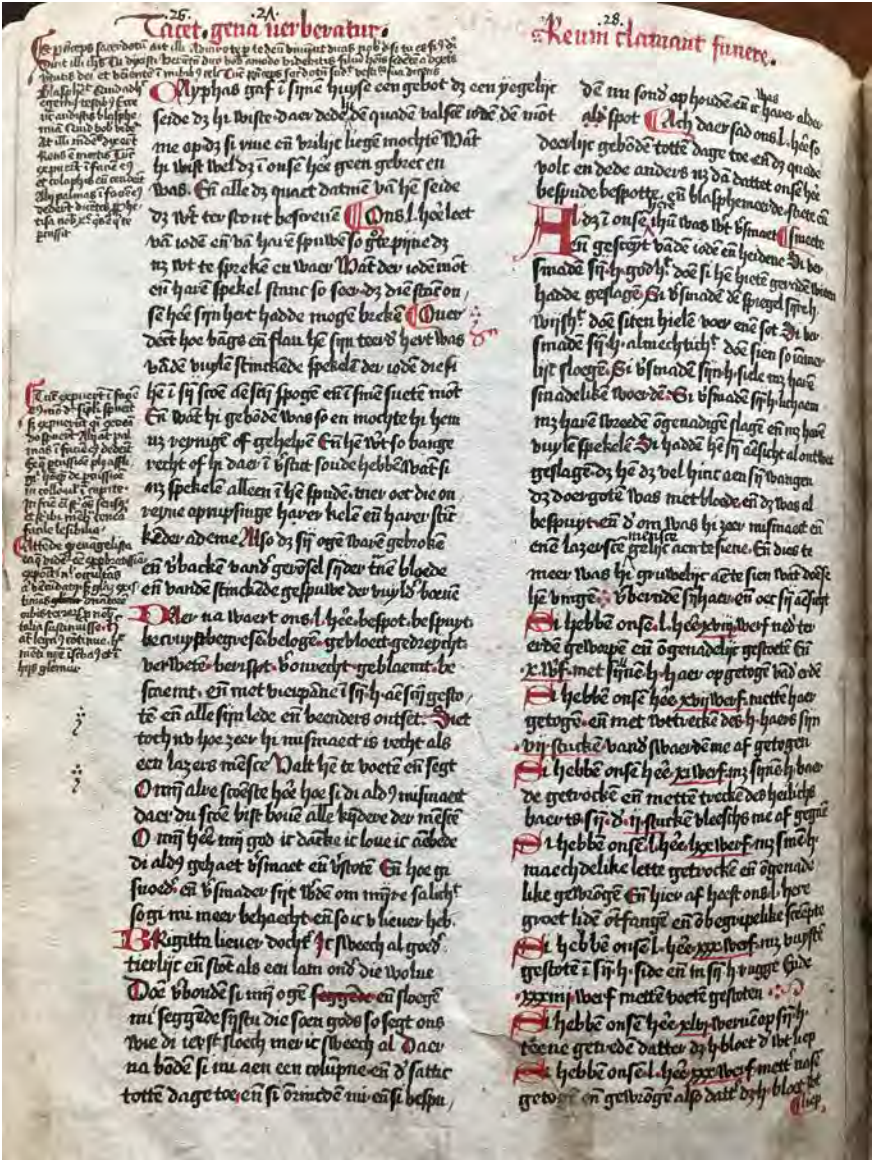
FIGURE 11.19   Articles 26, 27, and 28 from *Hondert Articulen*, with marginal notations.
Groenendaal Passion, fol. 21v

FIGURE 11.20 "Sit michi consolatio" and "Nunc et in agone[.] Amen". *Groenendaal Passion,* fol. 40r

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Appendix of Cited Text Passages

1.

[Fol. 21v] *Tunc expuerunt in faciem eius.* [*Unde Matthaeus*] *non dicit* [*simpliciter*] *spu-erunt, sed expuerunt quasi excreando spuerunt. Alij* [*autem*] *palmas in faciem ei*[*us*] *dederunt* [...] *ex qua percussione plus affligitur homo, quam de percussione in collo, ultra quam in capite. In facie enim sunt omnes sensus, et sunt ibi membra tenera facile l*[*a*]*esibilia.*

2.

[Fol. 10r] *Begeve ic op u met al wes ic vermach, dat gi tsavons end smorgens, enigen varcien wilt, die u daer alder bequaemste toe is, omtrent een vieredeel van eender uren, of min of meer, na dat god graci geeft ende verleent. In welker tijt gi u selt inkeren, ende setten in u herte, dat gecruyste beelt ons liefs heeren iesu christi. Ende gi selt dan met groe-ter oetmoedicheit ende verniettenheit ws selfs, u inwendigen ogen slaen op dat gecroende doerwonde hoeft. Ende dat mismaect ende verscoerde aenscijn, dat geneycht hanget op sijn gebenedide scouderen, gelijc gemaect eenen melaetsschen mensch. Als gi dit beelt aensiet in uwer herten staende, so denct dan hoe hi sijn bloedige wenede ogen op di slaet. Ende sprect u toe aldus clagende ende seggende. O mijn lief kijnt siet wat ic voir di lide. Ic hebdi voir mijn bruyt wtvercoren, mijn geneuchte is bi di te wesen. Ende en wilt mi nu doch niet verstoten. Want van di te sceyden is mi bitterde dan dese lastige passie ende smertte, ende die ellendige doot te sterven. Dese woirde ende deser gelike wilt vestigen in uwer memorien.*

3.

[Fol. 10r] *Och niet saliger niet beters en mach een mensch doen, dan dat hi hem oeffent inden liden ende passie ons liefs heeren*[.] *Want als sanctus albertus seet. Dat een sim-pel gedachte of oeffeninge der passien iesu Christi, is beter orbeliker ende salichliker die sielen, dan dagelijc gegeeselt te worden totten bloede toe, of dan een iaer lanc alle dage gevast te water ende te broede, of oec een iaer lanc dagelijc enen davids souter gelesen.*

4.

[Fol. 6r] *Want het sijn die liefte gaven gods, die god sijnen verborgen vrienden geeft om haer siel daermede te vercieren. Want noyt en was beeltmaker alsoe abel, die met grooter nerstiger sorchvuldicheit, die trecken van eenen beelde arbeit te trecken nae der volcomenheit exemplaers, daer hijt na maket, als god almechtich van ewicheit, wt sijnre ongemetenre wijsheit heeft voersien, ende voer geordineert vanden verborgen vrienden, hoe hise brengen soude, met sus danige middel des lidens tot eenre volcomelike gelikenisse ihesus christi.*

5.

[Fol. 25r] [...] *onsen here ende keerden om met sinen heiligen aenscijn voerwaert, ende met sinen doerwonden rugge aender columpnen, ende bonden sijn gequeste bloedige hande boven sijn hoeft soe hoege, ende stijf met scerpen corden. Ende si bonden hem met scerpen corden [...] om sijn heilige voeten so stijf aender columpnen dat hi hem niet gerueren en conste, ende dat sijn heiligen voeten niet dan metten teenen dat paviment en raecten.*

6.

[Fol. 40v] *Doen die werdige moeder gods ende al dit liefgeselschap was in also groter droefheyt doen verscoonde ons lieve here sijn heyligen lichaem van allen sijnen wonden tot enen miracule ende troest sijnre eerwerdige moeder, ende sijnre liever vriendekens die so seer bedruct waren, so dat in sijn heylige lichaem geen wonden en toenden dan die heylige vijf wonden, in sijn handen voeten ende in sijn heylige rechte side, die hielt ons hem open tot enen teeken der victorien. [...] O doen si sagen dat heylige lichaem dat also scoon ende geheel was, dat nergens quetsure en openbaerde dan sijn heylige vijf wonden doen waert die werde moeder gods, ende die ander seer getroest.*

7.

[Fol. 16v] *O mijn hemelsce vader dits nu mijn bedrueffenis, dat allet dat menscelike geslecht niet salich werden en sal. Ende doen beweende ic den doot des sonders, ende om die ghene die hem mijns lidens, ende bitteren doots onwerdich souden maken. Waert mogelijc dat ic so menigen lichaem hadde als daer menige sterre inden hemel is, die woude ic alte mael liever geven in die doot also icse geleden hebbe, dan dat ic eenen sondaer van mijnre wegen verloren bleef.*

8.

[Fol. 21v] *Overdenct hoe bange ende flau hem sijn teerder hert was vanden vuylen stincende spekelen der ioden die si hem in sijn scoen aenscijn spogen ende in sinen sueten mont. [...] Ende hem wert so bange recht of hi daer in verstut soude hebben. [...] Also dat sijn ogen waren gebroken ende verbacken vander geronsel sijnder tranen bloede ende vanden stinckende gespuwe der vuylder boeven. [...] Ende hoe gi snoeder, ende versmader sijt werden om mijnre salicheit so gi mi meer behaect.*

9.

[Fol. 17r] *Ende at gruen cruyt dien haddens wi bat geloeft, dat hi gods sone hadde geweest, dan desen wijn drencker. Ende met dien sloegen si mi voer mijnen mont, ende aen mijn oren, ende aen mijn wangen. [...] Ende met groten geruchte brachten si hem in die stad, si liepen om hem als gapende volve. Si en mochten sijnre prijnen ende confusien*

niet versaedt werden. Si hebben onsen lieven here xlwerf neder gestoeten, ende als ons here half neder was so hebbensi hem averrecht op getrocken meeten zeele ende hem xliij werf, met hekelen gestoeten ende setten haer vingeren .xvwerf in dat heiligen aenscijns ons lieven heren recht of sijt met stucken wt gehaelt souden hebben.

10.

[Fol. 23r] *Ende dan gingen si verre van hem op dat hem alle dat volc wel sien soude. [...] Si hadden onsen here so deerlijc mismaect, datmen nauwe die gestelnis van sijnen aensicht en sach. [...] Ende die engelen sagen haren here in deser groter versmaetheyt, ende si en dorsten hem niet helpen mer met groter werdicheyt bewaren si sijn here tranen, ende sijn dierbaer bloet. Ende sijn werdige moeder seer bedruct volchde van verren na met doot- liken wee ende si en const hem niet gehelpen.*

11.

[Fol. 33r] *Och besiet hem wel want gi en sieter niet aen dan een wonde ende bloet, sijnen h[eilige] baert is hem wtgetogen, sijnen h[eilige] mont is doerwont ende al vol bloots sijn h[eilige] nose is al ontwee gesmeten ende geborsten sijn h[eilige] wangen sijn al gebroken ende gescort, sijn oogen sijn doerquest ende vol van bloede, ende sijn h[eilige] haer is al nat ende root van bloede.*

12.

[Fol. 29v] *Vide anima mea quomodo per omnia vir iste coarctatur et spernitur. Sub crucis onere dorsum incurvare iubetur et sui ipsius portare ignominiam. O spectaculum, vides ne? Ecce principatus eius super humerum eius, haec est virga aequitatis virga regni sui.*
[Fol. 32v] *Hac voce ut reor pia mater filium sequebatur dicens. Vadis propitiator solus ad immolandum pro omnibus. Non tibi occurrit Petrus qui dicit: Pro si moriar. Relinquit te Thomas qui ait: Cum eo omnes moriamur, et nullus de his nisi tu solus duceris qui me castam conservasti filius meus et Deus meus. Verum haec verba ex magnae pietatis affectu producta ita ad hoc memorasse sufficiat ut oculus pietatis attendens. Dum tantae matris gemebundis affectibus compatitur, fructui pij amoris illius aliquando remunerari mereatur.*

13.

[Fol. 34r] *Adiecisti etiam[,] domine ihesu Christe[,] sitio. Quid sitis Domine ihesus: Vinum de vite aut aquam de flumine? Sitis tua, salus mea[;] cibus tuus[,] redemptio mea. [...] Cur igitur non cupis dissolvi et esse cum Christo? Cur te retardat vita mortalis, et non pro- vocat te vita vitalis, beatitudo fontalis[,] societas et l[a]etitia spiritualis? Desidera igitur et considera quam magna multitudo dulcedinis tuae, quam gloriosa dicta sunt de civitate Dei, ubi est lumen vitae[,] fons totius dulcedinis[,] et beatitudo utriusque hominis.*

14.

[Fol. 36r] *Ende hi spaerde niet sijnen gequesten mont, noch sijn h[eilige] doerwonde ver-
doernde hoeft mer hi las die heiligen psalmen wt, van sijnder h[eilige] passien, op dat
hi sijnen vader genoech soude doen voir die misdaet der menscen. Ende sijn h[eilige]
stemme was bevende ende vijerende, ende als nu was si stille ende als nu was si geluyt
ende seer wenende. Ende terstont waert een groet duysternisse over al die werelt, die
sonne liet haer scijnen vander sester uren totter nonen. Doen riep ons here met luyder
stemme. Heli heli lamasabathani. Dat is mijn god, mijn god, waer om hebstu mi gelaten.
En wilt niet dencken dat christus murmureerde tegen sijnen vader, want sijnen wille was
gelijc den vaderliken wille in alle dingen. [...] O devote siele lijt u als gi gelaten sijt, ende
merct uwen troesteloesen brudegom aen, inden h[eilige] cruce.*

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Afterword: Making an End of the Beginnings of Early Printing in Western Europe

John J. Thompson

> Thenne emonge whom there was an excellent doctour of dyuynyte in the royame of fraunce of the ordre of thospytal of Saynt Johns of Jherusalem whiche entended the same and hath made a book of the chesse morlaysed whiche at such tyme as I was resident in brudgys in the counte of Flaundres cam into my handes, whiche whan I had redde and ouerseen, [m]e¹ semed ful necessarye for to be had in englisshe. And in eschewyng of ydlenes And to thende that somme which haue not seen it ne vnderstonde frenssh ne latyn, I delybered in my self to translate it in to our maternal tonge. And whan I so had achyeved the sayd translacion, I dyde doo sette in enprynte a certeyn nombre of theym, whiche anone were depesshed and solde. Wherfore by cause thys sayd book is ful of holsom wysedom and requysyte vnto euery astate and degree, I haue purposed to enprynte it, shewyng therin the figures of suche persons as longen to the playe, In whom al astates and degrees ben comprysed, besechyng al them that this litel werke shal see here, or rede to have me for excused for the rude and symple makyng and reducyn in to our englisshe.²
>
> WILLIAM CAXTON, prologue, *The Game and Playe of the Chesse*, second edition [1483], fols. [ai]r–[ai]v³

William Caxton's prefatory comments in his second revised edition of *The Game and Playe of the Chesse* offer an unusually detailed bio-bibliographical insight into the impulses underlying the decision by England's first printer to produce a second edition of a text that he had printed for the first time in English some nine years earlier. The 1474 print of *The Game and Playe* has

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1 The printed text reads 'ne'.

2 Caxton's spelling and capitalization has been retained and his punctuation conventions rendered as closely as possible in modern form. See the modern facsimile edition in Blake N.F. (ed), *Jacobus de Cessolis, The Game of Chess: Translated and Printed by William Caxton, c. 1483* (London: 1976). For an edition of the rest of the 1483 prologue see Blake N.F. (ed.), *Caxton's Own Prose* (London, 1973) 87–88 and the student edition of the entire 1483 print in Adams J. (ed.), *William Caxton, The Game and the Play of the Chesse* (Kalamazoo: 2009).

3 *The Game and Playe of the Chesse* ([Westminster], William Caxton: [1483]), STC 4921, ISTC ic00414000.

the distinction of being Caxton's first dated work.[4] We are told it was completed *the last day of marche the yer of our lorde gode a thowsande foure honderd and lxxiiii* and it was only the second book ever printed in English.[5] It was produced in the Low Countries, probably in Ghent, likely in collaboration with David Aubert.[6] It deployed Caxton's earliest known supply of type: Type 1, modelled on a Burgundian book hand with similarities to a script used by Colard Mansion for his manuscripts. In addition to the range of material evidence discussed in the essays in this volume, the types used by the early printers are an important source for the investigation of vernacular books and readership. The nature of the types, the printers' shared knowledge and experience of the technical aspects of book production and printing tell us about the kinds of collaborative work taking place in certain workshops. Caxton's Type 1 had been cut and cast by another business associate who was resident in Flanders during the period of Caxton's earliest forays into printing and publishing, namely Johann Veldener, the Cologne printer and type-founder who had moved to Louvain in 1473 and was responsible for cutting most of Caxton's types thereafter.[7] As I shall show further below, in Caxton's case, such matters have important implications for our understanding of the chronology of his prints, his early business arrangements in the Low Countries (still a matter of modern scholarly debate), and, most importantly for the purposes of this volume, for the nature of his understanding of the vernacular readership likely to have been attracted by his printed books.

The Game and Playe, we are told in both the 1474 and 1483 editions, is based on Caxton's own translation. Although his actual source has not been traced, it may well have been presented to him in his exemplar as a mid-fourteenth century manuscript confection of two French translations by Jean Ferron and Jean de Vignay respectively, ultimately derived from *De ludo scachorum*,

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4   *The Game and Play of the Chesse* ([Ghent?, David Aubert?], for William Caxton: 31 Mar. 1474), STC 4920, ISTC ic00413000.

5   For the 1474 text see Axon W.E.A. (ed.), *Caxton's Game and Playe of the Chesse, 1474* (London: 1883).

6   See Hellinga L., "William Caxton, Colard Mansion, and the Printer in Type 1", *Bullletin du bibliophile* (2011) 86–114.

7   For a summary outline and chronology of Caxton's different but related types see *William Caxton, An Exhibition to Commemorate the Quincentenary of the Introduction of Printing into England, published for the British Library by British Museum Publications Limited* (London: 1976) 12–17, also Barker N., "Caxton's Typography", *Journal of the Printing Historical Society* 11 (1976–1977) 114–133. Veldener's role in securing Caxton's commitment to printing and publishing is outlined in detail by Hellinga L., "Printing", in Hellinga L. – Trapp J.B. (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume III, 1400–1557* (Cambridge: 1999) 73–75, 78–79.

a thirteenth-century Latin moral treatise by Jacobus de Cessolis.[8] Translations of the Latin work continued to be rendered in many European vernaculars not just before but also during and after Caxton's time.[9] Caxton knew French and Dutch so it is likely that he would have been familiar with several manuscript versions, perhaps even in different languages, prior to his own translation work. In the 1483 edition he attributes his vernacular source to *an excellent doctour of dyvynyte*, a reference to Jean de Vignay (ca. 1285–ca. 1350) who was a hospitaller of the Order of Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas in Paris. As Caxton likely knew, the illuminated manuscripts containing de Vignay's *Jeu des échecs moralisé* had originally been commissioned as luxury products. In de Vignay's version the translation is offered to Prince John of France, Duke of Normandy and brother of the French king. This may go some way towards explaining why Caxton thought it fitting to dedicate his March 1474 print to George, Duke of Clarence, and brother of Edward IV.

Caxton was probably well placed to judge the likely market for the Latin, French and English texts he printed during his time in the Low Countries. For about twenty years prior to making his first English translations in the 1470s he had been a prominent member of the English community in Bruges and a successful member of the English Staple at Calais. He was in a strong position to advance his career by taking advantage of the wealth and privileges associated with the lifestyle of a successful English merchant adventurer and diplomat with good knowledge on the ground of Hanseatic matters and Anglo-Burgundian relations and rivalries in the Low Countries.[10] The autobiographical information in Caxton's prologues suggests that he was aware of the importance of

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8   See Wilson R.H., "Caxton's Chess Book", *Modern Language Notes* 62 (1947) 93–102. Wilson argues that Caxton's source was similar but not identical to the late fourteenth-century manuscript now known as University of Chicago, Regenstein Library MS 392 ('the Cockerell manuscript'), produced by unknown but probably Flemish copyists and illuminators ca. 1365. See also Knowles C., "Caxton and His Two French Sources: 'The Game and Playe of the Chesse' and the Composite Manuscripts of the Two French Translations of the 'Ludus Scaccorum'", *Modern Language Review* 49 (1954) 417–423.

9   Notable early examples include the French treatments noted above; two roughly contemporaneous German versions by Heinrich von Beringen (ca. 1330) and Konrad von Ammenhausen (1337), respectively, and the Dutch translation *Dat Scaecspel*, completed on the eve of Saint Lawrence's day in 1403 by someone calling himself Franconis, according to its oldest extant manuscript. Some early prints of the latter are identified in n. 20 and will be discussed further below.

10   Useful biographical details in Painter G., *William Caxton, a Quincentenary Biography of England's First Printer* (London: 1976); see also Blake N.F., *Caxton: England's First Publisher* (London: 1976) and Hellinga L., *Caxton in Focus, the Beginnings of Printing in England* (London: 1982).

making and maintaining the noble, aristocratic and mercantile contacts and trading partners that had served him well before he took up the commercial business of printing. Such contacts were presumably strong enough to secure Caxton's own political and diplomatic influence and socio-literary standing in both international mercantile and court circles at home and abroad. It was presumably mostly through his own personal endeavours in this environment that he was able to procure or select the necessary Latin and vernacular material to meet both the practical and aspirational needs of his imagined vernacular audiences.

In the 1483 preface to *The Game and Playe* cited above Caxton describes how a French version of his source came into his hands in Bruges and, having read it, he thought it a profitable exercise to work on an English translation and make it more largely available for others who knew neither Latin nor French. Similar sentiments had been expressed for centuries by English translators of much older Latin and French works circulating in manuscript form, so Caxton's comments in the second edition hardly signal a radical departure from venerable anglophone literary tropes where the vernacular writer assumes the role of overseer determining the nature and extent of anglophone literary taste. On the other hand, Caxton's 1474 preface has a distinctively different purpose and focus. Here he makes no mention of the linguistic capabilities of his imagined audience, claiming more generally that the text is written *to thentent that other of what estate or degre he or they stande in may see in this sayd lityll book, yf they gouerned themself as they ought to doo*. Moreover, unlike in the 1483 edition, he addresses a specific aristocratic figure who is presented as his patron. Such a change in emphasis demonstrates once more just how versatile and commercially minded the earliest and most successful exponents of the print trade across Europe had to be with regard to their immediate strategic needs and local circumstances.

In his address to George, Duke of Clarence, in the 1474 preface, Caxton claims the work is rendered in print *in the name and vnder the shadewe of your noble protection, not presumyng to correcte or enpoigne ony thynge ayenst your noblesse*, strongly implying that the translation work has been overseen or approved by his noble patron whose *excellent renome shyneth as well in strange regions as with in the royame of england*. Setting aside the conventional and hyperbolic nature of the compliment, the important point here is that Caxton characterises Clarence as his mentor or protector for a printing enterprise in the Burgundian Netherlands which was designed to appeal to contemporary English vernacular reading habits at home and abroad. This was a promotional strategy that Caxton had previously deployed for *The Recuyell of the Histories of*

Troy, the first book ever printed in English, probably in association with David Aubert in Ghent, and a truly international production.[11]

In *The Recuyell* Caxton describes how he had been prompted to continue the translation work on his French courtly romance source while in Ghent by no less a person than Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy (wife of Charles the Bold since 1468 and sister of George, Duke of Clarence, also of Edward IV and Richard III).[12] He reports that his aristocratic commission was completed in Cologne in September 1471. It was printed using the same ornate and spacious Type 1 that Caxton then used slightly later for his undated print of Raoul Lefèvre's *Recueil des histoires de Troyes*.[13] The latter text had been the French source for Caxton's translation and the Caxton print was again produced in association with David Aubert. The venture must have been successful since French, English and Dutch versions of texts by Lefèvre were obviously soon viewed as lucrative publishing opportunities by printers other than Caxton and Aubert in the Low Countries, such as Jacob Bellaert in Haarlem and Gerard Leeu in Antwerp, both of whom soon followed Caxton's lead.[14]

In establishing Caxton and Aubert's place in the chronology of early printing ventures such as these, it is important to pay attention to the very early date that can be associated with Caxton's Type 1. That same supply of type was used for two of the three other undated works in French that Caxton printed in the 1473–1476 period: Petrus de Alliaco's *Meditationes circa psalmos poenitentiales* and Raoul Lefèvre's *L'histoire de Jason*.[15] Both works were probably pitched at the Anglo-French and Burgundian markets and were soon followed by similar productions from other contemporary printers in the Low Countries and beyond. The early date of Type 1 nevertheless seems sufficient grounds to

11   *The Recuyell of the Histories of Troy* ([Ghent?, David Aubert?], for William Caxton: [ca. 1473–1474]), ISTC il00117000, STC 15375.

12   For Margaret as mediator for the Yorkist cause and the heightened significance of Anglo-Burgundian affairs during Caxton's time in the Low Countries see Armstrong C.A.J., *England, France and Burgundy in the Fifteenth Century* (London: 1983).

13   Lefèvre Raoul, *Recueil des histoires de Troyes* ([Ghent?, David Aubert?], for William Caxton: [ca. 1474–1475]), ISTC il00113000.

14   For the growing competitive awareness among early printers in the Low Countries of the kinds of narrative literature in vogue in several different European vernaculars, see Bruijn E. de, "The Southern Appeal: Dutch Translations of French Romance (ca. 1484–ca. 1540) in a Western European Perspective", in Besamusca B. – Bruijn E. de – Willaert F. (eds.), *Early Printed Narrative Literature in Western Europe* (Berlin – Boston: 2019), 93–124.

15   Alliaco, Petrus de, *Meditationes circa psalmos poenitentiales* ([Ghent?, David Aubert?], for William Caxton: [ca. 1474–1475]), ISTC ia00479600 and Lefèvre, Raoul, *L'histoire de Jason* ([Ghent?, David Aubert?], for William Caxton: [ca. 1476]).

suggest that Caxton, the Father of English printing, might also have a claim to being considered the first printer of French language texts, at least in the Low Countries. Similarly to all Caxton's works printed using this distinctive early type, it is no surprise that *The Game and Playe* was marketed at this early stage in his career as a printer and publisher as polite courtly reading matter intended for likeminded anglophone readers wherever they might be found in Western Europe.

The commercial success of early printing ventures was never completely assured, of course. In the case of both *The Recuyell* and *The Game and Playe*, the novelty of printing in the English language had to be matched by the associated risk of printing multiple copies of polite reading in a new vernacular version for the first time. The risk was perhaps mitigated in the very early days by undertaking small print runs – a strategy that is notoriously difficult to detect with any degree of certainty and perhaps for that reason is not featured prominently in this volume. Some of the risk could be shared by working in collaboration with others who had an interest of some kind in the book trade but did not necessarily want to get their hands covered in printer's ink. Caxton may well have started out in the printing trade as one such investor. Even at a time when manuscript book production had moved definitively beyond the confines of court and cloister, there would still have been much merit in associating works of courtly fiction with the exclusive literary tastes of a prominent noble patron such as George, Duke of Clarence. In claiming to have 'reduced' the text he was translating into English in the 1483 prologue, Caxton would also have been well aware that the English vernacular he was promoting had already been enjoying for nearly a century some of the prestige that much earlier generations of aristocratic readers across Western Europe would have more readily associated with Latin, French or Italian narrative fiction.[16] No doubt his decision to publish the most characteristic works of Geoffrey Chaucer and John Gower – the two English literary giants of his day – was due to an astute awareness of the commercial advantages associated with such a move, rather than any true sense of the inadequacy of *our englisshe* as a literary vernacular.[17]

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16   Examples of this general fifteenth-century development in English manuscript culture continue to attract modern scholarly attention; however see the general overviews provided by the relevant essays on the publishing and marketing of Chaucer and Gower and other polite literature of various kinds in English and for the English readers who could afford them in Griffiths J. – Pearsall D. (eds.), *Book Production and Publishing in Britain, 1375–1475* (Cambridge: 1989); Hellinga and Trapp, *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*.

17   One of the first ambitious printing projects Caxton undertook following his return to Westminster was his 1476–1477 edition of *The Canterbury Tales* (ISTC ic00431000,

For his second edition of *The Game and Playe* in 1483, Caxton's prefatory words suggest that he was by this stage in his career banking on previous success with similar material. He had already benefitted financially from the English vernacular reading networks while resident in the Low Countries and overseeing the work of his earliest printing associates. By the time of his second edition of *The Game and Playe*, however, many of the noble, aristocratic and mercantile interests Caxton displays in his prologues were in the process of being refashioned to meet changing circumstances: Clarence had been executed by Edward IV in 1478 and Edward himself had died of illness in 1483, just as Richard III had taken the English throne. But, perhaps most importantly, in the interim period between the two editions Caxton had become England's first metropolitan printer. By September 1476 he had moved his residence and printing business to Westminster where he must have quickly gained a much more immediate and sophisticated understanding of English vernacular reading habits. Despite his request to be excused for his part in the text's *rude and symple makyng* the conservative view of the universal social order perpetuated by *The Game and Playe*, expressed in the firmly-established English national vernacular, probably held considerable appeal for the anglophone metropolitan and mercantile circles in which the printer now moved as a Westminster resident.

An additional factor that led Caxton to publish a second edition of *The Game and the Playe* was perhaps his not unnatural readiness to make some further commercial gain from the renewed production in England of the latest vernacular version of a much older moral text that had already enjoyed some currency among Dutch-speaking, francophone and anglophone readers while the printer had resided in Bruges. In the 1483 prologue Caxton tells us that his first print run had sold out and a second edition was deemed necessary. In order to refresh the text, he omitted the original 1474 dedication and wrote a new prologue so that his translation work could be pitched at the broadest possible imagined anglophone audiences likely to want to see, hear or read it. The type used for this second edition is also an important and distinctive feature. For the 1483 print Caxton has revised and reset the text using a fresh casting, Type 2*, which gave the English vernacular texts produced at Westminster using this type a new and quite distinctive slimmed-down visual appearance.[18]

STC 5082), followed in 1483 by a second *Canterbury Tales* edition (ISTC ic00432000, STC 5083), published in the same year as Caxton issued his edition of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* (ISTC ic00435600, STC 5094).

18 Type 2* represents a second state of type 2, the supply that Caxton had brought with him from the Low Countries and had first used there for his 1475–1476 print of the French translation by Jean Miélot of the *Cordiale quattuor novissimorum* ([Bruges, Colard

The reference to seeing the text in Caxton's 1483 prologue seems particularly apt since this second edition of *The Game and Playe* is one of the first known illustrated English vernacular printed books.[19] The written text is accompanied by twenty-four woodcut illustrations taken from sixteen separate blocks. It has been assumed that these are likely to have been specially cut for the text under Caxton's supervision by the same cutter who made the blocks for the twenty-six woodcuts in Caxton's second edition of *The Canterbury Tales* (1483). Although considered fairly crude in their execution, the 1483 images for *The Game and Playe* graphically illustrate the general thrust of the written text. All estates and degrees (both high and low) should recognise the royal prerogative to preside over an ordered body of state with the individual members of that society carrying much personal responsibility for contributing to the common good by their demeanor and attitude. In the illustrated Caxton edition the woodcut images of the king in various guises are directly relevant to the parts of the text they illustrate: at first the king's body is dismembered and his body parts scattered as a sensational representation of total social disorder. Then, in more orderly fashion, the king is seen seated on a broad throne with sceptre in hand, on one occasion also with a queen by his side. There then follow images illustrating how the proper restoration of order can be managed and maintained throughout all sections of society: a judge is calmly seated with an open book; a fully-armoured knight on horseback is fully engaged in riding forth; a peasant poses with a spade; we see a smith, a clerk, a merchant and so forth engaged in their occupations; a number of ordinary folk of indeterminate occupation indicate that they are fully engaged in the business of living properly by having coins in hand or nearby, keys or purses at girdle and, on one occasion, a host figure offers hospitality to a lone traveller.

The disposition of text and image in the 1483 print suggests strongly that, by this stage in his career, Caxton was in a good position to exploit the commercial opportunities presented to him because of the general impulse to visualise core aspects of the de Cessolis Latin text in several of its vernacular manifestations. He was likely already aware of this visual tradition because of his experience of the *Jeu des échecs moralisé* manuscripts and perhaps a number of other vernacular renderings in print. These latter included the Dutch translations of de Cessolis printed by Johannes de Vollenhoe at Zwolle and by Gerard Leeu

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Mansion?], for William Caxton: [ca. 1475–1476], ISTC ic00908000). The earliest dated book to have been produced using type 2* was Caxton's print of the English translation of Miélot's *Cordiale* attributed to Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers ([Westminster], William Caxton: 24 March 1479, ISTC ic00907000; STC 5758).

19 Details in Hodnett E., *English Woodcuts 1480–1535* (second revised edition Oxford: 1973) 75–76, 111–113.

at Gouda.[20] The Dutch incunabula are particularly interesting in the context of Caxton's 1483 print not only because of their earlier date but also because spaces were reserved in both of them for illustrations to be added at a later stage, as demonstrated by Fig. 0.4 in the introduction.[21] Moreover, just as the members of Caxton's Westminster workshop were completing preparations for his second, now illustrated, edition of *The Game and Playe*, similar preparations were being made, practically simultaneously, in the Delft workshop of Jacob Jacobszoon van der Meer where another set of sixteen broadly similar but not identical woodcuts had been specially cut. These were then used to illustrate his edition of the Dutch *Scaecspel*.[22] Caxton's decision to illustrate his 1483 print, therefore, probably expresses something of his entrepreneurial and competitive spirit. It also suggests that publishers such as Caxton, Leeu and van der Meer who wanted to survive in the business of printing had to move with the times, remaining aware of where their businesses were situated (both geographically and socially) and the languages, texts and production processes in vogue across a range of European cultural settings. Leeu's later career in Antwerp as a printer for an international market is particularly relevant in this context because of his obvious interest in publishing the same or parallel French, English and Dutch texts to those that had earlier brought Caxton some commercial success.[23]

The Caxton anecdote usefully illustrates the manner in which the pioneers of European vernacular printing sometimes faced the task that the contributors to this volume have also largely set themselves. How can one identify the likely interests and changing needs of vernacular readers from the limited available evidence of the books and texts they are previously known to have owned and read and the geographical and social settings and networks to which they belonged or through which our imagined early readers moved? The early printers were perhaps more familiar with the distribution patterns and marketing habits associated with the organized production, commissioning and marketing of texts and books in a manuscript culture than with those that could be

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20   *Dat scaecspel* (Zwolle, Johannes de Vollenhoe: 1478–1480), ISTC ic00411500; Cessolis Jacobus de, *De ludo schachorum*, Dutch translation (Gouda, Gerard Leeu: 2 October 1479), ISTC ic00411000.

21   On this general phenomenon see McKitterick D., "What is the Use of Books without Pictures? Empty Space in Some Early Printed Books", *La Bibliofilía* 116 (2014) 67–82.

22   *Boek dat men hiet dat scaecspel* (Delft, Jacob Jacobszoon van der Meer: 14 February 1483), ISTC ic00412000.

23   See note 14 above. One might well also wish to compare the likely circumstances of Caxton's relocation of his printing business from the Low Countries to Westminster in 1476 with Leeu's strategic decision to move his printing house from Gouda to Antwerp in 1484.

directly attributed to the new print technology. As many of the essays in this volume have shown, the transition from script to print was neither immediate nor absolute at any point during the period under consideration. They support the assumption that members of the early print trade across Europe must often have relied upon their past experience as readers and that of their peers and contemporaries at home and abroad in making a judgement call regarding how to identify and secure the potential market for their work. Allied to this may well have been a growing general awareness of how improved education and literacy (and the increased social and geographical mobility associated with this development, especially in urban settings) had created much larger, more peripatetic and less clearly defined vernacular reading networks. As many of the essays in this volume have indicated, such networks included readers with rapidly-developing literary tastes, devotional interests and pragmatic needs. Increasingly such needs were being met by the host of Latin and vernacular materials made available to them in commercial settings, often but not always by printers working increasingly in urban and metropolitan milieux and with an eye for established markets where certain types of books and prints were known to have sold well in the past. It was around such broadly comparable production and marketing strategies for early printing that European cultural attitudes of the time were formed.

By their focus on the materiality of books and reading practices in the search to identify the vernacular readers in the early age of print, the essays in this volume demonstrate the importance of recovering and understanding such strategies. The Caxton example nicely reflects and ties together the issues raised by our focus on real and imagined readers, the mobility of texts and images, and intermediality, demonstrating on a number of levels the growing reliance of early European printers on identifying and exploiting what might be broadly characterized as expanding reading habits and commercial interventions in the early print trade. Importantly, this final anecdote acts as a fitting reminder of the essential interconnectedness of the three thematic sections within which the essays in the volume as a whole have been arranged. Such an approach has allowed a thoroughly European focus to emerge from what might otherwise be presented as a series of disparate national case studies. In terms of vernacular readership in the period, the rapid development of pragmatic forms of education and literacy was clearly a European phenomenon that played a huge part in making many apparently local interventions commercially attractive in a variety of geographically and socially diverse European settings. The careers of Caxton and his contemporaries and successors across Europe discussed by the essays in this volume confirm that there was an exponential growth in the market for the vernacular printed word, particularly for informational texts

dealing with religious and devotional matters, courtesy texts offering rules for living well, certain chronicles and history writings, legal, educational, medical, geographical, horticultural, or business materials, and shorter texts sometimes produced as pamphlets or as broadsheets and even sometimes presented as wall art. Such works were clearly designed to amuse or inform a rapidly expanding and voracious audience as often anonymous members of that audience found the time and opportunity for reading as part of their day-to-day business activities, their devotions, and their casual entertainment.

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Index Nominum

This volume explores various approaches to study vernacular books and reading practices across Europe in the 15th–16th centuries. Through a shared focus on the material book as an interface between producers and users, the contributors investigate how book producers conceived of their target audiences and how these vernacular books were designed and used. Three parts highlight connections between vernacularity and materiality from distinct perspectives: real and imagined readers, mobility of texts and images, and intermediality. The volume brings contributions on different regions, languages, and book types into dialogue.

Contributors are *Heather Bamford, Elisabeth de Bruijn, Anna Dlabačová, Martha W. Driver, Suzan Folkerts, Margriet Hoogvliet, Katell Lavéant, Andrea van Leerdam, Stefan Matter, Walter S. Melion, Karolina Mroziewicz, Alexa Sand, Tillmann Taape*, and *John J. Thompson*.

This series of publications brings together new material on well-considered themes within the wide area of Early Modern Studies. Contributions may come from any of the disciplines within the humanities: history, art history, literary history, book history, church history, social history, history of the humanities, of the theatre, of cultural life and institutions. Each volume addresses a single theme and articles are selected for the freshness of their approach and for the extent to which they elucidate aspects of the theme of the volume. The themes are carefully selected on the basis of a number of criteria, the most important of which are that they should address issues about which there is a lively debate within the international community of scholars and that they should be of interest to a variety of disciplines.

Intersections

Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture