

DE GRUYTER

TOP TEN FICTIONAL NARRATIVES IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

TRANSLATION, DISSEMINATION AND MEDIALITY

Edited by Rita Schlusemann, Helwi Blom,
Anna Katharina Richter and Krystyna Wierzbicka-Trwoga



DE
|
G

Top Ten Fictional Narratives in Early Modern Europe

Top Ten Fictional Narratives in Early Modern Europe



Translation, Dissemination and Mediality

Edited by

Rita Schlusemann, Helwi Blom, Anna Katharina Richter
and Krystyna Wierzbicka-Trwoga

DE GRUYTER

This publication has been made possible with financial support from
Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Foundation, Schl 316/11-1)



Freie Universität Berlin, Fachbereich Philosophie und Geisteswissenschaften (“Leistungsorientierte Mittelvergabe, Frauenförderung und Gleichstellung”)

Freie Universität Berlin and Universität Zürich (Joint funding scheme “Collaborating across Boundaries – Interdisciplinary Partnerships in Research and Education”)

Uniwersytet Warszawski

Utrecht University Open Access Fund

Lydia Zeldenrust (Leverhulme Trust Early Career Fellowship)



ISBN 978-3-11-075848-1

e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-076445-1

e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-3-11-076451-2

DOI <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110764451>



This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License. For details go to <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>.

Creative Commons license terms for re-use do not apply to any content (such as graphs, figures, photos, excerpts, etc.) not original to the Open Access publication and further permission may be required from the rights holder. The obligation to research and clear permission lies solely with the party re-using the material.

Library of Congress Control Number: 2023940064

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2023 the author(s), editing © 2023 Rita Schlusemann, Helwi Blom, Anna Katharina Richter and Krystyna Wierzbicka-Trwoga, published by Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston
The book is published open access at www.degruyter.com.

Cover image: The credits for the cover illustrations can be found in the list of illustrations.

Typesetting: Integra Software Services Pvt. Ltd.

Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

www.degruyter.com

Contents

Rita Schlusemann, Helwi Blom, Anna Katharina Richter,
and Krystyna Wierzbicka-Trwoga

Introduction — 1

Julia Boffey

The European Diffusion of *Aesopus* — 19

Anna Katharina Richter

**The Wheel of Fortune and Man's Trust in God. On the Framing of
Apollonius of Tyre in Its European Transmission — 45**

Rita Schlusemann

**The Dissemination and Multimodality of *Historia septem sapientum
Romae* — 87**

Rita Schlusemann

**Griseldis – a Flexible European Heroine with a Strong Character
With a Contribution on *Griseldis* in Scandinavia by Anna Katharina Richter — 127**

Rita Schlusemann

**Transcultural *Reynaert*. Dissemination and Peritextual Adaptations
between 1479 and 1800 — 161**

Lydia Zeldenrust

**The Greatest Story Ever Sold? Marketing *Melusine* Across Early Modern
Western, Northern, and Central Europe — 191**

Helwi Blom

**Legendary Love. The Wide Appeal of *Pierre de Provence et la belle
Maguelonne* in Early Modern Europe — 225**

Jordi Sánchez-Martí

**Charting *Amadis de Gaule*'s Commercial Success in Early Modern
Europe — 259**

Helwi Blom

Fortune's Calling. Translating and Publishing *Fortunatus* in Early Modern Europe

With a Contribution on the Polish Translation of *Fortunatus* by Krystyna Wierzbicka-Trwoga — **289**

Krystyna Wierzbicka-Trwoga

Ulenspiegel's Tricky Power

With a Contribution on *Ulenspiegel* in Scandinavia by Anna Katharina Richter — **325**

List of Illustrations — 357

Abbreviations of Libraries — 363

Bibliography — 365

Contributors — 407

Index of Personal Names — 409

Index of Titles — 417

Index of Place Names — 421

Rita Schlusemann, Helwi Blom, Anna Katharina Richter,
and Krystyna Wierzbicka-Trwoga

Introduction

*Wil man och säija sin Meening och Skääl med fåå Ordh /
som offta för nöden är / att så skeep måste / [...] /
tå får thet skeep igenom Fabuler / Lijknelser /
Sententier och Ordsprååk / [...] Fabulas Aesopi /
Och andre Swenske och Tyske Ordsprååk.
Per Brahe, *Oeconomia* (1581)¹*

The author of these lines, Per Brahe the Elder (1520–1590), was one of the most important politicians and noblemen in sixteenth-century Sweden, at the time of the Reformation and King Gustav Vasa, the ‘father’ of the Swedish monarchy. Per Brahe also was the author of a ‘household book’ for young members of the Swedish nobility: *Oeconomia, eller Huuszholdz-Book* (“*Oeconomia*, or Household Book”) was written in 1581, but not printed until 1677. This quotation from *Oeconomia* shows that Brahe was aware that fables along with other entertaining stories, which he mentions some pages later in the *Oeconomia*, are very much a part of the study and educational programme for young people. We can also see from this statement that *Aesopus* was very well known before its first printed edition in Swedish in 1603.²

From the beginning of printing in Europe, translations and adaptations of fictional narratives from various sources as well as belonging to different literary traditions were put on the book market. These early printed narratives were built on older narrative models and traditions in bookmaking of the manuscript age, but as the study of their printing history will show, over time the textual, paratextual, and material presentation of these stories from very different backgrounds were moulded into a recognisable format that laid the basis for modern narrative fiction. This book offers for the first time a detailed analysis of the printed dissemination

1 Per Brahe den äldre, *Gamble Grefwe Peer Brahes / Fordom Sweriges Rijkets Drotzet / Oeconomia, Eller Huuszholdz-Book / För ungt Adels-folck. Skrifwin Anno 1581*. Visingsborg: Johann Kankel, 1677, 15. Digital copy at: <https://litteraturbanken.se/författare/BrahePäldre/titlar/OeconomiaEllerHuuszholdz/sida/1/faksimil> (16 May 2023). “If you want to express your Opinion and explain your Reasons in just a few Words, which often is necessary to be done like this [...], then it should be done by Fables, Parables, Sayings, and Proverbs, [...] the Fables of Aesop, And other Swedish and German Proverbs.” (translation by the editors of this volume). Unless otherwise stated, all translations are by the authors of the respective chapters. The capitalization of the English translations (including titles) in this book essentially follows the capitalization used in the original quotation.

2 On the dissemination of *Aesopus*, see the chapter by Julia Boffey in this volume.

and longevity of the Top Ten fictional narratives in several European vernaculars between the south and the north and between the east and the west from the beginning of printing until the end of the eighteenth century. Each of these texts was not only popular in one or two vernaculars, but the ten narratives circulated all over Europe throughout several centuries. In this way, our volume, which combines literary history and book history, also shows how these narratives helped to create a European literary identity in the early modern times.

1 Criteria for the Choice of the Top Ten Narratives

The first question which could be posed is: how were these Top Ten texts chosen? This book project started with the transmission data of 43 narratives, printed between the beginning of printing and 1900.³ We adopted a ‘transnational’⁴ perspective, which does not give priority to any language area. In subsequent years the transmission data of about 35 narratives⁵ were collected by our research team.⁶

For a narrative to be included in the Top Ten, it had to meet the following six criteria:

1. The narrative was published in a European vernacular;
2. The narrative was printed in at least six European vernaculars;
3. The printed tradition of the narrative started in the fifteenth or sixteenth century;

3 These 43 initial titles were selected according to research on a canon of early modern fictional narratives presented at the conference “Crossing Borders, Crossing Cultures” organized by members of the international research project “European Dimensions of Popular Print Culture” (EDPOP) at the Istituto Italo-Germanico of the Fondazione Bruno Kessler, 15 and 16 June 2017 (Schlusemann 2019b).

4 As there were no nations in the early modern period in the modern sense of the word, ‘transnational’ is in single quotation marks.

5 As a result of the pre-research, narratives like *Eginhard von Böhmen*, *Friedrich Barbarossa*, or *Armer Heinrich* had been excluded because the number of different language areas was too low.

6 The research was carried out by Helwi Blom, Marie-Dominique Leclerc, Anna Katharina Richter, Jordi Sánchez-Martí, Rita Schlusemann, and Krystyna Wierzbicka-Trwoga. In the course of time, we received information about the Czech tradition from Matouš Jaluška; about the German *Melusine* tradition from Ursula Rautenberg; and about the Hungarian tradition from Csilla Gábor and Ágnes Maté. Among the many library catalogues and other resources that were consulted, these were the main sources for the bibliographical survey: BC; BNE; DFB; EDIT16; ESTC; FB; GW; HBP; IB; IIS; ISTC; KPS; LN; MRFH; NK; OPAC SBN; RMK; RMNy; SF; SFS; STC; USTC; VD16; VD17; VD18; Estreicher et al. (1870–2000); Doutrepoint (1939); Rudnicka (1964); Schenda (1971); Debaene (1977); Gotzkowsky (1991 and 1994); Horstbøll (1999); Richter (2009); Blom (2012); Colombo Timelli et al. (2014); Cuijpers (2014); Schlusemann (2019a).

4. The printed tradition of the narrative lasted at least until the eighteenth century;
5. The narrative had continuously been printed during at least three centuries in at least three different language areas;
6. At least one edition (or fragments) must have been preserved in each of at least six vernaculars (material evidence).

The first criterion focuses on the publication of a text in a ‘European vernacular’. Although the word ‘European’ is generally used in the meaning of ‘relating to or coming from Europe’, its meaning is not clear-cut with respect to the early modern period, especially regarding the eastern border. In the south, west, and north, the borders are more distinct because of the adjacent seas bordering the different regions.⁷ In the east, however, the border is more complicated. When we assume that the borders chosen in physical geography can also be regarded as border characteristics for our project, the Ural River and the Caspian and Black Seas can be regarded as natural ‘borders’ separating Europe from Asia to a certain extent. The term ‘vernacular’ implies that, even where editions in Latin and/or Greek (e.g. *Apollonius*) did exist, ancient languages were not taken into account.

The second criterion guarantees that a narrative spread in at least six different speaking areas and that the dissemination was not limited to certain parts of Europe.

The third and fourth criteria were chosen to produce a corpus with a long-lasting tradition. The third criterion stipulates that a narrative must already have been printed in the fifteenth or sixteenth century. This means that bestsellers like *Robinson Crusoe*, the first edition of which was put on the market in 1719, were excluded. Narratives with a strong tradition only in the early period of the chosen time frame were also excluded (fourth criterion); for example, *Paris et Vienne*, as its translations and adaptations, except in French, were published in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries only. We chose 1800 as the end date of our research due to changes in the production of books and more generally the functioning of the book market at the time.

The fifth criterion guarantees that a narrative was not only printed in one or two speaking areas for a long period. It also requires that a work must have been printed in at least three vernaculars.

Finally, many editions published in the incunabula period and in the early modern period have been lost. Even if there is evidence that they existed, e.g. in

⁷ Great Britain, Ireland, and Iceland are included.

catalogues of booksellers and publishers, they were not taken into consideration when counting the number of language areas.⁸

Based on these criteria, the following Top Ten narratives have been selected: *Aesopus*, *Amadis*, *Apollonius*, *Fortunatus*, *Griseldis*, *Historia septem sapientum Romae* (SSR), *Melusine*, *Pierre de Provence et la belle Maguelonne* (*Pierre et Maguelonne*), *Reynaert*, and *Ulenspiegel*. We use these titles for general reference throughout the volume, as they represent the title of the particular narrative in the language in which it was first printed as a standalone text.

2 The Top Ten

The volume starts with narratives of ancient origin. Printed in at least 440 editions, collections of Aesopian animal fables have been European bestsellers for many centuries. These editions comprised a variety of versions with different numbers of fables, incorporating moralisations, or even adapted as political satire. *Apollonius of Tyre*, probably going back to an ancient Greek novel and one of the best-known stories of the European Middle Ages, appeared in at least 100 editions with a widespread transmission in European language areas.

The *Historia septem sapientum Romae* (“History of Seven Sages of Rome”, version H), including fifteen told stories, demonstrates the lifesaving power of storytelling. With nearly 200 known editions in many European language areas before the end of the eighteenth century, it belongs to one of the most successful narratives of world literature (Hoffmann 2021).

The novella *Griseldis*, first written by Giovanni Boccaccio in his *Il Decamerone* (1349–1353), was not only published in this collection of stories or as a standalone text, but also together with other texts in composites or in multiple-text units (see the chapter on *Griseldis*). It appeared at least 550 times in more than thirteen vernaculars in the early modern period (among which Dutch, English, French, German, Hungarian, Polish), and was also adapted as a historical song and as a drama.

⁸ *Valentin et Orson*, for example, was published in six language areas but only if lost editions without material evidence are also included. *Floire et Blancheflor* was not taken into consideration because the number of editions in different language areas was much lower than for the other narratives. *Les quatre fils Aymon* was, of course, a very popular narrative in French, but in comparison with the other narratives, it was much less distributed in other European language areas. The dissemination of *Amadis* was also restricted but it was distributed more equally among different European speaking areas.

Some Aesopian fables were also told by animals in medieval epics about a trial at the court of the lion king Nobel. After shorter versions had been told in different branches of the French *Roman de Renart*, the Dutch epic called *Van den vos Reynaerde* (1275–1375) formed the foundation of the rich tradition of the animal epic even until today. From the beginning until 1800 the narrative about the fox *Reynaert* was published in six vernaculars in about 200 editions.

Three narratives originating in the medieval romance tradition became widespread in Europe. Two of them are French chivalric romances. In *Melusine*, the motif of the “gestörte Mahrtenehe” (“disturbed marriage with a supernatural partner”) forms the basis of the narrative. It was especially popular in French and German, but also published in Czech, Polish, Russian, and Scandinavian language areas. The story of *Pierre et Maguelonne*, telling the adventures of the famous love couple, was immortalised by the printing press in about 235 editions in no less than fifteen different languages. *Amadís de Gaula*, the third romance, was printed in four books in Spanish for the first time in 1508. It immediately sparked enthusiasm for the main hero’s chivalric adventures on the European book market with translations, continuations, and adaptations in up to 24 books in Italian, English, French, Dutch, and German.

The volume closes with two narratives first printed in the early sixteenth century. *Fortunatus*, which recounts the adventures of a young man from Cyprus using a magical purse and hat, was an instant success when it was published 1509 in Augsburg. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century translations into Czech, Polish, Danish, Dutch, English, French, Swedish, Hungarian, Italian, and Yiddish as well as at least 160 editions printed before 1800 prove that it was a favourite of the reading public. The collection of facetious stories with the title *Ein kurtzweilig lesen von Dyl Ulenspiegel*, also first printed in German, was translated and adapted into Dutch, English, French, Polish, Czech, Danish, Swedish, Russian, and Yiddish, and published in at least 230 editions. Its protagonist fascinated European readers as an early modern trickster figure, whose name enriched the vocabulary of many vernaculars.

Each chapter of the book provides a survey of the dissemination of one narrative in time and space. The approach in each chapter does not only show similarities and differences between the editions in the course of time, but also similarities and differences between the editions in various language areas. Every chapter mainly focuses on four different aspects of the long and widespread transmission of the narratives: 1. the spatio-temporal transmission of the editions in different language areas (chronology, places of publication, printers),

combined with research on the peaks of the narrative's popularity in Europe and on the role of the printer-publishers; 2. the materiality of the editions (typography, format, number of pages); 3. paratextual elements (title pages, prologues, and illustrations); 4. a contextualisation of the findings with regard to other printed media, other genres, and new audiences. Although each author remains responsible for her/his own chapter, the results presented in each chapter are the result of collectively conducted research and have benefitted from the advice and expertise of other contributors to the volume according to their respective specialisms.⁹

3 Survey of First Editions of the Top Ten

Regarding the time when the narratives were first put on the market, we can see that the production already started in about 1470 with the edition of *Griseldis* in *Il Decamerone* in Italian. In the 1470s already, five narratives were printed in German (*Aesopus*, *Historia septem sapientum Romae*, *Apollonius*, *Griseldis*, and *Melusine*), three in Italian (*Griseldis*, *Apollonius*, and *Aesopus*), two in French (*Pierre et Maguelonne* and *Melusine*), two in Dutch (*Reynaert* and *SSR*), and one in English (*Griseldis*) (Tab. 1).¹⁰ Obviously their potential as a successful story, which would sell well, was recognized early on by the publishers in different parts of Europe.

⁹ Each chapter mentions the first extant edition in the different language areas, either in an appendix or in the chapter itself. As a supplement to three chapters (*Apollonius*, *Historia septem sapientum Romae*, and *Fortunatus*) the authors have compiled a bibliography of editions in different languages. Bibliographical listings already exist in various contexts for most of the Top Ten narratives discussed here. It would take a separate book to cover all editions of all texts in complete detail.

¹⁰ Dates in bold indicate the first known printed edition of the narrative. The order of the language areas from left to right is based on the year of the first printed edition in that language area for the Top Ten texts. Editions marked with an asterisk are lost. For the dates of the editions, see the different chapters. Several of them also comment on the printed tradition in other languages like Russian, Greek, and Yiddish.

Tab. 1: Survey of first editions of the Top Ten narratives in different European vernaculars.

| | Italian | High / Low German | French | English / Scottish | Dutch | Iberian | Czech | Polish | Danish | Hungarian | Swedish |
|--|-------------|-------------------|--------|--------------------|--------------|------------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|---------|
| <i>Griseldis</i> | [1470] | 1471 [1482] | 1477 | 1496 | [1487] | 1496 | 1560 | *[before 1571] | *1528 | 1539 | 1622 |
| <i>Apollonius</i> | 1475 | 1471 [1480] | 1510 | 1493 | 1493 | 1488 [1510–1511] | | *[1540] | *[before 1591] | 1591 | 1633 |
| <i>Historia septem sapientum Romae</i> | 1552 | 1473 | 1492 | 1493 | 1479 | [1510] | [1501–1508] | [before 1540] | [1571–1575] | [1570–1574] | 1642 |
| <i>Melusine</i> | – | [1473/1474] | 1478 | 1510 | 1491 | 1489 | *1555 | *1569 | 1613 | – | 1736 |
| <i>Pierre et Maguelonne</i> | [1726–1765] | 1535 [ca. 1475] | – | – | [1517] | 1519 | *1565 | *[1565–1587] | *1583 | 1676 | – |
| <i>Aesopus</i> | [1478] | 1476 | 1480 | 1484 | 1485 | 1482 | [ca. 1488] | *[ca. 1522] | 1646 | 1566 | 1603 |
| <i>Reynaert</i> | – | 1498 | 1566 | 1481 | 1479 | – | – | – | 1555 | – | 1621 |
| <i>Amadis</i> | 1546 | 1561 | 1577 | [1590] | 1546 | 1508 | – | – | – | – | – |
| <i>Fortunatus</i> | 1676 | 1509 | 1626 | *[1615?] | *[1552–1557] | – | *1561 | [1565–1573] | 1575 | 1651 | 1651 |
| <i>Ulenspiegel</i> | – | [1510–1511] | 1532 | [1519] | [1526–1532] | – | [1566] | [1530–1540] | [before 1571] | – | 1661 |

4 Research on Early Modern Narratives

Research on the Top Ten narratives, most of which originated in the period before the arrival of the printing press, has been carried out since the nineteenth century. But, because of the paradigm of originality and the linking of originality and quality, later editions of these narratives were often regarded as not being worth studying and were neglected for a long time in twentieth-century research. As Anja Hill-Zenk pointed out with regard to the English *Howleglas* (*Ulenspiegel*), it is hardly possible to discuss this work within a framework of English fictional prose literature, because the reference parameters have not been defined due to a lack of research and genre theory (Hill-Zenk 2011, 566). This kind of literature has received little attention in English studies since the first quarter of the twentieth century. Early modern fictional prose is usually analysed as a forerunner of the novel (and assessed negatively); on the other hand, English research mainly focuses on a few canonical authors (Hill-Zenk 2011, 566).

In the last few decades, early modern fictional narratives have received more attention but research has usually been limited to a specific period and/or language: *Le Roman français dans les premiers imprimés* (Schoysman and Colombo Timelli 2016), or *Dimensionen narrativer Sinnstiftung im frühneuhochdeutschen Prosaroman* (Speth 2017) are restricted to one language area only.¹¹ The volume *Early Printed Narrative Literature in Western Europe* (Besamusca et al. 2019) takes an international approach to the early period of printing and deals with the shift from handwritten to printed narratives until 1600, the modifications of these texts when published in print, and the publication strategies of printer-publishers; however, nearly every contribution focuses on one language area. In the volume *Crossing Borders, Crossing Cultures. Popular Print in Europe (1450–1900)* (Rospocher et al. 2019) popular print is studied from a European perspective, treating many various subjects (media, markets, translations, and genres), but the contributions often concentrate on one or two language areas. In contrast, each chapter in our book provides an overview of the dissemination of a fictional narrative in at least six language areas over several centuries.

The theoretical frames of reference for our approach in this volume are the broadly defined transfer studies, with the main focus on cultural objects and their interrelations (Espagne 1999; Middell 2000). The perspective of cultural transfer has been already employed in studies on the pre-modern period (Schmale 2003; North 2009; Deneire 2014); in translation studies it was applied to the Enlightenment period (Pufelska and D'Aprile 2009; Stockhorst 2010), but also to the early modern

¹¹ Other examples are Bertelsmeier-Kierst (2014a and 2014b), and Colombo Timelli et al. (2014).

times (Hermans 2002; Burke and Po-chia Hsia 2007; Naaijkens 2010; Toepfer et al. 2021). In this volume we study the material remainders of the communication involved in the transfer of the chosen Top Ten narratives: paratexts, title pages, and illustrations. As the best way to tackle the interplay of language and medium, we adopt “the recent methodology of multimodality – a branch of stylistics which aims for the systematic analysis of types of text which, in addition to wording, employ other semiotic modes such as typography, layout, visual images and colour for their meaning-making” (Deneire 2014, 311).

5 Terminology

The term ‘narrative’ requires an explanation. Relying on different national traditions, literary historians have used a variety of expressions to indicate the type of popular stories we find in our Top Ten: “romance” in English, “mise en prose” or “roman de chevalerie” in French, “Prosaroman” (and, earlier, “Volksbuch”) in German, “romanzo cavalleresco” in Italian, “libros de caballerías” in Spanish, “romans” in Polish, “knížky lidového čtení” in Czech, “folkebøger” and “folkböcker” in Danish and Swedish, “prozaroman” or “volksboek” in Dutch, to name only a few. In this volume we prefer the neutral term ‘narrative’ for those works, which all present a fictional narrator’s story of events that take place in an imaginary world; they were appreciated for their entertaining and educational value.

In German literary history, the term “Volksbuch” has been used for a long time to describe narrative literature in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. However, this expression has been called into question since Hans Joachim Kreutzer’s *Der Mythos vom Volksbuch* (1977). He showed that the use of the term, introduced by Joseph Görres (1807), contributed to a manifestation of a romantic view that these texts were primarily written and read by common people – a notion which is historically inadequate. Nowadays the term “Prosaroman” (“prose novel”) is preferred for a heterogeneous group of texts and their early phases of publication. They are defined as entertaining literature in prose for a broader group of readers (Müller 1985; Müller 2003a, 174).

In Dutch and French research, genre and corpus definitions of early printed narratives have been less extensively discussed. In a first survey about the Dutch-speaking area van den Bergh (1837) chose the term “volksroman” (“novel for the common people”). Kruyskamp characterized these narratives as “sunken cultural” products (1942). Starting in the 1970s Pleij in particular promoted research about the functions and intentions of early printed Dutch prose narratives in society (Pleij 1970–1971; Pleij 1974; Resoort 1988; Pleij 2007). Cuijpers presented a canon of

23 Dutch “volksboeken” (“books for the common people”) which were continuously printed until 1900, and calls them “narrating books” (2014, 18). In French studies, often used categorizations for texts belonging to our corpus are the “mise en prose” and “roman de chevalerie”, the latter a mixed category combining prose adaptations of medieval “chansons de geste” with late medieval “romans d’aventures”.¹² In Scandinavian studies, the works of Rasmus Nyerup (1816) show an approach oriented towards the reading practices of his time; he used “morskabslæsning” (“reading for entertaining”) for a compilation of the most disseminated narratives in Denmark. In recent times, the term “små historier” (“small histories”) was introduced by Henrik Horstbøll (1999), but “folkebøger” remains much more popular (similar to Swedish research, e.g. Wingård 2011).

In Spanish literary studies a distinction is made between narratives with a strong chivalric component, “libros de caballerías”, and narrative texts focusing on love and emotions, even if they refer to some chivalric action, which are labelled “novela sentimental” (Thomas 1920; Whinnom 1983). Therefore, the term “libros de caballerías” is not exactly the same as the French “roman de chevalerie”, where chivalric adventures, love stories between a knight and his lady, and the “merveilleux” are predominating ingredients. Further confusion arises when comparing these terms with the Italian “romanzo cavalleresco”, which is a text in verse, while (at least since the sixteenth century) the French “roman” is in prose. The term ‘chivalric’ thus denotes different things in different language areas, even if they have a similar meaning (Schlusemann and Wierzbicka-Trwoga 2021, 169–170).

The matter becomes even more complicated with the usage of the English term “romance”. Its definition as “all narratives dealing with aristocratic ‘personae’ and involving combat and/or love [...] if written after 1100” (Finlayson 1995, 429) comprises the corpus of medieval English texts, in both verse and prose. This seems to overcome the contradictions between the French, Spanish, German, and Italian traditions, but the English term “romance” also covers its relation to the novel. According to the prevalent view in English literary history, the new form of “the novel” has replaced the older form of “the romance”, which has been known since antiquity and existed until the eighteenth century (Watt 1956). This perspective has also been adopted in Polish literary studies, supported by the existence of equivalent terms: “romans” (romance), and “powieść” (novel). Today there is no consensus on such a vision of the history of the novel, because since the publication of Watt’s

¹² For a French overview discussing the definitions of “mise en prose” and “romans de chevalerie”, see Doutrepoint (1939); Vieliard (2007); Blom (2012, 13–17); Cappello (2011, 55–71). On other types of fictional narratives, see Mounier and Thomine (2016, 515–545).

book many antique novels have been discovered, which call into question the idea of romances being superseded by novels. Moreover, this distinction is not recognised in German, Dutch, and French studies, since these languages rely essentially on a single term to describe both “romance” and “novel” (respectively “Roman”, “roman”, and “roman”).¹³

This is why we turned to the contemporary terms used in European vernaculars: for the stories told by Aesop, for example, the term “fable” (French) or “fables” (English) was preferred, but for most of the other narratives the printer-publishers settled in general for “history” (English), “histoire” (French), “historie” (Dutch, German, Danish), “historia” (Polish, Swedish, Spanish). “History”, derived from the Latin *historia*, had a double meaning in the early modern period: on the one hand, it alluded to the account of *res factae* and was related to events someone had experienced or seen, the product of experience, of “verifiable perception”. On the other hand, “history” was also used in a narratological sense, meaning the “narration of events” (Knappe 1984; Müller 1985). Therefore, we chose to translate this term consistently as “history”. From this early modern use of the term “history” it followed that the most adequate genre description of the texts in our book is “narrative fiction”, defined by Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan as “the narration of a succession of fictional events” (1993, 2). It covers both prose and verse, which is important inasmuch as some of the titles in our corpus, like *Reynaert* in German, were still printed in verse, even in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For the individual narratives the term “fictional narrative” seems appropriate.

In the early modern editions of various narratives, the noun “history” is usually accompanied by specific epithets, like “pleasant”, “charming”, “joyous”, or “entertaining”, and often in combination with “useful” – to express the narratives’ claim to *prodesse et delectare* and as such to defend the reading of fictional texts. The German expression “nutz und kurtzweyl” (“usefulness and entertainment”) – the latter meaning literally that the reading of the book will while away your time – serves in many early modern editions to announce the didactic and entertaining value of the narratives. One could say it became a standard formulation in paratexts such as title pages and/or prologues as early as the sixteenth century.¹⁴ The combined focus on pleasure and usefulness can be found not only in translations that derive directly from the German, like most of the Scandinavian versions, but also independently of translation. An overview of our Top Ten shows that these epithets on the title pages

¹³ For a discussion of the ambiguous meanings of the term “romance”, see Schlusemann and Wierzbicka-Trwoga (2021). Interestingly, Margaret Spufford (1989) used the title *Small Books and Pleasant Histories* for her study on early modern popular fiction in England – taking aspects of format, readership, questions of genre, and self-denomination of the narratives into account.

¹⁴ On the use of “nutz und kurtzweyl”, see e.g. Müller (1985).

were almost identical in various European languages. We can find them, for example, in the bilingual *Reynaert* edition: *REYNAERT DE VOS. Een seer ghenouchlicke ende vermakelicke historie: in Franchoyse ende neder Duytsch. REYNIER LE RENARD. Histoire tresioyeuse [sic] & recreatiue, en François & bas Alleman* (“Reynaert the Fox. A very pleasant and entertaining history: in French and Dutch. Reynier Le Renard. Very pleasant and entertaining history, in French and Dutch”, Antwerpen: Christoffel Plantijn, 1566),¹⁵ or in the first vernacular *Historia septem sapientum Romae* (in German, printed in Augsburg in 1473): *Ein gar schöne Cronick vnd hystorie Auß den geschichten der Römern In welicher hystori vnd Cronick man vindet gar vil schöne vnd nützlicher exempel die gar lustlich vnd kurzweylyg ze hörnn seind* (“A very charming Chronicle and history From the stories of the Romans in which [history and Chronicle] you will find many charming and useful examples which are very enjoyable and entertaining to hear”). A corresponding title is to be found in the Polish *Melusine* (1671): *Historia wdzięczna o szlachetnej a pięknej Meluzynie* (“A pleasant History of the noble and beautiful Meluzyna”) or in the Hungarian *Apollonius* (1591): *Szép chronica, miképpen az Apollonius nevő királyfi* (“A beautiful chronicle about prince Apollonius”). These examples of narratives using “chronicle” in their titles refer to the “truth of history” and the close relation between the narrative and *res factae*.

Another important aspect, in line with the question of authority and ‘history’, is that the paratexts often draw the attention to presenting a translated text. Tracing the origin of the text, listing the language(s) of the source text and its recent versions – the *translatio* of the story throughout the European linguistic landscape – were means to confirm the long tradition of the narrative, as in Thuring von Ringoltingen’s prologue of his *Melusina*, where it is stated that “ich / Thuring von Ringoltingen [...] ein zû mol selcene und gar wunderliche fremde hystorie funden in franczôsischer sprache und welscher zungen [...] zû tûtscher zungen gemacht und translatiert” (*Melusina* 1473–1474, A1r–A1v; “I, Thuring von Ringoltingen [...] made and translated into the German tongue an especially rare and marvellous unknown history found in the French language and Romance tongue”). The fact that the story first appeared in French (and afterwards in German to be from there translated, more or less directly, into the respective mother tongue) is also mentioned in the 1489 Castilian edition, the sales prospectus made for the first Dutch edition (1491), the early modern Czech version as well as the 1736 Swedish edition.¹⁶ The importance of making the fictional narratives available in the mother

¹⁵ In bibliographical descriptions and references to holding institutions, place names are given in the domestic language; otherwise the English spelling is used.

¹⁶ See the chapter on *Melusine* in this book.

tongue, often announced as an advertisement appealing to the curiosity of the audience, like “now recently translated”, is another aspect: the narratives often show an obsession with advertising themselves as “new”, “revised” etc. In combination with the *prodesse et delectare* principle, this is an important commercial argument for the promotion of the stories. Moreover, the emphasis on the tradition in other European languages can be regarded as a marker for a widespread narrative that attracted attention in many other regions. All this raises questions about the linguistic landscape, marketing fictional literature, and the importance of individual vernaculars as literary languages in early modern Europe, but this is something we can only briefly touch on in this introduction.

6 Multilingual Europe

The linguistic landscapes in early modern Europe were characterized by many different language areas, both written and spoken. Multilingualism is a phenomenon which has become an object of study for medieval and early modern literary studies in recent years (e.g. Classen 2016; Clarke and Ní Mhaonaigh 2022).

Each of the fictional narratives presented in this book was marketed in numerous European language areas and circulated during several centuries. Combining literary studies and book history, this work offers for the first time a ‘transnational’ perspective on a selected text corpus of this genre. It explores the spatio-temporal transmission of the texts in different language areas and the materiality of the editions: the narratives were produced, read, translated, adapted, bought, and sold across European borders, from Seville to Stockholm and from Dublin to Lviv. The time span chosen for this study is a very wide one – from the beginning of printing until 1800 – and the history of early modern Europe in this long period is complex and multifaceted. It is also important to remember that geographical borders were (and still are) not necessarily fixed demarcations, neither for rulers or peoples, and certainly not for the exchange of ideas and literature.

In this book we strive to use the correct designations for the countries or language regions of the time, considering the early modern geographical and political conditions. High and Low German, for example, were of course spoken and read not only in the Holy Roman Empire and in the Habsburg Empire, in large parts of today’s Switzerland, but also in Scandinavia and in the Baltic Sea Region, in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, in cities like Zwolle, Antwerp, Copenhagen, and Novgorod (von Polenz 2000; Glück 2002). The importance of Middle Low German (and, after the end of the *Hanse*, High German) for trade relations in northern, north-

eastern, and western Europe has been studied in detail (Meier 2016, 317–318). But German was also learned as a foreign language by, e.g., French, Spanish, or Italian merchants, which is documented by grammar and language books from different southern European regions (Meier 2016, 319–320).

As a rule, the expressions ‘German editions’, ‘Iberian editions’, etc. in this study refer to the dissemination of a specific text in our corpus in different *language regions* (respectively the German-speaking area, the Iberian-speaking area, etc.) – beyond the complicated (and often shifting) geographical and political borders of kingdoms or countries in the early modern era. Besides, one should keep in mind that over a long period of time the readership of the texts presented here has been an educated and a multilingual one. A nobleman or an educated citizen in Kraków, for example, was able to read the history of *Melusine* not only in Polish, but also in German or in French, and he may also have known Latin. The private library of Hogenskild Bielke (1538–1605), a Swedish nobleman and politician, documents his widespread interest in historical, religious, as well as fictional reading – in different languages (Undorf 1995). Jan Hamers van Hantwerpen (Antwerp) wrote in a copy of the Ripuarian *Aesopus* edition printed in Cologne by Johann Koelhoff (1489, copy: London, Guildhall, INC 40, q2v) the following philosophical advice in Dutch: “[...] datmen in allen saechen kenne een getempert man sober gestadich / ende sterck tegen tegenspoet getemperheyt is den toom die de wellusten des lichaems bedwinght” (“that in all things a temperate man is known to be simple, steadfast, and resistant to misfortune. Temperance is the rein that subdues the lust of the body”). And there are many more examples. Systematic research on book ownership and the dissemination of narratives across different language areas is a promising field of studies. The situation and the impact of the early modern European book market has been studied in recent years, e.g. by Matthew McLean and Sara Barker in *International Exchange in the Early Modern Book World* (2016) and by Shanti Graheli in *Buying and Selling. The Business of Books in Early Modern Europe* (2019).

The movement and dissemination of the narratives presented in this volume are to be considered literary as well as economically successful phenomena in early modern Europe: not only were the texts themselves printed, disseminated, and read over large parts of Europe, the networks of printers and the circulation of woodcuts and illustrations were ‘international’ as well. The main European printing centres Venice, Antwerp, Lyon, Strasbourg, and Frankfurt am Main, but also smaller places like Lübeck printed books in different languages.

7 The Top Ten: Success Factors, Media, and Materiality

With our research group, we noticed many parallels between the Top Ten narratives and their respective trajectories in early modern Europe. One of the striking aspects is that all the narratives, except *Fortunatus* and *Ulenspiegel*, were already part of a substantial manuscript tradition in different language areas before appearing in print.¹⁷ In that sense, the contents and the narrative models they were based on – stories of love, marvels, and adventures; Arthurian romance; the Byzantine novel; fables – were already firmly rooted in a cultural memory that transcended geographical and linguistic boundaries. As such the Top Ten seem to belong to the core of an early modern European publishing genre that was as widespread, popular, and eloquently promoted by publishers as it was harshly condemned by certain humanist writers, clerics, and numerous scholars. We would like to present here some thoughts about possible reasons for the popularity of these particular ten narratives for several centuries and in such a vast spatial dimension.

Several reasons for their success are given throughout the volume; together, they form an intricate mix of narrative-specific features and more general generic as well as book historical aspects. In narrative fiction the figure of the main protagonist evidently plays a crucial role: while in some cases their archetypal quality is highlighted – e.g. Aesop, Reynaert, and *Ulenspiegel* as rebels and trickster-figures, Griseldis as a symbol of *oboedientia* and *constantia* – in other instances, such as *Melusine*, a woman-serpent, and *Fortunatus*, a modern adventurer, the appeal could have resided partly in the more individual specificities of the main character and her or his development. In the two latter narratives, the supernatural elements as such no doubt added to the attraction, as it also did, for example, in *Amadis*.

More generally, we can identify certain formal and thematic properties shared by several of the narratives discussed in this volume. Firstly, *Aesopus* and *Ulenspiegel* consist in fact of a variety of stories more or less loosely grouped around a central figure or intrigue, and in the *Historia septem sapientum Romae* and *Reynaert* many *exempla* or other shorter stories told by the fictional characters are part of the narrative as a whole. Did this specific format, which facilitated discontinuous reading and memorization, have a specific appeal to the audience? The stories told in *Aesopus* and *Reynaert* furthermore share a focus on animal characters who walk and talk like humans: “anthropomorphism has its own appeal” (Julia Boffey).

¹⁷ The case of *Amadis* is different, see the chapter on *Amadis* in this volume.

The at times scabrous humour that dominates in these stories must also have played an important role. The power of words and language on the whole is foregrounded in the oral contracts in *Melusine* and *Griseldis*, and the jokes, tricks, and powerful stories in *Ulenspiegel*, *Reynaert*, and *Historia septem sapientum Romae*.

Another important theme present in several of the narratives is that of the twists and turns of fate and their bearings on family and love relations, like in *Apollonius*, a deeply human topic, which is as timeless as the fascination with the supernatural or the importance of humour. Two of the narratives present a strong female protagonist, *Griseldis* and *Melusine*. Curiously enough, love and romance play a rather modest role in our Top Ten; only *Pierre et Maguelonne* and *Amadis* really develop this theme by giving the reader an insight into the sentiments of attraction, love, and despair that rumble in the hearts of the love couples they present.

Based on the information given in the different contributions, one could hypothesize that apart from the unfailing attraction of entertaining stories filled with adventures, magic, and humour, the ability of most of our narratives to serve as a vehicle to convey moral lessons has contributed enormously to their dissemination and longevity. Didactics are, of course, a constituent ingredient of fables. Judging by their first known written versions, narratives like *Apollonius*, *Griseldis*, and *Pierre et Maguelonne* originally served little or no specific didactic goal. Nevertheless, at some point, they were presented as *exempla* in early modern editions: sometimes in strikingly similar wordings, as was the case in two Danish editions of *Pierre et Maguelonne* (1583) and *Apollonius* (1594). In the dedication of his *Maguelonne*, the Danish printer, Lorentz Benedicht, used the same example from the Bible accompanied by a comment on the instability of secular happiness as the anonymous author of the *Apollonius* preface does. *Aesopus*, *Pierre et Maguelonne*, and *Reynaert* moreover were used for language education, probably because of their entertaining and didactic nature but also as they were already widely known.

Despite their different origins and generic features, all our narratives offer a broad variety of themes and characters, thus allowing for a range of varying interpretations and reframings. For instance, *Melusine* not only contains the marvellous story of a hybrid creature betrayed by her husband, but also that of a noble family firmly rooted in the Poitou region, while the Amadisian cycle with its chivalrous adventures and many protagonists builds on a long tradition of Arthurian romance, and until this day readers offer diametrically opposed interpretations of *Fortunatus*. The seventeenth-century Swedish *Apollonius* editions were enriched by an appendix on the Seven Wonders of the World, whereas the Dutch *Griseldis* was often published together with two other narratives about virtuous women in the multitext-volume called *Der Vrouwenpeerle*. This openness and adaptability could be regarded as one of the defining features of the Top Ten in general.

The question remains, however, why specifically these narratives? There are similar medieval and early modern narratives about suffering women (*La belle Héléne de Constantinople*), monstrous protagonists (*Valentin et Orson*), tribulations of love couples (*Floire et Blancheflor*) and mortals who engage with the supernatural (*Faust*). Why did they not last as long? Why were they not as widespread as the Top Ten? One could argue that the literary quality of the ten narratives was exceptional, that these creations had this *je ne sais quoi* that made them extraordinarily appealing for readers of all sorts, and of all times and places, but we should probably also turn to more prosaic elements here: business decisions made by printers and publishers, based on their materials, their contacts, and the opportunities they saw. Printing houses produced books in various languages: the Leeu printing house in Gouda, for example, published the *Historia septem sapientum Romae* in Dutch and Low German, and publishers in Lübeck or Rostock in the sixteenth century printed in Low German, High German, and Danish. Publishing was of course a business, and printers and publishers were always on the lookout for titles that had already proved successful in other linguistic and geographical contexts. They also were creative in finding ways to exploit and continue this success, as can be seen, for example, in the continuations of the first *Amadis* books or the different versions of the English *Fortunatus*.

The medial and material aspects of the printed editions also have to be taken into account, especially the illustrations. There are notable differences between individual narratives and between linguistic and spatio-temporal contexts, but woodcuts form a constituent part of many of the early modern Top Ten editions, as can also be seen on title pages advertising their presence. The series of woodblocks designed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries – some of them by famous engravers – often served for centuries. For example, Virgil Solis' series of woodblocks for Feyerabend's edition of *Reineke Fuchs* (1564) were reused and copied in other German *Reynaert* editions until the second half of the seventeenth century. The woodcuts engraved by Hans Brosamer for Hermann Gülfferichs's editions of Top Ten and other popular narratives are another case in point; woodblocks created for one narrative were reused or copied in editions of other popular narratives. Copies of these German woodcuts also turned up in, for example, Danish and Castilian editions of the same narratives, which clearly shows the transcultural and multimodal dimension of designing books in the early modern period. By reinforcing the coherence of the corpus on a medial, material, and visual level, these practices contributed to the emergence of a successful 'transnational' 'genre'.

Finally, as Lydia Zeldenrust states in the end of her chapter on *Melusine* in this book: "Luck must have been a factor at times too. [...] sometimes it seems to have been a case of the right publisher at the right time, and if one person picked up the text others might follow." For example, the mere fact that a printer could

easily acquire or borrow a set of woodblocks intended for illustrating a particular narrative might have been the determining factor in his decision to print that narrative. The same holds true for printers who migrated and took their catalogue or their stock of materials with them such as William Caxton, who moved from Bruges to Westminster and imported several narratives to the British language area, among which *Aesopus* and *Reynaert*. Without Antonio Bulifon, who moved from Lyon to Naples, *Fortunatus* would probably not have been translated into Italian in the seventeenth century. Printers in Kraków were often of German origin, like Florian Ungler or Hieronim Wietor, and they published narratives which had already been successful in German, e.g. *Aesopus* and the *Historia septem sapientum Romae*. And would *Amadis* have been as successful commercially if the French translation had not been signed by Nicolas d'Herberay and if he had not managed to engage the Parisian printer-publishers Denis Janot, Jean Longis, and Vincent Sertenas?

Thematic and aesthetic appeal, economic considerations, clever marketing, and the presence of the right person at the right time at the right place thus seem to have gone hand in hand to make the success of these Top Ten happen. Our hope is that this book may invite further scholarly discussion on the Top Ten and other narratives that were for such a long time part of a shared European publishing and reading culture.

We would like to thank the staff of different European libraries who provided information and images for this book. We are also grateful for all discussions and cooperation within our research group, especially at the fruitful meetings in Berlin (2018) and Warsaw (2019), and during two workshops online, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, in 2021 and 2022. We would like to thank the following institutions and persons for financial support: Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Foundation); Freie Universität Berlin, Fachbereich Philosophie und Geisteswissenschaften (“Leistungsorientierte Mittelvergabe, Frauenförderung und Gleichstellung”); Freie Universität Berlin and Universität Zürich (the joint funding scheme “Collaboration across Boundaries – Interdisciplinary Partnerships in Research and Education” of Freie Universität Berlin and Universität Zürich); Utrecht University Open Access Fund; Uniwersytet Warszawski, and Lydia Zeldenrust (Leverhulme Trust Early Career Fellowship). We also would like to thank our publisher De Gruyter, especially Robert Forke, Dominika Herbst and Anne Stroka for their very kind support.

May 2023

Rita Schlusemann, Helwi Blom, Anna Katharina Richter,
Krystyna Wierzbicka-Trwoga

Julia Boffey

The European Diffusion of *Aesopus*

1 Introduction

Fables have a long history, and those associated with the name of Aesop, supposedly a slave on the Greek island of Samos in the sixth century BCE who bought his freedom by telling tales, have had a written existence for many centuries (Perry 1936, 1952; Lefkowitz 2014). Originally recorded in Greek, and later in Latin versions, the *Aesopus* fables offer lessons on human conduct in the form of short narratives. Their essential attractions – compactness, humour, accessible morals, the presence of talking animals – make them easy to memorize, and thus to transmit, and their generic features and extensive circulation in a variety of written forms have generated much scholarship (Carnes 1985). Compilations of vernacular fables derived from the *Aesopus* were among the earliest printed narrative materials to achieve wide European popularity. By 1500, there had appeared over 50 printed editions of Aesopic fable collections in Castilian, Czech, Dutch, English, French, German, and Italian. In the three centuries following 1500 these were joined by versions in a number of other vernaculars (Catalan, Danish, Hungarian, Japanese, Older Scots, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, and Swedish at the least; the list can probably be further extended), to bring the total number of vernacular editions to a figure well over 500. Mapping the spread of these is complicated by several facts. One is the essential nature of the *Aesopus* as a compilation of stories hung on one name, with different editions accommodating varying numbers of short narratives, and deriving from combinations of sources which are often hard to unravel. Another is the complicated relationship between the Latin, Greek and vernacular traditions. The long-established medieval use of Aesopian narratives in the teaching of Latin would continue well after 1500, later expanding to service the teaching of Greek as well; and numerous editions in these languages were printed for school-room use. Vernacular compilations sometimes took the form of parallel texts, and the language(s) of specific editions, not always specified in bibliographies, are hard to ascertain without first-hand scrutiny. Insofar as possible, this essay will focus on editions conceived to attract readers wanting vernacular compilations rather than those using the *Aesopus* as a vehicle for learning Latin or Greek.

2 *Aesopus* Before Printing

Aesop may never have existed in person, although his name was associated with the authorship of fables by various ancient Greek writers (e.g., Herodotus, *Histories*, Book 2, 134–135: see Godley 1920, 437–438). The fable collections important for the European Middle Ages were early Latin compilations including a so called *Augustana* collection of prose fables, possibly from the second or third century CE; a collection of verse fables associated with the name of Phaedrus, from the first century CE; and another collection of Latin elegiac verse fables derived around the fourth century CE from Greek versions by Babrius, which became known as *The Fables of Avianus* (Mann 2005, 2–8). This was in turn overtaken by a Latin prose version known as the *Romulus* collection (so named because in some introductions its translation from Greek to Latin is attributed to a legendary Roman emperor called Romulus who supposedly produced it for the benefit of his son Tiberinus). A late twelfth-century reduced metrical version of the *Romulus* fables formerly attributed to Gualterus Anglicus, and often known as “the elegiac *Romulus*”, became a staple of the schoolroom (it is also sometimes called “the Anonymous Neveleti”, because connected with the *Mythologica Aesopica* of Isaac Nicolaus Nevelet, published in Frankfurt in 1610). This collection of some 60 fables, surviving in nearly 200 manuscripts, was evidently the best-known medieval Aesopic compilation: “For any educated person from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, ‘Aesop’ would most probably have meant the elegiac *Romulus*” (Mann 2005, 12; for an edition, see Busdraghi 2005).

Fables associated with Aesop’s name were by no means the only narratives about animals in circulation in medieval Europe. Certain sermon exempla and instructive narratives, along with beast epics like *Ysengrimus* and the *Reynaert*, shared some of their characteristics. The Aesopic corpus also included stories about human rather than animal conduct, especially in the context of the *Life of Aesop* which became a component of some Greek fable collections from the first century CE, and – reworked and expanded in the thirteenth century by the Byzantine monk Maximus Planudes – was the source of fifteenth-century Latin translations. Versions of the episodic *Life*, in scholarship often thought of as an Aesop romance, string together a number of narratives concerning Aesop’s tricks and eventual death, and would retain an important place in many printed Aesopic compilations (Adrados 1979).

In the decades immediately preceding the introduction of printing in Europe, narratives associated with Aesop thus existed in a variety of languages and configurations. The elegiac *Romulus* was one staple, but in Italy various new fifteenth-century Latin compilations drew on the Greek prose fable tradition. Lorenzo Valla’s was one of these, made around 1440, and another was the influential translation of one hundred fables and the life of Aesop made by Rinuccio d’Arezzo for Cardinal Antonio della Cerda in 1448 (Pillolla 1993). Among other vernacular versions avail-

able in manuscript, the Alemannic collection known as *Der Edelstein* (“The Gemstone”), made in Bern ca. 1350 by the Dominican monk Ulrich Boner, brought together one hundred fables from various sources (Stange 2016; Classen 2020).

3 *Aesopus* in the Early Decades of Print

The appeal of Aesopic narratives of all kinds is indicated by the early transfer of some of these compilations into print. *Der Edelstein* was printed in Bamberg by Albrecht Pfister on 14 February 1461 (GW 04839 / USTC 743580)¹ and again ca. 1462 (GW 04840 / USTC 743581); an unknown printer in the Low Countries produced a selection of Aesopic tales by Valla in Latin some time after 1465 and before 1480 (GW 00315 / USTC 435007), and other selections in Latin were printed in the 1470s in Paris, Valencia, and several Italian cities, with an influential edition of Rinuccio’s Latin *Vita et Fabulae* printed by Bonus Accursius in Milan ca. 1478 (GW 00313 / USTC 760021; GW and ISTC / USTC give different dates). While Boner’s German version dropped from sight in printed editions, fables by Valla and Rinuccio would appear in many later editions and translations, joined by such other works as the *Aesopus moralisatus* of Accio Zucco, a combination of Latin narratives from the elegiac *Romulus* and Zucco’s Italian moralizing sonnets, first printed in Verona in 1479 by Giovanni and Alberto Alvisé (GW 00428 / USTC 998171). Some of the vernacular printed *Aesopi* of the sixteenth century would derive from these early Latin editions (Cifarelli 2001).

Illustrations were an important element in many Aesopic manuscripts, and early printers were quick to appreciate that woodcut illustrations could enhance the attraction of printed editions. Individual fables, usually narratives with a small cast of human and/or animal characters and a simple confrontation or significant activity at their core, readily invited uncomplicated pictorial accompaniment. Pfister’s editions of *Der Edelstein* supplied a woodcut with individual fables (many are hand-coloured in the surviving copies), and editions of Zucco’s *Aesopus moralisatus* included attractive small woodcut illustrations. The moral application of individual fables could be reinforced by features of the layout of both text and image. In the case of the *Aesopus moralisatus* the woodcuts are part of a bilingual assemblage, following the Latin version of each fable, and preceding a pair of Italian poems offering a commentary: a “sonetto materiale” and a “sonetto morale” (Fig. 1). The printed edi-

¹ References in parentheses identify editions in standard reference works; abbreviations are expanded in the list of references at the end of this volume. All translations are my own (unless otherwise stated). See Tab. 1 for a list of first editions in different languages.

La lingua astuta & falsa molto offende
Chel forte per ingiegno liga e prende.



Fig. 1: Tortoise and eagle, in: Accio Zucco, *Aesopus moralisatus*. Verona: Giovanni and Alberto Alvise, 1479, d2v (München, BSB, 4 Inc.c.a. 130e). By courtesy of Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, with the licence CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

tions of *Der Edelstein* highlight the moral import of the fables by including to the left of each illustration a small woodcut of a scholarly figure who points towards it, as if to stress its significance (Fig. 2).

European interest in vernacular collections of Aesopic fables was hugely invigorated by successive editions of the compilation made by the scholar and physician Heinrich Steinhöwel, first printed in 1476–1477 in Ulm by Johann Zainer (GW 00351 / USTC 742274; Dicke 1994). This drew together material from various of the existing bodies of *Aesopica*, and in its first instantiation offered in almost all cases both Latin and German versions of its tales. It begins with Rinuccio's life of Aesop. Then come four books of fables from the prose *Romulus* collection, with metrical versions of some of the Latin fables also supplied from the elegiac *Romulus* tradition (these are the only items for which German translations are not supplied). Next are seventeen “extravagantes Esopi antique” (i.e. fables not attached to any of the main Aesopic collections), seventeen of Rinuccio's Latin fables, and a selection of 27 fables from the Avianus collection. The final section offers fourteen exempla from the *Disciplina clericalis* of Petrus Alphonsi and of eight of Poggio's *Facetiae*: not fables in the Aesopic tradition, but rather “Schwänke”, merry or farcical tales. The German translation *Hystoria Sigismunde* by Nikolaus von Wyle, based on Aretino's text, is often found in surviving copies at the end of the last group of tales, but was probably not part of the book as originally conceived (Oesterley 1873).

Steinhöwel's compilation, folio-sized, occupied 278 folios: this was a big book, in all senses. Its appeal was greatly enhanced by the provision of 191 woodcuts and some attractively ornamented initials, both of which have been hand-coloured in some surviving copies (Koch 1961). Most of the woodcuts appear with individual fables, but some illustrate the life of Aesop, and one placed at the start of the book depicts Aesop himself, a somewhat grotesque figure, surrounded by emblematic representations of episodes from his life. The programme of woodcuts illustrating the life itself appears only with the German translation; there are none with the Latin text. The division between Latin and vernacular material in the collection was pressed home in the second edition, printed in Augsburg by Günter Zainer in 1477–1478 (GW 352 / USTC 742275), which contained only the German texts (Fig. 3). Excising the Latin made for a shorter book, if still folio in size, and the number of woodcuts remained the same. The *Hystoria Sigismunde* seems here to have been included as an integral part of the compilation.

The second edition of Steinhöwel's book marked an important fork in the route by which the Aesopic corpus continued into the early modern period and beyond. The German-only edition was the basis for many reprints (GW 00352–00363), to the extent that it was “the German Aesop for well over half a century” (Carnes 1986, 1). A different tradition of Latin-only texts was established: the edition printed by Anton Sorg in Augsburg ca. 1480 (GW 00347 / USTC 742277), for example, included



Von vndanckpeltreit.

Durch kein sach es herauß künne mochte. Her er so
 geinlich genumē nichte. Die speiße es wer im nichte
 gescheen. Das wil ich bei der warheit ichē. Ich wolt
 das den frauē und den man. Die sich geinheit neme
 an. Geschee als dem wolff geschach. Sie schreie mā-
 che stunt wee unde ach. Es weren frauē oder man.
 Sie mußtē aller rechte han. Der wolff was in grosser
 not. Er wēte er mußt ligen tot. Do kam er do er einē
 storch vant. Er sprach ich wil dir sezen pfant. Fur
 dreissig hūder pfunt. wolt er in machen gesunt. Er
 wolt im leihē und gebē. Das er im hulff zu dē leben
 Der storch sprach wolff thu auff deinē mūt. Ich wil
 dich sicher machē gesunt. Er sties im das haubt in
 seinē kragē. Das peim begūd er vast zu nagē. Aus
 seinē kragē zoch er es do. Des wart der wolff vil fro
 Er sprach herre wolff ic sulc mir geben. Seint ir vō
 mir habt das leben. Das mir gelobt hat eur mūt.

Fig. 2: Wolf and crane, in: Ulrich Boner, *Der Edelstein*. Bamberg: Albrecht Pfister, 1462, 8v (Berlin, SBBPK, 4° Inc 332). By courtesy of Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

Das erst büch
du die stett: die dich zu kurtzweiligen freuten vnd
lachen werthen bewegen: vñ zeyne vernunfft scharp
sinnig machtent

(Die erst fabel Von dem han vnd dem bernlin



In han süchet seyne speß auff eyner mistey:
vnd als er scharet fandte er ein kostlichs be
enlin an der vnwirdigen stat ligende: wo er
aber das also ligend sach sprach er: Du gutes ding
wie ligst du so ellentgich in dem kat: hette dich eyn
geptiger gefunten: wie mit grossen freuden hette er
dich auß ge suchet: vñ werest du wid in dē alte schē
teiner zierde gesetzt worden. So aber ich dich fin
de an der schōden stat ligende: vñ lieber meine speß
finte: so bist du weeder mir nutzlich noch ich dir
(Dise fabel sagt esopus zenen: die in lesen vnd nit
verstant: die nit erkennen die kaffe des eteln bern
lins: vñ dz honig auß dē blumen nit saugē künent:
wan ten selben ist er nit nutzlich ze lesen

Fig. 3: Cock and Jewel, in: Heinrich Steinhöwel, *Vita Esopi fabulatoris clarissimi e greco Latina – Das Leben des hochberühmten fabeltichters Esopi auß kriechischer zungen in latein*. Augsbürg: Günther Zainer, 1477–1478, 36r (München, BSB, 2 Inc.s.a. 9). By courtesy of Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, with the licence CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

the Latin material from the Steinhöwel editions, and the woodcuts, but no German translations. Over the course of the sixteenth century this Latin tradition would come to accommodate an expanded version of Steinhöwel's compilation made by Sebastian Brant, a Latin collection by Maarten van Dorp, and numerous Italian editions, some offering *Aesopus* in Greek (Lenaghan 1968; Carnes 1986; EDIT16 under 'Aesopus'). Steinhöwel's collection remained of massive significance for the dissemination of Aesopic fables in different European vernaculars. Translations deriving from it quickly appeared in French, Castilian, English, Dutch, and Czech (in order of appearance), as well as in various German dialects. All these translations were to be reprinted over the course of the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

4 The European Diffusion of *Aesopus* in Print

The primary conduit for these various vernacular versions was a French translation made by Julien Macho, an Augustinian monk whose French renderings of works of religious devotion had already been printed in Lyon. First issued by Nicolaus Philippi and Marcus Reinhart in Lyon with the date 26 August 1480 (GW 00368 / USTC 70769), Macho's version omitted the verse fables but included translations of all the vernacular elements of Steinhöwel's Augsburg edition, along with copies of most of the woodcuts, in reverse (Ruelle 1982).² It would appear in at least fifteen further French editions until the end of the sixteenth century (FB, 6–7). Meanwhile other French printers were producing editions of different compilations of Aesopic fables: Anthoine Vérard's *Les apologues et fables* (ca. 1490; GW 00345 / USTC 766378) offered a translation by Guillaume Tardif of Valla's Latin collection, without the life of Aesop. This is a handsome book, dedicated in a prologue to Charles VIII ("vostre royale maieste"). Individual fables are illustrated with small woodcuts, and the book begins with full-page woodcut presentation images that in several copies have been hand-painted. Although this is a French version, a trace of the Latin source of individual fables is retained in the heading to each one, which includes a phrase in Latin on the following model: "Le second apologue ou fable est dung regnart & dung liepart. Et commence ou latin vulpes et pardus." (A3v; "The second apologue or fable is about a fox and a leopard, and begins in Latin 'vulpes et pardus.'").

² At least two manuscripts of Macho's translation survive, presumably copied from one or other of the printed editions: Paris, BnF, Smith-Lesouëf 68, and Jena, THULB, El. F. 99, 85–120v (incomplete; with interlinear Latin).

Macho's French version would have its own important role in the wider dissemination of what was originally Steinhöwel's compilation of stories. It was the source of William Caxton's English translation, first printed in an edition dated 26 March 1484 (GW 00376 / USTC 518733; Lenaghan 1967). Recent research has confirmed that Caxton's translation must have been based on a Lyon edition dated 10 May 1482 from the printer Jehan Rousset, also known variously as 'the Printer of *Aesopus*' and the 'Printer of the *Abusé en court*' (Davies 2006; Hellinga 2014; GW 36810N / USTC 765417). Caxton followed the text closely, elaborating on his source by supplying some extra headings; and he also added six more *facetiae*, which he ascribes to Poggio, although in fact only one seems to have been Poggio's work (Hellinga 2014). When Richard Pynson reprinted Caxton's translation in 1497 (GW 00377 / USTC 500271), and again in 1500–1501 (GW 00378 / USTC 500358) the last of Caxton's pseudo-Poggio additions was omitted. A collection of tales such as this lent itself readily to expansion or contraction, and the final section of the work was the part that most frequently attracted modifications.

Not all translations into other European vernaculars were dependent on Macho. A translation into Czech, issued in Prague around 1488 by the printer of the 1488 Bible (probably Johann Kamp; GW 00367 / USTC 760025) was based directly on the German of a Steinhöwel edition. The first Castilian translation, printed in Zaragoza in 1482 (GW 37910N / USTC 765418) for the pleasure of "personas non tanto doctas & letrada" (Burrus 1995, 152; "people not greatly educated or literate"), also seems to have been based on the German, although later editions, such as one printed in Toulouse (GW 00379 / USTC 333170), evidently used both this and Macho's text for various expansions. The Dutch translation printed in Antwerp by Gheraert Leeu in 1485 (GW 00374 / USTC 435723) derived from Macho's French (Rijns 2013). But Leeu (like other printers) marketed *Aesopus* in a number of forms, catering for all tastes and needs: he also produced a Latin edition (with woodcuts; GW 00349 / USTC 435766) in 1486, and two years later a Latin *Esopus cum commento* (GW 00402 / USTC 760027).

Illustration was a major attraction in vernacular incunable editions of *Aesopus*. Lyonnese editions of Macho's translation, such as Jehan Rousset's of 1482, were illustrated with woodcuts based on the German editions of Steinhöwel's compilation – in this case rendered in reverse. The Czech edition and Leeu's 1485 Dutch edition, both quartos, followed suit (Leeu's Latin text of 1486, folio-sized, was also illustrated). Caxton evidently saw the woodcuts in his 1484 edition as a major selling point. Modelled on Rousset's 1482 Lyon edition, which had reversed the Steinhöwel woodcuts, the process of producing them meant that they were reversed again, with the result that they match more closely the German originals (Hodnett 1973, 2–3, woodcuts nos. 28–213). When Pynson reprinted Caxton's translation in 1497 he apparently had access to Caxton's own woodblocks, although for

his edition of 1500–1501 new cuts were made. One way or another, versions of the woodcuts in the earliest German editions of Steinhöwel's compilation would remain current for centuries: some of those used in the Rousset 1482 Lyon edition known to Caxton were still serving the purposes of a Lyon printer ca. 1620 to illustrate a chapbook *Aesopus* (Davies 2006, 280–286).

The attractions of the woodcuts in these books are not hard to understand. Those illustrating individual fables present straightforward pictures of the figures involved in the action of each narrative – wolf and crane, lion and mouse, sheep and dog, cock and gemstone – as if to supply visual mnemonics for the fables' messages. The life of Aesop, evidently of sufficient appeal to become a relatively stable component of the Aesopic corpus, was accompanied by a series of more complicated and sometimes grotesque illustrations: men vomit figs, following a ruse by which Aesop escapes a false accusation; Xantus, a philosopher who buys Aesop, urinates and, in a later episode, defecates; Aesop offers scholars a plate of tongues; Aesop is cast to his death from a cliff. Some translators carefully omitted episodes which might have been distasteful: Caxton, for example, did not illustrate the defecating, and neither translated nor illustrated the urinating (Lenaghan 1967, 35). Most illustrated editions had at the start an author portrait of Aesop that in one form or another would represent him for several centuries. Macho's translation, in a Lyon edition printed by Mathias Huss, and dated 9 April 1486 (GW 00370 / USTC 70771), describes him thus (on a2r): "[...] Et estoyt entre tous les hommes difforme. Car il auoyt vne grosse teste / grant visaige / longues ioues / les yeulx agus / le col brief / bosse et grosse pance / grosses iambes et larges piedz [...]" ("[...] And he was outstandingly ill-formed. For he had a large head, a huge face, drooping cheeks, sharp eyes, a short neck, a hump, a fat paunch, fat legs and big feet [...]"; *Les subtiles hystoires et fables de esope*; "The artful stories and fables of Aesop"). The woodcut reproduces some of these features, particularly the humped back and the fat paunch. The range of tricks perpetrated by the shape-shifting Aesop gave his life an appeal independent from the attractions of the fables, and it would eventually come to circulate separately from the fables, and to generate a tradition of its own (Biscéré 2013 gives an account of illustrated lives from 1476–1687).

As will be clear, vernacular versions of *Aesopus* were by the sixteenth century very widely available. It has been calculated that "those that survive from the incunable period alone are found in more languages than any other book" – even the Bible (Davies 2006, 258). The sheer range of available vernacular versions, based on a variety of sources, and with different principles of compilation and presentation, impedes any accurate statistical analysis, but the number of different editions produced in the century following the publication of Steinhöwel's first, bilingual book runs to several hundred. The course of the sixteenth century, not surprisingly, saw new compilations rise to prominence, and increasing diver-

gence in regional preferences for particular versions. In Italian language areas for example, Accio Zucco's verse *Aesopus moralisatus* went through many editions between 1479 and the mid-sixteenth century, including a version in the Tuscan dialect, printed in Florence in 1520 (EDIT16 351 / USTC 807861), and many Venetian printings. Giulio Landi produced an Italian *La vita di Esopo* (Venezia, 1545; EDIT16 26038 / USTC 837240), and an important collection of Aesopic fables (Milano, 1561; EDIT16 387 / USTC 807893) which would appear in successive editions well into the seventeenth century. Steinhöwel's version did not exert the influence in Italy that it did elsewhere.

The tradition of German-language editions was invigorated by expansions to Steinhöwel made by Sebastian Brant, first made available in Latin in a book printed in Basel in 1501 by Jacob Wolff von Pforzheim (VD16 A435 / USTC 653869). The German translation, printed in Strasbourg by Johann Prüss in 1508 (VD16 A546 / USTC 668947), added many more fables to those in Steinhöwel's compilation. Although the 1508 edition retained copies of the early woodcuts to illustrate the life of Aesop and the fables derived from Steinhöwel, it replaced the familiar Aesop author-portrait with a new title page image of learned authors, adding a full-page woodcut of the Virgin on the verso. The title page promises Aesop's life and fables in the first part, and in the second part more fables and *exempla* by Brant, "alles mit synen figuren und registern" ("all with its images and indices"); these newly added fables in the second part have their own new illustrations and an index. Later sixteenth-century editions of Brant's collection were mostly reduced to quarto from the folio-sized first edition. The Freiburg edition of 1555 (Stephan Graff, VD16 ZV144 / USTC 653871) has an adaptation of the Aesop author-image, surrounded by elements from the fables, on its title page, and a series of attractive, very small woodcuts to illustrate the life and individual fables. A Frankfurt edition of 1589 by Nikolaus Basse (VD16 A565 / USTC 653880), in octavo, with a new title page image of a plump but not notably hunched Aesop, proclaims itself to be "Esopus Teutsch": the German Aesop, as if this was now considered a standard edition. Both Graff and Basse reprinted this compilation several times over the course of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Other German-language collections derived from more obviously humanist collections of *Aesopica* published in Latin. Fable translations by Erasmus Alberus were included in his compilation *Das Buch von der Tugend und Weissheit* ("The book of virtue and wisdom"), first printed in 1550 (VD16 A553 / USTC 626996; Braune 1892); the massive *Esopus* of Burkhard Waldis, with 400 fables and stories, was first printed in 1548 (VD16 A552 / USTC 653884; with further editions into the seventeenth century; Lieb et al. 2011). Both of these authors rendered their fables, and in Waldis's case the life of Aesop, in verse, appending to them Christian instruction of appropriate kinds. Martin Luther himself was interested in fables, es-

pecially their potential for the instruction of the young, and prepared prose translations in German for an edition that was not completed in his lifetime but printed posthumously as *Etliche Fabeln aus Esopo von M. L. verdeutsch* (Rostock 1571; VD16 A561 / USTC 664346; Springer 2011). The moral-didactic potential of fables was made very clear in the layout of Georg Rollenhagen's *Alte Neue Zeitung von der Welt Lauff* (1592; VD16 A1969 / USTC 611032), which presented 54 fables derived from Aesop, in German prose, with a section headed "Lehre" ("instruction, moral") following each narrative, and no diversion in the form of woodcuts.

Religious reform in Europe over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries influenced the taste for Aesopic compilations. Successive editions made by Maarten van Dorp of Leuven, printed from 1509 onwards, were important sources for vernacular compilations with a reformist flavour (Thoen 1970; Carnes 1984, 178; and on the date of the earliest edition see González 1998). Luther's versions had an obvious appeal, for example, and as well as going through successive German editions, appeared in a Swedish translation: *Hundrade Esopi fabler*, printed in Stockholm by Anund Olufsson in 1603 (USTC 251318).³ The title page recommends the virtues of fables: "Vngdomen vthi vårt kära fädernesland Swerige til öffning / rätelse och lärdom" ("as an exercise and an instruction for the youth of our dear fatherland Sweden"). But the attractions of some older Aesopic compilations seem to have survived reforming zeal. In England, for example, the translation first printed by Caxton in 1484 appeared in editions through the course of the sixteenth century and as late as 1647, advertising itself in much the same terms as Caxton used: "The fables of Esop, in English, With all his life and fortune, how hee was subtile, wise and borne in Greece, not farr from Troy [...] He was of all other men most deformed and euill shapen" (quoted from an edition printed in London for Andrew Hebb: ESTC R30670). There were few rival compilations for English readers during these decades: Thomas Blage's *A schole of Wise conceyts* (1569; ESTC S116173 / USTC 507400) offered prose translations made from van Dorp's humanist collection, its learned credentials emphasised by prefaces in Latin and Greek, and a dialogue between author and printer that derides the "drosse" and "Uncomely tales" of other versions of *Aesopus* (presumably a criticism of Caxton's translation). William Bullokar's *Aesopz fablz in tru Ortography [...] translated out of Latin into English* (1585; ESTC 104358 / USTC 510152), a strange experiment with Bullokar's theories of English spelling, seems hardly likely to have had a wide appeal; its woodcut of Aesop, on the verso of the title page, has a deranged expression that seems appropriate to the undertaking.

³ The copy in Stockholm, KB is digitized at: <https://litteraturbanken.se/författare/Aisopos/titlar/HundradeEsopiFabler/sida/i/faksimil> (14 July 2022).

In the French tradition, Macho's translation had a long life, reprinted many times into the seventeenth century (an edition is recorded from Rouen as late as 1662: Mombello 1981). But Aesopic fables proved to lend themselves readily to adaptation as small illustrated allegories, and a number of adaptations from this period were conceived along the lines of emblem books. A verse translation by Gilles Corrozet, printed in Paris in 1542 (USTC 27014) targeted an elevated readership, with a verse dedication to the dauphin, stressing the moral virtue of "Appologues et Fables / Pleines de sens, subtiles, delectables" ("Apologues and Fables, Full of instruction, subtle and delightful", A3r); the woodcuts that preface each fable, accompanied by an adage, are enclosed in elaborately elegant borders, producing an effect suggestive of emblems. Editions of Corrozet's text, increasingly close to emblem books, continued to appear into the later sixteenth century, many printed in Lyon by Jean de Tournes, with woodcut illustrations by Bernard Salomon (e.g., USTC 57984; copies of these made their way into Latin *Aesopi*, such as the *Fabulae in gratiam studiosae juventutis* printed in Paris by Jérôme de Marnef in 1561: USTC 153036). Étienne Perret's *XXV fables des animaux*, first printed in Antwerp by Christophe Plantin in 1578 (USTC 15439), and the collection of *Trois cent soixante et six Apologues d'Esopé traduits en rithme Françoise* ("366 Aesopian apologues translated into French verse") made by Guillaume Haudent and printed in Rouen in 1547 (USTC 40550; a tiny sextodecimo with small woodcuts), were other essentially emblematic French collections (Saunders 2000, 21–64; Smith 2006, 32–34).

Printers in the Dutch speaking areas played an important role in the dissemination of Aesop's fables in a number of languages, printing not just Dutch texts but French and Spanish ones as well. As well as Dutch editions printed by Jan [I] van Ghelen, ca. 1533 (*Die historien ende fabulen van Esopus die leerlic wonderlick ende seer ghenoechlick syn*; "The stories and fables of Aesop that are instructive, amazing and very pleasing"; USTC 437657) and illustrated editions by Pieter de Clerck and others (e.g., USTC 401319), a version in both Dutch and French was printed by Grégoire de Bonte in Antwerp in 1548 (USTC 75943). Editions in Spanish, *Las Fabulas*, were printed in Antwerp in the 1540s and 1550s and again in the early seventeenth century (e.g., USTC 440340; USTC 440016; USTC 440039; USTC 5005720). Within Spain, early editions came from Jacobo and then Juan Cromberger in Seville, followed by more widely diffused production in the later decades of the sixteenth century. Versions in Catalan, printed in Barcelona in 1576 and 1577 by Sanson (Samsó) Arbús (IB 110 / USTC 352674; IB 112 / USTC 336127), have copies of the familiar Steinhöwel woodcuts, suggesting the continued existence of a recognisable Aesop brand. Portuguese editions are not recorded until the early seventeenth century (e.g., an edition printed in Évora 1603; IB 19994 / USTC 5000864; now lost), but Portuguese readers would have known *Aesopus* in various other forms; and indeed, Portuguese missionaries were able to turn a fable collection into Japanese in order

for it to be printed in Amakusa in 1592–1593 for educational purposes (Carnes 2001).⁴ Elsewhere in Europe, meanwhile, the spread of printed fable collections continued. A Polish verse translation of the life of Aesop, made by Biernat from Lublin (ca. 1467–ca. 1529), with verse translations of 210 fables and woodcuts, was printed in Kraków by Stanisław Szarfenberger in 1578 (USTC 242298);⁵ a Danish prose translation of the life and fables by Christian Pedersen in Malmö in 1556 by Oluf Ulrichsøn (USTC 302600); another Czech translation, made by Jan Akron Albín Vrchbelský (ca. 1525–ca. 1551), in a large collection of entertaining tales by Jan Günther in Prostějov in 1557 (USTC 568791).

5 Some Examples

5.1 The Diffusion of Steinhöwel's *Aesopus*: A Dutch Edition of 1498

Comparing some printed compilations produced in different European centres during the century after the appearance of Steinhöwel's bilingual *Aesopus* in 1476–1477 suggests how certain features came to be important to the business of marketing these books. Among the earliest vernacular versions was the collection called *Die historien ende fabulen van Esopus die leerlic wonderlick ende seer ghe-noechlick syn*, printed in Delft by Henrick Eckert van Homberch in 1498 (GW 00375; USTC 436506). Like Steinhöwel's German-only edition of 1477–1478, and many of the versions derived from it, this is folio-sized; but it has been slimmed down to 100 folios – and presumably more advantageously priced – by means of setting the text in double columns. The Dutch text appears largely based on Leeu's 1485 edition, which was set in single columns, beginning with the usual preface advertising the work as a “profitelick boec” (“useful book”), and signalling its derivation from Latin via the French of Macho (Rijns 2013). Like Leeu's, Henrick Eckert's edition starts with the life of Aesop, and its apparatus evidently replicates Leeu's, supplying introductions to each fable in the slightly expanded

4 For images of the only surviving edition, see https://dglb01.ninjal.ac.jp/BL_amakusa/en.php (14 July 2022). Later Japanese scrolls and printed editions, and the tradition of illustration, are discussed by Marceau (2019). The global spread of *Aesopus* is further attested by surviving manuscript copies of a sixteenth-century translation of 47 fables into Nahuatl, the language of the Aztecs (Kutscher et al. 1987).

5 USTC gives incorrect data on this edition. A digitized copy can be found at <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/publication/1615/edition/2605> (14 July 2022). An earlier edition from ca. 1522 is also mentioned in a notebook from the seventeenth century (Grzeszczuk 1997, 22–23).

forms adopted in Leeu's translation of Macho, and presenting the same number of fables (164: Leeu omitted some of the fables about adultery that appear in Macho and the Latin, see Wackers 2007–2008). The distinctive feature of Henrick Eckert's edition is its layout, which combines text set in two columns with woodcuts made to occupy the full width of the page by the addition of side-pieces depicting plants, trees, people, and houses (Fig. 4). Most of the cuts were modelled on those of Leeu's Dutch edition and his Latin edition of 1486, but for the title page depiction of Aesop the model seems to have been the single woodcut in Leeu's 1488 Latin *Aesopus moralisatus* (GW 00402; USTC 760027), a quarto (Shepard et al. 1962, 191). Aesop here is shown facing to the left, without the emblems from the fables and the letters making up his name that are usually present in right-facing versions of the image.

The mixture of sources and precedents for Henrick Eckert's book provides a telling illustration of the European spread of printed Aesopica by the end of the fifteenth century. The book's ultimate source is Steinhöwel's bilingual Latin and German compilation, as rendered into French by Julien Macho for printing in 1480. Leeu's translation of Macho into Dutch, made in Antwerp to be printed in 1485, was based mainly on a 1484 Lyon edition (Mathias Huss and Johannes Schabeler; GW 00369 / USTC 70770). But the woodblocks for Leeu's Dutch and Latin editions of 1485 and 1486 were the same as those used for the Strasbourg editions of Steinhöwel, in both Latin and German, printed earlier in the 1480s by Heinrich Knoblochzer (GW 00348 and 00355 / USTC 742272 and 742278). Henrick Eckert's 1498 Dutch edition thus grew from widely diffused elements of a European phenomenon.

5.2 Iberian *Aesopus*

Editions of *Aesopus* in Latin were printed in the Iberian Peninsula from 1472 onwards (e.g., GW 0038110N). The appearance of the first vernacular collection, a folio in Castilian, was thought to date from 1489 (Zaragoza: Johann Hurus; GW 00380) until the discovery in 1974 of an earlier quarto edition, also from Zaragoza, printed by Paul Hurus and Johannes Plank in 1482 (GW 0037910N). Study of the text in this edition has indicated that it derives directly from the Latin and German of Steinhöwel's Ulm edition, with woodcuts probably modelled on those appearing in French editions of Macho's translation; and that the 1489 Zaragoza edition by Johann Hurus is a reprint (Lacarra 2011). Between these two editions another was produced in Toulouse in 1488 by Juan Parix and Étienne Cleblat (GW 00379). In the early decades of the sixteenth century the printer Jacobo Cromberger, presumably persuaded by the evident marketability of Aesop's fables, pro-



Fig. 4: Various fables, in: *Die historien ende fabulen van Esopus die leerlic wonderlick ende seer ghenoechlick syn*. Delft: Henrick Eckert van Homberch, 1498, f1v and f2r (Gent, UB, BHSL.RES.0035/1). By courtesy of Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent, with the licence CC BY-SA.

duced a number of editions in which combinations of text and image are put to interesting use (Griffin 1988). The first (ca. 1510) survives only as a fragment,⁶ but the second, a folio edition from 1521 (USTC 344486) borrows from a Valencia edition of 1520 (USTC 342590) the idea of using marginal cartouches to enclose summary morals of each fable. For his 1526 edition and the 1533 edition from Juan Cromberger (USTC 342591; 336128), both folio, the Crombergers had new blocks cut and continued with the cartouches. The title pages of the editions from 1521 onwards abandon the familiar depiction of Aesop and use instead a four-compartment illustration with scenes from Aesop's life, as if to emphasise the attractions of this element of the compilation (Navarro 1993). The Crombergers' woodcuts were still being imitated in editions printed in the 1560s (e.g., USTC 342594).

Iberian compilations of *Aesopica*, like many other works from that area, were printed abroad in large numbers (Wilkinson 2018). Antwerp was a particular centre, and vernacular editions of *Aesopus* were printed by Joannes Steelsius (1546–1547, 1551; USTC 408541; USTC 440016, now lost) and later by Plantin (IB 19996). These are generally plainer in appearance than the Cromberger editions, not least because set in roman rather than gothic type. The Steelsius octavo edition of 1546 (USTC 440340) is an *Aesopus* for the serious reader. It has no illustrations and proclaims on its title page that its contents are replete with “muy buenas doctrinas, debaxo de graciosas fabulas” (“good teaching, in the guise of amusing fables”), while also “nueuamente emendadas” (“newly emended”). After the prologue routinely included in early Spanish editions, it offers the life of Aesop, and fables whose *promythia* and *epimythia* are set in italic for extra prominence (the text of the *promythia* sections duplicates the content of the marginal cartouches in the Cromberger editions). The Plantin 1607 edition, small in format (a duodecimo), is in many ways similar, although it is modestly illustrated with one woodcut prefacing the life of Aesop: a bucolic scene, shorn of the grotesqueness in some depictions of Aesop as author, and small woodcut illustrations for individual fables.

5.3 Other Traditions: *Aesopus* in Scotland

The Aesopic fables printed in Edinburgh in 1570 and 1571 (ESTC S110261 and S90052 / USTC 507019 and 507326) illustrate the circulation of vernacular fables outside the Steinhöwel tradition, and the increasing variety of fabular material in print. These two books of *Morall Fabillis [...] Compylit in Eloquent and Ornate Scottis Meter* look to the *Aesopus* of the schoolroom for the sources of their ver-

6 Number 56 in microfiche addenda to Griffin (1988).

nacular renderings. Their author, Robert Henryson, a late fifteenth-century Scottish poet and schoolmaster, made his versions of thirteen fables in stanzaic verse (Fox 1981, 3–110). Some manuscript copies survive, mostly post-dating Henryson's likely date of death, but the late sixteenth-century printed editions are important witnesses to the text. Henryson's main source was probably the Latin elegiac *Romulus* attributed to Gualterus Anglicus, but he seems also to have known the *Roman de Renart*, as well as fables by late medieval English poets and the *Disciplina clericalis* of Petrus Alphonsi (as some of the fables in the final section of Steinhöwel's collection come from this source, he may have known Steinhöwel's collection directly, or in Caxton's translation).

Henryson's fables are introduced in the first of the two Edinburgh editions (1570, Robert Lekpruik for Henry Charteris) by a verse prologue that emphasises the moral import of fictional narratives; and with the assertion, attributed to Aesop and present in the elegiac *Romulus*, that “Dulcius arident seria picta iocis” (“serious things become more pleasing when adorned with a jest”). Each narrative here has its own independent verse “moralitas”, elaborating its moral significance. There is no separate life of Aesop, but a distinguished and decidedly ungrotesque Aesop makes an appearance in the prologue to fable VII, the lion and the mouse, materializing in a dream to the poet-narrator and eventually agreeing to the request that he tell the fable himself. The attractions of the book, according to its title page, are that its contents are “morall” and carry authority not just because of their association with venerable “Esope the Phrygian” but through their status as a translation made by a schoolmaster; their authority is underlined by presentation in black-letter type. The book is unillustrated and the paratextual materials are limited to a table of contents, a title for each fable, and a heading for each “moralitas”.

The presentation of the second Edinburgh edition (1571, Thomas Bassandyne) introduces some significant changes. This is an octavo, and although the content is largely unchanged, the title page adds that the text is “Newlie correctit”, with the errors and oversights of previous editions now expunged (Fox 1981, lix–lxiv, suggests that both the 1570 and 1571 editions derive from another lost edition, rather than one from the other). Illustrations have been introduced, in the form of a familiar title page woodcut of Aesop, and a small woodcut at the start of the first fable, “The Cock and the Jasp”: although ultimately deriving from the Ulm *Aesopus* of 1476–1477, these are apparently closest to the cuts in an Antwerp edition of 1548 (USTC 75943; Luborsky and Ingram 1998, ill.: 2–3). The most striking innovation is in the types used: roman for the contents list, for headings, and for the “moralitas” for each fable, but an ornate *civilité* for the main narratives, suggestive of handwriting (Carter and Vervliet 1966; Fox 1981, 1–li). First introduced in Lyon by the punchcutter Robert Granjon, type of this kind would become associated with books for

beginning readers and schoolbooks: it was perhaps felt appropriate for the *Morall fabillis* because of the long association of *Aesopus* with the schoolroom.

Another Edinburgh edition of the work, from 1621 (ESTC S117773), survives only in damaged form; but before this Henryson's Scottish *Aesopus* had migrated south, to be printed in London by Richard Smith in 1577 (ESTC 90053 / USTC 508277) in an unillustrated octavo version "nowe lately Englished" that obliterates features of Scottish orthography and omits all mention of Henryson's name. The innovations in this edition take the form of new paratextual additions: a "passport" for the book, sending it on its way; a prose dedicatory epistle that takes the opportunity to cast some aspersions on the Scots; an "argument" between Aesop and the translator (i.e. Smith); a verse "verdict" on the translation; and an elaborated table of contents that draws attention to the moral content of each fable. At the end is the translator's verse epilogue, "Beholde ye men Esope that noble clerke / Although of body yformed wondrous ill, / His fables wrote with wisdom depe and darke / To stir our minds to good". The transformations undergone in successive editions by this small collection suggest how fables so easily lent themselves to appropriation in new contexts, for new purposes.

6 The Last Centuries of Early Modern *Aesopus*

From the mid-sixteenth century onwards, European traditions of vernacular *Aesopi* in print expanded to include editions whose illustrations constituted an increasingly significant attraction. The publication of Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum liber* in Augsburg in 1531 (VD16 A1641 / USTC 701368) initiated a vogue for emblem books, combinations of text and allegorical image, that were in many ways close to fable collections; and the generic overlap is in some instances reflected in new forms of packaging for Aesopic material. The collections of Corrozet and Perret, already mentioned, offered *Aesopus* in this new dress. Corrozet's Paris edition of 1542 supplied for each fable an adage, a woodcut and two moral couplets enclosed in an elaborate architectural border (these on the recto), and then (on the verso) a more elaborate verse exposition of the fable's content and moral application.

The woodcuts in the 1542 edition of Corrozet's fables, while enhanced by the spacious and elegant page layout, are not in essence very different from those included in earlier printed *Aesopi*. But new and much more elaborate illustrations were included in *De warachtighe fabulen der dieren* ("The true fables of the animals"), first printed in Bruges in 1567 by Pieter de Clerck (USTC 401319), and financed by its illustrator Marcus Gheeraerts. Text for this, supplied by Edewaerd de Dene, also from Bruges, took the form of stanzas of Flemish verse for each

fable, with a selection of appropriate proverbs or biblical quotations. Prefatory material recommends the work for its combination of pleasing and instructive content, and the well-trying antiquity of its narratives: the phrase “T’oudste is t’beste” (“the oldest is the best”) concludes a commendatory poem by Lucas de Heere. But the illustrations supply novelty. Gheeraerts produced etchings of immense detail and verisimilitude, with the fable animals and characters depicted in minutely realised landscapes. His sources included woodcuts in earlier editions and also emblem books (Hodnett 1979, 48–50). The etchings were published again, with some additions, in a work called the *Esbatement moral des animaux* (“Funny moral stories about animals”; Antwerpen: Gerrit Smit for Philippe Galle, 1578; USTC 34926), with new text in French alexandrines.

Interest in the natural world and its representation was another increasingly significant element in the appetite for Aesopic fables, and the illustrations became an important feature of some seventeenth-century editions. A French translation by Jean Baudoin, *Les fables d’Esopie Phrygien*, offered 118 fables in prose (derived from the Latin of an edition of van Dorp’s *Aesopus*), with engravings by Isaac Briot (Paris: s.n., 1631; USTC 6003250; Spica 2002–2003). The seventeenth-century Aesopic sensation in France would be the fables of La Fontaine, renderings in French free verse, which began to appear from 1668 onwards in volumes that were successively enlarged to offer by 1694 a total of 239 separate fables, those in the earliest volume most closely resembling the narratives of the Aesopic corpus (Cornuaille and Riffaud 2018).⁷ The early editions were large-format books, illustrated with engravings. Although their later wide dissemination suggests an appeal across the social spectrum, their earliest instantiations seem to have targeted an elite audience: the first volume was dedicated to the dauphin Louis, son of Louis XIV.

In England, where editions of Caxton’s translation continued to appear until at least 1647, but in unillustrated form, a new trend for illustrated *Aesopi* emerged in the late 1630s, with the printing in 1638–1639 of an illustrated translation by Henry Peacham (now lost), and a verse translation by William Barret (London: Richard Oulton for Francis Eglesfield, 1639; ESTC S115939) featuring illustrations to both the fables and the life of Aesop that appear to be based on the images in earlier French editions. This version would remain in print in England for over 100 years, not displaced by the collection made by Francis Eglesfield with similar woodcuts (printed Cambridge, 1650; ESTC R946), but perhaps appealing to readers rather different from those who would constitute the market for the newly-conceived English illustrated *Aesopi* of the late seventeenth century. The first of

⁷ One of the BnF copies is digitized at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8610825d> (14 July 2022).

these, John Ogilby's *Aesop Paraphras'd*, a collection of 81 fables, appeared in 1651 (London: Thomas Warren for Andrew Crook; ESTC 207328), with etchings reminiscent of Gheeraerts' illustrations supplied by Francis Cleyn, who had been brought to England from Denmark under the patronage of James I in 1625. Reprinted in 1665 (ESTC R19147) and then expanded in 1668 in a folio rather than quarto format (London: Thomas Roycroft; ESTC R8782), Ogilby's fables were newly illustrated with etchings supplied by Václav (Wenceslaus) Hollar (from Prague) and others. The most influential of these illustrated editions was that of Francis Barlow, first published in 1666 as *Aesop's Fables in English, French and Latin* (London: William Godbid for Francis Barlow; ESTC 477463 and 21542), expanded for an edition of 1687 as *Aesop's Fables with His Life* (with English verse captions to the engravings here supplied by Aphra Behn; London: H. Hills Jun. for Francis Barlow; ESTC R22991). It was emulated in many later works, including editions printed in Amsterdam (1704, by Étienne Roger, who fled from France to Amsterdam after the Edict of Nantes in 1685), Paris (1799, by Marcilly: La Fontaine's fables illustrated by Augustin Legrand), and Berlin (1830, by Carl Kühn: *Hundert Fabeln nach Aesop*; Hodnett 1979, 63).

The seeming artlessness and brevity of La Fontaine's fables are features that set them distinctly apart from some of the more expansive forms of Aesopica that emerged in the seventeenth century. In England especially, fables became vehicles for political as well as moral commentary (Patterson 1991; Lewis 1996). *Fables of Aesop and other eminent mythologists with morals and reflexions*, by Sir Roger L'Estrange (London: R. Sare and others, 1692; ESTC R6112), offered prose versions of almost 500 fables from various sources, giving in each case a summary version of the narrative, a very short moral, and some comparatively very long "reflexions". The narrative part of the fable of the lion and the mouse, for example, is reduced to just a few sentences; but, after a two-line moral, the reflections are almost five times as long. This makes for a big book (480 pages), with no room for illustration beyond a portrait of Roger L'Estrange added in the 1694 edition (ESTC R11059) as a frontispiece. But at least one reader felt the absence of images: a Kent apothecary enhanced his copy of the 1708 edition of L'Estrange with his own series of coloured satirical marginal drawings.⁸

The story of Aesop's own life, sometimes absent from seventeenth-century collections of fables, did not drop from view but rather came to command new, indepen-

⁸ *Fables of Aesop and other eminent mythologists with morals and reflexions* (London: printed for R. Sare, A. & J. Churchil, D. Brown, T. Goodwin, M. Wotton, J. Nicholson, G. Sawbridge, B. Tooke & G. Strahan, 1708; ESTC T84996); London, Victoria and Albert Museum, shelfmark Safe 6.A.10-NAL Pressmark. See the article at <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1719295/the-tenterden-aesop-book-lestrange-roger-sir/> (14 July 2022).

dent interest in a variety of forms. In France, a dramatic version by Edmé Boursault, *Les Fables d'Esop, Comedie* ("The Fables of Aesop, a Comedy"; Paris: Théodore Girard, 1690),⁹ gave a stage Aesop the chance to narrate fables and to demonstrate the application of the morals to specific situations. Boursault's play was translated into Dutch, German and Italian, and in an English version by Sir John Vanbrugh, *Aesop: A Comedy* (London: for Thomas Bennet, 1697; ESTC R234973), that made more of the comic potential and introduced songs, went through many editions and was adapted for performance in Denmark and Sweden (Zillén 2016). Given this new visibility, *Aesop* also made his way into satirical English pamphlets. For some three decades after 1698 an itinerant Aesop 'spoke' about issues of political moment in short narratives located in a variety of locations: the series began with *Aesop at Tunbridge: or, a few select fables in verse. By a person of no quality* (1698; ESTC R492671), and would take in visits to Epsom, Richmond, Amsterdam and elsewhere (Daniel 1982).¹⁰

Aesop's fables were by the eighteenth century a truly international phenomenon, available in many languages and forms as well as continuing as a means of instruction in Latin and Greek. A version in Russian, with engraved illustrations and Latin headings, was printed in Amsterdam in 1700, on the orders of Peter the Great (Landwehr 1988, F030);¹¹ in North America, versions began to be printed in cities such as Philadelphia (Robert Bell, 1777). In the countries of western Europe where *Aesopus* had been an established name in print for centuries, some eighteenth-century versions would continue to find a market well into the nineteenth century. In England *The Fables of Aesop and Others*, by the Anglican clergyman Samuel Croxall, first printed in 1722 with illustrations by Elisha Kirkall, became the standard household *Aesopus*. In Germany, Christian Gellert's *Fabeln und Erzählungen*, first published in 1746 and 1748, and Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's *Fabeln* of 1759 (including an essay on the genre of the fable), proved similarly successful. The potential of fables for the moral edification of the young became of paramount importance.

The substantial collections of Aesopica that have featured in this essay clearly had a wide appeal across the social spectrum. They took a range of forms, appealing in some cases to discerning readers of means and in others to the less affluent (although their nature as compilations of fables mostly means that they were quite substantial books: even in unillustrated form a collection of Aesopic fables would probably not have been cheap). Space has precluded any consideration here of the

⁹ A BnF copy is digitized at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k74055n/f2.item> (9 March 2023).

¹⁰ The full range of locations can be reviewed by searching ESTC under 'Aesop at'.

¹¹ *Aesop. Pritchi Ezopovy na latinskom i russkom iazyke* ("Aesop. Aesop's Fables in the Latin and the Russian language"). Amsterdam: Jan van Thesing, 1700; see https://rmc.library.cornell.edu/footsteps/exhibition/collectorstoday/collectorstoday_3.html (14 July 2022).

shorter forms in which printed Aesopic material might have been available, and much of this is of course the likeliest kind of material to have been lost. But traces remain. The activities of the Nuremberg Meistersinger Hans Sachs, who staged an adaptation of Aesop's life, and wrote both songs and "Schwänke", comic tales, based on Aesopic fables, suggest what kinds of printed material may once have existed (Clarke 1914; Holzberg 2003). Cheap editions of *La Vie et les Fables d'Esop* appeared in the *Bibliothèque bleue* (Blom 2021b lists those from Rouen); at least one included a woodcut image of Aesop on the model of Steinhöwel's author portrait (Le Men 1986, 101; Ehrengardt 2019), and other *Bibliothèque bleue* titles drew on woodcuts used in earlier editions of the life of Aesop (Leclerc 2000). A crudely illustrated chapbook *Fables of Aesop*, "the celebrated ancient philosopher", printed in Paisley in Scotland in 1839, suggests the likely existence and nature of earlier cheap editions.¹² Among surviving English broadsheet ballads is a satirical "last will and testament" from 1698 attributed to "poor Aesop", whose life and fables seem likely to have featured in many more such ephemera.¹³ With their almost unparalleled geographical reach and longevity, the life and fables of Aesop offered something for everyone.

¹² Now in Edinburgh, NLS, L. C.2861(7).

¹³ See the English Broadside Ballade Archive at <https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/> (6 July 2022), EBBA 32540. The single copy is in San Marino / California, HL, HEH 313742.

Tab. 1: Earliest surviving vernacular *Aesopus* editions, 1461–1700.

| Language | Author's name and title resp. incipit | Title / incipit (English translation) | Place, printer-publisher and year | Reference |
|-------------|--|--|--|-------------|
| High German | Ulrich Boner, <i>Der Edelstein</i> | The Gemstone | Bamberg: Albrecht Pfister, 1461 | GW 04839 |
| High German | Heinrich Steinhöwel, <i>Das leben des hochberümtten fabeldichters Esopi vß krichischer zungen [...]</i> | The Life of the most famous fabulist Aesop from Greek language [...] | Ulm: Johann Zainer, [1476–1477] | GW 00351 |
| Italian | Facijs Caffarellus, “Qui si tractano le fabule de Exopo ruidcte da latino sermone in uulgare plena de sua uita dolceza e fructo” | Here are treated Aesop's fables reduced from Latin words into the vernacular, full of elegance, sweetness, and fruitfulness | Cosenza: Octaviano Salamonijs de Manfridonia, [ca. 1478] | GW 00346 |
| Italian | Accio Zucco, [...] <i>Aesopi fabulas interpretacio per rhythmos</i> | [...] Aesop's fables in a verse translation | Verona: Giovanni and Alberto Alvise, 1479 | GW 00428 |
| French | Julien Macho, “[...] les subtilles fables de esope translatez de latin en francois par reuerend docteur en theologie frere julien des augustins de lyon” | [...] the subtle fables of Aesop, translated from Latin into French by the reverend doctor in theology brother Julien, of the Augustinians of Lyon | Lyon: Nicolaus Philippi and Marcus Reinhart, 1480 | GW 00368 |
| Castilian | “[...] el libro del ysopete ystoriado [...] el qual fu facado de latin en romance” | [...] the book of Aesop illustrated [...] which was made from Latin in the vernacular | Zaragoza: Paul Hurus and Johannes Planck, 1482 | GW 0037910N |
| English | “[...] the book of the subtyl historyes and fables of Esope whiche were translated out of frensche in to Englysshe by wylliam Caxton” | — | Westminster: William Caxton, 1482 | GW 00376 |

Tab. 1 (continued)

| Language | Author's name and title resp. incipit | Title / incipit (English translation) | Place, printer-publisher and year | Reference |
|----------------------|---|--|---|---------------------------------|
| Dutch | <i>Dye historien ende fabulen van Esopus die leerlijck wonderlijck en zeer ghenoechlijck zijn</i> | The histories and fables of Aesop which are instructive, wonderful and very enjoyable | Antwerpen: Gheraert Leeu, 1485 | GW 00374 |
| Czech | [fragment] | — | [Praha: Printer of the 1488 Bible, 1488] | GW 00367 |
| Hungarian | <i>Szaz fabula, melyeket egybe gyütet és öszve szörzet [...]</i> | A hundred fables, gathered and combined together [...] | Kolozsvár: Gáspár Heltai, 1566 | USTC 305239 |
| Danish | <i>Esopi leffnit oc nogle hans fabel som vore udsette aff Gredske paa latine oc aff latine paa tydske oc ere nu udsette aff Mester Christiern paa Dansche</i> | Aesop's life and some of his fables, which had been translated from Greek into Latin and from Latin into German and which are now translated into Danish by Master Christian | Malmö: Oluf Ulrichsøn, 1556 | USTC 302600 |
| Catalan | <i>Libre del savi he clarissim fabulador Isop istoriat [...]</i> | The book of the wise and famous fabulist Aesop, illustrated [...] | Barcelona: Sanson Arbús, 1576 | USTC 352674 |
| Scottish | Robert Henryson, <i>Morall Fabillis [...]</i> <i>Compylit in Eloquent and Ornate Scottis Meter</i> | — | Edinburgh: Lekpreuik for Charteris, 1577 | USTC 507019 |
| Polish | Biernat from Lublin, <i>Żywot Ezopá Frygá Mędrca obyczáynego y z Przypowieściámi iego</i> | The life of Aesop the Phrygian, the worthy Sage, and with his Parables | Kraków: Stanisław Szarfenberger, 1578 | Copy: Kórnik, BK, Cim. Qu. 2450 |
| Japanese (romanized) | <i>Esopono fabblas: Latinuo vaxite Nippon no cuchito nasu mono nari</i> | Aesop's <i>Fables</i> , translated from Latin into the Japanese language | Amakusa: Iesus no Companhia no Collegio, [1593] | Copy: London, BL, Or.59.aa.1 |

Tab. 1 (continued)

| Language | Author's name and title resp. incipit | Title / incipit (English translation) | Place, printer-publisher and year | Reference |
|------------|---|--|-----------------------------------|---|
| Portuguese | Manuel Mendes da Vidigueira, <i>Vida e fabulas do insigne fabulador Grego Esopo</i> | Life and fables of the famous Greek fabulist Aesop | Évora: Manuel de Lira, 1603 | USTC 5000864 (lost) |
| Swedish | <i>Hundrade Esopi Fabler / någre aff. D. M: Luthero, somblighe aff Mathesio / och en deel aff Nathanaele Chytraeo / på thet Tyska Språket tilhopadragne. Ithem Esopi Leffuarne / aff Erasmo albero beskrieffuit [...] Förswenskade aff Nicolao Balk-Stockholmenske.</i> | One hundred Fables of Aesop, some by D[r]. M[artin] Luther, several by [Johannes] Mathesius, and some parts by Nathanael Chytraeus, collected in German. As well as the Life of Esop, described by Erasmus Alberus [...]. Translated into Swedish by Nicolaus Balk from Stockholm. | Stockholm: Anund Olufsson, 1603 | USTC 251318 |
| Russian | <i>Aesop. Pritchi Éssopovy na latinskom i russkom iazyke</i> | Aesop's fables in the Latin and the Russian language | Amsterdam: Jan van Thesing, 1700 | Copy: Ithaca, Cornell University Library, Rare Books PA3855. A2 1700 tiny |

Anna Katharina Richter

The Wheel of Fortune and Man's Trust in God. On the Framing of *Apollonius of Tyre* in Its European Transmission

The story of Apollonius, King of Tyre, produced in Greek Antiquity and anonymously transmitted, enjoyed immense popularity in the history of European literature, throughout the Middle Ages and long into the early modern period. In 1904 German scholar Richard Peters even called it the “Lieblingsroman des Mittelalters” (“the favourite novel of the Middle Ages”, Peters 1904). The Latin narrative, which is the earliest written evidence, was translated, adapted, and rewritten in many vernaculars all over Europe during several centuries: from Spain to Iceland, from France to Hungary and Poland. In addition, it has left traces in numerous medieval and early modern texts of different genres, in the form of allusions and intertextual references as well as inspiration for new texts (Archibald 1984). One of the most famous works inspired by *Apollonius* is undoubtedly William Shakespeare’s drama *Pericles, Prince of Tyre* (1609). This contribution investigates the success of the story and discusses patterns of its “reframing” (Speth 2020) in different vernacular editions of *Apollonius*, with a focus on the Scandinavian versions.

1 *Apollonius* – the Story and its Origin

Apollonius is a narrative about love and sexual desire, violence, good and ill fortune (*bona fortuna et mala fortuna*), about gain and loss, and the restoration of (family) power. The setting is the ancient Mediterranean region (with a mixture of Christian and pagan elements) in its eastern and southern parts, between Tyre (Tyros) in today’s Lebanon, Cyrene in North Africa, Mytilene, Ephesus, and Tarsus in Asia Minor. With protagonists of high social rank, it recounts the adventures of members of the social elite such as kings, princes, and princesses, which also might have contributed to its popularity.

The young Prince Apollonius of Tyre arrives at King Antiochus’ court in Antioch. He solves the bride riddle and thus uncovers the incestuous relationship between Antiochus and his daughter. On the run from Antiochus, Apollonius arrives at the court of King Archistrates in Cyrene after a perilous journey. He distinguishes himself by his cleverness and musicality and marries the king’s daughter. During the journey home, the princess gives birth to a daughter. The happy event

is overshadowed shortly afterwards by a tragic incident, or *mala fortuna*: during a shipwreck, Apollonius' wife apparently dies, and her coffin is committed to the sea. Apollonius entrusts his little daughter Tarsia to a foster family in Tarsus. His wife, however, is not dead but washes ashore in Ephesus and becomes a priestess in the famous temple of the goddess Diana. Fourteen years and many adventures later, Apollonius finally manages to find his wife and his daughter, and the family is happily reunited. Apollonius becomes the ruler of the kingdoms of both Antioch (whose impious King Antiochus had died) and Tyre-Cyrene.

The oldest extant literary evidence of the story is *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri* (hereafter *HA*): an anonymous Latin prose text, which has come down to us in two main variants, referred to as *Recensio A (RA)* and *Recensio B (RB)*. According to the results of scholarly research on *Apollonius* since the late nineteenth century, the transmission has been rather complex:

The anonymous [...] *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri* [...] is a difficult text to comment on: what we have is not a single, fixed text, but various versions (also known as recensions) of the story; the earliest of these (rec. A and rec. B) are in Latin and have been composed as late as the fifth/sixth cent. AD, yet (it is argued) they ultimately derive from a lost original of the third cent. AD, which may have been written in Greek in a longer form. (Panayotakis 2012, vii)

Earlier Kortekaas, who edited the *HA* in 1984, called it a “*texte vivant*” (Kortekaas 1984, 8) on account of its complicated, “fluid” transmission and the existence of a high number of variants. The relation of the surviving Latin texts to antique texts, classified as the ancient novel, or to folktale traditions, as well as the status of the co-existence of both pagan and Christian elements in the story have been widely discussed (Kortekaas 1984; Schmeling 1988; Archibald 1991; Kortekaas 2004 and 2007; Panayotakis 2012). Another question that has also been studied is whether the extant text witnesses and thus the story itself are based on a (now lost) either Greek or Latin ‘original’ text (see Kortekaas 2004, 334). Scholarly research, however, now agrees on the idea of a Greek original (*HA Gr*) from the third century CE which was reworked and adapted (via an intermediate version called *R(Gr)*, also in Greek, by a Christian author) around 500 CE. This adaptation exists in two recensions called *RA* and *RB* (Kortekaas 2004, 96; Panayotakis 2012, vii). *RA* is the longer, “more verbose, almost poetic version” (Kortekaas 2004, 3) and can be dated to the late fifth century, probably produced in Italy, maybe in Rome, in a Christian milieu. *RB* is a younger (early sixth century) and shorter version. Overall, however, the Latin tradition is rather complex, as there are only a few manuscripts preserving the *RA* and the *RB* versions in a ‘pure’ form; most of

the extant manuscripts can be described as ‘mixed texts’, i.e. these versions derive from either *RA* or *RB*, from both, or from a third variant called *RC*.¹

2 The European Dissemination – a Brief Survey

The oldest extant manuscripts of the Latin *HA* date from the ninth century.² The Latin *HA* enjoyed wide dissemination virtually all over Europe with a continuous Latin transmission from the very beginning in the ninth century until the beginning of the early modern period.³ It was printed for the first time in Utrecht, probably by Nicolaus Ketelaer and Gerard Leempt, around 1474.⁴ During the Middle Ages, the *HA* enjoyed great popularity as testified by a very rich Latin tradition with more than a hundred manuscripts from the ninth until the seventeenth century.⁵ Besides, it was adapted, e.g. as a hexameter epic (*Gesta Apollonii metrica*, tenth century), probably created in a scholastic environment, and was also included into two encyclopedic texts, Geoffrey of Viterbo's history of the world *Pantheon* (1186–1191), and the *Liber Floridus* by Lambert de Saint-Omer (ca. 1120). A vernacular tradition also existed alongside this Latin tradition, different kinds of adaptations and translations both in prose and in verse. The *HA* had already been translated into Old English prose in the tenth century. An Old French fragment in verse (twelfth century) and a Picardian prose variant (thirteenth century) have come down to us. An Old Spanish version (*Libro de Apolonio*) also dates from the thirteenth century, and by the end of the fourteenth century, John Gower adapted the story in his Middle English *Confessio amantis* (1392–1393).

1 For a discussion on the variants and different recensions, see Kortekaas (1984, 14–22 and 2004, 3–102) and Panayotakis (2012, 1–10).

2 *RA*: Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. Laurentianus plut. LXVI, 62r–70v; and *RB*: Leiden, UB, Ms. Vossianus lat. F 113, 30v–38v.

3 For the following short overview, see Kortekaas (1984, 5–9; 152–160); Archibald (1984, 245–257); Archibald (1991, 217–233).

4 GW 02272, ISTC ia00924300. See also van Thienen and Goldfinch (1999, 262). In 1595 Markward Welser (Marcus Velserus) printed another edition in Augsburg (VD16 A 3134), called *Narratio eorum quae contingerunt Apollonio Tyrio*. Welser seemed to be the first to believe in a Greek original of the story. The manuscript on which his edition is probably based belonged to one of the “mixed texts” (Kortekaas 1984, 16–17; 72–73; 135). Abbreviated references identify editions in standard reference works; abbreviations are expanded in the list of references at the end of this volume.

5 According to Kortekaas (1984, 7), a number “exceedingly large for a non-religious text”.

However, it was primarily through the version in the Latin *Gesta Romanorum* (oldest dated version: 1342)⁶ that *Apollonius* became widely disseminated in different European vernaculars, including in print (Kortekaas 1984, 5). The vast part of these vernacular *Apollonius* versions were translated from the fourteenth century onwards, mostly in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Many of those vernacular *Apollonius* narrations stemming from the version in the *Gesta Romanorum* became popular editions in print, chapbooks, in their respective language area. The following overview (Tab. 1) presents the extant *editiones principes* in different European vernaculars, in chronological order:⁷

Tab. 1: Earliest printed vernacular editions of *Apollonius* until 1700.

| Language | Title resp. incipit | Title / incipit (English translation) | Verse (V) or prose (P) | Place, printer- publisher and year | Reference |
|----------------|--|---|---------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| High German | <i>Die hijstori des küniges apollonij</i> (Heinrich Steinhöwel) | The history of king Apollonius | P | Augsburg: Günther Zainer, 1471 | GW 02273 |
| Italian | <i>Istoria d'Apollonio di Tiro</i> | History of Apollonius of Tyre | V | Venezia: Gabriele di Pietro, 1475 | GW 02280; ISTC ia00926300 |
| French | “Cy commence la cronicque et hystoire de appollin roy de thir et premierement d’anthiogus et de sa fille comment par luxure il viola sa fille et comment il morut meschamment par la fouldre q[ui] loccist” | This is the beginning of the chronicle and history of Apollonius king of Tyre and first of Anthiogus [Antiochus] and his daughter how by lust he raped his daughter and how he died miserably by the lightning that killed him | P | Genève: Louis Cruse, 1482 | GW 02279; ISTC ia00924800 |

⁶ Ms. Innsbruck, UB, cod. lat. 310. See Terrahe (2013, 71) for further references.

⁷ Sources: BC; GW; ISTC; STC; KPS; LN; EDIT16; RMK; RMNy; library catalogues of München, BSB; Stockholm, KB and København, KB; Nilsson (1949); Archibald (1984, 245–247); Richter (2009) and Terrahe (2013). Here, I do not consider the Russian version, which is transmitted only in manuscript form as part of *Rimskija Dejanija* (the Russian translation of *Gesta Romanorum*) and dates from the seventeenth century (see also Nilsson 1949). All translations in this chapter are my own (unless otherwise stated).

Tab. 1 (continued)

| Language | Title resp. incipit | Title / incipit (English translation) | Verse (V) or prose (P) | Place, printer- publisher and year | Reference |
|------------------------|---|--|---------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|
| Spanish (Castilian) | “Aqui comienza la vida e hystoria del rey apolonio la qual contiene como la tribulacion temporal se muda en fin en gozo perdurable” | This is the beginning of the life and the history of king Apollonius which is about how temporary tribulation finally turns into everlasting joy | P | Zaragoza: Paul Hurus, 1488 | GW 0228510N; ISTC ia00927000 |
| Dutch | <i>Die schoone ende die suuerlicke historie van Apollonius van Thyro</i> | The beautiful and fine history of Apollonius of Tyre | P | Delft: Christiaen Snellaert, 1493 | GW 02285; ISTC ia00924600 |
| English | <i>Kynge Appolyn of Thyre</i> | — | P | London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1510 | STC 708.5 |
| Czech | <i>Kronika o Apollionovi králi Tyrském</i> | Chronicle of Apollonius, king of Tyre | P | Plzeň: Mikuláš Bakalář, 1510–1511 | KPS K19206 |
| Greek | <i>Apolonios</i> | Apollonius | V | Venezia: Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio, 1524 | EDIT16 CNCE 2162 |
| Polish | <i>Historia o Apolloniussu Krolu Tyrskim á Társii krolewnie (part of Historye rozmaite z Rzyskich dzieiow / Gesta Romanorum)</i> | The History of Apollonius King of Tyre and princess Tarsia | P | Kraków: Maciej Szarfenberg, 1543 ⁸ | München, BSB, Rar. 823 |
| Hungarian | <i>Szép chronica, miképpen az Apollonius nevő királyfi ...</i> | A charming chronicle about prince Apollonius ... | P | Kolozsvár (Cluj): Gáspár Heltai, 1591 | RMNy 61; RMK I. 241–242 |

⁸ This edition has a foreword dated to 1540, while the colophon says 1543, which has led scholars to conclude that there must have been an earlier edition from 1540.

Tab. 1 (continued)

| Language | Title resp. incipit | Title / incipit (English translation) | Verse (V) or prose (P) | Place, printer- publisher and year | Reference |
|---------------|---|---|---------------------------------|---|--|
| Danish | <i>En Deylig oc skøn Historie om Kong Appolonio, i huilcken Lyckens Hiul oc Verdens wstadighed beskriuffuis. Lystig oc Nyttelig at læse oc høre.</i> | A Beautiful and charming History about King Apollonius, in which the Wheel of Fortune and the instability of the World are described. Enjoyable and Useful to read and to hear. | P | Rostock: Steffen Møllemand (Stephan Möllemann), 1594 | LN 942 |
| Low German | <i>Appollonius. Eine Schöne vnde Kortwylige Historia / vam Köninge Appollonio / wo he van Landt vnde Lüden vordreuen vnde vorjaget / Schipbröke vnde menningerley vngelücke vnde / elende vorduldet / vnde doch thom lesten wedder in syn Landt gekamen ys.</i> | Apollonius. A Charming and Entertaining History of King Appollonius, how he was expelled from his Country and driven away from his People, how he suffered Shipwreck and endured many misfortunes and miseries, and how he finally returned to his Country. | P | Hamburg: Hermann Möller, 1601 | BC II: 2685 |
| Swedish | <i>Apollonii Konungens aff Tyro Historia</i> | The History of King Apollonius | P | Uppsala: s.n., 1633 | Stockholm, KB: F1700/ 2282; USTC 251346 |

In addition to the widespread transmission in vernacular translations and adaptations, the *Apollonius* story also provides a significant intertextual tradition as a famous reference text in the Middle Ages.⁹ The story of King Apollonius is referred to in various genres of medieval literature, e.g. in a poem by Venantius Fortunatus (sixth century), in Lamprecht's *Alexanderlied* (ca. 1150), in *Philomena* by Chrétien de Troyes (ca. 1165), in the *Carmina Burana* (ca. 1230, as no. 97), in the *chanson de geste*

⁹ See Archibald (1984) for a detailed overview.

Jourdain de Blaivies (thirteenth century), Provençal troubadour poetry from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (1387–1400).

The references to *Apollonius* in these different texts and genres and the dynamic process of producing many new textual connections and networks allow us to describe the *Apollonius* narrative as a “multiple text” (Grigely 1998, 1) but also as an “unfester Text” (Bumke 1996, 118–129; “instable text” or “texte vivant”).¹⁰ The narrative as such is not a single, fixed text but does exist in a variety of different (Latin and vernacular) versions: translations, adaptations, references, etc. Its ‘multiple’ existence provides the narrative with both continuity and with enormous literary and textual dynamics in time and space. With regard to the entire *Apollonius* tradition, Archibald (1984, 63) points out the “general stability of the traditional plot as recounted in the *Historia*”, while Kortekaas stresses the interpretation of the *Apollonius* figure as a Christian model of humility and a “Christian Job” (Kortekaas 1984, 9).¹¹ The combination of an exciting adventure novel in a Mediterranean setting from Antiquity together with a Christian reading and example function also explains why the Latin *HA* is already found in several multiple-text codices combining and contextualizing the *Apollonius* story together with texts on historical and literary figures such as Alexander the Great or Charlemagne, but also with world chronicles, and theological and philosophical treatises. This phenomenon of a combined *Apollonius* transmission also continues in the vernacular tradition, e.g. Steinhöwel's *König Apollonius* which was transmitted together with *Alexander*, with religious texts, or with the *Griseldis* narrative.¹²

3 *Fortuna*. Paratextual Framings in the Printed European Vernacular Traditions

The (relative) textual stability of the *Apollonius* narrative itself as noted by Archibald is, interestingly, contrasted by the instability and dynamics of the text via its paratexts or “peritexts”,¹³ which accompany the narrative in various vernacular

¹⁰ The concept of medieval texts as “unfeste Texte” refers both to the variant manuscripts and to their transmission.

¹¹ Archibald's statement of a textual stability also contrasts with what Kortekaas points out for the Latin manuscript tradition with changing plot details introduced by the numerous scribes across Europe. Kortekaas uses the New Philology term “texte vivant” (Kortekaas 1984, 8–9).

¹² See also Terrahe (2013) and the chapter on *Griseldis* in this volume.

¹³ As Genette (1989, 12) originally calls the texts surrounding the narrative text.

editions. These paratexts show some very interesting phenomena in title formulations, dedications, prologues, and appendices and tell us about intended reception, medial variety, and different contextualizations.

Before zooming in on some examples from the Scandinavian and the Dutch transmissions, an overview of the vernacular European *Apollonius* transmission will reveal some recurrent elements within the different paratextual framings. Paratexts make the book historical transformation process from manuscript to print highly visible: they do not only carry self-statements from the printers or publishers of the book, but they also identify and qualify the contents of the book and thus are able to steer the reception process. From the very beginning of book printing, paratextual elements such as colophon, title page, and prologue have been used as communication tools between printers (producers) and readers, and as a marketing tool (Rautenberg 2004; Wagner 2008, 135; 153). Sebastian Speth uses the term “reframing” to explain that texts, in this case early modern editions, are not fixed entities but can be framed and reframed by different and variable elements such as (new) titles, title pages, prologues, etc. (Speth 2020).

From this perspective, a glance at the early modern title (or *incipit*) formulations in the *Apollonius* tradition can help develop a better understanding of the framing and the intended reception of the narrative. While the Latin *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri* itself does not include any hint of a special reading intention or reception by the implicit reader,¹⁴ the adaptation of the narrative for the *Gesta Romanorum* in the Late Middle Ages is different. Here, the title of *Apollonius* is “de tribulacione temporalis que in gaudium sempiternum postremo commutabitur” (“on temporal sorrow/confusion which will finally be transformed into eternal joy”), inspired by the Christian interpretation of *Apollonius*.¹⁵ Because of the practical intentions of the *Gesta Romanorum* as a text collection mainly used for sermons, the narrative is clearly to be understood as an *exemplum* of man’s life facing the instability of the world and how sorrow will be turned into heavenly joy. No protagonist is mentioned in the heading, a fact that reinforces this reading and is also explicit in the *moralisatio*.¹⁶ The following overview is not exhaustive but gives both an impression of the broad and multiple European dissemination in the vernacular printed traditions and an idea of the “framing”.

14 Kortekaas (1984). We cannot discuss here the complex manuscript tradition of the *HA* with its different contexts due to composite manuscripts and compilations.

15 On the *Apollonius* version as story no. 153 in *Gesta Romanorum*, see Oesterley (1963 [1872], 510–532); Klebs (2018 [1899], 105–113; 349–361); Kortekaas (1984, 5–6); Weiske (1991, 119–120).

16 Weiske (1991, 119–120) speaks of “gesta-typische Sinndeutung” (“an interpretation typical for the *Gesta*”). See also Weiske (1992).

German (High German and Low German)

Heinrich Steinhöwel, the famous humanist and translator of many medieval narratives, translated the *Apollonius* narrative in the 1460s (Terrahe 2013, 78), using both Geoffrey of Viterbo's version and the version in the *Gesta Romanorum* as sources. Günther Zainer printed *Die hijstori des küniges apollonij* ("The history of king Apollonius") for the first time in Augsburg in 1471¹⁷ but also manuscript versions dating from the last decades of the fifteenth century have come down to us (Terrahe 2013, 106–111). Steinhöwel's *Apollonius* continued in print during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Fortuna theme is present throughout the text, but not yet in the title formulations of editions from the incunabula period. From the sixteenth century onwards most editions incorporate both the entertaining and the didactic aspects of the story and the Wheel of Fortune in the title¹⁸ – e.g. in the edition printed in Leipzig in 1624 by Nikolaus Nerlich: *Ein schöne vnd kurtzweilige Historia / von König Appolonio / wie er von seim Land vnd Leut vertrieben vnd verjaget / Schiffbruch / vnnnd mancherley vnglück vnd Elend erlitten / vnd doch endlich durch Glück wiederum in sein Land kommen ist* ("A charming and entertaining History about King Appolonius, how he was driven away from his Country and his People, how he suffered Shipwreck and other Miseries, but finally returned to his Country through good Fortune").¹⁹ The woodcut maritime scene on the title page in Nerlich's edition (Fig. 1) perfectly illustrates the *Apollonius* story with its many happy as well as tragic adventures at sea, and it corresponds to the Fortuna motif as such: in medieval and early modern iconography, the goddess Fortuna is not only depicted with symbols of inconstancy such as a wheel or a ball, she is presented in a maritime context with the unpredictability and volatility of the sea reflecting the inconstancy of fortune (Kirchner

¹⁷ Heidelberg, UB, Cod. pal. germ. 154 (GW 02273). Digital copy at: <https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg154/0595/image.info> (16 May 2023). For further details on the manuscript tradition and the printed copies of Steinhöwel's version, see Terrahe (2013).

¹⁸ Gotzkowsky (1991, 184–191 and 1994, 65–67) lists six editions each from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and five from the seventeenth century. VD16 lists only three editions from the sixteenth century: 1540 (Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner; VD16 ZV 15713); 1552 (Augsburg: Hans Zimmermann; VD16 A 3136); and s.a. [ca. 1560] (Frankfurt: Weigand Han; VD16 A3137).

¹⁹ VD17 23:713200Z. See also the appendix on German *Apollonius* editions at the end of this chapter. The woodcuts and the illustration programme of the early modern German *Apollonius* editions are worth being studied in detail. While the sixteenth-century editions seem to keep the illustration from the incunabula period, around 1600 the title illustration appears to have changed into a maritime scene that was subsequently used for editions in the seventeenth century: Magdeburg: Johann Francke, s.a. [ca. 1600] (VD16 ZV 30895); Hamburg: Hermann Möller, 1601 (BC II: 2685); Leipzig: Nikolaus Nerlich, 1624 (VD17 23:713200Z); Nürnberg: Michael Endter, 1673 (VD17 23:330386N).

1970; Henkel and Schöne 1996, 1797–1800; Scheibel 2020, 283–315). The illustration in the Leipzig edition (also used for the earlier edition, Magdeburg: Johann Francke, s.a. [ca. 1600], VD16 ZV 30895) goes back to a sixteenth-century woodcut made by Hans Brosamer for Hermann Gülfferich's *Fortunatus* edition printed in Frankfurt in 1549.²⁰ As will be shown in section 4, it continued in Danish editions of both *Apollonius* and *Fortunatus* – as a copy in reverse.

There is also a Low German *Apollonius* tradition. Borchling and Claussen (BC II: 2685) and Gotzkowsky (1994, 65) record a Low German octavo edition printed in Hamburg by Hermann Möller in 1601: *Apollonius. Eine Schöne vnde Kortwylige Historia / vam Könige Appollonio / wo he van Landt vnde Lüden vordreuen vnde vorjaget / Schipbröke vnde menningerley vngelücke vnde / elende vorduldet / vnde doch thom lesten wedder in syn Landt gekamen ys.* (“Appollonius. A Charming and Entertaining History of King Appollonius, how he was expelled from his Country and driven away from his People, how he suffered Shipwreck and endured many misfortunes and miseries, and how he finally returned to his Country.”)²¹ The existence of a Low German tradition (as is the case with several other early modern narratives) completes the picture of the German *Apollonius*.²² The title of Möller's edition follows the formulation that seems to already have been established in the High German tradition during the sixteenth century (e.g. Frankfurt am Main: Weigand Han, s.a. [ca. 1560] VD16 A3137; Magdeburg: Johann Francke, s.a. [ca. 1600] VD16 ZV 30895) and expresses the main aspects of the narrative: adventures at sea, Apollonius' great patience shown in both fortune and misfortune, and his final re-establishment as king. The title and the woodcut promise an attractive story which would be well-marketed.

²⁰ Though not on the title page. See also below, section 4.

²¹ The Low German *Apollonius* also contains 36 woodcuts well-known from the sixteenth-century Frankfurt editions mentioned above. Möller's edition was kept in the Staatsbibliothek Berlin until 1942. As part of the Berlinka collection, it is now held by the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków, together with a Low German edition of the *Historia septem sapientum Romae* (s.l.: s.n., 1605) and *Fortunatus* (Hamburg: Hermann Möller, 1602). These three narratives are bound together in one volume (Kraków, BJ, Berol. Yu 1605 (2)). With thanks to Dr. Jacek Partyka, Kraków, BJ, for providing this information and for his efforts towards digitalizing the *Apollonius* 1601 edition (digital copy at: <https://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/publication/949083/edition/911335>, 15 April 2023).

²² VD16, VD17 and Terrahe (2013) do not record or discuss a Low German *Apollonius* edition, it is listed only in BC and in Gotzkowsky (1994).



Fig. 1: *König Apollonius. Ein schöne vnd kurtzweilige Historia von König Apollonio.* Leipzig: Nikolaus Nerlich, 1624, A1r (Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Xb 9283). © Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

Italian

The Italian tradition has a verse adaptation of the narrative, written by Antonio Pucci (1310–1388), a Florentine poet known for his *cantari* in eight-line stanzas called *ottava rima*. Pucci depicts themes of the courtly novel in this collection, and *Apollonius* is one of them. Pucci's adaptation, written in the fourteenth century, was printed for the first time in Venice in 1475 by Gabriele di Pietro as *Istoria d'Apollonio di Tiro* ("History of Apollonius of Tyre").²³ It was reprinted multiple times until 1600, mostly in Florence and Venice, and at least two editions from the seventeenth century are extant.²⁴ The sixteenth century clearly marks the peak for the Italian *Apollonius* editions.

French

In about 1482 the first French prose translation of the *Apollonius* version in the *Gesta Romanorum* was printed in Geneva by Louis Cruse.²⁵ This edition is still very close to the medieval manuscript tradition (no title page, blank space left for initials, etc.), as is typical for the incunabula period. It starts directly (on a2r, after a blank page) with the *incipit* "Cy commence la cronicque et hystoire de appollin roy de thir et premierement d'anthiogus et de sa fille comment par luxure il viola sa fille et comment il morut meschamment par la fouldre q[ui] loccist" ("This is the beginning of the chronicle and history of Apollonius king of Tyre and first of Anthiogus [Antiochus] and his daughter how by lust he raped his daughter and how he died miserably by the lightning that killed him").

In 1530, another edition was printed: *La plaisante et agreable histoire d'Apollonius, prince de Thir en Afrique et roi d'Antioche* (Paris: Denis Janot and Alain Lotrian; USTC 55218), now announcing the "pleasant history" in the title. *Apollonius* is also included in François de Belleforest's *Histoires tragiques* (Paris, 1560–1582) and was rewritten by Antoine-Louis Le Brun (1680–1743) in 1710 with the title *Les aventures d'Apollonius de Tyr*, in a later edition changed to:

²³ GW 02280; ISTC ia00926300; Venezia, BNM, holds a copy of this *editio princeps*, digital copy at: http://131.175.183.1:1801/view/action/singleViewer.do?dvs=1661499595123~109&locale=de&VIEWER_URL=/view/action/singleViewer.do?&DELIVERY_RULE_ID=10&frameId=1&usePid1=true&usePid2=true (26 August 2022).

²⁴ For details, see the appendix and Rabboni (2002).

²⁵ GW 02279; ISTC ia00924800; Genève, BPU, holds one of the two extant copies, with beautiful woodcuts. Digital copy at: https://www.e-rara.ch/gep_g/content/titleinfo/9492593 (15 January 2023).

L'Inconstance de la Fortune, depeint dans le Aventures d'Apollonius d'Tyr. Histoire interessante & susceptible de Morale. Ou l'on voit un enchainement continuel de Bonheur & de Disgraces, pour donner de la Crainte aux plus Fortunez, & de l'Esperance aux plus Malheureux (Rotterdam: Jean Hofhout, 1726).²⁶

Le Brun explains in his preface how he was “touched by the misfortune and the virtue of Apollonius”. The title emphasizes the importance of faith and hope when facing good fortune as well as misfortune, and it markets the story as an adventure but primarily with a moralizing label.²⁷ Le Brun's version was reprinted several times in the eighteenth century (see appendix).

Spanish (Castilian)

Paul Hurus printed the first Castilian prose version in Zaragoza in 1488. The *incipit* says *Aqui comienza la vida e hystoria del rey apolonio la qual contiene como la tribulacion temporal se muda en fin en gozo perdurable* (“This is the beginning of the life and the history of king Apollonius which is about how temporary tribulation finally turns into everlasting joy”). The second part of the title is a literal translation from the *Gesta* version.²⁸

Dutch

In the Dutch tradition, *Apollonius* was originally first published as part of the Dutch translation of the *Gesta Romanorum*, called *Die gesten of gheschienisse van Romem* (“The histories of Rome”, Gouda: Gheraert Leeu, 1481; *Apollonius* as no. 153:

²⁶ “The Inconstancy of Fortune, described in the Adventures of Apollonius of Tyre. Interesting History and susceptible of Morality. Where you can see a connection between Fortune and Misfortune, in order to cause Fear when there is too much Fortune and Hope when there is too much Misfortune”. Paris, BnF, FRBNF32360268. It seems to have been quite popular and was reprinted in 1711, 1726, 1747, and 1797. In later editions the title was changed (back) to *Les aventures d'Apollonius de Tyr* (as in the 1747 edition), but the preface keeps the Fortuna theme and says the narrative shows “une image de l'inconstance de la Fortune” (“an image of the instability of fortune”). (Paris: Pierre Prault, 1747, p. 6; copy: München, BSB, shelfmark P.o.gall. 1210 k).

²⁷ For Le Brun, see the remarks in Klebs (2018 [1899], 418–420); for the French tradition in general, see Zink (1982). The French tradition would be worth being studied in detail.

²⁸ GW 0228510N; ISTC ia00927000. See also Monedero (1987, 62). The *Apollonius* story was also included as no. 11 in Juan de Timoneda's *Las patrañas* (printed Valencia 1567), a collection of short narrative texts after the model of Boccaccio's *Il Decamerone*.

“dat Capitel C ende drieenuijftich”).²⁹ As a separate text, the narrative was printed for the first time in Delft in 1493 by Christiaen Snellaert: *Die schoone ende die suuerlike hystorie van Apollonius van thyro* (“The beautiful and fine history of Apollonius of Tyre”).³⁰ The story is advertised as “beautiful and fine”, and because of the *Gesta Romanorum* context, Fortuna does not appear in this title, however, it is different from the traditional *Gesta* title in that it now focuses on the protagonist and the quality of the narrative.

Interestingly, there are also two dramatic adaptations of *Apollonius* from the seventeenth century: in 1617 Aert Meuris printed in The Hague the double-drama in prose written by the Dutch historiograph Pieter Christiaenszoon Bor (1559–1635), *Tvvee Tragi-comedien In prosa / D’eene van Apollonius Prince van Tyro. Ende d’ander Van den zelven / ende van Tarsia syn Dochter* (“Two Tragi-comedies in prose, the first one about Apollonius, Prince of Tyre. The other one About the same and about Tarsia, his Daughter”).³¹ The second adaptation, *Apollonius, Koningh van Tyrus. Treur-Spel* (“Apollonius, King of Tyre. Tragedy”), written by the Dutch poet David Lingelbach (1641–1698), was printed in Amsterdam by Jacob Vinckel in 1662 and dedicated to Lady Anna van Hooren, whose husband Cornelis van Vlooswyck was mayor of Amsterdam at that time.³² In the paratexts of both dramas, the power of Fortuna is mentioned. I will return to these in section 4.2. Furthermore, two prose adaptations from the early eighteenth century are noteworthy: *De wonderlyke Gevalen van Apollonius van Tyr* (“The remarkable Adventures of Apollonius of Tyre”), printed in Amsterdam by Isaac Trojel in 1710; and *Ismenida, of de Wondere Levensgefallen, van den Standfastigen Minnaar, en Weergaloozen Held Apollonius, Prince, en namaals Koning van Tyr, uit het Fransch vertaald* (“Ismenida, or the Wondrous Life Story, Of the Steadfast Lover, and Peerless Hero Apollonius, Prince, and later King of Tyre, translated from the French”), printed in Amsterdam by Johannes van Leeuwen in 1714. Both texts accentuate the miraculous biography of the hero, the latter presents itself as a translation from a French source. In the early modern Dutch tradition, the *Apollonius* story obviously invited to be transformed into several new versions that differ from the *Gesta* version.

29 “Chapter One hundred and fifty-three”. ISTC ig00298000, GW 10889. See Kuiper (2018). 153 is the traditional number of the story in the *Gesta Romanorum*, and the Dutch heading is also a translation of the Latin title: “Van die tijtlike trijbulaci ende weder spoet dye ten vtersten verwandelt sal warden in ewighen blijscap. Dat Capitel 153.”

30 GW 02285; ISTC ia00924600 (copy: Middelburg, ZB). Debaene (1977, 32–35).

31 Copy: Stockholm, KB, Ufl. F1700 137 H c.

32 Copy: Amsterdam, UB, sign. OK 63-8594 (accessible online via Google books).

English

A Middle English translation by Robert Copland was printed in 1510 by Wynkyn de Worde in London: *Kynge Appolyn of Thyre*, decorated with a series of beautiful woodcuts.³³ The text was translated from the French *cronique et hystoire de apollin, roy de thir* (Louis Cruse, 1482) and has a short “prologue of the translature” by Robert Copland which tells the reader about the literary tradition of the “loue and [...] aduentures, and fortunes happy and malfortunate” of “nobles and chyualrous champyons”, and argues for the advantages of translations: “to be used to our recreacyon and exemplyfycacyon in the auoydnye of osiuyte and ydlenes”.³⁴ A later edition from 1594, which achieved the status of chapbook in the English *Apollonius* tradition, was a translation by Lawrence Twine:

*The Patterne of painefull Adventures: Containing the most excellent, pleasant and variable Historie of the strange accidents that befell vnto Prince Apollonius, the Lady Lucina his wife and Tharsia his daughter. Wherein the uncertaintie of this world, and the fickle state of mans life are lively described. Gathered into English by Laurence Twine Gentleman. B.L.*³⁵

This edition is also dedicated by Lawrence Twine to “the worshipful Mr. John Donning, customer and Jurate of the town of Rie [Rye] in Sussex”, and contains a table of contents, which was already part of the 1510 edition. We can clearly see that the text emphasizes the power of Fortune (“the uncertainty of this world, and the fickle state of man’s life is described”), probably for marketing purposes, on the title page. The formulation is reminiscent of the Danish title tradition which is discussed in section 4.

Czech

The Czech *Apollonius* – like the Latin and several vernacular traditions – has a manuscript tradition with the earliest manuscripts dating back to the 1450s, containing a Czech translation of the *Gesta Romanorum*. This Czech version of the *Gesta* later became the source for the Polish and Russian *Apollonius* translations

³³ *Kynge Appolyn of Thyre* (copy: London, BL, C.132.i.35); STC 708.5. See the edition by Morrison (2020).

³⁴ *Kynge Appolyn of Thyre*, A1v, quoted according to Morrison (2020, 1).

³⁵ This edition was printed in London by Valentine Simmes for the Widow Newman [Elizabeth Newman]. Digital copy at EBO: <https://www.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2240919107/A79A1F3FD6954C69PQ/1?accountid=14796> (30 June 2022).

and adaptations.³⁶ The first extant Czech *Apollonius* version (as a separate text) was printed in 1510 or 1511 by Mikuláš Bakalář in Plzeň (Pilsen).³⁷ The title reads: *Kronika o králi Apolloniovi Tyrském* (“Chronicle of Apollonius, king of Tyre”). The extant copy is a small fragment of about two folios. The first fully extant edition was printed sometime before 1568.³⁸ A later edition, printed in Prague in 1752, has an embellished title page with the image of a king (see Fig. 2). It says: *Kronyka O Apollonowi Králi Tyrském, a o geho welmi diwných Přjhodách* (“Chronicle Of Apollonius King of Tyre, and about his strange Adventures”).³⁹ Several editions from the eighteenth century are extant.⁴⁰ The titles of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions tend to be shorter (*Kronyka o Apollonowi Králi Tyrském*) while the titles in the eighteenth-century editions announce in addition the protagonist’s strange or remarkable adventures, but overall they do not refer to the allegorical framing provided by the subtitle from the *Gesta* tradition (which is the case in the Polish transmission). By choosing “kronyka” (chronicle) as a generic marker, the aspect of historicity has been transmitted throughout the centuries. “Kronyka” also features in the title of other Czech translations of early modern narratives and follows the early modern German prose novel tradition.⁴¹ *Apollonius* was also adapted for the stage: in 1792 the Prague printer Jan Tomáš Höchenberger published a drama written by the book printer and author Antonín Josef Zýma, titled *Tharsya z Tyru. Půwodnj Činnohra w čtyřech gednánjch* (“Tharsia of Tyre. An Original Drama in four parts”). It was performed in Prague in November 1792.⁴²

³⁶ On the Czech, Polish, and Russian *Apollonius* adaptations, see Nilsson (1949).

³⁷ KPS K19206. Nilsson (1949, 37) notes that the early Czech *Apollonius* editions follow the manuscripts very closely. He also discusses the influence of a French version besides the Latin *Gesta Romanorum* and the role of the first Czech translator (Nilsson 1949, 123–125).

³⁸ According to the notes in the book inventory of the bishop of Olomouc (quoted from KPS reference for this edition: <https://knihoveda.lib.cas.cz/Record/K19207>) (26 August 2022): “This alleged edition is recorded as item No. 63 in the inventory of books authorized by the bishop of Olomouc, Vilém Prusinovský (the so-called Prusinovský copybook) for sale to the brothers Václav and Jan Pilát, the inventory dates from approximately the beginning of 1568.”

³⁹ KPS: K04442; copy: Praha, NK, 54 K 11313.

⁴⁰ I have counted nine editions between 1711 and 1799 based on KPS. For an overview of the Czech *Apollonius* editions, see appendix and KPS.

⁴¹ For Czech translations and adaptations of medieval and early modern German prose novels, see Hon (2016).

⁴² KPS K17494 (digital copy: Wien, ÖNB, at: http://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO_%2BZ202430303) (26 August 2022).



Fig. 2: *Kronyka O Apollonowi Králi Tyrském*. Praha: Václav František Dipath, 1752, A1r (Praha, NK, 54 K 11313). By courtesy of Národní knihovna České republiky, Praha.

Greek

The Biblioteca Estense Universitaria in Modena holds an *Apollonius* edition in Greek, printed in Venice in 1524 by Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio.⁴³ This Greek verse version, probably translated from Pucci's adaptation, continued to be reprinted in Venice until ca. 1800 (Beck 1971, 135–138). We can clearly see the continuation of the Italian verse translation in this Greek version, while almost all the other vernacular *Apollonius* translations are in prose.

Polish

The Polish *Apollonius* tradition is based on the version of the story in the Czech *Gesta Romanorum*, either with a manuscript or an early edition as source text. In contrast to the Czech tradition, however, it has only been transmitted as part of the *Gesta* collection (Nilsson 1949, 126–131). The first extant edition of the Polish translation of the *Gesta Romanorum*, *Historye rosmaite z Rzymkich y z innych dzieiow wybrane* [...] (“Various Histories selected from Roman and other acts”), was published in 1543 in Kraków by Maciej Szarfenberg⁴⁴ and consists of a selection of 40 tales. The title of the *Apollonius* story as one of the first stories in the *Historye rosmaite* is *Historia o Apolloniussu Krolu Tyrskim á Társii krolewnie* (“The History of Apollonius King of Tyre and princess Tarsia”). The subtitle “Przykład iż smutek przemienion bywa w wesele” (“An example where sadness is transformed into joy”, A6v) is a clear continuation of the general Christian allegorical reading of the *Gesta Romanorum*. According to Nilsson, stylistic and narrative influences as well as motifs from the late medieval and early modern courtly literature can be made out in both the Polish and the Czech *Apollonius* traditions (Nilsson 1949, 124–125; 131). The *Historye rosmaite* was reprinted at least six times until 1800 (see appendix).

⁴³ EDIT16 CNCE 2162. Copy: Modena, BEU. The Nicolini da Sabbio brothers (originally from Brescia) had a print workshop in Venice in the first decades of the sixteenth century. They also worked for Andrea Cunadis and Damiano di Santa Maria, and printed numerous Greek books. Stefano also worked in Verona and finally in Rome. See Marzo Magno (2012, 96–97), and EDIT16: <https://opac.sbn.it/web/edit-16/resultset-editori/-/editori/detail/CNCT000217> (21 June 2022).

⁴⁴ Copy: München, BSB, Rar. 823 (digital copy at: <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details/bsb10858432>) (27 June 2022).

Hungarian

Early modern reading culture in the Kingdom of Hungary and Transylvania was multilingual (Bak 2016). Latin and German prints circulated widely and were disseminated among the nobility as well as among the literate population in the cities. Some texts were used for teaching purposes in school, e.g. *Aesopus*, the *Historia Alexandri magni*, and the *Historia destructionis Troiae*.

In the period between 1591 and 1800, thirteen printed *Apollonius* editions were published in Hungarian translation.⁴⁵ The first edition was printed by Gáspár Heltai (Kaspar Helth), reformer, author, translator, and printer in Kolozsvár (Cluj) in 1591. The title is:

*Szép chronica, miképpen az Apollonius nevő királyfi egy mesének meg fejtéseért [sic] el budosúan, Az Tengeren mindeneket el vesztuén, Halász ruhában Altistrates Király vduarában itá, melync Leánya à szép Lucina aßzony, az Királyfit meg ßeretuén, hozzá méne. És miképpen az Apollonius az Királyságra haza menuén, az Tengeren Feleségét és Leányát el veszté, és miképpen őket soc eßtédő mlua nagy örömmel egésségben találá. Most vyionnan, az Lucretia notára Magyar nyelure forditatot, és meg nyomtattatot.*⁴⁶

The title is interesting as it mentions the connection to another “historia”, Enea Silvio Piccolomini’s famous love story *Euryalus and Lucretia*, evidently well-known to the implicit reader. Heltai also translated and printed the Hungarian version of *Historia septem sapientum Romae*.⁴⁷ The following edition, printed by Johannes Manlius in Sárvár already in the following year (1592), had the shorter

⁴⁵ See RMK, RMNy and the appendix at the end of this chapter. The narrative seems to have been quite popular with many reprints in the eighteenth century. Obviously, the aspect of solving riddles and the hidden identity of Apollonius should attract the interest of the reading public, as frequently indicated in the titles. An edition “after 1711” was printed by Márton Esler; according to the catalogue of the Hungarian National Library, this is the Hungarian name of the German printer Martin Endter who belonged to the famous family Endter, book printers, publishers, and booksellers in Nuremberg from the late sixteenth until the eighteenth century. On the Endter family, see Oldenburg (1911).

⁴⁶ “A charming chronicle about prince Apollonius, who, for solving a riddle, had to go into hiding, lost everything he had at sea, arrived at the court of King Altistrates disguised as a fisherman; the king’s daughter, the beautiful Lucina, falling in love with him, married him. And while Apollonius was going home to take over the kingdom, he lost his wife and daughter at sea, and found them in good health after many years. Now newly translated into Hungarian to the tune of Lucretia and printed.” English translation by Csilla Gábor. The last sentence refers to musical adaptations and the oral/sung tradition of narrative material in the Hungarian tradition. On this edition, see RMNy 661 (online: <http://mnb.oszk.hu/index.php>) (17 June 2022) and RMK I. 241–242.

⁴⁷ See Ötvös (2013, 42), and the chapter on the *Historia septem sapientum Romae* in this volume.

title *Apollonius királyfi históriája* (“History of prince Apollonius”).⁴⁸ In the Hungarian transmission, both genre definitions as “chronica” and “historia” (with the addition “szép” – “charming, fine, lovely” – as a translation of the German term “schöne history”, “charming history”) were used throughout the whole early modern period as a kind of generic marker, similar to the Czech tradition.

This brief overview of early modern vernacular *Apollonius* traditions and title formulations shows overall two main aspects: the emphasis on adventures and emotions, and a (more or less explicit) Christian reading of the story, facing both fortune and misfortune with patience, in line with the presentation of the narrative in the *Gesta Romanorum*. Let us now turn to the Danish and Swedish transmissions which offer some interesting and unique paratextual framings of this reading.⁴⁹

4 *Apollonius* in Scandinavia

The earliest Danish translation of a fictional narrative, *Flores oc Blantzeflor* (*Floris and Blancheflower*), was printed in Copenhagen in 1504 by Gotfred af Ghemen (Govaert van Ghemen)⁵⁰ and the majority of the narratives were published from the 1520s and 1530s onwards. The oldest preserved *Apollonius* text in a Scandinavian language is a Danish edition dating from 1594, printed in Rostock by Stephan Møllemand (Steffen Møllemand).⁵¹ However, the existence of an older edition is documented by Laurentz Albrecht, a book agent and publisher in Lübeck, who provides a list of books issued in Danish, which mentions, together with other narratives, an *Apollonius* in octavo, printed before 1591. This print seems to be lost today. In Rostock, Laurentz Albrecht, with good business connections to Denmark and Sweden, had books published in Danish and Swedish.⁵² We do not

48 RMNy 699. Only some leaves from this edition survived.

49 In the following section, I will concentrate on the printed Danish and Swedish traditions. In Icelandic, four different prose versions (a, b, c, and d) dating from the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, and two *rímur* cycles are extant – all these versions are in manuscript form. See Seelow (1989, 58–76) and Richter (2009, 44–45); the prose version c in particular is interesting with its ‘adventure passage’.

50 Gotfred af Ghemen is considered to be the first Danish printer. Originally from the Low Countries, he established the first printing office in Copenhagen around 1500. On the European dissemination of *Floris and Blancheflower*, see Lodén and Obry (2022); on the Danish *Flores*, see Richter (2018–2019).

51 LN 942; the copy is held in Stockholm, KB (København, KB holds a microfiche of this copy: LN 942 fot. 8°). See Paulli (1916, 200–206); Collijn (1923, 171–176); DFB 13 (1936, 151–152).

52 On the 1591 edition and Laurentz Albrecht’s booklist, see Paulli (1935, 79–91).

know the name of the first Danish translator⁵³ but he seems to have used both manuscript and printed versions of at least two or three versions of the Latin *HA* as the source for his translation, probably a copy of the Utrecht edition, maybe even a copy of Welser's edition, plus a *Gesta Romanorum* version.⁵⁴ This is rather surprising, as most of the Scandinavian early modern narratives are based on a High or Low German version of either narrative. But in the case of *Apollonius*, the Danish text is not based on Steinhöwel's translation nor on any other vernacular version. The title page of the first extant Danish *Apollonius* from 1594 (Fig. 3) is decorated with a woodcut we recognize from the German tradition (cf. Fig. 1).

It is one of the woodcuts Hermann Gülfferich used in his 1549 Frankfurt *Fortunatus* edition, now in reverse view. Copies of the Frankfurt woodblocks clearly made their way to the north and were used by Danish printers in the second part of the sixteenth century for several early modern narratives, such as *Apollonius*, *Fortunatus*, and others which were printed in Copenhagen during that period.⁵⁵ It seems to be a unique phenomenon in the Danish *Apollonius* tradition to have woodcuts illustrating the title page as well as the whole story, like in the 1594 Rostock edition. Later *Apollonius* editions, if at all, have other figurative scenes on the title page (and only on the title pages).⁵⁶ As can be seen from the survey of the Danish *Apollonius* editions (see appendix), 26 editions (including the lost ones) were produced before 1800 but the transmission continued further into the nineteenth century (Richter 2009, 54; 74; 122–128). The vast majority of the extant Danish *Apollonius* editions date from the eighteenth century.

The Danish title of the 1594 edition reads: *En Deylig oc skøn Historie om Kong Apolonio, i huilcken Lyckens Hiul oc Verdens wstadighed beskriuffuis. Lystig oc Nyttelig at læse oc høre* (“A Beautiful and charming History about King Apollonius, in which the Wheel of Fortune and the instability of the World are described. Enjoyable and Useful to read and to hear”). We can observe different book historical and

53 Certain possible authors have been suggested, e.g. the Danish priest and author Hans Christensen Sthen (1544–1610). He is the author of a didactical poem with the title *Lyckens Hiul. En kaart Vnderuisning om Lyckens wstadighed oc Verdens løb* (“The Wheel of Fortune. A short Instruction on the instability of Fortune and the cycle of the World”, Copenhagen: Andreas Gutterwitz, 1581). Sthen was also interested in classical Greek and Latin literature from the antique and the Renaissance period and translated High German and Low German religious texts. See DFB 3 (1917, xxiv–xxv) and Richter (2009, 47).

54 See DFB 3 (1917, xix–xxii; 174–191). Singer (1974 [1895], 130–137), Klebs (2018 [1899], 378–380), and Kortekaas (1984, 6) also argue Latin source texts for the Danish translation. See the discussion in Richter (2009, 41).

55 Brosamer's woodcuts were also reused for several German narratives, see Gotzkowsky (2002) and the chapter on *Fortunatus* in this volume.

56 On the illustrations in Danish narratives, see DFB 13 (1936, 295–364).

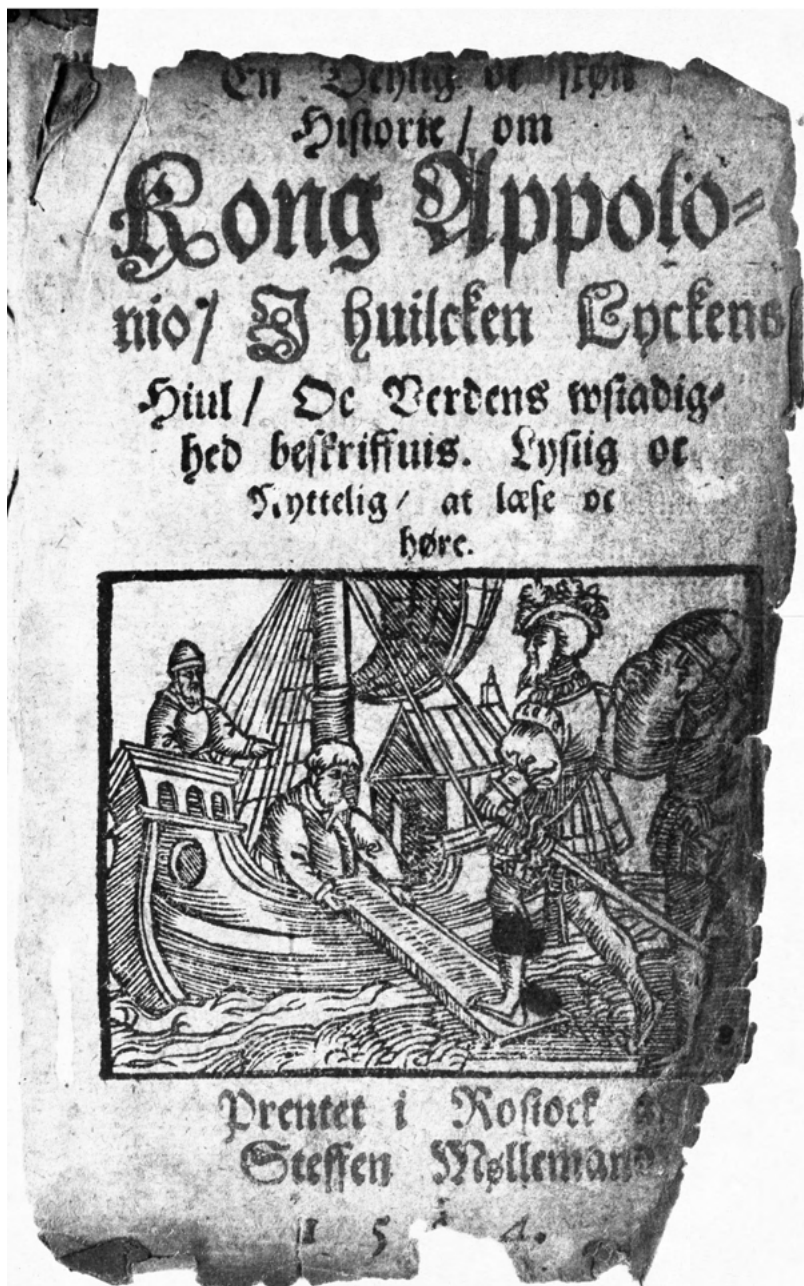


Fig. 3: *En Deylig oc skøn Historie om Kong Appolonio*. Rostock: Stephan Möllemann, 1594, A1r (København, KB, LN 942 fot. 8°). By courtesy of Det Kongelige Bibliotek København.

literary elements in this title. The first part, “En Deylig oc skøn Historie”, is a translation of the German “schöne History” and thus clearly refers to its genre-poetological tradition, and to strategies of verification and grounding fictional narratives in historical events or monuments, which have been widely examined in German scholarship by Jan-Dirk Müller (1985, 1990, 2003a, 2003b), Manuel Braun (2004), and others.⁵⁷ It does not only refer to the *historia* versus *fabula* discussion held in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, but it also contains the advertising element of a ‘pleasant character’ of the following story.

The next part about the “Wheel of Fortune and the instability of the World” addresses two traditional topoi of medieval poetry and iconography. Thus, it also refers indirectly to the intended allegorical reading of the *Apollonius* in the tradition of the *Gesta Romanorum*. The reader is given an instructive message wrapped in an entertaining fictional narrative, a didactic text on the classical theme of the impermanence of earthly fortune, and trust in God’s power. Here, the Christian reading from the *Gesta* context is expanded by the classical motif of *rota Fortunae*, the Wheel of Fortune which is exemplified in the figure of Apollonius himself, his life, his adventures, the loss of his wife, his daughter, his kingdom, and all his possessions as well as in the re-establishment of his kingdom and being reunited with his family.⁵⁸ German sixteenth-century editions already indicated the Fortuna theme in their title (e.g. Frankfurt am Main: Weigand Han, s.a. [ca. 1560]; *Eine schöne History, vom König Appolonio, wie er von seinem Landt vertrieben, Schiffbrúch und mancherley unglück erlitten, und doch endlich durch glück wider in sein Landt kommen ist*; “A charming History about King Appolonius, how he was driven away from his Country, how he suffered shipwreck and many other miseries, and finally returned to his Country through good fortune”). Still, the explicit mention of the Wheel of Fortune is a novelty in the early modern Danish tradition. In the *Apollonius* story, the characters, especially Apollonius himself, show great patience with all the misery they suffer. But there is a traditional remedy against Fortune’s power in medieval Christian tradition: *patientia* (sometimes equated with *constantia*) is not only one of the four Christian cardinal virtues, it is also the main remedy against the power of Fortuna, especially since Francesco Petrarca described it in his moral-philosophical treatise *De remediis utriusque fortunae* (1366), which was widely disseminated via the German translation by Georg Spalatin and Peter Stahel, printed in Augsburg in 1532: *Von der Artzney bayder Glück /*

57 See Müller (1985, 61–75); Knape (1984); Knapp (1997); and Braun (2004, 317–318) on the implications of *historia* versus *fabula*. For a genre discussion on narratives in general, see Schlusmann and Wierzbicka-Trwoga (2021).

58 See Haug and Wachinger (1995) and Theisen (1995) on Fortuna as a narratological element. On Fortuna in literature see also Kirchner (1970).

des gûten vnd widerwertigen (“On the Remedy against both kinds of Fortune, good and bad”), mostly called *Das Glücksbuch* (“The Book of Fortune”; USTC 658141; Knappe 1986; Huss 2021). The importance of *patientia*, exemplified in the figure of King Apollonius, is continuing the moral-didactic interpretation of the story from the *Gesta Romanorum* tradition. It is also very likely that the Danish *Apollonius* translator – particularly if he used Latin sources for his translation – was well acquainted with *De remediis* and *Das Glücksbuch*. “Glück” and “Unglück”, as expressed in the early modern German *Apollonius* titles, correspond to this medieval concept of *bona* and *mala fortuna*.

The maritime iconography on the title woodcut is also clear, as the main setting of the story is the sea – shipwrecks and journeys at sea structure the various parts of the plot – and the sea is also where the goddess Fortuna reigns.⁵⁹ Finally, the last part of the title, “Entertaining and Useful to read and to hear”, refers to another main poetological discussion of the narrative genre itself, the Horatian *prodesse et delectare*. The Danish translation of the German expression “nutz und kurtzweyl” (“benefit and entertainment”) clearly articulates the benefit of reading, according to the understanding of the early modern concept of “historia” as a ‘genre’ (see Müller 1985, 84). It is an endorsement for reading fiction and a commercial advertisement for the book too. Furthermore, “to read and to hear” is an indication that the text was not only intended to be read by the reader on his/her own but also to be read aloud – to others. This reveals an aspect of sociability and many Danish and Swedish narratives use this formulation in their titles.⁶⁰

However, the early modern Danish tradition offers further paratextual elements supporting the allegorical and exemplary reading of the *Apollonius* story.

4.1 The King as Example: The Poem and the Prologue in the Danish Tradition with a Side Glance at the Dutch Tradition

In the Danish *Apollonius* transmission, the traditional title is consistently used from the earliest extant edition (Rostock 1594) until 1783.⁶¹ The reading of *Apollonius* as an exemplary tale of fortune and misfortune, loss and rehabilitation is most clearly expressed in a poem and a prologue, two paratextual elements pres-

⁵⁹ Scheibel (2020, 283–315) comments especially on the connections between the maritime setting, Fortuna, and the Christian interpretation in *Apollonius*.

⁶⁰ Glauser (1990); Richter (2009); on the importance of the *kvöldvaka* (“Evening wake”) tradition in Iceland until the nineteenth century, see Driscoll (1997, 73) and Glauser (2016, 51).

⁶¹ Regarding the preserved title pages: Richter (2009, 71–72).

ent in almost every Danish *Apollonius* edition from 1594 until the end of the nineteenth century, thus establishing a strong paratextual stability.⁶² The poem reads as follows:

Lycke oc wlycke de vandre omkring
 Oc gaa hoss huer Mand vd oc ind.
 Som Sommer faar Vinteren vige maa /
 Oc Vinter saa atter igien bort gaa.
 Saa kommer wlycke / oc lycke bort gaar
 Men bladets vendis atter it andet Aar.
 Der faare ver Trøstig i modgans [sic] tid /
 Ver oc icke staalt / naar Lycken er blid.
 En eniste Dag kand skiffte det saa /
 At du kand Lycke eller wlycke faa.
 Exempel findis her i denne Bog/
 Besinde det ræt / Da bliffer du klaag.⁶³

Taking up the Fortuna idea of the title in the phrase “lycke oc wlycke”, the poem underlines the allegorical reading of the entire text through the topos-like painting of the instability and unpredictability of luck, *bona fortuna* and *mala fortuna*. Fortune and misfortune are depicted as a pair, two sides of the same coin, similar to what the famous Danish poet Thomas Kingo (1634–1703) would describe about a hundred years later in his church hymn *Hver har sin Skæbne* (“Everyone has his/her Fate”), which became part of the official hymnbook of the Danish Lutheran Church and was very popular, especially with the first stanza “Sorrige og Glæde, de vandre tilhaabe, / Lykke, Ulykke de ganger paa Rad, / Medgang og Modgang hin anden anraabe, / Solskin og Skyer de følgis og ad!”⁶⁴ The appeal to the reader in the *Apollonius* poem involves a stoic attitude of mind presented as desirable, which should make people aware of this changeability and accept both

⁶² Exceptions are incomplete editions about which no definite statement can be made, as well as one edition (from the second part of the eighteenth century), the edition dating from 1797–1808, and the edition printed in Copenhagen in 1853.

⁶³ *Apollonius* (1594, A1v; LN 942). “Fortune and misfortune wander around / And go in and out of Everyone. / Just as Summer must give way to Winter / And Winter must go away again. / So also comes misfortune, and fortune leaves us; / But the tide turns again next Year. / Therefore, be Confident in times of failure / And do not be proud when Fortune is with you. / A single Day can turn it around / So that Fortune or misfortune can befall you. / Examples of this can be found here in this Book / Think about it properly, / Then you will be wise.”

⁶⁴ *Hver har sin Skæbne* is hymn no. XIV in Kingo’s Church hymn book *Aandelige Siunge-Koors Anden Part* (1681), see Brix et al. (1975, 233–236: “Sorrow and Joy / walk together on the same path, / Fortune and Misfortune alternate, / Success and Failure call out to one another, / Sunshine and Shadow follow one another”). It may be that Kingo was inspired by texts like *Apollonius* but then it is a very common theme.

fortune and misfortune calmly. The short Latin distich at the end of the story in the 1594 Rostock edition is also revealing: it exhorts the reader to show patience and stoic serenity in the face of misfortune. The distich here functions as commenting, moralizing closing words at the end of the text.⁶⁵ *Apollonius* serves as a true example for mastering this task as already indicated in the opening poem: “Exempel findis her i denne Bog / Besinde det ræt / Da bliffer du klaag” (“Examples of this can be found here in this Book / Think about it properly, / Then you will be wise”). The prologue that follows the poem continues this train of thought and emphasizes both the didactic aspect and the Christian interpretation.

The prologue (*Apollonius* 1594, A2r–A3r) gives clear instructions on how to read and understand the narrative. “Som vdi en Speil” (“As in a Mirror”), the story of Apollonius and his family gives an example of facing fortune and misfortune in every human life, and it shows the importance of patience which helps Apollonius to overcome all misfortunes:

Oc alt dette offueruinder hand dog / førmedelst Taalmodighed / oc trøster sig met den tilkommende lycksalighed. Saa skulle oc wi / naar det gaar oss vel / her vdi Verden/ komme ihu / at bladet kand snart vendis / oc at den gode dag oc den onde skifte til at holde Husit / oc fordi berede oss / naar wi haffue den gode Lycke / at oc saa bæere wlycke oc Modgang frimodelige / oc met Taalmodighed offueruinde all gienuordighed.⁶⁶

Patience as a Christian virtue is the link between the stoic attitude towards the Wheel of Fortune described in the poem, and hope and trust in God which is ex-

65 “Tristia qui pateris perfer, Sors tristia soluet. / Quod si non faciat Sors, tibi mors faciet. / Det er. / Du som her lider stor sorg oc quid / Lid met gaat taal oc slid din tid / Thi enten skal Lycken din sorg omvende / Eller oc Døden gjør der paa god ende.” (*Apollonius* 1594, G4r). Translation of the Danish part: “This means: If you suffer great hardship even here on earth, / Be patient and spend your time in a good way, / For either fortune will end your misfortune, / Or Death will make a good end to it.” The distich and its translation were taken up in the Swedish editions in the seventeenth century, partly also in eighteenth-century editions with an analogous Swedish translation of the Latin poem, always placed at the end of the narrative, directly before the appendix on the Seven Wonders of the World. These verses, which only appear in the Danish *Apollonius* from 1594, seem to be a special addition in the Scandinavian early modern tradition. Both the combination of the bilingual verses and the style are clearly reminiscent of the model used by the German humanist Johannes Pincianus for *Das Glücksbuch*, and it is quite possible that they were taken from this text (or from a similar treatise) and then translated into Danish and Swedish. See Huss (2021); for the Scandinavian context: Richter (2009, 80–81).

66 *Apollonius* (1594, A2v). “And yet he overcomes all this / with the greatest Patience / and consoles himself with the happiness that will come. So should we / if it goes well for us / here in the World / remember / that the leaf may soon turn / and that the good day and the bad day take turns to reign / and therefore prepare us / if we have the good Fortune / that we even bear misfortune and Adversity courageously / and so be able to overcome all adversities with Patience.”

pressed at the end of the prologue (A3r). *Apollonius* himself appears as an early modern postfiguration of the biblical figure of Job: losing his beloved and all his goods, he keeps his trust in God's providence and that all will turn out well in the end. The special paratextual combination here of poem and prologue seems to be a unique element in the Scandinavian *Apollonius* tradition. The use of *Apollonius* as an explicit example text, however, had already happened not only in the *Gesta Romanorum* but also in Heinrich Steinhöwel's late fifteenth-century *Apollonius* adaptation. In Steinhöwel's prologue, "alt geschicht" ("old story") is described as "dar jnn man fint der wißhait dicht / Och annder ler exempel gût" ("there you will find much wisdom / And also some fine teaching examples").⁶⁷ Recent research on Steinhöwel's *Apollonius* and its transmission both in manuscript and print (partly as multiple-text manuscripts with *Griseldis*,⁶⁸ as well as with religious, learned, and historiographical texts) has characterized it as a complex text including entertaining aspects, but also with a clear example function as a (moral) didactic tale, and, finally, the model of a *vita* of a sovereign. From this point of view, parallels can also be drawn with the medieval and early modern "Fürstenspiegel" ("mirror of princes") as well as with early modern and humanistic didactic literature on love and marriage (Terrahe 2013, 91–101). These aspects are also visible in the Danish paratexts. The special address to married couples, which is explained at the end of the Danish 1594 prologue, can be understood as part of this tradition too:

Der næst synis det oc saa / at denne Bog er dictet Ectetfolck til en trøst oc husualelse. [...] I saa maade kunde Ectetfolck oc saa betencke / effter di Ecteskabs stat icke vil vere vden sorge oc gienuordighed / At Gud vil met sin naadige hielp husuale oc trøste dem / oc beslutte enden paa det sidste met glæde / oc fordi bæere oc lide taalmodelige alle haande trang oc nød / met en fast forhabelse / at det skal end en gang bliffue bedre / Amen.⁶⁹

A combination of fictional narrating and didactic elements from the "Fürstenspiegel" tradition can also be seen in the paratexts in the seventeenth-century Dutch *Apollonius* transmission. The author's dedication to Lady Anna van Hooren in David Lingelbach's *Apollonius Koningh van Tyrus. Treur-Spel* (Amsterdam: Jacob Vinckel, 1662) mentions the value of "d'aeloude Historien" (A2r; "the old", i.e. "an-

⁶⁷ *Apollonius* (1471), 280r–280v (GW 02273).

⁶⁸ On the combination with *Griseldis*, see Terrahe (2013) and the *Griseldis* chapter in this volume.

⁶⁹ *Appolonius* (1594, A3r). "Second, this Book is written for Married couples as a comfort and reminder. [...] In this way, Married couples should also bear in mind / as Marriage will not be free from sorrow and discord / That God will, with his merciful help, comfort them / and will let it end in joy / and therefore they should bear and suffer all the hardship and distresses / with a firm intention / that it will be better at last / Amen."

cient Histories”). They demonstrate Fortune’s control of the world: “[h]oe los en wanckelbaer den staet der wereltlijcke Vorsten en Koningen is” (A2r; “how loose and unstable the status of secular Princes and Kings is”), but also the dangers of secular power. The story of Apollonius shows “in een bespiegelingh” (A2v; “like in a mirror/reflection”) how pride, in the medieval Catholic tradition one of the seven deadly sins, is finally defeated by humility. Thus, the drama can be understood as an allegory about Christian virtues. Pieter Christiaenszoon Bor’s double-drama in prose *Tvvee Tragi-Comedien [...] van Appollonius [...] ende van Tarsia syn Dochter* (Den Haag: Aert Meuris, 1617) is also enriched with several paratextual elements. The title page states that the book is “Wesende niet alleen lustich ende vermakelick om lesen: maer oock vorderlick om weten / hoe men hem in voorspoedt ende teghenspoedt behoort te draghen” (A1r; “Not only pleasurable and entertaining to read, but also very useful to know how to behave in times of happiness and misfortune”). This corresponds to the message conveyed by the early modern Danish paratexts. The verso page of the title, just before the author’s dedication of the text (A2r–A2v) to his relative Pieter Janszoon Bor, the “honourable, pious and wise clerk of court” in Utrecht, displays two short poems, “t Boeck tot den Besienders” (A1v; “The Book to Those who Look at it”) and “Tot den Berispers” (A1v; “To the Critics”) – a clear paratextual tool of communication with the reader.⁷⁰

The following section presents another pattern of paratextual framing which is clearly unique for the early modern Swedish tradition, but with comparable elements somehow continuing the continental (especially Steinhöwel) tradition of the *Apollonius* reception as a text for learned readers, a text which seeks to promote education and literacy.

4.2 A Text Full of Miracles, a Text for Learned Readers: Dedications and Appendices in the Early Modern Swedish Tradition

The Swedish *Apollonius* tradition started in 1633, based on the Danish text but with its own paratextual tradition. Andreas Johannes Arosiander, a well-known Swedish author and translator, translated the narrative from a Danish source, and the very first edition was printed in Uppsala in 1633 (Stockholm, KB, F1700/2282; USTC 251346).

⁷⁰ Interestingly, “The book to Those who Look at it” is printed in a typeface that mimics handwriting. Playing with typography is obviously a literary trick to claim authenticity. The tone of the two poems is quite humorous. Thanks to Rita Schlusemann for her help with the translation.

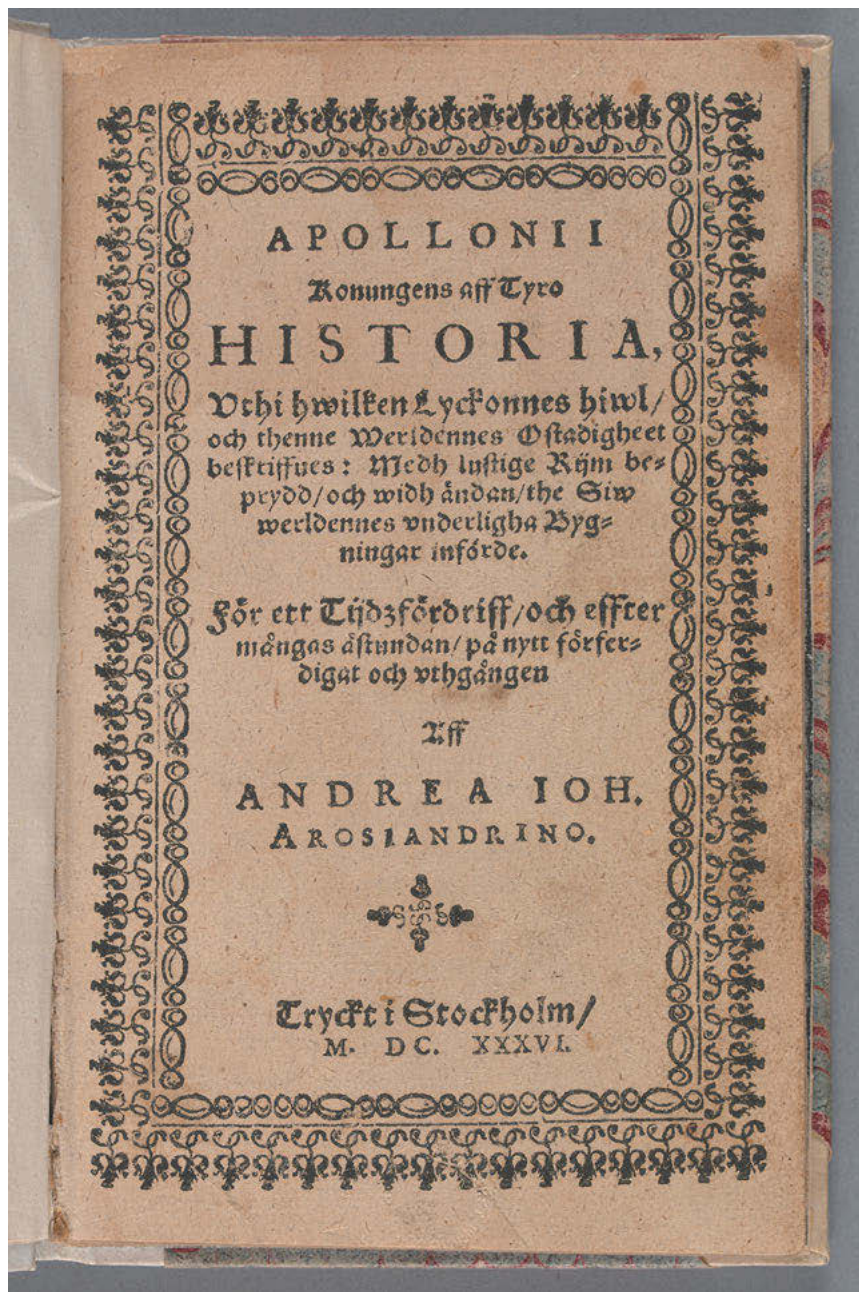


Fig. 4: *Apollonii Konungens aff Tyro Historia*. Stockholm: s.n., 1636, A1r (Stockholm, KB, F1700/2283).
By courtesy of Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm.

The last extant print dates from 1860; of the 21 documented Swedish editions, six are from the seventeenth century, nine from the eighteenth century, and a further six from the nineteenth century.⁷¹ It is remarkable that the narrative itself has scarcely changed during its long transmission in Denmark and Sweden: only in the editions from the nineteenth century can some drastic interventions in the text be found (Richter 2009).

In the Swedish *Apollonius* tradition of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (except for the 1747 edition), an appendix on the Seven Wonders of the World was added to the *Apollonius* story: “Ett kort Extracht aff the Siw Werldennes vnderligha Bygningar” (“A short Paragraph on the Seven wonderful Buildings of the World”). It is also announced on the title pages (Fig. 4). Research has shown that there are two slightly different versions, a shorter version A in the five preserved seventeenth-century editions (1633–1663), and a longer version B in most eighteenth-century editions (Glauser 1990, 146–148; Richter 2009, 88–104). The wonders named here are, according to the tradition from classical Antiquity and the Middle Ages: the Wall of Babylon, the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, the Pyramids of Giza, the Statue of Zeus at Olympia, the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, the Hanging Gardens of Babylon, and the palace of Cyrus.⁷² The appendix on the Seven Wonders is based on a work titled *Centuria Historiarum. Thet är / Etthundrade vthwalde / nytige / lustige och tänkwärdige Historier och Discurser* (“Centuria Historiarum. That is, One hundred selected, useful, pleasant, and memorable Histories and Discourses”; Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer, 1646; USTC 252315), a translation of a famous German collection of antique transmitted texts and anecdotes on historiography, mythology, and geography, *Acerra Philologica*. The *Acerra* were compiled by Petrus Lauremberg (1585–1612), a polymath and scholar of philosophy, medicine, and mathematics and professor of poetry at the university of Rostock, and printed for the first time by Johann Hallervord in Rostock in 1633.⁷³ Version B in

71 In the Swedish *Apollonius* tradition, the printer’s name does not appear in any edition until 1800. It is only in the editions from the nineteenth century that the printer is named on the title page. See Richter (2009, 54–60). For an overview of the editions, see the appendix.

72 On the Seven Wonders of the World and the transmission of the different lists: Clayton and Price (2004). In version B, the Hanging Gardens and the palace of Cyrus are replaced by the Lighthouse of Alexandria and the Colossus of Rhodes.

73 *Acerra Philologica. Das ist: Zweyhundert außlerlesene / nützliche / lustige / und denckwürdige Historien und Discursen, zusammen gebracht auß den berühmsten Griechischen und Lateinischen Scribenten [...]* (“Acerra Philologica. That is: Twohundred selected / useful / pleasant / and memorable Histories and Discourses, compiled from the famous Greek and Latin Scribes”; VD17 23:253626G). Originally containing 200, the number of the histories varies in the numerous seventeenth-century German editions. A Danish translation of the *Acerra* was published in Copenhagen in 1639 containing 300 histories, and a Swedish one in Stockholm in 1646 with 100 histories

the eighteenth-century *Apollonius* editions even enriches the appendix with nine additional texts on history and mythology from classical Antiquity, which were also derived from the *Centuria Historiarum* and concern the destruction of Troy, Alexander the Great, etc. Furthermore, there are some connections between the narrative, or the diegesis, itself and its paratextual frame: Apollonius' wife lives for some time as a priestess in the temple of Artemis (Diana) in Ephesus, and at the end of the narrative, Apollonius writes down the story of his life in two books, one copy of which he leaves at the temple at Ephesus and the other one in his private library.⁷⁴ The narrative itself thus presents to achieve a status of 'authenticity' beyond its diegetic frame.

The appendix on the Seven Wonders of the World and the additional texts are aimed at a readership with a certain knowledge about antique history, historiography, and mythology. The paratextual elements thus become the actual site of a cultural and literary-historical placing of the Swedish *Apollonius*. At the same time, they reveal an early modern understanding of text production: the paratexts do not only frame the main text and hint at the social and intellectual background of its readership, but they also reveal how the compiler or translator and maybe even printer had a certain idea of how the narrative should be read and understood by readers at that time – and how it could be sold as an attractive book. The Swedish *Apollonius*, as a learned text, tells a story with a setting in the antique world, a *historia* in the original meaning of connecting the fictional text to a historical, i.e. factual context (presenting the 'historicity' and mainly the authority of the classical *mirabilia mundi*), and thus promotes the narration of fiction.

Furthermore, two Latin paratextual elements in the 1633 and 1636 Swedish *Apollonius* editions support the argument for a learned readership of this narrative. A longer poem, dedicated to the reader by the Lutheran pastor, poet, and translator Stephanus Laurentii (Larsson) Muraeus (d. 1675), comes after the table of contents and a short poem in Swedish. The table of contents and the Swedish poem are both written by the translator Arosiander. Muraeus' Latin poem (which

(the first 100 histories taken from the Danish version). The early seventeenth-century *Apollonius* editions (1633, 1636 and 1642) must have taken the texts for the appendix from a Danish or a German *Acerra* edition, since the Swedish *Centuria* were published only in 1646. See Glauser (1990, 147); Richter (2009, 91–96).

⁷⁴ This passage about the two books written and left by Apollonius himself was already included in the Latin *HA* in the *RB* redaction (Kortekaas 2004, 80–81; 249), which continued in the *Gesta Romanorum* version (Oesterley 1963 [1872], 532) and in Steinhöwel's text (*Apollonius* 1471, 310r). It also appears in the French (1482) and in the English *Apollonius* (1510). See Morrison (2020, 94–95). It probably already acted as a guarantee of authenticity in the *HA*; see Kortekaas (2004, 81; 2007, 904–907).

also takes up the *historia vs fabula* discussion) is followed by another Latin paratext, a “Praise of the translator”, written by Johannes Olai Dalekarlus (Johan Stiernhök, d. 1675), a law professor at the University of Åbo and Ariosander’s half-brother.

The framing of the seventeenth-century Swedish *Apollonius* with its Latin paratexts and the appendix on the *miracula mundi* manifestly addresses a literate readership, capable of understanding Latin and familiar with classical Antiquity and mythology. Thus, the *Apollonius* story is clearly contextualized in an early modern literate and multilingual milieu in Sweden.

5 Conclusion

Reading the narrative as an example of the variability and alternation of fortune and misfortune in man’s life on earth in a Christian tradition since the *Gesta Romanorum* adaptation, the exemplary figure of Apollonius allows combinations of the fictional narrative with religious and historiographical texts as well as texts in the tradition of “mirror literature”. The different framings of the *Apollonius* story in the Scandinavian (Danish and Swedish) tradition offer some new perspectives on the narrative in general, seen in the light of its broad European transmission. First, the Wheel of Fortune, with its references to classical Antiquity and Renaissance literature and iconography, is very distinctive, especially in the Danish transmission – in the title, the poem, and the prologue. Several other translations in European vernaculars stress the Fortune motif too, e.g. Lawrence Twine’s English *Apollonius* (1570), the Dutch drama versions from the seventeenth century, or Antoine-Louis Le Brun’s French adaptation from 1710. Second, the framing with paratextual elements indicates a literate and educated readership, like the Swedish seventeenth-century editions do (Latin poem and “Praise of the translator”, appendix on the *miracula mundi*), but it is also visible in the *Tristia* distich in the Danish first edition (1594) and the first Swedish editions. The distich even combines the Fortuna aspect and literate readership.

The paratextual elements in the Scandinavian tradition clearly support the Christian and allegorical reading of the narrative as an example of the variability and alternation of fortune and misfortune in man’s life on earth. This reading is also recognizable in other European vernacular versions but performed in a unique way in the paratexts of the Danish and Swedish editions. They create an attractive frame for the narrative itself and advocate the joy of reading fiction, introducing the story as “useful and pleasant” in the Horatian tradition. The presentation in the two Dutch drama adaptations from the seventeenth century, espe-

cially the double-drama, bringing more visibility to Apollonius' daughter Tarsia, is also remarkable and worth being studied in detail. Announcing an appendix on the title page certainly served as an 'eye-catcher' for a certain literate readership, at least for the Swedish editions with the *miracula mundi* appendices, and thus also had an economic objective for the printer and bookseller. This can be understood as a clear communication event between translator-printer-editor and reader, via paratextual elements (see Wagner 2008).

From the Middle Ages until 1800 and beyond, *Apollonius* remained an attractive and "pleasant history", according to its multilingual transmissions throughout the centuries: re-edited, rewritten, and reframed by different paratexts, and continuously attracting readers.

Appendix

The Printed Tradition of *Apollonius* in European Vernaculars until 1800⁷⁵

High German

- Die hijstori des küniges apollonij.* Augsburg: Günther Zainer, 1471 (GW 02273; Gotzkowsky 1991, 185, no. 1)
- Die hijstori des küniges Appoloni.* Augsburg: Johann Bämmler, 1476 (GW 02274; Gotzkowsky 1991, 186, no. 2)
- Die hystori des künigs Appoloni.* Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1479 (GW 02275; Gotzkowsky 1991, 186, no. 3)
- Die histori des künigs Appoloni.* Augsburg: Johann Schönsperger, 1488 (GW 02276; Gotzkowsky 1991, 187, no. 4)
- Die histori des küniges appolonii.* Augsburg: Johann Schönsperger, 1494 (GW 227610N)
- Die hystori des kunigs Appoloni.* Ulm: Konrad Dinckmut, 1495 (GW 02277; Gotzkowsky 1991, 187, no. 5)
- Die hystori des künigs Appoloni.* Ulm: Johann Zainer d.J., 1499 (GW 02278; Gotzkowsky 1991, 187–188, no. 6)
- Ein hübsche hystori von dem König Appolonius.* Augsburg: Hans Froschauer, 1516 (Gotzkowsky 1991, 188, no. 7)
- Appolonius. Hie nach volget gar ein Schöne Hystori von dem künig Appoloni. Wie lang er vor Christ geburt geregirt hat. vnd was wunders er in sinem leben erfahren hatt.* Straßburg: Matthias Hupfuff, 1516 (VD16 A 3135; Gotzkowsky 1991, 188–189, no. 8)
- Von König Appolonio / Eyn schöne und lustige Histori [...] durch Gottfried von Viterb im latein beschriben, nachmaln inns Teutsch verwendet.* Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner, 1540 (VD16 ZV 15713; Gotzkowsky 1991, 189, no. 9)
- Ain Hübsche Hystori Von dem König Appolonius.* Augsburg: Hans Zimmermann, 1552 (VD16 A 3136; Gotzkowsky 1991, 189, no. 10)
- Ein schöne Hystori vom König Appolonio.* Frankfurt am Main: Weigand Han, 1556 (Gotzkowsky 1991, 189–190, no. 11)
- Eine schöne History, vom König Appolonio, wie er von seinem Landt vertrieben, Schiffbrúch, und mancherley unglück erlitten, und doch endlich durch glück wider in sein Landt kommen ist.* Frankfurt am Main: Weigand Han, s.a. [ca. 1560] (VD16 A3137; Gotzkowsky 1991, 190, no. 12)
- König Appolonius. Ein schöne und kurtzweilig History / von dem König Appolonio / wie er von seinem Land und Leuten vertrieben und verjaget / Schiffbruch / und mancherley Unglück und Elend erlitten / und doch endlich durch glück wiederumb in sein Land kommen ist.* Magdeburg: Johann Francke, s.a. [ca. 1600] (VD16 ZV 30895; Gotzkowsky 1994, 65, no. 1)
- König Appolonius. Ein schöne und kurtzweilige Historia / von König Appolonio / wie er von seim Land und Leuten vertrieben und verjaget / Schiffbruch / unnd mancherley unglück und Elend erlitten / und doch*

⁷⁵ This appendix attempts to record the printed vernacular *Apollonius* editions. However, no claim can be made to completeness. Further reference can be made to BC, EDIT16, GW, IB, IStC, VD16, VD17, VD18, Gotzkowsky (1991; 1994), Richter (2009), Terrahe (2013). The language areas are listed according to the first known edition: German, Italian, Dutch, French, Spanish, English, Czech, Greek, Polish, Hungarian, Danish, and Swedish. For each language area the editions are listed in chronological order.

- endlich durch Glück wiederumb in sein Land kommen ist.* Leipzig: Nikolaus Nerlich, 1604 (Gotzkowsky 1994, 65, no. 3)
- König Appolonius. Ein schöne und kurtzweilige Historia / von König Appolonio / wie er von seim Land und Leuten vertrieben und verjaget / Schiffbruch / und mancherley unglück und Elend erlitten / und doch endlich durch Glück wiederumb in sein Land kommen ist.* Leipzig: Nikolaus Nerlich, 1624 (VD 17 23:713200Z)
- König Appolonius. Ein schöne und kurtzweilige Historia / von König Appolonia [sic] / wie er von seim Land und Leuten vertrieben und verjaget / Schiffbruch / und mancherley Unglück und Elend erlitten / und doch endlich durch Glück wiederumb in sein Land kommen ist.* Nürnberg: Michael Endter, 1658 (Gotzkowsky 1994, 67, no. 4)
- König Applonius [sic]. Ein schöne und kurtzweilige Historia / von König Appolonia [sic] / wie er von seim Land und Leuten vertrieben und verjaget / Schiffbruch / und mancherley Unglück und Elend erlitten / und doch endlich durch Glück wiederumb in sein Land kommen ist.* Nürnberg: Michael Endter, 1673 (VD17 23:330386N; Gotzkowsky 1994, 67, no. 5)

Low German

- Apollonius. Eine Schöne vnde Kortwyilige Historia / vam Köninge Appolonio / wo he van Landt vnde Lüden vordreuen vnde vorjaget / Schipbröke vnde menningerley vngelücke vnde elende vorduldet / vnde doch thom lesten wedder in syn Landt gekamen ys.* Hamburg: Hermann Möller, 1601 (BC II: 2685; Gotzkowsky 1994, 65, no. 2; copy: Kraków, BJ, Berol. Yu 1605 (2), olim Staatsbibliothek Berlin)

Italian

- Istoria d'Appollonio di Tiro.* Venezia: Gabriele di Pietro, 1475 (GW 02280)
- Historia Apollonii regis Tyri* [Italian verse by Antonio Pucci] “Omnipotente Idio signor superno”. Venezia: Gabriele di Pietro, 1478 (GW 02281; USTC 997589)
- Historia Apollonii regis Tyri* [Italian verse by Antonio Pucci] “Omnipotente Idio signor superno”. Firenze: Bartolommeo di Libri, ca. 1485 (GW 02282)
- Historia Apollonii regis Tyri* [Italian verse by Antonio Pucci] “Omnipotente Idio signor superno”. Firenze: Bartolommeo di Libri, ca. 1485 (GW 02283; USTC 99758)
- Historia Apollonii regis Tyri* [Italian verse by Antonio Pucci] “Omnipotente idio signor superno”. Firenze: Nicolaus Laurentii, 1485 (GW 0228310N)
- Historia Apollonii regis Tyri* [Italian verse by Antonio Pucci] “Omnipotente idio signor superno”. Venezia: Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, 1486–1487 (GW 02284)
- Historia Apollonii regis Tyri* [Italian verse by Antonio Pucci] “Omnipotente Idio signor superno”. Firenze: Printer of Vergilius (C 6061), [ca. 1491] [assigned to Lorenzo Morgiani and Johannes Petri] (GW 228415N; ISTC ia00926700)
- Historia Apollonii regis Tyri* [Italian verse by Paulus Taegius] “Apolonio de tiro astretto io canto”. Milano: Philippus de Mantegatiis, 1492 (GW 02284a; ISTC ia00926900)
- Historia Apollonii regis Tyri* [Italian verse by Antonio Pucci] “Omnipotente Idio signor superno”. Firenze: Bartolommeo di Libri, 1498 (GW 228430N)

- Apollonio De Tiro* [Italian verse by Antonio Pucci] “Omnipotente Idio signor superno”. Venezia: Johannes Baptista Sessa, 1499 (GW 228420N; ISTC ia00926750)
- Historia Apollonii regis Tyri* [Italian verse by Antonio Pucci] “Omnipotente Idio signor superno”. Firenze: Bartolommeo di Libri, ca. 1500 (USTC 997581).
- Historia d'Apollonio di Tiro. Nuouamente ristampata.* s.l.: s.n., s.a. [16th century] (EDIT16 CNCE 72316)
- Historia de Apollonio de Tiro.* Milano: Giovanni Giacomo Da Legnano & brothers and Pietro Martire Mantegazza, 1506 (EDIT16 CNCE 2164)
- Apollonio di Tiro.* Firenze: Francesco Benvenuto, 1510–1519 (EDIT16 CNCE 2167; GW 228410N)
- Historia de Apollonio de Tiro.* Milano: Giovanni Castiglione, 1520 (EDIT16 CNCE 2166)
- Apollonio de Tiro hystoriato.* Venezia: Francesco Bindoni and Maffeo Pasini, 1532 (EDIT16 CNCE 2168)
- Apollonio de Tiro. Novamente stampato con le figure.* Venezia: Melchiorre Sessa, 1535 (copy: Wolfenbüttel, HAB, A: 107.22 Eth. (11))
- Apollonio de Tiro historiato et nuouamente stampato.* Venezia: Francesco Bindoni and Maffeo Pasini, 1550 (EDIT16 CNCE 2170)
- Historia d'Apollonio di Tiro nuouamente ristampata.* Firenze: alle scale di Badia, post 1550 (EDIT16 CNCE 2169)
- Apollonio de Tiro historiato.* Venezia: heirs of Giovanni Padovano, 1555 (EDIT16 CNCE 2171; USTC 803691)
- Historia di Apollonio di Tiro, dove si racconta tutte le disgratie, che gli avvennero in un lungo viaggio di mare.* s.l.: s.n., ca. 1560 (copy: Wolfenbüttel, HAB, M: Lk Sammelbd. 64 (16))
- Historia d'Apollonio di Tiro. Nuovamente ristampata.* Firenze [?]: s.n., 1560 [?] (EDIT16 CNCE 79863; copy: London, BL, Digital Store 1071.m.17.(1.))
- Apollonio de Tiro historiato, et nuouamente ristampato.* Venezia: Francesco de Tomaso di Salò e compagni in Frezzaria al segno della Fede: 1565 [?] (EDIT16 CNCE 2172)
- Apollonio de Tiro historiato et nuouamente ristampato.* Venezia: for Iacomo Giedini, 1577 (EDIT16 CNCE 2173)
- Apollonio de Tiro historiato, et nuouamente ristampato.* Venezia: heirs of Luigi Valvassori, 1581 (EDIT16 CNCE 2174)
- Historia d'Apollonio di Tiro.* Firenze: Matteo Galassi, 1581 (EDIT16 CNCE 2175)
- Historia d'Apollonio di Tiro.* Firenze: Giovanni Baleni, post 1582 (EDIT16 CNCE 2176)
- Apollonio de Tiro historiato & nuouamente ristampato.* Venezia: Fabio and Agostino Zoppini, 1584 (EDIT16 CNCE 2177; USTC 801383)
- Historia d'Apollonio di Tiro, nuouamente ristampata.* Firenze: Giovanni Baleni, 1588 (EDIT16 CNCE 2178)
- Apollonio de Tiro. Nel quale si tratta di diuerse bellissime historie. Nuouoamente ristampato.* Venezia: Agostino Zoppini & nepoti, 1598 (EDIT16 CNCE 80140)
- Apollonio di Tiro historiato novamente ristampato et ricorretto et con bellissime figure adornato.* Venezia: Pietro Usci, 1629 (USTC 4044299)
- Apollonio de Tiro, Historiato, Diviso in sei Canti. Novamente Ristampato, et diligentemente corretto.* Trevigi and Bassano: Giovanni Antonio Remondini, s.a. [ca. 1680] (copy: London, BL, General Reference Collection DRT Digital Store 1071.c.3.(4.))

Dutch

Die gesten of gheschienenisse van Romen [Gesta Romanorum: Apollonius as no. 153]. Gouda: Gheraert Leeu, 1481 (GW 10889; ISTC ig00298000)

Die schoone ende die suuerlicke hystorie van Appollonius van thyro. Delft: Christiaen Snellaert, 1493 (GW 02285; ISTC ia00924600)

De wonderlyke Gevallen van Apollonius van Tyr. Amsterdam: Isaac Trojel, 1710 (copy: Den Haag: KL, KW 29 C 9 [2])

Ismenida, of de Wondere Levensgefallen, Van den standfastigen Minnaar, en Weergaloozen Held Apollonius, Prince, en namaals Koning van Tyr, uit het Fransch vertaald. Amsterdam: Johannes van Leeuwen, 1714 (copy: Leiden, UB, 1017 G 43)

Drama adaptations

Bor, Pieter Christiaenszoon. *Twee Tragi-comedien In prosa / D'eene van Appollonius Prince van Tyro. Ende d'ander Van den zelven / ende van Tarsia syn Dochter.* Den Haag: Aert Meuris, 1617 (copy: Amsterdam, UB, OTM: O 61-9348 (2))

Bor, Pieter Christiaenszoon. *Twee Tragi-comedien in prosa, d'eene van Appollonius Prince van Tyro. Ende d'ander Van den zelven / ende van Tarsia syn Dochter.* Den Haag: s.n., 1634 (copy: Leiden, UB, 1089 B 42)

Lingelbach, David. *Apollonius, Koningh van Tyrus. Treur-Spel.* Amsterdam: Jacob Vinckel, 1662 (copy: Amsterdam, UB, Allard Pierson Depot; OTM: OK 63-8594; also online via Google books)

French

[Incipit] “Cy commence la cronique et hystorie de appollin roy de thir”. Genève: Louis Cruse, 1482 (GW 02279) (copy: Genève, BGE, digital copy: https://www.e-rara.ch/gep_g/content/titleinfo/9492593)

La plaisante et agreable histoire d'Apolonius, prince de Thir en Afrique et roi d'Antioche. Paris: Denis Janot et Alain Lotrian, 1530 (USTC 55218)

Antoine-Louis Le Brun, *Les aventures d'Apollonius de Tyr.* Rotterdam: Jean Hofhout, 1710 (copy: Leiden, UB 677 F 24)

Antoine-Louis Le Brun, *Les aventures d'Apollonius de Tyr.* [Seconde edition, augmentée de la Réponse à une critique sur ce livre]. Paris: Pierre Ribou, 1711 (copy: Paris, BnF Y2-75782)

Antoine-Louis Le Brun, *L'Inconstance de la Fortune, depeint dans le Aventures d'Apollonius d'Tyr. Histoire interessante & susceptible de Morale. Ou l'on voit un enchainement continuel de Bonheur & de Disgraces, pour donner de la Crainte aux plus Fortunez, & de l'Esperance aux plus Malheureux.* Rotterdam: Jean Hofhout, 1726 (copy: Paris, BnF, FRBNF32360268)

Antoine-Louis Le Brun, *Les aventures d'Apollonius de Tyr.* Paris: Pierre Prault, 1747 (copy: München, BSB, P.o.gall. 1210 k)

Antoine-Louis Le Brun, *Les aventures d'Apollonius de Tyr.* Rotterdam: s.n., 1797 (copy: Amsterdam, UB, OTM: O 62-9276)

Spanish (Castilian)

[Incipit] “Aqui comiença la vida e hystoria del rey apolonio la qual contiene como la tribulacion temporal se muda en fin en gozo perdurable”. Zaragoza: Paul Hurus, 1488 (GW 0228510N; ISTC ia00927000)

English

Kynge Appolyn of Thyre. Translation by Robert Copland. London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1510 (STC 708.5)
The Patterne of painefull Adventures: Containing the most excellent, pleasant and variable Historie of the strange accidents that befell vnto Prince Apollonius, the Lady Lucina his wife and Tharsia his daughter. Wherein the uncertaintie of this world, and the fickle state of mans life are lively described. Gathered into English by Laurence Twine Gentleman. B.L. London: Valentine Simmes for the Widow Newman [Elizabeth Newman], 1594 (digital copy at EEBO: <https://www.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2240919107/A79A1F3FD6954C69PQ/1?accountid=14796>)
The patterne of painefull aduentures: Containing the most excellent, pleasant, and variable historie of the strange accidents that befell vnto Prince Apollonius, the Lady Lucina his wife, and Tharsia his daughter. Wherein the vncertaintie of this world, and the fickle state of mans life are liuely described. Gathered into English by T. [sic] Twine gent. London: Valentine Simmes, 1607 (USTC 3002788)

Czech

Kronika o králi Apolloniowi Tyrském. Plzeň: Mikuláš Bakalář, 1510–1511 (KPS K19206)
 [Kronika o Apollonovi, králi Tyrském]. s.l.: s.n. [before 1568] (KPS K19207)
Kronyka o Apollonowi Králi Tyrském. Praha: Jiří Černý z Černého Mostu, 1605 (KPS K04438)
Kronyka o Apollonowi Králi Tyrském. Olomouc: Ignác Rosenburg, 1711 (KPS K04439)
Kronyka Welmi Přjkl'adná O Apollonowi Králi Tyrském. Jindřichův Hradec: Jan Bedřich Jakeš, 1733 (KPS K04440)
Kronyka Welmi Přjkl'adná O Apollonowi Králi Tyrském. Jindřichův Hradec: Jan Bedřich Jakeš [?], 1733 (KPS K04441; identical with K04440?)
Kronyka O Apollonowi Králi Tyrském, a o geho welmi diwných Přjhodách. Praha: Václav František Dipath, 1752 (KPS K04442)
Kronyka o Apollonowi, králi Tyrském a o geho welmi diwných přjhodách. Jindřichův Hradec: Ignác Vojtěch Hilgartner, 1759–1787 (KPS K04443)
Kronyka o Apollonowi králi Tyrském. Praha: Karel Josef Jauernich, 1761 (KPS K04444)
Kronyka o Apollonowi Králi Tyrském. Olomouc: Josefa Terezie Hirnleová, 1769 (KPS K04445)
Kronyka o Apollonowi, Králi Tyrském a geho welmi diwných přjhodách. Praha: Antonín Josef Zýma, 1793 (KPS K04446)
Kronyka o Apollonowi, Králi Tyrském, a geho welmi diwných přjhodách. Praha: Antonín Josef Zýma, 1799 (KPS K04447)

Drama adaptation

Zýma, Antonín Josef: *Tharsya z Tyru. Původnj Činohra w čtyřech gednánjch*. Praha: Jan Tomáš Höchenberger and Antonín Josef Zýma, 1792 (KPS K17494; digital copy: Wien, ÖNB, http://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO_%2BZ202430303)

Greek

Apollonios. Venezia: in edibus Stephani de Sabio: sumptu et requisitione Damiani de Santa Maria, 1524 (EDIT16 CNCE 2162)
Apolonios. Venezia: Giovanni Pietro Pinelli, 1642 (copy: Paris, BnF, YB-2462)

Polish

Historia o Apolloniussu Krolu Tyrskim á Társii krolewnie. [Part of the Polish translation of the *Gesta Romanorum: Historje rozmaite z Rzymskich y z innych dzieiow wybrane* [...].] Kraków: Maciej Szarfenberg, 1543 (digital copy: München, BSB, Rar. 823: <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb10858432>)

Historje rozmaite z Rzymskich y z innych dzieiow wybrane [...]. Kraków: Mikołaj Szarfenberger, 1566 (copy: Kraków, BJ, St. Dr. Cim. 886) (Jagellonian Digital Library: <https://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/publication/951385>)

Historje Rzymskie Rozmaite z Rożnych Dzieiow z wykładami obyczaynemi, krotko zebrane. Ludziom ku rozmyślaniu mądrości, y też innych cnot przywodzące. s.l., s.n.: 1601–1700 (copy: Kraków, BJ, St. Dr. 585153 I) (Jagellonian Digital Library: <https://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/publication/951382>)

Historje Rozmaite Rzymskie Z rożnych dzieiow, z wykładami Objczyaynemi krotko. Zebrane, Wszelkiego stanu ludziom dla mądrości y bogoboynych Cnot nabywania wielce pożyteczne, y potrzebne: A teraz Z poprawą lepszą, polerowniejszemi y wyborniejszemi słowj ku Dobru pospolitemu, w Druku potwierdzone y Wydane. Lwów: s.n., 1752 (copy: Kraków, BJ, St. Dr. 586048 I) (Jagellonian Digital Library: <https://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/publication/559156>)

Historje Rozmaite Rzymskie [...]. Kraków: Michał Józef Antoni Dyaszewski, 1753 (Jagellonian Digital Library: <https://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/publication/555968#description>)

Historie rozmaite rzymskie [...]. Kraków: Stanisław Stachowitz, 1773 (copy: Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, Magazyn Starych Druków; SD XVIII.1.3378)

Historje Rozmaite Rzymskie [...]. s.l.: s.n., 1786 (copy: Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, Magazyn Starych Druków; SD XVIII.1.5648.adl)

Hungarian

- Szép chronica, miképpen az Apollonius nevő királyfi egy mesének meg fejtéseért el budoján, Az Tengeren mindeneke el veftuén, Halász ruhában Altistrates Király vduarában itá, melyne Leánya à ßép Lucina aßßony, az Királyfit meg ßeretuén, hozzá méne. És miképpen az Apollonius az Királyságra haza menuén, az Tengeren Feleségét és Leányát el vefté, és miképpen őket soc eßtéðő mlua nagy örömmel egésségben találá. Most vyionnan, az Lucretia notayára Magyar nyelure fordítatot, és meg nyomtattatot.* Kolozsvár: Gáspár Heltai, 1591 (RMNy 661; RMK I. 241–242)
- Apollonius királyfi históriája.* Sárvár: Johannes Manlius, 1592 (RMNy 699; USTC 305754)
- Apollonius királyfi verses históriája.* s.l.: s.n., [ca. 1600] (RMK1355)
- Krónika Apollonius királyfiról.* Bártfa: s.n., [17th century] (RMK I. 1596)
- Krónika Apollonius királyfiról* [fragment]. s.l.: s.n., [1655–1700] (RMK I. 1612b)
- Igen szép kronika Apollonius nevű király-firól [...].* s.l.: Esler Márton [Martin Endter, after 1711] (copy: Budapest, OSK, Pny 3.021)
- Szép jeles historia egy Apollonius nevű király fiúról, Miképpen egy Mesének meg-fejtése miatt el-bújdosván.* Budán: Veronika Nottenstein, 1750 (copy: Budapest: OSK, Pny 2.869)
- Igen szép chronica Apollonius nevű király-fi miképpen egy mesének megfejtéséért elbujdosván, az tengeren mindeneke elvesztvén: halász ruhában Altristátas király udvarában juta.* s.l.: Esler Márton, 1751 (copy: Budapest, OSK, Pny 2.870)
- Igen szép chronica Apollonius nevű király-fi, miképpen [...] elbújdosván.* Pozsony [Pressburg, Bratislava]: Johann Michael Landerer, 1751 (copy: Budapest: OSK, UDC nr. 894.511–34)
- Igen szép chronica Apollonius nevű király-fi, miképpen [...] elbújdosván.* S.l.: s.n., 1757 (copy: Budapest, OSK, UDC nr. 894.511-34)
- Tirusi Apollonius' bujdosásának történetei.* s.l.: s.n [1760?] (copy: Szeged, Somogyi Library, SZ4/E2)
- Igen szép chronica Apollonius nevű királyfiról miképpen egy mesének meg-fejtéséért elbujdosván a tengeren mindeneke el-veztvén, halász ruhába Altistrates király udvarába juta.* Nürnberg: Martin Endter, 1762 (copy: Budapest: OSK, 631.001)
- Igen szép chronica Apollonius nevű király-fi, Miképpen egy Mesének megfejtéséért elbújdosván [...] Altistrates Király' Udvarában juta [...].* s.l.: Esler Márton, [ca. 1790] (copy: Budapest, OSK, Pny 1.004)

Danish

- [*Historie om Kong Appolonio*]. Rostock: s.n. [before 1591] [lost edition, mentioned in Laurentz Albrecht's booklist]
- En Deylig oc skøn Historie om Kong Appolonio.* Rostock: Steffen Møllemand, 1594 (copy: København, KB, LN 942 fot. 8°)
- [*Historie om Kong Appolonio*]. København: s.n., 1618 [lost edition]
- [*Historie om Kong Appolonio*]. København: s.n., 1627 [lost edition]
- [*Historie om Kong Appolonio*]. s.l.: s.n., [1690–1700, title page missing] (copy: København, KB, N 1515, 8°)
- [*Historie om Kong Appolonio*]. København: s.n., 1690 [lost edition]
- [*Historie om Kong Appolonio*]. København: s.n., 1694 [lost edition]
- [*Historie om Kong Appolonio*]. København: s.n., 1699 [lost edition]
- [*Historie om Kong Appolonio*]. s.l.: s.n., [ca. 1700, title page missing] (copy: København, KB, HJ 1951, 8°)

- En Deylig og Skiøn Historie om Kong Appolonio*. København: Willads Jersin, 1708 (copy: København, KB, Hj 1950, 8°)
- En Deylig og Skiøn Historie om Kong Appolonio*. s.l.: s.n., [first part of 18th century] (copy: København, KB, N 1519, 8°)
- [*Historie om Kong Appolonio*]. s.l.: s.n., 1725 [lost edition]
- En Deylig og Skiøn Historie om Kong Appolonio*. København: s.n., 1731 (copy: København, KB, 58,-449, 8°)
- [*Historie om Kong Appolonio*]. s.l.: s.n. [ca. 1731–1732, title page missing] (copy: København, KB, 58, -449, 8°, Rev.nr. 14858)
- [*Historie om Kong Appolonio*]. s.l.: s.n. [ca. 1731–1732, title page missing] (copy: København, KB 58, -449, 8°, Rev.nr. 14861)
- [*Historie om Kong Appolonio*]. København: s.n., 1732 [lost edition].
- [*Historie om Kong Appolonio*]. København: s.n., 1746 [probably lost edition]
- En Deylig og Skiøn Historie om Kong Appolonio*. København: H. Kongl. Majest. Priv. Bogtrykkerie, 1754 (copy: København KB, 58,-449, 8°)
- En Deylig og Skiøn Historie om Kong Appolonio*. s.l.: s.n. [“printed this year”, second part of 18th century] (copy: København, KB, N1519, 8°)
- [*Historie om Kong Appolonio*]. s.l.: s.n. [18th century, title page missing] (copy: København, KB, 58, -449, 8°, Rev.nr. 14866)
- En Deylig og Skiøn Historie om Kong Appolonio*. København: H.J. Graae, 1771 (copy: København, KB, 58, -449, 8°)
- En Deylig og Skiøn Historie om Kong Appolonio*. København: H.J. Graae, 1783 (copy: København, KB, 58, -449, 8°, Rev.nr. 14864)
- En Deylig og Skiøn Historie om Kong Appolonio*. København: H.J. Graae, 1788 (copy: København, KB, 58, -449, 8°, Rev.nr. 14865)
- [*Historie om Kong Appolonio*]. s.l.: s.n. [second part of 18th century] (copy: København, DFMS, Folkebogsamling / Evald Tang Kristensens Samling, 1929/22.b.1)
- [*Historie om Kong Appolonio*]. s.l.: s.n. [ca. 1788–1789, title page missing] (copy: København, DFMS, Folkebogsamling / Evald Tang Kristensens Samling, 1929/75.II.)
- En meget mærkværdig Historie om Apollonius, Konge af Tyrus, der omsider, efter 16 Aars landflygtighed og mange ret forunderlige Hændelser, igjen kom til kongelig Værdighed, og samledes glad med sin Familie*. København: s.n. [ca. 1797–1808] (copy: København, KB, 58,-449, 8°, DA 1.–2. 58, olim Berlin, SBPPK)

Swedish

- [*Apollonii Konungens aff Tyro Historia*]. Uppsala: s.n., 1633 [title page missing] (copy: Stockholm, KB, F1700/2282) (USTC 251346)
- Apollonii Konungens aff Tyro Historia, Vthi hwilken Lyckonnes hiwl och thenne Werldennes Ostadigheet beskriffues*. Stockholm: s.n. [Ignatius Meurer?], 1636 (copy: Stockholm, KB, F1700/2283) (USTC 251347)
- Apollonii Konungens aff Tyro Historia* [...]. Stockholm: s.n. [Ignatius Meurer?], 1642 (copy: Stockholm, KB, F1700/2284) (USTC 251348)
- Apollonii Konungens aff Tyro Historia* [...]. Stockholm: s.n. [Ignatius Meurer?], 1652 (copy: Stockholm, KB, F1700/2285) (USTC 262054)

Apollonii Konungens aff Tyro Historia [...]. Stockholm: s.n. [Ignatius Meurer?], 1663 (copy: Uppsala, UUB, Sv. Rar. 10: 536) (USTC 262055)

[*Apollonii Konungens aff Tyro Historia*]. s.l.: s.n. [end of 17th century, lost edition]

Apollonii Konungens aff Tyro Historia [...]. s.l.: s.n. ["Tryckt på nytt", "reprinted", ca. 1700] (copy: Stockholm, KB, Sv. Saml. Folkliitt. Sag. Apollonius av Tyrus OKAT. This collection contains the Swedish *Apollonius* editions from 1700–1860; the following editions listed here are held in this collection, if not indicated otherwise)

Apollonii Konungens aff Tyro Historia [...]. s.l. [Stockholm?]: s.n., 1700

[*Apollonii Konungens aff Tyro Historia*]. s.l.: s.n. [ca. first part 18th century, title page missing]

[*Apollonii Konungens aff Tyro Historia*]. s.l.: s.n., 1732 [lost edition]

Apollonii Konungens aff Tyro Historia [...]. s.l.: s.n., 1747

Apollonii Konungens aff Tyro Historia [...]. s.l.: s.n. ["Tryckt på nytt", "reprinted", ca. middle of 18th century]

Apollonii Konungens aff Tyro Historia [...]. s.l.: s.n. ["Tryckt på nytt", "reprinted", ca. middle or second part of 18th century] (copy: Uppsala, UB, Zetterströmska samlingen, Utv. Hist. T. 13 n. 25)

Apollonii Konungens aff Tyro Historia [...]. s.l.: s.n. ["Tryckt på nytt", "reprinted", ca. middle or second part of 18th century]

[*Apollonii Konungens aff Tyro Historia*]. s.l.: s.n. [second part of 18th century, title page missing]

Rita Schlusemann

The Dissemination and Multimodality of *Historia septem sapientum Romae*

In 1569 Michel Harder sold 233 copies of *Die sieben weisen Meister* (“The seven wise Masters”) at the Frankfurt book fair in spring, the highest number he sold for a single title, amounting to nearly ten percent of his total sales at the Lent fair.¹ Widespread not only in German, the *Historia septem sapientum Romae* (SSR; “History of the seven sages of Rome”) was described as “one of the most successful story topics in world literature”.² From the twelfth to the eighteenth century, various versions were written in at least 31 language areas.³ The tradition is very complex and probably originated in Middle Persian in the sixth to seventh century; its title is usually abbreviated as *Syntipas*.⁴ The first textual witness dates from the twelfth century. Two traditions deriving from *Syntipas* can be distinguished: a. Syrian, Greek, and Arabic versions; and b. various Persian versions titled *Sindbād-nāmeḥ*. In the oldest

1 Harder worked as an apprentice for the publisher Margarethe Gülfferich and, after her death in 1568, he was entrusted with selling the books from her estate. On Harder, see Kelchner and Wülcker (1873); Pallmann (1881); Schmidt (1996, 41). At this fair, Harder also sold, among others texts, 202 copies of Pauli’s *Schimpff und Ernst* (including *Reynaert*), 196 copies of *Fortunatus*, 176 of *Pierre et Maguelonne*, 158 of *Melusine*, 85 of *Apollonius*, 77 of *Ulenspiegel*, and 69 of *Aesopus* (Kelchner and Wülcker 1873, VI) – about 2,400 copies altogether. As Schmidt shows, only nine titles were sold more than 100 times at each of three fairs over a period of two years (two in 1568 and one in 1569), among which *Historia septem sapientum Romae*, *Pierre et Maguelonne* (see the chapter on *Pierre et Maguelonne*); *Schimpff und Ernst* (see the chapter on *Reynaert*), *Fortunatus* (see the chapter on *Fortunatus*), and *Ulenspiegel* with the most (741 copies, see the chapter on *Ulenspiegel* in this book). Only these titles can therefore be considered as an ongoing sales success (Schmidt 1996, 43). The appendix at the end of this chapter lists the printed editions of SSR before 1800 and provides more information about each edition.

2 In this book the name SSR has been chosen to refer to the tradition as a whole (the Latin version was first printed before 1472, see fn. 21 of this chapter). The quote is my translation of “[einer] der erfolgreichsten Stoffe der Weltliteratur” (Roth 2008); it is also considered to be one of the most important novelistic collections of world literature, told within a strong frame (Steinmetz 2000, 1). All translations in this chapter are my own (unless otherwise stated). Abbreviated references identify editions in standard reference works; abbreviations are expanded in the list of references at the end of this volume.

3 Arabic, Armenian, Bulgarian, Byzantine, Castilian, Catalan, Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, French, German (High and Low German), Hebrew, Hungarian, Icelandic, Italian, Latin, Lithuanian, Norwegian, Persian, Polish, Rumanian, Russian, Scots Gaelic, Serbian, Swedish, Syriac, Turkish, Welsh, and Yiddish (this list is mostly based on Runte et al. 1984; see also Murko 1890). All in all, more than 1,000 manuscripts and printed editions of SSR have come down to us.

4 For a much more extensive survey, see Krönung (2016) and Hoffmann (2020 and 2021).

forms of the story, a young prince is falsely accused and later exonerated thanks to the wisdom and foresight of a sage named Sindbad. In research, the so-called Eastern tradition has often anachronistically been differentiated from a so-called Western tradition.⁵ Early versions often considered as belonging to the first of these traditions are known in Syriac (*Sindbād*), Byzantine (*Syntipas*), in Arabic (*Seven Viziers*), in Hebrew (*Mishle Sendebār*), and Spanish (*Libro de los engaños*; “Book of deceptions”).⁶ The second tradition can be divided into two groups: the *Dolopathos*,⁷ and the group which started with the French *Roman des sept sages de Rome* (“Narrative of the seven sages of Rome”), the archetype of which dates back to 1155–1190. The French tradition mainly consists of versions in prose (A and D) and versions in verse (C and K).⁸ Version A of *Roman des sept sages de Rome* was the source for the Latin *Historia septem sapientum Romae* (H).⁹ The *Historia* was written in the first half of the fourteenth century and served as the basis for most versions found in various European language areas.¹⁰

This chapter will concentrate on version H of *SSR* and its descendants, and briefly outlines the main characteristics of the contents and structure of this version in part one; part two provides a survey of the spatial and temporal circulation of version H in ten European language areas before 1800. The third part focuses on multimodal aspects (wording, layout, typography, and illustration). With this holistic approach, each chosen edition, but also each textual witness and its special features, can be examined for its own special meaning. This contribution intends to show in an exemplary way how some printer-publishers advertised their products and how they steered the potential reader in similar yet different ways.

5 For a general overview, see Runte et al. (1984) and Runte (2014); see also Steinmetz (2000, 8–17).

6 The “oriental” version has been preserved in ten language areas at least: Arabic, Bulgarian, Byzantine, Hebrew, Persian, Rumanian, Serbian, Spanish, Syriac, and Turkish (according to Runte 2014; see for a survey Krönung 2016).

7 In this chapter, *Dolopathos* is not taken into consideration any further; see for a short introduction Gerdes (1992, 1178–1179).

8 On the French tradition, see Aiache-Berne (1992, general); on version A, ca. 1200–1225, 29 copies, see Runte (1989); Coco (2016) provided an edition of version A; Paris (1876), an edition of version D; Speer (1989); Speer and Foehr-Janssens (2017), editions of version C and K; see also Foehr-Janssens (2020).

9 There are approximately 27 manuscripts of this Latin version, see Gerdes (1992). The first Latin version was written in the first decades of the fourteenth century, in more than 80% of the cases, as part of the *Gesta Romanorum* (“Deeds of the Romans”), a vast collection of stories; see Gerdes (1992; 2004).

10 Runte et al. (1984); in this chapter it is not possible to define “European language areas” specifically.

1 Contents and Structure of SSR

SSR has often been described as a “collection of stories”¹¹ or a “frame narrative”.¹² Since version H, as well as several other versions in the tradition, shows a very clear narrative structure with an exposition, a main part and an end, the term “fictional narrative”, used here as a synonym for the German term “Roman”, seems to be a more appropriate genre classification for SSR (Schlusemann 2023a). The narrative concerns a threatened empire, its preservation and future, exemplified with an exposition, a court case with a (false) accusation, a judgement, and a positive end with the instalment of a new emperor.

Despite smaller differences in the various redactions of version H, the narrative can be divided into three parts: 1. exposition, 2. pleas, and 3. Diocletian’s speech, judgement, and the end (see Tab. 1).¹³

Tab. 1: Schematic presentation of the narrative structure of SSR (version H).

| | day 1 | | day 2 | | day 3 | | day 4 | | day 5 | | day 6 | | day 7 | | day 8 | |
|------|-------|----|-------|----|-------|----|-------|----|-------|----|-------|----|-------|----|-------|-----|
| Exp. | E1 | S1 | E2 | S2 | E3 | S3 | E4 | S4 | E5 | S5 | E6 | S6 | E7 | S7 | D | End |

In the exposition, the wife of the emperor of Rome – who on her deathbed is pondering the future of the realm – asks her husband to take care of their son Diocletian and not to have him educated by a second wife. After the death of the empress, their son is educated by seven wise men somewhere near Rome. The emperor’s second wife, who fails to get pregnant, wants to get rid of her stepson as the first heir and asks her husband to invite his son to the court. The sages warn the son not to speak at his father’s court for seven days. After he arrives at the court and rejects his stepmother’s attempt to seduce him, she accuses her stepson of having tried to rape her.¹⁴

The second part of the narrative consists of the pleas in the following seven days. Every day the empress pleads with her husband to condemn his son to death (E1-E7)

¹¹ See e.g. Steinmetz (2000); Lundt (2020b).

¹² See on SSR as a “Rahmenerzählung” (“frame narrative”) Obermaier (2010); Bertelsmeier-Kierst characterised the story as “Exempelsammlung mit Rahmenerzählung” (“collection of examples with a frame narrative”; Bertelsmeier-Kierst 2014b, 163).

¹³ Abbreviations: E = empress; S = sage; D = Diocletian. The grey part shows the main story line.

¹⁴ See Bildhauer (2023) on the possible unreliability of words spoken by the empress as well as the narrator.

and motivates her request through an exemplum.¹⁵ After hearing this exemplum, the emperor is convinced of his son's guilt and sentences him to death. The son is imprisoned. The first sage intervenes and requests to have the emperor's son freed (S1). He also gives an exemplum which makes the emperor doubt his son's guilt. The empress' exempla (*arbor, aper, gaza, sapientes, virgilius, senescalculus, and inclusa*)¹⁶ intend to show the wickedness and ungratefulness of sons, as well as the greed and viciousness of perfidious advisors and confidants. The exempla told by the sages (S1-S7), however, aim to show that women are malevolent and cruel (*canis, puteus, avis, tentamina, medicus, amatores, and vidua*). Each episode featuring the empress and each of the seven episodes featuring a sage is concluded by a judgement of the emperor, and a sage's or the empress' reaction to it. This suggests that in part two the narrative returns to the main story line fourteen times and that the narration develops after each new speech (by the empress, by one of the sages, and the emperor's fourteen decisions).

The third part of the book takes place on day eight when the son is allowed to speak and presents his views about the whole affair. With his own exemplum in two parts (*vaticinium* and *amici*), about a father who threw his innocent son into the water, Diocletian intends to show that fathers sometimes behave badly: despite his innocence, his father sentenced him to death. Diocletian asks the emperor to summon the empress and her maids and order one of the maids to take her clothes off, revealing a man, the empress' lover. The emperor sentences the empress and her lover to death. Several years after the emperor's death, his son becomes the new emperor and turns out to be a better ruler than any of his predecessors. Because of this plot, the work cannot be regarded "merely" as a "collection of stories" but rather as a fictional narrative recounting a court procedure with a well-structured architecture (Schlusemann 2023a).

2 Temporal and Spatial Circulation of SSR

This part presents an overview of the dissemination of SSR (version H) in ten chosen European language areas.¹⁷ Nearly 200 SSR editions were published in these

¹⁵ The exempla told are famous stories which were not only recounted in SSR but also in collections of stories (Runte 2014). For an overview and views about their meaning and importance, see Steinmetz (2000). See Marzolph (2023), calling for a different way to name the examples.

¹⁶ The short names of the exempla were introduced by Goedeke (1864) and have become common in research on SSR.

¹⁷ In this chapter it is not possible to treat all versions in all language areas mentioned in footnote 3. In the early modern period Version H has also been transmitted in Armenian, Hebrew, and Yiddish. See Runte et al. (1984, 28, 126, and 157), and also Paucker (1961). Therefore, the number of edi-

language areas before 1800 (see Tab. 2):¹⁸ 64 in German,¹⁹ eleven in Dutch, 22 in Iberian,²⁰ seven in French, 53 in English and Scottish, five in Czech, nine in Polish, seven in Hungarian, nine in Danish, and five in Swedish.

Tab. 2: Number of *SSR* editions in ten European language areas before 1800.

| Period | Germ. | Dutch | Iber. | French | Engl. / Scott. | Czech | Polish | Hung. | Dan. | Swed. | tot. |
|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|------------|
| Before 1500 | 17 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 26 |
| 1501–1600 | 31 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 6 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 63 |
| 1601–1700 | 9 | 2 | 11 | 1 | 17 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 49 |
| 1701–1800 | 7 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 29 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 3 | 54 |
| total | 64 | 11 | 22 | 7 | 53 | 5 | 9 | 7 | 9 | 5 | 192 |

2.1 Dissemination of the Printed *SSR* Editions in Ten Language Areas

The first vernacular edition, entitled *Ein gar schöne Cronick vnd || hÿstorie Auß den geschichten der Römernn* (“A very charming Chronicle and history Of the stories of the Romans”), was printed in German in Augsburg in ca. 1470, but lost dur-

tions mentioned in Tab. 2 is, of course, far too low. The language areas do not coincide with political boundaries, which were very fluid, especially in the late medieval and early modern periods. When using the term “German”, for example, all varieties of Low German and High German are included (this is also the case when a Low German text was printed in the Dutch language area, like Leeu’s *SSR* edition [Antwerp, 1488]).

18 In the following table, the order of the language areas from left to right depends on the date of the first known edition. The results are based on research in different bibliographies and catalogues, e.g. DFB; ESTC; GW; IB; ISTC; KPS; NK; RMK; RMNy; SF; USTC; Wikeley (1990); Runte (2014); Lacarra and Aranda (2016); Aranda García (2021a), as well as on information provided generously by several colleagues: Csilla Gábor (Hungarian); Matouš Jaluška, and Jan Pišna (Czech); Anna Katharina Richter (Danish and Swedish); Jordi Sánchez-Martí (English, Iberian), and Krystyna Wierzbicka-Trwoga (Polish). The narratives featuring Erastus, Diocletian’s son, as the main character are not considered in this paper since they belong to a different tradition of the narrative. Of course, the numbers given can only be approximate because so many editions are lost or still unknown. Besides, as a result of uncertain dating, it is sometimes unclear if an edition was really published in a particular century.

19 The term “German” includes all German “Schreibsprachen”. For the use of the term “Schreibsprachen”, which can be compared to writing or language practices, see Peters (2017).

20 In this contribution, the term “Iberian” is used as a generic term for the spoken (and written) language areas of the Iberian Peninsula in the early modern period.

ing the Second World War.²¹ A second edition in German, published by Johann Bämle in 1473 with the same title, is the oldest extant edition of the text in the vernacular. In four other language areas (Dutch, French, Iberian, and English), various editions were published in the incunabula period, closely followed by a Czech edition (1501–1508), making it a rather widespread text at that time.

Between 1478 and 1500, fifteen other German editions were published. The boom of the narrative in German continued until 1600 with 31 other editions. For 50 years (1619–1669), there were no editions in German at all, perhaps because of the Thirty Years' war. Only six editions in German were published between 1669 and 1750.²² This means that nearly 75% of the German editions were printed in the first 130 years since the *editio princeps*, whereas less than 10% were printed in the 120 years between 1619 and 1750. We can therefore speak of significant German enthusiasm for the narrative for more than a century, followed by a long period of hardly any interest in it.

The printed *SSR* tradition in Dutch started as early as 1479, with an edition by Gheraert Leeu in Gouda: *Die historie van die seuen wijse mannen van Rome* ("The history of the seven wise men of Rome").²³ Although the number of Dutch editions, with eleven editions in the course of several centuries until 1800, bears no comparison with *Griseldis*, the narrative enjoyed ongoing interest.

The Iberian Peninsula and the British Isles saw the opposite development to the German situation: a slow start was superseded by a significant increase in Iberian editions in the seventeenth century, and in English editions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The tradition on the Iberian Peninsula started with an edition published by Juan Hurus in Zaragoza with the title *La historia delos [sic] siete sabios de roma* ("The history of the seven sages of Rome", ca. 1488). The narrative was continuously published in the sixteenth century, with nine editions; eleven

21 Gotzkowsky (1991, 281, nr. 1). In Latin, two early printed editions were titled *Historia septem sapientum Rom(ae)* ([Cologne: Printer of Pseudo-Augustine, before 1472], GW 12847; Albi: [Printer of Aeneas Silvius, ca. 1476], GW 12848). These Latin editions do not have any illustrations.

22 According to a remark in Johann Michael Moscherosch's *Wunderliche und warhafftige Gesichte Philanders von Sittewald* ("The Wonderful and true Face of Philander von Sittewald", 1650), the narrative was, however, read in the seventeenth century: "ich habe diese Histori zu vorhien bey den Sieben Weisen Meistern auch gelesen" ("I have also read this history earlier in the Seven Wise Masters"); see Steinmetz (2000, 5, footnote 13); see also VD17 23:248018B; <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb10114910?page=323> (23 February 2023). Regarding the last five editions in German listed in the appendix, it is not clear whether they were published in the eighteenth century because of uncertain dating.

23 The source was probably the previously mentioned edition printed in Cologne (footnote 21). Soon after his Dutch edition, Leeu also printed a Latin edition with eighteen woodcuts (GW 12850), which is the first Latin edition illustrated with woodcuts (before 3.VI.1480; GW 12850).

editions followed in the seventeenth century, eight of which are attributed to Rafael Figueró (ca. 1669–1718; see Aranda García 2021a).

In English, one edition by Richard Pynson in the fifteenth century (title unknown) was followed by six editions in the sixteenth century. Wynkyn de Worde (two editions), as well as William Copland and Thomas Purfoot, called their text *Thystorye of ye. vii. wyse Maysters of Rome* ([1506], [1515], [ca. 1555], 1576). John Rolland translated a prose version in “Scottis meter” (“Scottish verse”) with the title *The seuin seages translait out of prois in Scottis meter be Iohne Rolland in Dalkeith* (1578). His second edition followed in 1592. From 1602 onwards, English editions were published in rapid succession: seventeen editions were published in the seventeenth century, and as many as 29 in the eighteenth century, with a steady increase from two at the beginning of the century to fifteen in the last quarter of the century (see the appendix at the end of this chapter).²⁴

In French, as in German and Dutch, the tradition took off quickly with three editions in the incunabula period, with the title *Les sept sages de Romme* (Genève, 1492, attributed to Louis Cruse), matching the titles of the Dutch and Latin editions. In the following two centuries, however, only four other editions of this narrative were published in French. A different French version entitled *Histoire pitoyable du prince Erastus, fils de Diocletien, empereur de Rome* (“Pitiful history of Prince Erastus, son of Diocletien, emperor of Rome”), translated from the Italian, was much more popular.²⁵

The SSR tradition in Czech, Polish, and Hungarian, started as early as the sixteenth century. The text was first printed in Czech as *Kronika sedm mudrczuow* (“Chronicle of the seven sages”; ca. 1501–1508), and in Polish as *Poncian Ktory || ma w sobie roz || maithe powiesci mile bar || zo ku czcieniu wziete [sic] z Rzym || skich dzieiow* (“Poncian, with a variety of very charming stories taken from Roman history”), translated by Jan z Koszyczek (ca. 1530).²⁶ It is remarkable that within a relatively short time (ca. 1530–1566) five Polish editions were put on the market, a

24 The famous London publisher and bookseller John Wright (1602–1658) ordered at least four editions (1671, 1673, 1677, and 1682); and George Conyers even five (1687, 1688, 1693 [twice], and 1697).

25 It tells the story of Diocletian’s son Erastus, who has to live similar adventures to his father although there are several differences too: the examples given are different, the stepmother is called Aphrodite and, in the end, she takes her own life. By the end of the eighteenth century, it had been published at least fourteen times, the first time in 1565 in Lyon by G. Cotier (copy: Paris, BnF, RES-Y2-1279); in 1709 as many as three editions were published in Paris, by J. Lefebure (Paris, BnF, Y2-6137), P. Ribou (copy: Paris, BnF, Y2-6138), and P. Witte (copy: Paris, BnF, Y2-6139). In this contribution the Italian version *Avvenimenti del principe Erasto* (“The adventures of prince Erastus”; for example, printed in Venetia: Gabriel Giolito de’ Ferrari and brothers, 1542 [Wikeley 1983, 89]) and its translations and adaptations are not taken into consideration.

26 The title of the oldest edition is not known; the title of the third edition is quoted here.

number seldom matched by any other narrative in Polish at the time.²⁷ In Hungarian, there is also a lively tradition of the text, starting with *Pontianvs historiaja* (“History of Pontianus”), attributed to Gáspár Heltai who used a German version as his source, and probably first printed in Kolozsvár (1571–1574). A different translation in Hungarian, based on a Latin source, was published in 1573 in Vienna (Gábor 2010).

In the North European regions, *SSR* editions started to appear in the sixteenth century: the first Danish edition, a translation of the Low German edition, was published between 1570 and 1577; the first Swedish edition, a translation from the Danish by Jon Hansson Burman, was produced in 1642.²⁸ The Northern tradition is, just as the Czech and Polish, characterised by long gaps in the temporal distribution. For more than 100 years there is no material evidence of a Danish edition (between 1591 and 1700) or a Swedish edition (between 1668 and 1778); for 130 years there is no evidence of a Polish edition (between 1566 and ca. 1699), and for nearly two hundred years we have no evidence of a Czech edition (between 1590 and 1772). It would be interesting to study the reasons for the renewed interest in the narrative after such a long time. Was it the result of the effort of a particular publisher to publish this type of narrative, or why was there renewed interest in the narrative during a specific period? It is striking that at the end of the seventeenth century both a Danish and a Polish edition were published after such a long break, followed in the 1770s by a Swedish and a Czech edition.

2.2 Temporal Dissemination of *SSR*

The following table (Tab. 3) illustrates the temporal distribution of printed *SSR* editions before 1800.

Tab. 3: Number of *SSR* editions in ten European vernaculars.²⁹

| 1470–1500 | Number | 1501–1600 | Number | 1601–1700 | Number | 1701–1800 | Number |
|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|
| | | 1501–1525 | 9 | 1601–1625 | 6 | 1701–1725 | 6 |
| | | 1526–1550 | 20 | 1626–1650 | 8 | 1726–1750 | 7 |
| | | 1551–1575 | 17 | 1651–1675 | 9 | 1751–1775 | 12 |
| 1470–1500 | 26 | 1576–1600 | 18 | 1676–1700 | 25 | 1776–1800 | 29 |

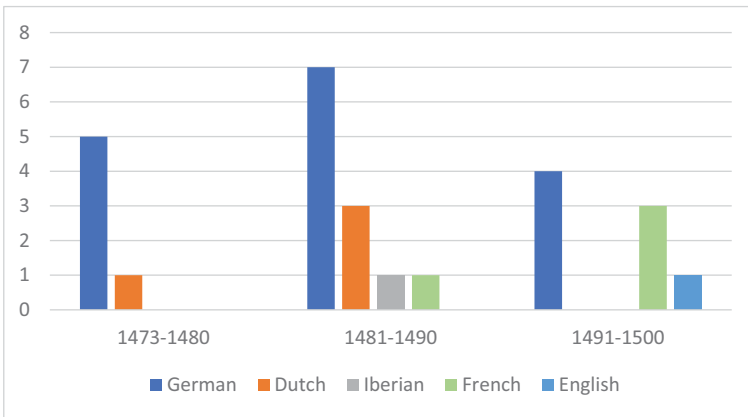
²⁷ Only the Polish translation of *Salomon et Marcolphus* was published more frequently in the sixteenth century (at least six editions).

²⁸ The source for the Swedish translation was the Danish edition published in 1591 (SF, I, 12f.; Wingård 2011, 201). In his preface, Burman states that the book is intended to entertain and teach. On the reception of *SSR* in Swedish, see Bampi (2007; 2013).

²⁹ The numbers are based on the list of editions in the appendix.

In the incunabula period the narrative started quite strongly with at least 26 editions in the first decades of printing. The following decades, until 1525, saw a decline of about 66%, followed by a twofold increase of editions between 1526 and 1550. The patterns of the publication development in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are similar: in both centuries the number of editions is modest until about the third quarter, with a significant increase in the last quarter of these centuries.

The minimum number of 26 *SSR* editions during the incunabula period is very high in comparison with the other narratives in the volume, which were printed before 1500.³⁰ The Western European language areas, especially the small Dutch language area witnessed a strong cluster of *SSR* editions before 1500. By the end of the fifteenth century, sixteen German *SSR* editions had been published (Graph 1). This number (for a single language) exceeds every other narrative text in the incunabula period. On the other hand, only nine editions were published in all the other vernaculars taken together: four in Dutch, three in French, one in Castilian, and one in English.



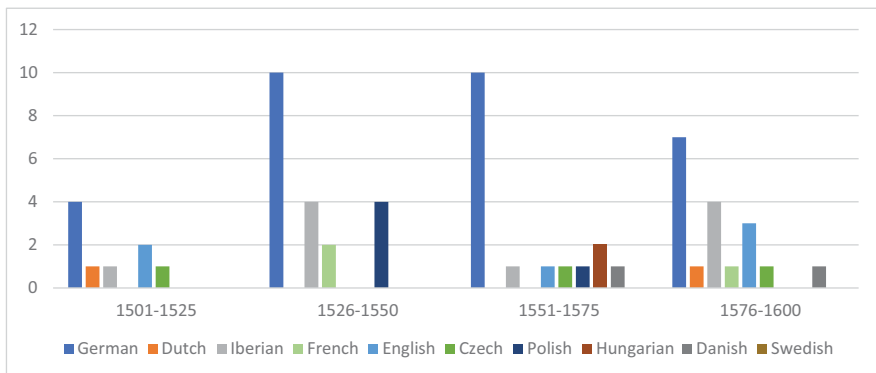
Graph 1: *SSR* editions in the incunabula period.

During the fifteenth century, there were no editions of the text at all in five language areas: Czech, Polish, Hungarian, Danish, and Swedish. Typically, early editions of one of the ten narratives in these language areas were hardly published in the incunabula period. Although the first books in Scandinavia date from 1482

³⁰ Only *Aesopus* and *Griseldis* were published more frequently in the fifteenth century. As this contribution concentrates on ten language areas, there might have been more editions.

(Danish), 1483 (Swedish), and 1473 for a Polish edition, there seems to have been a hesitation to print narratives in the early decades of printing.

During the sixteenth century, the picture was very different. At the time, the narrative was published all across Europe. It started with five different language areas in the first quarter of the century. The predominance of German editions continued: nearly half of the editions in the ten chosen language areas were published in German (31 of 63 editions, Graph 2). The number of editions increased in the course of the century from nine in the first quarter to eighteen in the last quarter of the century.³¹

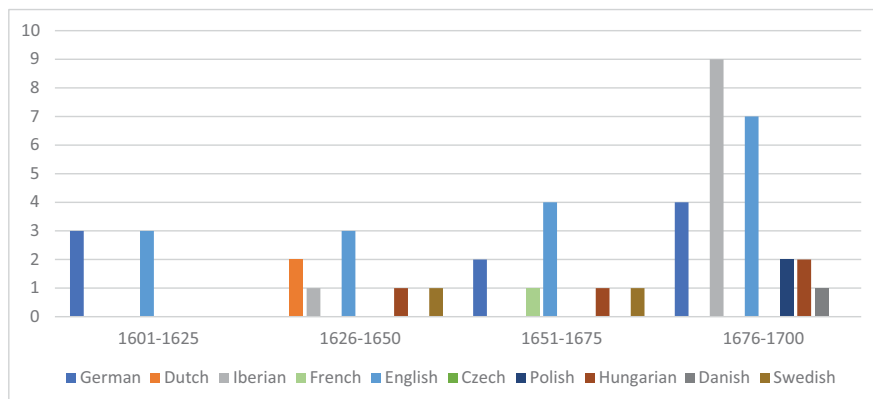


Graph 2: SSR editions in ten European vernaculars (1501–1600).

In the second quarter of the sixteenth century, the dissemination concerned only four language areas but in the last decades of the century, at least one SSR edition was published in seven of the ten language areas. The pattern of dissemination of the narrative in the west, north, east, and south of Europe is striking. The production of the *Amadis* tradition (see the chapter on *Amadis*) also reached a climax in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. It would be worthwhile comparing the production figures in the late sixteenth century for other narratives too.

After the rise in SSR editions at the end of the sixteenth century, production declined rapidly during the seventeenth century (Graph 3). By 1675 only 21 editions had been published in all language areas as a whole. In the last quarter of

³¹ Four editions were published between 1530 and 1540 in Castilian and Polish. It would be interesting to compare the printing production for the other narratives and for literature on the whole during this decade to try and identify possible reasons for this “hype”.



Graph 3: SSR editions in ten European vernaculars (1601–1700).

the century, the number of editions rose to 25, ten of which were published in Iberian language areas, and eight in English or Scottish.

We see a very similar pattern in the eighteenth century: 26 editions were published between 1701 and 1775, and 30 editions in the last quarter of the century. Of these, seventeen editions were published in English, six in German, three in Swedish, and two in Danish. The eighteenth century saw three editions in Dutch, two in Polish but no editions in French, Iberian, or Hungarian. In the western parts of the European speaking areas, except for the English part, interest in this story faded away completely.

To sum up: the overview of the entire tradition of printed SSR editions in the ten chosen language areas before 1800 shows different periods of ebb and flow. After a quite strong start before approximately 1500, production of SSR editions tended to fluctuate in the course of the sixteenth century. Interest for the story dropped at the beginning of the seventeenth century. A comparison with figures for other narratives during this period might establish whether the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), ending with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, could be one of the reasons for this development, for example because printing other texts like journals or pamphlets was considered more important at the time. The only exception was the Iberian and English production in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. After a low rate of publishing between 1700 and 1775 approximately, the production of editions ceased but this changed in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Certain language areas dominated during a particular period of time: German prevailed in particular in the first decades of printing, Iberian and English in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, whilst English and Danish were more prevalent in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The strong SSR

tradition in the Slavonic and Hungarian language areas is particularly noteworthy. The widespread geographical and temporal dissemination of the narrative throughout so many European speaking areas in the early modern period shows both the appreciation for *SSR* across Europe for several centuries and its significance for the development of a transcultural mythological whole.³²

3 Multimodality

Based on the theoretical framework of multimodality established by Nørgaard, the following part of the chapter will analyse and compare how the *SSR* editions were shaped in the various language areas.³³ The first section will concentrate on the “wording” of the title pages and the incipits, the second on typography and layout, and the third on illustrations.³⁴

3.1 Wording: Title Pages and Incipits of *SSR*

Although many editions of printed early modern books, including *SSR*, are lost, it is interesting to compare the wording used in the preserved editions for the title pages and the incipits introducing the narrative to its audience.³⁵ The following table (Tab. 4) presents the titles chosen for the narrative in the first preserved editions in the ten language areas.³⁶

³² “Mythological” refers to the function of literature which might be connected to that of mythologies as the reader of these works “escapes” from historical and personal time and is submerged in a time that is both fabulous and transhistorical (Wingård 2011). If Wingård’s concept of an “assimilative” type of reception practised in oral and traditional societies which share “a common set of stories forming a mythological whole” was expanded with a transcultural and print culture dimension, it might serve as a valuable theoretical background for further research on the topic of dissemination (Wingård 2018).

³³ Nørgaard (2019); as far as can be established from the surviving copies.

³⁴ In a similar vein to Nørgaard’s terminology, the term “wording” in this paper refers to the lexis and grammar of a text. It must be distinguished from the term “language” which refers to the verbal narrative, but also to typography, sound, etc. (Nørgaard 2019, 49).

³⁵ The characteristics, of course, also depend on the dates of the editions (the title page of an edition from the fifteenth century generally differs from an edition from the middle of the sixteenth century).

³⁶ For references to the titles see the appendix at the end of this chapter. In those cases where the first editions in the incunabula period do not have a title page (or the title page has not been preserved), the incipit is cited. The table also mentions the position in the book where the title

Tab. 4: Wording of the title on title pages and incipits in the first (preserved) editions in ten language areas.

| Language | Title resp. incipit | Title / incipit (English translation) | Place, printer- publisher, year | Position in the book | Illustr. |
|----------------|---|---|---|----------------------------|----------|
| High German | “Ein gar schöne Cronick vnd hÿstorie Auß den geschichten der Römernn In welicher hÿstori vnd Cronick man vin det gar vil schöne vnd nützlicher exempel die gar lustlich vnd kurzweylyg ze hörnn seind” | A very charming Chronicle and history From the stories of the Romans in which history and Chronicle you will find many charming and useful examples which are very enjoyable and entertaining to hear. | Augsburg: Johann Bämler, 1473 | incipit, A2r | A1v |
| Low German | “De historia van den souen wysen meisteren” | The history of the seven wise masters | [Lübeck: Lukas Brandis, ca. 1478] | incipit, [2r] | – |
| Dutch | “Die historie van die seuen wijse mannen van Rome Welcke historie bouen maten schoen ende ghenuechlijc is om horen. ende oec | The history of the seven wise men of Rome, Which history is extremely charming and enjoyable to hear, also unknown ³⁷ and hardly heard because it | Gouda: Gheraert Leeu, 1479 | incipit, A2r | – |

can be found and whether the title page is illustrated (when this can be ascertained). As the scope of this contribution does not allow a study of all the editions, the focus is on the first extant edition in the chosen speaking areas. In this table the main title is printed in bold; both title and subtitle are in italics when printed on a title page. Quotes of incipits are *in recte*. The English translation follows the original text as closely as possible.

³⁷ The word “vreemt” in late medieval Dutch can have different meanings: “foreign”, “unknown”, or “new” but also “strange” and “odd”. Because of the word “nyewelinc” (“anew”) in the subordinate clause, “unknown” seems the most appropriate translation. On the words used for the production of Dutch printed texts until 1540 see Vermeulen (1986).

Tab. 4 (continued)

| Language | Title resp. incipit | Title / incipit (English translation) | Place, printer- publisher, year | Position in the book | Illustr. |
|----------------------|---|--|--|----------------------------|----------|
| | vreemt ende luttel ghehoert want si is nv nyewelinc in dit teghenwoerdighe iaer van lxxix. ghetranslateert ende ouer ghe= set wt den latine in goeden dietsche op dattet die leke luden oec moghen verstaen ³⁸ | has now been translated anew into Dutch in this year 79 and transmitted from Latin into good Dutch so that lay people might understand it too. | | | |
| Iberian (Catalan) | La hystoria delos [sic] siete sabios de roma | The history of the seven sages of Rome | [Zaragoza: Juan Hurus, ca. 1485–1495] | incipit, A2r | A2r |
| French | Les sept sages de Romme | The seven sages of Rome | Genève: [Louis Cruse], 1492 | title page | A1r |
| English | “Thystorye of ye .vii. Wyse Maysters of Rome conteynynge ryghe fayre & ryght ioyous narrac[ions]. & to ye reder ryght delectable ³⁹ | The History of the Seven Wise Masters of Rome containing very agreeable and very joyful narrations and very entertaining for the reader. | [London]: Wynkyn de Worde, [1506] | incipit A2r | – |
| Czech | “Kronika sedm mudrczuow Rozprawky welmi vtěssenee w sobie zawijeragi tzij W | The Chronicle of seven sages containing very merry Tales in which female perfidy and | [Plzeň: Mikuláš Bakalář, ca. 1501–1508] | incipit, A1r | – |

³⁸ The title page of the first Dutch print is (presumably) missing as it starts with A2r. However, we do not know if there was a title page with text or if A1r was left blank. In cases like this, the incipit is cited.

³⁹ As the title page and the incipit of the first edition as well as the title page of the second edition are missing, the incipit of the second edition is quoted.

Tab. 4 (continued)

| Language | Title resp. incipit | Title / incipit (English translation) | Place, printer- publisher, year | Position in the book | Illustr. |
|-----------|--|--|--|----------------------------|----------|
| | nichžto lest a chyrost ženská: zgewñe se wyprawuge Počinase tak to ⁴⁰ | cunning is manifestly described. It begins thus | | | |
| Polish | Poncian Ktory <i>ma w sobie roz</i> <i>maithē</i> <i>powiesci miłe bar</i> <i>zo ku czcieniu wziete</i> [sic] <i>z Rzym</i> <i>skich dzieiow</i> . ⁴¹ | <i>Poncian, with a variety of stories taken from Roman history, very charming to read.</i> | Kraków: Florian Ungler, 1540 | title page | – |
| Hungarian | Pontianvs HISTORIAIA: <i>AZ AZ</i> <i>Het Bölch Mesterek=</i> <i>nek, mondasit chiwda</i> <i>szep hazon=</i> <i>latossaoual foglaluan,</i> <i>mimodon,</i> <i>az Chazar</i> <i>Fiat Diocletianust</i> <i>hetzer halaltul meg</i> <i>men=</i> <i>tettet legien</i> . ⁴² | The history of Pontianus: Namely containing the sayings of the seven wise Masters with great usefulness, how they saved Diocletian seven times from death | Bécs (Wien): Eberus Balázs, 1573 | title page | – |
| Danish | Keyser Ponti= ani historie met hans Søn <i>Diocletiano / Lystig at</i> <i>Læse</i> / <i>imod</i> <i>Quindernis wtro-</i> <i>skaff</i> . ⁴³ | The history of Emperor Pontianus with his Son Diocletiano, Pleasant to Read against Women's infidelity | Rostock: Steffen Møllemand, 1591 | title page | – |

⁴⁰ With thanks to Jan Pišna and Matouš Jaluška for the transcription and translation of the incipit.

⁴¹ As only a few leaves of the first two Polish editions (before 1538 and [1540]) have survived, the title of the third edition is cited here. Translation with thanks to Krystyna Wierzbicka-Trwoga.

⁴² As the title page of the presumed oldest Hungarian edition is missing, the title of the edition printed in 1573 is quoted here. Translation mainly cited from Gábor (2010, 178).

⁴³ As the oldest edition is preserved without a title page, the title of the second Danish edition is cited here. Translation with thanks to Anna Katharina Richter.

Tab. 4 (continued)

| Language | Title resp. incipit | Title / incipit (English translation) | Place, printer- publisher, year | Position in the book | Illustr. |
|----------|--|--|------------------------------------|----------------------------|----------|
| Swedish | <i>The Siw</i> <i>Wijse Mestare</i> / <i>Huruledhes Pontianus / en</i> <i>Keysare vthi Rom / befalte sin Son</i> <i>the Siw wijse Mestarne i händer / at lära</i> <i>the siw frije Booklighe Konster [...]</i> <i>Swåra nyttigh och lustigh at läsa</i> ⁴⁴ | The Seven Wise Masters, How Pontianus, an Emperor in Rome, gave his Son in the care of the Seven wise Masters to be educated by them and to be taught the seven Liberal Arts [...] Very useful and also pleasant to read | Stockholm: s.n., 1642 | title page | A1r |

The wording of title pages and incipits can be divided into four different categories: 1. genre and source; 2. contents: the seven sages, the emperor Pontianus, his son (Diocletian), examples (given in the text); 3. features of the narrative: useful, pleasant, charming; merry tales in the narrative; 4. reception mode (hearing or reading) and recipient. It is useful to divide the language areas into two groups according to the year of publication: group A with early first editions (before ca. 1505; German, Dutch, Iberian, French, English, Czech); group B with later editions, beginning in 1540 (Polish, Hungarian, Danish, Swedish).

All editions of the first group use the genre term “history” which is not surprising as this is the term generally used for narratives in the incunabula period (Schlusemann and Wierzbicka-Trwoga 2021). However, in the first German edition the narrative is also titled *Cronick*, and the title repeats the combination of history and chronicle. The term *Kronika* was also used for the first Czech printed edition. The use of the term “chronicle” suggests that it was clearly important to Johann Bämle and Mikuláš Bakalář to emphasize the truthfulness and historical basis of their books,⁴⁵ and also highlight the Roman source of the narrative that is evident in the German and the Polish editions. The Dutch edition is the only one to mention the language of its source, the translation year, and the reason for the translation: lay people should understand the narrative.

⁴⁴ Translation with thanks to Anna Katharina Richter.

⁴⁵ Not only Bämle, but several other printer-publishers in Germany preferred this genre term. Another frequently used title for German editions before 1800 was *Die sieben weisen Meister* (“The seven wise Masters”), often also accompanied by the genre term “historie” (see the appendix at the end of this chapter).

The first vernacular edition using the term “history” and also naming the seven sages “the seven wise masters” as main protagonists for the first time in a printed version is attributed to Lukas Brandis. It was printed in Low German in Lübeck (ca. 1478) with the title, mentioned in the incipit “De historia van den souen wysen meisteren” (“The history of the seven wise masters”).⁴⁶ The Low German variant seems to have acted as a trendsetter. Between 1488 and 1800, most High German editions adopted this version of the title (30 of 49 editions). The editions in Dutch, Iberian, French, English, Scottish, Czech, Polish (from 1540),⁴⁷ Danish (from 1700), and Swedish (from 1642) also include the seven sages and the number “seven” in their title.⁴⁸ We can conclude that whether the narrative was published in the south, west, north, or east of Europe, the virtually identical main title became prominent across Europe in the course of time. This uniformity created a strong sense of recognition among readers from different European regions and became a distinctive SSR feature across European linguistic landscapes.

The Polish tradition shows a new development: the naming of the emperor in the title. All editions in the language areas of group B mention emperor “Pontian”, either only his name (Polish and Danish) or combining it with the seven sages (Hungarian, Swedish). When Pontianus appears in the title, his son is usually mentioned too (in Hungarian, Danish, Swedish). The subtitles sometimes mention the examples (German, English, Czech, Polish, Hungarian), which can be interpreted as an advertising feature.

In some language areas there is more information about the contents but only the Swedish edition refers to the teaching of the seven liberal arts.⁴⁹ Only two editions express the intention of the book: the Czech edition highlights that the work reveals women’s perfidy and cunning, and the Danish edition that the narrative

46 The second edition mentioning the genre term “history” and the seven wise men was also in Low German and was printed in Antwerp in 1488 by Nicolaes Leeu (Niclaes, also called Claes Leeu, is assumed to have been Gheraert Leeu’s brother), and this time with the addition “van Rome” (“from Rome”). The first High German edition which mentions the seven sages in the title, *Die syben weisen maister*, was published by Johann Schönsperger in Augsburg in 1488. It omits the genre name.

47 From Maciej Szarfenberg’s edition (1540) onwards.

48 Sometimes called “the seven sages”. In the Dutch tradition, the title hardly changes at all. Only the words “schoone” (“charming”) and “ghenoechlijcke” (“entertaining”) were added in later editions. Another feature reminiscent of the reference to Roman history is the addition of Rome as the place where the sages come from (in Dutch, Iberian, French, English, Scottish, Danish [in later editions], and Swedish).

49 The first Swedish edition repeats word for word the first part of the title introduced by Jacob Cammerlander in 1536 (see appendix). In the second part, Cammerlander stresses that the story is about women’s infidelity, a characterization left out in the Swedish title.

shows women's infidelity, an addition which could be a direct translation of Jacob Cammerlander's characterization from his edition published in 1536.⁵⁰

With regard to certain features of their works, the printer-publishers chose similar terms: they described the narrative as useful (German, Dutch, Hungarian, Swedish) and charming or pleasant in seven language areas (German, Dutch, English, Czech, Polish, Danish, Swedish). Although these are generally common characteristics of early printed narratives, we can see a clear trend in the use of this type of terms that were thought to be useful for advertising the quality of the narrative all over Europe. The English title highlights the positive aspects of the "hystorye" with three adjectives: "fayre", "ioyous", and "delectable" ("agreeable", "joyful", and "entertaining"). The popular version by John Rolland from Dalkeith, near Edinburgh (five editions between 1578 and 1635), is a translation into Scottish rhyme. The edition emphasizes on the title page that each example told by a master and the empress is accompanied by a moralization.

The mode of reception mentioned in the early editions is "hearing" (in German until 1478–1479, in Dutch). Between 1480 and about 1515, two modes of reception ("hearing" and "reading") are mentioned together in the German editions. In 1512 Matthias Hupfuff was the first to only refer to "reading" as the mode of reception. We can conclude that the 30 years between 1480 and 1512 can be seen as a transition period from listening to reading. All later editions in German, Danish, and Swedish only mention the reading reception.

3.2 Layout and Typography of the Beginning of *SSR*

The layout and typography play an important part in the way the text was introduced in the incipit or on the title page.⁵¹ In the incunabula period the first pages of *SSR* editions in the different language areas adopt strategies of the manuscript age by introducing the narrative in the incipit. In Bämder's German edition (1473), after the first recto page (blank) the first verso page shows a woodcut (Fig. 1a). The incipit (A2r) is printed in a smaller type than the main text (Fig. 1b). The left margin is decorated with an initial and fleuron ornaments. The beginning of the narrating text,⁵² introduced by a six-lines high initial, corresponds to the contents of the woodcut (see section 3.3).

⁵⁰ Or one of the later editions using the same title (see the appendix at the end of this chapter).

⁵¹ If it existed and/or survived, or the first surviving page of a first edition.

⁵² "Narrating text" is used as a synonym for the German "Erzähltext", to distinguish the narrating parts from the peritextual parts of the narrative (title, prologue, comments, etc.). It refers to

The only preserved copy with the beginning of Leeu's Dutch edition (1479; extant in Göttingen, SUB) introduces the incipit (a2r; eight lines) with a scarcely decorated handwritten initial (two lines high).⁵³ Each line of the incipit is underlined with red ink. By these means and with the help of a larger initial at the beginning of the narrating text, the reader is able to distinguish straight away between the incipit and the narrating text, even when they are both printed in the same typeface.

The English edition (de Worde, [1506]) starts with an incipit, which is introduced by a paragraph sign. It is printed in a larger type than the narrating text which is introduced with a decorated initial (six lines high).⁵⁴

The first Iberian edition (ca. 1488–1491) can be regarded as a kind of intermediate between the editions without a (surviving) separate title page and those with a separate title page. Here, a short incipit placed in the middle at the top of the page names the title and is visually separated from the narrating text by a woodcut.⁵⁵ Decorative considerations evidently play a minor role in the design of these editions. Even in the absence of a title page, the reader is able at first sight to distinguish between the incipit as a peritext and the narrating text thanks to the techniques used by the printer-publisher.⁵⁶

the telling of the story and also the wording in the text excluding the paratexts (on peritext and paratext, see Genette 1989; 1997).

53 We do not know if a1 was blank or not because it has been lost.

54 Whereas the initial in Leeu's edition is drawn, in the English edition it is printed. In his Latin edition (1480; GW 12850), Leeu chose an introductory woodcut on a1v; on a2r, he started with the incipit, followed by an initial (four lines high in the copy I used) and the narrative text in the same typeface as the incipit. With thanks to Petra Moneke from Stiftung Johannes a Lasco Bibliothek Große Kirche in Emden for sending me photographs of the first pages of Leeu's Latin edition.

55 See Figure 2 in Aranda García (2018, 18). At the beginning of the narrating part (printed over two columns), a space has been left for the initial "p". The second Iberian edition (ca. 1510) has a separate title page: at the top a woodcut with ornamental woodcuts under it, and underneath the title printed in capital letters.

56 The first preserved Czech edition (ca. 1501–1508) does not have a separate title page but starts with the incipit mentioning the title (A1r). It is printed in the same Gothic type as the narrating text, which is introduced with an initial, represented by a small letter "p". The different typefaces do not make it easy for the reader to distinguish the various parts (title, information about the text, narrative text). The layout and typography resemble the earliest German and Dutch editions which do not distinguish either between the different parts of the narrative by means of different letter types. In the Danish edition (1591), A1 is missing too. On A2r the title is printed symmetrically, the word "Ponti-|ani" is hyphenated and "Søn Diocletiano" is spread over two lines.

The first SSR editions with a separate title page were both published in 1488, in Low German by Nicolaes Leeu⁵⁷ and in High German by Johann Schönsperger, with the xylographic title *Die syben weisen maister*. The first French edition (1492) also contains a separate title page with the title *Les sept sages de Romme*.⁵⁸ These first editions indicate not only the separation between title and narrating text with the help of a different layout or typeface but also a spatial separation on different leaves, a tendency which can also be found in Polish and Hungarian.⁵⁹

In the design of the Polish and Hungarian title pages and the title arrangement, symmetry is prioritised over contents. In both Polish editions printed in 1540 the title is printed symmetrically over five or six lines in different sizes of the same Gothic typeface.⁶⁰ In order to print the title this way, the typesetters hyphenated several words (*roz | maithe, bar | zo*)⁶¹ in the second and third line. In Ungler's edition, under a small ornament (an alder leaf), information about the place of printing, the printer, and the year of the edition is set, centred again, in a roman typeface. The device, which is directly placed under this information, takes up about one third of the title page.⁶² The title page of the first (surviving) Hungarian edition (1573) is also arranged in a symmetrical and ornamental way. The page is surrounded by decorative woodcuts.⁶³ The text is presented as the

57 See also footnote 46. The Low German title on the title page is actually an incipit: "Hier boghint [sic] de historie van den vij wijsen | | mannen van Rome" ("Here begins the history of the seven wise men of Rome"). On A1v, a woodcut shows the empress' death scene and the dialogue between the empress and her husband. It is interesting to note that in his first two editions (1481, GW 12860; and 1486, GW 12862), Schönsperger did not print a title on a title page. In the 1481 edition the first recto page is blank, in the 1486 edition the title page is decorated with a large ornament. He chose the same xylographic title and the same woodblock for this ornament which had already been used by Bämmler in 1473 (A1v) in subsequent editions (1488, 1490, 1494, 1497).

58 A1v is left blank, a table of contents follows on a2r.

59 In a later French edition (1498), the prologue is introduced with a title in the same typeface as the narrating text itself (a4r). A decorated initial "N" (twelve lines high) is placed before the text of the prologue.

60 The first, second, and third lines are set in justification. The fourth and fifth lines are slightly shorter and centred. The first two lines are set in the same Gothic typeface, followed by a single line in a smaller typeface and the fourth and fifth line in the smallest typeface.

61 In Ungler's edition the word "Rzym | skich" in the fourth line is also hyphenated.

62 Szarfenberg's title page is designed differently, with the title and information about the place of printing, printer, and year of publication placed in the middle of the page in an empty frame which is placed above a large woodcut filling the entire page.

63 The centred text is evenly distributed over the entire page. Most of the text is printed in roman typeface: the main title at the top over two lines in roman capital letters, followed by the subtitle over seven lines in two roman types (the first two lines in the same type as the main title, the other lines in a smaller type). Some words are hyphenated, like "Mesterek | nek" in lines 4 and 5, and "hazon | |latossaoual" in lines 5 and 6.

tenth translation into Hungarian:⁶⁴ *Mely mostan igaz ez tizta Magyar nyelwere forditatot* (“Which is now true for the tenth translation into Hungarian”).⁶⁵ The features of these editions suggest that for the layout of a title, symmetry was clearly more important to these printer-publishers than arranging it in accordance with the contents.⁶⁶

The arrangement of the title page of the first Swedish edition, published in 1642, is more complex and can be divided into three main parts. The first textual part, which takes up about half the title page, is significantly different from all the other title pages discussed as it is ten lines long. This text, printed in five different sizes of Gothic type, can be divided into four subparts.⁶⁷ The first subpart, centred over two lines in two different typefaces, names the title. The second subpart, also centred over four lines in three sizes of Gothic type, mentions the beginning of the story and emperor Pontianus who orders the seven wise masters to teach his son in the seven liberal arts. The third subpart, also centred and set over five lines in three different type sizes, summarises the remaining narrative. In the fourth subpart the reader is informed that the story is useful and pleasant. The second part is an image placed under this text.⁶⁸ The third main part names the place and year of the edition and informs the reader that the narrative has recently been translated.⁶⁹

All in all, three kinds of introduction to the narrative can be distinguished: 1. an incipit, which mentions the title and gives short information about the text, is reminiscent of the manuscript age, and clearly separates the peritext and the narrating text to help the reader; 2. even with a clear spatial distinction between

⁶⁴ This could also be read to mean that it is the tenth edition of the text.

⁶⁵ If this is correct, it would suggest that nine Hungarian translations, nowadays all lost, had been printed before 1573. It features a small ornamental woodcut as well as information about the place of printing, the printer (both in capital letters), the permission to print (in small typeface), and the year of publication.

⁶⁶ This is also a feature in some editions, not only in Polish and Hungarian but in English too (1576, 1602).

⁶⁷ The source might have been one of Cammerlander's editions (1536, 1537, 1538, 1546), which are also rich in information about the contents of the narrative, or an edition with the same elements (see footnote 49).

⁶⁸ The scene shows a man sitting on the right with a devil behind him. On the left are two men and a woman approaching the sitting man and reaching their hands out to him. Unfortunately, the copy is not very good.

⁶⁹ A Dutch edition, with the title *Een schoone ende ghenoechlicke Historie vande seven Wijsen van Roomen* [...], published around the same time (Amsterdam: Otto B. Smient, 1641) also contains detailed information about the contents (education of the emperor's son, seduction attempt by the stepmother, her death) and the advertising addition that the book is decorated with many illustrations.

the title and the narrating text, the titles are frequently arranged according to symmetrical decorative considerations;⁷⁰ 3. the first Swedish edition, as an adaptation of the later German tradition, can be considered as representing a more sophisticated arrangement of the different parts of the title page and providing detailed information about the contents.

3.3 Presentation of SSR in Illustrations

In different language areas (German, Dutch, Iberian, and Swedish), several early editions were also provided with a so-called introductory woodcut or image on the title page.⁷¹ In the oldest preserved vernacular SSR edition, published in German (1473), Bämmler used such an introductory woodcut (Fig. 1a). It shows the first

⁷⁰ From Schönsperger's 1488 edition onwards, for several decades the German printer-publishers preferred a title mentioning the seven wise men (see the appendix at the end of this chapter). In 1536 the Strasbourg publisher Jacob Cammerlander introduced a new title with a long subtitle which became the most commonly used title for the narrative in later German editions:

Die Sieben Weisen || Meyster. Wie Pontianus keyser zû Rom seinen sûn Diocleti=| | anum den Sieben weisen Meystern beflucht, die sieben freien || Kûnst zû lernen Vnd wie der selbig hernach durch vn=| | trew seiner stieffmütter sieben mal zûm Galgen || gefûret ward, aber allwegen durch schöne || gleichnussen der Meyster von dem todt || erredt, eyn gewaltiger Keyser zû || Rom ward, lustig vñ nützlich || widder der Weiber vn=| | trew zû lesen. (“The Seven Wise Masters. How Pontianus, emperor of Rome, gives his son Diocletian to the Seven wise Masters to be educated in their care and to be taught the seven liberal Arts. And how he was later led to the Gallows seven times because of his stepmother’s treachery, but always rescued from death through charming examples from the Masters, became a powerful Emperor in Rome, pleasant and useful to read against Women’s infidelity.”)

Cammerlander did not only summarise the contents of the narrative in a few words, he also added the main intention of the story for the reader: *Die Sieben weisen Meyster* is pleasant as well as useful and tells about women’s infidelity. In a new edition a few years later (1546), Cammerlander moved women’s unfaithfulness directly at the top of the title page: *Von vntrew der Wey=| | ber schöne gleichnussen der sie:| | ben Weisen Meyster.* [...] (“About Women’s infidelity, charming examples of the seven Wise Masters. [...]”). Other printers, such as Han in Frankfurt, chose to print the slogan *Von der weiber vntrew* (“About women’s infidelity”) as a heading, and therefore a motto, on every recto page. From about 1700 a title emphasizing the general usefulness of the narrative became popular in German editions: *Die nützliche [sic] Unterweisungen || Der Sieben || Weisen Meister* [...] (“The useful Instructions Of The Seven Wise Masters [...]”; VD17: 28:742540X; https://rosdok.uni-rostock.de/mcrviewer/recordIdentifier/rosdok_ppn1014844177/iview2/phys_0005.iview2, 25 February 2023). It would be very interesting to compare these editions with editions in other language areas of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.

⁷¹ On the use of blank pages as a forerunner of a printed title page, and on title pages in the early modern period in general, see Rautenberg (2004; 2008). The term “introductory woodcut” is my translation of the German term “Einleitungsholzschnitt” (Duntze 2008). There is not enough space to discuss the Swedish edition here.



Figs. 1a and 1b: *Ein gar schöne Cronick vnd hystorie Auß den geschichten der Römern*. Augsburg: Johann Bämler, 1473, A1v (introductory woodcut), A2r (incipit and beginning of narrating text) (Dresden, SLUB, Digitale Sammlungen / Ink. 38.2) © Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden.

empress lying on her deathbed, pointing her forefinger at her son. Her husband is next to her, with two other people next to the emperor, and the son, still a child, is standing in front of the bed. However, in the narrating text the son is not present when his parents discuss his future.⁷² The emperor and the empress look at each other and hold each other's right hand. She points to their child with her left hand.

The son, with his back to the empress' bed, is looking at a bird in his left hand. This detail refers to the latter part of the story: towards the end of the narrative, Diocletian recounts the story of a son who, being able to understand the song of a nightingale, says to his father that a nightingale has just told him that his parents would serve him one day, a prediction which later becomes true. The father is so angry that he throws his son into the sea. Diocletian gives this example to show how unfairly a father can treat his son, a reference to his own experience with his father. The illustration with the boy foreshadows what is narrated later on.

In the image, the empress' gesture can be taken as alluding to her request about their son's future. The son is a representation of the future and is not actually part of the scene in the illustration. Combined with the gesture of the hand-shake and the text in the narrative – the empress asks her husband to have their son properly educated, far from any second empress –, the depicted scene can be seen as the conclusion of a contract; the emperor and the empress make an agreement about the future of both their son and the empire. The scene also suggests that the first empress does not trust her husband to have their son properly educated after her death, or to choose a suitable second wife who will look after her stepson, the future emperor. The scene therefore shows the empress' rational political calculation and responsibility, and her status as a good adviser.⁷³ As the narrative ends with Diocletian as the new emperor who surpasses all his predecessors, it can be read as a mirror for princes, with a focus on “values such as the love of wisdom, resistance to temptation, silence, patience” (Gábor 2010, 181).

The scene with the empress in bed was also chosen for the image of the title page in Anton Sorg's editions (1478, 1480; Fig. 2).⁷⁴ The scene is in principle the same but with some differences. The empress' finger does not point at her son but

⁷² Lundt surprisingly argues that the woodcut is not a “textbegleitende Illustrierung” (“illustration that accompanies the text”) and “der Sohn wendet sich von den Eltern ab” (“the son turns away from his parents”) (Lundt 2002, 467). For spatial reasons the contents of other woodcuts cannot be discussed in this contribution.

⁷³ Schlusemann (2023a); see Patrick (2014) for a similar view on the Castilian *Sendebär*.

⁷⁴ Online edition 1478: <https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0002/bsb00027801/images/index.html>; edition 1480: <https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/84158/1/0/> (both 5 March 2023). See Barasch (1976) on the history of gestures of desperation from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance.



Fig. 2: *Ein gar schöne Cronick vnnnd hystori Auß den geschichten der Roemernn.* Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1478, 1v (introductory woodcut) (München, BSB, 2 Inc. c.a. 718, 1v). © Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, with the licence CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

is resting on her right arm, which can be a sign of weakness before death. The boy is not holding a bird in his hand but is kneeling by the bed, looking at the empress and reaching out his arms and hands, a gesture of desperation. In this image he is presented as part of the scene which is one of sorrow and mourning.⁷⁵

In 1512 Matthias Hupfuff was the first printer to choose an entirely different scene for the first illustration: a meeting between three pagan philosophers⁷⁶ standing on the right and three men on the left, each with a laurel wreath denoting their honour and wisdom. The first one points to the sky, a reference to his astrological learning. A reader looking at the different illustrations in the book finds three altogether different versions of the narrative: the empress' rational strategy for the future in Bämle, despair and distress in Sorg, and the importance of courtly wisdom and good advice in Hupfuff.

Whereas the first German publisher chose a key scene from the beginning of the narrative, the printer of the first illustrated edition in Dutch (attributed to J.J. van der Meer, ca. 1483)⁷⁷ preferred a woodcut on the first verso page with young Diocletian in the middle, surrounded by the seven wise men (*seven wise mannen*), the emperor, and the empress (Fig. 3).⁷⁸ It emphasizes Diocletian's position as future emperor whilst caught between opposing "camps" (the seven wise men as a group on the left and the empress standing right). The emperor is the only seated figure. The arrangement of the figures reveals Diocletian as the central subject who is important to everyone. The wise men and the empress are shown as opposing parties who try to convince the emperor of their respective views about his son's future. This tension is expressed by the space between the seven wise men and the empress, with all eyes on the judge.

In the first Castilian edition attributed to Hurus (ca. 1488–1491), the woodcut is directly placed under the incipit (a2r) and shows virtually the same scene as in Bämle's edition but with some differences (see Aranda García 2018, 18, and fig. 2 in her article). The emperor does not stand next to the empress but sits at the end of her bed and holds a sceptre in his right hand. A man, probably a doctor, is standing next to her bed. Their gestures make it clear that they are talking to the empress. The emperor's son is not present. The handshake and the son from the German edition are missing. The image depicts a scene emphasizing the empress' life-threatening illness.

75 In later editions the son disappears from the death scene: e.g. in the editions by Prüss ([1478–1479]); Schönsperger (1481, 1486, 1488, 1490, 1494, 1497), Knoblochtzer (1483), and Froschauer (1511).

76 On the woodcut on the title page, the man in front holds a scroll in his right hand with the text "heidnisch phi." ("pagan philosophers") (copy: Zwickau, RB).

77 The first edition in Dutch was (probably) not illustrated, at least there are no images in the text. Schlusemann (2023a) includes the other images used by van der Meer.

78 In 1641 Smient also chose this scene for the title page illustration of his edition.



Fig. 3: *Historie van die seven wise mannen van Rome*. Delft: [Jacob Jacobszoon van der Meer], 1483, A1v (introductory woodcut) (Utrecht, UB, MAG: S qu 377 (Rariora) dl 3). By courtesy of Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht.



Fig. 4: *Libro delos [sic] siete sabios de roma.* Sevilla: Juan Cromberger, 1538, A1r (Wien, ÖNB, *38. L.100). © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien.

The second Castilian edition (Jacobo Cromberger, ca. 1510) was illustrated with an entirely different woodcut on the title page. It shows eight people in a didactic scene (Aranda García 2018, 18, and fig. 1 in her article). The same woodblock was also used by Juan Cromberger in a later edition published in 1538 (see Fig. 4). The centred image at the top and the title are surrounded by decorative woodcuts.

A teacher is seen seated at the top of the image. Three students on either side sit in a half circle to the right and the left of the teacher. Five of them are male, one is female and sits in the middle of the half circle to the right. It could be a nun. A small boy in the foreground talks to the people on the left. They are all either talking or listening. The teacher's gesture shows that he is explaining something to the person sitting to his right. Without the female figure the scene might represent the seven wise men acting as teachers for Diocletian.⁷⁹ Overall the image does not really fit the contents of the story.

These are only a few examples of some of the illustrations from different *SSR* versions. The example analysis of some multimodal features in different *SSR* versions shows the impact of wording, layout, typography, and image on the meaning of a text and the importance of analysing each literary product in a holistic way.

4 Conclusion

As *SSR* belongs to the most widespread narratives not only in European vernaculars, but also as a global narrative tradition, this contribution can only be regarded as a first step towards more complex comparative analyses of these traditions. With its narrative structure and fifteen often hilarious exempla, version H, amongst others, has clearly been to readers' taste for several centuries. Besides, there must have been many more versions whose existence can sometimes be indirectly witnessed, for example in a song by Irish harper Toirdhealbhach Ó Cearbhalláin (Turlough Carolan, 1670–1738) or in a text written by Aodh Mac Gabhráin (Hugh McGauran, ca. 1670–ca. 1738) in 1720. In the last stanza of the song *Pléaraca na Ruarcach* Aodh Mac Gabhráin wrote:

⁷⁹ As a didactic scene it was also used for other editions printed by Jacobo Cromberger, for example an edition of the *Consolation of Philosophy* in Seville in 1518 (Aranda García 2021b, 250).

Tráth bhínn-se ag an Pápa ar stuidéar na ngrásta,
 ‘S a’ glaca na ngrádhámh tháall ins a’ Róimh,
 ‘Sé an Seven Wise Masters bhí agad ar do tháirr,
 Is tú a’ rósta na bprátaí láimh leis a’ tSídih Mhór!⁸⁰

Even if the wording is derogatory, it shows that the narrative was known in county Leitrim at the beginning of the eighteenth century. This also highlights, once again, that many editions have been lost but equally suggests a certain relativity of the results presented in this chapter. However, in the selection of the ten European language areas studied here, different peaks have become apparent, for example in German (especially before 1600) and English (in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), and the fact that the narrative was also very popular, particularly in Polish, Hungarian, and Danish. In the incunabula period it was one of the most printed narratives (26 editions in five language areas), whereas in later centuries we can speak of different waves, with peaks especially in the last quarters of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.

The multimodal approach simultaneously requires and generates holistic analyses of each edition. This chapter intends to show the specific introduction of the narrative in each of the chosen language areas. The wording on the title pages and incipits in these language areas reveals a common preference for certain words related to genre (history or chronicle), protagonists ([seven] sages/wise masters or Pontianus/Diocletian) and those used for commending the story’s features (useful, pleasant, charming). Their almost consistent use indicates that these words were clearly thought to be appropriate for effectively advertising the narrative all over Europe. The layout and typography of the title pages differ and range from replicating the conventions of the manuscript age to symmetrically decorating the early editions, and finally to a more sophisticated arrangement in the seventeenth century. The images selected by the printer-publishers demonstrate the importance of illustrations for the special focus each producer intended to put on his/her own version and that it is essential to incorporate the material and medial relevance of each seemingly small feature of a textual witness.

⁸⁰ Quoted from: <https://dromahairheritage.wordpress.com/2016/03/04/194/> (5 March 2023): “When I was with the Pope studying the graces and || taking the grades over in Rome || it was the Seven Wise Masters you had on your belly || and you were roasting potatoes near Sheemore” (Co. Leitrim). With thanks to Wilson McLeod, University of Edinburgh, for the translation.

Appendix

The Printed Tradition of *Historia septem sapientum Romae* (version H) in European Vernaculars until 1800⁸¹

German (High German and Low German)

- [Incipit] “Hienach volget ein gar schöne Cronick vnd hystori Auß den geschichten der Rômernn”. s.l.: s.n., [ca. 1470] (Gotzkowsky 1991, 283, nr. 1, copies lost in World War II)
- [Incipit] “Hienach volget ein gar schöne Cronick vnd hystori Auß den geschichten der Rômernn”. Augsburg: Johann Bämmler, [14]73 (GW 12856)
- [Incipit] “Hienach volget ein gar schöne Cronick vnd hystori Auß den geschichten der Rômern”. Augsburg: Anton Sorg, [14]78 (GW 12858)
- [Incipit] “Hir henet [sic] sik an een boek vnde heth in deme dudeschen de historia van den souen wysen meisteren”. [Lübeck: Lukas Brandis, ca. 1478] (GW 12873)
- [Incipit] “Hie nach volget ein gar schön Cronick vnd histori Auß den geschichten der Rômern”. [Straßburg: Johann Prüss, ca. 1478–1479] (GW 12857)
- [Incipit] “Hÿenach volget ein gar schöne Cronick vnnd hystori Auß den geschichten der Rômern”. Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1480 (GW 12859)
- [Incipit] “Hienach volget ein gar schöne Cronick vnd hystori auß den geschichten der Rômern”. Augsburg: Johann Schönsperger, 1481 (GW 12860)
- s.t. [Augsburg: Johann Schönsperger], s.a. (GW 1286050N)
- [Incipit] “Hie nach volget ein gar schön Cronick vnd histori, Auß den geschichten der Rômern”. [Straßburg: Heinrich Knoblochtzer, ca. 1483] (GW 12861)
- [Incipit] “Hienach volget ein gar schöne Croinck [sic] vnnd histori auß den geschichten der Rômern”. Augsburg: Johann Schönsperger, 1486 (GW 12862)
- [Incipit] “Hier boghint [sic] de historie van den vij wijsen mannen van Rome”. Antwerpen: Nicolaes Leeu, 1488 (GW 12874)
- Die syben weisen maister*. Augsburg: Johann Schönsperger, 1488 (GW 12863)
- Die syben weisen maister*. Augsburg: Johann Schönsperger, 1490 (GW 12864)
- Eyne schone Cronica vnd historia van den souen wisen meisteren getogen vth den geschichten der Romere*. Magdeburg: Moritz Brandis, 1494 (GW 12875)
- Die syben weisen maister*. Augsburg: Johann Schönsperger, 1494 (GW 12865)

⁸¹ The first extant editions in the language areas are also listed in the chapter itself. The language areas are ordered according to the first known edition: German (High and Low German), Dutch, Iberian language area (including Castilian, Catalan, Portuguese etc.), French, English and Scottish, Czech, Polish, Hungarian, Danish, Swedish. Each mention of a title is followed by a reference to either a secondary source (for example ESTC, GW, SF), a library catalogue, or the mention of a copy. The quoted titles are often abbreviated; the abbreviations in the quotes are resolved. The incipit is quoted when there is no title (on a title page). Editions in German of which no copy is known, mentioned by Gotzkowsky (1991, 300–305; 1994, 83–85), are not listed here.

- Die historj der süben wisen maister.* Kirchheim: [Drucker des S. Brandan (Matthias Hupfuff)], 1497 (GW 12866)
- Die syben weisen maister.* Augsburg: Johann Schönsperger, 1497 (GW 12867)
- Die syben weysen maister.* Augsburg: Johannes Froschauer, 1511 (VD16 S 6328)
- Hie noch volgt ein gar schöne Cronick vnd hystori vß den geschichten der Römer [...].* Straßburg: Matthias Hupfuff, 1512 (VD16 S 6329)
- Die siben weisen maister.* Augsburg: Johannes Froschauer, 1515 (VD16 S 6330)
- Hie nach volget ein gar schone Cronick vnd Hystori Auß den geschichten der Römer [...].* Straßburg: Johannes Knobloch, 1520 (VD16 S 6331)
- Eyn schone Hystory vnd Cronick auß den geschichten der Römer [...].* Köln: [Arnt von Aich], 1528 (VD16 S 6332)
- Die Sieben Weisen Meyster. Wie Pontianus keyser [...].* Straßburg: Jakob Cammerlander, 1536 (VD16 ZV 14413)
- Die Sieben Weisen Meyster. Wie Pontianus keiser [...].* Straßburg: Jakob Cammerlander, 1537 (VD16 S 6333)
- Die Sieben Weisen Meyster. Wie Pontianus der keyser [...].* Straßburg: Jakob Cammerlander von Mentz, 1538 (VD16 S 6334)
- Die siben weisen Meister. Wie Pontianus der keyser [...].* Augsburg: Alexander [I] Weißenhorn, 1540 (VD16 S 6335)
- Die siben weisen Meister. Wie Pontianus der Keiser [...].* Ingolstadt: Alexander [I] Weißenhorn, 1541 (VD16 ZV 14414)
- Von vntrew der Weyber schöne gleichnussen der sieben Weisen Meyster. Wie Pontianus der Keyser [...].* Straßburg: Jakob Cammerlander von Mentz, 1546 (VD16 S 6336)
- Die sieben weisen Meister. Geschichten des Kaisers Pontiani [...].* Ingolstadt: Alexander [I] Weißenhorn, 1546 (Gotzkowsky 1991, 292, no. 25)
- Von vntrew der weyber schöne gleichnussen der sieben weisen Meysternn. Wie Pontianus der keyser ...* Straßburg: Wendel Ribel, 1549 (VD16 S 6337)
- Ein gar schone History vnd Cronick auß den geschichten der Römer.* s.l.: s.n., [ca. 1550] (VD16 ZV 14412)
- Die siben weisen Meyster, Wie Pontianus der Keyser [...].* Ingolstadt: Alexander [I] and Samuel Weißenhorn, 1551 (VD16 S 6338)
- Die Sieben weisen Meyster. Wie Pontianus der Keiser [...].* Frankfurt am Main: Hermann Gülfferich, 1554 (VD16S 6339)
- Die Siben weisen Meister. Wie Pontianus der Keiser [...].* Frankfurt am Main: Weigand Han, 1556 (VD16 S 6340)
- Die Siben weisen Meister. Wie Pontianus der Keiser [...].* Frankfurt am Main: Weigand Han, [ca. 1556] (copy: Stuttgart, WLB, HB 781)
- History der syben Weisen Meyster, Wie Pontianus der Keyser [...].* Straßburg: Christian Müller, 1558 (copy: Kraków, BJ; olim Berlin, SBBPK, Yt 4991 R)
- Die Siben weisen Meister. Wie Pontianus der Keyser [...].* Frankfurt am Main: Weigand Han and Georg Rab, [1562] (VD16 S 6341)
- Die Siben weisen Meister. Wie Pontianus, der Keiser [...].* Frankfurt am Main: Weigand Han and Georg Rab, 1565 (copy: Kraków, BJ; olim Berlin, SBBPK, Yt 5001 R)
- Ein gar schone History vnd Cronick auß den geschichten der Römer [...].* [Köln or Straßburg]: s.n. [ca. 1565] (Gotzkowsky 1991, 296, no. 35)
- Die Siben weysen Meyster. Wie Pontianus der Keiser [...].* Augsburg: Matthäus Francke, 1570 (copy: Kraków, BJ; olim Berlin, SBBPK, Yt 5006 R)

- Die Siben weisen Meister. Wie Pontianus der Keiser [...]*. Frankfurt am Main: Thomas Rebart and Kilian Han, 1570 (VD16 ZV 21981)
- Die Siben weisen Meister. Wie Pontianus der Keiser [...]*. Frankfurt am Main: Paul Reffeler for Kilian Han, 1577 (VD16 S 6342)
- Histori der siben Weisen Meister, wie Pontianus der Keyser [...]*. Straßburg: Christian Müller, 1577 (copy: Kraków, BJ; olim Berlin, SBBPK, Yt 5010 R)
- Die syben weysen Meyster. Wie Pontianus der Keyser [...]*. Augsburg: Michael Manger, [ca. 1580] (VD16 ZV 26119; Gotzkowsky 1991, 298, no. 40)
- Die Siben weysen Meyster. Wie Pontianus der Keyser [...]*. [Augsburg: Michael Manger, ca. 1580] (VD16 ZV 26385; Gotzkowsky 1991, 299, no. 41)
- Die syben weysen Meyster. Wie Pontianus der Keyser [...]*. Augsburg: Michael Manger, [after 1580] (VD16 ZV 31464; Gotzkowsky 1991, 299, no. 42; VD16 S 6343)⁸²
- Die sieben weisen Meister. Wie Pontianus der Keyser [...]*. Leipzig: Nikolaus Nerlich, [ca. 1590] (VD16 S 6344; Gotzkowsky 1991, 300, no. 44, no. 45)⁸³
- Die siben weisen Meister: Wie der Keyser Pontianus [...]*. Köln: Heinrich Nettessem, [ca. 1600] (copy: Kraków, BJ; olim Berlin, SBBPK, Yt 5126)
- De sôuen wysen Meister. Wo Pontianus de Rômische Keyser [...]*. Hamburg: Hermann Möller, 1601 (copy: Kraków, BJ; olim Berlin, SBBPK, Yt 5131)
- De sôuen wysen Meister. Wo Pontianus de Rômische Keyser [...]*. Hamburg: Paul Lange, 1605 (copy: Kraków, BJ; olim Berlin, SBBPK, Yu 1605)
- De sôuen wysen Meister. Wo Pontianus de Rômische Keyser [...]*. Hamburg: Paul Lange for Heinrich Dose, 1618 (Gotzkowsky 1994, no. 3; copy Münster, ULB, lost in World War II)
- Die sieben weise Meistern. Wie Pontianus der Käyser [...]*. Erfurt: Martha Hertzin, 1669/70 (Gotzkowsky 1994, S. 83, Nr. 4)
- Die sieben weisen Meister. Wie Pontianus der Keyser [...]*. Nürnberg, Michael Endter, 1670 (VD17 7:667298A)
- Von untrew der weyber, schöne gleichnussen der sieben Weisen Meyster. Wie Pontianus der Keyser [...]*. Erfurt: Johann Georg Hertz, 1679 (copy: London, BL, 12410.bb.24.(2.))
- Die sieben weisen Meister. Wie Pontianus [...]*. Hamburg: Heinrich Völker, 1687 (Gotzkowsky 1994, S. 84, Nr. 6)
- Die nützliche Unterweisung der sieben Weisen Meister, Wie Pontianus der König [...]*. s.l.: s.n., [ca. 1700] (VD17 23:712784E)
- Die nützliche [sic] Unterweisungen Der Sieben weisen Meister, Wie Pontianus der Zeit Keyser [...]*. s.l.: s.n., [ca. 1700] (VD17 28:742540X)
- Die nützliche Unterweisung der sieben Weisen Meister, Wie Pontianus, der König [...]*. s.l.: s.n., [ca. 1750–1800] (copy: Berlin, HUB, Yi 31709:F8)
- Die nützliche Unterweisung der sieben Weisen Meister, Wie Pontianus, der Kaiser [...]*. Köln: Christian Everaerts, [ca. 1780] (copy: Kraków, BJ; olim Berlin, SBBPK, Yt 5181)
- Die sieben weisen Meister, oder wie Pontianus, der Kaiser [...]*. Leipzig: s.n., [ca. 1800] (copy: Göttingen, SUB, EM Sie 13.3)

82 As the copy of VD16 S 6343 is lost (formerly Berlin, SBBPK), it is not possible to determine if these two copies are two different editions or two copies of one edition.

83 Here as one edition because the copies mentioned by Gotzkowsky have not yet been studied enough. According to Gotzkowsky's quotes of the titles, it might also be two different editions.

- Die nützliche Unterweisung der Sieben Weisen Meister: Wie Pontianus der Kayser [...].* s.l.: s.n., [ca. 1800] (copy: Wien, ÖNB, 5784 A)
- Die nützliche Unterweisung der Sieben Weisen Meister: Wie Pontianus, der Kónig [...].* s.l.: s.n., [ca. 1800] (copy: Berlin, SBBPK, Yu 353)
- Die nützliche Unterweisung der Sieben Weisen Meister: Wie Pontianus, der Kayser [...].* [Hamburg: Johann Michael Brauer, ca. 1800] (VD18 90823443)
- Die sieben weisen Meister. Merkwürdige Geschichte der sieben Weisen Meister. Wie Pontianus, der Kaiser [...].* s.l.: s.n., [ca. 1800] (copy: Kraków, BJ; olim Berlin, SBBPK, Yt 5210)

Dutch

- [Incipit] “[H]ier beghint die historie van die seuen wijse mannen van romen”. Gouda: Gheraert Leeu, 1479 (GW 12876)
- [Incipit] “Hier beghint die hystorie van die seuen wise mannen van romen”. Delft: [Jacob Jacobszoon van der Meer], 1483 (GW 12877)
- [Incipit] “Hier beghint die historie van die seuen wise mannen van romen”. [Gouda: Printer of *Teghen die strael der minnen*, ca. 1484] (GW 12878)
- Van die seuen vroede van roemen.* Delft: [Jacob Jacobszoon van der Meer or Christian Snellaert, ca. 1489] (GW 12879)
- s.t. [Antwerpen]: s.n., [ca. 1510–1530] (NK 3167)
- Een schoone ende genoechlijcke Historie Vande seuen Vroeden van Roomen.* Amsterdam: Willhelm Janszoon [Van Campen] for Cornelis Claesz., 1595 (copy: London, BL, C.57.e.22)
- Een schoone Ende ghenoechlicke historie van de seven vroeden van Roomen.* Amsterdam: Cornelis Cool, [ca. 1640] (copy: Den Haag, KB, KW 190 C 25)
- Een schoone ende ghenoechlicke Historie vande seven Wijsen van Roomen [...].* Amsterdam: Ot. Barentsz. Smient, 1641 (copy: Gdańsk, BG, Dc 1540 8° (olim: XVII.D.4))
- Een Schoone ende genoegelyke Historie, van de Seven Wijsen van Romem [...].* Amsterdam: heirs widow Gysbert de Groot & Antony van Dam, 1719 (copy: Leiden, UB, BKNOOG 125)
- Een schoone ende genoegelyke Historie van de Seven Wijsen Van Romem [...].* Amsterdam: heirs widow Gysbert de Groot, 1725 (copy: Leiden, UB, 1192 H 20)
- Een schoone ende genoegelyke historie, van de zeeven wyzen van Romem [...].* Amsterdam: heirs vander Putte, [1768–1794] (copy: Den Haag, KB, KW 1121 F 67)

Iberian

- [Incipit] “Comiença la hystoria delos [sic] siete sabios de roma”. [Zaragoza]: Paul Hurus or Hans Hurus, not before 1485, not after 1495] (GW 12880)
- Libro delos [sic] siete sabios de Roma nueuamente emendado [y] por capitulos diuidido [...].* [Sevilla: Jacobo Cromberger, 1510] (IB 16252)
- Libro de los siete sabios de Roma.* Burgos: Juan de Junta, 1530 (IB 16253)
- Libro de los siete sabios de Roma.* Sevilla: Juan Cromberger, 1534 (IB 16254)
- Libro de los siete sabios de Roma.* [Sevilla: Dominico de Robertis, ca. 1537–1540] (IB 125036).

- Libro de los siete sabios de Roma*. Sevilla: Juan Cromberger, 1538 (IB 16255) (copy: Wien, ÖNB, *38. L.100)
- Libro de los siete Sabios de Roma*. Burgos: Juan de Junta, 1554 (IB 16256)
- Libro de los siete sabios de Roma*. Barcelona: Pedro Malo for Francisco Trinxer, 1583 (IB 16257)
- Libro de los siete sabios de Roma*. Sevilla: Alonso de la Barrera, 1583 (Aranda García 2021a)
- Libro de los siete sabios de Roma. en el cual se contienen muchos y maravillosos exemplos y excelentes avisos*, Alcalá de Henares: Sebastián Martínez, 1585 (IB 125037; USTC 5109031)
- Pérez, Marco. *Libro de los siete sabios de Roma*. Barcelona, Sebastián de Cormellas, 1626 (IB 60413; USTC 5033390; copy: Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, 04_Dipòsit de Reserva 1-IV-3)
- Pérez, Marco. *Libro de los siete sabios de Roma*. Barcelona: Iacinto Andreu, 1678 (IB 118676; copy: Cambridge, UL, F167.c.8.11)
- Pérez, Marco, *Historia de los siete sabios de Roma*. Barcelona, Antonio Lacavallería, 1678 (IB 118675)
- Pérez, Marco, *Historia de los siete sabios de Roma*. [Barcelona: Rafael Figueró, ca. 1669–1718] (CCPB000404151–8; Aranda García 2021a)
- Pérez, Marco, *Historia de los siete sabios de Roma*. [Barcelona: Rafael Figueró, ca. 1669–1718] (CCPB000486376–3; Aranda García 2021a)
- Pérez, Marco, *Historia de los siete sabios de Roma*. [Barcelona: Rafael Figueró, ca. 1669–1718] (Aranda García 2021a)
- Pérez, Marco, *Historia de los siete sabios de Roma*. [Barcelona: Rafael Figueró, ca. 1669–1718] (Aranda García 2021a)
- Pérez, Marco, *Historia de los siete sabios de Roma*. [Barcelona: Rafael Figueró, ca. 1669–1718] (Aranda García 2021a)
- Pérez, Marco, *Historia de los siete sabios de Roma*. [Barcelona: Rafael Figueró, ca. 1669–1718] (Aranda García 2021a)
- Pérez, Marco, *Historia de los siete sabios de Roma*. [Barcelona: Rafael Figueró, ca. 1669–1718] (Aranda García 2021a)
- Pérez, Marco, *Historia de los siete sabios de Roma*. [Barcelona: Rafael Figueró, ca. 1669–1718] (Aranda García 2021a)
- Pérez, Marco, *Historia de los siete sabios de Roma*. [Barcelona: Pablo Campins, ca. 1725] (Aranda García 2021a)

French

- Les sept sages de Romme*. Genève: [Louis Cruse], 1492 (GW 12870)
- Les sept sages de Romme*. Genève: [Louis Cruse], 1494 (GW 12871)
- Les sept sages de Rome*. Genève: [Jean Belot], 1498 (GW 12872)
- Les sept saiges de Romme*. Paris: Alain Lotrian, [1525–1547] (copy: Paris, BnF, 4-BL-3096 [4])
- Les sept saiges de Romme*. Lyon: Olivier Arnoullet, [before 1540] (www.rhr16.fr; 3 March 2022)
- Les sept saiges de Romme*. Lyon: Jean d'Ogerolles, 1577 (www.rhr16.fr; 3 March 2022)
- Le romant des sept sages de Rome, auquel sont contenus plusieurs beaux exemples et enseignemens pour instruire toutes personnes à bonnes moeurs, à entendre et comprendre des malices et fauces instructions des mauvais, et augmentée de plusieurs histoires*. Troyes: Nicolas Oudot, 1662 (copy: Paris, BnF, RES-Y2-1278)

English and Scottish

- [*Seven wise masters of Rome*] [beginning of fragment] “the mete was redy: and the tyme of the day was come to go to dyner” [...]. [London: Richard Pynson, ca. 1493] (GW 12868; ESTC S114568)
- [Incipit] “Here begynneth thystorye of ye .vii. Wyse Maysters of rome conteynynge ryghe fayre & ryghtiuous narrac[ions]. [et] to ye reder ryght delectable”. [London]: Wynkyn de Worde, [1506] (ESTC S103667; STC 21298)
- [Incipit] “Thystorye of ye .vii. Wyse Maysters of Rome conteynynge ryghe fayre and ryght ioyous narracons. and to ye reder ryght delectable”. [London]: Wynkyn de Worde, [1515] (London, BL, GRC C.34.f.46)
- [Incipit] “Here beginneth thystory of the seuen wyse Maysters of Rome conteynynng right faire and ryght ioyous narracio[n]s, and to the reder ryght delectable”. London: William Copland, [ca. 1555] (ESTC S106632; STC 21299)
- The history of the seuen wise maisters of Rome* [...]. London: Thomas Purfoot, 1576 (ESTC S4865; STC 21299.3)
- John Rolland, *The seuin seages Translatit out of prois in Scottis meter be Iohne Rolland in Dalkeith* [...]. Edinburgh: John Ros, for Henry Charteris, 1578 (ESTC S110703)
- John Rolland, *Here beginnis The seuin seages translatit out of prois in Scottis meiter be Iohne Rolland in Dalkeith* [...]. Edinburgh: Robert Smyth, [1592] (ESTC S125954)
- The hystorie of the Seuen wise maisters of Rome* [...]. London: Thomas Purfoot, 1602 (ESTC S124198; STC 21299.5)
- [*The hystorie of the seuen wise maisters of Rome* [...]. s.l.: [Thomas Purfoot, ca. 1602] (ESTC S2303; STC 21299.7)
- John Rolland, *The Seven Sages translated out of prose into Scottish meter* [...]. Edinburgh: Andro Hart, 1620 (ESTC S106886)
- John Rolland, *The Seven Sages translated out of prose into Scots meter* [...]. Edinburgh: Heirs of Andrew Hart, 1631 (ESTC S106887)
- The hystorie of the seaven wise Maisters of Rome [...]. London: Thomas Purfoot, 1633 (ESTC S106633; STC 21300)
- John Rolland, *The Seven Sages Translated out of Prose into Scots Meeter* [...]. Edinburgh: Heirs of Andrew Hart, 1635 (USTC 3017986)
- The History Of the Seven wise Masters of Rome* [...]. London: J.C., 1653 (ESTC R6486)
- The history of the seven wise masters of Rome* [...]. London: R[obert] I[bbitson], 1656 (ESTC R178043)
- The history of the seven wise masters of Rome* [...]. London: for J. Wright, 1671 (ESTC R178044)
- The history of the Seven Wise Masters of Rome* [...]. London: E. Crowh for J. Wright, 1673 (ESTC R218015)
- The History of the Seven Wise Masters of Rome* [...]. London: for J. Wright, 1677 (ESTC R43641)
- The history of the seven wise masters of Rome* [...]. London: for J. Wright, 1682 (ESTC R41771)
- The History of the Seven Wise Masters of Rome* [...]. London: printed for M. Wotton, and G. Conyers, at the three Pigeons in Fleet-street, and at the Golden Ring on Ludgate-Hill, 1687 (ESTC R18803)
- The history of the seven wise masters of Rome* [...]. London: printed for Matt[hew] Wotton and G[eorge] Conyers, 1688 (ESTC R178046)
- The history of the seven wise masters of Rome* [...]. London: printed for George Conyers, 1693 (ESTC R178047)
- The History of the Seven Wise Masters of Rome* [...]. Glasgow: Robert Sanders, 1693 (ESTC R215243)
- The History of the Seven Wise Masters of Rome* [...]. London: Printed by J.W. for George Conyers, 1697 (ESTC R215244)

- The history Of The Seven Wise Masters of Rome* [...]. Glasgow: Robert Sanders, 1713 (ESTC T62902)
- The history of the seven wise masters of Rome* [...]. Aberdeen: James Nicol, printer to the Town and University, 1717 (ESTC T62903)
- The history of the seven wise masters of Rome* [...]. [London]: A.W. [Allington Wilde] for A. Conyers, [1722–1739] (ESTC T498274; ESTC N33102)
- The history of the seven wise masters of Rome: now newly corrected, better explained in many places and adorned with many pretty pictures, lively representing the whole*. Dublin: Printed for George Golding, 1748 (copy: Dublin, NLI, LO 6149)
- The famous history of the seven wise masters of Rome*. [London?]: s.n., [1750?] (ESTC N9691)
- The first part of the famous history of the Seven Wise Masters of Rome*. [...]. [Newcastle]: s.n., [1750?] (ESTC T35564)
- The History of the seven wise masters of Rome* [...]. [London]: Printed for J. Hodges, on London-Bridge, and J. Johnston, in St. Paul's Church-yard, [1754?] (ESTC T194526)
- The history of the seven wise masters of Rome* [...]. Glasgow: Archibald M'Lean, [1755] (ESTC T165312)
- The famous history of the seven wise masters of Rome* [...]. [London]: Printed and sold in Aldermay Church Yard, Bow Lane, London, [not before 1755] (ESTC T160306)
- The famous history of the seven wise masters of Rome* [...]. London: printed and sold in Bow-Church-Yard, [1760] (ESTC N506102)
- The history of the seven wise masters of Rome* [...]. Glasgow: James Knox, 1763 (ESTC N33101; Bloomington, Lilly Library, PN687.S4 H67 1763)
- The history of the seven wise masters of Rome* [...]. London: printed for W. Johnston and S. Crowder and company, [1765?], 26th edition (ESTC N483551)
- The history of the seven wise masters of Rome* [...]. London: printed for W. Johnston and S. Crowder and company, [1765?], 27th edition (ESTC N7973)
- Roman stories: or, The history of the seven wise masters of Rome* [...]. Glasgow: Printed for J. Brown, bookseller, Salt-market, and Alex. Dunlop, bookseller, Trongate, 1772, 30th edition (ESTC N510528)
- Roman stories: or, the history of the seven wise masters of Rome, containing seven days entertainment ...* Glasgow: Robert Duncan, 1784, 33rd edition (ESTC T169615)
- The Famous history of the seven wise masters of Rome* [...]. Edinburgh: Printed and sold opposite the Old Assembly Close, Cowgate, [between ca. 1780 and 1800?] (ESTC T300464)
- Roman stories: or, The history of the seven wise masters of Rome* [...]. Berwick: W. Phorson, 1785 (ESTC T207495)
- The history of the seven wise masters of Rome. Containing [m]any excellent and delightful examples. With their explanations and modern significations* [...]. London: s.n., [1785] (ESTC T36528; copy: Oxford, BL, Douce PP 177 (1))
- Roman Stories: or, The history of the seven wise masters of Rome* [...]. London: James Hollis, [1785–1792], 42nd edition (ESTC T505838)
- Roman stories; or The history of the seven wise masters of Rome* [...]. London: T. Sabine and Son, [between ca. 1790 and 1810?], 5th edition (ESTC T300965)
- Roman stories: or, The history of the seven wise masters of Rome* [...]. London: printed for and sold by W. Clements, J. Sadler, and J. Eves, 1792, 50th edition (ESTC T120656)
- The History of the seven wise masters of Rome* [...]. Boston: Printed and sold by J. White, near Charlestown-Bridge, 1794 (ESTC W20467)
- The History of the seven wise masters of Rome* [...]. Worcester: [Isaiah Thomas], 1794 (ESTC W12750)
- The History of the seven wise masters of Rome* [...]. Philadelphia: H[enry] & P[atrick] Rice, no. 50 High-Street, 1795; Baltimore: J. Rice & Co. Market-Street, 1795 (ESTC W11105)

- Roman Stories: or The history of the seven wise masters of Rome [...]*. New York: printed for Benjamin Gomez, 1795. 34th edition (ESTC W21633)
- The History of the seven wise masters of Rome [...]*. New York: Printed and sold by John Tiebout, at (Homer's-Head) 358 Pearl-Street, 1797 (ESTC W759)
- The History of the seven wise masters of Rome [...]*. Philadelphia: Printed for the booksellers, 1798 (ESTC W11106)
- The History of the seven wise masters of Rome [...]*. London: Printed and sold by T. Sabine, No. 81, Shoe-Lane, and E. Sibley, bookseller, No. 29, Brick lane, Spital-Fields, [1799?] (ESTC T165335)
- The history of the seven wise masters of Rome [...]*. London: Printed for the Company of Walking Stationers, [ca. 1800?] (ESTC T71683)

Czech

- Kronika sedm mudrcuov Rozprav ky velmi uřessenee v sobie zavijeraji jíí v nichžto lest a chytrost ženská: zjevňe se vypravuje Počinase tak to.* [Plzeň: Mikuláš Bakalář, ca. 1501–1508] (KNI04462, copies: Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, 25 E 21; Moskva, RGB, H-6; digital images kindly sent by Dmitry Rumyantsev from the Book Museum in Moscow, 16 February 2022)
- Kronika sedmi mudrců.* s.l.: s.n., [before 1567] (<https://knihoveda.lib.cas.cz/Record/K04463>).
- Kronyka o sedmi Mudrcých / kteráž w sobě Rozprávky velmi kratochwilně zawijrá / w nichžto se Lest a Chytrost ženská zgewně wyprawuge.* Praha: Jiří Jakubův Dačický, 1590 (KNI04464)
- Kronyka Kratochwjlná O Znamenitých Sedmi Mudrcych.* Kutná Hora: Františka Šleretová, [ca. 1772] (copy: Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky, 54 S 000339 <https://books.google.cz/books?vid=NKP:1002401080&printsec=frontcover&hl=en#v=onepage&q&f=false>, with thanks to Jan Pišna)
- Kratochwjlná Kronyka o sedmy Mudrcých.* Jihlava: Fabián Augustin Beinhauer, [ca. 1789–1831] (copy: Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky, 54 Se 000122, with thanks to Jan Pišna)

Polish

- [*Poncján*]. s.l.: s.n., [before 1538] (Brückner 1907)
- [*Poncján*]. [Kraków: s.n., ca. 1540] (copy: Kraków, BJ, Cim. O. 1304)
- Poncján Ktory ma w sobie rozmaith powiesci miłe barzo ku czcieniu wzięte [sic] z Rzymyskich dzieiow.* Kraków: Florian Ungler, 1540 (copies: Kraków, BJ, Cim. P. 5; München, BSB, Rar. 823)
- Historya piękna z przykłady nadobnemi o Poncjanie Cesarzu Rzymyskim iako syna swego Dioklecyana dał w naukę y ku wychowaniu siedmi Mędrcom.* Kraków: Maciej Szarfenberg, 1540 (copy: Erlangen-Nürnberg, UB, HOO/MISC 121)
- Historya piękna z przykłady nadobnemi o Poncjanie Cesarzu Rzymyskim iako syna swego Dioklecyana dał w naukę y ku wychowaniu siedmi Mędrcom.* Kraków: Mikołaj Szarfenberger, 1566 (copy: Kraków, BJ, Cim. O. 885)
- Historya Piękna y Ucieszna o Poncjanie Cesarzu Rzymyskim, iako Syna swego iedynego Dyoklecyana, dał w Naukę y ku wychowaniu Siedmi Mędrcom.* s.l.: s.n., [1699–1700] (copy: Dresden, SLUB, Lit. slav. 278; Rudnicka 1964, no. 343)
- Historya Piękna y Ucieszna o Poncjanie Cesarzu Rzymyskim, iako Syna swego iedynego Dyoklecyana, dał w Naukę y ku wychowaniu Siedmi Mędrcom.* s.l.: s.n., [1699–1701] (Rudnicka 1964, no. 342)

Historia piękna y Uczieszna o Poncyanie Cesarzu Rzymskim, iako Syna swego iedynego Dyoklecyana, dał w Naukę y ku wychowaniu Siedmi Mędrcom. s.l.: s.n., [ca. 1743] (Rudnicka 1964, no. 344)

Historia piękna y Uczieszna o Poncyanie Cesarzu Rzymskim, iako Syna swego iedynego Dyoklecyana, dał w Naukę y ku wychowaniu Siedmi Mędrcom. s.l.: s.n., 1761 (Rudnicka 1964, no. 345)

Hungarian

[*Ponciánus historiaia*]. Cluj: Gáspár Heltai, [1570–1574] (Gábor 2010; fragments; http://real-r.mtak.hu/29/1/RMK_I_0087a_RM_I_8r_0707.pdf, 14 April 2023)

Pontianvs historiaia: az az Het Bölch Mestereknek, mondasit chiwda szep hasonlatossaaual foglaluán, mimodon, az Chazar Fiat Diocletianust hetzer halaltul meg mentettet legien. Bécs (Wien): Eberus Balázs, 1573 (RMK I 92; RMNy 322; https://oszkdk.oszk.hu/storage/00/00/67/05/dd/1/RMK_I_0092.pdf, 14 April 2023)

Gáspár Heltai, *Ponciánus czaszar historiaia: Mikeppen az ő Fíának Diocleciusnak hét bölcs és tudos Mestereket fogada, kik azt tanyitának az hét bölcs es nemes tudományokra.* Lőcse (Levoča): Brevver Loerintz, 1633 (RMK I 630; RMNy 1571)

Gáspár Heltai, *Pontianvs tsaszar historiaia. Mikeppen az ő fianak Diocleciusnak hét bölts és tudós Mestereket fogada, kik azt tanitanák az hét nemes Tudományokra.* Lőcse (Levoča): Brevver Loerintz, 1653 (RMK I 872; RMNy 2472)

Gáspár Heltai, *Pontianvs tsaszar historiaia. Mikeppen az ő fianak Diocleciusnak hét bölts és tudós Mestereket fogada, kik azt tanitnák az hét és nemes tudományokra.* Lőcse (Levoča): Brevver Loerintz, 1676 (RMK I 1203)

Gáspár Heltai, *Pontianvs tsaszar historiaia. Mikeppen az ő fíának Diocleciusnak hét bölcs és tudos mestereket fogada, kik azt tanyitának az hét és nemes tudományokra.* Lőcse (Levoča): Brewer Samuel, 1679 (RMK I 1238)

Ponciánus császár históriája, Pozsony-Komárom: s.n., [second half of the 18th century] (with thanks to Ágnes Maté)

Danish

[*De syv vise Mestre*]. [Kiøbenhaffn: Matz Vingaard, ca. 1570–1577] (copy: Uppsala, UUB, Danica vet. 106)

Keyser Pontiani historie met hans Søn Diocletiano / Lystig at Læse / imod Quindernis wtroskaff. Rostock: Steffen Møllemand, 1591 (copy: Stockholm, KB, 118 B 8 e 289 Ra 2 Mestere)

En skøn Historie om de syv vise Mestere, hvorledis Pontianus den Rommerske Keyser, befaledede dennem sin Søn Diocletianum, at lære hannem de syv frie Konster. s.l.: s.n., 1700 (copy: København, KB, 58, 459 8° 15144)

En skøn Historie om de syv vise Mestere, hvorledes den rommerske Keyser Pontianus, anbetroede dem sin Søn Diocletianum, for at undervise ham i de syv frie Konster. København: s.n., [1700–1800] (copy: København, KB, Boghist RE 1-03188)

En skøn Historie Om de Syv vise Mestere. København: s.n., 1709 (copy: Berlin, SBBPK, Zk 13380; lost during World War II)

- En skøn Historie om de syv vjse Mestere, hvorledis Pontianus den Rommerske Keyser, befalede dennem sin Søn Diocletianum.* København: s.n., 1733 (copy: København, KB, Boghist RE 1-10780)
- En skøn Historie om de syv viise Mestere, hvorledis Pontianus den Rommerske Keyser, befalede dennem sin Søn Diocletianum, at lære hannem de syv frie Konster [...].* København: s.n., 1755 (copy: København, KB, N 2139 8°)
- En skøn Historie om de syv vise Mestere, hvorledis Pontianus den Rommerske Keyser, befalede dennem sin Søn Diocletianum, at lære hannem de syv frie Konster [...].* København: H.J. Graae, 1784 (copy: København, KB, 58,-459 8° 15148)
- En skøn Historie om de Syv vise Mestere, hvorledis den rommerske Keyser Pontianus, anbetroede dem sin Søn Diocletianum, for at underwise ham i de syv frie Konster [...].* s.l.: s.n., [ca. 1800] (copy: København, KB, 58,-459 8° 15149)

Swedish

- The siw wijse mestare, huruledhes Pontianus, en keysare vthi Rom, befalte sin son the siw wijse mestarne i händer, at lära the siw frije booklighe konster [...]. Swåra nyttigh och lustigh at läsa.* Nyligen förswenskat. Stockholm: s.n., 1642 (copy: Göteborg, UB, RAR saml. 8:0 280)
- The siw wijse mestare, huruledhes Pontianus, en keysare vthi Rom, befalte sin son the siw wijse mestarne i händer, at lära the siw frije booklighe konster.* Stockholm: s.n., 1668 (<http://libris.kb.se/bib/2519799>)
- The siw wijse mestare, huruledhes Pontianus, en keysare vthi Rom, befalte sin son the siw wijse mestarne i händer, at lära the siw frije booklighe konster [...].* Gefle: s.n., 1778 (SF I, 7)
- [*The siw wijse mestare*] [...], in: *Roliga historier, qwicka infällen, moraler och stundom roliga nyheter m.m.* Stockholm: Kumblińska Tryckeriet, 1783 (http://www.kb.se/sverigesperiodiskalitteratur/1/1_264.htm, 23 January 2023)
- The siw wijse mestare, huruledhes Pontianus, en keysare vthi Rom, befalte sin son the siw wijse mestarne i händer, at lära the siw frije booklighe konster.* Örebro: Johan Pehr Lindh, 1787 (SF I, 7)

Rita Schlusemann

Griseldis – a Flexible European Heroine with a Strong Character

With a Contribution on *Griseldis* in Scandinavia by Anna Katharina Richter

Margaret Atwood’s short story *Impatient Griselda* published in the *New York Times* in July 2020 and the staging of Giovanni Bononcini’s opera *Griselda* by the Wrocław Baroque Orchestra in September 2022 are two of many possible examples showing the enduring success and canonical status of the story of Griseldis’ life and adventures from its beginning in the Late Middle Ages until now.¹ The Griseldis story was first told in Italian by Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375) as the last of his one hundred novellas in *Il Decamerone* (1349–1353), and later adapted by Francesco Petrarca into Latin around 1374 (Lorenzini 2019–2020).²

Petrarch’s version *De insigni obedientia et fide uxoris*, which he enclosed in a letter to Boccaccio from March 1373 and which can be regarded as the adaptation of the novella as an exemplum (Zanucchi 2010), served as a direct and indirect source for numerous textual adaptations since the Middle Ages, for drawings, songs, dramatic versions, and operas across Europe. In 1384–1389 a French *Griseldis*, attributed to Philippe de Mézières, was incorporated into a work titled *Le miroir des dames mariées* (“The mirror of married ladies”); in 1388 *Griseldis* was translated as *Valter e Griselda* (“Valter and Griselda”) into Catalan; in 1393–1400 Geoffrey Chaucer adapted the novella as “The Clerk’s Tale” in his *Canterbury Tales*; in 1405 Christine de Pizan used it in *Le livre de la cité des dames* (“The book of the city of ladies”); in 1411 Dirk Potter wrote the first Dutch version as part of his *Der minnen loep* (“The course of love”); in 1432 Erhart Grosz wrote the first German *Griseldis* version, and a Czech version with the title *Pocina se Valterus a Grizeldis* (“Valterus and Grizeldis begins”) was composed in 1459. *Griseldis* was also adapted in Danish, Hungarian, Polish, Portuguese, Swedish, Icelandic, and Russian.³

1 See <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/07/07/magazine/margaret-atwood-short-story.html> (29 January 2023); Giovanni Bononcini, *Griselda* (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gqLr2VjdICQ>); <https://www.br-klassik.de/concert/ausstrahlung-2984418.html> [2 February 2023].

2 The first part of this chapter is partly based on my earlier articles on the *Griseldis* tradition: see Schlusemann (2019a, 2019b); for a first survey of the *Griseldis* tradition in European language areas until 1900, see Morabito (1988).

3 See also Nardone and Lamarque (2000–2001).

Griseldis' story was painted as early as the fifteenth century on three Spalliera panels by Apollonio di Giovanni (ca. 1440);⁴ in 1565–1566 it was not only staged as a comedy by John Phillip but also printed as a song. Owen Rogers and Thomas Deloney wrote a ballad about her (ca. 1586).⁵ In 1701 Apostolo Zeno wrote the libretto *Griselda* which circulated until the middle of the eighteenth century and was performed as an opera at least twelve times. In addition, other adaptations were composed by Alessandro Scarlatti (1721) and Antonio Vivaldi (1735), followed by a comical libretto-adaptation of the novella (Antonio Palomba, 1752), to name only a few (Gier 2021).

This chapter presents a survey of the rich printed tradition. After an introductory part on the narrative's contents and motifs, the second part will present some basic characteristics of the novella's spatio-temporal dissemination across lingual and medial continua in different European regions.⁶ In the last part of this chapter, the specific transmissions of *Griseldis* will be analysed with regard to the meaning of the reframing (Speth 2020) of the novella in German, Dutch, Danish, and Swedish as *Griseldis* was generally not published as a standalone text but together with other literary works, in a composite ("Sammelband") or in a multiple-text unit (see section 3).

1 Contents and Motifs

Griseldis is one of the most well-known and analysed novellas of Boccaccio's *Il Decamerone* which, because of its contents, has attracted and polarized readers until today. Petrarch's version starts with a description of the marquis of Saluzzo, called Gualtieri in Boccaccio's version, a young man who likes to go hunting but has no intention to marry and provide successors for his dominions. When asked by his vassals to consider marriage, he refuses at first but eventually agrees to look for a wife himself. While out riding, he stumbles upon Griseldis, a poor farmer's daughter. Following a conversation, she accepts the conditions Gualtieri set to his marriage proposal. In an oral contract she promises to do anything he asks

4 The Spalliera panels can be seen at the National Gallery in London: <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/master-of-the-story-of-griselda-the-story-of-griselda-part-i-marriage> (29 January 2023); the painting by Apollonio di Giovanni, now in Palazzo dei Musei in Modena, can be seen online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Apollonio_di_giovanni_novella_di_griselda_1440_ca._01.jpg (23 January 2023).

5 For a survey of the English tradition in the sixteenth century, see Schlusemann (2019a).

6 Because of the vast number of editions, it is not possible to present a detailed survey of the whole European tradition in this chapter.

her to do. She arrives at the court dressed in new garments. In the following years they have two children, a daughter and a son. After a while, Gualtieri wants to test her and orders his servant to take their daughter away from her. No one knows that he actually intends to send his daughter to his sister. When the servant arrives, she hands the daughter over without hesitation or any emotional reaction. The same happens with the son. As Gualtieri is not yet satisfied, he devises a third test. He tells his wife that, with papal consent, he intends to marry again. He sends her back home, dressed in her old clothes, but then asks her to help with the marriage preparations until the new bride arrives. Griseldis fulfils her task with great diligence and asks Gualtieri not to treat his second wife as he used to treat his first wife. At that moment the marquis breaks down in tears and admits what he has really done. He also tells her that his second wife is their daughter and that the young man in her company is their son. She embraces their children and they all live together happily ever after.

Among the main motifs in the novella are a husband's behaviour towards his wife and, from a modern point of view, a woman's extreme patience and obedience as a wife and mother whilst being subjected to brutal tests by her husband. One of the first motifs presented in the story is social ascent through marriage, together with the emphasis that such an ascent can be quickly followed by a fall because of a husband's power. The novella provides no explanation for the wife's actions but the prenuptial contract makes her behaviour to some extent understandable. Griseldis' humble origin, her qualities of obedience, steadfastness, and patience remind us of biblical figures like Job, Mary, and Abraham. In the end her power is greater than her husband's will to continue with his tests. Presenting Griseldis' *fortitudo animi*, her strength of mind, as an anthropological character trait, the novella remained popular in at least fourteen different language areas⁷ in the early modern period and was printed at least 561 times before 1800.

⁷ The language areas are, in alphabetical order: Czech, Danish, Dutch, English and Scottish, French, German, Hungarian, Iberian, Icelandic, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, and Swedish. The term "language area" in this chapter is used as a synonym for the German "Schreibsprache" (Peters 2017). "German" includes both High and Low German language areas, "Iberian" includes Catalan, Castilian, and Portuguese. For this survey it was not possible to distinguish between the language varieties within a larger "area" but it would be very interesting to develop a more differentiated picture in a future project.

2 Spatio-Temporal Dissemination

The printed dissemination of *Griseldis* started in Italian, the language area in which the first version of the novella was written during the Italian Renaissance. *Griseldis* was first printed as the last of one hundred stories in *Il Decamerone* in about 1470 in Naples, by the same printer who printed Terentius' comedies (GW 04440). Adaptations in other vernaculars were mostly based on Petrarch's Latin translation. The following list presents an overview of the first editions of *Griseldis* in different vernaculars:

- 1471 in High German, published by Günther Zainer with the incipit “Diß ist ain epistel francisci petrarche, von grosser stätikait ainer frowen. Grisel gehaissen” (2r),⁸ often bound together with *Apollonius* (GW M31580; see section 3.1.1 of this chapter)
- 1477 in Dutch, as part of an allegorical text called *Vanden kaetspele* (“About the [hand]ball game”) about the behaviour of judges (GW M15941; Schlusemann 2019a)
- [ca. 1478] in Low German as *De Historie van der duldicheit der vruwen Griseldis*, probably published in Lübeck and attributed to Lukas Brandis (GW M31597)
- [ca. 1478] in English, Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Clerk's Tale*, an adaptation of the *Griseldis* story, was published as part of the *Canterbury Tales* by William Caxton in Westminster (GW 06585)
- [ca. 1482] in French, *Grisilidis* was first printed in Geneva by Louis Cruse (GW M31589)
- 1496 XI.08 in Castilian, as part of Boccaccio's *Ciento Novelas* (“One hundred Novellas”), printed by Meinhard Ungut and Stanislaus Polonus in Seville (GW 04454)
- [1528] in Danish, printed by Jürgen Richolff in Hamburg (lost; see below, section 3.3)

⁸ “This is Francesco Petrarca's letter about the great steadfastness of a lady called Grisel”. All translations in this chapter are my own (unless otherwise stated). Abbreviated references identify editions in standard reference works; abbreviations are expanded in the list of references at the end of this volume.

- 1539 in Hungarian, as a poem by Pál Istvánfi with the title *Historia regis Volter ad notam Francisco* (“History of king Volter according to Francisco”, RMK I, 105; RMNy 340)⁹
- [before 1551] in Polish with the title *Historija znamienita, wszystkim cnym paniom na przyklad pokory, posluszeństwa i cichości wydana, o Gryzelli, salurskiej księżnie w ziemi włoskiej* (“An illustrious history, given to all noble ladies as an example of humility, obedience, and meekness, about Gryzella, duchess of Saluria [Saluzzo, RS], in the land of Italy”);¹⁰ attributed to the female printer publisher Helena Unglerowa in Kraków (lost; Franczak 2006, III.1)
- 1560 in Czech with the title *Kroniky o Jovianovi císaři a druhá o Kryzeldě* (“The chronicles of Jovian the emperor and the other of Kryzelda”);¹¹ published by Kašpar Aorg in Prostějov (KPS: K04473)
- 1575 in Portuguese by Gonçalo Fernandes Trancoso, as the fifth chapter in part three of *Contos e Histórias de Proveito e Exemplo* (“Tales and Histories for Benefit and Example”); see Rossi (1978, 288–294); Calvo del Olmo (2012)
- 1622 in Swedish (see below, section 3.3)
- 17th century in Icelandic, in manuscript form (see below, section 3.3)
- 18th century in Russian, a theatre performance called *Komedija o italijanija markgrafe i o bezmernoj uklonnosti grafiny ego* (“A Comedy about an Italian margrave and the immeasurable obedience of his countess”)¹²

Griseldis was first published as a standalone text in German and French in the incunabula period, whereas the novella entered different linguistic regions as

9 See online: https://mek.oszk.hu/04700/04758/html/rmkt2/rmkt02_018.html (4 April 2023); for the oldest preserved edition published in Debrecen by Andras Komlos in 1574, see <https://mek.oszk.hu/12500/12525/html/index.html> (4 April 2023).

10 With thanks to Krystyna Wierzbicka-Trwoga for the translation.

11 With thanks to Jan Pišna for the translation.

12 According to El’Nickaja (1977, 431–432) the theatre group of Tsarevna Natalya Alekseyevna performed a *Komedija o italijanija markgrafe i o bezmernoj uklonnosti grafiny ego* in Preobrazhenskoe (near Moscow) and in Saint Petersburg between 1706 and 1716. The Tsarevna or Grand Duchess Natalya Alexeyevna of Russia (1673–1716), sister of Tsar Peter the Great, also wrote theatre plays herself. In 1708 she moved to Saint Petersburg. She might actually be the author of the *Griseldis* drama mentioned by El’Nickaja. As there is no material evidence of this version or of any other Russian version before 1800, this language area is not taken into consideration in the rest of this chapter.

part of a multiple-text unit, such as a didactic text in *Vanden kaetspele* (Dutch),¹³ a collection of novellas in *Il Decamerone* (for example in Italian or Iberian), and the *Canterbury Tales* (English). Among the ten narratives in this volume, *Griseldis* belongs to the top two in terms of the number of editions in different language areas and the absolute number of editions known so far.¹⁴

Griseldis was published in at least 561 editions in eleven language areas before 1800 (Tab. 1), and its spatial distribution can be seen on a map.¹⁵ The novella was known nearly everywhere in Europe in the early modern period: it was printed as a novella, a drama,¹⁶ and a ballad but it was also sung, and staged as a theatre production and opera (Gier 2021).¹⁷

In terms of absolute numbers, there is a clear predominance of the language areas where the earliest editions were printed: Italian, German, Dutch, English, and French.¹⁸ The numbers in these five language areas are this high because, compared to other narratives in this book, they were not only printed as a standalone text but also as two other types of editions: 1. the novella was published as part of *Il Decamerone* (in a vernacular translation); 2. the novella was adapted and published in another popular multiple-text unit like the *Canterbury Tales* or *Der*

13 In ca. 1487 Gheraert Leeu printed a standalone edition of *Griseldis* in Antwerp (GW M31599; Schlusemann 2019b, 279).

14 Only surpassed by *Aesopus*, and when the different *Amadis* books are not considered separate narratives.

15 See the product page of this volume: <https://www.degruyter.com/document/isbn/9783110764451/html?lang=de>. The following survey concentrates on the distribution of the *Griseldis* novella (including songs and drama versions) in space and time (before 1800) in eleven language areas. On the Scandinavian tradition, see the more detailed section 3.3 of this chapter.

16 For example, a dramatical version written in German by Hans Sachs with the title *Ein comedi mit 13 personen. Die gedultig und gehorsam marggräfin Griselda* (“A comedy with 13 figures. The patient and obedient margravine Griselda”), probably first performed in Nuremberg in 1546, from 1548 onwards was printed at least ten times in a volume with the title *Sehr herrliche, schöne und wahrhafte Gedicht* (“Really wonderful, beautiful and true Poems”).

17 In the following table the Icelandic and Russian traditions are not taken into consideration; the Icelandic because it survived in manuscript form, and the Russian because there is no material evidence for it. For the Danish and Polish traditions, editions without material evidence have been included (two Danish, one Polish). Adaptations in musical form (libretti, operas, etc.) have not been included, except for ballads and so-called history songs in Dutch (“historieliedereren”).

18 The first illustrated edition of *Il Decamerone* was published in French in 1485 and is attributed to Jean Du Pré for Antoine Vérard (GW 04453; one woodcut repeated several times); in German by Anton Sorg in Augsburg in 1490 (GW 04452; 44 woodcuts); and in Italian by Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis in Venice in 1492 (GW 04449; 113 woodcuts). The first illustrated printed edition of *Griseldis* was published in German. It is attributed to Johann Zainer and was probably published in Ulm before 28 March 1474 (GW M31583).

Tab. 1: Minimum number of printed *Griseldis* editions in (at least) eleven European language areas before 1800.¹⁹

| Griseldis | Ital. | Ger. | Dutch | Engl. | Fren. | Iber. | Dan. | Hung. | Czech | Pol. | Swed. | Total |
|--------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|------------|
| 1470–1500 | 13 | 14 | 5 | 4 | 9 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 46 |
| 1501–1600 | 58 | 40 | 7 | 14 | 40 | 14 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 185 |
| 1601–1700 | 14 | 23 | 10 | 16 | 19 | 6 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 9 | 4 | 109 |
| 1701–1800 | 72 | 13 | 36 | 41 | 22 | 1 | 7 | 0 | 9 | 11 | 4 | 221 |
| total | 157 | 90 | 58 | 75 | 90 | 22 | 13 | 5 | 12 | 22 | 8 | 561 |

vrouwenpeerle (“Of Woman’s Pearl”).²⁰ In contrast to many other European language areas, the very small Dutch-speaking area was very productive in terms of publishing *Griseldis* editions.²¹ The same is true for Polish, compared to the number of prints of the other narratives in this volume.

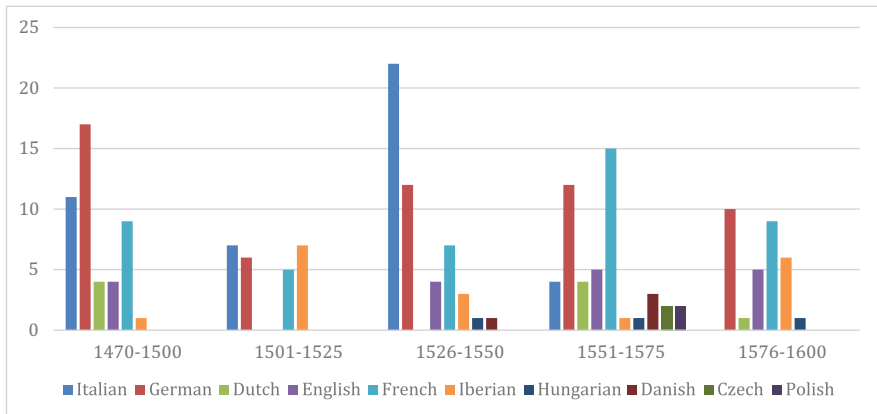
During the incunabula period, there is a significantly high number of Italian, German, and French editions (see also Graph 1). New German and Italian *Griseldis* editions were published on average every second year, and French editions every third year. The western European market seems to have been flooded with *Griseldis* editions in that period. With regard to the distribution of the novella in

¹⁹ Partly based on Schlusemann (2019a). With regard to the number of language areas, such as for example the Iberian- and German-speaking areas, which are terms for clusters of speaking areas, the number of different “vernaculars” would increase if, for instance, High German and Low German were counted separately. The numbers are minimum numbers of editions as many editions have been lost or are unknown. They must also be seen as approximate numbers because some editions might have been printed in the seventeenth century for example, although they are now catalogued in the eighteenth century. The figures are based on research in several catalogues and publications: BNE; Paris, BnF; EDIT16; ESTC; GW; HPB; IB; ISTC; KPS; MRFH; RMK; VD16; VD17; VD18; USTC; Gatherole (1969); Rossi (1978); Morabito (1988); Leclerc (1991); Morabito (1995); Conde (2001); Duché-Gavet (2007); Calvo del Olmo (2012); Frederici (2018); Schlusemann (2019a, 2019b), as well as, among others, the catalogues of national libraries in Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Spain, the British Library, and the support of several colleagues: Matouš Jaluška (Czech); Ágnes Maté (Hungarian); Anna Katharina Richter (Danish and Swedish); Jordi Sánchez-Martí (English, Iberian), and Krystyna Wierzbicka-Trwoga (Polish). I would like to thank them all for the information provided.

²⁰ On the numerous editions of *Der vrouwenpeerle*, a Dutch multiple-text unit with three novellas (*Helena*, *Griseldis*, *Florentine*), see part 3.3 of this chapter, and especially Schlusemann (2019b). “Vrouwen”, as well as “peerle”, can be the genitive form in the singular or the plural. This means that the title can be read in four ways: “Woman’s Pearl”, “Woman’s Pearls”, “Women’s Pearl”, or “Women’s Pearls”.

²¹ On the discrepancy between this number and the attention for the novella in Dutch literary history, see Schlusemann (2019a, 2019b).

the eastern and northern language areas of Europe, the situation is comparable to that of, for example, *Historia septem sapientum Romae* and *Melusine* (see the chapters on these two narratives in this book). The production of *Griseldis* editions in these language areas (Danish, Hungarian, Czech, Polish) started in the sixteenth century, and in the seventeenth century in the Swedish language area.

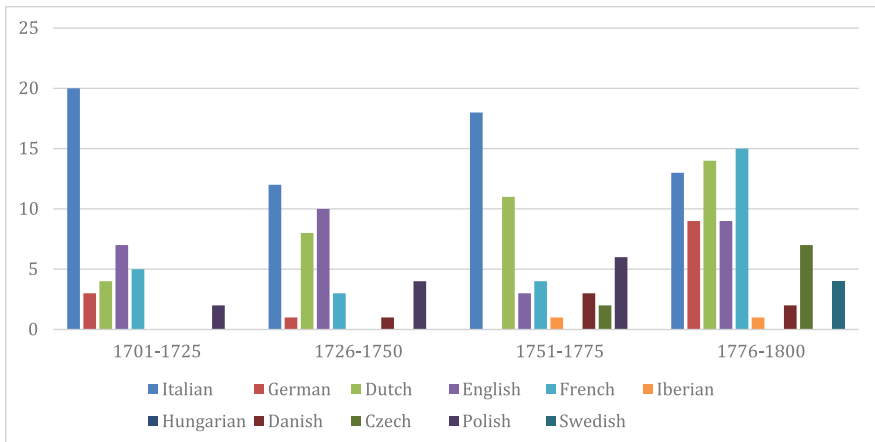


Graph 1: *Griseldis* editions between 1470 and 1600 in ten European language areas.

After this strong start in the incunabula period, there is a notable decline in the number of language areas and in the numbers of editions in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. However, the second and third quarters of the sixteenth century can be called the first period of a *Griseldis* boom all over Europe, with more than 100 editions. From the second quarter of the century onwards, the number of different language areas increased again to seven, culminating in at least ten different language areas in the third quarter of the century. But there is a striking difference between these two periods. Between 1526 and 1550, there was an impressive number of Italian editions because of the many *Il Decamerone* editions. The dissemination between 1551 and 1575 was different: although the Italian, German, and French language areas stand out, on the whole the dissemination was more scattered among the various language areas. During this period, the novella spread in particular to several language areas in the north and east of Europe. The existence of several editions in Danish, Polish, and Czech suggests that the novella reached regions in the south, west, north, and east of Europe.

Interest in the narrative dwindled in the seventeenth century although the overall number remained higher than for most of the other top ten narratives. The number of German editions remained the highest, but in comparison with other periods the number of Polish editions increased significantly. From the eighteenth century

onwards, *Griseldis* became an absolute bestseller across Europe (Graph 2). A first preliminary inventory of the *Griseldis* production in eleven language areas for this century reveals more than 200 editions, even when performances (theatre, operas, and songs) are not considered. Whereas in the second quarter of the century the production decreases, in the third and fourth quarter we find editions in nearly all considered European language areas, apart from Hungarian. On the whole, there is a particularly high number of Italian *Griseldis* editions. In the first and third quarters the Italian dominance was striking, but in the last quarter the editions were more evenly distributed in five European language areas, in fact in the same language areas as in the incunabula period. There is, however, an important difference: there is a remarkably strong Polish tradition in the middle of the century, along with Danish and Swedish editions. The small Dutch-speaking area also generated a rather large number of editions (see also part 3.2).



Graph 2: *Griseldis* editions between 1701 and 1800 in eleven European language areas.

3 Reframing *Griseldis* in German and Dutch Composites and Multiple-Text Units

Narratives – and texts in general – were not only copied, translated, or adapted, they were often surrounded or accompanied by other texts and transmitted together in a co-transmission process called reframing.²² Shorter texts like novellas

²² On reframing as a form of framing, see Speth (2020).

in particular tended not to circulate on their own but were often bound together with other texts. In the last few years there has been a growing interest in composites or “Sammelbände”, a term frequently used to describe the phenomenon of binding different manuscripts together.²³ In this chapter, the term “composite”, introduced for manuscripts by Johan Peter Gumbert, is proposed for printed texts or a combination of printed and handwritten texts. In a composite, made up of previously independent units, “wholly different items” are joined together (Gumbert 2004; Friedrich and Schwarke 2016). Composites as “textual communities” are regarded as “selbstständige Gesamtkunstwerke” (“independent total works of art”).²⁴ These items can be manuscripts or prints, but a composite can also consist of a mix of manuscripts and prints,²⁵ as will be shown with the copy of the first German printed edition of *Griseldis*, now kept in Basel (see 3.1.1).

The term “multiple-text unit” denotes another way of creating a unit, suggesting a unit consisting of different texts “worked in a single operation”, delimited in time and space and produced in a single production process.²⁶ In most cases the publisher is responsible for such a multiple-text unit, with the frequent addition of a title page which mentions the two (or more) texts. Sections 3.1.2, 3.2 and 3.3 will present different kinds of multiple-text units like these.

Different intermediate forms are possible too: a. the extant copies of each of the two (or more) texts were published in combination with other texts or as a standalone text. In that case, it is not possible to say if the publisher really intended the combination as a multiple-text unit;²⁷ b. two texts are bound together in the surviving copies of an edition but there is no common title page. In fact, we do not know if the publisher was responsible for this combination or if it happened by chance, especially when the compilations in the different extant copies are not identical because of different combinations with other texts (see 3.1.1).

23 For example, by the research group “Sammelband 15–16” (sammelband.hypotheses.org [29 January 2023]).

24 Wolf differentiates between four different kinds of co-transmission: a. an unintentional synthesis by the bookbinder; b. an additive textual collation; c. a compository-synthetical addition; and d. newly composed works when the different texts are melted to a unity (Wolf 2016, 81).

25 On the phenomenon of the “creation of ‘a book’ out of several texts”, see also Dlabáčová (2022). With thanks to Anna Dlabáčová for sending me the manuscript of her article before it was published.

26 “Codicological unit” is a term for handwritten books introduced by Gumbert to denote a book which consists of more than one text and whose parts are characterized by a “unity of time, place and technique” (Gumbert 2004). See Friedrich and Schwarke (2016, 15–16), for the use of the term “multiple-text manuscript”.

27 In some editions, the quires were not “counted”. Besides, libraries often cannot tell if a copy of a text has formerly been bound together with other texts.

3.1 Reframing the German *Griseldis*

The German tradition of *Griseldis*²⁸ shows an important degree of variation in respect of authorship as well as the choice of titles and genres. German *Griseldis* versions were composed by famous German authors, mostly in the south of the German-speaking areas. Between 1471 and 1800, at least 75 different editions and adaptations were published.²⁹ Heinrich Steinhöwel, Jörg Wickram, Hans Wilhelm Kirchhoff, Dietrich Marold, Johann Fiedler, Martin von Cochem, and Christian Joseph Jagemann wrote new versions of the *Griseldis* story; dramatic versions were written by Hans Sachs (drama and song), Abraham Burchard, Valentin Schreck, and Georg Mauritius, whereas Ludwig Heinrich Nicolay wrote a romantic ballad.³⁰ *Griseldis* versions kept appearing under a new guise from the pen of new authors with new viewpoints, who obviously sought to write their own *Griseldis* narrative. Some emphasized the didactic aspects of obedience,³¹ others praised the heroine's humility and patience,³² presented different characteristics,³³ or shifted the focus to the earl.³⁴

28 In the first editions in German, the main figure is called Grisel (Augsburg: Günther Zainer, 1471 and before 1473 [GW M31580 and M31578]; Augsburg: Johann Bämmler, 1472 [GW M17713]) but in keeping with her name in most German editions, the text will also be referred to as *Griseldis* in the context of the German tradition.

29 The number is based on an inventory (to be published) for the project “Multimodalität deutscher und niederländischer Erzählliteratur (ca. 1450–1800)” at Freie Universität Berlin, funded by Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Science Foundation) since 2021 (Schl 316/11–1; led by the author).

30 As a comprehensive survey is not possible here, the following sections will present versions and editions with new elements. This part of the contribution develops ideas published in Schlusemann (2019a, 2019b). For a first survey of the German tradition, see Schlusemann (2019a).

31 *Christliche Tugend-Schul | | Des Demüthigen Gehorsams. | Wird | In Griselde einer Marggräfin, | In der heiligen Fasten-Zeit | | Auf öffentlicher Schau-Bühne mit herzlich schöner Music | außgeziert, von einigen Burgern der Kayserlichen Freyen | | Reichs-Stadt Augsburg vorgestellt [...]* (“Christian Virtue Guide | | Of Humble Obedience. Is presented In Griselde, a Margravine, In the holy Time of Lent | | In a public Theatre | | Enhanced by with really beautiful Music | | by a number of Citizens of the Free Imperial City of Augsburg [...]”). Augsburg: s.n., 1731 (copy: Augsburg, SSB, 4° Aug 347–2).

32 *Wunderbarer Demuth- und Geduldsspiegel vorgestellt in der Gräfin Griseldis* (“Wonderful Mirror of Humbleness and Patience presented in the Countess Griseldis”). Köln: Christian Everaerts, [ca. 1800] (copy: Berlin, SBBPK, Yu 691R).

33 Jörg Wickram, *Von Gehorsam, Standthafftigkeit vnnd Gedult Erbarer frommen Ehefrowen, Ein schön Exempel vnd Histori eins Marggrauen, der ihm eines armen Bawren Tochter vermähelt, vnd hart versucht*. (“On Obedience, Constancy, and Patience of Honourable and Pious Housewives, A beautiful Example and History of a Margrave who marries a poor Farmer's Daughter and tries her hard.”). Frankfurt am Main: Christian Egenolff, 1550 (VD16 S 2760).

34 Johann Fiedler, *Markgraf Walther*. Dresden: Christian and Melchior Bergen, 1653 (VD17 7:667444Y).

The printed German tradition of *Griseldis* started with Heinrich Steinhöwel's (1410/1411–1479) version (1461–1462),³⁵ which was published by Günther Zainer³⁶ in Augsburg in 1471 (MRFH 20180).³⁷ Apart from one medical treatise, Steinhöwel mostly translated fictional narratives and chronicles. Together with the printer-publisher Johann Zainer, he also worked as a publisher in Ulm and published several important works, for example the *editio princeps* of Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus* (GW 04489). His most important successes were his *Aesopus*, first printed in 1476–1477 in a Latin-German version (MRFH 20010), and his *Griseldis*. The incipit of the first German *Griseldis* edition, which reads “Diß ist ain epistel francisci petrarche, von grosser stätikait ainer frowen. Grisel gehaissen.” (see fn. 8), stresses the authenticity of the work by pointing to a letter written by Francesco Petrarca.³⁸ The second part of the title mentions the heroine and her most salient character traits, namely steadfastness and consistency. In 1471 Steinhöwel's version of *Apollonius* was published by Günther Zainer too (MRFH 43502, see the chapter on *Apollonius* in this volume). These editions of *Griseldis* and *Apollonius* therefore belong to the very first printed editions of a fictional narrative in a European vernacular, preceded by an edition in Italian of Boccaccio's *Il Decamerone* in Naples (ca. 1470, GW 04440) and a (lost) German edition of the *Historia septem sapientum Romae* (ca. 1470, Gotzkowsky 1991, 281, no. 1).

3.1.1 *Griseldis* in composites

Eight copies of the first German *Griseldis* edition have come down to us, and in at least six of these *Griseldis* was bound together with other texts in a composite.³⁹

35 Twelve manuscripts have survived (MRFH 43503). Research on Steinhöwel and the German *Griseldis* is abundant. See, among others, Hess (1977), Bertelsmeier-Kierst (1988; 1996; 2014a).

36 A relative, perhaps a brother of Johann Zainer, both from Reutlingen in South Germany.

37 As one of the most successful authors in German early humanism, Steinhöwel translated and wrote many different German and Latin texts. See for a survey Bertelsmeier-Kierst (1988); on Arigo, see Müller (2004); a short introduction to Steinhöwel is available on the website MRFH (<https://mrfh.de/0035>).

38 MRFH 21130, with links to various extant copies.

39 Sometimes we do not know if an edition was part of an early composite, when the different texts were separated in the course of time, or when we no longer know the whereabouts of a copy (see, for example, the copy of *Apollonius* which was sold by the bookseller L. Rosenthal in Munich in 1906). See MRFH 21130 and MRFH 20180 for information about the copies in Berlin, SBBPK, Inc. 4 (assumed composite with Inc. 3); München, BSB, 2 Inc.c.a. 73; Nürnberg, GNM, an: N. 4; Sarnen (CH), Benediktiner Kollegium (formerly in Muri-Gries), no shelfmark; Stuttgart, WLB, Inc. fol.12817 (until 1994 bound together with *Apollonius*); another copy, formerly in private

In four of these, *Griseldis* and *Apollonius* form a composite of two texts.⁴⁰ Because the printer, place, and year of publishing are the same, one might also assume that Zainer planned these two editions as a multiple-text unit from the beginning. But that is not the case. He published them in such a way that *Griseldis* and/or *Apollonius* could still be sold separately: in fact, there are copies of *Griseldis* and *Apollonius* which are combined with other texts and there are copies of *Apollonius* bound together with texts other than *Griseldis* (Heidelberg, UB, cpg 154, München, BSB, 2 Inc.s.a. 807 a/7 [2nd copy]; New York [USA], PML, Spencer Collection, no shelf mark).⁴¹ The leather binding of the Nuremberg copy (see footnote 39) was done between 1471 and 1488 in the workshop of bookbinder Ambrosius Keller (MRFH 20180). *Apollonius* recounts the adventures of a prince, and his strength and moral character in believing in God's providence.⁴² Obviously, Zainer had the intention to put both stories separately on the market whilst simultaneously publishing two exciting and instructive narratives about a woman and a man as a pair and giving the buyer the option to have them bound together. Both texts show similarities between the protagonists and the biblical figure of Job; *Griseldis* and *Apollonius* are very patient and believe that God will help them, and that everything will work out for the better again one day.

Another combination of several fictional narratives was realized in a copy of *De Historie van der duldicheit der vruwen Griseldis*, the first printed Low German version of *Griseldis* ([Lukas Brandis: Lübeck, ca. 1478], GW M31597). It was placed at an unknown date as the second narrative in a composite of five texts and was bound together with Brandis' Low German edition of *Melusina* by Thüring von Ringoltingen, the *Historie van Troyen* ("History of Troy"), Johannes Hartlieb's *Alexander*, and the *Historia van den souen wysen meisteren* ("History of the seven wise masters").⁴³ As three of these five narratives belong to the Top Ten fictional

ownership, was sold by Antiquariat Günther (Hamburg, 1995; formerly Donaueschingen, [HB], Inc. 35), but it is not known who owns it. In another volume (Graz, LB, 15.774 III [an 15.771 III–15.775 III]), a later edition of *Griseldis* (Johann Zainer, [before 28 March 1474]) was bound together with *Apollonius* (1471) (MRFH 20180).

⁴⁰ The copies in Berlin, Munich, Nuremberg, and Stuttgart (MRFH 21130). Two other copies of this *Griseldis* edition were bound together with *Apollonius* and other texts (copies in Basel and Sarnen). In a catalogue of Hartmann Schedel's (1440–1514) library (München, BSB, Clm 263), a *Historia von Appolonio und Griseldis* can be found among the *Libri vulgares in lingua theotonica* (MRFH 20180). As the other titles in the catalogue refer to printed books, Bertelsmeier-Kierst suggests that Schedel must have owned a composite of *Griseldis* and *Apollonius* (1996, 338, fn. 55).

⁴¹ For example, the copy of *Apollonius* (1471) in New York (PML, Spencer Collection, no shelf-mark) was bound together with *Belial* by Jacobus Palladinus de Teramo (MRFH 20180).

⁴² See the chapter on *Apollonius* by Anna Katharina Richter.

⁴³ The – now separate – parts of the volume are extant in Hamburg, SUB, AC II 25.

narratives, we can consider this composite as another indication of their general popularity. The combination with two other texts about historical characters underlines the fact that there was no strong demarcation between these genres and that there must have been some reason or preference for binding them together. The combination of *Griseldis* in a composite with several other texts continued during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the fifteenth century, one of the narratives most commonly chosen for a composite with *Griseldis* in German was an edition of Thüring's *Melusina*, another narrative presenting a strong woman as the main character.⁴⁴

There are also more complex composites or intermediate forms of compositions. Another copy, now in Universitätsbibliothek Basel, was not only bound together with Zainer's first *Apollonius* edition but with three other different texts, the last of which is a manuscript.⁴⁵ This composite, the parts of which are now kept separately, consisted of the following texts:

1. Heinrich Steinhöwel. *Apollonius*. Augsburg: Günther Zainer, 1471 (Basel, UB, Inc 217; GW 02273)
2. Heinrich Steinhöwel. *Griseldis*. Augsburg: Günther Zainer, 1471 (Basel, UB, Inc 216; GW M31580)
3. Niklas von Wyle. *Eurialus und Lucretia* (1. Transl. = Enea Silvio Piccolomini, *De duobus amantibus historia*). [Straßburg: Heinrich Knoblochzer, ca. 1477] (Basel, UB, AM VI 9a; GW M33550)
4. Hans Erhart Tüsch. *Burgundische Historie* ("Burgundian History"). Straßburg: [Heinrich Knoblochzer], 1477 (Basel, UB, AM VI 9b; GW M48074)
5. Thüring von Ringoltingen. *Melusina*; copy written by Nikolaus Meyer zum Pfeil, with glazed pen drawings, 21.03.1471 (Basel, UB, Cod. O I 18; <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/ubb/O-I-0018/V1r/0/>; 28 February 2023).

Nikolaus Meyer zum Pfeil (1451–1500?)⁴⁶ not only owned the composite, he also copied Thüring's *Melusina* himself in 1471 (Terrahe 2013). He worked as a scribe and although there is no evidence for it, we may assume that he himself combined the four printed texts with his manuscript for his library in or after 1477,

⁴⁴ Copies of Knoblochzer's *Griseldis* printed in 1478 (copy: Berlin, SBBPK, Inc. 2209 an Inc. 2223; Schweinfurt, BOS, OS 913–918; see MRFH 21140) were bound together with the *Melusina* edition attributed to Heinrich Knoblochzer (1478, GW 12658), and another edition by Knoblochzer from 1482 (copy: Karlsruhe, BLB, 1–5 in Dr. Licht. 54; see MRFH 21150). The Berlin copy has a hand-drawn *ex libris* from Hieronymus Krafft from Karlstadt (early sixteenth century), a nobleman from Franken (see MRFH 1520, with image of the *ex libris*).

⁴⁵ Until 1872 when the texts were separated, see MRFH 20180 for more information.

⁴⁶ He belonged to a wealthy family in Basel that had an arrow in the family crest.

because two of the texts were printed in 1477.⁴⁷ He can therefore be regarded as the “auctoritas” of the whole composite. Meyer’s combination of four fictional narratives and a chronicle about the history of Burgundy can be compared to a late medieval “housebook” (“Hausbuch”), frequently commissioned by the nobility.⁴⁸ This combination is also an example of the taste of a rich citizen of Basel – Meyer held several political positions in the city – in the 1470s. Since the first two texts are the same as in other composites, we can assume that it was Nikolaus Meyer who chose to add the other texts to his volume.

3.1.2 The German *Griseldis* in multiple-text units

The printer-publishers did not always choose a single configuration when publishing a text. An early example of a more complex publishing strategy is Johann Bämle’s Augsburg edition of *Griseldis* from 1472. He published the novella in two configurations: as a standalone text (Version A, four copies preserved), and as part of a multiple-text unit (Version B, twelve copies preserved).⁴⁹ Bämle obviously made the choice himself and in three copies the printed table of contents mentions the six texts of the unit, with *Grisel* as the fourth (Fig. 1).⁵⁰ The texts in the unit were all published by Bämle in 1471 or 1472.

In the first text (“lere vnd vnderweysung”; “lesson and teaching”), we read how a young person should behave honourably; the second text is a lecture on how to behave in marriage, followed by “der menschen spiegel” (“mirror of human beings”). *Griseldis* as the fourth text is announced as follows: “Item die viert materi sagt von einer tugentreichen frawen Grisel genant / gar ein schöne hystori” (“likewise, the fourth matter tells of a virtuous lady called Grisel, a very beautiful history”). The

47 Both he and his wife Barbara zem Lufft owned it, as indicated on 1r of the codex. The third text, *Eurialus und Lucretia*, translated from its Latin source by Niklas von Wyle in 1462, tells of the passionate and at the same time tragic and adulterous love between the German nobleman Eurialus and Lucretia, a married woman from Siena. An edition is provided by Morrall (1988); see also Eming (2005) and Philipowski (2010).

48 A “Hausbuch” is an illustrated late medieval composite offering knowledge, e.g. about the *artes liberales*, and also practical advice for everyday life. See Bayard (1992) and Hess (1994).

49 *Griseldis* in the so-called quire f (in fact, the quires have no folio numbers); MRFH 20990; GW M17713 names 29 copies without indicating whether there is a version of *Griseldis*.

50 This table of contents on the “Registerblatt” can still be found in the copies München, BSB, Inc a 134; Frauenfeld (CH), Kantonsbibliothek, X 456; and Wolfenbüttel, HAB, 151.2 Quodl. 2° (4). At the bottom of the “Registerblatt” of the copy in Wolfenbüttel, “Hanß Winter” is named as the owner of the manuscript in 1501. He had a close relationship with Michel Beheim, a well-known patrician and merchant in Nuremberg (for more information about Winter, see MRFH 2830).

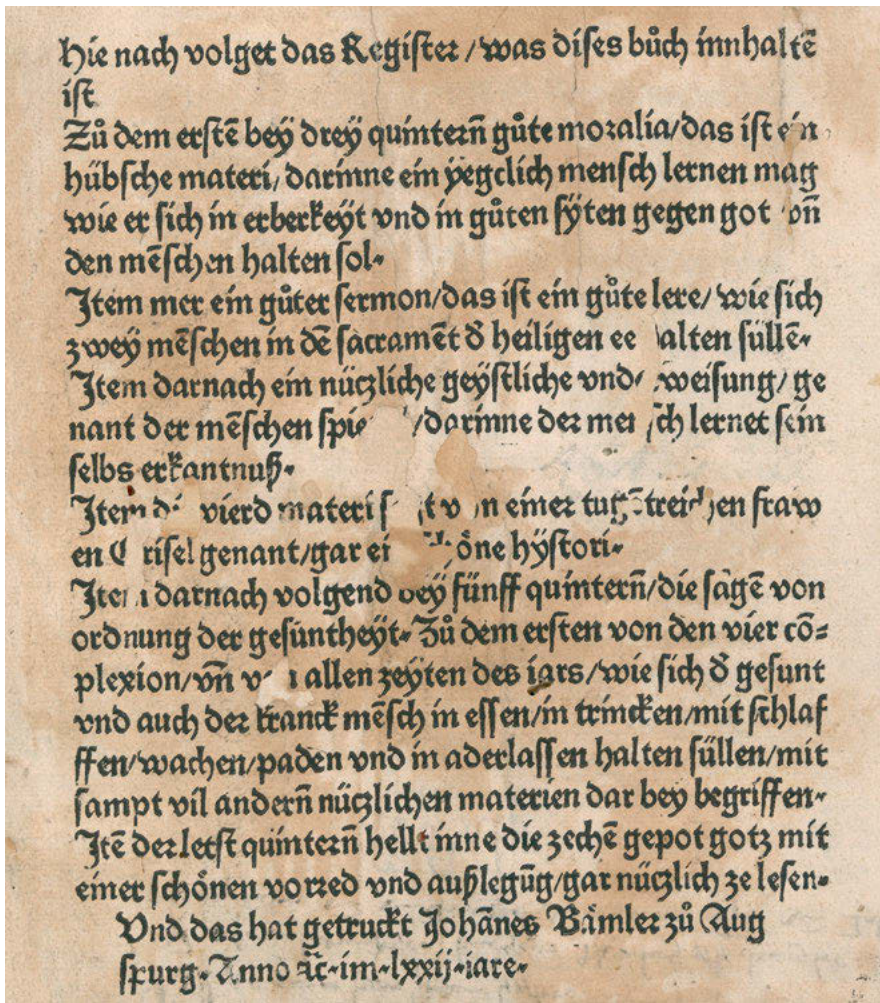


Fig. 1: "Register", in: "Hienach volgent guot nūglich lere vnd vnderweysung in teütsch beschriben auß den parabolen vnd beysprüchen Salomonis" [...]. Augsburg: Johann Bāmler, 1472 (Wolfenbüttel, HAB, 151.2 Quodl. 2° (4)). © Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, with the licence CC BY-SA.

fifth text is a survey on health, and the last text mentions the Ten Commandments.⁵¹ The incipit of the *Griseldis* text contains "von grosser stätikeit ainer frowen. Grisel

51 See MRFH 20990, versions A and B. The volume consists of, for example, Albertanus, *De doctrina dicendi et tacendi* ("On the doctrine of speaking and keeping silent"); Pseudo-Augustine, *Speculum peccatoris* ("The mirror of sinners"), and the Ten Commandments, all in a German ver-

gehaissen” (“about the great steadfastness of a lady called Grisel”). Here, as in some later editions (see below), there is an emphasis on Griseldis’ steadfastness. Bämle obviously combined his *Grisel* with didactic texts, especially on young people’s and women’s behaviour in general but also in marriage, underpinning the stance of the novella on a steadfast and virtuous wife as a perfect example of the ideal behaviour described in these texts. Lorenz Weissenfelder, member of an eminent patrician family in Munich, owned the Munich volume (see footnote 50). He held several functions in the town, including as provost for two churches (1481–1491, 1492–1500), and as an assessor of mercenaries’ horses (MRFH 2700).

A quite different but equally intriguing kind of intermediate publication was released in Ulm by Johann Zainer some time before 28 March 1474 (MRFH 21160).⁵² This edition of *Griseldis* was, according to Zainer’s advertisement, published as a standalone text,⁵³ but it also appeared as an appendix to Steinhöwel’s *Von erlichen frowen* (“Of honourable ladies”), his translation of Boccaccio’s *De claris mulieribus*, as quire A12 (MRFH 20410; Version A).⁵⁴ A new preface to the *Griseldis* stressed the importance of placing *Griseldis* alongside this translation of Boccaccio’s narratives about illustrious women: “so bedunket mich nit vnbillich syn das sie öch by andern erlüchten frowen / waren hystorien gesezset werde” (“it seems to me not to be unreasonable that it should also be placed next to other true stories of famous ladies”).⁵⁵ The next sentence points out that the narratives were printed as a reminder for women to be patient: “öch sölliche geschichten warheit beschenhen oder vmb ander frowen manung zü gedult gesezset warden” (“also these stories tell the truth or were intended to urge other ladies to be patient”).⁵⁶ Obviously, in this edition Steinhöwel

sion (GW M17713). In some volumes *Griseldis* was added as an extra quire. The sequence of the texts alters in different copies. *Griseldis* and “Iere vnd vnderweysung” were later also combined: a *Griseldis* edition by Knoblochster in 1482 was bound together with Bämle’s 1472 edition (copy: New York, PML, 23216 [ChL f112]; see MRFH 21150).

⁵² There is a manuscript with a preface (after 1473/1474) which was copied from this edition and dated 9 April 1474 (MRFH 20410). The edition is illustrated with ten woodcuts. One of them is repeated. See, for example: http://openaccess-stadtbibliothek.ulm.de/pdf/Reproduktionen/14_993/14_993_01.pdf (29 January 2023).

⁵³ Amelung (1979, 45, fig. 21, to 88, nr. 19); copies of this standalone edition can be found in Berlin, Graz, Ithaca, Oxford, and Ulm (MRFH 21160).

⁵⁴ In the following copies, the two texts were bound together: Budapest, OSK, Inc 291; München, BSB, Rar 705; Olomouc, SKn, II 48.189/190; Ulm, StB, 14992 u. 14993,1; Ulrich Fugger also owned a copy with both texts together (see MRFH 20410).

⁵⁵ The preface is dated 15 August 1473. The dedication is addressed to Eleonore, Countess of Austria, also of Scotland (ca. 1433–1480).

⁵⁶ The text of this preface with the reference to and placement after *Von erlichen frowen* is also repeated in all later editions of Steinhöwel’s text, even when *Griseldis* is not placed behind this text (Fischer-Heetfeld 1992).

(here both author and publisher) aimed at placing *Griseldis* prominently in the tradition of Boccaccio's biographies about illustrious women from classical antiquity, such as Medea, Penelope, and Cleopatra, to elevate *Griseldis*' status.

Whereas the editions mentioned so far were published without a title page, the first German *Griseldis* with a title page was printed in Low German in Hamburg in 1502 (MRFH 33536).⁵⁷ The title of this edition *Van der duldicheit der vrowen gheheten Griseldis* ("Of the patience of the lady called *Griseldis*") by the so-called "Printer of the Iegher" leaves out the connection with Petrarca and must have been copied from the first Low German edition printed in Lübeck (ca. 1478; MRFH 21190).⁵⁸ Here again patience is the highlighted feature.

In the sixteenth century, the story was advertized in different ways on the title pages. An edition published by Hans Froschauer (Augsburg 1507; MRFH 33520) stressed that the narrative was pleasant and entertaining. Matthias Schürer (Straßburg 1520, MRFH 33522) was the first to emphasize the didactic intention on the title page of a standalone publication: *Ein Lobwirdige hystory von der demütigen vñ gehorsamēn frauw Gryselde die frauwen zū gedult vnd gehorsamkeit gegen jren egemaheln ziehende / auch mengklich gūt vñ nützlich zūlesen* ("A Praiseworthy history of the humble and obedient lady *Gryselde* which teaches ladies to behave with patience and obedience towards their husbands, also very pleasant and useful to read").⁵⁹ This title set the tone for most German editions in the following decades. Jakob Frölich in Strasbourg, for example, who took over Schürer's business, published reprints in 1538 and 1540 (VD16 G 3361). Frölich also used the same woodblock for the title page, which shows the Earl of Saluzzo on a horse when he meets *Griseldis* for the first time. Under the woodcut we find the following appeal: "Kauffs / lyß es / du würrst loben" ("Buy it, read it, you will praise it"). Some years later, in about 1550, Frölich was the first German printer to publish the novella together with another in a multiple-text unit, with a title naming the double production (Fig. 2).⁶⁰

The stories' double attribute of pleasantness and usefulness is printed in large letters, followed by an outline of the genre and its contents. Whereas in the former editions the heroine's humility and obedience were praised, now obedience,

57 Copies: Göttingen, SUB, an: Patr. lat., Inc. 2256/94 (only leaves 13, 14, 17–24); København, KB, 771–12,4° (leaves 6 and 7 missing); Wolfenbüttel, HAB, 202.69 Qu. (1)–(10) (6 leaves).

58 Copies: Hamburg, SUB, AC II 25; København, KB, Inc. Haun. 3128.2°, Filos 18,265. He might have copied this from the edition by Lukas Brandis.

59 Copy: München, BSB, Rar. 1988#Beibd.2.

60 Frölich's use of the same woodblock makes sense since he took over Schürer's business (Benzing 1961, 22). Frölich's first editions of *Griseldis* were published as standalone editions (Straßburg: Jakob Frölich, 1538 [MRFH 33526]; 1540 [MRFH 33528]). See for the edition ca. 1550 (MRFH 33532); ca. 1554 (MRFH 33534). Schürer's title was also used in the 1522 Nuremberg edition by Jobst Gutknecht (MRFH 33524); in Augsburg by Philipp Ulhart, ca. 1540 (VD16 G 3362).



Fig. 2: *Zwo liebliche vnd nützliche Hystorien, von gehorsam, standt|haftigkeit, vnd gedult Erbarer frommen Ehe|frawen, gegen ihren Ehgemaheln, mengklich|güt vnd nützlich zū lesen.* Straßburg: Jakob Frölich, [ca. 1550], a1r (Wien, ÖNB, 66.K.23.(7) ALT PRUNK)⁶¹ © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien.

⁶¹ “Two lovely and useful Histories, about obedience, steadfastness and patience of Honourable and pious Wives against their Husbands, very pleasant and useful to read.” According to the library catalogue, it was printed in 1554 but the edition itself mentions no date (and is different from the edition printed in 1554). The assumption therefore is that this edition was printed in ca. 1550 (Gotzkowsky 1991, 216, nr. 22); https://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO_%2BZ166284708# (4 January 2023).

steadfastness, and patience are accentuated. The explicit didactic aspect of the earlier editions (women should behave patiently and obediently) is expressed indirectly.

Griseldis was printed in this multiple-text unit as the first text in four quires (A1v–D1r). It starts, without a title, *in medias res* with the prologue. The second text, which starts on D1v, is usually called *Giletta di Narbona*, the ninth novella of the third day of Boccaccio's *Il Decamerone*. In Frölich's edition, both novellas should be seen as a single production unit, not only on account of the title but also because the catchword "Ein" appears on the last page of the *Griseldis* text (D1r), and at the same time as the first word of the second novella *Ein ander Hystory von aines Doctors der Artzney tochter* ("Another History of the Daughter of a Doctor in Medicine").

The two heroines come from very different social backgrounds. Whereas *Griseldis* is a poor farmer's daughter, *Giletta* is the wealthy daughter of a doctor. *Giletta* travels to Paris, and cures the King of France after he agrees to let her marry her beloved Earl Bertram of Roussillon. Following her banishment from court and some scheming around secret pregnancies, she is reinstated at court. Although the stories do not have a lot in common at first glance, both female figures stand out on account of their patience and endurance. They are unwavering and composed. They follow their path with determination and without doubting their fortune and future. In the end they humble their husbands who both apologize for inflicting pain and suffering to their respective wives.

3.2 Framing *Griseldis* in Dutch Multiple-Text Units

Two different types of framing can be distinguished in the Dutch *Griseldis* tradition.⁶² In the first type, the novella was printed as the twenty-first chapter in *Vanden kaetspele*, printed by Johann von Paderborn in Leuven as early as 1477 (GW M15941).⁶³ *Vanden kaetspele*, a text on the game of "kaetsen" (a Frisian handball game), can be read allegorically as it also comments on the behaviour of lawyers and especially judges.⁶⁴ The story of *Griseldis* was incorporated into this text as a role model for the behaviour of judges who are supposed to be "gestadich ende

⁶² The following sections develop ideas published in Schlusemann (2019a, 2019b).

⁶³ Four other editions (1498, ca. 1529, s.a., 1551) followed until the middle of the sixteenth century (Schlusemann 2019b, 278, fn. 56). None of them has been published in a modern (critical) edition yet.

⁶⁴ The source for the printed versions was *Vanden kaetspele*, which Jan van den Berghe wrote in 1431 (Van Veerdeghe 1899; Frederikse 1915). This version also served as a source for *Griseldis* as a standalone text.

ghetruwe ende warachtich ende gherechtich” (“unwavering and faithful and truthful and fair”), and if they behave like this, “si sellen weder worden gherepareert ende aengenomen ende gheset geliic dat was dese voersejde Griselde” (“they will be restored and accepted and placed as the aforementioned Griselde”; end of chapter 21). In the epilogue to the *Griseldis* novella, the narrator also compares male and female behaviour: men are expected to be much more unwavering and steadfast, and to surpass Griseldis’ behaviour (Schlusemann 2019b, 279).⁶⁵

The second example of framing the Dutch *Griseldis* in a multiple-text unit is a volume with the title *Der vrouwenpeerle*.⁶⁶ This combination of three short narratives was very popular with more than 32 editions before 1800.⁶⁷ The oldest preserved edition was printed in Antwerp by Hendrick Aertssen between 1621 and 1658, with the following announcement on the title page:⁶⁸

DER VROVWEN-PEERLE || Dryvoudighe Historie || VAN || Helena de Verduldighe, || Griseldis de Saechtmoedighe || Florentine de ghetrouwe, || Alle aensienlijcke in vele deuchden / maar meest in patientie die zy || in teghenspoet / overlast / ende beproevinghe / ghehoont hebben || Genomen uyt d’oude Historien, ende nieuwelijckx tot profijte || der Ionckheydt oversien, bye een vergadert ende in veel || plaetsen verbeteret.⁶⁹

The first and equally famous narrative (*La belle Hélène*) tells of Helena, who flees from her father when he wants to marry her. She then marries the King of England and gives birth to two sons. Because of her stepmother’s treachery, she has to undertake perilous journeys, until she is eventually reunited with her husband and children. This narrative is followed by the novella about Griseldis, and the third narrative is the novella about Florentina. She is married to Alexander, a knight from Metz, who decides to travel to Syria. Disguised as a pilgrim she overcomes all obstacles and succeeds in rescuing her husband from slavery. At first glance the heroines’ behaviour seems very different. Whereas Helena and Floren-

⁶⁵ *Griseldis* was also published as a standalone text. See Schlusemann (2019a, 2019b) on this version.

⁶⁶ We have no edition from the sixteenth century but in May 1577 the Synod of Ypres (Ieper) published a list of books young people were allowed to read: no. 13 is called “Der vrouwenpeerle” (the list was presented by de Baecker; see de Baecker 1857). An edition of the earliest preserved printed edition is provided by Schlusemann (2020).

⁶⁷ On the tradition of the Dutch *Der vrouwenpeerle* in the following centuries, see Schlusemann (2019b).

⁶⁸ Copy: Antwerpen, EHC, E 55386 [C2-539 e], C1r–C6r (see Schlusemann 2019a, fig. 8 [image of the title page]).

⁶⁹ “Of Woman’s Pearl. Triple History of Helena the Patient, Griseldis the Gentle, and Florentine the faithful. All remarkable in many virtues, but mostly patience, which they showed in times of misfortune, setbacks, and trials, Taken from old Histories and, for the profit of the Youth, newly reviewed, collated, and improved in many places.”

tina are more enterprising, Griseldis seems to merely endure her husband's decisions. On Aertssen's title page, three specific characteristics are attributed to the three heroines: patience, gentleness, and faithfulness. In the subordinate clause, however, the text emphasizes that all three have demonstrated many virtues but especially patience, which they have shown in times of misfortune and exasperation. The consistency in their behaviour is striking. They do not stray from their path and stick to their promises. Griseldis' main decision was concluding the contract with her husband before their marriage which dictated her later behaviour.

The title also emphasizes that the narratives are based on old stories, and that they were rewritten, compiled, and improved for the benefit of young people. The rewriting, compilation, and improvement of a narrative with a new "look" (edition) can therefore be seen as a quality hallmark. The title page is followed by a prologue in three stanzas (A1v). In fact, it is not really clear if the prologue only refers to the first story or to all three narratives.⁷⁰ A narrative about Helena as a standalone text was published in Amsterdam by Broer Jansz in 1640 at the latest.⁷¹ This edition also starts with a prologue in three stanzas with virtually the same words. In both editions the first stanza is addressed to the young reader who is asked in metaphorical language ("pluckt de bloemkens, smaekt die fruytkens"; "pick the flowers and taste the fruit") to read "d'oude gheeste" ("the old story") and is promised enjoyment reading it. After praising God's power, there is an interesting difference between the edition of *Helena* and the *Der vrouwenpeerle*. In line eight we read about *Helena*: "Hoe een maecht, schoon ende deughdelijck, || Gingh doolen" ("How a young woman, beautiful and virtuous, Wandered"). This prologue speaks of one young woman. In *Der vrouwenpeerle* we read: "Hoe Maechden schoon en deughdelijck || Gaen dolen" ("How Young Women, beautiful and virtuous, wander"). In both instances in *Der vrouwenpeerle*, the author uses the plural noun and verb.⁷² It seems as if the prologue had been adapted to

70 The poem shows resemblance with the poems by "rederijkers", members of dramatic societies called chambers of rhetoric, initially organised as guilds. Each guild had an annual fraternity feast. The poems by the "rederijkers" were very popular in the Dutch-speaking regions from the Middle Ages onwards (Van Bruaene and Van Bouchaute 2017). In the prologue of *Der vrouwenpeerle*, the first two stanzas consist of ten lines each (rhyme scheme aabaabbc), the third has eleven lines (ababbcbddd), the prologue of *Helena* has three stanzas with ten lines in the first stanza, and eleven lines in the second and third stanza.

71 It was published by Kuiper (2015). As there was an approbation, a previous edition had probably already been printed in Antwerp in ca. 1580 (Cuijpers 2014, 144). It may have served as a source for the prologue in *Der vrouwenpeerle*.

72 We find another indication in line ten of the second stanza: "Om dat haer Vader haer wilde trouwen vriendelijck" ("Because her Father wanted to marry her in friendship"). This line, which only fits to the contents of *Helena*, is not found in *Der vrouwenpeerle*.

better fit the contents of the three narratives, and not only the narrative about Helena. On C1r *Griseldis* is introduced as:

HET TVVEEDE DEEL || Der || VROVWEN-PEERLE || GRISELDIS || DE SAECHTMOEDIGHE
 || huysvrrouwe vanden Marck grave Gautier / wel || door proeft van haren man selve: ||
 Griseldis arm wesende, wordt versocht ten Houwelijck, ende ghetrou | | van Gautier Marck
 grave van Salusen.⁷³

The focus has shifted to the earl's behaviour, and the reader is prepared for cruel scenes to follow. The narrative ends with an epilogue which again extols patience as a great virtue, and emphasizes that patient people will be rewarded in the end, either during their lifetime or in eternal life “which is even more commendable” (“dat noch meer te prijsen is”). In an interesting approbation, the canon lawyer, school supervisor, and Antwerp keeper of seals Maximiliaan van Eynatten (1574–1631) wrote in 1621:

[...] genomen uyt de oude verboden Historien der selver, en heeft niet dat streckt teghen het geloove oft goede manieren, maer is seer bequam profijtelijck ende ghenuchelijck om in die Scholen onder die Ionckheyt, als oock onder die gemeynte te gebruycken. Actum Antwerpiae. .8. Mey. 1621⁷⁴

The colophon recommends employing the three narratives, which are praised as being beneficial and entertaining, in schools, among the youth, and in the community.

The widespread use of narratives like this one is not only underlined by editions that reproduced it as a narrative text in a composite or multiple-text unit. As mentioned earlier, there were also “history songs” as part of composites, and dramatic versions as part of a multiple-text unit. New research on these kinds of adaptations and reframings which could reveal even more about their dissemination and use in all parts of society in European language areas is very desirable.⁷⁵

73 “The second part of Woman’s Pearl, *Griseldis*, the Gentle wife of Margrave Gautier severely tested by her husband himself: *Griseldis* being poor, is asked in Marriage and married by Gautier, Margrave of Salusen [Saluzzo].”

74 “[...] taken from old forbidden Histories and does not go in any way against faith or good manners but is very moral, beneficial, and entertaining, for use in Schools, among Young People, as well as in the community. Actum Antwerp 8 May 1621.”

75 See, for example, the “*lietjes van griselle*” (“songs of *Griselle*”) which were part of the inventory for the year 1712 of the bookshop “*In de grauwe kater*” (“*In the grey cat*”) in Groningen, owned by Hester Bruins, widow of Gerrit Klasen Fossemma, and after that of Berent Taetsma (Cuijpers 2014, 55–63).

3.3 *Griseldis* in Scandinavia

Anna Katharina Richter

The story of the pious and patient *Griseldis* has been transmitted in Scandinavia from the early sixteenth century until the end of the nineteenth century. The Swedish translation, first published in 1622, is based on the Danish version (first known edition: Hamburg: Jürgen Richolff, 1528), which in turn was in all likelihood translated from a Low German version of Heinrich Steinhöwel's text, probably the previously mentioned edition *Van der duldicheit der vrowen gheheten Griseldis* (Hamburg 1502 [MRFH 33536]).⁷⁶ Besides the printed tradition, the *Griseldis* sujet also circulated in the ballad genre: a Danish folk ballad ("folkevisen") from the first half of the seventeenth century is known under the title *Den taalmodige Kvinde* ("The patient Woman").⁷⁷ Tab. 2 provides a brief overview of the printed Danish and Swedish editions until 1800.⁷⁸

The Danish printed editions are supplemented by a Danish manuscript version of *Griseldis* (though incomplete) in a multilingual, composite manuscript *Codex Linköpingensis Samlingsbind 1a* (or *Codex Grensholmensis*), dated to the early sixteenth century.⁷⁹ This version seems to be the oldest extant version of *Griseldis* in a Scandinavian language, and as it has the same short headings for each chapter of the narrative as the (later) printed Danish editions, it can be assumed that this version is a copy of a (lost) early Danish print, maybe of the 1528 Hamburg edition (DFB 8, 230–232). Even the layout resembles a printed text,⁸⁰ but there are still some differences between the manuscript and the oldest complete printed text (Lübeck: Assverus Kröger, 1592, LN 680; USTC 303062) – which is of course much later and

⁷⁶ The basic bibliographical research on the Danish *Griseldis* carried out by Jacobsen, Olrik, and Paulli in the early twentieth century argues for an early Low German *Griseldis* version (possible sources are the editions Lübeck ca. 1478 or Hamburg 1502) as a model for the first Danish translation in the early sixteenth century (DFB 8, LV–LVII; 188–204).

⁷⁷ There are, however, some differences, as the ballad's female protagonist Liden Kirstin ("Little Kerstin") is not yet married to Sir Peter in the beginning, only at the end, as a kind of reward for her virtues. See DFB 8, XLII–XLIII; Grundtvig et al. (1853–1976, V, 9–12; the number of the ballad is DgF 257 A).

⁷⁸ Sources: DFB 8; Nielsen (1935, 126); SF I (1845, 275–301); Collijn (1942–1946, 330); as well as the library catalogues in København, KB, and Stockholm, KB.

⁷⁹ Linköping, SB, Codex Linc. Saml. 1a, accessible s.v. *Codex Grensholmensis* on the Swedish digital platform ALVIN: <https://www.alvin-portal.org/> (6 February 2023); see also Backman (2017, 35–38).

⁸⁰ The same phenomenon can be seen in a manuscript copy of a Danish *Pierre et Maguelonne* from the seventeenth century, obviously produced after the lost edition, which had been printed in Helsingør by Peder Huaen in 1610 (see DFB 7, 233–238). The manuscript is kept in København, KB, NKS 215 8° (see also the chapter on *Pierre et Maguelonne* by Helwi Blom).

Tab. 2: Printed Danish and Swedish *Griseldis* editions until 1800.

| Danish prints | | Swedish prints | |
|----------------------|--|----------------|-------------------------------|
| *1528 | Hamburg: Jürgen Richolff (lost) | | |
| 1558 | Hamburg: Johann Wickradt the Younger (fragm.) | | |
| 1592 | Lübeck: Asswerus Kröger | | |
| 1597 | København: Lorentz Benedicht | | |
| 1665 | København: s.n. | 1622 | Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer |
| 1697 | s.l.: s.n. | 1636 | Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer |
| *1709 | s.l.: s.n. (lost) | 1644 | Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer |
| 1733 | København: H.R.M. private Letterpress / Johan Jørgen Høpfner | 1654 | Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer |
| 1752 | København: H.R.M. private Letterpress / Johan Jørgen Høpfner | 1786 | Örebro: Johan Per Lindh |
| | | 1787 | Linköping: s.n., Letterpress |
| “printed this year” | s.l.: s.a. (eighteenth century) | 1795 | Örebro: Eric Winblad |
| “printed this year” | s.l.: s.a. (eighteenth century) | 1798 | Gävle: Ernst Petter Sundqvist |
| s.a. (ca. 1797–1808) | København: Johan Rudolph Thiele | | |
| 1799 | Haderslev: s.n. | | |

therefore variations can occur; besides, the Danish manuscript contains some passages which differ from the oldest extant copies of Low German prints.⁸¹

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, both the Danish and Swedish transmissions show an almost continuous textual combination in a multiple-text unit with the other *Decamerone* story, *Giletta di Narbona* (“Giletta of Narbonne”, *Il Decamerone* III, 9), as seen above in the German examples, known under the title *En Doctors datter* (Danish) resp. *En medicinæ Doctoris Dotter* (Swedish; “A Doctor’s Daughter”), according to the German title in e.g. Frölich’s Strasbourg editions. The combination of these two narratives can be found in most extant early modern Danish and Swedish editions. From the second half of the eighteenth century onwards, the Danish *Griseldis* was printed as a standalone text, yet the *Giletta* story

⁸¹ This must be studied in detail in further research.

was no longer printed. In Swedish, the combination continued right into the nineteenth century.⁸² Furthermore, the combination of the two texts was already announced on the title page with a focus on *Griseldis* at the beginning: the title of the 1592 Lübeck edition (Fig. 3), the first complete Danish *Griseldis* and *Giletta* copy, says (A1r): “Griseldis. Tuende deylige oc Nyttelige Historier at læse. Den Første om Griseldis. Den Anden om en Docters Daatter aff Bononia / Aff huilcke Historier alle ærlige Quinder maa begribe gode lærdom / oc besynderlige at haffue gaat taalmodighed.”⁸³

On fol. E4v in this edition, we can clearly see that the two stories were undoubtedly planned (by the printer-publisher) to be printed together, as the first word of the next page, “En” (“an”, i.e. the beginning of the *Giletta* story, starting on fol. F1r with the title *En anden skion Historia om en Doctor [...] Daatter [...]* (“Another charming History about a Doctor’s Daughter”), was printed at the bottom of the page as a catchword (Fig. 4). This is exactly the same phenomenon as in the two sixteenth-century examples from Strasbourg, both with the same title *Zwo liebliche vnd nützliche Hystorien* (Straßburg: Jakob Frölich, ca. 1550,⁸⁴ and Straßburg: Jakob Frölich, 1554⁸⁵) shown above, in section 3.1.2.

As the 1528 Hamburg edition has not been preserved, we do not know whether it also contained the *Giletta* story, but it is a possibility. Besides, the fragmentary 1558 edition (Hamburg: Johann Wickradt the Younger; LN 679; USTC 303067) had been printed as a multiple-text volume containing both *Griseldis* and *Giletta*. It is thus very likely that Wickradt and later Kröger in 1592 were inspired by the Strasbourg editions, but this should be examined in detail in the future. Three conclusions, however, can be drawn from the title formulation in the multiple-text editions: 1. advertising these two narratives on the title page seems to have been a conscious marketing strategy by the printer-publisher; 2. both narratives emphasize the didactic aspect and should be read as fictional *exempla* for the Christian virtue *patientia*. This reminds us of the paratextual elements in *Apollonius*, which also recommend reading the narrative to learn about patience in the face of the impermanence of the world.⁸⁶ Stressing the importance of patience as a Christian virtue is the central message in the *Griseldis* story; and 3. both *Griseldis* and *Giletta* are addressed to female readers in particular.

⁸² See Richter (2009, 216), and for the Danish tradition: DFB 8; for the Swedish tradition: SF I (1845, 275–301). For further details of these editions, see also the online catalogue of København, KB (<https://www.kb.dk/>) and the database of the Swedish National Library (<http://libris.kb.se/>).

⁸³ “Griseldis. Two charming and Useful Histories to read. The First one about Griseldis. The Second about a Doctor’s Daughter from Bononia [Bologna]. From these Histories all honest Women can learn a good lesson and especially, to have good patience.”

⁸⁴ Copies: Wien, ÖNB, 66.K.23.(7) ALT PRUNK; Wien, ÖNB, I 330.694; see VD16 G 3365.

⁸⁵ Copy: Berlin, SBBPK, Yu 581; see VD16 ZV 15930; VD16 H 3923.

⁸⁶ See the chapter on *Apollonius* by Anna Katharina Richter in this volume.



Fig. 3: *Griseldis. Tuende deylige oc Nyttelige Historier at læse. Den Første om Griseldis. Den Anden om en Docters Daatter aff Bononia. Aff huilcke Historier alle ærlige Quinder maa begribe gode lærdom oc besynderlige att haffue gaat taalmodighed.* Lübeck: Asswerus Kröger, 1592, A1r (København, KB, 58, -452). By courtesy of Det Kongelige Bibliotek København.

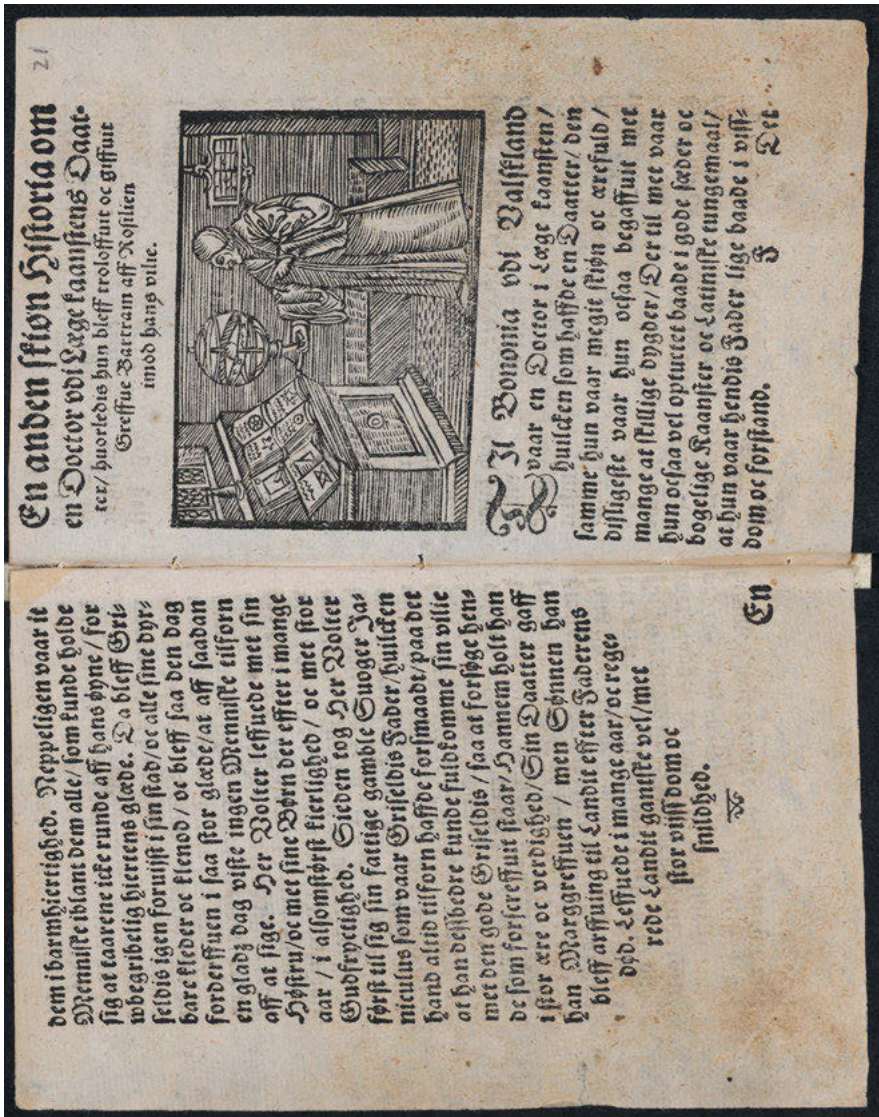


Fig. 4: *Griseldis* (end) and (beginning of) *En Doctors Daatter*. Lübeck: Asswerus Kröger, 1592, E4v and F1r (København, KB, 58, -452). By courtesy of Det Kongelige Bibliotek, København.

In the early modern Swedish editions, both stories are also presented as complementary narratives with the same moral didactic message about the importance of *patientia* for their (female) readership. The title page of the Swedish edition

printed in Stockholm by Ignatius Meurer in 1644 is more elaborate and even more explicit in this respect than the Danish prints:

En skön och merckeligh Historia om Grisilla hwilken war en fattigh Torpare Dotter. Och bleff vnderligen för sina Dygder och skickeliga Leffuerne aff Gudhi vphögdh til sådan ähra at hon wardt en mächtig Frw och Furstinna och bleff aff sin Herra i många handa måtto frestad och försökt och bleff lijkwäl i tolamodh beständigh. Ther hoos och en annan nyttigh Historia som innehåller en sådan Materiam som then förra om een Doctoris Dotter som genom vnderliga Omständigheter bleff en Greffuinna etc. Lustiga och nyttiga til at läsa synnerligha för Quinfolck som här lära huru the sigh tolemodeligen hålla skola.⁸⁷

Another interesting feature in this 1644 Swedish *Griseldis* edition is the moral didactic appendix at the end of the book which interprets the narrative as a brief “mirror of virtue” for married women. This appendix, only contained in the 1644 edition, seems to be a unique paratextual phenomenon in the Scandinavian *Griseldis* tradition. Lars Burman remarks that *Griseldis* can be read as a lesson in virtue for a female readership, “dressed” as a fictional narrative. Thus, it corresponds with the reception of Francesco Petrarca’s treatise *De remediis utriusque fortunae* (1366, printed in 1474–1477) which became widespread via a German translation by Georg Spalatin and Peter Stahel (Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner, 1532; VD16 P 1725). It was translated into Swedish by the Lutheran priest and teacher Arvidus Olai Scheningensis and published in 1641 under the title *Speculum morale*, written for the education of the (male) pupils at the Cathedral school in Linköping (Burman 1998, 2006).⁸⁸ In the 1644 *Griseldis* appendix, addressing the “gunstige läsare” (“well-disposed reader”) – now, in contrast to the title page, without any gender distinction, including both male and female readers – the paratext once more fulfils the function of framing the narrative:

⁸⁷ Title page of *En skön och merckelig Historia om Grisilla* [...]. Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer, 1644, A1r (Stockholm, KB, F1700 2299): “A charming and remarkable History about Grisilla, who was a poor Peasant’s Daughter and who was raised by God to such honour for her Virtue and her decent way of Life that she became a powerful Lady and Princess. She was tempted by her Lord/Husband in many ways and yet was steadfast in her patience. And another useful History, containing the same Materia as the first one, about a Doctor’s Daughter who became a Countess under miraculous Circumstances, etc. Entertaining and useful to read, especially for Women, who learn here how to behave patiently.” – Earlier editions: Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer, 1622 (Stockholm, KB, F1700 2298); Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer, 1636 (Stockholm, KB, F1700 2298). See also Collijn (1942–1946, 330).

⁸⁸ *Francisci Petrarchæ Speculum morale, thet är: En kort skådespegel, som lärer huru en menniskia i thenne werlden sigh förhålla skal* [...]. (“Francesco Petrarca’s *Speculum morale*, that is: A short mirror which gives instructions about how human beings should behave in the world [...].” Stockholm: Christopher Günther, 1641 (Stockholm, KB, F1700 1930).

Således är nu thenna Historia til enda fördt / aff hwilka / Gunstige Läsare / tu thetta korteligen achta och merckia kant.

- I. At Gudh vphöyer hwem han will / och weet rådth / medel och sett / huru thet tilgå skal / och at han intet förgäter then som om Dygder och Christeligit Lefwerne sigh befljtar.
- II. At tolamodh är en kosteligh / berömeligh och fruchtbärande dygd / then allom Menniskiom wäl anstår / och på sistonne wäl belöner.
- III. At then som sigh i ächtenskap gifwa wil / skal meer achta dygd / Ähra / Gudfruchtigheet och skickeligit lefwerne / än högh Slächt / Rijkedomar och vthwertes anseende.⁸⁹

Besides the emphasis on patience (II), which is recommended for all human beings, the importance of certain “eternal” values (virtue, godliness, etc.) is accentuated (III), compared to secular, ephemeral matters such as wealth, beauty, etc. This is especially important for those who want to marry, and thus the *moralisatio* takes and interprets the narrative as an instruction for married couples. The first point (I) is also interesting: Burman mentions that *Griseldis* can be read as a “social manifest” (Burman 2006, 54) in a time of social mobility and social advancement for wealthy patricians and members of the lower nobility. In the narrative, *Griseldis* herself experiences advancement from a poor peasant girl to a margravine, and it is also made obvious to the reader that nobility of soul is more highly valued than nobility of birth. It is remarkable that this early modern appendix was even reprinted in Axmar’s 1811 edition.⁹⁰ Also the idea of combining the two stories, *Griseldis* and *Giletta*, into a multiple-text unit has been transmitted from early modern time right into the nineteenth century, as both narratives are announced on the title page of this 1811 edition, like in the earlier editions – and furthermore still explicitly addressing a female readership: “Lärorikt för Fruntimmer, huru de sig tålemodeligen förhålla skola” (“Instructive for Women, teaching them how to remain patient”).

89 *Grisilla* (Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer, 1644, B7v–B8r) (copy: Stockholm, KB, F1700 2299): “So now this History has come to its end, from which you, Well-Disposed Reader, can observe and learn the following: I. That God exalts whom He wants and has advice, means, and ways of how this can be done, and that He does not forget him/her who strives for Virtue and for a Christian Life. II. That patience is a precious, praiseworthy, and fruitful virtue, which becomes all Human Beings well and is ultimately richly rewarded. III. That those who would give themselves in marriage should value virtue, Honour, Godliness, and a decent life more highly than rank, Birth, Wealth, and outward appearance.”

90 The edition was printed by Per Olof Axmar (Falun: 1811). The copy is kept at Umeå University Library and is digitized at: <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:umu:rara-296> (6 February 2023). The appendix taken from the 1644 edition can be found on p. 24 of this edition and is followed directly by the *Giletta* story.

In Iceland, *Griseldis* has a quite complex manuscript transmission from the seventeenth until the nineteenth century.⁹¹ Halldór Hermansson (1914) divided the 34 transmitted texts into five different groups, with versions both in verse (a seventeenth-century poem and Icelandic *rímur* from the seventeenth until the nineteenth century) and in prose. The prose versions consist of translations from popular Danish (and maybe also Dutch) printed sources, as well as a chivalric narrative (the *Grishildar saga* from the eighteenth century), and finally a fairy tale version from the mid-nineteenth century.⁹² Also in the Icelandic tradition, the two stories, *Griseldis* and *Giletta*, have been combined several times.

4 Conclusion

Griseldis is a remarkable narrative in more ways than one. It is distinguished by the fact that during its transmission over several centuries it repeatedly reached new linguistic regions, from its origins in Florence up to Iceland in the north and to the Polish and Czech language areas in central Europe (Tab. 3). In 1917 it became the subject of a love novel, written by the then very popular writer Hedwig Courths-Mahler. And *Griseldis* is still inspiring, as one can see from Margaret Atwood's short story *Impatient Griseldis* (2020), the recent performance as an opera (2022) and the new Netflix series *Griselda* (2023), recounting the story of a drug baroness while still borrowing the name of the medieval heroine. The *Griseldis* narrative was intensely disseminated over a long period of time through numerous printed but also handwritten copies. Furthermore, the overall transmission appears particularly interesting from the point of view of textual "reframing" (Speth 2020). In various language regions, *Griseldis* was repeatedly combined with certain other narrative texts and transmitted in composites or in multiple-text units. In German copies from the time before 1500, for example, *Griseldis* was often handed down together with *Apollonius* (both in manuscripts and prints). Dutch sixteenth-century prints incorporated *Griseldis* into a totally different text, *Vanden kaetspele*, and in the seventeenth century, *Griseldis* became part of editions of *Der vrouwenpeerle*. In

91 It must be recalled here that Iceland has had a printing press since the 1530s, but especially fictional genres like the Icelandic *sagas*, the *rímur* (verse adaptations of *sagas*), and thus the *Griseldis* story, were copied and transmitted in manuscripts over time until ca. 1900 (Glaser 2011, 110–118).

92 Detailed information in Seelow (1989, 117–132); see also Rüegg (2019, 4), regarding Halldór Hermansson's study (1914), and Schlauch (1953, 363–364). Reynir Þór Eggertsson (2006) notes that the older versions describe the protagonist as "Griseldis the patient" ("Grishildur þolinmóða"), whereas in the later stories she is called "Griseldis the good/kind" ("Grishildur góða").

Scandinavia, it was almost always transmitted together with *Giletta di Narbona*, also from *Il Decamerone*, and marketed as a text for teaching patience, especially to women. The textual combinations in Polish and Czech prints, for example, still need to be researched more closely. Especially for the western, north-western and central European prints, a fascinating pattern of multiple-text units seems to emerge, but this would need to be explored in detail in a separate study. Furthermore, the different medial manifestations are extremely interesting: the early modern dramatic adaptations, especially in the German, English, Spanish, and Italian transmissions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as the song and ballad versions in the Dutch, English, and Danish traditions, among others.

Tab. 3: Earliest preserved editions of *Griseldis* in European vernaculars, 1470–1622.

| Language | Author's name and title resp. incipit | Title / incipit (English translation) | Place, printer-publisher and year | Reference |
|-------------|--|--|--|---------------------|
| Italian | Giovanni Boccaccio, <i>Il Decamerone</i> (tenth story of the tenth day) | The Decameron | [Napoli: Printer of Terentius, Comoediae, ca. 1470] | GW 04440 |
| High German | Heinrich Steinhöwel, "Diß ist ain epistel francisci petrarche, von grosser stätikait ainer frowen. Grisel gehaissen" | This is Francesco Petrarca's letter about the great steadfastness of a lady called Grisel | Augsburg: Günther Zainer, 1471 | GW M31580 |
| Low German | <i>De Historie van der duldicheit der vruwen Griseldis</i> | The History of the patience of the lady Griseldis | [Lübeck: Lukas Brandis, ca. 1478] | GW M31597 |
| Dutch | "Griseldis", in: <i>Vanden kaetspele</i> (chapter 21) | "Griseldis", in: "About the (hand)ball game" | Leuven: Johann von Paderborn, 1477 | GW M15941 |
| English | Geoffrey Chaucer, <i>The Clerk's Tale</i> , in: <i>The Canterbury Tales</i> | — | Westminster: William Caxton, [ca. 1478] | GW 06585 |
| French | <i>Grisilidis</i> | — | Genève: Louis Cruse, [ca. 1482] | GW M31589 |
| Castilian | in: Giovanni Boccaccio, <i>Ciento Novelas</i> | One hundred Novellas | Sevilla: Meinhard Ungut and Stanislaus Polonus, 1496 | GW 04454 |
| Danish | <i>Griseldis. Tuende deylige oc Nyttelige Historier at læse. Den Første om Griseldis [...]</i> (of third ed.) | Griseldis. Two charming and Useful Histories to read. The First one about Griselidis [...] | Johann Wickradt the Younger, 1558 (fragm.) | LN 679; USTC 303067 |

Tab. 3 (continued)

| Language | Author's name and title resp. incipit | Title / incipit (English translation) | Place, printer-publisher and year | Reference |
|------------|---|---|---|--|
| Hungarian | Pál Istvánfi, <i>Historia regis Volter ad notam Francisco</i> | History of king Volter according to Francisco | Debrecen: Andras Komlos, 1574 (written in 1539) | RMK I, 105; RMNy 340 (https://mek.oszk.hu/12500/12525/html/index.html) |
| Czech | <i>Kroniky o Jovianovi císaři a druhá o Kryzeldě</i> | The chronicles of Jovian the emperor and the other of Kryzelda | Prostějov: Kašpar Aorg, 1560 | KPS: K04473 |
| Polish | <i>Gryzella. O posłuszeństwie, stałości i cierpliwości szlachetnej, dobrej a cnotliwej Małżonki [...]</i> | Gryzella. Of the obedience, constancy and patience of a noble, good and virtuous Wife [...] | Wrocław: Kryspin Szarfenberg, 1571 | version in verse; Kórnik, BK, Cim. Qu. 2452; see Franczak (2006, III.2) |
| Portuguese | fifth chapter of part three in: <i>Contos e Histórias de Proveito e Exemplo</i> | Tales and Histories for Benefit and Example | Lisboa: Gonçalo Fernandes Trancoso, 1585 | Rossi (1978; 288–294); Calvo del Olmo (2012) |
| Swedish | <i>En skön och merckeligh Historia om Grisilla hwilken war en fattigh Torpare Dotter [...]</i> | A charming and remarkable History about Grisilla, who was a poor Peasant's Daughter [...] | Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer, 1622 | copy: Stockholm, KB F1700 2298 |

Rita Schlusemann

Transcultural *Reynaert*. Dissemination and Peritextual Adaptations between 1479 and 1800

“The medieval Reynaert belongs to world literature”, “A timely tale of our times”, or “een tijdloos meesterwerk dat ons doet lachen en huiveren om onszelf” (“a timeless masterpiece which makes us laugh and shiver about ourselves”) are recent opinions about the ever popular beast epic *Reynaert the Fox*.¹ The narrative’s success story started with the Dutch *Reynaert* verse epic *Van den vos Reynaerde* (“Of Reynard the fox”), which was written in Flanders between 1179 and 1279 by an author called Willem (Bouwman and Besamusca 2009; Schlusemann 2022a). It tells of a trial against the fox Reynaert and the powerful language he uses to avoid punishment. A more extensive adaptation, titled *Reynaerts historie* (“Reynaert’s history”), was composed between 1373 and ca. 1470, also in Flanders. The story of Reynaert’s adventures was first printed, in Dutch prose, by Gheraert Leeu in Gouda with the title *Historie van reynaert die vos* (“History of reynaert the fox”, 1479), and a few years later in Dutch verse by the same printer-publisher in Antwerp (ca. 1487–1490) (Rijns 2007).

These two Dutch editions can be regarded as the main sources for the dissemination, translation, and adaptation of the *Reynaert* epic in about 200 printed editions which recount the adventures of the fox in seven European vernaculars before 1800: Dutch, German, English, French, Danish, Swedish, and Icelandic (the latter in manuscript form).² Not only did various authors modify the contents of the narrative but the presentation of the fox’s adventures in the typography, layout, and illustrations chosen by the printer-publishers reveals how the story was adapted and shaped in time and space. After a summary and an overview of the literary tradition, this chapter will discuss the spatial and temporal *Reynaert* dis-

1 Pleij (2008); Strietman (2021), in a review on Anne Louise Avery’s adaptation of Caxton’s *Reynard the Fox* (2020); and van Oostrom (2023). For the following information about the Dutch *Reynaert* tradition, see Schlusemann (2022a).

2 For a recent survey of European manuscripts about the fox and his adventures, see Wackers (2022). As the Icelandic version (dated ca. 1600) is in manuscript form and a translation of the glosses and prose comments in the margins of Hermen Weigere’s Danish version, it is not included in this chapter. This manuscript is part of a multiple-text unit written by Jón Jónsson (1536–1606). All *Reynaert* editions are referred to with a number according to Menke’s bibliography (here for example Menke 1992, VIII.a.9; on the term multiple-text unit, see the chapter on *Griseldis* in this volume).

semination of the entire printed tradition until 1800 and, in the last part, focus on peritextual characteristics of the Dutch tradition.³

1 Summary of the Narrative

In the different editions throughout the centuries, the narrative either starts with a prologue or directly with the narrating text.⁴ The prologues often emphasize the usefulness of the story and the learning it contains.⁵ After a description of nature at Pentecost, the narrative continues with the lion king's invitation to everyone in his realm to come to the court where grievances can be brought. All creatures arrive except for Reynaert the fox.⁶ The wolf is the first to accuse the fox of different crimes: he raped the wolf's wife and sullied his children. While the badger Grimbert defends the fox, the cock arrives with his dead daughter (in some versions his wife), who was killed by the fox during the King's peace. The king decides to summon the fox to court. After the bear's and the cat's failure to bring the fox to court, the badger succeeds in convincing the fox to accompany him, as otherwise the fox and his family would be declared outlaws. Once in court, the fox is sentenced to death and his main opponents, the wolf, the bear, and the cat, prepare the gallows.

The next part leads up to Reynaert's acquittal: Reynaert is allowed to confess his sins. During his confession he tells of a conspiracy against the king, planned by the bear – who wanted to become the new king of the realm –, the wolf, the

3 In this chapter, Genette's term "peritext" is preferred as the term "paratext" also includes epitexts such as publicity announcements, advertisements, or other messages "outside" the book in question (Genette 1989, 5, and 1997).

4 The term "narrating" text here refers to those parts of the narrative which "tell" the narrative, and should be distinguished from the whole "text" of the literary work which also includes peritexts (title pages, prologues, chapter headings, comments, etc.) (Lahn and Meister 2016).

5 See, for example: "veel schoen leren" ("many fine lessons") (*Reynaert*, 1479; Menke 1992, IV.B.a.2); "vul van wyszheyt vnd guder exempel vnd leren" ("full of wisdom and good examples and lessons") (*Reynke de vos*, 1498; Menke 1992, VI.B.a.1); "En anden nyttelig fortale om denne bogis rette forstand" ("Another useful prologue about the proper meaning of this book") (Hermen Weigere, *En Ræffue Bog*, 1555, 1b; Menke 1992, VIII.a.1); "grande doctrine & instruction" ("great learning and instruction") (*Reynier le Renard*, 1566; Menke 1992, IV.B.b.6). All translations in this chapter are my own (unless otherwise stated). Abbreviated references identify editions in standard reference works; abbreviations are expanded in the list of references at the end of this volume.

6 In this summary the names of the Dutch tradition were chosen for the different characters in the text.

badger, and even the fox's father. Reynaert also casually mentions a treasure which was meant to finance the bear's access to power. The mention of the treasure sparks the king's and the queen's greed and leads them to absolve the fox. He is given a pilgrim's bag made of the bear's fur and is allowed to leave the court to go on a pilgrimage. Reynaert returns to his foxhole together with the hare Cuwaert and the ram Bellijn. He asks the hare to accompany him down the hole. The fox and his family eat the hare and Reynaert sends the ram back to the court with a bag in which he secretly put the hare's head. Upon opening the bag, King Nobel painfully realizes that the fox has betrayed him and cries out in pain and despair. As the king is no longer able to fulfil his task as a ruler, the leopard Firapeel decides to give all the sheep to the wolf's and the bear's families as a present with *carte blanche* to treat the fox and his family as they see fit.

In the second part, the court session is extended, new accusations are brought, and the fox is summoned to court again. At one point, he is lost for words and the ape Rukenuawe⁷ comes to his rescue, pointing out that the fox and his family support the king. When Reynaert speaks again, he mentions a treasure of jewels he gave to the ram Bellijn when he sent him back to the court: a ring, a mirror, and a comb. He combines the description of the value of these items with extensive narrations about the stories engraved on them. Nearly all these stories show how useful the fox's family members are to the king's court as they are clever and helpful advisors. This verbal confrontation leads to a duel between the wolf and the fox. The fox follows the ape's advice and, again, wins by using the power of speech successfully. Reynaert is appointed as "sovereyn baelyoen" ("sovereign bailiff"; Schlusemann and Wackers 2005, 7589), which means that he can act as the king's representative.

2 Literary Tradition

A beast epic can be regarded as a long narrative (in verse and later also in prose), constructed with a beginning, a middle, and an end, resulting in a climax. The leading characters are animals who behave like human beings and display, besides their animal behaviour, human character traits and motives.⁸ This ambiguo-

⁷ The name Rukenuawe, used in the Dutch tradition, means "able to smell well".

⁸ On the Aristotelian notion of beginning, middle, and end as necessary ingredients for a plot, see also Allen (1982). As the main story line does not change, and because the first prose adaptation published by Gheraert Leeu (1479, see later) is a word for word reworking of the verse version into prose (often with the same words only in a different order), in this chapter the term "epic" will be used for the verse and the prose versions. On the relation between the behaviour

ity is maintained in every single version. Although they can speak, think, and act as human beings, the animals mostly behave according to their nature. The fox only eats animals he would also eat in nature and the ram, for example, has to stay outside the fox's hole because he is too big to get into it. The animal protagonists remain recognizable as animals, but the stories draw a certain picture of human behaviour and therefore allow the reader to identify with their traits and the way they act. This contrast can be considered one of the main characters of animal stories. At the same time, since the characters remain recognizable as animals, it is easier for the reader or listener to keep a distance (Schlusemann 2011).

Our knowledge about the development of the medieval beast epic that has become so famous since the Middle Ages until today is almost exclusively based on written Latin and vernacular sources. Hardly anything is known about the oral tradition, which must have existed too. In the nineteenth century, so-called folklorists tried to trace its origin to folk poetry. Jacob Grimm regarded the tale as part of an oral tradition which had been circulating among the Germanic tribes and came into being independently of classical fables (Grimm 1834, LI–LVII). Leopold Sudre thought that medieval fairy tales were the basis for the beast epic (Sudre 1893, 3). On the other hand, the so-called Aesopists supported the thesis of written Latin and vernacular works (in general the fables of Aesop) of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as the direct source for the beast epic in the later Middle Ages (Lulofs 2001, 18–23). Although the prehistory cannot be traced with evidence, there are some important stages in the literary tradition of the beast epic before the Dutch *Van den vos Reynaerde*.

We can assume that the tradition started with Aesop's fables, even though these are much shorter and have a stronger and more direct focus on the moral in comparison to the beast epic.⁹ The Aesop fable of the sick lion (620–560 BCE) can in fact be seen as the basis from which the genre of the beast epic developed. It tells of a sick lion lying in his den. All the animals visit him, except for the fox. The wolf criticizes the fox unfairly by claiming that the fox did not come because he disapproves of the lion. At that moment the fox arrives and proposes a medicine to heal the king: pulling off the wolf's fur and wrapping the lion's stomach and ribs with the still warm fur. The idea is carried out and the fox reacts with a proverb: "He who digs a pit for others falls into it himself" (Perry Index 142).

A major second stage in the development of the beast epic is *Ecbasis cuiusdam captivi per tropologiam* ("The escape of a certain captive through tropology",

of human beings and animals, see, for example, Jahn and Neudeck (2004), Waltenberger and Wick (2022).

⁹ See the chapter on *Aesopus* by Julia Boffey in this volume.

ca. 1050), the oldest European version of a beast epic in Latin, which recounts a trial at the lion's court (Kindermann 1979). The lion is sick, the wolf proposes to hang the fox because he did not appear at the court session. When the fox arrives, he thinks the wolf's fur is the best medicine. Once the medicine is applied, the lion recovers.

In the Western European tradition, this content gradually changed, especially regarding the reason for the animals' gathering: the lion invites the animals in his realm to the court. The Latin epic *Ysengrimus*, supposedly written by the clerk Nivardus in Ghent (1148–1149, 6,600 verses), consists of different episodes and also relates the day at the court. The wolf is skinned too, but he survives and leaves the court (Mann 2013; Schilling 2020; Knapp 2021; Wackers 2022, 21–23).

Ysengrimus was used as a source for the French *Roman de Renart* ("Narrative about Renart"), the name for short narratives and anecdotes without a fixed structure in the different "branches", which "are clearly marked by their episodic character" (Wackers 2022, 33; see also Flinn 1963; Varty 1998). Pierre de Saint-Cloud wrote the oldest "branche" of the *Roman de Renart* in about 1175 (Martin 1882–1887; Jauss-Meyer 1965; Wackers 2022, 23–25).¹⁰ This "branche" is called *Le plaid* and concerns a trial (also called *Le jugement*, 1,620 verses). We know so far that seventeen other branches of the French tradition were written between 1175 and 1250, most of which were put together in various combinations in fourteen composites.¹¹ These "branches" recount the conflict between the fox Renart and the wolf Ysengrin. In *Le plaid*, Ysengrin and the cock Chantecler accuse the fox who is summoned to the court three times: by the bear Brun, the cat Tibert, and the badger Grimbert. Renart pleads to be pardoned and promises to change his life and travel to the Holy Land. King Noble absolves him but Renart cheats and goes against him, and abuses the hare Coart. All the members of the court chase the fox who manages to flee to Maupertuis, his castle.

These narratives around the lion, the fox, and the wolf, as depicted in the brief overview above, developed from a short narrative about the events around the lion's illness into a well-structured narrative with a climactic construction of a plot about a trial, recounting accusation, summoning, sentence, and pardon. In *Van den vos Reynaerde* (ca. 1179–1279, ca. 3,393–3,469 verses), which, as far as the first part is concerned, can be seen as a reworking of the *Le plaid* in East Flan-

¹⁰ *Roman* is the word for "French", and *Roman de Renart* alludes to different stories about the fox in the French vernacular. In research the different versions of the *Roman de Renart* are usually called "branches", the meaning of which is comparable to the word "limb" in English.

¹¹ Martin (1882–1887); for the terminology for manuscripts, see Gumbert (2004); and Friedrich and Schwarke (2016). For a proposal of a new terminology for prints, see the chapter on *Griseldis* in this volume.

ders, this development reaches a first high point (Bouwman and Besamusca 2009; Schlusemann 2022a; Fuchs 2023). For the most part, its author Willem follows the story of *Le plaid* until the fox's arrival at court, but narrates the causalities more convincingly and inserts new narrative elements (Bouwman 1991). The second part of the work (ca. 1,600 verses) is much longer than that of “branche” I of the French *Roman de Renart* (ca. 300 verses). For example, Willem adds Reynaert's confession which develops as a speech about a conspiracy against the king and mentions a treasure. Apart from French sources, Willem seems to have used Germanic material, like the bear's threat to the throne and the conspiracy which seems to have been financed with King Ermenrik's treasure. In Germanic legends the bear reigned over the country, and the East Gothic King Ermanaric (d. 376) is mentioned in Germanic heroic sagas (Gillespie 1973). *Van den vos Reynaerde* has a unique enigmatic ending as the sheep are given to the bears and the wolves as a legitimate prey, and the fox and his family leave King Nobel's realm (Van Daele 1996; de Putter 2000).

Reynaerts historie (1373–ca. 1470), whose author also calls himself “Willem” – the prologue is taken from *Van den vos Reynaerde* – is the first Dutch verse adaptation of *Van den vos Reynaerde* (ca. 7,810 verses; Wackers 1986; Schlusemann and Wackers 2005; Fuchs 2023). In this narrative the first part is a close copy of its source but with a different ending. Reynaert does not leave the lion's kingdom but stays at home with his family. The basic idea for the second part is *Le duel* (“branche” VI of the *Roman de Renart*; Nieboer 1978): after being summoned to the court again, the fox Renart is able to dismiss the accusations. Ysengrin asks for a duel: he wins and Renart loses. In the second part of *Reynaerts historie*, this structure was adopted on the whole, with the addition of many speeches at court, especially by the fox and the female ape Rukenuuwe. Thanks to her clever advice, Reynaert wins the duel and is given the already mentioned position of “second man” in the realm.

3 The Dissemination of the *Reynaert* Epic in European Languages

Reynaerts historie can be called the basis for the entire European tradition as it served as a source for Dutch printed editions from 1479 onwards, and from there for the English, Low German, High German, Danish, French, and Swedish traditions. First, *Reynaerts historie* served as the source for the already mentioned Dutch prose version (1479, see section 4.1). Secondly, the narrating text was printed in verse (also by Leeu, in Antwerp in 1487–1490; Menke 1992, IV.B.a.4),

with the addition of comments in prose and images. This version can be called the (indirect) source for the entire tradition in European vernaculars, starting with the Low German *Reynke de vos* (1498; Menke 1992, VI.B.a.1), the main text of which was also printed in verse. The Low German version in turn was used as a source for the north European tradition.

The *Reynaert* epic was printed in six European vernaculars and published in about 200 editions before 1800. An overview can roughly be depicted as follows (see Diagram 1; green: Dutch prose and Dutch verse; yellow: English; light blue: Low German; red: High German; light grey: French; purple: Danish; dark grey: Swedish; dark green: Latin):

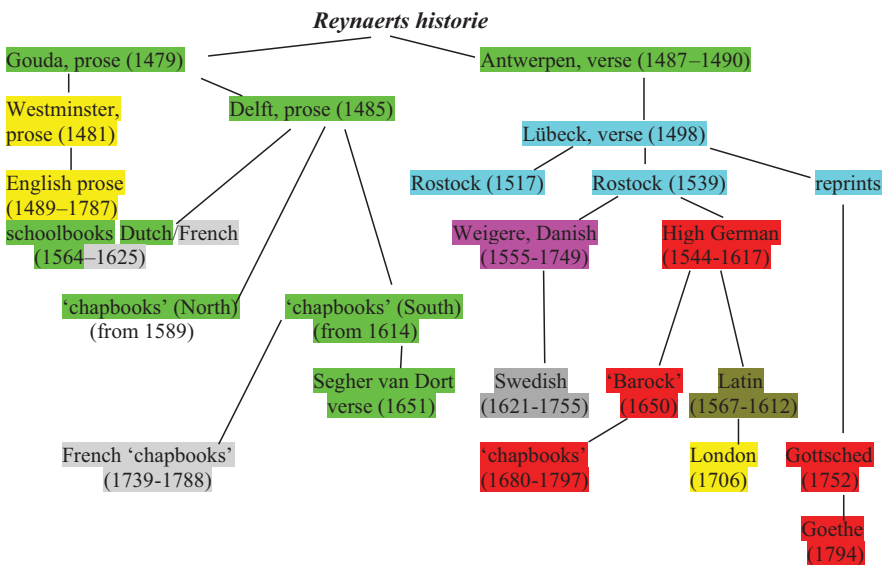


Diagram 1: Rough overview of the *Reynaert* tradition in prose and verse.

An overview of the numbers of editions printed in each century in different language areas is presented in the following table (Tab. 1).¹²

Leeu's 1479 edition was the first printed *Reynaert* narrative in a vernacular (Schlusemann 1991; Rijns 2007), followed by at least 45 *Reynaert* editions in Dutch

¹² The language areas in the table are listed according to the year of the first edition in that language. The figures in the table are based on the results from Menke (1992). One new edition has been added as it only became known after Menke's publication: *Reynaert den vos, oft der dieren oordeel* [...] ("Reynaert the fox, or the animal's judgement [...]"). Dendermonde: Jacobus Ducaju, [1730-1750] (Van Daele 2011).

Tab. 1: Overview of printed *Reynaert* editions in European language areas until 1800.

| Language area | 1479–1500 | 1501–1600 | 1601–1700 | 1701–1800 | Total |
|---------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|
| Dutch | 3 | 4 | 16 | 23 | 46 |
| English | 4 | 6 | 28 | 26 | 64 |
| German | 1 | 29 | 31 | 9 | 70 |
| Danish | – | 1 | 2 | 2 | 5 |
| French | – | 2 | 3 | 4 | 9 |
| Swedish | – | – | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| | 8 | 42 | 83 | 66 | 199 |

before 1800.¹³ Although this means that on average about every seventh year a new Dutch *Reynaert* edition was published, there is a significant difference in production over the centuries. Until 1600 only seven Dutch *Reynaert* editions were produced: three incunabula, two versions in Antwerp (1564, 1566), an edition in Amsterdam (ca. 1584), and an edition in Delft by B.H. Schinckel (1589). Schinckel's edition in particular was the starting point for the enormous success of the Dutch *Reynaert* in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as it served as a template, especially for the peritextual elements like the prologue and the illustrations, for many further editions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Schlusemann 2023b). In the seventeenth century, sixteen editions were produced, and in the eighteenth century as many as 23. The spatial distribution shows a predominance of Amsterdam (17) and Antwerp (18), which amounts to 75% of the entire production.¹⁴

The second *Reynaert* edition in a vernacular was published in English, a direct translation of Leeu's version, published by William Caxton in Westminster in 1481 with the title *Historye of reynart the foxe*, mentioned in the incipit (GW 12728; Blake 1970; Schlusemann 1991). The first edition in English with illustrations was probably published by Wynkyn de Worde in about 1499–1500 (Menke 1992, VI.B.a.4). Its existence could be reconstructed thanks to images in other English editions. The oldest preserved English edition with images, attributed to Ri-

¹³ Editions for which no material evidence has survived are generally also included, but not as far as specific names are concerned (for example locations, printers). In general, the numbers presented here are all a quorum because so many editions have been lost. Besides, it is not always absolutely clear whether an edition was published in the seventeenth or eighteenth century when there is no exact date in the edition itself.

¹⁴ The two cities are followed by Delft (three editions), Ghent (two), and Gouda, Kampen, Dendermonde, and Rotterdam (each place one edition). Numbers are based on Menke (1992) and on results of the project "Multimodalität deutscher und niederländischer Erzählliteratur ca. 1470–1800" (since 2021), Freie Universität Berlin, funded by Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Science Foundation) since 2021 (Schl 316/11–1; led by the author).

chard Pynson, was printed between 1501 and 1505.¹⁵ Regarding the oldest nearly fully extant copy of an edition in English with images, we do not know the printer and the year of printing (ca. 1560–1585); besides, it is in private ownership. It is illustrated with 55 images, nine of which are repetitions (Menke 1992, VI.B.a.8). From the early seventeenth century at the latest, new text was added on the title page, in an edition printed by Edward Allde [1620]. We can now read that the history is “most delectable” and that it is “Newly Corrected and purged from all the grosenesses both in Phrase and *Matter*”.¹⁶ However, the “grosenesses” are still present in text and image, for example in the bear’s punishment (C4r) or the mutilation of the priest’s genitals which make his wife Iullocke lament to her son that “thy fathers delight and my Iewell ... is now spoyled” (D4r–D4v).¹⁷

All in all, at least 64 English editions of the *Reynaert* epic were published before 1800, four of them before 1500, six between 1501 and 1600, 28 between 1601 and 1700, and 26 between 1701 and 1800. The increase in the number of editions is comparable to the Dutch situation. For about 125 years (ca. 1625 until ca. 1750), the appetite for the epic in both language areas did not abate. Whereas the production of the story was concentrated in two locations in the Dutch language areas, in the English language area London was the predominant place of printing with nearly the same percentage of editions (45 editions, 70%).¹⁸

In the German language area, the situation was different. The majority of editions (60 of the 70 known editions) were published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We can basically distinguish two German versions of the *Reynaert* epic: a Low German *Reynke* and a High German *Reineke* tradition (Menke 1992, chapters VI and VII). The German tradition started with the Low German *Reynke de vos*, which was printed in Lübeck in 1498 by the press with the three poppies and probably run by Hans van Ghetelen.¹⁹ This version, published in verse, contains two long prologues, four books, chapter headings, comments in prose, and 89 woodcut illustrations.²⁰

15 Two fragments of this edition have come down to us, only one image has been preserved (Menke 1992, VI.B.a.5).

16 ESTC S119794. The copy of Oxford, BL, is available online; see Menke (1992, VI.B.b.11), for more information.

17 On this scene in different versions through space and time, see Goossens (1988).

18 Followed by Dublin (six) and Westminster (two), with only one edition in Glasgow, Newcastle, Wolverhampton, and Penrith (Menke 1992, chapter V).

19 This version was reprinted at least six times before 1800 (Menke 1992, 273–280).

20 6,844 verses; the four books are divided in 39, 9, 14, and 13 chapters; there are prose comments after many but not all chapters. Overviews and studies of the famous epic were recently published, among many others, by Berteloot and Geeraedts (1998); Schilling (2002); Malm (2017); and Schilling (2021).

A so-called Rostock version of the Low German tradition was first printed by Ludwig Dietz in Rostock in 1539, starting on the title page with the proverb “De Warheyt my gantz fremde ys / || De Truwe gar seltzen, dat ys gewiß” (“Truth is totally strange to me, Faithfulness very rare, that much is certain”), and the title *Reynke Vosz de olde / ny= | | ge gedruicket / mit sidlikem vorstande vnd schonen figu= | | ren / erluechtet vnde vorbetert* (“Reynke Fox the old, newly printed, in an ethical spirit and illustrated with charming images and improved”; Menke 1992, VI.B.b.9). Although it shares major features with the first Low German edition (printed in verse, two prologues, division in four books, subdivision in 89 chapters), there are some new elements. Comments in prose are added in the margin. The comments at the end of each chapter have been modified and characterized as representing the “grundlegend veränderten, humanistisch-protestantischen Denkhorizont der Zeitgenossen” (“basically changed humanistic-protestant thinking horizon of the contemporary people”) (Menke 1980, 254–257). A new series of woodcuts was made by the famous illustrator Erhard Altdorfer who worked as a painter for duke Henric of Mecklenburg (1479–1556) for several decades (Zumbült 2011). The “Rostock” version was reprinted eleven times before 1660 (Menke 1992, VI.B.b.9–21).

All in all, nineteen editions in Low German and 51 in High German were published (Menke 1992, chapters VI and VII). In comparison with other narratives, the proportion of Low German editions is very high (about 37%).²¹ The first version in High German, also in verse, with a prologue and comments in prose, was published by Cyriacus Jacob in 1544 in Frankfurt am Main (Menke 1981; Menke 1992, VII.B.a.1), as the second volume of the book *Schimpff und Ernst* (“Fun and Seriousness”), a very popular collection of entertaining stories.²² The title page does not mention *Reynicke*, only a “Second Part” (*Ander Theyl*). It is praised as not being less entertaining than several other prominent narratives, and even more useful and better for acquiring wisdom and reason:

21 For example, only one of the nearly 50 editions of *Fortunatus* in German was published in Low German (VD17 7:685005F), and only four of the more than 60 editions of *Historia septem sapientum Romae* in German. See in this volume the chapters on *Fortunatus* by Helwi Blom, and on *Historia septem sapientum Romae* by Rita Schlusemann.

22 The stories in the first volume, with the title *Schimpff vñ Ernst heiset das büch mit namē durchlaufft es der welt handlung mit ernstlichen vnd kurtzweiligen exemplen, parabolen vnd hystorien nützlich vnd güt zū besserung der menschen* (“The book is called Fun and Seriousness, which especially deals with conduct in the world with serious and entertaining examples, parables and histories, useful and good for the improvement of human beings”), were collected by Johannes Pauli and published by Johannes Grüninger in Strasbourg in 1522 (VD16 P 937; copy: München, BSB, 2 L. eleg.m. 90 h).

*Ander Teyl Des Büchs Schimpff vnd Ernst Welches nit weniger kurtzweilig denn Centum Nouella, Esopus, Eulenspiegel, Alte weisen, Weise Meyster, vnnd alle andere kurtzweilige Bücher, Aber zulernen weißhey vnd verstand weit nütlicher vnd besserer. Wie aus der Vorrede zuuernemen ist.*²³

It is not until A5v, after the preface, that “Von Reinicken Fuchs” is mentioned for the first time. In this *Reinicke* version, which has been attributed to Michael Beuther,²⁴ the verse text was shortened by about 33%, but the comments were expanded. The fact that the title mentions four other of the ten narratives in this book (*Aesopus*, *Griseldis* [as part of *Il Decamerone*], *Historia septem sapientum Romae*, and *Ulen Spiegel*) firstly shows that Jacob felt the need to place his *Reynaert* within the tradition of these narratives. Secondly, the choice of the adjective “kurtzweilig” (“entertaining”) highlights that he clearly regarded them as famous examples of entertaining literature. Thirdly, this title shows that the advertising potential of these narratives was recognized in the 1540s. We cannot establish whether the omission of the title of the *Reinicke* was intentional or a mistake, but in the second and third edition of the second book of *Schimpff vnd Ernst* (1545 and 1556), the title *Reinicken* [sic] *Fuchß* was printed on the title pages (Menke 1992, VII.B.a.2–3), in the editions from 1562 *Von Reinicken Fuchß* (Menke 1992, VII.B.a.4–21). The edition as the second part of *Schimpff und Ernst* was very successful and reprinted at least twenty times before 1617, from 1564 with woodcuts by Virgil Solis.²⁵

More than half (36) of the German *Reynke/Reinicke* editions were published in Frankfurt in High German, yet some Low German editions were published in

23 “Second Part of the Book *Fun and Seriousness* Which is not less entertaining than *One Hundred Novellas*, *Aesopus*, *Owlglass*, *Old Wise Men*, *Wise Masters*, and all other entertaining Books, But much more useful and better for learning wisdom and reason. You can read this in the Preface.” Boccaccio’s *Il Decamerone*, with its one hundred novellas (*Griseldis* as the last), was often named *Centum Novella* (see the chapter on *Griseldis* in this volume). On *Aesopus* and *Ulen Spiegel*, see the respective chapters by Julia Boffey and Krystyna Wierzbicka-Trwoga in this volume. *Alte weisen* alludes to the *Directorium humanae vitae* by Johannes de Capua (ca. 1250–ca. 1310) and was translated into German by Anton von Pforr (before 1420–ca. 1477) as *Buch der Beispiele der alten Weisen* (“Book of Examples of the old Wise Men”); *Weise Meyster* (“Wise Masters”) is another title often used for *Historia septem sapientum Romae* (see the chapter on the tradition in this book).

24 The attribution of the work to the historian Michael Beuther (1522–1587) goes back to Hartmann Schopper (1542–1595), who mentions him in his Latin adaptation of the High German *Reinike Fuchs* (Hartmann 2012; on this edition, see Menke 1992, II.B.b.2; for later editions, Menke 1992, II.B.b.3–7).

25 Virgil Solis (1514–1562) was a prominent woodcutter and engraver. His woodcuts were also used for Schopper’s Latin translation of the text published by Sigmund Feyerabend and Simon Hüter in 1567 (Menke 1992, II.B.b.2).

the High German region of Frankfurt too: for example, by Cyriacus Jacob in 1550 (Menke 1992, VI.B.b.11), by David Zöpfel in 1562 (Menke 1992, VI.B.b.13), and by Johann Wolf in 1572 (Menke 1992, VI.B.b.15).²⁶ This does not only show the wide popularity of the Low German version in the High German region but also the printers' ability in the High German language area to publish Low German texts expecting to find a market for these editions. This supra-regional method used by printer-publishers can also be found in the Danish tradition.

In Danish five editions of the *Reynaert* epic were published before 1800, starting with an exceptional edition entitled *En Eæffue [sic] Bog || som kaldes paa Tyske Rei= || nicke Foss, Oc er en deylig oc lystig || Bog met mange skønne Historier, || lystige Rim, Exempel, och herlige || Figurer, som aldri føre haffuer været || paa Danske, nu Nylige fordanskit || aff Hermen Weigere [...]* (Fig. 1, Menke 1992, VIII.a.1),²⁷ which was published by Jürgen Richolff the Younger in Lübeck in 1555 in a folio format. Hermen Weigere adapted the Low German version published by Ludwig Dietz in Rostock (1539) (Menke 1992, VIII.a.1).²⁸ As in the Low German version, the narrating text was written in verse and was divided into four books which were subdivided into chapters, with glosses in the margin. The volume is illustrated with 46 images in the text (six of them are repetitions), which are copies from the Rostock edition, and 56 smaller images illustrating the glosses.

A portrait of King Christian III of Denmark (1503–1559), who at that time was also duke of Schleswig, Holstein, Stormarn, and Dithmarschen (1v), and a three-page dedication to the king (2r–3r) make it even more special compared to the *Reynaert* editions in other languages.²⁹ The preface, addressed to King Christian III, laments the lack of secular literature in Danish. In addition, the writer ex-

²⁶ Eight of the Low German editions were published in Rostock, four in Hamburg, two in Eutin, Leipzig, and one, for example, in Berlin, Itzehoe, and Wolfenbüttel. The place of printing of 21 editions (dated 1660–1680) is unknown but because of their astonishing similarities, it can be assumed that they were printed in the same place (see Menke 1992, VII.B.d.26; VII.B.d.27; VII.B.d.28).

²⁷ To be corrected as *Ræffue* ("A Fox Book which in German is called Reinicke Foss, it is a beautiful and pleasant Book with many charming Histories, pleasant Rhymes, Examples, and wonderful Images which has never been in Danish before, now Newly translated by Hermen Weigere"; with thanks to Anna Katharina Richter for her help with the translation); in the rest of this chapter named *Ræffue Bog*.

²⁸ The woodcuts are recuts of the illustrations from the 1539 edition by Dietz (Menke 1992, VIII.a.1). For the 1539 edition see, for example, the copy in Tomsk, Tomsk State University Research Library, B-2466 (olim: Hamburg, SUB, SCa VI: 226); <http://vital.lib.tsu.ru/vital/access/manager/Repository/vtls:000670899> (6 March 2023). For a comparison with the Low German version, see Rohr (2006–2007).

²⁹ On the Scandinavian tradition, see Munske (1970); Engel (1989); edition: Møller (1915–1923).



Fig. 1: *En Ræffue Bog som kaldes paa Tyske Reinicke Foss* [...]. Lübeck: Jürgen Richolff the Younger, 1555, 1r (Antwerpen, The Phoebus Foundation). By courtesy of The Phoebus Foundation, Antwerpen.

presses his hope that the king might take delight in books which do not offend God or His Holy word (5v). The Danish tradition consists of two reprints of the first edition (in 1656 and ca. 1730)³⁰ and two adaptations (1649; 1747).³¹

In the printed French tradition, the first French edition of the *Reynaert* epic³² was not published as a standalone text but in a synoptic edition with the Dutch text. The book was titled *REYNAERT || DE VOS. || Een seer ghenouchlicke ende vermakelicke historie: || in Franchoyse ende neder Duytsch. || REYNIER LE || RENARD. || Histoire tresioyeuse [sic] & recreatiue, en François || & bas Alleman* (“Reynaert the fox. A very enjoyable and entertaining history: in French and Dutch”).³³ It was published in 1566 by the very successful and innovative printer/publisher Christoffel Plantijn (1520–1589) in Antwerp (Menke 1992, IV.B.b.6; Rijns 2007).³⁴ The edition comprises an illustrated title page followed by the privilege, a dedication in Latin by the translator Johannes Florianus, a table of contents, a table of figures, a preface before the beginning of the narrative (all in Dutch and French), and 42 illustrations. It was clearly intended as a schoolbook. However, it did not lead to a rich tradition of French printed *Renart* editions. All in all, only eight French *Renart* editions were printed before 1800,³⁵ which shows that the narrative was clearly not as popular in the French regions as with northern and eastern neighbours.³⁶

In Swedish, five *Reynaert* editions were printed. The first, with the title *Reyncke fozs*, was attributed to Sigfrid Aron Forsius and printed, with the king’s privilege, in stanzas and with pairing rhymes by Ignatius Meurer in Stockholm in

30 The woodblocks of the first Danish edition were used again for the second Danish edition (Menke 1992, VIII.a.2); the third Danish edition was not illustrated (Menke 1992, VIII.a.3).

31 In the 1649 edition, chapter one of Weigere’s *Ræffue Bog* was adapted in alexandrines (Menke 1992, VIII.a.4).

32 Earlier French editions with a fox and his wife as main characters are not taken into consideration because they are not as such part of the *Reynaert* epic. Editions with the title *Le liure de maistre Regnard et de dame hersant* (“The book of master Regnard and of lady Hersant”), for example, are prose adaptations of Jacquemart Gielée’s *Renart le nouvel* (see Menke 1992, III.B.a.1–7).

33 The language which is called “neder Duytsch” and “bas Alleman” here, is Dutch and was still often called “neder Duytsch” until the nineteenth century; at that time, the term could actually refer to the low parts of the Germanic (Dutch and Low German) speaking areas.

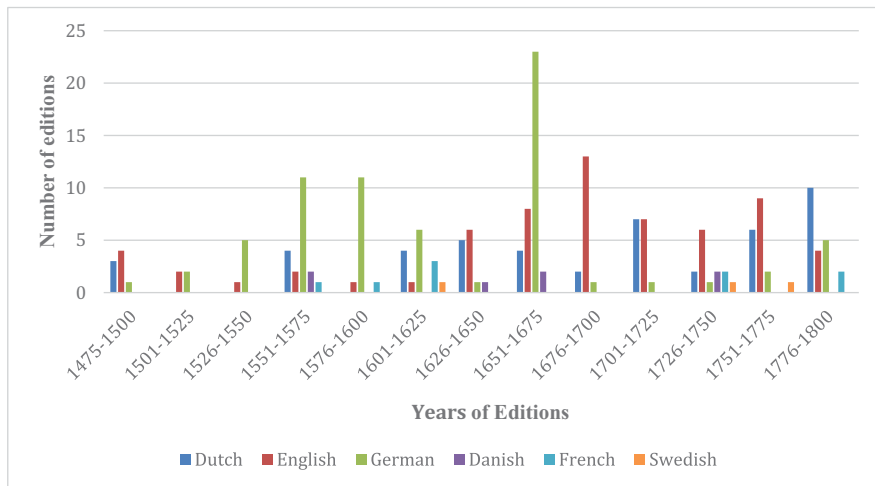
34 In French the name of the printer is Christophe Plantin. In this chapter he will be called Christoffel Plantijn because of his activity in Antwerp and because he calls himself Plantijn in the *Reynaert* edition (copy: München, BSB, Rar. 714; title page: <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb10858293?page=4,5> [8 February 2023]).

35 Three of them were translations of the southern Dutch ‘chapbook’ printed in 1614 (Menke 1992, III.8–15).

36 There are no printed editions of the *Roman de Renart* either.

1621. It is based on the Low German version published by Paul Lange in Hamburg in 1604 and illustrated with 42 images, four of which are repetitions (Menke 1992, VIII.b.6).³⁷ On fol. a2r the book is dedicated to illustrious men: to the king and other prominent Swedish noblemen such as Axel Oxenstierna (1583–1654), since 1612 Lord High Chancellor (*Rikskansler*) of the Privy Council, and Philipp von Scheiding (1578–1646), governor of Kopparbergslagen. *Reinick Fuchs, Eller Michel Råf*, a Swedish prose version written by Eric Ljung Pädersson and published by Peter Jöransson Nyström in Stockholm (1746), is an adaptation, with augmentations of the prose comments, of Weigere’s *En Ræffue Bog* (Menke 1992, VIII.b.7). Another Swedish prose edition, attributed to Pädersson, was published by Carl Stolpe in Stockholm in 1775 (Menke 1992, VIII.b.8).

All in all, the dissemination of the *Reynaert* epic is restricted to the west, middle and north of European language areas, and there are no known printed versions in the south and east of early modern Europe (see Graph 1).



Graph 1: Temporal Dissemination of Printed *Reynaert* editions until 1800.

With regard to the temporal dissemination there is a major increase of editions in the third quarter of the sixteenth century. In contrast to the production of *Gri-seldis*, for example, there is another rise in the third quarter of the seventeenth

³⁷ The text is divided into four books, subdivided into chapters, which are commented on in prose glosses. Short texts (for example proverbs and other sayings) are printed in the margins. This version was published in at least two other “Druckfassungen” (“print editions”, Menke 1992, 383–384). For the complete title, see the list at the end of this chapter (Tab. 2).

century. In the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the number of language areas grows. On the whole, except for the first and second quarters of the fifteenth century, the dissemination of *Reynaert* editions is very stable in the early modern period, with one (especially German) peak in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, and some smaller peaks (German, English, and Dutch) in other periods. These language areas were at the same time the centres of dissemination of the *Reynaert* epic in early modern Europe.

4 Peritextual Characteristics in Dutch Editions before 1800

The importance of peritexts has been studied extensively in the last decades.³⁸ Peritexts add a sense-creating meaning to the main text of the narratives. They transport meaning in two directions: to the main text, and to the world outside the book as they address the reader or buyer (Speth 2017, 194). Peritexts can convey the meaning of the main text but they can also contribute to a pluralization of the sense of the narrating text. In this part the peritexts, their typography and layout in selected Dutch *Reynaert* editions before 1800 will be compared in order to identify their specific similarities and differences, and constitute a first step towards a holistic and more comprehensive comparison between *Reynaert* editions in different language areas. The Dutch *Reynaert* editions can be divided into four main groups: incunabula (three); Antwerp schoolbooks (three); northern Dutch ‘chapbooks’ (20); and southern Dutch ‘chapbooks’ (17).

4.1 Incunabula

The first Dutch *Reynaert* edition mentioned earlier was published by Gheraert Leeu and begins as follows: “Dit is die tafel van desen boecke datmen hiet die hystorie van Reynaert die vos (“This is the table of contents of the book which is called the history of Reynaert the fox”, a1r).³⁹ This initial table of contents introduces the reader to the title and the main character in the book. On the four fol-

³⁸ Genette (1989); with a slightly different focus, see McGann (1992); Ott (2010); Speth (2017).

³⁹ Schlusemann (1991); Rijns (2007); Schlusemann (2018–2019). A second edition of this text was published in Delft in 1485 (GW 12726). The original copy used is Den Haag, KB, 169 G 98. Because of the already mentioned English translation, Caxton must have regarded the Dutch *Reynaert* as a successful book.

lowing pages (a1r–a2v), the different chapter titles in the table of contents inform the recipient not only of the fox’s adventures but, in fact, about the contents of the whole book. Each chapter title is right-aligned, and at the end of the title a page number in cardinal numerals indicates where the chapter begins. This is possible because the folio numbers are right-aligned at the bottom of the pages, while the printer also provides page numbers in cardinal numerals in the middle of the last line.⁴⁰

The second part is announced at the end of the table of contents: “Hier behint die prologhe van desen teghenwoerdigen boeck gheheten reynaert die vos” (“Here starts the prologue of this present book titled Reynaert the fox”). Although the topoi used are very general, there are clear elements of the Latin *accessus* tradition in the table of contents and the prologue (Schlusemann 1991, 82–86; Pleij 2004). The table of contents presents the *ordo*, the prologue the *operis inscription*, the *operis intentio*, and *utilitas*. The prologue starts by repeating the title of the book again, another means to ensure that the recipient is properly informed about the name of each peritext and about its contents (Schlusemann 1991; Pleij 2007, 209). It stresses that the narrative describes many fine lessons and memorable aspects through parables, and that the book is intended “tot nutscap ende tot profijit alre goeder menschen” (“for the use and benefit of all good people”, a3r) to help them understand the “subtile scalcheden die dagelics in der werelt gebruijct worden” (“subtle malignities which are used every day in the world”). The prologue ends with the following words:

ende soe wie dan volcomen verstant hier of wil ontfangen die moet hem poegen dicwijn hier in te lesen ende naerstelic aen te mercken dat ghene dat hi leset. wanttet seer subtyl gheset is. ghelijck als ghi al lesende vernemen sult. also datmen met een ouerlesen den rechten sin of dat rechte verstant niet begripen en can. mer dicwijn ouer te lesen. soe ist wel te verstaen. ende voer den verstandelen seer ghenuechtelijck ende oeck profitelijck (a3r)⁴¹

The reading instruction emphasizes that the text should be read over and again. Obviously, these words are intended as a help for those readers who were not used to reading texts themselves and were therefore encouraged to read the text again and again. As *Reynaert* was one of the first narratives printed in Dutch, Leeu thought it

⁴⁰ As the lower part of the copy of the book in The Hague has been cut off, some page numbers are partly cropped.

⁴¹ “He who would like to get a full understanding has to try and read it more often and remember well everything he reads, because it is set in a very subtle way, as you will see when reading it. It is not possible to understand the right sense or meaning when reading it only once, but when reading it again and again, it can be easily understood, and for clever people it is very enjoyable and also beneficial”. The reception mode “lesen” is mentioned six times in the prologue. See the edition by Rijns (2007); see also Schlusemann (1991, 82–86); Pleij (2007, 209–211).

was necessary to provide such a reading instruction. The epilogue, on the other hand, mentions two means of communication, hearing and reading: “So wie v nv van reynaert meer of min seit dan ghi hebt ghehoert dat sijn al loghenachtighe woerden Mer dat ghi hier van hem voer ghehoert hebt ende ghelesen des moechdi wel ghelouen” (“So, whoever tells about Reynaert more or less than you have heard, these are all mendacious words. But what you have heard and read about him here, you can believe”, A3r). This epilogue tends more towards the dual modes of reception (hearing and reading) in the Middle Ages, whereas the prologue tells the reader carefully how to read the text again and again (Pleij 2004).

After a prose edition, Leeu printed the narrative again in Dutch, this time in Antwerp and in verse (between 1487 and 1490; Schlusemann 1989). The peritextual differences between the editions are striking. In the new edition, preserved in seven fragments, the narrative is in verse, divided into numbered chapters with comments in prose preceding the chapters they refer to, and is illustrated.⁴² Leeu obviously recognized the importance of a clearer structure, with comments to support the reader in understanding the text, and illustrative material to attract attention. In respect of these peritextual elements, this verse edition was the source for the Antwerp schoolbooks. The narrative and the peritextual characteristics of Leeu’s verse edition also served as the indirect source for the Low German *Reynke de vos* (1498) (Witton 1980; Goossens 1983a; Schlusemann 1999).

4.2 Antwerp Schoolbooks

After Leeu’s verse edition, the production of *Reynaert* editions in Dutch stopped for three quarters of a century. In 1564 Christoffel Plantijn printed a schoolbook in Antwerp for the bookseller Peeter van Keerberghen (Martin 1876; Menke 1992, IV.B.b.5). The title is printed at the top of the title page in two different typefaces over six lines arranged in a triangle. The first part of the title is printed in Gothic capital letters: *REYNAERT DE VOS* | | *EEN SEER GHENVECHLIIC* | | *KE ENDE VERMAKELIJCKE* [...] (“Reynaert the fox, a very enjoyable and entertaining [...]”). The first line presents the main title and names the hero. The second and third lines, in a smaller typeface, emphasize the story’s entertaining qualities. The adjective “ghenvechlicke” is cut in two and spread over two lines and while this affects the readability of the text, it allows to keep the triangle shape. The following three

⁴² Breul (1927); Goossens reconstructed the textual parts and the illustrations (Goossens 1983a; 1983b). See Goossens (1998) about the prose comments in the seven fragments of this so-called verse incunable. We do not know if there was a prologue in the verse edition.

lines are printed with a *civilité* in italics: *Historie, met haer Morali | | satien ende corte wtleg | | ghingen* (“History, with its Moralizations and short explanations”).⁴³ Here, too, words have been cut because of the layout requirements for the triangle shape.⁴⁴

The table of contents can be confusing for the reader as it lists in a rather incomplete and random way the chapters up to number 70.⁴⁵ It is followed by a prologue addressed to the reader (A3r and A3v), and a table of figures in two columns (A3v). As the prologue emphasizes that one learns best when learning with enjoyment, it is safe to assume that the book was intended for teaching purposes.⁴⁶

The narrating text starts in *civilité* with a repetition of the title and, in the second line, the word “Morael” (“Moral”). The next three lines, printed in Gothic typeface, could in fact be called the announcement of the first chapter because they contain the first chapter title.⁴⁷ However, after sixteen lines of narration about the animals attending the court day, another title, again in *civilité*, presents the accusations against the fox. This is followed by “Dat eerste Capittel” (“The first Chapter”), also in *civilité*. The subsequent narrative text is also printed in *civilité*. The rest of the book displays a clear typographic difference between the narrating text and the titles of the chapters printed in *civilité*, and the prose glossaries, which are introduced with the title “Morael”, in roman letters. In this way, the typography supports the division between narrating text and prose glossaries, and helps the reader to distinguish at a glance between the different parts.

A second schoolbook was printed shortly afterwards in Antwerp, also by Plantijn (1566) (Menke 1992, IV.B.b.6). The Dutch text remains the same but is now accompanied by a parallel French translation by Johannes Florianus (1522–1595).⁴⁸ The edition is decorated with 40 illustrations by the Parisian woodcutter Jean [II] de

⁴³ For more detailed information about the edition, see Menke (1992, IV.5); for an edition Martin (1882–1887). The *civilité*, designed by Robert Granjon and first used in 1557–1558, was an imitation of a lettertype that was used at the time for learning to read (Vervliet 2018).

⁴⁴ At the bottom of the title page, also in italic *civilité*, we find the information that the book can be bought at Peeter van Keerberghen’s shop in Antwerp.

⁴⁵ In fact, in the list (A2r and A2v) there is a double reference to some chapter numbers (e.g. 15, 52) while some are missing (e.g. numbers 14, 17, 20, 22, 24, 33, etc.).

⁴⁶ “Ende aengesien men niet beter en soude connen gheleeren, dan tghene datmen met gheuechten leert, so hebben wy gheerne desen Boeck aenghenomen om den seluigen in Nederduytsch te laten drucken” (“Because you cannot learn better than what you learn with enjoyment, we gladly chose this Book to be printed in Dutch”). See also Verzaandvoort (1988–1989).

⁴⁷ “De leeuuwe als Coninck van alle dieren, doet eenen vasten vrede creyieren [...]” (“The lion as the King of all animals decrees lasting peace [...]).

⁴⁸ He was a teacher at the Latin school in Antwerp (Verzaandvoort 1988–1989, 241). See also Willems (1922b).

Gourmont after drawings by Geoffroy Ballain (Verzandvoort 1988–1989, 240–246).⁴⁹ By using decorative frames, Plantijn clearly intended to make his *Reynaert* edition look like an emblemata collection. These frames resemble the illustrations Ballain had made for Sambucus' emblem book (1564) published by Plantijn (Rooses 1903). The texts are printed in two columns: the Dutch text in the middle, and the French in the outer columns of each double page.

On the title page Plantijn chose red for the main titles and black for the subtitles.⁵⁰ The Dutch title is printed in a larger typeface than the French one. For the French subtitle Plantijn chose an italic typeface. Plantijn no longer used the triangle shape, preferring instead to adapt the layout to the contents, at least in the Dutch part: the first line introduces the hero, the second line clarifies what kind of animal he is. The third line emphasizes the narrative's entertaining qualities, and the fourth line that the book is written in French and Dutch. In the French title this principle is no longer maintained: "Renart" is printed in the second line of the title but the definite article relating to it is printed in the first line. The translation "en François" is printed in another line. This means that the layout of the Dutch title and subtitle and that of French translation do not correspond.

After a privilege in French (A2v) and a prologue by the translator (in Latin and Greek, A2v and A3r), a table of contents is inserted, with the Dutch and French titles facing each other. These are printed in separate columns in the same capital roman letters, but the text of the chapters is printed in different typefaces: for the Dutch parts Plantijn chose a Gothic typeface and for the French a roman typeface, a distinction maintained throughout the whole edition. The chapter titles and the word "Moraël" are printed in roman typeface in the Dutch text, and in *civilité* in the French text. The distribution of language areas as well as the difference between narrative text and peritext is evident at first sight to any reader. Therefore, different typefaces seem to have been an important tool for the printers for guiding the reader.

4.3 Northern Dutch 'Chapbooks'

The series of northern Dutch 'chapbooks' started with an edition by Bruyn Harmansz Schinckel (1567–1625) in Delft in 1589.⁵¹ This edition is titled *Van Reynaert* || *die Vos / een seer genoechlijcke* || *ende vermakelijcke Historie / met haer* ||

⁴⁹ Plantijn had even ordered 72 drawings by Ballain in April 1565 (Verzandvoort 1988–1989).

⁵⁰ Copy: Bruxelles, BR, L.P. 3678 A; <https://opac.kbr.be/LIBRARY/doc/SYRACUSE/13018314> (22 February 2023).

⁵¹ The Phoebus Foundation in Antwerp owns a copy, which formerly belonged to W. Grauwels. For an introduction to this version and a picture of the title page, see Schlusemann (2023b).

Moralisatien ende korte wtlegginghen || voor die Capittelen gestelt / van nieuw || oversien ende verbeteret. || Met schoone Figueren gheciert (“On Reynard the fox, a very enjoyable and entertaining History, with its Moralizations and short explanations placed before the Chapters, newly reviewed and corrected. Embellished with charming Images”). This edition can be called the catalyst for the *Reynaert* editions in the northern Dutch-speaking regions in subsequent centuries.⁵² The title page consists of three parts: 1. the title and subtitle at the top, repeating the title of the earlier schoolbook editions but with added information about the moral considerations, the corrections, and the charming images; 2. an illustration; 3. impressum.

The title is printed in the same typeface in these seven lines but in different sizes, from larger to smaller.⁵³ The first part of the title until “wtlegginghen” is the same as in the Plantijn edition, but the fifth and seventh lines have been added and are printed in red. Although typography/layout and content do not coincide to the same extent as in the earlier edition printed in 1566, with these words Schinckel emphasizes the accuracy and attractiveness of his edition. The subsequent parts (preface, table of figures, and the beginning of the narrative text) are indicated with titles placed in the middle of the page. In the preface titled “Totten Leser” (“To the Reader”), the printer also inserted manicules for a new subject starting with “In den eersten” (“At first”). He obviously used different methods in his attempts to structure the text clearly.⁵⁴ The announcement of a new chapter is printed in roman type, for example “Dat vijfste Capittel” (“The fifth Chapter”, A6r).⁵⁵ If a chapter title is longer than one line, the first line of the chapter is printed in a larger typeface than the following lines. The narrating text of a chapter always starts with an initial. On the first pages the printer has not really always been consistent as he uses the same typeface for the “Morael”, the text of the “Morael”, the subtitles of a chapter, and the text of that chapter (e.g. on A3r). The second chapter has two “Moraels”, one in the middle and one at the

52 This is one of the outcomes of a project from the Freie Universität Berlin (see footnote 14). See also for an overview Menke (1992, 129–145), and Feliers (2006). Nearly all editions were printed in Amsterdam. The only exceptions are one edition printed in Kampen, and one edition in Rotterdam but no material evidence of these editions has been preserved.

53 Under the title we find an illustration showing the court session with the lion king, his wife, and several animals in a circle, with underneath information about the printer, the printing place, and year of publication.

54 However, he repeats the mistake (already contained in the Plantijn edition) of giving the title “Morael” to the first part (A2r). In fact, the subsequent text is not a moral but the title of the first chapter.

55 There is no chapter 22. The numbering jumps from 21 to 23. Therefore, the whole text consists of 69 chapters although the numbering runs to chapter 70.

end, but the third chapter does not have a “Morael”. From A6v onwards, he sometimes places a manicule before the word “Morael” in order to make it more explicit. All in all, Schinckel’s structuring shows that the role of a chapter title and a moral at the end of a chapter were clearly not yet self-evident or maybe he just did not bother to change his model, the Plantijn edition, which displays the same features (Wackers and Verzandvoort 1989, 156).

In the edition published in 1603, Schinckel adds on the title page that the narrative is “seer playsant ende lustich om lessen” (“very pleasant and enjoyable to read”, Menke 1992, IV.B.c.9). Schinckel repeatedly emphasizes the accuracy of his edition, the external attractiveness (“with figures”), and the internal value (pleasant and enjoyable contents). Following Schinckel’s edition, all northern Dutch editions until 1800 include the following parts: a title page with a woodcut, a table of contents, a list of figures, (most of the) 69 chapters, moral considerations, and between 22 and 31 woodcuts in the narrative text. But there are changes in the typography. Whereas Schinckel uses the same typeface for the narrating text and the “Morael” parts, indicating them with a manicule, Otto B. Smient, in his 1642 edition, prefers another typeface for the “Morael” parts, using large roman letters for the chapter numbers and printing a black line before each new chapter. This makes it easier for the reader to distinguish between different parts of the text. On balance, the northern Dutch editions are consistent for about two hundred years, even when published by different printer-publishers, such as Broer Jansz (1635), Jan Bouman (1668), Hendrickje Blaeu, the widow of Gijsbert de Groot (1694), or Joannes Kannevet (1752).⁵⁶ There was obviously no need to change the formula which had been successful since the end of the sixteenth century.

The dissemination of the *Reynaert* epic in print was restricted to the western and northern European languages. In the early modern period no editions are known, be it in Polish, Czech, Hungarian, Italian, or from the Iberian Peninsula. Interest in the stories about the fox changed after Goethe published his *Reineke Fuchs* in 1794. In Polish, for example, the first version, composed by Ludwik Jenike under the title *Lis Mykita*, is an adaptation of Goethe’s epic in verse published in 1860. Nowadays the hero’s name is nearly always associated with the fox’s (verbal) skills and is used all over the world, for example in the Japanese mobile game *The Battle Cats* in which the fox is called “Raynard” (2012).

⁵⁶ There are at least thirteen editions with more or less the same sequence of illustrations, and sometimes just one or two illustrations switched around (Menke 1992, IV.c.9; IV.c.10; IV.c.11; IV.c.13; IV.c.14; IV.c.15; IV.c.16; IV.c.17; IV.c.23; IV.c.24; IV.c.25; IV.c.26; IV.c.27).

4.4 Southern Dutch ‘Chapbooks’

In the south, the book was included the *Index librorum prohibitorum, cum regulis confectis per patres a Tridentina synodo delectos, auctoritate sanctissimi Domini nostri Pii III pontificis maximi comprobatus. Cum appendice in Belgio, ex mandato regiae catholicae majestatis confecta*, a list of forbidden books announced by an edict of King Philip II in 1570, and published by Christoffel Plantijn.⁵⁷ The southern Dutch ‘chapbooks’ share similarities with the northern Dutch ‘chapbooks’ as the structure of the text remains the same, but with some differences. An edition published by Hieronymus [V] Verdussen in Antwerp, probably between 1695 and 1713, is the oldest surviving edition of this tradition (Menke 1992, IV.B.d.34),⁵⁸ followed by thirteen reprints with minor changes until 1800 (Menke 1992, IV.B.d.36–IV.B.d.48).

Their main characteristics are an illustrated title page, a prologue, a list of figures, the narrative itself, and the images. The title page can be divided into four parts: 1. main title; 2. subtitle; 3. illustration; 4. impressum (Fig. 2).

The title and subtitle differ from the northern Dutch titles: after the name of the main character (in Gothic letters) and its species (in roman letters), they emphasize the judgement of the animals, which is printed in large bold Gothic letters. The following three lines, printed in a much smaller typeface, explain the elements of the court procedure: the name of the judge, the crime, and the verdict. By mentioning the judgement and not revealing the end when the fox is not only discharged but also appointed as the king’s representative in his realm, the author intends to suggest that the story is about a peaceful kingdom ruled by law and order. The following two lines (in small Gothic letters) provide meta-information about the narrative itself, highlighting both its entertaining and didactic value. The illustration also gives the impression of peace and happiness in the empire, especially between the king

57 “The list of forbidden books, as drawn up by the fathers chosen by the Synod of Trent, confirmed by the authority of our most holy Lord, Pope Pius III. With an appendix in ‘Belgio’, completed by order of his royal Catholic majesty.” See also Wackers (2000, 76).

58 Menke 1992, IV.B.d.35, mentions a press correction of this edition. Verzendvoort and Wackers (1983, 25) identify further press corrections (the copy in Amsterdam, UB, 1514 G 1, differs from the two copies in Antwerp). The production of the southern ‘chapbooks’ in the *Reynaert* tradition probably started in the early seventeenth century, with editions attributed to Hieronymus [I] Verdussen ([1614] and [1631]) although there is no material evidence of these. However, there are indications suggesting they do exist and that two other seventeenth-century editions exist as well (Menke 1992, IV.B.d.29, IV.B.d.30; IV.B.d.31; IV.B.d.32). For the later editions by Hieronymus [V] Verdussen, see Menke (1992, IV.B.d.34; see also IV.B.d.35); see also Van Rossem (2014).

Reynaert
 DEN VOS,
 OFT
 Der Dieren Oordeel.
 In het welck door Coninck LION ende sijne
 Heeren,
 de schalckheydt van Reynaert den Vos wort
 ondersocht ende gheoordeelt.
 t' Verhael seer ghenuchelijc, ende profijtighe
 Morale
 Beditselen mede-brenghende.



Fig. 2: *Reynaert den vos* [...]. Antwerpen: Hieronymus Verdussen, [1695–1713], a1r (Antwerpen, EHC, C 14464, copy 1). By courtesy of Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, Antwerpen.⁵⁹

and the queen snuggling up to her husband. The gallows can be regarded as an allusion to the subsequent development of the story.⁶⁰

In 1651 a version in trochaic verse, adapted from the Antwerp ‘chapbook’ tradition, written by the Antwerp solicitor Segher van Dort (Fig. 3; see also Rijns 2007, XXXI), was published by Jacob Mesens and illustrated with woodcuts based on drawings by Erasmus Quellijn the Younger (1607–1678), an apprentice of the famous Flemish painter Pieter Paul Rubens, and engravings by Jan Christoffel Jeghers (1618–1662).⁶¹ Whereas the woodcut on the title page is the same as in the other editions, the title was changed again.⁶²

The title itself can be divided into four parts, all printed in different typefaces: 1. main title; 2. subtitle; 3. characteristics; 4. author. Although the first line is

⁵⁹ “Reynaert the fox, or The Animals’ Sentence. In which Reynaert’s roguishness is studied and judged by King Lion and his Lords. The Story is very enjoyable and also offers useful Moral Teachings.”

⁶⁰ The same illustration was chosen for (at least) ten editions before 1800.

⁶¹ For more information about the famous Antwerp engraver, see the website of the Netherlands Institute for Art History RKD: <https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/artists/42128> (9 February 2023).

⁶² Other peritextual parts, like the prologue, were changed too: for example, in Schinckel’s edition the fox is described as “goed” (“good”) at the end of the prologue (probably to be understood ironically). In the *Reynaert* edition by Hieronymus [V] Verdussen his “schalckheydt” (“evilness”) is emphasized, and the priests are no longer mentioned anymore in the prologue.



Fig. 3: Segher van Dort. *'t Vonnis der dieren over Reynaert den vos* [...]. Antwerpen: Jacob Mesens, 1651, a1r (Zürich, ZB, Gal. XXV 1793 / 1). © Zentralbibliothek Zürich.⁶³

printed in smaller letters than the name of the main character, the focus shifts to the animal's judgement from the start, and to the narrative's meaning as a mirror of deceit. In the subtitle the plural of the word "Hypocriten" ("Hypocrites") indicates that many characters behave in a hypocritical way. The third part does not only accentuate the images but exclusively mentions the didactic meaning of the narrative for young people, leaving out the entertainment value frequently stressed in previous editions. All in all, the reader is presented with the most serious version of announcing the narrative of all editions, which favoured advertising the combination of *delectare* and *prodesse* as a quality feature.

5 Conclusion

Whereas the editions described so far present a harmonious court situation on their title page, this chapter finishes with a picture showing a quite different title image. The short study of this image is also intended as an encouragement to

⁶³ "The animal's judgement of Reynaert the fox, or Mirror of Deceit. Wherein the life of the Fox is described with an illustration of Hypocrites. Embellished with beautiful Images, with useful and moral considerations for the education of Young People. First written in verse by S.V.D. and improved by an art Lover."

look deeply into the different peritextual characteristics of the rich printed editions of the story throughout the centuries in different language areas. In his 1550 edition published in Low German in Frankfurt, Cyriacus Jacob chose the following title:

Van Reyneken Vosse || dem Olden, syner mennichuoldigen lyst || vnd behendicheyt, eyne schone vnnd nütte Fabel, vull || wyßheit vnd guder Exempel. Darin vast aller menschen we- || sent / handel / || vntruwe / lyst / geswindicheit / nydt vnd hat / || Figurert / vnd anghethó- get wert / mit schonen || figuren erluchtet vnd vorbetert (Fig. 4)⁶⁴

The title page and the image do not only introduce the fox as the main character but also his cunning and subtlety.⁶⁵ It presents the charming and useful “Fabel” as a story full of wisdom and good examples.⁶⁶ The subtitle underscores that the narrative figuratively depicts different kinds of human behaviour, their nature, trade, perfidious behaviour, cunning, envy, and hatred.

In the foreground the picture shows the fox as a humanized animal on the left. He is standing upright on two feet like a human being. He is dressed like a recluse, but his tail can still be seen sticking out. This emphasizes the ambiguity of his being. In the right “hand” of his two front paws he holds a rosary, a symbol of his pious life, and in the left a letter, the king’s edict about peace in the realm. He looks at the cock who is standing on the right looking at the fox. The cock’s composure, standing with his tail upright and looking at the fox, shows that he does not fear the fox. In the narrative the fox intimates to the cock that he doesn’t have to fear him anymore. The attitudes of the animals in the foreground of the image match the narrative well. The cock believes the fox and also wants to believe him because he enjoys going outside the monastery walls. He tells his family that they can go and look for food outside the walls. The consequences of the cock’s trustfulness and

⁶⁴ “On Reyneken Fox, the Old, his various tricks and skills, a charming and useful Fable, full of wisdom and good Examples. Therein is shown and told the nature of human beings, their trade, unfaithfulness, tricks, pace, envy, and hatred, Illustrated with beautiful images and improved”.

⁶⁵ The image is an adaptation of a very comparable image which had already been used in Gheraert Leeu’s *Reynaert* edition in verse (although there is no material evidence for this, see the reconstruction by Goossens 1983b). In the Low German *Reynke de vos* (1498), we find the image with the fox presenting himself as a recluse (c6v). This motif was also chosen for the Danish and Swedish editions.

⁶⁶ “Fabel” in this title must be understood as a story invented as the opposite to the telling of truth; see 2 Timothy 4:4: “And they shall turn away [their] ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables” (<https://www.abarim-publications.com/Interlinear-New-Testament/2-Timothy/2-Timothy-4-parsed.html> [10 February 2023]). In this translation “fable” is chosen as a translation for the Greek “μῦθος”, the equivalent of the German translation “Fabel”.



Fig. 4: *Van Reyneken Vosse dem Olden* [...]. Frankfurt am Main: Cyriacus Jacob, 1550, a1r (Antwerpen, The Phoebus Foundation). By courtesy of The Phoebus Foundation, Antwerpen.

his willingness to believe the fox can be seen in the background on the right. The fox carries in his mouth a chicken. Following his conversation with the cock, the fox uses the cock's family's trustingness to catch a chicken very easily. For the reader, the double scene in a single image reveals the fox's behaviour and that of this opponent – and all the other opponents – at a single glance. To my mind, the fox's behaviour as an animal combined with his behaviour as a human being, communication with other animals, his successful use of words and manipulation of his opponents who are taken with him because they are weak as their behaviour is often entirely dictated by emotions, can be regarded as one of the main reasons for the narrative's enduring popularity in so many European language areas, not only in the early modern period but even now.

Tab. 2: Earliest extant editions of *Reynaert* in European vernaculars, 1479–1621.

| Language | Author's name and title | Title (English translation) | Place, printer-publisher and year | Reference (no. in Menke 1992) |
|-------------|--|---|---|-------------------------------|
| Dutch | <i>Die historie van reynaert die vos</i> | The history of reynaert the fox | Gouda: Gheraert Leeu, 1479 | IV.B.a.2 |
| English | <i>The history of reynard the foxe</i> | — | Westminster: William Caxton, 1481 | V.B.a.1 |
| Low German | <i>Reynke de vos</i> | Reynke the fox | [Lübeck: press with the three poppies, probably run by Hans van Ghetelen], 1498 | VI.B.a.1 |
| High German | <i>Reinicken Fuchs. Das Ander Teyl des Buchs Schimpff vnd Ernst, Welches nit weniger kurtzweiliger, denn Centum Nouella, Esopus, Eulenspiegel, Alte weisen, Weise Meyster, vnd alle andere kurtzweilige Bücher</i> ⁶⁷ | Reinicken Fox. Second Part of the Book Fun and Seriousness Which is not less entertaining than One Hundred Novellas Aesopus, Owlglass, Old Wise Men, Wise Masters, and all other entertaining Books | Frankfurt am Main: Cyriacus Jacob, 1544 | VII.B.a.1 |

⁶⁷ The first two words “Reinicken Fuchs” are not part of the first edition by Jacob, but are quoted from his second edition, printed in 1545.

Tab. 2 (continued)

| Language | Author's name and title | Title (English translation) | Place, printer-publisher and year | Reference (no. in Menke 1992) |
|----------|--|---|---|-------------------------------|
| Danish | Hermen Weigere, <i>En Ræffue Bog som kaldes paa Tyske Reinicke Foss, oc er en deylig oc lystig Bog met mange skønne Historier, lystige Rim, Exempel, och herlige Figurer, som aldri føre haffuer været paa Danske</i> | A Fox Book which in German is called Reinicke Foss, it is a beautiful and pleasant Book with many charming Histories, pleasant Rhymes, Examples, and wonderful Images which has never been in Danish before | Lübeck: Jürgen Richolff the Younger, 1555 | VIII.a.1 |
| French | REYNAERT DE VOS. <i>Een seer ghenouchlicke ende vermakelicke historie: in Franchoyse ende neder Duytsch. REYNIER LE RENARD. Histoire tresioyeuse [sic] & recreatiue, en François & bas Alleman</i> | REYNAERT THE FOX. A very enjoyable and entertaining history: in French and Dutch. REYNIER LE RENARD. [A] Very enjoyable and entertaining history, in French and Dutch | Antwerpen: Christoffel Plantijn, 1566 | IV.B.b.6 |
| Swedish | [Sigfrid Aron Forsius], <i>REYNCKE FOSZ. Thet år: En skôn och nyttigh Dicht, full medh Wijßheet, godh Lâro, och lustige Exempel: Vthi hwilken alle Menniskiors wäsende, Handel, Otroo, List och Snillheet affmålät warder,</i> | REYNCKE FOX. That is: A charming and useful Poem full of Wisdom, good Instruction, and pleasant Examples: In which every Man's character, Deeds, Infidelity, Cunning, and Wit is | Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer, 1621 | VIII.b.6 |

Tab. 2 (continued)

| Language | Author's name and title | Title (English translation) | Place, printer-publisher and year | Reference (no. in Menke 1992) |
|----------|---|---|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| | <i>sampt medh thet sedliga förståndet och thenne Books bruuk. Allom Menniskiom i thenna sållsamma tijden ganska tienligh och nödiggh at weta, sc. Medh sköne Figurer beprydd.</i> | portrayed, together with the moral understanding and the use of this Book. In these remarkable times quite useful and necessary to know for all People. Embellished With charming Images. ⁶⁸ | | |

⁶⁸ With thanks to Anna Katharina Richter for her help with the translation of the Danish and Swedish titles.

Lydia Zeldenrust

The Greatest Story Ever Sold? Marketing *Melusine* Across Early Modern Western, Northern, and Central Europe

If one had been asked to predict which late medieval narrative would end up in our Top Ten, becoming a true transcultural bestseller and staying in print up to and well beyond 1800, *Melusine* would have seemed an unlikely candidate. The story of a fairy woman cursed to transform into a half-serpent on Saturdays began as a local legend originating from the Poitou region in western France, tied to the influential Lusignan family. The earliest written versions – by Jean d’Arras (1393) and Cou-drette (around 1401) – connected the story to events surrounding the Hundred Years’ War and to a regional dynastic crisis. These accounts were written for a local audience, likely already familiar with the Melusine figure from oral legends and who had a stake in determining exactly who was or was not descended from her. The two French versions with which it all began were bound in time and place.

It is all the more remarkable, then, that this narrative turned out to have an enduring appeal across cultures, and an impressive staying power over the centuries. It was first translated into German – a move that proved to be crucial for the spread of the legend, as it was the German version which was first set to print. The success of the German incunabula likely spurred the subsequent printing of one of the French versions. Other translations soon followed, so that by 1800 the narrative had been further translated into Low German, Castilian, Dutch, English, Czech, Polish, Danish, Russian, Swedish, and Yiddish. In some regions, *Melusine* was among the first romances set to print.¹ At least 132 editions printed before 1800 are known, in eleven languages. The narrative became a truly multilingual tradition, which – as we shall see – often defies neat separations between literary

¹ *Melusine* is traditionally seen as a romance, and I use this term in this chapter when it helps to distinguish between different kinds of secular narratives. On definitions of this famously nebulous genre, which easily encompassed elements from other medieval writing like saints’ lives or chronicles, see Krueger (2000, 1–11) and Cooper (2004, 7–15). I acknowledge that the term is problematic, even more since ‘romance’ does not mean the same across modern national scholarly traditions. For instance, romance in Spanish criticism is often used for what in English criticism would be termed a ballad. I agree, however, with Putter’s statement that “we can spare ourselves the trouble of agonizing needlessly about problems of definition if we accept that we have inherited the word ‘romance’, with all its vagueness, from those who talked before us”, without losing sight that it “was never a precise generic marker” to begin with (Putter 2000, 2).

cultures. As it was rewritten and adapted time and again, the narrative generally stayed remarkably intact, though it was variably marketed as a true historical account, a love story, a tale of wonder, and part of a useful guide on how to live one's best life. The narrative also spawned offshoots and sparked new adaptations, enthralling young and old and noblewoman and legal scholar alike.

The case study in this chapter focuses on the marketing of the *Melusine* narrative across languages and across the centuries. Can we see different approaches taken by printers who are catering to an audience long familiar with the tale versus printers in regions where the story had not been published before? Is the narrative marketed differently across languages or are there also similarities, more to do with broader changes in publishing techniques not specific to one cultural context? And what can such comparisons begin to tell us about why this narrative captivated readers for so long? The earliest editions printed in western Europe have been well-studied, but the editions published in Danish, Swedish, Czech, and Polish are not as well-known, particularly in English scholarship. The second aim of this chapter is therefore to introduce these lesser-studied versions to an English-reading audience, restoring their place in the larger *Melusine* tradition.²

1 Summary of the Narrative

The two earliest French versions largely give the same account, though some episodes and details differ.³ Jean's prose version begins with the story of Mélusine's parents, the fairy Presine and the human king Elinas. Their marriage is founded on the condition that Elinas never see his wife after she gives birth, a vow he breaks when Mélusine and her two sisters are born. Presine is forced to disappear to Avalon, taking the girls with her. When Mélusine is a teenager, she finds

² For recent studies that bring together *Melusine* versions in multiple languages, see Urban et al. (2017) and Zeldenrust (2020). Both studies focus predominantly on a western-European context; this chapter offers a welcome opportunity to expand the scope to include northern and central European versions. The work for this chapter was supported by a Leverhulme Trust Early Career Fellowship.

³ Modern editions of Jean's version include those by Vincensini (2003), with modern French translation, and the French-English edition by Morris (2007), which has a foreword by Vincensini. Modern editions of Coudrette's version are by Roach (1982) and Morris and Vincensini (2009); the latter features a translation into modern French. A recent modern English translation of Jean's version was published by Maddox and Sturm-Maddox (2012); Coudrette's version was translated into English by Morris (2003). For an overview of the surviving manuscripts of the two French versions and their dating, see Zeldenrust (2020, 234–35 and 239).

out what her father did and decides to punish him by locking him into a mountain. It is this attempted patricide that causes Presine to curse her daughters, telling Mélusine that she will become a serpent from the waist down every Saturday. If she can find a husband who will agree never to see her on a Saturday and, if he does see her, never tell anyone her secret, she will live and die as a human. If he betrays her, she will be forever trapped in serpent form. The same backstory is told much later, towards the end of the narrative, in Coudrette's version, which retells the story in octosyllabic verse.

Mélusine meets her husband – the human knight Raymondin – when he is on the run for accidentally killing his uncle the count during a boar hunt. Raymondin's horse takes him to a fountain, where Mélusine tells him she knows about his misfortune and offers her help. She also offers her hand in marriage, on the condition that he never see her on a Saturday nor reveal her secret if he does. Raymondin is so dazzled by this beautiful and clever woman that he happily agrees. Mélusine then tells him exactly how he can not only get away with murder but also obtain a great amount of land from the new count. They marry and settle on the newly obtained land, where Mélusine begins several building projects, including construction of Castle Lusignan and the Abbey of Maillezais. They live together happily for years, with Mélusine bringing her husband increasing prosperity and giving birth to ten sons. Most sons are born with a monstrous token – for instance, Geoffroy has one large tooth, Anthoine has a lion's claw on his cheek, and Horrible has three eyes – reminding us of their mother's curse and supernatural nature. The narrative then relates the adventures of the sons when they are grown, as most go abroad to defeat pagan enemies and marry beautiful princesses who happen to be the only heir to politically strategic regions across Europe and the Mediterranean. The adventures connect to real life, as those who claimed descent from Mélusine and her sons included the Lusignans – who became kings of Jerusalem, Cyprus, and Armenia – the dukes of Burgundy, the lords of Parthenay, the counts of St. Pol, of La Marche, and of Luxembourg – who also ruled Bohemia – and the Plantagenets.⁴

When he finds out that his brother Fromont has joined a religious order instead of becoming a knight, Geoffroy is convinced the monks tricked him. Geoffroy traps all the monks – his brother included – in the Abbey of Maillezais and burns them alive. This action sets into motion the final events of the narrative. One Saturday, when Raymondin's brother comes to visit and tells him there are rumours Mélusine is having an affair when she disappears each week, Raymondin decides to spy on his wife. He finds her in the bathhouse and, through a peep-

4 On the families who claimed descent from Melusine, and why, see Colwell (2008, 97–133).

hole he makes in the door, sees her bathing in half-serpent form. Although he initially feels shame for having betrayed his wife and does not tell anyone what he saw, when Raymondin hears what Geoffroy has done, he decides that it is their mother's monstrous nature that is at fault. His rage leads him to betray Mélusine's secret in front of the court, all conditions of the vow now broken. Mélusine then says goodbye to her loved ones and jumps out of a castle window. She transforms into a serpent mid-air and flies off, only coming back to look after her youngest sons or to announce a change in ownership of Castle Lusignan. Jean's version ends with an episode about Mélusine's sister Melior, while Coudrette adds an episode about the fate of the third cursed sister, Palestine.⁵ Jean relates sightings of Mélusine in his own time, including when she announced that Castle Lusignan would soon be in the hands of his patron Jean de Berry. Coudrette notes that his patron is a descendant of Mélusine's son Thierry.

2 Background and Literary Tradition

This is not the first story of a fairy who turns into a serpent after human transgression.⁶ Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum naturale* of ca. 1250 – part of his *Speculum maius* – tells of a fairy who is seen by a servant as she is bathing and subsequently transforms into a serpent. The story found in Gervase of Tilbury's *Otia Imperialia* (ca. 1210–1215) is more familiar: a knight named Raimundus meets a beautiful fairy near a stream, who offers to marry him on the condition that he never see her naked. They live happily for years, and the knight's wealth increases, until one day he breaks his promise and walks in on his wife as she is taking a bath. She transforms into a serpent and disappears. Jacques de Longuyon's *Les voeux du paon*, a chivalric work composed before 1313, includes an anecdote about a count's wife who does not want to stay in church long enough to receive Holy Communion and, when forced to do so, she turns into a dragon and flies off. An even closer analogue is found in Pierre Bersuire's *Reductorium morale* (ca. 1342), which records how a woman from Lusignan changed into a snake after her husband saw her naked. This same lady was a fairy who founded the fortress of Lusignan, whose descendants became kings of Jerusalem and Cyprus, counts of La Marche, and lords of Parthenay, and who reappears every time the fortress has a new owner. Such accounts show tantalising links to the

⁵ For more on the differences between the two French versions, see Zeldenrust (2020, 17–63).

⁶ For more detailed overviews of earlier analogues, see Le Goff and Le Roy Ladurie (1971); Harf-Lancner (1984); Prud'Homme (2017).

legend as it is known from Jean d'Arras onward, but one crucial element is missing: the fairy remains unnamed. It is Jean's *Méluſine* that first tells us her name.

Jean certainly seems to have been aware of earlier analogues, as he mentions Gervase of Tilbury in his prologue. By the time he was writing *Méluſine*, manuscripts of the *Otia Imperialia* were circulating in both Latin and French (Pignatelli and Gerner 2006). Jean also references legends of fairies who became serpents after being forced to enter a church, suggesting he was familiar with accounts like de Longuyon's too. Bersuire, moreover, was a local and his work was likely familiar to Jean. Bersuire came from the area of Vendée in Poitou, and he joined the Benedictine Order at Maillezais, the abbey said to have been burnt down and later rebuilt by Méluſine's son Geoffroy. Both Méluſine and Geoffroy were almost certainly familiar figures of local folklore before their exploits were written down.⁷ The narrative also regularly plays with real historical events, particularly in the episodes about Méluſine's sons, giving the impression that at least part of the story may be true (Péporté 2017, 163). The weaving of myth and history was a defining characteristic of the legend from the start.

Jean's prose *Méluſine* was the first to develop the story into a lengthy, semi-historical and genealogical romance, combining elements from medieval chronicle writing, tales of wonder, didactic literature, and natural philosophy. He tells us in his prologue that he wrote the narrative at the request of his patron, Duke Jean de Berry (1340–1416), and his sister Marie, Duchess of Bar (1344–1404). The romance contains more than a dedication, however – Jean writes his patron into the narrative by adding a scene that justifies his recent taking of Castle Lusignan from a baron loyal to the English. This firmly embeds the *Méluſine* legend into the events of the Hundred Years' War, reminding readers at a time when French and English diplomats were renegotiating territorial terms that Berry was a descendant of the famous half-serpent and was therefore rightful heir to the castle and – more importantly – Poitou (Autrand 2000, 133–146). We also see the contemporary context reflected in the narrative's emphasis on conquest and battles with Saracens, linking with Valois' desires to organise another crusade and restore the rule of French noblemen – most notably Léon de Lusignan, last Latin king of lesser Armenia – over *Outremer* territories (Harf-Lancner 1991).

In 1401, less than a decade later, another French author known as Coudrette (or Couldrette) rewrote the story in verse, for his patron Guillaume VII l'Archevêque, Lord of Parthenay (d. 1401). Although previous scholarship considered Coudrette's version as written for a pro-English audience, refuting Berry's territorial claims (e.g. Stouff 1930, 8–9), recent research has produced a more nuanced picture.

⁷ See, for instance, Le Goff and Le Roy Ladurie (1971); Nolan (1974); Roblin (1985).

For a start, when Coudrette was writing his version, Guillaume l'Archevêque was no longer allied with the Plantagenets but had been loyal to the French crown for three decades, undertaking diplomatic roles and serving as counsellor for Jean de Berry (Colwell 2011, 219–220). Guillaume l'Archevêque may have been going through a dynastic crisis and he, like Berry, was inspired to write his own family into the romance, now renamed as the *Roman de Parthenay* (Colwell 2011). This means that the two French narratives are not so much competing accounts as evidence of the reach of the Lusignan dynasty. The Parthenays also traced their lineage back to Mélusine and part of their domains were Vouvant and Mervent – in Poitou, now ruled by Berry – which not only feature prominently in the narrative, but in real-life had been reinstated to Guillaume l'Archevêque in 1372–1373.

This far reach of the Lusignans meant that the narrative also had a significant reach, even before we take the many translations and adaptations into account. Many early owners of *Mélusine* manuscripts were members of the nobility, who were thought to be descendants of Mélusine or were connected to the courtly milieu around other known descendants.⁸ Known owners include key cultural and political figures of the Low Countries, such as Margaret of Austria (1480–1530), Philip of Cleves (1459–1528), and Charles de Croÿ (1455–1527).⁹ Another owner is Jacquetta of Luxembourg (1415 or 1416–1472), who took her manuscript of Jean's version with her when she settled in England (Colwell 2008, 317).¹⁰ The romance had already started to travel to Francophone regions outside France, largely thanks to extended aristocratic networks. However, the real explosion of this legend came when the narrative was set to print, a key factor in its translation history. Though the idea that several European noble houses claimed descent from this half-serpent woman and her part-monstrous children no doubt added to its appeal, the romance gradually shook off its political and dynastic implications and instead it was the tale itself that turned out to be the stuff that best-sellers are made of.

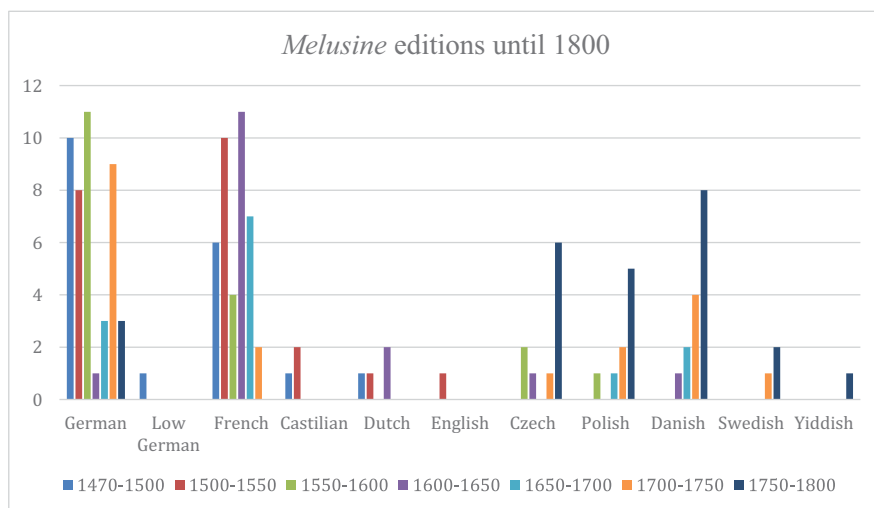
⁸ On owners of French *Mélusine* manuscripts, see Colwell (2008).

⁹ Philip of Cleves owned manuscript Paris, BnF, fr. 12575. Charles de Croÿ owned a manuscript of the *Parthenay* – Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms 461 (465) – and one of Jean's *Mélusine* – Bruxelles, BR, ms 10390. The latter was bought by Margaret of Austria in 1511. See the overview in Colwell (2008, 476–478).

¹⁰ Jacquetta's ex libris is found in London, BL, Cotton Otho D.II.

3 Dissemination Across Europe

Although the narrative originates from a French-language context, when it comes to its printed tradition the story starts with the German translation. The success of the early German editions likely led to the printing of the first French editions, which then spurred several new translations. Moreover, the German tradition itself sparked new translations in turn. This means we have two main strands: the translations based on the French version, and those that go back to the German version. This overview (see Graph 1) is organised by language, but this should not give the impression that the versions can always be neatly separated according to modern national categories, not in the least because people, printing materials, and individual books crossed borders as much as the story itself did.¹¹



Graph 1: Overview of *Melusine* editions until 1800.¹²

¹¹ USTC and relevant national catalogue numbers are listed where available. Not all surviving printed editions are listed in catalogues and dates are not always listed correctly, so the information is supplemented with reference to relevant criticism. I also add previously unknown editions, discovered during the research for my book on the *Melusine* translations in western Europe (Zeldenrust 2020). See also Tab. 1 at the end of this chapter, which lists the earliest extant editions in each language.

¹² Not all editions are datable with certainty. Several Danish editions without date have been added to the count for 1750–1800, their most likely dating. An undated French edition by Olivier Arnoullet has been added to 1500–1550, and that printed by Jean Crevel around the turn of the century to 1600–1650. Fragments of Czech editions thought to be from before 1800 are included in the count for 1750–1800.

3.1 Strand 1: Translations Based on the French Versions

Thüring von Ringoltingen (ca. 1415–1483) finished his German translation, based on Coudrette's version, in 1456.¹³ The earliest known edition was published by Bernhard Richel in Basel around 1473–1474.¹⁴ This was soon followed by the edition printed by Johann Bämle in Augsburg in 1474 (USTC 747180, GW 12655), and that by Heinrich Knoblochtzter in Strasbourg ca. 1477 (USTC 747182, GW 12658). The early German editions proved a good investment: there were at least ten incunables and another nineteen editions printed before 1600. There is also an incunable in Low German, based on the High German version (Schlusemann 2004).¹⁵ Printed texts did not immediately replace the manuscript tradition, as more than half of the surviving German *Melusine* manuscripts were produced when the story was already circulating in print, and one was even copied after a printed example.¹⁶ The early editions feature a high number of illustrations, around 67–72 woodcuts, reminding us that their first buyers would have been relatively well-to-do (Classen 2017, 76–77).

While the *editio princeps* was printed in Basel and there is also an incunable printed in Heidelberg in 1491, the production of German *Melusine* incunables and pre-1550 editions was concentrated in Augsburg and Strasbourg. Both were important printing cities, particularly for the publication of books in the vernacular, so their dominance is not surprising.¹⁷ In some cases, printers published one *Melusine* edition, but many of them printed multiple editions. Heinrich Knoblochtzter, for instance, published three editions in Strasbourg as well as the incunable from Heidelberg, but it is Heinrich Steiner who takes the crown, printing at least five editions in Augsburg between 1539 and ca. 1545.

From around 1549 Frankfurt am Main emerges as an important printing centre for the *Melusine* narrative, with a cluster of at least seven editions published by Hermann Gülfferich, his stepson Weigand Han, and Han's later heirs, as well as two editions by the heirs of Christian Egenolff. This coincides with the rise of Frankfurt itself as a printing centre, no longer known mainly for the lively book trade at its fairs but also as a key publishing city in its own right (Rautenberg

¹³ For an edition based on the manuscript tradition, see Schneider (1958).

¹⁴ USTC 747181, GW 12656. The number and dates of German editions in this section are based on the overview in Rautenberg et al. (2013, 6–8).

¹⁵ USTC 747179, GW 12664.

¹⁶ The Trento manuscript is copied from Johann Bämle's 1480 *Melusine* edition (USTC 747184, GW 12660) (Terrahe 2009, 51).

¹⁷ Augsburg was particularly important – more than a quarter of German-language incunables came from there (Sauer 1956, 69). On the city's leading role in publishing before 1555, see Künast (1997).

2015, 85). The printing house founded by Gülfferich, later run by Han and his heirs, specialised in the publication of secular narratives like *Melusine*, also printing multiple editions of, for instance, *Die sieben weisen Meister*, *Die schöne Magelone*, *Fortunatus*, *Ulenspiegel*, and *Pontus und Sidonia* (Rautenberg 2015, 87).¹⁸ Frankfurt often dominated the market for these kinds of narratives after 1550, as is the case for *Melusine*, with only one edition each printed in Augsburg and Strasbourg in the same period.¹⁹ This was also when many narratives appeared in smaller format – only Egenolff still printed in quarto format, with *Melusine* editions by Gülfferich, Han, and heirs all in octavo.

Gülfferich was the first Frankfurt publisher to print a *Melusine* edition, in 1549 (VD16 M 4475), for which he used woodcuts designed to illustrate his *Fortunatus* edition printed that same year. It seems that this edition found an eager audience, as Gülfferich then commissioned a new set of woodblocks specific to the *Melusine* story from the artist Hans Brosamer (d. ca. 1554), which appeared in his 1554 edition.²⁰ The Brosamer woodblocks stayed with the printing house, reappearing in editions by Han (1556 and 1562) and his heirs (1564, 1571, 1577) (Gotzkowsky 2013, 385).²¹ The cluster of editions by this Frankfurt printing family shows that, (1) the narrative was expected to sell well enough for Gülfferich to make a substantial investment in having new images made, and (2) production numbers of *Melusine* editions were likely bolstered by printers having access to existing materials to cut costs. This was a common strategy: the other Frankfurt printer, Egenolff, bought Steiner's *Melusine* woodblocks after his bankruptcy, and we find these woodcuts in the editions printed by his heirs (Hespers 2010, 170). This raises the question of how often the production numbers of narratives in our Top Ten are high because printers already had in stock images made for a specific narrative and were therefore able to bring out an edition relatively quickly and cheaply. Whereas with narratives that feature generic woodcuts reused from other texts, a printer may have first settled on a narrative to print and then looked for images to illustrate it, having access to a set of woodcuts specific to a narrative likely turned this process around, where access to images may have determined choice of text.

¹⁸ Also see the chapters on *SSR*, *Pierre et Maguelonne*, *Fortunatus* and *Ulenspiegel* in this volume.

¹⁹ Augsburg: Michael Manger, 1574 (VD16 ZV 26210); Straßburg: Christian Müller, 1577 (VD16 M 4480).

²⁰ Six *Melusine* woodcuts also appear in Gülfferich's *Pontus und Sidonia* from 1552, which has been taken as indicating that there was a now-lost *Melusine* edition printed before 1554. Gülfferich also commissioned Brosamer to illustrate other fictional narratives of entertainment, part of a deliberate specialisation in these types of text.

²¹ They were also copied in Michael Manger's 1574 edition.

In 1587, Johann Feyerabend printed for his cousin Sigmund a collection of love stories entitled *Buch der Liebe* (“Book of Love”), also in Frankfurt (VD16 B 8959).²² *Melusine* is included in this collection of thirteen prose narratives, alongside *Kaiser Octavianus*, *Florio und Biancelfora*, *Die schöne Magelone*, and *Ritter Pontus*. There is a gap in production after Feyerabend’s edition, with a slight resurgence of interest in the later seventeenth century, starting with the edition by Michael Pfeiffer in Hamburg in 1649 (VD17 18:727001S).²³ Hans-Jörg Künast (2010, 29) has commented on the difficulty of cataloguing *Melusine* editions from the seventeenth century onwards, as many lack information about the place of printing, printer, or date. Moreover, their more standardised appearance means it is no longer easy to distinguish printers or locations by typographical features (Künast 2010, 35). Several eighteenth-century editions mention they were ‘printed this year’, which tells us nothing except that it was presented as coming hot off the press. From the few editions that do mention the place of printing – including Nuremberg (1672), Annaberg (1692–1693), Leipzig (three editions ca. 1800–1820), Cologne (ca. 1810) and Reutlingen (three editions before 1813) – it seems there is no longer one city that dominates.

The narrative undergoes some significant changes after 1700, when two sub-strands emerge: the adaptation printed under the title *Historische Wunder-Beschreibung* (*HW*; “Historical Marvel Account”, fifteen editions) and that known as the *Wunderbare Geschichte* (*WG*; “Marvellous History”, five editions), both printed until the 1810s. Their title pages list the number of sheets used for the edition in the bottom right corner. These are likely a sign of the colportage or book peddling trade, with *Melusine* having become a chapbook paid for according to the number of pages (Künast 2010, 37).²⁴ Only three post-1700 *Melusine* editions are not *HW* or *WG* editions. Overall, at least 57 editions of the German *Melusine* were printed before the 1810s.

At least three German incunables had been printed by the time the *editio princeps* of the French *Méluſine* by Jean d’Arras appeared in 1478, published by Adam Steinschaber in Geneva (USTC 71174 and 765244, FB 30835).²⁵ It was the prose version that was to have a long printing history; Coudrette’s version was not printed until the nineteenth century. There are six French *Méluſine* incunables and

22 Roloff has published an edition of Feyerabend’s text, featuring reproductions of the woodcuts (1991).

23 It is possible that David Franck – Michael Manger’s stepson – printed a *Melusine* in 1612, but its existence is uncertain and therefore not included here (Behr 2014, 179).

24 On defining the term ‘chapbook’ and problems with anachronistic use, see Newcomb (2009).

25 Note that French incunables discussed here have duplicate entries in the USTC, under different numbers, but in each case there is one edition that was mistakenly recorded twice.

another fifteen editions printed before 1600.²⁶ No other editions appeared in Geneva after the *editio princeps*, though copies continued to circulate – for example, the German lawyer Michael von Kaden bought a copy of the 1478 Geneva edition in Limoges in 1539.²⁷ From ca. 1479 onward printing of *Mélusine* editions shifted to Lyon, with immigrant German printers like Martin Husz (USTC 71175 and 765279, FB 30836) and Gaspard Ortuin (USTC 71176 and 765625, FB 30837) inspired by the story's success back home.²⁸ After 1498, editions also appeared in Paris. Looking at the place of printing does not give many surprises here. Quite a few French narratives were first printed in Geneva, including *Olivier de Castille* in 1482 (GW 02770) and *Apollonius* ca. 1482 (GW 02279). Lyon was also important for the printing of French romances, particularly before 1500, so if a narrative was printed during the incunable period, it is likely to have at least one edition from Lyon. Paris was a little behind on this front, and it was not until at least a decade later that it started to become a key city for the production of printed romances.²⁹ We see this with *Mélusine* too – whereas two-thirds of the incunables were printed in Lyon and only one in Paris, in the sixteenth century an impressive three-quarters of editions were printed in Paris.

It was also in Paris that the French *Mélusine* underwent a significant modification. Possibly as early as 1517 but certainly by 1525, an enterprising printer – probably Michel or Philippe Le Noir – took out the episodes which detail the adventures of Geoffroy and printed them as a separate narrative about a heroic knight (Harf-Lancner 1988, 361). It seems to have found a keen audience – at least ten editions of the new *Geoffroy à la grand dent* were printed before 1600 and four more appeared before 1700, as part of the *Bibliothèque bleue*. They were initially printed alongside a version of *Mélusine* which no longer has the Geoffroy episodes, suggesting these split editions were marketed together, but over time *Geoffroy* was also printed on its own.

Mélusine was also incorporated into the *Bibliothèque bleue*, starting in the early seventeenth century (Andries 2000). That these were books designed to be sold cheaply is reflected in their illustrations, as the editions feature small, generic-looking woodcuts. Many had nonetheless been updated for a new era. Some printers had begun to modernise their editions in the late sixteenth century, using

²⁶ See the overview in Zeldenrust (2020, 235–238).

²⁷ This is the copy now in Wolfenbüttel, HAB. See the notes in the online catalogue: <https://opac.lbs-braunschweig.gbv.de/DB=2/XMLPRS=N/PPN?PPN=385049005> (27 August 2022).

²⁸ For a study of the activities of German printers in Lyon, see Barbier (2011).

²⁹ Antoine Vérard is usually credited as a pioneer for the printing of romances in Paris, though in the case of *Mélusine* it was the bookseller and financier Jean Petit who played a key role, as the first two Paris editions were printed for him. These were the editions by Pierre Le Caron, after 1498 (FB 30840) and Thomas Du Guernier, ca. 1503 (FB 30842).

roman type instead of *bastarda* and updating the spelling, and this process continued as *Mélusine* joined the *Bibliothèque bleue* (Mounier 2015). However, there were also publishers who shied away from the fashionable and simply reprinted earlier material without much updating. Such editions are often slated for looking archaic, but it is worth asking whether we could see the reprinting of older fonts and layouts not as complacency but a legitimate marketing strategy. Some readers may well have preferred the archaic design, and sticking to a recognisable formula would not be a strange choice when the narrative continued to sell.³⁰ Reflecting its important status at this time, Troyes was the main place of printing for French *Mélusine* editions in the seventeenth century, though there were also editions from Rouen and Lyon. No editions were printed in Paris. Later *Geoffroy* editions were printed in a smaller format than most *Mélusine* editions, which may indicate that these were destined for colportage (Bouquin 2000). In total, at least 40 French *Mélusine* editions were printed by 1800.³¹

The earliest Castilian edition of *La Historia de la linda Melosina* (“The History of the beautiful Melosina”) was printed by Juan Parix and Estevan Cleblat in 1489 (USTC 344879, IB 50128).³² Its source is one of the French editions printed in Lyon in the 1470–1480s (Frontón Simón 1996, 158–160; Rivera 1997, 135–137). Interestingly, the first Castilian edition was printed not on the Iberian Peninsula but in Toulouse, by German printers. Parix came from Heidelberg and he is credited with operating the first printing workshop in Castile, in Segovia. It was a short-lived enterprise and by the time he printed *Melosina* he had moved to Toulouse and teamed up with Cleblat, to print works for the Spanish market from there (Cassagne 2013). This was an edition destined to cross borders, and it was the product of multiple cross-cultural exchanges. The text is based on a French version, but the images come from woodblocks designed to illustrate the first German *Mélusine* edition by Bernhard Richel. These woodblocks had been used shortly before to illustrate several editions of Jean’s *Mélusine* printed in Lyon, likely brought there by Martin Husz – Richel’s former apprentice who had inherited some of his printing materials. Using their connections with printers in Lyon, Parix and Cleblat borrowed the same woodblocks for their edition (Zeldenrust 2020, 108–110). Interestingly, a copy of this edition then crossed borders again, as it was owned by Margaret of Austria,

³⁰ On this issue, also see Blom (2021a).

³¹ For an overview of French editions printed after 1600, see Blom (2012, 337–408), where *Mélusine* is included in a list of chivalric romances printed in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

³² USTC 344879, GW 12666. Critical editions of the 1489 edition, with a diplomatic edition of the 1526 edition, are found in Corfis (1986) and Frontón Simón (1996).

who took it back with her when she returned to the Low Countries after the premature death of her husband Juan, Prince of Asturias (d. 1497) (Colwell 2008, 333).

There were at least two more editions of the Castilian *Melosina*. The inventory of the library of Hernando Colón (1488–1539) – the famous book collector and son of Christopher Columbus – lists a *Melosina* printed in Valencia in 1512 (USTC 347537), but no copies survive (Huntington 1905, no 3963). We do have copies of an edition printed in 1526, by the German-born printer Jacobo Cromberger and his son Juan in Seville (USTC 337807, IB 12764). That there is a gap in printing has more to do with the challenges of the Iberian printing market than a lack of appetite for the story – it is not uncommon to see a gap between the 1490s and the 1510–1520s.³³ The landscape looked very different by the time the Crombergers rose to prominence as arguably the most important Spanish printing family. The Iberian book market no longer relied primarily on imported books and local printing centres had become sustainable (Griffin 1988). Although *Melosina* does not seem to have had as enduring a success as other secular narratives translated from French, like *Oliveros de Castilla*, *Magalona* or *Roberto el Diablo*, which continued to be published after the 1520s, it captivated Castilian audiences for some time.

Melusine also travelled to the Low Countries. The earliest witness to the anonymous Dutch *Meluzine* is the edition printed by Gheraert Leeu in Antwerp, dated to 1491 (USTC 436129, GW 12665).³⁴ The Dutch version is largely based on the text of a French incunable, with episodes from Coudrette's *Roman de Parthenay* added towards the end, possibly mediated through a German edition. There is a surviving sales prospectus of this edition, which advertises it as “een schoene, ghenuechlicke ende seer vreemde hystorie van eenre vrouwen gheheeten Meluzyne” (“a beautiful, pleasant, and very unfamiliar history of a lady called Meluzine”), adding that it has images that follow the contents (Fig. 1).³⁵ Indeed, almost all of its 50 woodcuts were commissioned especially for this narrative, with three woodcuts reused from Leeu's earlier French, Low German, and English editions of *Paris et Vienne* (Kok 2013, 267). There are also three woodcuts which illustrate scenes that appear in Coudrette's but not in Jean's version. These woodcuts could not have been copied after French *Melusine* incunables, which use the text of Jean's version. However, we do see the same scenes illustrated in German *Melusine* incunables – not surprising if we remember that the German version is a translation of Coudrette. Indeed, the woodcuts that depict Meluzine's sister Pales-

³³ We see the same with *Grisel y Mirabella*, for instance, with editions in 1495, 1514, and 1526, and with *París i Viana*, with editions in 1495 and 1499 (Catalan), and 1524 (Castilian).

³⁴ A recent edition and translation into modern German is by Schlusemann (2022b).

³⁵ On this prospectus, see Schorbach (1905) and Boekenoogen (1905). All quotations from Leeu's prospectus throughout this chapter are from the reproductions that accompany both articles.

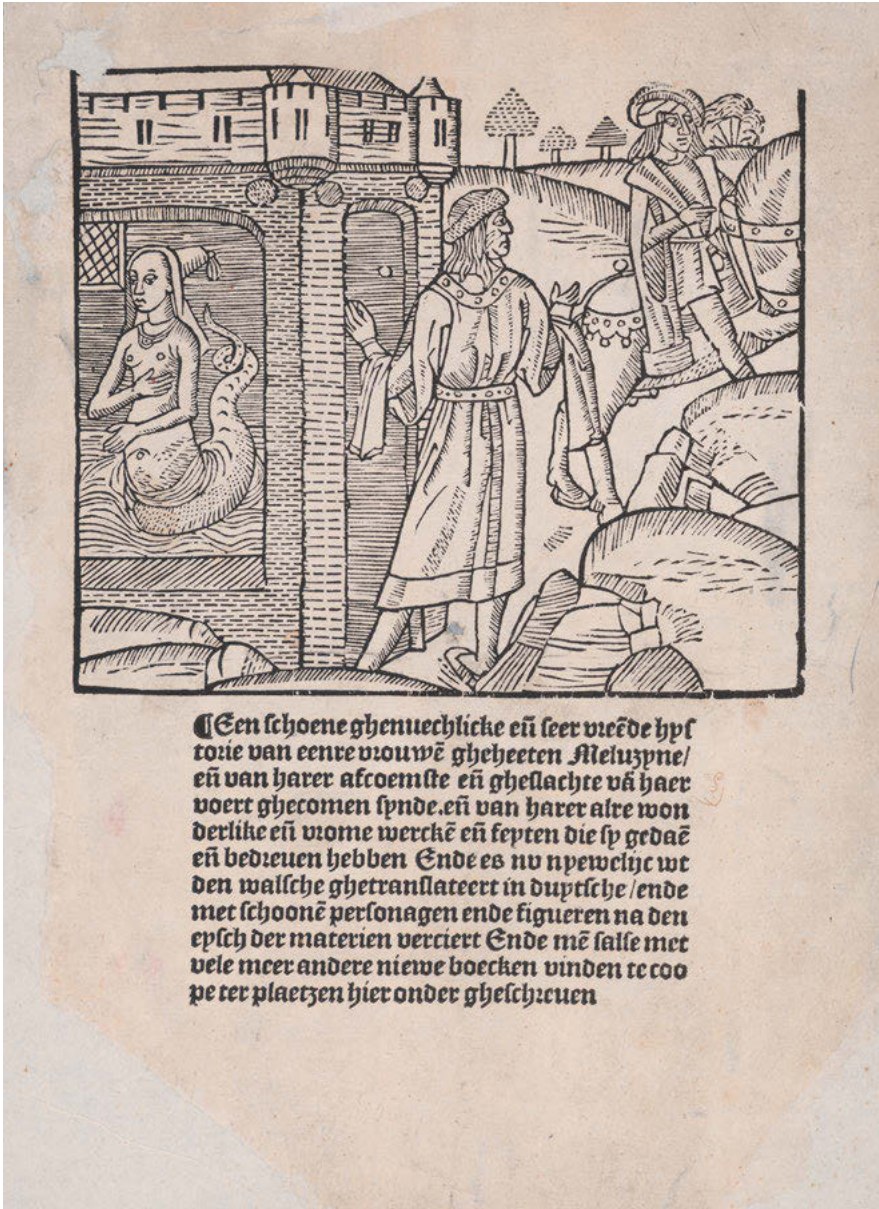


Fig. 1: Sales prospectus for *Meluzine*. Antwerpen: Gheraert Leeu, 1491 (Leipzig, Deutsches Buch- und Schriftmuseum der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek, Bibliothek des Börsenvereins der Deutschen Buchhändler, Bö Ink 134). By courtesy of Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, Leipzig, with the licence CC BY-SA-3.0-DE.

tine in a castle surrounded by monsters, an English knight being eaten by one of Palestine's monsters, and Meluzine's son Godefroy on his deathbed, look very similar to woodcuts illustrating the same scenes in German incunables. It is as if Leeu's woodcutter had not only a French but also a German incunable in front of him, meaning that Leeu's edition is likely the product of more than one cross-cultural exchange.³⁶

Three more Dutch editions appeared later: a 1510 edition printed by Henrick Eckert van Homberch (USTC 436815), a 1602 edition by Hieronymus [I] Verdussen, and an edition by Jan van Soest (USTC 1436325), which the USTC dates to ca. 1636.³⁷ The Dutch *Meluzine* editions were all printed in Antwerp. This is perhaps not surprising considering Antwerp's importance as a printing centre, particularly in the sixteenth century. Plus, the legend was well-known in Flanders: not only were manuscripts produced and read in Flanders, but the Tanners' Guild in Ghent had a statue of Melusine on their guild house, supposedly because she was their protector. Leeu's sales prospectus confirms the story's popularity, as it uses the announcement about the Dutch *Meluzine* to get people interested in "vele meer andere nieuwe boecken" ("many more other new books") by the same printer.³⁸

The narrative did not have a long printing history in English. There are two surviving manuscripts in English, one is a translation of Jean's *Mélusine* and the other of Coudrette's *Roman de Parthenay*.³⁹ For the printed tradition, however, we only have fragments of a prose *Melusine* published by Wynkyn de Worde in London ca. 1510 (USTC 501139, STC 14648). Six fragments are found in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (Colwell 2014, 276), and two leaves once in the Bodleian are now in private hands, among the so-called Bandinel fragments (Freeman 2008, 407–11). De Worde was "the most prolific printer of romance" after 1500 (Sánchez-Martí 2009, 9–10) and he was known for his high number of illustrated editions. The *Melusine* edition also features woodcuts, which were copied from French examples (Zeldenrust 2020, 190–192). Its large folio format is less typical of

36 For a more detailed discussion of these three woodcuts – accompanied by reproductions of Leeu's woodcuts and comparable images from German incunables – see Zeldenrust (2020, 162–165). Because of frequent image copying among German *Melusine* editions, it is difficult to pin down exactly which edition Leeu's woodcutter may have accessed; see also Zeldenrust (2020, 72–74).

37 Verdussen's edition is not listed on the USTC, but a copy is found in Göttingen, SUB, 8 FAB III, 2011.

38 All translations in this chapter are my own.

39 London, BL, Royal, 18. B. II. (prose); Cambridge, Trinity College, R. 3. 17 (verse). An edition of the prose translation is by Donald (1895) and the verse translation by Skeat (1866). Sarah Higley is working on an updated edition of the verse *Partenay* for the TEAMS Middle English texts series, but at the time of writing this has not been published.

De Worde's production, since he mostly published romances in quarto volumes (Meale 1992, 292). Only looking at material printed in English does not give us the full story here, however. French *Mélusine* manuscripts also circulated in England (Zeldenrust 2020, 196–198), and a copy of the French edition printed by Martin Husz in Lyon after 1479 was found in a London printing shop not long after it was published (Rau 1956).⁴⁰ The narrative was read in England in both English and French.

3.2 Strand 2: Translations Based on the German Version

The German translation spurred several new translations in turn. All central and northern European versions go back to this version, whether directly or indirectly. The narrative was published in Czech possibly as early as 1555, by Kašpar Aorgus in Prostějov (near Olomouc), though no copies of this edition survive (USTC 568854, KPS K03516). We know about its existence from Josef Jungmann's bibliography (Jungmann 1849, III no. 101), while a "Kronika o Meluzíně" ("Chronicle of Meluzína"), without printer or date, was also mentioned on bishop Vilém Prusinovský's list of books permitted to be sold (Voit 1987, 122 [no. 62]). An edition from 1595 does survive, but we do not know the printer or its place of printing (USTC 568855, KPS K03517).⁴¹ The title page says it is "opět z nowu gest w jazyku českém wytisštěná" (A1r; "again printed in the Czech language"), seemingly confirming that there was at least one earlier edition. There is a seventeenth-century edition from Litomyšl, and at least seven editions were published in the eighteenth century (Kolár 1960, 68–69). Most of these were printed in Prague or Olomouc, though one is from Jindřichův Hradec, in south Bohemia (KPS K03522).⁴² There are two text groups: text A represents the text as found in the 1595 edition, and text B is a "Christianised" version more focused on the salvation of Melusine and her sisters (Kanikova and Pynsent 1996, 66). The exact number of editions is difficult to pin down, as with some fragments it is hard to tell if they are from before or after 1800. Overall, though, there were at least 26 editions published by the end of the nineteenth century (Kanikova and Pynsent 1996, 65), which shows

⁴⁰ On French manuscripts in England, and the relation of Husz's edition to the English prose translation, see Zeldenrust (2020, 190, 196–198).

⁴¹ One copy survives in London, BL, General Reference Collection C.190.e.8 (formerly London, British Museum, 12430.a.39).

⁴² Known publishers include Petr Antonín Bennek, Karel Josef Jauernich, and Josefa Terezie Hirnleová.

that, even though the *Melusine* story came to the Czech language area relatively late, it had a long staying power.⁴³

The narrative was also translated into Polish, by Marcin Siennik (d. 1588). Siennik was a papermaker and translator, who translated several key Latin and German works for the Polish market (Wierzbicka-Trwoga 2020, 269). It has been argued that he was of German descent, and that his real name was Merten Heuwrecher (Bela 2016, 146). The earliest edition of Siennik's translation was printed in Kraków in 1569, but it is now lost. A copy of a sixteenth-century edition is mentioned in a nineteenth-century antiquary bookseller's list, but this copy was already lost by 1900 (Estreicher 1900, vol. 18, 215). The earliest edition that does survive is from 1671, an octavo volume printed by Wojciech Gorecki in Kraków.⁴⁴ Subsequent Polish *Meluzyna* editions, representing a modernised version, are predominantly from Kraków (1731, 1744, 1763, 1768), with two editions possibly from Lviv (1760, 1769), in modern-day Ukraine (Małek 2002, 12; Krzywý 2015, 19–20).⁴⁵ All seem to be in small, octavo format. One edition from 1787 has no details about the printer or place, and some editions are known only from bookseller's lists, as no copies survive. Such book lists can be helpful in getting a sense of production numbers – for instance, the 1621 inventory of Andrzej Cichończyk's bookstore in Jarosław mentions that he had sixteen copies of *Meluzyna* in stock. An inventory of Marcin Horteryn's bookstore lists thirteen copies of a *Meluzyna*.⁴⁶ At least nine Polish editions were printed by 1800.

Józef Muczkowski's work on Polish woodcuts in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions lists two woodcuts as belonging to a *Historia o Meluzynie* edition, now likely lost (1849, items 856 and 859). These are of interest because they not only confirm that there must have been more editions before 1700, but are also close copies of woodcuts designed by Hans Brosamer for Hermann Gülfferich, which first appeared in Gülfferich's 1554 German *Melusine* edition. It is not the only example of the copying of German images: the title pages of the 1731 and 1744 editions also feature an image made after a woodcut designed by Brosamer for Gülfferich, though this one was designed for *Fortunatus*.⁴⁷ Such instances show that this was more than a linguistic exchange, as materials were also copied. It also suggests it would not have been difficult for Polish printers to get their hands on German editions, and raises the question whether it was an edition

⁴³ For a more recent study of the Czech translation than Kanikova's, see Hon (2016).

⁴⁴ An incomplete copy is in Kraków, BJ, 3112317 I.

⁴⁵ Known publishers include Jakub Matyaszkiwicz, Michał Dyaszewski, and Stanisław Stachowicz.

⁴⁶ The posthumous inventory was recorded in the city books in 1635 (Żurkova 1988, 206).

⁴⁷ The title page of the 1744 edition is reproduced on the cover of this book. For other occurrences of the *Fortunatus* images, see the chapters on *Fortunatus* and *Apollonius* in this volume.

from Frankfurt – where four editions published before 1569 feature Brosamer’s woodcuts – that played a key mediating role for the Polish tradition.⁴⁸

There are also two Russian translations, both of which are based on the Polish translation by Siennik. The dating of the earlier Russian translation is uncertain, but it may be from around 1676, and the second translation ends with a note that gives a date of 12 January 1677 (Małek 2002, 19–21). They survive only in manuscripts – two for the first translation and eight for the later translation by Ivan Goudanski, a professional translator employed by the ministry to transfer works from Polish to Russian (Małek 2002, 19–22). These versions seem to have been read by a literary elite, as manuscripts were found in the libraries of Tsar Peter I the Great (1672–1725) and Prince Dmitri Mikhailovich Golitsyn (1721–1793) (Małek 2002, 26). One Russian manuscript was owned by a Swedish diplomat, Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld (1655–1727) – who travelled to Russia between 1684 and 1687 – making its way to Sweden not long after it was made.⁴⁹ There are also two fragments of a Yiddish edition, likely printed around 1800 (Singer-Brehm 2020, 13–14). Fragment 1 consists of two leaves in octavo format, the title page and the first page. Fragment 2 also consists of two leaves in octavo, showing a title page and the last page. The fragments appear to be from different copies of the same edition, but the printer and place of printing are unknown.

The earliest surviving edition of a Danish translation dates to 1613, printed by Henrich Waldkirch in Copenhagen (USTC 270409). This is an edition of Claus Pors’s (d. 1617) collection *Leffnetz Compas* (“Life’s Compass”), which puts *Melusine* alongside other works with a didactic and moral aim, all translated from German. After this, the *Historie om Melusina* was also printed on its own, first in 1667 and 1697. Another twelve editions were printed before 1800, bringing the total to at least fifteen editions (DFB 7, 253–262). As we saw with German editions printed after 1600, quite a few Danish editions do not list a place of printing, the printer or the date, making it difficult to get a sense of the printing history. Another similarity is that some editions are marked as “trykt i dette Aar” (“printed this year”). However, those editions where the place of printing is known were all printed in Copenhagen. This is not unexpected for a narrative that came to Danish after 1600, when Copenhagen was the main printing city, especially after a royal open letter from 1562 stated that the only books sold in Denmark should be those printed in Copenhagen (Ridderstad 2005, 1244).

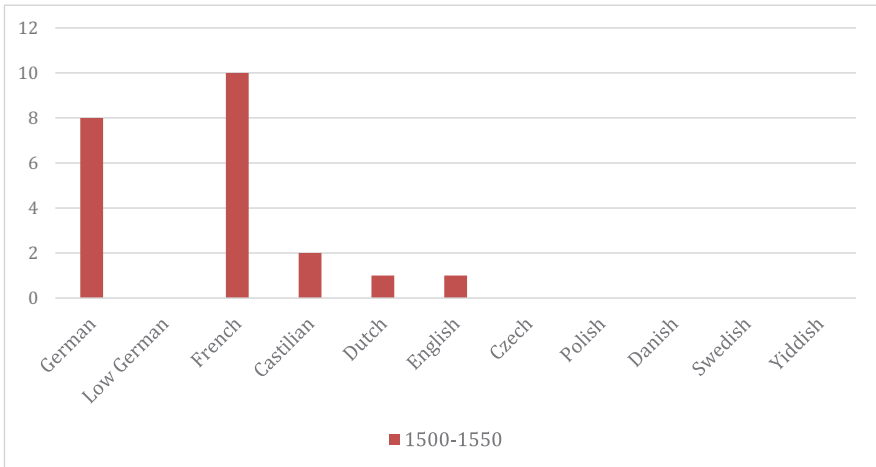
⁴⁸ See also the observation that the Polish editions condense the German prologue, as is done in editions from Frankfurt (Wierzbicka-Trwoga 2020, 270).

⁴⁹ Uppsala, UUB, Slav. 34.

The Danish translation, itself based on Thüring's German translation of Courette, in turn sparked a translation into Swedish at the start of the eighteenth century. There seems to be a Swedish *Melusine* manuscript dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century (Richter 2013, 227). The earliest edition was printed in 1736, but its printer and location are unknown – the problem of not always having details about the printer or place of printing returns here too. There is another edition from ca. 1760–1770, and one printed in Stockholm in 1772. There were only three Swedish editions before 1800 (SF I 1845, 327). However, the story seems to have taken off after that, as at least 43 more were printed in the nineteenth century, together making up five different versions (Richter 2013, 227). As with the Czech version, we see that the *Melusine* story arrived relatively late, but it nonetheless took the local book market by storm. Moreover, *Melusine* seems to have been familiar to Swedish literary circles in other ways, as Georg Stiernhielm (1598–1672) notes in his epic *Hercules* (1658) that her story was well-known and was printed in Danish. Editions in Danish – and perhaps also in German – were already being read by a Swedish audience in the seventeenth century.

If we look at the overall number of editions across Europe, there are two peaks of production: the periods 1500–1550 and 1750–1800. However, the geographical distribution is very different for these periods (Graphs 2 and 3). When *Melusine* was stealing the hearts of readers in western Europe, no editions had yet appeared in northern or central Europe. When it was at the peak of popularity in Czech, Polish, and Danish, only three editions were published in German, and none in French or other western European languages. The first generation of translations based on the French versions had its heyday in the sixteenth century and by 1800 we see that the narrative is either not printed anymore – in Castilian, Dutch, and English – or it survives in a new form, inspiring adaptations and spin-offs. In German, these include dramatic adaptations by Hans Sachs (1494–1576) in 1556 and Jakob Ayer (ca. 1543–1605) in 1598, a fairy tale rewriting by Justus Friedrich Wilhelm Zachariae (1726–1777) printed in 1772, and a new chapbook version printed from 1830 onwards (Classen 2017, 75). In French, new versions appeared, thanks to figures like François Nodot (d. ca. 1710) and Pierre Garnier (d. 1738) (discussed below). Spin-offs included the anonymous political pamphlet *La Complainte et lamentation ou prophétie de Mélusine à la France* (“The Complaint and lamentation or prophecy of Mélusine to France”), printed in both Lyon and Paris in 1575 (FB 30851 and 30852), and *Le roman de Mélusine par M.L.M.D.M.* attributed to the Marquise de Mosny, Isabelle Jouvenel des Ursins (d. 1644), printed in Paris in 1637 (Bouquin 2000). These works can be taken as further evidence of the narrative's popularity – especially since Mélusine's name features prominently in their titles – though not necessarily in its original form. However, claiming that the narrative was in decline would be a too western-centric view, as the second generation of translations, based on the

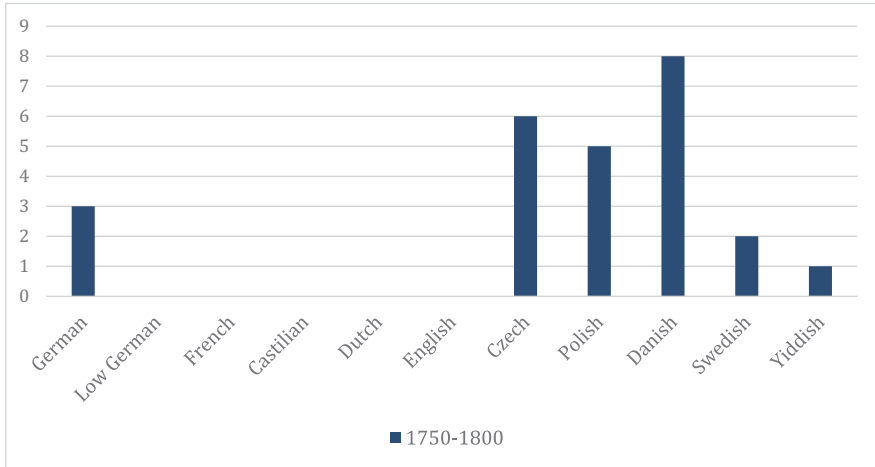
German version, was only beginning to come to life. The data also reminds us that comparisons are always relative – three editions before 1800 is a fair number for a Swedish context, even though it pales in comparison to the 57 German editions.⁵⁰ Finally, one noticeable gap in the data is the lack of Italian editions, though some German manuscripts were copied in regions that today are part of Italy, which suggests it was at least known in the northern border region.⁵¹



Graph 2: *Melusine* editions printed between 1500–1550.

⁵⁰ Compare the number of Swedish *Melusine* editions, for instance, to the numbers for other narratives discussed in this volume – three Swedish editions for *Aesopus*, three for *Fortunatus*, two for *Reynaert*, and four for the *Historia septem sapientum Romae*. That a narrative like *Apollo-nius* has fifteen editions makes it a notable outlier. The cut-off date of this study also impacts our understanding of the relative numbers, since *Melusine* arrived relatively late in Sweden. With 43 editions printed after 1800, the narrative gained momentum at a later point in time. This total of 46 Swedish editions would eclipse the number of French *Melusine* editions printed before 1900.

⁵¹ Trento, Biblioteca Comunale, Codex 1951, was copied in Trentino; Berlin, SBBPK, Ms. germ. fol. 1064, was copied in Tirol.



Graph 3: *Melusine* editions printed between 1750–1800.

4 Marketing a Multilingual Tradition

Since early printed books were sold without a cover, the ideal place to pique the interest of a prospective reader or buyer was through its preface material – the title page, prologue or other paratextual elements. These are the features a reader would first encounter when browsing a book in a printer’s shop, bookshop, market stall or at a fair. Traders looking to buy wholesale for the retail market would likely have judged the potential saleability of a book in this manner too. Alexandra Da Costa has noted that printer’s prologues often indicate that browsing was an assumed part of the book buying process, and that printers adjusted their strategies accordingly (2020, 15–18). As marketing techniques developed over time, prefatory material did much of the heavy lifting in making the book appeal to readers. Though this is not a comprehensive overview, this section zooms in on several key features and developments in the way the *Melusine* story was marketed to its audiences. The examples give insight into the key role played by publishers in the narrative’s spread across languages and survival across time, and what they thought would be its main attraction for their readers.

4.1 Translation Sells

The different *Melusine* versions show an interesting tension between local and supralocal. Although translators tend to adapt the story for a local audience and introduce updates that ensure it fits within a local literary context (Zeldenrust 2020), one of the most striking features found across almost all versions is that their status as translated, transcultural texts is highlighted from the start. In many cases this even became a selling point.

The German tradition is a good example. The earlier editions include the translator's prologue, where he declares that "ich / Thüring von Ringol/tingen [...] ein zû mol selcene und gar wunderliche fremde hystorie fun/den in franczösischer sprache und welscher zungen [...] zû tütscher zungen gemacht und translatiert" (*Melusine* 1473–1474, A1r–A1v; "I, Thüring von Ringoltingen [...] made and translated into the German tongue an especially rare and marvellous unknown history found in the French language and French tongue").⁵² The prologue repeats several times that Thüring is working from a "welschen buch" (*Melusine* 1473–1474, A1rv; "French book"). In several later editions, this announcement about a French source moves to the title page. For instance, Georg Messerschmidt's 1539 edition states that the story is "erstlich in Französischer sprach beschriben" (A1r; "first written in French") and was then "verdeutschet" (A1r; "translated into German"). Similarly, the 1578 edition by Egenolff or his heirs (VD16 M 4474) announces that it is "Ausz Frantzösischer Spraach in Teutsch verwandelt" (1r; "Changed from the French Language to German"), a notice repeated in the edition printed by Egenolff's heirs in about 1580 (VD16 ZV 28676). The title page of Michael and Johann Friedrich Endter's 1672 Nuremberg edition (VD17 7:667599Z) also highlights that it was translated "aus Französischer Sprache in die Teutsche" (A1r). When this notice was found only in the prologue, it was already easy to spot by a reader browsing the opening pages. When it is later moved to the title page, it becomes a key component in how printers sell their *Melusine* books, likely signalling a fashionable, cosmopolitan literary work.

The 1489 Castilian edition similarly mentions that the story was "hizieron pasar de Françés en Castellano" (Frontón Simón 1996, 986:18; "made to pass from French to Castilian"). That some printers used the work's status as a translation as a selling point is confirmed by the sales prospectus advertising Leeu's 1491 edition of the Dutch *Meluzine* (Fig. 1). Perhaps even more so than a title page, this prospectus – a single sheet to be put up at strategic places around the city – was designed to draw in prospective buyers. Its purpose is to sell. Alongside the notice

⁵² For a facsimile and transcription of the German *editio princeps*, see Schnyder and Rautenberg (2006).

that this is “een schoene, ghenuechlicke ende seer vreemde hystorie” (“a beautiful, pleasant, and very unfamiliar history”), where “vreemd” may suggest something unknown and foreign, Leeu highlights that it “es nu nyewelijc wt den walsche ghetranslateert in duytsche” (“is now newly translated from French to Dutch”). The *Meluzine* advertisement is even used to drum up interest in “vele meer andere nieuwe boecken” (“many more other new books”) published by the same printer. Again, the identification of a French source likely suggests a fashionable work of high literary style, showing that translation sells. This is more than a linguistic label – French becomes a shorthand for a respectable, high-status literary source.

The northern and central European versions – possibly taking their cue from German editions – also mention their source, which leads to increasingly longer literary genealogies. The 1671 Polish edition, for instance, says it is “Teraz nowo z niemieckiego języka na polski przełożona” (A1r; “Now newly translated from German to Polish”). Editions from 1731 and 1744 similarly state that they are “z niemieckiego języka na polski przełożona” (A1r; “translated from German to Polish”). The prologue of the Czech version adds the French source, noting that it was “sepsana Ržečj Wlaskau z kterězto teprw wyspaná gest Nemecky a z němčiny na Českau” (A1r; “written in French, from which it was written in German, and from German to Czech”). The prologue of the 1613 Danish edition also traces this longer line, noting that the story was translated “aff Fransoiske / oc paa Welsk / aff Welsk / siden oc paa Tydske. Oc vil ieg samme Historie saa korteligen vdsætte paa vort Danske Tungemaal” (Yy5r: “from French to Romance [synonym for French], and afterwards from Romance to German. And I want to put the same History briefly into our Danish Tongue”). The Swedish editions, however, win the longest genealogy contest: although the title page of the 1736 edition mentions only that the story was translated from Danish to “Moders måhl” (A1r; “our Mother tongue”), the prologue says that it went from French to German, German to Danish, and finally from Danish to Swedish.

It is tempting to wonder what such notices can tell us about the perceived prestige of certain literary cultures, and the value of aligning one’s own literature with these cultures through translation. The fact that not all translations of the German version mention that there is an earlier French account is interesting in this respect, revealing a more eager orientation towards German literary culture. Most of all, though, these notices remind readers that we are dealing with localised versions of a shared European narrative. We see a shared desire to have the latest fashionable hits available in one’s own language. It was also likely the success of the story in other regions that gave publishers the confidence that it would sell in their target area too.

4.2 Title Pages Depicting Melusine's Hybrid Body

A good example of a shared element that nonetheless has localised features is the typical title page, featuring an image of Melusine in hybrid form, which appears in editions in multiple languages. In each language context this is done differently, and there are also changes across time, but this phenomenon nonetheless tells us something about which elements of the story had a more universal, cross-cultural appeal.

The earliest *Melusine* edition to feature a title page was Johann Bämmler's second German edition of 1480 (USTC 747184, GW 12660). It has a large woodcut of Melusine in her bathtub, alongside her two sisters and with a family tree above her, depicting several sons. The image emphasises the marvellous aspects of the narrative – Melusine is naked in half-serpent form, and Geoffroy's large tooth is shown – as much as its dynastic concerns. Partly because of the copying and reuse of images among German printers, this setting was to become the standard depiction of title woodcuts across almost all sixteenth-century *Melusine* editions, whether printed in Augsburg, Strasbourg or Frankfurt.⁵³ These German title woodcuts are distinct in showing Melusine alongside her blood relatives (Fig. 2).

Over time, however, the dynastic element disappeared, and her marvellous nature took the foreground. In the woodcut that opens *Melusine* in Feyerabend's collection, the family tree is gone, though Melusine is still depicted as a hybrid alongside her sisters. The eighteenth-century *Historische Wunder-Beschreibung* editions have the same setting on their title page, showing Melusine in a bathtub outside, with a sister on each side. The title calls further attention to Melusine's supernatural nature, reminding readers that Melusine is a "Sirene oder Meer-Wunder" (A1r; "Siren or Sea Miracle"). The title pages of the *Wunderbare Geschichte* editions, printed from the late eighteenth century until around 1810, highlight her marvellous nature even more, with a woodcut showing a siren or mermaid playing a harp.⁵⁴ Gone are Melusine's sisters, and, though the figure is still half-naked and

53 Not all title pages feature a woodcut. The editions by Knoblochzer printed in 1491 (USTC 747187, GW 12663) and Messerschmidt in 1539 advertise in the title that it has "figuren" or images, but neither printer took the opportunity to highlight its illustrative contents by putting a woodcut on the title page. The 1549 edition by Gülfferich does not have a hybrid Melusine on the title page, but this is because it is the edition illustrated with *Fortunatus* woodcuts; his 1554 edition features the typical German title woodcut.

54 See, for instance, the copy of a *Wunderbare Geschichte* printed in 1750, held in Berlin, HUB, Yi 31760:F8, which has been digitized: <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:kobv:11-711348>.

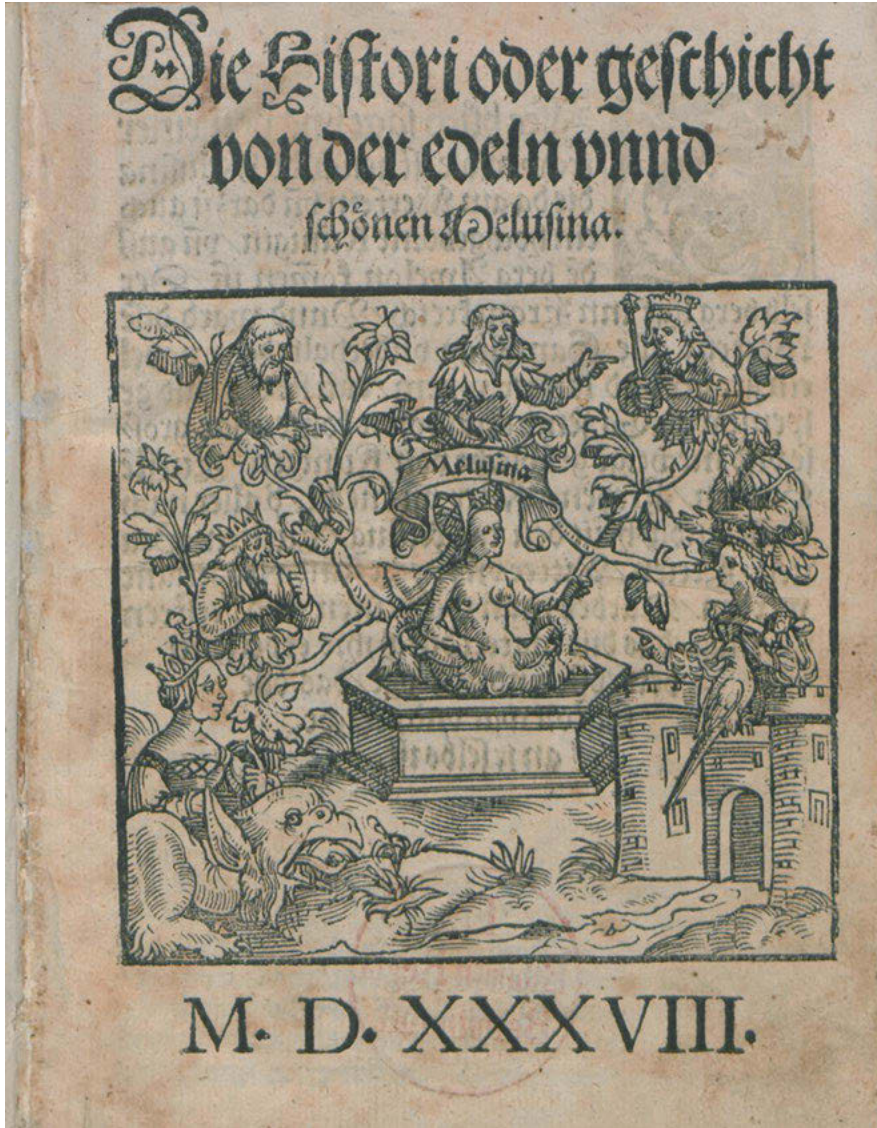


Fig. 2: *Die histori oder geschicht von der edeln unnd schönen Melusina.* Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner, 1538, A1r (Berlin, SBBPK, Department of Manuscripts and Historical Prints, Yu 821: R). By courtesy of Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

partly submerged in water, she is not in a tub and she has a fishtail rather than a serpent's.⁵⁵ The image looks to be inspired by depictions of sirens more so than by the pictorial *Melusine* tradition. In these later German title pages, Melusine loses her dynastic identity and the emphasis is on her hybrid nature.

The Dutch editions of 1491, 1510, and 1602 all feature an image of a hybrid Meluzine on their title page too. Leeu likely set the precedent, as both Eckert van Homberch and Verdussen copied Leeu's images in their editions. That Leeu recognised the potential for this image early on is also seen in his sales prospectus, which features the same title woodcut, placed above the announcement of a new *Meluzine* edition (Fig. 1). It takes up half the page and is clearly meant to be the main focal point, drawing the attention of both new readers – who will surely wonder why this woman has a serpent's tail – and those already familiar with the story with what is perhaps the most pivotal, emblematic scene of the narrative. Unlike in the German editions, this woodcut was not made specifically for the title page – Leeu reused a woodcut from the main text that illustrates the scene where Raymondin discovers his wife's serpent's tail.

We also see Melusine's hybrid form on the title pages of several French editions, starting with those printed in Paris in the first half of the sixteenth century. These title woodcuts are different again, as they combine two scenes in one image. On the left we see Raymondin spying on Mélusine in the bath, whilst in the top right corner Mélusine flies away after her betrayal and final transformation (Fig. 3). It is another example of a snapshot of key scenes from the narrative used to draw the eye of any reader browsing for entertaining books. The earliest edition to feature this title woodcut is that printed by Philippe Le Noir ca. 1525, though it may have been copied from Michel Le Noir's 1517 edition (USTC 72734, FB 30843), of which no copies survive (Bouquin 2000, 217).⁵⁶ The image appears on the title pages of at least five other Parisian editions.⁵⁷ The edition printed by Olivier Arnoullet in Lyon in the 1540s (USTC 56007, FB 30850) also features a woodcut of Mélusine as a hybrid, though it is different – like Leeu, Arnoullet reuses the cut designed to illustrate the bathing scene. The two-part image is found much more often. It was taken over by printers in Troyes in the seventeenth century, who used this as the standard title page for *Bibliothèque bleue* editions. Though it does not show much innovation on the part of Troyes printers, the

55 For more on these later adaptations, see Schnyder (2010) and Künast's updated study (2013).

56 Philippe Le Noir's edition is not listed on the USTC, but a copy is found in Paris, Ars., Rés. 4-BL-4338.

57 These are the editions by Jean [II] Trepperel ca. 1527–1532 (USTC 72937); Alain Lotrian and Denis Janot printed ca. 1531–1532 (USTC 73042) and ca. 1533–1534 (USTC 56061); and two undated editions by Jean Bonfons or his widow, Catherine Sergent.

reuse highlights how reliable this title woodcut is. Because of the repetition across time, readers know what they are picking up – this is not laziness but clever marketing. Since we know of at least eleven editions from Troyes in this period, the formula apparently worked well.

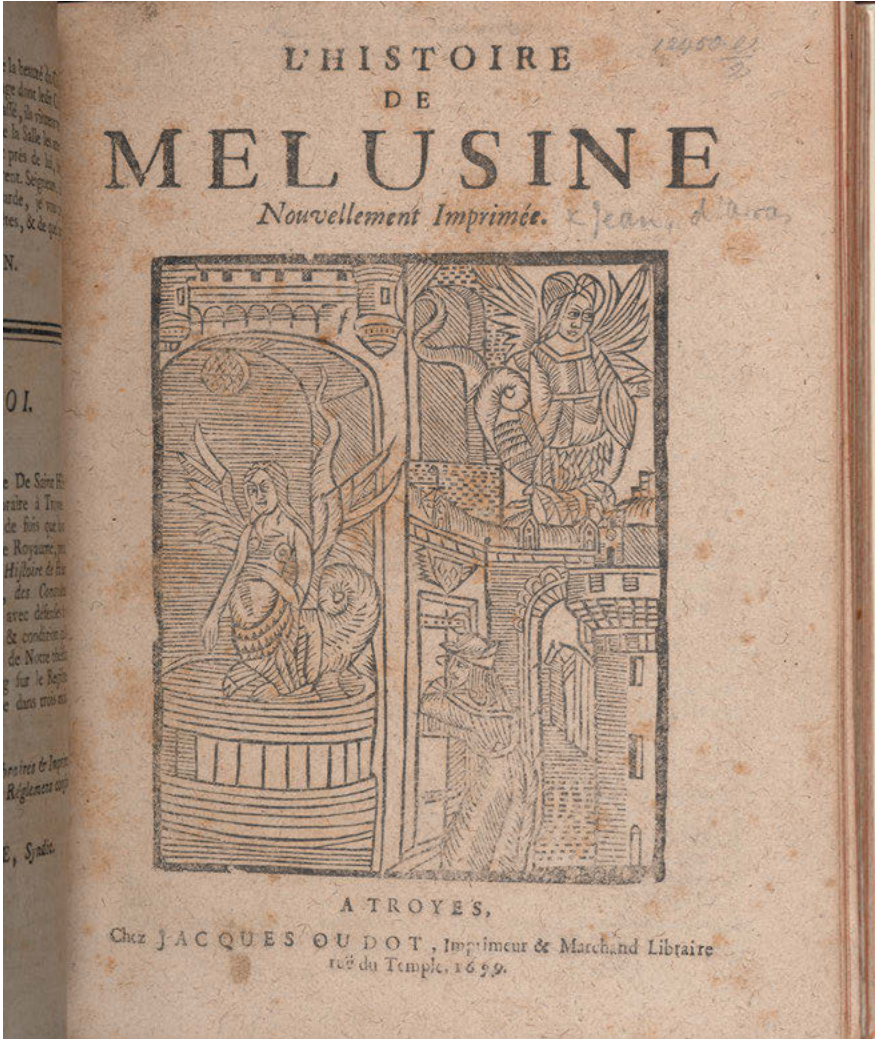


Fig. 3: *L'histoire de Melusine*. Troyes: Jacques Oudot, 1699, A1r (London, BL, General Reference Collection 12450.e.24.(2)). © The British Library Board.

Several Czech editions also have title pages showing Meluzína as a half-serpent or mermaid-like figure. The 1595 edition has a stocky hybrid figure with a scaly tail, who is on land rather than water, with no Raymondin or sisters in sight (Fig. 4). The 1701 edition (KPS K03519) has a different image, more in line with the typical bathing scene, with Meluzína in a bathhouse and Reymond spying on her on the

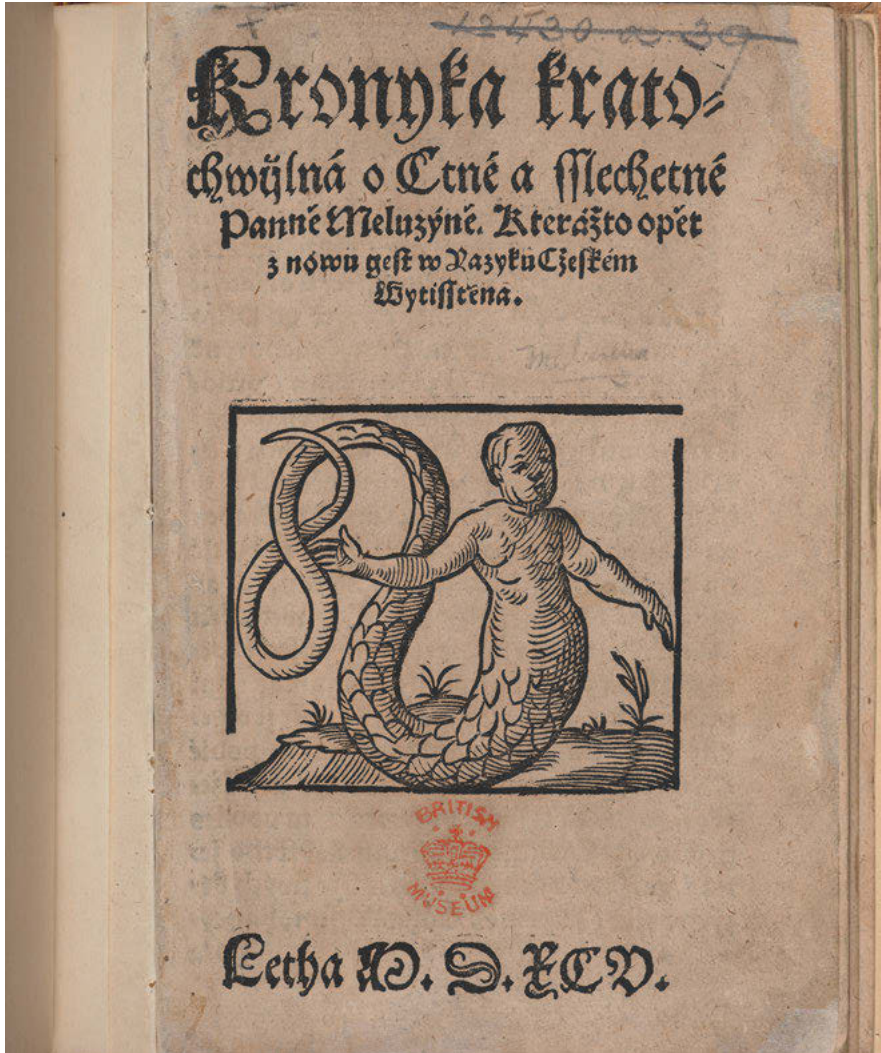


Fig. 4: *Kronyka kratochwilná o Ctné a sšlechtné Panně Meluzýně*. S.l.: s.n., 1595, A1r (London, BL, General Reference Collection C.190.e.8.). © The British Library Board.

left. The edition printed by Karel Josef Jauernich in Prague ca. 1755–1767 (KPS K03520) and an edition printed ca. 1780–1820 (KPS K03522) share the same image, a copy of the title woodcut of the German *Historische Wunder-Beschreibung* editions. It shows the familiar setting of Meluzína in a tub outside, flanked by her two sisters. Czech printers may have taken their cue from the German editions in deciding to put a hybrid Meluzína on the title page. This is a marked contrast to, say, the 1744 Polish edition with the woodcut from *Fortunatus*, where the depiction of a man and woman meeting hands might suggest an amorous theme.⁵⁸ Czech printers purposely chose to market this not as a love story or a didactic work, but they expected it would be the supernatural elements that would attract their readers.

Melusine's hybrid body becomes an emblem and an effective marketing tool that was not bound by one region or language. This depiction was used so often that, in theory, one could walk into a bookshop in a region where one did not speak the language – or indeed, one could travel through time – and still be able to find the local *Melusine* version going by the title page alone. It reminds us how woodcuts can function as a kind of *lingua franca*, creating a shared discourse not bound by one language, signalling content across regions and texts.

4.3 Change and Innovation

It is tempting to think with medieval narratives that later become chapbooks that if these texts were not constantly reinvented, they were superseded, abandoned for something more fashionable. How else could they keep from being seen as outmoded? Before we zoom in on some of the notable changes in the way this story is presented, it is worth reflecting that, on the whole, the *Melusine* narrative stayed relatively intact as it was retold time and again, across an impressive number of languages. Translators made adjustments that can have a drastic effect on how the story is read, even if they seem minor, but the core of the story rarely changed. This suggests that the narrative had a certain timeless appeal, partly explaining its continuing currency. There were only a few occasions when it needed to be reinvented. Even then, a publisher would often simply shift the emphasis, taking an element already present in the narrative and bringing it to the foreground, or removing scenes so that what remained took on new significance.

⁵⁸ The image depicts a man and woman exchanging a purse, but the quality and size of the woodcut is such that the purse is hard to make out against the backdrop of trees and shrubbery. A reader not familiar with the *Fortunatus* story may well have overlooked the purse. See the reproduction of the 1744 title page on the cover of this volume.

One remarkable shift in the marketing of *Melusine* is its presentation as a love story. Feyerabend's *Buch der Liebe* is the clearest example, with the title page introducing the collection as "Allerley Alten und neuen Exempel" (1r; "Various Old and new Examples") from which one may learn "was recht ehrliche / dargegen Old was unordentliche Bulerische Lieb sey" (1r; "what is truly honest and what is, by contrast, inappropriate, Lecherous Love").⁵⁹ Feyerabend adds that the tales are also a model of "Ritterschaft" (1r; "Chivalry") as practised by the nobility. From the start, the emphasis is on the narrative's generic qualities. Forget about the mix of dynastic history and tale of wonder – this is a love story. Fittingly, the woodcut on the title page is a generic depiction of two lovers, which is then re-used across various texts, stressing generic applicability over the specific features of each story.⁶⁰ Woodcuts are recycled throughout the edition, so that the lovers in each tale look much the same.

The 1526 Castilian edition achieves a similar effect in its reuse of generic-looking images. The printers – Jacobo and Juan Cromberger – reused woodblocks they already had in stock, as several images also appear in their 1510 edition of *Olivier de Castille* and their various editions of *Amadis* (Romero Tobar 1987, 1013). The recycled woodcuts illustrate scenes – like weddings and battles – commonly found in chivalric romances, highlighting the formulaic aspects of these narratives. The title page of the 1526 *Melosina* shows a composite of two factotum woodcuts, one of a knight on horseback accompanied by a servant, and the other a noble lady on a horse. The lady is supposed to represent Melosina but – unlike with the title pages that highlight her hybrid nature – she looks no different from any other noble lady. Indeed, the same factotum cut is used to represent other female characters in the main text (Zeldenrust 2020, 112). Spanish chivalric narratives printed around this time typically have a title page with a large woodcut of a knight on horseback, as is the case, for instance, with the edition of *Amadis* which the Crombergers also printed in 1526 (USTC 337574; IB 16428). Although a defining characteristic of *Melosina* is that our main, titular character is a woman, the 1526 title page follows the mould and shows us a knight on horseback, with Melosina relegated to the role of love interest. The images help foreground generic elements of a more typical knight-conquers-lady narrative in an edition likely designed to cash in on the rising popularity of *libros de caballerías*.

59 The modern edition of Feyerabend's *Melusine* by Roloff (1991) does not feature the main title page of the entire *Buch der Liebe*. Quotations are therefore from the digitized copy of Feyerabend's edition held at Basel, UB, Wack 688, <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-21652> (26 August 2022).

60 The title woodcut also appears, for instance, on 35v illustrating *Magelone*, and on 127r to illustrate *Florio und Biancaffora*. This is not to say that all woodcuts in this edition are generic; some are specific to *Melusine*.

We might not immediately think of *Melusine* as a model of love – presumably it is included in Feyerabend’s collection as an example of what not to do – but Feyerabend is not the only one who saw its didactic potential. In Pors’s *Leffnetz Compass* (“Life’s Compass”), it is said to offer life lessons, as part of a “nyttig Huss-bog” (A1r; “useful Household Book”) full of “victige Lærdomme / Atvarsler oc Paa-mindelser / som en huer Christen Ven Kand rette sit Liff oc Leffner effter” (A1r; “true Lessons, Warnings and Admonitions, on which every Christian Friend Can model their Life and Conduct”).⁶¹ The first part of the collection has nine chapters and is organised by theme, covering concerns from marriage to old age and death, but also topics like dreams, theft, and drunkenness (Richter 2009, 189). The second part contains 253 narratives, with the *Historie om Melusina* appearing as the final text, after a translation of *The Golden Ass*. Pors’s version is shorter than the German version, leaving out, for instance, the adventures of Melusine’s sons (Richter 2009, 189). As the mention of a Christian reader on the title page suggests, the Reformation also left a trace – as it did on printing and translation activities in Denmark more widely – as Pors removed many Catholic elements (Richter 2009, 196–199). However, the main change is the context in which the narrative appears, becoming part of a manual for those “som haffuer lyst til at leffue retsindelig” (A1r; “who want to live righteously”), though by noting that the stories are “lystig at læse” (A1r; “pleasant to read”), Pors reminds us that wise lessons can have entertainment value too. This didactic element disappears with the later Danish editions, where the narrative is published on its own. In these editions, the emphasis lies more on the reading experience: for instance, the 1667 edition introduces it as “En smuck lystig Historie / Om Melusina / Dog saare ynckeligt oc bedrøffveligt paa det sidste at læse” (“A beautiful, pleasant History of Melusina, Though very pitiful and sad to read at the end”) (Bruun 1902, 501).

The Danish *Leffnetz Compass* is unusual in recasting the narrative before it is introduced to a new audience, as drastic transformations are more common in regions where the story was known for some time. As the French context highlights, this was not necessarily because the story did not sell and needed to be reinvigorated. The split *Mélusine* and *Geoffroy* editions show quite the opposite. They were broken up out of economic motivations, as printers could now sell two books to anyone who wanted the complete story, and also provide a seemingly new option that responded to a growing vogue for chivalric romances. It was the already-existing demand for *Mélusine* that allowed *Geoffroy* to ride another, albeit smaller, wave of interest. That *Geoffroy* was not a new text, but “a patchwork of episodes hastily stitched together” (Pairet 2006, 197), and that the split *Mélusine* edition lacked crucial

61 Quotations are from the digitized copy of København, KB, 4,-9 8° 163 on EEBO.

narrative links, seems not to have mattered, considering their continued reprinting for more than a century. One important consequence of the unravelling of Jean d'Arras's careful *entrelacement* of the adventures of mother and son is that many scenes with a historical tone are gone and the split *Mélusine* version shifts its focus more towards the marvellous episodes (Harf-Lancner 1988, 350–352).

There is also an interesting tension between the narrative's mythical and historical elements in two adaptations from the turn of the eighteenth century. The first is François Nodot's *L'Histoire de Mélusine* published in Paris in 1698.⁶² Nodot introduces new episodes and characters, makes *Mélusine* more demonic, and emphasises the story's supernatural aspects, so that it becomes more like a fairy tale. In an epistle added at the start, Nodot says he makes these changes for “Mademoiselle”, who loves stories of fairies – but he also adds that such stories are true (Blom 1996, 21). In a period often seen as the rise of the mass market and the ‘general’ reader, this edition was intended for an aristocratic readership (Blom 1996, 21–22). Another change happened within the context of the *Bibliothèque bleue* editions printed in Troyes. Around 1728, Pierre Garnier published a censored version of the narrative that takes out its possibly problematic scenes and severely reduces its marvellous aspects (Bouquin 2000). Though Garnier was obliged to gain official permission before printing, which means the censoring may not have been his personal choice, it is noteworthy that his approach in adapting this staple for a new age is the opposite to Nodot's. The approach does not seem to have done any favours with readers, though, as Garnier's censored version was not reprinted and *Mélusine* subsequently disappeared from the *Bibliothèque bleue* (Blom 2012, 129). In French, *Mélusine* lost momentum as it moved into the eighteenth century, but it is important to remember that in other regions of Europe the narrative was still going strong, continuing to capture the imagination of new readers.

The narrative's adaptability – thanks to its combination of a range of genres and themes – as well as its accessibility, no doubt helped its continued survival. Publishers did not always have to change much – introducing a different title page, tweaking a prologue or changing the woodcuts would go a long way in updating the narrative. A common strategy was to remove sections from the sprawling medieval narratives, so that the story slimmed down over time. However, apart from the split *Geoffroy* and *Mélusine* editions, the editions that introduced drastic changes were one-off experiments, which were not reprinted. The narrative did not always need any fancy alterations, and it held its own for a long time. Luck must have played a role too – if the right, trend-setting printer picked up the tale or if illustrative material was already available, this likely boosted the narrative's chances of being printed again. In

⁶² Nodot also wrote a *Histoire de Geoffroy* around 1700.

the end, however, the secret to why *Melusine* captured readers' imaginations across time and space may simply be that it was a really good story. After all, who would not want to read about a beautiful fairy who turns into a serpent?

Tab. 1: Earliest extant editions of *Melusine* in European vernaculars.

| Language | Title resp. incipit or colophon | Title / incipit / colophon (English translation) | Place, printer-publisher and year | Reference |
|-------------|---|---|--|---------------------------------|
| High German | No title page in first edition Incipit: "Dis ouentürlich bûch bewifet wye von einer frouwen ge/nant Melufina die ein merfeye vnd dar zû ein geborne kû/nigin vnd vff den berg awalon kommen was" | This adventurous book teaches us about a lady named Melusina, who was a mermaid as well as a born queen and came onto mount Avalon | Basel: Bernhard Richel, [1473–1474] | USTC 747181, GW 12656 |
| French | No title page in first edition Colophon: "Cy finist le livre de melusine en francoys" | Here ends the book of Melusine in French | Genève: Adam Steinschaber, 1478 | USTC 71174 and 765244, FB 30835 |
| Low German | [<i>Historie van eenere koninginnen geheten Melusina</i>] ⁶³ | History of a queen called Melusina | Lübeck: Lukas Brandis, [ca. 1478] | USTC 747179, GW 12664 |
| Castilian | No title in first edition Colophon: "Fenesçe la istoria de Melosina" | Here ends the history of Melosina | Toulouse: Juan Parix and Estevan Cleblat, 14 July 1489 | USTC 344879, IB 50128 |
| Dutch | No title page in first edition Incipit: "Hier beghint een schoen historie sprekende van eenre vrouwen gheheeten Meluzine / van haren kinderen ende haren geslachte / ende van haren wonderliken wercken" | Here begins a beautiful history that tells of a woman called Meluzine, of her children and her descendants, and of her marvellous works | Antwerpen: Gheraert Leeu, 9 Febr. 1491 | USTC 436129, GW 12665 |

⁶³ The surviving copies of the Low German incunable are all incomplete and no title page survives; the title given here is a reconstruction used in modern catalogues.

Tab. 1 (continued)

| Language | Title resp. incipit or colophon | Title / incipit / colophon (English translation) | Place, printer-publisher and year | Reference |
|----------|--|--|---------------------------------------|---|
| English | No title page known, survives only in fragments Title given in modern catalogues: <i>Melusine a tale of the serpent fairy</i> | — | London: Wynkyn de Worde, [1510] | USTC 501139, STC 14648 |
| Czech | <i>Kronyka kratochwijná o Ctné a sšlechtné Panně Meluzýně</i> | Brief Chronicle of the virtuous and noble Maiden Meluzína | S.l.: s.n., 1595 | USTC 568855, KPS K03517 |
| Polish | <i>Historia wdzięczna o szlachetnej a pięknej Meluzynie</i> | A pleasant History of the noble and beautiful Meluzyna | Kraków: Wojciech Gorecki, 1671 | Kraków, BJ, 3112317 I |
| Danish | <i>Nu efterfølger en anden offuermaadige smuck oc lystig Historie / om Melusina, dog saare ynckeligt oc bedrøffueligt paa det sidste at læse</i> | Now follows another exceedingly beautiful and pleasant History of Melusina, although [it is] very pitiful and sad to read at the end | København: Henrich Waldkirch, 1613 | USTC 270409 |
| Swedish | <i>En wacker och behagelig doch ther hos mycket ynckelig Historia om Princessan Melusina och Gref Reimundt</i> | A beautiful and pleasant but also very pitiful History of Princess Melusina and Count Reimundt | S.l.: s.n., 1736 | Copy: Stockholm, KB [no shelfmark] |
| Yiddish | <i>Historie Wunderliche beschreibung fun der schene Melusina ain kinigs-tochter aus frankreich</i> ⁶⁴ | History Marvellous account of the beautiful Melusina, a king's daughter from France | S.l.: s.n., ca. 1800 | Described in Singer- Brehm (2020) |

⁶⁴ Title transcription in roman letters is from Singer-Brehm (2020, 16).

Helwi Blom

Legendary Love. The Wide Appeal of *Pierre de Provence et la belle Maguelonne* in Early Modern Europe

With Floris and Blancheflour, Pierre and Maguelonne belong to the love couples from medieval literature whose stories have resonated with audiences from different social, cultural, geographical, and temporal backgrounds. The oldest known version of the story is a French *roman* in prose that probably dates back to the 1430s. By 1500, it had already been printed multiple times in France, and it quickly found translators in several European vernaculars. In many linguistic regions, the story was destined to a long life in the form of so-called chapbooks and literary adaptations such as plays and penny prints.

This chapter aims to study how *Pierre et Maguelonne* travelled across boundaries and how the story evolved over time. The first part consists of an analytic overview of the spread of the narrative across Europe from its first appearance until 1800. Although this overview, which complements and corrects existing surveys and studies,¹ focuses on the printed tradition, the manuscript tradition that existed alongside it will also be considered.² The second part will zoom in on developments in the production of reprints and new editions in different linguistic regions during the early modern period. What are the similarities and the differences in the contents, the material features, and the reception of chapbook editions of *Pierre et Maguelonne* in different areas? It will be argued that, while the reprints increasingly took the characteristics of a production at the lowest possible cost, they also reveal the preoccupation of early modern publishers of this type of books with updating the presentation of the medieval love story about Pierre de Provence and the beautiful Maguelonne.³

1 Notably Babbi (2003) and Roudaut (2009).

2 The discussion concentrates on editions of the medieval narrative and leaves aside dramatic adaptations as well as eighteenth-century literary reworkings.

3 The editions discussed in this chapter are referenced in my *Bibliography of early modern editions of "Pierre de Provence et la belle Maguelonne"* (BPM) at <https://uu.academia.edu/HelwiBlom>, which serves as an appendix to this chapter. All items have a unique identifier composed of one or more letters and a number. See also Tab. 2 at the end of this chapter.

Note: A special thank you to Marie-Dominique Leclerc, Vicent Pastor i Briones, and Christine Putzo for their contributions to my research on *Pierre et Maguelonne*.

1 A Multifaceted Medieval Text and its Early Dissemination in Manuscript Form

The French *Pierre et Maguelonne* as we know it is thought to have been composed – or at least put in writing – around 1430–1440 by an anonymous author, who might have had links to the court of René of Anjou, Count of Provence (1434–1480) and King of Naples (1435–1442), or to the entourage of his contemporary Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy (1396–1467).⁴ The plot can be summarized as follows: eager to discover the world, to prove himself as a knight and to set eyes on the much praised beautiful Maguelonne, Pierre goes to the court of Naples, where he participates incognito in a tournament. Maguelonne is as impressed by him as he is by her, and thanks to the complicity of Maguelonne’s nurse, Pierre and Maguelonne can soon declare their love to each other. For some reason, they decide one day to leave Naples in secret. During a rest break on their journey, Pierre admires the breast of his sleeping beloved when, suddenly, a bird snatches from her neck a sachet containing the three golden rings that he had given her. Pierre pursues the bird and by a cruel twist of fate, the boat he uses to retrieve the sachet drifts off to open sea, where he is picked up by pirates. Thus separated, Pierre and Maguelonne go through many tribulations. Maguelonne ends up in Provence, where she founds a hospital and a chapel consecrated to Saint Peter in a coastal village called Port Sarrasin. After having been held at the court of the Sultan of Alexandria, Pierre embarks on a ship bound for Provence, but during a supply stop he falls asleep on a desert island and the ship leaves without its passenger. Pierre is saved by fishermen who bring him to the hospital in Port Sarrasin. There he is finally reunited with Maguelonne and his parents. The couple marries and lives happily and saintly ever after.

The storyline is based on a combination of elements that can be found in several other medieval European narratives, most notably the motive of a predator bird causing a temporary separation of young lovers, which probably finds its ultimate source in the *One Thousand and One Nights* tale of Kamar al-Zaman (Bolte 1894, XII–XVII; Babbi 2003, IX–X; Roudaut 2009, 8–11). Especially in its original form, *Pierre et Maguelonne* is a generically hybrid story, which can be placed in the realm of a variety of text types, such as chivalric romance, the idyllic or moral tale, the *roman d’aventures* (“adventure novel”), the founding legend and hagiography (Pastor [i] Briones 2018, 65–130; Burrichter 2013, 359–372). This rich

⁴ On the estimated date, the context of composition as well as the – baseless – attributions to specific authors, see Pastor [i] Briones (2018, 49–63).

interpretational potential has been deployed in various ways during the story's journey through time and space.

Six manuscripts containing the medieval French *Pierre et Maguelonne* have come down to us. They all date from the fifteenth century and are usually divided into two groups: one consisting of four manuscripts offering the oldest known version of the story (ca. 1430–1440), the so-called *rédaction* B (manuscripts A, P1, P2, and P3), and another composed of two manuscripts with a prologue dated 1453 and an interlinear translation in Latin, which present a later and abridged version: *rédaction* C (manuscript C, and Jena, THULB, El. f. 98). These last two were probably copied by German scribes. None of the manuscripts are illustrated, but one of the copies of the second group has cut-outs for illustrations, which have not been realized.⁵

The two manuscripts of *rédaction* C, which presumably originated around 1480–1500 in the Electorate of Saxony where they served as a support for aristocrats learning French (Backes 2004, 44–46, and Putzo 2018–2019), are the earliest representatives of a series of geographical, linguistic, and transmedial migrations that characterize the early modern history of the text. It is likely that these *rédaction* C manuscripts were based on contemporary printed editions imported from France.⁶

When and where exactly the first translation into another European vernacular was made is impossible to say. If we are to rely on the extant manuscript tradition, the Byzantine prose romance⁷ of *Imberios and Margarona*, dating back to ca. 1490 at the earliest, could be qualified as the oldest known adaptation. This anonymous rendering in Greek prose differs significantly from the French version; the young couple is for instance already married when they run off and Maguelonne contacts Pierre's parents about her plans to build a church and a hospital. After reuniting, the couple marries again. Scholars nonetheless agree that its author probably drew on a French – manuscript or printed – original, which he reworked, using elements and conventions from local literary culture

5 Babbi (2003, XVII–XXVII) describes the five manuscripts known to her in detail. A description of the manuscript in Jena, with the cut-outs for illustrations, can be found on ARLIMA. Since it presents a version of the French text plus interlinear Latin translation that does not depend on the other *rédaction* C manuscript, Putzo (2018–2019, 234) argues that it should be considered as an autonomous *rédaction* J.

6 The former collection of the Bibliotheca Electoralis (Jena, THULB) holds a *Sammelband* with a copy of an edition of *Pierre et Maguelonne* published in Lyon in 1489 (shelfmark 4 Art.lib.XII,1), but this copy, which belonged in 1496 to Wolff Haller, son-in-law of the German publisher Anton Koberger, was probably not the model for the manuscript conserved in Jena. The text of the manuscript is closer to the 1490 Lyon edition ascribed to Jean de La Fontaine (ISTC ip00645450).

7 On this genre, see Goldwyn and Nilsson (2018).

(Jeffreys and Jeffreys 1971; Yiavis 2006a; Lassithiotakis 2012; Yiavis 2016; Luzi 2018). The context of the creation of the two separate German manuscript translations that appeared in the first quarter of the sixteenth century is somewhat better known, and its study throws an interesting light on the cultural background and the networks of the actors involved in the transmission process. The single extant copy of the oldest – anonymous – Bavarian German translation dates from around 1510–1518. The translator possibly used a Lyon edition from the end of the fifteenth century as a template. The most striking aspect of this manuscript is the fact that it is illustrated with 24 pen drawings, which are ascribed to the German painter Albrecht Altdorfer from Regensburg. It is tempting to link the genesis of this illustrated manuscript to the international publishing house of the Koberger family from Nuremberg and to consider it as a copy destined to serve as the basis for a printed book, but the quality of both the text and the illustrations seem to contradict this hypothesis (Domanski 2020).⁸

The second German translation brings us back to the Electorate of Saxony: in 1527 Veit Warbeck, who had been a secretary to Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony (1463–1525), as well as to some of his successors, used the Coburg manuscript with the French-Latin *Pierre et Maguelonne* (manuscript C, *rédaction* C) as an exemplar for a German translation. In the past, it has been suggested this was a wedding present for John Frederick I (1503–1554), son of the then Elector John the Steadfast (1468–1532), and Sibylle of Cleves (1512–1554), but it seems more likely that the work was ordered expressly by either John Frederick or his cousin Francis of Brunswick-Lüneburg (1508–1549), who lived at the time at the Elector's court. Both men took a keen interest in tournament fights but would not have been fluent enough in French to read the chivalric romances that could be found in the Bibliotheca Electoralis, such as *Pierre et Maguelonne*, in their original language (Putzo 2018–2019, 236–244). Warbeck followed the French text very closely, but as an adherent of Luther who lived in an environment that could be qualified as the epicentre of the Reformation, he tempered its Catholic flavour by omitting all references to Marian devotion or the veneration of saints, and by translating the word “catholique” as “christlich” (Bolte 1894, XVI–XLIX; Buschinger 2010, 82–87). Thus, the etiological aspect of the story as a founding legend for the town of Maguelone and its Cathédrale Saint-Pierre-et-Saint-Paul loses much of its importance in this German translation.

There are also fragments of a manuscript with an English adaptation from around 1500 that bears no direct resemblance to any of the contemporary manuscript or printed versions of *Pierre et Maguelonne* (Zettersten 1965).

⁸ On Koberger and Haller, see also Brandis (1917).

2 Lyon as a Production and Distribution Hub

The intertwining of manuscript and print that characterized the first decades of the reception of the narrative did not disappear when the printing press gained ground in Europe. Yet the new medium quickly became essential to its transmission and longevity.

It has long been assumed that the Coburg manuscript was the earliest representative of *rédaction* C as well as the source of all French editions, except for the *princeps*, which was thought to be based on *rédaction* B.⁹ Although several researchers admitted that 1453 was more likely to be the year *rédaction* C was composed than the creation date of the manuscript itself, the status of the Coburg manuscript as a source for the printed tradition has only recently been seriously challenged. As indicated above, it is now assumed to be posterior to the first printed editions. If we combine this finding with the fact that the French edition that is considered to be the *princeps* ([Lyon: Guillaume Le Roy for Barthélemy Buyer?, ca. 1475], ISTC ip00645130) also contains the 1453 prologue, our perspective on *rédactions* B and C drastically changes. In the new constellation, the printed edition from ca. 1475 is the oldest known representative of a version that has at least one of the characteristics of a *rédaction* C for which no prior manuscript is known and the relationship of which with *rédaction* B has to be re-examined. Was there a now lost manuscript or edition that introduced the 1453 prologue and/or contained other features that distinguish *rédaction* B from the printed tradition? Was the prologue invented by the first printer, and should we consider the *princeps* as an intermediary version between *rédaction* B and a *rédaction* C that was, in fact, a particular stage in the long line of adjustments made by the first Lyon printers?¹⁰ These questions call for a reassessment of the fifteenth-century manuscript and printed copies that have come down to us, an endeavour that I cannot undertake here, but that I will give a push by examining the *editio princeps* and its relation to the manuscripts of *rédaction* B as well as the re-edition from 1483.

The contents of the four *rédaction* B manuscripts present only minor variants, but there are some interesting differences with regard to chapter titles: manuscripts P1 (ca. 1451–1468) and P3 (ca. 1474–1500) are almost identical, P2 (ca. 1459?) has clearly different headings, and manuscript A (1471) does not have any.¹¹ Interestingly

9 See ARLIMA; Babbi (2003), who dates the Coburg manuscript to 1453, according to the date in the prologue; Mounier (2012), who observes however that the *editio princeps* seems to follow *rédaction* C; Roques, cited by Roudaut (2009, 26), and Roudaut (2009, 256).

10 On this question, see Putzo (2018–2019).

11 Cf. footnote 5. In P2 (ca. 1459) the beginning is missing, so we cannot be sure that it did not have the prologue.

enough, the chapter division and the 27 chapter titles in the oldest known edition diverge more or less from those in P1 (42 chapters) and P3 (44 chapters), while being close to the 33 section divisions – indicated by red initials which are often preceded by a coloured spiralling line – and their opening lines in manuscript A. For example, in this edition, the title of chapter 25 paraphrases the first sentence of the chapter, which echoes the opening sentence of the corresponding section in manuscript A: “Comment Maguelonne ne pouvoit dormir de toute la nuit pour la grande joye que son cueur ...” (“How Maguelonne could not sleep at night because of the great joy that her heart ...”), whereas P1 and P3 as well as P2 announce the contents of chapter in other terms: “Comment Maguelonne s’en va vers le conte et la contesse et leur assigne jour a venir veoir leur filz Pierre” (“How Maguelonne goes to the Count and the Countess and sets a date for them to come and see their son Pierre”). Similarly, the title of chapter 23 does not align with the P1 and P3 version: “Comment le noble Pierre se reveille de la ou il estoit endormy” (“How the noble Pierre wakes up from where he was asleep”) but focuses instead on the opening sentence of the section that follows, describing Pierre asleep on the island: “Comment Pierre demoura endormy en l’isle” (“How Pierre remained asleep on the island”).¹²

Even though manuscript A lacks chapter titles and its chapter division does not entirely match the *editio princeps*, it seems that, from all extant French manuscripts that could predate the publication of the first printed edition, this is the one that comes closest to it. It is, of course, possible that the first publisher added the chapter titles himself, together with the prologue. At this stage, I cannot explain the curious error in the title of his chapter 17 (both in the text and the table, see Fig. 1): “Comment Maguelonne dormoit ou giron Pierre ou bois où ilz se estoient retraitz et comment il prenoyt playsir à regarder la plaisant beaulté de Maguelonne” (“How Maguelonne slept on Pierre’s lap in the wood they had retreated to and how he took pleasure in looking at Maguelonne’s pleasing beauty”), which summarises the contents of the previous chapter in similar but less explicit terms than the title of chapter 16: “Comment Maguelonne se dormoit ou giron de son doulx amy Pierre et comment il prenoit plaisir à la regarder et baisier et à la fin eut grand douleur” (“How Maguelonne slept on her sweet friend Pierre’s lap and how he took pleasure in looking at her and kissing her and how, in the end, he felt great sorrow”). Did the editor make a mistake in copying or adapting these chapter titles – which do not appear in any of the *réduction* B manuscripts – from an unknown source (or two), or is this editing accident the result of his doubts on using “baisier” in the title of chapter 16, which contains the most daring passage of the book? The word “baisier”

¹² This is also the case in chapters 5 and 7. The *princeps*’ chapter titles are cited here from the table in Roudaut (2009), but his chapter numbering is different since it includes the prologue.

occurs in the chapter as we find it in the *réduction* B manuscripts, but not in the text of the *princeps* itself. Was it deliberately omitted, and was the title adapted accordingly? But if so, why did the editor keep the passage about the breast-touching then?

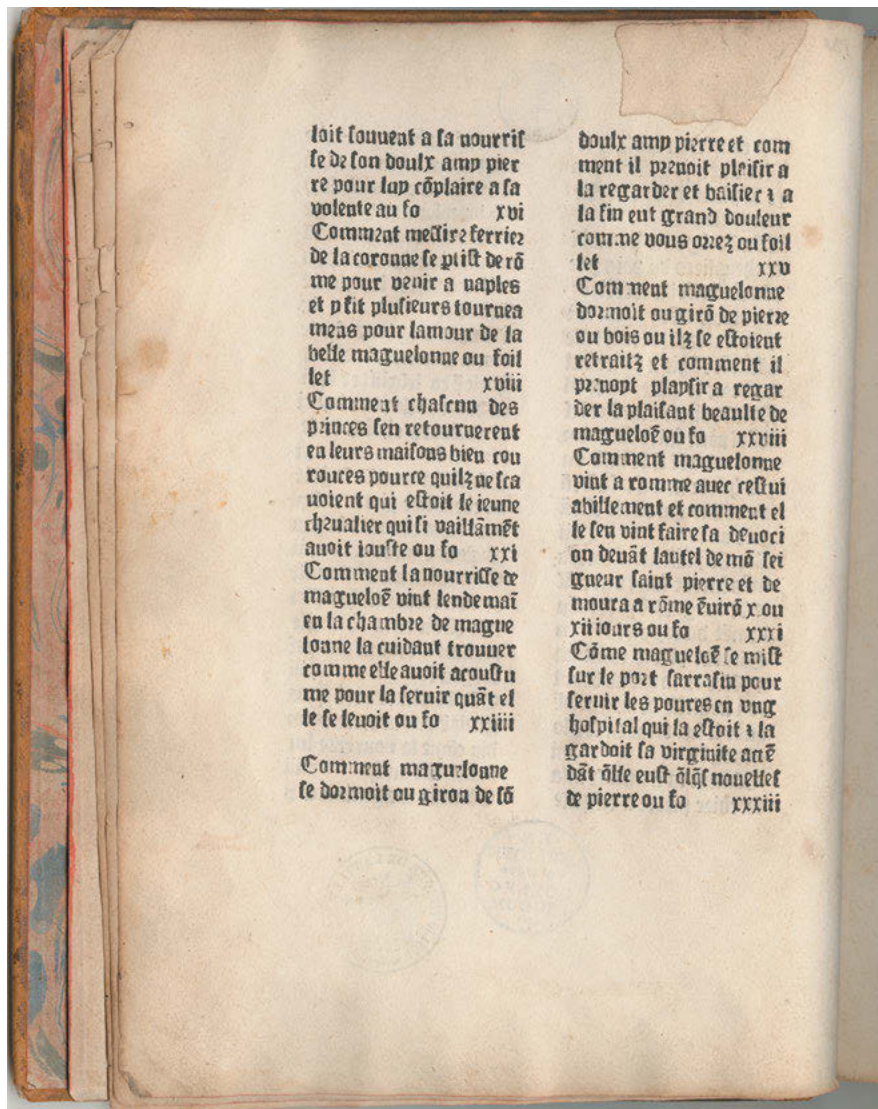


Fig. 1: Table of contents in the oldest known edition of *Pierre et Maguelonne*. [Lyon: Guillaume Le Roy for Barthélemy Buyer?, ca. 1475], π1v (Lyon, BM, Rés. Inc. 183). Photo Vincent Lefebvre. By courtesy of Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon.

Manuscript A is also temporally and geographically close to the first printed edition: the colophon, signed by Jean de Monnoy from Valence, is dated 1471 and the manuscript belonged to Jean de Varennes, member of a noble family from the Lyon region.¹³ The *editio princeps* itself is not dated or signed, but it must have seen the light around 1475–1477 in the workshop of Guillaume Le Roy, Lyon’s *prototypographus*, who was called to the city by Barthélemy Buyer, an enterprising merchant who around 1473 installed a printing press in his house. His edition of *Pierre et Maguelonne*, which was possibly one of the first medieval chivalric romances to appear in print,¹⁴ might have been published at the instigation of Buyer himself, as was perhaps the second edition (Lyon: Martin Huss, ca. 1480, ISTC ip00645150).¹⁵ Buyer was an accomplished businessman with many international relations and warehouses in Avignon, Toulouse, and Paris (Parquez 2002; Fau et al. 2003). When he died in 1483, Lyon had already become a flourishing printing centre oriented towards the production of books in the vernacular aimed at a wide audience: religious and devotional works, history, romances, and medicine (Coq 1989, 207–214). It was probably this focus on specific genres in the vernacular that prompted Lyon publishers to embellish their impressions with woodcut illustrations as early as 1478. To this end they often borrowed, bought, or copied woodblocks used by printers in the German language areas (Labarre 1989, 248–250; Zeldenrust 2016), but the series of 22 woodcuts used in the first illustrated edition of *Pierre et Maguelonne*, issued by Guillaume Le Roy around 1483 (ISTC ip00645200), was especially created for this narrative.¹⁶ This new edition differs considerably from the one Le Roy printed before: not only did he leave out the table of contents, the chapter division and some of the chapter titles were also modified in a way that suggests that the editor used a second or different model for his re-edition. He added for example five chapter titles, which also exist in manuscripts P1 and P3. While P3, which is much closer to P1 than to the printed version, could be posterior to this edition, P1 definitely predates it. The editor – the printer-publisher himself? – however also

13 On the Varennes family, see Claude Le Laboureur, *Les Mazures de l'abbaye royale de l'Isle-Barbe lez Lyon ...* Vol. II. Paris: Jean Couterot, 1681, 618–633. The provenance note seems contemporaneous.

14 By “medieval chivalric romance” I mean a tale in prose or verse first composed in the Middle Ages and recounting the exploits, marvellous adventures, and love stories of knights and their beautiful ladies (cf. Vielliard 2007; Blom 2012).

15 The only extant copy of this edition has no table of contents, but it contains the same repetition in the titles of chapters 16 and 17 as the first edition. Yet the wording is not entirely identical, the most striking difference being the absence of the word “baisier”.

16 There are 27 images in total, because some of the woodblocks were used more than once. Judging by their state, the blocks had been used before, probably in a now lost edition of our narrative.

removed two chapter titles, which brings the total chapter number from 27 to 30. In addition, the *princeps'* mistake with the title of the chapter discussing Pierre admiring the beauty of his beloved was duly corrected: title 1 (speaking of kissing) was replaced with the less explicit title 2, which was placed above the chapter it belonged to. The chapter thus left without title received a befitting one: “Comment maguelonne dormit sur le manteau de pierre son loyal ami dedans le bois & comment quant elle se resveilla se trouva seule” (“How Maguelonne slept in the wood on the coat belonging to Pierre, her loyal friend, & how, when she woke up, she found herself all alone”). Finally, the layout of the text was also changed from double columns to long lines, a format that would become dominant in the sixteenth-century Lyon editions.

For about fifteen years Lyon was the sole production and distribution centre for the *Pierre et Maguelonne* narrative, and, as we have already seen with the example of the manuscripts in Saxony copied from French editions, the eight editions that came off the printing presses during that period quickly found their way to readers in other cities, inside and outside France. To all appearances, it was again through a Lyon edition that *Pierre et Maguelonne* was made available in Castilian. It has been regularly suggested that the *historia de la linda magalona [...] y del [...] cavallero Pierres de provença* that was published in 1519 by Jacobo Cromberger in Seville (IB 16697)¹⁷ followed the Guillaume Le Roy edition from ca. 1485 (ISTC ip00645250), because they would both have a “preamble” absent from other French manuscript and printed sources (Vargas Diaz-Toledo 2013; García Collado 1994, 179–197). However, this is not the case. Not only was the preamble in question – the 1453 prologue – included in two manuscripts (*rédaction* C) and in almost every French edition published before 1519, it also is conspicuously missing from the 1519 Castilian translation as well as from subsequent editions published in the Castilian language. One could conjecture that the first publishers on the Iberian Peninsula simply preferred to skip an opening passage that was of little interest to their readers, but there is a more plausible explanation: Cromberger used a contemporary French quarto edition printed in the workshop of Pierre Mareschal and Barnabé Chaussard, closely resembling the undated one [ca. 1504?] digitized in Gallica (BnF, RES-Y2-707, ISTC ip00645550). Except for a later reprint now attributed to Jacques Moderne, this is the only early French edition without the 1453 prologue that I know of.¹⁸ Another interesting feature is

¹⁷ The Burgos edition from the same year, mentioned in several bibliographies, is a ghost. An inventory from 1508 already mentioned “un libro de empremta de la istoria del fixo del conde Proença” (“a printed book about the son of the Count of Provence”) (Aranda García 2021c, 300), but it is unclear if it was indeed an edition in an Iberian vernacular.

¹⁸ I have however not been able to consult BPM, F9 and F11–13.

that, contrary to the 1485 edition (and the rest of the folio editions printed in Lyon), it mentions that Pierre kisses Maguelonne while she is sleeping, an important aspect that is also present in the Castilian translation.¹⁹ The chapter division is not identical: the edition attributed to Mareschal and Chaussard has two unique additional chapter titles (made up to match its illustrations?) and the 1519 edition by Cromberger has a heading that is absent from the French edition. Yet the fact that the title woodcut of a later Spanish edition (Toledo: s.n., 1526, IB 16699) reproduces the image depicted on Mareschal and Chaussard's edition (see Figs. 2a and 2b) seems to offer further proof of the circulation of an edition similar to theirs in Castile at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Crombergers themselves, however, did not copy a French woodcut for their title page illustration – the only picture in the book –, but used a block from their stock representing an enthroned queen surrounded by courtiers. It emphasized their choice to put Magalona first in the title, while Pierre was the one named first in the contemporary editions from Lyon. Did the Spanish translator or publisher reverse the order because he was aiming at a female audience and/or wanted to frame the story as a book about strong women, such as the popular *Historia de la linda Melosina*?²⁰ Whatever the reason, the choice has proven decisive, since all the Castilian editions that followed presented the story as *La historia de la linda Magalona*, at least until the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Around the same time, the narrative was also translated in Dutch by or on behalf of Willem Vorsterman, one of the leading publishers in the international printing centre of Antwerp, who brought out an edition dated to ca. 1517 (BPM, Du1). The translation follows the text of the French original, but less closely than the Castilian version: it sometimes paraphrases or abbreviates, while elaborating and adding in other instances. The most important change is the insertion of 28 ballades expressing the sentiments of the protagonists (Vinck 1976–1977; Finet-van der Schaaf 2001). This sort of addition, which not only considerably amplifies the text but also adds a lyrical and dramatic aspect to it, was a common phenomenon in contemporaneous editions of Dutch prose romances, but our narrative undoubtedly stands out in this respect (Debaene 1977, 347–351).

As for the model used by the Dutch translator, it has been hypothesized that he either used a manuscript of *rédaction* B in combination with a printed edition similar to Guillaume Le Roy's (ca. 1485), or had at his disposal an unknown printed ver-

¹⁹ The “baisier”, however, is not mentioned in the chapter title. This aspect is also present in the quarto editions by Jean Du Pré and Jean de La Fontaine, but not in Pierre Bouttellier's (BPM, F6–8).

²⁰ The first edition of the Castilian *Melosina* was printed in 1489. See the chapter on *Melusine* in this volume.



Figs. 2a and 2b: Title pages of a French and a Castilian edition of *Pierre et Maguelonne* displaying an almost identical woodcut. On the left: [Lyon: Pierre Mareschal and Barnabé Chaussard, ca. 1504], a1r (Paris, BnF, RES-Y2-707); on the right: Toledo: [Miguel de Eguía], 1526, a1r (Paris, BnF, RES-Y2-819). By courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

sion with the characteristics that separate the Dutch edition from the known French versions, notably the absence – again! – of the 1453 prologue (Vinck 1976–1977, 26; Finet-van der Schaaf 2001, 876). At this stage, we cannot resolve the question, but there are two elements that seem to support the hypothesis of a printed source: contrary to the *rédaction* B manuscripts, the Dutch translation does not mention that Pierre kisses his sleeping fiancée, and in the 1516 Rouen edition (with prologue), the chapter describing Pierre’s awakening on the island is as distinctively short as in Vorsterman’s edition. Like his counterpart in Castile, the Dutch printer refrained from ordering illustrations designed specifically for *Pierre et Maguelonne* but delved into his own stock of woodblocks. He probably also borrowed a few from his colleagues (Vinck 1976–1977, 13–18).

3 Georg Spalatin and the Spread of *Pierre et Maguelonne* in Northern and Central Europe

After this first phase of dissemination in manuscript and print in and from France, with Lyon as an important vector, the second phase starts with the publication of Warbeck’s translation by his friend Georg Burckhardt, better known as Spalatin, in 1535. In the dedicatory letter to Elisabeth von Einsiedel, wife to Saxon nobleman Heinrich Hildebrand von Einsiedel (1497–1557),²¹ that served as a preface, Spalatin stated that the reason for publishing Warbeck’s translation was that he was repeatedly urged to do so. He accepted because he thought it could serve as an exemplum for readers and as an inspiration for authors to write books for a female audience, which would be better off reading and hearing a respectable story than spending their leisure hours “with idle talk and mischief making” (*Die Schön Magelona ... Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner, 1535, π2v*).²² While this edition of *Pierre et Maguelonne* might seem like a rather disparate publication in Spalatin’s *oeuvre*, certain elements in the letter indicate that the subject was in fact closely connected with a hot topic in the humanist and Lutheran circles Spalatin was active in: matrimonial law and the status of secret engagements in a society where the Catholic *ius canonicus* was no longer normative (Putzo 2020). By presenting Maguelonne’s running off with Pierre – “in Gottes unnd irer eltern ungehorsam wider das vierdte gepott Gottes” (“disobeying God, her parents and the Fourth Commandment of our Lord”) – and the sufferings that followed as a negative ex-

21 On the Einsiedel family, see Putzo (2020).

22 The English translation of the quotes comes from McDonald (1994).

emplum for young women and a warning for parents “ein fleysigs aug unnd achtung auff die kinder / beuor auff die töchtern haben” (“to cast a diligent eye on their children, especially their daughters”) (*Die Schön Magelona* ... 1535, π2v), Spalatin framed the story as a moral tale destined for women. He changed the title of Warbeck’s translation accordingly from *Ein sehr lüstige histori vom dem Ritter mit den silbern schlüsseln, und der schonen Magelonna* (“A very pleasant history of the Knight with the silver keys, and the fair Magelonna”) to *Die Schön Magelona. Ein fast lüstige [...] histori vonn der schönen Magelona [...] und einem Ritter genannt Peter* ... (“Fair Magelona. A very pleasant [...] history of the fair Magelona and a Knight called Peter”). He left the text itself almost untouched, except for one small but important detail: in the published version Pierre no longer touches Maguelonne’s breasts but only looks at them.

Spalatin entrusted the text to his regular publisher, Heinrich Steiner, one of the major printers in Augsburg, who in 1535 produced a quarto edition illustrated with 24 woodcuts in different styles (VD16 H 3867).²³ Like Vorsterman, Steiner did not use custom-made woodblocks, but made a judicious selection among the ones he had recently used for other titles, such as *Fortunatus* (1530) and *Celestina* (1534) (Müller 1990 [J.D.], 1227; Schmidt 1996, 194). *Die Schön Magelona* was an instant success: there were at least five reprints within ten years. When Steiner died in 1548, Hermann Gülfferich in Frankfurt am Main quickly filled the gap in the production of popular narratives by almost monopolizing the publication of this type of texts. *Die Schön Magelona* was the first fictional narrative he printed; between 1548 and 1553 he published no less than four editions, which he partly illustrated with Steiner’s woodblocks (Rautenberg 2015). His stepson Weigand Han, who took over in 1554, produced another two editions, followed by two brought out by his heirs. In the Han workshop, the format was reduced to in-octavo, which meant that the woodblocks had to be replaced with smaller specimens. The text itself also underwent some changes in that the number of chapters went from 31 to 42; especially the chapters recounting the mutual recognition and reunion were divided into smaller segments (Schmidt 1996, 196).

During these years when Frankfurt am Main with its important fairs occupied not only a crucial position as a production centre of early modern narratives in German, but also as a distribution centre for the national and international book trade, the German *Magelona* spread further in central and northern Europe. This “Protestant” edition with a foreword focused on morality and female reader-

²³ There are several repetitions of the same woodcut. On Augsburg as a printing centre, see Künnast (2011).

ship became indeed the prism through which translators into Czech, Polish, Danish, and Low German read and adapted it.

Little is known about the contents of the original Czech translation, of which no copy has survived. The document that reveals its existence was drawn up in 1567 by Vilém Prusinovský, Bishop of Olomouc, and lists the books Friedrich Milichthaler from Olomouc was authorized to print and sell.²⁴ Milichthaler was the stepson of Jan Günther, a printer-bookseller who trained in Nuremberg but moved to Olomouc, where he developed a flourishing business, among other things by ordering translations of German books destined for a broad audience (Nádvorníková 2004). Günther died in 1567, so the Czech *Magelone* edition from 1565 mentioned in the bishop's list (BPM, Cz1) was probably published by him.

In approximately the same period, an anonymous author translated the German *Magelona* into Polish. As in the case for the Czech translation, its existence is only known through a reference in a contemporaneous booklist; the post-mortem inventory of the Kraków bookseller Maciej Przywilcki (d. 1587) lists four copies of an octavo edition of the *Historyja o Magielonie* (Kiliańczyk-Zięba 2013). Judging by the title in the oldest preserved copy containing the beginning of the text (Kraków: s.n., 1677, BPM, Pol4), the Polish translator, who referred to neither Warbeck nor Spalatin, turned the narrative into an exemplum for both women and men:

Historyja o Magielonie krolewnie Neapolitanskiej. Vmysłu wspaniałością, Vrody pięknością, Náiásnieyszą Godnością, wszelakich cnot y przymiotow zgromádzieniem, v całego świata wslawioney. Ktora będąc prawdziwym szczęścia y Nieszczęścia igrzyskiem: stała się przykładna káždemu w Nieszczęściu mężney stałości; w Szczęściu, bacznego pomiarkowania; w Dostátku, szczodroblivości; w niedostatku, cierpliwego znoszenia Mistrzynie: aby tak cokolwiek na kogo przypadnie, nic nowego bydź rozumiał, ani się nagłych lub niespodziewanych strachał przypadkow; lecz z innych doświádczenia miarę biorąc, przestrzeżony, cudzym karał się nieszczęściem. Dla zachęcenia ciekawego Czytelniká / z poprawą sensu słowy poleownieyszymi teraz świeżo wydana.²⁵

²⁴ On this list, see Lechner (1896).

²⁵ “The History of Magielona, princess of Naples. Famous all over the World for her Magnanimity, her beautiful Appearance, her Great Dignity, an accumulation of all virtues and qualities. Being subjected to the vicissitudes of luck and Misfortune, she proved herself in every Misfortune to be an example of human constancy: a Mistress [=Master] showing careful consideration in times of Happiness; generosity in times of Affluence, and patient endurance in times of want. So that whatever happens to anyone, he experiences nothing new, nor should he be afraid of sudden or unexpected events, but he should learn from the experiences of others and be cautious. To attract the curious Reader, with a correction of sense in polished words, now newly published.” Transliteration and translation Krystyna Wierzbicka-Trwoga. On the Polish translation, see Wierzbicka-Trwoga (2020).

This idea of withstanding with constancy the vicissitudes of Fortune is developed in the prologue to “the Reader”, which thus brushes off the specific lesson and intended readership in the German version.

In 1583 Lorentz Benedicht, the first royal printer in Denmark, who might have come originally from the German language area, published a Danish translation of the German *Magelona*.²⁶ Unlike his predecessors in Kraków and Olomouc, the Danish translator fully acknowledged the author of his source: “Beautiful Magelona. A very pleasant story about the beautiful Magelona [...] and about a knight named Peder [...]. Translated from French into German by M. Vitus Varbeck. And now recently translated into Danish, very pleasant to read”.²⁷ The Danish translation not only closely followed the German text – as represented in the editions posterior to 1548 (Westermann 1932, 295) – but Benedicht also patterned his foreword on Spalatin’s; it contains similar critical remarks on Catholicism, the same framing of the story as a negative exemplum and a warning to young women and their parents, and, last but not least, Benedicht also dedicated his edition to a noble lady: Kirstine Lykke, wife to “rigskansler” (chancellor of the Danish Kingdom) Eiler Grubbe (DFB 7, XXI). Ruth Westermann notes that the earliest Danish editions have significantly more chapters (43) than the 1549 German edition (32). Since this was also the case in the Low German edition of 1601 (39 chapters), which in some other instances also seemed closer to the Danish translation than the High German, she saw this as an element in support of her hypothesis that the translator must have worked with two different models: a High German and a Low German one (Westermann 1932, 305; Noll-Wiemann 1975). Apart from the fact that no Low German edition is known to have existed before 1601, the argument fails to consider the German editions that appeared between 1549 and 1583: the editions published by Weigand Han (Frankfurt am Main: 1556 and 1558, BPM, Ge12–13) already have 42 chapters, 43 if one includes the preface. This change was introduced when the format was reduced from quarto to octavo. While it does not allow for explaining all the divergences and similarities observed by Westermann between the Danish translation and the High and Low German editions, these findings show once more how important it is to study the entire printed tradition – or what is left of it – before drawing conclusions.

It follows from this that Westermann’s observations on the Low German translation, which were repeated by Brüggemann and Brunken (1987), must also

²⁶ BPM, Da1. This now lost edition and its preface are known through a seventeenth-century manuscript which contains a transcription of another lost edition in Danish, dated to 1610 (BPM, Da2) and based on the 1583 edition (DFB 7, 235–238). On Benedicht, see https://denstoredanske.lex.dk/Lorentz_Benedicht.

²⁷ Translation Anna Katharina Richter, based on BPM, Da2.

be corrected: the presumed publisher, Hermann Möller, did not use the 1549 quarto edition as his exemplar but a later edition in octavo format. Some of the adaptations Westermann presented as typical for the Low German version were already present in Han's editions. The chapter titles and divisions as well as the disappearance of Warbeck's and Spalatin's names from the title page seem, however, to be Möller's doing.

It was again a German edition that served as a model for the Hungarian translation, signed by Vencel Tesseni and published in 1676 by Samuel Brewer in Levoča (Lőcse) (BPM, Hu1). In the preface, the translator paraphrases Spalatin's "Sendbrief"; instead of dedicating the translation to a noble woman, he starts his work by addressing "renden valo olvasoknak" ("regular readers") and "Fő Bötsületes és Tiszteletes Urak, s mind közönséges renden való férfiak és asszonyok" ("Most Honourable and Venerable Gentlemen, and all men and women of common rank") (A2). Like his predecessor, however, he presents the book as an exemplum for women of all ages and reiterates his warning that parents should keep an eye on their daughters. He even copies the remarks about the remaining traces of Catholicism. This would no doubt have suited the publisher, who might have been the commissioner of the translation. Like many of his fellow citizens, Samuel Brewer was a Lutheran. His family was originally from Wittenberg, and he studied there himself (Pavercsik 1979). Could he have picked up a German edition on his travels and brought it with him as one of those "szép [...] Historiákat Német nyelvből" ("beautiful [...] Histories in German") worthwhile to be rendered into Hungarian mentioned in the preface (A2)?

The last early modern translation deriving directly from the German version is the Yiddish rendering that appeared in Fürth, near Nuremberg, the city where the production of affordable editions of fictional narratives in the vernacular was concentrated at the time in the hands of the Endter family; at least five editions of the German *Magelona* were produced there during the seventeenth century. The Yiddish version, *Ayn sheyn lid fun ayn riter oiz proventzien land ...* ("A beautiful song about a knight from Provence"), was an adaptation in rhymed verse by an unknown poet (Oehme 2015).²⁸ It closely followed its German model, but its title redirected the focus from Maguelonne (Magelene) to Pierre, who was renamed Zigmund, thus destroying the links between the male protagonist and Saint Peter, and diminishing the hagiographical and legendary components of the story with it. The adaptor went indeed to lengths to dechristianize the narrative by deleting or neutralizing references to churches, biblical passages, and Christian devotional practices. He also successfully smoothed out some of the inconsis-

28 BPM, Y1. Transliterated title.

tencies in the original story, while placing significant stress on monetary values and parental love (Paucker 1959).

Some of the above-mentioned translations from German served in turn as intermediaries for adaptations in other languages. The Polish translation, for example, was used as a basis for Ukrainian and Russian versions. The Ukrainian version is more like an excerpt that has been preserved in a manuscript anthology, compiled in 1660 by the priest Hryhoriy Sharhorodskyi (Czepelyk 2017). The oldest known Russian translation dates from the same period (1662). While the story was not printed in Russian before the mid-eighteenth century, its prompt and lasting popularity is attested by the large amount of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century manuscript copies of the *Povest' o Petre zlatykh ključej* (“History of Peter with the golden keys”) that have come down to us.²⁹ Those with a title almost all place Pierre at the centre of the story, reframing it as that of a noble warrior. In the seventeenth century these manuscripts circulated mainly among the aristocracy, and they were read by old and young alike. In the middle of the eighteenth century, a further abridged version appeared in print. This version will be discussed below.

In the seventeenth century our story also reached Iceland, presumably through the Danish translation (Seelow 1989). At least five manuscripts containing a translation in prose, generally referred to with the title *Lykla-Péturs saga ok Magelónu fögru* (“The saga of Peter with the Keys and the beautiful Magelona”), have been preserved as well as manuscript copies of an adaptation in verse made by the poet Hallgrímur Pétursson (Seelow 1989; McDonald Werronen 2020).

4 The Southern *Pierre et Maguelonne*

In the meantime, the ‘original’ French version continued to flourish in France and surrounding regions, especially the Mediterranean, where the story partly takes place. While the production of sixteenth-century French editions of fictional narratives was generally concentrated in the main publishing centres (Paris, Lyon, and Rouen), printers in Avignon and Montpellier also brought out editions of this particular narrative.

Around 1550 the prose adaptation in Greek was reworked into a rhymed version (Yiavis 2006a and 2006b), which was printed at least five times in sixteenth-century Venice (BPM, Gr1–5), the sole printing centre for books intended for the

²⁹ It was the Polish translator who turned the silver keys into golden ones. On the four redactions in Russian and their dissemination, see Kuz'mina (1964).

Greek-speaking world. These editions were part of a series of chapbooks in modern Greek aimed at a broad audience. The first one was published in 1543 by Damiano di Santa Maria and illustrated with five woodcuts which were originally designed for a modern edition of the *Iliad* (Layton 1994, 199, and 230). One of the later reprints was used for an abbreviated translation in Romanian, made around 1780 (Dimia and Dimia 2016, 251–255).

If we are to believe the information on the title page of the oldest extant copy of a Catalan edition, published in 1650 by Sebastián de Cormellas in Barcelona (IB 58827), its translator, the otherwise unknown Honorát Comalàda, had a Castilian exemplar. The 1650 octavo edition was probably a reprint of a quarto edition the same publisher produced in 1616, which is considered to be the oldest Catalan translation, although there might have existed a now lost earlier version (Pastor [i] Briones 2018).

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the French *Pierre et Maguelonne* once more generated editions and translations outside France, such as the French edition published in 1733 by a “J. Conrad Bincheldre” in Zurich, a person that I have not been able to identify (BPM, F57). In any case, he must have used a Lyon edition, since the subtitle of this edition mentions the couple’s “promesse” (“promise”), “honnêtes Amours & Mariage” (“honest Love and Marriage”), which was typical of editions from this city. There are also two manuscript versions in Romansh, both dating from the first half of the eighteenth century; one is thought to be derived from a German source and the other from the French, but neither has been thoroughly researched.³⁰ On the other side of the Alps, Gerardo Giuliano (*fl.* 1726–1765) in Turin launched a translation in Italian, *Istoria memorabile [...] Del valoroso Pietro di Provenza e della bella Maghelona ...* (“Memorable history of the brave Peter of Provence and the beautiful Maghelona”). This first edition in Italian, based on a French edition and illustrated with small woodcuts, was reprinted twice in Turin during the eighteenth century (BPM, It1–3).

Thanks to the workshop of the Álvares family, who came originally from Castile (Torres 2014), a Castilian edition of *Magalona* was published in Lisbon as early as 1625 (IB 58813), but readers in Portugal had to wait another century before they could buy a Portuguese translation, the first known edition dating from 1733.³¹ This *Historia verdadeira da princeza Magalona* (“The true history of princess Magalona”) is sometimes ascribed to Jerônimo Moreira de Carvalho, a military physician who translated the Castilian *Historia del emperador Carlo Magno y*

³⁰ For these versions, see Decurtins (1881, 480–497); Bolte (1894, LX); and Decurtins (1905, VI and 14–24).

³¹ See BPM, Por1, and Severino (2005, 40). The 1637 edition mentioned by Babbi (2003) and Roudaut (2009), is a bibliographical ghost. This is possibly also the case for the 1725 edition.

de los doce pares de Francia (“History of emperor Charlemagne and the twelve peers of France”) into Portuguese, but except for the fact that the Portuguese *Magalona* was indeed based on a Castilian original (Cao Míguez 2016, 429–431), this is only conjecture.

With the Portuguese translation, we end our overview of the spread of our story through early modern Europe. During the period we are interested in, European editions also reached other continents, but none of the editions of *Pierre et Maguelonne* published outside Europe seem to be from before 1800.

5 Differing Developments

When we bring our data together in a chronologically ordered table (see below, Tab. 1),³² it becomes clear that while the number of editions increased over time, keeping up with the spread of the printing press and the growing number of places where our story was published, the location of these centres underwent important changes over the course of the centuries. These changes testify among other things to the dynamics of the reception in specific languages and regions. It has already been mentioned that for some reason, and unlike other popular narratives from the Continent, Pierre and Maguelonne’s love story was never picked up by publishers in the British Isles. And while Polish and Czech adaptations flourished in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the 1676 edition of the Hungarian translation is the only known occurrence of the story in this language before 1800. This could have been due to factors as diverse as the quality of the text, its material embodiment, the taste, finances and/or language and reading skills of the public, and the impact of the political and religious context. The late arrival of Italian editions, which were restricted to a region with close ties to France, is perhaps easier to explain because the Italians had *La storia di Ottinello e Giulia*, a poem in *ottava rima* inspired by a similar set of motifs as *Pierre et Maguelonne*, which was printed several times between the 1490s and 1800 (D’Ancona 1867; Passano 1868, 71–74).

The Dutch translation was among the earliest adaptations in other languages, but it did not have as much success as some of the other translations. In 1587 the Antwerp bookseller Jan [I] van Waesberghe published a new Dutch translation, without refrains, which he combined with the French text on which it was based in an edition destined for language education (BPM, FDu1). This intended use,

³² Table based on the BPM; this includes lost editions for which there is enough reliable evidence that they existed at some point.

which reminds us of the educational use of French *Pierre et Maguelonne* at the Electoral Court of Saxony, and the particular typography designed for it – Dutch in the easy-to-read *civilité* letter and French in roman type – brought the story into the realm of schoolbooks. Although there must have been a market for this type of bilingual editions, especially in a multilingual city as Antwerp, it can also have had a restrictive effect on the wider circulation of the story. Dutch-speaking readers who were not interested in learning French might have refrained from spending money on a book consisting for fifty percent of pages they did not need. The framing of our narrative as a schoolbook might even have contributed to its disappearance; in 1618 the Antwerp Catholic clerical authorities issued a list of books that were banned from schools. It probably comes as no surprise that *Pierre et Maguelonne* figures among the condemned “historien oft boecken tracterende amoreusheydt ende dierghelycke dinghen daer de jonckheyt meer pleech door vererghert te worden dan yet goedts wt te leeren” (Poffé 1895, 59).³³ In the following years, some of the titles on the blacklist were expurgated and accepted, but a file compiled in 1621 by the bishop of Antwerp classified our story along books which could not be used in schools before they had been corrected and approved in accordance with the bishop’s ordinance (Dela Montagne 1907, 7). The critical summaries made by the censors give us a good idea of the issues they identified. For *Pierre et Maguelonne* they noted the following: “Deux personnes se rendent très-souvent à l’église pour leurs amours; la jeune fille dort sur le sein de Pierre; celui-ci la regarde avec curiosité et après l’avoir bien vue il la méprise” (Ruelens 1872, 67).³⁴ The mistakes in this summary strongly suggest that the censors only perused the books they had to examine. While there is no evidence of the existence of expurgated editions with an approbation, *Peeter van Provincien* (5 sheets in-4, priced “2 stuyvers”) is cited on a price list of common schoolbooks issued in 1642 by the Antwerp City Council (Dela Montagne 1907, 10), which means that there might have been editions that my bibliography does not account for.

As we have seen, in some regions, our narrative circulated mainly or exclusively in manuscript form. The fact that the only Russian editions on my list date from the middle of the eighteenth century thus tells us more about the cultural history of the region than about the popularity of the medieval couple. Until 1700 the majority of the texts printed in Russia were religious works and when this started to change, the literary works and popular stories disseminated by the

33 “[H]istories or books containing love-stories and similar contents which usually harm youthful readers rather than edify them”. Unless otherwise stated, translations are my own.

34 “Two persons very often go to church for the sake of their love; the young lady sleeps on Pierre’s chest; he looks at her with curiosity and despises her when he has studied her well”.

press took a form that was unique for Europe at the time: instead of mobile characters, printers used xylography to produce illustrated *lubki* with a limited number of pages. The illustrations often also circulated separately as prints. The eight-page of *Pierre et Maguelonne*, which went through several editions (see for an example Fig. 3), contains a condensed – but complete – version of the *Povest' o blagorodnom knjaze Petre zlatych ključach i o blagorodnoj korolevne Magilene* (“The Tale of the noble prince Petr of the Golden Keys and the noble princess Magilena”, Duchartre 1961; Kuz'mina 1964; Sytova 1984; Chuchvaha 2019).

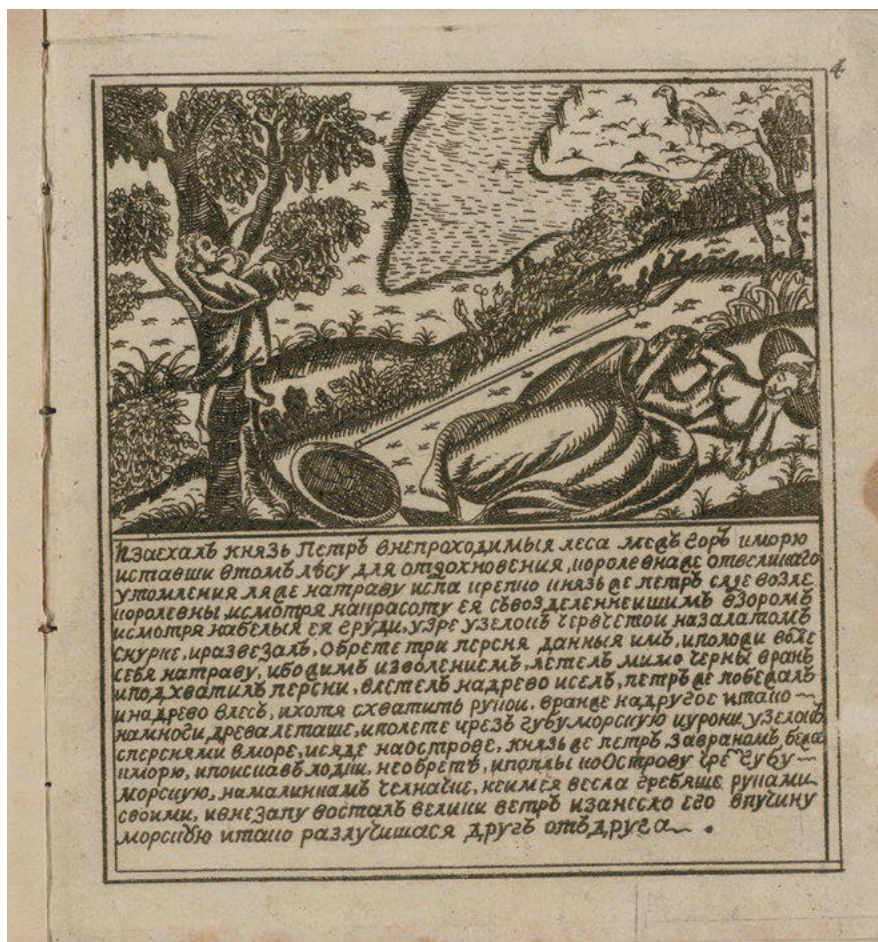


Fig. 3: Pierre pursues the bird while Maguelonne is sleeping. Illustration in *Povest' o blagorodnom knjaze Petre zlatych ključach i o blagorodnoj korolevne Magilene*. S.l.: s.n., [ca. 1780], π4r (Göttingen, SUB, 8 FAB X, 6725 (3) RARA). By courtesy of Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen.

Tab. 1: Printed editions of *Pierre et Maguelonne* until 1800 per period and per language.

| | 1451–1500 | 1501–1600 | 1601–1700 | 1701–1800 | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|--|---|--|-----------|
| French | 10 Lyon 8 Paris 2 | 22 Paris 10 Avignon 1 Montpellier 1 Rouen 3 Antwerp 1 Lyon 6 | 15 Rouen 5 Troyes 3 Troyes/Paris 3 Brussels 1 Lyon 3 | 28 Lyon 3 Limoges 1 Zurich 1 Caen 1 Rouen 7 Troyes 13 Tarascon 1 Toulouse 1 | 75 |
| Castilian | | 7 Toledo 1 Seville 3 Burgos 3 | 9 Zaragoza 1 Madrid 2 Baeza 1 Seville 1 Cuenca 1 Lisbon 3 | 10 Évora 1 Madrid 1 s.l. 1 Barcelona 1 Valladolid 2 Salamanca 1 Valencia 2 Murcia 1 | 26 |
| Dutch | | 2 Antwerp 2 | 1 Utrecht 1 | | 3 |
| French and Dutch | | 2 Antwerp | 1 Rotterdam | | 3 |
| Greek | | 5 Venice | 6 Venice | 4 Venice | 15 |
| High German | | 17 Augsburg 7 Leipzig 1 Frankfurt am Main 9 | 7 Nuremberg 5 s.l. 2 | 12 Cologne 1 s.l. 8 Nuremberg 3 | 36 |
| Czech | | 1 Olomouc? | 3 Olomouc 1 Prague 1 s.l. 1 | 14 Olomouc 3 Kutná Hora 1 Prague 2 Skalica 1 Hradec Králové 1 Jindřichův Hradec 2 s.l. 4 | 18 |
| Polish | | 1 s.l. 1 | 4 Kraków 1 s.l. 3 | 9 Kraków 4 s.l. 3 Supraśl 2 | 14 |
| Danish | | 1 Copenhagen | 4 Copenhagen 3 Helsingør 1 | 11 Copenhagen 7 s.l. 4 | 16 |
| Low German | | | 2 Hamburg 2 | | 2 |
| Catalan | | | 6 Barcelona 6 | 5 Girona 3 Olot 2 | 11 |

Tab. 1 (continued)

| | 1451–1500 | 1501–1600 | 1601–1700 | 1701–1800 | |
|-------------------|-----------|-----------|---------------|---|-----|
| Hungarian | | | 1 Levoča 1 | | 1 |
| Yiddish | | | 1 Fürth 1 | 4 Fürth 1 Prague 1 Offenbach 1 Amsterdam 1 | 5 |
| Portuguese | | | | 9 Lisbon 8 Porto 1 | 9 |
| Italian | | | | 3 Turin 2 Turin/Vercelli 1 | 3 |
| Russian | | | | 2 s.l. 2 | 2 |
| | 10 | 58 | 60 | 111 | 239 |

6 Common Features in Editions from Different Language Areas (1600–1800)

Despite the differences in genesis, presentation, and destiny of the editions of the *Pierre et Maguelonne* narrative produced in early modern Europe, in terms of content the various printed traditions were generally relatively stable and remarkably close to the French *Pierre et Maguelonne*, except perhaps for the Greek version. This stability, or conservatism, is also visible in the fact that, aside from some minor spelling adaptations, fifteenth- and sixteenth-century titles and prologues were maintained as they were for a long time. This idea of *Pierre et Maguelonne* as a type of publication unaffected by time is reinforced by the absence of publication dates from many cheap editions that appeared in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and by the appearance of the indication “printed in this year” in some of the German editions (e.g. VD18 90748336; Künast 2010).

Even when, over the course of time, censorship tightened its grip on schoolbooks and affordable editions for the masses, especially – but not exclusively – in Catholic environments, it seems that the story underwent little change. As a matter of fact, censors from different eras and regions were unanimous in their criticism. Just like his seventeenth-century predecessor from Antwerp, the Castilian censor who exam-

ined the narrative in the 1750s noted that the piece was likely to “corromper las buenas costumbres” (“corrupt good manners”). He also loathed the mixing of religion with a love story: “El fondo de esta historia es el robo de una mujer llamada Magalona, por el caballero Pierres; tiene varios coloquios con Dios muy tiernos, pero esto mismo me parece mal porque es una cosa abominable el valerse de los medios más sagrados de la religión para componer una novela impura”.³⁵ At that time, the chapter where Pierre admires Maguelonne’s beauty had already been purified: in the Castilian edition from 1676 (IB 109588), for example, Pierres no longer kisses Magalona nor does he touch her breasts. In 1709 “La Belle Maguelone” was listed among the books for which Rouen booksellers could only receive an approbation if they were thoroughly revised.³⁶ A comparison of the approved edition published in 1714 by Anne Havard, the widow of Jacques Oudot (BPM, F50), with previous editions from this workshop reveals that the latter edition conformed to criteria set by the Antwerp censor almost a century earlier: Pierre and the nanny no longer meet in church and the passage detailing how Pierre touches his beloved’s breasts has disappeared. He now contemplates her “merveilleuse beauté” (“marvellous beauty”) (p. 30), a change that partly undermines the logic of the events that follow and the moral of the story with it. By comparison, the unaltered “Protestant” version disseminated by the eighteenth-century German editions was much more explicit.

These three cases also show that the question of censorship was closely connected with the expansion of the book market and the growing number of social groups capable to buy and read relatively cheap print. For publishers this was a potential goldmine; for ecclesiastic and secular authorities concerned about morals and political stability, a phenomenon they sought to control. However, the use of reinforcement and expansion of preventive censorship as an instrument encountered fierce opposition from publishers who saw their profits evaporate when they were obliged to apply for a permission for each book they produced, however old and/or small. Hence the petitions for exemptions and grouped permissions or, if this failed, the stoic continuation of what was considered a type of publication consecrated by tradition. A telling example of such a bulk application for – in this case – a privilege for low-cost productions is the one submitted in 1721 by the Copenhagen printer Joachim Wielandt; it listed no fewer than 97 titles, including “Magdelone eller Peder af Provence”. Wielandt argued that these “små historier” (“small histories”) would provide him with an income that could help

35 “The background of this story is the theft of a woman called Magalona, by the knight Pierre; it contains several very tender conversations with God, but this in itself seems wrong to me, because it is an abominable thing to use the most sacred means of religion to compose an impure novel”. In 1766 the Council of Castile prohibited *Magalona*, but with little effect (López 1993, 362).

36 See the transcription of the list in Hélot (1928, s.p.).

him finance the production of more important books. In 1727 he was granted a twenty-year privilege for *Pierre et Maguelonne*, *Griseldis*, *Melusine*, *Apollonius*, *Historia septem sapientum Romae*, *Fortunatus*, *Reynaert*, and 23 other chapbooks in Danish (Werlauff 1858, 145–146; Horstbøll 2012, 12–14).³⁷ This means that at least some of the unsigned eighteenth-century Copenhagen editions of *Magelona* were probably issued by Wielandt and his widow.

Although it was only after 1800 that the publishing tradition of our narrative underwent substantial modifications, it must be noted that editions were updated from time to time, especially during the eighteenth century. Not only did censorship leave a few traces, publishers also voluntarily introduced changes. The most striking example might well be the choice of the “veuve Garnier” (Marie-Louise Barry, widow of Étienne Garnier), one of the main publishers of the *Bibliothèque bleue*, to replace the medieval version of the story with a sentimental reworking by the Count de Tressan (Leclerc 2019). In the 1770s and 1780s Tressan had adapted several “vieux romans” (“old romances”) to the taste of the literary elites, who also read Rousseau and Voltaire.³⁸ The widow apparently thought that this modern and more prestigious version was also suited for the large and diverse audience of the “blue books”, and given the fact that her example was followed by her successors as well as by competing publishing companies in Rouen (Leclerc 2019), she did not misjudge the situation. This type of renewal however seems to have been unusual; while the audience of the cheap editions of long-selling narratives was certainly not restricted to the lower strata of society, the modern reworkings of centuries-old narratives like *Pierre et Maguelonne* that appeared in the eighteenth century circulated mainly in relatively expensive publications destined for the socially and culturally privileged. Nonetheless, one can find a similar sentimental reworking of the plot in popular Czech editions from around 1800 (Kotšmířová 2021, 51–53).

The adjustments made by European publishers of “popular” print to the content of the story seem to have been principally aimed at creating a lighter and shorter text and reducing the bibliographical format. This process was motivated not so much by considerations of ‘readability’ of the text for a public with limited cultural competences – although the multiplication of the number of chapters in some traditions might indicate that publishers tried to adapt to new audiences –, as by the wish to produce at the lowest possible cost to keep prices low and profits

³⁷ For a French example, see Hélot (1928, lxijj).

³⁸ His adaptations were published in the *Bibliothèque universelle des romans* (1775–1789) and the *Corps d'extraits de romans de chevalerie*, first published in 1782.

high. In an era where paper constituted a third to half of the production costs,³⁹ the number of sheets per copy was indeed crucial for the selling price and thus for the range of buyers one could attract. Even though some of these strategies are at least as old as the printing press itself, they gained in importance when the market expanded and diversified. The most incisive operations on *Pierre et Maguelonne* seem indeed to date from the period after 1680. For example, in 1700 the Rouen publisher Jean-Baptiste Besongne simply cut out four chapters in the middle of the text, without even bothering to create some sort of transition. This allowed him to print the story on three sheets, while his predecessors and his competitor Jacques Oudot from Troyes needed four sheets (Blom 2012, 132, 404, and 406), which was already significantly less than the six to eight sheets that had gone into the French editions from the incunabula period. When we compare the development of the formats and the number of pages of editions printed in different European centres, we can indeed observe a significant decrease in the amount of paper used for their production. Catalan editions went from 56–64 pages in quarto format in the seventeenth century to 94 pages in octavo format in the eighteenth century. The Danish editions were octavos from the start, but those preserved from the eighteenth century have at least fourteen fewer pages than the extant ones from the seventeenth century.⁴⁰

The disappearance of Spalatin's preface from the eighteenth-century German editions mentioned above might thus have had a more prosaic reason than the consideration that no one knew who he was any more. Preoccupation with production costs and wholesale and/or retail prices probably also contributed to the fact that, in the eighteenth century, German and Castilian editions of *Pierre et Maguelonne* started to mention the number of gatherings on the title pages, a practice that certainly was not new, because Parisian and Rouen printers from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did the same.⁴¹ It is also interesting to see how publishers avoided wasting leftover space by filling it with advertisements⁴² or little stories with a moral message.⁴³

The wish to produce at a low cost also led publishers to set the text in smaller type and to economize on the quality of the paper, and the type and the number

39 See on this question the contributions in Bellingradt and Reynolds (2021).

40 Cf. BPM, Cat2, 5, 6, 8–11; Da4–5, 11–12, 14. See also Horstbøll (2012).

41 Title pages of eighteenth-century German editions mention eleven, ten, nine, or seven gatherings, the edition issued by Christian Everaerts at the turn of the century six (BPM, Ge27–29, 33, 35). The Castilian editions by Alonso del Riego announce six gatherings (BPM, Cas19–20). For sixteenth-century France, see BPM, F26–27.

42 See, for example, the edition by Francisco Borges de Sousa (Lisbon: 1789, BPM, Por7).

43 See, for example, VD18 10850678, and VD18 90823451.

of illustrations. We have already seen that even in the case of first translations, publishers often refrained from ordering custom-made woodcuts. It seems that the first Lyon editions were the only ones assorted with a set of cuts illustrating the highlights of the story. Later French editions either displayed a mix of generic woodcuts or they were not illustrated at all, except for, occasionally, a woodcut on the title page. It seems that, towards the end of the eighteenth century, only the German editions and the French editions published in Troyes still had some illustrations, as did the rare editions of the recent Italian translation and the new Russian *lubok*. It must however be noted that right from their first appearance, iconography had been almost absent from *Pierre et Maguelonne* editions in Castilian, Polish, Czech, Danish, and Portuguese.

The relative stability that seems to characterize the textual tradition of *Pierre et Maguelonne* is also present in the material presentation of the story. The layout of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century reprints often reproduced the features of the earliest editions. For example, in the German language area and in the Low Countries, the Gothic typeface was preserved for a relatively long time (sometimes well into the eighteenth century), as were the two-colour title page, the quarto format, and the text divided in two columns. The same woodblocks were used repeatedly for the illustration of the narrative. When they finally were so worn that they could not be used any more, they were often replaced with copies carrying the same, sometimes centuries-old, illustration. Some of the title page illustrations thus became iconic for our story, but in many cases they also appeared in other popular print genres.⁴⁴ Yet modernization was not totally absent in this field either. During the eighteenth century the appearance of the protagonists was updated to more recent fashion styles (e.g. BPM, Ge25 and Ge33). Another remarkable development is the fact that in the early eighteenth century, publishers in Rouen, who might have been inspired by a recent Portuguese edition, broke with a long tradition by replacing the title page illustration representing a couple with a woodcut representing only a woman (BPM, F53, and F62).

7 Conclusion

By way of conclusion, I would like to highlight some key elements that emerge from this overview of the spread of *Pierre et Maguelonne* and its publishing history in early modern Europe. Firstly, it needs to be emphasized that this was a dynamic and non-progressive process, moving back and forth between manuscript and print,

⁴⁴ See, for example, Ulla Lorenzo (2022).

old and new versions, different languages – which sometimes coexisted in the same region –, as well as different kinds of audiences. Within the printed tradition, we can distinguish two major strands: a French, Catholic, tradition, which formed the basis for the editions of translations that appeared in the Iberian Peninsula (Castilian, Catalan, Portuguese), the Low Countries (Dutch and French), the German language area (German), Piedmont (Italian), and the Old Swiss Confederacy (French), and a German, Protestant, tradition, which formed the starting point for editions in Polish, Czech, Hungarian, Danish, Yiddish, and Russian that mostly appeared in central, northern and eastern European regions. The dissemination history confirms the important role of booksellers and printer-publishers as cultural agents in the early modern period; no doubt it was for a large part through their initiative that *Pierre et Maguelonne* was translated, published, and further adapted in different language areas. Except for the German, Hungarian, and Catalan printed versions, the names of the translators even remain unknown.

A second dichotomy in the publishing history of our narrative is between titles putting Maguelonne first and titles opening with the name of Pierre. This distinction only partly overlaps with the two major strands in the dissemination of the story. It can in fact be traced back to the fifteenth-century Lyon editions, some of which indicate the title as *La belle Maguelonne* on the title page while keeping “Histoire du vaillant chevalier Pierre de Provence et de la Belle Maguelonne” in the incipit and/or colophon. Yet, until 1700 at least, all French editions with an illustrated title page depict both heroes, and from 1516 onwards, the French editions were consistent in naming Pierre first in the title. One could hypothesize that those placing Maguelonne at the centre advertise the story as the – morally exemplary – account of a woman’s tribulations, while those focusing on both heroes would rather present it as a chivalric romance or a love story. Although these different aspects were, in fact, often combined in the subtitles of editions belonging to either of these strands, there are clearly differences in the presentation of the narrative that deserve further examination, preferably in combination with data on readers and their perceptions.

While it might have survived in oral traditions, the founding legend of the Cathédrale Saint-Pierre-et-Saint-Paul in Maguelone (near Montpellier) that was predominantly present in the 1453 preface seems to have quickly lost its appeal in the printed tradition, from which it disappeared altogether in the course of the sixteenth century. From then on, only the last sentence highlighted the hagiographic dimension of the story.

Despite differences in terms of form, content, layout, popularity, and the impact of censorship, the editions of the story from different linguistic regions and their publication history are often strikingly similar. As far as the basic form of the story is concerned, the distinction prose/verse apparently did not play an es-

sential role; some translators maintained the prose, others opted for a poetic form that did not affect the narrative character of the text, and still others chose for a mixture. In some traditions, prose and verse versions followed each other or coexisted. From the sixteenth century onwards, almost all these editions became progressively part of a market of affordable works for a wide audience, which, in the course of time, became increasingly dominated by a few specialized publishers. Notwithstanding a few notable exceptions, relatively little is known about these publishers, their practices and networks, partly because researchers tend to ignore the later editions as being simple reprints. There is probably a world to be won with archival and bibliographical research as well as comparative, detailed studies of individual editions. Such additional data are needed to determine the extent to which fictional narratives that sold well for a long time, like *Pierre et Maguelonne*, can actually be regarded as a part of a transnational, European phenomenon. Given the universal human themes that underpin the plot as well as the mix of adventures that structure it, it is understandable that this French story about the vicissitudes of two young lovers had a resonance that transcended the boundaries of place, language, and time. However, the research discussed in this chapter – as well as the rest of the volume – clearly suggests that the transnational dimension of the story was not limited to the content; with regard to the materiality of the editions and the developments over time regarding both these printings and the strategies of the publishers involved, we noted striking similarities between practices, catalogues, and publications in different regions in early modern Europe. In this sense, the key to understanding the success of *Pierre et Maguelonne* lies as much in the characteristics of the individual literary work as in the initiatives and creativity of printers and publishers with a fine nose for the market and a keen eye on the competition.

Tab. 2: Earliest extant editions of *Pierre et Maguelonne* in European vernaculars.

| Language | Title resp. colophon | Title / colophon (English translation) | Place, printer- publisher and year | Reference |
|----------|---|---|--|-----------------|
| French | Colophon: “le livre et l’histoire de pierre filz du conte de prove(n)ce et de la belle maguelonne fille du roy de naples” | “the book and history of pierre son of the count of provence and of the fair maguelonne daughter of the king of naples” | [Lyon: Guillaume Le Roy for Barthélemy Buyer?, ca. 1475] | ISTC ip00645130 |

Tab. 2 (continued)

| Language | Title resp. colophon | Title / colophon (English translation) | Place, printer- publisher and year | Reference |
|----------------|--|---|---|-------------------------|
| Dutch | <i>Die Historie van Peeter van Prove(n)cen Ende die schoone Maghelone van Napels</i> | The History of Peeter van Provecen [Provence] and the fair Maghelone van Napels | Antwerpen: Willem Vorsterman, [ca. 1517] | München, UB, Cim 81 |
| Castilian | <i>La historia de la linda magalona fija del rey de napoles. y del muy esforçado cauallero Pierres de proue(n)ça: fijo del conde de proue(n)ça: y de las fortunas y trabajos que passaron</i> | The history of the fair magalona, daughter of the king of naples, and of the very brave knight Pierres de provença [Provence]: son of the count of provença: and of the fortunes and hardships they went through | Sevilla: Jacobo Cromberger, 1519 | IB 16697 |
| High German | <i>Die Schön Magelona. Ein fast lustige un(d) kurtzweylige Histori, vonn der schönen Magelona, eins Königs tochter von Neaples, un(d) einem Ritter, genan(n)t Peter mit den silberin schlüsseln, eins Graffen son ausz Provincia, durch Magister Veiten Warbeck, ausz Frantzösischer sprach in die Teütsche(n) verdolmetscht, mit eynem Sendbriefff Georgij Spalatini.</i> | Fair Magelona. A very pleasant and entertaining History, about the fair Magelona, a King's daughter from Naples, and a Knight called Peter with the silver keys, a Count's son from Provincia [Provence], translated from the French language into German by Magister Veiten Warbeck, with a Dispatch letter from Georgius Spalatinus | Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner, 1535 | VD16 H 3867 |
| Greek | <i>Ἐξήγησις του θαυμαστου Ἡηπεριου</i> | History of the admirable Imberios | Venezia: Christophoro di Zanetti, 1553 | Wien, ÖNB, *38.L.147 |

Tab. 2 (continued)

| Language | Title resp. colophon | Title / colophon (English translation) | Place, printer- publisher and year | Reference |
|---------------|---|---|--|-------------------|
| Low German | <i>Eine seer korttwylige Historia, van der schönen Magelona, eines Königes dochter van Neaples, unde einem Ridder, genömet Peter mit den sülveren Schlötelen, eines Graven Söhn uth Provintz. Erstlick uth der frantzösischen in de hochdüdesche, nu överst in de Sassische Sprake övergesettet</i> | A very entertaining History, about the fair Magelona, a King's daughter from Naples, and a Knight called Peter with the silver Keys, a Count's son from Provintz [Provence]. First translated from the french language into high german, and now transposed into the Saxon Language | Hamburg: [Hermann Möller], 1601 | VD17 7:667487X |
| Catalan | <i>Aci Comensa La Historia Del Noble, Y esforçat Caualler Pierres de Prouença, fill del Comte de Prouença. Y de la gentil Magalona, filla del Rey de Napolis; y de les fortunes y treballs que passaren en la sua molt enamorada vida. Traduyda de llengua Castellana, en nostra llengua Catalana, per lo discret y honrat Honorat Comalada</i> | Here Begins The History Of The Noble, And Valiant Knight Pierres de Provença, son of the Count of Provença [Provence], And of the gentle Magalona, daughter of the King of Naples; and of the fortunes and tribulations that happened in his life full of love. Translated from the Spanish language, into our Catalan language, by the discreet and honorable Honorat Comalada | Barcelona: Sebastián de Cormellas, 1650 | IB 58827 |

Tab. 2 (continued)

| Language | Title resp. colophon | Title / colophon (English translation) | Place, printer- publisher and year | Reference |
|-----------|--|--|---|--|
| Hungarian | <i>Kedves es nyajas História, Szép Magelonarol, Neapolis Királynak leányáról, és edgy Peter nevű Vitézről az ezüstös kútsokkal, ki edgy Provinciabeli Gróf fia volt. Francziai nyelvből Nemet nyelvre meg-fordittatott Spalatini György küldött levelével edgyütt M. Warbeck Vitus által. Mostan penig Németből Magyarrá fordította Tesseni Wenczel, az Magyar Olvasók kedvéjért</i> | A sweet and tender History about the Fair Magelona, the daughter of the King of Neapolis, and about a Knight named Peter with the silver keys, who was the son of the Count of Provincia [Provence]. Translated from French into German by M. Vitus Warbeck with the letter sent by György Spalatini. It has now been translated from German into Hungarian by Wenczel Tesseni, for the benefit of Hungarian Readers | Levoča: Samuel Brewer, 1676 | RMK I, 1202 |
| Polish | <i>Historya o Magielonie krolewnie Neapolitanskiej ...</i> ⁴⁵ | The History of Magielona, princess of Naples ... | Kraków: s.n., 1677 | Kharkiv, Central Scientific Library of Kharkiv National University, 196692 |

⁴⁵ For the complete transcription, see section 3 in this chapter.

Tab. 2 (continued)

| Language | Title resp. colophon | Title / colophon (English translation) | Place, printer- publisher and year | Reference |
|------------|---|--|--|-------------------------------|
| Danish | <i>En meget Kortvillig Historiae om den skjønne Magelona, en Konges Daater aff Neaples. Oc En Ridder som bleff kaldet Peder med Sølf-Nøglen, en Grevis Søn udaff Provincia. Aff det Franzoske Sprock først paa Tydsken udsoet oc nu nyligen fordansket</i> | A very Entertaining History of the fair Magelona, a King's Daughter from Naples. And A knight who was called Peder with the Silver Keys, a Count's son from Provincia [Provence]. From the French first translated into German and now recently translated into Danish | København: s.n., 1690 | København, KB, N 1850 8° |
| Yiddish | <i>Ayn sheyn lid fun ayn riter oiz proventzien land ...</i> ⁴⁶ | A beautiful song about a knight from proventzien [Provence] ... | Fürth: Josef Schnei'or, [5]458 [1698] | Trier, UB, 24=XH/nc38784 |
| Portuguese | <i>Historia Verdadeira Da Princeza Magalona Filha delRey de Napoles, E Do Nobre, E Valeroso Cavalheiro Pierres, Pedro De Provença, E dos muitos trabalhos, e adversidades, que passáraõ, sendo sempre constantes na Fé, e virtude, e como depois reinaraõ. e acabaraõ a sua vida virtuosamente no serviço de Deos</i> | The True History of Princess Magalona Daughter of the King of Naples, And of the Noble, and Valiant Knight Pierres, Pedro De Provença [Provence]. And of the many difficulties, adversities, that they went through, being always constant in Faith, and virtue, and how they reigned and ended their lives virtuously in the service of God | Lisboa: Manoel Fernandes da Costa, 1737 | Lisboa, BNP, RES. 974/14 P |

⁴⁶ Transliterated title.

Tab. 2 (continued)

| Language | Title resp. colophon | Title / colophon (English translation) | Place, printer- publisher and year | Reference |
|----------|---|--|---|--|
| Czech | <i>Welmi vtěšená a kratochwilná Hystorye O Krásné Panně Mageloně dceři Krále z Neapolis. A O gednom Rytjři Gménem Petrowi znamenitého hraběte z Prowincy Synu. Kterážto Hystorye prwe z Francauské Ržeči w Německau a nynj zase w nowě z Némecké w Českau s Pilnosti přeložena gest</i> ⁴⁷ | A highly amusing and entertaining History About the Beautiful Maiden Magelona, daughter of the King of Naples. And About a Knight Named Petr, son of an illustrious Count of Prowince [Provence]. Which History has been translated first from French into German and now, with Diligence, anew from German into Czech | Olomouc: František Antonín Hirnle, 1741 | KPS K17693 |
| Italian | <i>Istoria Memorabile ... per ogni ... Nobile Cavaliere. Del ... Pietro Di Provenza E Della Bella Maghelona ...</i> | A Memorable ... History about a ... Noble Knight. Of ... Pietro Di Provenza [Provence] And The Beautiful Maghelona ... | Torino: Gerardo Giuliano, [ca. 1726–1765] | Ithaca, Carl A. Kroch Library, PQ1501.P53 I8 1600 tiny |
| Russian | <i>Povest' o blagorodnom knjaze Petre zlatych ključach i o blagorodnoj korolevne Magilene</i> ⁴⁸ | The Tale of the noble prince Petr of the Golden Keys and the noble princess Magilena | S.l. [Moscow]: s.n., s.a. [ca. 1781] | Göttingen, SUB, 8 FAB X, 6725 (3) RARA |

⁴⁷ I did not count the seventeenth-century extant editions of the broadside ballad version, entitled *Pjseň Vtěšená a kratochwilná o krásné Mageloně a Petrowi z Prowincy kterak gsau se náravně spolu zamilowali potom gak se s njmi dalo* (“A Pleasant and entertaining Song about the beautiful Magelona and Petr from Prowince [Provence] who fell in love with each other and what happened to them”; KPS K09899–K09901).

⁴⁸ Transliterated title.

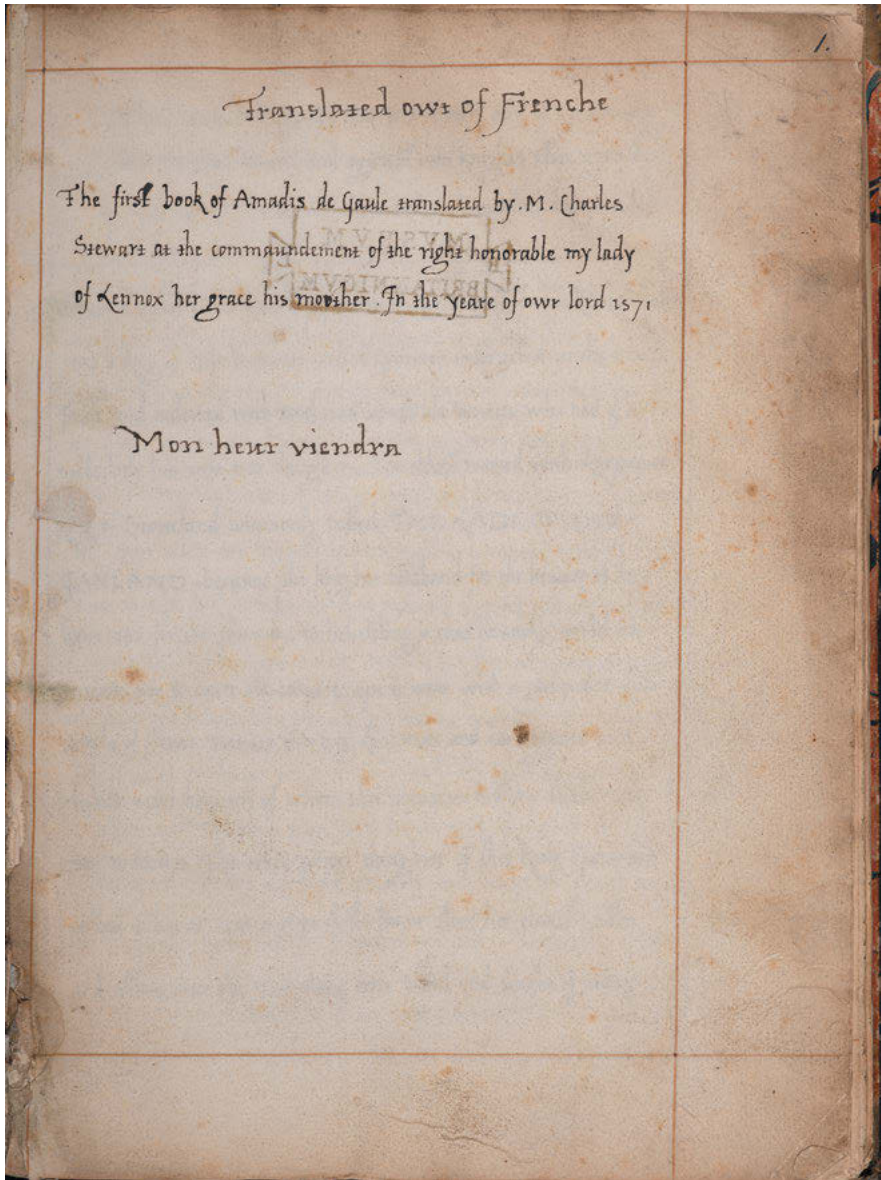
Jordi Sánchez-Martí

Charting *Amadis de Gaule*'s Commercial Success in Early Modern Europe

In 1571 the fifteen-year-old Charles Stewart translated the first chapter and a half of *Amadis de Gaule* from French into English following the instructions of his mother, Lady Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox (d. 1578), as the translator himself states at the beginning of his text: “translated by .M. Charles Stewart at the commaundement of the right honorable my lady of Lennox her grace his moother” (1571, π1r; Fig. 1). After her husband Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox, passed away on 4 September 1571, Lady Margaret seems to have become fully aware that her only surviving son, Charles, had important shortcomings in his education for someone of his standing and likely calling. She expressed her concern to William Cecil, later Lord Burghley, in a letter dated 4 November 1571: “the good hap of this [Lord Charles] hath not been to have that help of the father’s company that his brother [Lord Darnley, d. 1567] had, whereby at these years he is somewhat unfurnished in qualities needful” (Strickland 1851, 388). This realisation led her to request Cecil “to accept my said son [Lord Charles] into your house, to be brought up and instructed as the wards be, so long time as shall be needful” (ibid.).

This latter piece of information provides us with some context to better understand the particular nature of Charles’s translation, which although fragmentary represents the earliest extant witness to the transmission of *Amadis* in English. Now preserved in the British Library, Lansdowne ms. 766, this translation was meant as an exercise by Lady Margaret, who had decided that her son should practice his reading competence in French as well as his written composition in English while she waited to hear from Cecil.¹ Her choice of *Amadis* may be explained by this work’s inherent appeal for young readers, along with its prestige among the English and Scottish elites. In addition, Nicolas Herberay des Es-sarts’s French rendering was actually recommended in England for learning French owing to its high stylistic and rhetorical merits (Lambley 1920, 496). Nonetheless, Lord Charles showed limited interest in performing his task in view of his

¹ For a description of the manuscript, see Ward (1883, 787–788). For information on Lady Margaret, see Marshall (2004). In this chapter I use the form *Amadis (de Gaula)* only when referring specifically to the Spanish original, and *Amadis* when referring to all other manifestations of the romance, regardless of language; Moore (2020, 1 n. 2). Research for this chapter was funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation (ref. PID2020-115735GB-I00), whose support is herewith gratefully acknowledged.



Translated out of Frenche

The first book of Amadis de Gaule translated by .M. Charles
Stewart at the commandement of the right honorable my lady
of Kennox her grace his mother. In the yeare of our lord 1571

Mon heur viendra

Fig. 1: *The first book of Amadis de Gaule*, transl. by Charles Stewart (London, BL, Lansdowne ms. 766, 1r). © The British Library Board of Trustees.

translation's abrupt interruption in the middle of the second chapter (Thomas 1920, 253, fn. 2).

By contrast, the adventures of *Amadis* were already available to most Continental readers in translations and printed editions that had achieved remarkable commercial success since they started to appear in the 1540s, and still continued to do so in the 1570s. The same year of 1571, while the young Charles was busy carrying out his mother's assignment, France saw the publication of the first French translation of book XIII in the Amadisian cycle, done by Jacques Gohory, with two separate editions printed by Lucas Breyer.² The Frankfurt publisher Sigmund Feyerabend issued the first German translation of book IV and reissued the translation of book I.³ The following year the fourth complete edition of books I–IV in Italian translation was printed in Venice (Bognolo et al. 2013, 202), while the first Dutch translation of book IV was issued in Antwerp.⁴ Finally, in 1575 Pedro Lasso printed in Salamanca two editions of books I–IV of *Amadís*, one commissioned by Lucas de Junta and the other by Vicencio de Portonaris.⁵

During the first half of the 1570s, one of the periods of intense publication of the romance (Weddige 1975, 110), *Amadis* was accessible in print to most Western European readers, but its printed dissemination was not at all homogenous across the Continent. This chapter aims to chart the journey in time and space made by *Amadis* as it expanded from late medieval Castile, where it originated, and became a staple presence in bookstalls across the Continent as it was translated into the major European vernaculars in the early modern period.⁶ This kind of interaction between translation and the technology of printing fostered the emergence of an international canon that in the literary arena in particular favoured the circulation of fictional narratives, as the present volume attests (Barker and Hosington 2013, xxi). *Amadis* occupied a prominent place in this canon, becoming one of the earliest publishing phenomena of Continental proportions involving a work of narrative fiction. This success rested on an engaging chivalric story with Arthurian undertones and tremendous narrative pliability that printers and publishers packaged in attractive ways for their respective national clientele. As a result of the story's malleability, the *Amadis* cycle expanded through the addition of continuations that enabled printers and publishers to respond to and benefit from the insatiable market demand for Amadisian sequels.

2 FB 939–940. For descriptions, see Renouard (1982, nos 9–10).

3 See Weddige (1975, 346, no. 2, and 351, no. 14); cf. section 6 below.

4 For a description, see van Selm (2001, 117–118); cf. section 4 below.

5 IB 16478 and 16480, respectively. For descriptions, see Lucía Megías (1999, 87–90).

6 Note that here I focus only on the *Amadis* series in narrative prose and exclude all other formats, including the *Thrésor* in various languages, for which see Benhaïm (2000).

In this journey through time and space our romance crossed political, linguistic and cultural borders as it changed and adapted to new milieus, but always enjoying some degree of commercial success, hence its long-lasting popularity that broke down social barriers. It will become apparent that this was not simply a unidirectional journey in which a product of Castilian provenance got exported to the rest of the Continent, but instead involved a complex network of publishing centres, located both inside and outside the Iberian Peninsula, where printers, publishers and translators engaged with the original materials in creative ways. As a consequence of *Amadis's* multidirectional and multicentred dissemination, its textual presentation assumed markedly different material and narrative incarnations that determined the early modern reader's engagement with this literary work.

Rawles opened an influential article on the print transmission of *Amadis* in France by stating, “no successful attempt has ever been made to make a full bibliographical examination of even a part of this admittedly large body of literature” (1981, 91). The situation has certainly improved since then thanks to the publication of several studies devoted to the circulation of *Amadis* in various language traditions, namely, Spanish (Lucía Megías 1999), Dutch (van Selm 2001), Italian (Bognolo et al. 2013), German (Schaffert 2015) and English (Moore 2020). Efforts to offer an overview of the European dissemination of *Amadis* after Thomas (1920), however, have not abounded. Weddige (1975) provides insightful but limited discussion of the whole tradition that is well grounded on bibliographical evidence, while the richly illustrated volume edited by Lucía Megías (2008a) – a sort of catalogue accompanying an exhibition organised on the occasion of the 500th anniversary of *Amadis's* earliest extant edition – devotes little and uneven space to the work's circulation outside the peninsula. More recently Mancing (2020) has attempted the daunting task of covering the entire phenomenon in a journal article, but provides only a useful survey of all available knowledge without offering sufficient bibliographical information.⁷ The present chapter contains an overview of *Amadis's* European circulation, from its origins in medieval Castile to its printed distribution inside and outside the Iberian Peninsula during the early modern period. This overview is necessarily limited and partial given the sheer scale of the phenomenon, which has demanded a selective approach in outlining the commercial success the *Amadis* cycle attained in various language traditions.⁸ My focus has been on describing the first printed appearance in each

7 Note that, despite its title, the essay by Wilson (2014) focuses on the circulation of the Iberian books of chivalry – including *Amadis* – in France and England, as does Pettegree (2007, 204–218) in an otherwise very useful overview.

8 With only one edition in Hebrew, *Amadis* failed to achieve any commercial success in this language and, therefore, no discussion of this edition is included in this chapter; see fn. 61 below.

language (see Tab. 1), whose date I have used as a criterion to arrange the information chronologically when documenting the printed migration of the *Amadis* cycle from its earliest extant edition, printed in Spain at the beginning of the sixteenth century, until the latest early modern edition, printed in English at the turn of the eighteenth century.

1 The Origins of *Amadís*

The earliest textual witness of the original *Amadís* comprises four manuscript fragments that, on linguistic and palaeographical grounds, have been dated to the first quarter of the fifteenth century, ca. 1420,⁹ although the origins of the narrative date back to the first decades of the thirteenth century. The text in these fragments belongs to book III, as preserved in the printed version, specifically to chapters 65, 68, 70 and 72. The unearthing of the fragments confirmed the existence of a primitive manuscript tradition, while their textual identification proved that the primitive *Amadís* must have consisted of at least three books.¹⁰ This narrative recounts the life and numerous adventures of Amadís, son born of the secret union between King Perión of Gaul and Helisena, daughter of Garínter, King of Little Britain. After his birth, Amadís is abandoned and thrown into the sea in a chest, with a sealed letter explaining the baby's name and royal descent, until he is found by Gandales, who will raise him with his wife in Scotland. His adoptive parents take Amadís to the court of Languines, King of Scotland and at the time married to Helisena's elder sister, and he enters the service of Oriana, daughter to Lisuarte, King of Great Britain. Amadís falls in love with Oriana, unaware that she harbours the same feelings for him, a confusion that will prove central to the plot's development, as he will strive to perform feats of arms to win his beloved's heart. At the age of twelve Amadís is knighted and begins his adventures by defeating King Abiés of Ireland, after which his identity is revealed by Oriana when she reads the letter found in the chest where he was abandoned as a baby. Arcaláus the enchanter dispossesses Lisuarte of his throne and takes him prisoner along his daughter Oriana, whom Ama-

9 These fragments are now housed in Berkeley, BL, BANC MS UCB 115, and came to light only in 1956. For a description and dating of the fragments, see Rodríguez-Moñino (1956, 206–207). For a palaeographical description, see Millares Carlo (1956). The fragments are transcribed and reproduced in Lucía Megías (2008b). For a digital facsimile, see http://ds.lib.berkeley.edu/BANCM SUCB115_1 (22 August 2022).

10 It has been suggested that in an earlier stage *Amadís* would have consisted of only two books (Gómez Redondo 2008), but there is no textual evidence to support this hypothesis.

dís rescues and with whom he consummates his love. As a result of this union and unbeknownst to them their baby son is conceived. In book II, after proving to be the most loyal of lovers, Amadís gains possession of the *Ínsola Firme* (Firm Island), an enchanted island, but in a fit of jealousy Oriana sends him a letter rejecting his love. The misery caused by her spurning leads Amadís to adopt the name of *Belte-nebros* (Fair Forlorn) and retire to the *Peña Pobre* (Poor Rock) until Oriana restores him as her beloved and they are reunited in *Miraflores*. Lisuarte, however, is ill-advised against Amadís, who decides to escape again to the *Peña Pobre*. At the end of book II Oriana learns that she is pregnant. Book III continues with the conflict between Lisuarte and Amadís, while Oriana gives birth to a baby boy, named *Esplandián*, who is taken from her and ends up being suckled by a lioness and brought up by the hermit *Nasciano*. When Lisuarte is attacked, Amadís returns to help him incognito. After his victory he sets off again in search of new adventures that will take him to “*Allemaigne*”, Bohemia, Sardinia, Romania, Greece, and finally Constantinople, among other places. Towards the end of the book Lisuarte weighs the advantages of marrying his daughter with the Emperor of Rome, and sends her to Rome against her will, but Amadís intercepts the ship and takes her beloved with him to the *Ínsola Firme*.

While the narrative development of these three books was already fixed by the beginning of the fifteenth century, if not before, their actual wording is attributable to Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo (d. ca. 1505), an alderman from Medina del Campo.¹¹ In the prologue preceding the text of the romance in its earliest extant edition, Montalvo comments that initially he started by “*corrigiendo estos tres libros de Amadís, que por falta de los malos escritores, o componedores, muy corruptos y viciosos se leían*” (Cacho Blecua 1987, 1: 224: “correcting these three books of *Amadís*, which read very corruptly and imperfectly owing to the fault of bad scribes or scribblers”).¹² A simple comparison between the manuscript and the printed version reveals that Montalvo was not only a compiler, but also an editor of the former, which he had no qualms in abridging.¹³ While revising the primitive version, he did not merely copy-edit it for stylistic purposes, but intro-

11 For biographical information about Rodríguez de Montalvo, see Moya García (s.a.).

12 All translations are my own unless otherwise stated. Abbreviated references identify editions in standard reference works; abbreviations are expanded in the list of references at the end of this volume.

13 Cf. Gómez Redondo (2008, 77). There is no indication that Montalvo actually used the extant manuscript or a similar one, although in the same prologue, in the middle of a fictionalised reference, he mentions how he consulted the primitive version “*en letra y pargamino tan antiguo, que con mucho trabajo se pudo leer por aquellos que la lengua sabían*” (Cacho Blecua 1987, 1: 225: “in handwriting and parchment so old that those who knew the language could read it but with great difficulty”).

duced significant alterations to the plot. There is evidence to suggest that in its primitive state the third and final book of *Amadis* ended with the hero's death at the hands of his son Esplandián, unknown to him, but Montalvo suppressed it in his reworking and transferred Amadis's fight against his son incognito to book V (Lida de Malkiel 1953). In the same prologue Montalvo describes that, in addition to revising these three books, he was busy “trasladando y enmendando el libro cuarto con las Sergas de Esplandián su hijo, que hasta aquí no es memoria de ninguno ser visto”, so that the story was complete in “cinco libros” (Cacho Blecua 1987, 1: 224, 225: “translating and amending book IV together with the Feats of his son Esplandián, [a book] that hitherto has remained unrecorded”; “five books”). There is general agreement in attributing the authorship of books IV–V to Montalvo, but it seems possible that not all the narrative material was of his invention, as the text's modern editor acknowledges (Cacho Blecua 1987, 1: 81).

2 The Spanish Printing of *Amadis*

Internal evidence suggests that Montalvo may have completed his compiling, revising, editing and composing of books I–V ca. 1495, as proposed by Ramos (1994, 516–518), who also offers circumstantial but convincing evidence that the text of at least books I–IV would have been printed in Seville in 1496 (1994, 518–520).¹⁴ The earliest extant edition of books I–IV, however, was printed in Saragossa on 30 October 1508, more than a decade after its completion and three years after Montalvo's own death.¹⁵ With regard to book V, better known as *Las sergas de Esplandián*, we know of an edition printed in Seville in July 1510, of which no copy has survived,¹⁶ but it is probable that the *editio princeps* was also published in 1496 or shortly thereafter.

¹⁴ This section discusses only editions printed in Spanish-speaking cities in the Iberian Peninsula. For editions in Spanish printed elsewhere, see fn. 33, 36, 47 and 61.

¹⁵ See Martín Abad (2001, no. 42) and Norton (1978, no. 625). Only one copy of this edition survives, now in London, BL, shelfmark C.20.e.6. For a short history of this copy with two facsimile illustrations, see West (2008). For a textual analysis of this edition, see Ramos (2002). Prior to this edition there must have existed at least another two: one, from which the 1508 edition and the one printed in Rome in 1519 derive independently, which share numerous errors; another, from which the 1526 Seville edition would derive and contains a text more faithful to the lost original. For the stemma, see Ramos (2015, 368).

¹⁶ Griffin (1991, 309 no. 47), Martín Abad (2001, no. 1333) and Norton (1978, no. 788). The earliest extant edition was printed in Toledo in 1521 (Lucía Megías 1999, no. 11).

Even if Montalvo conceived books I–V as a narrative unit, they were always presented to the Spanish reading public as two separate bibliographical objects. The sixteenth century saw the publication of at least sixteen editions of books I–IV – which were published in one volume¹⁷ – and nine of book V, which sometimes mention on the title page this book's position in the series but not its foundational value.¹⁸ Later printers not only respected book V's bibliographical separation, but also reproduced the visual presentation imposed by their predecessors, printing the text with gothic typefaces, in two columns, all in folio-sized volumes whose title pages are usually adorned with the woodcut of a knight riding a horse. This sort of packaging came to be associated with the genre of Iberian chivalric books, even though some *Amadís* editions published in the second half of the century used roman typefaces instead.¹⁹

The number of editions published and their concentration primarily during the first half of the century are indicative of a certain degree of success. Hoping to take advantage of the romance genre's organisation in cycles, as is the case of the Arthurian legend (Pinet 2015, 84), printers wanted to exploit the full potential of the *Amadís* series while meeting the demand for more chivalric works. These circumstances led to the rapid origination of a new cycle, that of *Palmerín* (Sánchez-Martí 2020, 19–27), as well as the extension of the Amadisian cycle, with new continuations added to Montalvo's books until reaching a total of twelve books in Spanish. Book VI, known as *Florisando* and authored by the cleric Ruy Páez de Ribera, was printed in Salamanca on 15 April 1510, but without much commercial success.²⁰ More fortunate were Feliciano de Silva's continuations, deemed to be

17 These editions were printed in Saragossa (1508, 1521; IB 16414, 16422), Seville (1511, 1526, 1531, 1535, 1539, 1547, 1552, 1575, 1586; IB 16418, 16431, 16434, 16440, 16447, 16457, 16470, 16479, 16485), Toledo (1524; IB 16424), Medina del Campo (1545; IB 16453), Burgos (1563; IB 16472), Salamanca (1575; IB 16478, 16480) and Alcalá de Henares (1580; IB 16481). I take the list from Eisenberg and Marín Pina (2000, 130–134), although copies of all editions are not preserved. For bibliographical descriptions of several of these editions, see Lucía Megías (1999, nos 2, 4, 5, 8–10).

18 These editions were printed in Seville (1510, 1526, 1542, 1549 [not in IB]; IB 16416, 16432, 16450), Toledo (1521; IB 16423), Burgos (1526, 1587; IB 16429, 16488), Saragossa (1587; IB 16487) and Alcalá de Henares (1588; IB 16490); cf. Eisenberg and Marín Pina (2000, 223–225). See bibliographical descriptions in Lucía Megías (1999, nos 11–15).

19 For a discussion of the standard presentation of the Iberian books of chivalry, see Lucía Megías (2000, 431–437). Note that the use of rotunda gothic typefaces was common in sixteenth-century Spain (Gaskell 1972, 18). An edition of *Amadís* in roman typeface was printed in Alcalá de Henares in 1580 (Lucía Megías 1999, no. 9).

20 IB 16415 (Martín Abad 2001, no. 1175; Norton 1978, no. 486). Wilson (2014, 203) states inaccurately that it was printed twice in 1510, but it was reprinted only once, in Seville (1526; IB 16430). This sixth part together with the eighth has come to be considered as *heterodox*, because they depart from the chivalric spirit of the original books (Sales Dasí 2002).

'orthodox' on account of their adherence to the chivalric ethos of Montalvo's original. Silva penned the following Amadisian sequels: book VII, titled *Lisuarte de Grecia* and first printed in Seville in 1514;²¹ book IX, known as *Amadis de Grecia* and first published in Cuenca in 1530;²² book X, entitled *Florisel de Niquea*, first issued in Valladolid in 1532;²³ book XI, called *Rogel de Grecia*, published in two parts in 1535 and 1551 respectively.²⁴ Both the eighth book, by Juan Díaz,²⁵ and the twelfth, written by Pedro de Luján, failed to enjoy much editorial success.²⁶

In sum, a total of five authors contributed to creating the Spanish *Amadís* cycle, comprising twelve books published at least on 55 occasions in total throughout the entire sixteenth century. These editions were printed in eleven different cities, including the main printing centres in the kingdom of Castile. One particular city stands out, namely Seville, since it is the only one in which editions of all books of the *Amadís* cycle were printed, excepting the second part of *Rogel de Grecia*; and also because 28 Amadisian editions were issued there, representing more than half of all such editions produced in Spain.²⁷

21 IB 16420 (Martín Abad 2001, no. 1426; Norton 1978, no. 962). This work was reprinted in Seville (1525, 1543, 1548, 1550; IB 16426, 16451, 16458, 16462), Toledo (1534, 1539; IB 16437, 16446), Estella (1564; IB 16474) and Saragossa (1587; IB 16489). Wilson (2014, 203) counts ten editions. For attributing this book to Silva, see Thomas (1917).

22 IB 16433; see Alfaro Torres (2002, no. 2). This book was reprinted in Burgos (1535; IB 16438), Seville (1542, 1549; IB 16449, 16460), Medina del Campo (1564; IB 16473) and Valencia (1582; IB 16482).

23 IB 16435; see Marsá (2007, no. 111). This work was reissued in Seville (1536, 1546; IB 16444, 16456) and Saragossa (1584; IB 16484).

24 The first part was printed in Medina del Campo (IB 16441; no copy is extant) and was reissued in Seville (1546, 1551 [not in IB]; IB 16455). The second part was published in Salamanca (IB 16466; Ruiz Fidalgo 1994, no. 353), and reprinted in Saragossa (1568; not in IB). For a discussion of books X and XI, see Martín Lalanda (2002).

25 This heterodox continuation was titled *Lisuarte de Grecia*, just like Silva's book VII, and was printed only once in Seville (1526; IB 16428). See Lucía Megías (2009, 36–43).

26 This book, entitled *Silves de la Selva*, was published only in Seville (1546, 1549; IB 16454, 16459); for these editions, see IS (nos 567 and 637). For a discussion of this book, see Romero Tabares (2002).

27 These numbers contradict Lucía Megías's assertion that Seville "ostenta el monopolio casi exclusivo de la edición de los libros del ciclo amadisiano" (2002, 18: "has an almost exclusive monopoly on publishing the books of the Amadisian cycle"). His later study (Lucía Megías 2009) sets the record straight.

2.1 The Publication of *Amadís* in Seville, 1510–1551

At the time Seville was Castile's most populous city as well as its leading financial centre, since all European trade with the New World was conducted and controlled there. This privileged position of commercial monopoly held by Seville from the beginning of the 1500s triggered the emergence of a prosperous bourgeoisie, both local and foreign, who formed the lifeblood of the most dynamic printing centre of the peninsula, where nearly twenty per cent of all items published between 1500 and 1540 were printed (Wilkinson 2011, 83). That books of chivalry should flourish in such a context may seem a natural and inevitable consequence, but in fact happened because some printers hoped to profit from the publication of these literary works. The Cromberger dynasty of printers showed the greatest commitment to the genre, in particular to the *Amadís* series.

After marrying Comincia de Blanquis, widow of the printer Meinard Ungut, the German-born Jacobo Cromberger started running the most active printing house in Seville in 1504.²⁸ If at first Jacobo printed commissions for booksellers, soon he was publishing editions on his own initiative alone, an activity he performed with a fair amount of success in his ability to interpret and satisfy the local market's needs and demands. From 1504 until Jacobo's death in 1528 two thirds of all books printed in Seville came off his presses (Griffin 1991, 58), but for the best part of this period he showed little interest in chivalric romance, printing only the now lost editions of *Amadís's* book V in 1510 and books I–IV in 1511.²⁹ After transferring the business to his son Juan in the mid-1520s, however, they jointly signed three Amadisian editions: book VII on 20 October 1525 (IS no. 45), followed six months later by books I–IV (IS no. 61) on 20 April 1526, and the *editio princeps* of book VIII on 25 September 1526 (IS no. 69). This sudden enthusiasm for chivalric romances significantly coincided with Juan Varela de Salamanca's editions of *Amadís's* book V on 10 April 1526 (IS no. 60) and book VI on 28 October 1526 (IS no. 71), also printed in Seville. In his thoroughgoing study on printing in sixteenth-century Seville, Castillejo Benavente makes the following consideration: "aunque a veces [Juan Varela] imprime la misma obra que estos [i.e., Jacobo and Juan Cromberger] en fechas próximas, la razón que le mueve a ello es que se trata de un éxito editorial y en este aspecto sí podemos decir que los Cromberger le sirven de guía para aminorar los riesgos" (IS 1: 179: "although Juan Varela occasionally printed the same work as Jacobo and Juan Cromberger around the same time, he did so with works that enjoyed commercial success and in this

²⁸ For the Crombergers' genealogical tree, see Griffin (1991, 51). For all biographical information concerning the Crombergers I use Griffin's remarkable monograph.

²⁹ Norton (1978, nos. 788, 1008). Lucía Megias (2009, 32–35, table 2) lists all editions of the Spanish *Amadís* cycle, with one column especially designated for the Cromberger editions.

respect we can say that the Crombergers served him as a guide to reduce risks"). On the face of it, one could infer that Varela was taking advantage of the chivalric line developed by his competitors, but in fact it is more likely to have been the opposite case. On 1 October 1524 Varela published book II of the *Palmerín* cycle (IS no. 27), issuing the preceding book I on 30 May 1525 (IS no. 37), thus being almost five months ahead of his rivals in publishing books of chivalry. As important as the Crombergers were for the printed dissemination of the Iberian books of chivalry, Griffin reminds us that "raras veces se arriesgaron con primeras ediciones" (1991, 194: "rarely did the Crombergers take a chance with first editions"). Not only would they be following their competitor's lead, but in the midst of the fray with Varela the Crombergers were carried away and printed the first edition of *Amadis's* book VIII, which turned out to be a flop, for it was never reprinted (fn. 25). In any event, this competitive environment made possible that between October 1525 and October 1526 the entire Amadisian series then available was printed in the city of Seville (Lucía Megías 2002, 18).

After his father's death in 1528, Juan Cromberger reissued books I–IV of *Amadis* three more times, in 1531 (IS no. 176), 1535 (IS no. 282) and 1539 (IS no. 363), proof positive that he continued profiting from this romance. Even if Juan printed no other title in the series, the inventory drawn up after his own death in September 1540 lists copies of *Amadis's* books IX, X and XI, never before printed by his firm, thus suggesting he benefited from the series as a bookseller too.³⁰ When he died, his first-born son Jácome was only fifteen years old, so his widow Brígida Maldonado (d. 1590) took over the business.³¹ She had grown up in Salamanca within a family of booksellers, the Caróns, and witnessed how her mother Juana Maldonado ran the family business when she was widowed. It must have felt natural for Brígida to follow her mother's example and continue the family printing business until Jácome was old and experienced enough. Brígida's priority was to maintain the financial viability of the printing house and, to this end, she chose to give continuity to the imprint, thus explaining that the colophons to her editions still described them as printed "en casa de Juan Cromberger que Dios dé gloria" (IS no. 430; "in the house of Juan Cromberger, to whom God give glory,"), as in the case of the three Amadisian books published under her charge, two in 1542 (bks V and IX; IS nos 430, 435) and one in 1546 (bk X; IS no. 565), by which time Jácome had already taken up the reins of the business. Despite his marriage of convenience with Juan Varela's daughter, Jácome lacked the leadership and business acumen of his father and grandfather, resulting in the decay of the typographical quality their firm was known for and in

³⁰ See items nos 103, 263, 290, 417, 432 and 441 in the inventory (Griffin 1998).

³¹ For information on Maldonado I follow Griffin (1993) and Maillard and Griffin (2009).

an output based mainly on reprinting. This is reflected in his Amadisian production, which is made up only of reprints of books V (1549; IS no. 647), VII (1550; IS no. 659), IX (1549; IS no. 638), X (1546; IS no. 565) and XI (1551; IS no. 700).³²

2.2 The Dissemination of *Amadís* Outside the Iberian Peninsula

The decline of the Cromberger printing dynasty concurred with the emergence of Medina del Campo as the centre of the peninsular book market from 1540 onwards (Griffin 2011), but interestingly also with the waning of the publication of the Iberian books of chivalry, including the *Amadís* cycle, in the Spanish kingdoms. Everything would seem to suggest that both the language and the origin of the cycle would have confined its transmission to the Iberian Peninsula, but there are definite indications that its fame had already travelled abroad, most notably to Italy, with the edition of books I–IV printed in Rome in 1519 by Antonio Martínez de Salamanca. This edition reproduces the exact same visual conventions used for the genre in Castile, namely folio format, two columns and gothic typeface.³³ While textually derived from the same hyperarchetype as the Saragossan edition of 1508 (Ramos 2015, 368), the Roman printing follows the illustration programme used by Jacobo Cromberger for his now lost 1511 edition (Lucía Megías 2000, 147–149; cf. also fn. 17 above).

Another sign of familiarity with *Amadís* beyond the Pyrenees can be found in *De institutione foeminae Christianae*, authored by the Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives and first printed in Antwerp in 1524, although completed in March 1523 before his move from Leuven to England. In this treatise Vives enjoined women against reading “bokes written in our mothers tonges, that be made but for idel men and women to rede, [and] have none other matter, but of warre and love” (Beauchamp et al. 2002, 24).³⁴ This argumentation closes with a list of works, arranged by country, that is illustrative of the kind of reading matter Vives deemed detrimental to women. He refers to Spain in these terms: “of those ungracious bokes, suche as be in my countre in Spayn Amadise, Florisande, Tirante, Tristane, and Celestina the baude mother of noughtynes” (Beauchamp et al. 2002, 25). Although he left Spain in 1509 at the age of 16, it should not surprise that Vives knew, whether directly or indirectly, of *Amadise* and *Florisande* – i.e., books I–IV

³² See further in Griffin (1991, 137–156).

³³ IB 16421. For a bibliographical description, see Lucía Megías (1999, no. 1).

³⁴ I quote from Richard Hyrde’s English translation published ca. 1529 (STC 24856).

and VI of the cycle – since he had maintained contact with his family in Valencia as well as with Spanish institutions and émigrés.

Moreover, the books of *Amadís* also travelled to the New World, even if their reading by the native populations was frowned upon by the Spanish authorities. The *Dispatch prohibiting the carrying of books of profane stories to the Indies*, signed by Queen Juana I in Ocaña on 4 April 1531 states,

Yo he sido informada que se pasan a las Indias muchos libros de romance, de historias vanas y de profanidad, como son de Amadís y otras de esta calidad, y porque este es mal ejercicio para los indios [...] yo os mando que de aquí en adelante no consintáis [...] pasar a las Indias libros ningunos de historias y cosas profanas.³⁵

Despite the ban on the transport of books of chivalry to America, the insistence on the same proscription in two further directives issued in 1543 suggests that they failed to produce the desired effect (Reyes Gómez 2000, 2: 786–787).

While these three examples speak of the dissemination of the adventures of *Amadís* outside the Iberian Peninsula, in no way do they signify a departure from the Spanish cultural paradigms. In the case of the 1519 Roman edition, all Antonio Martínez de Salamanca aimed to do was faithfully to respect the visual codification the genre had in Spain, printing not only in the original language but copying the layout and illustrations of his Castilian counterparts, too. Vives, for his part, placed *Amadís* in the context of the romance genre, which had achieved Europe-wide penetration, but confined his views on the series to Spain's literary culture, just as our narrative's contraband circulation in America represents no more than an unchallenged extension of the metropolis's literary fashions to the new territories. These three isolated circumstances are testimony to *Amadís's* cultural vigour and its capacity to arouse interest outside the Spanish domain, but they are not in themselves indicative that this work achieved international currency independent of its culture of origin.

The process of internationalisation of *Amadís* truly began with yet another edition in Spanish printed in Venice that, however, challenged and reinterpreted the genre's conventionalised textual presentation. I refer to the edition of books I–IV printed in 1533 by Giovanni Antonio Nicolini da Sabbio for Juan Bautista Pederzano, which presents the text in roman typeface set in a continuous line across the page, instead of the traditional gothic typography and double columns, al-

³⁵ Reyes Gómez (2000, 2: 783): "I have been informed that many books of romance, of vain stories and profanity, such as *Amadís* and others of the same kind, are passed to the Indies, and because this is bad for the Indians [...] I command you from now on not to consent [...] to pass any books of profane stories and things to the Indies."

though it follows the illustration programme devised by the Crombergers.³⁶ They wanted this edition of *Amadís* to be perceived as more authoritative and, to this end, commissioned the Andalusian cleric Francisco Delicado to revise and correct the original text. Besides conducting the revision of the text and making the occasional intervention, Delicado was also responsible for replacing Rodríguez de Montalvo's prologues to books I and IV with his own, providing a table of contents and adding pronunciation guidelines for Italian readers.

In a very insightful discussion of the Italian publication of Spanish works, Binotti comments on how this Venetian edition of *Amadís* adapted “to the set of parameters and conventions that was gradually standardizing Italian printed production” (2010, 91). Most scholars, including Binotti, seem to give all the credit for this edition's conception to Delicado, when it is only fair to acknowledge Pederzano's contribution in financing it, and Nicolini da Sabbio's in executing its impression. Without the active involvement of these three agents the 1533 edition would not have been invested with all the criteria of appreciation that had the effect of raising the aesthetic, cultural and commercial value of Rodríguez de Montalvo's text and of inserting it “into the ideological and formal frame” pertaining to “the realm of lofty literature” (Binotti 2010, 91). If printers in Spain had succeeded in attracting an upper-class clientele for their editions of the *Amadís* cycle, they had not, however, conferred connotations of literary prestige and sophistication on the series. By contrast, the printer and publisher of *Amadís* in its new Venetian incarnation packaged it with the material marks of canonical texts – printing the text in a single block across the page, using roman type and opening each chapter with historiated initials –, thus endowing it with new and more prestigious social meanings, to which Delicado contributed with his paratextual interpolations. Aware that this fiddling with the physical and visual presentation of *Amadís* amounted to the romance's canonisation (Binotti 2010, 104), Delicado also anticipated this work's capacity to appeal to a diverse European audience as well as its potential for printed dissemination in other vernaculars. In the prologue to the edition Delicado states, “no solamente españoles la tienen de leer, mas los latinos, italianos diversos, toscanos, tudescos, franceses, ingleses, húngaros y portugueses” (Perugini 2004, 424: “not only Spaniards ought to read it, but also the Latins, various Italians, Tuscans, Germans, French, English, Hungarians and Portuguese”). His wish was prophetic, since this narrative cycle would gradually become available in French, Italian, German, and English translations, as we shall see.

³⁶ IB 16436. For a bibliographical description, see Lucía Megías (1999, no. 3). Note that, even though both the Venetian and the Roman editions adopt the illustrations created for the Crombergers, it seems that Nicolini da Sabbio and Martínez de Salamanca accessed them independently from each other (Gernert 2005, 220). For the collaboration between Pederzano and the brothers Nicolini da Sabbio, see Bognolo (2017).

3 *Amadis* in French

The Venetian restyling of *Amadis* left the work's status and demand in the Spanish book market unaltered, but most probably served to attract the attention of other Continental book dealers, as Delicado predicted, owing to the desirability of its new material presentation. On 10 July 1540 Denis Janot, in collaboration with the booksellers Jean Longis and Vincent Sertenas, finished printing in Paris *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*.³⁷ This edition's *mise-en-page* bears a close resemblance to the 1533 Venetian printing, as the text was also printed in folio, with roman typography and across the page, but with more generous margins and 42 lines to a standard page, instead of 44 as in Nicolini da Sabbio's edition. This is not to suggest that the French printer was necessarily inspired by the Venice edition, not least because we know that the French translation derives textually from the Seville edition of 1526 (Bideaux 2006, 92). Yet, it seems not unreasonable to think that the Venetian edition served to raise the international cachet and cultural capital of *Amadis*. The French translator, Nicolas de Herberay des Essarts, provides evidence in his translation of book VIII of *Amadis* that this romance had at the time come to be associated with the social elites. In addition to dedicating it to King Henri II (1519–1559), in the same dedication Herberay also admits to him to have started translating the Amadisian cycle with royal encouragement: “Sire, j’avoys par le commandement du feu Roy votre pere (que Dieu absolve) entreprins de mettre en lumiere toute la chronique du roy Amadis” (quoted from Rawles 1981, 94 n. 14: “Sire, I had by the command of the late King your father (may God absolve him) undertaken to bring to light the whole chronicle of King Amadis”).³⁸

Given the prestige that the *Amadis* cycle must have been gaining all over Europe and considering that during the 1530s the French editions of Arthurian romances dwindled (Taylor 2014, 147), Janot and his associates Longis and Sertenas chose to gamble on the commercial prospects of the former. Their aim was, on the one hand, to retain the traditional consumers of Arthurian romances who, when reading the adventures of *Amadis* for the first time, were to perceive that they were “engaging with something satisfyingly near-Arthurian – something reassuringly familiar” (Taylor 2014, 153). But, on the other hand, the three associates also wanted

³⁷ FB 651, 653; Rawles (2018, no. 109).

³⁸ This translation was published in 1552 with the title *Premier livre de la chronique de don Flores de Grece* (FB 19975–19976), although in fact it contains a translation/adaptation of *Lisuarte de Grecia* by Juan Díaz, i.e., book VIII of the Spanish series (Sáenz Carbonell 2011; Montorsi 2020). Note that for a long time *Don Flores* was thought to be an original work by Herberay; cf. Thomas (1920, 199–200) and more recently Mancing (2020, 133). For biographical information on Herberay, see Guillerm and Guillerm (2007).

to appeal to a wider audience that could be seduced by the aesthetic merits of their own editions, “whose very design signals that it is something delightful, radically new” (Taylor 2014, 149). Just as the Venice edition of 1533 diverged from the visual parameters typical of Spanish editions of chivalric books and other medieval romances, Janot’s printing also represented a novelty in the context of French printing, where prose romances of medieval origin were more commonly produced with gothic typefaces and in two columns. Janot’s typographical innovation was not limited to the use of roman for the text, but also of a “grand-canon” typeface with which he marked title pages and head-titles (Fig. 2).³⁹ Moreover, instead of copying the Crombergers’ woodcuts, Janot’s edition features a more ambitious iconographic arrangement comprising twelve elegant, purpose-made engravings of standard size (56 x 78 mm) that contribute to enhancing the aesthetic qualities of the textual artefact (Rawles 2018, 141–142; Chatelain 2000).

Designing illustrations specific to *Amadis*, choosing a large paper size for publication and rewarding Herberay for his translations (Parent 1974, 108–110) – which were done directly from the Spanish originals – are activities and decisions that required a considerable capital outlay from the three-member consortium prior to bringing their edition on the market. Such sizeable investment would be made only if Janot, Longis and Sertenas “were reasonably certain of its [i.e., their edition of *Amadis*’s] subsequent success” (Rawles 1981, 96). It seems that they already anticipated the book launch would cause a sensation in the market, as the visual innovation – both typographical and iconographic – represented a milestone in the history of French printing. Probably intending to bolster book sales, Herberay deployed in the prologue a further commercial strategy to affirm *Amadis*’s Frenchness, to the extent of stating that one of the reasons for undertaking his translation was that “il est tout certain qu’il fut premier mis en nostre langue Françoisse, estant *Amadis* Gaulois, & non Espagnol” (Bideaux 2006, 166: “it is quite certain that it [i.e., *Amadis*] was first put into our French language, being *Amadis* French and not Spanish”), implying that the Spanish text was in fact a translation “d’ung vieil livre escript à la main en langaige Picard” (Bideaux 2006, 166: “of an old book in Picard language written by hand”). His translation was thus intended to claim the story back from the Spaniards and restore it to its natural state in French, in its most elevated and elegant style (cf. Duché and Mounier 2015, 940–941).

The members of the consortium were hoping that by presenting the French *Amadis* in such an attractive package they could arrest the attention of well-heeled clients willing to pay a premium price for it. Still, they took measures to minimise financial risks, first, by securing a royal privilege for the printing and

39 Rawles identifies it as Janot’s typeface 12 (2018, 57).

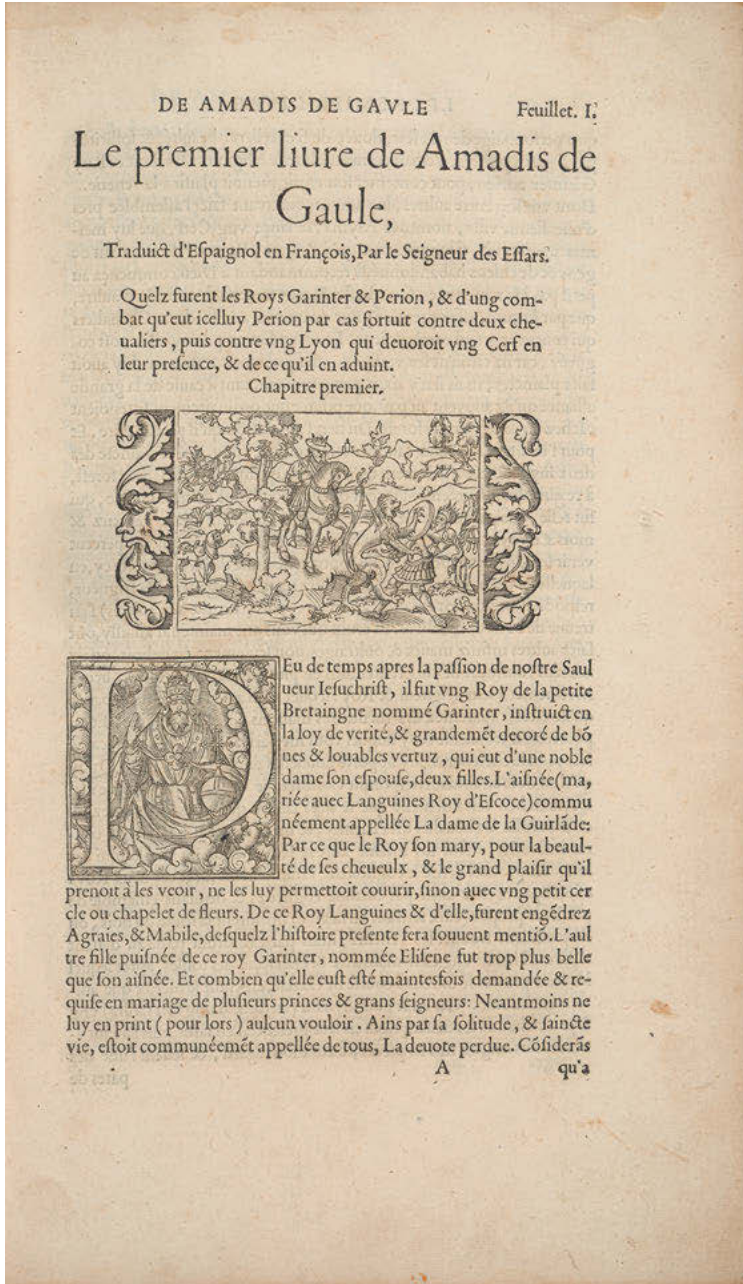


Fig. 2: *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*. Paris: Denis Janot for Jean Longis and Vincent Sertenas, 1540, A1r (Amsterdam, UB, OG 73–28). By courtesy of Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam.

selling of books I–IV of *Amadis*,⁴⁰ and, second, by publishing each of the four books separately rather than in a single volume, as was customary in Spain. Notably the exclusive rights to publish and sell these four books were given for the unusually long period of six years, thus gaining time to recoup their investment. Besides, by fragmenting the publication in four separate volumes, they were also reducing their investment without necessarily lowering the selling price in the same proportion.

The decisions made by the consortium members produced the desired effect and *Amadis* was soon met with an outstanding reception by the French public, despite its high price (Rawles 1981, 96). Such commercial success must have been quite immediate, since in 1541 the same associates were already publishing Herberay's translation of book II (FB 655–660; Rawles 2018, no. 127) and on 1 December 1541 they completed the printing of book III, although it was issued with the date 1542 in the imprint (FB 661–667; Rawles 2018, no. 162). Herberay's translation of the other two books authored by Rodríguez de Montalvo appeared respectively in 1543 (FB 668–674; Rawles 2018, no. 188) and 1544 (FB 675–681; Rawles 2018, no. 201), while Janot continued producing reprints of the first five books in the series.⁴¹ From 1540 until his death in 1544 Janot printed a total of twelve *Amadis* editions. After this, first his widow Jeanne de Marnef and then her second husband Étienne Groulleau carried on with Janot's work, keeping the consortium with Longis and Sertenas alive and sticking to the same conventions used by him. By 1556 they had completed the publication of twelve books from the series plus *Don Flores* (cf. fn. 38), corresponding to the entire Spanish cycle up to book XI.⁴² Although initially Groulleau printed his *Amadis* editions in folio like Janot, from 1548 he started a sort of dual publication, printing some editions in octavo too,⁴³ and after 1556 in sextodec-

40 In fact, it is Herberay who obtained the privilege on 2 July 1540 and handed it over to Longis and Sertenas on 12 July 1540 (Parent 1974, 300), i.e., two days after the completion of the printing of the first edition. Thus, the contract signed by the parties must have been intended merely to formalize a working agreement that sufficed to carry out the publication of Herberay's translation, as Rawles (1981, 94) has suggested. The privilege has not survived, but a shortened version is included in the editions of book I (Bideaux 2006, 159).

41 For bibliographical descriptions, see Rawles (2018, nos 110, 128, 129, 163, 189, 200, 202).

42 Note that, for convenience, here I retain the French numbering and order, although it does not fully agree with the Spanish one. Bk. I (1548, FB 717–720), bk. II (1550, FB 757–760), bk. III (1547, FB 698–702; 1548, FB 735–736), bk. IV (1555, FB 795–796, 798, 801), bk. V (1550, FB 741–743), bk. VI (1544/5, FB 684–690, 1557, 842, 844), bk. VII (1546, FB 691–697; 1548, FB 728), bk. VIII (1548, FB 706–713), bk. IX (1551, FB 768–770; 1553, 774–777), bk. X (1552, 771–773; 1555 FB 784–786), bk. XI (1554, FB 779–781; 1559, FB 853–855), bk. XII (1556, FB 813–816).

43 **1548:** bk. I (FB 714–716), bk. II (FB 724–727), bk. III (FB 737–738), bk. IV (FB 721–723), bk. V (FB 703–705), bk. VI (FB 732–734), bk. VII (FB 729–731); **1550:** bk. I (FB 749–751), bk. II (FB 754–756), bk.

imo,⁴⁴ with the intention of democratising the Amadisian corpus. The frequency of publication of these editions, which were reprinted only after the previous one was sold out, is the best proof of the *Amadis* cycle's success in French, which surpassed in scale and intensity the romance's printed circulation in Spain. If during the entire sixteenth century printers throughout Spain published 55 *Amadis* editions, between 1540 and 1560 a single consortium of Parisian stationers issued at least 75 editions,⁴⁵ a clear indication that the format diversification strategies had promoted the popularisation of the cycle. In the years that followed, new printing centres such as Antwerp and Lyon appeared on the scene, while new Amadisian continuations were translated from Italian and German into French. By the end of the century a total of 150 *Amadis* editions were printed in French (Rawles 1981, 101).⁴⁶

4 *Amadis* in Dutch

During the 1540s, as *Amadis* began to be translated into French, this book of chivalry started to appear in Dutch and Italian too. *Een schoone historie van den seer vroomen Amadijs van Gaulen* ("A beautiful history of the very brave Amadis of Gaule"), the first Dutch translation probably comprising books I–II, was published in Antwerp after 3 October 1546. This edition was printed in folio and gothic type by Marten Nuyts, who had lived in Spain for some time before settling in Ant-

III (FB 765–766), bk. IV (FB752–753), bk. V (FB 739–740), bk. VI (FB 763–764), bk. VII (FB 761–762), bk. VIII (FB 744–748); 1555: bk. I (FB 791–794), bk. II (FB 802–804), bk. III (FB 811–812), bk. IV (FB 797, 799–800), bk. V (FB 782–783), bk. VI (FB 808–810), bk. VII (FB 805–807), bk. VIII (FB 788–790), bk. X (FB 787); 1556: bk. XII (FB 817); 1557: bk. IX (FB 825–827), bk. X (FB 821–822); 1560: bk. I (FB 866–868), bk. II (FB 872–873), bk. III (FB 883–885), bk. IV (FB 869–871), bk. V (FB 856–858), bk. VI (FB 875–877), bk. VII (FB 874), bk. VIII (FB 862–865), bk. XI (FB 886–888), bk. XII (FB 859–861). See Vaganay (1929).

44 1557: bk. I (FB 828–830), bk. II (FB 834–836), bk. III (FB 846–848), bk. IV (FB 831–833), bk. V (FB 818–820), bk. VI (FB 840, 843, 845), bk. VII (FB 837–839), bk. VIII (FB 823–824).

45 Here I am counting each separate edition published, regardless of its constituent parts. Were we to count each book in the series separately, the total number for editions printed in Spain would be 103 (books I to IV counted sixteen times each). Still, it seems preferable to use the number of editions, because they represent independent textual objects that were bought separately as a result of a well-defined commercial strategy.

46 Pettegree states, "[t]he planned bibliography of books published in French before 1601 will eventually list around 300 bibliographically distinct items for the French translation of *Amadis* alone" (Pettegree 2007, 211). These "bibliographically distinct items" do not always qualify as separate editions, so I prefer to use Rawles's more conservative estimate. For a brief overview of the translation and publication of the remaining books in the *Amadis* cycle, see Duché and Mounier (2015, 943) and Baddeley (2015, 285–286).

werp,⁴⁷ and would himself have translated it directly from Spanish. Since the details of this edition and even its very existence have caused some confusion among scholars (van Selm 2001, 101), it seems imperative to correct some inaccuracies. In his seminal monograph Thomas pointed out that all Dutch translations were made from the French – not from the Spanish – and believed the date of 1546 to be too early and hence mistaken, blaming the famous English book collector, Richard Heber, for the mistake (1920, 235 n. 2). Van Selm’s posthumously published book, however, includes a bibliographical description of the first edition of book I (2001, 103–104), where he confirmed the publication date of 1546 as correct but was not allowed to indicate the whereabouts of the only known copy, other than commenting that it was in a private collection. More recently Groot went so far as to state that no copy of the *editiones principes* of books I–IV has survived (2008, 356), when one copy of book I is extant, which was once indeed in Richard Heber’s collection and is now housed in the Draiflessen Collection (Liberna) in Mettingen, Germany, with the shelfmark W 790 (Fig. 3).⁴⁸

The *Amadis* cycle was slow to arouse the interest of Dutch-speaking readers and customers. Nuyts published no reprint of *Amadis* and a new edition of *Amadis* only saw the light of day again in 1568, when the Antwerp printers Daniel Vervliet and Guillaem van Parijs issued book I, completing the publications of the first four books in 1574 (van Selm 2001, 199–206).⁴⁹ While they preferred the quarto format, Vervliet and Guillaem van Parijs followed Nuyts’s example by publishing translations made directly from the original Spanish. Yet, they still failed to achieve sufficient commercial success, which came about only in the 1590s, when editions of books I–XII appeared, and continued throughout the first quarter of the seventeenth century with new editions and reprints up to book XXI. All Dutch editions from book V onwards were translated from French versions, which were more accessible in the Dutch speaking areas and a total of 66 editions were published until 1625 by various printers located in Antwerp, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Leiden, and Utrecht.⁵⁰

47 Mancing (2020, 138) inaccurately places him in Amsterdam. It should be mentioned that a Spanish edition of *Amadis*, books I–IV, was also printed in Leuven (IB 16467).

48 See the collection’s privately printed catalogue (Liberna Foundation 1981, 5). For a recent and accurate discussion of this edition’s production, see Schlusemann (2019c, 389–393). I would like to thank Rita Schlusemann, for bringing to my attention the location of this copy, as well as Iris Ellers, curator of the Liberna Collection, for her patience and assistance in answering my questions about this copy.

49 Note that only one copy of their edition of book IV is now extant. For a bibliographical description, see van Selm (2001, 117–118).

50 The most authoritative work on the Dutch *Amadis* remains van Selm’s monograph (2001).



Fig. 3: *Een schoone historie van den seer vroomen Amadijs van Gaulen*. Antwerpen: Marten Nuyts, 1546, A1r (Mettingen, Draifflessen Collection [Liberna], W 790). By courtesy of Draifflessen Collection, Mettingen.

5 *Amadis* in Italian

The publication in Italian of *Amadis di Gaula*, by contrast, captivated readers from the outset, soon reaching bestseller proportions. The dissemination of the cycle initially resembled the French case, as it was based on the close collaboration between a printer – Michele Tramezzino – and a translator – Mambrino Roseo da Fabriano – who rendered the texts directly from Spanish into Italian.⁵¹ The first edition of Mambrino's translation of books I–IV was published in a single volume in Venice in 1546 – although no copies have survived – and was reprinted in 1547, 1557, 1558, 1559 and 1560, being published a total of nineteen times up to 1624. The translation of book V followed in 1547 and by 1551 the entire Spanish cycle was available in Italian, with the only exception of Juan Díaz's book VIII and part IV of Silva's *Florisel*. Such sensational popularity of the Amadisian series continued with similar intensity and we have evidence of the publication of 99 Italian editions corresponding to the original Spanish cycle until the early decades of the seventeenth century.⁵²

The commercial success of the cycle in Italian may have come as a pleasant surprise to its main printer, but it was the result of the decisions he took to popularise it. Instead of choosing the more costly folio format from the outset – as happened in Spain, France and the Dutch speaking areas as well as with the Spanish editions printed in Italy – Tramezzino preferred the octavo size, which was more affordable to a wider segment of the society and still allowed him to keep reasonable profit margins. Furthermore, he decided to dispense with any interior illustration in order to reduce production costs. This no-frills approach is also perceptible in Mambrino's translation, which is very different from Herberay's in prioritising a high output over remaining true to the original's narrative and stylistic qualities. Such was the magnitude of the success that once the original materials had been translated and sold out, Mambrino set about writing new continuations of his own. His adventures of Sferamundi, son to Rogel of Greece, the protagonist of the final book of the Spanish cycle, made their first appearance in print in 1558 and went on for another five consecutive books completed in 1565. A total of 51 editions of the Sferamundi sequels were published over the following six decades. Not content with this, Mambrino also composed individual continuations to each one of the books in the original

51 For biographical information about Mambrino, see Bognolo (2013).

52 For bibliographical information about these Italian editions from the *Amadis* cycle, see Neri (2013).

Spanish cycle – with the exception of books I–III and VI – that were first printed between 1563 and 1568 and of which 49 editions were published.⁵³

With the publication of at least 199 Amadisian editions in Italian up to 1630 and the expansion of the cycle with the continuations penned by Mambrino, the *Amadis* series enjoyed unparalleled success in Italian. The cycle's expansion was not confined to the Italian tradition, but the six books of Sferamundi together with the sequel to *Rogel de Grecia* also found circulation beyond the Alps: between 1577 and 1581 these Italian materials were published in French translation, mostly in Lyon in sextodecimo format.⁵⁴ By means of this French transmission the Italian sequels gained wider Continental dissemination, since they were first translated from French into German between 1590 and 1593 (Weddige 1975, 33–34), and then into Dutch in editions printed in quarto between 1609 and 1625.⁵⁵

6 *Amadis* in German

In German, the Amadisian cycle made a belated appearance, though an intense one, comparable only to the publication of the Italian translations. In 1569, Book I was published in Frankfurt with the title *Neue Historia vom Amadis auß Franckreich* (Peter Schmidt for Sigmund Feyerabend, VD16 A 2113; “New History of Amadis of France”). Books I to XIII of *Amadis auß Franckreich* appeared from 1569 to 1575 based on the French versions and series structure, since books I–IV were printed in separate volumes.⁵⁶ If from a textual point of view the German corpus descended from the French, from a material and commercial viewpoint it was closer to the Italian tradition, since the German texts were presented in attractive octavo volumes from the start, with illustrations intended to attain wide popularity. From his Frankfurt premises Sigmund Feyerabend secured a virtual monopoly of the series and, in view of the positive public response, in 1583 reissued books I to XIII in an upmarket folio edition (Weddige 1975, 41–49). Feyerabend's investment in the Amadisian cycle must have been sufficiently lucrative for, ac-

⁵³ Bibliographical information about these editions is available in Neri (2013). All the Italian original continuations are summarised in Bognolo et al. (2013, 259–508).

⁵⁴ Bk. XV: 1577 (FB 1015–1018); bk. XVI: 1577 (FB 1021–1023); bk. XVII: 1578 (FB 1031–1032); bk. XVIII: 1579 (FB 1039); bk. XIX: 1581 (FB 1042); bk. XX: 1581 (FB 1043–1044); bk. XXI: 1581 (FB 1046). Cf. Weddige (1975, 24–25).

⁵⁵ For bibliographical descriptions of the Dutch editions of books XV–XXI, see van Selm (2001, 157–171).

⁵⁶ Given the discrepancies in the series structure in the various language traditions, it is useful to consult the correspondences as summarised in Bognolo et al. (2013, 196–197; table 12).

ording to his own testimony, it brought him in more money than the writings of Martin Luther (Barber 1984, 12 and 139, fn. 23).

Naturally, other printers wanted to benefit from this vogue for Amadisian narratives and in 1578 the Augsburg printer Michael Manger published a German translation of Mambrino's supplements to books IV and V (Weddige 1975, 57–58). But it was not until 1593, as we saw above, that the German translation of Italian sequels was completed. These editions were published first by Feyerabend and then by his heirs with the participation of the Mömpelgard printer Jacob Foillet (Weddige 1975, 51). And, as happened with Italian editions, market demand must have encouraged publishers to commission three further original continuations, books XXII to XXIV, printed in 1594–1595 (Weddige 1975, 34–35), which were in turn issued in French translation in 1615.⁵⁷ The German printing industry showed enormous dynamism and capacity to adapt successfully to changing market fashions, publishing in just three decades – from 1569 to 1598 – 67 Amadisian editions, including three original sequels in German.⁵⁸

7 *Amadis* in English

The last language in which the adventures of Amadis were to be translated and achieve print circulation during the early modern period was English, where the cycle did not start to appear until the 1590s. This relative delay was partly due to the prolonged popularity of the printed medieval romances (Sánchez-Martí 2021, 21–31) and partly to the precedence given in England to the *Palmerin* over the *Amadis* cycle. On 15 January 1589 the printer Edward Allde obtained a licence to publish books I–IV of the cycle (Arber 1950 [1875], 514) and probably in 1590 published *The First Book of Amadis of Gaule*, translated by the prolific author and translator Anthony Munday from Herberay's French version (STC 541). The text was printed in London in black letter and quarto format without illustrations, hoping to facilitate access to the book to a socially diverse clientele. Book sales must have been promising and soon encouraged competition from other printers, since on 10 April 1592 John Wolfe registered the translation of *Amadis's* books II to V (Arber 1950 [1875], 607) and on 16 October 1594 Adam Islip in association with William Moring entered books II to XII into the Register of the Stationers' Company (Arber 1950 [1875], 662).

⁵⁷ See Weddige (1975, 25–26). These three continuations were printed on nine occasions in total (Weddige 1975, 102–105).

⁵⁸ All editions are described in Weddige (1975, 345–371).

Interestingly, having three printing houses competing avidly for the control of the Amadisian cycle's printed distribution in English, rather than expediting the publication of the series, ended up by hindering it. Allde's and Islip's competing interests were brought to the Court of the Stationer's Company and discussed in a hearing held on 3 February 1595, less than four months after Islip registered his intention to publish the books of the original Spanish cycle still unavailable in English, i.e., books II–XII. The Court ruled that “Adam Islip shall printe the Second parte of Amides [sic] de Gaule / And likewise that the said Edward Aldee shall printe the first, third, and fourthe Bookes of Amides de Gaule, And the said Adam to print all the rest to the Twelfithe parte or Booke” (Greg and Boswell 1930, 50). Although Allde had been earlier to enter book II, Islip managed to have his right to print it granted, probably to compensate for Allde's failure to implement his licence fully. Nevertheless, the Court ruled in favour of Allde about the publication of books III–IV and upheld Islip's rights to print only books V–XII, presumably because Wolfe renounced to publish book V. Islip moved quickly to put Munday's translation of book II on the market and printed it in 1595 (STC 542) and, even though Allde continued to stall the publication of books III–IV, Islip went ahead with his plans and published book V in 1598 (STC 542.5). But in the face of Allde's inaction – perhaps out of spite to damage his competitor's business – Islip was left with no choice but to discontinue printing the cycle owing to the lack of narrative sequentiality in the published volumes.⁵⁹

Two decades would elapse before books III and IV became available in English, printed in 1618 in a unique material presentation: in folio, using an elegant roman typeface and with generous margins (STC 543; Fig. 4). The printer, Nicholas Okes, sought to imitate the visual codes of Janot's French editions in order to heighten the text's cultural perception and revitalise the romance's commercial prospects. In 1619 Okes reissued books I and II using the same presentational features (STC 544), thus giving a sense of unity to the series's foundational parts. Despite the effort that this upmarket edition entailed, it failed to excite renewed interest in the *Amadis* cycle, which disappeared from bookstalls until the second half of the century. In 1652 Francis Kirkman's translation of the French book VI – corresponding to Feliciano de Silva's *Lisuarte de Grecia* – was printed (Wing L2731A), followed in 1664 by the reprint of book V (Wing L2731) and the translation of book VII of the English series based on Herberay's version of Juan Díaz's *Lisuarte de Grecia*. The English book VIII, containing *Amadis de Grecia*, was the last to be translated into English and was published in 1693 (Wing M2877), and

⁵⁹ See further Moore (2020, 69–70).

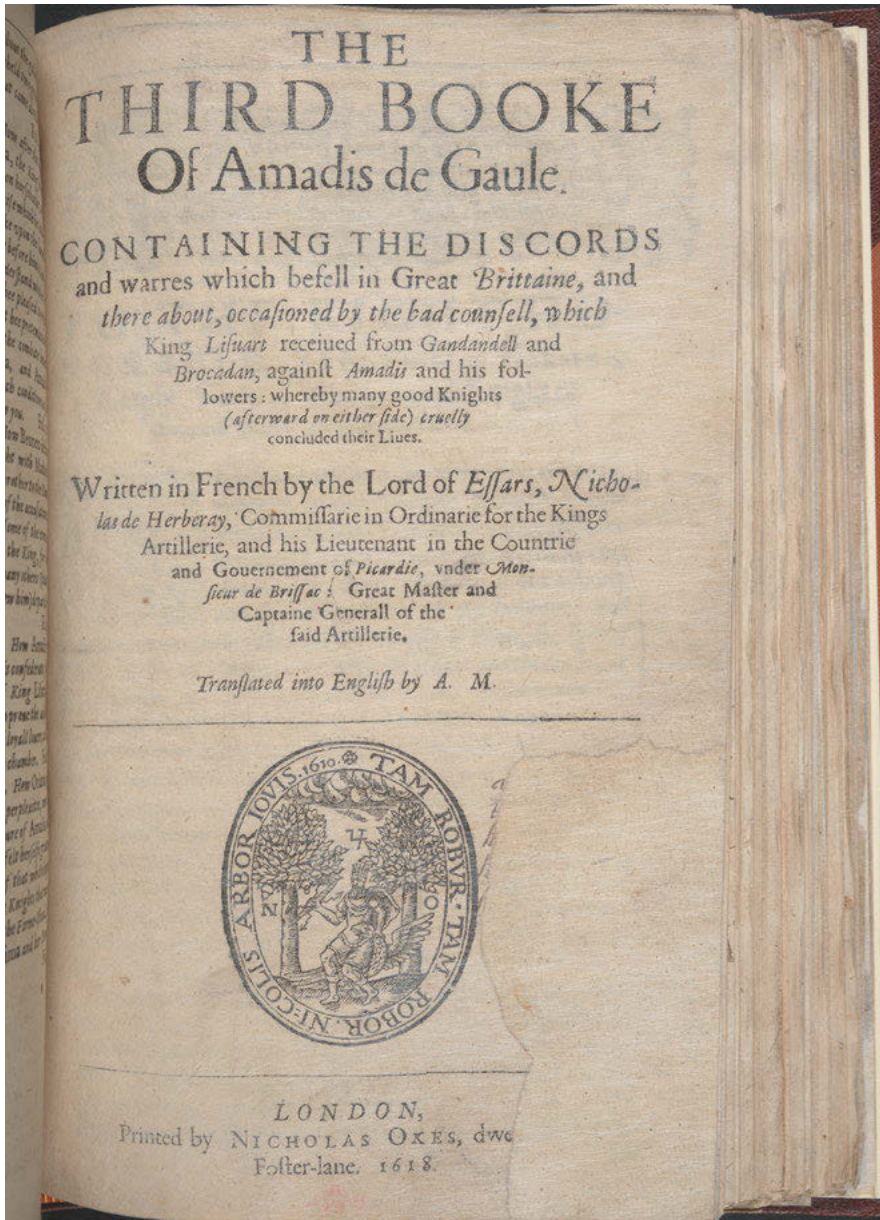


Fig. 4: *The third booke of Amadis de Gaule*. London: Nicholas Okes, 1618, B1r (London, BL, C.21.d.3).
© The British Library Board of Trustees.

again in 1694 (Wing M2877A).⁶⁰ Finally, an abridged version of books I–IV prepared by John Shirley was published in 1702 (ESTC T62058).

While the adventures of Amadis were late to circulate in English and started to appear in print when they had ceased to be printed in Spain altogether, surprisingly they managed to enjoy longer currency, lasting until the beginning of the eighteenth century. In total, thirteen separate editions of individual books from the *Amadis* cycle appeared in English, thus proving that the series lacked the vitality it showed in neighbouring territories, such as France and the Dutch speaking areas. But, in spite of these figures, the adventures of Amadis left their mark on English literature and culture (cf. Moore 2020 and O'Connor 1970).

Conclusion

This chapter set out to describe the journey in time and space covered by the *Amadis* series in early modern Europe. This chivalric cycle enjoyed a period of printed dissemination spanning around two centuries over a space encompassing most of Western Europe, with some circulation even in the New World. There is evidence that between 1508 and 1702 at least 565 Amadisian editions were published in Spanish, French, Dutch, Italian, German, English and Hebrew.⁶¹ Such popularity is attributable not exclusively to the narrative's literary merits, but to

⁶⁰ Note that Feliciano de Silva's *Amadís de Grecia* had traditionally been treated as book VII – not VIII – in the English series (Thomas 1920, 255). Ortiz-Salamovich keeps this number, but instead treats the translation of Díaz's *Lisuarte* as book VIII in the English series (2020, 173–175). More recently Pardo García has suggested the convenience of considering Díaz's *Lisuarte* as book VII (2021, 219–222), as I do here. Mancing (2020, 140) fails to include the latter among the books pertaining to the *Amadis* cycle.

⁶¹ Weddige (1975, 112) estimates that at least 527 editions were printed, while Mancing (2020, 150) puts the number at 609, although he does not provide unambiguous bibliographical references to support his count. My figure includes the Hebrew edition, published in Constantinople around 1541 (Ashkenazi 2008) – which has not been discussed because it failed to achieve any significant commercial impact, although it is likely that it was printed more than once (Ashkenazi 2012) – as well as the extant four Spanish editions of *Amadis* printed in Portugal (IB 16463, 16489, 16494 and 16612; Vargas Díaz-Toledo 2008, 346) and all other editions mentioned in the essay. In addition, book I was translated from German into Danish ca. 1700 and is now extant only in manuscript form (Richter and Glauser 2018, and Richter 2021); and we also know that the romance was present in Kraków in the sixteenth century as it is mentioned in booksellers' post-mortem inventories from 1542 and 1582 (Jaglarz 2004, 56, 69), although there is no evidence that it was ever translated into Polish. I am grateful to Krystyna Wierzbicka-Trwoga for this information on the Polish circulation of *Amadis*.

the talents of printers, publishers, editors, authors and translators, who knew how to market their textual wares effectively to arouse the interest of a socially diverse reading public willing to spend their money on such textual products. In order to achieve commercial success, these agents either exploited tried-and-tested publishing fashions – as Tramezzino did by imitating the Aldine editions of the classics in octavo and italics – or experimented with new forms of textual presentation that would end up shaping the literary market, as happened in France with Janot's elegant editions and with the innovative version edited by Delicado in 1533.

The good intentions of individual printing houses – like that of the Crombergers – were not enough to achieve Europe-wide popularity, but there had to be a confluence of interests that benefited from existing and well-oiled international book-market networks promoting the traffic of literary works. In the case of *Amadis* this traffic would not be textually closed and exclusively derived from Castilian sources, as might be expected, but open and capable of generating new narrative material. Consequently, the *Amadis* phenomenon grew not only outside Castile, but also independently of it, since for instance none of the Italian and German continuations was translated into Spanish, nor did the internationalising impetus come from within the peninsula. While the Venetian printers in collaboration, first with Delicado and later with Roseo, contributed to raising the series's appreciation and enlarging its narrative corpus, the printers of French translations were responsible for expanding its international dissemination, since their editions served as the primary source for the versions published in Dutch, German and English. During the sixteenth and part of the seventeenth century, just as national literary cultures were being articulated and the foundations for the emergence of the novel were being laid, the *Amadis* cycle became central to mainstream reading experiences of several generations of European readers, thus integrating into a common European literary tradition and blurring the cycle's national origins.

Tab. 1: Earliest extant editions of *Amadis* (book I) in European vernaculars, 1500–1600.

| Language | Title and translator's name | Title (English translation) | Place, printer-publisher and year | Reference |
|----------|--|---|--|--|
| Spanish | <i>Los quatro libros del virtuoso cavallero Amadis de Gaula</i> | The four books of the virtuous knight Amadis of Gaule | Zaragoza: Jorge Coci, 1508 | USTC 342622 |
| French | <i>Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule</i> Nicolas de Herberay des Essars | The first book of Amadis of Gaule | Paris: Denis Janot for Jean Longis and Vincent Sertenas, 1540 | USTC 52013 |
| Hebrew | ' <i>Ama'diyš dey Ga'wla</i> ' Ya'aqob BKR. Mošeh Dey 'Algaba' (Jakob Algaba) | Amadis of Gaule | Constantinople: 'Eli'ezer Šwnšiyñ (Elizer Soncino), [ca. 1541] | Paris, BnF, RES M-Y2-118 |
| Dutch | <i>Een schoone historie van den seer vroomen Amadijs van Gaulen</i> | A beautiful history of the very brave Amadis of Gaule | Antwerpen: Marten Nuyts, 1546 | Mettingen, Draiflessen Collection, W 790 |
| Italian | <i>I quattro libri di Amadis di Gavla</i> Mambrino Roseo da Fabriano | The four books of Amadis of Gaule | Venezia: Michele Tramezzino, 1547 | USTC 822237 |
| German | <i>Neue Historia vom Amadis auß Franckreich</i> | New History of Amadis of France | Frankfurt am Main: Peter Schmidt for Sigmund Feyerabend, 1569 | VD16 A 2113 |
| English | <i>The First Book of Amadis of Gaule</i> Anthony Munday | — | London: Edward Allde, [1590?] | STC 541 |

Helwi Blom

Fortune's Calling. Translating and Publishing *Fortunatus* in Early Modern Europe

With a Contribution on the Polish Translation of *Fortunatus* by Krystyna Wierzbicka-Trwoga

The story of *Fortunatus* recounts the adventures of a young man from Cyprus setting out to find fame and fortune. He literally meets his fortune when he encounters Lady Fortune, who offers him one of the following virtues: wisdom, wealth, strength, health, beauty, or longevity. *Fortunatus* chooses wealth and receives a magical purse that immediately replenishes the moment any money is withdrawn from it. Later, he also acquires a magical hat that transports the bearer wherever he wants to go. After returning to Cyprus, our hero leads a comfortable life, but upon his death, his two sons, Ampedo and Andolosia, handle his legacy recklessly and both die miserably.

The narrative was first published in German and printed in Augsburg in 1509. From there, it spread to many other European linguistic regions. Unlike most titles on the Top Ten list, the early modern editions of *Fortunatus* do not build on an earlier manuscript tradition, and although the story contains several motives that link it to folktales and medieval travel literature, its main theme echoes the social and economic changes in western Europe at the end of the Middle Ages. Scholars nowadays agree that the *Fortunatus* narrative originated in southern Germany, possibly in Augsburg or one of the other trading cities in the region. Two different Augsburg citizens have been suggested as authors: Burkhard Zink, who published a chronicle of the city, and Johann Heybler, who commissioned the oldest known edition. There is, however, no concrete evidence pointing to authorship by either man (Roloff 1996, 214–222; Speth 2017). The fact that the first died around 1475 seems to indicate that he could not have been the author, because the *termini post quem* that have been proposed for *Fortunatus* are almost all posterior to 1479 (Valckx 1975; Mühlherr 1993; Prager 2004; Speth 2017).

The contents of this German “proto-novel” (Speth 2017, 13) comprise elements coming from a wide range of sources from different eras and belonging to various literary genres. While some critics distinguish several layers, for example by considering it a magical and worldly tale that was given a religious or moral colouring, to be later moulded into a romance of adventure, others characterize the composition as a “montage” arranged by a single author (Roloff 1996, 223–227; Speth 2017). The sources and motives that come together in *Fortunatus* result in a

broad interpretative spectrum that has indeed engendered a wide variety of – sometimes diametrically opposed – readings (cf. Roth 2007).

Rather than studying the entire potential of meanings carried by the narrative as it appeared in 1509, the present chapter examines specific appropriations by historical readers, notably translators and publishers. How did they interpret, frame, or reshape the text and its presentation, and for what reasons? After an overview of the spread of the story through Europe between 1509 and 1800, the chapter will zoom in on three moments – one for every century – that will be studied by highlighting different aspects of the production, distribution, and reception of the *Fortunatus* narrative:¹

- the sixteenth-century Polish translation as an early example of the transcultural transmission of the story (a contribution by Krystyna Wierzbicka-Trwoga);
- the seventeenth-century French and Italian translations and the question of the role of publishers' networks in the spread of early modern narratives;
- eighteenth-century editions printed in the British Isles as examples of publishers' strategies to conquer and diversify the book market.

1 The European Dissemination of *Fortunatus*

The oldest known representative of the story is the German *Fortunatus*, published in 1509 in Augsburg by Johann Otmar and financed by the apothecary Johann Heybler, of whom we unfortunately know very little (Müller [J.D.] 1990).² A large woodcut depicting a luxuriously dressed Fortunatus sitting on a throne and holding his magical purse, while his two sons Ampedo and Andolosia play at his feet, serves as a title page to this quarto edition. The woodcut is repeated at the end of the book, which contains 44 other illustrations.³ They constitute a series that was designed especially for this edition, probably in the workshop of Jörg Breu the Elder in Augsburg.

The text has a short preface that reads as a long title summarizing the contents and attracting potential buyers. It might have been added by the publisher, possibly together with the table of contents and the epilogue at the end of the last chapter. The latter presents the story as a negative exemplum, thus confirming –

1 The present chapter was written before the publication of Kiening's study on *Fortunatus* (2022) was brought to my attention. It has therefore not been taken into account.

2 For the bibliographical details of the early modern editions of *Fortunatus* discussed in this chapter, see Jungmayr (1996), Tab. 2, and the appendix attached to this chapter. Abbreviated references identify editions in standard reference works; abbreviations are expanded in the list of references at the end of this volume.

3 One of them is also repeated once, and another one twice, so that there are 49 images in total.

albeit with a touch of irony – the lesson announced in the preface that “reason and wisdom should be desired and chosen above all worldly treasures”:

So aber er ym dotzumal in seiner jugent umb freüd unnd wollust willen / der welt reich-
tumb und güt am maysten liebet und geveile [...] schüff er im selbs une seinen sünen mye
und bitterkait der gallen [...] Dem nach ain ygklicher dem solliche wal gegeben wurde / be-
dencke sich nit lang / volge der vernunft und nit seinem frechen torechten gemu[e]lt /
erkyeß Weißhait für reichtumb. Als auch gethon hat Salomon / dadurch er der reichest
künig der erden wordenn ist. Aber wol is zu besorgen / die jungfraw des gelücks / die sol-
liche wal außgibt / und Fortunato den seckel gegeben hat / sey auß unseren landen verjaget /
und in dieser welt nit mer tzu finden (Roloff 1996, 194–195)⁴

In the following decades, the story went through several re-editions in Augsburg, mostly from the workshop of Heinrich Steiner, who included close copies of the original woodcuts. These re-editions brought slight textual changes: the second edition (1518, Jungmayr 1996, 324), for example, cut the epilogue and probably also the table of contents, which did not reappear afterwards. The third edition by Steiner (1530, Jungmayr 1996, 324) added a proper title above the engraving of Fortunatus with his sons: *Von Fortunato und seinem Seckel auch Wünschelhütlin, Gantz kurtzweylig zele- sen* (“On Fortunatus and his Purse also Wish Hat, Very entertaining to read”).

In 1540 the Strasbourg publisher Jacob Cammerlander brought a revised edition on the market (Jungmayr 1996, 325). Besides its updated spelling and syntax, the change of the title page illustration in this publication catches the eye: instead of a woodcut of Fortunatus and his sons, it shows an illustration depicting the key moment in the story, Fortunatus' encounter with Lady Fortune. When at the end of the 1540s, the Frankfurt-based publisher Hermann Gülfferich succeeded Heinrich Steiner as the main publisher of fictional narratives, his workshop embraced Cammerlander's idea for the title page illustration; all eleven editions published in Frankfurt between 1549 and 1600 (Jungmayr 1996, 326–330) show the same image of Lady Fortune handing the magical purse to Fortunatus on the title page (see Fig. 1). It was part of a series created by Hans Brosamer for Gülfferich's *Fortunatus*.⁵

4 “... because, at that time in his youth, he preferred wealth and worldly goods, for the sake of pleasure and sensual appetite [...] he brought much bitterness and gall on his own and his sons' heads. [...] So anyone who faces such a choice need not reflect for long: follow reason, ignore forward folly, and select wisdom before wealth. This is what Solomon did, and it made him the richest King on Earth. But there is the real concern that Lady Fortune, who deals such choices and bestowed the Purse on Fortunatus, has been hunted from our lands, and is to be found in this world no longer.” (Haldane s.a.). All translations in this chapter are my own (unless otherwise stated).

5 On Brosamer's series of woodblocks in *Fortunatus* and other Top Ten narratives, see Gotzkowsky (2002).



Fig. 1: Fortunatus and Lady Fortune on the title page of the first *Fortunatus* edition printed by Hermann Gölfferich. Frankfurt am Main: 1549, A1r (München, UB, 0014/W 8 P. germ. 42). By courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek München.

More or less close copies of Brosamer's woodcut also appeared on the title of editions printed in other cities, with one early and curious exception: the 1558 edition by Cammerlander's fellow citizen Christian Müller opens with a copy of Steiner's title page illustration. The woodcut of Lady Fortune's encounter with *Fortunatus* as represented by Brosamer has in fact become iconic for our story: copies of it not only appear on the titles of most German editions published until the 1620s but also in multiple editions of 'foreign' translations, together with a large part of the rest of Brosamer's series.

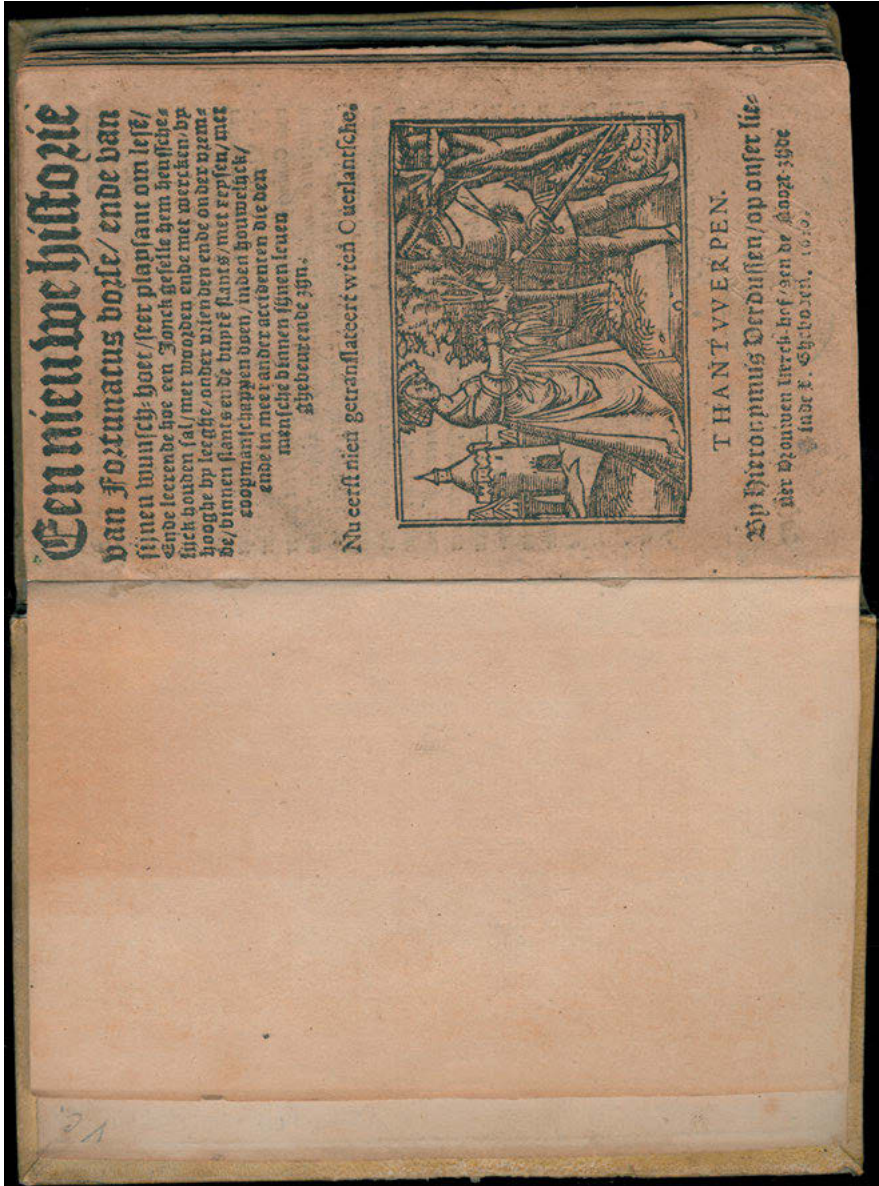
The editions of the "Frankfurter Gruppe" in fact served as a basis for the translations that started to be published in the last decades of the sixteenth century. Besides their characteristic title woodcut, the editions belonging to this group distinguish themselves from the earlier Augsburg editions through their octavo-format and their adaptations of structure and content: certain episodes have been abbreviated and, as in the case of *Pierre et Maguelonne*, there are a few more chapters than before.⁶ Another similarity with the Frankfurt *Magelona* can be found in the adaptations reflecting the Reformation's growing influence: most references to the Virgin Mary and to Catholic practices and sacraments such as indulgences, confession, and the commendation of the dying have disappeared. The editions of the "Frankfurter Gruppe" are finally the first to call "die Junckfrau des Glücks" ("The Virgin of Fortune") by the name "Fortuna". Despite these adaptations, the Frankfurt version is still very close to the Augsburg *Fortunatus* (Valckx 1975; Schmidt 1996; Roloff 1996; Kuiper 2021).

We cannot say with certainty into which language the *Fortunatus* story was first translated. The oldest known extant copy of a 'foreign' adaptation belongs to a Polish edition published around 1570, probably by Stanisław Szarfenberger, a printer based in Kraków whose family was originally from Silesia.⁷ Yet the approbation in the Dutch edition published in 1610 by Hieronymus [I] Verdussen in Antwerp (Jungmayr 1996, 342, see Fig. 2), which closely follows the Frankfurt edition from 1549, indicates that the Dutch *Fortunatus* may be from before 1560, which would make it the earliest known translation. The approbation is signed by a Jan Goeswini (Goossens) "Licentiate in Theology Pastor of St Jacob's Church in Antwerp", who would have been active in Antwerp from 1552 to 1557 (Valckx 1975, 106).⁸ The gap between the presumed date of the approbation and the publication year suggests

⁶ Cf. the chapter on *Pierre et Maguelonne* in this volume.

⁷ See below, section 2.

⁸ Two literary references from the 1560s also suggest that *Fortunatus* was by then well known in Antwerp (Kalff 1889, 399). Furthermore, the title page of the second known edition in Dutch (Amsterdam: Broer Jansz, 1638, see the appendix below) states that it is the eighth reprint.



Een nieuwe hystorie
van Fortunacus boyse/ ende van
sijnen huusch/ hoer/ seer plaesant om te se/
ende teeren de hve een Jonck geselle hem heuseles
sueck houden sal/ met woerden ende met werken/ by
hooghe by teeghe/ onder wien den ende on der viern
de/ bitenen slants ende bypre slants/ met reysen/ met
zoopmarstgappen vben/ inden houwelick/
ende in meer ander accidenen die den
mensche binnen sinen leuen
ghebeurende sijn.

Nu eerst niet getranslateert wien Cuerlantische.



T H A N T V V E R P E N .

By Hieronymus Verdussen/ op onser liez
der Dronnen vierck/ hof/ sen de Aaont/ 1610.
Inde E. Schoubert. 1610.

Fig. 2: Title page of the oldest extant edition of the Dutch *Fortunatus*. Antwerpen: Hieronymus Verdussen, 1610, A1r (Antwerpen, MPM, OD A-3620). By courtesy of Museum Plantin-Moretus UNESCO Werelderfgoed, Antwerpen.

that Goossens gave this declaration for an earlier and now lost edition of the Dutch *Fortunatus* and that Verdussen copied it for his edition.⁹

To further complicate the question of the 'foreign' *princeps*, there are also traces of a now lost Czech translation printed as early as 1561, possibly by Jan Günther in Olomouc.¹⁰

In the last quarter of the sixteenth century, *Fortunatus* reached a fourth 'foreign' language region immediately adjacent to the German language area: a Danish *Fortunatus Bog* ("Book on Fortunatus") appeared in 1575 in Copenhagen (Jungmayr 1996, 336), with a copy of the characteristic woodcut from the Frankfurt editions on its title page. The circle then widened further with translations in Low German (1602, Jungmayr 1996, 330), English (ca. 1612?),¹¹ French (1626, Jungmayr 1996, 340),¹² followed by renderings in Swedish (before 1651?),¹³ Hungarian (1651),¹⁴ Italian (1676, Jungmayr 1996, 342), and Yiddish (1699, *idem*). In total, my inventory of early modern editions lists 160 editions in twelve languages, which is no doubt a low estimate due to identification problems and lost editions that did not leave enough traces to include them in the survey. Judging by the number of editions for which no extant copies can be located, many *Fortunatus* editions seem indeed to have succumbed to the ravages of time, notably in central Europe and Scandinavia. The numbers presented in the table below (Tab. 1) should therefore be interpreted with caution.¹⁵ To give but one example, although no Polish

9 Approbations by a "Jan Goossens van Oorschot", pastor of the St Jacob's Church and licentiate in Theology, can also be found in the Dutch *Historia septem sapientum Romae*, e.g. in 1595 (Debaene 1977, 205), and 1719 (copy Leiden, UB, BKNOOG 125). The fact that these are dated to 1580 contradicts Valckx' *terminus ante quem* and thus destabilizes the hypothesis of a Dutch translation as the first edition in another language than German. Yet it does not render it invalid since an approbation by "Goossens van Oorschot" already appears in an Antwerp edition from 1553 (USTC 400875).

10 See the details in Tab. 2 and the appendix.

11 Date proposed by Haldane (2006). See on this translation sections 3 and 4.

12 The 1615 edition cited by Rubini (2003, 26) and others is a bibliographical ghost born from a deficient title page in a copy of the 1655 Lyon edition.

13 See Tab. 2 and the appendix below.

14 An anonymous verse translation had already seen the light in Kolozsvár between 1577 and 1583 but, given that it is a free adaptation in which only the basic theme is reminiscent of the German *Fortunatus* – the poet thoroughly reshaped the plot (Tüskés 2010) –, unlike Jungmayr (1996, 347), I did not include it in my corpus.

15 Especially the undated, unsigned, and practically identical seventeenth- and eighteenth-century German editions pose problems. Jungmayr's bibliography (1996) is not complete, and its estimated dates are uncertain, as are those in VD17 and VD18. The additions and corrections to Jungmayr based on my own research can be found in the appendix. However, a book-in-hand survey of all located copies of German editions remains a desideratum. Now lost editions for

edition from the seventeenth or eighteenth century is known, the fact that Fortunatus' purse was proverbial in Polish at the time and that there also were literary references to his "fable" (Krzyżanowski 1962, 84), strongly suggests that the Polish translation was reprinted after its first appearance around 1570. Furthermore, if the fact that we found the by then already iconic image of Fortunatus and Lady Fortune in three different Polish publications from the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries does not provide as such conclusive proof of the existence of these reprints, at the very least it supports the hypothesis.¹⁶

Tab. 1: Printed editions of *Fortunatus* before 1800 per period and per language.

| | 1501–1600 | 1601–1700 | 1701–1800 | |
|---------------|--------------------|-------------|-------------------------|-----------|
| German | 29 | 9 | 5 | 43 |
| | Augsburg 11 | Basel 1 | Cologne 1 | |
| | Leipzig 1 | Augsburg 1 | s.l. 3 | |
| | Frankfurt am M. 11 | s.l. 5 | London [fake imprint] 1 | |
| | s.l. 1 | Nuremberg 2 | | |
| | Magdeburg 1 | | | |
| | Strasbourg 3 | | | |
| | Cologne 1 | | | |
| Dutch | | 6 | 19 | 25 |
| | | Antwerp 3 | Utrecht 1 | |
| | | Amsterdam 3 | Amsterdam 7 | |
| | | | Antwerp 8 | |
| | | | Ghent 1 | |
| | | | Brussels 2 | |
| Czech | 1 | 1 | 3 | 5 |
| | Olomouc? 1 | s.l. 1 | s.l. 3 | |

which I found sufficient evidence proving that they once existed have been included but if the information on an unknown edition given in a particular source was not substantiated by data from other sources, this edition was left out. For that reason, the Swedish editions from 1675 and 1694 mentioned by Graesse (1861) have not been included. Eighteenth-century literary reworkings like those by Jean Castillon have also been excluded.

¹⁶ The woodcut can be found in: Jakub Kazimierz Haur, *Skład albo skarbiec znakomity sekretów oekonomiej ziemianskiej* ("Storehouse or excellent treasury of secrets of landowner economics"). Kraków: Mikołaj Aleksander Schedel, 1693; in *Historia o Lukrecji rzymskiej* ("History of Lukrecja of Rome"). S.l.: s.n., ca. 1700; and in *Historia o szlachetnej a pięknej Meluzynie* ("History of the noble and beautiful Meluzyna"). Kraków: Michał Dyaszewski, 1744. On this last edition, see also the chapter on *Melusine* in this volume. All three editions are digitized in POLONA (<https://polona.pl/>).

Tab. 1 (continued)

| | 1501–1600 | 1601–1700 | 1701–1800 | |
|-------------------|-------------------|--|--|------------|
| Polish | 1 Kraków | | | 1 |
| Danish | 2 Copenhagen 2 | 4 Copenhagen 3; s.l. 1 | 7 Copenhagen 5; s.l. 2 | 13 |
| Low German | | 1 Hamburg | | 1 |
| English | | 7 London 7 | 19 London 13 Glasgow 3 Worcester 1 s.l. 1 York 1 | 26 |
| French | | 16 Rouen 7 Paris 2 Lyon 2 Troyes 2 Troyes/Paris 3 | 18 Rouen 4 Troyes 9; Lille 1 Bédarrides 1 Lélis [i.e. Caen] 1 Limoges 2 | 34 |
| Swedish | | 4 Stockholm 1; s.l. 3 | | 4 |
| Hungarian | | 2 Levoča 2 | 2 Levoča 1; Pest 1 | 4 |
| Italian | | 3 Naples 1 Bologna 2 | | 3 |
| Yiddish | | 1 Frankfurt am M. 1 | | 1 |
| | 33 | 54 | 73 | 160 |

Despite the uncertainty of the numbers in the table, we can note some tendencies: firstly, the immediate and lasting success of the German language editions. Secondly, the fact that translations of the German *Fortunatus* were first printed in ‘foreign’ languages spoken in neighbouring regions. Thirdly, despite the successful start of the transmission process, it seems that only the Dutch, the English, and the French traditions were continuous and substantial, but here we encounter another difficulty: if measuring the number of editions published before 1800 is hazardous

as it is, comparing the results evokes questions that cannot easily be answered. The publishing market for these fictional narratives evidently differed according to time and place: what could be called a publishing success was not necessarily the same everywhere. There were no doubt also specific factors determining the publishing fate of the narrative in certain regions. Part of the success of the English *Fortunatus* could thus be attributed to the energetic and creative marketing techniques of the publishers in the British Isles.¹⁷ The absence of editions published in the Iberian Peninsula cannot for its part be explained by the state of printing in this region, as it was, for example, the case for Iceland, where printing only began in the 1530s and was long restricted to religious works (Seelow 1989, 12–14).¹⁸ It is difficult to explain this apparent lack of interest from sixteenth-century Spanish publishers and readers but it is clear that *Fortunatus* diverged from the profile of the then popular chivalric romances denounced by *Don Quixote*. It might simply have been a question of timing and taste. As for editions in Italy, Rubini has studied the Italian *Fortunatus* in relation to the chapbook tradition of a folktale featuring three desperate young men who meet three fairies, first printed under the title of *Historia di tre Giovanni: et di tre fate* (“History of the three Giovannis and the three fairies”) (2003). While this story in *ottava rima*, which was printed at least 24 times between 1500 and 1800, shares indeed some plot elements with *Fortunatus* (wandering protagonists; an encounter with a fairy; gift of a magical purse, which is then stolen but won back by the hero posing as a medical doctor; a magical object that transports the owner wherever he wishes), it is nonetheless sufficiently different for doubting that its popularity would have had a negative impact on the reception of the Italian *Fortunatus*.

2 The Polish Sixteenth-Century Translation of *Fortunatus*

Krystyna Wierzbicka-Trwoga

In 1924 Julian Krzyżanowski described a newly discovered composite, consisting of five independent books bound together in one volume. An inscription on the first page stated that the volume came from the library of the Franciscan monastery in

¹⁷ See section 4.

¹⁸ Instead of printed editions, at least four seventeenth- and eighteenth-century manuscripts containing copies of two different seventeenth-century Icelandic translations of the Danish *Fortunatus* have come down to us (Seelow 1989, 97–102).

Rava-Ruska (today on the border between Poland and Ukraine in the Lviv region); despite such origin it comprised not religious, but narrative texts in Polish (Krzyżanowski 1924, 6).¹⁹ The first three mention the name of the printer, and the place and year of publication – they were printed by Mikołaj Szarfenberger in Kraków: the story about “Emperor Otto” (i.e. “Kaiser Octavianus”, from the German version of *Florent et Lyon*, although without the first 32 leaves, including the title page) in 1569; the story about Pontianus (i.e. *Historia septem sapientum Romae: Hithorya piękna z | przykłady nadobnemi / o Pon|cyanie Cesárzu Rzymymkim*, “A beautiful history with excellent examples about Pontianus the Roman Emperor”); and the Polish selection from *Gesta Romanorum* (including *Apollonius: Historie Rozmái-te z Rzymyckich y z innych dzie-|iow wybráne*, “Various Histories selected from Roman and other acts”), both in 1566. The narratives about “Emperor Otto” and Pontianus were richly illustrated. The title page and the beginning of the preface are missing from the fourth narrative, but the text itself survived intact: it is the only extant copy of the Polish translation of *Fortunatus*, regrettably without any illustrations. The fifth narrative, *Historia bárzo | piękna y żálosná o Equá-|nušie Krolu Skockim* (“A very beautiful and pitiful history about Equanus, King of Scots”), printed by Stanisław Szarfenberger, Mikołaj’s brother, in Kraków in 1578, was a translation from Italian – *Historia di Aurelio et Isabella* (1521), ascribed to Lelio Manfredi (d. 1528), a version of *Grisel y Mirabella* (ca. 1495) by Juan de Flores (ca. 1455–ca. 1525; Krzyżanowski 1924–1925, 249–250).

Krzyżanowski ascribed the *Fortunatus* edition to Mikołaj Szarfenberger, by interpreting the printer’s mark preserved in the colophon. His attribution has generally been adopted in research, in Krzyżanowski’s edition of *Fortunatus* from 1926, in his study of “Polish romances” from the sixteenth century (Krzyżanowski 1962 [1st ed. 1934]), and in Striedter’s comparative analysis of the Polish and German texts (Striedter 1960). Since the 1573 post-mortem inventory of a Lviv bookseller, Hanusz Brickyer (Łoziński 1890, 453), mentions a book “o Fortunacie” (“about *Fortunatus*”), the *ante quem* date has been set for 1573 (Krzyżanowski 1924, 35; Striedter 1960, 53–54). Drawing on Krzyżanowski’s attribution, Striedter points out that Mikołaj Szarfenberger began his independent printing business in 1565 and suggests this date as a *post quem* (1960, 54). Before 1565 the brothers Mikołaj and Stanisław, who inherited their father’s well-known printing workshop, collaborated under the name of “Haeredes Marci Scharffenberger”.

Striedter’s study of *Fortunatus* is of particular importance not only for Polish but also for German scholarship. He established the aforementioned date of the Polish *Fortunatus* – and thus of the translation, which must have been completed before the publication – and examined the transmission of the German text: he

¹⁹ Today the five prints are kept separately in Kraków, BJ.

compiled a list of 23 sixteenth-century editions of the German *Fortunatus*, starting with the *editio princeps* from 1509 (1960, 47–48; today we know of eight more).²⁰ Moreover, Striedter was able to identify the base exemplar of the Polish translation: it was the Frankfurt edition of 1564, the only one that could have been the source of a characteristic mistake in the Polish translation (1960, 53–54). Using the method of comparative analysis of geographical names, Striedter distinguished three approaches to the translation of place names in the Polish *Fortunatus*, of which the third group – where the translator created his own naming forms because he either misunderstood the typography, further distorted names that were already spoiled in the base text, or created linguistic calques – counts less than twenty names but provides the most important evidence for the basis of the translation. Apart from this evidence, the Polish text contains all those distortions of names that only appear in German editions from 1564 onwards (1960, 57); and the shortening of the travel descriptions in the Polish translation is also the result of using an edition from the “Frankfurter Gruppe” (1960, 33).

Establishing the basis of the translation enabled Striedter to analyse the translation strategies of the Polish interpreter. One of the key features of the Polish text is that it does not omit any episodes from the German original and contains fewer omissions than additions; in most cases, these additions expand events only mentioned in the original to the size of small scenes (1960, 66). Furthermore, the Polish text demonstrates a concern to provide the whole story with a more coherent structure and motivation of events. This can be best seen in the chapter division, which in the German version was dependent on technical or printing considerations rather than composition, and which in the Polish translation does justice for the first time to the structure of the narrative, because the translator treated the distribution of the chapters freely – combining some, dividing others, but always aiming for “ein möglichst konsequentes erzählerisches Abschließen der Einzelepisoden” (“the most consistent narrative conclusion as possible of each episode”; 1960, 71).²¹

A particular group of changes relates to the character of Agrippina, the greedy daughter of the English king. In the German version, she is depicted as a cunning woman; the Polish translator transforms her into a miser, and juxtaposes

²⁰ Striedter also included in his list Feyerabend’s edition in the multiple-text unit *Buch der Liebe* (1587; VD16 B 8959), which is not taken into account as an independent *Fortunatus* edition by Gotzkowsky (1991; 1994) or Jungmayr (1996). Gotzkowsky’s bibliography, corrected by Jungmayr (Gotzkowsky 1991, nos. 19 and 20 represent the same edition, see Jungmayr 1996, 328), describes 30 known editions before 1600; one of them is, however, only hypothetical, based on five wood-blocks extant from an unknown edition of *Fortunatus* (Striedter 1960, 47, no. 15a = Gotzkowsky 1991, no. 25).

²¹ All translations in section 2 by Krystyna Wierzbicka-Trwoga.

her with the profligate Andolosia, son of Fortunatus – they become “exemplarische Verkörperungen zweier gegensätzlicher Umgangsweisen mit Geld, die beide maßlos sind (nur mit umgekehrten Vorzeichen)” (“exemplary personifications of two contrasting ways of dealing with money, both of which are immoderate (only with opposite signs)”; 1960, 74). As a result, the Polish version emphasizes all the more strongly the novel's central theme of wise and foolish money handling. This new conception of the heroine leads to some plot changes, especially towards the end of the Polish translation – Agrippina, after her remorseful conversion, becomes the avenger of Andolosia's death.

Striedter summarizes the Polish translator's achievements as follows: he proceeded skilfully in expanding descriptions and scenes, as well as in motivating particular events, and his text is superior to the original in the construction of the narrative (1960, 76). What is more, Striedter argues that the translator may have been Marcin Siennik (d. ca. 1590), editor of a Polish *Herbarium* and translator of *Melusine*, since an important group of additions in *Fortunatus* includes botanical vocabulary – where the German text offers even the slightest possibility, the translator shows off his knowledge in this field (1960, 81). One of the reasons supporting this hypothesis was the fact that Siennik's *Herbarium* was published by Mikołaj Szarfenberger in 1568, which proved their mutual connection, and the attribution of the Polish edition of *Fortunatus* to this printer.

This last element is, however, one of the few points on which Striedter's valuable dissertation needs to be corrected. According to Katarzyna Krzak-Weiss's research on Polish printers' marks in the early modern period, the mark found in *Fortunatus* belonged to Mikołaj's brother Stanisław Szarfenberger and is evidenced in his other printings (Krzak-Weiss 2006, 135, 203). In their marks – Mikołaj had four, Stanisław even six – both brothers used their coat of arms (a goat emerging from behind three hills with three stars above it), granted to them on their ennoblement in 1554 (Kiliańczyk-Zięba 2015, 104–107), which was the source of Krzyżanowski's mistake. This does not mean that the hypothesis concerning the identity of the translator cannot be maintained: Siennik was collaborating as editor with both brothers (Wawrykiewicz 1983, 290), so he may have published his translation of *Fortunatus* with Stanisław. Paradoxically, this finding even strengthens this hypothesis, since the initials M.S., which sign the preface, could in principle refer to either Marcin Siennik or Mikołaj Szarfenberger (Striedter 1960, 84), but after excluding Mikołaj only Siennik remains.

The Polish preface is interesting in many respects. Although it has not been preserved intact, it is clearly not an adaptation of the German preface. The preface to the German *Fortunatus* contains a summary of the narrative, ending with a praise of wisdom: “Unnd in alweg vernunfft und weißhait für all schätzt diser welt / zu begeren und zu erwölen ist.” (Roloff 1996, 5; “And in every way reason and wis-

dom for all the treasures of this world / is to be desired and chosen.”). In the 1564 Frankfurt edition the summary is a little shortened, while this last sentence is significantly specified: “Darauß jederman vernunfft und Weißheit / welche für alle Schätz diser Welt zu begeren ist / nach gelegenheit eines jeden Standes wol erlernen mag.” (VD16 ZV 30894, A1v; “Whereby every man, according to the circumstances of his own station, may well learn reason and wisdom, which is to be desired for all the treasures of this world.”). The preface to the Polish translation, as it has been preserved, begins with a sentence stating that this story is eagerly read by the Germans, and continues with creating a fictive Italian translation, explaining that since the Germans read this text, and the Italians have their own translation, the Poles should have one too. Such practices of inventing foreign parallels served to enhance the attractiveness of the book (Striedter 1960, 56). However, the most important point of the Polish preface is an elaborate explanation of the benefits to be gained from reading this story:

Abowiem aczby kto rzekł, iż to w rzeczy nigdy nie było, jednak tak roztropnie jest opisana ta Historyja, iż czytając niektórych przewrotnych ludzi wykręty a przechyrne szyderstwa, ktore w nią wmieszane są, gdy ty czytając baczność twą tym pobudzisz, ztrudna cię ma takowy szyderz oszukać, abyś jego fierlejow a wykrętow nie obaczył, a przeciw oszukaniu jego niejakiej przestrogi nie znalazł. Abowiem, jako się rzekło, dobrze temu, który się cudzą przygodą karze.²² (Krzyżanowski 1926, 10)

It was not the moral about Fortunatus’ wrong choice from the gifts of Lady Fortune that was of interest to the Polish translator, but learning how to beware of deceivers. It is a very concrete lesson to be drawn from the narrative. The preface ends with a request for the reader’s favour and a promise that if granted, the writer will be moved to present something even more delightful.

It is possible that it was indeed the translator and not the printer who wrote the preface, and it is quite tempting to think that it was Siennik who offered here to translate other narratives as well, as he did with the *Melusine* story in 1569.

²² “For though some may say that it never happened, yet so prudently is this History described, that when you read about some perverse men’s mischiefs and cunning mockery, which are mingled therein, when your attention is aroused thereby, it is difficult for such a mocker to deceive you, lest you should see his falsities and mischiefs, and find some warning against his deception. For, as has been said, it is good to him who chastises himself by another’s adventure.”

3 Intellectual Networks as a Vector for the Transmission of *Fortunatus*? The French and Italian Translations

The French *Histoire des aventures de Fortunatus* (“History of Fortunatus’ adventures”) that appeared in 1626 sets itself apart from most earlier translations in that it bears little resemblance to the popular editions richly illustrated with low-quality woodcuts copied from the Frankfurt version. Besides some vignettes, its neat *editio princeps*, published by the Rouen bookseller Jacques [I] Cailloué and the printer Jean Roger (Jungmayr 1996, 340), only has an illustration on the title page: a copper engraving representing Fortunatus on horseback with a falcon on his wrist and a dog running beside him. It is a copy of the woodcut Brosamer designed for the fourth chapter of Gülfferich’s Frankfurt edition (1549).



Figs. 3a and 3b: Fortunatus on horseback. On the left: *Fortunatus. Von seinem Seckel, unnd Wuenschhuetlin ...* Frankfurt am Main: Hermann Gülfferich, 1551, A7v (Darmstadt, ULB, 31/308, <http://tudigit.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/show/31-308/0017>). On the right: title vignette of the first French edition (1626), reused on the title page of a later edition: *Histoire des aventures heureuses et malheureuses de Fortunatus ...* Rouen: Jean Boulléy, 1656, A1r (Troyes, BM, B. Bl. 2590, photo Médiathèque Jacques Chirac, Troyes Champagne Métropole). By courtesy of Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, and Médiathèque Jacques Chirac, Troyes Champagne Métropole.

Together with the new preface and the adapted title, which also falsely claims that the text was “Nouvellement traduit d’Espagnol” (“Newly translated from Spanish”), this illustration indicates that the translator and the publishers intended to present the text as a modern narrative in the tradition of the then highly popular Spanish picaresque novel and the French “roman comique”, as represented for example by Mateo Alemán’s *Guzmán de Alfarache* (1599/1604) (French translations in 1600 and

1619/1620), and Charles Sorel's *Histoire comique de Francion* (1623).²³ The moral take in the preface of the German original was consequently replaced with a light-hearted recommendation of the story's useful depiction of the powerful influence "l'esprit & la richesse" ("wit and wealth") can have. Moreover, instead of being the result of Fortunatus' bad choice, the disastrous ending was now used to warn against the perils of disunity. As such, a literary 'novelty' coming from Spain fitted seamlessly in the production of the two Protestant publishers,²⁴ but one might wonder what gave them the idea to pick *Fortunatus* and to present it as a translation from a non-existent Spanish original. Regarding this question, a recent study has hypothesized that an international network of well-connected Huguenot theologians, ministers, printers, and booksellers played a crucial role in *Fortunatus*' appearance in France; in 1625 minister Jean-Maximilien de Langle would have brought a copy of the 1615 English translation printed by Richard Field in London from England to Rouen. He would then have trusted his fellow citizen and co-religionist Jacques Cailloué with producing a translation that would be "both educational and incentive" for the future French inhabitants of the "Protestant Republic of Ireland" (Velay-Vallantin 2021, 265), a plantation project in which the dreams of the persecuted French Huguenots presumably merged with the ambitions of the English Crown. While Cailloué accepted the first part of the mission, he would have been reluctant to carry it out according to the instructions, since the idea of a Protestant Ireland as the promised land for the Huguenots would not have appealed to him (Velay-Vallantin 2021, 271).

Seducing as this theory may be, the reader in search of evidence underpinning the claim of a direct link between the English and the French versions will be disappointed. Velay-Vallantin's remark that it is all the more curious that the 1615 English edition insists on Fortunatus' skills as a falconer because it does not contain Brosamer's image of the hero with his falcon, implies that she has seen a copy of Field's publication. There is however reason to doubt this, since no copy of it seems to have been preserved, and Field's edition has never been described in detail. One might even question whether the 1615 *Fortunatus* actually did exist: according to the registers of the Stationer's Company, Richard Field obtained a licence for "The History of Fortunatus" on 22 June 1615, but this does not necessarily mean that he used it. On 4 April 1626, three weeks before Jean Roger obtained his "privilege" for the French translation – which he later passed on to Cailloué –, Field's widow sold her licence to their former apprentice George Miller.²⁵ It was

²³ On these genres, see Serroy (1981) and Cupers (1984).

²⁴ Cf. Mellot (1998, 67, 99–101).

²⁵ SRO, entries 6534 and 8205.

in fact Miller who signed the first known extant edition in English, which appeared fourteen years after the French translation, in 1640 (Jungmayr 1996, 337)! So, unless Velay-Vallantin has discovered a hitherto unknown copy of the 1615 edition, we must assume that it was the 1640 edition, which claimed on the title page that it was “abstracted” from the Dutch *Fortunatus*, that served as the basis for her analysis.

Even when one would presume that Miller's edition reproduced a hypothetical English version from 1615, the idea that the French translator used this version seems untenable: the French translation from 1626 carefully follows the text of the Dutch 1610 edition (both have 50 chapters),²⁶ and shares with it several features that clearly set them apart from the English version (48 chapters). For example, in chapter 17, both the Dutch and the French editions spell the German city name “Waldrick” as “Maldric” – possibly because of an error by the Antwerp printer – whilst the English text has “Waldrink”. In the next chapter, the first two mention a gift of two guilders to a single priest, whereas the English and the German versions speak of “priests”. In the 1640 edition, the guilders have furthermore become “pieces of gold”. There are other instances of this type of distinguishing similarities and differences,²⁷ and the specific example given in the article to prove that the Rouen edition depends on the English version (Velay-Vallantin 2021, 247) is incorrect: when he introduces *Fortunatus*' father in the first chapter, the French adapter translates the Dutch text literally, except for the word “jong” (“young”), and not the differently formulated English text.

So, instead of receiving an English translation from the hands of their minister, the French publishers had probably picked up a copy of a Dutch edition from before 1626, which was used as a model for a translation that, as such, was rather straightforward and not so much a “complex patchwork” of materials borrowed from both German versions and the Dutch and English translations, as suggested by Velay-Vallantin (2021, 247).²⁸ Despite the close contact between Huguenot Rouen and Protestant England, the network playing a part in the creation of the French

²⁶ There are only a few minor divergences, which suggests that the French translator might have used a Dutch source closely resembling the 1610 edition.

²⁷ E.g. the caption title at the beginning of the text of the French edition, which contains the subtitle of the Dutch translation; the encounter with Lady Fortune, who in the English version scolds *Fortunatus* for his choice; chapter 35, the description of the physical appearance of the female neighbour; and chapter 49, the formulation of the Count of Limosi's question.

²⁸ Also, we cannot follow the author's conclusion that the French edition's title page illustration with *Fortunatus* holding the falcon on his right wrist – instead of his left – functions as a “fake profile” (270); this engraving is the exact reproduction of an image that can be found in the Dutch 1610 edition and that goes back to the earliest editions of the “Frankfurter Gruppe” (see Figs. 3a and 3b).

Fortunatus should therefore rather be identified as the publishers' commercial relations with Antwerp or perhaps Cailloué's relatives in the Dutch Republic.²⁹

Unfortunately, the translator himself and his role in this process are unknown. The translation is generally attributed to Charles de Vion, seigneur d'Alibray (ca. 1600–ca. 1654),³⁰ but his name only appears as the author of an – apparently unrelated – “lettre burlesque” (“burlesque letter”) attached to the heavily revised *Fortunatus* edition published in 1655 in Lyon under the title *Histoire comique, ou les aventures de Fortunatus, traduction nouvelle* (“Comical history, or Fortunatus' adventures, new translation”).³¹ While Charles de Vion, who is known as an author of Bacchic and erotic poems, but also as a translator of Italian and Spanish works such as Torquato Tasso's *Aminta* (1573, tr. 1632) and Juan Huarte de San Juan's *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias* (1575, tr. 1645), could have been a likely candidate for a translation from Spanish, it is doubtful that he knew Dutch. Moreover, his signed poems and translations all seem to have been published first in Paris, between 1632 and 1653. The “burlesque letter” added to the 1655 Lyon *Fortunatus* edition had also already appeared as a separate publication in 1643, and it had been incorporated as well in the edition of Vion's *Œuvres poétiques*, issued in 1653 by the Parisian publishers Antoine de Sommaville and Jean Guignard (Van Bever 1906, xxxvii). All things considered, there is no evidence tying Vion to the creation of the French *Fortunatus*. It seems more likely that he would have authored the preliminary poetic tribute to Fortunatus' purse in the 1626 edition – although the poem does not appear in Vion's *Œuvres poétiques* – or maybe even the reworking of the first *Fortunatus* translation (1655), which was published shortly after his death. Interestingly, the laudatory poem to the second *Fortunatus* translator, which first appeared in the 1665 reprint of the revised edition of 1655, is signed by Jean Baudoin, a well-known poet and, like Charles de Vion, a translator of Spanish and Italian (and even English) texts. Since Baudoin deceased in 1650, the revisions to the first *Fortunatus* translation and the laudatory poem to the second translator must have been made before that date.

In the end we must conclude that much remains unclear with regard to the creators of these two French *Fortunatus* versions and the circumstances of their publication. A comparative analysis of the data collected on the editions listed in Tab. 1 above reveals that in the last decades of the seventeenth century, both versions ended up as chapbooks, the first in the *Bibliothèque bleue* of Troyes (from 1662 onwards), the second in its Rouen counterpart (from 1688 onwards), but also

²⁹ Cf. Mellot (1998, 100–101).

³⁰ See, for example, the online catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris.

³¹ The word “comique” in the sense of the “roman comique”, where the protagonists are ordinary people. On Charles de Vion, see Van Bever (1906).

that the revised version travelled to Naples, where an Italian translation was published in 1676 by Antonio Bulifon. It was no doubt the publisher himself who initiated this project: born in 1649 in a village south of Lyon, young Bulifon one day “set off on a marvellous adventure that ultimately would bring him wealth and a marriage” (Magnanini 2007, 80). Like *Fortunatus*, he wandered from one place to another until, in 1670, he settled in Naples and started working in the book trade. Within a few years he managed to build a flourishing business, specializing in Neapolitan culture, as well as an impressive network of contacts in the Republic of Letters, several of which visited him in person on their travels (Magnanini 2007).

The model for the Italian *Fortunatus* was an edition of the French revised version, which Bulifon could have acquired as a boy or picked up during his wanderings.³² The text was translated by Pompeo Sarnelli, a priest born in 1649, like Bulifon himself, and a keen amateur of literary studies. He authored, translated, and edited several works for the publisher, signing those which appeared in Italian under the pseudonym Masillo Reppone di Gnanopoli (Rubini 2003, 29–30; D'Eugenio 2017, chapter 3). Hence, the dedicatory letter from Masillo to the “illustrious” Pompeo Sarnelli, “Doctor of Laws and protonotary apostolic” that opens the 1676 edition is, in fact, a letter to the self. This erudite composition, full of quotations in Greek and Latin, justifies the translator's choices; his *Degli avvenimenti di Fortunato e de' suoi figli* (“Of the adventures of *Fortunatus* and his sons”) is an adaptation in which he inserted moral lessons while censoring passages that he considered too liberal.³³ Since the amount of text doubled, he created two books of 30 chapters each. Thus, contrary to contemporary editions in other languages, which by then tended to be relatively cheap editions destined for a large audience, the Italian edition presented itself as a literary endeavour worthy of the author's and the publisher's reputation. According to Rubini (2003, 31), Sarnelli transformed the story “into a fictionalized textbook for young, inexperienced (newly rich) men, with ironic criticism of the newly ‘ennobled’.” Another typical feature is that it is filled with advice for travellers and, at some point, becomes a proper guidebook like the ones Bulifon and Sarnelli produced in the same period. Sarnelli even inserted four new chapters discussing the touristic highlights of the Naples region and featuring the translator and publisher themselves under the names Samuel Lipper and Antonio Buonfil (Rubini 2003, 31–32).

³² According to Rubini (2003, 28), citing a study carried out by Maria Franca Frola, this would have been the Rouen edition from 1670. I have not been able to access Frola's article, but since Rubini's contains several errors, it would be worthwhile verifying whether Bulifon did actually use this Rouen edition instead of a copy printed in Lyon.

³³ On these adaptations, see Rubini (2003).

Bulifon advertised his Italian *Fortunatus* in the booklists that he inserted in several of his publications.³⁴ The translation was probably primarily aimed at an Italian audience but, no doubt thanks to Bulifon's large network, copies of it ended up in other regions with their own *Fortunatus* tradition as well, for example in the library of the French king, where it sat companionably with the first edition of the French translation,³⁵ and in other collections of French *amateurs de belles-lettres*, such as Jean-Louis Barré and Adrien Larchevesque.³⁶ Although it was met with some success in Italy – Sarnelli's translation was reprinted twice in Bologna (1677 and 1681)³⁷ – this learned reworking did not find the same echo as most more faithful translations in other languages or the Italian chapbook tradition of the story of the three companions who encountered three fairies.

4 Eighteenth-Century Editions Printed in the British Isles as Examples of Publishers' Strategies to Conquer and Diversify the Book Market

From 1648 onwards, English readers looking for advice on what to read could consult *An Easy and Compendious Introduction for Reading all sorts of Histories*. It was said to be “contrived [...] out of the Papers” of the late Mathias Prideaux, son of bishop John Prideaux, who is thought to be the actual author of the work (Maddicott 2022, 162). As was to be expected, this guide had nothing good to say about fictional narratives:

ROMANCE'S or the *Bastard* sort of *Histories*, may be noted not for any great *uses* in them, but for manifold *abuses* by them, 1. In wasting *pretious time* which might be better *employed*, 2. In stuffing the *Fancy* and *Memory* with ridiculous *Chimerah's*, and wandering *Imaginations*, to

³⁴ See, for example, the *Nota de libri stampati* (“Notice of printed books”) at the end of Camillo De Notariis, *Flavio Costantino il Grande ...* Napoli: Antonio Bulifon, 1677 (Wien, ÖNB, 40.Q.23), and Antonio Muscettola, *Epistole familiari ...* Napoli: Antonio Bulifon, 1678 (Firenze, BNC, MAGL. 3.7.292).

³⁵ See the *Catalogue des livres imprimés de la bibliothèque du roy. Belles Lettres II*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1750, 1220–1221.

³⁶ See the *Catalogue des livres de feu M. Barré ...*, vol. II. Paris: Gabriel Martin, 1743, 4129, and the *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu Monsieur Larchevesque ...* Rouen: Nicolas Le Boucher and Paris: Jacques Barrois, 1749, 2734.

³⁷ See the appendix to this chapter.

the *excluding* or *stifling* of more serious and profitable meditations, 3. For *transporting* and *deluding* the *affections*, with languishing *Love*, impossible *attempts* and *victories*, stupendous *enchancements*, wherewith the weake Reader is often so taken, that he makes himselfe (as it were) a *Party* in the businesse, and *rejoyceth* or is *sorry*, as matters are brought to succede according to his *Fancy*, or otherwise.³⁸

It then distinguishes seven subcategories among these “*Brats of Invention, and Spawne of Idle houres*”, according to their being “1. *Rude*, or 2. *Endlesse*, 3. or *Depraved*, 4. or *Superstitious*, or else, 5. *Morall*, 6. *Politicall*, or 7. *Satyricall*.” With the *Seven wise masters, Valentine and Orson*, and several chivalric romances, *Fortunatus* falls into the first category: rude, i.e. without “favour of *Ingenuity, Language, or Invention*”. Although Prideaux’s guide went through several re-editions in the seventeenth century, it did not have the desired effect, at least not in the long term: especially after 1700, the number of English editions of our narrative grew exponentially, outranking those in most other languages. Apart from increased literacy, the diversification strategies and promotional activities used by the publishers in the British Isles were no doubt decisive in this process, which also sparked a fierce competition that left its traces in the editions themselves.

To start with the oldest extant English edition, published in 1640 by George Miller (Jungmayr 1996, 337): slightly abbreviating the wording of the Dutch version, its title page advertises the narrative as a “right pleasant and variable tragicall historie [...] Whereby a young man may learne to behave himselfe in all worldly affaires and casuall chances.” It further notes that it was “[f]irst penned in the Dutch tongue” and, “therehence abstracted”, “now first of all published in English”. The translator, who is only known by his initials T.G.,³⁹ probably also provided the rhymed set of moral lessons to be learned from specific episodes at the beginning of the book. These are followed by an original note to the reader, which anticipates possible criticisms by also insisting on the moral sense and the educational value of the story, as well as the efforts made to rewrite certain passages. As if this was not enough, a long poem giving the “summe and argument” of the book closes the paratext. Despite all these precautions, the English *Fortunatus*, which like its model reproduced several of Brosamer’s woodcuts, apparently did not immediately seduce the public; the second (known) edition, published by George Sawbridge, only appeared in 1676 (Jungmayr 1996, 337). It omits the long poem, but the rest of the text and iconography follow the first edition. Sawbridge’s widow reprinted the

³⁸ *An Easy and Compendious Introduction For Reading all sorts of Histories: Contrived, In a more facile way then heretofore hath been published, out of the Papers of Mathias Prideaux Mr of Arts and sometime Fellow of Exeter Colledge in Oxford*. London: Leonard Lichfield, 1648, 343.

³⁹ Later editions indicate “T.C.”. The translator is thought by some to be Thomas Gainsford, but Haldane (2006) believes that it is Thomas Combe.

work six years later, with the poem this time. The last page of her re-edition contains an advertisement that shows that, by then, *Fortunatus* had become part of a competitive struggle for the market:

This Book having found very good Acceptance for many Impressions, some Ill minded persons (and particularly one *Thomas Haley*) has Printed a Counterfeit Impression in Quarto, therein falsifying the Original, and endeavouring to deprive the true Proprietor of the Copy: Therefore let the Buyer take heed of cheating himself and encouraging such base practices, the true Copy being in Octavo, and so sold by *H. Sawbridge* ... (*The Right, Pleasant, and Variable Trachical History of Fortunatus* ... London: Hannah Sawbridge, 1682, K8v, BL copy digitized in EEBO)

Thomas Haley had indeed recently brought out a revised edition of *Fortunatus* under the title *The History of the Birth, Travels, Strange Adventures and Death of Fortunatus* ... (London: 1682, copy of the Huntington Library digitized in EEBO). Cleverly reusing elements from the preface in the earlier editions, its densely printed title page boasted that the story contains “such Variety both of Comical and Tragical Discourse, That the like is not afforded in any *Histories* of this Nature”, especially since it has “several new Additions” and “several New Pictures”. Haley also made sure the reading benefits that were until then listed in the preface were better highlighted by moving them to the title page. A new “Epistle to the Reader” further presented the book as a useful mirror, reflecting the “follies of extravagant Youth, the vanity of aspiring greatness”, the problems caused by wealth and, last but not least, the vices of wicked men and “the snares that are layed by false and dissembling Women to intrap the too too [sic] credulous Youths, and then to plunge them into an Ocean of misery” (π2r). This promising paratextual material, including a new poem summarizing the plot, precedes a text that has been qualified as a “garbled adaptation” (Haldane 2006, 313), full of errors in the chapter numbering. The few “New Pictures” do not match the style of the others and since all the illustrations used by Haley were created for an octavo edition, other images – mostly of trees – were placed next to each of them in order to fill the space. One can imagine Hannah Sawbridge’s indignation even more when one realizes that Haley was the former associate of Anne Purslowe (d. 1679?), who had printed the 1676 edition for Hannah’s husband.

Haley’s career did not last long but, despite its shortcomings, his edition initiated a long line of partly competing and partly complementary editions. Near the end of the seventeenth century, a 24-page quarto chapbook, entitled *The Comical and Tragical History of Fortunatus* ..., was put on the market. This cheap and abbreviated version, aimed especially at “young Men and Women, whose Impatience will not allow them to read the larger Volume”, was presumably made at the initiative of booksellers specializing in ballads and chapbook editions of fictional narratives, like

Charles Brown, Josiah Blare, and George Conyers.⁴⁰ Blare's name is also listed on the title page of one of the editions of a longer version published in duodecimo: *The Famous and Delightful History of Fortunatus, And his Two Sons ...*. This adaptation "in two parts", one dedicated to the father and one to the sons, like in the Italian *Fortunatus*, recycled Hayley's reworking from 1682, and while it also promised new content "not being in the former impressions", the only substantial change made seems to be the inclusion of a sort of frontispiece composed of poor-quality copies of two of Brosamer's woodcuts, which were provided with two rhymed verses. The two parts were created by simply marking the end of the story of Fortunatus' life and the beginning of his sons' adventures with a half-title and by restarting the chapter numbering. The oldest edition with this title dates to 1702 and bears the mention "fourth edition".⁴¹ If this number is correct, it would mean that two other – now lost – editions of this version had appeared between 1682 and 1702, or else that the 1640 edition was indeed the first and that they did not count Hannah Sawbridge's edition.

Besides this "new" version of the 1682 adaptation, for which I also found editions marked as the sixth (1712) and the seventh (1715) in line, the "original" translation apparently also continued to circulate. In any case, it surfaced around 1730 when John Osborne, a J. King and James Hodges issued what they called the tenth edition (Jungmayr 1996, 338). They gave the competition a taste of their own medicine by copying the idea of the two parts – without implementing it – and by falsely promising a "Variety of New Pictures and New Additions", the only extras being indicating the price on the title page – one shilling for a bound copy – and inserting an opening page depicting the iconic image of Lady Fortune and Fortunatus. This illustration was placed above the advertisement against the – now anonymous – counterfeiters, whose duodecimo edition was said to infringe the rights of the publishers in question. This time, the rightful owners were successful in defending their position: no further reprints of Haley's version seem to have seen the light but, either as a precaution or out of laziness, they continued to place the advertisement at the beginning of their editions. The fact that, in the 1750s, two different editions both numbered "twelfth" edition appeared shortly one after another might be due to an error that occurred when there was a change in the composition of the publishing collective rather than a sign of reigniting competition.⁴²

⁴⁰ Quoted from the title page of the edition by C. Brown (London: [1700], FSL copy digitized in EEBO). For the different editions of this version, see the appendix. On the seventeenth-century trade in chapbooks, see Spufford (1989). On the term itself and its relation to children's literature, see Grenby (2008).

⁴¹ On this edition and subsequent ones, see the appendix.

⁴² The twelfth edition by Osborne, King and Hodges (London: 1752, Jungmayr 1996, 338) was illustrated with a "very Curious Frontispiece" (quotation from the title page) i.e. a new and large

Publishers in the British Isles also made use of the emergence of a special literature for children to create new shortened versions of bestselling narratives like *Fortunatus* which they incorporated in educational and entertaining anthologies such as the popular *The Child's new Play-Thing: being a Spelling-Book Intended to make the Learning to Read, a Diversion instead of a Task* (1742), published by the printer Thomas Cooper and possibly authored by his wife and successor Mary. The eight-page retelling of *Fortunatus* is a compilation of some remarkable adventures that are now all ascribed to Fortunatus himself. Conforming partly to earlier moral readings, it ends with the hero concluding “that great Riches are a great Burthen, and that the having our Wishes often lead us into Miseries and Misfortunes”, and subsequently burning the purse and hat.⁴³ Interestingly, the accompanying woodcut depicts Lady Fortune as the blindfolded Roman goddess standing on her wheel, a type of image that later also appeared in some of the short “chapbook” editions.⁴⁴ Other adaptations for children in the same vein appeared in *A Pretty Book for Children or an Easy Guide to the English Tongue* (first issued ca. 1744) and in *The Pleasing Companion; or Short Histories to instruct and entertain all little Boys and Girls* (ca. 1790).⁴⁵

While eighteenth-century popular editions in other language regions generally reproduced previous editions with minor revisions, the publishers in the British Isles – possibly prompted by a more competitive or promising trade – have thus shown exceptional creativity in marketing various types of *Fortunatus* editions for different types of audiences. Furthermore, their often densely printed title pages advertising contents, benefits, distribution points, and sometimes also the price show the commercial interests at stake in a way that does not compare to the strategies used at the time by their foreign counterparts. The same goes for the polemic advertisements and the number of publishers and stock lists mentioning *Fortunatus* in contemporaneous publications from the British Isles.

engraving of Lady Fortune handing the purse to Fortunatus. It was the only woodcut in the book. The twelfth edition by C. Hitch, L. Hawes, and S. Crowder (London: ca. 1758, see the appendix) used old woodcuts, as did their following editions, so if there was indeed a friendly take-over, the new engraving of Lady Fortune was apparently not included. In 1755 we find it in the stock of the London publisher J. Fuller, who used it in an edition of *The Interpretation of Dreams* (copy John Rylands University Library Manchester digitized in ECCO).

⁴³ Quoted from the second edition (London: M. Cooper, 1743, 106).

⁴⁴ For instance, on the title page of an undated edition “Printed and Sold in Aldermary Church-Yard, Bow Lane” (see the appendix).

⁴⁵ I did not include the editions of these anthologies in Tab. 1.

Conclusion

This overview of the publishing history of the *Fortunatus* story is evidently too short to allow for a well-based analysis of its success in early modern Europe, but it contains several leads that could be further examined. One of the pressing questions in the context of a book on the Top Ten is of course the secret of *Fortunatus*' success. Albert Classen (1990) was probably right when he attributed the "Weltwirkung" of the story matter (all types of creative adaptations and reworkings included) to its general human theme, which would have made it a popular read and creative source for audiences of all times, but this remains a fairly general assessment and does not take into account the fact that due to specific circumstances and developments, the *Fortunatus* reception was not as enthusiastic or durable in all language regions. If we only look at the number of editions of the 'original' narrative, it was not as popular and as widely disseminated as some other narratives discussed in this book.

That *Fortunatus* sparked so many editions in twelve different languages between 1509 and 1800 might more specifically have to do with its unique combination of magical and folktale elements with a more realistic, cosmopolitan description and analysis of a developing 'modern' society. It thus easily lent itself for various interpretations and reframings: societal mirror, moral tale, survival guide for young men on the threshold of adulthood, travel literature, fairy tale etc. It is particularly interesting to see that whereas, from 1530, onwards, the magical purse and hat constituted an essential element in the titles published in most language regions, the French, Italian, and English translations initially omitted these objects and focused on other aspects. It seems that it was only with the broadening of their audience that French and English editions put these magical objects to the fore. If anything, this chapter has indeed shown that, apart from the general appeal of a 'time-less' story, the secret of *Fortunatus*' wide and enduring popularity in early modern Europe resides within the networks and strategies of the publishers who played an essential role in its dissemination.

Tab. 2: Earliest extant editions of *Fortunatus* in European vernaculars.

| Language | Title | Title (English translation) | Place, printer-publisher and year | Reference |
|-------------|---|---|---|----------------------|
| High German | No title, only a woodcut representing Fortunatus and his sons with in it the names FORTVNATVS, AMPEDO, and ANDOLOSIA | | Augsburg: Johann Otmar for Johann Heybler, 1509 | VD16 F 1928 |
| Polish | Title page missing [<i>Historia o Fortunacie</i>] | [History of Fortunatus] | [Kraków: Stanisław Szarfenberger, ca. 1570] | Kraków, BJ, Cim. 887 |
| Danish | <i>Fortunatus Bog. En subtilig Historie, om Fortunatus Pung, oc hans Ynske Hat. Nu paa det ny udsæt aff Tyske paa Danske, met skøne Figurer beprydet, Saare lystig at laese, etc.</i> | The Book of Fortunatus. A subtle History, about Fortunatus' Purse, and his Wishing Hat. Now newly translated from German into Danish, adorned with beautiful Figures, Very pleasant to read, etc. | København: Matz Vingaard, 1575 | USTC 303024 |
| Low German | <i>Fortunatus. Van synem Büdel unnde Wünschelhode; Itzundes appet nye in de Sassische Sprake gebrocht, mit schönen Figuren gezyret, seer lustich unde kortwylich tho lesende</i> | Fortunatus: About his Purse and Wishing hat; Now newly transposed into the Saxon Language, decorated with beautiful Images, very pleasant and entertaining to read | Hamburg: Hermann Möller, 1602 | VD17 7:685005F |

Tab. 2 (continued)

| Language | Title | Title (English translation) | Place, printer-publisher and year | Reference |
|----------|---|---|---|---|
| Dutch | <i>Een nieuwe historie van Fortunatus borse, ende van sijnen wunsch-hoet, seer playsant om lese (n), Ende leerende hoe een Jonck geselle hem heusschelijck houden sal, met woorden ende met wercken, by hooghe by leeghe, onder vrienden ende onder vremde, binnen slants ende buyte(n) slants, met reysen, met coopmanschappen doen, in den houwelijck, ende in meer ander accidenten die den mensche binnen sijnen leuen ghebeurende zijn. Nu eerst nieu getranslateert wten Ouerlantsche</i> | A new history about Fortunatus's purse and wishing hat, very pleasant to read, And teaching a Young man how he should behave, in words and actions, among the high- and low-placed, among friends and strangers, at home and abroad, in travels, in trading, in marriage, and in more other events that can befall upon a human being during his life. Now newly translated from German | Antwerpen: Hieronymus Verdussen [and Pauwels Stroobant? ⁴⁶], 1610 | Antwerpen, MPM, OD A-3620 |
| French | <i>Histoire Des Advantures De Fortvnatvs. Nouuellement traduits d'Espagnol en François</i> | History Of Fortunatus' Adventures. Newly translated from Spanish into French | Rouen: Jacques Cailloué and Jean Roger, 1626 | Paris, BnF, Y2-11237 (USTC 6811358 gives incorrect information) |
| English | <i>The Right Pleasant And Variable Tragicall Historie of Fortvnatvs. Whereby a young man may learne how to</i> | — | London: George Miller, 1640 | New Haven, CT, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Ih F779 640 |

46 On Stroobant, see the appendix.

Tab. 2 (continued)

| Language | Title | Title (English translation) | Place, printer-publisher and year | Reference |
|----------|--|--|-----------------------------------|--|
| | <i>behave himselfe in all worldly affaires, and casuall chances. First penned in the Dutch tongue. Therehence abstracted, and now first of all published in English, By TG</i> | | | |
| Swedish | <i>Een mechta lustigh Historia, Om Fortunato, huru han, [...] bleff aff Jungfrun Fortuna begåfwat medh en sådan lycksaligh Pung, vthi hwilken aldrigh trööt penningar, medh hwilken han igenom reeste många fremmande Land och Konungarijke, [...] medh list aff hände en gammal vthsliten Hatt, medh hwilken han vthi itt ögnableck kunde önska sigh hwart han wille, och huru hans två Sønner effter hans död begge klenodierne ärfade, och myckin [...] ther medh bedrefwo. På nytt reviderat, medh åtskillige Figurer beprydd, och itt kort register öfwer alla historier widh andan tillsatt.</i> | A very amusing History, About Fortunatus, How he [...] was gifted by the Maiden Fortuna with such a lucky Purse that it never ran out of money, with which he travelled through many foreign Countries and Kingdoms, [...] with the cunning of an old worn-out Hat, with which he could wish himself wherever he wanted to go in that very moment [...] and how his two Sons after his death inherited both treasures, and were able to do a lot of things [...] with them. Revised again, decorated with several Figures, and a | S.l.: s.n, 1651 | Uddevalla, Bohusläns museum, Biblioteket, Rum 228 Hc |

Tab. 2 (continued)

| Language | Title | Title (English translation) | Place, printer-publisher and year | Reference |
|-----------|--|---|---|--|
| | | short index of all the stories added in the end ⁴⁷ | | |
| Hungarian | <i>Az Fortunatusrol Iratott Igen Szep Nyajas Beszed. Könyvetske Miképpen az ő Erszényéhez és kívánt kedves Süvegetskejéhöz jutván és több történt sok dolgairol. Melly most Németből Magyarrá fordítottat az szép Ujságokban gyönyörködöknek kedvékért</i> | A very Nice Book about Fortunatus. How he got his Purse and Wishing hat and more things that happened. Which I have now translated from German into Hungarian for the pleasure of those who enjoy beautiful Novelties | Levoča: [Lorentz Brewer], 1651 | Cluj, Biblioteca centrală universitară, BMV 2643 |
| Italian | <i>Degli Avvenimenti Di Fortunato E De' Suoi Figli Historia Comica Tradotta, & illustrata Da Masillo Reppone da Gnanopoli. Libri Dve</i> | The Comical History Of The Adventures Of Fortunatus And His Sons Translated, & embellished By Masillo Reppone from Gnanopoli. Two Books | Napoli: Antonio Bulifon, 1676 | London, BL, 1074.e.36 |
| Yiddish | <i>Fortunatus miṭ zain sekl un winšhitlein: wi er dozelbigi bikum un im domiṭ ergangn; in einr ibroiz lušign lebnś bešraibung for gištelt un itzund tzum erštn mol alzo gidrukṭ⁴⁸</i> | Fortunatus with his purse and wishing hat: how he acquired them and fared with them; presented in a very funny life story and now for the first time thus printed | Frankfurt am Main: s.n., 5059 [i.e. 1699] | Frankfurt am Main, Universitätsbibliothek, Jud. Germ. 1211 |

⁴⁷ With thanks to Anna Katharina Richter for her help with the translation.

⁴⁸ Transliterated title, with thanks to Anna de Wilde for her help with the translation.

Tab. 2 (continued)

| Language | Title | Title (English translation) | Place, printer-publisher and year | Reference |
|----------|--|--|-----------------------------------|---|
| Czech | <i>Fortunatus s swým Pytlíčkem a Klobaučkem, kterak gednoho y druhého gest nabył, a co se mu přihodilo w geho welmi weselým a kratochwjlným Žiwota Popsánj, prw w německým, nynj pak w Českým Gazyku s ozdobjnými Figurami předstawený. A nowě wytisštěný.</i> | Fortunatus with his Bag and Hat, how he acquired the one and the other, and what happened to him in his very merry and entertaining Life's Description. First described in German, now translated into Czech presented with decorative Illustrations. Newly printed. | S.l.: s.n., [1750] | Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, 27 E 9 |

Appendix

The Printed Tradition of *Fortunatus* in European Vernaculars until 1800: additions and corrections to Jörg Jungmayr's "Bibliographie" (1996). These additions and corrections only concern the period until 1800 and include lost editions.⁴⁹

Czech

[Kronika, jenž slove Fortunatus]. [Olomouc: Jan Günther or Prostějov: Kašpar Aorgus], 1561 (KPS K02564; no copy located; mentioned in a booklist from 1567, see Lechner 1896)

[Fortunatus]. [S.l.: s.n., ca. 1561–1620] (no copy located; mentioned in *O nebi a pekle* (1620), see <https://www.encyklopedieknihy.cz/index.php/Textologie>, 17 March 2023)⁵⁰

⁴⁹ This appendix does not aim to give complete bibliographic transcriptions of the title pages, but it provides the details necessary to identify editions, to compare titles and to find extant copies. Like Jungmayr, I did not add the 1625 Leipzig edition by Nikolaus Nerlich and the 1690 Nuremberg edition mentioned in Gotzkowsky (1994, 116) because I have not been able to check Gotzkowsky's information.

⁵⁰ With thanks to Matouš Jaluška (Univerzita Karlova, Prague) for his generous help.

Danish

- Fortunatus Bog. En subtilig Historie, om Fortunatus Pung, oc hans Ynske Hat. Nu paa det ny udsæt aff Tyske paa Danske, med skøne Figurer beprydet, Saare lystig at læse, etc.* København: Matz Vingaard, 1575 (incomplete copies København, KB, LN 625a 8° copy 1 and 2)
 [Fortunatus Pung og Ynske-Hat]. S.l.: s.n., 1627 (no copy located; DFB 10, 278)
 [Fortunati Pung oc Ynske Hat]. København: s.n., 1664 (no copy located; DFB 10, 278)

French

- Les Riches Entretiens Des Adventvres Et Voyages de Fortvnatvs. Nouuellement traduits d'Espagnol en François. Derniere Edition, reueuë & corrigée.* Paris: François Hébert, 1637 (copy: Lausanne, BCU, 1M 26, <https://books.google.ch/books?vid=BCUL1092400631>)
- Histoire Des Avantvres Du Chevalier Fortvnatvs.* Paris: Jérémie Bouillerot, 1644 (copy: Paris, BIS, FB 483)
- Histoire Des Avantvres Hevrevses et Malhevrevses de Fortunatus, qu'il à euë en son voyage. Auec sa bourse, & son Chapeau enseignant comme un ieune homme se doit gouverner, tant enuers les grands que les petits, entre amis & estrangers, tant hors que dedans son pays. Comme Fortunatus ayant peur qu'on ne le fit Chapon s'en alla à la chasse en haste sans dire adieu à son Maistre, renuoya son Cheual & l'Oiseau. Nouuellement Traduit d'Espagnol en François.* Troyes: Nicolas Oudot, 1662 (copy: Toronto, UL, PQ805F671662, <https://archive.org/details/histoiredesavant00fort>)
- Histoire Comique, Ov Les Aventvres de Fortunatus. Traduction nouvelle. Reueuë, & augmentée en cette derniere Edition d'une lettre Burlesque de Monsieur d'Alibray.* Lyon: Vincent Moulu, 1665 (copy: Paris, BnF, Y2-12562, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k111520x>)
- Histoire comique ou aventures de Fortunatus. Traduction nouvelle, revue et augmentée en cette dernière édition d'une lettre burlesque de Mons. d'Alibray.* Rouen: Jacques Lucas, 1667 (no copy located; copy Yves Levy sold at auction by Artcurial on 17 March 2006: https://www.bibliore.com/cat-vent_arturial-18-3-061.htm, 17 March 2023)
- The Rouen 1670 edition with the imprint of Pierre Cailloué listed by Jungmayr (340) seems to have been a shared edition: there are also copies with the imprint of Jacques Lucas (private collection), Gabriel Bellier (Marseille, Mucem, 1R 1295), and David Berthelin (*Catalogue des livres de feu M. Bellanger ...* Paris: Gabriel and Claude Martin, 1740, 2223)
- Histoire Des Avantvres Hevrevses et Mal-hevrevses De Fortvnatvs qu'il a euë en son voyage. Auec sa bourse & son Chapeau, enseignant comme vn ieune homme se doit gouverner, tant envers les grands que les petits, entre amis et estrangers, tant hors que dedans son pays ... Nouuellement traduit d'Espagnol en François.* Troyes, & se vendent à Paris: Antoine Rafflé, 1674 (copy: Versailles, BM, F.A. in-8 E 252 e)
- Histoire Comique, ou Les Aventures de Fortunatus. Traduction Nouvelle. Revûë & augmentée en cette derniere Edition, d'une Lettre Burlesque de Mr. d'Alibray.* Rouen: Pierre Amiot, 1679 (Dijon, BM, 8287CGA)
- Histoire Comique, ou Les Aventures De Fortunatus. Traduction Nouvelle. Revûë & augmentée en cette derniere Edition, d'une Lettre Burlesque de Mr. d'Alibray.* Rouen: Jean-Baptiste Besongne, 1688 (copy: Paris, BnF, 8-NF-83098, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k323914j>)
- Histoire Des Aventures Heureuses Et Malheureuses De Fortvnatvs. Qu'il a euë en son voyage ... Nouuellement traduit d'Espagnol en François.* Troyes & se vend à Paris: Antoine de Rafflé, [1661–1696] (Marseille, Mucem, 1R 786; Morin 1974, 567)
- Histoire Comique, Ou Les Aventures De Fortunatus. Traduction Nouvelle ...* Rouen: Jean-Baptiste Besongne, 1700 (copy: Paris, Ars. 8-BL-30558(2))

- Histoire Des Aventures Heureses Et Mal Heureses De Fortunatus, qu'il à euë en son voyage. Avec sa bourse & son chapeau enseignant comme un jeune homme se doit gouverner, tant envers les grands que les petits, entre amis & estrangers; tant hors que dedans son pays. Comme Fortunatus ayant peur qu'on ne le fist Chapon s'en alla à la chasse en hâtes sans dire adieu à son Maître, renvoya son Cheval & l'Oyseau. Nouvellement traduit d'Espagnol en François.* Troyes & se vendent à Paris: Jean Musier, [1696–1703] (copy: Troyes, BM, B. Bl. 680, <https://portail.mediatheque.grand-troyes.fr/iguana/www.main.cls?url=search#RecordId=7.1432>)
- Histoire Des Avatures [sic] Heureses Et Malheureuses De Fortvnatvs, qu'il a euë en son voyage. Avec sa bourse, & son chapeau enseignant comme un jeune homme se doit gouverner, tant envers les grands que les petits, entre amis & estrangers, tant hors que de daus [sic] son pays. Comme Fortunatus ayant peur qu'on ne le fit chapon, s'en alla à la chasse en haste sans dire adieu à son maître, & renvoya son cheval & l'oiseau. Nouvellement traduit d'espagnol en françois.* Troyes: Jacques Oudot, [1679–1711] (copy: Toronto, UL, B-10 07539)
- Histoire Comique Ou Les Aventures De Fortunatus. Revûë & augmentée en cette derniere Edition d'une Lettre Burlesque de Mr d'Alibray.* Rouen: Veuve de Jean Oursel, [1692–1725] (copy: Paris, Ars., 8-BL-29609, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k324310f>)
- Histoire Des Aventures Heureses Et Malheureuses De Fortunatus ...* Troyes: veuve Jacques Oudot and Jean Oudot fils, [ca. 1723–1741] (copy: Paris, Ars., 8-BL-28838(3))
- Histoire Comique Ou Les Aventures De Fortunatus. Traduction nouvelle. Revûë & augmentée en cette dernière Edition d'une Lettre burlesque de Monsieur d'Alibray.* Rouen: Jean Oursel l'aîné, [1735–1745] (copy: Paris, Ars., 8-BL-19589(2), <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k324585c>)
- Histoire Des Aventures Heureses Et Malheureuses De Fortunatus, Avec Sa Bourse Et Son Chapeau. Enseignant Comme Un Jeune Homme se doit gouverner.* Troyes: Pierre Garnier, [1728–1738] (copy: Troyes, BM, B. Bl. 625)
- Histoire Des Aventures Heureses Et Malheureuses De Fortunatus ...* Troyes: Pierre Garnier, [1728–1738] (copy: Marseille, Mucem, 1R 734)
- Histoire Des Aventures Heureses Et Malheureuses De Fortunatus ...* Troyes: veuve Pierre Garnier, [1738–1754] (copy: Troyes, BM, B. Bl. 450)
- Histoire Comique Ou Les Aventures De Fortunatus. Traduction nouvelle. Revûë et augmentée en cette dernière Edition d'une Lettre burlesque de M. d'Alibrag [sic].* Rouen: Jean-François Behourt, [1740–1759] (copy: Troyes, BM, B. Bl. 3325)
- Histoire Comique Ou Les Aventures De Fortunatus ...* Rouen: Pierre Seyer, [ca. 1751] (copy: Troyes, BM, B. Bl. 3209)
- Histoire Des Aventures Heureses Et Malheureuses De Fortunatus ...* Troyes: Jean Garnier, [1754–1765] (copy: Troyes, BM, B. Bl. 48)
- Histoire Des Aventures Heureses Et Malheureuses De Fortunatus ...* Troyes: Jean Garnier, [1754–1765] (copy: Troyes, BM, B. Bl. 808)
- Histoire Des Aventures Heureses Et Malheureuses De Fortunatus ...* Troyes: Garnier, [1765–1814] (copy: Troyes, BM, B. Bl. 452, <https://portail.mediatheque.grand-troyes.fr/iguana/www.main.cls?url=search#RecordId=7.1406>)
- Histoire Des Aventures De Fortunatus, Avec Sa Bourse et Chapeau. Enseignant comme un Jeune-homme doit se comporter dans toutes rencontres, tant dans son país, que dehors. Nouvellement traduit de l'Espagnol en François.* Bédarrides: Mathieu Portulier, 1767 (copy: Avignon, Bibliothèque Ceccano, 8° 48006)
- Histoire Des Aventures De Fortunatus Avec Sa Bourse et Chapeau. Enseignant comme un jeune-homme doit se comporter dans toutes rencontres, tant dans son pays, que dehors. Nouvellement traduit d'Espagnol en François.* Limoges: Pierre Chapoulaud, [1758–1794] (copy sold at auction by

Métayer-Mermoz on 5 April 2023, <https://drouot.com/l/21023494-limousin-histoire-des-aventure#modal-vente-CGV>, 25 March 2023)

Histoire des aventures de Fortunatus, avec sa bourse et chapeau, enseignant comme ... Limoges: Jacques Farne, s.a. (no copy located; *Catalogue des livres français bien conditionnés sur les beaux-arts ...* Paris: Adolphe Labitte, 1874, 791)

Histoire des aventures heureuses et malheureuses de Fortunatus ... Lélis [i.e. Caen]: Goderfe [i.e. Pierre-Jean-Aimé Chalopin], 1790 (copy: Milano, Biblioteca del Centro APICE, A.F.PW. D. 019)

Italian

Degli Avvenimenti Di Fortvnato E De' Svoi Figli Historia Comica Tradotta, & illustrata Da Masillo Reppone da Gnanopoli. Libri Dve. Bologna: Giovanni Recaldini, 1677 (copy: Praha, NK, 9 J 000305, <http://books.google.cz/books?vid=NKP:1003277439&printsec=frontcover>)

Degli avvenimenti di Fortunato ... Bologna: Giovanni Recaldini, 1681 (no copy located; Rubini 2003, 32)

Dutch

Hieronymus [I] Verdussen, the publisher of the oldest known *Fortunatus* edition in Dutch (Antwerpen: 1610) possibly shared this edition with another Antwerp bookseller, Pauwels Stroobant: the 1734 shelf catalogue of the Hofbibliothek Sulzbach lists a Dutch *Fortunatus* edition published in Antwerp in 1610 with Pauwel's imprint.⁵¹

Een nieu Histor[ie] van Fortunatus Borse, ende [van] sijnen Wensch Hoet, seer ghenoechlijck [ende] playsant om lesen, leerende hoe een jonck-ghe[selle] hem heusselijck houden sal, in handel en wandel, met woorden ende wercken, bij hooche ende leeghe. Op nieu oversien ende verciert met veel schoone Figueren. Om zijn cort-wijlicheyte de achte mael herdruckt. Amsterdam, Broer Jansz, 1638 (copy: London, BL, 635.a.1, defective title page)⁵²

Een nieu Historie van Fortunatus Borse, ende van sijnen Wensch-hoet, seer geneuchlijck ende playsant om lesen, leerende hoe een jongh geselle hem heusselijck houden sal, in handel ende wandel, met woorden ende werken, bij hooge ende leege. Op nieuw oversien, ende verciert met veel schoone nieuwe Figueren. Amsterdam: Michiel de Groot, 1670 (copy: Oxford, BL, 8° D 285(1) Linc.)

Een Nieuw Historie Van Fortunatus Borse, Ende van sijnen Wensch-hoet, seer playsant om te lesen ... Antwerpen: Joseph Jacops, 1687 (copy: Troyes, BM, B. Bl. 3202)

Een nieuw historie van Fortunatus Borse ende van sijnen wensch-hoet, seer playsant om te lesen [...] van nieuws oversien ende verbeteret. Antwerpen: weduwe Joseph Jacops, 1694 (no copy located; mentioned in a bookseller's catalogue: <https://docplayer.nl/49909651-Marc-van-de-wiele-internationale-antiquarenbeurs-mechelen-2011.html>, 17 March 2023)

Een nieuw Historie Van Fortunatus Borse ... Antwerpen: weduwe Joseph Jacops, 1706 (copy: Antwerpen, EHC, 1706, <https://dams.antwerpen.be/asset/D14WhfXlfQVRPKuEO4xteXpU/oIKXkZXmWMMVgKW7Aq4f4vQu0>)

⁵¹ See van Gemert (2009, 435).

⁵² The online catalogue of the BL indicates 1635 as the reconstructed publication date on this defective copy but it should be 1638. See Ellis and Baber (1814, s.p.) and Pinkerton (1865, 256).

- Een Nieuw Historie van Fortunatus Borse, En van zijnen Wensch Hoed. Zeer Geneugelyk en Playsant om te Lesen, Leerende hoe een Jong Gesel hem Heuslyk houden zal in Handel en Wandel, met Woorden en Werken; by Hoge en Lage Personen. Desen alderlaatsten Druk van Nieuws overgesien, En met nieuwe Figuren, daar op Passende, Verbeteret. Noit voor desen zo Gedrukt.* Amsterdam: Isaak van der Putte, 1735 (copy: Amsterdam, UB, O 60–2270, <https://books.google.nl/books?id=JERkAAAcAAJ&>)
- Een Schoone Historie Van Fortunatus Borse Ende van zyn Wensch-hoedeken. Seer genuchelijck ende vermakelijck om lesen, besonderlijck voor de Jonckheyt. Den Lesten Druck. Van nieuws oversien, en op veel plaetsen verbeteret.* Brussel: Guillielmus Cawe, [1733–1740] (copy: Bruxelles, BR, III 93.108 A (RP))
- Een Schoone Historie Van Fortunatus Borse ...* Antwerpen: weduwe Thieullier and Andreas Paulus Colpyn, [1745–1750] (copy: Bruxelles, BR, II 57.324 A (RP))
- Een Schoone historie van Fortunatus Borse ...* Brussel: weduwe Guillielmus Cawe, [1750–1777] (copy: Gent, UB, BIB.BL.006237)
- Een nieuwe historie van Fortunatus Borse, en van zijnen wensch hoed ...* Amsterdam: erven Hendrik van der Putte and Bastiaan Boekhout, 1777 (copy: Amsterdam, UB, O 60–142)
- Een Schoone Historie Van Fortunatus Borse ...* Antwerpen: Petrus Josephus Rymers, [1767–1792] (copy: Leiden, UB, BKNOOG 149; different from the copy mentioned by Jungmayr (344))
- Een Schoone Historie Van Fortunatus Borze ...* Antwerpen: Franciscus Ignatius Vinck, [ca. 1768–1798] (copy: Antwerpen, MPM, A 4280, <https://books.google.be/books?id=UMR11yQas8cC&>)
- Een Schoone Historie Van Fortunatus Borse ...* Antwerpen: Philippe Gimblet, [1767–1800] (copy: Gent, UB, BIB.G.002586).
- The edition by van Paemel listed by Jungmayr (345) and dated “um 1790” is from the nineteenth century.

Swedish

- Een mechta lustigh Historia, Om Fortunato, huru han, [...] bleff aff Jungfrun Fortuna begåfwat medh en Sådan lycksaligh Pung, vthi hwilken aldrigh trööt penningar, medh hwilken han igenom reeste många fremmande Land och Konungarijke, [...] medh list aff hände en gammal vthsliten Hatt, medh hwilken han vthi itt ögnableck kunde önska sigh hwart han wille, och huru hans två Sønner effter hans död begge klenodierne ärfvde, och myckin [...] ther medh bedrefwo. På nytt reviderat, medh åtskillige Figurer beprydd, och itt kort register öfwer alla historier widh andan tillsatt.* S.l.: s.n., 1651 (copy: Uddevalla, Bohusläns museum, Biblioteket, Rum 228 Hc; see also Wingård 2018, 47)
- Historia om Fortunato, hans pung och önskehatt, och sedan huru Sönnerne effter hans död begge Clenodierne ärfvde, och mycken kortwijn ther met drefwo, swara lustigt och kortwilligt at läsa. Nu på nytt af trycket uthgängen.* Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer, 1651 (no copy located but it is possible that the copy without title page in Stockholm, KB, F1700 2294 belongs to this edition; SF II, 4)⁵³
- Fortunati Historia, Om Hans Pung och Önskehatt. I ledige stunder mycket lustig och behagelig at läsa; hwitken nu efter mångens begäran, är tryckt på nytt.* S.l.: s.n., [1750–1800] (no copy located; SF II, 4)
- Fortunati Historia ...* S.l.: s.n., [1700–1800] (Wingård 2018, 47)

⁵³ SF II, 4 also cites editions of 1675 and 1694 but I did not include these because there is not enough evidence of their presumed existence.

English

- The 1672 and 1682 editions listed by Jungmayr are one and the same. Due to a printing or inking error, the year on the title page is not clearly visible, hence the confusion. The correct year is 1682. The British Library copy dated [ca. 1650] listed on p. 337 also belongs to this edition (see London, BL, 124.bb.8)
- The most excellent and delightful history of Fortunatus.* London: J. Conyers and J. Blare, [ca. 1690] (copy: Cambridge, Magdalen College, provenance Samuel Pepys)
- The Comical and Tragical History of Fortunatus: Wherein is contained his Birth, Travels, Adventures, last Will and Testament to his two Sons, to whom he bequeathed his Purse and Wishing-Cap: Together with their Lives and Death. Abbreviated for the Good and Benefit of young Men and Women, whose Impatience will not allow them to read the larger Volume. The whole being Illustrated with divers Cuts suitable to the History.* London: C. Brown, and are to be sold by the book-sellers of Pye-corner and London-bridge, [ca. 1700] (copy: Washington / D.C., FSL, F1618.5, digitized in EEBO)
- The Famous and Delightful History Of Fortunatus, And his Two Sons: In Two Parts. Part I. Containing an Account of his Noble Birth, Travels, and Adventures, in many strange Land; how he came by a Purse, which always supplied him with store of Money, and a Wishing hat which caused him to be in an instant at any Place he desired to be at; how, at his Death, he bequeathed his Purse and Hat to his two Sons; with his pompous Funeral, Monument and Epitaph. Part II. Containing, the Travels and Adventures of Andalocia and Ampedo [...] with their untimely Deaths, Burials ...* London: A. B [ettesworth] (part 1) / W.O. [William Onley?] and sold by Jos. Blare; and Peter Parker (part 2), 1702 (fourth edition) (copy: Oxford, BL, Douce F 95 (v.1–2))
- The Comical and Tragical History of Fortunatus ...* London: W.O.; and are to be sold by C. Bates, [1709] (copy: Edinburgh, NLS, L.C.1282(2))
- The Famous and Delightful History Of Fortunatus, And his Two Sons: In Two Parts ...* London: C. Brown, 1712 (sixth edition) (copy: Oxford, BL, Vet.A4f.1982, digitized in ECCO)
- The Famous and Delightful History Of Fortunatus, And his Two Sons: In Two Parts ...* London: T. Norris, [1715] (seventh edition) (copy: London, BL, 12410.a.20, digitized in ECCO)
- The Right, Pleasant, and Diverting. History Of Fortunatus. And his Two Sons. In Two Parts ...* London: J. Osborne; J. King; J. Hodges, 1740 (eleventh edition) (copy: London, BL, 1077.e.35, <https://books.google.nl/books?id=MPXeAAAACAAJ&>)
- The Right, Pleasant and Delightful History Of Fortunatus, And His Two Sons. In Two Parts ...* London: C. Hitch & L. Hawes; S. Crowder; J. King, [ca. 1758] (twelfth edition) (no copy located, described in a bookseller's catalogue: <https://www.davidmilesbooks.com/book/13791/the-right-pleasant-and-delightful-history-of-fortunatus-and-his/>, 17 March 2023)
- The Most Pleasant and Delightful History Of Fortunatus ...* London: printed and sold in Bow-church-yard, [ca. 1775] (copy: Edinburgh, NLS, L.C.2737(22))
- The most Pleasant and Delightful History Of Fortunatus. Containing, Varians [sic] surprizing Adventures, Among which he acquired a Purse, that could not be emptied, And a Hat, that carried him wherever he wished to be.* [London]: Printed and Sold at the Printing-Office in Bow-Church-Yard, [ca. 1775] (copy sold by Heritage Auctions on 16 December 2020, lot #45264, <https://historical.ha.com/itm/books/color-plate-books/two-copies-of-the-most-pleasant-and-delightful-history-of-fortunatus-containing-various-surprising/a/6234-45264.s>, 17 March 2023)
- The Pleasant and Delightful History Of Fortunatus.* Worcester: Printed for Samuel Gamidge. Sold by Mr. Taylor, Kidderminster; Mr. Harward, Tewkesbury; Mr. Hemming, Alcester ..., [1755–1775] (copy: London, BL, 1076.l.15(2), digitized in ECCO)

The Pleasant and Delightful History Of Fortunatus. York: J. Jackson, in Petergate, [ca. 1770?] (copy sold by Heritage Auctions on 16 December 2020, lot #45264, <https://historical.ha.com/itm/books/color-plate-books/two-copies-of-the-most-pleasant-and-delightful-history-of-fortunatus-containing-various-surprising/a/6234-45264.s>)

The History Of Fortunatus. Setting Forth His Birth, Life, Travels, and Adventures in most parts of the World ... Glasgow: J. and M. Robertson, 1787 (copy: London, BL, RB.23.a.7724)

The History Of Fortunatus. Setting Forth His Birth ... Glasgow: J. and M. Robertson, 1790 (copy: London, BL, 1076.I.20.(2.)), <https://books.google.nl/books?id=CSNI4UYaWk0C&>

The History Of Fortunatus Containing Various surprising Adventures. Among which he acquired a Purse, that could not be emptied, and a Hat that carried him wherever he wished to be. [Gloucester?]: Sold by J. Bence, in Wotton-Underedge, [ca. 1790] (copy: Oxford, BL, Douce PP 177(13), digitized in ECCO)

The History Of Fortunatus. Setting Forth His Birth ... Glasgow: J. and M. Robertson, 1799 (copy: Edinburgh, NLS, L.C.2833(17), <https://digital.nls.uk/chapbooks-printed-in-scotland/archive/104185304#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&xywh=-1038%2C-124%2C3327%2C2466>)

The History Of Fortunatus. Containing, Various surprising Adventures. Among which he acquired a Purse, that could not be emptied. And a Hat that carried him wherever he wished to be. [London:] Printed and Sold in Aldermary Church-Yard, Bow Lane, London, [1750–1800?] (copy: London, BL, 1079.i.13.(22), https://books.google.nl/books?id=yt3arDf8GDgC&printsec=frontcover&hl=fr&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false)

German

[Von Fortunato und seinem Seckel]. Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner, 1539 (Gotzkowsky 1994, 425. The copy formerly held in the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Königsberg was lost during World War II).

The two copies listed by Jungmayr at the top of p. 332 (München, BSB, P.o.germ. 1692[2] and Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Lo 1479.I) belong to two different anonymous, and probably eighteenth-century, editions.

Fortunatus mit seinem Seckel- und Wunsch-Hütlein, Wie er dasselbe bekommen, und ihm damit ergangen, in einer überaus lustigen Lebens-Beschreibung vorgestellt. Mit schönen Figuren geziert. S.l.: s.n., Gedruckt im diesem Jahr [1750–1800?] (copy: Wien, ÖNB, 5785-A ALT MAG, <http://data.onb.ac.at/rep/102BC5F5; VD18 90823265>)

Fortunatus mit seinem Seckel und Wunsch-Hütlein, wie er dasselbe bekommen und ihm damit ergangen, in einer überaus lustigen Lebens-Beschreibung vorgestellt. Mit schönen Figuren geziert. "Londen" [fake imprint]: s.n., [ca. 1750–1800?] (copy: London, BL, 1607/5474, https://books.google.nl/books?id=JaZhAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=fr&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false)

Krystyna Wierzbicka-Trwoga

Ulenspiegel's Tricky Power

With a Contribution on *Ulenspiegel* in Scandinavia by Anna Katharina Richter

Ulenspiegel – the younger follower of Aesop in terms of their shared penchant for tricks based on wordplay – was born in Kneitlingen, a village not far from Brunswick (Braunschweig) in Lower Saxony, in north-western Germany, as the son of a peasant. At least the book that tells his story says so. It also mentions at the very end the place and year of his death: 1350 in Mölln, a small place near Lübeck. And in the *Braunschweiger Weltchronik*, written by Hermann Bote probably between 1513 and 1520 (Schulz-Grobert 1999, 272–273), we can find the same data with regard to his death – the only historical reference to a person by the name of “Ulenspeygel” (Tenberg 1996, 38).¹ As in the case of Aesop, we have no definite proof of his real existence.

It is, however, not at all necessary to know if Ulenspiegel really lived in fourteenth-century German-speaking lands. The story of this rogue, who was born to play tricks and continued to do so even after his death, has had a powerful and real impact on the imagination of readers over many centuries. The famous book *Ein kurtzweilig lesen von Dyl Ulenspiegel* (“An entertaining reading about Dyl Ulenspiegel”), first published at the beginning of the sixteenth century, anonymously, by Johannes Reinhart called Grüninger (1455–1533) in Strasbourg, and already translated into at least seven languages in that century, was also the first attempt to tell the story of the entire life of a rogue in a vernacular in the early modern period (Schulz-Grobert 1999, 33). Its protagonist is nowadays known by the High German version of his name, Till Eulenspiegel. This chapter presents the background of this work and its dissemination in various language versions across early modern Europe.

1 Genre and Search for the Author

The work is a collection of facetious stories with a quasi-biographical structure, telling of Ulenspiegel’s life from his birth to his death. In German literary history,

¹ Bernd Ulrich Hucker found a register of the proscribed (“Verfestungsbuch”) in the archives of Brunswick, which mentions a “Tile van Cletlinge”, who was, however, a representative of the noble family von Kneitlingen, and not a peasant; Hucker also cites more documents regarding this noble family and a “Tile”, who in 1352 received some estates in Dedeleben (Hucker 1983). We cannot say if this was the historical figure about whom the stories began to be told.

it is called a “Schwankroman”, a merry tale or, literally, novel. Werner Röcke differentiates between “Schwanksammlung”, a collection of various funny tales, and “Schwankroman”, a novel in which the tales are linked by the same protagonist and sometimes also by a biographical frame, but otherwise forming only a loose narrative unit (Röcke 1991, 185). Furthermore, it can also be seen as a parody of the medieval *speculum exemplorum* – as a mirror of roguish examples, which is implied by the protagonist’s speaking name, appearing consistently in its Low German version in the whole book and in the title, and meaning “owl mirror”. The owl had a rather complex symbolic meaning in the early modern period: on the one hand, it was interpreted as a ‘devil’s bird’ in the Middle Ages, while on the other as the bird of Minerva, the goddess of wisdom and crafts, it gained more and more the sense of enlightenment and in fact became a symbol of the new craft of book publishing (Oppenheimer 1991, lxiii). There are a number of suggestions for making sense of the protagonist’s name,² yet one thing is certain: in the book *Ulenspiegel* himself signed with the picture of an owl and a mirror, as the fortieth story tells us. And since it was roguish activities that he wanted to associate with his name, the tales about him can be understood as a mirror of roguish examples.

This satirical intention, together with the learned background of many stories, which were adapted from various collections of humanist *facetiae* (both in Latin and in the vernacular),³ posed the still unresolved question of the possible authorship of the book. Indeed, finding the author has become something of a Holy Grail in German scholarship, because once a probable candidate is found *Ulenspiegel* will no longer have to suffer the odium of anonymity and can be viewed against the author’s other work. But the only source from which the person of the author can be deduced is the work itself, as there is hardly any mention of him in the sixteenth century.

In the preface the author calls himself “N.” and explains that in the year 1500 he was asked by some persons to “bring together and describe” (“zusammenbringen und beschreiben”; Lindow 2019, 7) the stories about Dil Ulenspiegel, “eins Buren Sun” (“Son of a Peasant”).⁴ From this remark it follows that the stories about Ulenspiegel were by then already circulating in German-speaking regions, probably (though not necessarily) in oral form. Although N.’s statements in the preface

² On various possible interpretations of Ulenspiegel’s name, see e.g. Honegger (1973, 129–132); Oppenheimer (1991, lxiii); Blamires (2000).

³ On *Ulenspiegel*’s sources, see Oppenheimer (1991, xlix–lv) and Schulz-Grobert (1999, 185–234).

⁴ Unless otherwise stated, all translations are my own. Abbreviated references identify editions in standard reference works; abbreviations are expanded in the list of references at the end of this volume.

must be treated with caution – he claims, for example, that he does not know Latin and is a mere layman, which is contradicted both by Latin interjections in the text and by its likely sources –, the information about an older *Ulenspiegel* tradition is confirmed in the correspondence from 1411 between two papal officials. Dietrich von Niem (d. 1418) and Johannes Schele (d. 1439) wrote three letters mentioning Ulenspiegel's name and referring to one of his jests, furthermore hinting at a book about him that (among others, starting with works by Socrates and Cicero) was keeping Dietrich from more 'Christian' reading.⁵ As Reinhard Tenberg has shown, both clerics were born in Lower Saxony and while executing important missions for the papal curia, exchanged letters between Bologna and Padua in which Ulenspiegel appears to be a familiar figure, a reference to their homeland (Tenberg 1996, 37). Accordingly, the existence of a manuscript version of at least some Ulenspiegel stories from the early fifteenth century can be assumed, though it must be stressed that there is no textual evidence of such a version. However, certain details, such as N.'s knowledge of the legal system prior to 1401 (Tenberg 1996, 37, fn. 29), prove that parts of the narrative substance date back to the fourteenth century.⁶

The problem of how the stories about Ulenspiegel developed will probably forever remain a matter of conjecture, but another question arises: whom shall we call the author of *Ulenspiegel* – the writer of the "Urform" from the fourteenth or fifteenth century, or N. the compiler from the sixteenth century? This question is further complicated by the language of the book published by Grüninger. It is in Alsatian-influenced Early New High German with many Low German words (Blume 1994, 22; Schulz-Grobert 1999, 110), which leads scholars to reflect on the language of the "Urform": was it composed in Low German? And on the role of N.: was he perhaps translating from Low German?

The only contemporary reference to the author occurs in a print published in 1521 in Augsburg. It is a pamphlet written most probably by the theologian and reformer Martin Bucer, who points to the Franciscan Thomas Murner (1475–ca. 1537) as the author of *Ulenspiegel* (Tenberg 1996, 87–89). Johann Martin Lappenberg, the first academic editor of S 1519, assumed Murner's authorship on the basis of this mention (Lappenberg 1854, 384–387). This attribution was keenly debated in the nineteenth century, leading to its rejection for linguistic and stylistic reasons at the beginning of the twentieth century (Walther 1893; Lemcke 1908;

⁵ See Tenberg (1996, 30–37), also for a detailed discussion of the finding and attribution of the letters.

⁶ Honegger (1973, 28, 37) points also to the fact that story 28 is announced in S 1510–1511 as taking place "before the time of Wickleff" (S 1515 and S 1519 change this into "at the time ..."), who began his reform activities around 1366. For an explanation of these abbreviations, see section 2.

Schröder 1911).⁷ At the same time – starting with Christoph Walther’s study (1893) – a new hypothesis emerged, that the Strasbourg High German prints were based on a Low German version, the author of which was identified as the Brunswick customs clerk Hermann Bote (ca. 1450–ca. 1520). This direction of research was characterized by the belief that this Low German version, of which there is literally no transmission, was the ‘original’ *Ulenspiegel*, and even led to an attempt to reconstruct the presumed Low German text (Krogmann 1952).

The hypothesis of Bote’s authorship received new support in Peter Honegger’s book (1973), in which this lawyer and bibliophile recounted among others his observation that the sequence of the initial letters of the stories that make up *Ulenspiegel* reveals remnants of an alphabetical order and ends with the series of letters ERMAN B (that is: Hermann Bote). Honegger’s interpretation of the final acrostic has been generally accepted in German scholarship, as a result of which studies on *Ulenspiegel* and Bote have been merged (Schulz-Grobert 1999, 14–15). However, his explanation of the linguistic form of the text, namely that Bote, who used only Low German in his writings, attempted to write *Ulenspiegel* in High German, though it was like a foreign language to him (hence the many Low German interjections), has been firmly rejected, for good reasons, by language historians (Cordes 1978; Peters 1991; Blume 1986, 1994). Nowadays Bote is sometimes still considered as the author of a Low German “Urform” of *Ulenspiegel* (Blume 2012), although it cannot be equated with the High German Strasbourg prints.

A comprehensive criticism of both the Low German “Urform” hypothesis and Bote’s authorship was presented by Jürgen Schulz-Grobert (1999), who argued that the Low German “Urform” is a myth and the individual responsible for the final form of the book published by Grüninger was not Bote, but someone from the circle of Strasbourg humanists working for Grüninger. Schulz-Grobert identified flaws in Honegger’s method of reconstructing the alphabetical order of the stories (1999, 9–14) – an order Honegger wanted to find because Bote used it in his Low German works – and pointed out that the acrostic could refer not only to Hermann Bote, but also, for example, to the humanist Hermann von dem Busche (1468–1534), as Tenberg had already observed (Tenberg 1996, 25; Schulz-Grobert 1999, 16). Although denying the existence of a former Low German version seems too radical, it is undoubtedly Schulz-Grobert’s merit that he has advanced our knowledge of the Alsatian humanist milieu and focused the attention on the book itself, which had hitherto remained in the shadow of the sought-after “Urform”.

7 However, in the late twentieth century Krohn (1984) considered Murner’s collaboration on the High German book to be likely. Murner also belonged to the circle working for Grüninger (Schulz-Grobert 1999, 103–105).

There are many linguistic jests performed in *Ulenspiegel*, the basis of which was Low German (Blume 2012, 52–63), suggesting an older Low German narrative tradition; on the other hand, authorship by Bote, who did not know Latin (Blume 1994, 30), is hardly compatible with the Latin-scholarly scope of *Ulenspiegel's* potential sources (Schulz-Grobert 1999, 230).

Therefore, the question whether the book was written in High German from the outset and thus an original Strasbourg product, or whether it was based on a Low German original from which it was translated (Blume 2012, 44), is wrongly posed. The book as we know it, in the form it started to circulate throughout Europe, was in High German, the product of Grüninger's printing office. Besides, the concept of the 'original' used in this almost two-century long dispute has a Romantic background which has no bearing on the early modern period, when translations were considered to be the translator's own work (Burke 2007, 34). The author of the High German *Ulenspiegel* – we can call him N. – may have used various sources, including Low German and Latin, to create a whole that captivated readers from its first appearance in print; the Low German inclusions should be viewed as deliberate literary devices, intended as a "dialectal authentication" ("literarisch konstruierte Form mundartlicher Beglaubigung", Schulz-Grobert 1999, 127). After all, *Ulenspiegel* was said to be from Lower Saxony, and the majority of his adventures take place in this region with its characteristic language variety, the existence of which was known in other German-speaking regions, even if it was not understood outside Saxony. As Paul Oppenheimer rightly observed about N.'s identity: "The hero disguises himself constantly. Peculiarly, the author does too [...] he has managed to write ninety-five brief tales without surrendering more than a few solid facts about himself. [...] What he leaves behind is his delectable puzzle." (Oppenheimer 1991, xlvi–xlix). That is why we should concentrate on what he has written – the book.

2 The Book

The date of the first *Ulenspiegel* printing can only be estimated. Until the 1970s the oldest extant edition was considered to be Grüninger's Strasbourg edition from 1515 (S 1515), the unique copy of which is held by the British Library (VD16 ZV 2282).⁸ The second oldest, also fully extant, was Grüninger's 1519 Strasbourg edition (S 1519), the unique copy of which is to be found in the Forschungsbibliothek Gotha (VD16 ZV 2283); it contains in some parts a slightly expanded version

⁸ VD16 still lists Bote as the author of *Ulenspiegel*.

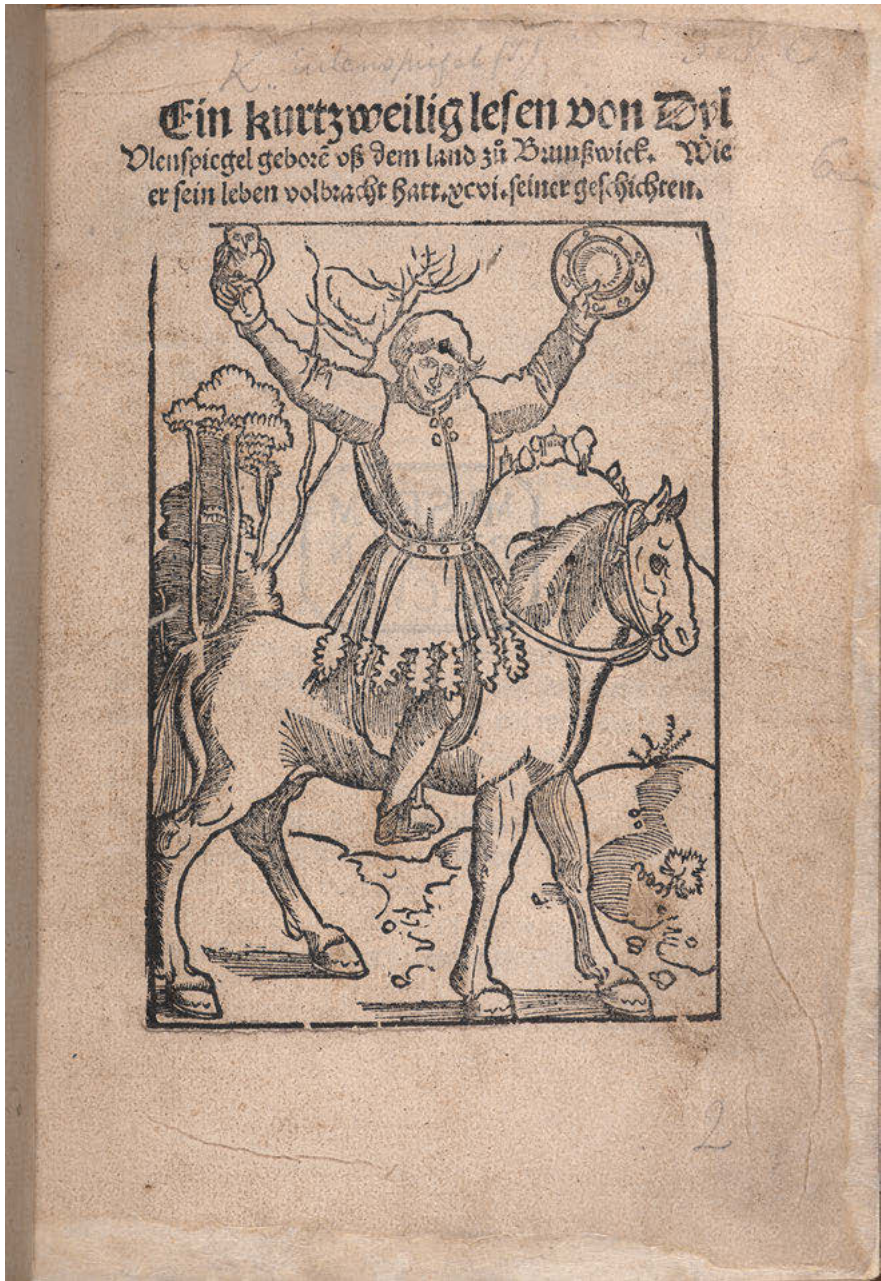


Fig. 1: *Ein kurtzweilig lesen von Dyl Vlenspiegel geborē vß dem land zū Brunßwick.* Straßburg: Johannes Grüninger, 1515, A1r (London, BL, C.57.c.23.(1.)). © The British Library Board.

of the text, in the sense of more detailed wording.⁹ In 1969 Peter Honegger discovered sixteen loose leaves of an *Ulenspiegel* edition, also from Grüninger's printing office, which he dated 1510–1511, and published in a very good facsimile in his study (1973). In 1975 Bernd Ulrich Hucker made an even greater discovery when he found an almost complete copy of the same edition as Honegger's fragment, which he described (Hucker 1976a, 1976b, 1977) but did not make available to other researchers, with the exception of the art historian Julia Buchloh. Although Schulz-Grobert questioned the dating of Hucker's copy (1999, 51–57), Buchloh was able to prove by comparing the woodcuts of all four copies that both Honegger's fragment and Hucker's copy represent the same edition, prior to S 1515 and S 1519 (2005, 51–70); moreover, Honegger's fragment seems to be a proof print of the S 1510–1511 edition, which like S 1519 provides the extended text (2005, 53). Hucker's copy has 100 leaves; compared to S 1515 and S 1519 (130 leaves each) 30 leaves are missing, including the title page and the last pages (Hucker 1976b, 88). The S 1510–1511 edition provides the oldest extant text transmission of *Ulenspiegel*, though we cannot say for sure if it was the first in Grüninger's office; however, the fact that he employed Hans Baldung Grien and his workshop for illustrations (see below), who only settled in Strasbourg in 1509, makes it probable.

The titles of S 1515 and S 1519 are the same, except for minor variations in spelling (e.g. *Ulenspiegel*'s name reads “Dyl” in the former and “Dil” in the latter): *Ein kurtzweilig lesen von Dyl | Vlenspiegel geborē vß dem land zû Brunßwick. Wie | er sein leben volbracht hatt. xcvi. seiner geschichten* (“An entertaining reading about Dyl Ulenspiegel born in the land of Brunswick. How he accomplished his life. 96 of his tales”; S 1515). Under the three lines of the title the remainder of the title page is taken up by the only big-format illustration (Buchloh 2005, 29) – the famous picture presenting Ulenspiegel on horseback, with an owl in the right hand and a mirror in the left (Fig. 1). The preface follows on A2, over one and a half pages long. It is modelled on the prologue of the *Wigalois* prose version (printed in 1493 in Augsburg by Johann Schönsperger, GW 12842), including literal correspondences (Flood 1976), which is further proof of the accuracy of the 1500 date mentioned in the preface. The author N. added some traditional exordial topics, like the modesty formula and a request for correction, as well as a quote from Quintilian (Schulz-Grobert 1999, 237–238); he ended the preface with a reference to two of his sources – the *Pfaffe Amis* (ca. 1478, GW M44114) and the “*Pfaffe vom Kalenberg*” stories (printed ca. 1480, GW 10287), clearly assuming this would appeal to the reader. In this way, N. embedded his book in popular narrative conventions of the late Middle Ages (Schulz-Grobert 1999, 129–137).

9 For a comprehensive comparison of S 1515 and S 1519, see Schulz-Grobert (1999, 43–50).

Both fully extant editions announce 96 stories, but due to the same omission of story 42 (or the same counting error – story 43 follows story 41), they contain 95 tales; the sequence of the preserved stories in Hucker's copy corresponds to that of S 1515 and S 1519. The storyline of the whole is as follows: stories 1–9 tell of Ulenspiegel's childhood and adolescence; no. 10 of Ulenspiegel as a courtier; in 11–13 Ulenspiegel plays tricks on the priest of Budenstetten; in no. 14 he gives his air show in Magdeburg; in 15–17 he is a doctor; 18–20 are bread and baker stories; no. 21 tells of Ulenspiegel's peculiarities; 22–27 of Ulenspiegel and secular lords; 28–29 are university stories; in 30–38 Ulenspiegel takes advantage of the narrow-mindedness of women and clergy; 39–63 are craftsmen's stories; 64–74 show Ulenspiegel in different roles; 75–86 are tavern stories; in 87–88 Ulenspiegel pretends to be very ill; 89–95 tell of his real illness and demise; 96 contains his epitaph.¹⁰

Grüninger designed a comprehensive iconographic programme for his book. The stories are introduced by a short headline between two and five lines long, which is first followed by an illustration (only nine tales from the end of the book – nos. 79, 80, 85, 86, 88, 90, 91, 92, and 95 – are not illustrated in any of the extant copies of the early Strasbourg editions), and then by the narrative, beginning with a woodcut initial.¹¹ Apart from the title illustration, S 1515 and S 1519 have 86 pictures. As Honegger observed, in his illustrations Grüninger also drew on Gutenberg's invention of creating new words by mechanically assembling the letters (1973, 17); he is known to have combined illustrations using even up to five components, but for the *Ulenspiegel* pictures he used two at most: the main *Ulenspiegel* illustration and a filler (Buchloh 2005, 37–38). Apart from the initials and illustration fillers, which were reused from his former printings, the main *Ulenspiegel* illustrations were created exclusively for this narrative (Schulz-Grobert 1999, 62–63; Buchloh 2005, 38). Moreover, all four extant copies of the early Strasbourg editions were illustrated using the same woodblocks (Buchloh 2005, 54). Those illustrations that had to be completed with a sidebar are smaller, and the filler is usually an architectonic or figural motif, placed either to the left or to the right of the main illustration (Buchloh 2005, 40–42).

¹⁰ This list is a slightly modified version of the lists in Bollenbeck (1985, 64) and Schulz-Grobert (1999, 138).

¹¹ There are a few exceptions to this order in S 1515: stories 6 and 28 either begin with the illustration or place it a few lines into the text (Buchloh 2005, 29–30); however, Honegger's fragment of S 1510–1511 has the correct order of headline – illustration – text in story 28 (Honegger 1973, facsimile), which proves that this was the intended sequence.

Among the main illustrations five groups can be distinguished (Buchloh 2005, 90–98).¹² The first group (A) contains nine pictures by Albrecht Dürer's disciple Hans Baldung Grien (ca. 1484–1545), including the large title illustration and small-format illustrations to stories 1, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, and 22. The second (B) consists of twelve pictures that are wider than the other woodcuts and therefore do not need a filler (stories 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 13, 23, 29, 32, 58, 64, and 68); Julia Buchloh has proven that they were designed by Hans Leu the Younger (ca. 1480–1531), a disciple of Baldung (2005, 99–110). Group C, unlike group B, presents Ulenspiegel in a traditional “Zatteltracht” – male clothing trimmed with long tails or stripes (“Zatteln”), as on the title page – and shows Baldung's influence, which implies that these 38 pictures (three of which were used twice in the book, so they illustrate 41 stories) were made by Baldung's apprentices in his workshop in Strasbourg and under his supervision. Groups D and E may also have been designed by Baldung's apprentices, but they differ from group C in presenting Ulenspiegel with long hair falling to his shoulders and in a characteristic costume (group D with fourteen pictures, two of which have been used twice) or are not clearly attributable (group E – pictures to stories 21, 26, 33, 35, 36, 67, 89, and 93). The fact that the first thirteen stories are illustrated with high-quality woodcuts by Baldung or Leu demonstrates the publisher had a planned strategy to influence the decision of potential buyers who flipped through the first pages: an advertising measure (Buchloh 2005, 75–76), which seems to be confirmed by the gradually diminishing number of illustrations towards the end of the book.

Buchloh argues that employing many artists was in accordance with Grüninger's visual conception of the book; although this may have been prompted by the desire to reduce the production time of illustrations by spreading the work over more hands, the final effect of presenting a varied picture of the protagonist suitably reflects the ambiguity of the protean Ulenspiegel (Buchloh 2005, 88–89). At the same time, the protagonist is easily recognizable by his costume, the “Zatteltracht” (except for group B), even though the pictures differ in detail. This assumption of unity in diversity is also confirmed by the typography; according to Schulz-Grobert, the layout consistently supports the significance of the protago-

12 This holds true for all the early Strasbourg editions, although there are slight differences between them. Compared to S 1515, S 1519 has four different illustrations (to stories 16, 45, 58, and 67), taken from other stories in earlier editions. Hucker's copy contains two previously unknown illustrations to stories 16 and 58. For a comprehensive comparison of the illustrations in all four copies of the three editions (Hucker and Honegger of S 1510–1511, S 1515, and S 1519), see Buchloh (2005, 138–157), available online: <https://depositonce.tu-berlin.de/handle/11303/1488> (22 August 2022). Her study is the best evidence of how much *Ulenspiegel* research would gain from making scans of all these copies available to the public.

nist as a “Kristallisationsfigur” (“crystallizer”) of the narrative, singling out his name in the page heading (1999, 65–67). As a result, extraneous stories are seamlessly incorporated into Ulenspiegel’s life:

[...] der neue Buchkontext [absorbiert sie] problemlos nicht zuletzt deshalb, weil sein typographisches Konzept den Zitat-Charakter der entsprechenden Textsegmente negiert und dadurch ihre Authentizität als Episode der Ulenspiegel-Vita suggeriert. Also gerade erst durch das Druckbild erhält der prinzipiell offen und flexibel als Schwankreihe angelegte Erzählzusammenhang von Tyl Ulenspiegels Lebensgeschichte(n) stabil wirkende Konturen in Buchform. (Schulz-Grobert 1999, 68)¹³

On the other hand, this also means that the identity of the protagonist does not suffer from reducing the number of stories, as is often the case in translations (as we shall see): Ulenspiegel always remains himself, regardless of how many tales can be found in the book.

But who is he? Whence comes his power to attract readers for so many centuries, in different languages? Georg Bollenbeck enumerates Ulenspiegel’s various facets: he has been regarded as an avenger of peasants; a representative of all oppressed people; a judge of humanity; a symbol of modern times; an embodiment of German mother wit or Low German humour; a plebeian opponent; a rebel; a nihilist; a Socratean; a critic of language; a good-for-nothing; and a devil’s figure (Bollenbeck 1985, 1). The list could be developed endlessly – Oppenheimer adds vagabond, explorer, fool, clown, rogue, buffoon, and rascal, to finally arrive at the original linguistic philosopher, “deeply fascinated with speech and language” (1991, lx–lxxi) – and still be incomplete. I believe that Ulenspiegel’s powers, manifesting themselves in the behaviour of a jester, a “Narr”,¹⁴ have deeper roots, and can be defined by a single term encompassing all those mentioned above. He is actually a trickster, the archetypal character of the ‘boundary-crosser’: he infringes and breaks the rules of society like those mythical figures in various mythologies who disrupt the creation of the world, or bring primordial chaos into the created and well-formed world.¹⁵ This is why this character can be under-

13 “[...] the new book context easily absorbs them, not least because its typographical concept negates the quotation character of the respective text segments and thus suggests their authenticity as an episode of the Ulenspiegel *vita*. It is only through the printed image that the narrative context of Ulenspiegel’s life story(ies), in principle an open and flexible series of tales, takes on stable contours in book form.”

14 On the symbolic meaning of Ulenspiegel as a “Narr”, see Aichmayr (1991) and Behr (1997).

15 Michael Kuper compared Ulenspiegel to a trickster, concentrating, however, on the North American trickster tradition and on modern trickster figures (1993, 141–180). As a figure of myth, tricksters are to be found also in Greek and Roman mythology, for example the god of thieves Hermes/Mercury has trickster features (see esp. Karl Kerényi’s essay in the classical book by

stood in all cultures, and is even claimed as their own – he is an early modern interpretation of a mythical figure, which meets timeless human needs.

3 Later German Transmission

Ulenspiegel was one of Grüninger's most successful publications, as can be seen from regular reissues of the book. Peter Honegger observed that Grüninger was used to publishing new editions of his top sellers every few years, usually at an interval of three to five years (1973, 79). On the basis of other indications, it can also be assumed that after 1519 Grüninger must have published two now lost editions around 1523 and 1527, which corresponds to the date of the next surviving printing, 1531 by Christoph Grüninger, Johannes' son, issued while his father was still alive.

The Strasbourg 1531 edition (VD16 ZV 2284) is important in many respects. The title dispenses with the phrase “an entertaining reading” and starts with the protagonist's name: *Von vlenspiegel Eins bauren | sun des lands Brüscheiweick / wie er sein leben vol|bracht hat gar mitt seltzamen sachen* (“Of Ulenspiegel the son of A peasant of the land of Brunswick / how he accomplished his life with strange things”). Ulenspiegel is described here by means of his social background as a peasant's son like in the preface, his homeland is still referred to, as is his life, but his way of life is specified as “strange”. This edition contains eight new stories, taken from Johannes Pauli's *Schimpff und Ernst* (1522; VD16 P 937) and from Heinrich Bebel's *Libri facetiarum* (1508; VD16 B 1207),¹⁶ added in groups of four after the eighty-eighth and ninety-second tales of the previous printings (Honegger 1973, 70; Grześkowiak and Kizik 2005, LXXVIII). The epitaph is not counted any more as a separate story, but just added to the previous one, and therefore the number of tales adds up to 102. The text of the preface and of some stories has been shortened; this is relevant inasmuch as these late Strasbourg editions – including the two hypothetical ones – were the model for later Cologne and Erfurt editions (Honegger 1973, 68). The only surviving copy of S 1531 is defect (eight leaves are missing), but even so it shows gradual wear and tear of the woodcuts, of which 80 have been preserved, including the title illustration: the illustration

Radin 1956, 173–191; Winkler 1994). According to some theories, the Hebrew opponent of Solomon – Marcolis, in later tradition Marcolphus – is the Hebraized Latin Mercurius (Benary 1914, VIII–IX). Marcolphus is another trickster figure prior to *Ulenspiegel*, which was familiar to early modern European writers.

16 Both Pauli's and Bebel's collections were first published by Grüninger in Strasbourg.

to the first story has been replaced by a different scene depicting a child's baptism (Wucherpfennig 1988, 17), while three stories in the second half of the book were deprived of illustrations. What is more, Christoph Grüninger no longer used page headings or sidebars to the illustrations, and filled the space thus gained with a text column, usually the opening of the corresponding story, but in several places also the end of the preceding tale. In this way he achieved "a more cohesive print image [...], which is not disturbed at any point by the blank spaces symptomatic of the previous prints" ("[ein] geschlossener wirkende[s] Druckbild [...], das an keinem Punkt von den für die Vorgängerdrucke symptomatischen Leerstellen unterbrochen wird", Schulz-Grobert 1999, 76).

Johannes Grüninger's heirs sold their father's workplace in 1533 (Ritter 1966, 201); although they continued to publish, subsequent Strasbourg *Ulenspiegel* editions were printed by Jakob Frölich, with Grüninger's woodcuts. An edition usually estimated to date from 1533–1538 (VD16 ZV 2291),¹⁷ the unique copy of which is devoid of a title page as well as part of the last page, was followed by releases in 1539 (VD16 ZV 2289) and 1543 (VD16 ZV 31465). These three editions contain 102 tales (S 1533–1538 and S 1539 with numbering errors) and mostly make use of the S 1515 illustrations, with 83 in S 1533–1538 and S 1539, and 85 in S 1543 (with two repeated images). Since the type area of S 1543 is much wider than in previous editions, the smaller pictures, used here without sidebars, are accompanied by running text, while the larger woodcuts are given either text or a narrow, floral border on one side (Buchloh 2005, 73). The S 1533–1538 edition probably bore the same title as both later ones, expressing the novelty of Frölich's publication: *Wunderbarliche/ | vnnd seltsame historyen/ Tyll Vlenspiegels/ | auß dem land zů Braunschweig bürtig/ newlich auß | Sachsischer sprach auff gůt Hochdeütsch verdolmetscht* ("Wonderful and strange histories of Tyll Ulenspiegel, born in the land of Brunswick, newly translated from Saxon language into proper High German"; S 1539). Ulenspiegel stories are called not only strange, but also wonderful, and Frölich considered it appropriate to advertise the book by pointing out that it was written in proper High German and translated from the Low German. This may have been a reference to the likely source of the text, but also to Kruffter's edition (see hereafter); according to Schulz-Grobert, in this way Frölich tried to distinguish his publications from the *Ulenspiegel* produced by his predecessors in Grüninger's office (1999, 6).

¹⁷ VD16 describes this copy as belonging to the Strasbourg 1543 edition, based on the bibliography by Jean Muller (Muller 1985–1986, 370). However, Gotzkowsky provides the correct description (1991, 473).

Remarkable about the S 1543 edition is that under the same title it hid a different version of the text, copied from one of the Erfurt editions by Melchior Sachse the Elder (see hereafter). In all likelihood Frölich, Grüninger's legitimate successor and as such in possession of the original woodblocks, was irritated by the lower price set by Sachse, who managed to print the book on 21 sheets compared to Frölich's 27.5, and decided to copy not only the layout with the wider type area, but also the exact wording and page division (Honegger 1973, 73–74). As a result, the S 1543 issue has 84 leaves, not 109 as S 1533–1538, or 110 as S 1539. Interestingly, in 1551 Frölich decided to publish another edition (Gotzkowsky 1991, no. 19; Schmitz 1995, 64),¹⁸ again on 112 leaves, this time copying Hermann Gülfferich's title, book format – octavo, an innovation compared to all previous German editions, which are in quarto – and order of the stories from 1549 (see hereafter); he also commissioned 98 new illustrations modelled on Grüninger's, that have the exact typeset width – apparently a “desirable ideal” (“ein wünschenswertes Ideal”, Buchloh 2005, 73).

One of the first publishers who wanted to copy this printing success was Melchior Sachse in Erfurt. His editions from 1532, 1533, 1538, and 1544 (VD16 ZV 2285–2287; ZV 2292)¹⁹ all have the same title as S 1531 and the same text with the eight new stories (only the preface and the first three stories have been considerably revised), but they sometimes give the text version of S 1515 against S 1531, which suggests that between S 1519 and S 1531 there may have been a Strasbourg edition, not known today, that must have formed the basis for E 1532. A similar conclusion can be drawn from an analysis of the illustrations, for Sachse did not only copy the text, but also the illustrations – he had a set of 84 new woodcuts, modelled on Grüninger's (in some copies they are even coloured).²⁰ The title illustration shows Ulenspiegel on horseback with his emblems in his hands, like in Baldung's picture, only the emblems are reversed: Ulenspiegel holds the mirror in the right hand and the owl in the left (Fig. 2). The picture for the first story copies Baldung's baptism scene, and not the illustration from S 1531. This provides further evidence of the existence of an intermediate Strasbourg edition, issued after 1519 but before 1531, which still contained the old woodcut yet must have already contained additional stories (von Hase 1964; Honegger 1973, 74–77).

¹⁸ Not in VD16. *Ulenspiegel* editions not registered in VD16 will be described by the number used in Gotzkowsky's bibliography (1991).

¹⁹ VD16 gives an incomplete bibliographical description of these prints. For a description, see Gotzkowsky (1991, nos. 6, 7, 9, and 15).

²⁰ It is not possible to say if the colouring was done on orders of the publisher or the purchaser of the book. In the E 1533 copy held by the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków (Yt 5622 R), the title illustration and the first 38 illustrations are carefully coloured; of the two copies of the E 1538 edition held by the same library, one is entirely in black and white (Yt 5631 R), while in the other all the illustrations have been more or less filled in with colours (Yt 5631a R).



Fig. 2: Von Vlenspiegel eins bauren sun des lands Braunschweig, wie er sein leben volbracht hat gar mit seltsamen sachen. Erfurt: Melchior Sachse, 1533, A1r (Kraków, BJ, Berol. Yt 5622 R). By courtesy of Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków.

In Cologne Servais Kruffter published, probably even before Sachse (after 1519 but not later than 1532), an *Ulenspiegel* translation into Ripuarian, a Low German variety: *Eyn kurtz wylich | lesen van Tyel ulenspiegel: geboren | vyß dem land Brunzwijsck. Wat he seltzamer boitzen be|dreuen hait syn dage/ lüstich tzo lesen* (“An entertaining read about Tyel Ulenspiegel: born in the land of Brunswick. What strange jokes he made in his days, funny to read”; VD16 ZV 2281). His edition has no preface and contains only 79 stories (the epitaph is not counted separately), among them two of the eight additional stories known from S 1531 and one new tale about a horseman who asks the young Ulenspiegel for the way. This tale, placed as the second in the storyline, is not known from earlier German editions, yet is present in the Dutch tradition (see section 4); furthermore, some parts of stories 14, 15, and 16 were not modelled on Grüninger’s but on an Antwerp edition, and in the text translated from Grüninger’s we find expressions which could only have been taken from the Dutch text. It appears that the translator working for Kruffter was using a defective copy of the Strasbourg edition, which he regularly consulted against an Antwerp edition (Honegger 1973, 77–78). Kruffter illustrated his edition with a title woodcut and 28 pictures (with four repetitions), most of which were designed by Anton Woensam von Worms and modelled on Grüninger’s illustrations (Gotzkowsky 1991, 472).

Another Cologne edition, influenced by Kruffter’s (although not in Ripuarian), was produced by Johann von Aich in 1539 (VD16 ZV 2288), however with 99 stories counted as 100 due to a numbering mistake, among them the tale added by Kruffter and eight from S 1531 (Schmitz 1995, 63). Aich in all likelihood used S 1533–1538 as a model (Honegger 1973, 80), as can be seen from the title *EYN wunderbairlich | vnd seltzame History/ vam Dyll Vlmspe| gel/ bürtig auß dem land Brunschweig / wie er sein leben | verbracht hat / newlich auß Saxischer sprach vff | güt Teutsch verdolmetscht/ seer kurtz/|weilig zů lesenn/ myt schó|nen figuren* (“Wonderful and strange History of Dyll Ulmspiegel, born in the land of Brunswick, how he has spent his life, newly translated from Saxon language into good German, very entertaining to read, with beautiful illustrations”), but some of his 44 illustrations are made after Kruffter’s, including the title illustration, where the baby boy Ulenspiegel, riding behind his father on the same horse, exposes his bare bottom to passers-by (Fig. 3). His emblems, the owl and the mirror, appear on a tree growing next to the riders. This choice of title woodcut goes back to the Antwerp editions too. Aich’s edition in turn was copied – with the same counting error in the number of stories (Schmitz 1995, 64) – by Alexander [I] Weißenhorn, in Augsburg (1540; VD16 ZV 2290) and Ingolstadt (1544; Gotzkowsky 1991, no. 16).

In the 1540s another publishing centre emerges in the German-speaking area: Frankfurt am Main. In 1545 Hermann Gülfferich, the printer-publisher who placed the focus of his book production on narrative literature (Schmidt 1996, 193), chose

Ulenpiegel as one of his first titles, two years after establishing his office. Only this issue was in the usual quarto format of all previous *Ulenpiegel* editions, with the title copied from one of Frölich's, although Gülfferich switched the order of the two initial words and added "very entertaining, with beautiful illustrations" at the end: [in red] *Seltzame Vnd* | [in black] *Wunderbarliche Hiftory=|en / Dyll Vlenpiegels / eines Baw|ren son / Bürtig aus dem Landt zu Braun|schweig / Newlich aus Sächsischer | fprach / auff güt Hoch deutsch / | verdolmetscht / sehr Kurtzwei=|lig / mit schönen Fi=|guren* (Gotzkowsky 1991, no. 17). He illustrated this book with 45 images, based on new woodcuts by Hans Brosamer (ca. 1495–ca. 1554), including the title illustration presenting the grown-up *Ulenpiegel* on horseback holding his emblems (Schmidt 1992, 48–49) – in the reversed version of Sachse's, however, with the mirror in the right and the owl in the left hand – and commissioned Brosamer to complete this set of pictures, which he did in 1549 (Gotzkowsky 2013, 382).

The F 1549 edition was one of the most important in terms of impact. For the same title, Gülfferich introduced the more convenient octavo format; he changed the order of the eight added stories, placing them together (instead of two groups) after the eighty-eighth tale – an order that would appear in all subsequent editions containing the whole 102 stories (Schmitz 1995, 64, fn. 17); and he illustrated every story with a picture that had the exact fitting typeset width (Schmidt 1992, 49–50). In doing so, he created a book that all publishers wanted to emulate, beginning with Frölich. Gülfferich's successors – in 1555, Jobst Gran, his widow's next husband, and later his stepson Weigand Han in an undated print from around 1558 (Gotzkowsky 1991, nos. 21 and 22) – continued publishing *Ulenpiegel* in this shape, albeit with a momentous change: the name of the protagonist appeared in the title of F 1555 for the first time in the High German form "Tyl Eulenspiegel", a modification that was adopted in all later German editions. A record number of 741 copies of one of these issues by Gülfferich's heirs were sold at the two Frankfurt trade fairs of 1568, with 1,339 still in stock, of which 77 were sold in the following year (Schmidt 1996, 217) – which places *Ulenpiegel* at the very top of all books sold by this office.²¹

There were nineteen more editions of the version with 102 stories until the end of the eighteenth century (Schmitz 1995, 64–65). They followed Gülfferich's model in the sequence of the tales, and that of his heirs in the version of the protagonist's name; some editions, such as the 1569 Frankfurt print, attributed to Sigmund Feyerabend (Gotzkowsky 1991, no. 23), or the 1593 print (s.l., s.n., Gotzkowsky 1991, no. 27), also illustrate each story with a picture. Apart from this main transmission

21 At least according to known sales registers. See the overview in Schmidt (1996, 287–290).

of *Ulenspiegel*, started by Grüninger and preserved in a total of 39 editions until the end of the eighteenth century, Schmitz identified ten redactions of the text, beginning in the late seventeenth century, that omit some of the tales. Schmitz arranged these redactions according to the decreasing number of stories, from 99 in the first to 63 in the tenth redaction (1995, 65–69); they also survive in 39 editions, mostly without imprint, bearing only the note “printed this year”, as was often the practice in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (1995, 70–71).

It is interesting that usually the same tales were excluded, for example eight redactions out of ten deleted no. 12: how Ulenspiegel defecated in church; no. 77: how he emitted stink through the wall; and no. 81: how he defecated in an inn. Six redactions also leave out no. 13 about the priest and his housekeeper called the “Pfaffenhur” (“priest’s whore”); half of the redactions omit no. 31: how Ulenspiegel deceived people with a skull as a relic, as well as stories 37–38, again about a priest and his housekeeper. The general tendency was to avoid the more extreme scatological tales and those that ridicule the Church²² – although others were maintained, such as no. 16 with Ulenspiegel defecating instead of a child to convince its mother that he has cured the child of obstruction. We can conclude that even such censoring measures could not erase Ulenspiegel’s characteristic features that distinguish him from other trickster figures, and which are, apart from his penchant for wordplay, also his scatological predilections.

The book published by Grüninger achieved great popularity in German-speaking areas. As early as the sixteenth century it inspired, among others, the carnival plays and lyrics by Hans Sachs (Tenberg 1996); a Latin translation by Aegidius Periander, a scholar born in Brussels, who settled in Frankfurt am Main and used one of the Erfurt prints with 102 stories for the basis of his *Noctuae speculum* (1567) in elegiac distichs (Tenberg 1996, 169); and a reworking in verse by Johann Fischart (who may have followed Periander’s Latin version; Tenberg 1996, 170) with the title *Eulenspiegel Reimensweiß* (“Eulenspiegel in Rhymes”), published by Hieronymus Feyerabend in 1572 in Frankfurt am Main (VD16 F 1139). Rendering into Latin made *Ulenspiegel* almost a classic; it also further proves the narrative’s appeal in humanist circles. In its first appearance it was decidedly not a “Volksbuch”,²³ even if it came to be regarded as one in the nineteenth century.

²² Schmitz also notes politically motivated changes (1995, 81–82).

²³ For a discussion of the term “Volksbuch”, see Introduction to this volume and esp. Kreutzer (1977).

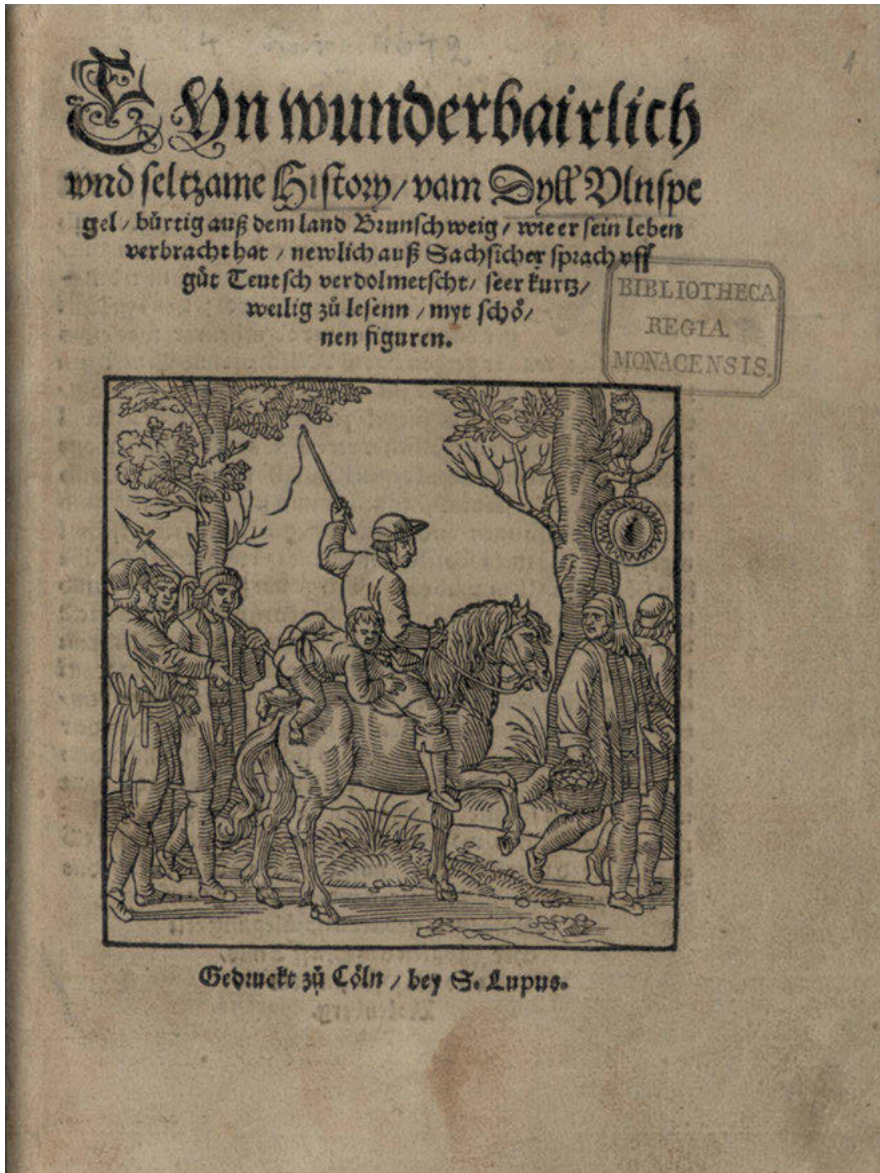


Fig. 3: *Eyn wunderbairlich vnd seltsame History, vam Dyll Vlnspe gel, bürtig auß dem land Brunschweig, wie er sein leben verbracht hat, newlich auß Sachsicher sprach vff güte Teutsch verdolmetscht, seer kurtzweilig zü lesenn, myt schönen figuren.* Köln: Johann von Aich, 1539, A1r (München, BSB, Rar. 1642). By courtesy of Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, with the licence CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

4 *Ulenspiegel* in Dutch, French, and English

The cross-cultural transmission of *Ulenspiegel* began very soon after its first appearance in print. The starting point for the western European transmission was Antwerp (Geeraedts 1985, 14), where the Dutch but probably also the first English and French *Ulenspiegel* translations were published. The oldest extant Dutch edition by Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten is estimated to be from 1526–1532 (Vriesema 2002, no. 2; USTC 437065 [with the date 1519]), and the English *Howleglas* from around 1519 (Hill-Zenk 2011, 288–290; ESTC S117876). However, from the use of *Ulenspiegel* woodcuts in other Antwerp prints from 1510 onwards, it can be surmised that both these editions may have been preceded by earlier ones (Vriesema 2002, 13–14; Hill-Zenk 2011, 290), although it is not clear in what language: the presumed *Howleglas* printer Jan van Doesborch printed both in Dutch and English (Franssen 2017).

The earliest extant editions in French were published by Alain Lotrian in Paris: one in 1532 (Koopmans and Verhuyck 1988, 48–50) and another undated one (ca. 1536, USTC 76710). Jelle Koopmans and Paul Verhuyck also attribute to this printer a third edition described in the colophon as “imprime nouvellement a Anvers” (“newly printed in Antwerp”) in 1539. The text and illustrations are in better condition, which for the editors implies an earlier date than the editions mentioned first by Lotrian; they suggest that the printer-publisher must have taken the colophon from its Antwerp model, and mistakenly put 1539 instead of 1529 (1988, 46–47). However, later findings attribute this edition to Guillaume de Bossozel, also assuming that Antwerp was an erroneous place name and that it was actually printed in Paris in 1539 (USTC 75947; FB no. 49418). All three editions announce in the title that they were “nouvellement translate & corrige de flamæct en françoys” (“newly translated and corrected from Flemish into French”, see hereafter). The French text shows a close affinity to the Dutch *Ulenspiegel*, although some differences point to a translation from a Dutch edition other than the extant ones (Koopmans and Verhuyck 1988, 28–32); the fact that the French deviations from the Dutch extant text versions tend in some cases towards the English *Howleglas* (Hill-Zenk 2011, 389) suggests that the English and French translations may derive from a common Dutch source that has not been preserved.

This is why these three language versions can be called “the Antwerp group”, even if we do not have conclusive evidence that the English and French editions were produced in Antwerp; but they contain the same number of stories – 46 (the English has one more), combining some 60 tales from Grüninger’s book (Hill-Zenk 2011, 395–398). One additional tale, about the horseman asking the child *Ulenspiegel* about his parents and then for directions, is placed as the second story. It derives from *Salomon et Marcolphus* (Hill-Zenk 2011, 401) and can also be found in

Kruffter's German edition. The Dutch and the French versions have an extra Latin epitaph in six elegiac distichs at the end, which is missing in the English version; in turn, the English version has one additional tale (no. 43) in verse, modelled on the dispute between Salomon and Marcolphus (Hill-Zenk 2011, 537). Given the intentional changes of the source text while maintaining its biographical structure, Hill-Zenk regards the Antwerp group as an adaptation of *Ulenspiegel*, in the terms defined by Rita Schlusemann (Schlusemann 1991, 44–45; Hill-Zenk 2011, 513–515). It is admittedly not a translation of the whole, but the omission of some stories does not affect the characteristics of the protagonist or the core of the narrative, and can therefore not be considered to be a reworking (“Umarbeitung”).

The Dutch version in Hillen van Hoochstraten's edition was illustrated with 26 woodcuts, closely following Grüninger's (Geeraedts 1985, 15). Later reprints of this version, two Antwerp editions by Jan [III] van Ghelen (1580 and probably 1585; Vriesema 2002, nos. 4 and 6), have the same title: *Vlenspieghel | Van vlenspieghels leuen | Ende schimpelijcke wercken / ende wonderlijcke auontueren die | hi hadde want hi en liet hem gheen boeuerie verdrieten* (“Ulenspieghel. Of Ulenspieghel's life And jesting works and wonderful adventures which he had, because he was not sorry about any joke”; A 1526–1532).²⁴ They all picture on the title page the boy Ulenspiegel exposing his bottom to passers-by: an illustration modelled on Leu's woodcut in Grüninger's book, only with Ulenspiegel's emblems added in the top left corner. The same image is found on the title pages of the French editions from the 1530s, although here it could not meet with the same reception, because the name, understood in Dutch to refer to an owl and a mirror, was unintelligible in French: *Ulenspiegel | De sa vie de ses oeuvres | Et merueilleuses adventures par luy faictes: et des grandes | fortunes quil a eu: leq̄l par nulles fallaces ne se laissa trom- | per: nouvellement translate & corrige de flamēct en françoys* (“Ulenspiegel. Of his life and works And wonderful adventures he has undertaken: and of the great fortunes he has had: who was not deceived by any trickery: newly translated & corrected from Flemish into French”; P 1532). Ulenspiegel's name in the French title is surrounded by an owl and a mirror, as a result of which they appear twice on the title page (also in the woodcut), thus suggesting an emblematic sense (Weber 2002, 207); but to the French reader they meant nothing, especially as the fortieth story, where Ulenspiegel signs with these emblems, is left out in

²⁴ Van Ghelen's edition provides the same text version as Hillen's, although some text modifications suggest that it must have been based on another, now lost, edition; the analysis of woodcuts confirms this conclusion (Honegger 1973, 48; Vriesema 2002, 13). Van Ghelen's woodcuts are also modelled on the illustrations in Grüninger's book (Geeraedts 1985, 15). With thanks to Rita Schlusemann for her help with the translation of the Dutch and Ripuarian titles.

the Antwerp group. This is why in the French text and in chapter headings his name was changed into “Ulespiegle”, a word that would enrich the French vocabulary in the form of “espiègle”, which means “mischievous, teasing” (Weber 2002, 208). Since the second half of the sixteenth century, the form “Ulespiegle” appeared also in the titles in French, as can be seen on the cover of this volume.

Ulenspiegel's adventures became a hit with the Dutch and the French reading public. In 1558 Johannes Nemius, rector of the Latin school in Amsterdam, translated the Dutch *Ulenspiegel* version with 46 stories into Latin iambic trimeters; his *Triumphus humanae stultitiae* was reissued as early as 1563 (Stotz 2013, 91–98), which demonstrates the humanists' fondness for this narrative. A second translation into Dutch, with 50 stories, was published in 1577 by Derick Wijlicx van Santen in Rees (Vriesema 2002, no. 5); both Dutch versions were continually printed in the following centuries. There were seven editions in Dutch in the sixteenth century, twelve editions between 1601 and 1750, and 64 between 1751 and 1830.²⁵ In French, eleven editions of *Ulenspiegel* have been transmitted from the sixteenth century, thirteen from the seventeenth, and sixteen from the eighteenth century.²⁶

The situation is different in the case of the English tradition. There are only four more editions known from the sixteenth century, all printed by William Copland in London (ESTC S117879 [1555?]; S117877 [1560?]; S2661 [1565?]; S123825 [?]);²⁷ none is fully extant. However, the two editions with a preserved title page (S117879 and S117877) show a significant development: the title *Here beginneth a me|rye Iest of a man that was called Howle-|glas, and of many meruaylous thynges and | Iestes that he dyd in his lyfe, in East-|land and in many other places* is followed by an illustration from *Salomon et Marcolphus*. Copland used the popularity of a book already established on the English market to advertise a less-known narrative (Hill-Zenk 2011, 536). Moreover, his editions, contrary to the Dutch or the first French editions, were not illustrated, which is why the English reading public did not associate any iconographic programme with Ulenspiegel's adventures. In this way the stories were easily absorbed by other protagonists, like Scogin or Robin Good-Fellow (Hill-Zenk 2011, 564); on the other hand, the domesticized name “Howleglas” embedded

²⁵ See Vriesema (2002, 7); for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is not always possible to classify the editions to a certain century. There is no copy for thirteen (of 83) editions in Dutch.

²⁶ Koopmans and Verhuyck arrive at a higher total because they also include the popular and often reprinted anthology *Parangon des nouvelles*, containing however only five *Ulenspiegel* stories (1988, 46).

²⁷ The publication dates can only be estimated. S117879 must have been printed before S117877; of S123825 only one leaf (M2) is extant: it can be neither S117877 nor S2661, but possibly S117879, which however lacks quire M. For an extensive discussion, see Hill-Zenk (2011, 37; 362–371).

the protagonist in English literature, as evidenced by his appearance in contemporary drama (Brie 1903, 99–109; Hill-Zenk 2011, 555–558). But the absence of figurative representation may have been one of the reasons for the lack of interest in further reissues of the text (Hill-Zenk 2011, 564–565).²⁸ This shows how crucial an impact iconography can have on the reception of a book, and how successful Grüninger’s *Ulenspiegel* programme was, when it was copied.

5 *Ulenspiegel* in Polish, Czech, and Russian

The transmission of *Ulenspiegel* started in central and eastern Europe around the same time as in western Europe. One of the first German editions was used by an anonymous translator to create the oldest Polish translation, preserved in four fragments from an edition dated to the 1530s, published in Kraków by the printing house of Hieronim Wietor (Grześkowiak and Kizik 2005, XLIII–XLV). Here the protagonist is named “Sownociardłko”, a fitting translation of the German “Ulenspiegel”. Another edition used the form of the name under which *Ulenspiegel* is known in Polish to this day: “Sowiźrzał”. This edition, unfortunately not preserved to our times, must have been published before 1547, according to a mention in a list of deposits added to the post-mortem book inventory of the printer-publisher Maciej Szarfenberg from Kraków, and dated 12 August 1547 (Grześkowiak and Kizik 2005, LVII–LVIII). The change of the protagonist’s name to “Sowiźrzał”, i.e. “one who gazes like an owl”, suggests that it was probably at this time that the second redaction of the translation was made, in which one of the later German editions, containing eight additional stories (most probably one of the Erfurt prints, 1532 or subsequent editions), was used to improve the previous version (Grześkowiak and Kizik 2005, LXXXIV–XCIII). The only surviving gathering of an early *Sowiźrzał*-edition, printed by Łazarz Andryśowic on the calendar for 1562, was presumably a proof print. The third redaction of the Polish translation has been preserved in full in an edition from the 1640s, attributed to Łukasz Kupisz in Kraków (Grześkowiak and Kizik 2005, XLV–XLVIII).

In this edition, the title: *SOWIZRZAL | Krotochvvilny, y | Smiefzny. | Początek, żywot, y dokonanie ie- | go dziwne. | W Brunszwiku na Bronie tak ieft | wymalowany.* (“Sowiźrzał Entertaining and Funny. The beginning of, his life and its strange ending. In Brunswick on the Gate he is painted like this.”) announces the woodcut, picturing *Ulenspiegel* holding a bird (clearly not an owl) and a mirror

²⁸ Only one more edition from 1720 is known, with a new title: *The german rogue: or, the life and merry adventures, cheats, stratagems, and contrivances of Tiel Eulespiegle. Made English from the High-Dutch* (ESTC T100248).



Fig. 4: SOWIZRZAL Krotochvilny, y Smieszny. Początek, żywot, y dokonanie iego dziwne. W Brunzwikiu na Bronie tak iest wymalowany. [Kraków: Łukasz Kupisz, 1640–1650], A1r (Moskva, RGB, IV – Polsk. inv. IX – 9463 8°). By courtesy of Rossiyskaya gosudarstvennaya biblioteka, Moskva.

(Fig. 4). Apart from this woodcut, this edition does not have any illustrations. A rhymed distich under the picture says “Sowiźrzał stary / Zejdzie się w dary” (“The old Sowiźrzał / Is suitable as a gift”), alluding to a text genre very popular at that time in Polish literature, which emerged at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and called itself “The New Ulenspiegel” (see hereafter). Instead of a preface, the Polish version addresses the (male!) reader in a short poem, advising to be mindful of the time of entertainment, but asserting that “this entertainment” does no harm to anyone “who loves virtue”:

Panowie, wiedzcie, starzy i młodzi,
Krotochwile zażywać nie szkodzi,
Tylko pilnie czas trzeba obaczać,
Żeby z kresu nie chciał wykraczać.
Bo żadnemu, który cnotę miłuje,
Ta krotoczwila nic nie ujmuje.
(Grześkowiak and Kizik 2005, 4)

Gentlemen, know this, old and young,
There's no harm in indulging in entertainment,
Only time must be watched carefully,
So that you don't want to go beyond.
For to anyone who loves virtue,
This entertainment does no harm.

The text of this edition – and of most extant subsequent Polish editions – contains 95 *Ulenspiegel* stories, including seven of the eight additional stories, while leaving out stories 31, 79, 88, 92, 94, and 95 of the early Strasbourg prints; the last tale combines story 93 with Ulenspiegel's epitaph. These censorial measures coincide with the tendencies also observed in later German reprints (where among others stories 31, 88, 92, and 94 are sometimes left out), to omit the more extreme scatological tales and those ridiculing the Church, particularly at the protagonist's deathbed.

Sowiźrzał was very popular with the Polish reading public. Apart from the three sixteenth-century editions which we know of, there were at least five editions in the seventeenth century (of which two are extant), three either from the seventeenth or eighteenth century (extant, but all without imprint), and two new redactions from the eighteenth century, one of which reduced the text to 22 stories combining 25 original tales.²⁹ The book generated moreover a new genre in Polish literature, with titles announcing the patron to whom they owed their mocking attitude and making wordplays with his name: *Nowy Sowiźrzał* (“The new Sowiźrzał”, 1596), *Nowy Sowiźrzał abo raczej Nowyźrzał* (“The new Sowiźrzał [Owllook] or rather Newlook”, s.a.), *Sowiźrzał nowy abo raczej Nowyźrzał* (“Sowiźrzał new or rather Newlook”, 1614), *Fraszki Sowiźrzała nowego* (“Limericks of the new Sowiźrzał”, 1614), *Fraszki nowe Sowiźrzałowe* (“New limericks of Sowiźrzał”, 1615), *Minucje nowe Sowiźrzałowe* (“New minutiae of Sowiźrzał”, s.a.). Interestingly, the writers of this genre distanced themselves from Ulenspiegel's scatological jokes, which they

²⁹ For the bibliographical description of all editions and an analysis of the text tradition, see Grześkowiak and Kizik (2005, XLIII–LXI; XCIII–CIV).

deemed obscene and unrepeatable (Grzeškowiak and Kizik 2005, XXXV–XXXVI). The new sense of humour was articulated in a Polish saying recorded in 1618, but also known in various forms from the end of the sixteenth century: “Nie trzeba tym żartować, co śmierdzi, co szkodzi i co boli” (“[There is] no need to joke about what stinks, causes harm, or hurts”; Grzeškowiak and Kizik 2005, XXXIII). This is an expression of the cultural transformation that was taking place at the time, not just in Poland, which would also lead to a gradual cleansing of *Ulenspiegel* of the smellier motifs, like in the last Polish redaction.³⁰

The first Czech translation was most likely published in the second half of the sixteenth century. Only fragments of two editions (we know of yet another, non-surviving, edition: KPS K02384) from this time are extant, one with the date 1576 (KPS K02386), and the other considered older and dated 1566 (KPS K02385) on the basis of a list of books, printed with the permission of Vilém Prusinovský, bishop of Olomouc (Voit 1987, 106; Růžičková 1999; 2001; 2004). The fact that in both fragments the protagonist is called “Eylenspiegel”, by the name modelled on the High German version but present in German prints only since 1555, suggests that the translator was using one of the editions by Gölfferich’s heirs. This conclusion is confirmed by the placement of the additional stories together (Růžičková 2004, 216); the Czech translation contains all 102 stories in the order introduced by Gölfferich’s publishing house. The first Czech editions were not illustrated, but the seventeenth-century editions – of which we know three defect copies (KPS K02387–K02389) – already contain illustrations (Růžičková 2004, 214). No title pages have survived in any of these sixteenth- and seventeenth-century issues. Five editions have been transmitted from the eighteenth century, four of which bear the following title (in some issues shortened): *Krátké hystorye o dobře známém Eylenspiglowi, wssem milownjkum čtěj k vkrácenj zbytečného času na swětlo wydané, ne k následowánj geho, ale k naprawenj swych mrawů prospěšné* (“Brief histories of the well-known Eylenspigl, brought to light that all lovers of reading might shorten idle time, to the end not of emulating him, but of rectifying their conduct”; s.l.: s.n., s.a. [1780–1800], KPS K17874).³¹ In contrast to the Polish poem to the reader, which expects virtue from readers so that this story does not corrupt them, the Czech title admonishes them not to imitate Ulenspiegel’s adventures, but to find in them a stimulus to improve their behaviour. The paratexts of both the Polish and the Czech versions thereby distance themselves from the narrative that is indeed strange, as the Polish title calls it, even if the Czech tries to make the protagonist familiar, calling him “well-known”.³²

³⁰ For more information about the “New Ulenspiegel” genre, see Wojtowicz (2015).

³¹ For a bibliographical description of all the editions, see KPS: K17873–K17875; K17953; K18520.

³² However, in the bishop’s list from the sixteenth century, the narrative is also called “strange” in Czech: “Divná historie Tyl Eilenspigle” (“Strange history of Tyl Eylenspiegel”; Voit 1987, 106).

The eighteenth century saw the first Russian translation of *Ulenspiegel*, published in Saint Petersburg after 1775: *Pohoždenii novago uveselitel'nago šuta i velikago v delach ljubovnych pluta Sovest-Drala, Bol'shago Nosa* ("The adventures of the new amusing jester and the great rascal in love affairs Sovest-Drall, the Big Nose"; Małek 2014, 71). The title page informs the reader that the book was translated from Polish, which was also the case with other narratives in the Top Ten – *Apollonius, Historia septem sapientum Romae, Melusine*, and *Pierre et Maguelonne* – printed in Russian; it contains a selection of 40 stories out of the 95 in the Polish version (Małek 2014, 29–36). The characteristics of *Ulenspiegel* as a "great rascal of love" with a large nose was added by the Russian translator, as well as some love episodes. The first edition was followed by at least five more editions by the end of the century.³³

6 *Ulenspiegel* in Danish, Swedish, and Icelandic

Anna Katharina Richter

Ulenspiegel made his way to northern Europe as early as the sixteenth century. The first Danish edition could have been printed before 1571, as the preface of the Danish translation of Jörg Wickram's *Der Jungen Knaben Spiegel* (Straßburg: Jakob Frölich, 1554, VD16 W 2376; "A Mirror for Young Boys") mentions both *Ulenspiegel* and *Euryalus and Lucretia*. This Danish translation was published in Copenhagen in 1571 with the corresponding title *Unge Karlis oc Drenge Speiel*. Its translator, the Danish Lutheran priest Rasmus Hansen Reravius (d. 1582), was clearly very well aware of young people's preference for 'pleasant histories'. He therefore recommends his own translation as a text well-suited for their moral education, yet at the same time he labels *Ulenspiegel* and *Euryalus* as inappropriate reading for young people: "Effterdi de dog ville gjerne læse Histoier / at de da heller læse det de kunde forbedris aff / end det der ickon mere kand opvecke dem til skalckhed oc løsactighed / saa som Ugelspegels Historie / Item Eurioli oc Lucretiæ / oc andre sådanne." (København: Matz Vingaard, 1571, USTC 302561, a4v-a5r).³⁴ Either in the Danish translation or in German, *Ulenspiegel* seems to have been well-known to a Danish readership around 1571. And the mention in the *Unge Karlis oc Drenge Speiel* preface shows that *Ulenspiegel* (besides other

³³ For a comparative analysis of the Polish and Russian versions and the bibliographical description of Russian editions, see Małek (2014, 25–60; 71–84).

³⁴ "Because they want to read stories, they should read something that makes them better people rather than something that incites them to impudence and immorality, like the Histories of *Ulenspiegel* or *Euryalus and Lucretia* and others of this kind."

texts like *Euryalus*) was already criticized then for being “wicked reading”. This is a pattern and a recurring phenomenon that was to stick, especially to this text, well into the nineteenth century. But Reravius’ preface – in terms of criticism comparable to the reference to *Ulenspiegel* by the allegorical figure of Mistress Lust and her booklist in Vanity’s library in the most famous Swedish baroque poem *Hercules* written almost ninety years later by Georg Stiernhielm (1658) – works moreover as a kind of ‘stage’ for these texts, bringing them into contemporaneous literary and theological discussion, but of course also fuelling the curiosity of potential readers.³⁵

The first extant Danish *Ulenspiegel* edition, however, dates from the end of the seventeenth century (s.l.: s.n., ca. 1690): *Underlig oc selsom Historie, om Tiile Ugel- spegel, en Bondes Søn, barnfødt udi det Land Brunssvig, saare kortvillig at læse. Af Tydsken paa Danske udsat* (“The miraculous and strange History about Tiile Ugel- spegel, a Peasant’s Son, born in the Country of Brunswick, very entertaining to read. Translated from German into Danish”).³⁶ Like many other Danish narratives, it also was translated from a German edition. Two other seventeenth-century editions are known but lost, six editions (two of them lost) date from the eighteenth century, but clearly the largest part (27 editions) was printed in the nineteenth century (Richter and Glauser 2013, 191–209). The first extant Swedish edition was published by Amund Grefwe in Gothenburg in 1661: *Ett hundrade två vnderlige, sällsamme, och mycket lustige historier, om Thil Ulspegel, en bonde son bördigh vthaff thet landet Brunswigh, sammandragne och beskrefne / hwilka vthaff thet tyska språket in vppå thet swenska transfererade äre* (“A hundred and two miraculous, strange and very pleasant histories about Thil Ulspegel, a peasant’s son, born in the country of Brunswick, compiled and described, transferred from the German language into Swedish”).³⁷ An analysis of the 102 episodes in Grefwe’s edition and the reference to a German source of the translation both in the Swedish and the Danish title formulation has led Sahlgren and later Wingård to suspect that the extant seventeenth-century Scandinavian versions are based on a German seventeenth-century edition, probably from 1618.³⁸ *Ulenspiegel* was also transmitted in manuscript form in Iceland, in only one prose version from the nineteenth century

35 Cf. Glauser (1990, 116–120) and Malm (2011, 107–112).

36 Cf. the edition in DFB 3 (1930); the copy is kept in København, KB, Hj. 1954 8°.

37 Stockholm, KB, F1700:2327. See also Collijn (1942–1946, 921).

38 The title formulations are on fol. A1r in the edition 1661, Stockholm, KB, F1700:2327, respectively fol. A1r in the edition ca. 1690, København, KB, Hj. 1954 8°. See also Sahlgren (SFS, vol. 4, 9–12); Wingård (2011, 335). Other Swedish editions: ca. 1669 (title page missing, Stockholm, KB, F1700:2328); ca. 1700; four editions from the eighteenth century; and 29 (!) date from the nineteenth century – a picture similar to the Danish transmission (Richter and Glauser 2013, 195).

(based on the Danish “chapbook”), and seven *Ulenspiegel* episodes have been preserved in a single seventeenth-century manuscript of a collection of merry tales (Seelow 1989, 230–234, 250, 259; Seelow 2004, 269–276).

Due to its objectionable content and its anti-authoritarian attitude, *Ulenspiegel* became synonymous with useless and harmful reading. As a result, the Lutheran Church fiercely opposed this text and it was subjected to royal censorship in Denmark and Sweden in the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, extreme scatological passages were generally not yet censored or changed (or even left out) in the early modern editions; this was done later in the ‘domesticated’ and purified nineteenth-century editions (on the early modern censorship and the later editions, see Glauser 1993, 27–40; Richter and Glauser 2013, 196–206). The accompanying woodcut programme was an indispensable part of the *Ulenspiegel* tradition in Scandinavia as well as in Germany and other traditions: Paulli (1936, 328–330) emphasizes that *Ulenspiegel* is the Danish early modern narrative with the most woodcuts of all. The Danish *Ulenspiegel* woodcuts were modelled on those in early modern German *Ulenspiegel* editions, especially Hans Brosamer’s woodcuts in Gülfferich’s 1545 Frankfurt edition mentioned above (Paulli 1936, 331–341).

Ulenspiegel was continually issued in Danish and Swedish in following centuries. All in all, there were at least eighteen printed *Ulenspiegel* editions in Scandinavia in the early modern period until 1800, which witnessed the enduring popularity of this narrative in northern Europe too.

Conclusion

The following table (Tab. 1) summarizes *Ulenspiegel*’s transmission in the languages discussed:

Tab. 1: *Ulenspiegel*’s transmission in different European language areas.

| | German | Dutch | French | English | Polish | Czech | Russian | Danish | Swedish |
|-----------|--------|-------|--------|---------|--------|-------|---------|--------|---------|
| 1501–1600 | 28 | 7 | 11 | 5 | 3 | 3 | – | 1 | – |
| 1601–1700 | 10 | 12 | 13 | – | 5 | 3 | – | 3 | 2 |
| 1701–1800 | 40 | 38 | 16 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 | ca. 6 |

The total of 229 editions is perhaps not impressive compared to other narratives in the Top Ten, but it must be remembered that these are only editions which are known (see Tab. 2 for the first editions). Also to be included in this list are the two Latin translations, the Icelandic manuscript tradition and another early mod-

ern manuscript version in Yiddish, as well as at least five prints in Yiddish – independent of that manuscript version – from the eighteenth century (Müller [H.J.] 1990).³⁹ Many of these editions are extant in just one copy, which indicates how eagerly they were read; and many books were lost in wars, e.g. during the Thirty Year's War, resulting in an unknown number of Ulenspiegel editions (“Dunkelziffer”, Schmitz 1995, 69–70). The listing of *Ulenspiegel* in the *Index librorum prohibitorum* may also have had an impact on the transmission (Vriesema 2002, 14). Regardless of various censoring measures, this trickster figure continued to exert a liberating influence on early modern European culture. In some languages this narrative remained unknown until the twentieth century, like in Italian (Tacconelli 1991), in others it took on a new form in the nineteenth century, particularly for Belgians in Charles De Coster's reworking (Temmerman 1983), and for Croatians in the figure of Petrica Kerempuh (Peričić 1997) – but that is actually another story.

Tab. 2: Titles of Earliest Extant *Ulenspiegel* Editions in European Vernaculars until 1800.⁴⁰

| Language | Title | Title (English translation) | Place, printer-publisher and year | Reference |
|----------|--|--|---|--------------------------------|
| German | <i>Ein kurtzweilig lesen von Dyl Vlenspiegel geborē vß dem land zū Brunßwick. Wie er sein leben volbracht hatt. xcvi. seiner geschichten</i> | An entertaining reading about Dyl Ulenspiegel born in the land of Brunswick. How he accomplished his life. 96 of his tales | Straßburg: Johannes Grüninger, 1515 | London, BL, C.57. c.23.(1.) |

³⁹ The printing places of extant Yiddish eighteenth-century editions cover the area from Frankfurt am Main, Homburg, and Wrocław, to Prague and Nowy Dwór near Warsaw (Müller [H.J.] 1990, 42).

⁴⁰ Translations in Polish, Czech, and Danish were first published in the sixteenth century, but no copies with title pages are extant.

Tab. 2 (continued)

| Language | Title | Title (English translation) | Place, printer-publisher and year | Reference |
|----------|--|--|--|--|
| Dutch | <i>Vlenspieghel Van vlenspieghels leuen Ende schimpelijcke wercken / ende wonderlijcke auontueren die hi hadde want hi en liet hem gheen boeuerie verdrieten</i> | Ulenspieghel. Of Ulenspieghel's life And jesting works and wonderful adventures which he had, because he was not sorry about any joke | Antwerpen: Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten, s.a. [ca. 1526–1532] | København, KB, 77:2, 233 S-30 |
| French | <i>Ulenspiegel De sa vie des ses oeuvres Et merueilleuses adventures par luy faictes: et des grandes fortunes quil a eu: leq̄l par nulles fallaces ne se laissa trom- per: nouvellement translate & corrige de flamēct en françoys</i> | Ulenspiegel. Of his life and works And wonderful adventures he has undertaken: and of the great fortunes he has had: who was not deceived by any trickery: newly translated & corrected from Flemish into French | Paris: Alain Lotrian, 1532 | Stuttgart, WLB, R 16 Aes 1 |
| English | <i>Here beginneth a me rye Iest of a man that was called Howle- glas, and of many meruaylous thynges and Iestes that he dyd in his lyfe, in East- land and in many other places</i> | — | [London: William Copland, 1555?] | London, BL, C.21. c.53. |
| Polish | <i>SOWIZRZAL Krotochwilny, y Smiefzny. Początek, żywot, y dokonanie ie- go dziwne. W Brunszwiku na Bronie tak ieft wymalowany.</i> | Sowiżrzał Entertaining and Funny. The beginning of, his life and its strange ending. In Brunswick on the Gate he is painted like this. | [Kraków: Łukasz Kupisz, 1640–1650] | Moskva, RGB, IV – Polsk. inv. IX – 9463 8° |

Tab. 2 (continued)

| Language | Title | Title (English translation) | Place, printer-publisher and year | Reference |
|----------|---|---|--|--|
| Swedish | <i>Ett hundrade två vnderlige, sällsamme, och mycket lustige historier, om Thil Ulspegel, en bonde son bördigh vthaff thet landet Brunswigh, sammandragne och beskrefne / hwilka vthaff thet tyska språket in vppå thet swenska transfererade äre</i> | A hundred and two miraculous, strange and very pleasant histories about Thil Ulspegel, a peasant's son, born in the country of Brunswick, compiled and described, transferred from the German language into Swedish | Göteborg: Amund Grefwe, 1661 | Stockholm, KB, F1700:2327; USTC 263539 |
| Danish | <i>Underlig oc selsom Historie, om Tiile Ugelspegel, en Bondes Søn, barnfødt udi det Land Brunssvig, saare kortvillig at læse. Af Tydsken paa Danske udsat</i> | The miraculous and strange History about Tiile Ugelspegel, a Peasant's son, born in the Country of Brunswick, very entertaining to read. Translated from German into Danish | S.l.: s.n., s.a. [ca. 1690] | København, KB, Hj. 1954 8° |
| Russian | <i>Pohoždenii novago uveselitel'nago šuta i velikago v delach ljubovnykh pluta Sovest-Drala, Bol'shago Nosa</i> | The adventures of the new amusing jester and the great rascal in love affairs Sovest-Drall, the Big Nose | Sankt Petersburg: s.n., s.a. [1777–1781] | Sankt Petersburg, Biblioteka Rossijskoj akademii nauk, 1781/Похожде – ч. I–2, инв. 24604 |
| Czech | <i>Krátké hystorye o dobře známém Eylenspielowi, wssem milownjkum čtěnj k vkrácěnj zbytečného času na světlo vydané, ne k následowánj geho, ale k naprawenj swych mrawů prospěšné</i> | Brief histories of the well-known Eylenspiigl, brought to light that all lovers of reading might shorten idle time, to the end not of emulating him, but of rectifying their conduct | S.l.: s.n., s.a. [1780–1800] | KPS K17874 |

List of Illustrations

Book Cover

first row from left to right:

- *Fortunatus Bog. En subtilig Historie om Fortunatus Pung oc hans Ynske Hat. Nu paa det ny udsæt aff Tyske paa Danske, met skøne Figurer beprydet. Saare lystig at læse etc.* København: Matz Vingaard, 1575, A1r (København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, LN 625 8°). By courtesy of Det Kongelige Bibliotek, København
- *Libro delos [sic] sabios de roma.* Sevilla: Juan Cromberger, 1538, a1r (Wien, ÖNB, *38.L.100). © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien
- *Een schoone historie van den seer vroomen Amadijs van Gaulen: die welcke alle andere hystorien die tot noch toe ghesien ende gheprint sijn verde te bouen gaet: wter welcker een yeghelijck Eedelman ende vrouwe: veel vruchten: duechden: ende wijsheyt krijghen mach: want si vol honichvloyender sentencien is.* Antwerpen: Marten Nuyts, 1546, A1r (Mettingen, Draiflessen Collection [Liberna], W 790). By courtesy of Draiflessen Collection, Mettingen

second row from left to right:

- *Die hijstori des küniges apollonij.* Augsburg: Günther Zainer, 1471, 3r (Nürnberg, GNM, Slg. N4). By courtesy of Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg
- *Tiel Vlespiegle de sa vie, de ses faits et merueilleves finesses par luy faites: Et des grandes fortunes qu'il a euës, lequel par nulles fallaces ne se laissa tromper, Nouuellement corrigé, & translaté de Flament en François.* Rouen: Veuve de Louys Costé, s.a. [1632–1677], A1r (Antwerpen, EHC, 755466). By courtesy of Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, Antwerpen
- *Historia o Szlachetney á Piękney Meluzynie. Rożne przygody/ poćiechy y smutki/ szczęścia y nieszcześcia/ przy odmianach omylnego Swiata. Reprezentwiąca. Dla Zabawy y Pożytku Pospolitego z Niemieckiego języka ná Polski przełożona. A z poprawą słow i sensu, nowo do Druku Podána.* Kraków: Michał Dyaszewski, 1744, A1r (Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, SD XVIII.1.5020). By courtesy of Biblioteka Narodowa, Warszawa

The European Diffusion of Aesopus

- Fig. 1** Tortoise and eagle, in: Accio Zucco, *Aesopus moralisatus*. Verona: Giovanni and Alberto Alvisé, 1479, d2v (München, BSB, 4 Inc.c.a. 130e). By courtesy of Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, with the licence CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 — **22**
- Fig. 2** Wolf and crane, in: Ulrich Boner, *Der Edelstein*. Bamberg: Albrecht Pfister, 1462, 8v (Berlin, SBBPK, 4° Inc 332). By courtesy of Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz — **24**
- Fig. 3** Cock and Jewel, in: Heinrich Steinhöwel, *Vita Esopi fabulatoris clarissimi e greco Latina – Das Leben des hochberühmten fabeltichters Esopi auß kriechischer zungen in latein*. Augsburg: Günther Zainer, 1477–1478, 36r (München, BSB, 2 Inc.s.a. 9). By courtesy of Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, with the licence CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 — **25**
- Fig. 4** Various fables, in: *Die historien ende fabulen van Esopus die leerlic wonderlick ende seer ghenoechlick syn*. Delft: Henrick Eckert van Homberch, 1498, f1v and f2r (Gent, UB, BHS.L. RES.0035/1). By courtesy of Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent, with the licence CC BY-SA — **34**

The Wheel of Fortune and Man's Trust in God. On the Framing of *Apollonius of Tyre* in Its European Transmission

- Fig. 1** *König Apollonius. Ein schöne vnd kurtzweilige Historia von König Appolonio.* Leipzig: Nikolaus Nerlich, 1624, A1r (Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Xb 9283). © Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel — 55
- Fig. 2** *Kronyka O Apollonowi Králi Tyrském.* Praha: Václav František Dipath, 1752, A1r (Praha, NK, 54 K 11313). By courtesy of Národní knihovna České republiky Praha — 61
- Fig. 3** *En Deylig oc skøn Historie om Kong Appolonio.* Rostock: Stephan Möllemann, 1594, A1r (København, KB, LN 942 fot. 8°). By courtesy of Det Kongelige Bibliotek København — 66
- Fig. 4** *Apollonii Konungens aff Tyro Historia.* Stockholm: s.n., 1636, A1r (Stockholm, KB, F1700/2283). By courtesy of Kungliga biblioteket Stockholm — 73

The Dissemination and Multimodality of *Historia septem sapientum Romae*

- Fig. 1a** *Ein gar schöne Cronick vnd hystorie Auß den geschichten der Roimernn.* Augsburg: Johann Bämmler, 1473, A1v (introductory woodcut) (Dresden, SLUB, Digitale Sammlungen / Ink. 38.2). © Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden — 109
- Fig. 1b** *Ein gar schöne Cronick vnd hystorie Auß den geschichten der Roimernn.* Augsburg: Johann Bämmler, 1473, A2r (incipit and beginning of narrating text) (Dresden, SLUB, Digitale Sammlungen / Ink.38.2). © Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden — 109
- Fig. 2** *Ein gar schöne Cronick vnd hystori Auß den geschichten der Roemernn.* Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1478, 1v (introductory woodcut) (München, BSB, 2 Inc. c.a. 718, 1v). © Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, with the licence CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 — 111
- Fig. 3** *Historie van die seven wise mannen van Rome.* Delft: [Jacob Jacobszoon van der Meer], 1483, A1v (introductory woodcut) (Utrecht, UB, MAG: S qu 377 (Rariora) dl 3). By courtesy of Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht — 113
- Fig. 4** *Libro delos [sic] siete sabios de roma.* Sevilla: Juan Cromberger, 1538, A1r (Wien, ÖNB, *38. L.100). © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien — 114

Griseldis – a Flexible European Heroine with a Strong Character

- Fig. 1** “Register”, in: “Hienach volgent guot nüzlich lere vnd vnderweysung in teütsch beschriben auß den parabolon vnd beysprüchen Salomonis” [...]. Augsburg: Johann Bämmler, 1472 (Wolfenbüttel, HAB, 151.2 Quodl. 2° (4)). © Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, with the licence CC BY-SA — 142
- Fig. 2** *Zwo liebliche vnd nützliche Hystorien, von gehorsam, standt|hafftigkeit vnd gedult Erbarer frommen Ehe|frauen, gegen ihren Ehgemaheln, mengklich güt vnd nützlich zů lesen.*

Straßburg: Jakob Frölich, [ca. 1550], a1r (Wien, ÖNB, 66.K.23.(7) ALT PRUNK).

© Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien — 145

- Fig. 3** *Griseldis. Tuende deylige oc Nyttelige Historier at læse. Den Første om Griseldis. Den Anden om en Docters Daatter aff Bononia. Aff huilcke Historier alle ærlige Quinder maa begribe gode lærdom oc besynderlige att haffue gaat taalmodighed.* Lübeck: Asswerus Kröger, 1592, A1r (København, KB, 58,-452). By courtesy of Det Kongelige Bibliotek København — 153
- Fig. 4** *Griseldis* (end) and (beginning of) *En Docters Daatter.* Lübeck: Asswerus Kröger, 1592, E4v and F1r (København, KB, 58,-452). By courtesy of Det Kongelige Bibliotek København — 154

Transcultural *Reynaert*. Dissemination and Peritextual Adaptations between 1479 and 1800

- Fig. 1** *En Ræffue Bog som kaldes paa Tyske Reinicke Foss [...].* Lübeck: Jürgen Richolff the Younger, 1555, 1r (Antwerpen, The Phoebus Foundation). By courtesy of The Phoebus Foundation, Antwerpen — 173
- Fig. 2** *Reynaert den vos [...].* Antwerpen: Hieronymus Verdussen, [1695–1713], a1r (Antwerpen, EHC, C 14464, copy 1). By courtesy of Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, Antwerpen — 184
- Fig. 3** Segher van Dort. *'t Vonnis der dieren over Reynaert den vos [...].* Antwerpen: Jacob Mesens, 1651, a1r (Zürich, ZB, Gal. XXV 1793 / 1). © Zentralbibliothek Zürich — 185
- Fig. 4** *Van Reyneken Vosse dem Olden [...].* Frankfurt am Main: Cyriacus Jacob, 1550, a1r (Antwerpen, The Phoebus Foundation). By courtesy of The Phoebus Foundation, Antwerpen — 187

The Greatest Story Ever Sold? Marketing *Melusine* Across Early Modern Western, Northern, and Central Europe

- Fig. 1** Sales prospectus for *Melusine*. Antwerpen: Gheraert Leeu, 1491 (Leipzig, Deutsches Buch- und Schriftmuseum der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek, Bibliothek des Börsenvereins der Deutschen Buchhändler, Bö Ink 134). By courtesy of Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, Leipzig, with the licence CC BY-SA-3.0-DE — 204
- Fig. 2** *Die histori oder geschicht von der edeln unnd schönen Melusina.* Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner, 1538, A1r (Berlin, SBBPK, Department of Manuscripts and Historical Prints, Yu 821: R). By courtesy of Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz — 215
- Fig. 3** *L'histoire de Melusine.* Troyes: Jacques Oudot, 1699, A1r (London, BL, General Reference Collection 12450.e.24.(2)). © The British Library Board — 217
- Fig. 4** *Kronyka kratochwijná o Ctné a sselechtné Panně Meluzyně.* S.l.: s.n., 1595, A1r (London, BL, General Reference Collection C.190.e.8.). © The British Library Board — 218

Legendary Love. The Wide Appeal of *Pierre de Provence et la belle Maguelonne* in Early Modern Europe

- Fig. 1** Table of contents in the oldest known edition of *Pierre et Maguelonne*. [Lyon: Guillaume Le Roy for Barthélemy Buyer?, ca. 1475], π1v (Lyon, BM, Rés. Inc. 183). Photo Vincent Lefebvre. By courtesy of Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon — **231**
- Fig. 2a** Title page of a French edition of *Pierre et Maguelonne*. [Lyon: Pierre Mareschal and Barnabé Chaussard, ca. 1504], a1r (Paris, BnF, RES-Y2-707). By courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris — **235**
- Fig. 2b** Title page of a Castilian edition of *Pierre et Maguelonne*. Toledo: [Miguel de Eguía], 1526, a1r (Paris, BnF, RES-Y2-819). By courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris — **235**
- Fig. 3** Pierre pursues the bird while Maguelonne is sleeping. Illustration in *Povest' o blagorodnom knjaze Petre zlatykh ključach i o blagorodnoj korolevne Magilene*. S.l.: s.n., [ca. 1780], π4r (Göttingen, SUB, 8 FAB X, 6725 (3) RARA). By courtesy of Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen — **245**

Charting *Amadis de Gaule*'s Commercial Success in Early Modern Europe

- Fig. 1** *The first book of Amadis de Gaule*, transl. by Charles Stewart (London, BL, Lansdowne ms. 766, 1r). © The British Library Board of Trustees — **260**
- Fig. 2** *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*. Paris: Denis Janot for Jean Longis and Vincent Sertenas, 1540, A1r. (Amsterdam, UB, OG 73–28). By courtesy of Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam — **275**
- Fig. 3** *Een schoone historie van den seer vroomen Amadijs van Gaulen*. Antwerpen: Marten Nuyts, 1546, A1r (Mettingen, Draiflessen Collection [Liberna], W 790). By courtesy of Draiflessen Collection Mettingen — **279**
- Fig. 4** *The third booke of Amadis de Gaule*. London: Nicholas Okes, 1618, B1r (London, BL, C.21.d.3). © The British Library Board of Trustees — **284**

Fortune's calling. Translating and Publishing *Fortunatus* in Early Modern Europe

- Fig. 1** Fortunatus and Lady Fortune on the title page of the first *Fortunatus* edition printed by Hermann Gülferrich. Frankfurt am Main: 1549, A1r (München, UB, 0014/W 8 P. germ. 42). By courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek München — **292**
- Fig. 2** Title page of the oldest extant edition of the Dutch *Fortunatus*. Antwerpen: Hieronymus Verdussen, 1610, A1r (Antwerpen, MPM, OD A-3620). By courtesy of Museum Plantin-Moretus UNESCO Werelderfgoed, Antwerpen — **294**
- Fig. 3a** Fortunatus on horseback. *Fortunatus. Von seinem Seckel, unnd Wuenschhuetlin ...* Frankfurt am Main: Hermann Gülferrich, 1551, A7v (Darmstadt, ULB, 31/308, <http://tudigit.ulb.tu-darm>)

stadt.de/show/31-308/0017). By courtesy of Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek
Darmstadt — 303

- Fig. 3b** Fortunatus on horseback. Title vignette of the first French edition (1626), reused on the title page of a later edition: *Histoire des aventures heureuses et malheureuses de Fortunatus ...* Rouen: Jean Boulley, 1656, A1r (Troyes, BM, B. Bl. 2590, photo Médiathèque Jacques Chirac, Troyes Champagne Métropole). By courtesy of Médiathèque Jacques Chirac, Troyes Champagne Métropole — 303

Ulenspiegel's Tricky Power

- Fig. 1** *Ein kurtzweilig lesen von Dyl Vlenspiegel geborē vß dem land zů Brunßwick.* Straßburg: Johannes Grüninger, 1515, A1r (London, BL, C.57.c.23.(1.)). © The British Library Board — 330
- Fig. 2** *Von Vlenspiegel eins bauren sun des lands Braunschweick, wie er sein leben volbracht hat gar mit seltzamen sachen.* Erfurt: Melchior Sachse, 1533, A1r (Kraków, BJ, Berol. Yt 5622 R). By courtesy of Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków — 338
- Fig. 3** *EYn wunderbairlich vnd seltzame History, vam Dyll Vlnspegel, bürtig auß dem land Brunschweig, wie er sein leben verbracht hat, newlich auß Sachsischer sprach vff gůt Teutsch verdolmetscht, seer kurtzweilig zů lesenn, myt schönen figuren.* Köln: Johann von Aich, 1539, A1r (München, BSB, Rar. 1642). By courtesy of Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, with the licence CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 — 342
- Fig. 4** *SOWIZRZAL Krotchwilny, y Smiefzny. Początek, żywot, y dokonanie iego dziwne. W Brunszwiku na Bronie tak ieft wymalowany.* [Kraków: Łukasz Kupisz, 1640–1650], A1r (Moskva, RGB, IV – Polsk. inv. IX – 9463 8°). By courtesy of Rossiyskaya gosudarstvennaya biblioteka, Moskva — 347

Abbreviations of Libraries

| | |
|-------------------------|---|
| Amsterdam, UB | Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek (Universiteit van Amsterdam) |
| Antwerpen, EHC | Antwerpen, Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience |
| Antwerpen, MPM | Antwerpen, Museum Plantin-Moretus |
| Augsburg, SSB | Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek |
| Basel, UB | Basel, Universitätsbibliothek |
| Berkeley, BL | Berkeley, Bancroft Library |
| Berlin, HUB | Berlin, Universitätsbibliothek der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin |
| Berlin, SBBPK | Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz |
| Bruxelles (Brussel), BR | Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale (Koninklijke Bibliotheek) |
| Budapest, OSK | Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (National Széchényi Library) |
| Cambridge, UL | Cambridge, University Library |
| Darmstadt, ULB | Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek |
| Den Haag, KB | Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek |
| Dijon, BM | Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale |
| Dresden, SLUB | Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek |
| Dublin, NLI | Dublin, National Library of Ireland |
| Edinburgh, NLS | Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland |
| Erlangen-Nürnberg, UB | FAU Erlangen-Nürnberg, Universitätsbibliothek |
| Firenze, BNC | Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze |
| Genève, BGE | Genève, Bibliothèque de Genève |
| Gdańsk, BG | Gdańsk, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk |
| Gent, UB | Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek |
| Göteborg, UB | Göteborg, Universitetsbiblioteket |
| Göttingen, SUB | Göttingen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek |
| Graz, LB | Graz, Steiermärkische Landesbibliothek |
| Hamburg, SUB | Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek |
| Heidelberg, UB | Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek |
| Innsbruck, UB | Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek |
| Jena, THULB | Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek |
| Karlsruhe, BLB | Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek |
| København, DFMS | København, Dansk Folkemindesamling |
| København, KB | København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek |
| Kórnik, BK | Kórnik, Biblioteka Kórnicka |
| Kraków, BJ | Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska |
| Lausanne, BCU | Lausanne, Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire |
| Leiden, UB | Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek |
| Linköping, SB | Linköping, Stiftsbiblioteket |
| Lisboa, BNP | Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal |
| London, BL | London, British Library |
| Lyon, BM | Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale |
| Middelburg, ZB | Middelburg, ZB Bibliotheek van Zeeland |
| Moskva, RGB | Moskva, Rossijskaja gosudarstvennaya biblioteka (Russian State Library) |

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Modena, BEU | Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria |
| München, BSB | München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek |
| München, UB | München, Universitätsbibliothek |
| Münster, ULB | Münster, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek |
| New York, PML | New York, Pierpont Morgan Library |
| Nürnberg, GRM | Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum |
| Olomouc, SKn. | Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna v Olomouci |
| Oxford, BL | Oxford, Bodleian Library |
| Paris, Ars. | Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal |
| Paris, BIS | Paris, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire Sorbonne |
| Paris, BnF | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France |
| Praha, NK | Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky |
| Sankt Petersburg, RNB | Sankt Petersburg, Rossijskaja nacional'naja biblioteka (National Library of Russia) |
| San Marino / California, HL | San Marino / California, Huntington Library |
| Schweinfurt, BOS | Schweinfurt, Bibliothek Otto Schäfer |
| Sevilla, BC | Sevilla, Biblioteca Colombina |
| Speyer, LBZ | Speyer, Landesbibliothekszentrum / Pfälzische Landesbibliothek |
| Stanford, SL | Stanford, Stanford Libraries |
| Stockholm, KB | Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket |
| Strasbourg, BNU | Strasbourg, Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire |
| Stuttgart, WLB | Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek |
| Toronto, UL | Toronto, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library |
| Trier, UB | Trier, Universitätsbibliothek |
| Troyes, BM | Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale (Médiathèque Jacques Chirac) |
| Ulm, StB | Ulm, Stadtbibliothek |
| Uppsala, UUB | Uppsala, Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek |
| Utrecht, UB | Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek |
| Venezia, BNM | Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana |
| Versailles, BM | Versailles, Bibliothèque Municipale |
| Washington / D.C., FSL | Washington / D.C., Folger Shakespeare Library |
| Wien, ÖNB | Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek |
| Wolfenbüttel, HAB | Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek |
| Zürich, ZB | Zürich, Zentralbibliothek |
| Zwickau, RB | Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek |

Bibliography

The bibliography, which lists the literature for the whole book, consists of three parts: abbreviations, primary sources including translations, and secondary literature. Information about original manuscripts and prints is not included in this bibliography, it can be found in the chapters themselves. Works in “primary sources” are listed alphabetically according to the surname of the editor, not the author’s name. Translations of primary literature are listed in primary sources according to the name of the translator, for example, “Mann 2013”. Surnames beginning with “de”, “van” etc. are listed alphabetically according to the first capital letter, for example, “de Baecker” s.v. “B”, but “Van Bruaene” s.v. “Van”.

For “primary sources”, including translations, bibliographical information in the title is left in the original language, as a translation would lead to inconsequences. In “secondary literature”, however, we decided to use “Ed.” or “Eds.” for terms like “red.”, “Hrsg.”, “udg.”, “a cura di”.

Dates of access for the works listed in abbreviations are not provided as these are permanent websites hosted in libraries etc.

Abbreviations

| | |
|--------|--|
| ARLIMA | <i>Archives de littérature du Moyen Âge</i> . 2005–. https://www.arlima.net/ . |
| BC | Conrad Borchling and Bruno Claussen. <i>Niederdeutsche Bibliographie: Gesamtverzeichnis der niederdeutschen Drucke bis zum Jahre 1800</i> . Neumünster: K. Wachholtz, 1931–1936. |
| BNE | Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid. www.bne.es . |
| DB~e | <i>Diccionario Biográfico electrónico</i> . Eds. Gonzalo Anes and Álvarez de Castrillón. Real Academia de la Historia, 2018. http://dbe.rah.es/ . |
| DFB | <i>Danske Folkebøger fra 16. og 17. Århundrede</i> . Udgivne af Jens P. Jacobsen, Richard Paulli, and Jørgen Olrik. Vols. I–XIV. København: Gyldendal, 1915–1936. |
| ECCO | <i>Eighteenth Century Collections Online</i> . https://www.gale.com/intl/primary-sources/eighteenth-century-collections-online . |
| EDIT16 | <i>Edizione Italiana del XVI Secolo</i> . Coord. Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico delle Biblioteche Italiane. Ministero della Cultura della Repubblica Italiana, 2000–. https://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/it-IT/new-home1 . |
| EEBO | <i>Early English Books Online</i> . © Copyright 2023 ProQuest LLC. https://www.proquest.com/eebo . |
| ESTC | <i>English Short Title Catalogue</i> . Ed. British Library. http://estc.bl.uk/ . |
| FB | <i>French Vernacular Books: Books Published in the French Language before 1601</i> . Eds. Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walsby, and Alexander S. Wilkinson. 2 vols. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007. |
| GW | <i>Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke</i> . Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. © Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke / Inkunabelsammlung. https://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/ . |
| HPB | <i>Heritage of the Printed Book Database</i> . https://www.cerl.org/resources/hpb/main . |
| IB | <i>Iberian Books: Books Published in Spanish or Portuguese or on the Iberian Peninsula before 1601</i> . Ed. Alexander S. Wilkinson. Vol. 1. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010; <i>Iberian books: Books published in Spain, Portugal and the New World or Elsewhere in Spanish or</i> |

- IS *Portuguese between 1601 and 1650*. Eds. Alexander S. Wilkinson and Alejandra Ulla Lorenzo. Vols. 2 and 3. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016. <https://iberian.ucd.ie/>.
Arcadio Castillejo Benavente. *La imprenta en Sevilla en el siglo XVI (1521–1600)*. Ed. Cipriano López Lorenzo. 2 vols. Sevilla: Editorial Universidad de Sevilla and Editorial Universidad de Córdoba, 2019.
- ISTC *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue: The International Database of 15th-century European Printing*. © 2016 Consortium of European Research Libraries. https://data.cerl.org/istc/_search.
- KPS *Knihopis. Databáze*. Ed. Národní knihovna ČR. Národní knihovna České republiky, 2014–. <http://www.knihopis.cz/>. Based on: *Knihopis českých a slovenských tisků od doby nejstarší až do konce XVIII. století: Díl II*. Eds. Zdeněk Václav Tobolka, František Horák, and Bedřiška Wiždálková. Praha: Národní knihovna, 1939–1967; Emma Urbánková, *Soupis prvotisků českého původu*. Praha: Národní knihovna, 1986.
- LN Lauritz Nielsen. *Dansk Bibliografi 1482–1600: Med særligt hensyn til dansk bogtrykkerkunsts historie*. 3 vols. København: Gyldendal, 1919–1935.
- MRFH *Marburger Repertorium zur Übersetzungsliteratur im deutschen Frühhumanismus*. Eds. Christa Bertelsmeier-Kierst et al. Marburger Institut für Deutsche Philologie des Mittelalters, 2014–. <https://mrfh.de/>.
- NK Wouter Nijhoff and M. E. Kronenberg. *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*. 3 vols. Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1923–1942.
- ODNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. © Oxford University Press, 2023. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/>.
- OPAC SBN *Catalogo del Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale*. Coord. Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico delle Biblioteche Italiane. Ministero della Cultura della Repubblica Italiana. <https://opac.sbn.it/web/opacsbn>.
- Perry Index Ben Edwin Perry. *Aesopica. A Series of Texts Relating to Aesop or Ascribed to Him*. New York: University of Illinois Press, 1952.
- RMK *Régi Magyar Könyvtár*. Ed. Károly Szabó. Vol. I–III. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1879–1898. <https://library.hungaricana.hu/en/collection/RMK/>
- RMKT *XVI. századbeli magyar költők művei 2. kötet 1527–1546*. Ed. Áron Szilády. Régi magyar költők tára 2. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1880.
- RMNY *Régi Magyarországi Nyomtatványok*. Eds. Gedeon Borsa, Ferenc Hervay, Béla Holl, István Käfer and Ákos Kelecsényi (vol. 1), Gedeon Borsa, Ferenc Hervay (vol. 2), János Heltai (vol. 3). Budapest: Akadémiai, 1971; 1983; 2000.
- s.a. sine anno
- SF *Svenska folkböcker: Sagor, legender och äfventyr, efter äldre upplagor och andra källor utgifne, jemte öfversigt af svensk folkläsnin från äldre till närvarande tid*. Af Per Olof Bäckström. Vols. I–II. Stockholm: A. Bohlins förlag, 1845–1848.
- SFS *Svenska folkböcker*. Utgivna av Jöran Sahlgren; illustrerade av Einar Norelius. Vols. I–VIII. Stockholm: A.B. Bokverk, 1946–1956.
- s.l. sine loco
- s.n. sine nomine / sine numero
- s.p. sine pagina
- SRO Stationers' Register Online. Eds. Giles Bergel and Ian Gadd. CREATE, University of Glasgow. <http://stationersregister.online>.
- s.t. sine titulo

- STC *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640.* First compiled by A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, 2nd ed. rev. and enlarged, begun by W. A. Jackson and F. S. Ferguson, completed by Katharine F. Pantzer, with a chronological index by Philip R. Rider. 3 vols. London: The Bibliographical Society, 1976–1991.
- USTC *The Universal Short Title Catalogue.* University of St. Andrews, 1997–. <https://www.ustc.ac.uk>.
- VD16 *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts.* Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2000–. <https://www.bsb-muenchen.de/sammlungen/historische-drucke/recherche/vd-16/>.
- VD17 *Das Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts.* Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Herzog August Bibliothek, 1996–. <http://www.vd17.de/>.
- VD18 *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 18. Jahrhunderts.* Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen et al., 2009–. <http://www.vd18.de/>.
- VL *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon.* 2., völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage. Begründet von Wolfgang Stammer; fortgeführt von Kurt Langosch; herausgegeben von Gundolf Keil zusammen mit Kurt Ruh (federführend bis Band VIII, 1992), Werner Schröder, Burghart Wachinger (federführend ab Band IX, 1995) und Franz Josef Worstbrock, redigiert von Kurt Illing (bis Band I) und Christine Stöllinger-Löser. 14 vols. Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1978–2008.
- Wing Donald Wing. *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641–1700.* 4 vols. 2nd ed., rev. and enlarged by John J. Morrison and Carolyn W. Nelson. New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1972–1998.

Primary Sources, including Translations

- Arber 1950 [1875]: *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London: 1554–1640 A.D.* Vol. II [1875]. Ed. Edward Arber. New York: Peter Smith, 1950.
- Babbi 2003: *Pierre de Provence et la belle Maguelonne.* A cura di Anna Maria Babbi. Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2003.
- Beauchamp et al. 2002: Juan Luis Vives. *The Instruction of a Christen Woman.* Transl. Richard Hyrde. Eds. Virginia Walcott Beauchamp, Elizabeth H. Hageman, and Margaret Mikesell. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002.
- Benary 1914: *Salomon et Marcolfus.* Kritischer Text mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen, Übersicht über die Sprüche, Namen- und Wörterverzeichnis hrsg. von Walter Benary. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1914.
- Benzing 1961: *Die zehn Alter der Welt: Faksimile der Originalausgabe von Jakob Frölich. Straßburg, 1531.* Mit einem Nachwort von Josef Benzing. Wiesbaden: Guido Pressler, 1961.
- Bideaux 2006: *Amadis de Gaule: Livre I.* Traduction Nicolas d'Herberay des Essarts, éd. Michel Bideaux. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2006.
- Blake 1970: *Caxton. "The history of Reynard the fox"*. Ed. N. F. Blake. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Bolte 1894: *Die schöne Magelone, aus dem Französischen übersetzt von Veit Warbeck 1527.* Nach der Originalhandschrift herausgegeben von Johannes Bolte. Weimar: Verlag von Emil Felber, 1894.

- Bouwman and Besamusca 2009: *Of Reynard the Fox / Van den vos Reynaerde: Text and Facing Translation of the Middle Dutch Beast Epic*. Eds. André Bouwman and Bart Besamusca. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009.
- Braune 1892: *Die Fabeln des Erasmus Alberus*. Abdruck der Ausgabe von 1550 mit den Abweichungen der ursprünglichen Fassung herausgegeben von Wilhelm Braune. Halle an der Saale: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1892.
- Breul 1927: *The Cambridge Reinaert Fragments (Culemann Fragments) edited with an Introduction and Bibliography*, by Karl Breul. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927.
- Brix et al. 1975: Kingo, Thomas. *Samlede Skrifter*. Udgivet af Hans Brix, Paul Diderichsen, and F. J. Billeskov Jansen. Vol. III. København: Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab & Reitzel, 1975. 233–236.
- Busdraghi 2005: *L'Esopus attribuito a Gualtero Anglico*, a cura di Paola Busdraghi. Genoa: Università di Genova, Pubblicazioni del Dipartimento di Archeologia, Filologia Classica e Loro Tradizioni, 2005.
- Cacho Blecua 1987–1988: *Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, Amadís de Gaula*. Edición de Juan Manuel Cacho Blecua. 2 vols. Madrid: Cátedra, 1987–1988.
- Classen 2020: *The Fables of Ulrich Bonerius (ca. 1350): Masterwork of Late Medieval Didactic Literature*. Transl. Albrecht Classen. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2020.
- Clayton and Price 2004: *Die Sieben Weltwunder*. Eds. Peter A. Clayton and Martin J. Price. Transl. Christian Oeser. 2nd ed. Stuttgart: Reclam, 2004.
- Coco 2016: *Il Roman des sept sages: Edizione critica del gruppo β/a della redazione A*. Ed. Stefano Coco. Parma: Università degli studi di Parma, 2016.
- Corfis 1986: *Historia de la linda Melosina: Edition, Study, and Notes*. Ed. Ivy A. Corfis. Madison: The Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1986.
- D'Ancona 1867: *La storia di Ottinello e Giulia, poemetto popolare in ottava rima riprodotto sulle antiche stampe*. Ed. Alessandro D'Ancona. Bologna: G. Romagnoli, 1867.
- Decurtins 1881: "Ein suerselvisches Volksbuch". Ed. Caspar Decurtins. *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 5 (1881): 480–497.
- Decurtins 1905: *Rätoromanische Chrestomathie*. Herausgegeben von Dr. C. Decurtins. Bd. VII: *Oberengadinisch, Unterengadinisch. Das XVIII. Jahrhundert*. Erlangen: Fr. Junge, 1905.
- Donald 1895: *Melusine compiled (1382–1394 A.D.) by Jean d'Arras. English about 1500. Edited from a unique manuscript in the library of the British Museum by A. K. Donald. Part I. Text, notes and glossary*. Ed. Alexander Karley Donald. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1895.
- Fox 1981: *The Poems of Robert Henryson*. Ed. Denton Fox. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981.
- Frederikse 1915: *Jan van den Berghe, Dat kaetspel ghemoralizeert*. Uitgegeven door Jacobus A. R. Frederikse. Leiden: Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde, 1915.
- Frontón Simón 1996: "La historia de la Linda Melosina." Edición y estudio de los textos españoles. Memoria para optar al grado de doctor presentada por Miguel Angel Frontón Simón. Diss. Complutense University Madrid, 1996.
- Gianetti 1996: *Libre dels set savis de Roma*. A cura di Andrea Gianetti. Bari: Adriatica Editrice, 1996.
- Godley 1920: Herodotus, *Histories*, Books I and II. With an English Translation by A. D. Godley. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920.
- Goetinck and Le Loup 1978: Edewaerd de Dene, *De warachtighe fabulen der dieren*. Editie Marc Goetinck and Willy Le Loup. Roeselare: s.n., 1978.
- Gomme 1885: *The History of the Seven Wise Masters of Rome*. Printed From the Edition of Wynkyn De Worde, 1520, and Edited, With an Introduction by George L. Gomme. London: The Villon Society, 1885.

- Goossens 1983a: *Reynaerts historie – Reynke de vos: Gegenüberstellung einer Auswahl aus den niederländischen Fassungen*. Mit Kommentar hrsg. von Jan Goossens. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983.
- Greg and Boswell 1930: *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1576 to 1602 from Register B*. Eds. W. W. Greg and E. Boswell. London: The Bibliographical Society, 1930.
- Grundtvig et al. 1853–1976. *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*. Udg. av Sven Grundtvig, Axel Olrik et al. 12 vols. København: Forlagt af Samfundet til den Danske Literaturs Fremme, 1853–1976.
- Grzeškowiak and Kizik 2005: *Sowiżrzał krotochwilny i śmieszny: Krytyczna edycja staropolskiego przekładu "Ulenspiegla"*. Wyd. Radosław Grzeškowiak i Edmund Kizik. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2005.
- Haldane s.a.: *Fortunatus: The first complete translation of the editio princeps (1509) into English*. Transl. Michael Haldane. s.a. <https://www.michaelhaldane.com/FortunatusLink.htm> (28 July 2022).
- Huntington 1905: *Regestrum: Catalogue of the Library of Ferdinand Columbus Reproduced in Facsimile from the Unique Manuscript in the Columbine Library of Seville*. Ed. Archer M. Huntington. New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1905.
- Huss 2021: *Petrarca, Francesco. De remediis utriusque fortune: Heilmittel gegen Glück und Unglück*. Übersetzt von Ursula Blank-Sangmeister. Herausgegeben und kommentiert von Bernhard Huss. 2 vols. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2021.
- Jauss-Meyer 1965: *Le Roman de Renart*. Übersetzt und eingeleitet von Helga Jauss-Meyer. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1965.
- Kanikova and Pynsent 1996: *Meluzina. An Edition of the Sixteenth-Century Czech Version of the Mélusine Romance*. Eds. S. I. Kanikova and Robert B. Pynsent. London: School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London; Prague: Koniasch Latin Press, 1996.
- Kelchner and Wülcker 1873: *Mess-memorial des Frankfurter Buchhändlers Michel Harder: Fastenmesse 1569*. Hrsg. von Ernst Kelchner und Richard Wülcker. Frankfurt am Main and Paris: Joseph Baer & Co., 1873.
- Keller 1870: "Hans Sachs: *Ein comedi mit 13 personen, die gedultig und gehorsam marggräfin Griselda, hat 5 actus*." Hans Sachs. *Werke*. Hrsg. von Adalbert von Keller. Vol. 2. Tübingen: H. Laupp, 1870. 40–68.
- Keller and Keating 1993: *Aesop's Fables, with a Life of Aesop*. Translated from the Spanish with an Introduction by John E. Keller and L. Clark Keating. Lexington: Kentucky University Press, 1993.
- Knapp 2021: "Ysengrimus". *Lateinisch/Deutsch*. Übersetzt und kommentiert von Fritz Peter Knapp. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann Verlag, 2021.
- Koopmans and Verhuyck 1988: *Ulenspiegel de sa vie de ses oeuvres: Edition critique du plus ancien Ulespiègle français du XVI^e siècle*. [Édité par] Jelle Koopmans & Paul Verhuyck. Antwerpen and Rotterdam: Uitgeverij C. de Vries-Brouwers, 1988.
- Kortekaas 1984: *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*. Prolegomena, Text Edition of the Two Principal Latin Recensions, Bibliography, Indices and Appendices by Georgius A. A. Kortekaas. Groningen: Bouma's Boekhuis, 1984.
- Krogmann 1952: *Ulenspiegel*. Kritische Textausgabe von Willy Krogmann. Neumünster: K. Wachholtz, 1952.
- Krzywy 2015: *Historia o szlachetnej a pięknej Meluzynie*. Opracował Roman Krzywy. Warszawa: Sub Lupa, 2015.
- Krzyżanowski 1926: *Fortunat (około r. 1570)*. Wydał Julian Krzyżanowski. Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1926.
- Kuiper 2015: *Een schone ende wonderlijcke historie van de verduldighe Helena van Constantinopolen, eens conincks dochter die .XXVIJ. jaren achter lande doolde, in grooter armoede broot biddende, seer*

- avontuerlijck om lesen*. Kritische editie van de druk van Broer Janszoon, wonende op de Nieuzijds Achterburghwal in 'De silvere Kan' by de Brouwerij van de Hoybergh. t'Amsterdam, 1640. Ed. Willem Kuiper. Amsterdam 2015. https://bouwstoffen.kantl.be/bml/Helena_van_Constantinopolen/HvC_Broer_Janszoon_kritisch.pdf (14 April 2023).
- Kuiper 2021: *Een nieuwe historie van Fortunatus borse ende van sijnen wunschhoet*, zoals gedrukt door Hieronymus Verdussen te Antwerpen in 1610. Een kritische editie in combinatie met de Duitse brontekst: *Fortunatus, von seinem Seckel vnnd Wuentschhuetlin*, gedrukt door Herman Gölfferich, Frankfurt 1549, bezorgd door Willem Kuiper. Amsterdam 2021. https://bouwstoffen.kantl.be/bml/Fortunatus_borse/Fortunatus_borse_synoptisch_kritische_editie_cumulatief.pdf (14 April 2023).
- Kutscher et al. 1987: *Aesop in Mexico: Die Fabeln des Aesop in aztekischer Sprache*. Text mit deutscher und englischer Übersetzung. Aus dem Nachlass von Gerdt Kutscher hrsg. von Gordon Brotherston und Günter Vollmer. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1987.
- Lappenberg 1854: *Dr. Thomas Murners Ulenspiegel*. Hrsg. von Johann Martin Lappenberg. Leipzig: T.O. Weigel, 1854.
- Lenaghan 1967: *Caxton's Aesop*. Ed. Robert T. Lenaghan. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967.
- Lieb et al. 2011: *Burkard Waldis, Esopus: 400 Fabeln und Erzählungen nach der Erstausgabe von 1548*. Hrsg. von Ludger Lieb, Jan Mohr und Herfried Vögel. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2011.
- Lindow 2019: *Ein kurzweilig Lesen von Dil Ulenspiegel: Nach dem Druck von 1515: Mit 87 Holzschnitten*. Hrsg. von Wolfgang Lindow. Stuttgart: Reclam, 2019.
- Lulofs 2001: *Van den vos Reynaerde*. De tekst kritisch uitgegeven met woordverklaring, commentaar en tekstkritische aantekeningen door dr. F. Lulofs met een ten geleide van Dr. W. P. Gerritsen. Hilversum: Verloren, 2001.
- Maddox and Sturm-Maddox 2012: *Melusine; or, The Noble History of Lusignan*. Transl. Donald Maddox and Sara Sturm-Maddox. University Park: Penn State Press, 2012.
- Mann 2013: *Ysengrimus*. Ed. and transl. Jill Mann. Cambridge and Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2013.
- Martin 1876: *Das niederländische Volksbuch "Reynaert de vos" nach der Antwerpener Ausgabe von 1564 abgedruckt mit einem Facsimile des Titels und einer Einleitung von Ernst Martin*. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1876.
- Martin 1882–1887: *Le roman de Renart*. Publié par Ernst Martin. Strasbourg: K.J. Trübner; Paris: E. Leroux, 1882–1887.
- Menke 1981: *Von Reinicken Fuchs: Frankfurt 1544*. Faksimileausgabe mit einer Einführung von Hubertus Menke. Heidelberg: Winter Verlag, 1981.
- Møller 1915–1923: *En Ræffue Bog: Herman Weigeres Oversættelse af Reinke de Vos*. Udgivet af Det danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab ved Niels Møller. Ordbog af Kristiaan Sandfeld-Jensen. I: Text. København: Gyldendal, 1915. II: Oplysninger og Ordbog. København: Gyldendal, 1915–1923.
- Monedero 1987: *Libro de Apolonio*. Edición, introducción y notas de Carmen Monedero. Madrid: Editorial Castalia, S.A., 1987.
- Morrall 1988: Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Pius II) and Niklas von Wyle. *The tale of two lovers, Eurialus and Lucretia*. Ed. with introduction, notes and glossary by Eric John Morrall. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1988.
- Morris 2003: *A Bilingual Edition of Couldrette's "Mélusine" or "Le roman de Parthenay"*. Ed. and transl. Matthew W. Morris. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2003.
- Morris 2007: *A Bilingual Edition of Jean d'Arras's "Mélusine" or "L'histoire de Lusignan"*. Ed. Matthew W. Morris. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2007.

- Morris and Vincensini 2009: Coudrette. *Mélusine (Roman de Parthenay ou Roman de Lusignan)*. Édition, traduction et notes par Matthew W. Morris et Jean-Jacques Vincensini. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2009.
- Morrison 2020: *The Middle English Kyng Appolyn of Thyre*. Transl. Robert Copland. Edited from the Text Published by Wynkyn de Worde (1510) by Stephen Morrison with Jean-Jacques Vincensini with a Parallel Text of The Medieval French *La cronique et hystoire de Appolin, roy de Thir*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2020.
- Murko 1890: Matthias Murko. *Die Geschichte von den sieben Weisen bei den Slaven. Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Klasse der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Classe*. Wien: Adolf Holzhausen, 1890.
- Nardone and Lamarque 2000–2001: *L'histoire de Griselda: Une femme exemplaire dans les littératures européennes*. Sous la direction de Jean-Luc Nardone et Henri Lamarque. 2 vols. Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Mirail, 2000–2001.
- Noll-Wiemann 1975: *Magelone: Die Schön Magelona: Ein fast lustige und kurzweilige Histori vonn der schönen Magelona*. Mit einem Nachwort von Renate Noll-Wiemann. Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1975.
- Oesterley 1963 [1872]: *Gesta Romanorum*. [Hrsg. von] Hermann Oesterley. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1963 [reprint of the 1872 edition].
- Oesterley 1873: *Steinhöwels Äsop*. Hrsg. von Hermann Oesterley. Stuttgart: L.F. Fues, 1873.
- Oppenheimer 1991: *Till Eulenspiegel: His Adventures*. Translated, with introduction and notes, by Paul Oppenheimer. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1991.
- Paris 1876: *Deux rédactions du "Roman des Sept Sages de Rome"*. Publiées par Gaston Paris. Paris: Firmin Didot, 1876.
- Pastor [i] Briones 2018: Vicent Pastor [i] Briones. *El "Pierres de Provença" català: Estudi i edició crítica de l'imprés de 1650*. Diss. University of Alicante, 2018. <http://hdl.handle.net/10045/98848> (6 January 2023).
- Perry 1952: *Aesopica: A Series of Texts Relating to Aesop or Ascribed to Him or Closely Connected to the Literary Tradition that Bears His Name: Vol. I: Greek and Latin Texts*. Ed. Ben Edwin Perry. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1952.
- Perugini 2004: Francisco Delicado. "Prólogo al *Amadís de Gaula*." *La Lozana andaluza*. Edición, introducción y notas de Carla Perugini. Madrid: Fundación José Manuel Lara, 2004. 423–432.
- Peters 1904: *Die Geschichte des Königs Apollonius von Tyrus: Der Lieblingsroman des Mittelalters*. Eingeleitet und nach der ältesten lateinischen Textform zum erstenmal übersetzt von Richard Peters. Berlin: Hegner, 1904.
- Pignatelli and Gerner 2006: *Les traductions françaises des "Otia Imperialia" de Gervais de Tilbury par Jean D'Antioche et Jean de Vigna*. Édition de la troisième partie par Cinzia Pignatelli et Dominique Gerner. Genève: Librairie Droz, 2006.
- Pillolla 1993: *Rinucius Aretinus, "Fabulae Aesopicae"*. A cura di Maria Pasqualina Pillolla. Genova: Università di Genova. Facoltà di lettere. Dipartimento di Archeologia, Filologia classica e loro tradizioni, 1993.
- Rijns 2007: *De gedrukte Nederlandse Reynaertraditie: Een diplomatische en synoptische uitgave naar de bronnen vanaf 1479 tot 1700*. Bezorgd door Hans Rijns; met een ten geleide door Paul Wackers. Hilversum: Verloren, 2007.
- Rijns 2013: *Dye hystorien ende fabulen van Esopus*. Gheraert Leeu. Editie Hans Rijns. 2013. https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/leeu002hyst02_01/colofon.php (8 July 2022).
- Roach 1982: *Coudrette. "Le Roman de Mélusine ou histoire de Lusignan"*. Édition avec introduction, notes et glossaire établie par Eleanor Roach. Paris: Klincksieck, 1982.

- Roloff 1991: *Melusine: In der Fassung des "Buchs der Liebe" (1587) mit 22 Holzschnitten*. Hrsg. von Hans-Gert Roloff. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1991.
- Roloff 1996: *Fortunatus: Studienausgabe nach der Editio Princeps von 1509*. Hrsg. von Hans-Gert Roloff. Bibliographie von Jörg Jungmayr. Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1996.
- Roth 2008: *Sieben weise Meister: Eine bairische und eine elsässische Fassung der Historia septem sapientum*. Hrsg. von Detlef Roth. Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2008.
- Roudaut 2009: *Pierre de Provence et la belle Maguelonne*. Édité par François Roudaut. Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2009.
- Ruelle 1982: "*L'Ésope*" de Julien Macho. Édité par Pierre Ruelle. Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1982.
- Runte 1984a: "*Les sept sages de Rome*." *An On-Line Edition of French Version A From All Manuscripts*, by Hans R. Runte. 1984. <http://dalspace.library.dal.ca/handle/10222/49107> (12 January 2023).
- Runte 1984b: "*The Seven Sages of Rome*" (*French Version A*): *Translated literally from Ms. Paris, BNF, fr. 2137, fol. 1–46*. 1984. <http://dalspace.library.dal.ca/handle/10222/49107> (12 January 2023).
- Sánchez-Martí 2020: *A Critical Edition of Anthony Munday's "Palmerin d'Oliva"*. Edited with an introduction, critical apparatus, notes and glossary by Jordi Sánchez-Martí. Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval & Renaissance Studies, 2020.
- Schilling 2020: *Ysengrimus. Lateinisch – deutsch*. Hrsg. von Michael Schilling. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2020.
- Schlusemann 2020: *Der Vrouwen-peerle: Dryvoudighe Historie van Helena de Verduldighe, Griseldis de Saechtmoedighe, Florentine de ghetrouwe*. Antwerpen: Hendrick Aertssen, [ca. 1621–1658]. Uitgegeven door Rita Schlusemann. 2020. https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_vro002vrou01_01/ (12 January 2023).
- Schlusemann 2022a: "*Van den vos Reynaerde*": *Nach der ältesten vollständigen Handschrift*. Hrsg. von Rita Schlusemann. Stuttgart: S. Hirzel Verlag, 2022.
- Schlusemann 2022b: "*Meluzine*": *Die erste niederländische Fassung (1491)*. Hrsg. von Rita Schlusemann. Stuttgart: S. Hirzel Verlag, 2022.
- Schlusemann and Wackers 2005: *Reynaerts historie*. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von Rita Schlusemann und Paul Wackers. Münster: Agenda-Verlag, 2005.
- Schmeling 1988: *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*. Edidit Gareth Schmeling. Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1988.
- Schmitz 1974: *Die sieben weisen Meister*. Mit einem Nachwort hrsg. von Günther Schmitz. Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1974.
- Schneider 1958: Thüring von Ringoltingen. *Die historie von der schönen Melusina*. Nach den Handschriften kritisch herausgegeben von Karin Schneider. Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1958.
- Schnyder and Rautenberg 2006: Thüring von Ringoltingen. *Melusine (1456): Nach dem Erstdruck Basel, Richel um 1473/74*. Band 1: Edition, Übersetzung und Faksimile der Bildseiten. Hrsg. von André Schnyder in Verbindung mit Ursula Rautenberg. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2006.
- Schröder 1911: *Ein kurzweilig Lesen von Dyl Vlenspiegel*. Herausgegeben von Edward Schröder. Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1911.
- Skeat 1866: *The Romans of Partenay, or of Lusignen: Otherwise known as The Tale of Melusine: Translated from the French of La Coudrette (about 1500–1520 A.D.)*. Edited from a Unique Manuscript in the Library Of Trinity College, Cambridge, with an Introduction, Notes and Glossarial Index, by the Rev. Walter W. Skeat. London: The Early English Text Society / N. Trübner & Co., 1866.
- Speer 1989: *Le roman des Sept Sages de Rome: A critical edition of the two verse redactions of a twelfth-century romance*. Prepared by Mary B. Speer. Lexington (Ky.): French Forum, 1989.
- Speer and Foehr-Janssens 2017: *Le roman des Sept Sages de Rome*. Édition bilingue des deux rédactions en vers français, établie, traduite, présentée et annotée par Mary B. Speer et Yasmina Foehr-Janssens. Paris: H. Champion, 2017.

- Stange 2016: Ulrich Boner. *Der Edelstein. Eine mittelalterliche Fabelsammlung*. Zweisprachige Ausgabe, Mittelhochdeutsch-Neuhochdeutsch. Herausgegeben, übersetzt, mit Anmerkungen, farbigen Abbildungen, einem Nachwort, Literaturverzeichnis, Register und Fabel-Verzeichnis versehen von Manfred Stange. Ubstadt-Weiher: Verlag Regionalkultur, 2016.
- Steinmetz 2001: *Historia von den sieben weisen Meistern und dem Kaiser Diocletianus: Nach der Gießener Handschrift 104*. Mit einer Einleitung und Erläuterungen hrsg. von Ralf-Henning Steinmetz. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2001.
- Van Bever 1906: *Œuvres poétiques du sieur de Dalibray, publiées sur les éditions originales de "la Musette" de 1647 et des "Œuvres poétiques" de 1653*. Avec une notice sur un poète de cabaret au XVII^e siècle, des notes historiques et critiques et des pièces justificatives par Ad. Van Bever. Paris: E. Sansot et C^e, 1906.
- Vargas Díaz-Toledo 2013: *Historia de la linda Magalona y del noble y esforçado cavallero Pierres de Provença*. Edición de Aurelio Vargas Díaz-Toledo. S.l.: More Than Books, 2013 (E-book).
- Vincensini 2003: Jean d'Arras. *Mélusine ou La Noble Histoire de Lusignan: Roman du XIV^e siècle*. Nouvelle édition critique d'après le manuscrit de la bibliothèque de l'Arsenal avec les variantes de tous les manuscrits, traduction, présentation et notes par et traduction Jean-Jacques Vincensini. Paris: Librairie générale française, 2003.
- Zettersten 1965: "Pierre of Provence and the Fair Maguelonne, a prose romance edited from Bodleian MS. Lat. misc. b. 17 and Bibliothèque nationale ms. fr. 1501." By Arne Zettersten. *English Studies* 46 (1965): 187–201.
- Zink 1982: *Le roman d'Apollonius de Tyr*. Édition, traduction [de l'ancien français] et présentation de Michel Zink. Paris: Union générale d'éditions, 1982.

Secondary Literature

- Adrados 1979: Francisco R. Adrados. "The *Life of Aesop* and the Origins of the Novel in Antiquity." *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 1 (1979): 93–112.
- Aïache-Berne 1992: Mauricette Aïache-Berne. "Roman des Sept Sages et ses continuations." *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: Le Moyen Âge*. Eds. Geneviève Hasenohr and Michel Zink. Paris: Fayard, 1992. 1317–1320.
- Aichmayr 1991: Michael Aichmayr. *Der Symbolgehalt der Eulenspiegel-Figur im Kontext der europäischen Narren- und Schelmenliteratur*. Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag, 1991.
- Alfaro Torres 2002: Paloma Alfaro Torres. *La imprenta en Cuenca (1528–1679)*. Madrid: Arco Libros, 2002.
- Allen 1982: Judson Boyce Allen. *The Ethical Poetic of the Later Middle Ages: A Decorum of Convenient Distinction*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.
- Amelung 1979: Peter Amelung. *Der Frühdruck im deutschen Südwesten 1473–1500: Eine Ausstellung der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek*. Stuttgart: Württembergische Landesbibliothek, 1979.
- Andries 2000: Lise Andries. "Mélusine et Orson: Deux réécritures de la Bibliothèque bleue." *La Bibliothèque bleue et les littératures de colportage*. Eds. Thierry Delcourt and Elisabeth Parinet. Paris: École nationale des chartes; Troyes: La Maison du Boulanger, 2000. 78–92.
- Aranda García 2018: Nuria Aranda García. "El *Libro de los siete sabios de Roma* [Sevilla: Jacobo Cromberger, ca. 1510]: Nuevos Horizontes de recepción." *Literatura Medieval (Hispania): Nuevos enfoques metodológicos y críticos*. Eds. Gaetano Lalomia and Daliena Santonocito. San Millán de la Cogolla: Cilengua, 2018. 13–33.

- Aranda García 2021a: Nuria Aranda García. “*Los Siete sabios de Roma*” en *España: Una historia editorial a través del tiempo (siglos XV–XX)*. Zaragoza: Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza, 2021.
- Aranda García 2021b: Nuria Aranda García. “Book Illustration in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries: The First Editions of the *Siete Sabios de Roma*.” *Illustration and Ornamentation in the Iberian Book World, 1450–1800*. Ed. Alexander S. Wilkinson. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021. 240–258.
- Aranda García 2021c: Nuria Aranda García. “La *Historia de la linda Magalona y Pierres de Provenza*: Una edición burgalesa desconocida, nuevo testimonio en su transmisión editorial.” *Janus: estudios sobre el Siglo de Oro* 10 (2021): 296–318.
- Archibald 1984: Elizabeth Frances Archibald. “*Apollonius of Tyre*” in *the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Ann Arbor, 1984.
- Archibald 1991: Elizabeth Frances Archibald. “*Apollonius of Tyre*”: *Medieval and Renaissance Themes and Variations: Including the Text of the “Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri” with an English Translation*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1991.
- Ashkenazi 2008: Assaf Ashkenazi. “El *Amadís de Gaula* en su versión hebrea del siglo XVI.” *Amadís de Gaula 1508: Quinientos años de libros de caballerías*. Ed. José Manuel Lucía Megías. Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España and Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2008. 364–368.
- Ashkenazi 2012: Assaf Ashkenazi. “Un nuevo aporte al estudio de la traducción hebrea del *Amadís de Gaula*.” *eHumanista* 22 (2012): 391–395.
- Autrand 2000: Françoise Autrand. *Jean de Berry: L’art et le pouvoir*. Paris: Fayard, 2000.
- Backes 2004: Martina Backes. *Fremde Historien: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte französischer Erzählstoffe im deutschen Spätmittelalter*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2004.
- Backman 2017: Agnieszka Backman. *Handskriftens materialitet: Studier i den fornsvenska samlingshandskriften Fru Elins bok (Codex Holmiensis D3)*. Uppsala: Institutionen för nordiska språk and Uppsala Universitet, 2017.
- Baddeley 2015: Susan Baddeley. “Imprimeurs et libraires.” *Histoire des traductions en langue française: xv^e et xvi^e siècles, 1470–1610*. Ed. Véronique Duché. Lagrasse: Verdier, 2015. 245–290.
- de Baecker 1857: M. de Baecker. “Livres permis et défendus au XVI^e siècle.” *Bulletin du Comité flamand* 1 (1857): 69–70.
- Bak 2016: János M. Bak. “A Kingdom of Many Languages.” *Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age*. Ed. Albrecht Classen. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2016. 165–176.
- Bampi 2007: Massimiliano Bampi. *The Reception of the “Septem Sapientes” in Medieval Sweden Between Translation and Rewriting*. Göppingen: Kümmerle, 2007.
- Bampi 2013: Massimiliano Bampi. “Translating and Rewriting: The *Septem Sapientes* in Medieval Sweden.” *Rittersagas: Übersetzung – Überlieferung – Transmission*. Eds. Jürg Glauser and Susanne Kramarz-Bein. Tübingen: Francke, 2013. 229–252.
- Barasch 1976: Moshe Barasch. *Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art*. New York: New York University Press, 1976.
- Barber 1984: Sigmund J. Barber. “*Amadís de Gaula*” and the German Enlightenment. Bern: Peter Lang, 1984.
- Barbier 2011: Frédéric Barbier. “Émigration et transferts culturels: Les typographes allemands et les débuts de l’imprimerie en France au XV^e siècle.” *Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 155 (2011): 651–679.

- Barker and Hosington 2013: Sara K. Barker and Brenda M. Hosington. "Introduction." *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print and Culture in Britain, 1473–1640*. Eds. Sara K. Barker and Brenda M. Hosington. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013. xv–xxix.
- Bartolucci 2003: Lidia Bartolucci. "Ancora sul *Libro dei sette savi di Roma: Erasto* manoscritto." *Macrotesti fra Oriente e Occidente: Atti del IV Colloquio internazionale Medioevo romanzo e orientale (2000)*. Eds. Natalia L. Tornesello, Giovanna Carbonaro, and Eliana Creazzo. Soveria Mannelli, CZ: Rubbettino, 2003. 325–339.
- Battaglia Ricci 2013: Lucia Battaglia Ricci. "Decameron, X, 10: Due 'verità' e due modelli etici a confronto." *Italianistica: Rivista di letteratura italiana* 42 (2013): 79–90.
- Bayard 1992: Tania Bayard. *A Medieval Home Companion*. New York: Harper & Row, 1992.
- Beck 1971: Hans-Georg Beck. *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur*. München: C.H. Beck, 1971.
- Behr 1997: Hans-Joachim Behr. "Der *Ulenspiegel* im Umkreis der mittelalterlichen Narrenliteratur." *Eulenspiegel-Jahrbuch* 37 (1997): 13–32.
- Behr 2014: Martin Behr. *Buchdruck und Sprachwandel: Schreibsprachliche und textstrukturelle Varianz in der "Melusine" des Thüring von Ringoltingen (1473/74–1692/93)*. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2014.
- Bela 2016: Zbigniew Bela. "Przyczynek do sprawy narodowości Marcina Siennika." *Odrodzenie i Reforma w Polsce* 60 (2016): 143–154.
- Bellingradt and Reynolds 2021: *The Paper Trade in Early Modern Europe: Practices, Materials, Networks*. Eds. Daniel Bellingradt and Anna Reynolds. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021.
- Benhaïm 2000: Véronique Benhaïm. "Les *Thresors d'Amadis*." *Les "Amadis" en France au XVI^e siècle*. Eds. Nicole Cazauran and Michel Bideaux. Paris: Éditions Rue d'Ulm, 2000. 157–181.
- van den Bergh 1837: Laurens Ph. C. van den Bergh. *De Nederlandsche volksromans: Eene bijdrage tot de geschiedenis onzer letterkunde*. Amsterdam: M.H. Schonekat, 1837.
- Berteloot and Geeraedts 1998: *Reynke de Vos – Lübeck 1498: Zur Geschichte und Rezeption eines deutsch-niederländischen Bestsellers*. Eds. Amand Berteloot and Loek Geeraedts. Münster: Lit, 1998.
- Bertelsmeier-Kierst 1988: Christa Bertelsmeier-Kierst. "*Griseldis*" in Deutschland: Studien zu Steinhöwel und Arigo. Heidelberg: Winter Verlag, 1988.
- Bertelsmeier-Kierst 1996: Christa Bertelsmeier-Kierst. "Übersetzungsliteratur im Umkreis des deutschen Frühhumanismus: Das Beispiel *Griseldis*." *Wolfram-Studien* 14 (1996): 323–343.
- Bertelsmeier-Kierst 2014a: Christa Bertelsmeier-Kierst. "Zur Rezeption des lateinischen und volkssprachlichen Boccaccio." *Giovanni Boccaccio in Europa: Studien zu seiner Rezeption in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. Eds. Achim Aurnhammer and Rainer Stillers. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014. 131–153.
- Bertelsmeier-Kierst 2014b: Christa Bertelsmeier-Kierst. "Erzählen in Prosa: Zur Entwicklung des deutschen Prosaromans bis 1500." *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 143.2 (2014): 141–165.
- Besamusca et al. 2019: *Early Printed Narrative Literature in Western Europe*. Eds. Bart Besamusca, Elisabeth de Bruijn, and Frank Willaert. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2019.
- Bildhauer 2023: Bettina Bildhauer. "Every Narrator Is Biased: The Polyphonic Poetics of *The Seven Sages of Rome* in a German Version." *Die "Sieben weisen Meister" als globale Erzähltradition*. Eds. Bettina Bildhauer, Jutta Eming and Nora Schmidt. = *Das Mittelalter* 28.1 (2023): 137–154.
- Binotti 2010: Lucia Binotti. "Humanistic Audiences: *Novela Sentimental* and *Libros de Caballerías* in Cinquecento Italy." *La corónica* 39.1 (2010): 67–113.
- Biscéré 2013: Antoine Biscéré. "*Esope* illustré: Inventaire raisonné des cycles iconographiques de la *Vie d'Esope* (1476–1687)." *Le Fablier: Revue des amis de Jean de la Fontaine* 14 (2013): 13–71.
- Blamires 2000: David Blamires. "Zum Namen 'Eulenspiegel'." *Eulenspiegel-Jahrbuch* 40 (2000): 59–70.

- Blom 1996: Helwi Blom. "Mélusine au XVII^e siècle: entre réalité historique et fantaisie romanesque." *Melusine: Actes du colloque du Centre d'études médiévales de l'Université de Picardie Jules Verne, 13 et 14 Janvier 1996*. Eds. Danielle Buschinger and Wolfgang Spiewok. Greifswald: Reineke-Verlag, 1996. 17–24.
- Blom 2012: Helwi Blom. "Vieux romans" et "Grand Siècle": Éditions et réceptions de la littérature chevaleresque médiévale dans la France du XVII^e siècle. Diss. Utrecht University, 2012. <https://dspace.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/224190> (6 September 2022).
- Blom 2021a: Helwi Blom. "De 'nouveaux lecteurs' pour les 'vieux romans'? Nicolas Bonfons, Benoît Rigaud et l'édition de romans de chevalerie à la fin du XVI^e siècle." *Stratégies d'élargissement du lectorat dans la fiction narrative XV^e et XVI^e siècles*. Eds. Pascale Mounier and Héléne Rabaey. Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2021. 219–243.
- Blom 2021b: Helwi Blom. "Le répertoire narratif non romanesque publié en Normandie." *Annales de Normandie* 71.2 (2021): 197–244.
- Blume 1986: Herbert Blume. "Zu vermeintlichen Ostfalismen im Eulenspiegelbuch und zum Problem einer niederdeutschen Vorlage der Straßburger Drucke." *Eulenspiegel-Jahrbuch* 26 (1986): 31–54.
- Blume 1994: Herbert Blume. "Hermann Bote – Autor des Eulenspiegel-Buches? Zum Stand der Forschung." *Eulenspiegel-Jahrbuch* 34 (1994): 11–32.
- Blume 2012: Herbert Blume. "Das Schwankbuch von Till Eulenspiegel – ein Buch aus Braunschweig: Bewährte und neue Argumente." *Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch* 93 (2012): 41–69.
- Boekenoogen 1905: Gerrit Jacob Boekenoogen. "Een Boekverkoopers-prospectus van Geeraert Leeu te Antwerpen (Anno 1491)." *Tijdschrift voor Boek- en Bibliotheekwezen* 3 (1905): 190–192.
- Bognolo 2013: Anna Bognolo. "Mambriano Roseo da Fabriano: Vita provvisoria di uno scrittore." *Repertorio delle continuazioni italiane ai romanzi cavallereschi spagnoli: Ciclo "Amadis di Gaula"*. Eds. Anna Bognolo, Giovanni Cara, and Stefano Neri. Roma: Bulzoni, 2013. 25–75.
- Bognolo 2017: Anna Bognolo. "Entre *Celestinas*, novela sentimental y libros de caballerías: La empresa editorial de los Nicolini da Sabbio y Juan Bautista Pederzano en Venecia alrededor de 1530." *Serenísima palabra: Actas del X Congreso de la Asociación Internacional Siglo de Oro (Venecia, 14–18 de julio de 2014)*. Eds. Anna Bognolo, Florencio del Barrio de la Rosa, Maria del Valle Ojeda Calvo, Donatella Pini, and Andrea Zinato. Venezia: Edizioni Ca' Foscari, 2017. 727–737.
- Bognolo et al. 2013: *Repertorio delle continuazioni italiane ai romanzi cavallereschi spagnoli: Ciclo "Amadis di Gaula"*. Eds. Anna Bognolo, Giovanni Cara, and Stefano Neri. Roma: Bulzoni, 2013.
- Bollenbeck 1985: Georg Bollenbeck. *Till Eulenspiegel: Der dauerhafte Schwankheld: Zum Verhältnis von Produktions- und Rezeptionsgeschichte*. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1985.
- Bouquin 2000: Héléne Bouquin. *Éditions et adaptations de "l'Histoire de Mélusine" de Jean d'Arras (XV^e–XIX^e siècle): Les aventures d'un roman médiéval*. Diss. Paris: École nationale des chartes, 2000.
- Bouwman 1991: André Bouwman. *Reinaert en Renart: Het dierenepos "Van den vos Reynaerde" vergeleken met de Oudfranse "Roman de Renart"*. Amsterdam: Prometheus, 1991.
- Brandenburg 2021: Elena Brandenburg. *Karl der Große im Norden: Rezeption französischer Heldenepik in den altostnordischen Handschriften*. Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2021.
- Brandis 1917: Carl Georg Brandis. "Die Pflege des Französischen am Hofe der sächsischen Kurfürsten Ernestinischen Stammes." *Beiträge aus der Universitätsbibliothek zu Jena: Zur Geschichte des Reformationsjahrhunderts*. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1917. 27–61.
- Braun 2004: Manuel Braun. "Historie und Historien." *Die Literatur im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*. Eds. Werner Röcke and Marina Münkler. München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 2004. 317–361.
- Brie 1903: Friedrich W. D. Brie. *Eulenspiegel in England*. Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1903.

- Brückner 1907: Aleksander Brückner. "Dawne powieści ludowe: Studia i szkice." *Prace Filologiczne* 6.1 (1907): 165–186.
- Brüggemann and Brunken 1987: *Handbuch zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur: Von 1570 bis 1750*. Eds. Theodor Brüggemann and Otto Brunken. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1987. 786–810.
- Bruun 1902: *Bibliotheca Danica: Systematisk fortegnelse over den danske litteratur fra 1482 til 1830, efter samlingerne i det Store kongelige bibliotek i Kjøbenhavn*. Ed. Christian V. Bruun. Vol. 4. København: Gyldendal, 1902.
- Buchloh 2005: Julia Buchloh. *Hans Baldung Grien und Dyl Ulenspiegel: Studien zu den Illustrationen und zur Text-Bild-Struktur des Straßburger Eulenspiegeldruckes S 1515*. Diss. Technische Universität Berlin, 2005. <https://depositonce.tu-berlin.de/handle/11303/1488> (22 August 2022).
- Bumke 1996: Joachim Bumke. "Der unfeste Text: Überlegungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte und Textkritik der höfischen Epik im 13. Jahrhundert." *'Aufführung' und 'Schrift' in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. Ed. Jan-Dirk Müller. Stuttgart and Weimar: J.B. Metzler Verlag, 1996. 118–129.
- Burke 2007: Peter Burke. "Cultures of Translation in Early Modern Europe." *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*. Eds. Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 7–38.
- Burke and Po-chia Hsia 2007: *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*. Eds. Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Burman 1998: Lars Burman. "Moraltraktat på avvägar: Petrarcas och Arvidus Olai Scheningensis' *Speculum morale*." *Tidskrift för litteraturvetenskap* 27.2 (1998): 61–74.
- Burman 2006: Lars Burman. "Om folkbokens vackra Grisilla: Bokhistoria, dygdemoral och erotik." *Tidskrift för litteraturvetenskap* 35.1 (2006): 45–61.
- Burrichter 2013: Brigitte Burrichter. "Hybridität und Gattungsmischung in *Pierre de Provence et la Belle Maguelonne*." *Hybridität und Spiel: Der europäische Liebes- und Abenteuerroman von der Antike zur Frühen Neuzeit*. Eds. Martin Baisch and Jutta Eming. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2013. 359–372.
- Burrus 1995: Victoria Burrus. "The *Ysopete ystoriado* and the Art of Translation in Fifteenth-Century Spain." *La traducción en España: Siglos XIV–XVI*. Ed. Roxana Recio. León: Universidad, 1995. 149–160.
- Buschinger 2010: Danielle Buschinger. "Zum frühneuhochdeutschen Prosaroman: Drei Beispiele: Der Prosa-Tristrant, der *Fortunatus* und *Die Schöne Magelone*." *Eulenspiegel trifft Melusine: Der frühneuhochdeutsche Prosaroman im Licht neuer Forschungen und Methoden*. Eds. Catherine Drittenbass and André Schnyder. = *Chloe: Beihefte zum Daphnis* 42 (2010): 67–87.
- Calvo del Olmo 2012: Francisco Calvo del Olmo. "A história de Griselda: Encruzilhada de tradução latino-romance durante o Humanismo." *Scientia Traductionis* 11 (2012): 259–278.
- Cao Míguez 2016: Ana Belén Cao Míguez. *Por entre o muro que afasta a China da Tartária: Contributos para uma história da tradução literária entre as línguas espanhola e portuguesa nos inícios da Idade Contemporânea (1780–1850)*. Diss. Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, 2016. <https://run.unl.pt/handle/10362/20763> (16 June 2022).
- Cappello 2011: Sergio Cappello. "L'édition des romans médiévaux à Lyon dans la première moitié du XVI^e siècle." *Réforme, Humanisme, Renaissance* 71 (2011): 55–71.
- Carnes 1984: Pack Carnes. "The Fable in Service to the Reformation." *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* 8.3 (1984): 176–189.
- Carnes 1985: Pack Carnes. *Fable Scholarship: An Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Garland, 1985.
- Carnes 1986: Pack Carnes. "Heinrich Steinhöwel and the Sixteenth-Century Fable Tradition." *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 35 (1986): 1–29.

- Carnes 2001: Pack Carnes. “‘Esopo no fabulos’. More Notes on Aesop in Sixteenth-Century Japan.” *Reinardus* 14 (2001): 93–113.
- Carter and Vervliet 1966: Harry Carter and H. D. L. Vervliet. *Civilité Types*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966.
- Cassagne 2013: Sophie Cassagne. “Les imprimeurs allemands et leur activité toulousaine à la fin du XV^e siècle.” *Atalaya* 13 (2013). <http://atalaya.revues.org/1004> (5 July 2022).
- Chatelain 2000: Jean-Marc Chatelain. “L’illustration d’*Amadis de Gaule* dans les éditions françaises du XVI^e siècle.” *Les “Amadis” en France au XVI^e siècle*. Foreword Nicole Cazauran. Paris: Éditions Rue d’Ulm, 2000. 41–52.
- Chuchvaha 2019: Hannah Chuchvaha. “Images, Words, and Book Production in the Russian Empire: Popular Prints, Lubok Books, and Illustrated Magazines.” *Cheap Print and the People: European Perspectives on Popular Literature*. Eds. David Atkinson and Steve Roud. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2019. 191–222.
- Cifarelli 2001: Paola Cifarelli. “Le fablier de Rinuccio d’Arezzo et ses traductions françaises au XVI^e siècle.” *Le Fablier: Revue des amis de Jean de la Fontaine* 13 (2001): 53–67.
- Clarke 1914: Eugene F. Clarke. “The Fable ‘Frosch und Maus’ as Found in Luther and Hans Sachs.” *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 13.1 (1914): 51–59.
- Clarke and Ní Mhaonaigh 2022: *Medieval Multilingual Manuscripts: Case Studies from Ireland to Japan*. Eds. Michael Clarke and Máire Ní Mhaonaigh. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2022.
- Classen 1990: Albrecht Classen. “Die Weltwirkung des *Fortunatus*.” *Fabula* 35 (1990): 209–225.
- Classen 2013: Albrecht Classen. “Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age: The Literary-Historical Evidence.” *Neophilologus* 97 (2013), 131–145.
- Classen 2016: *Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age*. Ed. Albrecht Classen. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2016.
- Classen 2017: Albrecht Classen. “The Melusine Figure in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century German Literature and Art: Cultural-Historical Information within the Pictorial Program.” *Melusine’s Footprint: Tracing the Legacy of a Medieval Myth*. Eds. Misty Urban, Deva Kemmis, and Melissa Ridley Elmes. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017. 74–93.
- Collijn 1923: Isak Collijn. “Bokföraren Laurentz Albrecht i Lübeck: Några bidrag till hans förbindelser med Sverige og Danmark.” *Nordisk Tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* 10 (1923): 171–176.
- Collijn 1942–1946: Isak Collijn. *Sveriges Bibliografi 1600-talet: Bidrag till en bibliografisk förteckning*. Uppsala: Svenska Litteratursällskapet, 1942–1946.
- Colombo Timelli et al. 2014: *Nouveau répertoire des mises en prose (XIV^e–XVI^e siècle)*. Eds. Maria Colombo Timelli, Barbara Ferrari, Anne Schoysman and François Suard. Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2014.
- Colwell 2008: Tania M. Colwell. *Reading “Mélusine”: Romance Manuscripts and Their Audiences c. 1380–c. 1530*. Diss. Australian National University, 2008. DOI: 10.25911/5d5146b027514 (6 July 2022).
- Colwell 2011: Tania M. Colwell. “Patronage of the Poetic Mélusine Romance: Guillaume l’Archevêque’s Confrontation with Dynastic Crisis.” *Journal of Medieval History* 37 (2011): 215–229.
- Colwell 2014: Tania M. Colwell. “The Middle English Melusine: Evidence for an Early Edition of the Prose Romance in the Bodleian Library.” *Journal of the Early Book Society* 17 (2014): 259–287.
- Conde 2001: Juan Carlos Conde. “Un aspecto de la recepción del *Decamerón* en la Península Ibérica, a la sombra de Petrarca: La historia de Griselda.” *Cuadernos de Filología Italiana* numero extraordinario (2001): 351–372.
- Cooper 2004: Helen Cooper. *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

- Coq 1989: Dominique Coq. "Les incunables: Textes anciens, textes nouveaux." *Histoire de l'édition française I: Le Livre conquérant*. Eds. Roger Chartier and Henri-Jean Martin. Paris: Fayard-Cercle de la Librairie, 1989. 203–227.
- Cordes 1978: Gerhard Cordes. "Alter Fuchs und weiser Schelm." *Eulenspiegel-Jahrbuch* 18 (1978): 3–14.
- Cornuaille and Riffaud 2018: Philippe Cornuaille and Alain Riffaud. "Enquête sur les premières éditions des Fables de La Fontaine (1668)." *Bulletin du bibliophile* 2 (2018): 246–279.
- Cuijpers 2014: Peter Cuijpers. *Van Reynaert de Vos tot Tijl Uilenspiegel: Op zoek naar een canon van volksboeken (1600–1900)*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2014.
- Cupers 1984: Jean-Louis Cupers. "Narration et interprétation: Les traductions du roman picaresque espagnol." *Narration et interprétation*. Eds. Claudine Gothot-Mersch, Raphaël Célis and René Jongen. Bruxelles: Presses de l'Université Saint-Louis, 1984. 75–86.
- Czepelyk 2017: Ołeksandra Czepelyk. "The story of *Peter of Provence and the fair Maguelone* in Polish and Ukrainian literature." *Bibliotekarz Podlaski* 34.1 (2017): 243–257.
- Da Costa 2020: Alexandra Da Costa. *Marketing English Books, 1476–1550: How Printers Changed Reading*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Dallapiazza 2010: Michael Dallapiazza. "Hans Sachsens *comedia: die gedultig und gehorsam marggräfin Griselda*." *Die deutsche Griselda: Transformationen einer literarischen Figuration von Boccaccio bis zur Moderne*. Eds. Achim Aurnhammer and Hans-Jochen Schiewer. Berlin and New York: De Gruyter 2010. 143–152.
- Daniel 1982: Stephen H. Daniel. "Political and Philosophical Uses of Fable in Eighteenth-Century England." *The Eighteenth Century* 23.2 (1982): 151–171.
- Davies 2006: Martin Davies. "A Tale of Two *Aesops*." *The Library* s7 7.3 (2006): 257–288.
- Debaene 1977: Luc Debaene. *De Nederlandse volksboeken: Ontstaan en geschiedenis van de Nederlandse prozaromans, gedrukt tussen 1475 en 1540*. Hulst: Antiquariaat Merlijn, 1977.
- Dela Montagne 1907: Victor Alexis Dela Montagne. "Schoolboeken te Antwerpen in de 17e eeuw." *Tijdschrift voor Boek- en Bibliotheekwezen* 5 (1907): 1–35.
- Deneire 2014: *Dynamics of Neo-Latin and the Vernacular: Language and Poetics, Translation and Transfer*. Ed. Tom Deneire. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014.
- D'Eugenio 2017: Daniela D'Eugenio. *Transferring Paremias: Cultural, Linguistic, and Literary Transitions of Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases by Vincenzo Brusantino, Pompeo Sarnelli, and John Florio*. Diss. City University New York, 2017. https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc_etds/2232 (17 March 2023).
- Dicke 1994: Gerd Dicke. *Heinrich Steinhöwels "Esopus" und seine Fortsetzer: Untersuchungen zu einem Bucherfolg der Frühdruckzeit*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1994.
- Dicke 2004: Gerd Dicke. "Steinhöwel, Heinrich." 2nd ed. VL 9 (1995): 258, and 2nd ed. VL 11 (2004): 1458.
- Dicke and Grubmüller 1987: Gerd Dicke and Klaus Grubmüller. *Die Fabeln des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit: Ein Katalog der deutschen Versionen und ihrer lateinischen Entsprechungen*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1987.
- Dimia and Dimia 2016: Eugenia Dimia and Gabriela E. Dimia. *Traducătorii români și traducerile laice din secolul al XVIII-lea*. Iași: Editura Universității "Al. I. Cuza", 2016.
- Dlabačová 2022: Anna Dlabačová. "The Fifteenth-Century Book as a 'Work in Progress'." *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 97 (2022): 82–104.
- Domanski 2010: Kristina Domanski. "Heinrich Steinhöwel, *Von den berühmten Frauen*: Handschrift Nr. 40a.0.2." *Katalog der deutschsprachigen illustrierten Handschriften des Mittelalters (KdIH): Begonnen von Hella Frühmorgen-Voss und Norbert H. Ott*. Eds. Ulrike Bodemann, Peter Schmidt, and Christine Stöllinger-Löser. Vol. 4/2. München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2010. <http://kdi.h.badw.de/datenbank/handschrift/40a/0/2> (13 January 2023).

- Domanski 2015: Kristina Domanski. "Heinrich Steinhöwel, *Griseldis*. Druck Nr. 49.0." *Katalog der deutschsprachigen illustrierten Handschriften des Mittelalters (KdIH): Begonnen von Hella Frühmorgen-Voss und Norbert H. Ott*. Eds. Ulrike Bodemann, Kristina Freienhagen-Baumgardt, Norbert H. Ott, Pia Rudolph, Peter Schmidt, and Nicola Zotz. Vol. 6. München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2015. <http://kdih.badw.de/datenbank/druck/49/0/u> (13 January 2023).
- Domanski 2020: Kristina Domanski. "Albrecht Altdorfer als Illustrator – Neues zur *Magelone*-Handschrift in Krakau." *Kunstchronik* 73 (2020): 186–197.
- Doutrepont 1939: Georges Doutrepont. *Les mises en prose des épopées et des romans chevaleresques du XIV^e au XVI^e siècle*. Bruxelles: Palais des académies, 1939.
- Driscoll 1997: Matthew Driscoll. *The Unwashed Children of Eve: The Production, Dissemination and Reception of Popular Literature in Post-Reformation Iceland*. Enfield Lock: Hisarlik Press, 1997.
- Duchartre 1961: Pierre-Louis Duchartre. *L'imagerie populaire russe et les livrets gravés, 1629–1885*. Paris: Gründ, 1961.
- Duché-Gavet 2007: Véronique Duché-Gavet. "La diffusion de *L'Histoire de Griselda* en France (XIV^e–XVI^e siècles)." *The Medieval Translator: Traduire au Moyen Age* 10 (2007): 193–205.
- Duché and Mounier 2015: Véronique Duché and Pascale Mounier. "Prose narrative." *Histoire des traductions en langue française: xv^e et xv^e siècles, 1470–1610*. Ed. Véronique Duché. Lagrasse: Verdier, 2015. 907–994.
- Duntze 2008: Oliver Duntze. "Das Titelblatt in Augsburg: Der Einleitungsholzschnitt als Vorstufe und Alternative zum Titelblatt." *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 63 (2008): 1–42.
- Eggertsson 2006: Reynir Þór Eggertsson. "The *Griselda* Story: The Transformation from 'the Patient Griselda' to 'Gríshildur the Good' in the Icelandic Tradition." Paper given at the 13th International Saga Conference, *The Fantastic in Old Norse/Icelandic Literature: Sagas and the British Isles, in Durham and York, 6–12 August 2006*. http://www.sagaconference.org/SC13/SC13_Reynir_Thor.pdf (4 July 2022).
- Ehregardt 2019: Thibault Ehregardt. "Aesop's Fables. An Overshadowed Classic." *Rare Book Monthly* February 2019. <https://www.rarebookhub.com/articles/2549#sdfootnote2anc> (6 July 2022).
- Eichel-Lojkine 2014: Patricia Eichel-Lojkine. "Canis dans tous ses états: Récit sériel, sagesse(s) et animal exemplaire." *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 27 (2014): 232–254.
- Eisenberg and Marín Pina 2000: Daniel Eisenberg and María del Carmen Marín Pina. *Bibliografía de los libros de caballerías castellanos*. Saragossa: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, 2000.
- Ellis and Baber 1814: Henry Ellis and Henry Baber. *Librorum impressorum qui in Museo Britannico adservantur catalogus*. Vol. 2.1. London: G. Woodfall, 1814.
- El'Nickaja 1977: T. M. El'Nickaja. "Repertuarnaja svodka: Cast' pervaja: Repertuar pridvornogo, skol'nogo i publicnogo teatrov s konca XVII do seredny XVIII veka." *Istorija russkogo dramatičeskogo teatra: v semi tomach: 1: Ot istokov do konca XVIII veka*. Vol. 1. Ed. Efim G. Cholodov. Moskva: Iskustvo, 1977. 430–432.
- Eming 2005: Jutta Eming. "Die Maskierung von Emotionen in der Literatur des Spätmittelalters." *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* 138 (2005): 49–69.
- Engel 1989: Martina Engel. "Mikkel Ræf – Ketu Repolainen – Refurinn Hrekkvísi – Reineke Fuchs: Tradition und Rezeption des Reineke-Fuchs-Erzählstoffes in Skandinavien." *Reineke Fuchs: Ein europäisches Tierepos: Eine Ausstellung des Goethe-Museums Düsseldorf: Anton-und-Katharina-Kippenberg-Stiftung: Arbeitsstelle Reineke Fuchs*. Ed. Jörn Göres. Düsseldorf: Goethe-Museum, 1989. 18–24.
- Espagne 1999: Michel Espagne. *Les transferts culturels franco-allemands*. Paris: PUF, 1999.

- Estreicher et al. 1870–2000: *Bibliografia polska*. Eds. Karol Józef Teofil Estreicher, Stanisław Estreicher, and Karol Estreicher jun. Vol. 1–34. Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1870–2000.
- Fau et al. 2003: Guillaume Fau, Darah Saksik, Marie Smouts and Sylvie Tisserand. “L’imprimerie à Lyon au XV^e siècle: Un état des lieux.” *Revue française d’histoire du livre* 118–121 (2003): 191–275.
- Feliers 2006: Willy Feliers. “De centsprent: Geschiedenis van *Reinaert den Vos*.” *Tiecelijn* 19 (2006): 30–55.
- Finet-van der Schaaf 2001: Baukje Finet-van der Schaaf. “*Die Historie van Peeter van Provençen ende die Schoone Magelone van Napels*: Traduction / adaptation / réécriture de *L’Histoire de Pierre de Provence et de la belle Maguelonne*.” *L’épopée romane au Moyen Âge et aux temps modernes: actes du XIV^e Congrès international de la Société Rencesvals pour l’étude des épopées romanes, Naples, 24–30 juillet 1997*. Ed. Salvatore Luongo. Vol. 2. Napoli: Fridericiana, 2001. 857–872.
- Finlayson 1995: John Finlayson. “Definitions of Middle English Romance.” *Middle English Romances*. Ed. Stephen H. A. Shepherd. New York: W.W. Norton, 1995. 428–456.
- Fischer-Heetfeld 1992: Gisela Fischer-Heetfeld. “Zur Vorrede von Heinrich Steinhöwels *Griseldis*-Übersetzung.” *Festschrift Walter Haug und Burghart Wachinger*. Eds. Johannes Janota, Paul Sappeler, Frieder Schanze, Benedikt K. Vollmann, Gisela Vollmann-Profe, and Hans-Joachim Ziegeler. Vol. II. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1992. 671–679.
- Flinn 1963: John Flinn. *Le “Roman de Renart” dans la littérature française et dans les littératures étrangères au Moyen Âge*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963.
- Flood 1976: John L. Flood. “Der Prosaroman *Wigoleis vom Rade* und die Entstehung des *Ulenspiegel*.” *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 105.2 (1976): 151–165.
- Foehr-Janssens 2020: Yasmina Foehr-Janssens. “Misogyny and the Trends of a European Success: The French Prose *Roman des sept sages de Rome*.” *Narrative Culture* 7.2 (2020): 165–180.
- Franczak 2006: Grzegorz Franczak. *Vix imitabilis: La “Griselda” polacca fra letteratura e cultura popolare*. Kraków and Udine: Stowarzyszenie Twórcze Artystyczno-Literackie, 2006.
- Franssen 2017: Peter J. A. Franssen. “Jan van Doesborch: The Antwerp Connection.” *Quaerendo* 47.3–4 (2017): 278–306.
- Frederici 2018: Marco Frederici. “¿Traducción o traición? Notas sobre el tránsito del *Decameron* a *Las Cien novelas* de Boccaccio.” *Studia Aurea* 12 (2018): 233–265.
- Freeman 2008: Arthur Freeman. “*Everyman* and Others, Part II: The Bandinel Fragments.” *The Library* s7 9.4 (2008): 397–427.
- Friedrich and Schwarke 2016: Michael Friedrich and Cosima Schwarke. “Introduction – Manuscripts as Evolving Entities.” *One-Volume Libraries: Composite and Multiple-Text Manuscripts*. Eds. Michael Friedrich and Cosima Schwarke. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2016. 1–26.
- Fuchs 2023: Irmgard Fuchs. *Konzepte von Ehre und Treue in der mittelalterlichen deutschen und niederländischen Tierepik: Vergleichende narratologisch-semantische Analysen: Reinhart Fuchs, Van den vos Reynaerde und Reynaerts historie*. Diss. Utrecht University, 2023. <https://dspace.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/425011> (12 February 2023).
- Gábor 2010: Csilla Gábor. “The Frame of the Story, the Story of the Frame: Hungarian Variants of *The Seven Sages of Rome*.” *Philobiblon* [Cluj-Napoca] 15 (2010): 176–193.
- Gábor 2016: Csilla Gábor. “*The Seven Sages* as Reading for Edification: Medieval Narratives of *The Seven Sages of Rome*.” *Philobiblon* [Cluj-Napoca] 21.2 (2016): 15–33.
- García Collado 1994: Marian García Collado. “Historia cultural de un libro popular: Las reescrituras de la *Historia de Pierres de Provença y la linda Magalona*.” *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares* 49.1 (1994): 179–197.
- Gaskell 1972: Philip Gaskell. *A New Introduction to Bibliography*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.

- Gatherole 1969: Patricia M. Gatherole. "The French Translators of Boccaccio." *Italica* 46 (1969): 300–309.
- Gebert 2019: Bent Gebert. *Wettkampfkulturen: Erzählformen der Pluralisierung in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*. Tübingen: Francke, 2019.
- Geeraedts 1985: Loek Geeraedts. "Eulenspiegel in den Niederlanden vor Charles de Coster." *Eulenspiegel-Jahrbuch* 25 (1985): 11–29.
- van Gemert 2009: Guillaume van Gemert. "Der niederländische Bestand in der Sulzbacher Hofbibliothek." *Morgen-Glantz* 19 (2009): 393–452.
- Genette 1989: Gérard Genette. *Paratexte: Das Buch vom Beiwerk des Buches*. Transl. Dieter Hornig, foreword Harald Weinrich. Frankfurt am Main and New York: Campus-Verlag, 1989.
- Genette 1997: Gérard Genette. *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*. Transl. Jane E. Lewin. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1997.
- Gerdes 1992: Udo Gerdes. "Sieben weise Meister (Zyklische Rahmenerzählung orientalischer Herkunft)." 2nd ed. VL 8 (1992): 1174–1189.
- Gerdes 2004: Udo Gerdes. "Gesta romanorum dt." 2nd ed. VL 3 (1981): 25–34; 2nd. ed. VL 11 (2004): 526.
- Gernert 2005: Folke Gernert. "Antonio Martínez de Salamanca, impresor, y Francisco Delicado, corrector: Libros españoles en la imprenta italiana a través de sus ilustraciones." *Nápoles-Roma 1504: Cultura y literatura española y portuguesa en Italia en el quinto centenario de la muerte de Isabel la Católica*. Eds. Javier Gómez-Montero and Folke Gernert. Salamanca: Seminario de Estudios Medievales y Renacentistas, 2005. 205–242.
- Gier 2021: Albert Gier. "Novelleske Stoffe: Griselda." *Mittelalterrezeption im Musiktheater: Ein stoffgeschichtliches Handbuch*. Eds. Christian Buhr, Michael Waltenberger, and Bernd Zegowitz. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2021. 438–450.
- Gillespie 1973: George T. Gillespie. *Catalogue of Persons Named in German Heroic Literature, 700–1600: Including Named Animals and Objects and Ethnic Names*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- Glauser 1990: Jürg Glauser. *Ausgrenzung und Disziplinierung: Studien zur volkssprachlichen Erzählliteratur Skandinaviens in der frühen Neuzeit*. Zürich: Universität Zürich, 1990.
- Glauser 1993: Jürg Glauser. "Eulenspiegels Sünden, Markolfs anderes Gesicht: Ausgrenzungs- und Disziplinierungsprozesse in der skandinavischen Populärliteratur." *Ethnologia Europea: Journal of European Ethnology* 23 (1993): 27–40.
- Glauser 2011. Jürg Glauser. *Island – eine Literaturgeschichte*. Stuttgart and Weimar: J.B. Metzler Verlag, 2011.
- Glauser 2016. *Skandinavische Literaturgeschichte*. Ed. Jürg Glauser. 2nd. ed. Stuttgart and Weimar: J.B. Metzler Verlag, 2016.
- Glück 2002: Helmut Glück. *Deutsch als Fremdsprache in Europa vom Mittelalter bis zur Barockzeit*. Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2002.
- Goedeke 1864: Karl Goedeke. "Liber de septem sapientibus." *Orient und Occident* 3 (1864): 385–423.
- Görres 1807: Joseph Görres. *Die teutschen Volksbücher: Nähere Würdigung der schönen Historien-, Wetter- und Arzneybüchlein, welche theils innerer Werth, theils Zufall, Jahrhunderte hindurch bis auf unsere Zeit erhalten hat*. Heidelberg: Mohr und Zimmer, 1807.
- Goldwyn and Nilsson 2018: *Reading the Late Byzantine Romance: A Handbook*. Eds. Adam J. Goldwyn and Ingela Nilsson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Gómez Redondo 2008: Fernando Gómez Redondo. "La literatura caballeresca castellana medieval: el *Amadís de Gaula* primitivo." *Amadís de Gaula 1508: Quinientos años de libros de caballerías*. Ed. José Manuel Lucía Megías. Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España and Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2008. 53–79.

- González 1998: Enrique González González. "Martinus Dorpius and Hadrianus Barlandus: Editors of *Aesop* (1509–1513)." *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 47 (1998): 28–41.
- Good 2012: Julian Russell Peter Good. *The Human Presence in Robert Henryson's "Fables" and William Caxton's "The History of Reynard the Fox"*. Diss. University of Glasgow, 2012. <https://theses.gla.ac.uk/3290/> (12 February 2023).
- Goossens 1983b: Jan Goossens. *Die Reynaert-Ikonographie*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983.
- Goossens 1988: Jan Goossens. *De gecastreerde neus: Taboes en hun verwerking in de geschiedenis van de Reinaert*. Leuven: Acco, 1988.
- Goossens 1998: Jan Goossens. "Der Verfasser des *Reynke de vos*: Ein Dichterprofil." *Jan Goossens: Reynke, Reynaert und das europäische Tierepos*. Eds. Horst Lademacher and Loek Geeraedts. Münster, New York, München and Berlin: Waxmann, 1998. 61–86.
- Gotzkowsky 1991: Bodo Gotzkowsky. 'Volksbücher': *Prosaromane, Renaissancenovellen, Versdichtungen und Schwankbücher: Bibliographie der deutschen Drucke: Teil I: Drucke des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*. Baden-Baden: Verlag Valentin Koerner, 1991.
- Gotzkowsky 1994: Bodo Gotzkowsky. 'Volksbücher': *Prosaromane, Renaissancenovellen, Versdichtungen und Schwankbücher: Bibliographie der deutschen Drucke: Teil II: Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts: Mit Ergänzungen zu Teil I*. Baden-Baden: Verlag Valentin Koerner, 1994.
- Gotzkowsky 2002: Bodo Gotzkowsky. *Die Buchholzschnitte Hans Brosamers zu den Frankfurter "Volksbuch"-Ausgaben und ihre Wiederverwendungen*. Baden-Baden: Verlag Valentin Koerner, 2002.
- Gotzkowsky 2013: Bodo Gotzkowsky. "Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Holzschnitte Hans Brosamers in den Frankfurter *Melusine*-Drucken des 16. Jahrhunderts." *Zeichensprachen des literarischen Buchs in der frühen Neuzeit: Die "Melusine" des Thüring von Ringoltingen*. Eds. Ursula Rautenberg, Hans-Jörg Künast, Mechthild Habermann, and Heidrun Stein-Kecks. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2013. 377–394.
- Graesse 1861: Johann Georg Theodor Graesse. *Trésor des livres rares et précieux ou Nouveau dictionnaire [...]*. Vol. 2. Dresden: Rudolf Kuntze, 1861.
- Graheli 2019: *Buying and Selling: The Business of Books in Early Modern Europe*. Ed. Shanti Graheli. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2019.
- Grenby 2008: Matthew Grenby. "Before Children's Literature: Children, Chapbooks and Popular Culture in Early Modern Britain." *Popular Children's Literature in Britain*. Eds. Julia Briggs, Dennis Butts, and Matthew Grenby. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008. 25–46.
- Griffin 1988: Clive Griffin. *The Crombergers of Seville: The History of a Printing and Merchant Dynasty*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.
- Griffin 1991: Clive Griffin. *Los Cromberger: La historia de una imprenta del siglo XVI en Sevilla y Méjico*. Madrid: Ediciones de Cultura Hispánica, 1991.
- Griffin 1993: Clive Griffin. "Brígida Maldonado, 'ynprimidora' sevillana, viuda de Juan Cromberger." *Archivo Hispalense* s2 76 (1993): 83–117.
- Griffin 1998: Clive Griffin. "El inventario del almacén de libros del impresor Juan Cromberger: Sevilla 1540." *El libro antiguo español IV: Coleccionismo y bibliotecas (siglos XV– XVIII)*. Ed. María Isabel Hernández González. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1998. 257–373.
- Griffin 2011: Clive Griffin. "Medina del Campo, Sevilla y el comercio del libro: Del nuevo mundo en el siglo XVI." *Libros y ferias: El primer comercio del libro impreso*. Ed. Antonio Sánchez del Barrio. Medina del Campo, VLL: Fundación Museo de las Ferias, 2011. 97–105.
- Grigely 1998: Joseph Grigely. *Textuality: Art, Theory, and Textual Criticism*. 4th ed. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1998.

- Grimm 1834: Jacob Grimm. *Reinhart Fuchs*. Berlin: Reimer, 1834.
- Groot 2008: Tineke Groot. "Libros de caballerías en los Países Bajos (Flandes y Holanda)." *Amadís de Gaula 1508: Quinientos años de libros de caballerías*. Ed. José Manuel Lucía Megías. Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España and Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2008. 356–359.
- Grzeszczuk 1997: Stanisław Grzeszczuk. "Wstęp [Introduction]." *Ezop*. By Biernat z Lublina. Ed. Janusz S. Gruchała. Kraków: Universitas, 1997. 5–61.
- Guillerm and Guillerm 2007: Jean-Pierre Guillerm and Luce Guillerm. "Vestiges d'Herberay des Essarts: Acuerdo olvido." *Studi Francesi* 151 (2007): 3–31.
- Gumbert 2004: Johan P. Gumbert. "Codicological Units: Towards a Terminology for the Stratigraphy of the Non-Homogeneous Codex." *Il codice miscellaneo: Tipologie e funzioni: Atti del convegno internazionale (Cassino, 14–17 maggio 2003)*. Eds. Edoardo Crisci and Oronzo Pecere. = *segno e testo* 2 (2004): 17–42.
- Gumbert 2010: Johan P. Gumbert. *Words for Codices: A Codicological Terminology in English: An Attempt*. 2010. www.cei.lmu.de/extern/VocCod/WOR10-1.pdf; www.cei.lmu.de/extern/VocCod/WOR10-2.pdf; www.cei.lmu.de/extern/VocCod/WOR10-3.pdf (14 April 2023).
- Gyöngyi 2009: Komlóssy Gyöngyi. "Griseldis története: a kiralyi nászajándék." *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 113 (2009): 651–665.
- Haldane 2006: Michael Haldane. "The Date of Thomas Combe's *Fortunatus* and Its Relation to Thomas Dekker's *Old Fortunatus*." *The Modern Language Review* 101 (2006): 313–324.
- Hale 1972: David G. Hale. "Aesop in Renaissance England." *The Library* s5 27.2 (1972): 116–125.
- Harf-Lancner 1984: Laurence Harf-Lancner. *Les fées au Moyen Âge: Morgane et Mélusine: La naissance des fées*. Paris: Champion, 1984.
- Harf-Lancner 1988: Laurence Harf-Lancner. "*Le Roman de Mélusine et Le Roman de Geoffroy a la Grand Dent*: Les Éditions imprimées de l'œuvre de Jean d'Arras." *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 50.2 (1988): 349–366.
- Harf-Lancner 1991: Laurence Harf-Lancner. "Littérature et politique: Jean de Berry, Léon de Lusignan et le *Roman de Mélusine*." *Histoire et littérature au moyen âge: Actes du colloque du Centre d'Études Médiévales de l'Université de Picardie (Amiens 20–24 mars 1985)*. Ed. Danielle Buschinger. Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1991. 161–71.
- Hartmann 2012: Volker Hartmann. "Beuther, Michael." *Verfasser-Datenbank: Autorinnen und Autoren der deutschsprachigen Literatur und des deutschsprachigen Raums: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2012. <https://www.degruyter.com/database/VDBO/entry/vdbo.v16.0037/html> (14 April 2023).
- von Hase 1964: Martin von Hase. "Die von Melchior Sachse in Erfurt 1532–1544 gedruckten Ausgaben des Volksbuches vom *Eulenspiegel*." *Eulenspiegel-Jahrbuch* 4 (1964): 15–19.
- Haug and Wachinger 1995: *Fortuna*. Eds. Walter Haug and Burghart Wachinger. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1995.
- Hellinga 1973a: Lotte Hellinga. "*Historia septem sapientum Romae*. [Gouda, Gheraert Leeu, vóór 3 juni 1480]." *De vijfhonderste verjaring van de boekdrukkunst in den Nederlanden: Tentoonstelling in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I: Catalogus*. Ed. Koninklijke Bibliotheek Brussel. Brussel: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, 1973. 295–296.
- Hellinga 1973b: Lotte Hellinga. "*Historia septem sapientum Romae*. [Gouda, Drukker van Teghen die strael der minnen, 1484–]." *De vijfhonderste verjaring van de boekdrukkunst in den Nederlanden: Tentoonstelling in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I: Catalogus*. Ed. Koninklijke Bibliotheek Brussel. Brussel: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, 1973. 431.

- Hellinga 2014: Lotte Hellinga. "From Poggio to Caxton: Early Translations of some of Poggio's Latin *Facetiae*." *Makers and Users of Medieval Books: Essays in Honour of A. S. G. Edwards*. Eds. Carol M. Meale and Derek Pearsall. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2014. 89–104.
- Hélot 1928: René Hélot. *La Bibliothèque bleue en Normandie*. Rouen: Albert Lainé, 1928.
- Henkel and Schöne 1996: *Emblemata: Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*. Eds. Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler Verlag, 1996.
- Hermans 2002: *Crosscultural Transgressions: Research Models in Translation Studies II: Historical and Ideological Issues*. Ed. Theo Hermans. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 2002.
- Hermansson 1914: Halldór Hermansson. *The Story of Griselda in Iceland*. Islandica VII. Ithaca, NYC: Cornell University Library, 1914.
- Hespers 2010: Simone Hespers. "Das Repräsentationssystem Bild im gedruckten Buch: Kunsthistorische Überlegungen zu Überlieferungssträngen und Rezeptionsästhetik der Illustrationen im *Melusineroman* Thürings von Ringoltingen (15. und 16. Jahrhundert)." *Daphnis* 39.1–2 (2010): 135–220.
- Hess 1994: Daniel Hess. *Meister um das 'mittelalterliche Hausbuch': Studien zur Hausbuchmeisterfrage*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1994.
- Hess 1977: Ursula Hess. *Heinrich Steinhöwels "Griseldis": Studien zur Text- und Überlieferungsgeschichte einer frühhumanistischen Prosanovelle*. München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1977.
- Hill-Zenk 2011: Anja Hill-Zenk. *Der englische Eulenspiegel: Die Eulenspiegel-Rezeption als Beispiel des englisch-kontinentalen Buchhandels im 16. Jahrhundert*. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2011.
- Hodnett 1973: Edward Hodnett. *English Woodcuts, 1480–1535*. Revised ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- Hodnett 1979: Edward Hodnett. *Aesop in England: The Transmission of Motifs in Seventeenth-Century Illustrations of Aesop's Fables*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for The Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1979.
- Hoffmann 2020: Alexandra Hoffmann. "Angry Men: On Emotions and Masculinities in Samarqand's *Sindbād-nāmeḥ*." *Narrative Culture* 7.2 (2020): 145–164.
- Hoffmann 2021: Alexandra Hoffmann. "Cats and Dogs, Manliness and Misogyny: On the *Sindbād-nāmeḥ* as World Literature." *Persian Literature as World Literature*. Eds. Mostafa Abedinifard, Omid Azadibougar, and Amirhossein Vafa. New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2021. 137–152.
- Holzberg 2003: Niklas Holzberg. "Staging the Fringe before Shakespeare." *The Ancient Novel and Beyond*. Eds. Stelios Panayotakis, Maaïke Zimmerman, and Wytze Keulen. = *Mnemosyne: Supplement* 241 (2003): 393–400.
- Hon 2016: Jan K. Hon. *Übersetzung und Poetik: Der deutsche Prosaroman im Spiegel tschechischer Übersetzungen der Frühen Neuzeit*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2016.
- Honegger 1973: Peter Honegger. *Uelenspiegel: Ein Beitrag zur Druckgeschichte und zur Verfasserfrage*. Neumünster: K. Wachholtz, 1973.
- Horstbøll 1999: Henrik Horstbøll. *Menigmands medie: Det folkelige bogtryk i Danmark 1500–1840*. København: Det Kongelige Bibliotek and Museum Tusulanums Forlag, 1999.
- Horstbøll 2012: Henrik Horstbøll. "In Octavo: die Formveränderung der 'Kleinen Historien' auf dem dänischen Buchmarkt vom 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert." *Text, Reihe, Transmission: Unfestigkeit als Phänomen skandinavischer Erzählprosa 1500–1800*. Eds. Jürg Glauser and Anna Katharina Richter. Tübingen and Basel: A. Francke Verlag, 2012. 5–27.
- Hucker 1976a: Bernd Ulrich Hucker. "Der neuentdeckte älteste Eulenspiegeldruck Straßburg 1510/11: Ein Beitrag zur Datierung und textlichen Bedeutung." *Niederdeutsches Wort* 16 (1976): 144–163.

- Hucker 1976b: Bernd Ulrich Hucker. "Eine neuentdeckte Erstausgabe des Eulenspiegels von 1510/11." *Philobiblon* [Hamburg] 20.2 (1976): 78–120.
- Hucker 1977: Bernd Ulrich Hucker. "Neue Eulenspiegelforschungen." *Eulenspiegel-Jahrbuch* 17 (1977): 3–29.
- Hucker 1983: Bernd Ulrich Hucker. "War Tile von Kneitlingen (1339–1351) der historische Till Eulenspiegel?" *Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch* 64 (1983): 7–24.
- Jaglarz 2004: Monika Jaglarz. *Księgarstwo krakowskie XVI wieku*. Kraków: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków, 2004.
- Jahn and Neudeck 2004: *Tierepik und Tierallegorese: Studien zur Poetologie und historischen Anthropologie vormoderner Literatur*. Eds. Bernhard Jahn and Otto Neudeck. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004.
- Jeffreys and Jeffreys 1971: Elizabeth Jeffreys and Michael Jeffreys. "Imberios and Margarona: The Manuscripts, Sources and Edition of a Byzantine Verse Romance." *Byzantion* 41 (1971): 122–160.
- Jungmann 1849: Josef Jungmann. *Historie literatury české: Aneb Saustawný přehled spisů českých s krátkau historií národu, oswícení a jazyka*. Praha: České museum, 1849.
- Jungmayr 1996: Jörg Jungmayr. "Bibliographie." *Fortunatus: Studienausgabe nach der Editio Princeps von 1509*. Ed. Hans-Gert Roloff. Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1996. 323–358.
- Kalff 1889: Gerrit Kalff. *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche letterkunde in de 16de eeuw*. Vol. 1. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1889.
- Kerényi 1956: Karl Kerényi. "The Trickster in Relation to Greek Mythology." Transl. R. F. C. Hull. By Paul Radin. *The Trickster: A Study in American Indian Mythology*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956. 173–191.
- Kiening 2022: Christian Kiening. *Fortunatus: Eine dichte Beschreibung*. With Contributions by Pia Selmayr. Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 2022.
- Kiliańczyk-Zięba 2013: Justyna Kiliańczyk-Zięba. "The Book Inventory of the Sixteenth-Century Kraków Bookbinder, Maciej Przywilcki." *Documenting the Early Modern Book World*. Eds. Malcolm Walsby and Natasha Constantinidou. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013. 261–282.
- Kiliańczyk-Zięba 2015: Justyna Kiliańczyk-Zięba. *Sygnety drukarskie w Rzeczypospolitej XVI wieku: Źródła ikonograficzne i treści ideowe*. Kraków: Societas Vistulana, 2015.
- Kindermann 1979: Udo Kindermann. "Ecbasis captivi." 2nd ed. VL 2 (1979): 315–321.
- Kirchner 1970: Gottfried Kirchner. *Fortuna in Dichtung und Emblematis des Barock: Tradition und Bedeutungswandel eines Motivs*. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler Verlag, 1970.
- Klebs 2018 [1899]: Elimar Klebs. *Die Erzählung von Apollonius von Tyrus: Eine geschichtliche Untersuchung über ihre lateinische Urform und ihre späteren Bearbeitungen*. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2018 [reprint of Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1899].
- Knappe 1984: Joachim Knappe. *Historie in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit: Begriffs- und gattungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen im interdisziplinären Kontext*. Baden-Baden: Verlag Valentin Koerner, 1984.
- Knappe 1986: Joachim Knappe. *Die ältesten deutschen Übersetzungen von Petrarca's "Glücksbuch": Texte und Untersuchungen*. Bamberg: H. Kaiser, 1986.
- Knapp 1997: Fritz-Peter Knapp. *Historie und Fiktion in der mittelalterlichen Gattungspoetik: Sieben Studien und ein Nachwort*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 1997.
- Koch 1961: Ursula Koch. *Holzschnitte der Ulmer Äsop-Ausgabe des Johann Zainer*. Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1961.
- Kok 2013: Ina Kok. *Woodcuts in Incunabula Printed in the Low Countries*. Houten: Hes & De Graaf, 2013.

- Kolár 1960: Jaroslav Kolár. *Česká zábavná próza 16. století a tzv. knížky lidového čtení*. Praha: Československá akademie věd, 1960.
- Kortekaas 2004: *The Story of Apollonius, King of Tyre: A Study of Its Greek Origin and an Edition of the Two Oldest Latin Recensions*. Ed. Georgius A. A. Kortekaas. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004.
- Kortekaas 2007: Georgius A. A. Kortekaas. *Commentary on the Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007.
- Kotšmídová 2021: Alena Kotšmídová. *Transferts culturels et jeux littéraires: De la version française médiévale de la "Belle Maguelonne" à la version tchèque*. Diss. Université Bourgogne Franche-Comté and Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, 2021. <https://tel.archives-ouvertes.fr/tel-03554684/document> (12 January 2022).
- Kreutzer 1977: Hans-Joachim Kreutzer. *Der Mythos vom Volksbuch: Studien zur Wirkungsgeschichte des frühen deutschen Romans seit der Romantik*. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1977.
- Krönung 2016: Bettina Krönung. "Fighting with Tales: 1 The Arabic Book of Sindbad the Philosopher." *Fictional Storytelling in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean and Beyond*. Eds. Caroline Cupane and Bettina Krönung. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016. 365–379.
- Krohn 1984: Rüdiger Krohn. "Närrische Gelehrsamkeit: Eulenspiegel und die Krise der Wissenschaft." *Eulenspiegel-Jahrbuch* 24 (1984): 11–32.
- Krueger 2000: *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*. Ed. Roberta Krueger. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Kruyskamp 1942: Cornelis H. A. Kruyskamp. *Nederlandsche volksboeken*. Leiden: Burgersdijk & Niermans, 1942.
- Krzak-Weiss 2006: Katarzyna Krzak-Weiss. *Polskie sygnety drukarskie od XV do połowy XVII wieku*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo "Poznańskie Studia Polonistyczne", 2006.
- Krzyżanowski 1924: Julian Krzyżanowski. *Klocek powieściowy z XVI wieku*. Kraków: s.n., 1924.
- Krzyżanowski 1924–1925: Julian Krzyżanowski. "Historia o Equanusie, krolu Skockim, nieznaną powieść Bartosza Paprockiego." *Pamiętnik Literacki* 21 (1924–1925): 247–285.
- Krzyżanowski 1962: Julian Krzyżanowski. *Romans polski wieku XVI*. Warszawa: PIW, 1962 [1st ed. 1934].
- Künast 1997: Hans-Jörg Künast. "Getruickt zu Augspurg": *Buchdruck und Buchhandel in Augsburg zwischen 1468 und 1555*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1997.
- Künast 2010: Hans-Jörg Künast. "'Gedruckt in diesem Jahr': Zur Überlieferung der *Historie von der schönen Melusine*." *Jahresbericht der Erlanger Buchwissenschaft* 1 (2010): 29–38.
- Künast 2011: Hans-Jörg Künast. "Augsburg's Role in the German Book Trade in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century." *The Book Triumphant. Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Eds. Malcolm Walsby and Graeme Kemp. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011. 320–333.
- Künast 2013: Hans-Jörg Künast. "'Auf ein Neues übersehen, mit reinem Deutsch verbessert und mit schönen Figuren gezieret': Beobachtungen zur Drucklegung der *Melusine* im 18. Jahrhundert." *Zeichensprachen des literarischen Buchs in der frühen Neuzeit: Die "Melusine" des Thüring von Ringoltingen*. Eds. Ursula Rautenberg, Hans-Jörg Künast, Mechthild Habermann, and Heidrun Stein-Kecks. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2013. 53–72.
- Kuiper 2018: Willem Kuiper. "Die schoone ende die suverlicke historie van Appollonius van Thyro als feuilleton voor niet-luie lezers." *Neerlandistiek: Online tijdschrift voor taal- en letterkunde* 28 June 2018. <https://neerlandistiek.nl/2018/06/die-schoone-ende-die-suverlicke-historie-van-appollonius-van-thyro-als-feuilleton-voor-niet-luie-lezers/> (6 September 2022).
- Kuper 1993: Michael Kuper. *Zur Semiotik der Inversion: Verkehrte Welt und Lachkultur im 16. Jahrhundert*. Berlin: VWB, 1993.
- Kuz'mina 1964: Vera Dmitrijevna Kuz'mina. *Rycarskij roman na Rusi*. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka", 1964.

- Labarre 1989: Albert Labarre. "Les incunables: la présentation du livre." *Histoire de l'édition française I: Le Livre conquérant*. Eds. Roger Chartier and Henri-Jean Martin. Paris: Fayard-Cercle de la Librairie, 1989. 228–255.
- Lacarra 2011: María Jesús Lacarra. "La fortuna del *Ysopete* en España." *Actas del XIII Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval*. Eds. José Manuel Fradejas Rueda, Déborah Dietrick Smithbauer, Demetrio Martín Sanz, and María Jesús Díez Garretas. Valladolid: Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval, 2011. 105–133.
- Lacarra 2015: María Jesús Lacarra. "La *Hystoria de los siete sabios de Roma* [Zaragoza: Juan Hurus, ca. 1488 y 1491]: Un incunable desconocido." *Estudios de literatura medieval en la Península Ibérica*. Ed. Carlos Alvar. San Millán de la Cogolla: Cilengua, 2015. 755–771.
- Lacarra and Aranda 2016: María Jesús Lacarra and Nuria Aranda. "Anónimo, *Los siete sabios de Roma*." *Comedic: Catálogo de obras medievales impresas en castellano hasta 1600*. Ed. Grupo Clarisel. Universidad Zaragoza, 2016. https://doi.org/10.26754/uz_comedic (12 January 2023).
- Lahn and Meister 2016: Silke Lahn and Jan Christoph Meister. *Einführung in die Erzähltextanalyse*. 3rd ed. Stuttgart: Metzler, 2016.
- Lambley 1920: Kathleen Lambley. *The Teaching and Cultivation of the French Language in England during Tudor and Stuart Times*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1920.
- Landwehr 1988: John Landwehr. *Emblem and Fable Books Printed in the Low Countries 1542–1813: A Bibliography*. 3rd ed. Utrecht: H&S Publishers, 1988.
- Lassithiotakis 2012: Michel Lassithiotakis. "Foi et reniement, vie régulière et séculière: une lecture du roman d'*Imbérios et Margarona*." *Les hommes et les Dieux dans l'ancien roman: Actes du colloque de Tours, 22–24 octobre 2009*. Eds. Cécile Bost-Pouderon and Bernard Pouderon. Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée Jean Pouilloux, 2012. 269–283.
- Layton 1994: Evro Layton. *The Sixteenth Century Greek Book in Italy*. Venice: Library of the Hellenic Institute, 1994.
- Lechner 1896: Karl Lechner. "Verzeichnis der in der Markgrafschaft Mähren im Jahre 1567 zum Druck und Verkauf erlaubten Bücher." *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 13 (1896): 158–170.
- Leclerc 1991: Marie-Dominique Leclerc. "Renaissance d'un thème littéraire aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles: La Patience de Grisélidis." *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France* 91 (1991): 147–176.
- Leclerc 2000: Marie-Dominique Leclerc. "À la recherche du livre perdu: identification de quelques bois gravés dans la Bibliothèque Bleue de Troyes." *La Bibliothèque Bleue et les littératures de colportage: Actes du colloque organisé par la Bibliothèque municipale à vocation régionale de Troyes en collaboration avec l'École nationale des chartes (Troyes, 12–13 novembre 1999)*. Eds. Thierry Delcourt and Élisabeth Parinet. Paris: École nationale des chartes; Troyes: La Maison du Boulanger, 2000. 109–129.
- Leclerc 2011: Marie-Dominique Leclerc. "L'histoire de Grisélidis en France: Les éditions anciennes." *Griselda: Metamorfosi di un mito nella società europea*. Eds. Rinaldo Comba and Marco Piccat. Cuneo: Società per gli studi storici, archeologici ed artistici della Provincia di Cuneo, 2011. 211–239.
- Leclerc 2019: Marie-Dominique Leclerc. "Pierre de Provence dans le papier bleu." *Histoire et civilisation du livre* 15 (2019): 297–317.
- Lefkowitz 2014: Jeremy B. Lefkowitz. "Aesop and Animal Fable." *The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life*. Ed. Gordon Lyndsay Campbell. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. 1–23.
- Le Goff and Le Roy Ladurie 1971: Jacques Le Goff and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie. "Mélusine maternelle et défricheuse." *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 26.3–4 (1971): 587–622.

- Leloux 1973: Hermanus Johannes Leloux. "Die Antwerpener mittelniederdeutsche Version der *Sieben weisen Meister*." *Niederdeutsches Wort* 13 (1973): 44–62.
- Lemcke 1908: Heinrich Lemcke. *Der hochdeutsche Eulenspiegel*. Diss. Freiburg. Bonn: C. Georgi, 1908.
- Le Men 1986: Segolène Le Men. "L'Image et la Bibliothèque bleue normande". *Dix-Huitième Siècle* 18 (1986): 98–116.
- Lenaghan 1968: Robert T. Lenaghan. "Steinhöwel's *Esopus* and Early Humanism." *Monatshefte* 60 (1968): 1–8.
- Lewis 1996: Jayne Elizabeth Lewis. *The English Fable: Aesop and Literary Culture, 1651–1740*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Liberna Foundation 1981: Liberna Foundation. *Catalogue of Books: Vol. 5: Popular Books*. Hilversum: Liberna Foundation, 1981.
- Lida de Malkiel 1953: María Rosa Lida de Malkiel. "El desenlace del *Amadís* primitivo." *Romance Philology* 6 (1953): 283–289.
- Lodén and Oby 2022: Floire et Blancheflor en Europe: Anthologie. Eds. Sofia Lodén and Vanessa Oby. Grenoble: Université Grenoble Alpes, 2022.
- López 1993: François López. "Antonio Sanz, Imprimeur du Roi et l'édition populaire sous l'Ancien Régime." *Bulletin hispanique* 95 (1993): 349–378.
- Lorenzini 2019–2020: Simona Lorenzini. "Petrarch and Boccaccio: The Rewriting of Griselda's Tale (Dec. 10.10): A Rhetorical Debate on Latin and Vernacular Languages." *Heliotropia* 16–17 (2019–2020): 205–227.
- Luborsky and Ingram 1998: Ruth Samson Luborsky and Elizabeth Morley Ingram. *A Guide to English Illustrated Books 1536–1603*. 2 vols. Tempe, AZ: Arizona State University, 1998.
- Lucía Megías 1999: José Manuel Lucía Megías. *Libros de caballerías castellanos en las Bibliotecas Públicas de París: Catálogo descriptivo*. Pisa: Università degli Studi di Pisa and Universidad de Alcalá, 1999.
- Lucía Megías 2000: José Manuel Lucía Megías. *Imprenta y libros de caballerías*. Madrid: Ollero & Ramos, 2000.
- Lucía Megías 2002: José Manuel Lucía Megías. "Libros de caballerías castellanos: Textos y contextos." *Edad de Oro* 21 (2002): 9–60.
- Lucía Megías 2008a: *Amadís de Gaula 1508: Quinientos años de libros de caballerías*. Ed. José Manuel Lucía Megías. Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España and Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2008.
- Lucía Megías 2008b: José Manuel Lucía Megías. "Edición de los fragmentos conservados del *Amadís de Gaula* medieval." *Amadís de Gaula 1508: Quinientos años de libros de caballerías*. Ed. José Manuel Lucía Megías. Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España and Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2008. 80–92.
- Lucía Megías 2009: José Manuel Lucía Megías. "Otro modo de leer los libros de caballerías: el ejemplo editorial de la ciudad de Sevilla." *Amadís y sus libros: 500 años*. Eds. Aurelio González and Ayayácatl Campos García Rojas. Mexico, D.F.: El Colegio de México, 2009. 13–53.
- Lundt 1995: Bea Lundt. "Der Herrscher als Mönch: Idealbilder männlicher Sozialisation im Wandel (am Beispiel des Dolopathos und des 'Volksbuches' von *Den sieben weisen Meistern*)." *Variationen der Liebe: Historische Psychologie der Geschlechterbeziehung*. Eds. Thomas Kornbichler and Wolfgang Maaz. Tübingen: Edition Diskord, 1995. 149–172.
- Lundt 2002: Bea Lundt. *Weiser und Weib: Weisheit und Geschlecht am Beispiel der Erzähltradition von den "Sieben weisen Meistern" (12. bis 15. Jahrhundert)*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2002.
- Lundt 2003: Bea Lundt. "Herrschaft, Weisheit, Männlichkeit: *Die sieben weisen Meister* im 15. Jahrhundert." *Geschichtsbilder: Festschrift für Michael Salewski zum 65. Geburtstag*. Eds. Thomas

- Stamm-Kuhlmann, Jürgen Elvert, Birgit Aschmann, and Jens Hohensee. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003. 511–524.
- Lundt 2006: Bea Lundt. “*Sieben weise Meister*.” *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* 12 (2006): 654–660.
- Lundt 2008: Bea Lundt. “Der Tod der bösen Frau: Eine misogyne narrative Konstruktion von Weiblichkeit?” *Wider die Frau: Zu Geschichte und Funktion misogynen Rede*. Eds. Andrea Geier and Ursula Kocher. Köln: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008. 231–256.
- Lundt 2020a: Bea Lundt. “Misogynes Mittelalter? Gewalt und Geschlecht in transkultureller Perspektive: Das Beispiel der *Sieben weisen Meister*.” *Gewalt, Krieg und Geschlecht im Mittelalter*. Ed. Amalie Föbel. Berlin and Wien: Peter Lang, 2020. 469–494.
- Lundt 2020b: Bea Lundt. “*The Seven Wise Masters* as a Resource for Studying Historical Diversity: Comparing Latin and Early German Version with Texts from the Eastern Tradition from a Postcolonial Perspective.” *Narrative Culture* 7.2 (2020): 124–144.
- Luzi 2018: Romina Luzi. “The Acculturation of the French Romance *Pierre de Provence et la belle Maguelonne* in the Byzantine *Imperios and Margarona*.” *Reading the Late Byzantine Romance: A Handbook*. Eds. Adam J. Goldwyn and Ingela Nilsson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018. 101–124.
- Łoziński 1890: Władysław Łoziński. “Leopolitana.” *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 4 (1890): 437–457.
- Maddicott 2022: John Maddicott. *Between Scholarship & Church Politics: The Lives of John Prideaux, 1578–1650*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022.
- Magnanini 2007: Suzanne Magnanini. “Postulated Routes from Naples to Paris: The Printer Antonio Bulifon and Giambattista Basile’s Fairy Tales in Seventeenth-Century France.” *Movels & Tales* 21 (2007): 78–92.
- Maillard and Griffin 2009: Natalia Maillard and Clive Griffin. “Doña Brígida Maldonado, la familia Cromberger, y la imprenta sevillana.” *Muses de la imprenta: La dona i les arts del llibre, segles XVI–XIX*. Eds. Marina Garone Gravier and Albert Corbeto López. Barcelona: Museu Diocesà de Barcelona and Associació de Bibliòfils de Barcelona, 2009. 99–128.
- Malm 2011: Mats Malm. *Voluptuous Language and Poetic Ambivalence: The Example of Swedish Baroque*. Frankfurt am Main etc.: Peter Lang, 2011.
- Malm 2017: Mike Malm. “Reynke de vos.” *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon Online*. Ed. Wolfgang Achtnitz. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2017. <https://www.degruyter.com/database/DLLO/entry/dllo.ma.757/html> (15 February 2023).
- Małek 2002: Eliza Małek. “*Histoire de Mélusine*” (1671): *Fortune d’un roman chevaleresque en Pologne et en Russie*. Transl. Krystyna Antkowiak. Paris: University of Paris-Sorbonne Press, 2002.
- Małek 2014: Eliza Małek. *Russkij perevod plutovskogo romana o Sovizžale i ego sud’ba v Rossii*. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2014.
- Mancing 2020: Howard Mancing. “The *Amadís* Phenomenon.” *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 40 (2020): 123–155.
- Mann 2005: Jill Mann. *From “Aesop” to “Reynard”: Beast Literature in Medieval Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Marceau 2019: Laurence Marceau. “Going West to Reach the East: A New World Source for an Episode in the Earliest Japanese Edition of Tales of *Isopo*.” *Japanese Studies around the World* s.n. (2019): 52–62.
- Marsá 2007: María Marsá. *Materiales para una historia de la imprenta en Valladolid (siglos XVI y XVII)*. León: Universidad de León, 2007.
- Marshall 2004: Rosalind K. Marshall. “Lady Margaret Douglas, countess of Lennox (1515–1578), noblewoman.” 2004. ODNB (6 February 2022).
- Martín Abad 2001: Julián Martín Abad. *Post-incunables ibéricos*. Madrid: Ollero & Ramos, 2001.

- Martín Lalanda 2002: Javier Martín Lalanda. "El ciclo de *Florisel de Niquea* [1532–1535–1551] de Feliciano de Silva." *Edad de Oro* 21 (2002): 153–176.
- Marzo Magno 2012: Alessandro Marzo Magno. *L'alba dei libri: Quando Venezia ha fatto leggere il mondo*. Milano: Garzanti, 2012.
- Marzolph 2023: Ulrich Marzolph. "The *Seven Sages* in Comparative Folk Literature." *Die "Sieben weisen Meister" als globale Erzähltradition*. Eds. Bettina Bildhauer, Jutta Eming, and Nora Schmidt. = *Das Mittelalter* 28.1 (2023): 189–204.
- Máté 2020: Ágnes Máté. "Az európai tizenkét legnépszerűbb szórakoztató olvasmány sorsa Magyarországon a XIX. század végéig." *Doromb: Közköltészeti tanulmányok* 8. Ed. István Rumen Csörsz. Budapest: Reciti, 2020. 167–192.
- Maulu 2019: Marco Maulu. "Les *Sept Sages de Rome* en diachronie: Observations sur le plus ancien incunable en langue française." *Rythmes d'évolution du français médiéval*. Vol. II: *Observations d'après quelques textes de savoir*. Eds. Yoan Boudes, Zinaida Geylikman, Pauline Lambert, and Adeline Sanchez. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2019. 147–200.
- McDonald 1994: William C. McDonald. "From Love we Flee: Concerning Georg Spalatin's Prologue to *Magelone* and the Rhetoric of Moral Instruction." *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 21 (1994): 167–191.
- McDonald Werronen, 2020: Sheryl McDonald Werronen. "Working Practices of Magnús Ketilsson: An Icelandic Scribe at the End of the Seventeenth Century." *Scandinavian Studies* 92.1 (2020): 39–61.
- McGann 1992: Jerome J. McGann. *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*. 2nd ed. Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1992.
- McLean and Barker 2016: *International Exchange in the Early Modern Book World*. Eds. Matthew McLean and Sara Barker. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016.
- Meale 1992: Carol M. Meale. "Caxton, de Worde, and the Publication of Romance in Late Medieval England." *The Library* s6 14.4 (1992): 283–298.
- Meier 2016: Jörg Meier. "Sprachenkontakte und Deutsch als Fremdsprache im Europa des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit." *Jahrbuch für Germanistische Sprachgeschichte* 7.1 (2016): 308–328.
- Mellot 1998: Jean-Dominique Mellot. *L'édition rouennaise et ses marchés (vers 1600–vers 1730): dynamisme provincial et centralisme parisien*. Paris: École nationale des chartes, 1998.
- Menke 1980: Hubertus Menke. "Populäre 'Gelehrtendichtung' im Dienste der reformatorischen Lehre: Zu Sinndeutung und Rezeption der Rostocker Überlieferung des *Reineke Fuchs*." *Reynaert – Reynard – Reynke: Studien zu einem mittelalterlichen Tierepos*. Eds. Jan Goossens and Timothy Sodmann. Köln and Wien: Böhlau 1980. 249–281.
- Menke 1992: Hubertus Menke. *Bibliotheca Reinardiana: Teil I: Die europäischen Drucke bis zum Jahre 1800*. Stuttgart: Dr. Ernst Hauswedell & Co. Verlag, 1992.
- Middell 2000: Matthias Middell. "Kulturtransfer und Historische Komparatistik: Thesen zu ihrem Verhältnis." *Comparativ* 10.1 (2000): 7–41.
- Millares Carlo 1956: Agustín Millares Carlo. "Nota paleográfica sobre el manuscrito de *Amadis*." *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* 36 (1956): 217–218.
- Mombello 1981: Gianni Mombello. *Le Raccolte francesi di favole esopiane dal 1480 alla fine del secolo XVI*. Paris and Genève: Slatkine, 1981.
- Montorsi 2020: Francesco Montorsi. "Le manuscrit français trouvé à Constantinople: *Dom Flores* ou comment défendre le roman de chevalerie à l'ombre de Jacques Amyot." *Stratégies d'élargissement du lectorat dans la fiction narrative: XV^e et XVI^e siècles*. Eds. Pascale Mounier and Hélène Rabaey. Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2020. 95–107.
- Moore 2020: Helen Moore. *"Amadis" in English: A Study in the Reading of Romance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020.

- Morabito 1988: Raffaele Morabito. "La diffusione della storia di Griselda dal XIV al XX secolo." *Studi sul Boccaccio* 17 (1988): 237–285.
- Morabito 1995: Raffaele Morabito. "The spreading of the story of Griselda." *Studien zur Stoff- und Motivingeschichte der Volkserzählung: Berichte und Referate des achten bis zehnten Symposions zur Volkserzählung: Brunnenburg/Südtirol 1991–1993*. Eds. Leander Petzoldt, Siegfried de Rachewitz, and Petra Streng. Frankfurt am Main etc.: Peter Lang, 1995. 321–331.
- Morin 1974: Alfred Morin. *Catalogue descriptif de la Bibliothèque bleue de Troyes (almanachs exclus)*. Genève: Droz, 1974.
- Mounier 2012: Pascale Mounier. "Pierre de Provence revisité: Un roman de chevalerie à succès à la Renaissance." *Accès aux textes médiévaux de la fin du Moyen Âge au XVIII^e siècle*. Eds. Michèle Guéret-Laferté and Claudine Poulouin. Paris: Champion, 2012. 173–195.
- Mounier 2015: Pascale Mounier. "Les antécédents lyonnais de la Bibliothèque bleue au XVI^e siècle: La constitution d'un romanesque pour le grand public." *Littératures* 72 (2015): 191–216. <http://journals.openedition.org/litteratures/394> (5 July 2022).
- Mounier and Thomine 2016: Pascale Mounier and Marie-Claire Thomine. "Lecteurs de romans, lecteurs de récits brefs: Quelques représentations chez les auteurs du XVI^e siècle." *Paroles dégelées: Propos de l'Atelier XVI^e siècle*. Eds. Isabelle Garnier, Vân Dung Le Flanchec, Véronique Montagne, Anne Réach-Ngô, Marie-Claire Thomine, Trung Tran, and Nora Viet. Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2016.
- Moya García s.a.: Cristina Moya García. "Rodríguez de Montalvo, Garci." s.a. DB-e, <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/13055/garci-rodriquez-de-montalvo> (26 February 2022).
- Muczkowski 1849: Józef Muczkowski. *Zbiór odcisków drzeworytów w różnych dziełach polskich w XVI i XVII wieku odbitych a teraz w Bibliotece Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego zachowanych*. Kraków: Drukarnia Uniwersytecka, 1849.
- Mühlherr 1993: Anna Mühlherr. "Melusine" und "Fortunatus": Verrätselner und verweigerter Sinn. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1993.
- Müller [H.J.] 1990: Hermann-Josef Müller. "Eulenspiegel bei den Juden: Zur Überlieferung der jiddischen Eulenspiegel-Fassungen." *Eulenspiegel-Jahrbuch* 30 (1990): 33–50.
- Müller 1985: Jan-Dirk Müller. "Volksbuch/Prosaroman im 15./16. Jahrhundert. Perspektiven der Forschung." *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur: 1: Sonderheft Forschungsreferate* 1 (1985): 1–128.
- Müller [J.D.] 1990: Jan-Dirk Müller. "Kommentar." *Romane des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts: Nach den Erstdrucken mit sämtlichen Holzschnitten*. Ed. Jan-Dirk Müller. Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1990. 987–1457.
- Müller 2003a: Jan-Dirk Müller. "Prosaroman." *Reallexikon der Deutschen Literaturwissenschaft*. Eds. Georg Braungart, Harald Fricke, Klaus Grubmüller, Jan-Dirk Müller, Friedrich Vollhardt, and Klaus Weimar. Vol. 3. Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2003. 174–177.
- Müller 2003b: Jan-Dirk Müller. "Volksbuch." *Reallexikon der Deutschen Literaturwissenschaft*. Eds. Georg Braungart, Harald Fricke, Klaus Grubmüller, Jan-Dirk Müller, Friedrich Vollhardt, and Klaus Weimar. Vol. 3. Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2003. 789–791.
- Müller 2004: Jan-Dirk Müller. "Arigo." 2nd ed. VL 11 (2004): 125–130.
- Muller 1985–1986: Jean Muller. *Bibliographie Strasbourgeoise: Bibliographie des ouvrages imprimés à Strasbourg (Bas-Rhin) au XVI^e siècle*. Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1985–1986.
- Munske 1970: Horst Haider Munske. "Die skandinavischen Reineke-Fuchs-Übersetzungen des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts." *Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung* 93 (1970): 36–53.

- Naaijkens 2010: *Event or Incident: On the Role of Translations in the Dynamics of Cultural Exchange = Événement ou Incident: Du rôle des traductions dans les processus d'échanges culturels*. Ed. Ton Naaijkens. Bern: Peter Lang, 2010.
- Nádvorníková 2004: Marie Nádvorníková. "Výrazné osobnosti olomouckého knihtisku 15. a 16. století." *Problematika historických a vzácných knižních fondů Čech, Moravy a Slezska* 13 (2004): 37–46. <https://vmdelta.vkol.cz/cs/aktivita/konference-a-odborna-setkani/13-rocnik-odborne-konference/clanek/vyrazne-osobnosti-olomouckeho-knihtisku-15-a-16-stoleti/> (14 January 2023).
- Navarro 1990: Carmen Navarro. "El incunable de 1482 y las ediciones del *Isopete* en España." *Quaderni di lingue e letteratura* 15 (1990): 157–164.
- Navarro 1993: Carmen Navarro. "Notas a la iconografía del *Isopete* Español." *Quaderni di lingue e letteratura* 18 (1993): 543–576.
- Neri 2013: Stefano Neri. "Censimento bibliografico del ciclo italiano di *Amadis de Gaula*." *Repertorio delle continuazioni italiane ai romanzi cavallereschi spagnoli: Ciclo di "Amadis di Gaula"*. Eds. Anna Bognolo, Giovanni Cara, and Stefano Neri. Roma: Italy Bulzoni Editore, 2013. 199–257.
- Neuber 2000: Wolfgang Neuber. "Ökonomie des Verstehens: Markt, Buch und Erkenntnis im technischen Medienwandel der Frühen Neuzeit." *Die Verschriftlichung der Welt: Bild, Text und Zahl in der Kultur des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*. Eds. Horst Wenzel, Wilfried Seipel, and Gotthart Wunberg. Wien: Skira, 2000. 181–211.
- Newcomb 2009: Lori Humphrey Newcomb. "What is a Chapbook?" *Literature and Popular Culture in Early Modern England*. Eds. Andrew Hadfield and Matthew Dimmock. London: Routledge, 2009. 57–71.
- Nieboer 1978: Etty Nieboer. "Le combat judiciaire dans la branche VI du *Roman de Renart*." *Marche romane* 28 (1978): 59–78.
- Nielsen 1919–1935: Lauritz Nielsen. *Dansk Bibliografi 1482–1600: Med særligt hensyn til dansk bogtrykkerkunsts historie*. 3 vols. København: Gyldendal, 1919–1935.
- Nielsen 1935: Lauritz Nielsen. *Registre til Dansk Bibliografi 1482–1550 & 1551–1600*. Vol. 3. København: Gyldendal, 1935.
- Nilsson 1949: Nils-Åke Nilsson. *Die Apollonius-Erzählung in den slavischen Literaturen*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1949.
- Nolan 1974: Robert Joseph Nolan. "The Origin of the Romance of Melusine: A New Interpretation." *Fabula* 15 (1974): 192–201.
- Nørgaard 2019: Nina Nørgaard. *Multimodal Stylistics of the Novel: More than Words*. London: Routledge, 2019.
- North 2009: *Kultureller Austausch: Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuezeitforschung*. Ed. Michael North. Köln: Böhlau, 2009.
- Norton 1978: Frederick John Norton. *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501–1520*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.
- Nyerup 1816: Rasmus Nyerup. *Almindelig Morskabslæsning i Danmark og Norge igjennem Aarhundrede*. København: Brødrene Thiele, 1816.
- Obermaier 2010: Sabine Obermaier. "Die zyklische Rahmenerzählung orientalischer Provenienz als Medium der Reflexion didaktischen Erzählens im deutschsprachigen Mittelalter." *Didaktisches Erzählen: Formen literarischer Belehrung in Orient und Okzident*. Ed. Regula Forster. Frankfurt am Main etc.: Peter Lang, 2010. 189–205.
- O'Connor 1970: John Joseph O'Connor. "*Amadis de Gaule*" and Its Influence on Elizabethan Literature. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1970.
- Oehme 2015: Annegret Oehme. "Spinoza in Love: Reflections, Affect, and Subjectivity in the Yiddish *Magelene* Adaptation." *Daphnis* 43.1 (2015): 54–72.

- Ötvös 2013: Péter Ötvös. "Ältere ungarische Literatur." *Geschichte der ungarischen Literatur: Eine historisch-poetologische Darstellung*. Ed. Ernö Kulcsár Szabó. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2013. 1–95.
- Oldenburg 1911: Friedrich Oldenburg. *Die Endter: Eine Nürnberger Buchhändlerfamilie (1590–1740)*. München and Berlin: R. Oldenburg Verlag, 1911.
- van Oostrom 2023: Frits van Oostrom. *De Reynaert: Leven met een middeleeuws meesterwerk*. Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2023. <https://uitgeverijprometheus.nl/boeken/reynaert-gebonden/> (7 March 2023).
- Ortiz-Salamovich 2020: Alejandra Ortiz-Salamovich. "Amadis de Gaule (V–VIII), 1598–1694." *Los libros de caballerías en Inglaterra, 1578–1700*. Ed. Jordi Sánchez-Martí. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2020. 163–177.
- Ott 2010: Michael Ralf Ott. *Die Erfindung des Paratextes: Überlegungen zur frühneuzeitlichen Textualität*. Frankfurt am Main: Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg, 2010. <http://publikationen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/frontdoor/index/index/docId/7858> (14 April 2023).
- Ott 1999: Norbert Ott. "Sieben weise Meister." *Lexikon des Mittelalters: Planudes bis Stadt (Rus')*. Vol. 7. Stuttgart and Weimar: Metzler, 1999. 1836–1839.
- Pairat 2006: Ana Pairat. "Medieval Bestsellers in the Age of Print: *Mélusine* and *Olivier de Castille*." *The Medieval Author in Medieval French Literature*. Ed. Virginie Greene. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006. 189–204.
- Pallmann 1881: Heinrich Pallmann. *Sigmund Feyerabend, sein Leben und seine geschäftlichen Verbindungen: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Frankfurter Buchhandels im sechzehnten Jahrhundert nach archivalischen Quellen*. Frankfurt am Main: K. Th. Völcker's Verlag, 1881.
- Panayotakis 2012: Stelios Panayotakis. *"The Story of Apollonius, King of Tyre": A Commentary*. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2012.
- Pardo García 2021: Pedro Javier Pardo García. "Apostillas a la recepción inglesa de los libros de caballerías hispánicas: Imitaciones, cronología comentada y dos notas." *Historias Fingidas* 9 (2021): 203–229.
- Parent 1974: Annie Parent. *Les métiers du livre à Paris au XVI^e siècle (1535–1560)*. Genève: Droz, 1974.
- Parguez 2002: Guy Parguez. "Barthélemy Buyer." *Dictionnaire encyclopédique du livre*. Eds. Pascal Fouché, Daniel Péchoin, and Philippe Schuwer. Vol. 1. Paris: Électre-Éditions du Cercle de la librairie, 2002. 497.
- Passano 1868: Giambattista Passano. *I novellieri italiani in verso*. Bologna: Gaetano Romagnoli, 1868.
- Passano 1878: Giambattista Passano. *I novellieri italiani in prosa*. Vol. I. 2nd ed. Torino: G.B. Paravia, 1878.
- Patrick 2014: Robey Clark Patrick. "Sendebær: A Literary Rebellion." *La corónica* 43.1 (2014): 39–68.
- Patterson 1991: Annabel Patterson. *Fables of Power: Aesopian Writing and Political History*. Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 1991.
- Paucker 1959: Arnold Paucker. "Yiddish Versions of Early German Prose Novels." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 10 (1959): 151–167.
- Paucker 1961: Arnold Paucker. "Das Volksbuch von den *Sieben weisen Meistern* in der jiddischen Literatur." *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 57 (1961): 177–194.
- Paulli 1916: Richard Paulli. "Nogle Førstedugaver af danske Folkebøger i svenske Biblioteker." *Nordisk Tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* 3 (1916): 200–206.
- Paulli 1935: Richard Paulli. "Bidrag til et Træsnits Historie: Petrarkameister og Hans Brosamer." *Nordisk Tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* 22 (1935): 79–91.
- Paulli 1936: Richard Paulli. "Illustrationerne i de danske folkebøger." *Danske Folkebøger fra det 16. og 17. Aarhundrede*. Ed. Richard Paulli. Vol. 13. København: Gyldendal, 1936. 295–364.

- Pavercsik 1979: Ilona Pavercsik. "A lőcsei Brewer-nyomda a XVII–XVIII. században: I. rész." *Az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Évkönyve* s.n. (1979): 353–408.
- Péporté 2017: Pit Péporté. "Melusine and Luxembourg: A Double Memory." *Melusine's Footprint: Tracing the Legacy of a Medieval Myth*. Eds. Misty Urban, Deva Kemmis, and Melissa Ridley Elmes. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017. 162–179.
- Peričić 1997: Denis Peričić. "Petrica Kerempuh i Till Eulenspiegel = Petrica Kerempuh und Till Eulenspiegel." Transl. Theo Tabaka. *Smotra: časopis hrvatsko-njemačkog društva = Rundschau: Zeitschrift der kroatisch-deutschen Gesellschaft* 3.5–6 (1997): 84–91.
- Perry 1936: Ben Edwin Perry. *Studies in the Text History of the Life and Fables of Aesop*. Lancaster, PA: American Philological Association, 1936.
- Peters 1991: Robert Peters. "Braunschweigisches und Lübisches in der Schreibsprache Hermann Botes." *Hermann Bote: Städtisch-hansischer Autor in Braunschweig: 1488–1988: Beiträge zum Braunschweiger Bote-Kolloquium 1988*. Eds. Herbert Blume and Eberhard Rohse. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991. 295–308.
- Peters 2017: Robert Peters. *Atlas spätmittelalterlicher Schreibsprachen des niederdeutschen Altlandes und angrenzender Gebiete (ASnA)*. Mitarbeit: Christian Fischer and Norbert Nagel. 3 vols. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2017.
- Pettegree 2007: Andrew Pettegree. *The French Book and the European Book World*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007.
- Philipowski 2010: Katharina Philipowski. "Prosaisches Begehren: Eurialus und Lucretia im Kontext des frühhumanistischen Frauen-, Ehe- und Affektdiskurses." *Eulenspiegel trifft Melusine: Der frühneuhochdeutsche Prozaroman im Licht neuer Forschungen und Methoden*. Eds. Catherine Drittenbass and André Schnyder. = *Chloe: Beihefte zum Daphnis* 42 (2010): 409–436.
- Pinet 2015: Simone Pinet. "The Chivalric Romance in the Sixteenth Century." *A History of the Spanish Novel*. Ed. Juan Antonio Garrido Ardila. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015. 79–95.
- Pinkerton 1865: William Pinkerton. "Purgatory of St. Patrick." *Notes and Queries* s3 8 (1865): 255–256.
- Pleij 1970–1971: Herman Pleij. "De bestudering van prozaromans na Debaenes standaardwerk (1951) en de Utrechtse catalogus van 1608." *Spektator* 1 (1970–1971): 28–42.
- Pleij 1974: Herman Pleij. "Is de laat-middeleeuwse literatuur in de volkstaal vulgair?" *Populaire Literatuur*. Ed. J. H. A. Fontijn. Amsterdam: Thespa, 1974. 34–106.
- Pleij 1990: Herman Pleij. *Nederlandse literatuur van de late middeleeuwen*. Utrecht: HES, 1990.
- Pleij 2004: Herman Pleij. "Over betekenis en belang van de leesinstructie in de gedrukte proza-Reynaert van 1479." Herman Pleij, Joris Reynaert et al. *Geschreven en gedrukt: Boekproductie van handschrift naar druk in de overgang van Middeleeuwen naar Moderne Tijd*. Gent: Academia Press, 2004. 207–232.
- Pleij 2007: Herman Pleij. *Het gevleugelde woord. Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur 1400–1560*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2007.
- Pleij 2008: Herman Pleij. "Voorwoord." By Charlie May. *Reinaert de vos ... gerapt*. Haarlem: Uitgeverij Holland, 2008. [5].
- Poffé 1895: Edward Poffé. *De gilde der Antwerpsche schoolmeesters van bij haar ontstaan tot aan hare afschaffing*. Antwerpen: H. & L. Kennes, 1895.
- Polenz 2000: Peter von Polenz. *Deutsche Sprachgeschichte: Vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Gegenwart: Band I: Einführung, Grundbegriffe: 14. bis 16. Jahrhundert*. 2nd ed. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2000.
- Prager 2004: Debra Prager. "Fortunatus: 'Auß dem künigreich Cipern': Mapping the world and the self." *Daphnis* 33.1–2 (2004): 123–160.

- Prud'Homme 2017: Caroline Prud'Homme. "Mermaid, Mother, Monster, and More: Portraits of the Fairy Woman in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century *Mélusine* Narratives." *Mélusine's Footprint: Tracing the Legacy of a Medieval Myth*. Eds. Misty Urban, Deva Kemmis, and Melissa Ridley Elmes. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017. 52–73.
- Pufelska and D'Aprile 2009: *Aufklärung und Kulturtransfer in Mittel- und Osteuropa*. Eds. Agnieszka Pufelska and Iwan Michelangelo D'Aprile. Berlin and Potsdam: Wehrhahn Verlag, 2009.
- Putter 2000: Ad Putter. "A Historical Introduction." *The Spirit of Medieval English Popular Romance*. Eds. Ad Putter and Jane Gilbert. Harlow: Pearson Education, 2000. 1–15.
- de Putter 2000: Jan de Putter. "Vrede en pays in *Van den vos Reynaerde*." *Millennium* 14 (2000): 86–103.
- Putzo 2018–2019: Christine Putzo. "Pierre und Maguelonne in Sachsen: Die Rezeption der *Belle Maguelonne* am kurfürstlichen Hof und Veit Warbecks deutsche Fassung (1527)." *Romania und Germania: Kulturelle und literarische Austauschprozesse in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. Eds. Bernd Bastert and Sieglinde Hartmann. = *Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein Gesellschaft* 22 (2018–2019): 224–250.
- Putzo 2020: Christine Putzo. "Ein heimliches Verlöbniß und die Folgen: Georg Spalatins Druckausgabe der *Schönen Magelone* (1535) im Kontext der kursächsischen Reformation." *Bücher und Identitäten: Literarische Reproduktionskulturen der Vormoderne: Überstorfer Colloquium 2016*. Eds. Nicole Eichenberger, Eckart Conrad Lutz, and Christine Putzo. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2020. 253–291.
- Rabboni 2002: Renzo Rabboni. "La tradizione a stampa dell *Apollonio di Tiro* del Pucci." *Vettori e percorsi tematici nel mediterraneo romanzo*. Eds. Fabrizio Beggiato and Sabina Marinett. Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2002. 217–255.
- Ramos 1994: Rafael Ramos. "Para la fecha del *Amadís de Gaula*: 'Esta sancta guerra que contra los infieles començada tienen'." *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* 74 (1994): 503–521.
- Ramos 2002: Rafael Ramos. "Problemas de la edición zaragozana del *Amadís de Gaula* (1508)." *Libros de caballerías (de "Amadís" al "Quijote"): Poética, lectura, representación e identidad*. Eds. Eva Belén Carro Carbajal, Laura Puerto Moro, and María Sánchez Pérez. Salamanca: Seminario de Estudios Medievales y Renacentistas, 2002. 319–342.
- Ramos 2015: Rafael Ramos. "*Amadís de Gaula*." *The Arthur of the Iberians: The Arthurian Legend in the Spanish and Portuguese Worlds*. Ed. David Hook. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2015. 364–381.
- Rau 1956: Arthur Rau. "La première édition lyonnaise de *Mélusine*." *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 18.3 (1956): 429–431.
- Rautenberg 2004: Ursula Rautenberg. "Das Titelblatt: Die Entstehung eines typographischen Dispositivs im frühen Buchdruck." *Alles Buch: Studien zur Erlanger Buchwissenschaft X*. Eds. Ursula Rautenberg and Volker Titel. Erlangen-Nürnberg: Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, 2004. 6–33.
- Rautenberg 2008: Ursula Rautenberg. "Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Buchtitelblatts in der Inkunabelzeit in Deutschland, den Niederlanden und Venedig: Quantitative und qualitative Studien." *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 62 (2008): 1–105.
- Rautenberg 2015: Ursula Rautenberg. "New Books for a New Reading Public: Frankfurt *Mélusine* Editions from the Press of Gülfferich, Han and Heirs." Transl. Jonathan Green. *Specialist Markets in the Early Modern Book World*. Eds. Richard Kirwan and Sophie Mullins. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015. 85–109.
- Rautenberg et al. 2013: *Zeichensprachen des literarischen Buchs in der frühen Neuzeit: Die "Melusine" des Thüring von Ringoltingen*. Eds. Ursula Rautenberg, Hans-Jörg Künast, Mechthild Habermann, and Heidrun Stein-Kecks. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2013.

- Rawles 1981: Stephen Rawles. "The Earliest Editions of Nicolas de Herberay's Translations of *Amadis de Gaule*." *The Library* s6 3.2 (1981): 91–108.
- Rawles 2018: Stephen Rawles. *Denis Janot (fl. 1529–1544), Parisian Printer and Bookseller: A Bibliography*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2018.
- Renouard 1982: Philippe Renouard. *Imprimeurs & libraires parisiens du XVI^e siècle: Fascicule Breyer*. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1982.
- Resoort 1988: Rob Resoort. *Een schoone historie vander borchgravinne van Vergi: Onderzoek naar de intentie en gebruikssfeer van een zestiende-eeuwse prozaroman*. Hilversum: Verloren, 1988.
- Reyes Gómez 2000: Fermín de los Reyes Gómez. *El libro en España y América: Legislación y censura (siglos XV–XVIII)*. 2 vols. Madrid: Arco Libros, 2000.
- Richter 2009: Anna Katharina Richter. *Transmissionsgeschichten: Untersuchungen zur dänischen und schwedischen Erzählprosa in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2009.
- Richter 2013: Anna Katharina Richter. "Melusinas Verwandlungen: Historienbücher als Vorläufer des Romans in Schweden." *Die europäische Banise: Rezeption und Übersetzung eines barocken Bestsellers*. Eds. Dieter Martin and Karin Vorderstemann. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2013. 227–239.
- Richter 2018–2019: Anna Katharina Richter. "Zur Überlieferung der Historie von *Flores oc Blantzeflor* in Dänemark zwischen Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit." *Tijdschrift voor Skandinavistiek* 36.1 (2018–2019): 38–53.
- Richter 2021: Anna Katharina Richter. "The Danish Translation of *Amadis de Gaula* in the Thott Collection in the Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen." *The Meaning of Media: Texts and Materiality in Medieval Scandinavia*. Eds. Anna Catharina Horn and Karl G. Johansson. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2021. 157–171.
- Richter and Glauser 2013: Anna Katharina Richter and Jürg Glauser. "Aus der deutschen Sprache ins Schwedische transferiert: Zur skandinavischen *Eulenspiegel*-Tradierung und ihren textuellen Veränderungen im 19. Jahrhundert." *Till Eulenspiegel: Traduire l'original: Zurück zum Original*. Ed. Alexander Schwarz. Université de Lausanne: Centre de Traduction Littéraire, 2013. 191–209.
- Richter and Glauser 2018: Anna Katharina Richter and Jürg Glauser. "A Neglected Manuscript: A Danish Version of *Amadis de Gaula*." *Danske Studier* (2018): 30–38.
- Ridderstad 2005: Per S. Ridderstad. "Manuscripts and Bookprinting from the Mid-16th Century to 1800." *The Nordic Languages: An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages*. Vol. 2. Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2005. 1244–1252.
- Rimmon-Kenan 1993: Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan. *Narrative Fiction: Contemporary Poetics*. London and New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Ritter 1966: François Ritter. "Grüniger, Johann." *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 7 (1966): 201. <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118698451.html#ndbcontent> (22 August 2022).
- Rivera 1997: Isidro Rivera. "The *Historia de la linda Melosina* and the Construction of Romance in Late Medieval Castile." *Modern Language Notes* 112.2 (1997): 131–146.
- Roblin 1985: Sylvie Roblin. "Le sanglier et la serpente: Geoffroy à la grand dent dans l'histoire des Lusignan." *Métamorphose et bestiaire fantastique au Moyen Âge*. Ed. Laurence Harf-Lancner. Paris: École Normale Supérieure des jeunes filles, 1985. 247–285.
- Rodríguez-Moñino 1956: Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino. "El primer manuscrito del *Amadis de Gaula*: (Noticia bibliográfica)." *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* 36 (1956): 199–216.
- Röcke 1991: Werner Röcke. "Schwanksammlung und Schwankroman." *Deutsche Literatur: Eine Sozialgeschichte*. Ed. Horst A. Glaser. Vol. 2: *Von der Handschrift zum Buchdruck: Spätmittelalter, Reformation, Humanismus*. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1991. 180–195.

- Rohr 2006–2007: W. Günther Rohr. “Herman Weigeres dänische Bearbeitung des Rostocker *Reynke de vos* in der europäischen Tierepik-Tradition.” *Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein Gesellschaft* 16 (2006–2007): 263–278.
- Romero Tabares 2002: Isabel Romero Tabares. “*Don Silves de la Selva* [1546] de Pedro de Luján y la lectura humanística.” *Edad de Oro* 21 (2002): 177–203.
- Romero Tobar 1987: Leonardo Romero Tobar. “Ediciones en castellano de la Melusina de Jean d’Arras.” *Homenaje a Justo García Morales: Miscelánea de estudios con motivo de su jubilación*. Madrid: ANABAD, 1987. 1005–1020.
- Roses 1903: Max Roses. “De Plantijnsche uitgaven van *Emblemata Joannis Sambuci*.” *Tijdschrift voor Boek- en Bibliotheekwezen* 1 (1903): 3–16.
- Rospoche et al. 2019: *Crossing Borders, Crossing Cultures: Popular Print in Europe (1450–1900)*. Eds. Massimo Rospoche, Jeroen Salman, and Hannu Salmi. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2019.
- Rossi 1978: Guisepppe Carlo Rossi. “Il Boccaccio nelle letterature in portoghese.” *Il Boccaccio nelle culture e letterature nazionali*. Ed. Francesco Mazzoni. Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1978. 223–237.
- Roth 2003a: Detlef Roth. “Die *Historia septem sapientum* als geistlicher Erbauungstext.” *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch* 38 (2003): 357–378.
- Roth 2003b: Detlef Roth. “Narrative Exempelkritik? Zu Ralf-Henning Steinmetz, Exempel und Auslegung.” *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 125.1 (2003): 82–93.
- Roth 2007: Detlef Roth. “Negativexempel oder Sinnverweigerung? Zu neueren Deutungsversuchen des *Fortunatus*-Romans.” *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 136.2 (2007): 203–230.
- Rózsa 1978: Zoltán Rózsa. “La presenza del Boccaccio nella vita letteraria ungherese.” *Il Boccaccio nelle culture e letterature nazionali*. Ed. Francesco Mazzoni. Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1978. 427–435.
- Rubini 2003: Luisa Rubini. “*Fortunatus* in Italy: A History between Translations, Chapbooks and Fairy Tales.” *Fabula* 44 (2003): 25–54.
- Rudnicka 1964: Jadwiga Rudnicka. *Bibliografia powieści polskiej 1601–1800*. Wrocław etc.: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1964.
- Rüegg 2019: Madeline Rüegg. *The Patient Griselda Myth: Looking at Late Medieval and Early Modern European Literature*. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2019.
- Ruelens 1872: Charles Ruelens. “La bibliothèque bleue en Belgique.” *Le bibliophile belge* 7 (1872): 39–69.
- Ruiz Fidalgo 1994: Lorenzo Ruiz Fidalgo. *La imprenta en Salamanca (1501–1600)*. 3 vols. Madrid: Arco Libros, 1994.
- Runte 1989: Hans R. Runte. “From the vernacular to Latin and back: The case of *The Seven Sages of Rome*.” *Medieval Translators and Their Craft*. Ed. Jeanette Beer. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1989. 93–133.
- Runte 2014: Hans R. Runte. *Portal, Society of the Seven Sages*. 2014. <http://dalspace.library.dal.ca/handle/10222/49107> (12 January 2023).
- Runte et al. 1984: Hans R. Runte, J. Keith Wikeley, and Anthony J. Farrell. *The Seven sages of Rome and the Book of Sindbad: An Analytical Bibliography*. New York and London: Garland, 1984.
- Růžičková 1999: Jana Růžičková. “Zum ältesten erhaltenen tschechischen Eulenspiegel-Fragment.” *Rostocker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft* 7 (1999): 227–235.
- Růžičková 2001: Jana Růžičková. “Zur frühesten Rezeption des *Eulenspiegel* in den böhmischen Ländern.” *Textallianzen am Schnittpunkt der germanistischen Disziplinen*. Eds. Alexander Schwarz and Laure Abplanalp Luscher. Bern: Peter Lang, 2001. 441–449.

- Růžičková 2004: Jana Růžičková. "Hic fuit: Ein Beispiel der Rezeption deutscher Unterhaltungsprosa des 16. Jahrhunderts in Böhmen und Mähren." *Deutsch-böhmische Literaturbeziehungen: Germano-Bohemica: Festschrift für Václav Bok zum 65. Geburtstag*. Eds. Hans-Joachim Behr, Igor Lisový, and Werner Williams-Krapp. Hamburg: Dr. Kovač, 2004. 206–216.
- Sáenz Carbonell 2011: Jorge Francisco Sáenz Carbonell. "Entre la traducción y el plagio: El segundo Lisuarte de Grecia y Don Flores de Grecia." *Lemir* 15 (2011): 207–216.
- Sales Dasí 2002: Emilio José Sales Dasí. "Las continuaciones heterodoxas (el *Florisando* [1510] de Páez de Ribera y el *Lisuarte de Grecia* [1526] de Juan Díaz) y ortodoxas (el *Lisuarte de Grecia* [1514] y el *Amadís de Grecia* [1530] de Feliciano de Silva) del *Amadís de Gaula*." *Edad de Oro* 21 (2002): 117–152.
- Sánchez-Martí 2009: Jordi Sánchez-Martí. "The Printed History of the Middle English Verse Romances." *Modern Philology* 107.1 (2009): 1–31.
- Sánchez-Martí 2021: Jordi Sánchez-Martí. "The Publication of Chivalric Romances in England, 1570–1603." *Iberian Chivalric Romance: Translations and Cultural Transmission in Early Modern England*. Ed. Leticia Álvarez-Recio. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2021. 21–47.
- Sauer 1956: Manfred Sauer. *Die deutschen Inkunabeln, ihre historischen Merkmale und ihr Publikum*. Düsseldorf: Tritsch, 1956.
- Saunders 2000: Alison Saunders. *The Seventeenth-Century French Emblem: A Study in Diversity*. Genève: Droz, 2000.
- Schaffert 2015: Henrike Schaffert. *Der Amadisroman: Serielles Erzählen in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2015.
- Scheibel 2020: Nina Scheibel. *Ambivalentes Erzählen – Ambivalenz erzählen: Studien zur Poetik des frühneuhochdeutschen Prosaromans*. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter 2020.
- Schenda 1971: Rudolf Schenda. "Tausend deutsche populäre Drucke aus dem neunzehnten Jahrhundert." *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 11 (1971): 1465–1652.
- Schilling 2021: Michael Schilling. *Sprechen und Erzählen in deutscher und lateinischer Tierdichtung vom 11. bis 17. Jahrhundert*. Stuttgart: S. Hirzel Verlag, 2021.
- Schlauch 1953: Margaret Schlauch. "Griselda in Iceland: A Supplement." *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies* 28.2 (1953): 363–370.
- Schlusemann 1989: Rita Schlusemann. "Die Vorgeschichte des Reineke Fuchs in der spätmittelalterlichen Reynaert-Überlieferung." *Reineke Fuchs: Ein europäisches Epos: Eine Ausstellung des Goethe-Museums Düsseldorf: Anton-und-Katharina-Kippenberg-Stiftung: Arbeitsstelle Reineke Fuchs: Vom 29. Januar bis 12. März 1989*. Ed. Jörn Göres. Düsseldorf: Arbeitsstelle Reineke Fuchs, 1989. 12–17.
- Schlusemann 1991: Rita Schlusemann. "Die hystorie van reynaert die vos" und "The history of reynard the fox": Die spätmittelalterlichen Prosabearbeitungen des Reynaert-Stoffes. Frankfurt am Main and Bern: Peter Lang, 1991.
- Schlusemann 1999: Rita Schlusemann. "Die Kapiteleinteilung und die Überschriften in der niederländischen Vorlage des *Reynke de vos* (1498)." *Beiträge zu Sprache und Literatur in den 'nideren landen': Gedenkschrift für Hartmut Beckers*. Eds. Volker Honemann, Helmut Tervooren, Carsten Albers, and Susanne Höfer. Köln: Böhlau, 1999. 247–271.
- Schlusemann 2004: Rita Schlusemann. "Melusina – niederdeutsch." *westfeles vnde sassesch: Festgabe für Robert Peters zum 60. Geburtstag*. Eds. Ulrich Weber and Norbert Nagel. Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2004. 293–310.
- Schlusemann 2011: Rita Schlusemann. "'Scone tael': Zur Wirkmacht der Rede männlicher und weiblicher Figuren in der niederländischen und deutschen Reynaert-Epik." *Redeszenen in der*

- mittelalterlichen Großepik: Komparatistische Perspektiven*. Eds. Monika Unzeitig, Nine Miedema, and Franz Hundsnurscher. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2011. 293–310.
- Schlusemann 2014: Rita Schlusemann. “Was kostete Reynaert schöne Sprache? *Van den vos Reynaerde*.” *Grundkurs: Literatur aus Flandern und den Niederlanden. 12 Texte – 12 Zugänge*. Eds. Johanna Bundschuh-van Duikeren, Lut Missinne, and Jan Konst. 2 vols. Münster: LIT, 2014. Vol. 1, 21–44; vol. 2, 32–63.
- Schlusemann 2018–2019: Rita Schlusemann. “Ein Drucker ohne Grenzen: Gheraert Leeu als erster ‘europäischer’ Literaturagent.” *Romania und Germania: Kulturelle und literarische Austauschprozesse in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. Eds. Bernd Bastert and Sieglinde Hartmann. = *Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein Gesellschaft* 22 (2018–2019): 337–359.
- Schlusemann 2019a: Rita Schlusemann. “Printed Popular Narratives until 1600: Authorship and Adaptation in the Dutch and English *Griseldis*.” *Journal of Dutch Literature* 10 (2019): 1–23.
- Schlusemann 2019b: Rita Schlusemann. “A Canon of Printed Popular Narratives in Six European Languages Between 1471 and 1900: The *Griseldis*-Tradition in German and Dutch.” *Crossing Borders, Crossing Cultures: Popular Print in Europe (1450–1900)*. Eds. Massimo Rospoche, Jeroen Salman, and Hannu Salmi. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2019. 265–285.
- Schlusemann 2019c: Rita Schlusemann. “Cooperation and Inspiration of Printer Publishers in Antwerp in the Age of Media Change.” *Скандинавская филология [Scandinavian Philology]* 17 (2019): 381–396.
- Schlusemann 2023a. “*Dat si ouer minen soen gheen macht en hebbe*: Gattung und multimodale Semiotik am Beispiel der niederländischen Tradition der *Seven wijse mannen van Rome*.” *Die “Sieben weisen Meister” als globale Erzähltradition*. Eds. Bettina Bildhauer, Jutta Eming, and Nora Schmidt. = *Das Mittelalter* 28.1 (2023): 118–136.
- Schlusemann 2023b: Rita Schlusemann. “Exempel van het menselijk leven: *Van Reynaert die vos een seer goeochlijcke ende vermakelijcke Historie met haer moralisatien ende korte wtlegginghen voor die capittelen gestelt van nieus oversien ende verbeteret. Met schoone figueren gheciert* (Delft: Bruyn Harmansz. Schinckel, 1589), 8°. Thysia 1042:2. Reynaert.” *Tot publicque dienst der studie: Boeken uit de Bibliotheca Thysiana*. Eds. Wim van Anrooij and Paul Hoftijzer. Leiden: Verloren, 2023. 96–97.
- Schlusemann and Wierzbicka-Trwoga 2021: Rita Schlusemann and Krystyna Wierzbicka-Trwoga. “Narrative Fiction in Early Modern Europe: A Comparative Study of Genre-Classifications.” *Quaerendo* 51.1–2 (2021): 160–188.
- Schmale 2003: *Kulturtransfer: Kulturelle Praxis im 16. Jahrhundert*. Ed. Wolfgang Schmale. Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 2003.
- Schmidt 1992: Imke Schmidt. “Die Eulenspiegel-Drucke der Offizin Gülfferich-Han.” *Eulenspiegel-Jahrbuch* 32 (1992): 33–51.
- Schmidt 1996: Imke Schmidt. *Die Bücher aus der Frankfurter Offizin Gülfferich – Han – Weigand Han-Erben: Eine literarhistorische und buchgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum Buchdruck in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1996.
- Schmitz 1995: Heinz-Günter Schmitz. “Der wiedererstandene Eulenspiegel: Zur Druck- und Textgeschichte des Eulenspiegelbuchs.” *Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung* 118 (1995): 57–98.
- Schnyder 2010: André Schnyder. “Historische Wunder-Beschreibung von der sogenannten schönen *Melusine*: Zu einer neu entdeckten Version des Melusine-Romans.” *Eulenspiegel trifft Melusine: Der frühneuhochdeutsche Prosaroman im Licht neuer Forschungen und Methoden*. Eds. Catherine Drittenbass and André Schnyder. = *Chloe: Beihefte zum Daphnis* 42 (2010): 383–407.
- Schorbach 1905: Karl Schorbach. “Eine Buchanzeige des Antwerpener Druckers Geraert Leeu in niederländischer Sprache (1491).” *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde* 9 (1905): 139–148.

- Schoysman and Colombo Timelli 2016: *Le Roman français dans les premiers imprimés*. Eds. Anne Schoysman and Maria Colombo Timelli. Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2016.
- Schulz-Grobert 1999: Jürgen Schulz-Grobert. *Das Straßburger Eulenspiegelbuch: Studien zu entstehungsgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen der ältesten Drucküberlieferung*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1999.
- Seelow 1989: Hubert Seelow. *Die isländischen Übersetzungen der deutschen Volksbücher*. Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, 1989.
- Seelow 2004: Hubert Seelow. "Till Eulenspiegel in Island." *Verschränkung der Kulturen: Der Sprach- und Literaturtausch zwischen Skandinavien und den deutschsprachigen Ländern: Zum 65. Geburtstag von Hans-Peter Naumann*. Eds. Oskar Bandle, Jürg Glauser, and Stefanie Würth. Tübingen and Basel: Francke, 2004. 269–276.
- van Selm 2001: Bert van Selm. *De "Amadis van Gaule"-romans: Productie, verspreiding en receptie van een bestseller in de vroegmoderne tijd in de Nederlanden*. Ed. Berry Dongelmans, with collaboration of Sylvia van Zanen and Elizabet Zeeman. Leiden: Stichting Neerlandistiek Leiden, 2001.
- Serroy 1981: Jean Serroy. *Roman et réalité: Les histoires comiques au XVII^e siècle*. Paris: Minard, 1981.
- Severino 2005: Isa Margarida Vitória Severino. *A "Escola Nova Cristã e Política" de Francisco Luís Ameno – edição e estudo de aspectos linguísticos e pedagógico-didáticos*. Diss. University of Aveiro, 2005. <https://ria.ua.pt/handle/10773/5830> (17 March 2023).
- Sheppard et al. 1962: Leslie Alfred Sheppard, with D. E. Rhodes, V. Scholderer, and L. G. Clark, revised by G. D. Painter. *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century now in the British Museum: Part IX, Holland, and Belgium*. 2 vols. London: The British Museum, 1962.
- Singer 1974 [1895]: Samuel Singer. *Appolonius von Tyrus: Untersuchungen über das Fortleben des antiken Romans in spätern Zeiten*. Hildesheim etc.: Olms, 1974 [reprint of Halle: Niemeyer, 1895].
- Singer-Brehm 2020: Elisabeth Singer-Brehm. "Neues zur *Historie von der Schönen Melusina*." *Genisa-Blätter III*. Eds. Rebekka Denz and Gabi Rudolf. Potsdam: Universitätsverlag Potsdam, 2020. 13–28.
- Skow-Obenaus 1994: Katya Skow-Obenaus. "Seeing is Believing: Deception as a Narrative Tactic in *Die sieben weisen Meister*." *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 21 (1994): 303–322.
- Smith 2006: Paul J. Smith. *Het schouwtoneel der dieren: Embleemfabels in de Nederlanden (1567–ca. 1670)*. Hilversum: Verloren, 2006.
- Speth 2017: Sebastian Speth. *Dimensionen narrativer Sinnstiftung im frühneuhochdeutschen Prosaroman: Textgeschichtliche Interpretation von "Fortunatus" und "Herzog Ernst"*. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2017.
- Speth 2020: Sebastian Speth. "Reframing: Mitüberlieferung als 'anderserzählende' literarische Rahmung." *Text und Textur: WeiterDichten und AndersErzählen im Mittelalter*. Eds. Birgit Zacke, Peter Glasner, Susanne Flecken-Büttner, and Satu Heiland. = *Beiträge zur mediävistischen Erzählforschung* 5 (2020): 115–142. <https://ojs.uni-oldenburg.de/ojs/index.php/bme/article/download/123/119/533> (14 April 2023).
- Spica 2002–2003: Anne-Elisabeth Spica. "Jean Baudoin et la fable." *Dix-Septième Siècle* 216 (2002–2003): 417–431.
- Springer 2011: Carl P. E. Springer. *Luther's "Aesop"*. Philadelphia: Penn State University Press, 2011.
- Spufford 1989: Margaret Spufford. *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and Its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Steinmetz 2000: Ralf-Henning Steinmetz. *Exempel und Auslegung: Studien zu den "Sieben weisen Meistern"*. Freiburg i. Üe: Universitätsverlag, 2000.

- Stockhorst 2010: *Cultural Transfer through Translation: The Circulation of Enlightened Thought in Europe by Means of Translation*. Ed. Stefanie Stockhorst. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2010.
- Stotz 2013: Peter Stotz. "Der Schalk aus Braunschweig in die Toga gehüllt: Zu den Eulenspiegel-Dichtungen des Johannes Nemius (1558) und des Aegidius Periander (1567)." *Till Eulenspiegel: Traduire l'original: Zurück zum Original*. Ed. Alexander Schwarz. Université de Lausanne: Centre de Traduction Littéraire, 2013. 91–157.
- Stouff 1930: Louis Stouff. *Essai sur "Mélusine", roman du XIV^e siècle, par Jean d'Arras*. Paris: Publications de l'université de Dijon, 1930.
- Strickland 1851: Agnes Strickland. *Lives of the Queens of Scotland and English Princesses Connected with the Regal Succession of Great Britain*. Vol. 2. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851.
- Striedter 1960: Jurij Striedter. "Der polnische *Fortunatus* und seine deutsche Vorlage." *Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie* 29.1 (1960): 32–91.
- Strietman 2021: Elsa Strietman. "The Once and Future Fox: Reynard the Fox, retold by Anne Louise Avery." *Dutch Crossing* 45.1 (2021): 93–94.
- Sudre 1893: Léopold Sudre. *Les sources du "Roman de Renart"*. Paris: Émile Bouillon, 1893.
- Sytova 1984: *Lubok – Russische Volksbilderbogen 17. bis 19. Jahrhundert*. Ed. Alla Stapanowa Sytova. Leningrad: Aurora, 1984.
- Tacconelli 1991: Luigi Tacconelli. "Das *Eulenspiegel*-Buch in Italien." *Eulenspiegel-Jahrbuch* 31 (1991): 25–29.
- Taylor 2014: Jane H. M. Taylor. *Rewriting Arthurian Romance in Renaissance France: From Manuscript to Printed Book*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2014.
- Temmerman 1983: Rita Temmerman. "Ulenspiegel and Belgium." *Dutch Crossing* 7.19 (1983): 36–49.
- Tenberg 1996: Reinhard Tenberg. *Die deutsche Till Eulenspiegel-Rezeption bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1996.
- Terrahe 2009: Tina Terrahe. "Eine neue Handschrift der *Melusine* Thürings von Ringoltingen." *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 138.1 (2009): 50–52.
- Terrahe 2013: Tina Terrahe. *Heinrich Steinhöwels "Apollonius": Edition und Studien*. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2013.
- Theisen 1995: Joachim Theisen. "Fortuna als narratives Problem." *Fortuna*. Eds. Walter Haug and Burghart Wachinger. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1995. 143–191.
- van Thienen and Goldfinch 1999: *Incunabula printed in the Low Countries*. Eds. Gerard van Thienen and John Goldfinch. Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1999.
- Thoen 1970: Paul Thoen. "'Aesopus Dorpii': Essai sur l'Esoppe latin des temps modernes." *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 19 (1970): 241–316.
- Thomas 1917: Henry Thomas. *Dos romances anónimos del siglo XVI*. Madrid: Junta para la Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas and Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1917.
- Thomas 1920: Henry Thomas. *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry: The Revival of the Romance of Chivalry in the Spanish Peninsula, and Its Extension and Influence Abroad*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920.
- Toepfer et al. 2021: *Übersetzen in der Frühen Neuzeit: Konzepte und Methoden / Concepts and Practices of Translation in the Early Modern Period*. Eds. Regina Toepfer, Peter Burschel, and Jörg Wesche. [Berlin and Heidelberg:] J.B. Metzler, 2021. <https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007/978-3-662-62562-0> (17 January 2023).
- Torres 2014: Ana Cristina Torres. "A marca tipográfica e outros símbolos dos impressores de nome António Álvares." *Cultura* 33 (2014): 123–139.

- Tüskés 2010: Gábor Tüskés. "Fortunatus in Ungarn." *Fortunatus, Melusine, Genovefa: Internationale Erzählstoffe in der deutschen und ungarischen Literatur der Frühen Neuzeit*. Eds. Dieter Breuer and Gábor Tüskés. Bern etc.: Peter Lang, 2010. 267–316.
- Ulla Lorenzo 2022: Alejandra Ulla Lorenzo. "Illustrating Golden Age Spanish Drama." *Illustration and Ornamentation in the Iberian Book World, 1450–1800*. Ed. Alexander Wilkinson. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2022. 446–452.
- Undorf 1995: *Hogenskiöld Bielke's Library: A Catalogue of the Famous 16th Century Swedish Private Collection*. Ed. Wolfgang Undorf. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek, 1995.
- Urban et al. 2017: *Melusine's Footprint: Tracing the Legacy of a Medieval Myth*. Eds. Misty Urban, Deva Kemmis, and Melissa Ridley Elmes. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017.
- Vaganay 1929: Hughes Vaganay. "Les éditions in-octavo de l'*Amadis* en français." *Revue hispanique* 85 (1929): 1–53.
- Valckx 1975: Jozef Valckx. "Das Volksbuch von Fortunatus." *Fabula* 16 (1975): 91–112.
- Van Bruaene and Van Bouchaute 2017: Anne-Laure Van Bruaene and Sarah Van Bouchaute. "Rederijkers, kannenkijkers: Drinking and Drunkenness in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Low Countries." *Early Modern Low Countries* 1 (2017): 1–29.
- Van Daele 1996: Rik Van Daele. "Het laatste woord is aan Willem: Over het slot van *Van den vos Reynaerde* (A 3390–3469)." *Tegendraads genot: Opstellen over de kwaliteit van middeleeuwse teksten*. Eds. Karel Porteman, Werner Verbeke, and Frank Willaert. Leuven: Peeters, 1996. 63–72.
- Van Daele 2011: Rik Van Daele. "'Tot Dendermonde by Jacobus Ducaju': Een Dendermonds Reynaertdrukje uit de achttiende eeuw." *Tiecelijn* 24 (2011): 28–52.
- Van Rossem 2014: Stijn Van Rossem. "The Verdussens and the International Trade in Catholic Books (Antwerp, Seventeenth Century)." *Books in the Catholic World during the Early Modern Period*. Ed. Natalia Maillard Álvarez. Leiden and Boston: Brill 2014. 1–50.
- Vargas Díaz-Toledo 2008: Aurelio Vargas Díaz-Toledo. "Libros de caballerías en Portugal." *Amadis de Gaula 1508: Quinientos años de libros de caballerías*. Ed. José Manuel Lucía Megías. Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España and Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2008. 343–350.
- Varty 1998: Kenneth Varty. *The "Roman de Renart": A Guide to Scholarly Work*. Lanham, Md. and London: Scarecrow Press, 1998.
- van Veerdegheem 1899: Frans van Veerdegheem. "Een 'toemaatje' tot de *Griseldis*-nouvelle in het Nederlandsch." *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 18 (1899): 46–47.
- Velay-Vallantin 2021: Catherine Velay-Vallantin. "*Fortunatus* entre Londres et Rouen." *Annales de Normandie* 71.2 (2021): 245–273.
- Vermeulen 1986: Yves G. Vermeulen. *Tot profijt en genoegen: Motiveringingen voor de produktie van Nederlandstalige gedrukte teksten 1477–1540*. Groningen: Wolters Noordhoff and Forsten, 1986.
- Vervliet 2018: Hendrik D. Vervliet. *Robert Granjon, Letter-Cutter, 1513–1590: An Oeuvre-Catalogue*. New Castle and Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 2018.
- Verzandvoort 1988–1989: Erwin Verzandvoort. "Over de door Plantijn gedrukte uitgaven van *Reynaert de Vos*." *De Gulden Passer* 66 (1988–1989): 237–252.
- Verzandvoort 1989: Erwin Verzandvoort. "The Dutch Chapbooks of *Reynaert den vos* and their Illustrations." *Reinardus* 1 (1989): 176–184.
- Verzandvoort 2018: Erwin Verzandvoort. "De collectie Wilfried Grauwels." *Tiecelijn* 31 (2018): 293–320.
- Verzandvoort and Wackers 1983: Erwin Verzandvoort and Paul Wackers. "Bibliografie van Reynaertvolksboeken." *Dokumentaal* 12 (1983): 7–21.
- Vielliard 2007: Françoise Vielliard. "Qu'est-ce que le 'roman de chevalerie'? Préhistoire et histoire d'une formule." *Mémoire des chevaliers: Édition, diffusion et réception des romans de chevalerie du*

- XVII^e au XX^e siècle. Eds. Isabelle Diu, Élisabeth Parinet, and Françoise Vielliard. Paris: École nationale des chartes, 2007. 11–33.
- Vinck 1976–1977: Pierre Vinck. “Het volksboek *Die Historie van Peeter van Provenen ende die schoone Maghelone van Napels*.” *Jaarboek De Fonteyne* 27 (1976–1977): 3–45.
- Voit 1987: Petr Voit. *Moravské prameny z let 1567–1568 k dějinám bibliografie, cenzury, knihtisku a literární historie: Příspěvky ke knihopisu* 5. Praha: Státní knihovna ČSR, 1987.
- Vriesema 2002: Paul Vriesema. “Eulenspiegel-Drucke in niederländischer Sprache von ca. 1520 bis 1830: eine Bibliographie.” *Quaerendo* 32.1–2 (2002): 3–59.
- Wackers 1986: Paul Wackers. *De waarheid als leugen: Een interpretatie van “Reynaerts historie”*. Utrecht: HES, 1986.
- Wackers 1989: Paul Wackers. “Hoe volks zijn de Reynaertboeken?” *Leidschrift* 5.3 (1989): 87–106.
- Wackers 1993: Paul Wackers. “De bron van de illustraties in de Zuidnederlandse volksboeken.” *Reynaert bloemleest Tielcelijn*. Eds. Rik Van Daele, Marcel Ryssen, and Erwin Verzandvoort. Sint-Niklaas: v.z.w. Tielcelijn, 1993. 104–105.
- Wackers 2000: Paul Wackers. “The Printed Dutch Reynaert Tradition: From the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Century.” *Reynard the Fox: Social Engagement and Cultural Metamorphoses in the Beast Epic from the Middle Ages to the Present*. Ed. Kenneth Varty. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books Inc., 2000. 73–103.
- Wackers 2007–2008. Paul Wackers. “Gheraert Leeu as printer of fabels and animal stories.” *Reinardus* 20 (2007–2008): 128–152.
- Wackers 2022: Paul Wackers. “Narrative Structures in Medieval Animal Epic.” *Die Zeit der sprachbegabten Tiere: Ordnung, Varianz und Geschichtlichkeit (in) der Tierepik*. Eds. Kathrin Lukaschek, Michael Waltenberger, and Maximilian Wick. = *Beiträge zur mediävistischen Erzählforschung* Themenheft 11 (2022): 17–43. <https://ojs.uni-oldenburg.de/ojs/index.php/bme/issue/view/19/22> (7 March 2023).
- Wackers and Van Daele 1988: Paul Wackers and Rik Van Daele. “Antwerpse Reynaertscribanen van omstreeks 1700.” *Antiek* 22 (1988): 377–392.
- Wackers and Verzandvoort 1989: Paul Wackers and Erwin Verzandvoort. “Bewerkingstechniek in de Reynaerttraditie.” *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 105 (1989): 152–177.
- Wagner 2008: Bettina Wagner. “An der Wiege des Paratexts: Formen der Kommunikation zwischen Druckern, Herausgebern und Lesern im 15. Jahrhundert.” *Die Pluralisierung des Paratextes in der Frühen Neuzeit: Theorien, Formen, Funktionen*. Eds. Frieder von Ammon and Herfried Vögel. Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2008. 133–155.
- Waltenberger and Wick 2022: Michael Waltenberger and Maximilian Wick. “Einleitung.” *Die Zeit der sprachbegabten Tiere: Ordnung, Varianz und Geschichtlichkeit (in) der Tierepik*. Eds. Kathrin Lukaschek, Michael Waltenberger, and Maximilian Wick. = *Beiträge zur mediävistischen Erzählforschung* Themenheft 11 (2022): 1–16. <https://ojs.uni-oldenburg.de/ojs/index.php/bme/issue/view/19/22> (7 March 2023).
- Walther 1893: Christoph Walther. “Zur Geschichte des Volksbuches vom Eulenspiegel.” *Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung* 19 (1893): 1–79.
- Ward 1883: Henry Leigh Douglas Ward. *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*. Vol. 1. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1883.
- Watt 1956: Ian Watt. *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1956.
- Wawrykiewicz 1983: Zofia Wawrykiewicz. “Szarfenberger Stanisław.” *Drukarze dawnej Polski: Od XV do XVIII wieku*. Vol.1: *Małopolska*. Part 1: *Wiek XV–XVI*. Ed. Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa. Wrocław etc: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1983. 283–296.

- Weber 2002: Tanja Weber. "Der Eulenspiegel des 16. Jahrhunderts aus deutscher und französischer Sicht." *Textsorten deutscher Prosa vom 12./13. bis 18. Jahrhundert und ihre Merkmale: Akten zum Internationalen Kongress in Berlin, 20. bis 22. September 1999*. Ed. Franz Simmler. Bern: Peter Lang, 2002. 203–216.
- Weddige 1975: Hilkert Weddige. *Die "Historien vom Amadis auss Franckreich": Dokumentarische Grundlegung zur Entstehung und Rezeption*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1975.
- Weiske 1991: Brigitte Weiske. "Die Apollonius-Version der *Gesta Romanorum*." *Positionen des Romans im späten Mittelalter*. Eds. Walter Haug and Burghart Wachinger. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1991. 116–122.
- Weiske 1992: Brigitte Weiske. *Gesta Romanorum*. 2 vols. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1992.
- Werlauff 1858: Erich Christian Werlauff. *Historiske antegnelser til Ludvig Holbergs atten første Lystspil*. København: Samfundet til den danske Litteraturs Fremme, 1858.
- West 2008: Geoffrey West. "La historia de un ejemplar único: British Library: C.20.e.6." *Amadis de Gaula 1508: Quinientos años de libros de caballerías*. Ed. José Manuel Lucía Megías. Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España and Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2008. 159–161.
- Westermann 1932: Ruth Westermann. "Die niederdeutschen und dänischen Übertragungen von Veit Warbecks *Schöner Magelone*." *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 57 (1932): 261–313.
- Whinnom 1983: Keith Whinnom. *The Spanish Sentimental Romance, 1440–1550: A Critical Bibliography*. London: Grant & Cutler, 1983.
- Wierzbicka-Trwoga 2020: Krystyna Wierzbicka-Trwoga. "The Birth of the Novel in Renaissance Poland through the Medium of German: Translations of Medieval Narratives in Sixteenth-Century Poland." *Literary Translation, Reception, and Transfer*. Ed. Norbert Bachleitner. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2020. 267–279.
- Wikeley 1990: John Keith Wikeley. *Italian Versions of "The Seven Sages of Rome": A Guide to Editions and Secondary Literature*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1990.
- Wilkinson 2011: Alexander S. Wilkinson. "The Printed Book on the Iberian Peninsula, 1500–1540." *The Book Triumphant: Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Eds. Malcolm Walsby and Graeme Kemp. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011. 78–96.
- Wilkinson 2018: Alexander S. Wilkinson. "Printing Spanish Books in the Southern and Northern Netherlands 1520–1700." *Quaerendo* 48.4 (2018): 277–299.
- Willems 1922a: Leonard Willems. "Reinaerdiana VI. Erasmus Quellijn De Jongere en de *Reinaert*." *Verslagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde* s.n. (1922): 1207–1210.
- Willems 1922b: Leonard Willems. "Reinaerdiana VII. Het leven van Johannes Florianus, vertaler van den *Reinaert*." *Verslagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde* s.n. (1922): 1211–1233.
- Wilson 2014: Louise Wilson. "The Publication of Iberian Romance in Early Modern Europe." *Translation and the Book Trade in Early Modern Europe*. Eds. José María Pérez Fernández and Edward Wilson-Lee. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014. 201–216.
- Wingård 2011: Rikard Wingård. *Att sluta från början: Tidigmodern läsning och folkbokens receptionsetetik*. Bokenäset: Frondes, 2011.
- Wingård 2018: Rikard Wingård. "Argumentum as Oral Substitute and the Transformations of *Volksbuch* Peritexts." *Oral Tradition and Book Culture*. Eds. Pertti Anttonen, Cecilia af Forselles, and Kirsti Salmi-Niklander. Helsinki: French Literature Society, 2018. 32–49.
- Winkler 1994: Martin W. Winkler. "Parallelen zur Eulenspiegelgestalt in der griechischen Literatur." *Eulenspiegel-Jahrbuch* 34 (1994): 53–78.

- Witton 1980: Niklas Witton. "Die Vorlage des *Reinke de vos*." *Reynaert – Reynard – Reynke: Studien zu einem mittelalterlichen Tierepos*. Eds. Jan Goossens and Timothy Sodmann. Köln and Wien: Böhlau, 1980. 1–159.
- Wojtowicz 2015: Witold Wojtowicz. *Studien zur "bürgerlichen Literatur" um die Wende vom 16. zum 17. Jahrhundert*. Transl. Karin Ritthaler. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2015.
- Wolf 2016: Jürgen Wolf. "Sammelhandschriften – mehr als die Summe der Einzelteile." *Überlieferungsgeschichte transdisziplinär: Neue Perspektiven auf ein germanistisches Forschungsparadigma*. Ed. Dorothea Klein, in collaboration with Horst Brunner and Freimut Löser. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2016. 69–81.
- Wucherpennig 1988: Gundula Wucherpennig. "Die frühen Straßburger Illustrationen zum *Dil Ulenspiegel*: Versuch einer stilistischen Untersuchung und Gruppenbildung." *Eulenspiegel-Jahrbuch* 28 (1988): 9–23.
- Yiavis 2006a: Kostas Yiavis. "So Near, Yet So Far: Medieval Courtly Romance, and *Imberios and Margarona*." *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 99 (2006): 195–217.
- Yiavis 2006b: Kostas Yiavis. "Finding *Imberios and Margarona*: An Inventory of Extant Editions." *Ελληνικά* 56.2 (2006): 321–345.
- Yiavis 2016: Kostas Yiavis. "The Adaptations of Western Sources by Byzantine Vernacular Romances." *Fictional Storytelling in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean and Beyond*. Eds. Carolina Cupane and Bettina Krönung. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016. 127–55.
- Zanucchi 2010: Mario Zanucchi. "Von Boccaccios *Griselda* zu Petrarcas *Griseldis*." *Die deutsche Griselda: Transformationen einer literarischen Figuration von Boccaccio bis zur Moderne*. Eds. Achim Aurnhammer and Hans-Jochen Schiewer. Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2010. 25–52.
- Zeldenrust 2016: Lydia Zeldenrust. "Serpent or Half-Serpent? Bernhard Richel's *Melusine* and the Making of a Western European Icon." *Neophilologus* 100 (2016): 19–41.
- Zeldenrust 2020: Lydia Zeldenrust. *The Mélusine Romance in Medieval Europe*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2020.
- Zillén 2016: Erik Zillén. "The Reception of French Fable Comedies in Eighteenth-Century Scandinavia." *Kosmopolitismus und Körperlichkeit im europäischen Theater des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Eds. Katharina Müller and Stephan Michael Schröder. München: Herbert Utz Verlag, 2016. 49–66.
- Zillén 2021: Erik Zillén. "Death of a Genre? The Aesopic Fable and the Emergence of Modernity." *Reinardus* 33 (2021): 151–167.
- Zumbült 2011: Beatrix Zumbült. *Die europäischen Illustrationen des "Reineke Fuchs" bis zum 16. Jahrhundert*. 2 vols. Münster: Monsenstein und Vannerdat, 2011.
- Żurkowa 1988: Renata Żurkowa. "Działalność księgarska Marcina Horteryna (1615–1630)." *Rocznik Biblioteki Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie* 33 (1988): 183–223.

Contributors

Helwi Blom is a literary historian whose research focuses on early modern France. Her scholarly interests include popular print (the *Bibliothèque bleue*), library history, the Huguenot diaspora and reception studies. She is currently Lecturer in Comparative Literature at Utrecht University and Lecturer in French at Radboud University, Nijmegen. Recent publications comprise articles on fictional narratives in the *Bibliothèque bleue de Normandie*, a newly discovered edition of *Robert le Diable*, and sale catalogues of seventeenth-century Huguenot book collections. She is presently co-editing a volume on early modern private libraries and their documentation (Brill, 2023), as well as a book of studies dedicated to the sixteenth-century French printer Claude Nourry (forthcoming, Droz, 2024).

Julia Boffey is Professor Emerita of Medieval Studies in the Department of English at Queen Mary, University of London. She works on the production, transmission, and reception of late medieval and early sixteenth-century literature, especially poetry. Her publications include an edition of Middle English dream visions, and articles on Middle English lyrics, on fourteenth- and fifteenth-century poetry, on women's literacy and reading in the Middle Ages, and on early printing in England. Forthcoming publications include *The Oxford History of Poetry in English. Volume 3: Medieval Poetry, 1400-1500*, (co-edited with A. S. G. Edwards), and a collaborative new edition of the works of Chaucer.

Anna Katharina Richter is Senior Teaching and Research Assistant at the Scandinavian Department at the University of Zurich. She holds a PhD in Scandinavian philology and published a monograph on Danish and Swedish narratives in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Her main field of research is early modern literature in Scandinavia, especially narratives in the early period of print. She is the co-editor of *The "Eufemiaviser" and the Reception of Courtly Culture in Late Medieval Denmark* (2021). Currently, she works on the dissemination and reception of *Amadis de Gaula* in Northern Europe. She is also member of a Swedish research project on the first translation of the *New Testament* into Swedish (1526).

Jordi Sánchez-Martí is Professor of Medieval English Literature at the University of Alicante. His research has focused on the transmission of chivalric romance in England during and after the Middle Ages. He is the editor of *A Critical Edition of Anthony Munday's "Palmerin d'Oliva"* (2020) and *Los libros de caballerías en Inglaterra, 1578-1700* (2020), and is currently co-editing the collection *The Printed Distribution of the Iberian Books of Chivalry in Early Modern Europe* (forthcoming, 2024).

Rita Schlusemann is "Privatdozentin" on Dutch and German late medieval and early modern literature at the Free University Berlin. She was awarded the prestigious Heisenberg fellowship (2009–2015). In her research she focuses on the Dutch, German and English literary relations in the Middle Ages and the early modern period. Her publications include different monographs, (critical) editions, partly with synoptic modern German translation (*Meluzine*, and *Van den vos Reynaerde*, both published in 2022), and several volumes. Currently, she leads a project on the multimodality of Dutch and German narratives printed until 1800 funded by the German Science Foundation (DFG) and is member of an international project on the *Seven Sages of Rome* (funded by AHRC and DFG).

Krystyna Wierzbicka-Trwoga is Assistant Professor in Medieval and Early Modern Literature at the Faculty of Polish Studies at the University of Warsaw. Her main research interests are seventeenth-

century Polish, German, and English poetry; early modern narrative fiction; genre studies; comparative literature; translation studies. Her publications include a monograph on the baroque *sacra poesis* and articles on the theory of the baroque conceit, on the form of the poetic sequence, on translation strategies in early modern narrative fiction and on early modern forms of narrative fiction. Presently she works on Polish narratives translated from German in the sixteenth century.

Lydia Zeldenrust is Lecturer in Middle English Literature at the University of Glasgow. Her research examines English literature and book production in its European context, working across multiple languages. Her interests include translation studies, medieval romances and their continuation in the early modern period, and the transition from manuscript to early print culture. Her monograph *The Mélusine Romance in Medieval Europe* was published in 2020.

Index of Personal Names

- Accursius, Bonus 21
Aertssen, Hendrick 147–148
Aesop 1, 4–5, 11, 15, 19–44, 164, 325
Aich, Johann von 339, 342
Albertanus 142
Alberus, Erasmus 29, 44
Albín Vrchbělský, Jan Akron 32
Albrecht, Laurentz 64
Alciato, Andrea 37
Alemán, Mateo 303
Alexander the Great 51, 75
Algaba, Jakob (Ya‘aqob BKR. Mošeh Dey ‘Algaba’) 287
Alde, Edward 169, 282–283, 287
Altdorfer, Albrecht 228
Altdorfer, Erhard 170
Álvares (family of printers in Lisbon) 242
Alvise, Alberto 21–22, 42
Alvise, Giovanni 21–22, 42
Andryswic, Łazarz 346
Aorg (Aorgus), Kašpar 131, 160, 206
Arbús, Sanson (Samsó) 31, 43
Aretino, Rinuccio 23
Arigo 138
Aristotle 163
Arnoullet, Olivier 197, 216
Arosiander, Andreas Johannes 72, 75
Atwood, Margaret 127, 157
Avery, Anne Louise 161
Axmar, Per Olof 156
Ayrer, Jakob 209
- Babrius 20
Bämler, Johann 92, 99, 102, 104, 106, 108–109, 112, 137, 141–143, 198, 214
Bakalář, Mikuláš 49, 60, 100, 102
Balázs, Eberus 101
Baldung Grien, Hans 331, 333
Ballain, Geoffroy 180
Banry, Marie-Louise 249
Barlow, Francis 39
Barré, Jean-Louis 308
Barret, William 38
Barrois, Jacques 308
- Bassandyne, Thomas 36
Basse, Nikolaus 29
Baudoin, Jean 38, 306
Bebel, Heinrich 335
Beheim, Michel 141
Behn, Aphra 39
Bell, Robert 40
Belleforest, François de 56
Benedicht, Lorentz 16, 151, 239
Bennek, Petr Antonín 206
Bennet, Thomas 40
Bergen, Christian 137
Bergen, Melchior 137
Berghe, Jan van den 146
Bersuire, Pierre 194–195
Besongne, Jean-Baptiste 250
Beuther, Michael 171
Bielke, Hogenskild 14
Biernat z Lublina (Biernat from Lublin) 32, 43
Bincheldre, J. Conrad 242
Blaeu, Hendrickje 182
Blage, Thomas 30
Blanquis, Comicia de 268
Blare, Josiah 311
Boccaccio, Giovanni 4, 57, 126, 128, 131, 138, 143–144, 146, 159, 171
Boner, Ulrich 21, 24, 42
Bonfons (family of printers in Paris) 216
Bonfons, Jean 216
Bonfons, widow of Jean, *see* Sergent, Catherine
Bonte, Grégoire de 31
Bononcini, Giovanni 127
Bor, Pieter Christiaenszoon 58, 72
Bor, Pieter Jansz. 72
Borges de Sousa, Francisco 250
Bossozel, Guillaume de 343
Bote, Hermann 325, 328–329
Boulley, Jean 303, 361
Bouman, Jan 182
Boursault, Edmé 40
Bouttellier, Pierre (Peter Schenck) 234
Brahe, Per (the Elder) 1
Brandis, Lukas 99, 103, 131, 139, 144, 159, 223
Brant, Sebastian 26, 29

- Breu, Jörg (the Elder) 290
 Brewer, Lorentz 317
 Brewer, Samuel 240, 256
 Breyer, Lucas 261
 Brickyer, Hanusz 299
 Briot, Isaac 38
 Brosamer, Hans 17, 54, 65, 199, 207–208, 291,
 293, 303–304, 309, 311, 340, 352
 Brown, Charles 311
 Bruins, Hester 149
 Bucer, Martin 327
 Bulifon, Antonio 18, 307–308, 317
 Bullokar, William 30
 Burchard, Abraham 137
 Burckhardt, Georg, *see* Spalatin, Georg
 Burman, Jon Hansson 94
 Busche, Hermann von dem 328
 Buyer, Barthélemy 229, 231–232, 253

 Cailloué, Jacques [I] 303–304, 306, 315
 Cammerlander, Jacob 103–104, 107–108,
 291, 293
 Carón (family of printers in Salamanca) 269
 Castilhon, Jean 296
 Caxton, William 18, 27–28, 30, 36, 38, 42, 130,
 159, 161, 168, 176, 188
 Cecil, William (Lord Burghley) 259
 Cerda, Antonio della 20
 Charlemagne 51, 243
 Charles VIII (King of France) 26
 Charles de Croÿ 196
 Charteris, Henry 36, 43
 Chaucer, Geoffrey 51, 127, 130, 159
 Chaussard, Barnabé 233–235
 Chrétien de Troyes 50
 Christian III (King of Denmark) 172
 Christine de Pizan 127
 Cicero 327
 Cichończyk, Andrzej 207
 Cleblat, Estevan (Étienne) 33, 202, 223
 Clerck, Pieter de 31, 37
 Cley, Francis 39
 Cochem, Martin von 137
 Coci, Jorge 287
 Colón, Hernando 203
 Columbus, Christopher 203
 Comalàda, Honorát 242, 255

 Combe, Thomas 309
 Conyers, George 93, 311
 Cooper, Mary 312
 Cooper, Thomas 312
 Copland, Robert 59
 Copland, William 93, 345, 354
 Corrozet, Gilles 31, 37
 Cormellas, Sebastián de 242, 255
 Cotier, Gabriel 93
 Coudrette 191–196, 198, 200, 203, 205, 209
 Courths-Mahler, Hedwig 157
 Crevel, Jean 197
 Cromberger, Jacobo (Jácome) 31, 33, 115, 203,
 220, 233–234, 254, 268–270
 Cromberger, Juan 31, 35, 114–115, 220, 268–269
 Crombergers (family of printers in Seville) 35,
 203, 220, 234, 268–270, 272, 274, 286
 Crook, Andrew 39
 Crowder, S. 312
 Croxall, Samuel 40
 Cruse, Louis 48, 56, 59, 93, 100, 130, 159
 Cunadis, Andrea 62

 Dalekarlus, Johannes Olai (Johan Stiernhöök) 76
 De Coster, Charles 353
 Delicado, Francisco 272–273, 286
 Deloney, Thomas 128
 Dene, Edewaerd de 37
 Díaz, Juan 267, 273, 280, 283, 285
 Dietrich von Niem 327
 Dietz, Ludwig 170, 172
 Dipath, Václav František 61
 Dmitri Mikhailovich Golitsyn (Prince) 208
 Doesborch, Jan van 343
 Donning, John 59
 Dorp, Maarten van 26, 30, 38
 Dort, Segher van 167, 184–185
 Douglas, Margaret (Countess of Lennox) 259
 Ducaju, Jacobus 167
 Dürer, Albrecht 333
 Du Guernier, Thomas 201
 Du Pré, Jean 132, 234
 Dyaszewski, Michał 207, 296

 Eckert van Homberch, Henrick 32–34, 205, 216
 Egenolff, Christian 137, 198–199, 212
 Egenolff, Christian, heirs of 198, 212

- Eglesfield, Francis 38
 Eguía, Miguel de 235
 Eleonore, Countess of Austria 143
 Elisabeth von Einsiedel 236
 Endter (family of printers in Nuremberg) 63,
 212, 240
 Endter, Johann Friedrich 212
 Endter, Martin (Martón Esler) 63
 Endter, Michael 53, 212
 Ermanaric (King of the Ostrogoths) 166
 Everaerts, Christian 137, 250
 Eynatten, Maximiliaan van 149
- Fernandes da Costa, Manoel 257
 Fernandes Trancoso, Gonçalo 131, 160
 Feyerabend, Hieronymus 17, 341
 Feyerabend, Johann 200
 Feyerabend, Sigmund 171, 200, 214, 220–221,
 261, 281–282, 287, 300, 340
 Fiedler, Johann 137
 Field, Richard 304
 Figueró, Rafael 93
 Fischart, Johann 341
 Flores, Juan de 299
 Florianus, Johannes 174, 179
 Foillet, Jacob 282
 Forsius, Sigfrid Aron 174, 189
 Fossema, Gerrit Klasen 149
 Francis, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg 228
 Franck, David 200
 Francke, Johann 53–54
 Frederick the Wise (Elector of Saxony) 228
 Frölich, Jakob 144–146, 151–152, 336–337,
 340, 350
 Froschauer, Hans 112, 144
 Fugger, Ulrich 143
 Fuller, J. 312
- Gainsford, Thomas 309
 Galle, Philippe 38
 Garnier, Pierre 209, 222
 Garnier, widow of Étienne, *see* Banry, Marie-
 Louise
 Gellert, Christian 40
 Geoffrey of Viterbo 47, 53
 Gervase of Tilbury 194–195
 Gheeraerts, Marcus 37–39
- Ghelen, Jan [I] van 31
 Ghelen, Jan [III] van 344
 Ghemen, Govaert van (Gotfred af Ghemen) 64
 Ghetelen, Hans van 169, 188
 Gielée, Jacquemart 174
 Giolito de' Ferrari, Gabriel 93
 Giovanni, Apollonio di 128
 Girard, Théodore 40
 Giuliano, Gerardo 242, 258
 Godbid, William 39
 Goeswini (Goossens), Jan 293
 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von 167, 182
 Gohory, Jacques 261
 Gorecki, Wojciech 207, 224
 Goudanski, Ivan 208
 Gourmont, Jean [II] de 179–180
 Gower, John 47
 Graff, Stephan 29
 Gran, Jobst 340
 Granjon, Robert 36, 179
 Grefwe, Amund 351, 355
 Gregoriis, Gregorius de 132
 Gregoriis, Johannes de 132
 Grimm, Jacob 164
 Groot, widow of Gijsbert de, *see* Blaeu,
 Hendrickje
 Grosz, Erhart 127
 Groulleau, Étienne 276
 Grubbe, Eiler 239
 Grüninger, Christoph 335–337
 Grüninger, Johannes 170, 325, 327–333,
 335–337, 339, 341, 343–344,
 346, 353
 Gualterus Anglicus 20, 36
 Gülfferich, Hermann 17, 54, 65, 198–199, 207,
 214, 237, 291–292, 303, 337, 339–340,
 349, 352
 Gülfferich, Margarethe 87
 Günther, Christopher 155
 Günther, Jan 32, 238, 295
 Guignard, Jean 306
 Guillaume VII L'Archevêque (Lord of
 Parthenay) 195–196
 Gustav I Vasa (King of Sweden) 1
 Gutenberg, Johannes 332
 Gutknecht, Jobst 144
 Gutterwitz, Andreas 65

- Haley, Thomas 310–311
 Haller, Wolff 227–228
 Hallervord, Johann 74
 Hamers van Hantwerpen, Jan 14
 Han, Weigand 53–54, 67, 108, 198–199, 237, 239–240, 340
 Han, Weigand, heirs of (Margarethe Gülfferich, Katharina Rebart, Kilian Han) 198–199
 Harder, Michel 87
 Hartlieb, Johannes 139
 Haudent, Guillaume 31
 Haur, Jakub Kazimierz 296
 Havard, Anne 248
 Hawes, L. 312
 Hebb, Andrew 30
 Heber, Richard 278
 Heere, Lucas de 38
 Heinrich Hildebrand von Einsiedel 236
 Heltai, Gáspár (Kaspar Helth) 43, 49, 63, 94
 Henri II (King of France) 273
 Henric of Mecklenburg 170
 Henryson, Robert 36–37, 43
 Herberay des Essarts, Nicolas d' 18, 259, 273–274, 276, 280, 282–283, 287
 Herodotus 20
 Heuwrecher, Merten, *see* Siennik, Marcin
 Heybler, Johann 289–290, 314
 Hillen van Hoochstraten, Michiel 343–344, 354
 Hills, H. 39
 Hirmle, František Antonín 258
 Hirmleová, Josefa Terezie 206
 Hitch, C. 312
 Hodges, James 311
 Höchenberger, Jan Tomáš 60
 Hofhout, Jean 57
 Hollar, Václav (Wenceslaus) 39
 Hooren (Hoorn), Anna van 58, 71
 Høpffner, Johan Jørgen 151
 Horteryn, Marcin 207
 Huaen, Peder 150
 Huarte de San Juan, Juan 306
 Hupfuff, Matthias 104, 112
 Hüter, Simon 171
 Hurus, Johann (Juan) 33, 92, 100, 112
 Hurus, Paul (Pablo) 33, 42, 49, 57
 Huss (Husz), Martin 201–202, 206, 232
 Huss, Mathieu (Mathias) 28, 33
 Islip, Adam 282–283
 Istvánfi, Pál 131, 160
 Jacob, Cyriacus 170–172, 186–188
 Jacques de Longuyon 194
 Jacquetta of Luxembourg (Dowager Duchess of Bedford and Countess Rivers) 196
 Jagemann, Christian Joseph 137
 James I (King of England and Ireland) 39
 Jan z Koszyczek (Jan from Koszyce) 93
 Janot, Denis 18, 56, 216, 273–276, 283, 286–287
 Jansz, Broer 148, 182, 293
 Jauernich, Karel Josef 206, 219
 Jean d'Arras 191–192, 194–196, 200, 202–203, 205, 222
 Jean de Monnoy 232
 Jean de Varennes 232
 Jean, Duke of Berry (Jean de Berry, Jean de Valois) 194–196
 Jeghers, Jan Christoffel 184
 Jenike, Ludwik 182
 Johann von Paderborn 146, 159
 Johannes de Capua 171
 John Frederick I (Elector of Saxony) 228
 John the Steadfast (Elector of Saxony) 228
 Jónsson, Jón 161
 Jovenel des Ursins, Isabelle (Marquise de Mosny) 209
 Juan (Prince of Asturias and Girona) 203
 Juana I (Joanna of Castile, Queen of Castile and Aragon) 271
 Junta, Lucas de 261
 Kaden, Michael von 201
 Kamp, Johann 27
 Kannevet, Joannes 182
 Keerberghen, Peeter van 178–179
 Keller, Ambrosius 139
 Ketelaer, Nicolaus 47
 King, J. 311
 Kingo, Thomas 69
 Kirchoff, Hans Wilhelm 137
 Kirkall, Elisha 40
 Kirkman, Francis 283
 Knoblochtzer, Heinrich 33, 112, 140, 143, 198, 214, 227
 Koberger, Anton 227–228

- Koelhoff, Johann 14
 Komlos, Andras 131, 160
 Krafft, Hieronymus 140
 Kröger, Asswerus 150–154
 Kruffter, Servais (Servatius Cruftanus) 336,
 339, 344
 Kühn, Carl 39
 Kupisz, Łukasz 346–347, 354
- L'Estrange, Roger 39
 La Fontaine, Jean de (author) 38–39
 La Fontaine, Jean de (printer) 227, 234
 Lambert de Saint-Omer 47
 Lamprecht 50
 Landi, Giulio 29
 Lange, Paul 175
 Langle, Jean-Maximilien de 304
 Larchevesque, Adrien 308
 Lasso, Pedro 261
 Lauremberg, Petrus 74
 Le Boucher, Nicolas 308
 Le Brun, Antoine-Louis 56–57, 76
 Le Caron, Pierre 201
 Leempt, Gerard (Gerardus de Leempt) 47
 Leeu, Gheraert 17, 27, 32–33, 43, 57, 91–92, 99,
 103, 105, 132, 161, 163, 166–168, 176–178,
 186, 188, 203–205, 212–213, 216, 223
 Leeu, Nicolaes 103, 106
 Leeuwen, Johannes van 58
 Legrand, Augustin 39
 Lekpruik, Robert 36
 Le Noir, Michel 201, 216
 Le Noir, Philippe 201, 216
 Léon de Lusignan (King of the Armenian
 Kingdom of Cilicia) 195
 Le Roy, Guillaume 229, 231–234, 253
 Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim 40
 Leu, Hans (the Younger) 333, 344
 Lichfield, Leonard 309
 Lindh, Johan Per 151
 Lingelbach, David 58, 71
 Lira, Manuel de 44
 Longis, Jean 18, 273–276, 287
 Lotrian, Alain 56, 216, 343, 354
 Lufft, Barbara zem (zum) 141
 Luján, Pedro de 267
- Luther, Martin 29–30, 44, 228, 282
 Lykke, Kirstine 239
- Mac Gabhráin, Aodh 115
 Macho, Julien 26–28, 31–33, 42
 Maldonado, Brígida 269
 Manfredi, Lelio 299
 Manger, Michael 199–200, 282
 Manlius, Johannes 63
 Marcilly (publisher) 39
 Marcus Terentius 130, 159
 Mareschal, Pierre 233–235
 Margaret of Austria (Duchess of Savoy) 196, 202
 Marie of France (Duchess of Bar) 195
 Marnef, Jeanne de 276
 Marnef, Jérôme de 31
 Marold, Dietrich 137
 Martin, Gabriel 308
 Martínez de Salamanca, Antonio 270–272
 Matyaszkiwicz, Jakub 207
 Mauritius, Georg 137
 Maximus Planudes 20
 Meer, Jacob Jacobszoon van der 112–113
 Mesens, Jacob 154, 184–185
 Messerschmidt, Georg 212, 214
 Meurer, Ignatius 74, 151, 155–156, 160, 174, 189
 Meuris, Aert 58, 72
 Meyer zum Pfeil, Nikolaus 140
 Mézières, Philippe de 127
 Milichthaler, Friedrich 238
 Miller, George 304–305, 309, 315
 Moderne, Jacques 233
 Möllemann, Stephan (Steffen Møllemænd) 50,
 64, 66
 Möller, Hermann 50, 53–54, 240, 255, 314
 Moreira de Carvalho, Jerônimo 242
 Moring, William 282
 Moscherosch, Johann Michael 92
 Müller, Christian 199, 293
 Munday, Anthony 282–283, 287
 Muraeus, Stephanus Laurentii (Larsson) 75
 Murner, Thomas 327–328
- Natalya Alekseyevna (Grand Duchess of
 Russia) 131
 Nemius, Johannes 345

- Nerlich, Nikolaus 53, 55
 Nevelet, Isaac Nicolaus 20
 Newman, Elizabeth 59
 Nicolay, Ludwig Heinrich 137
 Nicolini da Sabbio, Giovanni Antonio 271–273
 Nicolini da Sabbio, Stefano 49, 62
 Nivardus 165
 Nodot, François 209, 222
 Nuyts, Marten 277–279, 287
 Nyström, Peter Jöransson 175
- Ó Cearbhalláin, Toirdhealbhach 115
 Ogilby, John 39
 Okes, Nicholas 283–284, 360
 Olufsson, Anund 30, 44
 Ortuin, Gaspard 201
 Osborne, John 311
 Otmar, Johann 290, 314
 Oudot, Jacques 217, 248, 250
 Oudot, widow of Jacques, *see* Havard, Anne
 Oulton, Richard 38
 Oxenstierna, Axel 175
- Pädersson, Eric Ljung 175
 Páez de Ribera, Ruy 266
 Palladinus de Teramo, Jacobus 139
 Palomba, Antonio 128
 Parijs, Guillaem van 278
 Parix, Juan 33, 202, 223
 Pauli, Johannes 87, 170, 335
 Peacham, Henry 38
 Pedersen, Christian 32
 Pederzano, Juan Bautista 271–272
 Periander, Aegidius 341
 Perret, Étienne 31, 37
 Peter I the Great (Tsar of Russia) 40, 131, 208
 Petit, Jean 201
 Petrarca, Francesco 67, 127–128, 130, 138, 144, 155, 159
 Petrus Alphonsi 23, 26
 Pétursson, Hallgrímur 241
 Pfeiffer, Michael 200
 Pfister, Albrecht 21, 24, 42
 Pforr, Anton von 171
 Phaedrus 20
 Philip II (King of Spain) 183
 Philip of Cleves (Lord of Ravenstein) 196
 Philip the Good (Duke of Burgundy) 226
 Philippi, Nicolaus 26, 42
 Phillip, John 128
 Piccolomini, Enea Silvio 63, 140
 Pierre de Saint-Cloud 165
 Pietro, Gabriele di 48, 56
 Pilát, Jan 60
 Pilát, Václav 60
 Pincianus (Pinicianus), Johannes 70
 Pius III (Pope) 183
 Planck, Johannes 42
 Plantijn, Christoffel (Christophe Plantin) 12, 31, 35, 174, 178–183, 189
 Poggio Bracciolini, Gianfrancesco 23, 27
 Polonus, Stanislaus 130, 159
 Pors, Claus 208, 221
 Portonaris, Vicencio de 261
 Potter, Dirk 127
 Prault, Pierre 57
 Prideaux, John 308
 Prideaux, Mathias 308–309
 Printer of Aeneas Silvius 92
 Printer of Pseudo-Augustine 92
 Printer of Terentius, *Comoediae* 159
 Printer of the Iegher 144
 Printer of the 1488 Bible 27, 43
 Prüss, Johann 29, 112
 Prusinovský, Vilém 60, 206, 238, 349
 Przywilcki, Maciej 238
 Pseudo-Augustine 92, 142
 Pucci, Antonio 56, 62
 Purfoot, Thomas 93
 Purslowe, Anne 310
 Pynson, Richard 27, 93, 169
- Quellijn, Erasmus (the Younger) 184
 Quintilian 331
- Reinhart, Johannes, *see* Grüninger, Johannes
 Reinhart, Marcus 26, 42
 René of Anjou (Count of Provence) 226
 Reravius, Rasmus Hansen 350–351
 Richel, Bernhard 198, 202, 223
 Richolff, Jürgen (the Younger) 130, 150–151, 172–173, 189
 Riego, Alonso del 250
 Rinuccio d'Arezzo 20–21, 23

- Rodríguez de Montalvo, Garci 264–267, 272, 276
 Roger, Étienne 39
 Roger, Jean 303–304, 315
 Rogers, Owen 128
 Rolland, John 93, 104
 Rollenhagen, Georg 30
 Roseo da Fabriano, Mambrino 280, 286–287
 Rosenthal, L. 138
 Rousset, Jehan 27–28
 Roycroft, Thomas 39
 Rubens, Pieter Paul 184
- Sachs, Hans 41, 132, 137, 209, 341
 Sachse, Melchior (the Elder) 337–340
 Salamonius de Manfridonia, Octaviano 42
 Salomon, Bernard 31
 Sambucus 180
 Santa Maria, Damiano di 62, 242
 Sare, R. 39
 Sarnelli, Pompeo 307–308
 Sawbridge, George 39, 309
 Sawbridge, Hannah, widow of George 309–311
 Scarlatti, Alessandro 128
 Schabeler, Johannes 33
 Schedel, Hartmann 139
 Schedel, Mikołaj Aleksander 296
 Scheiding, Philipp von 175
 Schele, Johannes 327
 Scheningensis, Arvidus Olai 155
 Schinckel, Bruyn Harmanszoon 168, 180–182, 184
 Schmidt, Peter 281, 287
 Schnei'or, Josef 257
 Schönsperger, Johann 103, 106, 108, 112, 331
 Schopper, Hartmann 171
 Schreck, Valentin 137
 Schürer, Matthias 144
 Sergeant, Catherine 216
 Sertenas, Vincent 18, 273–276, 287
 Shakespeare, William 45
 Sharhorodskiy, Hryhoriy 241
 Shirley, John 285
 Sibylle of Cleves 228
 Siennik, Marcin 207–208, 301–302
 Silva, Feliciano de 266–267, 280, 283, 285
 Simmes, Valentine 59
 Smient, Otto Barentsz. 107, 112, 182
- Smit, Gerrit 38
 Smith, Richard 37
 Snellaert, Christiaen 49, 58
 Socrates 327
 Soest, Jan van 205
 Solis, Virgil 17, 171
 Soncino, Elizer ('Eliy'ezer Šwnsiyn) 287
 Sommaville, Antoine de 306
 Sorel, Charles 304
 Sorg, Anton 23, 110–112, 132
 Spalatin, Georg (Georg Burckhardt) 67, 155, 236–240, 250, 254, 256
 Sparwenfeld, Johan Gabriel 208
 Stachowicz, Stanisław 207
 Stahel, Peter 67, 155
 Steelsius, Joannes 35
 Steiner, Heinrich 53, 155, 198–199, 215, 236–237, 254, 291, 293
 Steinhöwel, Heinrich 23, 25–29, 31–33, 35–36, 41–42, 48, 51, 53, 65, 71–72, 75, 137–138, 140, 143, 150, 159
 Steinschaber, Adam 200, 223
 Stewart, Charles 259–260
 Stewart, Matthew (Earl of Lennox) 259
 Sthen, Hans Christensen 65
 Stiernhielm, Georg 209, 351
 Stolpe, Carl 175
 Stroobant, Pauwels 315
 Sundqvist, Ernst Petter 151
 Szarfenberg, Kryspin 160
 Szarfenberg, Maciej 49, 62, 103, 106, 346
 Szarfenberger, Mikołaj 299, 301
 Szarfenberger, Stanisław 32, 43, 293, 299, 301, 314
- Taetsma, Berent 149
 Tardif, Guillaume 26
 Tasso, Torquato 306
 Tesseni, Vencel 240, 256
 Thesing, Jan van 40, 44
 Thiele, Johan Rudolph 151
 Timoneda, Juan de 57
 Thüring von Ringoltingen 12, 139–140, 198, 209, 212
 Tournes, Jean de 31
 Tramezzino, Michele 280, 286–287
 Trepperel, Jean [II] 216

- Tressan, comte de (Louis-Élisabeth de La Vergne) 249
- Trojel, Isaac 58
- Tüsch, Hans Erhart 140
- Twine, Lawrence 59, 76
- Ulhart, Philipp 144
- Ulrichsøn, Oluf 32, 43
- Ungler, Florian 18, 101, 106
- Unglerowa, Helena 131
- Ungut, Meinhard (Meinardo) 130, 159, 268
- Valla, Lorenzo 20–21, 26
- Vanbrugh, Sir John 40
- Varela de Salamanca, Juan 268–269
- Venantius Fortunatus 50
- Vérard, Antoine 26, 132, 201
- Verdussen, Hieronymus [I] 183, 205, 216, 293–295, 315
- Verdussen, Hieronymus [V] 183–184
- Vervliet, Daniel 278
- Vincent of Beauvais 194
- Vinckel, Jacob 58, 71
- Vingaard, Matz 314, 350
- Vion, Charles de 306
- Vivaldi, Antonio 128
- Vives, Juan Luis 270–271
- Vlooswyck, Cornelis van 58
- Vorsterman, Willem 234, 236–237, 254
- Waesberghe, Jan [I] van 243
- Waldis, Burkhard 29
- Waldkirch, Henrich 208, 224
- Warbeck, Veit 228, 236–238, 240, 254, 256
- Warren, Thomas 39
- Weigere, Herman (Hermen) 161–162, 167, 172, 174–175, 189
- Weissenfelder, Lorenz 143
- Weißenhorn, Alexander [I] 339
- Welser, Markward (Marcus Velserus) 47, 71
- Wickradt, Johann (the Younger) 151–152, 159
- Wickram, Jörg 137, 350
- Wielandt, Joachim 248–249
- Wietor, Hieronim 18, 346
- Wijlicx van Santen, Derick 345
- Willem (author of *Van den vos Reynaerde*) 161, 166
- Willem (author of *Reynaerts historie*) 166
- Winblad, Eric 151
- Winter, Hanß 141
- Witte, Pierre 93
- Woensam von Worms, Anton 339
- Wolf, Johann 172
- Wolfe, John 282–283
- Wolff von Pforzheim, Jacob 29
- Worde, Wynkyn de 49, 59, 93, 100, 105, 168, 205–206, 224
- Wright, John 93
- Wyle, Nikolaus (Niklas) von 23, 140–141
- Zachariae, Justus Friedrich Wilhelm 209
- Zainer, Günther (Günter) 23, 25, 48, 53, 130, 137–140, 159
- Zainer, Johann 23, 42, 132, 138–139, 143
- Zanetti, Christophoro di 254
- Zeno, Apostolo 128
- Zimmermann, Hans 53
- Zink, Burkhard 289
- Zöpfel, David 172
- Zucco, Accio 21–22, 29, 42
- Zýma, Antonín Josef 60

Index of Titles

All titles are listed in strictly alphabetical order. Titles of works presenting a manifestation of a Top Ten narrative are indexed under the respective general reference titles and their variants in different vernaculars.

- A Pretty Book for Children or an Easy Guide to the English Tongue* 312
- Aaandelige Siunge-Koors Anden Part* 69
- Acerra Philologica* 74–75
- *Centuria Historiarum. Thet är Etthundrade vthwalde yttige lustige och tänkvärdige Historier och Discurser* 74–75
- Aesopus** 1, 4, 6–7, 14–16, 18, **19–44**, 63, 87, 95, 132, 138, 164, 210
- *Aesopus* (Danish) 32, 43
 - *Aesopus* (Dutch) 31–32, 34, 37, 43
 - *Aesopus* (English and Scottish) 30, 35, 37, 39–40, 42–43
 - *Aesopus* (French) 26, 28, 31, 36, 38, 40–42
 - *Aesopus* (German) 21, 23–25, 29–30, 39–40, 42, 171, 188
 - *Aesopus* (Hungarian) 43
 - *Aesopus* (Iberian) 31, 42–44
 - *Aesopus* (Italian) 21–22, 29, 42
 - *Aesopus* (Japanese) 43
 - *Aesopus* (Latin) 1, 20–23, 25, 27, 29, 31, 33, 36, 38, 40
 - *Aesopus* (Polish) 43
 - *Aesopus* (Russian) 40, 44
 - *Aesopus* (Swedish) 30, 44
- Alexander* 51, 139
- Alexanderlied* 50
- Amadis (Amadis de Gaule)** 4–5, 7, 15–18, 96, 132, 220, **259–287**
- *Amadis* (Dutch) 277, 279, 287
 - *Amadis* (English) 260, 282–284, 287
 - *Amadis* (French) 273, 275–276, 287
 - *Amadis* (German) 281, 287
 - *Amadis* (Hebrew) 297
 - *Amadis* (Iberian) 259, 262–272, 278, 280–281, 283, 285, 287
 - *Amadis* (Italian) 280, 287
- Aminta* 306
- An Easy and Compendious Introduction for Reading all sorts of Histories* 308–309
- Apollonius (Apollonius of Tyre)** 2–4, 6–7, 16, **45–86**, 87, 130, 138–140, 152, 157, 201, 207, 210, 249, 299, 350
- *Apollonius* (Czech) 49, 60–61
 - *Apollonius* (Danish) 50, 65–66
 - *Apollonius* (Dutch) 49, 57–58, 71–72
 - *Apollonius* (English) 49, 59
 - *Apollonius* (French) 48, 56–57
 - *Apollonius* (German) 48, 50–51, 53–55, 67, 139
 - *Apollonius* (Greek) 49
 - *Apollonius* (Hungarian) 12, 49, 63–64
 - *Apollonius* (Iberian) 47, 49, 57
 - *Apollonius* (Italian) 48, 56
 - *Apollonius* (Latin) 46–47, 51–52, 65, 75
 - *Apollonius* (Polish) 49, 62
 - *Apollonius* (Swedish) 50, 73
- Armer Heinrich* 2
- Belial* 139
- Bible* 16, 27–28
- Bibliothèque bleue* 41, 201–202, 216, 222, 249, 306
- Bibliothèque universelle des romans* 249
- Braunschweiger Weltchronik* 325
- Burgundische Historie* 140
- Canterbury Tales* 51, 127, 130, 132, 159
- Carmina Burana* 50
- Catalogue des livres de feu M. Barré* 308
- Catalogue des livres de la bibliotheque de feu Monsieur Larchevesque* 308
- Celestina* 237, 270
- Confessio amantis* 47
- Consolation of Philosophy (De consolatione philosophiae)* 115
- Contos e Histórias de Proveito e Exemplo* 131, 160
- Corps d'extraits de romans de chevalerie* 249
- Das Buch der Beispiele der alten Weisen* 171
- Das Buch der Liebe* 200, 220, 300

- Das Buch von der Tugend und Weissheit* 29
- De claris mulieribus* 138, 143
- *Von erlichen frowen* 143
- De doctrina dicendi et tacendi* 142
- De duobus amantibus historia* 140
- *Eurialus und Lucretia* 140–141
- *Euryalus and Lucretia* 63, 350–351
- De institutione foeminae christianae* 270
- De remediis utriusque fortunae* 67–68, 155
- *Von der Artzney bayder Glück, des guten vnd widerwertigen (Das Glücksbuch)* 67, 70
- *Speculum morale* 155
- Der Jungen Knaben Spiegel* 350
- *Unge Karlis oc Drenge Speiel* 350
- Der minnen loep* 127
- Der Pfaffe Amis* 331
- Der Vrouwenpeerle*, see also *Florentine*, *Griseldis* (Dutch), and *Helena* 16, 133, 147–149, 157
- Des pfaffen geschicht und histori vom kalenberg* 351
- Directorium humanae vitae* 171
- *Buch der Beispiele der alten Weisen* 171
- Disciplina clericalis* 23, 36
- Don Quixote* 298
- Ecbasis cuiusdam captivi per tropologiam* 164
- Eginhard von Böhmen* 2
- Emblematum liber* 37
- Examen de ingenios para las ciencias* 306
- Facetiae* 23
- Faust* 17
- Floire et Blancheflor* 4, 17
- *Flores oc Blantzeflor* 64
- *Florio und Bianceffora* 200, 220
- Florent et Lyon* 299
- *Kaiser Octavianus* 200, 299
- Florentine* (part of *Der Vrouwenpeerle*) 133, 147
- Fortunatus** 4–7, 15, 17–18, 54, 65, 87, 170, 199, 207, 210, 214, 219, 237, 249, **289–324**
- *Fortunatus* (Czech) 318
- *Fortunatus* (Danish) 294
- *Fortunatus* (Dutch) 294, 315
- *Fortunatus* (English) 304, 310–311, 315
- *Fortunatus* (French) 303, 306, 315
- *Fortunatus* (German) 199, 207, 237, 291–292, 303, 314
- *Fortunatus* (Hungarian) 317
- *Fortunatus* (Italian) 307, 317
- *Fortunatus* (Polish) 314
- *Fortunatus* (Swedish) 316
- *Fortunatus* (Yiddish) 317
- Friedrich Barbarossa* 2
- Geoffroy à la grand dent* 201–202, 221–222
- *Histoire de Geoffroy* 222
- Gesta Romanorum* 48, 52–53, 56–60, 62, 64–65, 67–68, 71, 75–76, 88
- *Die gesten of gheschienisse van Romem* 57–58
- *Historie Rozmáite z Rzymskich y z innych dzieiow wybrane* 49, 62, 299
- *Rimskija Dejanija* 48
- Giletta di Narbona* 146, 151–152, 156–158
- *Ein ander Hystory von aines Doctors der Artzney tochter* 146
- *En Docters datter* 151–152
- *En medicinae Doctoris Dotter* 151–152, 155
- Grisel y Mirabella* 203, 299
- *Historia di Aurelio et Isabella* 299
- *Historia bárzo piękna y żałosná o Equánušie Krolu Skockim* 299
- Griseldis** 4, 6–7, 16, 51, 71, 92, 95, **127–160**, 161, 165, 175, 249
- *Griseldis* (Czech) 127, 131, 160
- *Griseldis* (Danish) 150, 152–154, 159
- *Griseldis* (Dutch) 133, 147–149, 157, 159
- *Griseldis* (English) 127, 130, 157, 159
- *Griseldis* (French) 127, 130, 159
- *Griseldis* (German) 130, 132, 137–138, 141–142, 144–145, 150, 159, 171, 188
- *Griseldis* (Hungarian) 131, 160
- *Griseldis* (Iberian) 127, 159–160
- *Griseldis* (Icelandic) 157
- *Griseldis* (Italian) 127, 159
- *Griseldis* (Latin) 127
- *Griseldis* (Polish) 131, 160
- *Griseldis* (Russian) 131
- *Griseldis* (Swedish) 155–156, 160
- Guzmán de Alfarache* 303
- Herbarium* 301
- Hercules* 351
- Histoire comique de Francion* 304
- Histoires tragiques* 56

- Historia Alexandri magni* 63
Historia del emperador Carlo Magno y de los doce pares de Francia 242
Historia destructionis Troiae 63
 – *Historie van Troyen* 139
Historia di tre Giovanni: et di tre fate 298, 308
Historia o Lukrecji rzymskiej 296
***Historia septem sapientum Romae*, see SSR**
Histories (Herodotus, *Historiāi*) 20
Hver har sin Skæbne 69
Hystoria Sigismunde 23
- Il Decamerone* 4, 6, 57, 127–128, 130, 132, 134, 138, 146, 151, 158–159, 171
 – *Ciento Novelas* 130, 159
Iliad 242
Index librorum prohibitorum 183, 353
- Jourdain de Blaivies* 51
- La belle Hélène de Constantinople* 17, 147
 – *Helena de Verduldighe* (part of *Der Vrouwen- peerle*) 147–148
La storia di Ottinello e Giulia 243
Las patrañas 57
Leffnetz Compaß 208, 221
Le livre de la cité des dames 127
Le miroir des dames mariées 127
 “*lere vnd vnderweysung*” 141–143
Les quatre fils Aymon 4
Les vœux du paon 194
Liber Floridus 47
Libri facetiarum 335
Lyckens Hiul. En kaart Vnderuisning om Lyckens wstadighed oc Verdens løb 65
- Melusine*** 2, 4–7, 14–17, 87, 134, **191–224**, 234, 249, 301–302, 350
 – *Melusine* (Czech) 206, 218, 224
 – *Melusine* (Danish) 208, 221
 – *Melusine* (Dutch) 204–204, 212, 223
 – *Melusine* (English) 224
 – *Melusine* (French) 195–196, 201–203, 205, 209–210, 217, 221–222
 – *Melusine* (German) 12, 139–140, 199–200, 203, 207, 212–215, 219–220, 223
 – *Melusine* (Iberian) 202–203, 220, 223, 234
 – *Melusine* (Polish) 12, 207, 224, 296
 – *Melusine* (Swedish) 224
 – *Melusine* (Yiddish) 224
- Noctuae speculum* 341
- Oeconomia, Eller Huuszholdz-Book* 1
Œuvres poétiques (Charles de Vion) 306
Olivier de Castille 201, 220
 – *Oliveros de Castilla* 203
One Thousand and One Nights 226
Otia Imperialia 194–195
- Palmerin* 266, 269, 282
Pantheon 47
Parangon des nouvelles 345
Paris et Vienne 3, 203
 – *París i Viana* 203
Pericles, Prince of Tyre 45
Philomena 50
- Pierre et Maguelonne (Pierre de Provence et la belle Maguelonne)*** 4–7, 16, 87, 150, 199, **225–258**, 293, 350
 – *Pierre et Maguelonne* (Czech) 238, 258
 – *Pierre et Maguelonne* (Danish) 239, 248, 257
 – *Pierre et Maguelonne* (Dutch) 244, 254
 – *Pierre et Maguelonne* (French) 231, 235, 248, 252–253
 – *Pierre et Maguelonne* (German) 199–200, 236–238, 254–255, 293
 – *Pierre et Maguelonne* (Greek) 227, 254
 – *Pierre et Maguelonne* (Hungarian) 256
 – *Pierre et Maguelonne* (Iberian) 203, 233–235, 242, 248, 254–255, 257
 – *Pierre et Maguelonne* (Icelandic) 241
 – *Pierre et Maguelonne* (Italian) 242, 258
 – *Pierre et Maguelonne* (Polish) 238, 256
 – *Pierre et Maguelonne* (Russian) 241, 245, 258
 – *Pierre et Maguelonne* (Yiddish) 240, 257
- Pontus und Sidonia* 199
 – *Ritter Pontus* 200
- Reductorium morale* 194
Reynaert (Reynaert the fox) 4–7, 11, 15–18, 20, 87, **161–190**, 210, 249

- *Reynaert* (Danish) 162, 172–175, 189
- *Reynaert* (Dutch) 5, 12, 161–162, 165–167, 174, 176–178, 180, 184–185, 188
- *Reynaert* (English) 168, 188
- *Reynaert* (French) 5, 12, 162, 165–166, 174, 189
- *Reynaert* (German) 17, 162, 167, 169–171, 182, 186–188
- *Reynaert* (Polish) 182
- *Reynaert* (Swedish) 174–175, 189
- Roberto el Diablo* 203
- Robinson Crusoe* 3

- Salomon et Marcolphus* 94, 343, 345
- Schimpff und Ernst* 87, 170–171, 188, 335
- SSR** 4, 6–7, 15–18, 54, 63, **87–126**, 134, 138, 170, 199, 210, 249, 295, 299, 350
 - SSR (Arabic) 88
 - SSR (Byzantine) 88
 - SSR (Czech) 93, 100, 102
 - SSR (Danish) 101
 - SSR (Dutch) 92, 99, 107, 113
 - SSR (English, Scottish and Irish) 93, 100, 309
 - SSR (French) 88, 93, 100
 - SSR (German) 12, 87, 91, 99, 102–103, 106, 108–109, 111, 139, 171, 188, 199
 - SSR (Hebrew) 88
 - SSR (Hungarian) 94, 101
 - SSR (Iberian) 92, 100, 114
 - SSR (Italian) 88, 93
 - SSR (Latin) 88
 - SSR (Persian) 87
 - SSR (Polish) 93, 101, 299
 - SSR (Swedish) 102
 - SSR (Syriac) 88
- Skład albo skarbiec znakomity sekretów oekonomiej ziemianskiej* 296
- Speculum maius* 194
 - *Speculum naturale* 194
 - *Speculum peccatoris* 142

- The Child's new Play-Thing: being a Spelling-Book Intended to make the Learning to Read, a Diversion instead of a Task* 312
- The Golden Ass* 221
- The Interpretation of Dreams* 312
- The Pleasing Companion; or Short Histories to instruct and entertain all little Boys and Girls* 312
- Tirant lo Blanc* 270
- Tristan* 270
- Tuende deylige oc Nyttelige Historier at læse. Den Første om Griseldis. Den Anden om en Doctors Daatter aff Bononia*, see also *Griseldis* (Danish) and *Giletta di Narbona* 152–153, 159

- Ulenspiegel*** 4, 7, 15–16, 87, 199, **325–355**
 - *Ulenspiegel* (Czech) 349, 355
 - *Ulenspiegel* (Danish) 350–351, 355
 - *Ulenspiegel* (Dutch) 344, 354
 - *Ulenspiegel* (English) 8, 343, 345–346, 354
 - *Ulenspiegel* (French) 344, 354
 - *Ulenspiegel* (German) 5, 171, 188, 199, 325, 330–331, 335–336, 338–342, 353
 - *Ulenspiegel* (Latin) 345
 - *Ulenspiegel* (Polish) 346–348, 354
 - *Ulenspiegel* (Russian) 350, 355
 - *Ulenspiegel* (Swedish) 351, 355

- Valentin et Orson* 4, 17
 - *Valentine and Orson* 309
- Vanden kaetspele* 130, 132, 146, 157, 159

- Wigalois* 331
- Wunderliche und warhafftige Gesichte Philanders von Sittewald* 92

- Ysengrimus* 20, 165

- Zwo liebliche vnd nützliche Hystorien*, see also *Griseldis* (German) and *Giletta di Narbona* 145, 152

Index of Place Names

- Åbo 76
Albi 92
Alcalá de Henares 266
Alexandria 74, 226
Amakusa 32, 43
Amsterdam 39–40, 44, 58, 71, 107, 148, 168, 181, 247, 278, 293, 296, 345
Annaberg 200
Antioch 45–46
Antwerp (Antwerpen) 12–14, 27, 31, 33, 35–36, 38, 43, 91, 103, 132, 147–149, 161, 166–168, 174, 176, 178–179, 183–185, 189, 203–205, 223, 234, 243–244, 246–248, 254, 261, 270, 277–279, 287, 293–296, 305–306, 315, 339, 343–345, 354
Augsburg 5, 12, 23, 25–26, 37, 47–48, 53, 67, 91, 99, 103, 109, 111, 132, 137–138, 140–142, 144, 155, 159, 198–199, 214–215, 236–237, 246, 254, 282, 289–291, 293, 296, 314, 327, 331, 339
Avignon 232, 241, 246
- Babylon 74
Baeza 246
Bamberg 21, 24, 42
Barcelona 31, 43, 242, 246, 255
Basel 29, 140–141, 198, 223, 296
Bédarrides 297
Berlin 39, 172
Bologna 152, 297, 308, 327
Brescia 62
Bruges 18, 37
Brunswick (Braunschweig) 228, 325, 328
Brussels 246, 296, 341
Budenstetten 332
Burgos 233, 246, 266–267
- Caen 246, 297
Cluj (Koložsvár) 43, 49, 63, 94, 295
Coburg 228–229
Cologne (Köln) 14, 92, 137, 200, 246, 296, 335, 339, 342
Constantinople 17, 264, 285, 287
- Copenhagen (København) 13, 64–65, 69, 74, 151, 208, 224, 257, 246, 248–249, 295, 297, 314, 350
Cosenza 42
Cracow *see* Kraków
Cuenca 246, 267
Cyrene 45–46
- Dalkeith 93, 104
Debrecen 131, 160
Dedeleben 325
Delft 32, 34, 49, 58, 113, 167–168, 176, 180
Dendermonde 167–168
Dresden 137
Dublin 13, 169
- Edinburgh 35–37, 43, 104
Ephesus 45–46, 74–75
Epsom 40
Erfurt 335, 337–338, 341, 346
Estella 267
Eutin 172
Évora 31, 44, 246
- Falun 156
Florence 29, 56, 157
Frankfurt am Main 14, 20, 29, 53–54, 65, 67, 87, 108, 137, 170–172, 186–188, 198–200, 208, 214, 237, 239, 246, 261, 281, 287, 291–293, 295–297, 300, 302–303, 305, 317, 339–341, 352–353
Freiburg im Breisgau 29
Fürth 240, 247, 257
- Gävle 151
Geneva (Genève) 48, 56, 93, 100, 130, 159, 200–201, 223
Ghent 165, 168, 205, 296
Girona 246
Giza 74
Glasgow 169, 297
Gothenburg 351
Gouda 17, 57, 92, 99, 161, 167–168, 188
Groningen 149

- Haderslev 151
Halicarnassus 74
Hamburg 50, 53–54, 130, 144, 150–152, 172, 175, 200, 246, 255, 297, 314
Heidelberg 198, 202
Helsingør 150, 246
Homburg 353
- Ingolstadt 339
Itzehoe 172
- Jarosláv 207
Jerusalem 193–194
Jindřichův Hradec 206, 246
- Karlstadt 140
Kneitlingen 325
Kopparbergslagen 175
Kraków 14, 18, 32, 43, 49, 62, 101, 131, 207, 224, 238–239, 246, 256, 285, 293, 296–297, 299, 314, 346–347, 354
Kutná Hora 246
- Leiden 278
Leipzig 53–55, 172, 200, 246, 296
Leuven 30, 146, 159, 270, 278
Levoča (Lőcse) 240, 247, 256, 297, 317
Lille 297
Limoges 201, 246, 297
Linköping 151, 155
Lisbon (Lisboa) 160, 242, 246–247, 250, 257
Litomyšl 206
London 30, 37–40, 49, 59, 93, 100, 167, 169, 205–206, 224, 282, 284, 287, 296–297, 304, 309–312, 315, 345, 354
Lübeck 14, 17, 64, 99, 103, 130, 139, 144, 150–154, 159, 167, 169, 172–173, 188–189, 223, 325
Lusignan 193–195
Lviv 13, 207, 299
Lyon 14, 18, 26–28, 31, 33, 36, 42, 93, 201–202, 206, 209, 216, 227–229, 231–236, 241–242, 246, 251–253, 277, 281, 295, 297, 306–307
- Madrid 246
Magdeburg 53–54, 296, 332
- Maguelone (Villeneuve-lès-Maguelone) 226, 228, 252
Maillezais 193, 195
Malmö 32, 43
Medina del Campo 264, 266–267, 270
Mervent 196
Metz 147
Milan (Milano) 21, 29
Mölln 325
Mömpelgard 282
Montpellier 241, 246, 252
Moscow 131, 258
Munich 143
Mytilene 45
- Naples (Napoli) 18, 130, 138, 159, 226, 238, 253–258, 297, 307–308, 317
Newcastle 169
Novgorod 13
Nowy Dwór 353
Nuremberg (Nürnberg) 41, 53, 63, 132, 141, 144, 200, 212, 228, 238, 240, 246, 296
- Ocaña 271
Örebro 151
Offenbach 247
Olomouc 60, 206, 238–239, 246, 258, 295–296, 349
Olot 246
Olympia 74
- Padua 327
Paisley 41
Paris 18, 21, 31, 37–40, 56–57, 93, 146, 179, 201–202, 209, 216, 222, 232, 241, 246, 250, 273, 275, 277, 287, 297, 306, 308, 343, 354
Parthenay 193–195
Penrith 169
Pest 297
Philadelphia 40
Plzeň (Pilsen) 49, 60, 100
Porto 247
Prague (Praha) 27, 39, 43, 60–61, 206, 219, 246–247, 353
Preobrazhenskoe 131
Prostějov 32, 131, 160, 206

- Rava-Ruska 299
 Rees 345
 Regensburg 228
 Reutlingen 138, 200
 Richmond 40
 Rome (Roma) 46, 62, 89, 103, 116, 264–265,
 270–272
 Rostock 17, 30, 50, 64–66, 68, 70, 74, 101, 167,
 170, 172
 Rotterdam 57, 168, 181, 246, 278
 Rouen 31, 41, 202, 236, 241, 246, 248–251, 297,
 303–308, 315
 Rye 59

 Saint Petersburg (Sankt Petersburg) 131,
 350, 355
 Salamanca 246, 261, 266–272
 Saluzzo 128, 131, 144, 149
 Samos 19
 Saragossa *see* Zaragoza
 Sárvár 63
 Segovia 202
 Seville (Sevilla) 13, 31, 114–115, 130, 159, 203,
 233, 246, 254, 265–270, 273
 Siena 141
 Skalica 246
 Stockholm 13, 30, 44, 73–74, 102, 151, 155–156,
 160, 174–175, 189, 209, 297
 Strasbourg (Straßburg) 14, 29, 33, 108, 140,
 144–145, 151–152, 170, 198–199, 214, 291, 296,
 325, 328–333, 335–337, 339, 348, 350, 353
 Supraśl 246

 Tarascon 246
 Tarsus 45–46
 The Hague 58, 177
 Toledo 234–235, 246, 265–267

 Toulouse 27, 33, 202, 223, 232, 246
 Trent 183
 Troy 30, 75, 139
 Troyes 50, 202, 216–217, 222, 246, 250–251, 297,
 306
 Turin (Torino) 242, 247, 258
 Tyre 45–46

 Ulm 23, 33, 36, 42, 132, 138, 143
 Uppsala 50, 72
 Utrecht 47, 65, 72, 246, 278, 296

 Valence 232
 Valencia 21, 35, 57, 203, 246, 267, 271
 Valladolid 246, 267
 Venice (Venezia) 14, 29, 48–49, 56, 62, 132, 241,
 246, 254, 261, 271–274, 280, 287
 Vercelli 247
 Verona 21–22, 42, 62
 Vienna (Wien) 94, 101
 Vouvant 196

 Westminster 18, 42, 130, 159, 167–169, 188
 Warsaw 353
 Wittenberg 240
 Wolfenbüttel 172
 Wolverhampton 169
 Worcester 297
 Wrocław 160, 353

 York 297
 Ypres (Ieper) 147

 Zaragoza 27, 33, 42, 49, 57, 92, 100, 246,
 265–267, 270, 287
 Zurich 242, 246
 Zwolle 13

