Between Manuscript and Print

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Transcultural Perspectives, ca. 1400–1800

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Preface

This volume goes back to a conference which we held in February 2022.[1] The initial idea for the conference was developed in 2018 when we were planning the third and concluding funding period (2019–2023) of the Collaborative Research Centre (CRC) 933 "Material Text Cultures" *(Sonderforschungsbereich 933 "Materiale Textkulturen")*, a cooperation of Heidelberg University and the Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg. The idea was to bring together scholars within the CRC studying the 'fringes' of non-typographic cultures and the transition periods in which printing technologies were introduced in different societies. Thanks to the generous funding of the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (DFG), four projects of the CRC could closely collaborate and discuss questions of manuscript and print in Jewish and Christian Europe as well as Japan between about 1400 and 1800. These discussions laid the groundwork for the conference and this volume.

The CRC, which has been funded by the DFG since 2011, examines texts written on different materials, for instance on pillars, amulets, and scrolls, on papyri, parchment, and paper. Thereby the focus lies on the specific materiality, the evoked presence of the inscribed artifacts and the written texts themselves. The case studies investigate a variety of questions: How and under which circumstances were these artifacts produced? In which spatial arrangements were they located? Who had access to them? How and in which contexts were they used? These questions are of great analytical importance because writing, script-bearing artifacts, and related practices are bound by an irrevocable mutual connection that has a huge explanatory power for the understanding of the transmitted texts and their cultural surroundings. The CRC mostly examines artifacts from cultures in which means of mass production for written texts were unknown or unavailable.[2] However, the last funding period also focuses on periods of transformation. The aim is to better understand how and if means of mass production of texts change their materiality, which brings us to the core of the volume's topic.

Two other traits of the CRC are of great importance to the design of this volume. On the one hand, the CRC fosters interdisciplinary research and discussions. On the other hand, it studies different regions and cultures with a comparative approach. Within the research center, our four projects closely collaborated to study how the materiality of texts changed in the period between about 1400 and 1800 by focusing on Europe and Japan. For the volume, this interdisciplinary and transregional scope was broadened by further case studies from outside the CRC.

1 Due to the pandemic the conference materialized as an online event, where the precirculated chapters of this volume were discussed. A brief report of the conference can be found here https://sfb933.hypotheses.org/3065 (07/04/2022).

2 This paragraph is based on "Goals & Central Ideas" of the CRC 933, which can be found online https://www.materiale-textkulturen.org/article.php?s=2 (06/04/2022). On the establishment and history of the CRC 933: Hilgert/Lieb 2015, 7–16. Cf. for the methods of the CRC: Hilgert 2010; Hilgert 2016.

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The principal investigators *(Projektleiterinnen und -leiter)* and research associates *(wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiter und Mitarbeiterinnen)* of all four projects jointly organized the conference as well as contributed papers and responses or chaired sessions during the conference. Because all four projects come from different disciplines within the research center, they are briefly introduced in the following in the order of their project number.[3]

The project A06 "The Paper Revolution in Late Mediaeval Europe. Comparative Investigations into Changing Technologies and Culture in 'Social Space'" is led by the historian and medievalist Bernd Schneidmüller. This project examines the historically important change of technology and culture in late medieval Europe by focusing on the "paper revolution". Key foci are the development, proliferation, and differentiation of paper-use.[4] The two former research associates Carla Meyer-Schlenkrich (now Münster) and Paul Schweitzer-Martin (now Munich) contributed a joint chapter on the *Koelhoffsche Chronik* (1499) for this volume.

Hanna Liss's project B04 "The Masora of the Hebrew Bible in its Various Material Properties" studies the material changes of this key religious text by focusing on incunabula, early prints, and related manuscripts. It investigates the reception and significance of the Masora and analyzes the various actors involved in book production as well as their altered social fields. It also explores the philological consequences that have come about with the printing of books and the establishment of a standardized Masora, which are relevant to this day.[5] As research associate Federico dal Bo has worked extensively on questions of the history and theory of 'text' and enriched our discussions on the subject. In Heidelberg, Jewish Studies is situated at its own institution. Among others, the Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg and Heidelberg University closely collaborate through the joint CRC.

While the first two projects focus on the 14th to 16th century, Sylvia Brockstieger's project B13 "The Order of Knowledge and Biographical Writing. Calculated Handwriting in Printed Books of the Early Modern Period" covers much of the early modern period from the 16th to the early 18th century. As a research associate, Rebecca Hirt is focusing on calendrical writing,[6] while the project overall draws attention to the interaction of handwriting and print within early modern books. Just recently, Sylvia Brockstieger and Rebecca Hirt published an edited volume on 'Handwriting in Print'.[7]

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3 More information and recent publications of the projects can be found here: https://www.materiale-textkulturen.org/subprojects.php (07/04/2022).

4 A summary of the project and preliminary results can be found in Schneidmüller/Schweitzer-Martin 2020. Key publications: Meyer/Schultz/Schneidmüller 2015; Schultz 2018; Meyer-Schlenkrich 2018; Schweitzer-Martin 2022.

5 Key publications of the project: Liss 2021; Leipziger 2021; Krauß/Leipziger/Schücking-Jungblut 2020; Petzold 2019.

6 Hirt 2023a; further key publications: Brockstieger 2020; Brockstieger 2021a; Brockstieger 2021b; Hirt 2023b.

7 Cf. Brockstieger/Hirt 2023.

Melanie Trede from the Department of East Asian History of Art is conducting the project B14 "Interactive Materialities: Interrelationships between the Written/Painted and the Printed in Japan of the Long 17th Century" with Radu Leca as a research associate. This subproject examines the field of tension between illustrated manuscripts and printed media in 17th century Japan. It studies the shifting meanings of the material presence of text-bearing artifacts in the liminal phase of emerging commercial print production accompanied by continuing manuscript production.[8] Radu Leca (now Hong Kong) wrote the chapter "The Media Trajectory of Kano Naganobu's *Merry-making under Cherry and Aronia Blossoms*" for this volume.

We were grateful to find further scholars from Heidelberg and beyond who were willing to engage with questions concerning the relationship of manuscript and print, thereby broadening the volume's scope regarding temporality, spatiality, and the variety of studied text genres. In addition, the conference and the discussions were enriched by two public keynote lectures. Katrin Kogman-Appel (Münster) spoke on "The Passover Haggadah: Material Change in an Age of Media Change". This lecture highlighted how even a highly stable text can change its materiality over time and how enlightening it can be to study the specific context of use. Peter Kornicki's (Cambridge, UK) lecture "Book Production and the Choice of Technologies in Pre-modern Japan" showed that xylographic printing had great importance in cultural circles outside of Europe and that especially in Japan typography did not necessarily prevail, particularly due to the lack of flexibility in layout and ability to integrate illustrations.

Finally, we want to thank all the organizers and participants for their contributions and enthusiastically engaging in this project. Rebecca Hirt, Radu Leca, and Samuel Sugerman helped us with the editing process and provided translations. Nicolai Dollt patiently undertook the copy editing. We are grateful for the DFG's funding and the support of the CRC's board. Last, we want to thank the editorial board for accepting this volume in the series "Materiale Textkulturen".

Heidelberg/Munich, Fall 2022
Sylvia Brockstieger & Paul Schweitzer-Martin

8 Recent publications: Leca 2022; Trede 2021.

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Sylvia Brockstieger & Paul Schweitzer-Martin

Between Manuscript and Print—Introduction

Libraries and research institutions around the world hold countless manuscripts and early printed books.[1] Some of the most prestigious and beautiful reading rooms are dedicated to these rare materials. Even smaller institutions often have their own division and sometimes a separate reading room or area for these holdings. While these smaller institutions often only have one reading room for their special collections, large institutions, such as the British Library in London, the Library of Congress in Washington, D. C., the Royal Library of Belgium in Brussels, or the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz have multiple reading rooms, among them a rare books reading room and a manuscript reading room. The precise names of these reading rooms vary slightly. However, the division roughly runs between a room for manuscripts and one for printed materials, which is indicated by their respective names. In practice this separation is not so clear cut. While for instance at the Library of Congress incunables have to be studied at the rare books reading room (Rare Book & Special Collections, LJ 239), in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin they are to be found in the manuscript reading room (*Handschriftenlesesaal*). This example shows that a variety of factors can be taken into account when classifying rare books: Their materiality and production date, however, are two of the most common.

A book's date and method of production not only are reflected in reading rooms but also in call numbers. No matter the institution's size, almost all libraries rely on different call number systems for manuscripts and printed books. Often, they contain a significant amount of information about a book. They differentiate, for example, between the language of a text, indicate if a printed text is an incunable or was produced after 1500, and sometimes even reveal previous owners. However, again, a common division in call numbers can be found between manuscript and printed artifacts.

Over the centuries, libraries have established individual reference systems suitable for their collections and storage facilities. Some books, however, are disruptive for this system. One example is *Sammelbände* that contain both manuscripts and printed materials. In earlier centuries, libraries would separate these materials and shelve them 'appropriately' as manuscript or print. This obviously was not possible for mixed

1 See Pettegree/Der Weduwen 2021 on the history and development of libraries.

This publication originated in the Collaborative Research Centre 933 "Material Text Cultures. Materiality and Presence of Writing in Non-Typographic Societies" (subproject B13 "The Order of Knowledge and Biographical Writing. Calculated Handwriting in Printed Books of the Early Modern Period [16th and 17th Century]" and subproject A06 "The Paper Revolution in Late Mediaeval Europe. Comparative Investigations into Changing Technologies and Culture in 'Social Space'"). The CRC 933 is funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG).

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materials, such as printed books with individual manuscript pages. An example for this case is the so-called *Stammbücher* (*alba amicorum*): At Heidelberg University's library, some are categorized as 'manuscripts' and subsequently filed under the owner's name, while others are cataloged under the printed book which forms the printed 'base' for the handwritten *album amicorum*.

This 'great divide' between manuscript and print culture is not only visible in the shelfing and cataloguing systems of most libraries,[2] but also deeply engraved in the collective memory of the western world. It is only in recent scholarship that the transition from a predominant 'culture of handwriting' to a predominant 'culture of print' in the early modern period has not been described in terms of a teleological process but rather as a complex event in cultural history which is characterized by various forms of transitions, simultaneities, and of shifting meanings.[3] The emphasis and unique approach of this volume is to provide a cross-cultural, comparative view on said processes in the late medieval and early modern periods, combining research on Christian and Jewish European book culture with findings on East Asian manuscript and print culture. This approach highlights interactions and interdependencies between manuscript and print culture instead of retracing a linear process from the manuscript book to its printed successor or by searching for the invention of printing.[4]

Traditional contributions from the fields of book history, medieval and early modern history, and art history have shown, for example, under which factors—such as changed production and market conditions and the influence of new technologies—European book culture developed from one being dominated by handwriting and manuscripts to one being dominated by typography.[5] However, a more global perspective underscores the finding that manuscript culture did not disappear, but rather, in central Europe as well as in Iceland or Japan, prevailed throughout the early modern period.[6] Furthermore, contributions from literary studies have long examined how the potentials of the new medium 'printed book' affected the question of which languages were chosen for specific types of literary production, and how literature as such also changed its thematic and aesthetic face under the auspices of the specific early modern epistemic and media layout.[7] A more 'traditional' research question in

2 Cf. Gantert 2019 for collections of manuscripts, incunables, and early printed books in libraries. According to McKitterick 2018, 47 this practice goes back to the 17th century.

3 Cf. Dover 2021, 24–25. This also reflects in current discussions. Some examples for recent conferences discussing these questions are: History of the Book Conference: "Print and Manuscript" (St. Andrews, July 2022); "Handwriting in Print. Commenting, Correcting, Rewriting, 1500–1800" (Heidelberg, September 2021); "Manuscript after Print" (Vienna, April 2017).

4 Part of the following reflections can also be found in Brockstieger/Hirt 2023b.

5 Cf. for instance Hellinga/Härtel 1981; Müller 1988; Steinmann 1995; Neddermeyer 1998; Schanze 1999; Braun 2006; Buringh/Zanden 2009; Giesecke 1991; Eisenstein 2005; Needham 2015; Schmitz 2018, 11–41; Dover 2021, 18.

6 Cf. Kornicki 2019, 272–284; Glauser 2021, 1–28.

7 Cf. Nafde 2020, 120–144; Rautenberg 2021; Hegel/Krewet 2022.

this context would be, for example, how texts were transferred from manuscript into print and what changes they underwent during that process, or how they were aimed at different readerships depending on their material composition. These types of cases have been studied extensively.[8] More recently, scholars have asked what actors were involved and how they interacted with and through their artifacts: Research in literary studies and book history in particular has attempted to write the history of early modern literature and media microhistorically from the perspective of individual printers and their regional and social embeddings in order to demonstrate the crucial role printers and publishers played in the programmatic readjustment of the book market—often between 'manuscript and print'—and also of literature as such.[9]

Another newer research question, which looks beyond the borders of the printing press as an institution, is which transformations handwriting as a cultural technique underwent under the conditions of the printing age, how it changed its functions (e. g., individualization, adapting the aura of authority and ephemerality at the same time), and which new forms of interaction between the handwritten and the printed text emerged—and how these interferences can be productively described from a comparative cultural perspective in order to fully understand the epistemic and material processes involved.[10]

Texts written by hand in the printing age are hierarchized differently than before. For the most part, handwritten texts now become not completed codices, but working instruments, also in the sense of scholarly activity: Scholarly techniques of annotating and excerpting, for example, played an important role in academic circles and didactic contexts from the middle ages throughout the early modern period.[11] The fact that printed books in the early modern period were to a large extent designed to be worked with[12] is also evidenced by the fashion of having purchased books inserted with blank pages by the bookbinder, which invited annotation or further writing.[13] In general, manuscripts in the age of print often have more of a provisional status, especially when they are prepared for the book market, and are sometimes 'only' intermediate stages on the way to the finished, printed book, which in this perspective appears as a static end product of a dynamic process, in which forms of collective authorship (in the medium of handwritten interventions) could also come into play.[14] Even though the impression prevailed for a long time that handwritten products had fallen

8 Cf. for instance Braun 2006.

9 Cf. for instance Brockstieger 2018; Limbach 2021; Schweitzer-Martin 2022.

10 Cf. Augustyn 2003; Mentzel-Reuters 2013; Kornicki 2019; Dover 2021; Brockstieger/Hirt 2023a. For material preconditions see Bellingradt/Reynolds 2021.

11 See, for instance, for the 18th century Décultot 2014 and for the early modern period in general Décultot/Zedelmaier 2017.

12 Cf. the case studies in Brockstieger/Hirt 2023a.

13 Cf. Brendecke 2005; Feuerstein-Herz 2017; Feuerstein-Herz 2019.

14 Cf. Ehrmann 2022; Pabst/Penke 2022.

far behind printed texts in terms of quantity with the advent of the printing age,[15] this is also due to the fact that handwritten preparatory work was often destroyed at the time: A new kind of 'bequest consciousness' ("Nachlassbewusstein"[16]) about the preservation value of one's own or other people's handwritten documents and the sense of the manuscript as a medium of unique artistry only emerged in the 18th century and then went hand in hand with new concepts of authorship, individuality, and distinctiveness. Then, not only the large codex-shaped manuscript, but also the small handwritten product, i. e., the handwritten signature, were not only legal authority (as they already were in the middle ages), but also were ascribed a market value, for example in the autograph trade.[17] Handwritten daily communication, for example in the form of letters or little notes, acquired its own cultural significance and became the bearer of a new sort of 'emotional culture', which was also reflected as such in a new literary genre, the epistolary novel. In this context, a handwritten artifact, especially written by an important author, could take on a static, auratic character.

However, these are processes that only really emerge in the century of the Enlightenment, but which, in a certain sense, are based on the manifold dynamics between handwriting and print from the 15th to the 17th century. In this context, the many forms of the coexistence and interdependence of handwriting and print have been noted again and again, but have not yet been comprehensively researched, especially not in a transcultural perspective. The questions outlined above are of ongoing importance and inspire new research, especially in light of newer conceptualizations of 'text', 'writing', and 'materiality', which specifically characterize the Collaborative Research Center (CRC) "Material Text Cultures" in Heidelberg and which have led us to approach these questions again from an interdisciplinary and comparative perspective.[18]

While each chapter is written as a disciplinary study focused on one specific case from the respective field, the volume as a whole allows for transcultural perspectives. Following this scheme, the volume obviously cannot study the field of interactions and transition(s) between manuscript and print or the scholarly questions outlined above comprehensively or systematically. However, it aims to highlight the importance of this field and to broaden its scope to foster further scholarship. The case studies' variety in regard to their cultural and regional settings between about the 15th and 18th century is key to this cause. Some of them, e. g., **Radu Leca's** chapter, therefore also focus on the artifacts' reception history beyond the premodern era and thereby provide further prospects of the topic. Quite a number of overarching questions and aspects regarding the interrelationship of manuscript and print are touched upon by

15 Cf. for instance Brandis 1997, 55.

16 Cf. Sina/Spoerhase 2013; Sina/Spoerhase 2017; Benne 2015.

17 Cf. The Multigraph Collective 2018, 195.

18 Cf. Meier/Ott/Sauer 2015 for these concepts. Also see the preface of this volume for more information regarding the CRC.

the volume's chapters. We want to point out only four of these phenomena that connect the case studies:

First, texts are commonly characterized as handwritten or printed. However, books are not necessarily perceived and designed along these common distinctions. This volume highlights, e. g., in the chapters by **Joana van de Löcht, Uwe M. Korn, Silvia Hufnagel,** and **Sasaki Takahiro,** that certain manuscript and print features are purposely used for the other medium. Thus, this is clearly a cross-cultural phenomenon. Likewise, across cultural boundaries, books are more than just the (re)production of text. Many other features from the writing surface (mostly paper and parchment) to the binding primarily define these artifacts. **Pia Eckart's** chapter especially underscores the importance of the arrangement of texts within a binding. Overall, the difference between actually writing and producing a book is of great importance.

Second, this is followed by the question of the form of handwriting in the age of print. There is a difference between writing in a composed manner and thereby working towards a fixed text—i. e., when handwriting is used in an artistic form—and whether handwriting is used as a complementary technique or to dynamize printing *(ars manu scribendi* vs. *ars artificialiter scribendi)*. This is how we can differentiate the term 'handwriting'—which comprises anything from one hand-written character to large amounts of text—from the term 'manuscript'—which implies a body of text. Both forms of handwritten text are evaluated differently and play different roles in various cultural and textual settings, as, for example, **Joana van de Löcht's** chapter shows for German letters of the early modern period and as **Sasaki Takahiro** elucidates for early printing in Japan. Both highlight features of printed and manuscript texts in the respective other medium.

Third, books are valuable and are attributed with value for numerous reasons. Depending on the cultural setting, the age of a book, or its genre, different concepts of value are ascribed to manuscript books and printed books. Furthermore, language, the intended recipients, and availability have to be considered. Studying collections and their history can help us understand how the value of books and printed artifacts was conceived and how it changed over time, as is described by **Ilona Steimann, Radu Leca,** and **Pia Eckhart. Carla Meyer-Schlenkrich's** and **Paul Schweitzer-Martin's** joint chapter shows how a book's value changed over time when the content was viewed from new perspectives. Distinguishing between public and private collections, for example, and the context of use can help understand which audience the artifact was aimed at and how it was perceived over time.

Lastly, several chapters touch upon the question of usability and affordance. How do manuscript and print facilitate the usability of a text and which advantages do the respective media have? **Carla Meyer-Schlenkrich** and **Paul Schweitzer-Martin** point out how within a few decades layout and design changed, leading to adaptations and copying in manuscripts as highlighted above. **Sasaki Takahiro** elaborates on the development of early printing in Japan and interactions between Japanese and European techniques and layout features. These examples show that the aspect of

layout features and affordance is of special interest for the comparative study of European, both Jewish and Christian, and Japanese books.

These four aspects connect the individual studies and give a first glimpse of the following chapters: Each of them investigates a specific artifact, a phenomenon or field of printing history from a different field of research and scholarship. Despite the diversity and the broad scope, the chapters highlight the complexity of the relationship of manuscript and print in different regions and cultures between the 15th and 18th century and as a whole provide a transcultural perspective on an important phenomenon of the period.

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Carla Meyer-Schlenkrich & Paul Schweitzer-Martin

The Risk to Print History in the Late 15th Century

Johann Koelhoff's Chronicle Project in 1499

1 Introduction

In contrast to other media revolutions in history, scholarship has described the 'Gutenberg-revolution' as striking because the invention and dissemination of printing was already perceived as a groundbreaking change by its contemporaries. Today, we know an astonishingly large number and variety of historiographical and encyclopedic texts, letters, poems, dedicatory letters and colophons, even legal opinions, and edicts that reflect the attention and euphoria but also skepticism and objections people in the Middle Ages developed towards the new medium.[1]

An example for such a discussion can be found in the *Cronica van der hilliger stat van Coellen*, which will be at the center of the following article. It was published in Cologne in 1499 by Johann Koelhoff the Younger and often is named *Koelhoffsche Chronik* after its publisher.[2] Almost three full pages of the large leaves tightly packed with printed text describe the development and dissemination of the new technology in detail. In part the information given is even original. Overall, the passage impressively reflects the beneficial effects of printing for humanity in those dark days.[3]

The anonymous author of the chronicle drew his information from a variety of sources: On the one hand, he seems to have acquired his knowledge by reading other scholarly works. He explicitly recommends two books regarding writing and written

1 For a survey of the key arguments of this debate and an introduction to this scholarship cf. Meyer-Schlenkrich 2018, chapter B.3. For a collection of such texts cf. Widmann 1973; Widmann 1977; Mertens 1983, 83–95; Giesecke 1991, 124–207, 476–488. The most recent study mostly with examples from Italy for the earliest period is Eisenstein 2011, 4–33.

2 An introduction to the chronicle and a recent survey of editions and scholarship can be found in Hanauska 2014, 347–356. For a continuously updated online bibliography cf. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften 2021.

3 The headline of the relevant passage already summarizes this very clearly: *Wanne. Wae ind durch wen is vonde[n] dye vnvyssprechlich kunst boicher tzo drucken*, *Kölnische Chronik* 1499 (GW 6688), fol. CCCXIv to CCCXIIv. The references in this article follow the copy ULB Münster, Inc 173, and the original printed foliation. For a summary and partial German translation of the chapter, cf. Geldner 1975, 441–456, Buschinger 2007, 477–478. Information considered new and innovative by scholars are the anonymous author's remarks that the first printed book from Gutenberg's workshop in Mainz was a *Bybel zo latijn* printed with type later used for liturgical prints or that Donat editions printed with woodblocks in the Netherlands were models for his invention. Cf. Schlechter 2005, 70–71.

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culture.[4] On the other hand, he conducted oral inquiries. One of his sources, which he explicitly mentions, was Ulrich Zell, 'the honorable master of the art of printing' (*d[er] Eirsame man Meyster Vlrich tzell*). Zell is introduced as the one to have brought this art to Cologne, and 'in the year 1499' (*zertzit, anno MCCCCXCIX*), when the author inquired with him, he still ran his workshop.[5] Through Zell it was possible for the anonymous author to place the metropolis on the Rhine into a distinguished position in printing history. He accurately asserts that the first among the printers had been a Strasbourg-born citizen with the name *joncker Johan Gudenburch*. However, the chronicle argues—not quite correctly from today's perspective[6]—that the new art had made its way 'first' to Cologne (*alre eyrst*), even before it arrived in Strasbourg or Venice.[7]

At a first glance, pride in Cologne seems to have been the reason for a full chapter of the chronicle on the recent invention of printing with movable type. In fact, the book considered itself as *Cronica van der hilliger Stat van Coellen* ('a chronicle of the holy city of Cologne'), as it states on the first page.[8] It explicitly wanted to narrate the city's history, and modern scholarship describes it as the climax and completion of Cologne's medieval vernacular historiography.[9] Nevertheless, the author's scope did not end at the city's walls: The events of Cologne's history are not only embedded in a history of the archbishopric of Cologne and the *duytsche[n] landen* ('German lands') but also in a universal framework of history that begins with the biblical story of Genesis.[10]

Therefore, at a second glance, the author's observations regarding the introduction of printing seem far less patriotic, and also the local significance does not seem to be his decisive argument. Moreover, and the headline of the paragraph already indicates this, the 'unspeakable' (*unuyssprechlich*) benefits of this new art for mankind,

4 The author recommends two books with the same title, *De laude scriptorium*, one written by the *groiss beroempte[n] Doctoir* Johannes Gerson, who, however, had died before the introduction of printing. The other work mentioned was written by the Benedictine abbot of Sponheim Johannes Trithemius in 1492 and printed for the first time in 1494. Opposed to the author of the chronicle, Trithemius mainly criticizes the new technology. Cf. *Kölnische Chronik* 1499 (GW 6688), fol. CCCXIv; Herweg 2010, 391–477.

5 *Dat begynne ind vortganck der vurß kunst hait myr mu[n]tlich vertzelt d[er] Eirsame man Meyster Vlrich tzell va[n] Hanauwe. boichdrucker zo Coelle[n] noch zertzijt. anno MCCCCxcix. durch den die kunst vurß is zo Coelle[n] kome[n]. Kölnische Chronik* 1499 (GW 6688), fol. CCCXIIr. Cf. Corsten 2007 for Ulrich Zell.

6 Cf. Schmitz 2018, 358 for the spread of the new technology; cf. Rautenberg 1996, 7–10 for Cologne's print workshops.

7 *Kölnische Chronik* 1499 (GW 6688), fol. CCCXIIr.

8 Cf. *Kölnische Chronik* 1499 (GW 6688), title page without foliation.

9 Cf. Beckers 1985, 7.

10 Cf. the subtitle of the chronicle, *Kölnische Chronik* 1499 (GW 6688), fol. IIr, which underscores that the book wanted to be a *tzytboich* that reports *van den geschichten der vergangen Jairen in duytschen landen und sunderlinge der heilger Stat Coellen und yrer busschove*. The edition, prepared by Herman Cardauns in the 19th century, unfortunately picked out solely the parts of the chronicle concerning the history of Cologne so that according to Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken 1984, 68, it gives a wrong impression of the text. Following her estimation, only about 11 % of the text specifically regards Cologne's history. Cf. Von den Brincken 2001, 88; Henn 1987, 232–236.

especially for all 'good Christians' (*goide[n] Criste[n] mynschen*) and their salvation, are at the center of his attention. According to the chronicle, God himself gifted printing with movable type to mankind in his unfathomable wisdom enabling all to find the path to beatitude by reading him- or herself (*selffs lesen*) or by listening to reading (*hoeren lesen*). The text continues to suggest that the new art of printing enriched and enlightened scholars with knowledge of Latin, nuns, and monks, but also lay people who read German or let it be read to them, and in this way soon the path to beatitude would be known to all mankind. The author's text is permeated by the belief that only reading makes one mature and that printing finally makes it possible for everyone to 'cultivate the field of their reasoning' (*dat sij den acker yrs verstantz moege[n] plantze[n] vn[n] beseen*).[11]

The anonymous author's judgment regarding printing with movable type is exclusively positive, although he obviously knew critical assessments and also mentioned them. And he goes even further in his argument: For him, it is apparent and undeniable that books produced by printers are significantly better than the previous hand copied volumes (*vngelijch besser* [...]*, dan vur mails gewest geschreuen*).[12] This brings us to the center of this volume's topic: What are the reasons for the author's assessment? Can this opinion be traced in the production process of the chronicle and its transmission thereafter?

Based on his clear judgment, it is unsurprising that the author of the chronicle did not circulate his book in handwritten copies but rather wanted it to be printed. The transmission history clearly indicates that the chronicle was compiled solely to be printed.[13] Handwritten copies of Koelhoff's Chronicle are only known to us as later transcriptions of parts of the printed edition.[14] However, today, not even a setting copy exists that must have been used by the typesetter(s). Compared with other examples this is quite remarkable: The *Straßburger Chronik* of Jacob Twinger von Königshofen, which the anonymous author consulted and explicitly cites, for instance was copied in handwriting numerous times before it was printed in Augsburg.[15]

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11 *Kölnische Chronik* 1499 (GW 6688), fol. CCCXIv, CCCXIIr.

12 *Kölnische Chronik* 1499 (GW 6688), fol. CCCXIIv.

13 Interestingly, many scholars write that the chronicle was the first vernacular chronicle to be printed. Cf. for example Buschinger 2007, 465.

14 Only one substantially shortened copy from 1526 is explicitly known to scholarship (*Clein cronica van Coellen*). According to Beckers 1985, 9 the text of this manuscript is narrowed down to the events concerning Cologne and augmented by events up until the year 1526. In part, the views of the chronicle's author are criticized and polemicized. According to Max Plassmann, whom we thank very much for this information, further copies can be found in the Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln. This corresponds with the observation of Hermann Cardauns in the late 19th century that a variety of partial copies, especially concerning the unrests and conflicts of 1396 and 1481, could be found in Cologne. Cf. Cardauns 1876, 248.

15 For the differences between the multiple editions of Twinger's Chronicle see in detail Serif 2020, see particularly 79 for the printed versions. According to Ina Serif, the printer's workshop in Augsburg

Instead, a stunning number of copies of the printed edition of Koelhoff's Chronicle survived: In total at least 240 pieces, some of them fragments, are held by libraries and public institutions across the globe. According to the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* and *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* they are held by 172 institutions in 23 countries. Besides Germany these are Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, the Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Hungary, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Vatican City.[16] In addition, we know about further privately-owned copies.[17] Only recently, a family from Cologne offered an illuminated copy to the municipal history museum of Cologne for sale.

Despite this extraordinarily high number of extant copies, many scholars assume that the initiators of Koelhoff's Chronicle were not rewarded for their courage and their entrepreneurial risk. It is widely discussed whether Koelhoff's Chronicle was a 'great miscalculation' for its publisher, due to him overestimating the sales market for such a vernacular book, or to what extent this (claimed) failure was caused by censorship measures of the authorities in Cologne. This is the reason for us to critically review the scholarship we have gathered so far about the origin and reception of the chronicle and to supplement it with our own observations regarding the materiality of this incunable, gained through the autopsy of a total of 25 original or digitized copies.[18]

In order to take a closer look at our case study in an apparently precarious transitional phase between 'manuscript' and 'print culture', the following questions should guide us: Why was a chronicle of the city of Cologne in the 1490s printed in the vernacular? What do we know about the recipients and how they perceived the chronicle? How did the production of such a voluminous book work? What difficulties did the producers face that can be regarded as new compared to manuscript production? To what extent does the printing process in general differ from the requirements and conditions of modern printing? In short, must manuscript and print in the 15th century be understood as oppositions, or are they not rather gradual transitions? What was reminiscent of the process of manuscript production and where did innovations occur?

We want to approach these topics on a praxeological level. Therefore, we will follow the different actors involved in the printing and reception process of the chronicle and ask how we can imagine their actions and to what extent these can be evaluated from a modern perspective as 'still' belonging to the manuscript culture or as 'already'

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thought that only the more universal parts of the Twinger's Chronicle would sell well and omitted the parts regarding Strasbourg's city and diocesan history.

16 Cf. ISTC ic00476000 and GW 6688 (accessed 19/04/2023). We want to thank Falk Eisermann for reviewing and updating the holdings in the GW.

17 In a newspaper article from 2013 (Kreikebaum 2013) the art dealer Karl Schmidt of Cologne estimated that ten to 20 copies were owned privately—one by himself—without providing a source for his knowledge.

18 A list of these copies can be found at the end of this article.

belonging to the printing age. The first chapter will focus on the anonymous author of Koelhoff's Chronicle and his attitude towards printed literature. In the second chapter, we will look at the printer Johann Koelhoff as the initiator of the project, while in a third section the anonymous typesetters, printers, and wood cutters of the chronicle and the complex process of creating the book in the first half of the year 1499 will be examined. The fourth and fifth chapters will analyze the recipients and readers of Koelhoff's Chronicle: A first section will deal with the authorities in Cologne and the censorship efforts attributed to them by modern scholarship. The last chapter will deal with the chronicle's readers and their (handwritten) 'traces of reception' that have come down to us in the extant copies of the printed edition.

2 The Anonymous Author of Koelhoff's Chronicle

Although he frequently referenced himself in the first person singular in his text, the chronicle's author does not reveal his name to the readers. This led to speculation about his identity early on: Soon enough, the author was suspected to be a cleric who wanted to remain anonymous in order to expose and denounce grievances within the clergy with the impetus of a reform theologian (as is also expressed in the passage on printing paraphrased at the beginning of this article).[19] Scholars associated him with various mendicant orders: In the 16th century the author was assumed to have been a Dominican friar from Cologne.[20] In 1982, Severin Corsten suggested that the author might have been a member of the Order of Saint Augustine. Their monastery was in the street *Große Sandkaul* close to the printing workshop that was located in the so-called house *Rijle*.[21] Wolfgang Schmitz, however, contradicted this hypothesis in 2020. Instead, for good reasons, he suggested the Cologne branch of the Carthusian Order, founded in 1334, as the origin of the work.[22]

Regarding the content, the Cologne Carthusians probably had a great interest in the city's history because the order's founder Bruno was native to Cologne.[23] Schmitz also highlights that in Koelhoff's Chronicle, the history of the Carthusian Order and especially St. Bruno are comprehensively covered. In particular, compared to the *Agrippina* of Heinrich van Beeck, which had functioned as one of the main sources,

19 Cf. Beckers 1985, 9; Schmitz 2020, 199; Cardauns 1876, 244–245; Geldner 1968, 103; Corsten ^{2}1995, 263–264.

20 Corsten 1982, 39–40 summarizes such quotes. Two names suggested to be the author in the early modern period are discussed by Cardauns 1876, 211–212.

21 Cf. Corsten 1982, 41–42; Buschinger 2007, 475, 477 follows this assumption.

22 Cf. Schmitz 2020, 199–200.

23 Cf. recent research and teaching projects by Sita Steckel at the University of Münster. First findings and the progress of the student's edition of the manuscript Münster, ULB, Cod. 51 can be found here: Steckel 2021.

these topics receive more attention.[24] Second, the Charterhouse of St. Barbara should be mentioned as a place where numerous works of critical, committed theologians were collected and which was open to issues of monastic and church reform.[25]

In addition, Schmitz argues that the Carthusians, who were devoted to taciturnity, were particularly famous for cultivating the written word, i. e., for their learning from books and their libraries.[26] This was especially true for the Charterhouse in Cologne, whose members did not just develop great literary impact according to Schmitz[27] but also—as already recorded by contemporaries—owned the largest library among the city's countless monastic book collections.[28] Of interest for our case study is the fact that they also had a special relationship with the new art of printing, as the library of St. Barbara impressively shows.[29]

In the 15th century, its book collection experienced a fateful event. In 1451, it was largely destroyed in a great fire; but in the following 30 or 40 years, both the convent and wealthy donors from Cologne put great diligence and money into its swift reconstruction.[30] According to Joachim Vennebusch, around the turn of the century the library again held about 500 volumes.[31] Regarding the manuscripts written for it, James Hogg prepared a comprehensive monograph on more than 200 pieces, bought or gifted to it, which today are scattered all over the world.[32] However, Hogg's study does not analyze the numerous incunables that were acquired in addition to the manuscripts.[33] Therefore, it remains to be proven in more detail whether exactly those titles

24 Cf. Schmitz 2020, 201–203 provides a comparison of the passages. Even if the author of Koelhoff's Chronicle did not phrase this information himself but copied it from Schedel's World Chronicle of 1493, it nevertheless remains striking that he emphasized St. Bruno's role in a stronger way and overall increased the praise already applied there. Schmitz concludes that the Carthusian Order finds stronger appreciation in Koelhoff's Chronicle than the other orders in Cologne.

25 Cf. Vennebusch 1978, 83–84.

26 On the special appreciation of books by the Carthusians with numerous quotes from corresponding written sources cf. Lehmann 1960 and with special focus on Cologne cf. Vennebusch 1978, 77–78.

27 Schmitz 2020, 200. Cf. Marks 1974, vol. 1, ch. II, VI; Vennebusch 1978, 84–93 (with a focus on authors of the 16th century but also medieval authors like Rolevinck).

28 Cf. Kammann 2010, 222.

29 The printing activities of the Cologne Carthusians are well researched for the 16th century when they even printed in their own rooms for a few years and commissioned several printed books, especially under the prior Peter Blomevenna, including a 35-volume edition of the works of the Carthusian Dionysius Rijkel. Cf. Chaix 1988, 93–105; Kammann 2010, 227–232; Corsten 1970, 128–137.

30 Cf. Marks 1974, vol. 1, 1–23; Vennebusch 1978, 78–84; Schmitz 1995, 107–110; Wagner 1991, 37–39. Without new findings Kammann 2010, 221–227.

31 Cf. Vennebusch 1978, 79–80.

32 Cf. Hogg 1974. For a selection of important manuscripts from the Charterhouse cf. Wagner/Bock 1991, 146–153, Nr. 4.11–28. On reasons for the dispersion of the collection after 1794 cf. Vennebusch 1978, 102–103; Rautenberg 1996, 145.

33 Buchholz 1957 records numerous books from the library of the Charterhouse of St. Barbara that have been preserved within the University and City Library of Cologne, among them about 100

that the author of Koelhoff's Chronicle used as sources were perhaps available in that library as printed copies.

In an article from 2001 focused on the works of universal history shaping Koelhoff's Chronicle, Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken listed an astonishing number of 18 historiographical works that could have been available to the author in print at the time he wrote his text in the 1490s. Among these were ancient authors like Orosius or Jerome, high medieval chroniclers such as Burchard of Ursperg or Vincent of Beauvais as well as contemporary authors such as the goldsmith Konrad Botho from Brunswick or the physician Heinrich Steinhöwel of Ulm.[34] Von den Brincken therefore assesses the research conditions for our author to be much more favorable in comparison to those for older histories of the city, especially the *Agrippina* of Heinrich van Beeck, which presumably had been written between 1469 and 1472. She determines that precisely in the 1470s printers discovered historiography as an addition to their printing programs after theological and religious writings.[35]

However, in print these works were not only more accessible to future chroniclers. Obviously, they also served as a stimulus and incentive to reproduce other texts not only by hand. Various models for Koelhoff's Chronicle have been discussed in scholarship so far. Particularly striking are the significant similarities with the so-called *Schedelsche Weltchronik*, which was printed by Anton Koberger in Nuremberg a few years prior to the production of Koelhoff's Chronicle in 1493. According to Hermann Cardauns, our chronicle author probably did not use it in the vernacular, but in the Latin edition. To what extent he consulted it is difficult to estimate, because Hartmann Schedel had himself copied many corresponding passages from the *Supplementum chronicarum* of Giacomo Filippo Foresti from Bergamo, which had already been in print since 1483 and was reprinted several times thereafter.[36] Both predecessors share, as von den Brincken has put it, an 'unusual interest in cities in general and their individual beginnings'. The printers—themselves part of the urban sphere—she continues, must have 'expected this peculiarity to be of special interest to buyers'.[37]

Nevertheless, Christoph Reske's survey on the materiality of Koelhoff's Chronicle indicates that the Nuremberg edition of the *Schedelsche Weltchronik* was no direct model for Koelhoff's project: Regarding the format and dimensions, Schedel's work was twice the size of Koelhoff's Chronicle, and also the typefaces chosen in Nuremberg and in Cologne show no similarities. Instead, looking both at the size and the typeface of the main text body, the *Cronecken der Sassen* ('Chronicle of the Saxons') printed in Mainz in 1492 by Peter Schöffer might have rather served as a template. This

incunables, but unfortunately without naming the titles. Furthermore, the study does not indicate if they were acquired in the 15th century or at a later point in time.

34 Cf. Von den Brincken 2001, 80–81; Von den Brincken 1984, 68. See also Cardauns 1876, 214–237.

35 Cf. Von den Brincken 2001, 80; Von den Brincken 1987.

36 Cf. Cardauns 1876, 222–223.

37 Cf. Von den Brincken 1984, 68.

applies all the more as, unlike the *Schedelsche Weltchronik*, the 'Chronicle of the Saxons' is explicitly mentioned by the anonymous author in the preface as part of a literature overview on fol. IIIIv. At the same time, it is also linguistically closer to Koelhoff's Chronicle through the choice of Low German.[38] Finally, Reske also highlights the close personal ties between Cologne and Mainz, since the above-mentioned printer Ulrich Zell, with whom not only the author but also the Koelhoff family were on close terms with, had learned his trade from Peter Schöffer in Mainz.[39]

Let us, however, focus on the networks that did not originate from the printer but from the author of Koelhoff's Chronicle. The most prominent figure is Werner Rolevinck, who from his entry into the Charterhouse in 1447 until his death in 1502 was undoubtedly one of the formative figures in the Cologne branch of the order. As a writer he was as productive as he was widely recognized.[40] Not only his autographs from the holdings of the monastery's library bear witness to his work. Moreover, Rolevinck is considered to be the first author in Cologne to write directly for publication in print.[41] From his oeuvre, undoubtedly the *Fasciculus temporum* is especially noteworthy. In the first decade of its printing history from 1473/1474 onwards, this concise annalistic treatment of world history was published in ten editions by seven different printers in four cities—Cologne, Leuven, Speyer, and Venice—and is therefore counted among the bestsellers of early printing.[42] And even more of his works found their way into print. The first editions were produced in Cologne without exception. In addition to the *Fasciculus*, Rolevinck's preferred printer Arnold ter Hoernen alone produced another 13 of his books.[43]

Rolevinck and the unknown author of Koelhoff's Chronicle shared their thoroughly positive attitude towards printing and its new possibilities of text distribution. Schmitz convincingly showed this with quotations from Rolevinck's *Sermo de praesentatione beatae Mariae virginis*, printed by ter Hoernen in 1470, and from the *Fasciculus temporum*, which recorded the invention of printing as an event in world history.[44]

38 Cf. Reske 2001, 110–112; Cardauns 1876, 225.

39 Concerning the relationship between Zell and the Koelhoff family cf. Rautenberg 1996, 55, 258, 261, 266; Reske 2001, 112. Reske points out that Severin Corsten suspected that Zell might have worked for Koelhoff the Younger as an employee while Wolfgang Schmitz argues for them being business partners.

40 Cf. Johanek 1998, 8; Colberg 1992, 153–158.

41 Cf. Lülfing 1972, 356–357 and prominently mentioned by Eisenstein 1978, 316 who mistakenly identifies Rolevinck as prior of the charterhouse.

42 For the editions prior to 1480, cf. Stillwell 1924, 420. The first dated edition is: Rolevinck, *Fasciculus temporum* 1474 (GW M38693). Possibly earlier: Rolevinck, *Fasciculus temporum* [around 1473] (GW M38682). For further editions see GW M38671–M38760.

43 Some of the titles were produced more than once, cf. GW M38668, M38692, M38693, M38823, M38766, M38767, M38769, M38824, M38774, M38775, M38777, M38779, M38810, M38811, M38815, M38816, M38780, M38781, M38782, M38783 and M38789. See Lülfing 1972, 356–357; Schmitz 2020, 200–201. Schmitz 2018, 165 describes Rolevinck as a kind of in-house author for Arnold ter Hoernen's workshop.

44 Cf. Schmitz 2000, 204–205.

However, this is by far not the only connection between the two: First, the *Fasciculus temporum* is frequently cited in Koelhoff's Chronicle and also explicitly mentioned by the author.[45] Second, both met in person. The author mentions Rolevinck in the important question of Cologne's origins as a source for orally obtained information.[46] According to Schmitz, such a direct contact could only have taken place in the Charterhouse itself, due to the strict rules of the Carthusian Order.[47]

Perhaps this also was the occasion on which Rolevinck gave the anonymous author of Koelhoff's Chronicle four woodcuts from his *Fasciculus* edition, which had apparently no longer been used after the end of Arnold ter Hoernen's workshop around 1483.[48] It is quite plausible that the author of the *Fasciculus* had taken them into safekeeping, as Schmitz assumes. Overall, close and practical relationships between the Charterhouse and the printer can be found. For example, ter Hoernen diligently followed handwritten models for the types he used, which, according to Hans Lülfing, he could have found among the Brethren of the Common Life in the monastery of Weidenbach or in the Charterhouse of St. Barbara.[49] For Werner Rolevinck, too, it can be reconstructed that he had an active role in the printing of his works and intervened in the typesetting process himself. This can be traced in the production of his *Paradisus conscientiae,* for which the master copy written by the author was preserved, as well as in his famous *Fasciculus temporum*.[50]

The anonymous author could therefore have followed Rolevinck as a model and thus specifically expedited the printing of his chronicle. In doing so, he was of course aware that he was breaking new ground with regard to the parts of the chronicle concerning Cologne: For them, with a few exceptions, only handwritten sources can be found.[51] This is especially true for a major work that the author frequently consulted, the above mentioned *Agrippina* by Heinrich van Beeck, which today is preserved in

45 Cf. Schmitz 2020, 203–204.

46 *Kölnische Chronik* 1499 (GW 6688), fol. XXXVr: *der geystliche ind andechtige vader Wernerus eyn broder van der Carthuser orden in Coellen. der ouch gemacht hait eyn boich van den geschichten der tzijt. ind ist genoempt vp latynsch Fasciculum temporum Vp duytsch Dat gebuntgyn der tzijden. Vnd ich hayn muntlich van ym gehoirt van der anheunge der Stat Coellen dan he beschreuen hait in dem vorschreuen boiche*.

47 Cf. Schmitz 2000, 204.

48 Rolevinck, *Fasciculus temporum* 1474 (GW M38693). Cf. Reske 2001, 104; Schmitz 2020, 206. The woodcuts can be found in Schramm 1924, 5, plates 20–21, No. 86 *Turm zu Basel* (*Kölnische Chronik* 1499 (GW 6688), fol. XVr), 88 *Stadtansicht* (*Kölnische Chronik* 1499 (GW 6688), fol. XVIIr), 89 *Stadtansicht Rom* (*Kölnische Chronik* 1499 (GW 6688), fol. CXL v), 92 *Stadtansicht Köln* (*Kölnische Chronik* 1499 (GW 6688), fol. CXL v).

49 Cf. Lülfing 1972, 356–357.

50 Cf. Schmitz 2000, 204. For the production of the *Paradisus conscientiae* cf. Marks 1977. See also Mertens 1983, 109 for Rolevinck's complaints about the first printed edition of his *Westfalenbuch*, which he disliked so much that he would have preferred seeing it destroyed rather than published.

51 Cf. Cardauns 1876, 226–233. One of the few exceptions was Christian Wierstraat's *Reimchronik* on the siege of Neuss, see more below in this chapter.

seven manuscripts, among them the autograph and also three from the time after 1499 when Koelhoff's Chronicle was published.[52] The printed chronicle thus made Heinrich van Beeck's text, originally intended for a small circle of families close to the city council, accessible to a wider audience, at least in large passages. Bearing this in mind, one could assume that the lost print master of Koelhoff's Chronicle is at least preserved in parts in the manuscript B of the *Agrippina* used by the author according to Cardauns (a direct copy of the autograph by various hands and corrected by Heinrich van Beeck himself).[53] This is all the more likely since our author and printer drew from it not only for the written content but also for the illustrations.[54] The most obvious connection is the image of the Quaternion Eagle (*Quaternionenadler*) extending over a bifolio, which at the same time is one of the most spectacular woodcuts of the chronicle.[55]

3 The Printer Johann Koelhoff the Younger

Since the author is unknown, Koelhoff's Chronicle is usually named after its printer in modern scholarship. Proudly he names himself in the colophon dated August 23, 1499.[56] Indeed, the initiative for this ambitious printing project, according to Wolfgang Schmitz, must be attributed to him, even if his other print jobs in the decade between 1491 and 1502 are rather characterized by small works or print commissions.[57] Scholarship has judged him rather negatively: The reasons given for this are on the one hand his dependence on his father of the same name, whose workshop and utensils he inherited in 1493 and also used for his large chronicle project. On the other hand, it is often stated in this context that he is also documented in other businesses, including cattle trade, which suggests—at least between the lines—that he was only more or less a dilettante occasional printer. This judgment is most sharply expressed in a publication by Heinz Finger, who describes Koehlhoff the Younger as an outsider among the printers in Cologne of his time. In particular Finger assesses the chronicle project as an entrepreneurial 'failure', since Koelhoff would have underestimated the necessary

52 Cf. Hanauska 2014, 283–297.

53 Cf. Cardauns 1876, 231. For the *Agrippina* as source of Koelhoff's Chronicle cf. Cardauns 1876, 226–231.

54 Cf. Corsten 1982, 20 who lists out the woodcuts that were inspired by the *Agrippina*. See also Reske 2001, 104.

55 Cf. Schramm 1924, plate 174, Nr. 794. The other illustrations that were inspired by the *Agrippina* are listed in Schramm 1924, Nr. 754, 757, 758, 762, 797, 799.

56 For Koelhoff cf. Voulliéme 1903/1978, LXV–LXIX with a list of his 27 printed works between 1493 and 1500 on page CXXX.

57 Cf. Schmitz 1990, 320–329. For more information concerning both father and son Johann Koelhoff cf. Geldner 1968, 103; Corsten ^{2}1995, 263–264.

initial investment and would not have met the market requirements, leading him into 'financial misery'.[58]

Let us take a closer look at what contemporary information regarding the genesis of the work forms the basis of this judgment. By analyzing circumstantial evidence within the text of the chronicle, Severin Corsten has shown that Johann Koelhoff the Younger probably began the production in January or February 1499.[59] According to a contract transmitted in administrative records only a few weeks later, on March 22, 1499, Koelhoff sold his house—called *Rijle*, located in the parish of St. Alban and which he had acquired only in 1496—to the wealthy merchant Jakob Pastoir and his wife Gertrud. Presumably, however, he thereafter rented it from the affluent couple, so that he probably continued to use it as a residence and for his workshop.[60] Subsequently, Koelhoff's Chronicle was most likely completed there in August 1499. This house sale, however, is the reason for the assumptions that Koelhoff had gone bankrupt.[61]

Indeed, the investment must have represented a considerable risk at the beginning of this enterprise. At least, Koelhoff the Younger did not have to produce any new type for this project, since he was able to use existing cast letters from his father for all three typefaces. However, Severin Corsten has shown that at least the Lombardic capitals for the initials were not sufficient for the large-scale project, so that new ones seem to have been cast in the course of the production process. For the other typefaces, it would still have to be verified whether they were available in sufficiently large quantities.[62]

In any case, the illustration scheme of the chronicle could not be achieved with available wood cuts. The majority of the 108 woodcuts (this number is provided by Christoph Reske) had to be produced either in the print shop itself or commissioned from woodcutters. Certainly, also to save costs, in most cases they were reused several times, so that of the 108 woodcuts mentioned, there are a total of 368 illustrations per copy.[63] In addition, the largest single expense was undoubtedly the amount of paper that the chronicle project devoured. How many leaves had to be bought largely depended on the print run. Unfortunately, we do not have any contemporary information regarding the number of copies produced.

58 Cf. Finger 2001, 115–117. In the same edited volume Uwe Neddermeyer's assessment is much more cautious: Even an unskilled printer, he argues, would have been able to estimate expenses for labor and material as well as the sales of his works. He therefore suggests that the events of March 1499 should not be interpreted solely in terms of the chronicle project, but in terms of the overall slow decline of the printing business at the workshop. Cf. Neddermeyer 2001, 131–132.

59 Cf. Corsten 1982, 27–28, 38.

60 For more details cf. Corsten 1982, 36–38; Schmitz 1990, 326–327.

61 Cf. Finger 2001, 116–117 who drew this conclusion from Corsten 1982, 44–45 where Corsten writes that the chronicle had ruined the printer financially. However, this judgment does not coincide with the analysis of the previous pages.

62 Cf. Corsten 1982, 13–15, 25; Reske 2001, 98–99.

63 Cf. Reske 2001, 105–106.

Modern estimates of how many copies of the chronicle had been produced in the spring and summer of 1499 vary considerably. Based on the determined production period of only eight months and estimates of the workshop's printing output, Severin Corsten in 1982 assumed a print run of about 250 copies.[64] Since then, however, our knowledge of extant copies has increased considerably. In view of the at least 240 copies or fragments currently known in public institutions, this assumption must therefore appear too low from today's perspective. In 2001, Uwe Neddermeyer, bearing in mind other comparable printing projects of the period, documented by contracts or other written sources, assumed a much higher print run of 600 to 800 copies.[65] At the same time, his considerations are based on a different calculation of the possible maximum daily output of the workshop. Moreover, unlike Corsten in 1982, Neddermeyer assumes that Koelhoff could have worked not with only one but rather two presses simultaneously, an assumption that is confirmed to a certain degree by Corsten's later observations on the typesetting process of the chronicle in an article from 2009.[66]

This range within the print run has a considerable impact on the quantities of paper Koelhoff the Younger had to procure during the first eight months of 1499: While he would have had to buy 92 000 sheets of paper for 250 copies containing 368 leaves each, this number increases to the impressive figure of 220 000 to 294 400 required sheets for 600 to 800 copies.[67] Unlike today's projects, the entrepreneur could not readjust during the printing process. Since the chronicle was produced quire by quire, he had to commit himself to the number of copies at the beginning of the enterprise. If he had reduced the number of copies at a later point in production, he would have had to throw away the pages that were initially printed in excess.

On the other hand, Koelhoff the Younger had more leeway in the decoration of the chronicle with illustrations. Noticeably, in the first part of the chronicle, the number and density of illustrations is significantly higher than in the following part.[68] This has been explained by the fact that some of the illustrations were so badly worn down that they could no longer be used, but above all, the printer had supposedly run out of capital for new woodcuts. Certainly, illustrating was a time-consuming and costly undertaking that also affected the production process in terms of time. This is indicated by the quire 'K', which, with a total of five sheets, is more extensive than the usual ternion. Severin Corsten explains this by the fact that the inner sheets of the gathering were printed later, perhaps because the production of the woodcuts had been

64 Cf. Corsten 1982, 27–28.

65 Cf. Neddermeyer 2001, 130.

66 In a later publication Severin Corsten revised his findings and supposed that two typesetters worked simultaneously. However, he did not state how many printing presses were active in the workshop. Cf. Corsten 2009.

67 Cf. Finger 2001, 116. Even the 250 copies originally estimated by Corsten would—according to Heinz Finger's calculations—have consumed 9 000 sheets of paper in the first six weeks alone, assuming an average typesetting and printing output of two sheets per day.

68 Cf. Corsten 1982, 19; Reske 2001, 108 calculated that 64 % of the pages are not illustrated.

delayed.[69] Compared to the others, these illustrations contain strikingly detailed and small-scale representations of the coats of arms of the patrician families of Cologne.

Overall, it is apparent that the chronicle project was a financial risk for Koelhoff the Younger.[70] Nevertheless, this observation does not yet answer the question of whether his willingness to take a risk was ultimately rewarded or disappointed and how well and quickly we must imagine the sales of the work after its completion. Both Heinz Finger and Uwe Neddermeyer are doubtful, but their assessment is based on sparse evidence.[71] Only the examination of a substantial number of copies can determine the contemporary dissemination and sales. Here, however, it should at least be briefly pointed out that in view of the numerous copies known today, with an estimated print run of 600 up to 800, between about 30 and 40 % were successfully sold. Furthermore, this figure must be higher, since hardly all of the copies sold would have survived to this day.

This leads us back to Heinz Finger's hypothesis that the printer-publisher Johann Koelhoff the Younger fundamentally miscalculated the enterprise by misjudging the sales prospects for such a work. Finger assesses that the work would have been too narrowly related to the history of Cologne, too critical regarding the church, and above all it would have been written in vernacular despite its lack of attractive entertaining stories and miracles for the laity without knowledge of Latin.[72] At a first glance, these assessments coincide with the figures for Cologne's incunable production as a whole. According to Ursula Rautenberg, 96 % of Cologne's print production before 1500 was in Latin. With just 4 % vernacular publications, the diocese and university city of Cologne even fell short of the corresponding quotas elsewhere.[73]

However, a closer look at Ursula Rautenberg's and Wolfgang Schmitz's studies on vernacular print production in Cologne in the 15th and early 16th centuries as well as already Ernst Voulliéme's pioneering work from 1903 provide a different, clearly more positive picture for Koelhoff the Younger.[74] According to them, both father's and son's workshops in particular were known for books in the Ripuarian language, i. e., in the written dialect used in Cologne and the Rhineland at the time. Especially since the late 1480s, and possibly increasingly after the younger Koelhoff joined his father's workshop, this field seems to have developed into a core business, which, according to Rautenberg, accounted for about 30 percent of the production.[75] In terms of content, the titles are very diverse. They range from the indulgence list for churches in

69 Cf. Corsten 1982, 12.
70 Cf. Corsten 1982, 13.
71 Cf. Finger 2001, 117; Neddermeyer 2001, 132.
72 Cf. Finger 2001, 117–118 estimates that Koelhoff would have been able to find at most 100 potential customers living in the Ripuarian speaking area between Andernach und Nijmwegen.
73 Cf. Rautenberg 1996, 13; Mertens 1983, 105 emphasizes that Latin books were easier to sell and only few historiographical works were produced.
74 Cf. Voulliéme 1903/1978, LXVIII. He rates Koelhoff's vernacular books as very valuable.
75 Cf. Rautenberg 1996, 15–16.

Cologne[76] to religious educational texts such as a Ripuarian adaptation of *Die vierundzwanzig Alten* by Otto von Passau[77] or the *Christenspiegel* written by Dietrich Coelde,[78] which was even published three times, to secular entertainment literature, such as the tale *Stinchen von der Krone*,[79] which originated in Cologne, as well as Ripuarian translations of the widespread *Haimonskinder*[80] and the collection of fables by Aesop.[81]

Koelhoff's publishing program also included a work of contemporary history, the chronicle of Christian Wierstraat, composed in verses, reporting the events of the Neuss War in the 1470s, which were observed throughout Europe. First published in the workshop of Arnold ter Hoernen in 1476,[82] Johann Koelhoff the Younger decided to print a second edition of the book in 1497, two years prior to the chronicle project.[83] Obviously, therefore, the text must have been a popular success, although only very few copies are known to us today.[84] The author of Koelhoff's Chronicle used it extensively as a model for his detailed passages on the siege of Neuss.[85] And even beyond this specific title there are indications that the author of the chronicle knew and used the vernacular literature from Koelhoff's workshop. An example is the list of churches and monasteries he took from the above-mentioned indulgence directory printed in 1492. At the same time, a woodcut recurs that can also be found in the printed edition of *Dornenkranz von Köln*, a moral-educational pamphlet by an Augustinian monk of Cologne, produced around 1490 by Koelhoff the Elder.[86]

Thus, Johann Koelhoff the Younger was obviously a specialist for printed books in the Ripuarian language, and the production of the extensive chronicle named after him today in the writing dialect of Cologne as well as the wider region must not appear naive. Rather, he must have anticipated a local and regional audience that wanted the material of the chronicle in *slehter duytscher spraeche* ('in straightforward German language'), as the prologue of the work explicitly explains. For, it states, there are many Latin history books, but their knowledge would remain inaccessible to laymen

76 *Ablässe und Heiltümer der Stadt Köln* 1492 (GW 8). Cf. Rautenberg 1996, 150–152.

77 Otto von Passau, *Die vierundzwanzig Alten* 1492 (GW M28507).

78 Dietrich Coelde, *Christenspiegel* 1489 (GW 7145), reprinted Cologne 1493 (GW 0714520N) and 1498 (GW 7146).

79 *Stynchyn van der Krone* [1489/90] (GW 12808). Cf. Rautenberg 1996, 15–16; Schmitz 1990, 217–219.

80 *Les quatre fils Aymon* [1493] (GW 3140). Cf. Schmitz 1990, 212; Rautenberg 1996, 15–16. The translation is based on a literal transcription of a Dutch print from 1490.

81 Aesopus, *Vita et Fabulae* 1489 (GW 364). Cf. Schmitz 1990, 208–209; Rautenberg 1996, 15–16.

82 Wierstraat, *Histori* [around 1476] (GW M51549). Cf. Bauschke-Hartung 2017.

83 Wierstraat, *Histori* 1497 (GW M51550).

84 Of Wierstraat's *Histori*, only two copies of the first edition and five copies of the second edition are known to have survived. Cf. Bauschke-Hartung 2017, 243–245. Despite these small numbers, the chronicle must have been a success, so that in 1564 even a prose edition of the text in 16th century standard German was published. This dialect replaced Ripuarian as the written dialect in this period. Cf. Bauschke-Hartung 2017, 246.

85 Cf. Cardauns 1876, 233.

86 *Doernenkrantz van Collen* 1490 (GW M16401). Cf. Rautenberg 1996, 165–166.

unfamiliar with Latin, although they would also like to read 'of such things and stories' (*va[n] sulchen dyngen ind geschichten*).[87] That Koelhoff continued to target this audience even after the assumed 'failure' of the chronicle in 1499 is confirmed by the publication of the vernacular legends of St. Barbara, Dorothea, Margaret, and Catherine, which began in 1498 and continued in the 16th century. Dominated by a total of three workshops in Cologne, including the workshops of Koelhoff the Younger and, after his death, his successor Heinrich von Neuss, these legends must have been a great success according to Ursula Rautenberg, as they account for a third of the early vernacular print production in Cologne. Unlike Koelhoff's Chronicle, however, these were—again according to Rautenberg—small booklets decorated only with a woodcut title.[88] Thus, it remains to be debated whether the dimensions of the chronicle printing in 1499 overstrained Koelhoff's capacities. In order to pursue this question, the tangible circumstances of the production will be scrutinized in the following paragraphs.

4 The Typesetters, Printers, and Woodblock cutters of the Chronicle

Today, in most cases, only the names of the owners of late medieval printing workshops are known, since they, like Koelhoff, inscribed themselves in the colophons of their incunables. However, unlike manuscripts, where scribes could easily execute different steps of the production process, it can be assumed that several people must have been involved in the production of a printed book. In addition to the owner, typesetters, proofreaders, and hands at the printing press were needed, as well as type founders and woodcutters for specialized tasks. On the whole, we rarely learn anything about them from the written sources. In the case of Koelhoff's Chronicle, they are completely invisible. Therefore, the only possibility is to deduce their existence and their activities from the materiality or the layout of the printed book.

In the case of Koelhoff's Chronicle the typesetting staff had to perform an immense amount of work during the probable eight months of printing from the beginning of 1499 until the completion on August 23rd mentioned in the colophon. Severin Corsten estimated that for the typesetting of each page of the chronicle about 3 000 pieces of type were needed without counting the blank characters.[89] If one extrapolates these figures to the 712 pages of text in the book, this means that the typesetting staff had to pick lead letters out of the typesetting box more than two million times and place them in the correct order on the composing stick. Given these numbers of required materials, it becomes clear why, unlike today, in the early workshops of the incunable and early printing era, a book could not be completely typeset before it was printed.

87 *Kölnische Chronik* 1499 (GW 6688), fol. 4r.
88 Cf. Rautenberg 1996, 20–21, 60–67; Schmitz 1990, 54–68.
89 Cf. Corsten 1982, 26.

Instead, printed books were usually produced in quires. As soon as a gathering was printed, the typesetter or his assistant had to remove the letters from the so-called galley and sort them back into the letter case.

According to modern estimates, a typesetter could set about four folio pages a day.[90] Corsten considered this to be possible for Koelhoff's Chronicle. If one assumes around 200 working days in the eight months of the presumed production period, then with 712 pages in length, this results in a daily productivity of three and a half pages.[91] If these assumptions are correct, Koelhoff the Younger would have had to employ only one typesetter in 1499. However, Corsten assumes that he was at least supported by an assistant, who simultaneously cleaned the typeset pages that had already been printed and took them apart again in order to arrange them back in the typesetting box. For this division of labor to function, Corsten assumes the existence of two separate letter cases.[92]

However, it is also conceivable that Koelhoff the Younger employed more than one typesetter for his chronicle. If the text had been divided among several workers, special care had to be taken to ensure that the last section of one typesetter merged as seamlessly as possible with the first section of another typesetter. Today, it can only be determined when this failed, either because the layout appears compressed or stretched or because (for example, in comparison with parallel traditions) parts of the text were shortened or extended by insertions. Such observations have also been discussed by Uwe Neddermeyer and Christoph Reske for Koelhoff's Chronicle.[93] In a journal article from 2009, Corsten expressed a similar opinion, too: In parts of the chronicle, he considers it likely that the typesetters had overestimated the size of the text and therefore the author still had to insert pieces of text of a more general nature to avoid a blank space on this page.[94]

As known from other contexts, the typesetters were not the only ones responsible for the text. Unfortunately, it is not known whether Koelhoff the Younger additionally employed a proofreader for the project or if possibly the author of the chronicle conducted this task. In any case, Corsten was able to prove that in some passages errors must have already been identified during the printing process. As we can see from the differences comparing single copies of the print, they must have been improved on the fly.[95]

This brings us to the printing itself. For each printed sheet or page, the set printing plate had to be inked, a moistened sheet of paper had to be inserted into the press, and finally the press had to be set into motion. In order to conserve labor during the

90 Cf. Corsten 1982, 21. This estimate is based on contracts with typesetters from Italy and France in the 15th century. Additionally, cf. Schmitz 2018, 119.

91 Cf. Corsten 1982, 27, which counts the days without sundays and holidays.

92 Cf. Corsten 1982, 26.

93 Reske 2001, 94–95 found one page that indicates that the handwritten draft was not set into type in the order of the text. See also Neddermeyer 2001, 124.

94 Cf. Corsten 2009, 95–101 opposed to Corsten 1982, 22.

95 Cf. Corsten 1982, 12.

printing process, Koelhoff's Chronicle was printed sheet by sheet rather than page by page, according to Corsten's reconstruction.[96] This had the advantage of halving the number of printing operations: With an estimated print run of 600 to 800 copies, this meant an average of only 250 000 repetitions of the process described above, rather than around 500 000.

For the daily production rate of the workers at the press, Corsten cited the expertise of a practitioner in 1982 who did not consider more than 500 printing operations per day possible for a hand press.[97] If this assumption is true and Neddermeyer's estimates of the print run are also plausible, then Koelhoff the Younger would have had to work with three presses for his chronicle project.

In a final step, let us take a look at the cooperation between typesetters and workers on the press, which could only become more complicated as the number of employees increased. Ideally, it can be assumed that the typesetting staff set as much on one day as could be printed on the following. Even if one assumes only *one* typesetter and *one* team at the press, however, the decision to print by the sheet and not by the page quickly reveals a considerably greater demand for planning the work process:

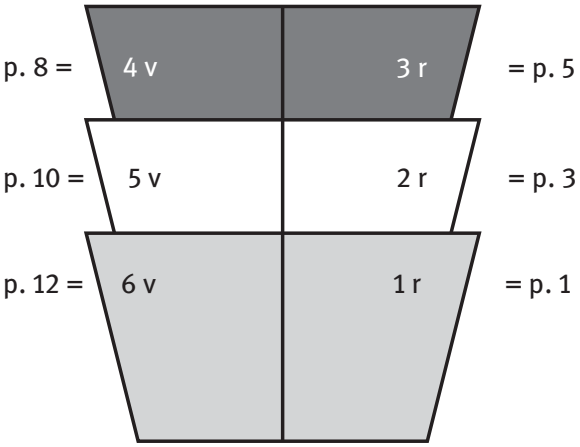

Fig. 1: Schematic representation of a ternion quire of Koelhoff's Chronicle *(Kölnische Chronik)*.

The figure (Fig. 1) schematically shows an unfolded quire of Koelhoff's Chronicle, which consists of ternions, i. e., three sheets with four pages each. In total, each quire comprises six sheets or twelve pages.[98] The figure shows which pages were next to each other on one sheet and therefore had to be printed together. Thus, the first page was printed with the last page of the quire, the second with the eleventh, the third with the tenth, and so on. Only on the inside of the middle sheet (marked in dark grey),

96 Cf. Corsten 1982, 23–26.
97 Cf. Corsten 1982, 28.
98 Cf. Corsten 1982, 23–26.

the pages which also belonged together were opposite each other during the printing process.[99] In order to ensure clean transitions in the text flow and to avoid the blank spaces described above, hypothetically a complete quire had to be set before printing could begin. However, Severin Corsten was able to show that the typesetters found a way of not having to set the entire quire. In all likelihood, they printed the center of the gathering first and worked their way outwards from there.[100] Still, about 21 000 letters had to be set without blank characters before a quire could go into production.

Let us now take a closer look at the procedure. First, the third sheet (dark grey) was printed. Therefore, the first to third leaves as well as leaf 4r had to be set. The two black arrows in the following figure (Fig. 2) show the order of the typesetting process. The white arrow demonstrates the order of printing. After the third sheet (dark grey), the second sheet (white) was printed and finally the first sheet (light gray). The quire was not printed in the reading direction, but first the inner pages and then the outer pages of each gathering were produced. Another indicator for this procedure could be the quire marks. Unlike in most printed books of the period, they were not only placed on the first three leaves of the quire but also on leaf 4r, which was not necessary, as it had the mark of the third leaf on the back. Possibly, this marked the point at which printing could begin.

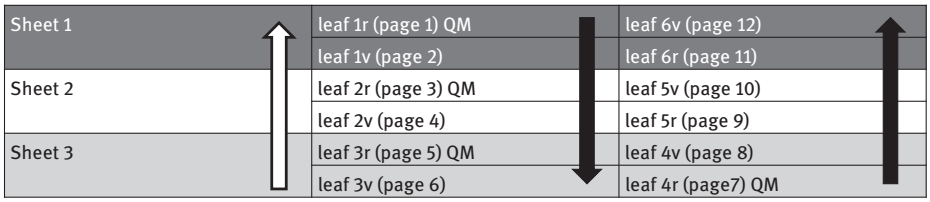

Fig. 2: Order of setting (black arrows) and printing (white arrow) the leaves of each quire. QM = quire marks. (This figure originates from Corsten 1982, 23 and was slightly modified).

Why was such a complex approach chosen? While the procedure required considerable planning, it saved half the work as well as time compared to printing individual pages, since each sheet only had to be loaded into the press and then dried twice rather than four times. Overall, this scheme seems to have worked well for the producers of Koelhoff's Chronicle. Only two quires deviate from the general pattern.[101]

99 This becomes especially apparent through the *Quaternionenadler* in *Kölnische Chronik* 1499 (GW 6688), fol. CXXXVIv/CXXXVIIr, which extends over a double page in the middle of a quire and was printed with a woodcut consisting of one piece. This observation is further supported by the fact that on each side of one sheet the smaller woodcuts are found only once, cf. Corsten 1982, 24–25.

100 Cf. Corsten 1982, 23.

101 See GW 6688 for the collation formula. One quire, marked with the minuscule 'e', consists of only two sheets, i. e., four folios, without any apparent reason. Severin Corsten 1982, 12, 22 suspects that a rare moment of carelessness led to this mistake.

One of these is marked with the majuscule 'K' and consists of five folios (20 pages) instead of three (12 pages). The reason for this deviation is most likely to be found in the illustrations, as briefly mentioned above. In addition to previously used woodcuts such as vignettes of a bishop or an emperor, it also contains 48 coats of arms of the patricians in Cologne.[102]

The previous deliberations showed that Koelhoff reused some woodcuts from earlier productions. However, most of them cannot be found in other printed books and were probably made especially for the chronicle by an unknown woodcutter.[103] However, a small part of these motifs is repeated numerous times, so that only 108 different woodcuts were used in total.[104] The repeats are mainly portraits or vignettes of officials, namely the emperor (85 times), pope (74 times), bishop (52 times), king (45 times), or a youthful hero (18 times). These portraits are sometimes shown several times on one page.[105] To allow for this, the emperor, for example, was depicted in six slightly different versions.[106] The other illustrations, however, are used only once or a few times, as in the case of the woodcut depicting a city under siege.[107]

It remains to be discussed whether the repetitions of the woodcuts were really intended primarily to reduce costs or whether they are not better interpreted as a deliberately used visual structuring device. By repeating emperors, kings, or bishops as stereotypical functionaries in the left margin, readers are able to quickly classify the contents when turning the pages of the chronicle.[108]

These considerations may already be a first answer to the question regarding what added value was created by printing Koelhoff's Chronicle instead of copying it by hand. On the one hand, the use of different typefaces is still comparable to the traditions of manuscript culture, so that the continuous text could be divided by headings with initials offset in size, pilcrows, and highlighted dates. On the other hand, there are for example visual orientation aids implemented in the layout, which stand out from the standards in manuscripts. To be mentioned here above all is a 24-page,

102 Cf. Corsten 1982, 12. These were probably added after the initial production of this quire because, as the foliation shows, quire 'K' was originally planned as a ternion, too. It was to consist of the six leaves LV to LX. At the time of its production, however, the corresponding woodcuts were most likely not yet finished, and their extent seems to have been unclear. The fact that these sheets are not foliated and the counting is not correct suggests that they were inserted into the quire at a later time. Due to the fact that there were only 15 coats of arms in the *Agrippina*, Severin Corsten 1982, 22 suspects that originally Koelhoff's Chronicle was to contain fewer coats of arms.

103 See footnote 48 for information on the illustrations which were reused from other incunables.

104 Cf. Reske 2001, 105.

105 Cf. as an arbitrarily chosen example, a portrait of the emperor can be found three times on one page in *Kölnische Chronik* 1499 (GW 6688), fol. XLVIIIv.

106 Cf. Schramm 1924, plate 179, Nr. 808–810, 813–815.

107 *Kölnische Chronik* 1499 (GW 6688), fol. LIIIr and CCCXXIIv.

108 Cf. Reske 2001, 108–110: The typesetters used fixed layout structures for the recurring motifs. Larger illustrations were placed in varying positions and in some cases filled the entire page.

double-column index, which was prefixed to most copies,[109] but could certainly only have been created after the main text of the chronicle had been completed.[110] The index is arranged alphabetically and refers to the printed foliations.[111] It can be used in conjunction with the column titles at the top of each page, which greatly facilitated the readers' selective use of the work.[112]

Even though indexes and foliations were also used in manuscripts, the effort involved in creating them was more worthwhile for printed works. Here the production team of Koelhoff's Chronicle made use of the advantages of printing. At the same time, however, it is again apparent that the printing process in the early period cannot yet be distinguished categorically from the production process of manuscripts and the 'variation' from copy to copy that is typical for handwriting. Both the foliations at the head of the leaves and the quire marks at their foot, intended for the production process or the bookbinder, repeatedly show minor errors. In addition, the comparison of different copies shows that these were partially corrected in the ongoing production process.[113] This too was typical for handwriting.

5 Authorities and Censorship in Cologne

To this day, there is an ongoing debate, initiated by scholars like Konstantin Höhlbaum during the 19th century, whether Koelhoff's Chronicle was 'not protected from the hatred of the higher powers' by its 'warm love for the metropolis on the Rhine'.[114] Behind this is the assumption that the city's authorities, both the archbishop as well as the city council, would have vigorously opposed the dissemination of the work.

A key source for this presumption is a note from the early 17th century supposedly found in a church archive but lost today. However, in the 19th century it was said to have contained information about the chronicle's author fleeing to France for fear of persecution, while the printer should have been imprisoned and several hundred

109 In some copies the index is missing (e. g., Munich, BSB, 2 Inc.s.a. 303; Cologne, USB, RHFOL332#a; Cologne, USB, RHFOL332#b), while in others the index can be found at the end instead of prefixed (e. g., Weimar, HAAB, B1).

110 The title woodcut appears in *Kölnische Chronik* 1499 (GW 6688) on the first page of quire 'A' and also can be found on the first page of the main text, marked as quire 'A', likewise. The woodcut is used a third time on fol. CXLVIII.

111 The front and back side of each folio are explicated in the index with 'a' and 'b'. Alphabetical numbered quire marks were placed on the first four folios of each quire with few exceptions. These were important for the bookbinder and an aid when folding the sheets of each layer. Exceptions mainly occur when full-page illustrations did not allow free space for quire marks or foliation.

112 Cf. Meier 2001, 76.

113 Further smaller corrections and variations can be found in Cardauns 1876, 215–216.

114 Cf. Höhlbaum 1890, 103; Buschinger 2007, 479; Beckers ^{2}1985, 7–10; Finger 2001, 119–120.

copies would have been publicly burned on the main marketplace in Cologne.[115] Less drastic but similar information is provided by records preserved to this day and dating back to 1574. These records document a hearing of various citizens concerning the chronicle and its author.[116] Among them was Dr. Hermann von Neuss (latinized Novesianus), 52 years old at that time, who testified that he had played with wood cuts used to print the illustrations of the chronicle as a child. He claims to have heard from his parents that unlike in the note from 1620, not the author, but the printer would have fled the city after the production.[117]

It is striking that explicit reports of a ban of the chronicle only date from the second half of the 16th and the first half of the 17th century, whereas their statements are not supported by contemporary testimonies.[118] Furthermore, the hypothesis of a capture or flight of the printer is contradicted by the fact that Koelhoff the Younger continued to produce in his print shop after 1499 and even printed on behalf of the city. According to Severin Corsten, this hardly seems conceivable if he had fallen from favor.[119]

Instead, the idea of a crisis-ridden genesis of Koelhoff's Chronicle seems to have been shaped by the conflicts of the 1570s. The above-mentioned records of the hearings had been created on the occasion of disputes between the cities of Aachen and Cologne about primacy in the Empire.[120] In this dispute, Koelhoff's Chronicle had become an annoyance for the inhabitants of Cologne, since it did not honor their metropolis as the older of the two competitors.[121] Accordingly, the city sought ways to discredit the chronicle and its content. In addition, one wanted to make it clear that it was in no way official written material of the city of Cologne.[122] At that time, however, the printer and the anonymous author had certainly already deceased. It should therefore be emphasized not so much that the work might have been banned by municipal censorship efforts, but rather that in the decades following its production it actually experienced an audience and lively reception both within and outside the city of Cologne.

Let us now take a closer look at what contemporary indications of persecution or even censorship of Koelhoff's Chronicle we can still grasp. If at all, there is evidence of minor interventions: Severin Corsten has shown, for example, that immediately after or during the production, leaf 349 with the foliation CCCXXXIII was exchanged

115 Cf. Corsten 1982, 30–32; Finger 2001, 119; Cardauns 1876, 247–248.

116 Cf. Höhlbaum 1890, 105–107, 109. According to Höhlbaum, there was a confusion regarding Koelhoff's descendants. By mistake, not these were questioned, but those of Heinrich von Neuss, who had taken over the workshop and also part of the printing materials, which probably included the wood cuts.

117 Cf. Höhlbaum 1890, 107–108.

118 Cf. Corsten 1982, 33; Finger 2001, 119.

119 Cf. Corsten 1982, 33–36.

120 Cf. Höhlbaum 1890, 104.

121 Cf. Höhlbaum 1890, 105.

122 Cf. Corsten 1982, 33.

by the printer in some of the copies.[123] This leaf describes a tournament defeat of King Maximilian and contains a derogatory remark about the royal treasurer Peter Langhals. In some copies, however, it has been replaced by more innocuous wording. In these copies, the corresponding leaf was cut out and the new text carefully pasted in. Apparently, one did not want to or could not replace the entire bifolio, which could indicate that the replacement was done after the entire book was already bound. It remains speculation on whose initiative this procedure was ordered. Corsten suspects the council of the city of Cologne since it was dependent on good relations with the House of Habsburg.[124]

More plausible than repressions from the municipality are assumptions of censorship from ecclesiastical institutions, e. g., by the archbishopric of Cologne. The reason for this is a censorship decree issued by the official of the archbishop's curia on November 12, 1499, a few weeks after the completion of Koelhoff's Chronicle. It prohibited the production and distribution of printed texts without a license and at the same time threatened printers who violated these requirements with excommunication.[125] This kind of ecclesiastical censorship decrees were not uncommon in the second half of the 15th century; similar measures had already been established a few years earlier in Mainz and elsewhere.[126] The center of these efforts was the concern of the ecclesiastical authorities to prevent the dissemination of non-approved texts and, in particular, translations of biblical texts in large quantities by means of the printing press. It is questionable what success these censorship efforts actually had on a broad scale.

In Cologne, however, the edict aroused resistance in favor of the incriminated printers.[127] As a result, both the city and a group of those affected tried to obtain a counter-edict in Rome.[128] At the same time, the printers continued producing in Cologne.[129] However, since Johann Koelhoff is not listed among the group of petitioners, Severin Corsten and others argue that the chronicle could hardly have been the cause of contemporary censorship efforts and, if at all, was effected as one out of many.[130]

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123 Cf. Corsten 1982, 32, GW 6688, annotation 3. The following copies show the modified version: Munich, BSB, 2 Inc.s.a. 302; Munich, BSB, 2 Inc.s.a. 305; Jena, ULB, 2 Germ.V,7; Cologne, USB, Enne,134; Cologne, USB, RHFOL332. The following copies contain the original leaf: Boston, Public Library, Q.403.94Folio; Munich, BSB, 2 Inc.s.a. 303; Munich, BSB, 2 Inc.s.a. 306; Liège, BU, XV.B85; Deventer, StB, 33 D 12 KL; Weimar, HAAB, B1; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, A131.2 Hist 2°(2); Providence, John Carter Brown Library, J499.C947v1; Princeton, Scheide Library, Oversize 1584.262.27.1972q; Munich, UB, 2 Inc.germ. 82; Munich, UB, 2 Inc.germ. 82a; Düsseldorf, ULB, D.Sp.G.94 (Ink.); Cologne, USB, GBXI735+B; Cologne, USB, RHFOL332#a.

124 Cf. Corsten 1982, 33.

125 Cf. Ennen 1865, XXIII–XXV.

126 Cf. Schmitz 2018, 197–201.

127 Cf. Corsten 1982, 33.

128 Cf. Corsten 1982, 33; Ennen 1865, XXV.

129 Cf. Corsten 1982, 33–34; Finger 2001, 119–120.

130 Cf. Finger 2001, 120; Corsten 1982, 34.

6 The Readers of the Chronicle

In a final step, let us take a closer look at what information we can grasp regarding the dissemination and impact of Koelhoff's Chronicle beyond the censorship debate. In an article on printed historiography in the Middle Ages, Anna Dorothee von den Brincken points out that the early printed books reached 'a hundredfold number of readers' compared to manuscripts.[131] In view of the high number of surviving copies, this judgment must undoubtedly also apply to Koelhoff's Chronicle. Nevertheless, scholarship has so far judged its impact as rather slim. Danielle Buschinger, for example, concluded that Koelhoff's Chronicle 'only had a minor influence on the historiography of the following period'.[132]

In our opinion, these assessments are largely based on the fact that the traces of reception have not yet been systematically investigated. Neither the early modern manuscripts nor the printed copies themselves have been indexed to the extent that one could make comprehensive statements in this regard. This chapter cannot fill these gaps. In the following, however, the first indications are compiled that speak for the fact that the chronicle certainly met a broad and far-reaching interest.

In the 19th century, Hermann Cardauns, the first editor of the chronicle, already compiled some first evidence of the chronicle being copied, above all in the works of chroniclers of the Lower Rhine area.[133] Expanding his findings, Monika Hanauska was able to show that Koelhoff's Chronicle was used as a source or even adopted in passages in six historiographical works of the 16th and 17th century.[134] Their results are to be supplemented by references to reception in the digital repertory *Geschichtsquellen des deutschen Mittelalters*.[135] All in all, we know of more than 15 works in which Koelhoff's chronicle was used. The majority date from the early 16th century; however, its reception extends into the 19th century, when, among others, a partial translation in New High German was published in 1818 by the *Spitzische Buchhandlung* in Cologne.[136] Among the contemporary recipients, there are also prominent names; one example is the Benedictine abbot and humanist Johannes Trithemius, also mentioned in the Koelhoff Chronicle, who even used them in two of his works, the Sponheim chronicle and his *Cronicon Hirsaugiensis*, which was widely read and was reprinted as late as 1690.[137]

As a second approach, the study of the extant printed copies promises to shed light on the extent and nature of the reception. In our survey of about 25 physical and digitized copies, it quickly became apparent that notes documenting ownership,

131 Cf. Von den Brincken 1987, 217.
132 Cf. Buschinger 2007, 485, probably adopted from Beckers 1985, 9.
133 Cf. Cardauns 1876, 249–251.
134 Cf. Hanauska 2014, 355.
135 Cf. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften 2021.
136 Cf. Cardauns 1876, S. 250–251; Spitzische Buchhandlung 1818.
137 Cf. Cardauns 1876, 249–250; Schreiner 1966/67, 72–138; Hanauska 2014, 355.

purchases, or donations can be found. A copy now in Heidelberg, for example, names Theodericus Nederman, a clergyman from Essen, as the previous owner.[138] A copy held in Bad Münstereifel was owned by Laurentius van den Hasselt, a *Pharmacopola* (manufacturer of medicines), which can be traced in Ghent, at the university of Leuven, and presumably also in Cologne in the first half of the 16th century.[139] A copy now in Cambridge (UK) was bought by a citizen of Speyer in 1521.[140] A copy held in Deventer belonged to Petrus Medmannus Coloniensis (1507–1584), a theologian from Cologne and later mayor of Emden.[141] A copy now kept in Düsseldorf can be located in the noble possession of the *Quad von Landskron and Miel* in 1569.[142] Of a copy today in Munich, we learn that it was bound in France in the 16th century.[143] In the 17th and 18th centuries, further copies were owned by church libraries, e. g., in the Bavarian monastery of Waldsassen and the Cathedral Chapter of Münster.[144]

For the debates between Cologne and Aachen discussed above, a copy kept in the USB Cologne today is of special interest because it was donated to the Marienstift in Aachen by its dean Robert von Wachtendonk in 1577.[145] Thus, at the time when the two cities were arguing over their age, a copy of the chronicle was actually available in Aachen. In the same years, of course, the chronicle was also still known in Cologne. One example is again the aforementioned copy today held in Bad Münstereifel, first used by Laurentius van den Hasselt. On the last four blank pages, a later owner added chronological entries by hand starting in 1615 and ending in 1627. Based on their contents, the copy must at this time still have been in Cologne. Another example is given by the witness Hermann von Neuss, already quoted above, who was questioned in the council's hearings regarding Koelhoff's Chronicle. Even though he stated that there

138 Heidelberg, UB, B 6060 qt. INC: *Ad manus domini Theodrici Nederman canonici Ass. devenit per sortem Colonie Anno 1499* (handwritten entry beneath the colophon).

139 Bad Münstereifel, Gymnasium Library, SJ 1499, quoted here after Bongart 2016, see in particular 130.

140 Cambridge (UK), University Library: Inc.3.A.4.28[3722]. "'Heinrich Nabell / Burg[er] zu Spyr:' on leaf ²A1 recto, late 15th or early 16th century" quoted from MEI (https://data.cerl.org/mei/00559630, accessed 16/05/2022).

141 Deventer, StB, 33 D 12 KL (cf. title page). Regarding Medmann: Hesse 1932, 321–341.

142 Düsseldorf, ULB, D.Sp.G.94 (Ink.) (cf. fly leaf of the copy for ownership note).

143 Munich, BSB, 2 Inc.s.a. 302 (cf. BSB-ink C-284).

144 Princeton, Scheide Library, Oversize 1584.262.27.1972q in 1740 was in possession of the monastery Waldsassen near the Bavarian-Czech boarder. In Münster, ULB, Inc 173 an old library stamp proves the ownership of the Cathedral Chapter of Münster. One copy, which is now in Munich and shows almost no traces of use was probably bound together into one volume with the historical work *Scriptorum historiae Moguntinensi cum maxime inservientium* printed in 1727. The finding was probably affixed in Landshut between 1800 and 1826, where the university and thus its library resided at the time (Munich, UB, Inc.germ.82a). These examples suggest that the chronicle was still of interest in scholarly circles outside of Cologne even long after it was published.

145 Cologne, USB, GBXI735+B (cf. fly leaf of the copy for ownership note). See Offergeld 2009, 138 for the Marienstift and Robert von Wachtendonk.

were only a few copies left in Cologne, however, he himself owned a copy and claimed to read it for his recreation.[146]

A third way to learn more about the history of Koelhoff's Chronicle is to analyze the (mostly handwritten) traces of use in the extant copies. In many of the specimens we reviewed, at least minor underlining, annotations, or corrections can be found. In addition, in some copies, missing or damaged pages or page clippings have been reconstructed in handwriting.[147] Since in these cases the wording corresponds to that of the undamaged printed editions and the layout of the corresponding passages was imitated, the transcription was presumably made on the basis of complete copies. In the Weimar copy, for example, almost the entire index was copied by hand from another copy.[148] These repairs indicate that the text was of interest and valued. It is also noteworthy that some copies were augmented by handwritten passages on pages following the printed text; these mostly list historical events of the 16th century.[149] The partial or complete coloring of the woodcuts, which we found in ten copies so far, also suggests a special appreciation of the owners for this work.[150]

In the prologue of Koelhoff's Chronicle, the unknown author seems to mainly address a Cologne related audience for whom knowledge of the history of its own city was important, as it was intended to have an identity-forming effect and keep one's duties to the community present.[151] However, the owner's notes identified so far suggest that the chronicle also found an attentive readership far beyond the region.

7 Conclusion

This article examined Koelhoff's Chronicle from a praxeological perspective. The focus on the actors shed light on the fact that numerous people were involved in the production process. Although we only know the name of the workshop's owner, Koelhoff the Younger, who seems to have been the spiritus rector of this printed chronicle, the influence of others cannot be denied. We especially want to highlight the unknown author of the text, but also the anonymous producers of the printed edition. The typesetters, woodcutters, and workers at the press all influenced the work, its contents, and its design.

146 Cf. Corsten 1982, 32.

147 Munich, UB, 2 Inc.germ. 82; Cologne, USB, RHFOL332#b.

148 Weimar, HAAB, B1.

149 Munich, BSB, 2.Inc.s.a.306; Cologne, USB, RHFOL332; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, A 131.2 Hist 2°(2); Princeton, Scheide Library, Oversize 1584.262.27.1972q.

150 We could trace the following illuminated copies: Cologne, USB, Enne,134; Cologne, USB, RHFOL332#a; Cologne, USB, RHFOL332; Cologne, USB, GBXI735+B (partly illuminated); Boston, Public Library, Q.403.94 Folio; Munich, UB, 2 Inc.germ. 82 (only coat of arms colored); Munich, BSB, 2.Inc.s.a.302. Buschinger 2007, 467 lists two more illuminated copies in Paris and Berlin.

151 *Kölnische Chronik* 1499 (GW 6688), fol. IIv.

Even in recent scholarship, Koelhoff's Chronicle is often perceived as a failure, both economically and in terms of its reception history. In our opinion, there are strong indications that contradict this interpretation. Based on our observations, Heinz Finger's assumptions that Koelhoff the Younger was completely naive and steered into his financial misfortune without competent partners cannot be upheld. Instead, Koelhoff's and his father's production in the Ripuarian written dialect seem to have been quite profitable both in the decade before the chronicle project in 1499 and thereafter. Perhaps, the unknown author of the chronicle convinced Koelhoff that not just religious, educational, and literary texts could appeal to an audience in Cologne and beyond, but also the history of Cologne and its incorporation into the history of the bishopric, the empire, and universal history. The author must have gained this impression, among other things, from the incunables, which were already available to him in astonishing numbers while compiling his work. Moreover, the fact that Ripuarian was understood and read not only in Cologne is confirmed by the owner's notes found so far in the copies that have survived to the present day. Although this writing dialect was outdated by the second half of the 16th century, the chronicle's impact—as has become evident at the current, certainly insufficient level of knowledge—lasted for at least two centuries. Perhaps the printer, who died only a few years after its completion, may not have profited from this success. However, declaring the chronicle a 'failure' neither does justice to the printed edition itself nor to its reception history.

Despite these observations, the printing process that Koelhoff and his team conducted from spring to midsummer 1499 was certainly a major challenge, requiring both considerable capital and elaborate planning. The sophisticated logistics required become especially clear when one considers the differences to modern printing methods: In the case of such an extensive work, it was unthinkable at the end of the 15th century that the proofs would first be completed and corrected, as is common today, before the printing of the copies began. Instead, the typesetting was done just in time, which implies that delays in the supply chain—such as the timely production of the woodcuts for the illustration—had to be absorbed. Furthermore, in the case of miscalculations by the typesetters, even interventions, such as shortening or expanding the text, became necessary. Another consequence of this procedure is that errors identified during the printing process were continuously eliminated. This results in minor variations between individual copies of Koelhoff's Chronicle although there was only one edition. Likewise, for the illustrations it can plausibly be argued that the design of the chronicle was not fixed from the beginning, but that the plans for it apparently remained in flux during production.

Thus, these considerations suggest that the procedure of such a printing project at the end of the 15th century had at least some striking similarities with manuscript production that one would not assume at first glance from today's perspective. However, this does not diminish the innovative value of printed works such as Koelhoff's Chronicle at the turn from the Middle Ages to the early modern period. This is especially apparent in quantitative terms: Print reproduction allowed Koelhoff and his

collaborators to publish content that, in the case of earlier historiographical works such as the *Agrippina*, had only been accessible to a small circle. However, there are also qualitative indications: In comparison to the period's manuscripts, the chronicle was illustrated with relatively little effort. Regarding the design, it can also be noted that the team around Johann Koelhoff the Younger knew how to exploit the advantages of printing, for example by providing the elaborate index and corresponding page layout in order to increase the usability and accessibility of this work for its readers.

Finally, it remains ambiguous whether incunables such as Koelhoff's Chronicle owe more to the manuscript era or the dawn of printing. It is questionable, however, whether contemporaries would have found such considerations useful. If one follows the proponents of the 'black art', among whom also the author and probably the whole team of Koelhoff's Chronicle were, then letterpress printing was not yet perceived as an antithesis, but rather as a perfection of manuscript culture.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

BSB Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Bavarian State Library)
BU Bibliothèque de l'Université, Centre d'Information et de Conservation des Bibliothèques
GW Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke
HAAB Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek (Duchess Anna Amalia Library)
HAB Herzog August Bibliothek (Herzog August Library)
ISTC Incunabula Short Title Catalogue
StB Stadsarchief en Athenaeumbibliotheek (Athenaeum Library and City Archive)
UB Universitätsbibliothek (University Library)
ULB Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek (University and State Library)
USB Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek (University and City Library)
WLB Württembergische Landesbibliothek (State Library of Württemberg)

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Figure Credits

Fig. 1: Schematic representation of a ternion quire of Koelhoff's Chronicle (*Kölnische Chronik*). © Carla Meyer-Schlenkrich/Paul Schweitzer-Martin.

Fig. 2: Order of setting (black arrows) and printing (white arrow) the leaves of each quire. (This figure originates from Corsten 1982, 23 and was slightly modified). © Carla Meyer-Schlenkrich/Paul Schweitzer-Martin.

Pia Eckhart

Medial Translations and Material Manifestations

The *Fasciculus Medicinae* in Physician-Patient Interaction

1 Introduction

This study on the simultaneity of manuscript and print in the late 15th and 16th centuries focuses on the so-called *Fasciculus medicinae*, a medical book comprised of short treatises and images on the subjects of uroscopy, phlebotomy, women's health and reproduction, surgery, and anatomy.[1] It offers ample opportunity to examine the interrelations of manuscript and print since its many material manifestations differ in language, medium, size, content, arrangement, paratextual features, and visual organization. In order to better understand why the *Fasciculus medicinae* materialized in so many differing shapes, I will consider two key aspects. The first addresses the question of how short texts (and images)—the building blocks of many late medieval and early modern practical and scholarly multi-text manuscripts, composite manuscripts, and *Sammelbände*—moved between media in a European context. This concerns the degree to which printing multiplied and 'fixed' texts and images. The second key aspect regards the history of the medical book itself and the part it played within the cultures of healing of the time, that is, the interaction of the learned and unlearned as well as the validation of knowledge about human bodies and appropriate treatment. My hypothesis is that at least part of the appeal of the *Fasciculus medicinae* lay in its potential to facilitate communication between physicians and patients of middling means and education.

The *Fasciculus* is an interesting object of study for several reasons: After this collection of images and short medical texts had moved from a diverse late medieval manuscript tradition into print in 1491, it underwent several editions and was almost immediately translated into Italian and Spanish. In the early 16th century translations into Dutch and (partly) German followed. But alongside more than 20 prints up to the 17th century, the *Fasciculus medicinae* was still written (and drawn) by hand.

The printed *Fasciculus medicinae* is primarily known for its impressively large and beautiful woodcuts that have been passed on and transformed through the various editions and reprints (Fig. 1a–b and 3). Karl Sudhoff devoted several studies to the

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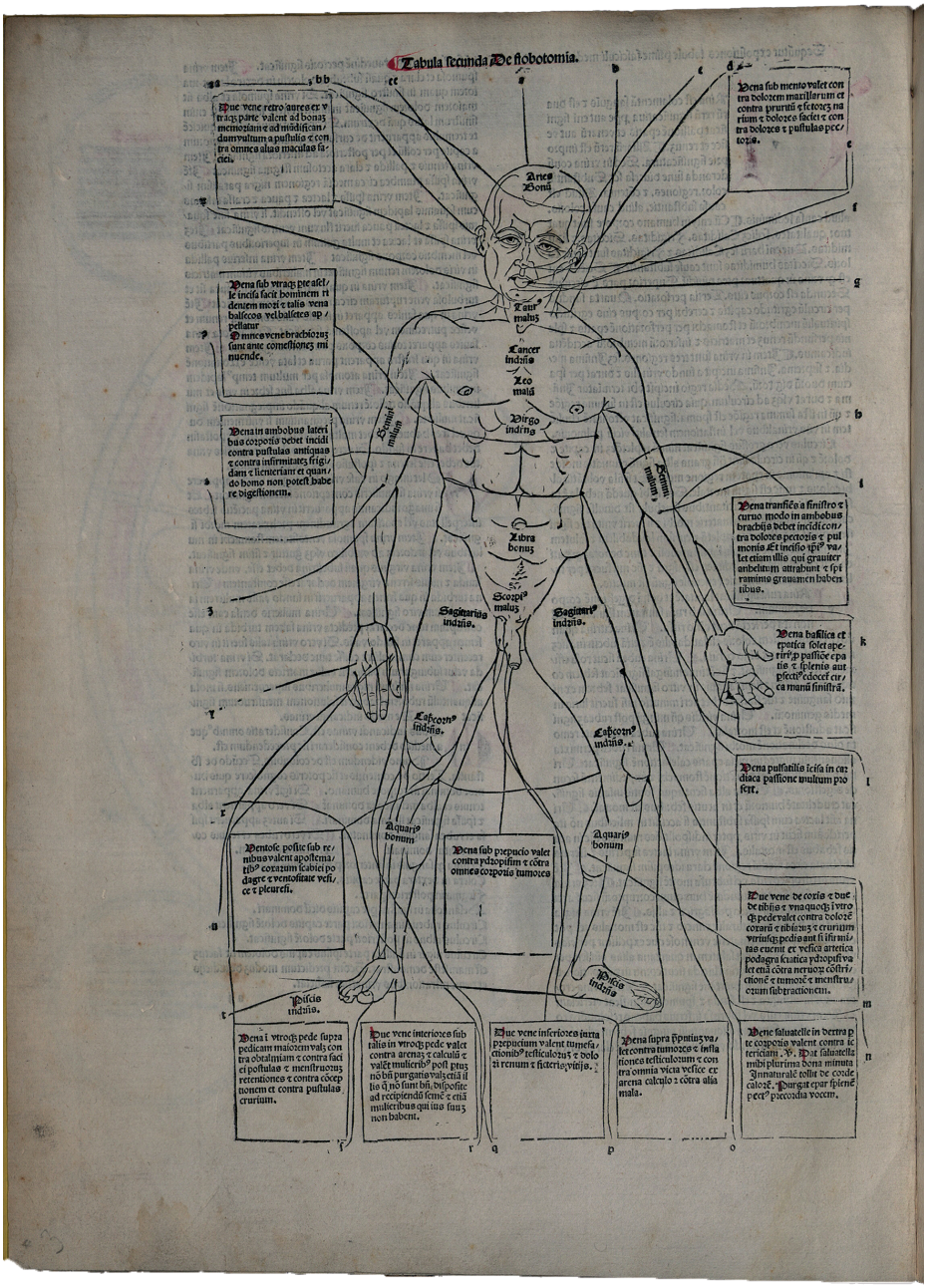
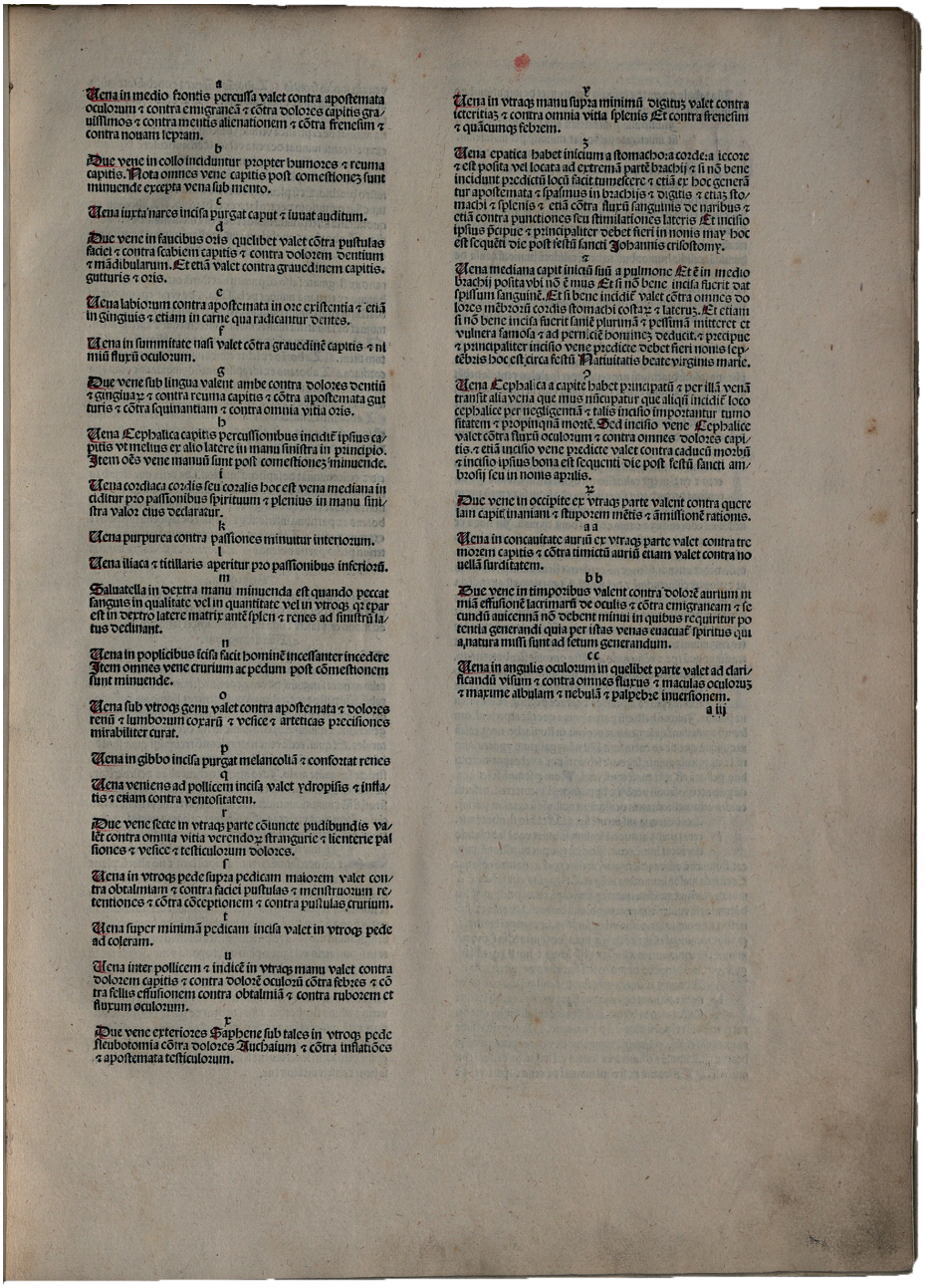


Fig. 1a: *De Flobotomia.* The Vein Man with explanations, Latin Venice 1491, Munich, Bavarian State Library, Rar. 749, fol. [2v].



a

Uena in medio frontis percussa valet contra apostemata oculorum ⁊ contra emigrancā ⁊ cōtra dolores capitis grauissimos ⁊ contra mentis alienationem ⁊ cōtra frenesim ⁊ contra nouam lepram.

b

Due vene in collo incidūtur propter humores ⁊ reuma capitis. Nota omnes vene capitis post comestiones sunt minuende excepta vena sub mento.

c

Uena iurta nares incisa purgat caput ⁊ iuuat auditum.

d

Due vene in faucibus otis quelibet valet cōtra pustulas faciei ⁊ contra scabiem capitis ⁊ contra dolorem dentium ⁊ mādibularum. Et etiā valet contra grauedinem capitis. gutturis ⁊ otis.

e

Uena labiorum contra apostemata in ore existentia ⁊ etiā in gingiuis ⁊ etiam in carne qua radicantur dentes.

f

Uena in summitate nasi valet cōtra grauedinē capitis ⁊ nimiū fluxū oculorum.

g

Due vene sub lingua valent ambe contra dolores dentiū ⁊ gingiuaꝝ ⁊ contra reuma capitis ⁊ cōtra apostemata gutturis ⁊ cōtra squinantiam ⁊ contra omnia vitia otis.

h

Uena Cephalica capitis percussionibus incidit ipsius capitis vt melius ex alio latere in manu sinistra in principio. Item oēs vene manuū sunt post comestiones minuende.

i

Uena cordiaca cordis seu cozalis hoc est vena mediana in aditur pro passionibus spirituum ⁊ plenius in manu sinistra valet eius declaratur.

k

Uena purpurea contra passiones minuitur interiorum.

l

Uena iliaca ⁊ titillaris aperitur pro passionibus inferiorū.

m

Saluatella in dextra manu minuenda est quando peccat sanguis in qualitate vel in quantitate vel in vtroq; q; epar est in dextro latere matrix ante splen ⁊ renes ad sinistrū latus declinant.

n

Uena in poplicibus scisa facit hominē incessanter incedere Item omnes vene crurium ac pedum post cōmestionem sunt minuende.

o

Uena sub vtroq; genu valet contra apostemata ⁊ dolores renū ⁊ lumborum coxarū ⁊ vesice ⁊ arteticas precisiones mirabiliter curat.

p

Uena in gibbo incisa purgat melancoliā ⁊ confortat renes

q

Uena veniens ad pollicem incisa valet ydropisis ⁊ inflatis ⁊ etiam contra ventositatem.

r

Due vene secte in vtraq; parte cōiuncte pudibundis valēt contra omnia vitia verendoꝝ stranguric ⁊ lienterie passiones ⁊ vesice ⁊ testiculorum dolores.

s

Uena in vtroq; pede supra pedicam maiorem valet contra obtalmiam ⁊ contra faciei pustulas ⁊ menstruorum retentiones ⁊ cōtra cōceptionem ⁊ contra pustulas crurium.

t

Uena super minimā pedicam incisa valet in vtroq; pede ad coleram.

u

Uena inter pollicem ⁊ indicē in vtraq; manu valet contra dolorem capitis ⁊ contra dolorē oculorū cōtra febres ⁊ cōtra fellis effusionem contra obtalmiā ⁊ contra ruborem et fluxum oculorum.

x

Due vene exteriores Paphene sub tales in vtroq; pede flebotomia cōtra dolores Auchaium ⁊ cōtra inflationes ⁊ apostemata testiculorum.

y

Uena in vtraq; manu supra minimū digitus valet contra tetrtias ⁊ contra omnia vitia splenis Et contra frenesim ⁊ quācunq; febrem.

z

Uena epatica habet incisum a stomacho: a cordea iecore ⁊ est posita vel locata ad extremā partē brachij ⁊ si nō bene incidunt predicti locū facit tumefere ⁊ etiā ex hoc generā tur apostemata ⁊ spasmus in brachijs ⁊ digitis ⁊ etiaz stomachi ⁊ splenis ⁊ etiā cōtra fluxū sanguinis de naribus ⁊ etiā contra punctiones seu stimulationes lateris Et incisio ipsius fit pue ⁊ principaliter debet fieri in nonis may hoc est sequēti die post festū sancti Johannis crisostomy.

ꝛ

Uena mediana capit inicū suū a pulmone Et ē in medio brachij posita vbi nō ē mus Et si nō bene incisa fuerit dat spissum sanguinē. Et si bene incidit valet cōtra omnes dolores mēbrorū cordis stomachi costaꝝ ⁊ lateruꝫ. Et etiam si nō bene incisa fuerit famē plurimā ⁊ pessimā mitteret et vulnera famosa ⁊ ad pernicie homines deducit ⁊ precipue ⁊ principaliter incisio vene predicte debet fieri nonis septembris hoc est circa festū Natiuitatis beate virginis marie.

ɔ

Uena Cephalica a capite habet principatū ⁊ per illā venā transit alia vena que mus nūcupatur que aliqñ incidit loco cephalice per negligentiā ⁊ talis incisio importantur turno sitatem ⁊ propinquā morte. Sed incisio vene Cephalice valet cōtra fluxū oculorum ⁊ contra omnes dolores capitis ⁊ etiā incisio vene predicte valet contra caducū morbū ⁊ incisio ipsius bona est sequenti die post festū sancti ambrosij seu in nonis aprilis.

ꝝ

Due vene in occipite ex vtraq; parte valent contra quere lam capit inaniam ⁊ stuporem mētis ⁊ āmissionē rationis.

a a

Uena in concauitate auriū ex vtraq; parte valet contra tremorem capitis ⁊ cōtra tinnitū auriū etiam valet contra noxiā surditatem.

b b

Due vene in timporibus valent contra dolorē aurium nimiā effusionē lacrimarū de oculis ⁊ cōtra emigraneam ⁊ secundū auicennā nō debent minui in quibus requiritur potentia generandi quia per istas venas euacuat spiritus qui a natura missi sunt ad semen generandum.

c c

Uena in angulis oculorum in quelibet parte valet ad clarificandū visum ⁊ contra omnes fluxus ⁊ maculas oculorū ⁊ maxime albulam ⁊ nebulā ⁊ palpebre inuersionem.

a ij

Fig. 1b: *De Flobotomia*. The Vein Man with explanations, Latin Venice 1491, Munich, Bavarian State Library, Rar. 749, fol. [3r].

creation of the first Latin print of 1491 and the manuscript traditions of its individual pictorial and textual elements. In his wake scholars have focused especially on the first Latin and Italian editions and studied them intensively.[2] More attention has been paid to the medical images than to the texts, and print editions have been examined detached from contemporaneous manuscripts.[3] Furthermore, there is no overview of vernacular manuscripts available yet.[4] It should be noted, though, that the material is dispersed all across Europe: In addition to the printed translations, it is found in manuscripts combined with French, Dutch, German, English, and Czech texts.[5] Alas, comparative studies across language borders are scarce.[6] This is a regrettable omission because the processes that took place during translations to meet the cultural expectations of the target audience can be a key to understanding the production and transformation of knowledge.[7] Translations therefore are indicators of the shifts in meaning between manuscript and print targeted by this volume.

The colophon of the first Latin print attributed the *Fasciculus medicinae* to a German physician named Johannis de Ketham. Karl Sudhoff undertook to identify Ketham as Johannes von Kirchheim, a German physician and professor active at the University of Vienna. There is now consensus, however, that Kirchheim was not responsible for either the content or the print edition.[8] Instead, as will be shown in what follows, contemporaries labeled highly diverse handwritten and printed books as 'Fasciculus medicinae' or ascribed them to 'Ketham'. I therefore use 'Fasciculus medicinae' when referencing the notion of a virtually coherent literary work whose multifaceted material manifestations nonetheless differ considerably on the textual, material, medial, and visual level. This terminology does not follow a traditional understanding of the

2 See Sudhoff 1925, which is the historical introduction to the facsimile of Latin Venice 1491; Sudhoff 1911; Sudhoff 1908b; Keil 1983; Singer 1925; Pesenti 2001, summarizes and reflects critically on older scholarship by Sudhoff and Singer; see also Coppens 2009a; Coppens 2009b.

3 Chris Coppens, for example, in his monograph on the 'many lives of a book' devotes himself to identifying all known printed editions and examines the different woodblocks used to illustrate these, but does not consider manuscripts, Coppens 2009a. For a chronology of the complete editions of the *Fasciculus* (in Latin and in translation) and a stemma see Coppens 2009b, 199–203.

4 Portail Biblissima, the beta version of a "virtual library of libraries" that allows to search IIIF compatible manuscript resources across various collections, provides some hits, see: https://portail.biblissima.fr (accessed 28/09/2021).

5 Apart from the manuscripts discussed here and in the cited literature, I would like to mention two manuscripts that have not received much attention yet: A medical collection in Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, XVII.H. 26; Astrological and medical compilation, San Marino CA, Huntington Library, mssHM 64.

6 See Zaun/Geisler 2011; Herrera 1990 is a critical edition of the Spanish 1494 Zaragoza edition; Singer 1925, is a facsimile and commentary on the Italian Venice 1494 edition. Pesenti 2001 gives a careful comparison between the Latin Venice 1491 and Italian Venice 1494 editions.

7 See Burke 2007; Hosington 2015.

8 For this hypothesis see Sudhoff 1925, 41–43; Keil 1983. For a concise overview on the discussion of the *Fasciculus*'s alleged author see Coppens 2009b, 169–171.

'authorial work', but rather Tjamke Snijders's critical reflections.[9] The virtual work exists as a mental conception that arises from the perception of commonalities when looking at different exemplars. By ascribing meaning to the commonalities, a sense of belonging is established between the exemplars. The virtual work is therefore not an ideal or authorial text but stands for the sum of perceptible properties that connect real objects with each other. For me, it serves above all as a tool to enable comparisons and to work out differences and similarities between book objects, not only on the textual level (which the traditional terminology implies) but also in terms of materiality and visual organization. The term 'Ketham material', on the other hand, in what follows refers to the images and texts that form the core of the first Latin print of 1491, which provides a meaningful reference point in the fabric of tradition.

Because its image-text arrangements survive in highly diverse forms spanning different language areas, the *Fasciculus* provides a valuable case study to scrutinize the simultaneities of print and handwriting as well as the shifts in meaning ascribed to them in a European context. The way scholars described the relationship between printed and handwritten books in the centuries after the establishment of the printing press in Europe has changed, away from 'media revolution' and 'media change',[10] to simultaneity and functional differentiation,[11] and then again to more intertwined processes of production and reception or use of printed books and manuscripts[12] and their social dimensions.[13] Accordingly, the interest in early modern manuscripts and the complexity of print-manuscript interrelations has increased in recent times.

The editors have drawn our attention to shifting meanings that come with the choice of media. Medical and health-related issues remained prevalent in European manuscripts such as household records, and the individually composed 'scientific' or practical codex, which became a common new manuscript type in the later 15th century.[14] The case of the *Fasciculus* is interesting because the material printed in 1491 consists of short image-text arrangements that could easily fit in these types of manuscripts as well. The usual connotation of print in European contexts with textual 'fixedness' and authority or even authorial control does not fit well here.[15] Not least, because the *Fasciculus*'s rich print history overlaps with ongoing processes of manual copying from manuscripts and prints.

9 Cf. Snijders 2013. I have adapted Snijders's terminology before to continuously printed chronicles, Eckhart 2020, 190–193.

10 See on Elizabeth Eisenstein's influential study *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* and the reactions it provoked Burlinson 2016, 3–4.

11 Cf. Schnell 2007; Brandis 1997.

12 Cf. McKitterick 2003; Meyer/Meier 2015; The Multigraph Collective 2018, 185–203. See also Nafde 2020, who argues that scribes adapted to the aesthetic of print.

13 See Burlinson 2016, 6–7, highlighting poetry and miscellaneous manuscripts; King 2020.

14 See based on manuscripts from German collections Brandis 1997, esp. 55; Wolf 2011, 19–20.

15 See Schnell 2007, esp. 91–93; McKitterick 2003, esp. 4.

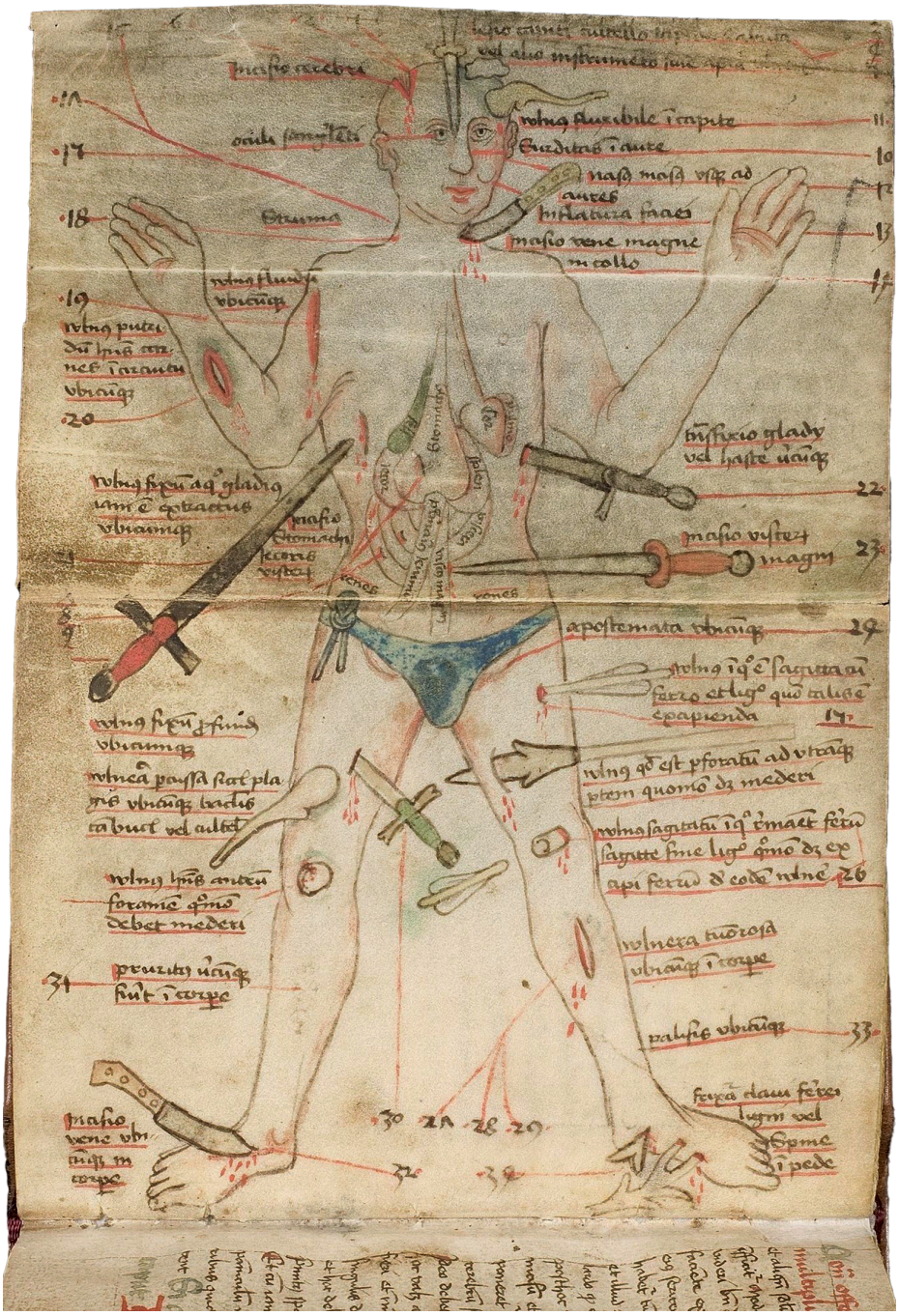


Fig. 2: The Wound Man on a fold-out parchment leave, ca. 1450–1470, Heidelberg, University Library, Cod. Pal. germ. 644, fol. 80r.

In the case of the *Fasciculus*, the potentially shifting meanings ascribed to it should be seen in the context of the healing cultures of the time. Scholars have usually understood this book as a medical vademecum for physicians, a collection of therapeutic, diagnostic, and iatromathematical treatises, and its images as mnemonic devises for medical practice.[16] Implicitly, this assessment has been made primarily on the basis of its 'original' form of the first Latin and Italian printed editions from Venice. The assumption follows that the *Fasciculus* was addressed to learned physicians and maybe well-trained surgeons. According to Michael Solomon, late medieval medical writers distinguished at least in theory between "knowledge that pertained to a 'regiment of preservation' (hygiene)" on the one hand, which could be shared with non-professionals without entailing risky diagnosis and therapies. On the other hand, knowledge that "pertained to a 'regiment of cure' (therapeutics)" should safely rest with learned professionals.[17] Yet the assertion of a clear hierarchical order, in which learned medicine is on top and common medicine subordinate, is more part of textual strategies and professional self-representation by physicians than a reflection of the social realities of medical practice in medieval and early modern Europe. Different types of healing practices coexisted, while at the same time "medieval scholastic medicine had no serious intellectual rivals".[18] Learned physicians, non-academic practitioners, and ordinary people widely agreed on the fundamental workings of the human body and shared a basic understanding of diseases and their treatments.[19] Against this background, it seems valuable to consider a repositioning of the *Fasciculus medicinae* in its various configurations within practical medicine and health care.

I therefore would like to put forth some general considerations as to why the *Fasciculus* may have materialized in so many differing shapes. The *Fasciculus* offers insights into how short texts moved between media. To what extent could images, textual content, and image-text arrangements be stabilized or 'fixed' by print? How did visual organization and materiality contribute to fixate—or make more flexible for that matter—the contemporary notions of the *Fasciculus medicinae* as a virtual work? Contextualizing its manifestations within the culture of healing of the time sheds light on possibly differing attributions of meaning between learned medicine and lay self-care.

16 Keil 1983, 1152; Coppens 2009a, 10; Coppens 2009b, 171.

17 Solomon 2010, 22. Solomon defines popular medical treatises as texts dealing primarily with instructions on healthy living and self-control, but alleges: "But limiting medical information to the realm of non-natural hygiene, or the daily regulation of the body, proved to be more an ideal than a reality. There are very few vernacular medical treatises that do not contain at least a handful of pharmaceutical and practical therapies for various ailments." Solomon 2010, 23.

18 Horden 2013, 41–42.

19 "When it came to the basic understanding of diseases and their treatment, there was no fundamental divide between the world of learned medicine and that of the common folk." Stolberg 2014, 666.

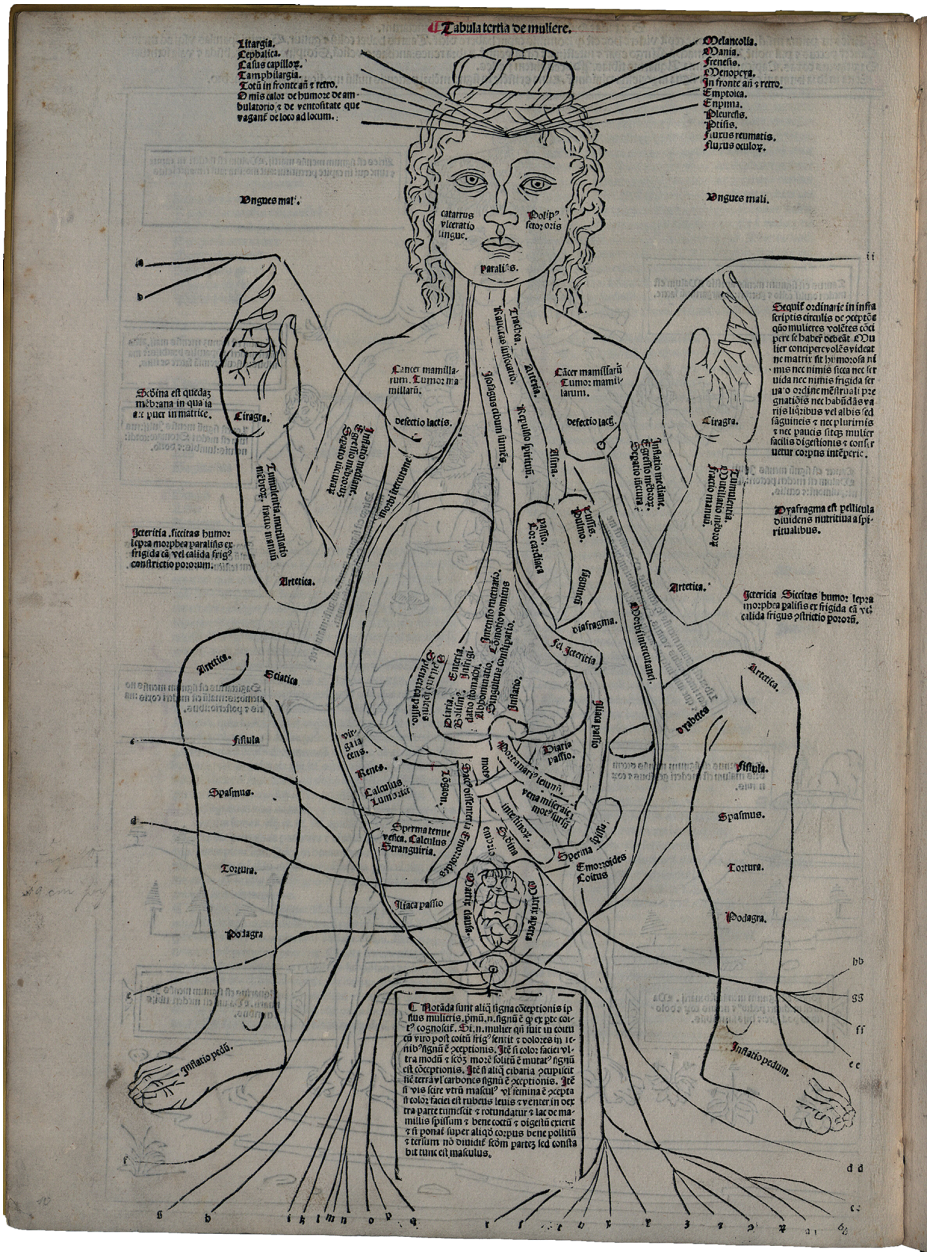
First, I consider the *Fasciculus*'s print history, focusing on the diversity that comes together under the label 'Fasciculus medicinae' (2). The special case of the German book market that did not produce a full German print edition but a range of partial translations in print and manuscript is then discussed (3). To get the full picture, I will examine the manuscript traditions that led to the Latin print of 1491 and the passing on of the Ketham material in handwriting in the 16th century (4). The last paragraph considers anew the *Fasciculus*'s positioning in (un)learned medical practice and book consumption (5).

2 One Label, Diverse Manifestations in Print

The material that was at the core of what would be called 'Fasciculus medicinae' was first printed by the brothers Giovanni and Gregorio de Gregori in Venice. Although the editions later published under this label are highly diverse, the first print, Latin Venice 1491,[20] serves as a useful reference point. Therefore, its contents and material appearance must be described briefly. This slim but generously dimensioned print of only 16 extra-large folios offered six medical woodcuts accompanied by explanatory legends and short treatises. The pages are set in a two-column layout and a gothic type. The consecutively numbered images (or *tabulae*) structure the print in the following way:[21] 1) *Tabula prima* shows a Urine Wheel and is accompanied by expositions on the different colors of urine and the art of uroscopy. 2) *Tabula seconda de flebotomia* ('bloodletting') shows the Vein Man, a standing male nude, veins marked with fine lines and either short text blocks or small letters that refer to legends on the opposite page (Fig. 1a–b), followed by *De iuditiis venarum et de munitionibus earundem una cum cautelis* ('About the evaluation of veins and their strengthening with precautionary notes'). Subsequently, one finds the *tabula secunda de flebotomia,* the Zodiac Man, another male nude with the zodiac signs arranged on his body parts with short explanatory inscriptions. 3) *Tabula tertia de muliere* shows the Pregnant Woman with open torso, her anatomy marked with letters referring to explanatory paragraphs on the following pages. She is also a Disease Woman, with the names of potential ailments inscribed on her limbs (Fig. 3). The following treatise is *Probleumata de membris de generationis de matrice et testiculis seu de secretis mulierum*. 4) *Tabula quarta*

20 For brevity's sake the various editions of the *Fasciculus* are identified by language, place, and year of publication. For the complete bibliographic information of all print editions discussed here see the appendix.

21 For a more detailed description see Pesenti 2001, 29–82; Coppens 2009a, 9–12 with a special focus on the images. On the medieval manuscript traditions of the image types and texts brought together in Latin Venice 1491 see below, esp. note 69–70. In Munich, Bavarian State Library, Rar. 749 all the printed guide letters for initials are executed in red ink and chapter titles and paragraphs are rubricated, online: https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb00052856 (accessed 15/05/2022).


Tabula tertia de muliere.
Ytargia.
Lepbalica.
Casus capillor.
Tamphilargia.
Totū in fronte añ retro.
Omis alor de humore de ambulatorio : de ventositate que vagañ de loco ad locum.
Melancolia.
Dania.
Frenesis.
Menopera.
In fronte añ retro.
Emptoica.
Enpima.
Pleuresis.
Perisis.
Fluxus reumatis.
Fluxus oculor.
Vngues mal'.
Vngues mali.
catarrus ulceratio lingue.
Polip'. fetor oris
paralis.
Trachea.
Arteria.
Jugulare cibum humectat.
Reuulsio Vrinis.
Cancer mamillarum. Lumor mamillarii.
defectio lactis.
Cancer mamillarū Lumor mamillarum.
defectio lactis.
Siragra.
Siragra.
Sedima est quedaz medicama in olla te ex puer in matrice.
Jcteritia .siccitas humor lepra morphea paralisis ge frigida cā vel calida frigi constrictio pororum.
Arretica.
Arretica.
Jcteritia Siccitas humor lepra morphea palisis ge frigida cā vel calida frigus ſtrictio porosū.
Sciatica
Arretica.
Arretica.
Fistula
Fistula.
Spasmus.
Spasmus.
Torsura.
Torsura.
Podagra
Podagra.
Jnflatio pedū.
Jnflatio pectus.
Dyafragma est pellicula diuidens nutritiua a spiritualibus.
Stomachus.
Epar.
Splen.
Pulsus Cordiacus
Diafragma.
Jecur.
Jecoris ramus.
Jecoris ramus.
Jecoris ramus

de anatomia shows the Disease Man, a standing naked man, with potential ailments written on his naked limbs and in lists next to his body. The accompanying text is an untitled list of diseases in alphabetical order. At the end of this list stands the colophon: *Finis fasciculus medicine Johannis de Ketham* [...].[22] 6) As an addendum after the colophon follows *Consilium clarissimi doctoris domini Petri de Tausignano per peste evitanda*, i. e., a pest regimen by Petrus de Tussignano.[23]

Scholars have understood this collection of medical images and texts as a mnemonic device for physicians and medical practitioners that could support medical training.[24] Because of the size and quality of the woodcuts as well as the partly synoptical image-text arrangements the collection could have been used as a visual aid, a form of picture book or *Tafelwerk*, in teaching. Sold unbound, the folios even might have been used as pin-ups. In any case, the extra-large format and especially the large-size images distinguished the *Fasciculus* of 1491.[25]

Only three years later the earliest translations into Italian and Spanish added new texts to the *Fasciculus* and expanded the page count considerably. The Italian Venice 1494 print with 52 folios, translated by Sebastiano Manilio Romano, presents itself in a completely reworked design: The format is a smaller folio, the pages are set in single-column and an elegant Antiqua type.[26] Most remarkable is the new program of now ten woodcuts that updated the original ones and included scenic pictures of academic teaching and patient-physician interaction.[27] At the same time, the former synoptical image-text arrangement was abandoned as well as the reference systems between figures and textual content. The 'Ketham' material is presented in a different order and, most importantly, Manilio's translation of the *Anathomia* by Mondino dei Liuzzi was added. Tiziana Pesenti has argued that these rearrangements, additions, and even alterations of the Pregnant Women were due to an effort to update the

22 Munich, Bavarian State Library, Rar. 749, [fol. 13v], online: https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb00052856?page=30 (accessed 15/05/2022).

23 The exemplar in Boston, Countway Library of Medicine, Rare Books, Ballard 408, is missing Tussignano's regimen. For information on the older edition of the pest regimen used for the Fasciculus, see Coppens 2009a, 11.

24 See the assessment by Sudhoff 1925, 40: "die Lehr [sic] und Gebrauchsgraphik des ärztlichen Praktikers, sein unentbehrliches Merkbild". Keil 1990, 145, distinguishes between accompanying illustrations and 'demonstration drawings' ("Demonstrationszeichnungen") for teaching. According to Coppens 2009a, 10 the illustrations functioned as a mnemonic system.

25 Cf. Sudhoff 1925, 39.

26 The exemplar in Paris, National Library of France, département Réserve des livre rares, RES FOL-T22-4, is partly colored, online: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9900000 (accessed 10/05/2022).

27 See Pesenti 2001, 83–148; Coppens 2009a, 20–34 with special focus on the woodcuts. The new scenes are: the library of Pietro da Montagnana, a urinoscopic consultation scene, a visitation at the sick bed, and an anatomy class with dissection. As Coppens shows, this program was reused, partly adapted, or copied by various Italian, Latin, and Dutch editions. See also Singer 1925, passim; Murray 2020, 347–351.

Fasciculus.[28] They gave the Italian Venice 1494 print the appearance of an illustrated handbook.

The transformation of the *Fasciculus* into a handbook is even more apparent in the Spanish translation and all dependent editions and reprints.[29] The *Compendio de la salud humana* printed by Paulus Hurus in Zaragoza in 1494 not only offers a translation of the Latin Venice 1491 edition but thoroughly remodels it: The format is a slightly smaller folio (three of the copied woodcuts therefore are printed anopistographically on fold-out double pages), whereas the page count increases from 16 to 67 folios because of added texts.[30] However, not only the physical appearance and textual arrangement differ from the template; the Spanish edition also shows a new and consistent visual organization. The title page, a two-column layout, foliation, and running titles throughout give the singular image-text arrangements the impression of unity.[31] No longer the *tabulae* but paratexts structure the volume: Incipits and explicits frame the *ocho tratados speciales*, which are indicated in the running titles and further divided into chapters. The index gives the folio number for all treatises and chapters. All these revisions clearly show that the focus had shifted from the images to the text. The synoptic arrangement of medical images and explanatory legends was abandoned in the case of the double-page prints of the Vein Man, the Pregnant Woman, and the Wound Man. The clear hierarchical structure and visual organization ensure the readers' easy orientation throughout the book. The *Compendio* enables selective reading according to specific topics. As indicated by the Spanish title, it was intended and formatted as a compendium or handbook. The new format, structure, and visual organization were to become defining features of all following Spanish editions.[32]

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28 Cf. Pesenti 2001, esp. 114.

29 On the Spanish editions see Coppens 2009a, 11–19; Herrera 1990; Zaun/Geisler 2011.

30 The Spanish Zaragoza 1494 edition comprises: 1) a prologue, revised Urine Wheel, and extended urine treatise; 2) the treatise on phlebotomy; 3) the treatise on the twelve signs of the zodiac, which is treated as a separate *tratado*; 4) the *Probleumata* however appear as a chapter of the treatise on women's health; 5) the treatise on *Cirurgia* is here followed by some recipes 'for the male genitals'; 6) between the image of the Disease Man and its explanatory legends falls a short text on the pulses, 7) the pest regimen of Petrus de Tussignano is replaced by a Latin oration to Saint Sebastian and Vasco de Taranta's tract on the pestilence; and 8) Michael Scotus' *De physionomia* is added. After the colophon and Hurus's printer's device, an index lists all treatises and chapters by folio number. For the similarities and differences in the woodcuts between Latin Venice 1491 and Spanish Zaragoza 1494 see Coppens 2009a, 13–15. The image of the Pregnant Woman is missing in Madrid, National Library of Spain, INC/51.

31 Another paratext, the prologue, is not a general preface but belongs to the treatise on uroscopy, which is expanded and revised. See Zaun/Geisler 2011, 979–981, esp. n. 39.

32 The Burgos 1495 edition is a reprint of Zaragoza 1494. A new treatise on reproduction was added at the end, so that the index could be reused unchanged. Coppens 2009a, 15, mentions added recipes and the short text on the human pulses, but these were already part of the 1494 Zaragoza edition, see above n. 30. According to Coppens 2009a, 16–19, both the Pamplona 1495 and the Sevilla 1517 edition

Compared to the Spanish *Compendio*, both Italian Venice 1494 and Latin Venice 1495 have a more open design and are much less thoroughly structured. In the Italian edition, printed guide letters for decorative initials are used very sparingly, and chapter titles are visually highlighted only by indented lines. New paragraphs or items in lists too show a slight indentation of the next line and small bold initials. Some of the texts have incipits, indented but not otherwise decorated. The structuring of the book relies again on the (unnumbered) full-page images. There is no title page and neither running titles nor foliation or indices were used. Only a very concise table of contents, or rather a summary stands after the colophon.[33] What truly set it apart was the new program of woodcuts. Interestingly, in Latin Venice 1495, which also features the new woodcuts, the references between marked details in the *tabulae* and the correspondingly labeled and listed text were restored.[34]

None of the editions following Latin Venice 1491 adopted its extra-large format. All of them feature a much higher page count and are more or less thoroughly designed as handbooks.[35] It is important to note that these Spanish, Italian, Latin, and later Dutch compendia all added or replaced treatises, so each offers a different combination of texts.[36] Accordingly, the scenic pictures of academic teaching and patient-physician interaction introduced by the Italian Venice 1494 edition were assigned to different texts in subsequent editions (Fig. 7). Even the core material defined by the Latin Venice 1491 edition could be rearranged so that the order of the topics varies.

Printing the *Fasciculus medicinae* therefore entailed stabilizing effects as well as a high level of flexibility. The first Latin edition of 1491 seems to have been very influential insofar as it established the notion of a specific collection of medical images and texts labeled 'Fasciculus medicinae'. This collection and its label were carried on and some of the following translations and editions referenced a (German) author figure, Johannes de Ketham, even though the first illustration program was eclipsed by the innovative woodcuts of 1494 and the originally printed material was immediately reordered and supplemented by diverse new arrangements. Different strategies of pre-

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are reprints of the Burgos 1495 edition. In the Pamplona edition, the index is adapted to meet the correct folio numbers.

33 For the Latin Venice 1495 edition, the same publishers used a two-column layout with gothic type and decorative initials, again without foliation, running titles, or an index. The summary is now part of a title page and lists the most important texts numbered consecutively.

34 Cf. Coppens 2009a, 35–41.

35 An interesting example are the Latin and Italian editions printed by Cesare Arrivabene in Venice: The Latin Venice 1522 edition has a clear outline of numbered treatises, running titles, and foliation as well as a *repertorium* or index to ensure usability. Arrivabene's Italian edition is less systematically subdivided; the treatises are unnumbered and the running titles only give keywords. Nonetheless, the colophon favorably highlights the edition's design or *forma*: *Nouissimamente reuisto,* [...] *in meglior, & più chiara forma redatto* ('revised and in a better, clearer form drafted'), see Italian Venice 1523, fol. LXVv.

36 The Dutch Antwerp 1512 edition is discussed in more detail below.

sentation accompanied these rearrangements and expansions: Some of the editions highlighted the supplementary character of the added tracts, thereby demarcating the 'original' *Fasciculus* verbally and visually.[37] Others used all the means offered by paratextual and visual features to merge new texts into the *Fasciculus*, blurring the lines between 'old' and 'new' and thereby creating an expanded medical compendium adapted to current notions and needs under the established label.[38] As a highly recognizable eye-catcher, the images introduced by the Italian Venice 1494 edition must have established a link between the following Latin, Italian, and Dutch prints as well as the manuscripts in which those images were copied, adapted, or rearranged.

3 German Manifestations of the Ketham Material

Chris Coppens noted that most of the *Fasciculus* editions were published in Italian cities, whereas reworked translations were printed on the Iberian Peninsula and in the Netherlands but not in German speaking lands.[39] This seemed surprising because Coppens, Sudhoff, and others assumed that the template for the oldest print came from a German-Bohemian context.[40] Coppens assumed that the first two Latin editions of 1491 and 1495 were printed in a two-column layout and gothic type (see Fig. 1b) in order to attract conservative and, above all, German readers with these 'traditional' aesthetics.[41] There is actually no full German translation of the printed *Fasciculus medicinae*.[42] It took another route there: German printers published reworked parts of Ketham material as short thematic booklets mostly in quarto format on either women's health and reproduction or surgery and phlebotomy.

37 Already in Latin Venice 1491, the pest regiment stands after the colophon (see above).

38 The colophon of the Italian Venice 1494 edition integrates all added texts into the *Fasciculus*, i. e., the pest regimen, Mundino's *Anatomia* and two short texts on medical herbs: *Qui finisce el Fasciculo de medicina Vulgarizato per Sabastiano Manilio Romano,* see ibid., [i4a]. The colophon of the Latin Venice 1500 edition refers to all the treatises as part of the *Fasciculus* (*explicit fasciculus medicine in quo continentur* […]), including Rhazes' newly added *De egritudinibus puerorum*, see ibid., [fiiiib]. The *Compendio de la salud humana,* Spanish Zaragoza 1494, though, neither refers to the 'Fasciculus medicine' nor 'Ketham'.

39 Coppens 2009a, 5: "Merkwaardig is dat, op een Duitse houtsnede na, de editie uit 1491 alleen in Spanje navolging vindt, alle verdere volledige edities in Italië verschijnen, en in Antwerpen een Nederlandse vertaling het licht ziet, die enkele keren wordt herdrukt."

40 Cf. Coppens 2009a, 9; Sudhoff 1925, 41, n. 7; Singer 1925, 20f. compares the German and Czech words found in Latin Venice 1491, especially in the explanatory text of the Wound Man, with the Italian translation of 1494.

41 Cf. Coppens 2009a, 35f. See also Pesenti 2001, 62.

42 One possible explanation could be lower demand. As Pantin 2013, 14 points out, in general only medical books on anatomy and surgery had illustrations, if at all. The exception, though, were medical books printed in Germany, Pantin 2013, 26f. The Ketham images, so appealing to non-German audiences, might have seemed less extraordinary there.

From the early 16th century on, the image of the Pregnant Woman, its explanatory tract, and the *Probleumata*, as they are known from *Fasciculus medicinae* editions, were translated into German and survive in diverse combinations in print as well as in manuscript.[43] The known editions and manuscripts do not refer to the label 'Fasciculus medicinae' or to 'Ketham'. The earliest prints are slim booklets and do not contain the *Probleumata*. *Ein gut artznei die hie nach stet das frawen vnnd mann angeet* ('A good medicine that follows concerning women and men') was published in 1510 in Strasbourg and Augsburg respectively; both editions are without a printer's device and undated.[44] Although the wording is almost identical, the two editions differ in physical appearance and visual organization. The Strasbourg edition in folio format contains six folios. The title page gives the content of the booklet in verse. The woodcut of the Pregnant Woman on fol. 2r shows inscriptions in German and the letter labeling that links the body parts to the text. The Pregnant Woman seems to be a close copy of the illustration used in the Italian Venice 1494 and the Latin Venice 1495 editions.[45] The image is also very close to an undated Pregnant Woman with Latin inscriptions that apparently survives only in one exemplar, either a single sheet broadside or a fragment of an otherwise unknown printed book(let).[46] The Augsburg edition, on the other hand, is six folios in quarto format and presents a woodcut of a physician holding a *matula* on the title page.[47] On fol. 2r, however, one finds the image of the Vein Man, noticeably different in style to the Italian examples. There are no textual inscriptions, but the veins are labeled with Roman ciphers.[48] The Vein Man evidently has no thematic connection to the following tract on women's health. The text is still structured by the now dysfunctional letter-labels referencing the non-existing image of the Pregnant Woman.

43 See Kruse 1999, esp. 20–28; Kruse 1996, 23–34, for the transcription of a 16th century manuscript see 337–369. The explanatory text focusses on infertility, signs of pregnancy, and various recipes, see Ferckel 1912/13, esp. 211–212. See for the *Probleumata* as an excerpt from the widely known collection *Omnes homines* Pesenti 2001, 37–38.

44 The dates and/or printers of both editions have been corrected in the *VD 16*, but Kruse refers to the older information. She therefore assumes the Augsburg 1510 edition to be the oldest (erroneously dated ca. 1502, printed by Hans Froschauer) and the Strasbourg 1510 edition to be printed by Johann Prüss the older. See Kruse 1999, 268–269, n. 99.

45 See Coppens 2009a, 55–56.

46 See Lint 1923. He reproduced what he conceived as a broadside with permission of its owner, the American collector Leroy Crummer. Sigerist 1923, 177 suggests that the German woodcut was printed from the same altered block and that de Lint's Latin broadside might be a fragment of an otherwise lost (Latin) edition similar to the German booklet.

47 The same woodcut of a physician with a *matula* was used for the title page of Tallat, Ertzney. See Kruse 1999, 25–26. Tallat's book is a German abridged reworking of the *Gart der Gesundheit*, see Duntze 2007, 114.

48 The same woodcut of the Vein Man is found in Buchlin Augsburg 1516, [e1b]. This is another German excerpt of the *Fasciculus medicine*, a booklet on surgery and bloodletting, which is discussed in more detail below.

Unfortunately, the relations between the Strasbourg and Augsburg editions, undated but close in time, remain unclear.[49] They show, however, how the *Fasciculus* could be abbreviated into a thematically specialized booklet. Later editions added more texts on women's health and reproduction.[50] As Oliver Duntze notes, the text of the Strasbourg 1510 edition was later added to German prints of the *Secreta mulierum*, beginning in 1531.[51] At the same time, such thematic combinations were also thriving in German manuscript compilations, as Britta-Juliane Kruse has demonstrated: Until the end of the 16th century the Ketham material on women's health and reproduction including the excerpts of the *Probleumata* survived in combination with other thematically relevant texts such as the *Secreta mulierum* or the *Trotula*.[52] These manuscripts' relations to Latin or German print editions are vague at best and none of them contain images.[53]

The second type of thematic booklet on surgery, wound care, and bloodletting has not been studied in depth yet, and I will thus confine myself to a few observations. The surgical booklets can be divided roughly into two groups, published under two different titles. The first group of six editions from the first two decades of the 16th century called *Buchlin,* or little books, explain their content and usefulness on the title page.[54] Here the image of the Wound Man functions as an eye-catcher and herald of the booklet's thematic focus.[55] It is followed by a short summary of the contents, divided into four chapters, and a preface about the workings of the human body with references to

49 Duntze 2007, 117 assumes that Hupfuff's print is the oldest because of the dysfunctional image of the Vein Man in the Augsburg edition. Hupfuff published a number of medical books such as Tallat's *Ertzney*, the *Secreta mulierum*, and the *Problemata Aristotelis*, ibid., 106–118.

50 Eyn gut artzney Mainz 1515, with 24 folios; this edition is much longer, but the exact contents are unknown. I was not able to see the only surviving exemplar in Frankfurt, University Library, Biblioth. Hirzel 15. Kruse 1999, 268–269, n. 90 refers to older information (Strasbourg 1510, printer unknown), now corrected in the *VD 16*. She mentions an exemplar in Nuremberg without shelf mark that I was unable to track down. A fourth edition is even more elusive. It is neither listed in the *VD 16* nor the *USTC*. The online catalogue gives little information about the alleged exemplar Zurich, Central Library, Alte Drucke und Rara 3.143,2: https://swisscollections.ch/Record/990065160940205508 (accessed 17/10/2022). According to the short description given by Kruse 1999, 26–27, the print contains the image of the Wound Man, recipes, and a glossary of herbs in Latin and German.

51 Cf. Duntze 2007, 117.

52 See Kruse 1999, 20–25, who studied nine manuscripts, most of them dated to the second half of the 16th century.

53 See Kruse 1999, 22.

54 The full title reads: *In disem buchlin find man gar ain schoene underweysung und leer wie sich cirurgici oder wundartzt gegen ainem yegklichen verwundten menschen, es sey mit schiessen, hawen, stechen oder ander zufelligen kranckheiten nach anzeigung der figur, halten soellen. Mit vil bewärten stucken* ('In this booklet one finds beautiful instructions on how surgeons or wound surgeons should treat wounded people, whether by shooting, cutting, stabbing, or other accidental diseases, as indicated by the figure. With many tried and tested texts').

55 Hartnell 2017, 26 notes that the image of the Wound Man is often used this way in surgical books from the late 15th and 16th centuries, without "numerated or alphabetical catchwords, nor thin lines

authorities like Aristotle and Avicenna. The first three chapters deal with injuries from head to toe, the beginning of each is signaled by a woodcut of the body zone in question (head, torso, legs)—a Wound Man in pieces, so to speak. The fourth chapter is a list of Latin remedies ordered under German labels. In addition to the chapters mentioned in the summary, texts on bloodletting follow, illustrated with the image of the Zodiac Man. The oldest known edition by Pamphilius Gengenbach presents a layout structured by indented chapter titles, incipits in larger type, pilcrows, and manicula. Its decorations are initials and thematically suitable small woodcuts.[56] The preface by an anonymous translator refers to Ketham, or precisely to Johannes Charetanus, 'the most famous master and physician born in German lands'. The narrator claims to translate Ketham's 'teachings' so that people unable to read Latin or without access to the old masters' wisdom would stop 'randomly sticking a plaster on any kind of wound'.[57] The booklet, however, bears only slight similarities with the Latin *Fasciculus medicinae*. The images of the Wound and Zodiac Man (and in the case of Buchlin Augsburg 1516 the Vein Man) catch the eye, of course, but one must keep in mind the rich manuscript tradition of these image types. The parts on surgical treatment of injuries and ailments share verbatim passages with the Ketham material but are combined with other texts and rearranged into chapters and paragraphs. Although the preface presents the *Buchlin* as the translation of Ketham's/Charetanus's 'teachings', in style, content, and arrangement of images and texts these booklets seem far more similar to other German prints on surgical treatment and bloodletting from the early 16th century.[58] This is also true for the second group of German surgical booklets referencing 'Ketham'.

This second group, called *Wundartznei*, appeared in print from the 1530s to 1550s.[59] Most editions are in quarto, some in octavo format. Although the first three chapters on the surgical treatment of wounds and ailments are very close to the older *Buchlin*,

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linking his body to partitioned paragraphs". It seems the image-text arrangement known from older *Fasciculus* editions gave way to more substantial and elaborated text designs.

56 Cf. Buchlin Bale 1513, the exemplar studied here is Munich, Bavarian State Library, Res/4 Chir. 110,7, online: https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb00002886 (accessed 17/03/2022). The other editions (Cologne 1515, Augsburg 1516) are very similar but partly use different woodcuts. In Buchlin Augsburg 1516, instead of the Zodiac Man, one finds a Vein Man with lines and dysfunctional Roman numbers that have no textual equivalent, see above n. 46.

57 Buchlin Bale 1513, [aiib–aiiia]: *Also mag man all wunden vnd schaden mit ainem pflaster haylen. Solichen irsal zuo vermiden hab ich auß bitt vnd bruederlicher lieb ain schoen kurtes vnd lieplichs auch bewaerts buechlin zuo handen genommen vnd zuo setzen ainen behenden vnd gemainen begryff aller wunden / stichen / schlegen / würffen etc. künstlich rot vnd hilff zuo tuon mit geringem lichten kosten nach der lere deß hoch beruembten maisters vnd doctors Johanni Karethani vß dütschen land pürtig / welche medicin er bewaert vnd vnß yn gedaechtnüß zuo letz gaeben*.

58 See Panse 2012b.

59 The full title reads: *Wundartznei: zu allen gebrechen des gantzen leibs und zu iedem glid besonder mit was zufaellen die entstehn Rath unnd meysterstuck. Rechte kunst und bericht der aderlaesz* ('Wound medicine: Advice and masterpieces for all infirmities of the whole body and for each individual limb,



Fig. 4: The Vein Man with indications in German (detail), *Wundartznei*, Strasbourg 1530, Munich, Bavarian State Library, Res/4 Chir. 110,1, Diia.

paratexts and image-text arrangements show differences. The oldest known *Wundartznei* edition presents the name of Johannes Charetanus on the title page together with an illustration of surgical instruments—there is no image of the Wound Man, though. The short preface, 'To the reader', reads like a rigorously abridged excerpt from the preface of the *Buchlin*, but every trace of the anonymous translator-narrator is gone. The fourth chapter is supplemented with German remedies and the texts on phlebotomy are replaced: Instead of the references to Avicenna and Rhazes readers find straightforward instructions on bloodletting and the best days to do it. Remarkably, the *Wundartznei* strengthens the relationship with the Ketham material referred to on the title page. Whereas the *Buchlin* editions contain textual descriptions of the human veins, the *Wundartznei* features a small woodcut of the Vein Man, labeled with small numbers that link to a list of brief indications (Fig. 4).[60]

especially how they arise. Report on the true art of bloodletting'). The first known edition is Wundartznei Strasbourg 1530.

60 Wundartznei Zwickau 1530, is in octavo format that features no woodcuts at all but preserves the numbered veins and indications, see Munich, Bavarian State Library, Res. Chir. 60, Diia, online: https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb10206026?page=64,65 (accessed 12/10/2022). Wundartznei Frankfurt 1531 in quarto again features the Zodiac Man and the Vein Man, similar to Wundartznei Strasbourg 1530.

Two later editions printed in Frankfurt by Hermann Gülfferich used a double-page woodcut of the Vein Man with open torso that is also featured in Hans von Gerdorff's *Feldbuch*.[61] Even more than the *Buchlin*, the *Wundartznei* editions seem adapted to the needs of any reader concerned with self-care and health, offering straightforward, useful information for interacting with physicians and apothecaries, practical advice, and concise instructions. Whereas the first three chapters remain virtually unchanged, the editions in fact differ considerably from each other. Apparently, publishers added or replaced texts at will, for example treatments for tooth aches[62] or recipes for *latwerge* and incense;[63] they also provided foliation and indices to enhance usability. Whether and how these surgical booklets left traces in later German manuscripts needs further investigation.[64]

As a concluding remark on the fate of the Ketham material in German printing houses, I would like at least to point out the existence of one Latin compendium. The *Astrologiae ad medicinam adplicatio brevis*, compiled by Jakob Scholl and published in Strasbourg in 1537 by Jakob Kammerlander, shows its relation to the *Fasciculus medicinae* in its subtitle: *Post hos fasciculus totius medicinae*.[65] This book of almost a hundred folios in quarto format evidently brings together quite a large number of different texts,[66] the first part focusing on astrological basics for health care. The second part's structure, as proposed by the title, is based on the older *Fasciculus medicinae*, which can be seen in the thematic range of uroscopy, phlebotomy, surgery, and women's health. The topics are arranged around the program of image types established by the first Latin edition of 1491.[67] Even though this Latin compendium offers a different

61 In this double-page woodcut small letters are used to label the veins. The older Wundartznei Frankfurt 1549 still offers the numbered list of veins and indications, therefore disconnecting text and image. The later Wundartznei Frankfurt 1552 fixes this issue by replacing the numbering of the list with the corresponding small letters of the woodcut, see Munich, Bavarian State Library, Res/4 Chir. 14, fol. XVIIv–XXIv, online: https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb10199591?page=36 (accessed 17/03/2022). See the Vein Man in Hans von Gerdorff, Feldbuch, eiia. The *Feldbuch*'s chapter on phlebotomy, on the other hand, is based on Ketham material according to Benati 2017, 504; and Frederiksen 1983, 628. Perhaps one of the older *Buchlin* editions was used for the *Feldbuch*.

62 Wundartznei Frankfurt 1549, fol. 17r–19r.

63 Wundartznei Frankfurt 1552, fol. 23r–35r.

64 The *Handschriftencensus*, the database of German medieval manuscripts, so far only records translations of the treatise on women's health and reproduction.

65 Scholl, *Astrologiae ad medicinam adplicatio brevis*, title page.

66 See for a list of contents the online catalogue of the U. S. National Library of Medicine: https://catalog.nlm.nih.gov/permalink/01NLM_INST/1o1phhn/alma992322713406676 (accessed 17/03/2022).

67 Only the Urine Wheel and the Pregnant Woman, though, retain links to the text. The labelling of the latter now refers to anatomical notes. The Vein Man's numbered labels are dysfunctional and without a textual equivalent. The Disease Man is replaced by a third illustration on phlebotomy: A very similar depiction of a standing male nude, but instead of a list of diseases this *Tabula tertia de phlebotomiae cum Planetis* shows the relations of bloodletting and the planets, see Scholl, *Astrologiae ad medicinam adplicatio brevis*, fol. 40v. Here and throughout the book a code of symbols is used for the planets and the zodiac signs set up in the first part of the book. The symbols are worked into the small

textual compilation, it shows the ongoing appeal of the label and the thematic range of the *Fasciculus medicinae* as well as the iconography associated with it.[68]

4 Manifold Manuscript Traditions Before and After Print

It seems the *Fasciculus*, or better, the singular short image-text arrangements it was built on, did not fare significantly differently in print and the handwritten medium. In manuscripts of the 14th and 15th centuries, we find them alone and in combination; some of the images even go back to the 13th century.[69] Manuscripts that already contain large parts or all of the later Ketham material are less common, and the exact manuscript template used by the Venetian printers in 1491 is unknown. Tiziana Pesenti has studied a composite manuscript, Vatican Apostolic Library, Pal. lat. 1325, whose textual arrangement and pictorial program is similar to Latin Venice 1491. The part concerning the Ketham material is 24 folios long sized 29 × 20 cm and roughly dated to around 1500. The ordering of the textual content and some of the content itself clearly differs from Latin Venice 1491, however, and the manuscript cannot be dated precisely. Using this manuscript as a point of reference, Pesenti describes the older traditions of the images and above all the texts.[70]

Karl Sudhoff, on the other hand, who devoted several studies to the origins of the first print (but did not know the Vatican manuscript Pal. lat. 1325), considered two manuscripts as the nearest relatives to the printers' template, one of which is Paris, National Library of France, Ms. Lat. 11229. This beautifully produced and decorated manuscript written around 1400 probably in France already contains all six images of the later print, although the Zodiac Man follows a different iconography. The slim manuscript of 55 folios sized 20 × 14 cm is a carefully arranged collection of medical

woodcuts that introduce the paragraphs on the Zodiac and the planets, except for the depictions of the last two planets Venus and Mercury, Scholl, *Astrologiae ad medicinam adplicatio brevis*, fol. 3r–14r.

68 Coppens, Sudhoff, and Singer make no note of Scholl's work. The only passing reference I could find is Bolton 1898, 119 on the Zodiac Man.

69 See Sudhoff 1925, 43–57. According to Keil 1983, 1152 the single treatises go back to the end of the 14th century. See Auer/Schnell 1993, who list a number of manuscripts containing the Wound Man, sometimes combined with other medical images. According to them, the textual counterparts of the Wound Man, the *Wundarznei* and *Antidotar* (a collection of recipes), are largely based on the *Arzneibuch* by Ortolf von Baierland. See also Hartnell 2017; Sudhoff 1908a. On manuscripts containing the Urine Wheel see Zaun/Geisler 2011. On manuscripts containing the Pregnant Disease Woman see Green 2008, 153–157; Ferckel 1912/13.

70 Cf. Pesenti 2001, 8–28. Pesenti gives no reasons for dating the manuscript to the 1490s, ibid., 8. The Ketham material seems to be a production unit written in a gothic cursive, fol. 343–367, see online: https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.11539#0689 (accessed 14/10/2022). The manuscript is bound together with a medical collection composed by Ambrosius Prechtl between 1556 and 1560 in Regensburg, Germany. See the description dating the older part of the manuscript around 1500 in Schuba 1981, 431–434.

and astronomical subjects: At the beginning one finds the French *Régime ordonné pour la santé du corps de créature humaine* ('diet regimen for the health of the human body'), followed by material close to the later *Fasciculus medicinae* and other short medical texts and tables. However, as Sudhoff notes, the textual arrangement of the Paris manuscript differs significantly from the later printed collection despite almost verbatim correspondences. Sudhoff's claim that the Paris manuscript must be a close relative of the manuscript template of the 1491 edition relies on the images that were recut for producing the *Fasciculus medicinae*.[71]

Sudhoff's second manuscript model, Heidelberg, University Library, Cod. Pal. germ. 644, is characterized by its textual proximity to Latin Venice 1491. It contains all of the Ketham material except for the image and texts on uroscopy and the image of the Pregnant Woman.[72] The material is spread throughout the codex but written by the same hand in a neat gothic cursive script and a consistent single-column layout with initials and rubrication in red and blue ink.[73] Surely, these parts of the codex were produced as a unit and only later separated due to a refashioning of the content and/or the binding. The images of the Vein Man and the Wound Man, painted on folded and pasted-in parchment sheets, are labeled with lines and numbers that link the body parts to the following explanatory texts (Fig. 2).[74] In Cod. Pal. germ. 644 we thus see a carefully written and visually organized medical handbook in a small and handy format of 10.2 × 7.5 cm, which later underwent restructuring, recombination, and continuous additions by several hands.

The difference in format is striking between the first print edition in extra-large folio reminiscent of a *Tafelwerk* and its supposedly close relative Cod. Pal. germ. 644, which is the size of a small pocketbook. However, there are traces of a manuscript tradition of large format medical images of the Ketham type. A collection of six large parchment leaves from the 15th and 16th centuries bound together in the 19th century survives in Copenhagen. They were drawn and written in Latin by various hands, probably in Germany.[75] The first three leaves show a Vein Man, a Pregnant Woman (Fig. 5)

71 See Sudhoff 1908b, 99f. Hartnell 2017, 9–10, however notes, that the images in the Paris manuscript 11229 present short paratexts, but are not linked to the text the way the Ketham images are and therefore function in a different way: "These cumulative images catalogued and performed the encyclopedic power of such a manuscript's medical contents."

72 Sudhoff 1911, 280–287 suggests that the image of the Pregnant Woman was lost or has been removed; Sudhoff 1925, 44. Heidelberg, University Library, Cod. Pal. germ. 644 contains excerpts of Bartholomäus's *Harnschau*, a German text on uroscopy, and a number of half-length depictions of physicians with *matulae* in their hands. See online: https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.518 (accessed 14/10/2022).

73 See the description in Kalning et al. 2014, 398–405, for the hand and script 398.

74 See the Vein Man, Heidelberg, University Library, Cod. Pal. germ. 644, 63v, online: https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.518#0132 (accessed 14/10/2022).

75 Copenhagen, Royal Danish Library, NKS 84 b folio. See the digital presentation online: http://www5.kb.dk/manus/vmanus/2011/dec/ha/object48029/da/ (accessed 15/05/2022). See for a detailed description and measurements Sudhoff 1911, 288–298; Sudhoff 1925, 43–44; Auer/Schnell 1993, 357–358.

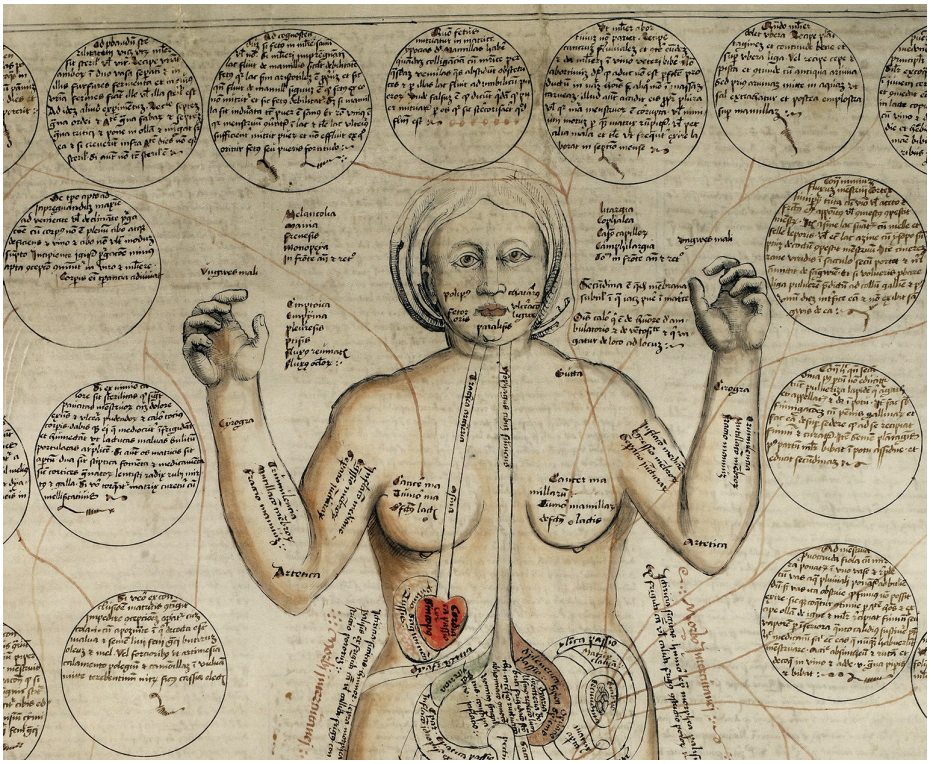

Fig. 5: The Pregnant Woman (detail), 16th century, Copenhagen, Royal Danish Library, NKS 84 b folio, fol. 2r.

and a Wound Man of similar design. The figures, on the recto side, are connected by thin lines to explanatory paratexts in circular medallions; each is followed by a related treatise written in three columns on the verso side.

The next two leaves present another Pregnant Woman and a Urine Wheel both with inscriptions (recto) and another Wound Man with circular medallions (verso) as well as a smaller Disease Man (recto) and Urine Wheel (verso), framed by their treatises. The sixth leaf, which is apparently the oldest, shows yet a different visual organization with a Vein Man smiling and holding up his hands, his body parts connected by thin lines to the text that clings to his silhouette.[76] As we have seen, all print editions (apart from some of the German booklets) are in folio format, but most of them shift the focus away from the images by adding more and new texts. The picture book type in comparison seems to have been less appealing in print but was carried on in manuscripts up to the 16th century. The Copenhagen fascicle probably represents

76 Copenhagen, Royal Danish Library, NKS 84 b folio, f. 6r. http://www5.kb.dk/manus/vmanus/2011/dec/ha/object48029/da/#kbOSD-0=page:11 (accessed 15/05/2022).

three different fragmented manuscripts of this type. Another example may be found in Vienna, National Library of Austria, Cod. 14034. This codex has been recognized as a copy made from print, which is especially noticeable in the images.[77] Although this slim booklet of 13 folios is not as generously dimensioned (32.8 × 21.8 cm) as the Copenhagen sheets, its interesting codicological structure indicates that it was probably not intended as a codex but rather as a collection of unbound and showable *tabulae*. The image-text arrangement of the Urine Wheel (Fig. 6a–b), the Vein Man, the Disease Man, a second Vein Man, the Zodiac Man, and the Pregnant Woman are organized in such a way that the image is always presented on the left (on the verso of a blank recto) with the text on the right (followed by a blank verso). Whereas the style of the drawings clearly shows their dependence on the woodcuts used in the Latin Venice 1495 edition, the texts have been abridged and partly rearranged to fit into these synoptic arrangements of image and treatise.[78]

The Copenhagen and Vienna examples show that early modern manuscripts of the *Fasciculus medicinae* relied on print and manuscript traditions. Copying from print is especially noticeable when the printed template—textual and pictorial in the case of the *Fasciculus* —is transcribed from one medium to the other.[79] One example of such an almost exact *Druckabschrift* is found in Leiden, University Library, BLP 1905. The slim booklet of only 15 fairly large folios (29 × 17 cm) is a faithful transcription of the Latin Venice 1491 edition, complete with the verbatim explicit at the end.[80] Especially the finely executed drawings show a striking resemblance to the woodcuts, with only minor details like slight hatchings added. However, there are two considerable changes on the textual level. After the Latin tract on uroscopy, the same hand added two short texts on the same topic in Middle Dutch: *Een tractaet in duus van de Urynen* and *Van die coloren der Urynen*. Both texts take up just one page. On the verso, the transcription of Latin Venice 1491 resumes with the drawing of the Vein Man.[81] The second change regards the material on women's health. The image of the Pregnant Woman as well as the copious text of the *Probleumata* were omitted. Only excerpts of the explanatory texts, which in the printed template accompanied the *tabula*, were copied. The small letters that in the printed text refer to the woodcut were omitted

77 Sudhoff 1925, 43; Zaun/Geisler 2011, 973, n. 18. See the online catalogue which links to digital images: http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13949169 (accessed 17/10/2022).

78 Zaun/Geisler 2011, 973, n. 18 mistakenly call the manuscript an exact copy of the Latin Venice 1495 edition. Sudhoff 1925, 43 complains about the superfluous duplication of the Vein Man and the mechanical shortening of the texts without taking the synoptic image-text arrangement into account.

79 The German term *Druckabschrift* refers to the phenomenon of manuscripts copied form entire printed books. See Wolf 2011, esp. 9–15. See also Nafde 2020.

80 Leiden, University Library, BLP 1905, fol. 15r. The imprint, however, is omitted. In the beginning the manuscript shows a one-column layout decorated with simple initials and pilcrows in red ink and further rubrication. With the explanatory texts of the Vein Man, the layout changes to two-column, reproducing the print template. Maybe the copyist found it easier to adhere to the lines that way.

81 Leiden, University Library, BLP 1905, fol. 3r–v.

together with the picture.[82] Although copied faithfully from print, the Leiden manuscript shows adaptations on the textual level.

There are also manuscripts that were clearly copied from print editions but at the same time enhanced or corrected on the basis of manuscript material. In the early 16th century, an anonymous scribe copied the uroscopy and phlebotomy material from a Latin print edition of the *Fasciculus* into a medical codex, today found in Trinity College.[83] This is especially evident in the careful drawing of the Vein Man after the Venetian woodcut model and in large passages of verbatim text.[84] These parts, though, underwent major transformation, probably on the basis of an unknown manuscript. Whereas the drawing of the Vein Man is evidently a copy from the woodblock used in the Latin Venice 1495, 1500, and 1501 editions, there are significant changes: Image inscriptions about the influences of the zodiac signs are written on the limbs of the Vein Man, similar but not identical to those of the Latin Venice 1491 edition (the inscriptions were omitted in the later Latin editions). Furthermore, the labelling of the veins and the short paratexts are completely different from both the first and the later Latin editions, and, consequently, the ordering of the explanatory tract follows the logic of this labelling, even though on the textual level there is no significant change. The following treatise on phlebotomy is close to the Latin editions, but some changes are still noticeable. For example, there is no drawing of the Zodiac Man, but the printed image's inscriptions turn up in the textual description of the Zodiac signs and their influence on the human body and bloodletting.[85]

As indicated by the alterations of the Vein Man, the manuscript is also an interesting example of how the images fared during copying processes.[86] In the case of the Vein Man, the visual style of the drawing imitated that of the print, but the schematic and paratextual elements were adapted to serve the new text-image arrangement. The diagrammatic *tabula* of the Urine Wheel, on the other hand, was not copied but

82 Leiden, University Library, BLP 1905, fol. 7v–8v.

83 Cambridge, Trinity College, O.9.31. In this medical miscellany the Latin and Flemish manuscript parts, among them the Ketham material on uroscopy and phlebotomy with a depiction of the Vein Man, are bound together with two Latin incunabula, see The James Catalogue of Western Manuscripts online: https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/Manuscript/O.9.31 (accessed 29/09/2021).

84 For the Vein Man see Cambridge, Trinity College, O.9.31, fol. 29v. The printed template was not Latin Venice 1491, due to the deviating information given in the Urine Wheel tabula (see below and n. 88). The scribe dated the pages copied from the Fasciculus to 1505 and 1507, which means the Latin Venice editions of 1495, 1500 or 1501, which all present the same texts and images, could have been used as template. See for the dates The James Catalogue of Western Manuscripts online: https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/Manuscript/O.9.31 (accessed 29/09/2021).

85 Each Zodiac sign is assigned to a month (i. e., *Aries est signum mensis Martii*), information that could be taken from the inscriptions of the printed Latin Zodiac Man, see Cambridge, Trinity College, O.9.31, fol. 32r–v.

86 Images could also be copied individually: The Wound Man and the Pregnant Disease Woman in London, Welcome Library, MS 290, fol. 53v and 52v respectively, are probably copied from the Latin Venice 1491 edition without the related texts as suggested by Hartnell 2017, 22–24.

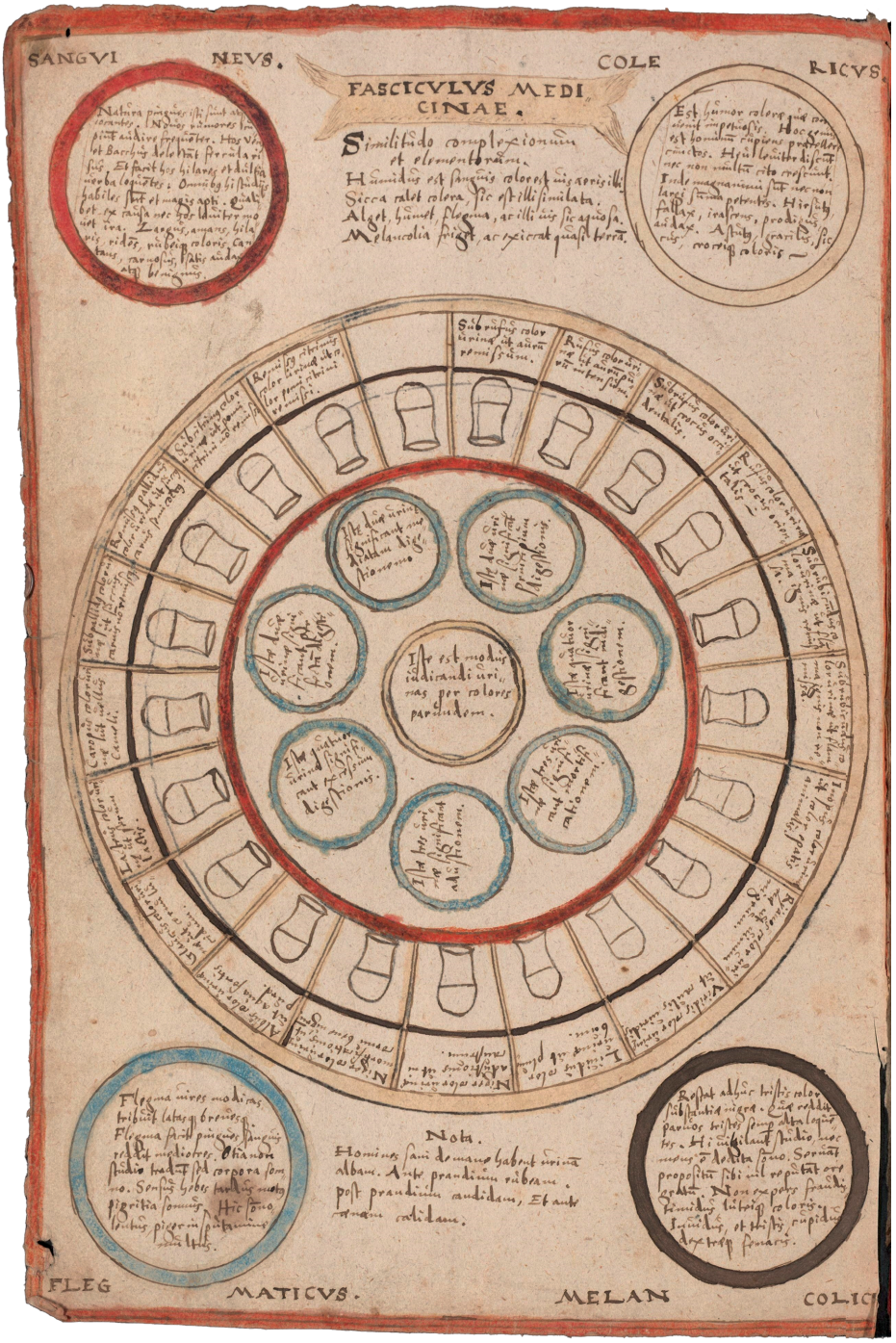

Fig. 6a: The Urine Wheel and treatise arranged synoptically, Vienna, National Library of Austria, Cod. 14034, fol. 2v.



Fig. 6b: The Urine Wheel and treatise arranged synoptically, Vienna, National Library of Austria, Cod. 14034, fol. 3r.

rather transformed into a table.[87] The 16th century copyist first visualized the relations between urine colors and stages of digestion using two columns, curly braces, pilcrows, and rubrication. Later on, the same hand corrected the table because the relations were misrepresented in the Latin Venice editions. This can be traced back to the print history of the Ketham Urine Wheel and specifically one significant transformation the woodcut underwent. Beginning with the Italian Venice 1494 edition, the sequence of states of digestion in the medallions of the inner circle of the wheel was arranged counter clockwise (instead of clockwise), thus disturbing the relationship between urine color (on the two outer circles) and progress of digestion or *coctio*.[88] After realizing the mistake, the copyist corrected the stages of digestion in order to allocate the intensity of color to increasing processes of digestion in the traditional way, probably making use of another (print or manuscript) template.

Although they reduce the diagnostic value of the Urine Wheel, such erroneous features help to identify print editions and templates. Manuscripts that depended only on the textual and not the visual printed Ketham material are harder to identify. One is Leiden, University Library, ms. VCO 6. This codex probably consists of individually produced booklets or gatherings that were bound together later, and it therefore shows different sequences of foliation.[89] The Latin Ketham material together with other short texts in German and Dutch is part of one of these individually foliated booklets at the end of the codex.[90] It is almost exclusively textual and visually indistinguishable from other entries in this booklet, apart from the fact that the labels of small letters or numbers used in the print editions to reference the images were copied in the margins.[91] It is unclear exactly which edition served as the template. The copyist apparently did not care much about the ordering of the content or elaborate visual organization; the Ketham material is only identifiable as having been copied from print because of some short but telling paratexts and titles that were taken verbatim from one of the Latin editions.[92] It should be briefly mentioned that the Ketham material is also part of a

87 See Cambridge, Trinity College, O.9.31, fol. 28r.

88 This has been shown by Zaun/Geisler 2011, 975–976. Traditionally light urine colors signaled a lack of or inadequate digestion due to excessive coldness in the body, darker shades indicated progressive digestion, while overheating and black urine meant imminent death.

89 As far as I am aware a detailed description of this manuscript is missing, but see the entry in the Leiden University Library Online Catalogue: https://catalogue.leidenuniv.nl/permalink/f/6jdn1r/UBL_ALMA21221792960002711 (accessed 29/09/2021).

90 The foliation of this part runs from fol. 1r (= 101r) to 38v (=138v).

91 Leiden, University Library, ms. VCO 6, fol. 119r–125r contains the explanatory text of the Wound Man and the following tract on *ungenta* and recipes, into which a unassociated diagrammatic drawing is inserted (fol. 120r) and other Latin and Dutch recipes are seamlessly added. On fol. 127v–129r there is the explanatory text on the Pregnant Woman with the labelling, followed by the four temperaments in medallions that belong to the printed Urine Wheel *tabula* (fol. 129r), and an unfinished drawing of a urine color diagram (129v), as well as the Ketham tract on uroscopy (fol. 130r–131r) followed immediately by other entries in Dutch.

92 I based my comparison on Latin Venice 1491. Leiden, University Library, ms. VCO 6, fol. 121v: *Ista*

copious collection of medical texts in a Spanish manuscript from the middle of the 16th century, Madrid, National Library of Spain, 2.328. María Teresa Herrera has identified the Spanish Pamplona 1495 edition as the printed template.[93] It is the only vernacular manuscript I know of that was copied from print.

Even though a number of print editions of the *Fasciculus* were available in the 16th century, people still wrote and copied it by hand. Whether copying from print or manuscript, there are different levels of dynamics involved in the writing process. These levels move between transcribing, i. e., actually reproducing the template and thereby stabilizing text and/or visual organization, and more or less transformative copying, which entails recombination and/or reorganizing on a textual and/or visual level. These manuscripts demonstrate the interrelations of handwritten and printed books and pose the question of what they could offer to their producers, owners, and users. Scholars often distinguish early modern manuscripts from medieval ones by their high level of individualization.[94] But the examples from Copenhagen, Vienna, and Leiden at least invite us to question these generalizations.

5 Shifting Meanings in (Un)Learned Medical Practice and Book Consumption

The core of the Ketham material survives either as large but slim *Tafelwerke* with a strong focus on the images or as compendia combined with further textual material, as well as in excerpts in thematically specialized booklets and collections. Since we find all three types printed and handwritten, does it make sense to draw a dividing line between print and manuscript? Perhaps these differing types can tell more about potential shifts in meaning attributed to the books labeled 'Fasciculus medicinae' than the choice of medium alone. What was the point of the various transformations observed here—such as medial and linguistic translations, material changes regarding format and volume, textual and pictorial rearrangements, organizational restructuring through the arrangement of script/type and space on the page as well as changing paratexts and so forth—in terms of conveying content and value as well as influencing usability or actual usage? Or to put it differently: Are there shifting meanings associated with these transformations? As stated earlier, it is worthwhile to refer to recent approaches to medieval and early modern cultures of healing which understand learned medicine and lay self-care in their interrelatedness. Michael Stolberg

residua deficiunt in aliquibus marginibus figure precedentis ubi consimilies littere alpha beti comprehenduntur is verbatim a short explanation of the labels on the tabula of the Wound Man in Latin Venice 1491, biia. See also Leiden, University Library, ms. VCO 6, fol. 130r: *Sequuntur expositions tabule prime fasciculi medicine*; Latin Venice 1491, aiia.

93 See Herrera 1990, 11–12.

94 See Wolf 2011, 14.

points out that learned physicians were for the most part socialized with non-professional medical notions and practices while growing up. Dismissing and deprecating those notions, observations and practices in their published works was more part of their professional self-fashioning as medical authorities than the expression of an actual delimitation.[95] However, it could also be a textual strategy to demarcate common medicine from learned knowledge in order to address an audience of 'common men', i. e., readers of middling income and education. According to Tillmann Taape, the Strasbourg surgeon apothecary Hieronymus Brunschwig used a number of criteria in his vernacular works to differentiate between what was appropriate for learned and common audiences respectively. These criteria were the level of Latin literacy, the level of understanding of Galenic theory, and the level of access (through financial means and/or spatial proximity) to resources and treatment from apothecaries and professional physicians. In addition, the following binaries were crucial markers of learned and unlearned health care: diagnosis of complexion and disease versus self-treatment, inner medicine versus prevention, and assessment of astrologically propitious times for certain treatments versus straightforward instructions.[96]

The observation of diverse discursive claims on the hierarchical order of learned and common medicine and the impossibility of drawing a clear line between them in practice go side by side. Against this background, the various manifestations of the *Fasciculus medicinae* and their potential offerings to a lay audience should be considered, which is indicated, of course, by its medial and linguistic translations. Translations of Latin texts into the vernacular have long been understood as a top-down dissemination of learned or academic knowledge. The 'vernacularization' or 'popularization' of medicine, however, is too simple a concept. Thus, the exchange between professionals and non-professionals is now seen as a two-way street.[97] It is useful to first take a closer look at the features of some of the print editions discussed here, which could appeal to both learned and non-learned audiences.

Translation into the vernacular is usually equated with catering to a broader readership. It has been shown, though, that readers who knew Latin would also read the vernacular translation without distinction.[98] The vernacular may be a prerequisite, but not a sufficient reason to assume that a book would appeal to medical non-practitioners and lay people interested in maintaining their own health. The first Spanish

95 See Stolberg 2014, esp. 666: "They grew up with the same images, shared the same notions, took the same practices for granted. The critical attitude towards medical lay culture that they expressed in their learned publications reflected new notions and outlooks they had acquired during their studies. It was part of their professional self-fashioning. It is hard to imagine, however, that their studies and professional aspirations could entirely erase the beliefs and images that had previously been deeply engrained in their minds and possibly even in their bodily habitus."

96 See Taape 2021, 6–16.

97 See Stolberg 2014, esp. 650–651, with further research on the popularization of medicine in the early modern age; Greyerz 2013, esp. 12–13.

98 Cf. Green 2006.

and Italian editions, for example, offer little evidence to suggest they were intended for lay readers.[99] They do not explicitly address any potential audience in their paratexts and feature no prefaces. In terms of textual arrangement, there is little to suggest that they appealed more to a lay audience than learned medical professionals.[100] It is noteworthy though, as Peter Murray Jones observes, that especially the newly added genre scenes "address contemporary medical concerns particular to Venice in the 1490s" and their style seems orientated to the time and place of contemporary readers rather than tradition (Fig. 7).[101] In the case of the Italian Venice 1523 edition, the title page claims the book to be indispensable for any *professor si dellarte della physica, chomo della cyrurgia* ('any teacher whether of physiology or surgery'). Practitioners of learned medicine seem to be the intended audience here, especially those who try to keep up with their colleagues: The very short preface praises the additions to the *Fasciculus*, that is the many newly added *experimenti, da moderni doctori excerpti et extracti, iquali nelle altre impressione non se troua* ('experiments taken from current doctors that are not found in other editions').[102] In fact, recipes and these hands-on experiences take up much more space than other additions. Recipes are an integral part of non-professional medical records; however, physicians collected them as well.[103] It remains questionable whether this Italian edition was aimed at professionals and non-professionals alike. In comparison, the Dutch edition published in Antwerp in 1512 shows a much more direct approach. Its title page addresses surgeons and *andere menschen* ('other people') and proclaims the contents of the book to be beneficial and necessary.[104] Chris Coppens has pointed out how the translator Petrus

99 See, however, Coppens 2009a, 20 on the Italian Venice 1494 edition: "Dit is een praktisch handboek, dat zich door de volkstaal niet alleen tot universitair gevormden wendt, maar ook tot de chirurgijnen, en dat bovendien door de geïnformeerde leek kan worden gebruikt, bijvoorbeeld voor de pestvoorschriften met profylactische richtlijnen." ('This is a practical handbook, which, because it is written in the vernacular, turns not only to university graduates, but also to surgeons, and which, moreover, can be used by the informed layman, for example, for plague prescriptions with prophylactic guidelines.').

100 There are two short lists of herbal recipes added to the Italian Venice 1494 edition, which has been particularly praised for the quality of the illustrations. Opinions differ, however, whether the added scenes of teaching, diagnosis, and dissection targeted an audience of medical professionals (see Singer 1925), or "addressed 'men of honor' and 'honest citizens'" (Jones 2020, 348–349). Herrera notes textual omissions by the Spanish translation and judges the Italian edition of 1494 a more accurate translation of Latin Venice 1491, see Herrera 1990, 12–16, esp. note 7. See on Spanish and Italian translations of the specific terms of uroscopy and the colors of urine Zaun/Geisler 2011.

101 Jones 2020, 350.

102 Italian Venice 1523, fol. 3r.

103 The Latin Venice 1522 edition, also published by Cesare Arrivabene, contains many recipes as well, see Singer 1925, 40f. According to Solomon 2010, 71–91 recipes appealed to non-professionals and patients, because they "tended to address the patient's symptoms of illness", especially pain, "rather than the abstract concepts of disease held by learned physicians", Solomon 2010, 77.

104 The full title reads: *Fasciculus medicine houdende in hem dese navolghende tractaten die allen cyrurginen ende andere menschen te wetene seere profitelije ende nootsakelijc zin* ('Fasciculus medicine with the following treatises which are very profitable and necessary to know for all surgeons and other people').

Antonianus declared in the prologue that he translated the *Fasciculus* for the benefit of the common people. He also explains that this was necessary because of unreliable and lazy masters and surgeons who did not invest themselves properly in their tasks.[105] Furthermore, the preface, while acknowledging God's ultimate authority over the human body, also calls on Christians to not tempt the Lord and take responsibility for their health: *Desgelijcke en sullen alle kerstene menschen god niet temptere. Maer sullen haer seluen helpen*. According to Antonianus *vele schone enn experten hulpen enn remedien* ('many beautiful and masterful counsels and remedies') will aid people in helping themselves, which also applied to the other treatises he translated and added to the *Fasciculus*.[106] The Dutch translation therefore attacks professional practitioners of medicine and denotes as its own raison d'être the responsibility of every Christian for one's body. But this, of course, works also as an incentive for non-professionals to buy and/or read the Dutch *Fasciculus*. A similar critique of ignorant surgeons is also made in the (long and short version of the) prefaces to the German surgical booklets. As mentioned above, especially the younger editions of the *Wundartznei* actually seem to cater to a non-professional readership through the choice of instructional texts on bloodletting from the patients' point of view and German recipes with fairly simple ingredients.

There seems to be a wide spectrum of potentially shifting meanings attributed to the diverse manifestations of the *Fasciculus* ranging from a vademecum for professionals to a practical or instructional work for lay people. Although a thorough examination of each individual manifestation, the manuscripts especially, is certainly still necessary, I would like to put forth some preliminary considerations as to why the *Fasciculus* may have prospered over a long time and materialized in such varying shapes. Against the background of recent research on the culture and social practices of healing, at least part of the *Fasciculus*'s appeal is explained by its potential to serve as a communicative bridge between learned physicians and sufficiently educated and affluent patients. A multifaceted phenomenon like the *Fasciculus medicinae* is better understood if we take into consideration the patients' agency.

If learned physicians and lay people shared fundamental medical notions based on scholastic medicine and if, as Peregrine Horden points out, much of learned medicine focused on preservation and prevention, then communication was crucial to a satisfactory therapy, as a good regimen relied on the patient's conviction and active performance. Rhetoric was part of the academic training and the medical practice. According to Horden, learned physicians probably talked more than they acted: "They made sense of patients' woes [...]. They interpreted signs and symptoms and enfolded them into a narrative that the patient could grasp and accept."[107] It seems clear then

105 Cf. Coppens 2009a, 174–176. The failings of medical practitioners are a common theme. These complaints, however, are often directed against 'bad' physicians and unlearned practitioners, see Solomon 2010, 65–66.

106 Dutch Antwerp 1512, [fol. 1v].

107 Horden 2013, 42–43.

that in order to be successful healers, professionals relied on a common ground of shared notions with their patients because these notions fostered the patients' acceptance of learned knowledge. 'Vernacularization' and 'popularization' therefore were more than the vague dissemination of high-level learning, often associated with simplification and quality loss. As Michael Stolberg emphasizes, in spite of their explicit claims of authority and expertise, physicians were forced by social reality to interest themselves in what was expected and relied upon by their patients.[108] Because of tough competition and the concurrence of learned, empiric, magic, and religious healing practices, it was the patient who ultimately validated medical knowledge by accepting it.[109] The incentive to 'vulgarize' and share basics of learned medicine, such as offered by the *Fasciculus*, with lay audiences might have been to foster understanding and therefore acceptance for learned attribution of meaning.[110] In order to be successful, physicians relied on their learned knowledge but also depended on acceptance and cooperation; therefore, "their explanations of the nature and the causes of the disease in question had to be meaningful in the eyes of laypersons and their prescriptions had to make sense."[111] In light of the extent to which oral communication was required as part of a successful treatment, vernacular translations may also have aroused the interest of university-trained physicians because they helped them to convey Latin concepts and terms to the non-learned.[112]

Of course, the point of view of lay people and potential patients must also be taken into account, at least those who had sufficient financial means, education, and free time to consume medical literature such as the *Fasciculus medicinae*. Certainly, because of the significant and important role healthcare played in the family and household circle and because of the responsibility adult women and men felt towards their close relations, a widespread and active interest in medical knowledge can be assumed. They were not only listening but also apparently bringing their own

108 Cf. Stolberg 2014, 665.

109 Horden 2013, 54: "The resulting 'free market' in ideas about healing was by no means always dominated by the medical elite, despite the widespread appeal of university-type medicine." Solomon 2010, 69 stresses this competition as well as the constant need of physicians to bolster their fragile reputations through successful treatments and points to the high levels of mobility and migration connected to this. Solomon acknowledges the mechanisms of self-promoting in vernacular treatises as well as their potential to induce the readers' faith in the physician's competence but does not consider the patients' agency.

110 Another motive could be the actual education and emancipation of non-professional, self-treating people as Taape 2021, 53 argues in the case of Brunschwig: "Besides much practical advice, Brunschwig hands to the common man the key to understanding learned concepts and jargon. Controversially, the layman is thus enabled to assess and judge the services of better-educated experts, as well as seeking health independently of their authority."

111 Stolberg 2014, 665.

112 Stolberg 2014, 665, notes that the Bohemian physician Georg Handsch (1529–c. 1578) copied down hundreds of vernacular expressions he could use when talking to patients and sometimes even highlighted those that had been particularly well received.

thoughts and convictions to the physician-patient communication.[113] Understanding key learned concepts and the complex relations between the human body and natural and unnatural influences in order to facilitate this communication must have been of vital interest to both sides. Understanding the causes of suffering might have eased managing its effects because integrating disease into a broader conception of natural order at least gave meaning to the state of one's body.

Furthermore, a grasp of learned medicine could help patients assessing and evaluating their physician's performance and reasoning.

There is a puzzling passage in the Latin Venice 1522 edition that seems to cynically evoke just how much could go wrong in physician-patient interaction.[114] It begins, 'When you first come to a patient feel the pulse, talk to him and note the urine. If the patient is in danger, don't go there, but send a messenger.' The pressure a physician could face while performing in front of relatives, friends and members of the household is hinted at: 'If you visit a patient, always do something new, so that those attending don't think you ignorant.'[115] We see such a scene in one of the woodcuts (Fig. 7). The patients' perception of the physician obviously played a huge role in successful treatment. Patients were faced with the task of distinguishing good from bad treatment. If we recall the complaints about lazy, uninterested, or unknowing medical professionals in some of the vernacular prefaces, these probably alluded to negative experiences made by reading patients. To be able to read up on the connection between, for example, urine of a certain color and the internal (dis)functions of digestion in books like the *Fasciculus medicinae* or to check on the veins in particular body parts and the benefits of bleeding them for specific ailments fostered confidence in dealings with professionals as well as trust on the part of the informed patient.[116]

The role of the Ketham images in these communication and validation processes should be equally considered. From a bibliophilic point of view, the various series of illustrations (sometimes colored by hand) must have enhanced the appeal of the prints and manuscripts they adorned. The images of the printed *Fasciculus* have accordingly oftentimes been commented on for their beauty and (lack of) scientific innovation.[117] Printing is usually seen as a means of producing large quantities of uniform images that

113 With a focus on the 16th century Stolberg 2021, esp. 469–474 and 477–482.

114 *Capitulum de regulis obseruandis in ingressu domus infirmis* ('Chapter on the rules that should be followed when entering a patient's house'), Latin Venice 1522, fol. 5v. Singer 1925, 40 provides a partial translation of this passage.

115 Latin Venice 1522, fol. 5v.

116 Taape 2021, 47 notes that Brunschwig aimed to educate his readers on the Latinate jargon of physicians and apothecaries. The same motive might be behind the list of Latin medications with German indications in the editions of the *Buchlin*, see for example Buchlin Augsburg 1516, [eivb–db].

117 Cf. Gurunluoglu et al 2013, esp. 223; Singer 1925, gives judgements of this kind on all the images of the Italian Venice 1494 edition. On the images and all their alterations throughout the various print editions in general see Coppens 2009a.



Fig. 7: A visitation at the sick bed, Latin Venice 1522, Munich, Bavarian State Library, 2 Med.g. 85, fol. 22v.

support advances in science and medicine.[118] The potential of printed images in particular is often measured by their ability to disseminate scientific information, although lately their argumentative features have been emphasized. Accuracy as a measure of the images' quality has been called into question. When images were used to display processes of inquiry in order to affirm the reliability of these methods, or to familiarize the early modern public with new procedures or theories, verisimilitude was not the ultimate aim.[119] This perspective on scientific images points to the readers' role in the dynamics of the production, evaluation, and social acceptance of knowledge.

A new perspective on images could also prove fruitful in the context of understanding the various manifestations of the *Fasciculus* as facilitating physician-patient communication. First, it must be noted that there is no consensus on the status of the images: Do the images accompany or illustrate the texts? Are the texts secondary to the images?[120] I would emphasize that the Ketham images (opposed to the later scenic pictures of academic teaching and patient-physician interaction) function in close relation to their texts, as image-text arrangements, and can be read as diagrams expressing relations instead of 'accurate' or naturalistic depictions.[121] Diagrammatic images are characterized by their potential to visualize relations and convey simplification, order, and authority.[122] They visualize relations between entities, for example body parts and diseases, as well as conceptions of natural order and therefore create meaning also for the non-learned. They can provide visual confirmation of the underlying shared concepts and notions on which physician-patient communication was based. The Zodiac Man, for example, visualized cosmic relations of the human

118 Dackerman 2011, 26 refers to William Ivine's claim that printed images were crucial for the development of modern science and points out how privileging 'accuracy' projected modern standards onto the 16th century. It should be noted that images valued for accuracy of information often are not faithful records of observation but augmented and elaborated representations of ideal types. See ibid., 25 with further literature; Margóscy 2011, 142.

119 Dackerman 2011, 32: "parts of the knowledge being shared in these works is that of research methods: the prints were to be used as tools or guides rather than to be consulted exclusively for predetermined facts. They were tools of persuasion—not accurate representations of the natural world, but demonstrations and legitimations of the processes of inquiry that allowed the early modern public to know and comprehend it." One interesting example is the reevaluation of anatomical flap prints, see below n. 124.

120 See for example Pantin 2013, 26: "its images [...] had nothing more than a passing relationship with the text. They were self-sufficient." Jones 2020, 348: "The short texts were in many cases secondary to the images, working as captions or explanations." Keil 1990, 145 understands the Ketham images as "textunterstützt[e] Demonstrationstafeln" ('text-supported demonstration drawings'), intended for teaching aspiring physicians. The image is the basis and the text only optional, ibid., 138. Coppens 2009a, 10 however, sees the illustrations as explanations of the text.

121 In his upcoming study on the Wound Man as a diagrammatic image, Jack Hartnell emphasizes the communicative features of diagrams and the special position of medical images of the human body. Pantin 2013, 20–21, on the other hand, understands these types of images-with-text, like the Vein Man, as an "aid to memorization" and "visual complements", apparently distinguishing them from diagrams.

122 See the concise introduction by Haug/Lechtermann/Rathmann-Lutz 2017.

body, underpinning professional reasoning without the need for in-depth astrological understanding on the patient's side.[123] The spatial arrangement of an alphabetical list of diseases along the human body, as in the image of the Disease Man, conveyed a sense of completeness and natural order and promoted trust and acceptance in learned diagnosis.[124] The longevity and continuous reuse of the image types connected to the *Fasciculus medicinae* from medieval to early modern times can partly be explained by this diagrammatic visualization of relations and notions of order that appealed to learned and unlearned readers.[125]

Since naturalistic precision is not absolutely required to correctly convey the relations essential to these types of images in the case of the *Fasciculus medicinae*, the impact of the printing press and mass production on 'accurate scientific' representation need not be overemphasized. These images in particular already were steadily produced and reproduced in manuscripts long before their appearance in print editions. Diagrammatic images did not rely on pictorial precision but meaningful reproduction of the relations of elements, which was independent of style or skill and could also be easily simplified with a quill, for example translating the diagrammatic Urine Wheel into a table. In fact, because of the reuse and copying of valuable woodblocks, print editions tend to reproduce errors that sometimes are corrected by hand later on. One such fairly substantial error, as we have seen, concerned the diagram of the Urine Wheel in a number of printed *Fasciculus* editions. Explicitly referencing Johannis Ketham at the beginning of the 16th century, an observant reader-scribe corrected these erroneous relations between urine colors and stages of digestion. Readers were also aware of changes and deviations between the images of individual print editions: In the exemplar of the Latin Venice 1495 edition today in Washington, someone inserted the titles of the tabulae as well as missing inscriptions from the older Latin Venice 1491 edition. The names of diseases were inscribed by hand to the limbs of the Vein Man, the Pregnant Woman, and the Wound Man.[126] The interweaving of print and handwriting is also evident in the images.

123 See Hartnell 2017, 5, on the conceptual proprieties of the Zodiac Man, who nevertheless points out: "This is an image comfortably caught between two depictive approaches that we too often frame as oppositional: the diagrammatic and the naturalistic."

124 How images could promote social acceptance in medical knowledge production and validation is also apparent in the example of anatomical flap prints Dackerman 2011, 26–33 refers to: Instead of being outdated and inaccurate anatomical illustrations, these paper models should be understood as "tools of persuasion" that invited surgical interaction on paper and visibly and experientially presented anatomical examinations as viable practices. In this way, they contributed to the reassessment of surgery as part of academic medical training as well as to their appreciation by potential patient.

125 One should bear in mind, though, that each placement of an image like the Wound Man in a specific material and textual context produced different effects and affordances. See Panse 2012a, who compares text-image relations of Wound Men woodcuts in two vernacular medical books, Hieronymus Brunschwig's *Buch der Cirurgia* (1497) and Hans von Gerdorff's *Feldbuch der Wundarznei* (1517).

126 Washington, Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology, R128.6 K43 1495 quarto, fol. 4r (Vein Man), 8r (Zodiac Man, the short introduction from Latin Venice 1491 is added), 8v (Pregnant

6 Conclusion

The first print, Latin Venice 1491, helped establish the notion of a virtual work, labeled 'Fasciculus medicinae', which was made up of short image-text arrangements on relevant medical topics (uroscopy, phlebotomy, women's health and reproduction, surgery, and anatomy). These had previously been passed on partly together, partly individually in late medieval manuscripts, and they continued to be written by hand, while simultaneously various Latin and vernacular prints were produced. The transition of the late medieval Ketham material into print also entailed a stabilizing effect on the link between the images and the specific explanatory texts chosen for the first print (or rather its manuscript template).[127] The stylistic impact of the woodcuts of the Italian Venice 1494 edition on all dependent editions is also noticeable; however, other aesthetics remained in place regarding both hand drawn and printed images.[128]

The *Fasciculus medicinae* as a virtual work materialized in highly diverse forms and sizes. These have been roughly divided here into three types: the image-centered *Tafelwerk*, the text-centered compendium, and the thematically focused booklet or collection. All types are represented in print and manuscript, but as far as the material studied here goes, all picture books are in Latin, whereas compendia are found in Latin, the vernacular, or both. The printed thematic booklets and larger manuscript collections (on women's health) appear to be a German phenomenon, at least until new evidence can be brought forward.

The *Fasciculus* is an example of the simultaneity of diverse medialities, materialities, and set-ups of short image-text arrangements that were conceived by contemporaries at least partly as belonging together while at the same time being produced and reproduced in highly flexible ways. There does not seem to be a decisive dividing line between the printed and handwritten medium. The multifaceted nature of what could be referred to as 'Fasciculus medicinae', however, called for a revaluation of the potentially shifting meanings printers, translators, scribes, copyists, and readers attributed to its various manifestations in the context of health care and medical learning. To socially differentiate the audiences of the Latin and vernacular manifestations also seems unsatisfactory since medical practice was based on communicative interaction as well as the social acceptance of medical knowledge and treatment methods. Also, the diagrammatic visualizations of bodily order or fundamental relations, such as those between bodily functions and cosmic influences and the quality

Woman), 14r (Wound Man), 18r (Disease Man, some introductory lines are added at the bottom of the page). At the end of the list of diseases the scribe even reproduced the colophon of Latin Venice 1491 edition verbatim, ibid., fol. 20v.

127 See on the independent transmission and reconfiguration of images and texts in medieval medical manuscripts Jones 2006, 2–3.

128 In the Dutch Antwerp 1512 edition, for example, the human physiques are depicted with different aesthetics ("Renaissance" and "German") see Coppens 2009b, 178–183.

of bodily discharge and diagnosis, should not be measured primarily by their level of scientific accuracy or innovation, but rather by how they helped both learned physicians and literate patients make sense of disease conditions. This way, both the ongoing appeal of the *Fasciculus medicinae* and the high level of transformative interaction with its core material in prints and manuscripts can be understood.

The manuscripts presented here are certainly not a representative sample of all the surviving material, which only further research would reveal. Moreover, only certain key aspects of these manuscripts have been addressed here. The examination of the *Fasciculus*'s print history, too, was necessarily confined to the level of differing editions. There is much to be done though regarding the surviving exemplars and the traces of their physical transformations by different users, which have only been touched on here. Nevertheless, I hope to have shown that future in-depth analysis could further expose in which ways individual material manifestations of the *Fasciculus* precisely catered to varying needs, how they could provide practical advice or argumentative devices as well as facilitate physician-patient interaction. The various manifestations of the *Fasciculus medicinae* thus contributed to a common understanding of bodily balance and medical treatment, on which the learned and professionals as well as literate common people and their communities relied while coping with daily issues of medical treatment and health care.

Appendix: Cited print editions of the *Fasciculus medicinae*

Publication Year	Place	Language	Title	Num. fol.	USTC	Format	Printer	Exemplars
1491	Venice	Latin	Fasciculus medicinae. Daran: Consilium pro peste evitanda	16	993715	folio	de Gregoriis, Johannes and Gregorius	Munich, Bavarian State Library, Rar. 749; Boston, Countway Library of Medicine, Rare Books f Ballard 408
1494	Venice	Italian	Fascicolo di medicina	52	993716	folio	de Gregoriis, Johannes and Gregorius	Paris, National Library of France, département Réserve des livre rares, RES FOL-T22-4
1494	Zaragoza	Spanish	Compendio de la salud humana	67	766608	folio	Hurus, Paul	Madrid, National Library of Spain, INC/51
1495	Burgos	Spanish	Epilogo en medicina y cirurgia co[n]venie[n]te ala salud. Fasciculus medicinae	68	766818	folio	Juan de Burgos	San Marino CA, Huntington Library, Call Nr. 86926
1495	Venice	Latin	Fasciculus medicinae. Consilium pro peste evitanda; Mundinus: Anatomia	40	993714	folio	de Gregoriis, Johannes and Gregorius	Washington, Dibner Library, R128.6 .K43 1495 quarto
1495	Pamplona	Spanish	Epilogo en medicina, o Compendio de la salud humana. Fasciculus medicinae	71	766819	folio	Brocar, Arnaldo Guillen de	Madrid, National Library of Spain, INC/1335

Publication Year	Place	Language	Title	Num. fol.	USTC	Format	Printer	Exemplars
1500	Venice	Latin	Fasciculus medicinae. Daran: Petrus de Tussignano: Consilium pro peste evitanda. Mundinus: Anatomia. – Rhazes, Muhammad: De aegritudinibus puerorum	34	993713	folio	de Gregoriis, Johannes and Gregorius	Bethesda MD, National Library of Science, WZ 230 K43f 1500 OV1
1501	Venice	Latin	Fasciculus medicinae. Daran: Petrus de Tussignano: Consilium pro peste evitanda. Mundinus: Anatomia. - Rhazes, Muhammad: De aegritudinibus puerorum	32	993712	folio	de Gregoriis, Johannes and Gregorius	Bethesda MD, National Library of Medicine, WZ 230 K43f 1501 OV1
1510	Strasbourg	German	Ein gut artznei die hie nach steet, das Frawen unnd mann an geet, findest du vil sachen mit wenig worten ertzalt	5	643715	folio	Hupfuff, Matthias	Zurich, Central Library, Ink K 355 2
1510	Augsburg	German	Ain gut artznei die hie nach stet das Frawen und mann an geet. Findest du vil sachen mit wenig worten antzal. auch wie ain kind in muter leyb sey gestalt. auch wie du solt probieren an dir ob die schuld der unfruchtbarkait sey dein oder ir	6	609878	quarto	Oeglin, Erhart	Munich, Bavarian State Library, Res/4 a.obst. 1 f
1512	Antwerp	Dutch	Fasciculus medicine houdende in hem dese navolghende tractaten	101	400312	folio	Grave, Claes de	The Hague, Royal Library, KW 227 A 9
1513	Bale	German	In disem Biechlin find man gar ain schöne underwysung un leer wie sich die Cyrurgici oder wundartz gegen ainen yeglichen verwundten menschen halten söllen, mit vyl bewrarte stücke	19	601245	quarto	Gengenbach, Pamphilius	Munich, Bavarian State Library, Res/4 Chir. 110,7
1515	Cologne	German	In disem büchlin find man ain schöne underwysung, wie sich die chyrurgici gegen ainen jeglichen verwundeten menschen halden sollen.	20	665461	quarto	Aich, Arnd von	Munich, Bavarian State Library, Res/4 Chir. 102b

Publication Year	Place	Language	Title	Num. fol.	USTC	Format	Printer	Exemplars
1515	Cologne	German	In disem biechlin find man gar ein schoene underwysung und leer wie sich die cyrurgici oder wundartz gegen ainen yeglichen verwundten menschen es sey mit schiessen, howen, stichen oder ander zufelligen kranckheiten nach anzeigung der figur halten soellen mit vyl bewaerten stucken	20	665462	quarto	Aich, Arnd von	Munich, Bavarian State Library, 999/Med.536
1515	[Mainz]	German	Eyn gut artzney die hie nach steet: dz Frawen und man an geet, findest du vill sachen mitt wenig worten ertzalt. Auch wie ein kindt in mutterlyb sey gestalt.	24	656039	quarto	Schöffer, Johann	Frankfurt, University Library, Biblioth. Hirzel 15
1516	Augsburg	German	In disem buchlin find man gar ein schoene underweysung und ler wie sich die cirurgici oder wundartzt gegen ainem yeglichen verwundten menschen halten soellen. Mit vil bewärten stucken.	19	668950	quarto	Froschauer, Hans	Munich, Bavarian State Library, Res/4 Chir. 102
1517	Sevilla	Spanish	Libro de medicina llamado conpendia [sic] de la salud humana	67	339382	folio	Cromberger, Jacobo	—
1522	Venice	Latin	Fasciculus medicie [!] praxis tam chirurgis quam etiam physicis maxime necessaria, consummatissimi artium & medicine doctoris Ioannis de Ketam Alemani, Fasciculus medicine nuncupata De peste communiter evitanda	58	837020	folio	Arrivabene, Cesare	Munich, Bavarian State Library, 2 Med.g. 86

Publication Year	Place	Language	Title	Num. fol.	USTC	Format	Printer	Exemplars
1523	Venice	Italian	Fasciculo de medicina. Collectorio universalissimo chiamado fasciculo de medicina	65	837019	folio	Arrivabene, Cesare	Bethesda MD, National Library of Science, WZ 240 K43fl 1522
1530	Strasbourg	German	Wundartznei: zu allen gebrechen des gantzen leibs und zu iedem glid besonder mit was zufaellen die entstehn Rath unnd meysterstuck. Daran: Rechte kunst und bericht der aderlaesz	16	707342	quarto	Egenolff, Christian	Munich, Bavarian State Library, Res/4 Chir. 110,1
1530	Zwickau	German	Wundartzney. Zu allen gebrechen des gantzen leibs und zu iedem glied besonder mit was zufellen die entstehn viel edler bewerter artzneien Rath und Meisterstueck. Daran: Rechte kunst und bericht der Aderlas	31	707345	octavo	Meyerpeck, Wolfgang d. Ä.	Munich, Bavarian State Library, Res/Chir. 60
1531	Frankfurt a. M.	German	Wundartznei: zu allen gebrechen des gantzen leibs und zu iedem glid besonder mit was zufaellen die entstehn und einem wundartzt zukommen moegen vil edler bewaerter artzneien Rath und meysterstuck. Rechte kunst und bericht der aderlaesz. Für die aderlaesser und scherer.	16	707341	quarto	Egenolff, Christian d. Ä.	Vienna, National Library of Austria, 68.G.38.(3)
1549	Frankfurt a. M.	German	Wundartzney zu allen gebrechen des gantzen leibs und zu jedem glied besonder mit was zufellen die entstehn unnd einem wnndtartz zukommen moegen. Viel edler bewerter artzneyen Rath und Meisterstueck. Rechte kunst unnd bericht der aderlas. Fur die aderlasser unnd scherer.	20	707343	quarto	Gülfferich, Hermann	Halle, University Library, an Ung V 122 (1)

Publication Year	Place	Language	Title	Num. fol.	USTC	Format	Printer	Exemplars
1552	Frankfurt a. M.		Wundartzney zu allen gebrechen des gantzen leibs unnd zu jedem glied besonder mit was zufellen die entstehn des viel erfarnen chirurgen Johannis Charethani. Rechte kunst und bericht der aderlaß	36	707344	quarto	Gülfferich, Hermann	Munich, Bavarian State Library, Res/4 Chir. 14
no date	no place	German	[Rezeptbüchlein für Gebärende]	24	—	quarto	no printer	Zurich, Central Library, Alte Drucke und Rara 3.143,2

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Heidelberg, University Library, Cod. Pal. germ. 644.
Leiden, University Library, BLP 1905.
Leiden, University Library, ms. VCO 6.
London, Wellcome Library, MS 290.
Madrid, National Library of Spain, 2.328.
Paris, National Library of France, Ms. Lat. 11229.
Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, XVII.H. 26.
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Figure Credits

Fig. 1a–b: *De Flobotomia.* The Vein Man with explanations, Latin Venice 1491, Munich, Bavarian State Library, Rar. 749, fol. [2v–3r], https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb00052856?page=8,9 (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0, https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/).

Fig. 2: The Wound Man on a fold-out parchment leave, ca. 1450–1470, Heidelberg, University Library, Cod. Pal. germ. 644, fol. 80r., https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.518#0162 (Public Domain Mark 1.0, creativecommons.org/publicdomain/mark/1.0/deed.de).

Fig. 3 *Tabula tertia de muliere.* The Pregnant Disease Woman, Latin Venice 1491, Munich, Bavarian State Library, Rar. 749, fol. [5v], https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb00052856?page=14, (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0, https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/).

Fig. 4: The Vein Man with indications in German (detail), *Wundartznei*, Strasbourg 1530, Munich, Bavarian State Library, Res/4 Chir. 110,1, Diia, https://digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb10199618?page=29 (https://rightsstatements.org/page/NoC-NC/1.0/).

Fig. 5: The Pregnant Woman (detail), 16th century, Copenhagen, Royal Danish Library, NKS 84 b folio, fol. 2r., http://www5.kb.dk/manus/vmanus/2011/dec/ha/object48029/da#kbOSD-0=page:3 (Public Domain, https://www.kb.dk/en/copyright-and-use-our-materials).

Fig. 6a–b: The Urine Wheel and treatise arranged synoptically, Vienna, National Library of Austria, Cod. 14034, fol. 2v–3r., http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13949169; (no copyright, https://www.onb.ac.at/nutzung).

Fig. 7: A visitation at the sick bed, Latin Venice 1522, Munich, Bavarian State Library, 2 Med.g. 85, fol. 22v., https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb10147971?page=62 (NoC-NC 1.0, https://rightsstatements.org/page/NoC-NC/1.0/).

Ilona Steimann

A Good Book is an Old Book?

Hebrew Manuscripts and Prints in 16th-Century Christian Book Collections

1 Introduction

With the rise of humanism in Renaissance Europe, the desire to access biblical truth directly through the original Hebrew and to reach even beyond the bible to humanity's primordial wisdom concealed in Jewish mystical traditions stimulated Christian interest in the Hebrew language and Jewish books. Already in the 15th century, Christian scholars in Europe were able to draw together collections of Hebrew manuscripts of considerable size, which allowed them to pursue Hebraic studies independently from Jews.[1]

These collecting trends went rapidly beyond the narrow scholarly circles of those who mastered the Hebrew language and became a norm that every learned man was expected to follow, even if he could neither read nor understand Hebrew texts. This led to the rise of noblemen's collections of Hebraica. By owning Hebraica, aristocrats wanted to enhance the prestige of their libraries and sustain their own status as belonging to the learned elite.[2] Formed for display rather than for reading, noble Hebraica collections usually followed the lead of learned Hebraists. As in the case of Latin and Greek books, scholars provided a model for collecting Hebraica and assisted their noble patrons in finding and obtaining Hebrew texts.[3]

While Christian Hebraists and noble collectors of Hebrew books first and foremost wanted texts, whether printed or not, other factors may have been as important as content. In what follows, this article seeks to elucidate the place of Hebrew manuscript books in contrast to that of Hebrew printed books in Christian Hebraica collec-

1 For an overview of the Hebraica collections of that time, see Steimann 2020, 35–52.

2 On Hebraic libraries of the nobility, see, for example, Burnett 2012, 171–174.

3 Cf. Pettegree 2015, 74.

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tions by examining two libraries of the brothers Hans Jakob Fugger (1516–1575) and Ulrich Fugger (1526–1584), Augsburg patricians and bankers.[4]

Active in the middle of the 16th century when the two modes of book production had coexisted side by side already for some time, Hans Jakob and Ulrich Fugger collected manuscripts and prints without distinction, as to them they were both vehicles for texts. Their libraries do not reveal any obvious manuscript/print divide, neither in terms of collecting preferences nor in the modes of the books' preservation. Manuscripts and printed texts were mixed on the shelves of Hans Jakob's and Ulrich's libraries.[5] They were all bound by the same binders in the same style so that the outside of the volumes did not indicate what was contained inside, a manuscript or a printed book.[6] However, a closer look at Hans Jakob's and Ulrich's Hebraica complicates this picture. By reconstructing the Hebraica collecting practices of Hans Jakob and Ulrich in their context—the textual scope of the collections and the books as objects, the circumstances and channels of collecting, practical limitations, and the roles of the various actors and networks involved—it is possible to get a deeper insight into the different values and cultural connotations associated with each of the media of book production in the post-incunabula period. It must be emphasized, however, that the picture shown here on the basis of Hebrew book collecting practices would likely have been different if detailed analysis of collecting Latin, Greek, and other books had also been taken into account; such an analysis and comparison is a subject for further research.

2 Manuscripts versus Printed Books in Christian Hebraica Collections

The spread of printing in early modern Europe had major effects on culture and society, especially its reading and book collecting practices. Hebrew printing expanded rapidly, and during the 16th century more than 2 672 titles were produced.[7] Printing greatly impacted the composition of Jewish book collections already in the post-incunabula period, and by the end of the 16th century Jewish libraries were mostly com-

4 About the Fugger family, see for example, Kluger 2013.

5 Generally speaking, it was not before the 17th century that manuscript and printed volumes came to be regarded as two distinct categories, shelved separately in libraries (cf. McKitterick 2018, 47). Before the medium took priority over content, the books were classified according to subject and language (for Hans Jakob Fugger's classification system, see Hartig 1917, 223–240).

6 For the bindings of Hans Jakob's books, see Hartig 1917, 235–240; for the Hebrew volumes, see Steimann 2017, 1255 n. 113. Although Ulrich's books were later rebound (Mittler 1986, 463), according to the practice of the time it is unlikely that their original bindings differed on manuscripts and printed books.

7 Cf. Heller 2004, xiii.

posed of printed editions.[8] As the main clientele of Hebrew printing presses was Jewish, the kind of literature that was put into print in the first half of the 16th century was tailored to the religious needs and reading priorities of the Jewish communities. By producing bibles and the Talmud, rabbinic commentaries, and halakhic and liturgical texts, which served Jews on a daily basis, the printers could ensure that the books would sell well.[9]

Christians were interested in another sort of literature, however. Rather than bible-related books, which were the focus of earlier Hebraica collectors, Hebrew works on philosophy, science, and especially Kabbalah provided the main stimulus for collecting Hebraica in the Fuggers' time.[10] During the first half of the 16th century, these kinds of texts mostly remained unprinted, not only because of the lower demand among Jews but also because of Jewish sensitivities involved in printing esoteric matters.[11] As a result, Christian Hebraica collectors of the time could profit from the existing printed production in Hebrew only to a limited extent and they still largely depended on the old medium of manuscripts.[12]

Members of a wealthy family of bankers, Hans Jakob and Ulrich Fugger patronized scholarship from a young age, supported authors and printers financially, and collected books with devotion.[13] Books in the three biblical languages, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, which humanists considered the most important languages of scholarship, naturally occupied the central place in their collections. Although Hans Jakob and Ulrich could not read Hebrew, they appreciated knowledge contained in Hebrew books in a wider sense and wanted to preserve this knowledge in their libraries.[14]

Hans Jakob and Ulrich loved books passionately and spent a great deal of money on them, to the point that their bibliophilic passion caused them to go through a financial crisis. As a result of the economic difficulties and his conversion to Protestantism in 1564, Ulrich moved to Protestant Heidelberg. Deposited in the Palatine Library in the *Heiliggeistkirche*, his book collection became the property of the Palatine Library

8 Cf. Hacker/Shear 2011, 2–4.

9 Cf. Baruchson 1994, 19–26. On the contents of Jewish libraries in Italy, see also Bonfil 1989, 270–323.

10 For example, see Campanini 2004, 135–241; Scholem 1997, 17–51.

11 Cf. Idel 2014, 85–96; Nielsen 2011, 72–75. For the debate within the Jewish community about whether or not to print books of Kabbalah, see Tishbi 1967–1968, 134–135, 138–139.

12 Such was the book collection of the Orientalist scholar Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter, who was particularly interested in kabbalistic works. Out of 185 Hebrew volumes in his library, which his heirs sold *en bloc* to Duke Albrecht V in 1558, only 53 were printed editions (Molière 2021, 11–14). See also the search for kabbalistic manuscripts by Widmanstetter's contemporary and colleague, Andreas Masius, and his library (Dunkelgrün 2010–2011, 197–252).

13 On the Fugger family, see Häberlein 2012.

14 It is unknown whether the two brothers cooperated with each other on the acquisition of books. There is no direct evidence that they sold each other books or acquired books from the same source. It is also possible that the competitive character of their book collecting prevented them from sharing books with each other.

after his death in 1584.[15] According to the inventory of Ulrich's books compiled in Heidelberg in 1571, his library contained around 8 200 printed books and ca. 1 300 manuscripts.[16] Among the ca. 175 volumes of Hebrew texts that Ulrich owned however, there were no printed books.[17]

Hans Jakob, for his part, had to sell his book collection in 1571 *en bloc* to Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria-Munich for his *Hofbibliothek* ('court library') in Munich. At the moment of the sale, his collection included around 10 000 printed volumes and more than 1 000 manuscripts.[18] Nonetheless, the number of Hebrew printed books was rather insignificant in Hans Jakob's library: Out of 100 volumes of Hebraica, only 25 were printed editions.[19] These were mainly biblical and Talmudic commentaries and halakhic works produced between 1519 and 1552. Many of them derived from the Venetian Hebrew press of Daniel Bomberg.[20]

As these numbers show, the scope of printed books in a collection largely depended on the printed outputs in a given language. Naturally, Latin and German books were printed in greater numbers and covered a wider range of subjects and literary genres than those in Hebrew. In contrast to Hebrew prints, their scope in Fugger's libraries was therefore much larger than that of manuscripts.[21]

3 A Universal Library

Adding a Hebrew section to noble book collections was, of course, not a new idea. Already in the 15th century, aristocrats and princes were interested in Hebrew books. They acquired old and valuable Hebrew codices and commissioned skilled scribes to produce luxurious copies. The best examples of this phenomenon are manuscripts copied for the private library of the Medici in Florence by Isaac ben Obadiah, a Jewish convert to Christianity.[22] Another example is the library of the Duke of Urbino Federico da Montefeltro that contained around 900 manuscripts in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. It was regarding this library that the leading Florentine bookseller and Federico's biographer, Vespasiano da Bisticci, wrote around 1482: *In quella libraria i libri tutti sono belli in superlativo grado, tutti iscritti a penna, e non ve n'è ignuno a stampa, che se ne sarebbe vergognato* ('In this library all the books are superlatively good, and written with the pen, and had there been one printed volume it would have been

15 Cf. Cassuto 1936, 17.
16 BAV, Cod. Pal. lat. 1921 (Mittler 1986, 376–377). The inventory can be viewed online: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Pal.lat.1921 (accessed 24/02/2022).
17 Cf. Cassuto 1936, 86–96.
18 Cf. Hartig 1917, 135–137; Jansen 2019, 121.
19 Cf. Hartig 1917, 252.
20 For the production of Bomberg's printing press, see Haberman 1980.
21 For printing outputs of European printing presses, see Pettegree 2015, 76.
22 Cf. Pasternak 2009, 156–164.

ashamed in such company').[23] Federico da Montefeltro's library included 82 Hebrew codices, at least half of which derived from the book collection of the wealthy merchant Menaḥem ben Aharon Volterra, seized by Federico upon the sacking of the city of Volterra in 1472.[24]

If many 15th-century noble book collectors regarded printed production as a cheaper surrogate that imitated manuscripts,[25] in the Fuggers' time the printed book already established itself as an artifact in its own right and was interchangeable with manuscripts. Noble book collectors were no longer fixed on the books' beauty and expensive materials but rather on the textual content of the library that had to conform to the standards of humanist scholarship. In an attempt to create a comprehensive library that would encompass all branches of science and humanities, Hans Jakob and Ulrich acquired books through a network of agents of the Fugger firm, scholars and experts, who were responsible for finding new editions printed in various parts of Europe and manuscript texts that were not yet printed.[26] With regard to Hebraica, these were professional Hebraists who advised Hans Jakob and Ulrich on which Hebrew books to obtain and where to find them as well as recommended professional scribes to make new copies if a manuscript of a given text was not available for sale.

The scholar who apparently provided the intellectual agenda for Hans Jakob's and Ulrich's book collecting was the Swiss physician, naturalist, and bibliographer Conrad Gesner. In 1545, Hans Jakob Fugger invited him to tutor his children and take responsibility for his library. Although Gesner could not accept the invitation, he enjoyed the patronage of both Hans Jakob and Ulrich in the following years.[27] Gesner's ideas about books and libraries possibly provided the basis for Hans Jakob's and Ulrich's universal collection of knowledge assembled in one place. In his bibliographical work *Bibliotheca universalis* ('The Universal Library'), published in 1545, Gesner codified in alphabetical order almost all the authors known at the time (ca. 3 000 authors) along with the works they had written in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew (ca. 10 000 works) and gave printing details wherever these were applicable. A second part, a topical index to the work, the *Pandectae*, appeared in 1548.[28]

According to Gesner, his goal was to bring together a *Bibliotheca Vniversalis, siue Catalogus omnium scriptorum locupletissimus, in tribus linguis, Latina, Graeca, & Hebraica: extantium & non extantiu[m], ueterum & recentiorum in hunc usque diem, doctorum & indoctorum, publicatorum & in Bibliothecis latentium* ('Universal library or most substantial catalogue of all writers in the three languages, Latin, Greek, and

23 Bisticci/Frati 1892, vol. 1, 302; trans. in Bisticci/George/Waters 1997, 104.

24 Cf. Proverbio 2007, 50–61.

25 Cf. McKitterick 2003, 30.

26 For agents and scholars involved in Hans Jakob's and Ulrich's book collecting activities, see Lehmann 1956, vol. 1, 41–92.

27 Cf. Maasen 1922, 83 n. 5 and Delisle 2008, 117 respectively.

28 See, for example, Blair 2010, 56; Wright 2014, 25–26.

Hebrew: extant and not, ancient and recent, learned and not, published and hidden in libraries').[29] Realizing the loss of great libraries of the past, Gesner saw in his work a remedy that could prevent any further loss of knowledge. Together with printing, which offered further protection of texts through the production of large numbers of copies, the *Bibliotheca universalis* was supposed to preserve information about the texts for future generations.[30]

However, Gesner did not conceive of his library, documented on the pages of the *Bibliotheca*, as a virtual entity; rather, he provided instructions on how to create a real universal library: *Uiam aperui, & magna[m] alijs occasione[m] praebui, qua facile diuites aut principes uiri Bibliothecas instituant, libris ad posteritatem transmittendis necessarias* ("I have opened a way and given a great occasion to others, by which the wealthy and the princes can establish libraries, which are necessary for transmitting books to posterity").[31] Regardless of whether or not Gesner had Hans Jakob and Ulrich Fugger, who had the means to bring such a project to life, in mind, they apparently used the *Bibliotheca* as a model to form their ideas of the universal library and also possibly as a practical guide for specific works to acquire.[32]

While the *Bibliotheca* and its associated topical index were undoubtedly useful for information about Latin and Greek literature, the practical service Gesner's universal library could provide with regard to Hebraica was rather limited.[33] The *Bibliotheca* describes merely a small number of Hebrew works, most of which were printed editions arranged in the alphabetical order of their authors. Among Gesner's sources were catalogues of humanist private libraries and printing shops. Included in Gesner's *Pandectae* was the list of 75 printed Hebrew books that were found in the shop of Daniel Bomberg in Venice in 1542.[34] The list contains not only the books printed by Bomberg's press but also editions published in other cities, which could be acquired in Bomberg's shop as well. Nevertheless, most of the Hebrew works Gesner mentioned were printed editions of Jewish texts reworked by his fellow humanists, which he could easily find in his surroundings.[35] By contrast, genuine Jewish works that were found only in manuscripts went largely unmentioned in the *Bibliotheca*.

Gesner was well aware of the fact that the list of Hebraica he provided was by no means exhaustive and addressed this problem in the *Pandectae*:

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29 Gessner, *Bibliotheca universalis*, title page. All translations, unless otherwise specified, are my own.

30 Cf. Blair 2017, 7–12.

31 Gessner, *Bibliotheca universalis*, fol. *3r (quote and trans. in Blair 2017, 9–10).

32 Hans Jakob's nephew, Philip Eduard Fugger, had indeed used Gesner's catalogue as a guide for book acquisition and marked in its margins the books he owned (Jansen 2019, 119 n. 20). See also Burnett 2012, 144–145.

33 See Burnett 2012, 140–144.

34 Cf. Gessner, *Pandectarum*, fols. 41v–42v, published in Freimann 1906, 38–42.

35 For an overview of the Hebrew works mentioned in the *Pandectae*, see Sabba 2018, 105–149.

> *Quandoquidem pauci Hebraicae & confinium linguaru[m] libri extant, si Graecorum & Latinorum multitudini comparentur (quanquam non dubito quin boni aliqui codices in his linguis nondum publicati lateant, cu[m] apud nostros, tum Iudaeos & alios eius linguae peritos in diuersis partibus orbis terrarum) pauciores autem publicantur, quoniam rari admodum studiosi his linguis incumbunt: uisum est rem gratam fore bibliothecam structuris librorum Hebraicorum & similium.*[36]
>
> Since there are few books of Hebrew and related languages, if they are compared to the multitude of Greek and Latin [books] (although I do not doubt that some good codices in these languages remain unpublished, as it is with us, so too with Jews and others knowledgeable in their language in diverse parts of the world), and fewer [still] are published, since very few students devote themselves to these languages [Hebrew, Aramaic, etc.]: it seems good for there to be a library of Hebrew and similar books.

Gesner's call to action possibly had an actual effect on Hans Jakob's and Ulrich's collecting, as the timing of their acquisitions of Hebraica shows. Hebrew codices first entered Hans Jakob's and Ulrich's libraries in 1548, around the time when the *Pandectae* was published. In 1548, Hans Jakob began to employ Jewish scribes in Venice to produce Hebrew codices for him.[37] The Jewish scribes worked for him until 1552 and copied 55 Hebrew manuscripts that became the core of Hans Jakob's Hebraica collection. The year 1548 was also apparently the time when Ulrich Fugger acquired his first volumes of Hebraica: a Cretan group of 156 Hebrew manuscripts. It is therefore possible that specifically Gesner's *Bibliotheca universalis* served as a strong catalyst for Hans Jakob's and Ulrich's collecting of Hebrew books.

4 Creating Noble Hebraica Collections

For Christian Hebraica collectors, Venice was the main location to acquire Hebrew books. The city was the European capital of Hebrew printing, thanks above all to the activity of Daniel Bomberg, who was assisted by noted Jewish scholars such as Elias Levita and Jacob ben Hayyim Adoniyah in the ambitious plan of printing the most important Hebrew texts. Printing houses not only produced and traded printed books but were also the place where many older manuscripts circulated, while Bomberg's co-workers contributed much to the flow of books and manuscripts through scholarly networks, to which they themselves belonged. Seekers of Hebraica often used their assistance in finding sought out Hebrew manuscripts to acquire or to copy from Christian and Jewish libraries in Venice.

One such scholar who had unlimited access to manuscripts and printed books and provided his service to many Hebraists and book collectors was Cornelius Adel-

36 Gessner, *Pandectarum*, fol. 40r. Gesner's own library contained just a few Hebrew volumes (Leu/Keller/Weidmann 2018, 19).

37 The earliest codex, BSB, Chm 40, was copied in March 1548 (cf. Cohen-Mushlin 2020, 180–184).

kind, the master printer and corrector of Bomberg's Hebrew press.[38] Through his mediation, Hans Jakob Fugger could build up significant Hebraica collections within a short span of time by commissioning new copies. Between 1548 and 1552, Adelkind was recruiting Jewish scribes in Venice to copy 55 Hebrew codices containing ca. 270 individual treatises for Hans Jakob. The scribes worked in a kind of a scribal workshop, in a manner comparable to that of contemporary printing presses.[39]

The majority of the copied codices contain kabbalistic treatises (some are different redactions of the same texts), suggesting that Hans Jakob's initial stimulus for collecting Hebraica came from literature on Kabbalah. Additionally, the codices copied in Venice contain works on philosophy, science, and medicine, including many treatises that were often found in the Hebraica collections of professional Hebraists. Most of the copied works did not appear in print at the time. Yet, two treatises may have been copied from printed editions or from manuscripts that were based on a print copy. These are Abraham ibn Ezra's grammatical work *Safah berurah* ('The Clear Language'), which repeats verbatim the colophon of the Constantinople edition of this work (1530), and Judah Messer Leon's work on Hebrew rhetoric, *Nofet tzufim* ('The Honeycomb's Flow'), which contains the colophon of the Mantua edition (ca. 1474).[40]

Nevertheless, many manuscripts produced for Hans Jakob in Venice were apparently copied from manuscripts that were found in a famous Hebraica collection of the cardinal of Aquileia, Domenico Grimani. Grimani bequeathed his book collection to the Venetian convent of Sant'Antonio in Castello, and it had been preserved in the convent after Grimani's death in 1523.[41] According to his last will and testament, the monks were forbidden to sell his books. This may have been the reason why Hans Jakob could not acquire this collection *en bloc* but had to commission copies from it, which was undoubtedly a time consuming and possibly more expensive enterprise.

Grimani's book collection included some 123 Hebrew volumes that he acquired *en bloc* in 1498, four years after the death of their former owner, the Florentine noble and humanist Pico della Mirandola.[42] In the following years, Grimani expanded the number of Hebraica volumes he owned to 193 manuscripts and printed books.[43] Grimani's book collection was well known to other humanist scholars who visited the library in

38 Cf. Amram 1909, 146–190, 209–213. On Adelkind and his apparent conversion to Christianity, see Frojmovic 2020, 121–130.

39 Cf. Steimann 2017, 1240–1246.

40 BSB, Chm 47, fol. 421v and BSB, Chm 55, fol. 457r respectively (Cohen-Mushlin 2020, 203–208 and 230–233); see also Steimann 2017, 1249–1251.

41 Cf. Freudenberger 1936, 15–45.

42 On Pico's library and its inventories, see Kibre 1936. A reconstruction of Sant'Antonio in Castello's Hebrew books, based on additional documents, was presented by Michela Andreatta ("Ghostly Library: For a Reconstruction of the Hebrew Books of Sant'Antonio di Castello in Venice") during the conference held in Münster, *The Jewish Book 1400–1600: From Production to Reception*, June 24–27, 2019 (unpublished).

43 Cf. Tamani 1997, 497; Tamani 1995, 8.

Sant'Antonio in Castello, and they circulated copies of its catalogues.[44] Possibly in this way, Hans Jakob and his agents could get an idea of the scope of Hebraica found there.

At least four Hebrew manuscripts produced for Hans Jakob were evidently copied from Pico-Grimani's manuscript exemplars.[45] Whether Hans Jakob's Jewish scribes in Venice copied more Hebrew codices from Pico-Grimani collection is unknown, as the library of Sant'Antonio in Castello burned down in 1687. However, on the basis of the extant book inventories of the libraries of Pico and Grimani and other evidence, it seems that more than half of the Hebrew codices copied for Hans Jakob in Venice could have been based on Pico-Grimani's exemplars.[46]

Apparently, the copies could not replace the originals. Therefore, when the opportunity presented itself around 1553,[47] Hans Jakob acquired 11 of Grimani's manuscripts (three of which derived from Pico's collection) from the library of Sant'Antonio in Castello, including those which had been copied for him by the Jewish scribes in 1549–1551.[48] The 11 manuscripts acquired by Hans Jakob, together with some codices preserved today in Udine and Leiden,[49] are all that has survived from Pico's and Grimani's book collections.

Ulrich Fugger was more fortunate in obtaining a significant collection of Hebraica *en bloc*. In addition to 13 Hebrew codices that derived from the library of Giannozzo Manetti, a diplomat and humanist scholar from Florence,[50] and a number of Ashkenazi manuscripts of unknown provenance, the earliest and largest segment of Ulrich's Hebraica—around 156 Hebrew manuscripts—originated from Crete. This group of Cretan Hebrew codices was obtained in Candia (modern-day Iraklio) by an anonymous Christian from the members of the local Jewish community between 1541 and 1543.[51]

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44 As Gesner mentioned in his working copy of the *Bibliotheca*, he also visited the library of Sant'Antonio in Castello in 1543 and obtained a copy of the catalogue of the Greek manuscripts found there (Sabba 2018, 108).

45 Fugger's BSB, Chm 41 is copied from Grimani's BSB, Chm 266; Fugger's BSB, Chm 53 is copied from Grimani's BSB, Chm 209; Fugger's BSB, Chm 56 is copied from Grimani's BSB, Chm 341 and BSB, Chm 357; Fugger's BSB, Chm 57 is copied from Grimani's BSB, Chm 121 and BSB, Chm 357 (Steimann 2017, 1252–1254). For description of Hans Jakob's copies, see Cohen-Mushlin 2020, 184–187, 222–226, 233–242. respectively.

46 Cf. Steimann 2017, 1256–1261.

47 In Hans Jakob's library, the Hebrew volumes were arranged chronologically, corresponding to the progression in the dates of the book acquisitions. The shelf marks imprinted on the bindings reflect when the volumes were produced for or acquired by Hans Jakob and integrated into his library (cf. Steimann 2017, 1255).

48 BSB, Chm 79; BSB, Chm 80; BSB, Chm 121; BSB, Chm 209; BSB, Chm 223; BSB, Chm 266; BSB, Chm 267; BSB, Chm 268; BSB, Chm 278; BSB, Chm 341; BSB, Chm 357 (Tamani 1995, 13). For description of Grimani's codices, see Steinschneider 1895, 50, 76, 90–92, 101, 130–131, 137, 184–187, 200–202.

49 Cf. Tamani 1971, 1–25 and Heide 1977, 6–7, 63–64 respectively.

50 Cf. Cassuto 1936, 44–47. Manetti's Hebraica is also discussed in Pasternak 2018, 101–110.

51 Cf. Cassuto 1936, 29–44. The Cretan Hebrew manuscripts feature a series of Hebrew numbers from 1 (א) to 175 (קעה) written at the beginning of each codex that suggest at least 175 volumes must have

Some Jewish sellers of the manuscripts belonged to the local elite: At least 20 manuscripts, for example, were obtained from Elijah Capsali, who was then the head of the Candiote Jewish community.[52]

Although the anonymous purchaser of the manuscripts in Candia inscribed the acquired volumes with his acquisition note, nothing is known about his identity. Where the Cretan manuscripts were before they were acquired by Ulrich is also unknown. The book inventory compiled by Ulrich's librarian in Augsburg, Martin Gerstmann, contains the earliest evidence of the Cretan Hebraica in Ulrich's library.[53] Gerstmann compiled the inventories of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin manuscripts around the same time. He indicated the dates 1553 and 1555 at the beginning of the Greek and Latin sections respectively.[54] The Hebrew section that appears in between them must have been written between these years. The Hebrew section is incomplete and contains only 154 Candiote manuscripts.[55]

There may have been an earlier inventory of Ulrich's library that included Hebrew manuscripts, however. Umberto Cassuto suggested the existence of an earlier inventory on the basis of Gerstmann's note regarding a Cretan Hebrew codex with kabbalistic treatises in his inventory. Next to it, Gerstmann wrote, *Liber Cabalistarum. Descriptus Rhodi ante annos 155* ('A kabbalistic book; copied in Rhodes 155 years ago').[56] The scribal colophon in this manuscript states that the scribe Moses Kimḥi copied it in Rhodes in 1383.[57] With the addition of 155 years, this could indicate that Gerstmann compiled the inventory in 1538, but this is impossible, as the manuscript had not been acquired in Crete yet at that point in time. Cassuto therefore assumed that Gerstmann had mistakenly copied '155' from an earlier inventory that read '165' and suggested that the Cretan section of Ulrich's Hebraica was acquired by Ulrich in 1548.[58]

The Hebrew codices obtained in Crete reflect a similar collecting tendency that was obviously shared by the manuscripts' original Hebraist purchaser and other Christian

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been acquired, even though not all of them are extant (Cassuto 1936, 38–40). The story of the acquisition of these manuscripts in Crete is examined in my forthcoming paper "The Story of One Acquisition: Hebrew Manuscripts from Venetian Candia", to be published in *Mediterranean Historical Review* (2023). For Cretan Hebrew manuscripts in general, see also Corazzol 2015.

52 On Elijah Capsali, see, for example, Benayahu 1983.

53 BAV, Cod. Pal. lat. 1925, fols. 109v–120r (Cassuto 1936, 8–9). The inventory can be viewed online: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Pal.lat.1925 (accessed 24/02/2022). Regarding the identification of Gerstmann's hand, see Lehmann 1956, vol. 2, 52–56.

54 BAV, Cod. Pal. lat. 1925, fols. 103v (1553), 122r (1555), 124r (1555).

55 A copy of this inventory made by Gerstmann around the same time, which in addition to the Cretan manuscripts (nos. 1–154) contains the Hebrew codices from Manetti's collection (nos. 155–167), is found in BAV, Cod. Pal. lat. 1951, fols. 143r–145r (Cassuto 1936, 7–8, 107–15). The inventory can be viewed online: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Pal.lat.1951 (accessed 24/02/2022).

56 BAV, Cod. Pal. lat. 1925, fol. 114r, no. 75.

57 BAV, Cod. Pal. ebr. 221, fol. 67r (Beit-Arié/Richler 2008, 159–60). The manuscript can be viewed online: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.ebr.221 (accessed 24/02/2022).

58 Cf. Cassuto 1936, 9.

Hebraica collectors of the time. Around two thirds of the Cretan collection contain kabbalistic and philosophical texts, as well as works on medicine, astrology, and astronomy—a scope similar to that of Hans Jakob Fugger's Venetian Hebraica.[59] It is also noteworthy that the Candiote collection contains no printed books. While it is evident that in the 16th century, the members of the Cretan Jewish communities must have owned printed books, the anonymous purchaser of Hebraica in Candia was not interested in printed production and acquired exclusively manuscripts. As a result, no Hebrew prints deriving from Cretan Jewish libraries or elsewhere appear in Ulrich's collection.

The Candiote group of Hebrew codices as well as Pico-Grimani's Hebrew manuscripts bear traces of their provenance in the form of colophons, owners' inscriptions, and records of purchase. To Hans Jakob and Ulrich, Grimani's name inscribed in the manuscripts and the names of Jewish former owners of the codices acquired in Crete that the anonymous Hebraist mentioned in his purchase notes apparently served as evidence that the manuscripts derived from authoritative sources. For the same reasons, the alphabetical catalogue of Ulrich's Greek books compiled by Martin Gerstmann refers as well to the former owners from whom the manuscripts were obtained.[60] In the case of larger collections bought from an important scholar and inscribed with the scholar's name, the books could be given a special, separate place in the library. This was the case for the multi-lingual collection of the Nuremberg physician and humanist Hartmann Schedel that was sold by his heirs *en bloc* to Hans Jakob Fugger in 1552. Stored as a separate unit in Hans Jakob's library, Schedel's collection contained around 670 printed works (many of which are incunabula) and 370 manuscripts, including eight Hebrew codices.[61]

In this context, it is worth mentioning the work of Tyler Williams on vernacular manuscripts in Early Modern India, which argued that colophons, ownership records, and owners' marks should be not only read as documentary evidence, but also that their meaning for imagined audiences and the actual books' patrons and successive users should be reconsidered.[62] Reconsidering the function of the ownership records among noble bibliophiles shows that the provenance of books, which was often used by earlier humanist scholars for establishing the authenticity of manuscripts on which they based their scholarship,[63] came to play an important role in assessing the value of a book collection as a whole. The former owners of the older collections were

59 Cf. Cassuto 1936, 34–35.

60 BAV, Cod. Pal. lat. 1950, fols. 183r–198v (Mittler 1986, 378).

61 These numbers, however, give no indication of the real size of Schedel's collection, since many of its books were lost in the course of time (cf. Hartig 1917, 262). For Schedel's Hebrew manuscripts, see Steimann 2014, 23–40.

62 Cf. Williams 2019, 154. I am grateful to Pia Eckhart for bringing this paper to my attention. For more about the importance of manuscripts' provenance in the Hebraist book collectors' circles, see my forthcoming article "Jewish Exemplars and Hebraist Copies of Hebrew Manuscripts", to be published in Jürgen Paul and David Durand-Guedy (eds.), *Writing for Oneself* (2023).

63 For example, see Grafton 1991, 57–62.

usually scholars in their own right who assembled books gradually, carefully selecting the items to be included in their libraries. To the noble book collectors, the reputation of the scholar who originally created the collection guaranteed the quality and importance of the collection in its entirety. The fact that the source collections largely consisted of manuscripts turned the medium itself into an attribute of quality. Older scholarly collections acquired *en bloc* or replicated in newer copies not only enabled the noble book collectors to build up impressive libraries within a short period of time, but also, and even more significantly, suggested an exclusive status of these libraries.

5 The Authority of Old Manuscripts

While in the 16th century printed books could be neither old nor rare, many manuscripts that were acquired *en bloc* by noble book collectors were unique copies that could not be found elsewhere. It is therefore no surprise that although printed books were welcomed in the noble libraries, it was the manuscripts that earned special attention and treatment.

In contrast to printed texts, manuscripts were subject to hierarchy. The hierarchy was a result of bibliographical research conducted by librarians and scholars who were responsible for describing the noble collections. An inventory of Grimani's books compiled around 1520, for example, denoted 17 Hebrew manuscripts (out of 193 volumes) as *rarus* ('rare').[64] Giuliano Tamani has attributed the authorship of this inventory to the Jewish scholar Abraham de Balmes, the personal physician of Grimani.[65] Due to his wide knowledge of Jewish literature, de Balmes undoubtedly had the necessary skills to assess the rarity of certain Hebrew texts. The 'rare' manuscripts contain biblical commentaries of Immanuel ben Solomon of Rome, David Kimḥi and others, Averroes's commentaries on Aristotle, astronomical works, and kabbalistic treatises. Needless to say, none of the books defined as rare existed in print at the time.

As most of Grimani's books were destroyed by fire, it is impossible to examine the actual manuscripts that were described as 'rare' in Grimani's inventory. Only two 'rare' manuscripts have come down to us. One is a 14th-century codex of Immanuel ben Solomon of Rome's commentary on Genesis, which is housed in Udine.[66] In Grimani's inventory, this manuscript was identified as possibly Immanuel of Rome's autograph.[67] The term *rarus*, then, not only indicated the presumed scarcity of manuscript copies of the given work but also the particular manuscript found in Grimani's library, which in this case was apparently an autograph.

64 BM, MS latini cl. XIV, 182 (4669), published in Tamani 1995, 5–52.

65 Cf. Tamani 1995, 8.

66 Bertolla Lib., MS 245 (Tamani 1971, 17–18).

67 *Expositio rabi Emanuelis super Genesis, et forte est scriptus manu autoris* ("Rabbi Emanuel's exposition on Genesis and it is possibly written by the author's hand") (Tamani 1995, 41, no. 184).

The second extant manuscript of the 'rare' group supports the assumption that the range of values attributed to manuscripts depended not only on the texts that they contained, but also on the physical vessels that contained those texts. It is a kabbalistic compilation from Pico's library, produced in Spain in 1298.[68] It contains *Sefer ha-bahir* ('The Book of Brightness'); Asher ben David's *Sefer ha-yiḥud* ('The Book of Unity'); Isaac ben Jacob Hacohen's *Pirush ma'aseh merkabah* ('Commentary on the Works of the Chariot'); commentary on the ten *sefirot*; and the kabbalistic commentary to Psalm 19, *Sha'ar ha-razim* ('The Gate of Secrets') by Todros Halevi Abulafia.[69] What was special about this compilation were not only the texts, which were difficult to find elsewhere, but also the early date of copying stated in its two colophons.[70] Moreover, this compilation was produced shortly after the death of the authors of the treatises it contains.[71] Already Pico apparently appreciated its antiquity and rarity, which may have been the reason it was used as the source for the Latin translation completed by Flavius Mithridates in 1486 upon Pico's request.[72] This compilation was one of the 11 codices Hans Jakob acquired from Grimani's collection around 1553. Before that, this manuscript was copied for Hans Jakob in its entirety by Jewish scribes in Venice (in 1550),[73] so Hans Jakob's library eventually had both the original exemplar and the copy.

The concept of rare manuscripts, then, referred to the codices containing texts that had been not yet printed and were not widespread in manuscript form, as well as to the uniqueness of the manuscripts as objects.[74] Both autographs and old codices were imbued with a certain aura of exceptionality that rendered them one of a kind. They also had another thing in common: authenticity. The autographs preserved original texts, while old copies were supposed to transmit the text as close as possible to originals, since fewer stages of transmission intervened between them and the original texts.

Humanist efforts to recover such old, reliable texts had been underway for more than a century before the invention of printing. Scholars from Petrarch on had sought out, copied, and collated antique Greek and Latin codices. They visited old monasteries in different parts of Europe, searching there for ancient texts that could be useful

68 BSB, Chm 209 (for this item in the inventory of Pico's library, see Cesis 1897, 46). The manuscript can be viewed online: https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00103931?page=,1 (accessed 24/02/2022).

69 Referred to by the titles of two treatises it contains: *Liber Bhair et liber secretorum. Qui est rarus* ('The *Book of Brightness* and the *Gate of Secrets*, which are rare') (Tamani 1995, 18, no. 34); see also Campanini, 2007, 21–43.

70 BSB, Chm 209, fols. 36v and 104r.

71 About the authors of these works, see Ben-Shalom 2014, 188–217.

72 Cf. Campanini 2005, 63–76; Freudenberger 1936, 33. See also Steimann 2017, 1254 and the bibliography there.

73 BSB, Chm 53, fols. 1r–76r (Cohen-Mushlin 2020, 224). The manuscript can be viewed online: https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00107456?page=,1 (accessed 24/02/2022).

74 For the development of the concept of rare books, see McKitterick 2018, esp. 43–49.

for humanist scholarship.[75] The most authoritative sources were those that were found in the oldest codices, since they were supposed to transmit more authentic versions of texts.[76]

With the advent of printing, the former reverence for ancient manuscripts gave way to greater awareness and a more systematic, critical approach. As printing was supposed to stabilize the textual content of books and make it available for a wide audience, the urge to restore the texts that were corrupted in the process of later transmissions became apparent.[77] These kinds of concerns were reflected, for instance, in a letter to the printer Johann Amerbach in Basel sent in 1511 from Stuttgart by the noted humanist scholar and Hebraist Johann Reuchlin, whom Amerbach recruited to contribute to the complete printed edition of Jerome's works (*Opera omnia*):

> *Sed interea putaui me op[r]ere precium esse facturum, si opus epistolare aggrederer, quod ad me tanta cura dedisti. Quamvis nec eiusdem habeam vetus exemplar, coepi vires exercere ingenii, et tanto labore tantoque conatu vix primam eius partem, quae aliarum tamen est omnium castigatu facillima, sine duce consummaui, ut iam desperandum mihi sit de reliquis posse absque vetustis exemplaribus vllum consequi honorem.*[78]
>
> Meanwhile I think that it will be worthwhile for me to undertake the work on [Jerome's] letters that you gave me with such a great concern. Since I do not have an old exemplar of the letters, I have begun the intellectual struggle, but working without a guide, even with great work and effort I have completed hardly the first part of it, which is the easiest of all to correct. Now I despair about getting copies of the remainder and, without old exemplars, despair of gaining any glory.[79]

Despite obvious idealism surrounding antique codices, however, many printed editions were based on poorly chosen late manuscripts—the only ones then available.

No less than printers, Christian collectors of Hebraica appreciated the antiquity of manuscripts that passed into their hands. It is in this sense that the words of Reuchlin himself should be understood, which he added in 1501 to the old Hebrew manuscript of the Prophets that was in his possession. On its first folio, Reuchlin emphasized the antiquity of this manuscript by calculating 396 years that according to its original colophon passed since its production.[80] This was a typical humanist practice of dating manuscripts: Rather than stating the date of production, humanists often calculated the temporal distance between the production of a manuscript and their own

75 For example, see Gordan 1974, 42, 48, 62, 110.

76 Cf. Grafton 1991, 55–62; see also Reynolds/Wilson 1991, 166–167.

77 For example, Hellinga 2014, 41–43.

78 Hartmann 1942, vol. 1, 417, no. 451. For Amerbach's efforts to find manuscripts in monastic libraries that serve as the basis for his printed editions, see Halporn 1981, 134–142.

79 Trans. in Halporn 2000, 353, no. 251; see also Nielsen 2011, 58.

80 Cf. BLB, Cod. Reuchlin 3, fol. 1^{a}r (Abel/Leicht 2005, 97–103). The manuscript can be viewed online: https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbhs/content/titleinfo/3395233 (accessed 24/02/2022).

time, so that 396 years indicated both when the manuscript was produced and when it passed into Reuchlin's hands. By doing so, humanists could measure the antiquity of a manuscript from their point in time. This does not mean that later codices or printed editions were avoided, but only that old copies were attributed with special significance.[81]

It is also apparent that no objective criteria for rarity and antiquity existed. 'Rare' could refer to a complex of textual and material features of a manuscript, whereas 'ancient' was a relative term, often meaning very old, just old, or that the date was uncertain or even that the codex was worn.[82] Antiquity was rendered a criterion for evaluating manuscripts in Martin Gerstmann's remark that opens his 1553 inventory of the Greek volumes of Ulrich's library: *Omnes hi libri sunt manu scripti et magna ex parte antiquissimi* ('All these books are manuscripts and a large part of them is extremely old').[83] The need to single out the oldest codices makes the hierarchy of values apparent: The highest value was placed on the most ancient manuscripts, followed by later manuscripts, which were followed by printed books. Further, Gerstmann wrote *antiquus* ('ancient'), sometimes *antiquus et bonus* ('ancient and good') or *antiquus et optimus* ('ancient and the best') next to some codices in the inventory. A closer look at these codices reveals that the term 'ancient' could stand for manuscripts produced in the 11th century as well as for those produced in the 14th century and that the term was applied inconsistently.[84]

For the Hebrew manuscripts, Gerstmann did not assess their age or quality. Instead, he wrote *impressos* ('printed') or *non impressos* ('not printed') next to each manuscript in the inventory, adding: *Intelligi volo, eos etiam libros reperiri impressos, aut non impressos* ('I want to understand whether these books are found in print or not') at the beginning of the inventory.[85] Gerstmann was undoubtedly a learned man, but it is unclear how well he knew Hebrew. At the beginning of inventorying, he may have been assisted by an Ashkenazi Jew (or a convert) who added the titles of the texts in Hebrew next to the running numbers of the manuscripts; these appear irregularly and only in the manuscripts numbered from one to 22. It is also possible that the same Jew helped Gerstmann to find out which of the inventoried texts had already appeared in print.

81 Among Reuchlin's own ca. 50 Hebrew volumes were five printed books (cf. Abel/Leicht 2005, 221–234).

82 Cf. McKitterick 2008, 29; cf. Nagel/Wood 2009, 55.

83 BAV, Cod. Pal. lat. 1925, fol. 103v.

84 See, for example, an 11th-century compilation of works of Johannes Climacus (BAV, Cod. Pal. gr. 380) and another 11th-century manuscript of the letter of Aristeas to Philocrates and other works (BAV, Cod. Pal. gr. 203) that were described by Gerstmann as *antiquus* in the inventory (BAV, Cod. Pal. lat. 1925, fol. 105r, no. 28 and fol. 106v, no. 73); a 14th-century codex of Euripides' Tragedies (BAV, Cod. Pal. gr. 98) was described as *antiquus* as well (BAV, Cod. Pal. lat. 1925, fol. 104r, no. 2).

85 BAV, Cod. Pal. lat. 1925, fol. 109v.

According to Gerstmann, out of 154 Hebrew texts mentioned in the inventory, two thirds did not exist in print at the time. This helped Gerstmann differentiate between Hebrew texts that could only be found in manuscripts and texts that were potentially widespread due to printing. Gerstmann thus used printing as the main point of reference to underline the relative rareness of unprinted Hebrew texts, thereby attributing a similarly high value to them compared to that suggested for 'ancient' Greek codices.

How Gerstmann treated actual printed books which were found in Ulrich's collection (in Greek, Latin, and other languages) is unknown, as the only inventories that have come down to us document manuscripts. It is also not possible to compare his approach to Hebraica with that of Hans Jakob's librarians, since no inventory of Hans Jakob's Hebraica is extant. To present a fuller picture of cataloguing Hebrew manuscripts versus prints, it would be also useful to consult the 16th-century inventories compiled by the librarians of the Munich *Hofbibliothek*, in which Hans Jakob's collection was incorporated, as well as the librarians' descriptions within Hans Jakob's Hebrew printed volumes.[86] Further study of this material could possibly indicate other criteria, beyond rarity and antiquity, according to which Hebrew printed books were evaluated. These aspects remained, however, beyond the scope of this paper, which was entirely focused on Hans Jakob's and Ulrich's Hebraica collecting.

6 Concluding Observations

Acquiring Hebraica by Christians was never an easy task because of the relatively limited scope of Hebrew manuscripts in circulation and traditional unwillingness to sell them to Christians on the part of Jews.[87] Although in the middle of the 16th century the number of Hebrew books in Christian book collections could reach 200 volumes per library, collecting Hebraica remained a time and energy consuming process. Printing made Hebrew books more widely available to all kinds of audiences. But since Hebrew printing of the time was still limited to certain sorts of literature, it could not fully meet the needs of Christian collectors, especially with regard to the works on Kabbalah that were usually the focus of scholarly Hebraica collecting. The number of Hebrew manuscripts in the Hebraist book collections consequently far surpassed that of Hebrew printed books.

The thematic content of noble book collections was similar to that of the collections of professional Hebraists on whose example they were based. One of the main strategies to obtain Hebraica among noble bibliophiles was acquiring *en bloc* already existing Hebraica collections or commissioning Jewish scribes or converts to produce

86 For 16th-century inventories of Hebraica in the *Hofbibliothek*, see BSB, Cbm Cat. 36, Cbm Cat. 36m, and Cbm Cat. 37 (Kellner 1996, 4–6).

87 For Jewish attitudes towards the issue, see Steimann 2020, 21–25.

new copies if no collection was for sale. As a result, noble collections of Hebraica were not a co-location of carefully chosen items, but reflected the scope assembled by someone else. They were often acquired or copied from the libraries of important Christian and Jewish scholars, rendering the provenance a guarantee of the quality of the collection as a whole. Naturally, such source collections, especially when they were older, were largely composed of manuscripts. Manual copying of Hebrew texts for noble book collectors, mainly those that did not exist in print, also contributed much to the persistence of Hebrew manuscripts in the noble libraries well into the 16th century.

While the prevalence of manuscripts can be easily explained by these kinds of practical reasons, the differentiation between manuscripts and printed books came into play when evaluating the collection. This was done by experts and librarians who could read Hebrew and were responsible for explaining the collection to their owners not only by describing the books but also by establishing a scale of values. The uniqueness attributed to manuscripts, in particular to old copies, is especially evident in the book inventory of Martin Gerstmann. Not only did he categorize Greek manuscripts according to their presumed antiquity, but he also introduced a new criterion of printing to assess the rarity of texts in his description of Hebrew codices. Both antique manuscripts and rare texts, which had not yet been printed and were therefore not widespread, were essential for establishing the exclusive status of noble libraries.

These attitudes towards old and rare manuscripts were shared by both scholarly and noble collectors of Hebraica. The differences are quite apparent, however. If the scholarly use of Hebraica found its expression in annotations and comments that the Hebraists added to Hebrew texts while reading them, the manuscripts of the noble collectors are usually free from such additions and other changes that were integral to usage. Untouched and frozen in time, Hebrew manuscripts in the noble collections symbolized scholarship rather than serving it, turning texts into collectable objects.

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Abbreviations

BAV Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vatican Apostolic Library)
Bertolla Lib. Biblioteca P. Bertolla del Seminario arcivescovile Udine (P. Bertolla Library of the Archbishop's Seminary of Udine)
BLB Badische Landesbibliothek (Baden State Library)
BM Biblioteca Marciana (Marciana Library)
BSB Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Bavarian State Library)

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– Chm 267
– Chm 268
– Chm 278
– Chm 341
– Chm 357
– Chm 40
– Chm 41
– Chm 47
– Chm 53
– Chm 55
– Chm 56
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Silvia Hufnagel

Title Pages in Icelandic Post-Medieval Manuscripts and Books

1 Introduction

Scholarly interest in post-Gutenberg manuscripts has increased considerably since the material turn in the humanities and goes in many cases beyond the focus on handwritten copies of printed books in the Western world. Several scholars focus on scribal publication. Harold Love, for example, traces the communication of ideas in 17th-century England by analyzing handwritten texts and music; authors and composers had cultural, political, and economic reasons for choosing the manuscript medium.[1] Social authorship is another important focus of research. Margaret Ezell, to name but one, examines manuscript production beyond print and cities; often, writers from 17th-century England living outside of major cities successfully used privately produced and disseminated manuscripts to reach their audiences.[2] Another focus of scholarly attention is on scribal communities. Davíð Ólafsson studied the intricate scribal network in 19th-century West Iceland.[3] Textual production and reproduction in light of indigenous traditions proves to be of particular importance. Meidbhín Ní Úrdail emphasizes the importance of manuscripts for Irish scholarship and culture in the 18th and 19th centuries, particularly in cases where handwritten texts are the sole witnesses of textual traditions; scribes used innovative approaches to their craft and incorporated influence from both print and manuscript media, bearing witness to the reciprocal influences of the two.[4] Such studies are based on a wide variety of scholarly disciplines, including manuscript studies, book history, sociology, literary studies, and history and analyze agents in different geographical parts and periods of time. Their common conclusion though is that the so-called printing revolution is rather an evolution and that the division between manuscript and print is anything but clear-cut.

1 Cf. Love 1993.

2 Cf. Ezell 1999.

3 Cf. Davíð Ólafsson 2013. Icelandic citation conventions are followed in this article, citing both the given name and patronym and listing the given names in alphabetical order.

4 Cf. Ní Úrdail 2000.

This study is based on data collected for the project "Old and New. How Old and New Media Influenced Each Other and Society in Iceland during the 16th and 17th Centuries", which was hosted by the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna between June 2015 and May 2017, with funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program under the Marie-Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement No. 658813.

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In this article I will argue that the developments of manuscript and print in Iceland were closely connected and interdependent as well as that the old and the new media influenced each other. The surviving historical background information on Icelandic print and manuscript culture is one of the signs of the close connections and interrelationships between the two media. I will also argue that there were various strategies that Icelandic scribes of post-Gutenberg manuscripts employed and that these strategies were not necessarily dependent on the medium of their exemplar—whether the scribes copied handwritten or printed material was usually not important to them. I thereby hope to emphasize the importance and longevity of Icelandic manuscript culture and to shed further light on some of the complex developments of print culture and the long life of manuscript transmission. Although the varied and rich life of Icelandic manuscript culture is in several aspects unique, it provides an appropriate case study due to the large number of surviving manuscripts and its well-documented status and background.[5] The peculiar situation of print in Iceland led to a certain, but by no means absolute dichotomy between textual genres that appeared in print and handwriting and textual genres that appeared in handwriting only.[6]

In this study, I will focus on title pages, a true invention of the printing press,[7] that appear in post-Gutenberg manuscripts too. When read and analyzed perceptively, handwritten and printed title pages can reveal the underlying attitudes of early modern Icelanders towards old and new media. They also hold the key to our interpretation of the function of manuscripts.[8] After a general overview of Icelandic print and manuscript culture and title pages in Icelandic manuscripts from the 16th and 17th centuries, I will focus on calendars, which were transmitted in both the old medium of handwriting and the new medium of print. Calendars were among the first texts that were put into writing after the Christianization of the island in the year 1000, and they were quickly put into print after the arrival of the printing press around 1530. Calendars formed an important part of daily life in the Middle Ages and early modern period and were widely used by large and diverse groups of people. A considerable number of both handwritten and printed calendars are extant, making this textual genre valuable for a case study.[9]

I include non-scholarly manuscripts written in Iceland between c. 1500 and c. 1700. Each shelfmark is counted as a single manuscript, resulting in a corpus of approximately 2 000 manuscripts. Please note that I cite Icelanders by their given

5 Notable studies of post-medieval scribal culture in Iceland include, e. g., Margrét Eggertsdóttir/Driscoll 2017.

6 To my knowledge, there is no textual genre that existed in print only.

7 Other features that are often connected with the printing press, such as running titles and graded layout, appear already in medieval manuscripts (cf. Lowe 1925). Therefore, they are less suitable for this study.

8 Cf. Guðrún Ingólfsdóttir 2011, 130.

9 Title pages of other textual genres have been analysed elsewhere, see, e. g., Hufnagel 2016, Hufnagel 2018, or Hufnagel 2021b.

names according to Icelandic tradition, and that I refer to handwritten codices as manuscripts and to printed codices as books. If not specified otherwise, title pages are on fol. 1r of the respective manuscripts; manuscript transcriptions are semi-diplomatic and translations my own.

2 Manuscript and Print Culture in Iceland

Icelandic manuscript culture was particularly prolific and long-lasting. Writing in the Latin alphabet and the codex form were introduced together with or shortly after the Christianization of Iceland in the year 1000, as evidence suggests. Written texts were needed for both the Church and for legal practices. The oldest extant written artifacts date to the 12th century.[10] The two earliest textual artifacts are Reykjavík, The Árni Magnusson Institute for Icelandic Studies (henceforth SÁM) AM 732 a VII 4to, which contains an Easter table and is dated to the first half of the 12th century,[11] and SÁM AM 237 a fol., which contains two fragments of sermons and is dated to c. 1150.[12] SÁM AM 315 d fol. contains the legal text *Grágás* on two fragmentary leaves and is dated to the third quarter of the 12th century.[13] Copenhagen, The Arnamagnæan Collection AM 674 a 4to from the second half of the 12th century, containing the Old Icelandic version of *Elucidarius*, is considered to be the oldest extant complete codex in the Icelandic language.[14]

Until the end of the 12th century, it was mostly religious, computistic, and legal material that was written down.[15] In the 13th century, the Poetic Edda and sagas about the Norwegian kings were put into written form, and in the 14th century, even more saga genres.[16] Until the reformation around 1540/1550—a point in time that is commonly used to denote the end of the Middle Ages in Iceland—translations of works in English, Danish, and German appeared in manuscript form too.[17]

There are several reasons why Icelandic manuscript culture is exceptional: The vernacular was used for writing shortly after the introduction of Christianity, manuscripts were produced outside of ecclesiastical centers too, and the introduction of the printing press did not lead to the end of manuscript production.[18]

The first printing press in Iceland was established around 1530 at the seat of the episcopal see Hólar in northern Iceland at the instigation of Bishop Jón Arason (1484–

10 Cf. Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 2007, 245–246, 249.
11 Cf. Hreinn Benediktsson 1965, 13.
12 Cf. Hreinn Benediktsson 1965, iii, no. 2.
13 Cf. Spehr 1929, 170.
14 Cf. Hægstad 1906, 10.
15 Cf. Hreinn Benediktsson 1965, 13–14; Sverrir Tómasson 2002, 793–796.
16 Cf. Hreinn Benediktsson 1965, 14–15; Sverrir Tómasson 2002, 796–799.
17 Cf. Stefán Karlsson 1998.
18 Cf. Stefán Karlsson 1999; Sverrir Tómasson 2002; Hufnagel 2016, 118–119; Lethbridge forthcoming.

1550).[19] The first work that left the printing press was the *Breviarium Holense*, printed by the Swedish priest and printer Jón Matthíasson (d. 1567) in 1534; the breviary was deemed lost until two fragmentary leaves were found in a binding of an Icelandic book in the National Library of Sweden in Stockholm.[20] The two leaves bear the foliation "llij" and "lliij" as well as text from the *Sanctorale* (texts for fixed feasts).[21] The breviary presumably contained a calendar and the Psalms, and it seems reasonable to assume that it contained the *Temporale* (texts for movable feasts) too, thus covering the whole liturgical year of the Roman Catholic church.[22] It is said to have followed *Breviarium Nidrosiense*, the Norwegian breviary of Niðarós (today Trondheim) from 1519, closely although perhaps it did not contain all the same parts.[23] It is uncertain if any other books were printed in Iceland during the time of Bishop Jón.[24]

His Protestant colleagues in Skálholt, the seat of the diocese in the South, had to resort to printers abroad to publish their books, for example the New Testament printed in Roskilde, Denmark, in 1540.[25] Bishop Jón's successor published a passional in 1559, which is the oldest surviving complete book printed in Icelandic in Iceland, and perhaps three other books.[26]

The printing press in Iceland came into markedly more use only when Guðbrandur Þorláksson (c. 1542–1627) was consecrated as bishop of Hólar in 1571. He invested a significant amount of money and energy in his printing endeavors, and during his time 100 books were printed; he was closely involved with the production of approximately two thirds of them, either as publisher, author, translator, or as the writer of prefaces.[27] Perhaps the most important book that Bishop Guðbrandur published is the *Guðbrandsbiblía* ('Guðbrandur's Bible') from 1584, often called a masterpiece of Icelandic print, with 1250 pages in folio, 29 wood-cut illustrations, numerous wood-cut initials and tail-pieces, and three title pages, one in red and black ink for the Old Testament, and the other two in black for the Prophets and the New Testament.[28] The impact that this Bible made on the Icelandic language, culture, and not least manuscript decoration, was felt for centuries.[29] Bishop Guðbrandur also printed, for the first time in Iceland, a gradual with musical notation in 1594 and the lawbook *Jónsbók*.[30]

19 Cf. Halldór Hermannsson 1916, i; Klemens Jónsson 1930, 3–6.
20 Cf. Collijn 1914; Halldór Hermannsson 1916, i–ii, 1–2.
21 Cf. Collijn 1914.
22 Cf. Halldór Hermannsson 1916, 1–2; Hufnagel 2023, 33.
23 Cf. Collijn 1914; Halldór Hermannsson 1916, 1–2.
24 Cf. Einar G. Pétursson 2006, 573–574.
25 Cf. Halldór Hermannsson 1916, ii–iii, 2–7. The Skálholt-diocese includes the South, East, and West of Iceland.
26 Cf. Einar G. Pétursson 2006, 575–578; Halldór Hermannsson 1916, 7–17.
27 Cf. Einar G. Pétursson 2006, 584–585.
28 Cf. Halldór Hermannsson 1916, 28–35; Guðrún Kvaran 1997.
29 Cf. Bandle 1956; Guðrún Kvaran 1997; Drífa Kristín Þrastardóttir 2001.
30 Cf. Halldór Hermannsson 1916, 45–46.

The latter was first published in 1578 and had a title page in red and black ink; this was the first book in Iceland to be printed in more than one color.[31] Two years later it was reprinted with a few corrections, and a new edition was published around 1620.[32] Apart from the lawbook, the *Morðbréfabæklingar*, three booklets that the bishop wrote for his defense in a court case, and the learned work *Anatome Blefkeniana* that his relative Angrímur Jónsson the Learned had written, all other books were of a religious nature, to be used by the clergy and parishioners, and many of them were reprinted.[33]

Bishop Guðbrandur's grandson and episcopal successor Þorlákur Skúlason (1597–1656) inherited the printing press and continued his grandfather's printing endeavors.[34] He translated, published, and republished approximately 30 books, among them the popular *Fimmtíu heilagar hugvekjur* (*Meditationes sacrae*) by the German theologian Johann Gerhard (1582–1637) in his own translation that was published nine times until 1770, as well as the much less popular *Þorláksbiblía*, an edition of the Bible that became rather infamous due to its numerous errors, Danizisms, and overall low-quality printing.[35]

In 1639, Brynjólfur Sveinsson (1605–1675), a highly learned man who was particularly interested in history, was consecrated as bishop of Skálholt.[36] He petitioned the king to establish his own printing press and the privilege to print, among others, historical works. His colleague from Hólar, Bishop Þorlákur, however, objected strongly and intervened against the petition, arguing that Iceland was too small and poor a country for two printing presses, and the initial permission for Bishop Brynjólfur was withdrawn.[37] Þorlákur's son, Gísli Þorláksson (1631–1684), followed him as bishop of Hólar and had approximately 40 books printed, including a calendar by his brother Þórður in 1671 and the first edition of the so-called *Passíusálmar* ('Passion Hymns') by the most famous Icelandic Baroque poet, the Rev. Hallgrímur Pétursson (1614–1674) in 1666.[38]

After Gísli's passing in 1684, his brother Þórður Þorláksson (1637–1697), bishop of Skálholt, inherited the printing press and brought it from Hólar to Skálholt. During his time, 62 books were printed, among them an Abecedarium in 1695 and three calendars.[39] Perhaps the most memorable books from Þórður's printing press are historical

31 Cf. Halldór Hermannsson 1916, 22–23; Steingrímur Jónsson 1997, 37.

32 Cf. Steingrímur Jónsson 1997.

33 Cf. Einar G. Pétursson 2006, 585–587.

34 There was a long dispute if Guðbrandur bequeathed the printing press to his family or the diocese. Halldór Hermannsson 1916, i–v; Klemens Jónsson 1930, 34–41.

35 Cf. Halldór Hermannsson 1922; Klemens Jónsson 1930, 40–46; Einar G. Pétursson 2006, 587–588.

36 Cf. Gunnar Harðarson 2009, 79–92.

37 Cf. Halldór Hermannsson 1922, vi–vii; Klemens Jónsson 1930, 42–45.

38 Cf. Halldór Hermannsson 1922, 87, 117; Klemens Jónsson 1930, 46–50; Einar G. Pétursson 2006, 589–592.

39 Cf. Halldór Hermannsson 1922, 100, 116–118; Klemens Jónsson 1930, 51–57; Einar G. Pétursson 2006, 593–594.

works though.[40] Between 1688 and 1690, six books on the history of Iceland, Norway, and Greenland were published.[41]

Þórður's son Brynjólfur Þórðarson inherited the printing press and brought it to his farm, Hlíðarendi í Fljótshlíð, approximately 60 kilometers south-east of Skálholt as the crow flies (and one of the locations in the famous *Njáls saga*). Although he hired a printer and had the royal privilege to print books in 1701, he sold the press to the bishop of Hólar, whence it was brought two years later.[42] It was damaged in a fire in 1709,[43] marking the end of the timespan relevant for this study.

To summarize, until the late 18th century there was only one printing press in all of Iceland, which was furthermore under the auspices of clergymen, and it was almost exclusively theological, religious, and edifying material that was printed.[44] Contrary to common belief, though, this material was also continuously copied by hand. The vast rest of textual material, such as chivalric sagas, annals, or medical handbooks, was transmitted in manuscript form only.[45] There is thus textual material that was transmitted in both manuscript and print as well as textual material that was transmitted in manuscript form only.[46]

Icelandic manuscript production increased considerably after the introduction of the printing press. Of the c. 20 000 surviving manuscripts and fragments, only c. 750 date to the Middle Ages.[47] After a dip around the Reformation, the interest of 16th- and 17th-century Danish and Swedish scholars in Scandinavian and particularly Icelandic historiography and manuscript material led to a renewed manuscript production in Iceland as well as the export of many manuscripts, both medieval and post-medieval.[48] The bulk of Icelandic manuscripts stem from the 18th and 19th century; copying by hand decreased towards the end of the 19th century and came to an end in the early 20th century, when affordable books and the radio became available.[49]

One of the reasons of the long, post-medieval manuscript transmission is the fact that texts were read aloud during the *kvöldvaka* (literally: 'evening wake'), the time during long winter evenings when people did household chores at farms, such as spinning.[50] The post-medieval manuscripts show signs of influence from print, such as title pages.

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40 Cf. Halldór Hermannsson 1922, viii; Einar G. Pétursson 2006, 595–597.

41 Cf. Halldór Hermannsson 1922, x; Klemens Jónsson 1930, 52–54; Einar G. Pétursson 2006, 595–597.

42 Cf. Halldór Hermannsson 1922, iv–v; Klemens Jónsson 1930, 57; Einar G. Pétursson 2006, 597.

43 Cf. Halldór Hermannsson 1922, v; Klemens Jónsson 1930, 60.

44 Cf. Halldór Hermannsson 1922, viii–xi; Einar G. Pétursson 2006, 597–605.

45 Books printed abroad were to a certain extent available in Iceland, yet only for those with the necessary funds and international networks.

46 I am not aware of any textual genre that existed exclusively in print.

47 Cf. Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 2007, 245–246, 249; Hufnagel 2021a, 302.

48 Cf. Springborg 1977; Jakob Benediktsson 1981.

49 Cf. Glauser 1994.

50 Cf. Hermann Pálsson 1962; Magnús Gíslason 1977.

3 Title Pages

Title pages are a true invention of the printing press.[51] They are separate pages or leaves that divide text from metatext, such as title, author, place, and year of production, and contain at least some form of title or reference to the contents of the texts they precede.[52] They were preceded by blank pages, so-called blank title pages, which decreased after 1485 when the number of so-called label title pages increased.[53] These contained only little information, such as concise information on the book's content, its author, and perhaps also the name of the printer, and were prevalent in the 1480s.[54] Full title pages, including a title, the author, an impressum, and the name of the bookseller, became more numerous in the following decade, and by 1500, title pages had become common features of books.[55] Illustrations appeared on title pages since the 1480s but only became more common after 1500.[56] Blank title pages were presumably used to divide text from metatext or to protect unbound books; illustrated title pages of school books and label title pages were perhaps used to enable easier identification of the books; full title pages were most likely used to advertise and promote.[57]

There are c. 2 000 Icelandic manuscripts from the 16th and 17th centuries and the first decade of the 18th century extant, and approximately 12 percent of them contain title pages: 244 manuscripts contain 331 title pages, including 41 manuscripts that contain multiple title pages.[58] When there are multiple title pages in a manuscript, they usually refer to different texts in a multi-text manuscript or to different parts of a manuscript, for example to divide text from metatext.

The earliest title pages in Icelandic manuscripts date to the 16th century; seven manuscripts with legal, rhetorical, theological, and administrative texts—mostly 'ephemeral' text and texts that existed in both handwriting and print—contain between one and three title pages. The title pages divide individual texts in the same manuscript, as well as text from metatext, ease and speed up the identification of texts, and, in one case, act as an expression of scribal devotion and edification. All the manuscripts are connected to highly learned men who almost exclusively belonged

51 Cf. note 7.

52 Cf. Smith 2000, 15; Rautenberg 2008, 17 who gives a detailed overview of previous scholarship on title pages; Hufnagel 2021b, 304–305. On text and metatext, see Genette 1997.

53 Cf. Rautenberg 2008, 24–26, 34–36.

54 Cf. Smith 2000, 59–74.

55 Cf. Smith 2000, 91–108; Rautenberg 2008, 53–95.

56 Cf. Smith 2000, 109–121; Rautenberg 2008, 52–98.

57 Cf. Smith 2000, 16–22; Rautenberg 2008, 37–38, 48, 96–98 who convincingly refuses the argument of protection—so does Hufnagel 2018, 53.

58 According to my latest count on 22/09/2017. The numbers were certainly different originally, though, because c. 15 % of the manuscripts are now damaged at the beginning, and a vast number of manuscripts were rearranged (cf. Stegmann 2017) with a possible, and in some cases known, loss of title pages.

to the upper echelons of society and who were certainly familiar with printed books and title pages.[59]

The number of title pages increases in the 17th century, particularly towards the end of the century and even more between c. 1700 and 1709. This rise reflects the increase of book and manuscript production in the same timeframe, although the increase of books and manuscripts is even steeper. While title pages of the 16th century were clearly connected to highly learned men, title pages and their manuscripts of the 17th century indicate a widening circle of scribes, patrons, readers, and recipients, including women. We find several female recipients and patrons, particularly in devotional manuscripts. Among readers and recipients of some prestigious hymn and prayer books we find, for example, several members of the family of the wealthy and well-educated Jón Arason (1606–1673), including his daughter Ragnheiður Jónsdóttir the Younger (1646–1715), for whom the beautifully decorated SÁM NKS 56 d 8vo was written in 1676.[60]

Handwritten title pages appear rarely in manuscripts with literary texts but more frequently in manuscripts with nonliterary texts, particularly in calendars and administrative, theological, religious, and edifying texts.[61] These were mostly textual genres that were published in print too, which corroborates conclusions about the influence of the printing press on manuscript production. In the following analysis of calendars, we will see, though, that the influence of the new medium of print on the old medium of handwriting was not as simple and linear as the numbers suggest.

4 Medieval Handwritten and Early Modern Printed Calendars

Medieval calendars are perpetual, i. e., they could be used every year without changes; they present the days of the months in tabular form, containing feast days and computistic and sometimes also theological notes, as well as information on zodiac signs, the length of days and solar altitude, canicular days, fatal days, etc.[62] Feasts include fixed and moveable feasts as well as universal, regional, and local feasts, which are often distinguished by color; local feasts are of particular importance for localizing calendars and for other historical research.[63] Illuminated calendars commonly depict the

59 Cf. Hufnagel 2016; Hufnagel 2021b.

60 E. g., Þórunn Sigurðardóttir 2017; Hufnagel 2018, 80.

61 Only 4 % of manuscripts with prose literature and 12 % of manuscripts with poetry contain title pages. The latter include hymns though, a textual genre that is closely connected to private devotion, and if these manuscripts were included in the group of religious/devotional manuscripts, the percentage of title pages in poetry manuscripts would drop considerably.

62 Cf. Jansson 1963, col. 90–91.

63 Cf. Gjerløw et al. 1963, cols. 93–97. In Norway, one also distinguished between the feasts according to the fine one had to pay if one broke the peace.

zodiac and/or the most important feast or rural task of the month, the so-called Labor of the Month.[64] The most famous among these cycles is contained in the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, the Book of Hours (c. 1412–1416) of John, Duke of Berry.[65] Illuminated calendars are commonly much less splendid, though, and only contain small miniatures, historiated borders, or marginal miniatures; most calendars, however, are not illuminated or illustrated at all.[66] Calendars are often part of liturgical books, such as missals, graduals, breviaries, and sacramentaries, and also of prayer books and law books.[67] Kathryn Rudy argues that the specific production method of calendars, often separately on two quires of three bifolia, may have influenced the modular production of manuscripts, where individual texts and illuminations were copied on separate quires or leaves, which were later compiled into a manuscript codex according to the wishes of the manuscript buyer or patron.[68]

Most medieval Christian calendars begin at either Christmas, March 25th, or Easter and are based on the solar year, which lasts 365 days, 5 hours, and 48 minutes.[69] Solar calendars, however, were difficult to reconcile with lunar religious observation, such as Easter, because the lunar year is slightly shorter; to solve the differences, leap days were introduced.[70] "According to Dionysius [Exiguus, Roman abbot and author of important Easter tables], Easter is to be celebrated on the first Sunday after the full moon following the vernal equinox" unless the full moon falls on a Sunday; in that case, Easter falls on the following Sunday.[71] To rectify the discrepancies between the actual full moon and the computed full moon, calendar reforms were proposed, for example at the Council of Basle (1431–1445) and by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582.[72] The Danish-Norwegian kingdom, to which Iceland belonged at the time, switched to the Gregorian Calendar in 1700, omitting 11 days.[73] The discrepancy between the solar and lunar year also influenced the development of annual calendars towards the end of the 15th century.[74]

The prognostic parts of calendars can contain information on astrology, weather conditions, agriculture, and phlebotomy; calendars originated in Germany and spread quickly to Scandinavia, where translations were printed, for example in Denmark

64 Cf. Jansson, 1963, col. 92; Wieck 1988, 45.
65 Cf. Wieck 1988, 45.
66 Cf. Wieck 1988, 45.
67 Cf. Jansson 1963, col. 89. Even Martin Luther's 1529 edition of his *Betbüchlein* begins with a calendar, cf. Tersch 2008, 39.
68 Cf. Rudy 2016, 19–25, particularly 24.
69 Cf. Merzbach 1983, 17–19. The Julian year lasted 365 days and 6 hours. Toward the end of the Middle Ages, the year started with 1 January in many almanacs.
70 Cf. Merzbach 1983, 22.
71 Merzbach 1983, 22.
72 Cf. Merzbach 1983, 22–23.
73 Cf. Árni Björnsson 2000, 16.
74 Cf. Tersch 2008, 20.

in the 16th century.[75] In the 15th century, printed calendars were broadsheets, but towards the end of the century, when annual calendars emerged, printed calendar booklets were produced, providing enough space for every day of the year.[76]

Calendars were a secure source of income for printers, particularly after the Gregorian calendar reform of 1582, and were often aimed at urban tradesmen, merchants, and civil servants.[77] They were sold at fairs and markets too.[78] From the German speaking world we know that calendars were easily affordable in the 17th century, costing approximately one kilogram of bread.[79] They were, in fact, an early and particularly successful mass medium.[80] A multitude of calendars and almanacs have survived in the Western world. A cursory search in the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* led to three xylographic and 34 printed calendars, as well as 50 almanacs for the 15th century.[81] The *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* lists 499 results, most of which are broadsides from Germany.[82] Their survival often depends on chance, however, particularly when taking the high print runs of calendar prints into account.[83]

An important function of calendars and their accompanying prognostic texts was education, as well as political and religious identification.[84] Paul Eber produced, with the help of the famous church reformer Philip Melanchton, a perpetual calendar with exemplars in Latin, printed in Wittenberg in 1550; in the preface the author expresses his hope that young men will benefit from the educational and edifying texts.[85] Genevan Calvinists continued the tradition of producing calendars but substituted saints' feast days with biblical and historical dates, presumably basing their choice of profane dates on the dates that are found in Eber's calendar.[86] In the Low Countries, historical information was added to specific dates in calendars since the late 16th century, often

75 Cf. Jansson 1963, col. 92. The signs of the zodiac were relevant for bloodletting because they were thought to influence the procedure (Wieck 1988, 46).

76 Cf. Tersch 2008, 20.

77 E. g. Vermeesch 2019, 208–210 who also cites Jeroen Salman (1999), *Populair drukwerk in de Gouden Eeuw. De almanac als lectuur en handelswaar*, Zutphen, 165, 359–362.

78 Cf. Herbst 2009, 48.

79 Cf. Tersch 2008, 67.

80 Cf. Tersch 2008.

81 "Kalendarium", "Almanac" in *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, https://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de (accessed 01/10/2021).

82 "Almanac" in *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue*, https://data.cerl.org/istc/_search?query=almanac%20AND%20data.imprint.geo_info.imprint_country_code.orig%3A"DE"%20AND%20data.dimensions.orig:"Bdsde"&from=0 (accessed 01/10/2021).

83 Cf. Bepler/Bürger 1994, 212–213, where they also comment upon the difficulties in locating and identifying calendars due to varying classifications in library systems, e. g., within astronomy or history.

84 Cf. Tersch 2008, particularly 23–30; Herbst 2012.

85 Cf. Tersch 2008, 40–41.

86 Cf. Vermeesch 2019, 211–212 who cites Max Engammare (2004), *L'ordre du temps. L'invention de la ponctualité au XVIe siècle*, Geneva, 128, 133–137.

in relation to the Reformation and the Dutch revolt against the Spanish King; such calendars were often bound with Protestant hymn books and supported the circulation of political and religious ideas.[87] During the 17th century, so-called 'Schreibkalender', calendars with space for personal notes, were used not only as guides for everyday life but also as a medium of communication between learned men, particularly astronomers; astronomical information is often hidden between the more typical calendarial contents though.[88] During the Enlightenment, calendars were again used as educational devices for the general public, presenting scientific, meteorological, statistical and mathematical information, and advice.[89]

Many calendars were produced as either broadsides or codices. Notable exceptions from Scandinavia are an illustrated Leporello-fold calendar made of parchment in Denmark in 1513, measuring no more than 50 × 50mm for individual leaves with a total length of 630mm, and a parchment calendar roll from Iceland from c. 1600, measuring 1170 × 630mm.[90]

5 Icelandic Medieval Manuscript Calendars and Post-Medieval Printed Calendars

After Iceland converted to Christianity in the year 1000, calendars and the reckoning of time became necessary for establishing the dates for Easter and other moveable feasts.[91] In addition to time reckoning, the inclusion of information on weather, astronomy-astrology, agriculture, and medicine must have made calendars very useful and practical in the eyes of contemporaries. *Computus*, alongside reading, writing, and song, was furthermore a basic practical skill that was part of the clerical curriculum in medieval Iceland.[92] Calendars were used to teach Latin too; many of the extant 14th- and 15th-century manuscripts with computistic, mathematical, and astronomical texts contain both the vernacular and Latin.[93] The "Icelandic treatment of *computus*, calendrical lore, and related material is key evidence for bilingual educational practices".[94] In the 17th century, authors of almanacs and calendars were educated

87 Cf. Vermeesch 2019. Philip Melanchton created a Protestant version of the *Cisioianus*, a mnemonic poem in hexametres to aid the memory of holy days, for Martin Luther's 1529 Latin version of the *Betbüchlein*, cf. Tersch 2008, 39.

88 Cf. Herbst 2009.

89 Cf. Tersch 2008, 93–99.

90 Copenhagen, The Royal Danish Library NKS 901 8vo; digital images available at http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/765/dan/ (accessed 01/10/2021); SÁM AM 470 12mo; Kålund 1889–1894, vol. 2, 502; Svanhildur María Gunnarsdóttir 2015.

91 Cf. Zirkle 1970, 339.

92 Cf. Patzuk-Russell 2021, 160–167.

93 Cf. Patzuk-Russell 2021, 165.

94 Patzuk-Russell 2021, 167.

men; even in the 18th century calendars and almanacs formed an important part of basic education, with close connections to the encyclopaedic tradition.[95]

And indeed, computistic material is abundant since the early days of Icelandic Christianity, with influence first from the British Isles and later from the dioceses of Bremen, Lund, and Niðarós (Trondheim).[96] Evidence points to the use of calendars in 1120.[97] The oldest extant Icelandic textual artifact is, as noted above, AM 732 a VII 4to, containing an Easter table for the years 1121–1139 and is "unique, [but] impractical for gaining an overview of the [lunar] cycle" since it has 20 dates on the vertical row instead of the common 19 dates of the lunar circle.[98] A well-known Icelandic medieval computus is the so-called *Rím I* ('Computus I'), contained in full or in part in at least nine manuscripts dating from c. 1200 to c. 1700; its author presumably took information from the computus by Gerlandus, an 11th-century computist who subtracted seven years from the Dionysian era.[99] This computus is part of the so-called *Rímbegla* ('Computistic Bungle'), a compilation of Latin computistic texts.

The Reformation in 1541/1551 did not immediately put a full stop on feast days.[100] Pentecost became a major feast, and Christmas and Easter were still major feasts, though shortened to three-day feasts.[101] New Year's Day, Epiphany, Maundy Thursday, and Good Friday were still feast days, and so were Candlemas, Annunciation, Visitation, Ascension Day, Midsummer Night, Michaelmas, and All Saints Day; saints' feast days were to be celebrated on Sundays.[102] Besides the Christian calendar, an older form of calendar was used in which the year was divided into a summer half and a winter half and into lunar months and weeks; this old calendar was used for centuries after Christianization, particularly by farmers and seamen.[103] In a calendar from 1662, for example, January is described as the mid-winter month *Þorri*.[104]

In Iceland, a calendar was presumably included in the first printed book, a breviary from 1534, as is described above, and an almanac from 1576 is sadly lost, making the calendar that was published together with a prayer book by the German theologian and reformer Andreas Musculus (1514–1581), printed in Hólar in 1597, the oldest sur-

95 Cf. Guðrún Ingólfsdóttir 2011, 161–203.
96 Cf. Gjerløw et al. 1963, col. 109.
97 Cf. Gjerløw et al. 1963, col. 106.
98 Cf. Zirkle 1970, 341.
99 Cf. *Alfræði íslenzk*, 1–80; Zirkle 1970.
100 In 1541 Skálholt, the southern diocese, officially accepted the Reformation by signing the Church Ordinance of King Christian III; Hólar, the northern diocese, did so ten years later. Jón Þórarinsson 2012, ix.
101 Cf. Árni Björnsson 2000, 25.
102 Cf. Árni Björnsson 2000, 25. In 1686, *Kóngsbænadagur* (Dan. *Store Bededag*, 'All Prayer Day') was added to the list of holidays, but in 1770, the major feasts were shortened to two-day feasts, and several feast days were abolished.
103 Cf. Árni Björnsson 2000, 15–16.
104 Cf. SÁM AM 465 12mo, fol. 5r.

viving calendar.[105] This 1597 calendar was presumably edited by Arngrímur Jónsson *lærði* (the Learned, 1568–1648) and modeled on a German calendar; it was reprinted together with Musculus's prayer book in 1611.[106] A new calendar printed in 1671, again together with Musculus's prayer book, was compiled by Bishop Þórður Þorlákssson (1637–1697).[107] The calendar and prayer book have individual title pages, as well as one common title page, titled "Enchiridion". A calendar that was valid only for the year 1684 was translated from Danish into Icelandic and printed in Copenhagen.[108] In 1687 another calendar by Bishop Þórður was printed, appended to a prayer book by the German theologian Johannes Andreas Olearius (1639–1684).[109] In 1692 Bishop Þórður printed a new calendar, independent from the 1671 calendar, describing his reasons for printing calendars in the preface: Namely, there is a lack of them in Iceland, even though merchants bring some for their friends, and Danish almanacs are furthermore not entirely suitable for Iceland since they lack information on Icelandic feast days.[110] This calendar was published together with another prayer book by Olearius, which the bishop translated into Icelandic.[111] In 1695, Bishop Þórður printed a broadside calendar.[112] A calendar for Iceland following the Gregorian calendar reform may have been printed in Copenhagen in 1700, a copy of which manuscript collector Árni Magnússon (1663–1730) owned and listed among his books, but no such book is known today.[113] A Gregorian calendar by Jón Árnason (1665–1743) was printed in Hólar in 1707, though,[114] and may be the one that Árni referred to.

All these printed calendars are perpetual, with the exception of the 1684 calendar, and several of them include a *Cisioianus* in Icelandic. Their publication in connection with prayer books is presumably a continuation of medieval manuscript tradition, where calendars formed integral parts of handwritten prayer books, liturgical books, and even law books, as was described above.[115] They provide furthermore no or hardly

105 Cf. Jansson 1963, col. 93; Halldór Hermannsson 1916, 22, 55.

106 Cf. Halldór Hermannsson 1916, 54. Digital images available at *Bækur*, https://baekur.is/bok/26c94bac-73ac-4762-9b80-e397057c94f0/0/64; https://baekur.is/bok/16ec1d97-21f2-4f91-b1c0-371ce6359610/0/4 (accessed 31/05/2022).

107 *CALENDARIVM Edur Jslendskt Rijm* 1671. Digital images available at *Bækur*, https://baekur.is/bok/5ef81fab-b9db-49e3-b3ee-7a7af9e7c0be/0/14 (accessed 31/05/2022).

108 Cf. Árni Björnsson 2000, 17.

109 Cf. Halldór Hermannsson 1922, 83–84, 118.

110 Cf. *CALENDARIUM PERPETUUM* 1692, [p. 2]. Digital images available at *Bækur*, https://baekur.is/bok/e9fe1ea5-e4c9-491a-91ae-1d4f22b06da3/0/4 (accessed 31/05/2022).

111 Cf. Halldór Hermannsson 1922, 84, 117–118.

112 Cf. Halldór Hermannsson 1922, 116.

113 Cf. Kålund, *Katalog*, vol. 2, 645, no. 379; Halldór Hermannsson 1922, 92.

114 Cf. *CALENDARIUM GREGORIANUM*. Digital images available at *Bækur*, https://baekur.is/bok/29d371d8-ac8a-4a74-98fa-1bb6d3691684 (accessed 01/10/2021).

115 Despite bibliographical information of the calendar's publication in connection with prayer books, digital images and later rebindings as separate units give the misleading impression that the calendars are 'single' or separate books.

any space for handwritten notes, which is in stark contrast to the development of writing calendars with ample space for handwritten texts on the European continent in the early modern period.[116] Why neither annual nor writing calendars emerged in the time period under scrutiny in this study remains an unsolved question. Perhaps wax tablets were still too widespread to warrant writing calendars; it is also possible that the bishops operating the printing press were not interested or were opposed to money making enterprises such as printing annual calendars or deemed it not viable due to Iceland being too small a market, not least since paper may have been too expensive or difficult to obtain for printing ephemeral texts such as annual calendars. Or perhaps the users of printed calendars and almanacs were content with creating their own 'Schreibkalender', as surviving print-manuscript hybrids from the 18th and 19th centuries suggest.[117]

The title pages of these printed Icelandic calendars are relatively similar, with the Latin word *Calendarium* printed in Antiqua and the Icelandic text in black letter, as was custom at the time.[118] The text is usually printed in graded letter size, and the paragraphs are centered or justified and in half-diamond indention; most calendars are printed in black ink only. There is little decoration on the title pages, which may be seen in connection with the general shortage of decoration in Icelandic prints and a very limited number of available decorated letter types of the Icelandic printing press. The title page of the 1597 calendar has a tailpiece that is found frequently in other books, though rather in the textblock than on title pages; the 1671 and 1707 calendars have a few letters that resemble simple pen-flourished initials. Only the 1697 calendar is somewhat different since its title page is printed in red and black ink and sports a printer's device—something rather unusual for the pre-modern Icelandic printing press that commonly substituted printer's devices with edifying and uplifting Bible verses.[119] The 1671 calendar may serve as typical example (see Fig. 1).

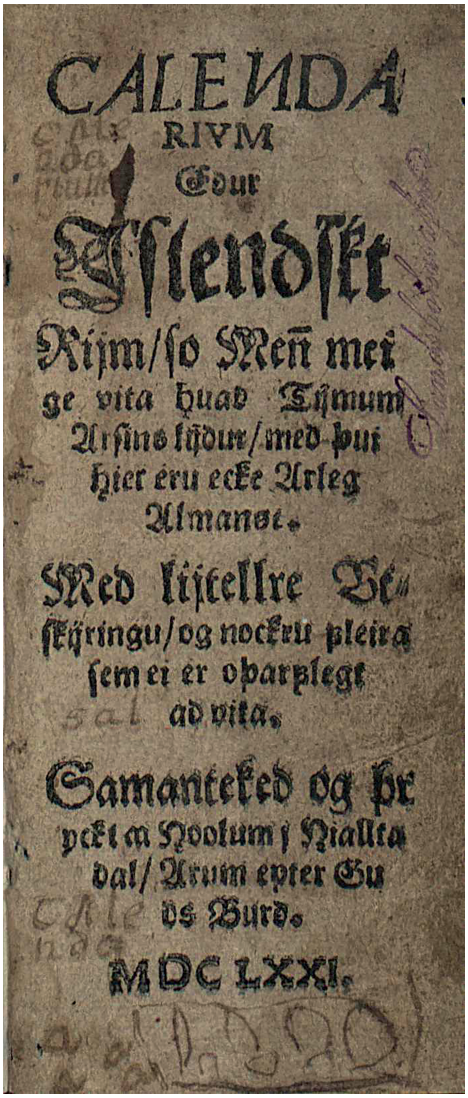
To sum up, there were indeed printed calendars and almanacs available in Iceland since the end of the 16th century. But because we do not know the print runs—print runs were presumably between 500 and 700 in the second quarter of the

116 I am furthermore not aware of so-called writing tables, calendars with pages treated with gesso or gesso-like substances to provide erasable leaves, similar to wax tablets, as Stallybras et al. 2004 describe.

117 Guðrún Ingólfsdóttir 2011, 191–192 mentions such hybrids, almost none of which were catalogued at the time of her publication. Several can be found in the online catalogue *Handrit.is* (s. d.) now, e. g. Reykjavík, National and University Library of Iceland ÍB 2 a 8vo for the years 1794–1799, "ÍB 2 a 8vo", https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/IB08-0002-a/0#mode/2up (accessed 01/10/2021).

118 Cf. Loftur Guttormsson 2014.

119 Cf. Hufnagel 2017. Some 17th-century books contain printers' devices, though. The 1611 calendar is excluded in the analysis of the layout because the digitised copy is defective at the beginning and complete copies were unavailable. The text of the 1611 calendar is transcribed in Halldór Hermannsson 1922, 14 though. The 1597 calendar title page does not contain an imprint.



CALENDA=
RIVM
Edur
Jslendskt
Rijm/so Men*n* mei
ge vita huad Tijmum
Arsins lijdur/med þui
hier eru ecke Arleg
Almanøc.

Med lijtellre Vt=
skijringu/og nockru fleira
sem ei er oþarflegt
ad vita.

Samanteked og þr
yckt æ Hoolum j Hiallta
dal/Arum epter Gu
ds Burd.

MDC LXXI.

('*Calendarium* or Icelandic time reckoning, so men may know what times of the year go by because there are no annual almanacs here. With a short explanation and some more [information] that is not useless to know. Composed and printed at Hólar in Hjaltadalur in the year 1671 AD.')

Fig. 1: *CALENDARIVM*, printed at Hólar in Hjaltadalur, 1671, Ai, title page.

17th century[120]—we do not know how widespread they were. Considering the shortage of almanacs and calendars that Bishop Þórður mentions, they were doubtlessly sought-after. Beside Bishop Þórður's statement, there is compelling evidence of a need for almanacs. As is stated on the title pages of the 1597 and 1671 calendars, they were printed because there were no annual calendars available in Iceland. The rather large

120 Cf. Jakob Benediktsson 1988. The 1589 hymn book was printed in 375 copies, the 1584 Bible in 500 copies. Reykjavík, National Archives of Iceland Bps B VIII 2, fol. 111r (p. 239), fol. 6r (no pagination); J[ón] Þ[orkelsson] 1912, 19; Einar G. Pétursson 2006, 581.

number of calendar editions is perhaps further evidence that calendars were much needed. Within a timespan of c. 180 years, presumably nine calendars were printed in Iceland for a population of perhaps 50 000–70 000. In comparison, the shorter version of Martin Luther's *Catechism* was printed in five editions in the 17th century.[121] But either because of this shortage, or perhaps despite the availability of printed almanacs, the manuscript transmission did not break off after the introduction of the printing press in Iceland. There was a tradition of printed almanacs and calendars as well as a tradition of handwritten ones in Iceland for centuries.

6 Icelandic Post-Medieval Manuscript Calendars

There are at least 59 surviving 16th- and 17th-century Icelandic manuscripts containing calendars, some of which also contain other texts. Several calendars were once part of other manuscripts, though in most cases nothing is known of their provenance.[122] Most of them are in small formats, such as 8vo and 12mo; only four are in folio and nine in 4to.[123] The ratio of parchment manuscripts among calendars is surprisingly high. Only approximately one tenth of all surviving 16th- and 17th-century manuscripts are written on parchment, but 22, or more than one third, of the calendars are written on parchment. Four of them are palimpsests—a recycled parchment where previous text was scraped off and new text written on—and one is in rotulus-form instead of a codex-form, as mentioned above. The reason for this high ratio must be in connection with the age of the parchment manuscripts. The use of paper for manuscripts increased only in the second half of the 16th century,[124] and half of the parchment calendars are from the 16th century.

Of the 59 calendar manuscripts, 23 contain one or more title pages, three manuscripts contain two title pages, and one contains three. All 23 manuscripts are from between the early 17th century and 1706. Only six are vaguely dated to either the 17th century or the second half of the 17th century, while the rest state the year of production, the earliest being from 1633. Ten of the calendar manuscripts with title pages are in 12mo or smaller—the catalogues do not distinguish between 12mo and smaller formats—ten are in 8vo, and only two are in 4to, none in folio. Most of them are written on paper. Only three manuscripts are written on parchment, one of which is a palimpsest, and a fourth manuscript comprises a mixture of paper and parchment.

For 13 calendars, the scribes or the place of production are known, and four contain a colophon. Several of the known scribes had formal education. The Rev. Gísli Bjarnason (1576–1656), pastor at Staður in Grindavík in South Iceland, was, for exam-

121 Cf. Halldór Hermannsson 1916, 15–16, 19–20; Halldór Hermannsson 1922, 63–66.
122 Cf. Gjerløw et al. 1963, col. 106.
123 The format of two manuscripts is unknown.
124 Cf. Hufnagel 2023.

ple, provost, a good poet, and a very learned man, particularly in the field of astronomy-astrology; he translated a calendar from Danish and created his own calendar.[125] Sigurður Torfason (c. 1629–1670) graduated from the Latin school in Skálholt too and studied in Copenhagen; for some time he was pastor in Skálholt.[126] There, he wrote his copy of the Rev. Gísli's calendar, now SÁM AM 184 I 8vo, in 1661. Þórður Sveinsson (1623–1667) went to the Latin school in Skálholt too and worked later for Bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson; he had excellent knowledge of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, mathematics, and astronomy, and he also compiled a calendar, which will be discussed below.[127] The autograph of his calendar, including a title page, is still extant: Reykjavík, National and University Library of Iceland Lbs 580 8vo from 1665. While it is not entirely certain that Þórður wrote his calendar for his own personal use, Sigurður certainly did, as can be ascertained from later additions in his hand. Other calendars were written for third parties, for example SÁM AM 465 12mo, described below.

Stockholm, National Library of Sweden Stock. papp. 8vo nr. 18 is a copy of the calendar printed in 1671. The text of its title page follows the printed calendar closely, with only minor orthographic differences and an adjusted scribal clause, which reads *Vppbiriad Ad Skiffastt Þann 7. April Anno. M.D.C. LXX III*. ('Begun to be written on 7 April anno 1673'). The paragraphs are written centered and in half-diamond indention just like the printed calendar, and even the line breaks are in most cases the same as on the printed title page. The manuscript features, however, more decoration, even though the script emulates the print types, including the mirrored N. The main strokes of the capitals in the first line contain hairlines. The initial in the fourth line (J in *Jslendskt* ['Icelandic']) has two three-piece brackets, and its pen-flourishes extend over the whole line. Initials in other paragraphs contain some sort of pen-flourishes too. Taken as a whole, this title page is more decorated than most calendar title pages and is more similar to title pages of hymn books and manuscripts and other edifying books and manuscripts.[128] And indeed, the second text in this manuscript, with its own visually similar title page, is the *Diarium Christianum* by the Rev. Hallgrímur Pétursson (1614–1674), a meditative work to reflect on God's daily works and to guide readers spiritually through the days of the week.[129] Despite the text and some features of the layout of the title page, the scribe seems to consider the medium of his exemplar secondary. By adding a high level of decoration, the anonymous scribe of this manuscript secured his calendar safely in the sphere of daily devotion and edification.

125 Cf. Páll Eggert Ólason 1919–1926, vol. 4, 368.
126 Cf. Páll Eggert Ólason 1919–1926, vol. 4, 272.
127 Cf. Páll Eggert Ólason 1919–1926, vol. 5, 114; Thoroddsen 1898, 71, 73–74.
128 For an analysis of title pages in hymn manuscripts and books, see Hufnagel 2018; Hufnagel 2021b, 313–326, 335–337.
129 Cf. Margrét Eggertsdóttir 2014, 447–473.

The scribe of SÁM AM 175 8vo seems to have had different intentions. This manuscript is a miscellany written in several hands in the 17th century, containing a calendar and a medicinal text.[130] The title page of the calendar looks similar to the print editions from 1591 and 1611. The title, *CALENDARIUM Rym á islendsku* ('*Calendarium*. Time Reckoning in Icelandic'), is the same as the 1611 edition, the following *So menn mættu uita huad tijmum ärsenz lijdur* ('So men may know what times of the year go by') is the same as the 1591 edition, and the remainder follows the 1611 edition with only minor variants. As in the 1591 edition, there is no information on the year or place of production. The first line of the manuscript title page is written in red ink, and the second and third lines are highlighted in green.[131] The paragraphs are written centered and in half-diamond indention, or rather tapered down, the Latin title is written in Antiqua-style capitals, the third line is written in black letter-style, and the script size is graded. The text area is framed with a single line drawn in black ink. Frames on title pages were extremely rare in 16th- and 17th-century Icelandic books though. The content of the calendar adds further doubts to the possibility of a printed exemplar. To take January as example, the header in AM 175 8vo reads *Januaris habet dies XXXI* ('January has 31 days'), whereas the printed editions have headers in Icelandic. The Domincal Letters are in the second column and the column for the days of the month are in the third column in the manuscript, whereas the printed editions have the opposite order of columns. The Golden Numbers for January in the manuscript correlate with the 1591 edition, but the entries for saints' feast days do not coincide with any of the editions. Both red and black ink are used in the manuscript, but the editions, with the exception of the 1692 edition, make use of only black ink. Taking all this information together, it seems that AM 175 8vo is rooted in learned tradition and either followed no printed exemplar or modified a printed exemplar beyond easy recognition. The title page, however, gives a different impression, and were it not for the single-line frame, the title page would seem to emulate or copy a printed book. It remains unknown if this is the impression that the scribe of the title page and the calendar intended.

Several of the manuscripts with title pages contain the *Computus mensium et dierum anni solaris* by the above-mentioned Rev. Gísli Bjarnason. There are at least 24 extant manuscripts that are connected to him; most of them contain texts that he penned, and half of them contain his calendar.[132] He first wrote a calendar in 1630 and revised and added to it in 1646, 1648, 1649, and 1655.[133] The title page of his 1646 autograph manuscript SÁM AM 180 8vo (see Fig. 2) reads:[134]

130 Cf. Kålund, *Katalog*, vol. 2, 432–433.

131 The green coloring may be a later addition.

132 Cf. Kålund, *Katalog*; Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*.

133 Cf. Páll Eggert Ólason 1919–1926, vol. 4, 368.

134 The Translation of the Bible verses are taken from the King James Version.

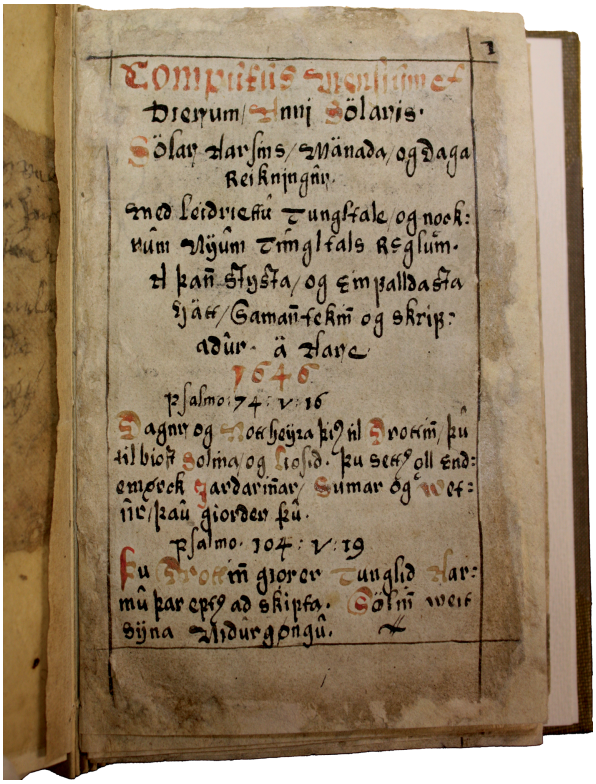


Fig. 2: SÁM AM 180 8vo, fol. 1r, title page.

Computus mensium et
Dierum/ Annj Sölaris.

Sölar Aarsins/Mänada/og Daga
Reiknjngur.

Med Leidriettu Tungltale/og nock:
rum Nijum Tungltals Reglum.
A þan*n* stysta/ og einfalldasta
Hätt/Saman*n*tekin*n* og skrif:
adur. ä Aare
1646
Psalmo: 74:V: 16
Dagur og Nott heijra þi*er* til Drottin*n*/þu
tilbiost Solina/og Liosid. þu sett*er* ǫll End:
emørck Jardarin*n*ar/ Sumar og Vet:
ur/þau giorder þu.
Psalmo. 104:V:19
Þu Drottin*n* giorer Tunglid Aar:
inu þar ept*er* ad skipta. Sölin*n* veit
Sijna Nidurgøngu.

('*Computus mensium et dierum, anni solaris*. Reckoning of the solar year, months, and days. With corrected lunar computation and some new rules for lunar computation. Composed and written in the shortest and simplest way in the year 1646. Psalm 74, verse 16. The day is thine, the night also is thine: Thou hast prepared the light and the sun. Psalm 104, verse 19. He appointed the moon for seasons: The sun knoweth his going down.')

Copies of the Rev. Gísli Bjarnason's calendars are found in at least eight manuscripts with title pages. SÁM AM 732 a III 4to is a copy of the earliest version of the calendar from 1630, and its title page stands out insofar as it may reveal the original title of that version.[135] The title starts with *DIARIUM ANNUUM Þad er Daga Tal Sier hvors ars Og Tyma Reykjningur arlegur* ('*Diarium annuum*. This is a calendar for each year and an annual time reckoning'). The rest of the title page, which is written in red, green, and black ink, is very similar to AM 180 8vo and other copies of the calendar. It thus stands to reason that this title was written onto a title page of the 1630 version by the Rev. Gísli and that this version was copied in AM 732 a III 4to; the Rev. Gísli then used a different title in his revised versions. Most of the manuscript copies of the Rev. Gísli's *Computus mensium* follow the revised title closely. They usually state the author of the calendar, though often only with initials, and when he created—or, rather, edited—it, and they commonly also cite the two Bible verses that the Rev. Gísli put onto his title page. Only two of the manuscripts state when or by whom the copy was written. SÁM AM 170 8vo was written in 1661 and incidentally leaves out the Bible verses, and AM 184 I 8vo was written by the above-mentioned Sigurður Torfason in Skálholt in 1661.

The layout of these title pages is relatively uniform too. Usually the first line of the title, containing a part, but never all, of the Latin title, is written in capitals, often in red ink and often in a script similar to Antiqua. The third or fourth line, containing the part of the title in Icelandic, is often written in larger letters and in a book hand that is similar to black letters. Sometimes the first line of the following paragraph is written in the same style. If the Latin title is written in red ink, either the Bible citations or some lines of the Bible verses are written in red ink too. The paragraphs with the title are written centered and either in half-diamond indention or tapered down. The Bible verses are often justified. Only two manuscripts, besides the author's autograph, have a single-line frame: AM 170 8vo and AM 465 12mo.

It is somewhat surprising that the layout of the handwritten calendar title pages is more similar to printed calendar title pages, particularly due to script types that are similar to black letters. SÁM AM 179 8vo may serve as an example of this, although this manuscript stands out for other reasons. A comparison of the calendar's content with AM 180 8vo from 1646 suggests that it is probably a copy of the 1646 version of the calendar with modifications.[136] While a few manuscripts mention when their exemplar was written, only this manuscript and AM 465 12mo mention that their exemplar was revised or corrected. Presumably, the scribe of AM 179 8vo wanted to emphasize the relevance and topicality of the calendar, thereby stressing the authority of the Rev. Gísli. The most pronounced modification of this title page is, however, the text on the title page. It reads:

135 Cf. Kålund, *Katalog*, vol. 2, 157. This manuscript also contains a printed copy of the 1695 calendar in broadside-format.

136 All of the examined calendars show some degree of modification, for example by additional saints' feast days or astrological information.

CALENDARIVM

Rijm a Jslendskv
ad vita Huad ärsins
tymum Lydur.

Merkelega Endurbæ
tt og Lagfært af S. Gys
la BiarnaSine Säluga
profaste J Grindar vijk.
Psalmo 74:
Dagur og Nott heira þi*er*
Drotten*n* til, þu tilbiöst Solena
og liosed þu setter øll ende=
mørk Jardaren*n*ar Sumar
Vetur giorder þu

('*Calendarium*. Time reckoning in Icelandic to know what times of the year go by. Remarkably added and corrected by the late Rev. Gísli Bjarnason, provost in Grindavík. Psalm 47, verse 16. The day is thine, the night also is thine: Thou hast prepared the light and the sun.')[137]

The Bible verse is the same as on the other title pages of the Rev. Gísli's calendar copies; however, the title and the reference to the revised version are not. The Latin title and its translation and explanation in AM 179 8vo are, in fact, an almost verbatim copy of the printed calendars, and the layout of the title page is similar to both manuscript copies and printed calendars. The scribe may have wished to emulate a book not just by emulating the typical layout of books but also by copying the title of printed Icelandic calendars that were published together with prayer books. Perhaps he or she wanted to place the calendar in the visual sphere of edifying literature. Similarly, other scribes that copied the calendar by the Rev. Gísli may have wanted to connect the calendar with printed devotional literature by using a script and title page layout similar to print types and book layouts.

The scribe of AM 465 12mo, however, may have had several intentions when penning the manuscript. This manuscript, which was written in 1662 for Sæmundur Oddsson (1633–1687), contains the Rev. Gísli's *Computus* on 57 parchment leaves.[138] Sæmundur studied at the University of Copenhagen and, upon his return to his native Iceland, worked two years for Bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson and two years for the magistrate (*fógeti*, the most senior representative of the king) Tómas Nikulásson; he then lived for a while with his parents, before he received the vicarage at Hítardalur in West Iceland in 1671.[139] He came from a rich family, his father Oddur Þorleifsson being nicknamed *ríki* ('the Wealthy'),[140] and presumably also an influential family, since he

137 SÁM AM 180 8vo, fol. 1r. Translation of the Bible verses taken from the King James Version.
138 Cf. Kålund, *Katalog*, vol. 2, 500. Digital images are available at "AM 465 12mo" in *Handrit.is*, https://handrit.is/en/manuscript/view/is/AM12-465 (accessed 01/10/2021).
139 Cf. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár,* vol. 4, 385–386. His eulogy is found in Reykjavík, National and University Library of Iceland JS 400 8vo.
140 Cf. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár,* vol. 4, 24.

worked for people who held some of the highest ecclesiastical and administrative-political positions of the country: a bishop and the magistrate. AM 465 12mo contains not one but two title pages. On fol. 2r we find a title page in red and black ink that is very similar to the other *Computus*-title pages, apart from its single-line frame in red ink. On fol. 4r, after the introduction, we find the second title page (see Fig. 3), which reads:

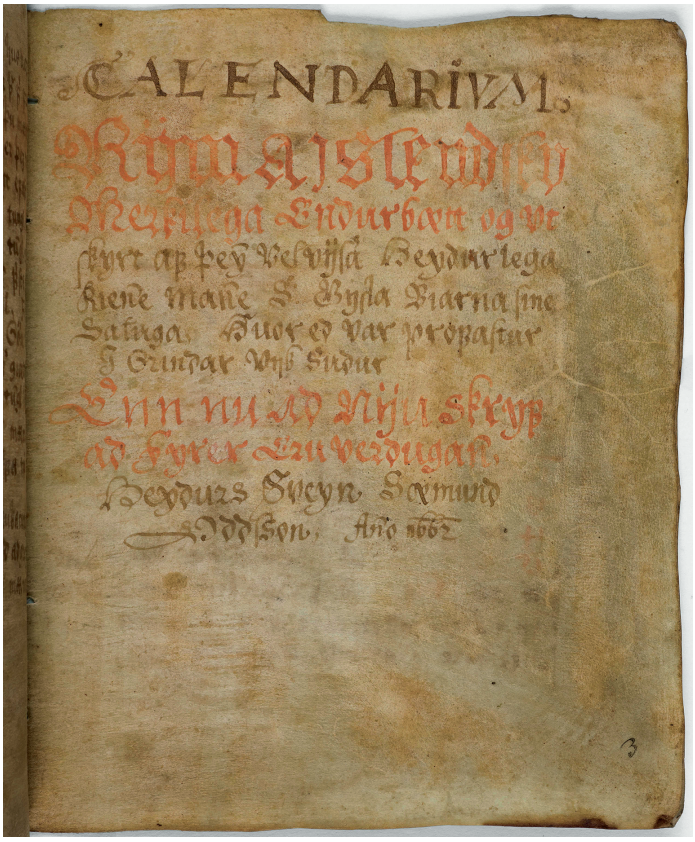


Fig. 3:
SÁM AM 465 12mo, fol. 4r, second title page.

CALENDARIVM.
Rijm a islendskv
Merkilega Endurbætt og vt
skyrt af þeym Velvijsare Heydurlega
Kienne Manne Sera Gijsla Biarnasine
Saluga. Huor ed var profastur
J Grindar Vijk Sudur

Enn nu Ad Niju skryf
ad Fyrer Eru Verdugastan
Heydurs Sveyn Sæmund
Oddsson Anno 1662

('*Calendarium*. Time reckoning in Icelandic. Added and explained in a remarkable manner by the very wise teacher, the late Rev. Gísli Bjarnason, who was provost in Grindavík in the South. And now again written for the worthiest man of honor Sæmundur Oddsson, Anno 1662.')

While the first title page on fol. 2r positions the calendar within edifying and uplifting religious literature, the second title page on fol. 4r serves several functions. First, by its position between the preface or introduction and the calendar itself, it divides text from metatext. Second, it uses the title page to laud both the author of the calendar and the patron of the manuscript. In this sense, this title page is perhaps also used to promote and advertise with the hope of 'increasing sales' or, rather, to increase the scribe's chances of further employment and work.

7 Conclusion

The arrival of the printing press did not lead to the end of manuscript production in Iceland—or elsewhere—and handwritten textual transmission increased in post-medieval times well into the 19th century. Icelandic manuscript and print culture were closely connected, and this connection goes far beyond the commonly assumed linear development of manuscript → print → handwritten copies of prints, as this study has shown. Post-Gutenberg Icelandic manuscripts show influence from the printing press, for example by containing chirographic title pages. The existence of manuscript title pages is per se an indication of influence from the printing press. This influence becomes more tangible when the age of manuscript title pages is taken into account, for example when analyzing handwritten and printed calendars. The first printed calendar was produced as late as 1534, with more having been printed since the late 16th century; however, the manuscript calendars featuring a title page are all from the 17th century. Calendars printed in Iceland during the 16th and 17th centuries were perpetual and usually printed in connection with prayer books or other devotional books. This Icelandic printing tradition seems to be a continuation of the medieval tradition, where handwritten prayer books contained perpetual calendars in their first part.

The manuscript calendars from the same timeframe seem to be perpetual too—at least the ones with title pages that were analyzed in this study. However, their connection to devotional literature is in most cases unknown. Many manuscripts were altered, divided up into single parts, and combined with other codicological units after their production, which obscures their possible origin; several of them could have preceded manuscripts containing prayers or hymns, alas, this remains uncertain. More clear, however, is the connection between calendars and learned people. Most of the calendar authors, as well as the known scribes of handwritten calendars, had some type of formal education, and in several cases university education and a deep understanding and interest of astronomy. This can surely be expected at a time when reading and writing abilities were not universal and when authors of calendars on the European continent were often highly learned too.

In this study it has become clear that there is no 'separate' manuscript calendar tradition in the sense that handwritten and printed calendars follow separate developments. On the contrary, it seems that both printed and handwritten time reckoning

continue medieval traditions in some, albeit different, ways. Manuscript calendars are continuously created and copied throughout the early modern period, and many of them seem to follow their own scribal tradition, for example the manuscript copies of the Rev. Gísli Bjarnason's calendar. The manuscript title pages, however, are often similar to the layout of printed calendar title pages. Based on the known scribes and their educational backgrounds, calendars belong to the sphere of learning, even though computistic knowledge was essential for the general public too. Only in a few instances is it known that manuscript calendars are connected to devotional literature. Both manuscript and printed calendars are perpetual. Printed calendars were created by learned men too; however, they are certainly closely connected to devotional literature.

Even though the existence of chirographic title pages is per se a sign of the influence of print on manuscript tradition, this influence is limited. A variety of functions of title pages as well as diverse scribal intentions can be detected. Very often title pages serve as a division between text and metatext, as well as a short introduction of the text that follows; in some cases, the author or patron is mentioned. Some scribes seemed to wish to emulate books with their handwritten title pages, others presumably wished to place their calendars in the sphere of private devotion and edification by employing a specific layout, and still others used the title page as a place of praise for the author and patron, of validating the authority and correctness of the text, and also of advertisement or self-advertisement. By praising the author, the authority of the author is emphasized. By praising the patron, the scribe hoped perhaps for future employment.

The analysis of handwritten title pages in calendar manuscripts demonstrates the long and varied life of Icelandic manuscript transmission. It also proves the Icelanders' willingness to take up features of new media into existing media and their ability and creativity to adapt these new features. With this analysis we gain an additional, more nuanced insight into the cultural past of Iceland and into the complex and long-lasting relationships between manuscript and print.

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– AM 315 d fol.
– AM 732 a III 4to
– AM 732 a VII 4to
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Fig. 1: *CALENDARIVM*, printed at Hólar in Hjaltadalur, 1671, Ai, title page. © National and University Library of Iceland with friendly permission.

Fig. 2: SÁM AM 180 8vo, fol. 1r, title page. © Silvia Hufnagel.

Fig. 3: SÁM AM 465 12mo, fol. 4r, second title page. © The Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies with friendly permission.

Joana van de Löcht

Behaving like Print

On the Graphic and Performative Adaptation of Printed Letters in Early Modern Handwriting

1 After the Revolution? The Early Modern Manuscript as an Understudied Medium

One of the metaphors repeatedly used to describe the transition from manuscript to print is that of revolution. Revolution is understood here not in the early modern Copernican sense of a turnaround, nor in the sense of a restoration of an original (better) state, but as a radical act that irretrievably alters the status quo. For example, Niklas Luhmann writes in his contribution to the problem of epoch formation, 'Communication technologies have revolutionized the world at least twice: by inventing writing and by inventing printing'.[1] Michael Giesecke also uses the term 'media revolution' prominently and explains, 'Forms of handwritten experience recording and transmission were certain losers in the competition. 'Being able to read' now means having a net connection to the new typographic data processing system.'[2] However, the medievalist Frieder Schanze contradicts this picture, as the concept of revolution on the one hand promotes the 'idea of a short-term upheaval' but at the same time postulates a 'long-term structural change'.[3] He argues that even if the letterpress spread rapidly in the second half of the 15th century, it is not possible to say with certainty whether the systemic changes can be attributed solely to the new medium of letterpress printing when looking at its long-term effects. His strongest argument against the concept of revolution, however, is as follows: 'Revolution knows only a before and after in linear succession; the idea of duration is foreign to its nature. Accordingly, interest is directed toward the new, the old is faded out as the past, but the old of the new and the coexistence of the new and the old do not come into view.'[4] The concept

1 In the German original: "Kommunikationstechniken haben die Welt mindestens zweimal revolutioniert: durch Erfindung der Schrift und durch Erfindung des Buchdrucks." Luhmann 2005, 114. A further example of the prominent place of the concept of printing as a revolution is offered in Eisenstein 2005.

2 In the German original: "Formen der handschriftlichen Erfahrungsspeicherung und -weitergabe standen als Verlierer in dem Wettbewerb fest. 'Lesen können' meint nun, einen Netzanschluß an die neue typographische Datenverarbeitungsanlage zu besitzen." Giesecke 1991, 66. Translation by the author.

3 Cf. Schanze 1999, 300.

4 In the German original: "Die Revolution kennt nur ein Vorher und Nachher in linearer Abfolge; die Vorstellung der Dauer ist ihr wesensfremd. Das Interesse richtet sich demgemäß auf das Neue, das Alte wird als Vergangenes ausgeblendet, das Alte aber des Neuen und das Miteinander des Neuen und Alten kommen nicht in den Blick." (Schanze 1999, 301). Translation by the author. On the coexistence and exchange processes of manuscript and print in the 15th century, see also Schnell 2007.

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of revolution thus promotes an image of the early modern period as a purely typographical age, which the extensive manuscript holdings in archives and libraries from the 16th and 17th centuries, however, prove to be incorrect.

The design of the Fraktur and Schwabacher printing types developed from the letterforms of medieval manuscripts, and for many of the early incunabula it is not possible to say with certainty at first glance whether they were created by a printing process or were handwritten.[5] Consequently, for the early phase of printing, the manuscript becomes the pattern upon which a new medial design is based. This perspective will be reversed in the following: With a view to the tradition of the 17th and 18th centuries, it will be asked to what extent manuscripts, in their aesthetics and pragmatics, follow the printed type and the design of prints. The approach is not so much a media-historical one as a typographical and performative one. It is assumed that by the 17th century, handwriting and printing had diverged to such an extent that they may be regarded as two differentiated writing systems with different functions, reception situations, and design rules.[6] Two clearly distinguishable systems form the prerequisite for being able to demonstrate an adaptation of features of printed types in handwriting. At the same time, this hypothesis contradicts Marshall McLuhan's radical thesis: "When print was new it stood as a challenge to the old world of manuscript culture. When the manuscript had faded and print was supreme, there was no more interplay or dialogue but there were many 'points of view'."[7] The idea that manuscripts were insignificant following the introduction of printing has direct consequences for our research and cataloging behavior: While the system of printing, its production, and distribution network are present in contemporary scholarly discourse, manuscripts lead a niche existence in early modern literary studies. Christian Benne as well as Kai Sina and Carlos Spoerhase even go so far as to place the invention of the literary manuscript around the middle of the 18th century.[8] With a view to the prehistory of the literary manuscript, Benne diagnoses that German literature is unsuitable for studying the first phase in the development of the modern literary field due to the harsh conditions stemming from the religious, political, and cultural late effects of the Thirty Years' War.[9]

5 Jürgen Wolf, for example, emphasizes that Gutenberg's main concern was 'to be able to produce a more beautiful handwriting mechanically'. Cf. Wolf 2011, 4.

6 An investigation based on texts of the 16th century would also have been conceivable, according to Wolf 2001, 5, who writes: 'Book printing and manuscripts exist side by side for almost half a century now. For decades, printed books differ little or not at all in their appearance, perception and horizon of use from the older or simultaneously produced manuscripts [...].' Translation by the author. On the transitional phase in the late 15th century, cf. also Lüfling 1981.

7 McLuhan 1962, 142.

8 Cf. Benne 2015; Sina/Spoerhase 2013 and 2017.

9 In the German original: "Die deutsche Literatur ist zum Studium der ersten Phase dieser Auffächerung [des modernen literarischen Feldes, JvdL] freilich denkbar ungeeignet, weil sie im 16. Jahrhundert [sic!] aufgrund der religiösen, politischen und kulturellen Spätfolgen des Dreißigjährigen Krieges wenig günstige Voraussetzungen bieten konnte." Benne 2015, 156. Translation by the author.

Compared to the following centuries, there are far fewer handwritten records of literary texts, though they do exist. But compared to manuscripts of the preceding and following centuries, they are currently much more difficult to find. Thanks to the extensive database projects *VD 16* and *VD 17*, printed works can now be easily researched.[10] The *Handschriftenportal*, which aims to index all book manuscripts in German libraries, is the successor project to *Manuscripta Mediaevalia* and, in contrast to the latter, also includes modern textual evidence.[11] At present, however, only test records can be accessed here in a beta version.

Several factors can be identified as obstacles to the research and reception of early modern manuscripts beyond the dominant notion of an age of printing and the currently still incomplete indexing in research databases: Early modern cursive script demands a certain amount of practice from its readers, especially those accustomed to manuscripts from the Middle Ages or the period around 1800. In contrast to an illuminated medieval manuscript or the volatile strokes of a Hölderlin, it certainly also offers less aesthetic appeal. The Latinity, which dominated for a long time, is probably another hindrance, as is the non-standardized orthography. The fourth reason is probably found in the connection between handwriting and the author: Early modern authors do not enjoy the same prominence as their colleagues of the 'Sattelzeit'. Many of the surviving manuscripts are copies without authorship or by authors from the third or fourth row of literary history. Finally, many of the surviving manuscripts are not literary texts in the strict sense of the word, but rather practical texts of varying cultural and scientific historical background. However, just because we do not read them does not mean that no (literary) manuscripts from the early modern period exist, as is the case in the extensive tradition of (school) plays, handwritten songbooks, or the examples cited below from the realm of emblematic or magical writing. As will be shown, these manuscripts deal with the medium of print and react to its aesthetic and performative specifications.

2 The Status of Handwriting in the Early Modern Period

In identifying criteria to analyze the points at which manuscripts behave like print, it is useful to look first at historical definitions. In the early modern period, there is a discourse on handwriting that will be examined in more detail before moving on to three case studies of handwriting that mimic print text, which will ultimately shed light on the relationship between handwriting and print.

The entry on the lemma "manuscript" in Zedler's *Universal-Lexicon* describes the status of the manuscript in the early modern period in an exemplary manner:

10 Cf. *VD 16*; *VD 17*.
11 Cf. *Handschriftenportal*.

> 'Manuscript, *Manuscripta, Manuscriptum, Manascrit* a book written by hand. Before the development of printing, one could have no other books than those that were written. Nowadays, the old and well-preserved manuscripts of the old writers are held in high esteem, and it is sought to improve the erroneous or corrupted parts of the printed copies. The so-called word researchers *(Critici)* make a lot of effort with it and have made an art out of the way to recognize, to distinguish, to read, and to use them with benefit, and have composed the same in orderly rules [...]. Other manuscripts are such writings, written in ancient or more recent times, which have never been printed, and are kept as something secret in large libraries or archives of sovereigns. They often contain curious things that concern history and the state, but which it is not proper for anyone to know. The writings of learned men, whether written in formal treatises or still consisting of scattered excerpts and thoughts put down on paper, are, after their authors have acquired a name among the learned world, also highly respected, and especially after their deaths diligently sought out, sometimes also published under the title: Opera Posthuma, although there is often a lot included here that has little in common with the other works of the same author, and is rather harmful to his fame.'[12]

Whether the form of material presentation is relevant for the distinction between manuscript and print cannot be decided with certainty based on the *Universal-Lexicon*. With regard to materiality, a loose handwritten sheet is not considered a manuscript in this lemma; a fixed binding context seems to be constitutive. Zedler contradicts this in his lemma on *Schrifften* ('Scripts'), which states: 'A writing, if it has merely flowed through the pen, is called a manuscript [...] but if it has been set in print and printed, it is called a book.'[13] The invention of printing divides the history of transmission into a part of 'ancient writers', i. e., ancient authors whose texts have been passed down in the original Greek and Latin in manuscript alone but then found their way into the printing tradition, and those who developed their writings directly in the typo-

12 Cf. Zedler 1739, vol. 19, column 1142f. *Manuscript, Manuscripta, Manuscriptum, Manascrit ein mit der Hand geschriebenes Buch. Ehe die Druckerey aufkommen, konnte man keine andere Bücher haben, als die geschrieben waren. Nun<1143>mehr wird auf alte und wohl erhaltene Manuscripte von den alten Schrifft-Stellern viel gehalten, vnd die fehlerhafften oder verderbten Orte der gedruckten Exemplarien daraus zu verbessern getrachtet. Die sogenannten Wort-Forschler (Critici) machen sich damit viel zu schaffen, und haben aus der Weise dieselben zu erkennen, zu unterscheiden, mit Nutzen zu lesen und zu gebrauchen, eine Kunst gemacht, und dieselbe in ordentliche Regeln verfasset* [...]. *Andere Manuscripte sind solche Schrifften, so in alten oder neuern Zeiten geschrieben, aber niemals gedruckt worden, und als etwas geheimes in grossen Bibliothecken oder Fürstlichen Archiven verwahret werden. In denselben sind offt curiose Dinge enthalten, so die Historie und den Staat betreffen, die aber iedermann zu wissen nicht geziemet. Die Schrifften gelehrter Männer, sie seyn in förmliche Abhandlungen gefasset, oder noch in zerstreuten Auszügen und zu Papier gebrachten Gedancken bestehend, werden, nachdem ihre Urheber bey der gelehrten Welt einen Namen erworben, auch hoch geachtet, und sonderlich nach ihrem Tode fleißig aufgesuchet, zuweilen auch unter dem Titel: Opera Posthuma in Druck gegeben, wiewol hierunter offt viel mit durchläufft, so mit den übrigen Wercken desselben Verfassers wenig übereinkommt, und seinem Ruhme mehr nachtheilig ist*. Translation by the author.

13 Cf. Zedler (1743), vol. 35, column 1188: *Eine Schrifft, sofern sie bloß durch die Feder geflossen, heisset ein Manuscript* [...] *sofern sie aber in Druckereyen gesetzt und abgedruckt worden, wird sie ein Buch genennt*. Translation by the author.

graphical cosmos. Regarding the first group, the manuscripts serve an emancipating discipline of textual criticism as a basis for collations of an erroneous and variant textual tradition. Moreover, since the manuscripts, with their smaller radius of distribution, always seem to have something exclusive inherent to them, they are especially suited in the developing early modern state system to restrict state-relevant information to a small circle of readers.[14] Finally, what Spoerhase and Sina describe with the term 'Nachlassbewusstsein' corresponds to the last point described in the lemma.[15] They define this as the growing awareness of authors that not only their printed works but also their private literary estate could be of interest to a later readership. This awareness significantly changes the way authors dealt with their own manuscripts.

Zedler bases his entry on the seventh chapter of Daniel Morhof's 1688 *Polyhistor sive De Notitia Auctorum Et Rerum Comentarii*,[16] which examines manuscripts as one of the collection areas of libraries. The chapter provides insight into the early modern handling and valuation of handwritten artifacts: Morhof lists the manuscript catalogues of various libraries that were being created or already existed at his time, including, for example, Peter Lambeck's efforts to catalogue the holdings of the Vienna Library.[17] Furthermore he commends publishers who had rendered outstanding services to the transfer of ancient manuscripts into print, including Aldus Manutius in Venice, the Giunta family of printers in Florence, and the Parisian printer Robert Estienne. Among the German printers, he singles out the Basel printers Johann Froben and Johannes Oporinus and the Heidelberg printer Hieronymus Commelius.[18] Regarding the status of the manuscripts of contemporary or recently deceased authors, Morhof points out that as they are often not yet completed or finalized for printing, they do not always measure up to the other writings of the authors. Among the scholars who are worthy of having their writings edited posthumously, he names the Hamburg physician Martin Fogel and the history professor Johann Andreas Bose from Jena, since some of their research results were only available in manuscripts and therefore needed to be edited.[19] As a further group of texts worthy of editorial exploration, he identifies correspondences. Thus, already in the early modern period, manuscripts were valued, both with regard to historical sources and to contemporaries, as a treasure that had to be editorially elevated and reproduced. In view of the rich manuscript tradition, however, editors were faced with a 'Herculean task'[20] that would take not only years, but centuries.

14 Here, among other things, one could think of the clandestine literature and its significance for the early Enlightenment as described by Mulsow 2018.

15 See note 8.

16 Morhof, *Polyhistor*, 53–70.

17 Cf. Morhof, *Polyhistor*, 59f.

18 Cf. Morhof, *Polyhistor*, 61.

19 Cf. Morhof, *Polyhistor*, 62–64.

20 Cf. Morhof, *Polyhistor*, 70.

Finally, the document written by the author's own hand may be considered a special case of the manuscript, which is valued differently in the 17th and early 18th centuries than in the subsequent period of the 'auratic autograph'. While in the second volume of the *Universal-Lexicon* the lemma "autograph" is only formed by the explanation 'the original of a writing',[21] Zedler continues in the supplementary volume that an autograph is 'in general and actually that writing', 'which was written with the author's own hand' or 'which was heard by a scribe from the mouth of the author, and recorded under the same direction. What has been written by a scribe and reviewed by the author is as valid as what the author wrote with his own hand'.[22] Thus, manuscripts are also authorized if the author dictated them and do not depend on the author's own handwriting of the written document.

A look at Zedler's *Universal-Lexicon* as well as Morhof's remarks shows that there was an active early modern discourse on manuscripts, their transmission, and indexing and that the evaluation standards developed in this discourse differed in parts from those we use today.

3 Criteria for the Similarity of Handwriting to Print

In order to determine at which points manuscripts adopt characteristics of print culture, it is useful to first draw up a catalogue of specific characteristics for printed material. On the one hand, these concern macrotypographical characteristics, such as the overall design of the print, the choice of paper, the title page, the overall layout, the arrangement of characters on the surface, and the placement of illustrations. On the other hand, there are microtypographic features, which concern the shape of individual letters and their position in relation to each other. Unaffected by these design criteria are the divergent production conditions of prints and manuscripts.[23] While printing is a mechanized reproduction process, handwriting requires the work of a scribe for each copy, and each copy deviates in detail from the original and is thus unique. In addition, a distinction must be made between design rules that print originally adopted from manuscripts and those that were only developed in the era of print.[24]

21 Cf. Zedler 1732, vol. 2, column 2268–2269.

22 Cf. Zedler 1751, suppl.-vol. 2, column 1051.

23 Cf. Ernst 2005, 84f.

24 On the characteristic book design of incunables see Goff 1981. Aditi Nafde has addressed the same topic with regard to the early phase of printing in the period before 1500 and was able to show, based on copies of printed books, that the aesthetics of incunables had an impact on the design of manuscripts. She identifies, in addition to a black and white aesthetic of drawings, the design of letters, the more regular use of catchwords and quire marks on each page, the introduction of running titles in capitals, and the introduction of title pages. Cf. Nafde 2020.

3.1 Microtypography

Otto Mazal explains in his contribution to *Palaeography and Palaeotypy in the 15th Century*, 'The printers of the 15th century found a multitude of type forms. The general striving for faithful imitation of the manuscript originals meant that this variety was also reflected in the letterpress. It was only after a long period of time that the character of the modern book stabilized'.[25] As a basis for the design of incunabula types, he mentions the Textura, the Rotunda, and Bastard fonts, the Gotico-Antiqua and the humanist script (Antiqua).[26] The Fraktur typeface which was dominant in 17th century German texts developed in the middle of the 15th century as a calligraphically elaborated and stylized Bastarda, which served primarily as a document script and ornamental lettering. Gutenberg based the design of his printing types on this handwriting. While the Bastarda, which dominated in the 15th century, developed into the early modern running script ('Kurrentschrift') at the beginning of the 16th century, the printed script fixed this repertoire of characters, which was only used in manuscript for a short time.[27] Reverting to Fraktur letterforms in handwriting in the 17th century may therefore be regarded with certainty as a consequence of the print culture.

The arrangement of the individual letters in a line was determined in print, as well as in medieval manuscripts, by the design ideal of the justified typesetting. In order to bring each line to the same length, the typesetters had various means at their disposal: The spacing between words could be made narrower or wider, and abbreviations such as geminate strokes and variant orthography could be used to reduce or increase the number of letters within the line. For the typesetting of his 42-line Bible, Gutenberg also used an expanded repertoire of types that made it possible, among other things, to adjust the spacing between the individual letters by using narrower letterforms. The type repertoire was quickly reduced in the following decades, so that the typesetter often only had letters of the same width at his disposal. The uniform line management is ensured in printing by the constant height of the cones and letters. The letters do not follow an individual shaping but strive for the greatest possible uniformity through the casting process. This has consequences for the general appearance of a print, which creates a uniform impression when the typesetting is done perfectly.

Different types of printing types are available to the typesetter. While the main body in German-language texts was usually printed in Fraktur or Schwabacher, the Antiqua typeface, which developed during the Italian Renaissance around 1400 as part of the study of classical and humanist texts, was used primarily to reproduce foreign-language passages. Thus Antiqua, like Fraktur and Schwabacher, originates

25 Cf. Mazal 1981, 65.

26 Cf. Mazal 1981, 66. On the history of script in the 15th and 16th centuries see also the richly illustrated study by Steinmann 1995, 203–264.

27 Cf. Schneider 2014, 80–81.

from the culture of handwriting. Antiqua's typography includes the comma, while Fraktur fonts use the virgule.

3.2 Macrotypography

The early modern printed page adopts elements of the medieval manuscript. Thus, in addition to the main text, which may be presented in one or two columns, there are marginalia, column titles, and custodes that ensure the correct page sequence during binding. Hans E. Braun points out that in the late Middle Ages, especially at universities, instruments were developed to make the knowledge handed down in manuscripts easier to receive: chapter divisions, structuring page divisions, word and subject indexes, verbal concordances, and special glossaries.[28] All these elements can already be found in medieval page design and can therefore not be used as criteria for our question.

Looking at the overall design of an early modern print, however, several features can be identified that represent an innovation of the typographic period. First of all, the elaborately designed title page, which in an era when books were often bound individually after purchase, not only served to classify the expected contents but also pursued advertising purposes that were reflected, for example, in elaborate decoration and rubrication. In addition to the title, these pages contain important information regarding communication within the *res publica literaria,* such as the author's name, often his profession, the place of printing and the print shop, as well as the year of printing. Another specific feature of the printing age was the increasing differentiation of paratexts in the course of the early modern period, which had a direct effect on the structuring of a book and thus on its design. Finally, with the further development of printing techniques, design using decorative borders and illustrations became more common than in texts of the manuscript culture, where images, especially ones covering entire pages, were costly and therefore rare.

Therefore, the following points may be considered as promising parameters for recognizing handwriting that is oriented towards a print aesthetic:

1) *Letterform:* The design of the letter follows the forms of Fraktur, Schwabacher, or Antiqua. It also strives for the greatest possible uniformity.
2) *Title pages:* If a manuscript in book form includes an elaborately designed title page, this probably borrows from communication structures of the printing age. The same holds true for
3) *Paratexts:* Although not strictly speaking part of the typographical design of a work, manuscripts that preface a text with extensive paratexts follow the communication logics of print.

28 Cf. Braun 2006, 226–227.

4) *Illustrations:* Pictorial plates illustrating the text may also possibly be considered as characteristics of an imitation of the print, especially if the drawings were not additionally illuminated. The use of elaborately designed decorative elements may also indicate such an adaptation.

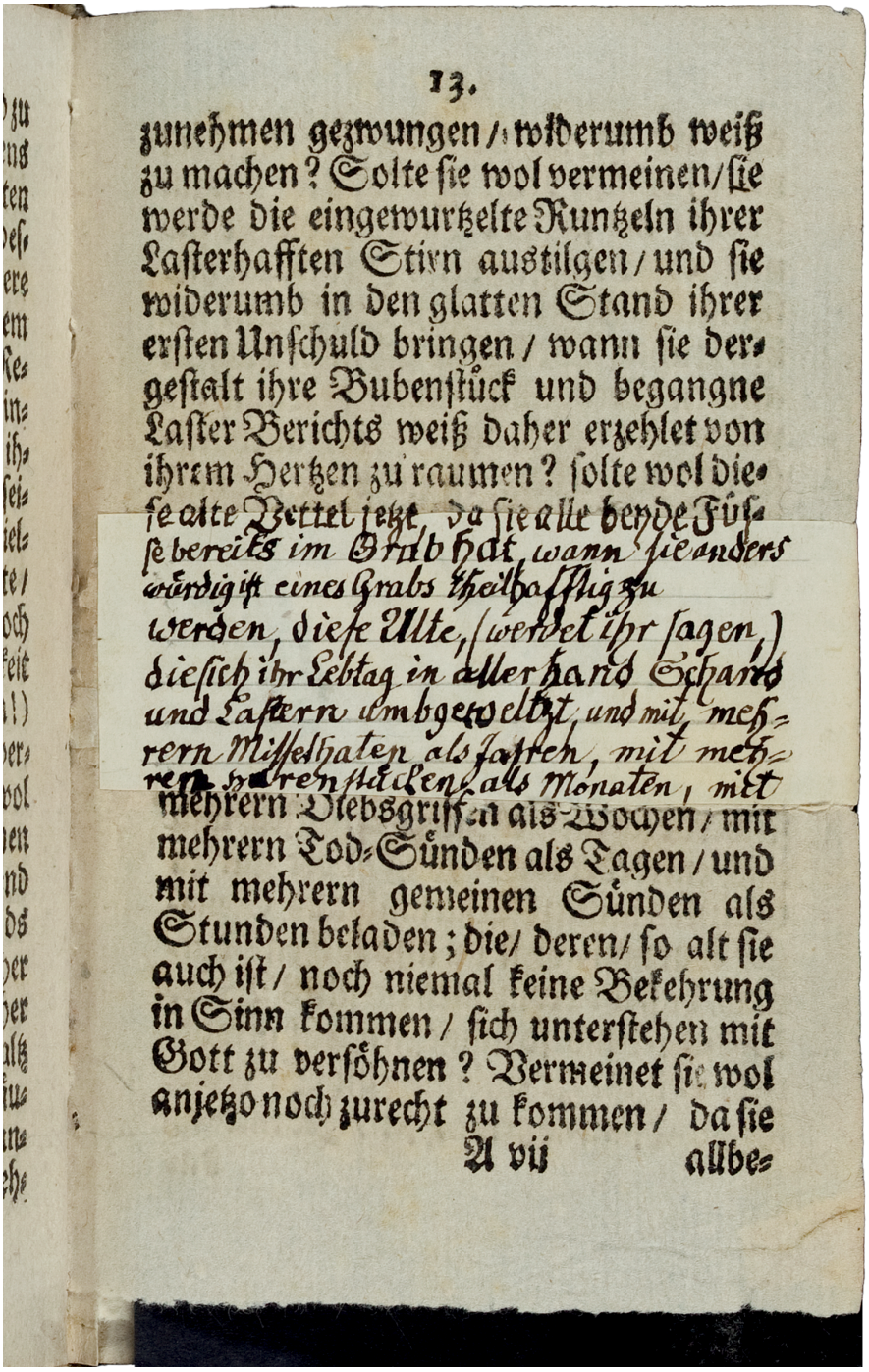
These criteria will be illustrated by individual examples in the following.

4 Filling the Gap—Handwriting in 17th Century Artifacts

The first two examples demonstrate, on the one hand, how attempts are made to imitate print work at the level of individual letters, but at the same time show that an aesthetic *imitatio* can only be achieved with great difficulty. Both show handwriting in the direct environment of the print, and specifically in situations where the handwriting has to take over the function of the print because the latter is deficient. The problem with the following examples is that it cannot be said with certainty when the handwritten additions were made; in the second case, it can even be said definitively that it occurred well beyond the period under study. Nevertheless, they constitute handwritten traces in 17th century prints that attempt to emulate the design elements of typography and are therefore relevant to the subject of the study.

The first example is the title page of the Göttingen copy of Martin Opitz's *Schäfferey Von der Nimfen Hercinie*, which was printed in 1630 in Brieg by Augustinus Gründern and published by David Müller in Breslau. The volume entered the library collection in 1744 and originally belonged to the Göttingen jurist Georg Christian Gebauer (1690–1773), whose book collection consisted mainly of Reformation and Baroque literature. How Gebauer acquired the volume cannot be determined.[29] The third line of the title and the first two lines of the printer and publisher information are damaged by an oval trim, which was filled by a strip of paper, also oval, pasted on the back of the leaf. The reason for this trim may have been a library stamp improperly applied to the title page. The paper strip is slightly lighter than the paper of the print and on the reverse side it bears the stamp of the Göttingen library. On the front, the letters missing due to the clipping have been added, with the scribe attempting to match the letter distribution as closely as possible to the print—though ultimately failing. Some of the letters are still partly preserved in printed form but must be supplemented by handwriting. In comparison with the undamaged title page of the Wolfenbüttel copy, it is noticeable that the letter ornaments of the capitals have been replaced by a very plain line work. However, the letters are not only more unadorned than the original but also appear clumsy in their execution. The letters do not have the same height, nor do they stand securely on the baseline. Moreover, the last two lines of the supplement

29 I would like to thank Bärbel Mund of the Göttingen State and University Library for this information.



13.

zunehmen gezwungen / widerumb weiß zu machen? Solte sie wol vermeinen / sie werde die eingewurtzelte Runtzeln ihrer Lasterhafften Stirn austilgen / und sie widerumb in den glatten Stand ihrer ersten Unschuld bringen / wann sie dergestalt ihre Bubenstück und begangne Laster Berichts weiß daher erzehlet von ihrem Hertzen zu raumen? solte wol diese alte Bettel jetzt, da sie alle beyde Füsse bereits im Grab hat, wann sie anders würdig ist eines Grabs theilhafftig zu werden, diese Alte, (werdet ihr sagen,) die sich ihr Lebtag in aller hand Schand und Lastern umbgewelzt, und mit mehrern Missethaten als Jahren, mit mehrern Hurenstücken als Monaten, mit mehrern Diebsgriffen als Wochen / mit mehrern Tod-Sünden als Tagen / und mit mehrern gemeinen Sünden als Stunden beladen; die / deren / so alt sie auch ist / noch niemal keine Bekehrung in Sinn kommen / sich unterstehen mit Gott zu versöhnen? Vermeinet sie wol anjetzo noch zurecht zu kommen / da sie

A vij allbe-

Fig. 1: Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen, *Trutz Simplex* [...], Nürnberg 1670 (UB Tübingen, Dk XI 461 h), 13.

show how difficult it was to calculate with certainty the space a word should occupy in the handwriting. While individual words try to take up more space by using larger spacing or wider letters, elsewhere the characters crowd closely together.

Even more questionable in its execution and clearly more recent in date is the second example: the Tübingen copy of the 'Simplician' novel *Trutz Simplex. Oder Ausführliche und wunderseltzame Lebensbeschreibung Der Ertzbetrügerin und Landstörtzerin Courasche* by Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen. The copperplate engraving that precedes the title page and depicts Courasche as a figure riding behind a soldier is missing from the Tübingen copy, which suggests that the damage and repairs described below were the result of improper handling of the volume. The title page shows restored crack marks, which were probably supplemented with high-quality rag paper in the early 19th century; in one case, a letter—the H of "hair powder"—was added to the verso page, as were the last letters of the second-to-last verse. For further repairs inside the book, simple wood rag paper was used on pages 12–16, similar to that used in school notebooks of the 1950s and 1960s.[30] Thus, the corrections described below probably date from the 20th century and are not an example of 17th century manuscripts but are also included in this study because they involve handwriting in a 17th century artifact. The chapter outline that follows on the next page shows further handwritten traces: A comparison with the undamaged Munich copy shows that the letter form is not quite matched in the additions, individual words are barely decipherable, as well as that an entire line *(Das I. Capitel)* is lost in the addition.

The most extensive addition is found on pages 13 and 14, where several lines have been replaced by a pasted white paper strip (cf. Fig. 1). In order to keep to the line layout, baselines were drawn in pencil after the paper strip was glued in place, but the space calculation was unsuccessful insofar as the last line had to be squeezed into the remaining free space. The distribution of words on the individual lines and the spelling both correspond to the composition in print, which is why it can be assumed that either the missing lines were still present at the time of copying or that another copy served as a model. The form of the letters is similar to that of Fraktur, but the scribe is obviously untrained in this style. The fact that he uses a comma instead of a virgule also indicates that the repair of the print was carried out very late.

The two examples are accidental finds, but they show the design challenges faced by a scribe—regardless of the century—who wants to adapt his handwriting to the print aesthetic. Not only the letter form and line management but above all the distribution of white space becomes a challenge here in achieving an even justification.

30 I would like to thank Ulrike Mehringer from the Department of Manuscripts and Historical Prints at the University Library of Tübingen for the information on this copy.

5 Title Pages, Paratexts, and Illustrations

Another example of the adoption of paratextual elements from print culture into early modern manuscripts is a manuscript that can already be considered well researched due to its artistry on the one hand and the comparatively high profile of its author on the other: the emblem book of Jacob Balde. Emblems and emblem books emerged in succession to Andrea Alciati's *Emblematum liber* (Augsburg 1531) since the second half of the 16th century and are a popular typographic genre that requires the work of an engraver for the pictura in addition to the text in the *inscriptio* and *subscriptio*.[31] The establishment of the emblem as a pan-European genre is based on the technologies of printing, even though the conception of emblems relies on handwriting.[32] Admittedly, this is not a peculiarity of emblem books: Authors did not dictate their texts directly to typesetters but used manuscripts as an intermediate medium. Consequently, the manuscript is the prerequisite for the creation of prints, but these manuscripts are designed specifically for the medium of printing. Unlike other emblem books, which exist in print alone or, in rare cases, in both the handwritten draft version and printed form, Balde's manuscript was not printed. The book was written in 1628 as part of the poetry class taught by Balde at the Jesuit College in Munich: It is therefore the work of students accompanied by their teacher.[33] Claudia Wiener refers as a comparable work to the *Typus Mundi* published in 1627 by Jan Cnobbaert in Antwerp, which was produced by the Jesuit-trained rhetoric class but then put into print and given as a gift to the students for their graduation.[34] Consequently, a transfer to print would have been conceivable for Balde's work as well.

The manuscript, which is today in a larger binding context with other writings by Balde, is introduced by a preface to the reader, preceded by a dedication to Jesus Christ. This is designed in a funnel shape, as was common in typographic title design of the period, with the first line in capitals and the following lines mimicking the form of Antiqua type. The dedication concludes with the place of authorship and a date that is reminiscent of dating in prints due to the size of the letters of the prominently placed year. The place and year have been subsequently changed by shaving, with the *Monachii* or *Monacenses* for Munich that was presumably originally there replaced by *Oeniponti* (Innsbruck). The reason for this is probably a reuse of the manuscript by the Innsbruck poetry class in 1675, which inscribed itself in this form in the manuscript.[35]

The title page is surrounded by an elaborately designed frame consisting of two arches and two arrows, foreshadowing the love of the world and love of God treated in the emblems. The following recto page, in the form of an ink drawing, assumes the function of a title copperplate and shows King Solomon holding a steed, eagle, fish,

31 On the form and history of emblem books, cf. still fundamental Schöne 1993 [1964].
32 On the relationship between handwriting and printing in emblem books, see Schilling 2002.
33 On the genesis of the volume see Wiener 2013, 67–72.
34 Wiener 2013, 73–77.
35 Wiener 2013, 80.

and lion in a quadriga on reins. The architectural framing of the figures, which at the same time serves as the basis for an emblematic inscription, is another parallel to contemporary title plates.

The individual emblem pages are uniformly structured. The pictura was designed by the same artist, probably Balde, while the texts were written by different hands, probably by the approximately 60 students of the poetry class. The subscriptio is florally framed, and this frame is probably created by the same hand as well. While the inscriptio follows the letter form of Antiqua, the subscriptio is in cursive, which also follows the form of printed letters.

The comparison with contemporary emblem books shows a formal proximity to Balde's manuscript. Wiener recognizes a similarity between the title page and Michiel Snyder's *Amores divini et humani effectus varii*, published in 1626, which also includes stylized arrows and bows in the framing of the title (but also other weapons, drums and, in the lower page area, a dog and lamb as symbols for the love of the world and God).[36] However, a direct printed model for the page design of the single emblems could not be determined.

The emblem book must be evaluated in its educational context. The prerequisite for the design of texts and images is not only the mastery of the Latin language and the ability to use it creatively in poetic form but also knowledge of genre and knowledge of formal design, which is reflected both in the overall layout of the work of art and in the design of the respective pages. This knowledge is based on a typographical tradition, but in this case was not transferred into it, remaining instead a unique handwritten work.

6 Manuscripts Claiming to Have Been Printed

While Balde's emblem book is only oriented to print culture in its design, there are manuscripts that go one step further in imitation of the print. From the late 17th century onward, manuscripts with magical content emerged for the clandestine book market.[37] A subgroup here are texts that claim to originate from the pen of Johann Faust and teach how to summon demons and make them subservient. However, this is not the only claim they make: On the title pages there is also a note about when and where the text was printed. *D. J. Fausti practicirter Geister Zwang,* a manuscript from the Leipzig university library declares on the title page *Gedruckt zu Passau 1603*; *Dr. Faustens sogenannter schwartzer Mohren-Stern*, also from Leipzig, gives "London 1510" as the place and year of printing; and the *Miracul und Wunder Buch aus D. Fausts Schrifften genandt der Höllen Zwang* is particularly precise and writes: *Gedruckt zu*

36 Cf. Wiener 2013, 77, 79.
37 Cf. Bellingradt/Otto 2017.

Lion d. 14. April 1507.[38] All of these texts are manuscripts for which no printed originals can be identified. The so-called *Höllenzwänge* are thus texts that performatively participate in the logics of printed works. One person who dealt more intensively with the *Höllenzwängen* is none other than Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. In a letter to Carl Friedrich Zelter dated November 20, 1829, he wrote:

> 'In order to illustrate the high dignity of Mephistopheles, an excerpt from a passage of Faust's Höllenzwang is available. This most peculiar work of reasoned nonsense is said to have been printed in Passau in 1612, after having been circulated in copies for a long time. Neither I nor my friends have seen such an original, but we possess a most pure complete copy, according to the hand and other circumstances from about the last half of the 17th century.'[39]

Goethe is thus well aware of the manuscript nature of the texts but assumes that older printings must have existed that were copied later.

While Goethe assumed a printed copy of the texts, no such copy is to be found. The texts do not present themselves as copies, and the medium of the manuscript remains deliberately unmentioned; instead, the texts resemble early modern prints in their further structure and have, for example, a preface to the reader and a division into chapters or individual books. Only in a few cases is this logic broken. The title page of *D. Johann Fausten Gauckel Tasch* from the Leipzig Magica collection ends: *[Gedruckt im Jahr Anno 1624]* (cf. Fig. 2). For this text, which was supposedly published by the pupil of Faust's famulus Wagner, a print actually exists under the same title, which was first published in 1608 by the printer of the *Historia von D. Johann Fausten*, Johann Spieß. A second edition followed in 1621, while an edition from 1624 could not be found. The printed text and the manuscript are identical in structure and wording, but the manuscript points with some certainty to a date of origin in the last decades of the 17th or early 18th century—it is therefore a copy in the true sense.

One can only speculate about reasons for staging the manuscript as a print or a copy of one. Most of the supposed print dates place the time of origin of the texts to the early 16th century, that is, to the time of the historical Faust; the date is consequently a postulate of authenticity. The claim to be printed (or to have been printed acknowledging that it is potentially a copy) is likely to serve a similar function. Printed knowledge is allowed to claim a different status for itself than that which has been handed down in manuscript alone: It has passed a first stage of canonization, which in the context of magical manuscripts may mean that its effectiveness has been proven.

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38 An overview of the exemplars of *Höllenzwängen* is offered by Henning 1966, 430–436.

39 Cf. WA, 4. Abt., vol. 46, S. 159. *Um die hohe Würde des Mephistopheles anschaulich zu machen liegt ein Auszug abschriftlich bey einer Stelle von Fausts Höllenzwang. Dieses höchst merkwürdige Werk des räsonnirtesten Unsinns soll, nachdem es lange in Abschriften umhergelaufen, Passau 1612 gedruckt worden seyn. Weder ich noch meine Freunde haben ein solches Original gesehen, aber wir besitzen eine höchst reinliche vollständige Abschrift, der Hand und übrigen Umständen nach etwa aus der letzten Hälfte des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Translation by the author.

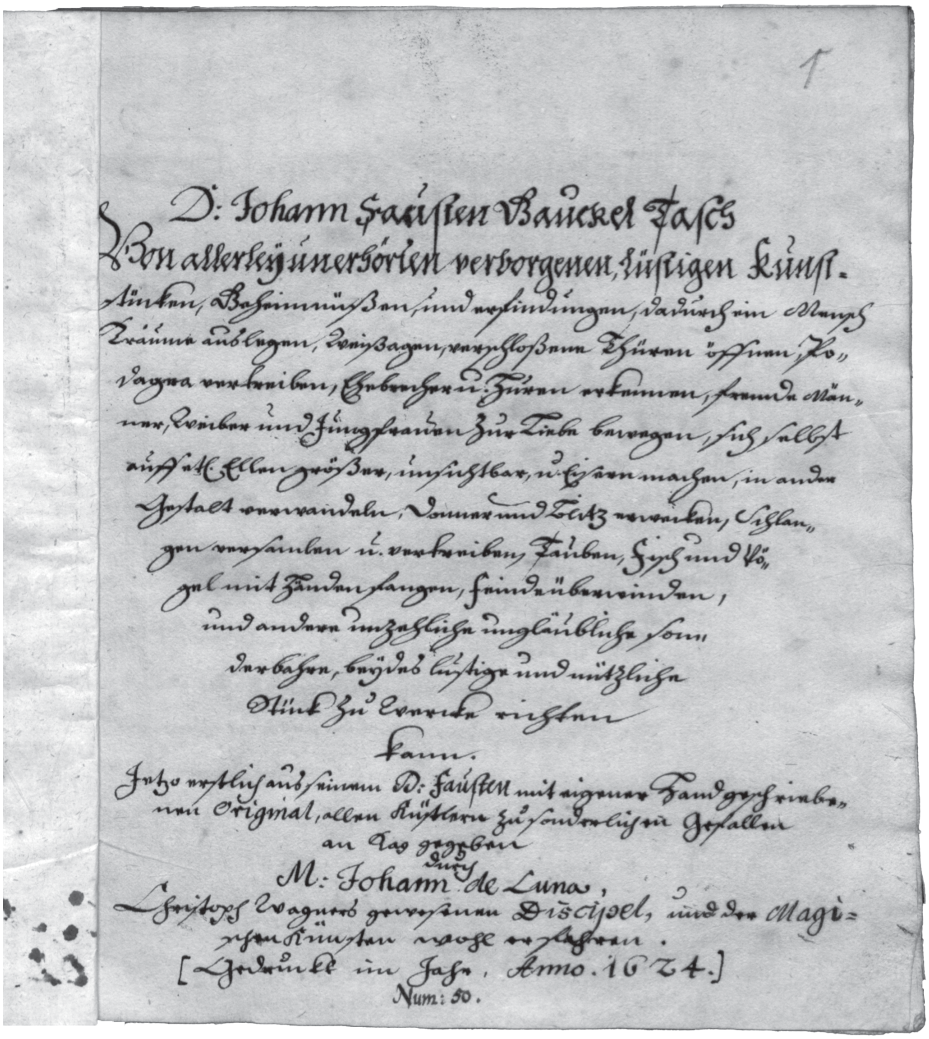

Fig. 2: Title page of *D. Johann Fausten Gauckel Tasch* (UB Leipzig, Cod. mag. 62).

The story of the origin of the *Höllenzwängen* and how much they were still in demand on the book market at the end of the 18th century is shown by the following excerpt from Johann Friedrich Köhler's *Historisch-kritische Untersuchung über das Leben und die Thaten des als Schwarzkünstleren verschrieenen Landfahrers Doctor Johann Fausts*, published in 1791:

> 'It is said that a monument of Faust's highest magical wisdom still exists. He gave, as the writers of legends say, his famulus the order to compose the history of his life and to bring the magical records he left behind into a collection. The latter is said to have found, apart from three prophecies of future events, a system of higher magic, and to have preserved it for posterity under the title: *Fausts Höllen- und Geisterzwang*.

> That Faust could have written this tasteless work, in which the art of citing spirits is taught, is not improbable [...].
>
> Several respectable libraries have the reputation of keeping the original of *Faust's Höllenzwang* as a rare treasure. [...] Now the book is not so rare, but creeps only in the darkness in the most secret circles of magicians, who hardly show it to their trusted friends, least of all to the profane. Certain people, who are less reserved, and who are proliferating with secrets, are doing a very lucrative trade with this work. They make several copies and sell them to wealthy owners of large libraries, especially to the Austrian, Bavarian, and Swabian monasteries. The usual purchase price is 200 Thaler; however, if the seller is a reasonable man, it can also be obtained for 150, or even 100 Thaler."[40]

Consequently, the demand for such scripts was high, and creating them was a lucrative business. While in the previous example it was the handwritten unicum that made up the value of the emblem book, here it is the reference to a supposed print tradition that drives up the price.

7 Conclusion

With the establishment of letterpress printing, manuscript culture did not simply break off. Additionally, there were not two separately existing systems lacking exchange with each other. While printing technology was strongly influenced by aesthetic notions of manuscripts, numerous examples of texts can be found in the 17th and 18th centuries whose facture is based on the design parameters of printing. These case studies should be seen as exploratory examples that could certainly be expanded upon. The indicators of such an adoption of print aesthetics into handwriting developed in the article could also be further explored if the scope of the texts studied were to be broadened. For example, fair copies and printer's copies, which served as a basis for the typesetter's work, are not discussed in the present article. However, these are the ones that, due to their intended use, must be oriented to the rules of printing to a particular degree.

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40 Cf. Köhler 1791, 158–160. Translation by the author. In the German original: *Von Faust soll auch noch ein Denkmal der höchsten magischen Weisheit vorhanden seyn. Er gab, wie die Legendenschreiber sagen, seinem Famulus den Auftrag, die Geschichte seines Lebens zu entwerfen, und die hinterlassenen magischen Aufsätze in eine Sammlung zu bringen. Dieser soll nun, außer drei Prophezeiungen von zukünftigen Begebenheiten, ein System der höheren Magie gefunden, und unter dem Titel: Fausts Höllen- und Geisterzwang, der Nachwelt aufbewahrt haben./ Daß Faust dieses abgeschmackte Werk, worin die Kunst, Geister zu citiren, gelehrt wird, geschrieben haben kann, ist nicht unglaublich* [...]*/ Mehrere ansehnliche Bibliotheken stehen in dem Ruf, daß sie das Original des Faustischen Höllenzwangs als einen seltenen Schatz aufbewahren.* [...] *Jetzt ist das Buch so selten nicht, schleicht aber nur im Finstern in den geheimsten Zirkeln der Magier, die es kaum ihren vertrauten Freunden, am wenigsten den Profanen zeigen. Gewisse Leute, die weniger zurückhaltend sind, und mit Geheimnissen wuchern, treiben einen sehr einträglichen Handel mit diesem Werke. Sie fertigen mehrere Abschriften, und verkaufen sie an vermögende Besitzer großer Bibliotheken, besonders an die österreichischen, bayerischen und schwäbischen Klöster. Der gewöhnliche Kaufpreiß ist 200 Thaler; man kann es aber auch, wenn der Verkäufer ein billiger Mann ist, für 150, auch wohl für 100 Thaler erhandeln.*

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Abbreviations

BSB Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Bavarian State Library)
SUB Staats- und Universitätsbibliohtek (State and University Library)
UB Universitätsbibliothek (University Library)

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Figure Credits

Fig. 1: Grimmelshausen, Hans Jakob Christoffel von, *Trutz Simplex: Oder Ausführliche und wunderseltzame Lebensbeschreibung Der Ertzbetrügerin und Landstörtzerin Courasche*, Utopie [i. e. Nürnberg]: Stratiot [i. e. Felsecker] 1670, p. 13. UB Tübingen, Dk XI 461 h (urn:nbn:de:bsz:21-dt-29701, Public Domain).

Fig. 2: *D. Johann Fausten Gauckel Tasch von allerley unerhörten verborgenen, lustigen Kunststücken, Geheimnüssen und Erfindungen etc. Jetzo erstlich aus seinem D. Fausten mit eigener Hand geschriebenen Original, allen Künstlern zu sonderlichen gefallen an Tag gegeben durch M. Johannes de Luna, Christoph Wagners gewesenen Discipel und den magischen Künsten wohl erfahren*. front page, UB Leipzig, Cod. mag. 62 (https://histbest.ub.uni-leipzig.de/rsc/viewer/UBLHistBestCBU_derivate_00000104/cod_mag_62_003.jpg, CC BY-NC 4.0, https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/deed.de).

Uwe Maximilian Korn

‘Bilderfahrzeug’ of the Rosicrucians

Daniel Mögling’s *Speculum Sophicum Rhodostauroticum* (1618) in Print and Manuscript

At the beginning of the 17th century, sightings of comets were a major media event prompting scientific, theological, and chiliastic interpretations. Shortly before the beginning of the Thirty Years’ War, during which an unprecedented propaganda fire was kindled, various other public debates had been fought out. Less present in today’s research, but particularly extensive in its scope, was the ‘Rosicrucian debate’ which took place at the same time and was quite comparable. After the publication of several anonymous texts referring to an alleged secret society calling themselves ‘Rosicrucians’ in the years 1614–1616, a public battle broke out over the correct interpretation of these heterogeneous pamphlets. In the initial texts, those interested in an epistemological and ethical revolution were invited to participate, without telling them to whom to address their replies. The subsequent responses were wide-ranging and numerous. Some of them affirmed the plans of the ‘Rosicrucians’ and welcomed their revelation. Many asked to be included in the secret society. Even more pamphlets criticized the supposed new grouping from a theological point of view—with Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists applying different arguments. Particularly fascinating were the responses of Friedrich Grick, who reacted to the ‘Rosicrucians’ under various pseudonyms and satirically exaggerated almost all possible positions, often in distinction to other contributions to the debate.[1] Grick’s ‘Rosicrucian’ writings attracted a relatively wide audience.

The ‘Rosicrucian debate’ is revealing because it unfolded great critical potential: The initial ‘Rosicrucian manifestos’ justified their religious-irenic, political, and above all science-political demands with a detailed analysis of Early Modern society. Several hundred responses to the initial texts then commented not only on the utopian potential of the ‘Rosicrucian’ ideas, but also on the social criticism included. In a small study, Rudolf Schlögl has examined 60 of these texts preserved by Herzog August Library Wolfenbüttel and concludes that the ‘Rosicrucian motif’ functions as a catalyst for the problems of the Early Modern period, thus allowing for the ‘Rosicrucian texts’ to be regarded as vehicles for their articulation:

> Wer auch nur einen Teil der Antworten [auf die *Fama* und *Confessio*, UMK] durchsieht, wird schnell feststellen, daß es um die Manifeste und auch die Bruderschaft der Rosenkreuzer häufig nur noch vordergründig zu tun war. Im Rosenkreuzerdiskurs artikulierten sich die politischen und intellektuellen Umbrüche des beginnenden 17. Jahrhunderts, weil die Manifeste entweder die Stichworte geliefert oder Leerstellen markiert hatten, die jetzt zu füllen waren.

1 Cf. Glei 2011; Korn 2022.

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https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111242699-007

> ('Anyone who looks through even a part of the responses will quickly realize that the manifestos and the Brotherhood of the Rosicrucians were often only superficially concerned. The political and intellectual upheavals of the early 17th century were articulated in Rosicrucian discourse because the manifestos had either provided the keywords or marked blanks that now had to be filled.')[2]

The versatility of the form of written responses is likewise remarkable.[3] Prints and manuscripts have survived, short broadsheets and longer treatises, poorly printed pamphlets as well as lavishly illustrated, splendid prints. The anonymous character of the debate, in which only a few contributors took part using their real names, forced the authors to use the medium efficiently. If there was no author's name to guarantee the quality of the publications and draw attention to them, illustrations and strategically placed accompanying texts had to take over.

Daniel Mögling, who published several texts on the 'Rosicrucian' debate, using his real name as well as pseudonyms, gained an especially prominent position within the controversy with one of his contributions standing out above all because of its excellent illustrations.

In the *Speculum Sophicum Rhodostauroticum* ('The Mirror of the Wisdom of the Rosy Cross'),[4] the illustrations not only serve to depict his text, but also to open further possibilities of interpretation. They were executed by Matthäus Merian the Elder, an engraver best known for the historiographical journal *Theatrum Europaeum* and his cityscapes in the *Topographia Germaniae*.[5] Besides, Merian also created iconic images illustrating the concept of theosophy for other texts in the 17th century, most notably Michael Maier's richly illustrated emblem book, *Atalanta fugiens, hoc est, emblemata nova de secretis naturae chymica*.[6] One of Merian's prints in the *Speculum* has

2 Schlögl 1999, 55. Cf. also Kühlmann 1996, 1125: "Denn was in den Rosenkreuzerschriften entworfen und von den Gegnern mit Recht kritisiert oder mit denunziatorischem Eifer verdammt wurde, war nicht die private Wunschphantasie einer belanglosen Sekte. Es war Syndrom, Konsequenz und Symptom einer tiefgreifenden Bewußtseinskrise vornehmlich der lutherischen Intelligenz in Deutschland, einer Verstörung, die sich mit einem erstarrten Staatskirchentum und einer akademischen Wissenschaftspraxis konfrontiert sah, die den Aufbruch der Naturspekulation und der Naturforschung verdrängte, wenn nicht gar ausgrenzte." ('For what has been outlined in the Rosicrucian writings and rightly criticized by opponents or condemned with denunciatory zeal, was not the private wishful fantasy of a trivial sect. It was the syndrome, consequence, and symptom of a profound crisis of confidence, especially among the Lutheran intelligentsia in Germany, a disturbance confronted with an ossified state ecclesiasticism and an academic scientific practice, which suppressed or even altogether excluded the awakening of natural speculation and natural research.')

3 Cf. Gilly 1995, 43–84.

4 Although some illustrations are reproduced in this paper, it would certainly be beneficial for the reader to open two editions of the central text of the Speculum, a digitized print and a digitized manuscript: https://www.e-manuscripta.ch/zuzneb/content/pageview/1033454; https://digital.slub-dresden.de/data/kitodo/specsorhd_30298187X/specsorhd_30298187X_tif/jpegs/specsorhd_30298187X.pdf or http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/24-3-quod-3s/start.htm.

5 Cf. Wagner 2021.

6 Oppenheim (Johann Theodor de Bry), 1618.

become particularly well known as a pictorial allegory of the 'Rosicrucian manifestos'. It shows a stone fortified tower on wheels, guided with a rope by the hand of God reaching down from the sky (cf. Fig. 2).[7]

On each side of the rope a star is depicted, representing celestial bodies that had recently been discovered in the constellations of the Serpent Bearer and the Swan. Those stars are described in the 'Rosicrucian manifestos' as well. The tower emits winged letters, while more flying letters reach it. They probably represent the diversity of the 'Rosicrucian debate'. Various figures are arranged around the fortified tower within a landscape depicted in perspective. As in his text, Mögling joins together older contributions to alchemy and theosophy with the 'Rosicrucian' idea in the 'Rosicrucian fortified tower'-etching. These contributions are heavily referenced in the further chapters and in the later prints of the *Speculum*: Knowledge of some older texts, for example by Heinrich Khunrath or Heinrich Nollius, helps to understand and interpret both the formulations and the illustrations.[8] Mögling's introduction and the etching showing the 'Rosicrucian fortified tower', on the other hand, are a clear reaction to the 'Rosicrucian debate'. He not only refers to the 'Rosicrucian manifestos' printed in 1614–1616 and formulated some years earlier by a group around Johann Valentin Andreae, but also takes efforts to distinguish between true and false contributors to the debate. In particular, he polemicizes against Friedrich Grick, who was one of the most eager contributors to the debate. The fact that Mögling was not only aware of Grick's special *Spiegelfechterei* ('mirror fencing'), i. e., his play with contradictory pseudonyms, but that he even knew the empirical author of the texts, as a remark in a manuscript of the *Speculum* suggests, is a surprise since Grick's civil name was only identified late in scholarly research. Rather, most of his contemporaries did not see through his game of deceit but addressed their replies to the discussants Grick had made up and reacted to 'their' respective positions. In this way, Grick acted like the Tübingen-based pastor Andreae, who is nowadays regarded as the literary author of the 'Rosicrucian manifestos', yet was only assumed to be the author by a few people at the time.[9]

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7 This mobile tower inspired the title of this paper. The term "mobile Bilderfahrzeuge" ('vehicles of images') was coined by the art historian Aby Warburg. Warburg was not describing images of vehicles in this way, but the ability of images to transport abstract ideas. In this paper I will describe how Daniel Mögling and Matthäus Merian connect to the 'Rosicrucians' through the pictorial expression of religio-philosophical ideas, but also how they differ from them.

8 Simon Brandl has recently pursued these references in text and image, cf. Brandl 2021, passim.

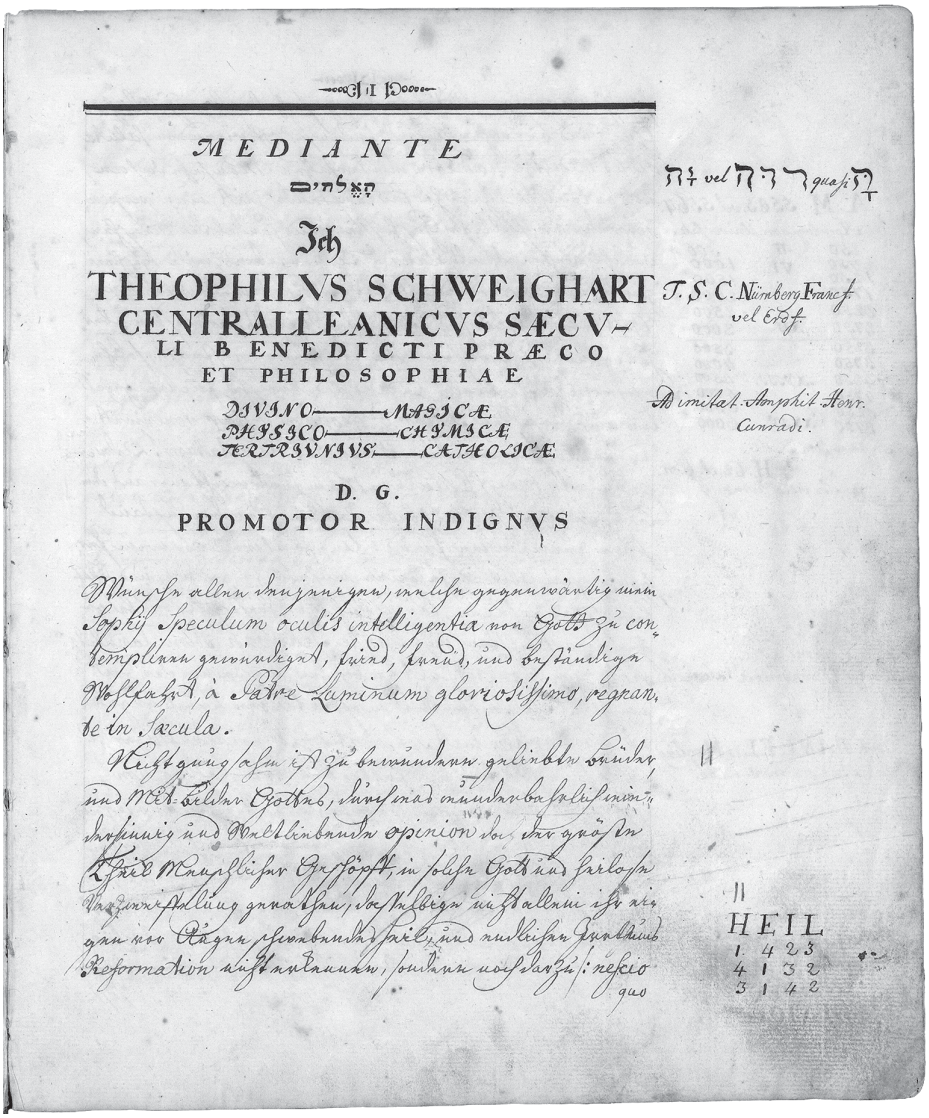
9 One fundamental conviction behind this paper is that Johann Valentin Andreae was the author or one of the authors of the 'Rosicrucian manifestos'. Contemporarily, and especially in the earlier history of ideas, the texts had been associated with a mystification of the Rosicrucian brotherhood, which was probably partly intentional. Assuming today that there was a 'deeper truth' behind the texts or that there really were Rosicrucians—and not only the group of authors—would be wrong, I think. These assumptions are not fully shared by all researchers in the field. In terms of the history of ideas, it would be appealing to describe this research controversy thoroughly. More precise findings about the actual intentions of the group of authors around Andreae (or the author Andreae) will probably remain a desideratum, although a particularly desired one. Cf. Werle 2019.



Fig. 1: *Speculum*, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A: 24.3 Quod. (3), front page.



Fig. 2: *Speculum*, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A: 24.3 Quod. (3), p. 21, fortified tower.



MEDIANTE

הָאֱלֹהִים

Ich

THEOPHILVS SCHWEIGHART
CENTRALLEANICVS SÆCV-
LI BENEDICTI PRÆCO
ET PHILOSOPHIAE

DIVINO——MAGICÆ
PHYSICO——CHYMICÆ
TERTRIVNIVS——CATHOLICÆ

D. G.
PROMOTOR INDIGNVS

Wünsche allen denjenigen, welche gegenwärtig mein Sophij Speculum oculis intelligentia von Gott zu contempliren gewürdiget, fried, freud, und beständige Wohlfahrt, à Patre Luminum gloriosissimo, regnante in Sæcula.

Nicht genugsahm ist zu bewundern geliebte Brüder, und Mit-Bilder Gottes, durch was wunderbahrlich wiedersinnig und Weltliebende opinion doch der gröste Theil Menschlicher Geschöpft, in solche Gott und heilose Verzweiffelung gerathen, dasselbige nicht allein ihr eigen vor Augen schwebendes heil, und endlichen Irrthums Reformation nicht erkennen, sondern noch darzu /: nescio quo

הָרָה vel הָרָה quasi הָ

T. S. C. Nürnberg Franc. f. vel Erd. f.

Ad imitat. Amphit. Henr. Cunradi.

HEIL
1 4 2 3
4 1 3 2
3 1 4 2

Fig. 3: *Speculum*, manuscript, Zentralbibliothek Zürich, SCH R 201, p. 1.

Mögling's naming of Grick not only speaks for his intimate knowledge of the debate, but also points to the thrilling history of the *Speculum*'s transmission. On the one hand, it is present in print, on the other hand, there is a handwritten version of the text that bears a close resemblance to the print and is now kept in the library of the ETH Zurich (cf. Fig. 3).[10]

10 It is available in digital form, however: https://doi.org/10.7891/e-manuscripta-23267 (accessed 24/12/2021). This is cited hereafter using the siglum SSR-Manus.

The relation between the printed edition and the manuscript is not an easy one to describe; indeed, it is probably not possible to say anything with verifiable certainty. The following paper, however, is an attempt to make some plausible speculations about their levels of interdependence for the first time. The handwritten addition of Grick's name will be one of the traces I will pursue. Before that, however, basic aspects of the 'Rosicrucian' debate, Mögling's biography, and the special situation of the *Speculum*'s transmission will be explained.

1 The 'Rosicrucian Debate'

At the dawn of the 17th century, there was a dynamic development of the sciences in Germany, especially in Protestant university towns such as Altdorf, Jena, and Tübingen, flourishing centers of the printing industry such as Frankfurt, Strasbourg, and Leipzig, and at some princely courts, such as that of Stuttgart or Hessen-Butzbach. These innovations involved developments in the field of, speaking in modern terms, medicine, optics, mathematics, and, of course, chemistry. Historically, these fields of knowledge were not all part of the scientific disciplines taught at universities, but also belonged to the spectrum of the crafts—such as optics—or to other related fields, such as alchemy.

The political polarization within the Holy Roman Empire prior to the beginning of the Thirty Years' War was exacerbated when the Protestant Union was founded in 1608: The alliance of Lutheran and Calvinist imperial states formed as a reaction to the illegal occupation of Donauwörth under Bavarian Duke Maximilian I. A short time later, the Catholic League was founded, meaning that two strong opposing parties were now confronting each other in the Empire. Within the Protestant confessions, the conflict between Lutherans and Calvinists was pressing. Additionally, with a century having passed since the Wittenberg Reformation and being in constant conflict with the Counter-Reformation, institutional weaknesses of the Lutheran regional churches had also emerged.

In two texts, the *Fama Fraternitatis* (1614, Kassel) and the *Confessio Fraternitatis* (1615, Kassel), a hitherto unknown esoteric order was described, and a universal reformation of mankind was envisaged. A little later, another short text describes a biographical revival experience witnessed by the order's founder Christian Rosencreutz (*Chymische Hochzeit Christiani Rosencreutz*, 1616, Strasbourg).

By applying different literary techniques and recourses to different textual models, these three texts publicly propagate the liberation of science under the guise of piety. According to the ideas described within them, science ought to be charitable and overcome the scholastic scientific culture found within the Early Modern university. Additionally, other fields of knowledge, such as that of alchemy, are to be integrated into it. Apparently, the texts were already available in Kassel or Strasbourg before they were printed. Since no earlier printings have survived, an earlier distribution of the texts in handwritten form is likely.

The *Fama's* and *Confessio's* appeal to kindred souls must be regarded as a central motor of their ability to attract wide audiences. The flood of letters of various origins, consisting of affirmation, rejection, detailed criticism, as well as admonitions from different camps, has already been described above.[11]

Eventually, the debate slowly lost its intensity in the 1620s and its actual intellectual range has not yet been precisely measured by scholars,[12] nor has it been possible to assess its consequences thoroughly. Nevertheless, the founding of the Royal Society and other scientific associations may be counted among its direct effects. Moreover, the form of direct and sharp personal criticism that became common later in the Age of Enlightenment can be seen as a reaction to the inconclusive anonymous debates on the three 'Rosicrucian manifestos'.

But why has a debate of such astonishing scope hardly been discussed for its width in previous research, and instead has been appreciated mainly in historical alchemy studies?[13] The idea of a holistic model of science under the banner of religious piety, which was fundamental to the *Fama* and *Confessio*, was abandoned after the publication of Francis Bacon's *Novum organon scientiarum* (1620) in favor of a small-scale and specialized science with a claim to objectivity, separated from morality and the church. As the history of science tends to focus on the concepts that prevailed, contemporary alternatives are not discussed with the same attention.

2 Daniel Mögling

Daniel Mögling was born into a distinguished family of scholars in Tübingen, which produced several professors and even one rector of Tübingen University.[14] However, to the misfortune of biographers, several generations of Möglings bear the first name Daniel, thus leading to an unsatisfactory biographical and bibliographical situation.[15] The father of the dynasty's youngest 'Daniel' died shortly after his son's birth in 1596. In 1611, Mögling took up his studies at the University of Tübingen. In this environment he became acquainted with some members of Andreae's circle of friends, such

11 Cf. still fundamentally Schick 1942. Carlos Gilly is preparing a larger study on this—six volumes have been announced—, which has been eagerly awaited for some time.

12 As a small-scale 'pilot study', it is worth mentioning Schlögl 1999.

13 Cf. on the rich literature on the questions concerning the position of alchemy and Rosicrucians Werle 2019.

14 On Mögling's biography, cf. fundamentally Neumann 1995.

15 Cf. Neumann 1995, 95. See also the German Wikipedia entry on Mögling, which actually confuses grandfather and grandson: "Daniel Mögling", in: Wikipedia–The Free Encyclopedia. Edited date: 1 January 2021, 13:17 UTC, https://de.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Daniel_Mögling&oldid=207132781 (accessed 24/01/2021). In the English Wikipedia, on the other hand, there are two articles on both Daniel Möglings; both, however, are credited with authorship of the *Speculum* (accessed 24/12/2021).

as the professor of Law at Tübingen, Christoph Besold, and, certainly before 1620, with Andreae himself.[16] After obtaining a master's degree (*Magistergrad*) in Tübingen, he began studying medicine in Altdorf in 1616.[17] This Protestant Academia Norica, founded near Nuremberg, was not made a university until 1622, but had already been awarding academic titles for several decades. A letter to his friend Bonaventura Reyhing shows that the young graduate Mögling was already influenced by alchemical and mechanical interests at this time.[18] In Altdorf he probably also met Grick.

Starting from his first publication, Mögling defends the messages of the 'Rosicrucian' texts against Grick: *Rosa Florescens, contra F. G. Menapii calumnias*, using the pseudonym of 'Florentinus de Valentia'. In contrast, he signs his second short text from the same year with 'Theophilus Schweighardt': *Pandora sextae aetatis, sive speculum gratiae: D. i...: Die ganze Kunst und Wissenschaft der von Gott hocherleuchten Fraternitet Christiani Rosencreutz*. ('The Whole Art and Science of the Fraternitet Christiani Rosencreutz, Highly Enlightened by God'). This small treatise is particularly worth mentioning because it can be seen as a prelude to the *Speculum* in terms of form and content, despite being much more concise and, apart from an image on the title page, not illustrated. Notably, in his *Pandora*, Mögling probably is the first person to use the word 'Pansophie'. As the Augsburg jurist Caspar Tadel reported, Mögling, whom he had met in Nuremberg, wrote the *Speculum* as an interpretation of the *Pandora*, and did so within half a day, which can probably be dismissed as a legend.[19] Additionally, Tadel also reported to Landgrave Philipp III of Hesse-Butzbach, a nobleman sharing Mögling's interest in alchemy, about his 'Rosicrucian' texts, and Mögling then entered his service a few years later. Before that, he had matriculated again in Tübingen, where he was also awarded a doctorate.[20] Mögling then acted as personal physician and court mechanic in Butzbach until he was dismissed after a few years for lack of money.

3 *Speculum Sophicum Rhodostauroticum*

The *Speculum* is a rather challenging and presuppositional text. It neither narrates an interesting plot like the *Chymische Hochzeit*, nor offers a well-founded diagnosis of the problems of the epoch like the first two 'Rosicrucian manifestos', nor amuses by making use of subtle polemics like Friedrich Grick's pamphlets. Rather, in the *Speculum*, Mögling presents his knowledge of the 'Rosicrucians' and deduces from it demands and maxims for a theosophical doctrine of knowledge. Part of this search for truth

16 Cf. Neumann 1995, 100.
17 Cf. Steinmeyer 1912, vol. II, 381.
18 Cf. Neumann 1995, 98–100.
19 Cf. Van Dülmen 1972, 45.
20 Cf. Neumann 1995, 111.



Fig. 4: *Speculum*, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A: 24.3 Quod. (3), front page, detail.



Fig. 5: *Speculum*, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A: 24.3 Quod. (3), front page, detail.

is the striving for knowledge founded in natural philosophy and connecting it to the Pansophistic ideas of microcosm and macrocosm. This striving for dissolving of dualisms already dominates the title page, where two female figures are depicted, marked as allegories of the 'Physiologia' and the 'Theologia'.

Their attributes, however, seem to be inverted: While the 'naturalist' is equipped with a burning heart and a palm frond, the 'theologian' carries a compass and ruler. Under both figures, German-language epigrams advertise to the reader the promise of great clarity and easy understanding: *Verstehstu nit mein treue leer/ Kein Buch verstehstu nimermer* ('If you do not understand my faithful teachings, you will no longer understand any book', cf. Fig. 4) and *So deutlich hab ichs expliciert/ Und mit figurn vor augen gfurt* ('I have spelled it out so clearly and made it visible with illustrations', cf. Fig. 5).[21] In a reader's preface, Mögling then reinforces his claim to provide clarification about the 'Rosicrucian' movement by distinguishing between a true 'Rosicrucian' message and false witnesses (*Zoilorum*[22]). The preface is dated from March 1617 and states the location "Altpagita", which could perhaps stand for Altdorf. Following this, Mögling develops his theosophy in four subsequent sections. First, he describes some authors in more depth, focusing on Julianus de Campis and the mystic Thomas von Kempen,[23] both of whom had already published theosophical texts before 1614, that is, before the publication of the 'Rosicrucian manifestos'. In Mögling's work, they themselves become 'Rosicrucians', i. e., witnesses of how the Order would work on earth. Mögling quotes a text by Julianus de Campis, for example, to explain the path to brotherhood:

> *Attende was in seiner Epistel sagt Iulianus de Campis: ich durchzohe viel Königreich/Fürstenthumb/ Herrschaften/ unnd Prouinzen: ichh schlug mich gegen Auffgang/ gegen Mittag/ gegen Abend und endlich gegen Mitternacht etc. Diese Wort werden dir das Collegium deutlich genug expliciren/ und hilfft wenig/ ob du alle Reichs- und Seestätt durchlauffest/ si recipi non dignus.*
>
> ('Pay attention to what Iulianus de Campsis says in his epistle: I wandered through many kingdoms, principalities, domains, and provinces; I turned to the sunrise, to noon and to the evening, and finally to the midnight, etc. These words will explain the Collegium clearly enough to you, and it is of little use if you wander through all the kingdoms and port cities and are not worthy of receiving it.')[24]

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21 *Speculum Sophicum Rhodo-Stauroticum Das ist: Weitläuffige Entdeckung deß Collegii unnd axiomatum von der sondern erleuchten Fraternitet Christ-RosenCreutz: allen der wahrn Weißheit Begirigen Expectanten zu fernerer Nachrichtung/ den unverständigen Zoilis aber zur unaußlöschlicher Schandt und Spott/ Durch Theophilum Schweighardt Constantiensem*, Frankfurt 1618 (de Bry), front page. This print is cited hereafter using the siglum SSR.

22 SSR 5. Although the pagination of the *Speculum* counts incorrectly, reference is made here to the page numbers as given in the print.

23 On Julianus de Campis, whose pseudonym has not yet been clearly resolved, cf. Gilly 2012, 279–281.

24 SSR, 6, 8.

On this page, the author also details the criticism of false brothers, the *falsarios quosdam fratres*.[25] This passage will be considered in more detail in the coming section. Mögling mockingly distances himself from fictional literature, i. e., texts bringing profits to the *Buchführern* ('booksellers').[26] He mentioned books like the *Rollwagenbüchlein*, the pranks of Till Eulenspiegel or similar *schandbare[] Gedichte[ ]* ('shameful poems/fictions').[27] Above all, however, Mögling provides an interpretation of Rosicrucianism based on the etching of the 'Rosicrucian fortified tower' by discussing the individual figures depicted in the printed version and explaining their significance to readers who wish to contact the 'Rosicrucians':

> *Du sichst/ das Collegium hangen in freyer Lufft/ wo Gott will/ der kann es dirigieren/ es ist beweglich unnd unbeweglich/ beständig und unbeständig/ verläst sich auff seine Alas und Rotas, unnd ob gleich mit seinen lieblichen Posaunen/ die fratres das venite ruffen/ stehet doch Julianus de Campis mit dem Schwert/ dessen Examini mustu dich subiciieren/derwegen caue? [cave, achte] Bestehestu nicht, und hast ein bös Gewissen, so hilfft dir weder Brücken noch Seil, komstu hoch, so fälstu hoch, und must in puteo erroris et opinionis sterben und verderben.*
>
> ('You can see that the Collegium hangs in the air, and God can direct it where he wants. It is movable and immobile, constant and unstable, it leans on its wings and wheels, and though the brothers shout *venite* with sweet trumpets, Iulianus de Campus stands with the sword, and you must submit to his test, so beware. If you fail the test and have a guilty conscience, neither bridge nor rope can help you. If you climb up, your fall will be great, and you must die and perish in a pit of error and deceit.')[28]

Here, it becomes clear that text and image are closely connected in the *Speculum*. It would have been impossible to create the pictures as mere illustrations, without consultation of the author; at the same time, the text goes into such detail about the pictures that they must have been available to the author at least as a rough draft. Mögling summarizes the theme of this first section, the search for the 'Rosicrucians', in a brief poem at the end:

> *Such nit vergebens ist dein Mühe,*
> *Merck nun was ich dich berichte hie,*
> *Thustu und folgst der Lehre mein,*
> *Wirt bald ein frater bey dir seyn,*
> *Schreib nicht, du habst dich dann probirt,*
> *Mit betten in die Schul gefürt.*
>
> ('Don't look for it, all your work is in vain,
> Pay attention to what I tell you,

25 SSR, 8.
26 SSR, 10.
27 SSR, 10.
28 SSR, 8.



Fig. 6: *Speculum*, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A: 24.3 Quod. (3), p. 23, Ergon and Parergon.

If you do, and follow my teachings,
A brother will soon be with you.
Do not write, if you have not proven yourself,
If you have not been admitted to the school through prayer.')[29]

In the second chapter, Mögling goes on to describe 'Ergon' and 'Parergon', i. e., two cognitive objectives of Theosophy: the one directed towards the inner being, which can be achieved through the study of the Holy Bible (Ergon), and the one focused on the external nature, contributing to the search for truth through the close study and manipulation of the natural environment (Parergon) (cf. Fig. 6). 'Ergon and Parergon' are also attached to the text as an image in a separate etching displaying the same fundamental dualism.

29 SSR, 11.

In a recent article, Simon Brandl has interpreted this image and its description in the drawing considering the contexts of theosophical, Paracelsian as well as alchemical discourses of the time, and, above all, worked out how Mögling links up with older descriptions.[30]

The third, shorter section of the text explains Pansophy[31] itself, the search for truth far from all authorities. It ends in a prayer in which the praying person asks for knowledge of nature. This is followed, *foeliciter* ('auspiciously'),[32] by another section making up almost half of the entire text, the *PANSOPHIA RHODO-STAUROTICA*, where Mögling explains in detail the basic features of Pansophy. His objective is to reach a deep transcendental experience in the course of the independent exploration of nature. For this purpose, the author again interprets the two allusive illustrations included. In contrast to the discussion of the 'Rosicrucian' message, Mögling describes a spiritualistic concept of theosophy essentially getting along without any knowledge of the 'Rosicrucian manifestos'. The explanations about the structure of the world culminate in the instruction: *nosce te ipsum* ('know thyself'),[33] suggesting that microcosm and macrocosm are interchangeable, for the knowledge of one is applicable to the other. Mögling's depictions often seem tautological and are characterized by their circular movements of thought. Moreover, the strong interaction between text and image is noteworthy in the case of two further etchings included in the *Speculum*, thus adding to the already described 'Rosicrucian (fortified) tower' and the title picture: Firstly, there is an alchemical scene in which three seekers of truth demonstrate two paths to knowledge: A praying figure at the top is captioned 'Ergon', while two others apparently performing natural experiments, are labelled/named 'Parergon'.

The second image does not show a scene with an idealized landscape, like the Ergon-Parergon-etching and the 'Rosicrucian fortified tower'.

Rather, it depicts microcosm and macrocosm executed as circles at the bottom and top of the sheet within one diagram (cf. Fig. 7). While at the bottom a naked man is shown in the style of Leonardo da Vinci's *Vitruvian Man*, at the top the Tetragrammaton as a sign of God appears inside of a winged circle. In between, also depicted in circles, are the elements and the various realms of outwardly visible nature. Together, these last two illustrations visualize the content of the second half of the work, the *Pansophia Rhodostaurotica*.[34]

Richard van Dülmen, who was the first to edit the *Speculum* as an appendix to a study on Mögling, characterized the text as a less comprehensible but typical 'Rosicrucian' pamphlet:

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30 Cf. Brandl 2021, passim.

31 Cf. Kühlmann 1995.

32 SSR, 15.

33 SSR, 13.

34 Cf. Simon Brandl 2021. While Brandl says little about the title page and almost nothing about the 'Rosicrucian fortified tower', he interprets these illustrations in detail. This will not be repeated here.

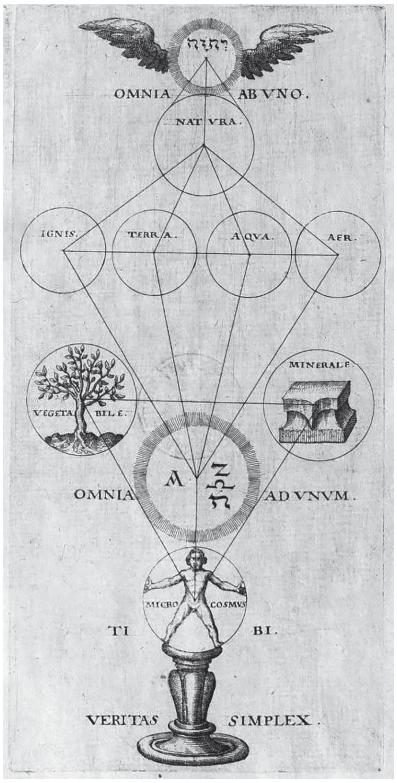

Fig. 7: *Speculum*, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A: 24.3 Quod. (3), p. 27, Realms of nature.

> Wenn Mögling nicht unbedingt ursprünglich und eigenständig dachte, denn die literarische Abhängigkeit ist *überall* nachweisbar, noch auch den Aufbau seiner Schriften immer *überzeugend* gestaltete, so ist er doch ein recht typischer Vertreter der Rosenkreuzerbewegung, die in der Zeit der Stagnation der Theologie und der Philosophie nach neuen Möglichkeiten rang.
>
> ('Although Mögling did not necessarily think originally and independently, for literary imitation is demonstrable everywhere, and did not always structure his works convincingly, he is nevertheless a fairly typical representative of the Rosicrucian movement, which was struggling for new possibilities in the time of stagnation of theology and philosophy.')[35]

While the *Speculum*, according to this assessment, seems little suited to contribute extensively to the elucidation of the 'Rosicrucian movement', its history of transmission and printing is nevertheless particularly rich and may thus serve to further illuminate the connection between manuscript and printing in the 17th century. Though the abovementioned illustrated manuscript, recently digitized by the ETH Zurich, is the most interesting textual witness, the print tradition is also informative, with various copies supplemented with handwritten annotations.

35 Van Dülmen 1972, 54.

4 History of the *Speculum's* Composition and Printing

The *Speculum* has been handed down many times: Libraries in Berlin, Weimar, Erlangen, Wolfenbüttel, and Dresden possess copies. The latter have made digital copies freely available.[36]

Additionally, one copy is preserved in Salzburg, where the private library of Christoph Besold is kept within the university library, providing insights into the intellectual horizon of a professor from Tübingen in the early 17th century who was acquainted with many authors and thinkers of 'Rosicrucianism'. Indeed, Besold's book collection has formed the basis of the Salzburg University Library since 1649. This copy of the *Speculum* contains marginal notes with corrections. Van Dülmen considered them to be author's corrections and thus incorporated them into his edition, even though there is probably no conclusive proof verifying his assumption. On the contrary, the current expert in the bibliographical recording of 'Rosicrucian' texts, Carlos Gilly, recognizes Besold's own handwriting and not that of Mögling. The only thing that can be said for certain is that Besold had a copy of the *Speculum* in his possession, which had been relieved from printing errors in the margins by a very attentive and knowledgeable reader. While researchers have been keen to appreciate the printing of the *Speculum* early on, making it an integral element in the history of 'Rosicrucian' scholarship, the *Speculum* manuscript, recently digitized in Zurich, has not yet been used for editions. In Dülmen's essential study on Mögling, which also presents the edition of the *Speculum* in the appendix, he does not discuss the manuscript, nor did Neumann and Brandl consult it.[37] But how did the mysterious manuscript find its way to Zurich?

The German-Swiss psychotherapist, graphologist, writer, and esoteric collector Oskar Rudolf Schlag (1907–1990) donated his important library on the subject of hermeticism to ETH, where it has since been open to the public named 'Bibliothek Oskar R. Schlag'.[38] Unfortunately, due to this provenance from private hands, all traces of the acquisition of the manuscript were lost, so that neither the library nor Schlag's notary were able to provide further information about the manuscript.

Still, the Zurich manuscript is clearly related to the printed edition with its four illustrations, even though only three aquarelles belong to the manuscript: the title page, the 'Rosicrucian fortified tower', and the 'microcosm-macrocosm' graphic. They are executed in color and are just as rich in detail as the etchings in the printed ver-

36 The Dresden print is remarkable. It is heavily trimmed, so that some letters in the margin are not legible; instead, another handwritten graphic is included here. However, it is probably impossible to identify the author of this somewhat clumsy sketch. Cf. Brandl 2021, 204.

37 However, the manuscript is now well known. Gilly and Peter J. Forshaw, for example, showed it in a major exhibition at the Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica (Ritman Library) in Amsterdam. The tower is also illustrated on the cover of *Divine Wisdom—Divine Nature. The Message of the Rosicrucian Manifestoes in the Visual Language of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. by José Bouman and Cis van Heertum 2017.

38 Cf. Bibliothek Oskar R. Schlag.

sion. The similarity between the motifs in the print and in the manuscript, despite the different artistic techniques used, is striking. A comparative analysis of the details reveals some minor differences in the composition of the images, which are not solely due to the different graphic processes applied. The church steeple in the background of the fortified tower is somewhat less high in the print, and the ark and village are situated somewhat further into the picture's horizon and are thus making them appear smaller. Additionally, the framework of the small house on the left of the picture is executed differently; though, on the other hand, the number and arrangement of the small windows and the tiny dormers are identical.

A comparison of the two title pages leads to similar results: Here, for example, the two allegories dominating the picture ('Theologia' and 'Physiologia') display different facial characteristics and the emblem in the central lower cartouche is executed somewhat differently (cf. Fig. 8 and 9). An important variation in the microcosm-macrocosm illustration points to a fundamental problem of comparison: Here, the little Vitruvian man representing the microcosm has had a beaded vulgar stream of urine painted onto his stylized penis, probably added after the painting, and done rather clumsily in comparison to the rest of the watercolor. This somewhat foul treatment probably testifies to the fact that the manuscript has a history of its own and that later interventions are to be expected. Additionally, this finding is repeated in the text, where it is mainly comments in the wide margins distinguishing the text from the print. They are inconsistent—and were probably added at different times with many of them completing, structuring, and explaining the text. Some rather seem to use the given space for more extensive notes, though many of the notes remain incomprehensible. Obviously, naometric and cryptographic flourishes are among them, too. The writing hand differs from the oblique flow of the main text, but not to the extent that a second handwriting and a second scribe's handwriting must be assumed. Rather, the writing situation differs, making it likely that the additions in the marginal column were included at later times. Three of these additions shall be described in more detail here: In the preface and in the first chapter, the scribe of the manuscript clarifies two pseudonyms, one of them stating the author of the printed text, by adding into the margin the mention of the earlier text, the *Pandora*, as well as the name "Doct. Danielis Mogling".[39]

Furthermore, the writer also provides the full name of Friedrich Grick at the mention of the 'false brothers', the *falsarios quosdam fratres*[40] in the margin and adds "Altdorf" as his origin as well as *Ireneus Agnostus* as one of its pseudonyms (see Fig. 10). These two entries indicate a close connection between the scribe of the manuscript and the empirical author: In 1618, Friedrich Grick's identity could not yet be determined from his writings alone. And even in later years, the identification of his real name was not part of the core of bibliographical knowledge about this author,

39 SSR-Manus, 2.
40 SSR-Manus, 5.



Fig. 8: *Speculum* (print), Zentralbibliothek Zürich, SCH R 201, illustrated page after p. 8, fortified tower.



Fig. 9: *Speculum* (manuscript), Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A: 24.3 Quod. (3), p. 21, fortified tower.

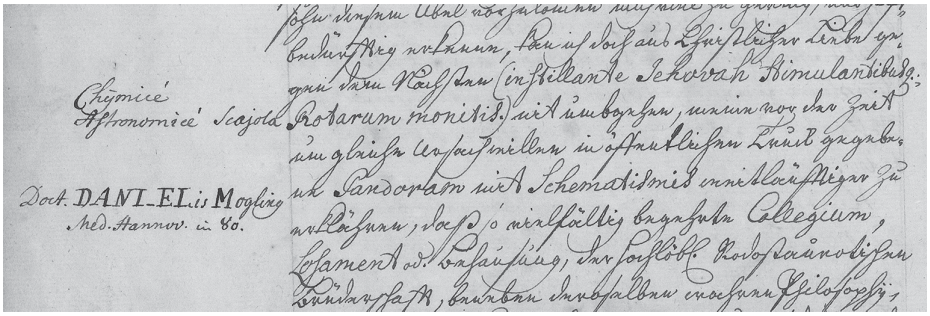

Fig. 10: *Speculum*, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A: 24.3 Quod. (3), p. 2, "Doct. Mogling".

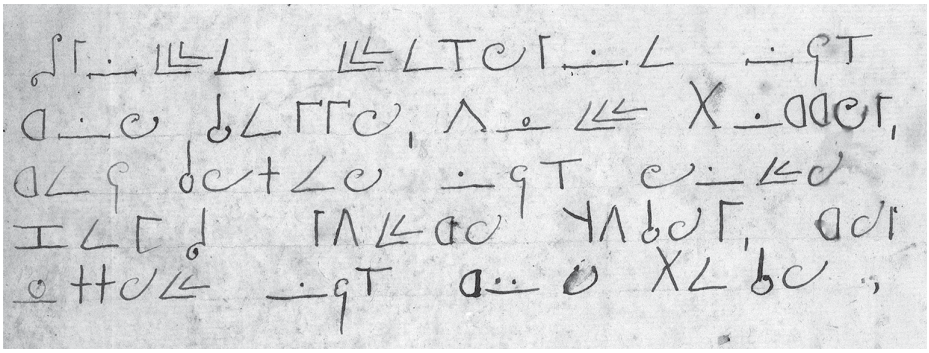

Fig. 11: *Speculum*, Zentralbibliothek Zürich, SCH R 201, p. 1, riddle.

although in texts written and published after 1620 Grick recognizably resolves several of the various pseudonyms and even uses his civil name. There are no examples so far in the 17th century in which Grick's identity is revealed as clearly as in these marginalia. His fellow student Mögling was probably one of the few of his time who correctly interpreted Grick's special use of pseudonyms within his 'Rosicrucian' criticism, clearly denouncing it, but also partly imitated it himself. In print, however, Grick is not mentioned. A third notable addition to the manuscript is a coded message on the first blank page (cf. Fig. 11).

There has been no satisfactory decryption of this so far.[41] These three entries exemplify the simultaneously supplementary and enigmatic character of the handwritten additions.

The texts also vary in detail comparing the manuscript and the printed version.

41 I thank Anne-Simone Rous (Dresden) for her expertise and her attempts at solving this cryptographic puzzle. She identified the problem as a monoalphabetic substitution. Her proposed decryption is promising, but also remains difficult to interpret: FRIDA DATERIA IST/ DIE GALLE, UND WIDDER/ DAS GE*AE IST EINE/ HALB RUNDE KUGEL, DER/ O**ER IST DIE WAGE. For the asterisk, C, J, M, P, Q, V, X, Y, Z are possible substitutions, however, none of the letters leads to a satisfactory solution.

Unsurprisingly for the Early Modern period, when spelling was not uniformly regulated, the orthography differs greatly. However, the vocabulary also varies slightly as, for example, the beginning of the manuscript's second paragraph shows:

> *Nicht genugsahm ist zu bewundern geliebte Brüder, und Mitbilder Gottes, durch was wunderbahrlich wiedersinnig und weltliebende opinion doch der größte Theil Menschlicher Geschöpff, in solche Gott und herlose verzweiffelung gerathen* [...].
>
> ('Not enough is it to admire beloved brothers, and fellow-images of God, by what wonderfully senseless and world-loving deceit the greatest part of human creatures have fallen into such Godless and lordless [or heartless?] despair.')[42]

In contrast, one reads in the printed version:

> *Nicht genugsam ist zu verwundern geliebte Brüder/ und Mitbilder Gottes/ durch was wunderbarlich widersinnig und weltliebende opinion doch der größte theil Menschlicher Geschöpff/ in solche Gott und herrlose verzweiffelung gerathen* [...].
>
> ('Not enough is it to be wondered at, beloved brothers and fellow images of God, by what wonderfully senseless and world-loving deceit yet the greatest part of human creatures have fallen into such Godless and lordless despair.')[43]

Besides the variations in orthography and punctuation, the major difference between *bewundern* ('admire') and *verwundern* ('be bewildered') is particularly striking.

However, the similarities in the layout of both texts are also remarkable: The alignment and the boundaries of a page are almost identical. This may be interpreted in two different ways: The scribe of the manuscript either knew exactly what the layout of the print looked like and was able to imitate it. In this case, the printed version would have preceded the manuscript. But why would anyone copy a rather spectacular print so artfully? An obvious assumption would be that the manuscript was a product made especially for sale, subordinate to the print. This would be highly plausible given the notoriously lively autograph market in the Early Modern period and even later epochs, thus potentially making it a case of a later manuscript fiction, where the manuscript was created directly for economic exploitation. The enigmatic additions in the margin would then be a fitting coloring for this material purpose. The cost of this would have been immense, but so were the revenues that such manuscripts yielded. However, it would then be unclear how exactly the Grick-marginal got into the text. Did the author Mögling himself fake the handwriting? This must be considered a plausible option.

The second possible interpretation would be that the scribe of the manuscript was well informed about the printing craft and was able to estimate how many letters and

42 SSR-Manus, 1.
43 SSR, 1.

words would fit on a line of print and likewise how many lines would make up a sheet in the chosen setup. In both cases, the manuscript would not be a draft manuscript and, in the second case described, it would probably be an exact model for a publisher's typesetter. But how then did the additions come to be on this master copy of a typesetter? The marginalia were not considered for the printing, and probably should not have been. I consider this interpretation of the connection between manuscript and print to be the most probable, i. e., that the manuscript was the direct master copy, but not a draft manuscript. Encouragingly, recent bibliographical research has been able to compile many results supporting this thesis.

5 Printing Process

In a 2012 essay, Carlos Gilly identified Theodor de Bry as the publisher of the *Speculum*.[44] At the same time, he identified de Bry's son-in-law Matthäus Merian as the artist. The Calvinist engraver and publisher de Bry published richly illustrated travelogues in his Frankfurt publishing house, but also alchemical and theosophical texts, such as Michael Maier's *Atalanta fugiens* (1618). Merian cooperated with him intensively and illustrated alchemical works, such as Maier's aforementioned title or Johann Daniel Mylius *Opus medico-chymicium* (Frankfurt: Lucas Jennis 1618). Heinrich Khunrath's work *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* had been written several decades earlier, but with its relationship of text, image, and text-within-an-image it could have been an important model for the illustrations of the *Speculum*.[45] In his essay cited above, Brandl (and van Dülmen before him) has shown how the Ergon-Parergon-etching takes up the imagery of the alchemical tent in Khunrath. Moreover, an art-historical research network led by Berit Wagner at the University of Frankfurt/Main has recently looked at de Bry's and Merian's alchemical prints, examining the dense network of texts and images, as well as mapping the constellation of the persons involved, which is interesting considering the relationships of praxeology, art, and publishing history.[46]

Wagner described in this project an *album amicorum* from a library in Washington, where a handwritten entry by Daniel Mögling in 1616 shows that he was an able draftsman. The allegorical scene sketched there is strongly reminiscent of the representations consisting of individual elements in Khunrath's and subsequently Mögling's work. Each of these pictorial elements is charged with meaning, and some of them are lettered.

In terms of the illustration's motif, the entry in the *album amicorum* from 1616 bears resemblance to the title illustration of the *Pandora* from 1617, which in turn can

44 Cf. Gilly 2012.

45 It was drawn by Hans von de Vries and engraved by Paullus van der Doort.

46 Cf. Wagner 2021.

be found slightly modified in the title page of the *Speculum*. Just as there are motivic adoptions between the entry into the *album amicorum* and the two prints published under the name Schweighart, there are several similarities between the prints in the *Speculum* or the aquarelles in the *Speculum* manuscript on the one hand and the illustrations in Heinrich Khunrath's *Amphitheatrum* on the other. Khunrath's alchemical 'emblem book' had been reprinted several times and, like the *Speculum*, contains one-dimensional diagrams and deep-perspective landscapes showing various figures and buildings. The kneeling figure, for example, in the lower right edge of the picture in the 'Rosicrucian fortified tower'-etching echoes a similar figure recurring in Khunrath's work in its clothing, posture, and also in its relationship to the viewer of the picture, who can only look at it from behind, from a diagonal angle.[47] Parts of Khunrath's pictorial composition, showing a landscape around an extensively inscribed fortress, in which various figures are scattered about, engaged in different activities, but seemingly isolated from one another, can also be found in the 'Rosicrucian fortified tower'-etching: In the *Speculum*, especially the rider, two striders, and the praying figure in the lower right quadrant, are depicted in a posture resembling some figures in Khunrath's etching. It is now still not clear to whom this clear reference to Khunrath is to be attributed: To the engraver or to the author?

Gilly has described that Merian and Mögling may have met during the autumnal Frankfurt Book Fair.[48] Since the text of the *Speculum* refers in detail to the 'Rosicrucian fortified tower'-etching as described, the author must either have had a draft before him or must have communicated precise details of his ideas to the printmaker, either orally or in writing. The Zurich *Speculum* manuscript could have taken on this task. It could be the link between the engraver Merian and the author Mögling.

The handwritten entries on the marginal edge could then date from a time when the printing had already been carried out; the manuscript had thus lost its significance and the wide marginal edge invited scribbles and secondary annotations. More important than the exact relation between manuscript and print, however, is that in each case the close working relationship between author and pictorial artist is shown. Here we can use a particularly difficult and attractive example to gain insight into the working methods of authors and printers interested in alchemy and the knowledge of nature in the early 17th century, and incidentally solve the mystery of our mysterious manuscript via detour. This succeeds only because in the manuscript knowledge was revealed that probably was accessible only to the author Mögling.

The motivic reference to Khunrath within the prints has already been described above. Mögling/Merian even adopts the basic principles of pictorial compositions, in which various, often inscribed elements are arranged in relation to each other, but these do not produce a consistent, coherent pictorial whole. The individual components,

47 Cf. Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (image 290).

48 Cf. also Neumann 1995, 104.

on the other hand, invite differentiated interpretation. In the 'Rosicrucian fortified tower'-etching, for example, this concerns the mobile fortified tower, the figure inscribed with the motto *Festina lente* ('make haste slowly') and falling off a cliff, the praying pilgrim figure, the ark in the background, the two stars newly shining in the constellations of the Serpent Bearer and the Swan, or the flying letters.

Mögling's text then is a descriptive interpretation of this picture in its first part as well, specifically one in which individual components are singled out. This specific image-text procedure of Khunrath and Mögling is not found in Andreae's texts, most of which were printed in Strasbourg. Some of them contain illustrations, but they are much simpler. Especially the three 'Rosicrucian manifestos' cannot be compared with Mögling's or Khunrath's text-image artworks. Moreover, Mögling takes over from Khunrath and other earlier Theosophists and Hermetics positions on content, such as a positive relationship to alchemical research into nature, which is presented as an important path of knowledge. Andreae, by contrast, had warned against many forms of alchemy in his texts; in the 'Rosicrucian manifestos' he even explicitly criticized Khunrath.

Mögling thus does not simply illustrate the 'message of the Rosicrucians', i. e., the content above all of the *Fama* and the *Confessio*. He advertises the now famous name of the popularized group but modifies its message. In the second part of his *Speculum*, he refers to older theosophical positions. In the first part, he euphemistically presents the communicational situation around the Rosicrucians: While in the years after the first printing of the *Fama* in 1614, it was mainly the lack of answers from the Rosicrucians that reinforced the critics and brought 'Spiegelfechter' such as Friedrich Grick onto the scene, Mögling now presents a "mobile Bilderfahrzeug" ('vehicle of images') directed by God, which is reached by, and emits winged letters. The outgoing mail bears the initials "T. S." and "I. D. C.", which according to the names mentioned in the *Speculum* are probably Theofilus Schweighart and Julianus de Campis. Mögling thus illustrates that the communicational situation around the Rosicrucians is not a *Clamor* as Grick depicted it and not a *Silentium post Clamores* as Michael Maier described it,[49] but a functioning system—with him and Julianus de Campis as informants. The authors of the *Fama* and *Confessio* had invented a model: 'What if there were a brotherhood that took care of all the current problems? What would it have to look like?' The many hundreds of 'Rosicrucian' pamphlets work their way through this and the issue of whether the question was legitimate. Mögling now gives his own response by filling the empty shell with answers that other authors had already given a few years earlier for other questions. He thus clarifies the message of the 'Rosicrucians' and fixes it on theosophical and mystical-speculative questions.

49 Cf. Maier, *Silentium* 1624.

6 Conclusion

Daniel Mögling does not explain the 'Rosicrucian' movement in the *Speculum*, but he creates an independent version of the non-existent brotherhood. The etching of the 'Rosicrucian fortified tower' deserves special attention. By intensively following the well-known Rosicrucian texts *Fama* and *Confessio* at the beginning and artistically transposing them into the etching while also including other authors, such as Julianus de Campis, Mögling succeeds in conveying his own eclectic theosophical positions, which are condensed in the word 'Pansophy', a term he coins. In terms of publishing, Mögling shows himself to be at the height of the times by engaging the printmaker Matthäus Merian as an artwork designer. But he also draws on older models in the relationship between text and image, which are referred to in the picture. The close interlocking of image and text makes an intensive collaboration between engraver and author probable, with the preserved manuscript of the *Speculum* being a possible testimony to their arrangement. The added entries suggest that Mögling himself wrote the manuscript.

With the specific text-image arrangement, Mögling joins an older tradition of writing that was particularly concentrated around the publishers de Bry and Jennis and the engraver Merian in Hesse. The 'Rosicrucian' texts of Johann Valentin Andreae, on the other hand, are less complex in design.

The large number of surviving textual witnesses to the 'Rosicrucian debate' cannot be arranged into a simple scheme that only recognizes the publication of the first texts and later testimonies of their reception. The individual actors of the 'Rosicrucian movement' have different interests, publishing strategies, and epistemic practices. In this multitude of practices Daniel Mögling's strategies take up older practices and contents and reissue them under the motto 'Rosicrucian'.

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Figure Credits

Fig. 1: *Speculum*, front page. SSR, front matter, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A: 24.3 Quod. (3), http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/24-3-quod-3s/start.htm?image=00001 (CC BY-SA 3.0, https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/de/).
Fig. 2: *Speculum*, fortified tower. SSR, p. 21, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A: 24.3 Quod. (3), http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/24-3-quod-3s/start.htm?image=00021 (CC BY-SA 3.0, https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/de/).
Fig. 3: *Speculum*, manuscript. SSR-Manus, p. 1, Zentralbibliothek Zürich, SCH R 201, https://doi.org/10.7891/e-manuscripta-23267 (Public Domain Mark 1.0)
Fig. 4: *Speculum*, front page, detail. SSR, front matter, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A: 24.3 Quod. (3), http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/24-3-quod-3s/start.htm?image=00001 (CC BY-SA 3.0, https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/de/).
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Fig. 7: *Speculum*, Realms of nature. SSR, p. 27, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A: 24.3 Quod. (3), http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/24-3-quod-3s/start.htm?image=00027 (CC BY-SA 3.0, https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/de/).
Fig. 8: *Speculum* (manuscript), fortified tower. SSR, p. 21, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A: 24.3 Quod. (3), http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/24-3-quod-3s/start.htm?image=00021 (CC BY-SA 3.0, https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/de/).
Fig. 9: *Speculum* (print), fortified tower. SSR-Manus, illustrated page after p. 8, Zentralbibliothek Zürich, SCH R 201, https://doi.org/10.7891/e-manuscripta-23267 (Public Domain Mark 1.0).
Fig. 10: *Speculum*, "Doct. Mogling". SSR-Manus, p. 2, Zentralbibliothek Zürich, SCH R 201, https://doi.org/10.7891/e-manuscripta-23267 (Public Domain Mark 1.0).
Fig. 11: *Speculum*, riddle. SSR-Manus, p. 1, Zentralbibliothek Zürich, SCH R 201, https://doi.org/10.7891/e-manuscripta-23267 (Public Domain Mark 1.0).

Sasaki Takahiro

Manuscript Features of Early Japanese Movable Type Books

On the Intersection of Eastern and Western Typesetting Techniques

1 Introduction

In order to reflect from a global history perspective on the relationship between handwritten and printed books in Japan, it is worthwhile to focus on the characteristics of movable type printing there starting from the end of the 16th century. Both Eastern and Western techniques of movable type printing reached Japan simultaneously at the beginning of its early modern period, during a phase of political consolidation and intense interaction with foreign countries and people. However, there are still many unanswered questions regarding the interaction between these two printing techniques, to the point where there is currently no shared explanation accepted among scholars. Researching the material characteristics of the books printed with movable type in this period leads to a reassessment of their relationship to the two printing techniques. This contribution shows that early movable type editions can be positioned at an intermediate point between manuscripts and woodblock prints, and furthermore had a major impact on the establishment of commercial publishing in Japan.

2 Summary of the History of Printing in Premodern Japan

Before breaching the main topic, it is necessary to briefly summarize the history of printing in Japan until the advent of movable type.[1] It is an accepted fact that printing in Asia began in China in the seventh century CE. As evidenced by the oldest dated surviving print, the *Hyakumantō Darani*, printing technology reached Japan from China in the 8th century.[2] However, at this point only single sheets of paper were printed, which cannot be considered 'printed books' as such. The first mention of the production of a printed book in Japan is found in *Midō Kanpakuki*, the diary of the courtier Fujiwara no Michinaga (966–1027) now listed in UNESCO's Memory of the World Register. In the entry for the 14th day of the 12th month of 1009 CE, Michinaga wrote that he started

1 For comparable discussions cf. Kornicki 2001, 112–124; Kamei-Dyche 2011, 273–276.
2 Cf. Kornicki 2012.

I want to thank Radu Leca for translating this chapter and providing valuable advice. According to East Asian name conventions, surnames are cited before given names.

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printing 1000 copies of the *Lotus Sutra* (Sanskrit: *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka Sūtra*). Since this sutra comprises eight fascicles, Michinaga would have had to print 8000 fascicles in total. Since it is unlikely that such a feat could have been accomplished without precedent, sutra printing projects had presumably already been undertaken before this date. The oldest dated printed book is a 1088 version of the Buddhist sutra *Joyui Shikiron* (Sanskrit: *Vijñapti-mātratā Siddhi Šāstra*). However, the oldest surviving woodblock with certain dating is a 1195 commentary on that same sutra, *Joyui Shikiron Jukki*. Thus, from the 11th century onwards, mostly Buddhist texts were continuously printed in Japan.

In the history of printing in Japan, an often-noted phenomenon are changes in book binding.[3] The first printed books were bound as scrolls. Then, following changes in China, text-bearing sheets in Japan, instead of being rolled up, also started to be folded and stacked in the *orihon* ('accordion') format. This may seem quite a simple form of binding, but more complex forms of binding using double-sided printed sheets also emerged such as *decchōso* ('butterfly binding'). This binding technique was transmitted from Tang-period China at the beginning of the ninth century. It required calculating the desired number of sheets to be folded in half, then glue to be applied to their outer fold, and these to be glued on top of the preceding sheet. In China sheets made from thicker paper would be written on both sides, while those made from thinner paper would only be inscribed on the inner surface of the fold, while the outer surface would be left blank. Meanwhile, in Japan double-sided inscription was the norm, perhaps because it became possible to produce enough paper that allowed such intensive use. In China *decchōso* is called 'butterfly binding', and printed books bound this way were produced in the Northern Song period (960–1127 CE) from the second half of the tenth century. During the Song and Yuan dynasties, many *decchōso*-bound printed books were imported to Japan, but all of these were printed only on the inner surface of the folded sheets. Meanwhile, *decchōso*-bound books printed on both sides started to be produced in several Buddhist temples in Japan from the second half of the 13th century onwards. Although books produced in China and Japan shared the same binding, it is difficult to establish a direct connection between them because of significant differences in sheet design and font use. Although it is tempting to conclude that books with these characteristics were also produced in limited numbers in China, a Japanese origin of such books cannot be established with certainty.

Likewise, one might conclude that double-side-printed *decchōso*-bound books were invented in Japan. However, although the binding was *decchōso* rather than *orihon*, there are Chinese Song dynasty sutra texts that were printed on both sides of folded books, and their introduction to Japan can be confirmed. Thus, such examples most likely inspired double-sided printing in *decchōso*-bound books in Japan. Such books in Japan, as with earlier printed books bound as handscrolls and as *orihon*, were restricted to Buddhist texts in content, and they were designed to look like manuscripts. This suggests that copying Buddhist texts by hand was considered important in Japan and that their printed

3 For example Kornicki 2001, 43–44.

versions were perceived as substitutes of manuscripts. This was different than the situation in China, where printed books stood out because of features such as printed borders. This might be explained by the fact that in China manuscripts were considered vulnerable to copying mistakes, while texts that had been printed after thorough checking were considered more trustworthy. This preference for printed texts over manuscripts did not gain hold in Japan, where manuscripts continued to be produced in large numbers.

Both *orihon*- and *decchōso*-bound printed books kept being imported from China to Japan. From the end of the 13th century, single-side printed books also started to be produced in Japan in significant numbers. This may be related to the change from the Southern Song to the Yuan dynasty, which led some supporters of the old regime to emigrate to Japan and thus transmit, among others, technical knowledge of printing. So, by the end of the 13th century, double-sided prints that imitated manuscripts as well as one-sided printing that drew attention to its printed nature were being produced in Japan. This is a highly important development in the history of printing in Japan.

While the two types of printing differed in appearance, they were both used exclusively for the reproduction of Buddhist texts. That being said, one-sided printing came to be associated with the rising influence of the Zen school of Buddhism, which had been transmitted to Japan in the 13th century and gained popularity starting then. There were two branches of this new form of Buddhism. The first was called Rinzai, which took a particular interest in literature and thus permitted the printing of poems and other writings by monks. Due to this, vernacular texts, mainly related to Chinese poetry, also started to be printed, marking a major shift in the history of printing in Japan.

Such books printed by the Rinzai branch of Zen Buddhism are called *Gozan-ban*, which translates literally as 'five-mountain editions', since most were produced in the five main Rinzai temples around Kyoto. However, the term *Gozan-ban* has also come to include books printed in other Rinzai temples as well as in temples of the rival Sōtō branch of the Zen school. While *Gozan-ban* initially replicated or mimicked imported Chinese books, there was a gradual shift towards printing texts authored by Chinese immigrants to Japan as well as by Japanese monks. Despite the increasingly diverse content, the default script used was that of *Kanji* ('Chinese characters'), aside from the occasional Sanskrit letters featured in Buddhist texts. However, a few exceptional examples of the use of the *kanji*-derived phonetic script *Hiragana* in prints before the advent of movable type are known. This appears in the *Kurotani shōnin gotōroku* (a collection of sermons by the monk Hōnen of the Jōdo or Pure Land School of Buddhism) from 1321 and the 1391 scroll-bound *Yūzū nenbutsu engi emaki* from 1391.[4] *Hiragana* script is legible even with only a minimum of instruction. Presumably, the Buddhist schools that printed these texts used *Hiragana* because they were actively seeking to gain followers among the common people. Furthermore, these texts were made as imitations of manuscript formats.

4 Cf. Takagishi 2015.

A further notable feature of the history of printing in Japan is the change in binding techniques among *Gozan-ban* in the period between the 13th and 16th centuries. Initially, *Gozan-ban* were one-sided prints bound in the *decchōso* format, just like the books imported from China of the Song and Yuan dynasties. However, the way books were made in China started to change around the time of the dynastic shift from the Yuan to the Ming in the second half of the 14th century, and these changes were duly adopted in Japan. In *decchōso* binding, the printed page is folded inward along the middle of its wider side. In the new type of binding, the page is folded outward and the sheets are stacked together, then the ends of the paper opposite the folds are perforated and stitched together with thread. In Japan, this binding technique is called *fukurotoji* ('pouch binding'). *Decchōso* binding has the disadvantages of easily coming apart because of glue peeling off, as well as frequent insect damage: The bookworms prefer the glued sections. The production process also presents many difficulties: For example, it takes effort to apply the glue properly, and one needs to wait for it to dry before attaching the next page. On the other hand, *fukurotoji* binding simply changed the folding technique and used only string and thread for binding. These modifications did not require any change in the printing process and were therefore particularly appropriate for a medium such as printing, which prioritized efficient large-scale production. This explains why this type of binding, called *xiàn zhuāng* ('stitched binding') in Chinese, became the predominant form of binding for printed books in China.[5] After *fukurotoji* binding became widespread in Japan, *decchōso*-bound books imported earlier from Sung and Yuan dynasty China started to be rebound with the new technique. This change also occurred in the case of *Gozan-ban*, and from then on *fukurotoji* became the main binding technique for printed books in Japan as well.

3 Overview of the History of Movable Type Printing in Japan

The major role played by the commercialization of print in changing the forms of publishing is a phenomenon shared across cultures around the world. The emergence of publishers that produced books as commercial products had a multifaceted impact on the characteristics of printed books. Printing requires a significant financial investment, so in order to make it economically viable, it is necessary to have a critical mass of buyers. If the society in question does not already have a mature mercantile economy, it is difficult for vernacular printing to emerge and endure. In China private commercial publishers emerged around the 12th century during the Song dynasty, while in Japan vernacular publishing only emerged and developed in the 17th century. The beginning of movable type printing in Japan at the end of the 16th century immediately preceded the establishment of commercial publishing and had a major influence on the transformation of printed books into a commercial product.

5 Cf. Hu/Yang 2012, 76–77.

The first movable type book was printed in Japan in 1591. This was connected to the beginning of direct exchanges between Europeans and the Japanese, which happened in 1543 when two Portuguese people, Francisco Zeimoto and Antonio da Mota, reached Tanegashima island southeast of Kyushu and sold their matchlock guns to the local ruler.[6] Soon after, Jesuit priests started a successful proselytizing campaign throughout Japan. To aid their efforts, they shipped a printing press from Lisbon to their Collegio in Kazusa, not far from Nagasaki, where it was installed in July 1590. Among the books printed there is the 1591 *Sanctos no gosagveo* ('Excerpts from the Lives of the Saints'). However, by this time, the rulers of Japan had already issued edicts banning Catholicism, and this continued until exchanges between Europeans and the Japanese ceased, with the exception of the Protestant Dutch. Because of this, printing with Western movable type ceased after only two decades.

Nonetheless, during his last years as ruler of Japan, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–1598) developed the ambition to conquer China. He started with the attempt to conquer the 'gateway to China' (the Korean Peninsula) by sending invasion troops in 1592 and 1598. In Japan, these ill-fated expeditions are known as the *Bunroku Keichō* campaigns (after their respective imperial era names). While wars cause suffering irrespective of time or place, it is also true that conflict between different populations and cultures results in the transmission of technology. A representative example is that of the 751 AD Battle of Talas between the Abbasid Caliphate and the Chinese Tang empire, as a result of which Chinese war prisoners transmitted the technology of paper making to the Arab world.[7] Likewise, Japan's failed invasion attempt did result in the transmission of technologies of ceramic production and metal movable type printing to Japan, which in turn had a monumental impact on the country.

The history of movable type printing in Asia starts around the middle of the 11th century, and the oldest surviving movable type-printed book is an edition of the *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra* dating between 1102 and 1106. This technology most likely entailed carving characters in a bed of hardened glue and then baking them for hardening.[8] As for wooden movable type printing, a description of its production process is found in a section of a 1313 book from Yuan dynasty China.[9] Metal movable type is reported to have been used during the Goryeo kingdom in Korea between 1237 and 1241 AD, and the oldest surviving book printed this way dates from around 1377.[10]

While in China the large distances and immense demand for copies made movable type impractical and thus scarcely used, in Korea metal movable type was actively used because it allowed repeated reprinting of a variety of texts. In Japan, the value of books printed with metal movable type from the start of the Joseon period was known

6 On this topic cf. Lidin 2002, 13–15.
7 For more information cf. Park 2012, 25–26.
8 For more information cf. Needham 1985, 201–202.
9 Cf. Needham 1985, 205–211.
10 Cf. Kornicki 2011, 119; Lee 1993, 536–540.

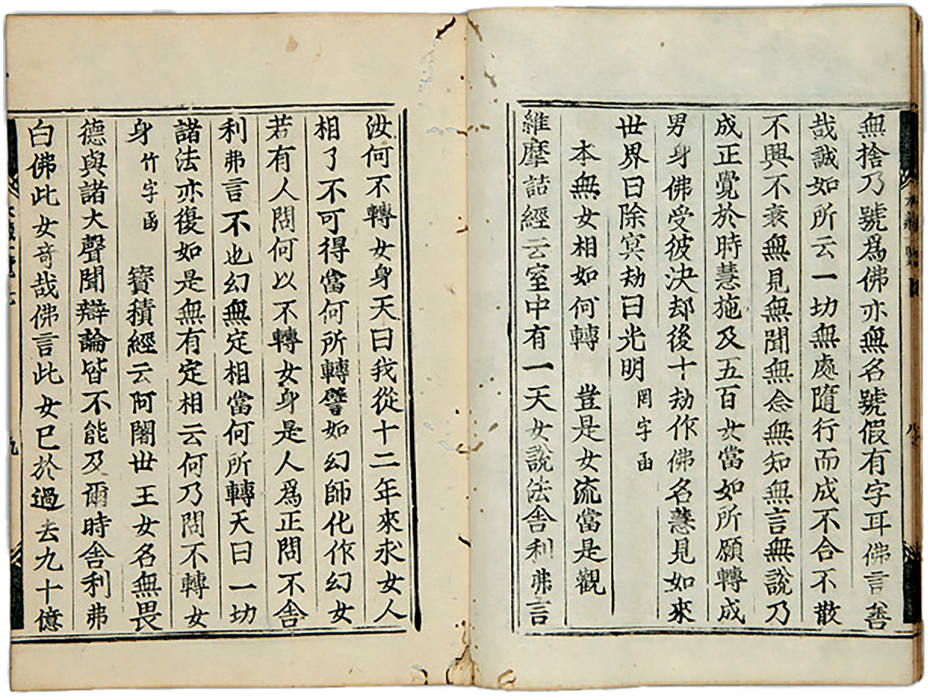

Fig. 1: *Daizō ichiranshū* ('Digest of the Tripitaka'), 1615, metal movable type print, National Archives of Japan, Tokyo.

through trade. Thus, Hideyoshi's invasion forces brought back not only large numbers of such books but also the metal movable type sets needed to print them.[11] There is a high possibility that, along with a large number of potters, many printers also crossed the seas in this way.

There are records of the fact that the sets of movable type confiscated in Korea were gifted by Hideyoshi to Emperor Goyōzei, who then used them to print the book *Kobun Kōkyō* ('Classic of Filial Piety') in 1593.[12] The oldest extant book printed with Korean technology is a 1595 edition of the Buddhist text *Hokke gengijo* ('Introduction to the Commentary on the *Flower Garland Sutra*'). The use of wooden movable type to print that text shows that movable type had spread rapidly in Japan. Furthermore, Tokugawa Ieyasu, who became ruler of Japan after Hideyoshi, commissioned the production of a new set of metal movable type characters, which were used for printing books in 1615 and 1616 (Fig. 1).[13] However, since the use of movable type required both sophisticated technology and significant financial investment, most books printed with movable type in Japan used wooden characters.

11 For details on Korean books brought back by the invasion forces cf. Kornicki 2013a.
12 Cf. Kinoshita 2000, 57; Lillehoj 2011, 66–70.
13 On this topic cf. Kornicki 2008, 75, 81; Horikawa 2020.

4 Script Use and Design Features of Early Movable Type Editions

Printing with movable type of Korean origin continued until around 1650, and well over 500 books were thus produced. To distinguish between the books printed during that half century from the ones made with the resurrected wooden movable type technology, the former are called 'early movable type editions'. Although half a century seems to be a brief period, early movable type editions went through many changes during this time. The earliest are very similar to Korean editions, from the type size and font style down to the page layout. Gradually, type sizes diminished, and the number of lines and characters per line increased. This process is directly linked to a reduction in production budget and thus demonstrates the tendency to turn movable type printed books into commercial products.

Another important change was the diversification of the types of script used. Both Chosŏn-period Korea and Japan had used the characters originating from China. Then in the middle of the 15th century, the Chosŏn emperor of the time commissioned the development of a new phonetic alphabet called *Hangul*, which was eventually also used for printing. On the other hand, in Japan, two types of phonetic alphabets derived from *Kanji* were developed independently in the 9th century and started to be used in manuscripts together with *Kanji*. One of these alphabets, *Katakana*, was formed by isolating individual elements from the more complex shape of *Kanji*. It was initially used as a reading aid for Buddhist texts but eventually served to transcribe the pronunciation of all words of foreign origin. The other alphabet, *Hiragana*, was derived from the cursive writing style of *Kanji* for the purpose of rendering the sounds of the Japanese language. *Hangul* was not used in Japan, so early movable type editions did not use it, but there are examples of such editions using movable type sets for *Hiragana* and *Katakana*. As mentioned earlier, most books printed before this period used only Chinese characters, so the fact that indigenous script types came to be used extensively in early movable type editions constitutes an epoch-making event in the history of printing in Japan.

A high level of literacy is needed for reading books containing only text in *Kanji*. Since *Hiragana* and *Katakana* were also used by the general population, texts using these scripts would be intelligible to a larger number of readers. *Hiragana* in particular was used to record *waka* poetry and *monogatari* narratives,[14] so its use meant that essential texts of Japanese literature could now be widely reproduced. This development led to a dramatic quickening of the commercialization process of the printed book.

Since *Katakana* evolved from constituent elements of *Kanji*, each character functioned independently, and accordingly it could function in similar ways to *Kanji* when it came to movable type set production and use. *Hiragana*, however, emerged from the cursive writing style of *Kanji*, and therefore its characters were not written independently but were customarily linked with a continuous line. Furthermore, type sets

14 On *waka* cf. Morris 1986; on *monogatari* cf. Jinno 2020.

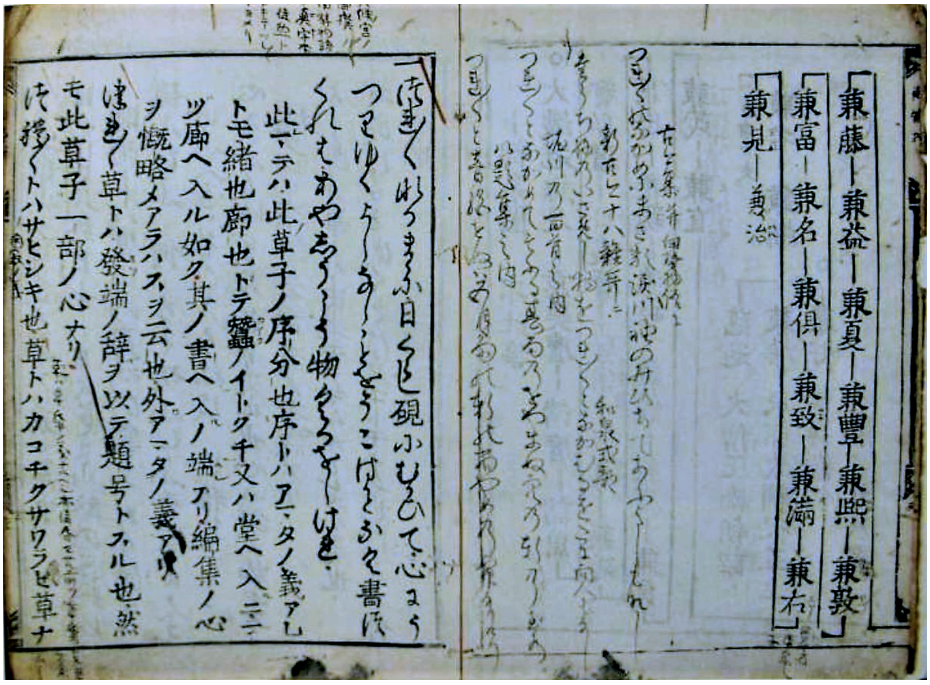

Fig. 2: Hata Sōha, *Tsurezuregusa Jumyō'in shō* ('Essays in Idleness—Commentaries by Jumyō'in'), 1604, wooden movable type print (1931 facsimile edition), National Diet Library, Tokyo.

for *Kanji* used together with *Hiragana* also had to follow the cursive style. Since *Hiragana* had different characteristics than *Kanji* and *Katakana*, its transfer to movable type print was more difficult.

The above difficulties help explain why early movable type editions with *Hiragana* started to be produced slightly later than those with *Kanji* and with *Katakana*. One of the solutions found was to make types that linked two or three *Hiragana* characters often written together. There are even examples of types containing four or five characters. Nowadays these are called 'linked movable types' or ligatures. One of the advantages of movable type is its modularity, which increases printing efficiency by recombining individual types. Ligatures, on the other hand, have a limited frequency of use, and are thus ill-suited for cost-effective printing. To make possible the printing of *Hiragana* with movable type, publishers had to turn a blind eye to this disadvantage.

Although it seems that the earliest movable type printed book with *Hiragana* was the 1599 medical text *Enju satsuyō* ('Long Life Compendium'), an early example with a fully ascertained date is the 1604 *Tsurezuregusa Jumyō'in shō* ('Essays in Idleness—Commentaries by Jumyō'in') (Fig. 2).[15] However, such early movable type

15 This is the oldest existing full-length commentary of what became a classic of Japanese literature. Cf. Chance 1997, 42.

editions were probably not printed in large numbers and had more of a trial-and-error character. The text of both of those books was placed within frames, and furthermore two parallel lines marked the fold along the middle of the printed page. This layout design was customary for books printed in the Song, Yuan, and Ming dynasties and Chosŏn-period Korea, as well as Japanese books with *Kanji* and *Katakana* (with the exception of some editions of Buddhist texts).

The fold mark was a crucial element in the making of the book. More than just providing a visual aid for folding the page approximately along its middle, the mark included an abbreviated version of the book's title, the fascicle number, and the pagination, thus facilitating the assembly of the book. Additionally, even with an identical text being printed, variations in fold mark design reveal that a different typeset or woodblock has been used. Even manuscript books that use *Kanji* often feature frames around the text as well as borders dividing each line of text, but of course they do not have fold marks. Furthermore, the lines in manuscript are usually thin, while lines in printed books are mostly thick and in many cases doubled. Thus, a thick-lined fold mark signaled the fact that the book in question was printed. The inclusion of borders and fold marks in the design of the two above examples of trial-and-error early movable type editions using *Hiragana* shows that these were considered necessary elements for printed book design. However, how should we interpret the fact that once movable type printing with *Hiragana* was standardized, its book design omitted those elements? Considering that lines or fold marks are not usually featured in manuscripts using *Hiragana*, the printed books were presumably trying to imitate the look of manuscripts. The publishers probably thought that lines or fold marks did not fit well with the look of cursive style script.

5 Manuscript-like Features of Japanese-Script Early Movable Type Editions

Although there is a significant visual difference between a book with borders and fold marks and one without, the difference is only slight from a production point of view. Borders are printed by placing four rod-shaped types along the edges of the type plate. However, if the plate is lined with rod-shaped types of lower height, the border will not be printed. The use of this method is demonstrated by traces of these low-height types that occasionally got printed unintentionally. Early movable type editions can thus be divided into those using *Kanji* and *Katakana*, which stress their printed nature by including borders and fold marks, and those using *Hiragana*, which omit those elements in order to look like manuscripts (Fig. 3). Although both groups are printed with movable type, the intention behind them is different.

There is also another way to prove that early movable type printed books using *Hiragana* were designed to look like manuscripts: the shape and size of the books. The material characteristics of early movable type editions differ both from books printed

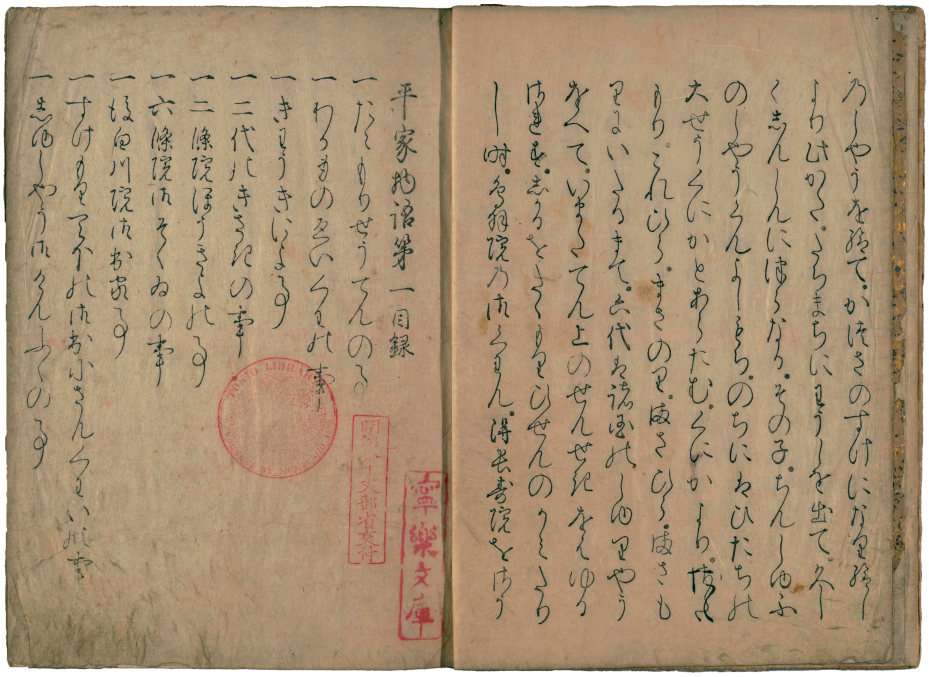

Fig. 3: *Heike Monogatari* ('Tales of Heike'), Nakanoin edition, early 17th century, wooden movable type print, National Diet Library, Tokyo.

in Ming-period China and in Chosŏn-period Korea. Leaving aside differences in front covers and focusing only on shape and size, movable type printed Korean books are the largest, many almost 40 centimeters high. By comparison, Ming-period woodblock-printed books are much smaller, around 25 centimeters high. Most early movable type editions in Japan are almost 30 centimeters high, larger than Ming-period books but smaller than Chosŏn-period movable type editions. Furthermore, when we compare height to width ratios, Ming-period books are narrow and high, while Korean and Japanese books tend to be wider. This size-ratio comparison thus corroborates the fact that early movable type editions in Japan are more similar to Chosŏn-period books than to Ming-period editions. However, early movable type editions with *Hiragana* have slightly different characteristics: They are a little smaller in height but wider than the books using *Kanji*. It is possible to provide an explanation of these differences from a production point of view: The *Hiragana* books were trying to imitate manuscript books not just in their look but also in their shape and size. That some *Gozan-ban* with Buddhist texts were trying to imitate manuscripts has been discussed above. It can also be argued that this precedent influenced the production of early movable type editions with *Hiragana*, yet this does not provide a sufficient explanation.

Since there are no manuscript-like features in Chosŏn-period early movable type editions, the characteristics of Christian-printed books should be considered. Just as

early movable type editions can be divided into those using *Kanji* and *Katakana* and those using *Hiragana*, so too can Christian-printed books be grouped into two categories according to the script used. On the one hand, there are Western-script books printed with alphabet metal types, and on the other hand there are Japanese-script books using combinations of *Kanji*, *Hiragana*, and *Katakana*, which are also printed with metal movable type. The former were printed with the types thought to have been made in Venice and brought over to Japan, which then served as a model for the metal types of local script produced in Japan. The differences in appearance between Western-script and Japanese-script books are more significant than those between the two categories of early movable type editions. While Western-script books have the same size and are made in the same way as Western books, the ones with Japanese script are made to look like Japanese books of the time, from their size and binding down to their front cover.

13 out of the 32 types of Christian printed books known today use Japanese script. Among these there are two subtypes: large and small. *Dochirina Kirishitan* ('Doctrina Christam') and *Bauchizumo no sazukeyo* ('The Way to Administer Baptism'), thought to have been among the first to be printed, used large types (Fig. 4).[16] Oddly enough, the only other known use of these large types is for printing a one-page pamphlet with the text of prayers. The *Dochirina Kirishitan* is thought to have first been printed in 1591, and the other two publications were probably made close to that date.[17]

There was a gap of a few years in the printing of Japanese-script Christian books. When the printing of such works resumed, locally made metal types are thought to have been used. These were smaller than the earlier types. The 1598 *Rakuyōshū* ('Collection of Fallen Leaves') is among the earliest books produced this way, with a clear indication of having been printed in Nagasaki.[18] The gap in printing is probably due to the change in the physical location of the printing press. Except for one work produced in Kyoto with local technology around 1611, all Japanese-script Christian books used these smaller types. Additionally, there are significant differences between early and later Japanese-script Christian printed books that go beyond the size of the types used. They concern the presence or absence of borders. The large-type books do not include a border, while the small-type books do include it.[19] This could be explained by the fact that the knowledge of books in Japan increased during the printing gap: A border was added because it became clear that Western books usually have this feature.

The Chinese character dictionary *Rakuyōshū*, one of the earliest books to be printed with the smaller type, is an important work for the study of the history of the

16 For a discussion of *Dochirina Kirishitan* cf. chapter three in Higashibaba 2001.

17 However, recent research has unearthed a printed version of *Salvator Mundi*, which belongs to this group, dated to 1595, cf. Osterkamp 2022.

18 Cf. Yamagiwa 1955; Bailey 1961.

19 The recently rediscovered 1595 edition of *Salvator Mundi* is printed with large types but includes a border, and thus has a transitional character.

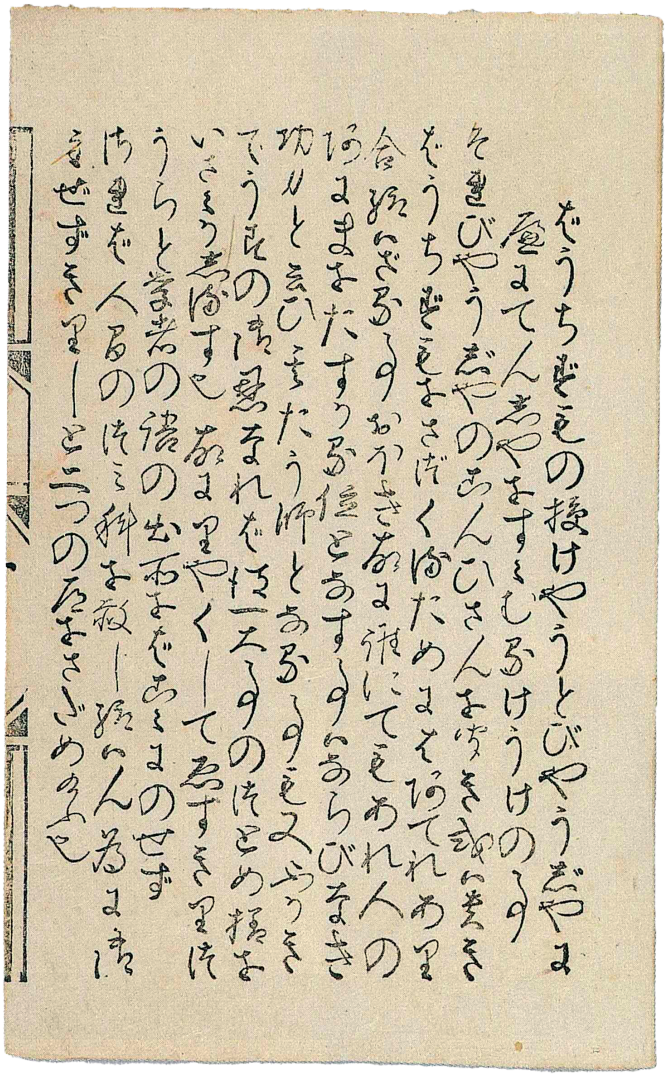

Fig. 4: *Bauchizumo no sazukeyo* ('The Way to Administer Baptism'), 1593, Christian movable type print, Tenri University Library.

Japanese language because of its structure and the information it contains and is also notable for being the first dictionary to be printed with movable type in Japan (Fig. 5). Besides including a border, there are also lines delimiting each vertical row of text. No other Japanese-script movable type Christian book has this feature. However, many character dictionaries printed in East Asia include row lines. This shows how movable type-printed Christian books integrated the characteristics both of Japanese and of East Asian printed books.

While the large-type and small-type Japanese-script books differ in these ways, they also share an important feature: the fold mark. The large-type *Dochirina Kirishitan* and *Bauchizumo no sazukeyo* do not have borders, but they do carry fold marks.

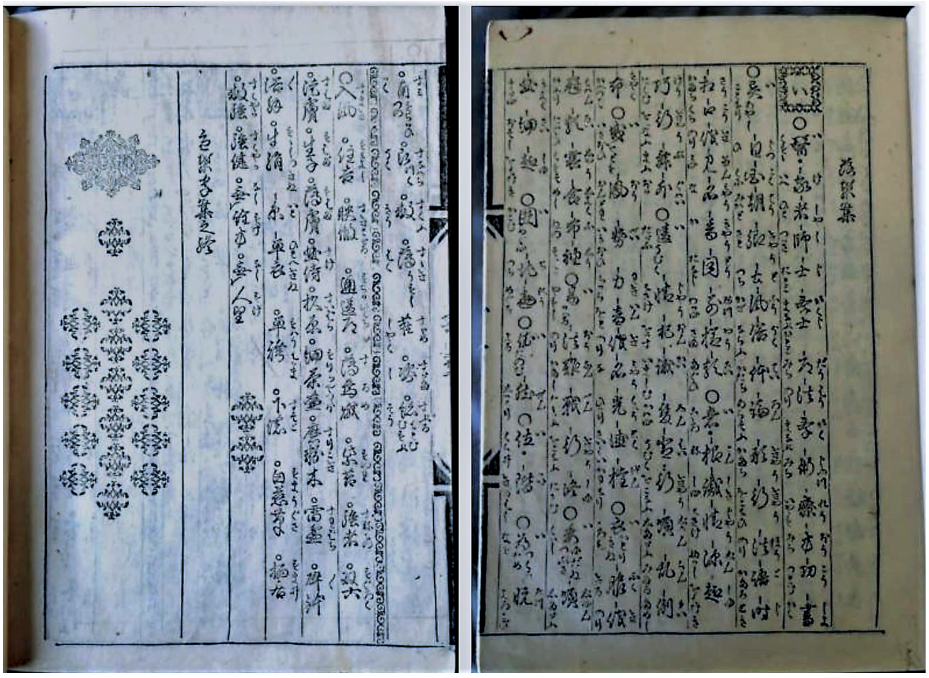

Fig. 5: *Rakuyōshū* ('Collection of Fallen Leaves'), 1598, Christian movable type print, Tenri University Library.

While there are examples of printed Buddhist texts with fold marks, no other examples exist of Japanese-script printed books with fold marks. The fold mark of *Dochirina Kirishitan* is unobtrusive: without a vertical line, only with the sign of the cross, the book's title, and a Chinese character numeral indicating the page number. By contrast, the fold mark of *Bauchizumo no sazukeyo* comprises two vertical lines and three connecting triangular lines, and, in terms of text, only an additional Chinese character numeral indicating page order. This design is very similar to that found among *Gozanban* editions. The radically different fold mark designs of these two large-type works provide insight into the experimental nature of their production. Meanwhile, the fold mark design of the newly discovered edition of *Salvator Mundi* is comprised of two vertical lines connected by two symbols, again indicating its transitional character between large- and small-type editions.

As for the small-type books, they have many variations to their fold mark design, but they have one feature in common: two rectangular marks are inserted between double vertical lines. Even the variations are similar to those found in Chinese and Japanese printed books using *Kanji*. Thus, after the initial period of experimentation with large type, the makers of Christian movable type books succeeded in developing a Japanese-script book design that integrated borders and fold marks. Regardless of the size of the type used, all movable type printed Christian books with Japanese script

were printed on *washi* ('Japanese paper'), were bound as *fukurotoji* like most books in Japan at the time, and although slightly differing in size, they were all roughly the size of *fukurotoji*-bound Japanese books of the period.

Another notable feature are the front covers. Although only a few of the surviving Japanese-script books still carry their front covers, the designs of the existing ones suggest that they are similar to the front cover design of manuscript books using *Hiragana*. Taken together, these features of Japanese-script books clearly show that they were conceived as replicas of manuscript books using *Hiragana*. This should not come as a surprise considering the parallels with early movable type printed books in Europe, which also replicated the look of manuscript books.[20]

6 Korean vs. Western Influence on Early Japanese Movable Type Editions

There is still no definitive conclusion to the ongoing debate between scholars on the issue of whether early movable type editions of Japanese books were more influenced by the two movable type technologies that reached Japan almost simultaneously—one from Korea, the other from Europe. The accepted view used to be that Korean technology was the sole origin for movable type printing in Japan.[21] However, as the study of Christian printed books has intensified in recent years, the view that they had a significant influence on Japanese editions has gained traction.[22]

For the proponents of the thesis of Korean influence, the evidence is abundant: The emergence of movable type in Japan dates shortly after the introduction of Korean technology, and there are a number of examples of early movable type editions that show direct influence from Korean books, such as in the design of borders, fold marks, and character shape.[23] While that evidence is irrefutable, the argument for the European influence rests on the shared features of the movable type printing technology. There were actually two types of movable type printing invented in China. The one thought to have been invented first involves carving a bordered type plate in advance then carving the interior slightly deeper than the height of the type. Hot wax is then poured in the plate, and while it is still soft, low-height types are placed in it. When the wax cools and hardens, the types are fastened in place, hence the name 'fastening method'.[24] The other so-called 'assembly method' involves placing high types on a plate and securing them in place with four surrounding thin rectangular types. While the Korean books were produced with the 'fastening method', early movable type editions in Japan were

20 On this topic cf. Schmitz 2018, 11–41.
21 Cf. Satow 1882, 66–67; Marceau 2009, 120.
22 Cf. Kornicki 1998, 129; Kinoshita 2000, 57–58; Kornicki 2013b, 609–610.
23 For the material characteristics of Korean books cf. Song 2009.
24 For a description cf. Jialu Fan et al. 2015, 194–238.

produced with the 'assembly method', which is very similar to the Western technology with which Christian books were printed. This points to a stronger probability that the technology of Christian printed books influenced that of early movable type editions.

However, further advances in the study of Korean printing showed that while initially the 'fastening method' was used, later the 'assembly method' also started to be used for printing.[25] However, this did not completely contradict the proponents of the importance of the influence of Christian printed books. This is because of one of the features of early movable type editions using *Hiragana*: the use of ligatures. While there are a few examples of ligature use for large-type Christian printed books, the examples increase dramatically for small-type books. Focusing on this aspect increases the persuasiveness of the argument for the connection between Christian printed books and early movable type editions.

Such ligature types are found in the early days of printing in the West, and for those who knew about this, it was most likely not so difficult to adapt this technique to a different script. However, examples of using types combining several characters



Fig. 6: *Ise monogatari* ('Tales of Ise'), Saga edition, 1608, wooden movable type print, Iinumasan Enpuku-ji temple, Chōshi.

25 Cf. Oh 2013, 106–107.

have also been reported in the case of Korean books and this makes it difficult to argue conclusively for a direct connection between Christian printed books and early movable type editions.[26] It is important to note here the use in Christian books of types with the length of two characters but containing only one lengthened character. Combining these with ligature types further increased the handwritten look of the text. The use of these lengthened character types is also found in early movable type editions.

Furthermore, recent scholarship has argued for the influence of Christian books from the perspective of illustrations.[27] The first literary work using *Hiragana* to be printed as an illustrated book is the celebrated 1608 edition of the 'Tales of Ise', grouped as a *Saga-bon* edition from the name of its place of publication (Fig. 6). While the compositions of its illustrations follow traditional Japanese conventions, the shape of clouds and mist is rendered through many fine lines. This technique had not previously been used for illustrations in East Asian printed books. It has been suggested that the fine horizontal lines might have taken cues from the Western etching technique since a record has been found that the illustrations were designed by the Christian painter Kano Ichi'un.[28] It is worth noting that copperplate prints were used for the title pages of some of the Christian books in both Western and Japanese script.

7 Further Thoughts on Korean vs. Western Influence

This study thus far has revealed the difficulties in determining if the characteristics of early movable type editions were influenced by Korean or European movable type printing technology. Because of several features already discussed, it is clear that early movable type editions using *Kanji* and *Katakana* were heavily influenced by Korean printed books. However, it is difficult to imagine that the *Hiragana* editions, which have very different characteristics, were produced under the influence of only the Korean books. It is certain that the use of linked and lengthened types, the omission of borders and of fold marks, and changes to the proportions of the shape of early movable type editions were all features intended to mimic the appearance of *Hiragana*-written manuscripts. It is difficult to dismiss the fact that many of these features are also shared with the Japanese-script Christian printed editions. However, there is no doubt that the *Hiragana* editions also used Korean printing techniques. It is therefore helpful to think that the similarities between the *Hiragana* early editions and the Japanese-script Christian books were not the result of direct contact, but rather that the makers of early editions had a chance to see the Christian books and were greatly inspired by the concept of making manuscript lookalikes and emulated them.

26 Cf. Park 2022, 24–25.
27 Cf. Hayashi 2005.
28 Cf. Hayashi 2010.

There are also a few examples of *Hiragana* early editions printed on both sides of the paper, with very similar binding to that of Western-script Christian books. These also copy the look of Japanese manuscripts, but it is possible that the Western-script books had an influence on how their production was conceived. Compared to technological influences, these conceptual influences are more difficult to prove, but they deserve further careful consideration.

Recent research has shown that the care taken not to break a line in the middle of a word in the earliest *Hiragana* movable type editions is also a feature of the small-type Christian books in Japanese script. In Japanese *Hiragana* manuscripts, such care is usually not taken, so this might have also been the result of the examination of Christian books by the producers of early editions. In other words, this is a further reinforcement of the possibility that early editions were influenced by Christian books.[29]

The advent of early movable type editions marked the beginning of the commercialization of printed books and contributed to a rapid increase in the number of readers and—implicitly—buyers. However, wooden movable type was not suitable for large print runs, and it was difficult to make the printing surface more complex to meet the needs of readers. For these reasons, after half a century it fell into disuse and was replaced by the already existing woodblock printing, which was far more efficient for large print runs. It is ironic that the commercialization of the book ended up strangling the printing technology that initiated it.

For some time after the switch to woodblock printing, *Hiragana* editions did not have borders or fold marks and retained the character of replicas of manuscripts. However, from the second half of the 17th century, *Hiragana* editions gradually began to appear with borders and fold marks, and by the end of the century printed books without them were rare. By this point, printed books had ostensibly ceased trying to imitate manuscripts and instead stressed their printed character. We can conclude that Christian books in Japanese script printed with Western technology thus catalyzed the emergence of printed books with *Hiragana* and, consequently, played a discrete role in the establishment of commercial printing in Japan. One can only wonder how publishing would have evolved in Japan if Christianity had not been banned.

8 Conclusion

Manuscripts are basically one-off items, while printed editions are considered to be multiple identical copies. It is true that printed copies share the same text, but even when printed with the same woodblocks, each copy is slightly different in size and has a different color and pattern on the cover, making it impossible to state that they are exactly the same. The trimming and binding of the printed editions were also done

29 Cf. Koakimoto 2021.

by hand, and in this respect printed texts are akin to manuscripts in their variability. However, rather than this variability being unintentional, there are examples of early movable type editions in which the printed copies were intentionally differentiated. The *Saga-bon Ise monogatari* ('The Tales of Ise') introduced above is a case in point: After setting the type and printing one sheet, several types were removed and replaced with differently shaped types for the same characters, and the process was repeated for every sheet printed so that no two sheets are exactly alike.

This might be considered as a diversion for the typesetter, but it is hard to believe that a craftsman would voluntarily go through such a tedious process. This should be regarded as a deliberate act of trying to approximate a manuscript in cases where, while being printed books, there are never identical copies. This variability approximated the modulations of a handwritten text, in a way that a woodblock-printed text, although retaining the look of handwriting, could achieve only with much more difficulty. From this point of view, early movable type editions can be positioned at an intermediate point between manuscripts and woodblock prints. The fact that the covers of early movable type editions are often unique shows that they are close to the nature of manuscripts.

Such early movable type editions produced with the intention of being close to manuscripts were published in small numbers and at great expense, and it is also said that the *Saga-bon Ise Monogatari* was not intended for sale but was produced as a gift for nobles.[30] Yet even those editions not designed as luxury items could only be produced in a limited number of copies since the wooden movable types would quickly wear out. And even if those books were eventually sold, they were expensive, so it makes sense to think that they were intended for the upper classes.[31] Even so, when compared to the rate of production of manuscripts, such early movable type editions were produced in astonishing numbers for the time and were quickly distributed.

The period of peace brought about by the Tokugawa shogunate stimulated the mercantile economy and the expansion of a newly affluent social class. Their presence promoted the commercialization of printed books, but this resulted in the decline of the early movable type editions, which faced difficulties in meeting growing demand while being unlikely to scale profits. Woodblock printing required more initial investment than type printing but could produce an exponentially higher number of copies and generate greater profits. It is therefore not surprising that woodblock printing became the mainstay of commercial publishing in the following years.

Although early movable type editions disappeared after only half a century, there is no doubt that their existence had a major impact on the establishment of commercial publishing in Japan. Many of the texts of early movable type editions were also regarded as being of good quality, well revised, and proofread, and many of them were

30 Cf. Totman 2005, 243–244.
31 Cf. Shively 1991, 726.

transferred to the woodblock print medium. In this way, early movable type editions played an extremely important role in the history of the book in Japan. Among these, early movable type editions in *Hiragana*, which facilitated the publication of works in local script, are particularly noteworthy. The possibility that the Christian editions produced in Japan with Western type printing technology, with their integration of manuscript features, may have influenced the development of these early movable type editions in *Hiragana* is a matter of great importance for the global history of the book.

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Figure Credits

Fig. 1: *Daizō ichiranshū* ('Digest of the Tripitaka'), 1615, metal movable type print, National Archives of Japan, Tokyo.
Fig. 2: Hata Sōha, *Tsurezuregusa Jumyō'in shō* ('Essays in Idleness—Commentaries by Jumyō'in'), 1604, wooden movable type print (1931 facsimile edition), National Diet Library, Tokyo.
Fig. 3: *Heike Monogatari* ('Tales of Heike'), Nakanoin edition, early 17th century, wooden movable type print, National Diet Library, Tokyo.
Fig. 4: *Bauchizumo no sazukeyo* ('The Way to Administer Baptism'), 1593, Christian movable type print, Tenri University Library (with friendly permission).
Fig. 5: *Rakuyōshū* ('Collection of Fallen Leaves'), 1598, Christian movable type print, Tenri University Library (with friendly permission).
Fig. 6: *Ise monogatari* ('Tales of Ise'), Saga edition, 1608, wooden movable type print, Iinumasan Enpuku-ji temple, Chōshi.

Radu Leca

The Media Trajectory of Kano Naganobu's *Merrymaking under Cherry and Aronia Blossoms*

1 Introduction

The standard analysis of the relationship between manuscript and print media is based on the history of the book in Europe, where movable type printing predominated and the processes of typesetting and of producing illustrations were strictly delimited. In East Asia, however, the predominance of woodblock printing, the visual character of calligraphy, and the merging of visual and textual formats meant that print often retained manuscript characteristics, meaning that the distinction between the two media was much less strict.[1] Given such differences, how can we still talk holistically of manuscript and print cultures while integrating cultural variations? To address this initial question, I propose to reframe the relationship between manuscript and print as a particular instance of a larger phenomenon: that of the relationship between an initial original artifact and its reproduction. For this purpose, I use the term 'manuscript' in a broad sense, to include hand-written as well as hand-painted artifacts[2] and focus on an original artifact—an early 17th-century painted folding screen—and its reproductions in various media, both in an art historical and in a philatelic context (Fig. 1).[3]

The remediations of the initial artifact can be visualized as a chronological chain (Fig. 2). However, instead of a diachronic pedigree starting from a hallowed original and decreasing in value and importance as it is reproduced in various ways, this study focuses on the trajectory of a given artifact through a horizontal media ecosystem.[4] How does this trajectory intersect with the historiography of Japanese art, with the

1 Cf. Kornicki 2001, 26–29; Chance/Davis 2016.

2 Unlike studies such as Kogman-Appel 2001, where 'manuscript painting' refers to paintings included in manuscripts, my understanding of 'manuscript' considers paintings as a type of manuscript, even when no textual element is present.

3 A preliminary form of this paper was presented at the AAS conference in 2021. I thank Drisana Misra, Federico dal Bo, Emura Tomoko, and Marimi Tateno for inspired feedback on earlier drafts.

4 In this I adapt the discussion of the trajectory of a work of art and its consequences for the concept of the original and of the copy in Latour/Lowe 2011.

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Fig. 1: Kanō Naganobu, *Merrymaking under Cherry and Aronia Blossoms*, 1600–1610, pair of six-fold screens, Tokyo National Museum.

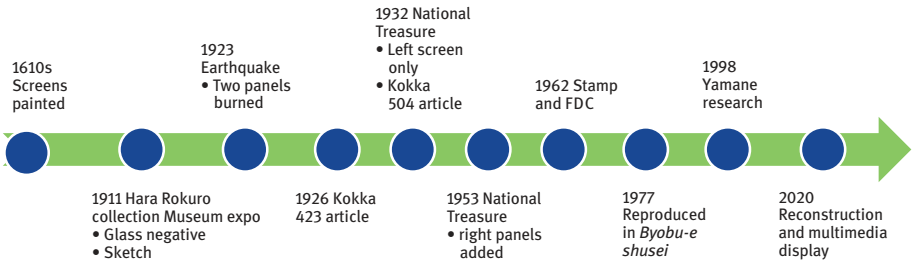


Fig. 2: Diachronical visualization of the media trajectory of *Merrymaking under Cherry and Aronia Blossoms*.

postwar mythography of the Japanese nation as well as with the history of stamp collecting? How do the various reproductions contribute to our understandings of the interactions between manuscript, printed as well as digital media? And, more broadly, how do these media interactions modify our very notions of original and reproduction?

In order to answer these questions, it is helpful to integrate the work of media theorists. While the very definition of a medium can be elusive, Bolter and Grusin define a medium as "that which remediates".[5] Graulund develops this idea further when discussing the original as gaining meaning "only through its mediation".[6] This perspective parallels Walter Benjamin's argument that the reproduction of an original work serves to enhance its 'aura'.[7] This means that, for instance, manuscript and print cultures never exist in isolation but rather are mutually coemergent. Furthermore, this process is bidirectional: When a new medium remediates its predecessor, that preexisting medium will in turn incorporate elements from the new medium.[8] This configures a media ecosystem characterized by intermediality, i. e., a simultaneous, entangled relationship between older and newer media.

Rajewsky, however, makes a distinction between an inherent intermediality and specific intermedial strategies, constitutional elements, or conditions of a given media product or configuration.[9] Focusing on the latter aspect, in this case applied to the multiple reproductions of the painted screen, enables a critical approach more sensitive to the characteristics of each medium and the shifting configurations of the media ecosystem. More specifically, this study case sheds light on the characteristics of one of the subcategories of intermediality identified by Rajewsky: that of medial transposition, in which the content of a media product is actively transformed in the process of its reinscription into another medium.[10]

While the discussion of remediation and intermediality has been focused on the transition from print and audiovisual media to digital forms, I argue that it can be enriched by two additions. The first is a consideration of a wider media ecosystem, both in terms of media diversity as well as of different cultural practices. This case study will demonstrate how the practices of art historiography and of stamp collecting involve complex processes of reproducing manuscripts that complicate the ideas of copy and original. Indeed, alternative cultural practices of copying have the potential to complement the concept of remediation. This issue is particularly relevant in the context of the East Asian tradition of manuscript copying.[11] This was true of the

5 Bolter/Grusin 2000, 65.

6 Graulund 2017, 115.

7 Cf. Benjamin 2007.

8 This parallels Graulund's characterization of the original and the copy "as being engaged in an interlinked and always transformative process that is never quite at rest". Graulund 2017, 123.

9 Cf. Rajewsky 2005, 47.

10 Cf. Rajewsky 2005, 51.

11 For copying in Chinese painting and calligraphy see Cahill 1994, 95–112, 134–136; Ledderose 1998, 194–213; Hay 2014. For copying in Japan see Meehan 2014, 264–66.

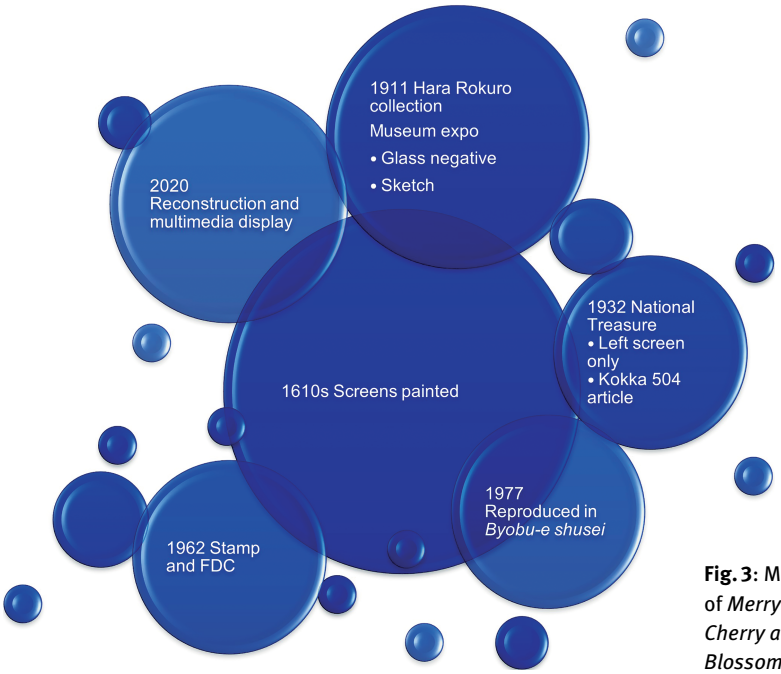


Fig. 3: Media ecosystem of *Merrymaking under Cherry and Aronia Blossoms*.

Buddhist cultural environment, where copying sutras was a form of accruing merit, of writing practices that included manuscript copying with an educational, mnemonic, and archival purpose, as well as to painting practice, where copying was a form of instruction and advancement of technique that allowed forms of creativity.[12] It has even been argued that "there may be a compulsive character to the concept of replication in Japan".[13] This reliance on transpositions of the initial artifact into another media form characterizes the history of literature as well as the history of art in Japan.[14] In an aesthetic and cultural medium that did not relegate reproductions to an inferior status to that of their original, it becomes possible to conceptualize a non-hierarchical media ecosystem, characterized by a democracy of copies, or what Lamarre calls a "distributed field".[15] The side view of the chronological iterations of an artifact can thus be reimagined as an 'exploded view' capturing a synchronic slice of the horizontal relationship of these reproductions (Fig. 3).[16]

12 For sutra copying see Kornicki 2001, 78–111; Lowe 2012; O'Neal 2019. For writing practices see Carpenter 2008; Marquet 2014, 323–327. For copying in painting practice see Jordan/Watson 2003; Marquet 2014; Kameda-Madar 2014.

13 Cox 2008, 11.

14 A media studies approach to a parallel phenomenon is at work in what Emmerich calls 'bibliographic translation', meaning the rendering of the calligraphic nature of woodblock-printed text into movable type in 19th-century Japan. Cf. Emmerich 2014.

15 Cf. Lamarre 2009, 306–309.

16 Cf. Lamarre 2009, 306–309.

This intermedial ecosystem is reconfigured by recurring cycles of reproduction spurred by the artifact's public appearances. This reconfiguration is inflected by the material characteristics of each medium, and this is my second addition to the discussion of intermediality: the deployment of a material culture approach combined with a consideration of the possibilities for action, or affordances, of an artifact and its reproductions in their social contexts.[17]

2 Screen Painting History

The three-pronged approach outlined above—the media trajectory of an artifact, a culturally-inflected media ecosystem, and the importance of materiality and affordance—makes more sense once we start examining the initial artifact under consideration: a pair of folding screens showing "Merrymaking under Cherry and Aronia Blossoms", painted by Kano Naganobu (1577–1654) (Fig. 1).[18] The right screen depicts a group of aristocratic women enjoying a picnic with music and song, while the left screen features women performing a fashionable dance while being watched by aristocratic figures on the veranda of an octagonal pavilion. The realism of the renderings has encouraged theories that it represents an actual outing in Kyōto around 1597 and features Yodogimi, the wife of the ruler Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and their son Hideyori.[19] Regardless of its relationship to real events, it is one of the most skillfully executed examples of outdoor entertainment from this period by one of the leading painters of the prominent Kano school.[20] The dancing figures, for example, are brimming with movement, which is compounded by the sharply hooked brush strokes depicting the grass under the dancers' feet.

Such folding screens would have been primarily designed for indoor viewing, and therein lies their first intermedial feature: They transport an outdoor setting and social occasion into an indoor viewing experience. The fact that the depicted space is spread across two screens facilitates the immersive quality of that remediated experience.

17 Cf. Peltzer 2019, 2–3. In its original formulation by ecological psychologist James Gibson, the term 'affordance' referred to the interdependent relationship between an environment and its users (Cf. Gibson 1979, 127–143). Design theorist Donald Norman then redefined the term with an emphasis on an object's possibilities of action as perceived by the user according to their physical capabilities, objectives and past experiences (Norman 1988). Recent scholarship on affordance calls for an analysis not of what objects afford, but rather how, for whom, and under what circumstances they afford it. Cf. Davis 2020, 8–11.

18 The screens are not titled, and their 20th-century title has been customarily translated as "Merrymaking under Cherry Blossoms"; however, this is only accurate for the right screen, since the left screen features a blossoming *kaidō* (海棠 aronia) tree.

19 Cf. Noma 1953, 13–14.

20 Naganobu was the youngest brother of Kano Eitoku (1543–1590), and started a studio in Edo while being employed by the ruling Tokugawa family with the title *goyō eshi*. See Gerhart 2003, 15.



Fig. 4: Kanō Naganobu, detail of the central two panels of the left screen from *Merrymaking under Cherry and Aronia Blossoms*, 1600–1610, pair of six-fold screens, Tokyo National Museum.

In order to make the remediation effective, the composition is structured along 'single field of vision scenes'[21] that cater to the process of physical interaction with the screen in an indoor setting under candlelight. Unlike other Kano school paintings featuring a gold leaf background and designed to serve as a backdrop for social occasions, these screens are full of details meant to be appreciated from a close distance.[22] In this context, the viewers' field of vision would have been restricted to two or three panels at most. The audience would alternate between sitting on rice straw mats (Jp. *tatami*) with their legs folded and changing location to be able to appreciate one scene at a time.

The two central panels of the left screen form together one such scene that encapsulates the narrative of the entire composition (Fig. 4). At the very center is a female dancer, her body divided by the screen partition. The significance of this design choice, extremely rare among extant screen paintings of the period, has not been considered in previous research. While modern museographical practices favor the

21 'Single field of vision scene' is my translation of Ōta Shōko's term *ichi shiya no gamen*, as discussed in Ota 1995, 86–95.

22 On Kano paintings as backdrops see chapter 1 in Gerhart 1999.

display of the screens as flat surfaces, they were originally designed to be displayed in a folded state. This conferred spatial dynamics to the entire composition. The body of the dancing woman was effectively folded in the angle of the two panels, imbuing it with three-dimensionality and kinetic energy. The painter was therefore maximizing the affordance of the screen medium for expressive purposes.

The above discussion shows how such painted folding screens participated in an intermedial ecosystem beginning at the time of their creation. That ecosystem changed radically in 1911, when the painting was rediscovered in the collection of the industrialist Hara Rokurō and displayed at the Tokyo Imperial Household Museum (the predecessor of the Tokyo National Museum) as part of the exhibition *Paintings, Costumes and Accessories of Women in the Tokugawa Period*.[23] Implicit in this display choice was the painting's classification as a *fūzoku-ga* ('genre scene'), assumed to be a faithful rendition of the 'reality' of the time.[24] Furthermore, as indicated by the title of the exhibition catalogue—*Ukiyo-e Painting Collection*—such genre scenes were considered to be the precursors of the *ukiyo-e* ('floating world picture') genre and thus an important chapter in the history of Japanese art.[25] In the catalogue, the screens were reproduced one panel at a time, severing the body of the dancer and thus obscuring the dynamism of the cross-panel depiction (Fig. 5).[26]

In this complex way, the painting entered an institutional and hermeneutical framework that from its inception had shaped the historiography and the canon of Japanese art.[27] Part of this inclusion, equivalent to an initiation rite, was the making of two forms of archival reproductions, one auxiliary to print technology and the other in manuscript: a photographic glass negative and a sketch by the curator Mizoguchi Teijirō of the central figure of the right half.[28] The painting then narrowly escaped destruction in the 1923 Kanto earthquake.[29] The central two panels of its right half were lost, making its two reproductions the only source for understanding the initial state of the artifact. However, the preservation of its two reproductions could not compensate for the incomplete status of the right half. When the screens were introduced to the academic world with a short article in the prominent journal *Kokka* in 1926, only

23 Tōkyō Teishitsu Hakubutsukan 1911, 6 (cat. 64).

24 As shown in Princess Akiko of Mikasa 2009, the term *fūzoku-ga* itself is a late 19th-century Japanese construct imitating the European art historical category of 'genre scenes'. For an extensive analysis of *fūzoku-ga* historiography, see Lee 2003, 19–38.

25 Cf. Tanaka 1911.

26 This parallels the process of fragmenting images of handscrolls in reproductive media discussed in Wang/Trede 2021.

27 Cf. Tseng 2008.

28 This dual use of reproduction technologies coincides with a transition period from archival sketches to archival photography, paralleled for example by the activity of Wilhelm Weimar at the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg ('The Museum of Arts and Crafts Hamburg') around 1900. See Kreiseler 2018.

29 Cf. Schencking 2015; Weisenfeld 2012.

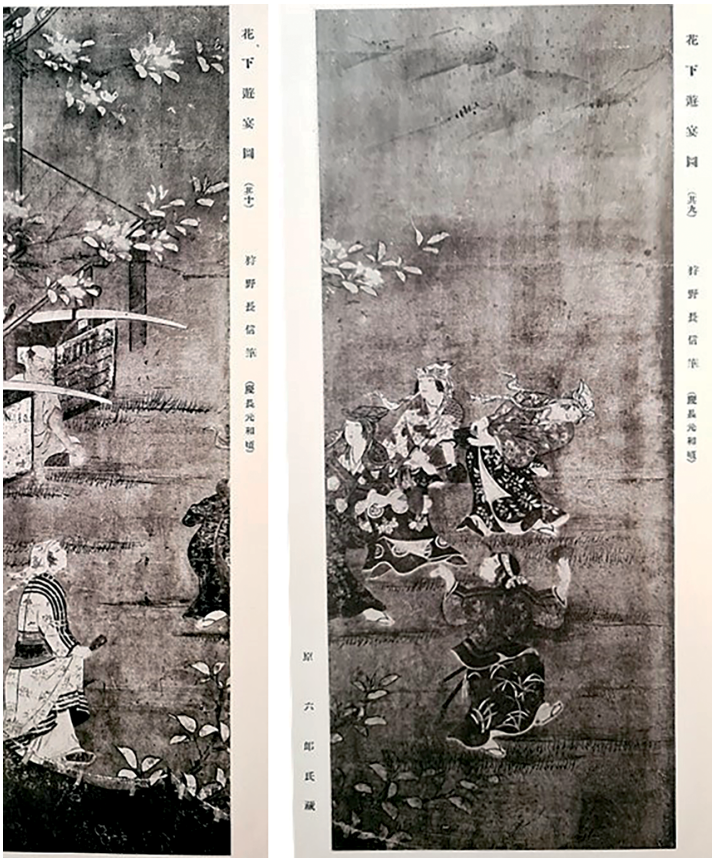


Fig. 5: Kanō Naganobu, detail of the central two panels of the left screen from *Merrymaking under Cherry and Aronia Blossoms*, photographic print, Tanaka 1911, cats. 1–9, 1–10.

the left half was reproduced in a collotype at an approximately 1:7 scale.[30] This was larger than the customary size, requiring the use of a fold-out that provided a partial parallel to the folding of the reproduced artifact. This article along with its prominent reproduction undoubtedly contributed to the designation, five years later, of only the left half as a National Treasure, consecrating the work's status within the art historical canon in Japan.[31] The surviving panels of the right half were included in the National Treasure designation only in 1953.

Meanwhile, for art historians, the glass negative photographic reproduction of the right screen remained crucial for the study of the painting. For example, in a 1932

30 Taki 1926. The sheet measures 51.3 by 21.1 cm, approximately one seventh the size of the screen, 148.8 by 356.8 cm.

31 On the history and significance of the National Treasure System see Guth 1997. It is also perhaps not coincidental that Mizoguchi Teijirō 溝口禎次郎, who had sketched the central figure of the right half of the screen in 1911, was by this time both head of the Fine Arts division of Tokyo National Museum and member of the *Kokuhō Hozonkai* ('National Treasure Preservation Bureau'). See Tōkyō Bunkazai Kenkyūjo 2014.

article in the same journal, *Kokka*, the art historian Fujikake Shizuya describes the reproduction process:

> The remaining panels are now mounted on a four-fold screen. I took new photos of these and added an old photo of the lost panels in order to make the restorative image presented here. It is regrettable that the facsimile of the old photo of the lost panels decreases the sharpness of the restorative image, I urge the reader to take it into consideration.[32]

And in a 1953 article that includes both forms of archival reproductions of the screens mentioned above, the curator and art historian Noma Seiroku declares his intention to "restore the work to the pages of this magazine and remember it in its entirety as it once was".[33]

Therefore, from the very start of its 20th-century rediscovery, its appreciation was mediated by cycles of reproductions. The latest cycle dates to the beginning of the 21st century, when the two initial reproductions of the right panel enabled the digital recoloring of the lost panels. The glass negative provided grayscale color values superior to those of a regular photograph.[34] Digital scans of the surviving panels were then converted to grayscale to correlate the values with those from the glass negative.[35] The sketch by Mizoguchi provided further color information. However, not all color values were able to be reconstructed, and it was decided to leave those areas blank in the resulting digital image. This resulted in a transmedial reconstruction of the initial surface of the folding screen. That final image was subsequently laser-printed onto blank Japanese-style washi paper sheets, then mounted as a pair of folding screens. This analogue-digital-analogue reconstruction was the centerpiece of an intermedial display at the Tokyo National Museum.[36] This included digital projections of clouds and cherry blossoms across the screens' surface, as well as motion sensors triggered by visitors' footsteps that animated the projection of cherry blossoms on the floor. The text included in the presentation video rehashes the ethnocentric appropriation of the artifact's meaning inherited from *fūzoku-ga*: 'One could say this is a work that beautifully captures the spirit of the Japanese people, who love the seasons and celebrate spring'.[37] This media assemblage referenced the initial manuscript artifact, though within a much more complex ecosystem of reproductions. Although the materiality

32 Shisaian 1932, quoted in Yamane 1998, 379–380: 今は四曲屏風に装せられてるので、新たに之が写真を取り、それに加ふるに焼失せる部分の古き写真を以てして、原始復帰の図を作りて、是を此所に提出した。焼失部の古き写真よりの複写は、図より鮮明を欠くの遺憾あれど、読者は幸に諒とせられたい. Translation by the author.

33 Noma 1953, 12.

34 Cf. Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku 2001, 133.

35 Cf. Matsushima, quoted in Mori 2020.

36 Cf. Tsuzuri Project in the Primary Sources section of the Bibliography.

37 Original text: 季節を愛で、春を謳歌する日本人の心を見事にとらえた作品と言えるでしょう. Bunkazai katsuyō sentā 2020. Translation by the author.

of the screen format was reproduced, its surface was flat: The texture and thickness of the initial surface could not be replicated. Nevertheless, the presentation video claims that the installation 'revived the original form of the screens'.[38] The intention was to reproduce with digital means the 'aura' of the artifact or the immersive quality of its viewing experience.[39] Thus, in the media ecosystem of this artifact, reproductive media interrelate by referring to an original but without requiring its direct involvement. This process is part of a larger trend towards animation and interactivity in practices of displaying and appreciating artifacts in contemporary Japan, as exemplified by the pixel art folding screens of Shigeta Yusuke or the immersive installations by TeamLab.[40] Thus, digital forms of reproduction are not only the latest addition to the media ecosystem of 'Merrymaking under Cherry Blossoms' but also introduce their own developments, as discussed in the final section of this paper.

3 Philatelic Reproductions

This analysis so far has focused exclusively on reproductions of the source image within an art historical context. However, printed reproductions of the screen painting were also produced in the context of postwar philately. To exemplify this alternative mode of remediation, I focus on an artifact from my own collection: a First Day Cover envelope issued by the Japan Post in 1962 on the occasion of the printing of a stamp featuring a detail from Naganobu's screens (Fig. 6).[41] It is part of a material assembly that exemplifies Japan's 'wrapping culture': It is housed in an envelope marked Airmail, sent by a stamp collector in Tokyo.[42] Inside, in a custom plastic bag, originally thermal-sealed, is a hand-signed printed paper with the stamp collector's information, pressed against a cardboard cutout the exact size of the smaller envelope attached to it, of a standard size in 1962. The envelope features three printed reproductions of a detail of a female dancer: the stamp featuring the dancer, a printed reproduction of a photograph of the corresponding area from the original screen, and a cancellation mark impressed on the stamp in red ink with a custom seal showing the outline of the same dancer.

What is the significance of the philatelic reproduction of the screen painting's detail? First of all, our frame of analysis needs to expand to a broader concept of visual and material culture. Indeed, stamps have been acknowledged as a specific

38 Original text: 本来のの姿によみがえった. Bunkazai katsuyō sentā 2020. Translation by the author.

39 This resonates with a recent trend of acknowledging the potential of "environmental reproductions". See Gissen 2018.

40 Cf. https://culture-gate.jp/exhibition/motion (accessed 17/10/2022).

41 Cf. Collecticus 2006, 6–7.

42 For wrapping culture see Hendry 1993.

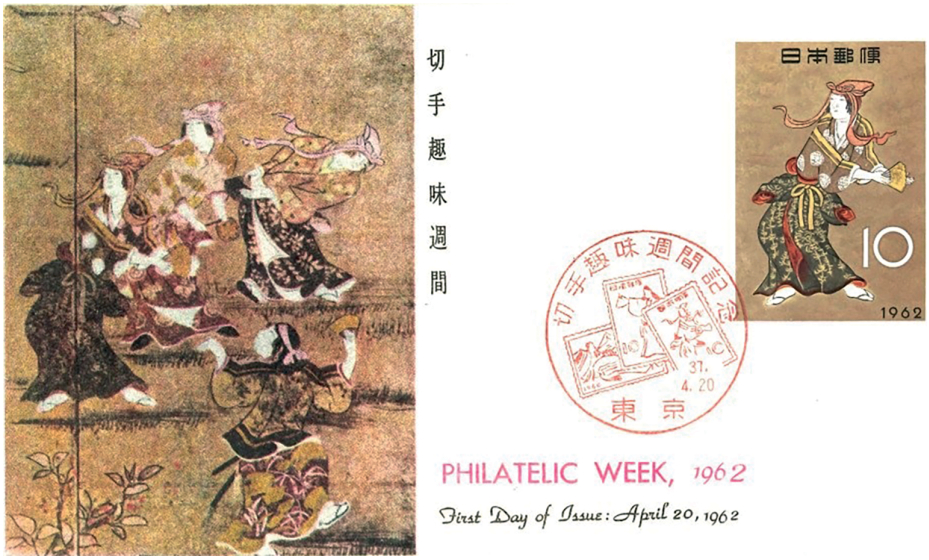


Fig. 6: Watanabe Saburō (designer), First Day Cover for 10 Yen stamp with design of *Dancing Girl* from *Merrymaking* screen, 1962.

form of visual culture, one that is government-issued and therefore closely tied to the agenda of nation building.[43] The First Day Cover also invites us to explore an under-researched connection between art historiography and philatelic culture, although, as discussed below, their history intersected from early on.

Before proceeding to a close analysis of the philatelic reproduction, it is worth briefly reviewing the history of art-themed stamps in Japan. Prior to World War II, the iconographic range of postal stamps in Japan was limited to imperial symbols, classical buildings, and Buddhist statuary. In 1945, the Allied Occupation offices issued a set of guidelines for the promotion of stamp collecting.[44] This was followed by the establishment of the Japan Philatelic Society in 1946, of Philately Week in 1947, as well as of nationwide stamp exhibitions. Furthermore, commemorative stamps were introduced in 1947 featuring reproductions of early modern artworks: The first two, for example, reproduced a woodblock print by Utagawa Hiroshige and a painting by Hishikawa Moronobu (the latter from the collection of the Tokyo National Museum).[45] These commemorative stamps instantly became collector's items, contributing to a quick rise in the popularity of stamp collecting. Overall, these developments point to a deliberate attempt to form the 'taste' of philatelists, encoding stamps as a form of cultural capital by simulating connoisseurship and other social practices associated with artworks. The burgeoning social practice of stamp collecting was thus legit-

43 Cf. Frewer 2002, 6–7.
44 Cf. Dobson 2002.
45 Cf. Tanabe 2014b.

imized by remediating tropes of prewar Japanese visuality, such as the art historical canon and touristic sites. Emblematic in this sense is the inclusion of artworks, including 'National Treasures', in the definitive issue series from 1951 to 1966. For instance, when a stamp reproducing a detail of the Nyoirin Kannon Boddhisatva statue of Chūgūji temple in Nara was released on May 1, 1951, the information card for its First Day Cover mentioned that 'one cannot overstate the artists' praise of its superlative technique and sense of beauty'.[46]

The 1962 stamp of the female dancer from the screen is another example of the close relationship between philately and art historiography. Its design was chosen from among a group of designs from paintings by Noma Seiroku, who was then the head of the Curatorial Department at Tokyo National Museum and had published an article on the screens.[47] By the 1960s, the number and variety of such art-themed stamps and First Day Covers had increased. At least three versions of the First Day Cover of the stamp of the female dancer were issued, each featuring a different additional rendition of the painting detail. One of these versions is illustrated in Fig. 7. It includes three examples of diverse printing techniques. On the left is a printed reproduction of an analogue photograph of a section of the screen painting's left half. The photograph had to be sifted into a restricted set of color attributes as preparation for rotogravure printing. Next to it is a text printed vertically in the manner of the premodern Japanese writing mode, spelling out the occasion of the production of this object, a bi-annual week of events promoting the hobby of stamp collecting. Below, text in English records the exact date of release. Off-center is an impression in red ink of a seal produced for the same occasion. It features the outline of the dancers in the painting along with those of two other stamps featuring images of women from premodern Japanese art, intended perhaps as an incentive for the collector to pursue this theme. The seal's red ink is carefully superimposed on what could be considered the 'original' object of this material assembly, a stamp remediating that same dancer.

With its collation of printed reproductions, the First Day Cover is hypermedial; it is an "isomorphic layering of two or more orders of observing".[48] At the same time, the stamp itself appears to display the other characteristic of remediation identified by Bolter and Grusin: the promise of immediacy, of delivering a faithful image of the initial painting, and in this process disappearing as a medium. However, a close comparison between the source painting detail and the stamp design reveals a series of visual interventions on the part of the stamp designer. First, there is a conscious choice to single out only one figure from a group of women that perform a collective dance. The dancer immediately behind, as well as brushstrokes signifying outdoor vegetation, have been erased and replaced by a non-descript background. This process followed a logic of frag-

46 Original text: その勝れた技巧と美観とは美術家の推賞描く能わざるところである. Translation by the author.

47 Cf. Tanabe 2014a; Noma 1953.

48 Hay 2014, 330. For hypermediacy see Grusin/Bolter 2000, 5–14.

mentation, relying on a process of metonymy by which the part stands in for the whole. The other major visual intervention is the erasure of the visual caesura of the screen fold. This suturing of the image of the dancer's body is understandable as an attempt to present a more distinctive image of the dancer. At the same time, this has the effect of muting the animation effect of the initial image. What had been a dynamic, almost three-dimensional rendition is now flattened, its kinetic energy frozen into a snapshot.

The two above interventions are also part of an overall effort to restore an 'original' painted image as it would have looked at the time of its initial production. The faded or oxidized areas of the lower garment, for example, are filled in. This restoration process is an invasive one: In the initial painting, the ventral area of the dancer's garment, though damaged by the folding of the screen, still reveals two chrysanthemum designs, originally painted with *gofun* white. In the stamp design, these have been supplanted by a single peony design (Fig. 7). Additionally, while the image of bamboo leaves on the fan held by the dancer in the original painting is barely discernible, the stamp designers boldly rendered what they considered to be its initial appearance (Fig. 8). This is a more radical approach compared to the digital reconstruction of the lost panels of the right screen, where uncertain areas were left in monochrome.

However, the interventions of the stamp designers can also be understood as a creative response to the constraints of the rotogravure printing technology. For example, printing brown pigment inside the black outline of the fan and then overprinting with yellow pigment resulted in an intermediary hue (Fig. 9). Moreover, the initial white hue of the support paper was integrated into the stamp design by leaving some areas unprinted—an effective parallel to the 'reserved white' technique used traditionally in East Asian brush painting.[49] These remediation techniques yielded a cleaner base image more appropriate for high-density rotogravure printing.[50]

The information card that accompanies this First Day Cover mentions the printing technique and the name of the designer but glosses over the interventions made to the initial image (Fig. 10). Instead, the descriptive text is similar to art historiographical writing in its emphasis on the characteristics of the reproduced artifact. It even misidentifies the cross-dressing female dancers in the screen as "men and women". This perpetuates the misinterpretation introduced in the 1926 *Kokka* article that was included in the entry of the screen in the National Treasure category.[51] The dancers, however, are all women who are crossdressing while performing dances usually associated with men.[52] The National Treasure entry for the work, and its philatelic

49 Cf. Croizier 1988, 53.

50 The accompanying information card in Fig. 8 translates the Japanese term *gurabia* as photogravure, but this actually refers to rotogravure, the most common printing process for stamps in postwar Japan ever since the importation of rotogravure printing presses from the German maker Koenig & Bauer in 1954. Cf. Sano 1960, 86.

51 Cf. Taki 1926, 37; Yamane 1998, 386.

52 Cf. Yamane 1998.



Fig. 7: Detail of the central two panels of the left screen of *Merrymaking under Cherry and Aronia Blossoms* (left) and detail of corresponding area of 1962 stamp (right).



Fig. 8: Detail of the third panel (from the right) of the left screen of *Merrymaking under Cherry and Aronia Blossoms* and detail of corresponding area of 1962 stamp.

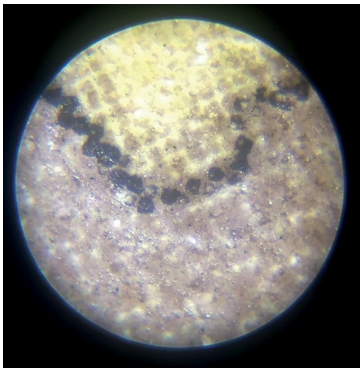
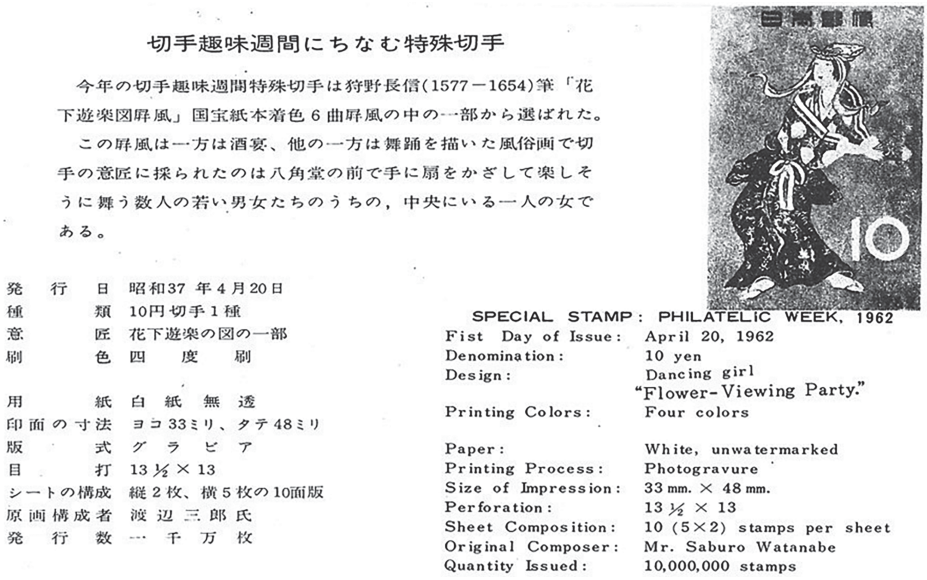


Fig. 9: Detail of fan edge on 1962 stamp, 100 × magnified.



切手趣味週間にちなむ特殊切手

今年の切手趣味週間特殊切手は狩野長信(1577－1654)筆「花下遊楽図屏風」国宝紙本着色６曲屏風の中の一部から選ばれた。

この屏風は一方は酒宴、他の一方は舞踊を描いた風俗画で切手の意匠に採られたのは八角堂の前で手に扇をかざして楽しそうに舞う数人の若い男女たちのうちの，中央にいる一人の女である。

発行日	昭和37年4月20日
種類	10円切手1種
意匠	花下遊楽の図の一部
刷色	四度刷
用紙	白紙無透
印面の寸法	ヨコ33ミリ、タテ48ミリ
版式	グラビア
目打	13½×13
シートの構成	縦2枚、横5枚の10面版
原画構成者	渡辺三郎氏
発行数	一千万枚

SPECIAL STAMP: PHILATELIC WEEK, 1962

Fist Day of Issue:	April 20, 1962
Denomination:	10 yen
Design:	Dancing girl "Flower-Viewing Party."
Printing Colors:	Four colors
Paper:	White, unwatermarked
Printing Process:	Photogravure
Size of Impression:	33 mm. × 48 mm.
Perforation:	13½ × 13
Sheet Composition:	10 (5×2) stamps per sheet
Original Composer:	Mr. Saburo Watanabe
Quantity Issued:	10,000,000 stamps

Fig. 10: Information card accompanying the First Day Cover of the 1962 stamp.

counterpart, thus flatten the complex gender dynamics of the painting into a gender-conforming binary, more appropriate to modern postwar Japan.

The three above remediation techniques—fragmentation, flattening, and restoration—are also characteristic of reproductions of artifacts in art history publications. Indeed, the deployment of these intermedial strategies goes back to the beginnings of modern art historiography.[53] In Japan, these strategies were grafted with a strong nationalistic tone. For example, the *fūzoku-ga* ('genre scenes') volume from the sumptuous 1970s series *Nihon Byobu-e Shusei* ('Crestomacy of Japanese Screen Paintings') includes, besides a reproduction of the painted screens, an extensive section with monochrome reproductions of details of paintings, grouped according to quasi-ethnographic iconographic categories 'for the study of the cultural history of Japan'.[54] Paintings of the period are here assumed to be faithful renderings of an 'original' reality, and the hypermedial accumulation of printed reproductions provides material anchors for the analysis of events and artefacts of the past.[55]

The scientific study of artifacts as well as the practice of stamp collecting developed in the late 19th and 20th centuries by integrating the increasing accessibility of printed reproductions. Both the art historian Aby Warburg and the media theorist Walter Benjamin collected and wrote about stamps.[56] It is not surprising, therefore, that

53 Cf. Keller 2001.
54 Cf. Takeda 1977, 149–180.
55 Cf. Takeda 1977, 172.
56 Cf. Zöllner 2020.

the hypermedial character of the First Day Cover and its accompanying information card would be influenced by art historical practices of reproduction. But stamps are not just smaller cousins of paintings or artistic prints in the genealogical tree of visual culture. They are also a medium associated with specific intermedial strategies and hermeneutical techniques that can illuminate broader aspects of visuality as well as materiality. Just like miniature books, stamps and other philatelic items are "a celebration of a new technology, yet a nostalgic creation endowed with the significance the manuscript formerly possessed."[57]

Philately is comprised of a set of social practices that employ techniques of optical investigation of printed reproductions of originals which are comparable to those of art historiography. However, the fact that philately's originals are printed and designed for postal circulation makes both their further reproduction problematic and their appreciation more forgiving to damage. Stamp catalogues often print an additional line over the stamp image to discourage falsification, and many stamps are collected after they have been cancelled with a visually intrusive stamp. Their size and accessibility also make visual examination with a loupe more casual and intimate than that of a painting. These characteristics enabled me to effectively upgrade examination by loupe, instead using a 100x portable microscope that requires close proximity to the examined surface—not a recommended practice for the original painting (fig. 9).

The flat, shiny, and slightly slippery illustrations of art history publications discourage analyses of their materiality, both in terms of the tactile and of the volumetric properties of the initial artifact. The role of materiality and tactility in the appreciation of artifacts is increasingly acknowledged both in a historical and contemporary context.[58] On the other hand, in comparison to art historical reproductions, stamps are more amenable to being handled, although one of the basic recommendations for beginners is to use tweezers instead of their fingers.[59] Close optical examination, however, encourages the recovery of tactile and volumetric information at the level of paper and pigment, a feature shared with high-resolution digital scans. Paradoxically, the practice of handling stamps is closer to practices of appreciating artifacts in early modernity; in the so-called 'textural mode' of early modern painting, the surface would have also been perceived through tactile contact or cues of texture and depth enhanced by candlelight.[60]

A material culture approach to visual sources such as stamps—mediated through optical devices—would allow increased understanding of the processes of remediation at work in appreciating artworks, objects, and images. Although stamp reproductions involve much more intrusive and non-transparent remediation techniques characterized by "translational violence", implicit in these techniques is a critique

57 Stewart 1993, 39.
58 Cf. Ganz 2012; Christidou/Pierroux 2018.
59 Cf. Melville 1920, 141–142.
60 For the textural mode see Berger 1998, 41–44.

of the initial artifact, the proposition of another way of thinking about handling and understanding that artifact.[61] This feature is particularly obvious in the case of art-themed stamps. At the same time that their remediation drifts away from a literal rendition of its initial artifact, it reproduces its collection value by relying on a quasi-art historical discourse.

4 Remarks on Intermediality

What is different when viewing the painted folding screen directly or in a reproduction? Along with the material characteristics of each reproductive medium, the distinct understandings of different observers lead to divergent processes of mediation. When exhibited now, the screens are often framed both by glass cases and by the discourse of the curator (fig. 11). The observers' own reflection, in both senses of the term, appears in the glass cases. The task of the art historian used to be defined by the ability to cut through these layers of mediation and recover the artifact's presence



Fig. 11: West German President Heinrich Luebke and his wife Wilhelmine visit the Tokyo National Museum on November 7, 1963 in Tokyo, Japan.

61 For 'translational violence' see Hay 2014, 325.

and initial meaning. But the very practice of art history has been shaped by the use of printed, and now digital, reproductions. Each new medium brings its own material and epistemological inflections that reconfigure the preexisting network of reproductions into which it comes into being. Thus, rather than striving for the recovery of an 'original' meaning of the artifact, it is more productive to understand the specific configurations of reproductive media through which its meaning has been shaped.

To the dyad of manuscript and print in an art historical context, I added reproductions in a philatelic context along with digital reproductions, thereby showing their intermedial couplings. Artistic manuscripts and print are therefore only two of many media configurations in a complex media ecosystem. As discussed above, the First Day Cover reproduces a manuscript in print in ways that precede processes of digital reproduction, thus offering a multifaceted example of the media trajectory of a specific artifact. The material assembly of the First Day Cover envelope illustrates the mechanisms of art canon formation and perpetuation as they intersected with the Japan Post's institutional objectives at a time of enhanced national sentiment. Such collector's items encapsulate the overlapping materiality of printed media in contemporary Japan, instigate fresh views on the initial materiality of the source image in early modern Japan, and prefigure the interplay between authenticity and simulation in the digital age. Philately, and in particular art-themed philatelic reproduction, is a hitherto unexplored form of historiography that also offers a methodological model for evaluating and appreciating images based on tactility and optical investigation.

While unpacking the complex and thought-provoking intermedial character of philatelic reproductions of work of art such as that illustrated in Fig. 7, it should be acknowledged that digital reproductions have the potential to reinstate the sense of touch and the perception of the artifact's presence. On the one hand, the digital medium can facilitate the painted reproduction of a work of art, such as the digital printing of pigments on gesso-coated canvas, or the 'Super Clone Cultural Property' intermedial technology used to reproduce Bamiyan Buddhist wall paintings at a recent exhibition at Tokyo University of the Arts.[62] Indeed, the display of the reconstructed Naganobu screens' lost panels blurs the categories of 'visual replicas', 'present-state copies', and 'reproduction copies' defined by literature on conservation in Japan.[63] Despite concerns of a 'dematerialization' effected by the digital, the embodied interactions afforded by these installations help recover the corporeal experience of an artifact whose loss with the advent of writing is decried by Walter Ong.[64]

The digital is only the latest addition to the repertoire of representational media. The horizontal nature of the digital media ecosystem is structured according to a 'database logic', in which all forms of previous media are equally accessible and repro-

62 For the former see Latour/Lowe 2017, for the latter Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku 2021.

63 Cf. Kyūshū Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 2011, 159, 281.

64 Cf. Ong 2002, which is critiqued for its simplistic binary between body and mind in Bleeker 2010, 40.

ducible.[65] At the same time, "what happened in a predigital world now occurs with exponentially greater speed and scope".[66] This process of acceleration exposes the intermedial nature of the manuscript and print media network which preceded digital media. Taking a wider side view that visualizes a democracy of images can thus offer a way forward from genealogical and hierarchical evaluations of the trajectory of an artifact (Fig. 3). The interrelationality of the digital medium helps reconceptualize the artifact as "a distributed existence, with strong and weak reenactments."[67] Instead of a binary between the original and the copy, thinking of reproductions as intermedial reproductions and qualifying them in terms of their 'strength', or their epistemological impact, enables a more nuanced perspective on the mechanisms by which a given text or image accrues and reinvents meaning in its trajectory through an ever shifting media ecosystem.

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65 Cf. Manovich 2000, 176.

66 Jenkins/Ford/Green 2013, 12.

67 Hay 2014, 329.

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Fig. 1: Kanō Naganobu, *Merrymaking under Cherry and Aronia Blossoms*, 1600–1610, pair of six-fold screens, 148.8 by 356.8 cm each, ink and color on paper, Tokyo National Museum, public domain.
Fig. 2: Diachronical visualization of the media trajectory of *Merrymaking under Cherry and Aronia Blossoms*, illustration produced by author.
Fig. 3: Media ecosystem of 'Merrymaking under Cherry and Aronia Blossoms', illustration produced by author.
Fig. 4: Kanō Naganobu, *Merrymaking under Cherry and Aronia Blossoms*, 1600–1610, pair of six-fold screens, 148.8 by 356.8 cm, ink and color on washi paper, Tokyo National Museum, detail of central two panels of left screen, public domain.
Fig. 5: Kanō Naganobu, *Merrymaking under Cherry and Aronia Blossoms*, details of central two panels of left screen, photographic print, from Tanaka 1911, cats. 1–9, 1–10, public domain.
Fig. 6: Watanabe Saburō (designer), First Day Cover for 10 Yen stamp with design of *Dancing girl* from *Merrymaking* screen, 1962, 16.5 by 9.65 cm (envelope), 3.3 by 4.8 cm (stamp), color offset

print with red ink seal (envelope), 4-color rotogravure (stamp), author's collection, author's collection.

Fig. 7: Detail of central two panels of left screen of *Merrymaking under Cherry and Aronia Blossoms* (left), and detail of corresponding area of 1962 stamp (right).

Fig. 8: Detail of the third panel (from the right) of left screen of *Merrymaking under Cherry and Aronia Blossoms*, and corresponding detail of corresponding area of 1962 stamp.

Fig. 9: Detail of fan edge on 1962 stamp, 100x magnified.

Fig. 10: Information card accompanying the First Day Cover of the 1962 stamp, author's collection.

Fig. 11: *West Germany President Heinrich Luebke and his wife Wilhelmine visit the Tokyo National Museum on November 7*, 1963 in Tokyo, Japan. (Photo by The Asahi Shimbun via Getty Images).

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