

Andrea van Leerdam

# Woodcuts as Reading Guides

...wile in gebreke d' miltē **E**n gheue  
 pinē en gebreke d' miltē **E**n gheue  
 gouc i wijn of spise genomē is goet tege  
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 dicerui en m; water vā borago ofe be  
 nargie d' mēgt **D**ec is sijn geuult gom  
 goet genomē in wijn of in spise ofe ghe  
 mēgt m; eēlectuariū genaēt anacard  
 nū of ier alogodiō tegē de vallē de sucy



Siluerē

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**D**ie siluere heeft die natuere  
 die wonden te samē treckt also  
 niet nopen en derf **D**ye wa  
 meester Huicenna in sinen boe  
 bus cordis sept dat siluere dat  
 tarct en dat goet bloet maecht



**Q**uicksiluerē **D**at.  
**A**rgentum viuum latine. p d  
 grece. Albachest Arabice  
**D**atearius in sinē boec in  
 pittel Argentum viuum  
 quicksiluerē van natueren heet  
 tich is inden vierde

# Woodcuts as Reading Guides

How Images Shaped Knowledge Transmission in Medical-Astrological Books in Dutch (1500–1550)

Amsterdam  
University  
Press

Andrea van Leerdam

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University  
Press



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*Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse boekhandel*

New series, volume XXIII

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*Den groten herbarius* (Antwerp: Claes de Grave, 1514), fols. d5v–d6r.  
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In the preface to *Tfundament der medicinen ende chyrgien* (first published 1530), the author Petrus Sylvius considers it a moral duty to share knowledge: ‘for your skill and knowledge are nothing unless they are accessible to others’ (*want uwe consten ende weten en is niet, ten si dattet eenen anderen openbaer is*). I am thankful to the many colleagues who have generously shared their knowledge and insights with me – as much about PhD life as about early modern print culture. My thanks go to the colleagues of the departments of Middle Dutch Literature and Early Modern Dutch Literature and of the UCEMS PhD club, in particular to my office roommates Irmgard Fuchs, Annet den Haan, Jelmar Hugen, Cécile de Morrée, and Rozanne Versendaal, and to Feike Dietz, Nina Geerdink, Jaap de Haan, Renske Hoff, Maja van Leeuwen, Dieuwke van der Poel, Cora van de Poppe, Anna-Luna Post, Sophie Reinders, Henrike Scholten, Els Stronks, John Tholen, Martine Veldhuizen, Chloé Vondenhoff, Stan van Zon. I thank Orlanda Lie and Paul Wackers for encouraging me at a very early stage to develop my research idea into a full-blown proposal. I am also grateful for the feedback, advice, and support I received from Yvonne Bleyerveld, Hanneke de Bruin, Jessie Wei-Hsuan Chen, Sabrina Corbellini, Anna Dlabáčová, Sven Dupré, Christien Franken, Carla de Glopper-Zuijderland, Aagje Gosliga, Peter van den Hooff, Sachiko Kusukawa, Katell Lavéant, Irene van Renswoude, Jeroen Salman, Patricia Stoop, Mariken Teeuwen, Didi van Trijp, Mark Vermeer, and Herre de Vries. My paranymphs Cécile de Morrée and Johan Spin were invaluable in making my PhD defence a most festive and memorable occasion.

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# Note to the Reader



## *Transcriptions*

Spelling and capitalisation are transcribed as in the source text. The long s (ſ) is transcribed as s.

Abbreviations have been silently expanded and interpunction has been adjusted to present-day conventions.

Symbols used in quire signatures are transcribed as follows:

# for a four-leafed flower-like shape



) for a mirrored c



& for a tironian 'et' with a horizontal stroke crossing in the middle



## *Translations*

Translations are mine, unless otherwise noted.

## *Terminology*

I use the term 'Dutch' to refer to the language and 'Netherlandish' to refer to an origin in the (medieval or sixteenth-century) southern or northern Low Countries.

## *Editions*

I use codes to refer to specific editions and copies (see 'Codes used for examined editions and copies'). When an observation pertains to all examined editions of a work, I refer to the work's (abbreviated) title rather than to specific edition codes.



# Abbreviations



## *Abbreviated titles of primary sources*

For several works in my research corpus, I use abbreviated titles throughout this study:

- ◆ *Chyromantia = Chyromantia Ioannis Indagine Ende dit boec leert van drie naturlike consten*
- ◆ *Distellacien = Die distellacien ende virtuyten der wateren*
- ◆ *Den groten herbarius = Den groten herbarius met al sijn figueren*
- ◆ *Der vrouwen natuere = Der vrouwen natuere ende complexie*
- ◆ *Hantwerck = Dits dat hantwerck der chirurgien*
- ◆ *Roseghaert = Den roseghaert vanden bevruchten vrouwen*
- ◆ *Tfundament der medicinen = Tfundament der medicinen ende chyrurgien*
- ◆ *Thuus der fortunen = Thuus der fortunen ende dat huys der doot*

I refer to the following works from my corpus with unabbreviated titles:

- ◆ *Dat regiment der ghesontheyt*
- ◆ *Den sack der consten*
- ◆ *Der dieren palley*
- ◆ *Der scaepherders kalengier*
- ◆ *Fasciculus medicine*
- ◆ *Tregement der ghesontheyt*
- ◆ *Tscep vol wonders*

For details about each title, see Appendix 1.

*Abbreviated titles of secondary sources*

ESTC	<i>English Short Title Catalogue</i> , <a href="https://estc.bl.uk">https://estc.bl.uk</a>
FB	Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walsby, and Alexander Wilkinson, <i>French Vernacular Books. Books Published in the French Language before 1601</i> . Leiden: Brill, 2007.
GW	<i>Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke</i> , <a href="https://www.gesamtkatalogder-wiegendrucke.de">https://www.gesamtkatalogder-wiegendrucke.de</a>
ISTC	<i>Incunabula Short Title Catalogue</i> , <a href="https://data.cerl.org/istc">https://data.cerl.org/istc</a>
LexMA-O	<i>Lexikon des Mittelalters Online</i> . Turnhout: Brepols.
MEI	Cristina Dondi et al., <i>Material Evidence in Incunabula</i> , <a href="https://data.cerl.org/mei/_search">https://data.cerl.org/mei/_search</a>
MNW	Eelco Verwijs, Jacob Verdam et al., <i>Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek</i> , 1885–1929, <a href="https://gtb.ivdnt.org/search/">https://gtb.ivdnt.org/search/</a>
NAT	Wouter Nijhoff, <i>L'art typographique dans les Pays-Bas pendant les années 1500 à 1540</i> , 3 vols. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1926–1935.
NB	Malcolm Walsby and Andrew Pettegree, <i>Netherlandish Books. Books Published in the Low Countries and Dutch Books Published Abroad before 1601</i> . Leiden: Brill, 2010.
NK	Wouter Nijhoff and M.E. Kronenberg, <i>Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540</i> , 3 vols. The Hague: M. Hijhoff, 1923–1971.
NNBW	P.C. Molhuijsen and P.J. Blok (eds.), <i>Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek</i> , 10 vols. Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1911–1937.
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press.
USTC	<i>Universal Short Title Catalogue</i> , <a href="https://www.ustc.ac.uk">https://www.ustc.ac.uk</a>
VD16	<i>Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts</i> , <a href="http://www.vd16.de">http://www.vd16.de</a>
WNT	<i>Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal</i> , 1864–1998, <a href="https://gtb.ivdnt.org/search/">https://gtb.ivdnt.org/search/</a>

# Codes Used for Examined Editions and Copies



I refer to each examined copy with a unique code that is composed of three parts:

- ◆ title key letters
- ◆ year of publication
- ◆ code for the holding institution as used in *Netherlandish Books* (NB)

The first two elements (title key + year) constitute the code I use to refer to the edition.

E.g. **Herb-1532** is the edition of *Den groten herbarius* printed in 1532 and **Herb-1532-A170** is the copy of this edition held at the Hendrik Conscience Heritage Library in Antwerp. Appendix 1 lists the edition codes as well as the copies of each title, both those I examined for this study and other known copies. Holding institutions and shelfmarks are specified for each examined copy in Appendix 2.

If a collection holds multiple copies of the same edition, I add ‘a,’ ‘b,’ etc. to the collection code: e.g. Dier-1520-B02b is the second copy of *Der dieren palley* (1520) held at the Royal Library in Brussels (for shelfmarks, see Appendix 2). In the rare cases where multiple editions of a title are dated in the same year, I add ‘a,’ ‘b’ etc. to the year of publication: e.g. Rose-c1540a-... is a copy of the *Roseghaert* edition of c. 1540 printed by Symon Cock in Antwerp, while Rose-c1540b-... is a copy of the *Roseghaert* edition of c. 1540 printed by Jan I van Ghelen in Antwerp (see Appendix 1 for the editions).

*Title keys*

Chyro	=	<i>Chyromantia Ioannis Indagine</i>
Dier	=	<i>Der dieren palley</i>
Dist	=	<i>Die distellacien ende virtuyten der wateren</i>
Fasc	=	<i>Fasciculus medicine</i>
Hantw	=	<i>Dits dat hantwerck der chirurgien</i>
Herb	=	<i>Den groten herbarius met al sijn figueren</i>
Regi	=	<i>Dat regiment der ghesontheyt</i>
Rose	=	<i>Den roseghaert vanden bevruchten vrouwen</i>
Sack	=	<i>Den sack der consten</i>
Scaep	=	<i>Der scaepherders kalengier</i>
Tfund	=	<i>Tfundament der medicinen ende chirurgien</i>
Thuys	=	<i>Thuys der fortunen ende dat huys der doot</i>
Trege	=	<i>Tregement der ghesontheyt</i>
Tscep	=	<i>Tscep vol wonders</i>
Vrouw	=	<i>Der vrouwen natuere ende complexie</i>

*Collection codes (from NB)*

grey = collection not consulted but known to hold a copy of  
 an examined edition (cf. Appendix 1, 'other copies' listed for each title)

Ao4 Amsterdam (NL), Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam  
 A12 Antwerp (BE), Museum Plantin-Moretus  
 A91 Antwerp (BE), UAntwerpen Library, Stadscampus  
 A170 Antwerp (BE), Hendrik Conscience Heritage Library  
 Bo2 Brussels (BE), KBR Royal Library of Belgium  
 Bo5 Berlin (DE), Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz  
 B16 Bethesda, MD (USA), National Library of Medicine  
 B39 Boston, MA (USA), Countway Library of Medicine  
 Co1 Cambridge (UK), University Library  
 C75 Cambridge (UK), Corpus Christi College Library  
 Do9 Dresden (DE), Sächsische Landesbibliothek  
 Go3 Ghent (BE), University Library  
 Go4 Göttingen (DE), Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek  
 G12 Groningen (NL), University Library  
 Ho4 The Hague (NL), KB, National Library of the Netherlands  
 H89 Heeswijk (NL), Berne Abbey Library