

Jan van Doesborch: the Dutch connection

With her dissertation *Der englische Eulenspiegel* Anja Hill-Zenk pays an important contribution to the study of the English *Howleglas* tradition, starting supposedly with the edition of around 1519 attributed to the press of Jan van Doesborch from Antwerp.¹

In this article I will reflect upon the role Jan van Doesborch played in the transmission of jest books like *Bruder Rausch* and *Eulenspiegel* from Germany to England. My research takes its inspiration from Flood's review of Hill-Zenk's study and his biographical summary of the life of John Thorne in which he addresses two topics. He points out that Hill-Zenk is quite vague about the nature of the main source of the English *Howleglas* tradition and he asks himself whether she actually thinks that there was an earlier Low German edition of *Eulenspiegel* printed by Hans Dorn from Brunswick - who might be the same person as John Thorne - as she seems to suggest.² In his biography of John Thorne in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Flood addresses the topic again and he mentions *Bruder Rausch* as a possible link:

¹ I would like to thank Mrs Christine Jefferies for correcting this text. Anja Hill-Zenk, *Der englische Eulenspiegel. Die Eulenspiegel-Rezeption als beispiel des englisch-kontinentalen Buchhandels im 16. Jahrhundert*. (Berlin, New York: De Gruyter 2010) *Hermaea. Neue Folge* 122, p. 264; NK 1144 = W. Nijhoff en M.E. Kronenberg, *De Nederlandsche Bibliografie 1500-1540*. ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff 1923-1971) 3 vols with supplements, 1144; STC (2nd ed.) 10563 = A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland and of English Books printed abroad 1475-1640*. Second edition revised and enlarged by W.A. Jackson & F.S. Ferguson completed by K.F. Pantzer. 3 vols (London: The Bibliographical Society 1976-1991) 10563; USTC 410127 = *Universal Short Title Catalogue* <http://www.ustc.ac.uk>; NB 29326 = *Netherlandish Books. Books Published in the Low Countries and Dutch Books Printed Abroad before 1601*. Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walshby (eds.). 2 vols (Leiden: Brill 2011), 29326.

² John L. Flood review of Anja Hill-Zenk, *Der englische Eulenspiegel. Die Eulenspiegel-Rezeption als beispiel des englisch-kontinentalen Buchhandels im 16. Jahrhundert*. (Berlin, New York: De Gruyter 2010) *Hermaea. Neue Folge* 122 in: *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 140 (2011) pp. 523-527.

It remains a tantalizing but strong possibility that since the story of Ulenspiegel is set in Brunswick and the surrounding area the book may first have been printed in Low German by Dorn at Brunswick. Unfortunately, no Low German text is extant today, though some scholars believe it can be glimpsed through its High German, Flemish, English, and French derivatives. Another possible link is through the Low German satire *Bruder Rausch* (VD 16, B-8452), printed by Dorn at Brunswick about 1519, which some years later appeared in English translation as *Friar Rush* (STC 21451). Hans Dorn may have had a key role in transmitting such texts from Brunswick, *through Antwerp*, to England. [italics PF]³

So both Flood and Hill-Zenk argue that it is possible that Hans Dorn – maybe via Antwerp - transmitted popular literature like *Eulenspiegel* and *Bruder Rausch* to England. This is an interesting hypothesis to start with since there actually exists an edition of *Bruder Rausch* of the Brunswick publisher. Moreover, it has been suggested that an English edition of *Friar Rush* was probably published by Jan van Doesborch in Antwerp.⁴

Bruder Rausch, Broeder Russche and Friar Rush

The history of *Bruder Rausch* originates from the Low German area. It survives in three Low German and three High German editions before 1520. Besides these, two Dutch editions from the sixteenth century and four closely related English editions from the seventeenth century have survived.⁵

³ GW = *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*. <http://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/GW12745.htm> • Letzte Änderung: 2011-07-13; VD 16 = *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts*: www.gateway-bayern.de/index_vd16.html; John. L. Flood, 'Thorne, John (d. 1548?)', in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2014 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/106754>, accessed 9 May 2016]

⁴ P.J.A. Franssen, *Tussen tekst en publiek. Jan van Doesborch, drukker-uitgever en literator te Antwerpen en Utrecht in de eerste helft van de zestiende eeuw*. (Amsterdam, Atlanta GA: Rodopi 1990), p. 40.

⁵ *Low German editions*

Bruder Rausch is, in its German form, a tale in verse of about 420 lines. The story takes place in the land of Sassen, but in the High German editions the setting is moved to the Danish cloister of Esrom. It tells the story of a devil that becomes a cook in a cloister with the intention to sow discord among the monks and to seduce them to live a life of wealth and impurity. The first part of the story ends with the exposure of Rausch as a devil and his banishment from the cloister. In the second part adventures of Rausch in England are described.⁶

The most important difference between the German editions and the Dutch - the oldest surviving Dutch edition of *Broeder Russche* being published around 1519 by Adriaen van Berghen in Antwerp - is that the Dutch text is mainly in prose while verses in the style of the Dutch rhetoricians are added. Furthermore several tales are added to the text between the first and the second part, of which two originate from *Eulenspiegel / Ulenspiegel*

A: s.d.,n.l. (Joachim Westval, Stendal, around 1488). GW 12745 USTC 740292

B: s.d.,n.l. (Hans Dorn, Brunswick around 1519). VD 16 B 8452 USTC 654667

C: s.d.,n.l. (Servais Kruffter, Cologne around 1520). VD 16 B 8453 USTC 617288

High German editions

M: Martinus Flach, Strasbourg 1508. VD 16 B 8449 USTC 640806

W: Augburg, Hanns Froschauer, Augsburg 1512. VD 16 B 8450 USTC 627010

St: Mathis Hüpffuff, Strasbourg 1515. VD 16 B 8451 USTC 702755

Dutch editions:

AvB; Adriaen van Berghen, Antwerp, around 1520. NK 1091; USTC 437103; NB 27068

JvG: Jan van Ghelen, Antwerp 1596. Staats- und Landes Bibliothek Göttingen Fab. Mod. VI 1533

English editions:

EA1620: London, Edw. All-de, dwelling neere Christ-Church, 1620. STC (2nd ed.), 21451

EA1626: London, Edw. All-de, & are to be solde by Francis Groue dwelling on Snowhill, 1626. STC (2nd ed.), 21452

EA1629: London, Elizabeth All-de, dwelling neere Christ-Church, 1629. STC (2nd ed.), 21452.5

JB1659: London, Jane Bell, and are to be sold by her at the east end of Christ-Church, 1659. Henry E.

Huntington Library and Art Gallery. Wing H2121 = Donald Wing, *Short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English books printed in other countries, 1641-1700* (New York: Index Society, 1945-1951).

⁶ Dieter Harmening 'Bruder Rausch' in: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserslexikon*. Begründet von W. Stammer, fortgeführt von K. Langosch. Zweite völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage, herausgeg. von K. Ruh [et al.]. 14 vols. (Berlin, New York: De Gruyter 1978-2008) 1 (1978) 1043-1045.

(High German 64 and 89; Dutch 31 and 42).⁷ In addition to these two stories, three tales are told about how Russche prevents the wife of a farmer from committing adultery with a priest. The first time Russche discovers the priest under a shoe closet, the second time under a stack of hay and dung and the third time in a cheese basket. The specific sources of these stories are unfortunately unknown.

Besides this, the Dutch text has an introduction in verse and two prologues, one in prose and one in verse. The text is rather abundantly illustrated with twelve woodcuts, using eight different images. The English editions – which apparently are derived from each other - have more or less the same content as the Dutch editions and also have some woodcuts in common with the Dutch. The English editions are all in prose, while the Dutch editions contain verses which occasionally have the same content as some of the prose in English.⁸

The question now is who is responsible for the differences between the German, the English and the Dutch texts. Theoretically it is possible that the German text was enlarged for the English market and that the verses were added to the text in Dutch. However Debaene already concluded that Van Berghen's edition depends on a Low German edition closely related to A and B. That edition apparently did not survive, since the Dutch text has also a line in common with the High German editions in contrast to the

⁷ *De Historie van Broeder Russche*. Ed. L. Debaene. (Antwerpen: De Sikkel 1950); L. Debaene, *De Nederlandsche Volksboeken*. (Hulst: Merlijn 1977; repr. Antwerpen: De Vlijt 1951), pp. 155-60; *Het volksboek van Ulenspieghel*. Naar de oudste, bewaard gebleven druk van Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten te Antwerpen uit de eerste helft van de 16de eeuw. Vertaald, ingeleid en van aantekeningen voorzien door L. Geeraedts. (Kapellen: DNB / Pelckmans, Amsterdam: De Wereldbibliotheek 1986), pp. 158-64, pp. 190-93.

⁸ *Russche*, p. XVI; Franssen 1990, p. 62

surviving Low German editions.⁹ Debaene shows convincingly that the German text can at times be glimpsed through the Dutch as these examples show:¹⁰

A vs 47: potte vnde schottelen
 BC: Pote vnde vate
 M only: schüssel
 AvB: scotelen ende potten
 JvG: schotelen *ende* Pottē [A3r.]
 EA1620: and Rush had done all his businesse in the kitchen [(A3v.)]

A vs 74: Dar henck eyn ketel vnde soeth
 B: Eyn ketel henck dar vnde soeth
 C: Eyn duppen stoinde dair vnd soit
 M: Uber den feür ein kessel do hing
 AvB: een ketel [...] hinck ende soot
 JvG: inden ketel [...].hinc *en* soot [A3v.]
 EA1620: kettel which was full of water seething upon the fire [B1r.]

AB vs 159: De eyne brack de knaken dar
 C: Der ein brach ein bein entzwey
 M: Der ein münch brach die bein entzwey
 AvB: soe dat die een sijn been brack, die ander sijn arme
 JvG: soo dat deen syn *been* brac / d'ander synen Armen [A4v.]
 EA1620: some had an arme broken and some a legge [b3r.]

A vs 189: Eyne ko in der weyde gaen
 B: Eine grote vette ko stan
 C: Vant he eyn groisse vette koe stain
 M: Ein kuo dort in der weide ging
 AvB: Soe vant hy staende inden wech een vette koe
 JvG: So vant hi staende inden wege een vette koe [B1v.]
 EA1620: and homeward he went, and in his way he found a fat Cowe [C3r.]

⁹ *Russche*, p. XIV. In the verses 35 and 38 M uses the word 'kuppelen' which does not occur in the Low German editions A, B and C. Both the Dutch editions use the word 'coppelen' and the English editions have 'couple'.

¹⁰ *Russche*, pp. XIII-XV; the additions are from *Frier Rush*, EA 1620; (EEBO) = *Early English Books Online* www.eebo.chadwyck.com/home and *Ruyssche*, JvG 1596.
http://gdz.sub.uni-goettingen.de/index.php?id=15&PPN=PPN779971469&DMDID=DMDLOG_0000&L=1

A vs 211: Ere meyster reep lude myt macht
 BC: [...] mit groter macht
 M: Ir aller meister rüfft mit krafft
 JvB harer *alre* meester ende riep met luder stemmen [...]
 JvG: hunder *alder* meester [B1v.]
 EA1620: [...] and among them they had a great principall Maister whose name was
 Lucifer [C4r.]

From these examples it is indeed quite clear that the relationship between the Dutch and the German texts is close and that the Dutch text cannot have been a translation from the English. And since the English text is closely related to the Dutch, the only possibility is that the English text was translated and adapted from the Dutch.

Furthermore, the Dutch edition of Adriaen van Berghen cannot have been the oldest.

There is at least one example where the edition of Jan van Ghelen has a better reading in line with the German editions.

A vs 217-218: Lucifer sprack: dat is wol *gedaen* | Des schaltu groth lon *entfaen*
 M: er sprach: du hast gar wol ghetan | du solt *emphalen* grossen lon
 AvB: Dye meester seyde Dats wel *ghedaen* grotelick suldi uwen loon *hebben*
 JvG: De meester seyde: dats wel *gedaen* grootelijc suldy uwen loon *ontfaen*
 [B1v.]
 EA 1620: Then said the maister Devill to Rush: if thou haue done as thou haue
 said [...] thou shalt be highly exalted and well rewarded for thy great labour
 and paine. [C4v.]

In this last case the English gives no further clue, but above there is one better reading that the English texts have in common with the High German edition M and that does not

occur in the Dutch: M: '*Uber den feür ein kessel do hing*'; AE1620: 'kettel which was full of water seething *upon the fire*'.¹¹

One could argue that *Bruder Rausch* reached England later, since the oldest testimony of an edition of *Friar Rush* in England dates from 1568/69. In those years the Stationer's Register entered an edition of *Friar Rush* to J. Alde.¹² However, there are some additional reasons to assume that *Bruder Rausch* reached England through an edition published by Jan van Doesborch.

The first argument is the fact that some of the woodcuts used by Van Berghen and Edward Alde already appear in texts published by Jan van Doesborch before 1520 and so before the *Broeder Russche* edition of Adriaen van Berghen. The young man on [b2v.] is a copy of the one that not only appears in *Thgevecht van Minnen* from 1516 but also in *Frederick of Jennen* from 1518 and *Mary of Nemmege*n from about the same year.¹³ The woodcut of the judge and the soldiers on [c5r.] appears among others in *Frederick of Jennen* from 1518 and the prior on [b2r.], [b3v.] and [c5v.] and the farmer's servant [c1v.] are also to be found in *Thuys der fortun*en of 1518.¹⁴ Other woodcuts like the one of the staggering horse are used in Van Doesborch's *Refreynen* of 1529.¹⁵

¹¹ Franssen 1990, pp. 40-41 [italics PF]

¹² Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554–1640 A.D.* 5 vols (London: privately printed, 1875–94), p. 389.

¹³ For *Friar Rush* see EEBO; *Tghevecht van Minnen*. Naar de Antwerpse postincunabel van 1516 uitgegeven door Robrecht Lievens. (Leuven: Nauwelaert 1964), p. 47 also on www.dbnl.org; *Story of lorde Frederyke of Jennen* New York, Pierpont Morgan Library [a4r.]; *Story of Mary of Nemmege*n [B4v.] see EEBO.

¹⁴ *Frederyke* [D4v.]; *Thuys der Fortun*en, Antwerp Plantin Moretus [E4v.] and [e2v.].

¹⁵ C.H.A. Kruyskamp, *De refreinenbundel van Jan van Doesborch*. 2 vols. Uitgegeven door - . (Leiden: Brill 1940), fol. 186v. p. XIII.

There is however one particular woodcut in the English editions that needs special attention. The story of the priest hiding in the cheese basket is illustrated with a woodcut which originally belonged to the story of the sorcerer Virgilius hanging in a basket.¹⁶ This very well-known tale tells how the daughter of a senator of Rome deceives Virgilius. She invites him to come in the middle of the night to her bedroom which is situated in a high tower. She pulls him up but stops when he is somewhere in the middle, to be mocked in the morning by the citizens of Rome. Of course it may be a coincidence, but frequently the woodcuts used in younger editions of chapbooks refer to the original ones. So this woodcut was probably used not only for Van Doesborch's edition of *Virgilius*, but also in his English edition of *Friar Rush* because it simply portrayed 'a person in a basket'. And we may assume that Allde just reproduced it.

In addition, another argument for assuming an edition of *Broeder Russche* published by Van Doesborch is the way the Dutch text compared to the German is adapted. Two stories are added from *Ulenspiegel* to *Broeder Russche*. Debaene assumes that the two stories are not taken from a German, but from a Dutch source. Based on the 1515 edition of the *Ulenspiegel* text he draws attention to a passage in which the Dutch *Ulenspiegel* and the Dutch *Broeder Russche* have a common reading opposed to the German

Ulenspiegel:

Eulenspiegel, Grüninger, Johannes Strasbourg 1515, Kap. LXIV: 'Des morgens früg stund der koufmann vff met dem pfaffen, vnnd hiesen Vlenspiegel die pferd anspannen, das thet er. Sie sassen vf vnnd furen dahin, da hvb der pfaff an vnnd sagt'

Ulenspiegel, Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten, Antwerp, 1526?: 'Ende des morgens vroech ghinc die coopman te wagen metten pape ende reden te samen,

¹⁶ *Frier Rush*, EA 1620, [E2v.] see EEBO; *Virgilius*, [b5v.] see EEBO.

ende tusschen wegen sloech die pape zijn handen aen die leeder ende maecte
sijn handen vet ende seyde'

AvB: 'ende ghinc den waghen smeeren al omme die raders, die lederen ende al
datter aen was Ende als dye abt meende op den waghen te gaen sitten, so was hi
al omme vet en de besmeert'

JvG: *en* ginc den wagen al *ome* smeeren de Raders / de leederen / *en* al datter aen
was. *En* als de Abt opten waegen meynde te gaen sitte / soo was hy al || om vet *en*
besmeert [A4v.-B1r.]

EA 1620: 'and when the Prior was entred therein, hee perceived himselfe all to
berayed and smeyred' [B3v/4r.]

Debaene notices that the words 'leder' (leather) and 'vet' (grease) do not appear in the German text, so his assumption that an unknown older Dutch edition of the *Ulenspiegel* was used for *Broeder Russche*, is quite logical.¹⁷ You could also argue that the two stories were taken from the presumed Low German *Ulenspiegel* edition from the press of Hans Dorn. However, from this assumption another argument in favour of Jan van Doesborch arises. Who else could have integrated the Eulenspiegel stories into the text of *Broeder Russche*? Dorn did not do so in his edition of the Low German text!

Another argument in favour of Van Doesborch is that we know that he did print a *Ulenspiegel* edition - we will come to that - and that he had already used woodcuts from an *Eulenspiegel* / *Ulenspiegel* edition in *Tghevecht van Minnen* from 1516 and *Frederick of Jennen* from 1518.

As well as the *Ulenspiegel* stories some *verses* also link *Broeder Russche* to Jan van Doesborch. The verses at the beginning of the text of *Broeder Russche* are also used in

¹⁷ *Russche*, , pp. XV-XVI. Also the Strasbourg edition of 1519 does not use these words. See: *Ein kurtzweilig Lesen von Dil Ulenspiegel*. Durchges. u. bibliogr. erg. Ausg. von W. Lindow. (Stuttgart: Reclam 1978 4th ed.).

Frederick van Jennen, a text which in its turn has verses in common with *Buevijne van Austoen* printed by Jan van Doesborch in 1504 and also with *Alexander van Mets*.¹⁸

So we can conclude that there are a lot of arguments that point in the direction of Jan van Doesborch and there is no evidence that Hans Dorn played any part in this. However, the most important argument for attributing an important role to Jan van Doesborch in bringing popular fiction like *Bruder Rausch* and *Eulenspiegel* to England lies in the pattern that can be recognized in the adaptation of texts. In 1990 Franssen showed that the activity of Van Doesborch as a publisher was in general characterized by the re-use of texts, of which the production of English-Dutch double publications was just one of the methods. Stories are combined in order to make new texts and rhetorical verses are used and re-used in different texts. According to Franssen, to make this possible there must have been a sort of ‘creative director’ –maybe Van Doesborch himself– who had an overview of what had been published and what content the books had. So, not only woodcuts but also parts of texts were re-used. His publishing house did publish, print and sell books, but it also had a clear strategy.¹⁹ New evidence for this opinion is to be found by looking at the text on the sorcerer Virgilius that Van Doesborch published around 1518 in English and probably somewhat earlier in Dutch.²⁰

¹⁸ The text was published by Willem Vorsterman in 1531: *Van heer Frederick van Jenuen in Lombardien*. Bezorgd en ingeleid door W.L. Braekman. (Siny-Niklaas: Danthe 1980) (NK 3905); also on www.dbnl.org. In 1518 Van Doesborch had already published an English translation in which the verses are transformed into prose. This means that there must have been a Dutch edition before 1518. See Franssen 1990, p. 26 and p. 68; P.J.A. Franssen, ‘Jan van Doesborch (?-1536), printer of English texts’ In: *Quaerendo* 16 (1986), pp. 259-80.

¹⁹ *De tovenaer Vergilius. Een tekstuitgave van: Virgilius. Van zijn leven, doot ende van den wonderlijcken wercken die hi dede by nigromancien ende by dat behulpe des duvels*. Antwerpen, Willem Vorsterman, circa 1525 door Piet J.A. Franssen. (Hilversum: Verloren: 2010) *Middelnederlandse Tekstedities* 12, pp. 27-30; Franssen 1990, pp. 130-131.

²⁰ See P.J.A. Franssen en B. Hardlieb. ‘Is de prozatekst over Virgilius de tovenaer oorspronkelijk in het Nederlands geschreven’. In: *Spektator* 23 (1994) pp. 3-21; *Vergilius*, 2010.

Since the beginning of the 13th century stories were being told about the sorcerer Virgilius, first in Latin, but later also in French, German, Dutch, Italian and Spanish. The stories appear mostly as part of a bigger text, but at the beginning of the sixteenth century some 26 stories were brought together in prose within the framework of a biography. This text was published in Dutch, French and English.²¹ The German edition *Von Virgilio dem Zauberer* published by Peter Drach in Nürnberg around 1495 preceded and influenced this edition, but it still has a very different character. Although this verse text of 642 lines also exclusively deals with the miracles done by Virgilius it consists of only seven very loosely connected stories without any framework.²²

The *Virgilius* text of Van Doesborch starts - after a short introduction on the genealogy of Virgilius - with an account of the strange things that happened during his birth. After that it tells about Virgilius' study and how he came into possession of the magic books of a devil and became a master in necromancy. The text ends with his extraordinary death. In between, all kinds of miracles committed by Virgilius, are described. For instance it is told that Virgilius constructed in Rome an ever burning lamp and a horseman of metal that prowled the streets by night to kill criminals and in Naples he built a castle on an egg. The most famous stories are those of Virgilius in the basket, his revenge on the

²¹ *Vergilius*, 2010; P.J.A. Franssen 'Virgilius' in: *The Virgil Encyclopedia*, Richard F. Thomas, Jan M. Ziolkowski (eds). 3 vols (Malden, MA. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell 2014) III, 1365-1366.

²² F. Schanze, 'Von Virgilio dem Zauberer: ein unbekannter Druck Peter Wagners und seine Quellen' In: *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 63 (1988), pp. 88-94; F.J. Worstbrock 'Vergil' in: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserslexikon*. Begründet von W. Stammler, fortgeführt von K. Langosch. Zweite völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage, herausgeg. von K. Ruh [et al.]. 14 vols (Berlin, New York: De Gruyter. 1978-2008) 10 (1999) 274-284.

senator's daughter and the mouth of truth (the *bocca della verità*) that was believed to be constructed by Virgilius, since these stories also have a long and rich visual history.²³

Due to the different and independent origins of the 26 stories the text has a rather hybrid character. The oldest stories originate from a period in which using magic for a good cause was still accepted as 'white magic', but in the sixteenth century the division between black and white magic had completely disappeared. All magic was assumed to be black magic that only could be done with the help of the devil, as is stated very clearly on the title page: 'This boke treath of the lyfe of Virgilius and of his deth and many marvayles that he did in his lyfe tyme by whychcraft and nygromansy thorough the helpe of the devyls of hell'.²⁴

If we now look at the oldest surviving printed texts of the German *Bruder Rausch* and *Von Virgilio dem Zauberer* and compare them to the Dutch editions we see not only a transmission from verse to prose.²⁵ The text is also elaborated and illustrated and most important: in both cases there is a tendency to transform the text into something approaching a jest book. Debaene already claimed that the Dutch adapter has given *Russche* the character of a trickster, which makes him very much like *Ulenpiegel*.²⁶ *Virgilius* in its turn is in fact transformed into a 'Schwankbiographie', a biography of a trickster, as Schanze already concluded.²⁷

²³ Jan M. Ziolkowski, 'basket, Virgil in the' and 'revenge' in: *The Virgil Encyclopedica* I, 172; Wim van Anrooij 'bocca della verità' in: *The Virgil Encyclopedica* I, pp. 195-196; *Vergilius*, 2010, pp. 9-22 and pp. 44-49.

²⁴ *Vergilius*, 2010, p. 28

²⁵ The same holds true for *Mariken van Nieumeghen / Mary Nemmegen; Frederick van Jennen / Frederick of Jennen*. See Franssen 1986 and 1990.

²⁶ *Russche*, 1950, p. XXII: 'in sterke mate het karakter van een "schalk" gegeven, waardoor hij soms nog weinig verschilt van de "landfahrende" Ulenpieghel-figuur. This opinion is shared by Harmening 1044-45

²⁷ Schanze, p. 93.

The trickster is a very popular figure in medieval literature but in the late fifteenth and especially in the sixteenth century its popularity appears to have reached its peak. Röcke is correct in calling his book about the German Schwankroman (jest book) *Freude am Bösen* (Joy in doing harm) because that captures the main attitude of the trickster, although there is lot of variety in the characters. A central role in these texts is played by the word 'schalk' (trickster). All the characters are called 'schalk' and they are trying to disorganize the world around them. In the sixteenth century the word 'schalk' was a very serious term of abuse. It meant devil and in some cities you could get a heavy penalty for calling someone a 'schalk'.

What the tricksters have in common is that their power is hidden under the impression of foolishness, unimportance or ugliness. Tricksters look ordinary and so they are underestimated but in fact they have very powerful tools like language, scatology and magic. They see other people as opponents who have to be outsmarted. Rush is a real devil, but in the case of *Ulenspiegel* the actions mostly have no other intention than to show how easily the world can be disorganized.

In his study Röcke merely concentrates on the *Pfaffe Amis*, *Salomon und Marcolph*, *Der Pfarrer vom Kalenberg* and *Tyl Ulenspiegel* and *Bruder Rausch*. Van Doesborch certainly published in English *Howleglas*, *The Parson of Kalenborowe*, *Virgilius* and probably also *Friar Rush*, so you could say that he recognized the genre of the jest books.

One of the other characteristics of jest literature is that the same stories can be used in different contexts. The introduction of the High German edition of *Ulenspiegel* from 1515 says, not without reason, that stories from *Pfaffe Amis* and the *Pfaffen von dem Kalenberg* are added to the text. So it is not strange that *Ulenspiegel* stories are used in

Broeder Russche, that the Dutch *Ulenpiegel* has far fewer stories than the German editions of Grüniger from 1515 and 1519, and that the Dutch edition at the same time has an additional story which strengthens the character of the biography since it recalls a story about Ulenpiegel as a young child.²⁸ And so perhaps it is no coincidence that the Dutch and English editions of *Virgilius* contain more stories than the French.²⁹

It can be concluded that the creative director within the publishing house of Jan van Doesborch recognized the popularity of the trickster and the financial profit he could get out of jest literature, but it is no less important that he was able to adapt his material to some extent in that direction. The only real source of inspiration for this adaptation can have been the texts of *Pfaffe Amis* or *Ulenpiegel*. Since no trace of *Pfaffe Amis* is found outside the German language, it is reasonable to argue that *Ulenpiegel* will have been the source of inspiration. This means that without knowledge of *Eulenspiegel*, texts such as *Broeder Russche*, *Virgilius* and *De pastoor van Kalenberg (The Parson of Kalenborowe)* would have looked different.

One more dimension could be added to the choices Van Doesborch made in relation to the English market. If we regard tricksters more or less as devils in disguise we could see the translation of the Dutch *Mariken van Nieumeghen* into English as *Mary of Nimmegen* - also published by Van Doesborch - in this perspective. This text is also a devil's story since it deals with the seduction of a young girl by the devil. Was the early sixteenth-century English public just fond of exciting devil stories?

²⁸ This story links *Ulenpieghel* to *Salomon en Markolf*. See *Ulenpieghel*, pp. 205-206.

²⁹ Johannes Melters, 'ein frolich gemüt zu machen in schweren zeiten...' *Der Schwankroman in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*. Berlin: Schmidt 2004) *Philologische Studien und Quellen* 185; *Vergilius*, pp. 27-30.

A pattern?

This brings up a more fundamental question. It is obvious that a pattern can be discerned in the way Van Doesborch and his 'creative director' dealt with the popular jest book literature. Of course, this only holds true if we accept the adage that what survived fairly represents the whole corpus including what has been lost.³⁰ We must be aware of the fact that Jan van Doesborch could be one of the worst represented publishers in the bibliographies from the Low Countries. It is broadly acknowledged that the kinds of texts he published - popular fiction and non-fiction in Dutch and English in small formats – have had the worst chances of survival. The texts were literally read to pieces. This is convincingly shown by what has survived. Based on the survey of Nijhoff-Kronenberg we see that of the *thirteen* books Van Doesborch printed in *folio*, some *eighty-six* copies in total have survived and among these thirteen books only three of them survived in only one copy. At least two of them - certainly not accidentally - do fall into the category 'literature'. Of the *thirty-five* books in *quarto* a total of only *fifty-seven* copies or fragments have survived and of only fifteen of them do we have one or more complete copies. As such, it is obvious that format and genre have played a big role in what did

³⁰ W. Heijting, 'The survival change of the printed book' In: Bibliopolis. A concise history of the printed book in the Netherlands. Samenstelling Marieke van Delft en Clemens de Wolf. (Zwolle: Waanders 2003), pp. 54-55; also on www.kb.nl/bibliopolis.nl 1.4.7; H-J. Koppitz, *Studien zur Tradierung der weltlichen mittelhochdeutscher Epik im 15. und beginnenden 16. Jahrhundert*. München: Fink 1980, p. 14-33; H.-J. Koppitz, 'Fragen der Verbreitung von Handschriften und Frühdrucken im 15. Jahrhundert' In: *Buch und Text im 15. Jahrhundert. Arbeitsgespräch in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel von 1. bis 3. März 1978*. Vorträge hrsg.v. L. Hellinga und H. Härtel. (Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung 2 (Hamburg: Dr. Ernst Hauswedell & Co Verlag 1981), pp. 179-88; Peter M.H. Cuijpers, *Teksten als koopwaar: Vroege drukkers verkennen de markt : een kwantitatieve analyse van de productie van Nederlandstalige boeken (tot circa 1550) en de lezershulp in de seculiere prozateksten*. (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf 1998), p. 60.

survive, which could mean that what survived gives only a small insight into the whole corpus.³¹ This is what according to Nijhoff-Kronenberg has been published by Jan van Doesborch within the category fiction, and did survive:

In Dutch:

Historie van Buevijne van Austoen wt Engellant gehboren. NK 1085 (one copy)
Die Distructie van Troyen die laetsste. NK 4137 (one copy)
Van den gedinghe tusschen eenen coopman ende eenen Iode. NK 3063 / (fragment)
(Historie van den ridder metten swaen). NK 3172 (fragment)
Tghevecht van minnen. NK 2115 (one copy)
(Historie van Floris ende Blancheflour). NK 3160 / NB 12290 / USTC 436979
 (fragment)
(Gedicht tot lof van het vroeg trouwen). NK 3059 (fragment)
Historie (Historien) van Jason ende van Hercules . NK 3164 (one copy)
Der negen quaesten warachtighe historien. NK 1774 (one copy)
Amé de Montgesoie, Tdal sonder wederkeeren oft Tpas der doot. NK 1519 (one copy)
Refreynten int sot, amorous, wys. NK 1784 (one copy)
Int Paradijs van Venus NK 1678 (one copy incomplete)

In English:

Gest of Robyn Hode. NK 3080 (Jan van Doesborch?) (one copy)
 Aeneas Sylvius (Pius II), *(History of Eureka and Lucretia).* (Jan van Doesborch?)
 NK 2240 (two fragments)
Story of Lorde Frederyke of Jennen. NK 3904 (one copy, one fragment of one leaf)
 Vergilius Maro, Publius, *Of the lyfe of Virgilius and of his deth, etc.* NK 4052 (three copies, one incomplete, of one two leaves)
Story of Mary of Nimmegen NK 3905 (one copy)
(Howleglas, Tyll). (Jan van Doesborch?) NK 1144 (fragment)
(The Parson of Kalenborowe). NK 3676 (fragment)

³¹ Franssen 1990, pp. 16-17.

It is notable that of the last five, also copies of editions in Dutch have survived, published by printers other than Van Doesborch. We may assume that Van Doesborch actually focused mainly on popular fiction for the Dutch and English market and that very likely a lot of his editions left no trace at all. Besides that he also published non-fiction in Dutch and English, some texts as Dutch / English double productions.

We can look at the list of existing editions of Hans Dorn in a similar fashion. Flood characterizes this list by saying: ‘Dorn specialized in popular devotional works, among them some Reformation tracts’.³² This means that Flood implicitly also assumes that literature - represented by three texts, one of them being *Bruder Rausch* - was not Hans Dorn's core business. This is to a certain extent supported by the way Dorn treated *Bruder Rausch*. Compared to the text of Joachim Westval from around 1488 the edition attributed to Hans Dorn is very similar. Only the title page has a different woodcut, but apart from orthographical differences the text is merely a reprint. We may therefore conclude that Dorn's involvement with this text was limited as the first text page also shows.³³

It is in fact also supported by the interesting source that Hill-Zenk brings up: the ledger of John Thorne of 1520. For part of the year 1520 a manuscript survives in which John Thorne as a bookseller -who may be identical to the Brunswick publisher Hans Dorn- wrote down which books he sold. The list contains almost 2000 entries. The most popular category is formed by almanacs and prognostications followed by ballads (popular

³² Flood 2014 with further references.

³³ R. Priebisch, *Bruder Rausch. Facsimile-Ausgabe des ältesten niederdeutschen Druckes (A) nebst den Holzschnitten des niederländischen Druckes (J) vom Jahre 1596.* (Zwickau: Ullmann 1919). Also on: <http://digital.ub.uni-duesseldorf.de/content/titleinfo/287756>; Biblioteka Jagiellońska, BJ St. Dr. Yg 6031 R (def.) http://chamo.bj.uj.edu.pl/uj/search/query?match_1=MUST&field_1=control&term_1=xx002757073

literature in English), primers, grammars, popular science and classical texts. Most of the books on the list were printed by local publishers and the others came mostly from Antwerp and France, especially Rouen and Paris. None of the books Thorne sold were published by Dorn.³⁴ Based on the arguments above I see no special role for Hans Dorn in bringing German popular literature to England.

Howleglas in England

This brings me to the second topic, the start of the English *Howleglas* tradition. It is commonly accepted that Jan van Doesborch published an edition of *Howleglas* around 1519. Only a small fragment of this edition survived. This attribution is based on the fact that the borders do occur in other texts of Van Doesborch and that the text was printed in a type that he – like many others - used. These facts, together with her conclusion that the younger English editions must *also* [italics PF] have used this edition of Jan van Doesborch, brings Hill-Zenk to the conclusion that there must have been an older edition. However she does not want to speculate about the language and character of this older text.³⁵ Certainly a lot of editions have been lost, but if editions are as closely related as the one attributed to Van Doesborch of 1519 and those of William Copland, the original source cannot have been in a different language. And there is some evidence to substantiate this assumption. First of all, it starts with the fact that there is some reason to question the attribution of the surviving 1519 fragment to the press of Jan van Doesborch. It may itself be a re-edition. As we look at the only woodcut in the fragment we see an

³⁴ Hill-Zenk p. 326.

³⁵ Flood 2011, p. 527; Hill-Zenk p. 404 and p. 447.

illustration of Howleglas and the wine drawer. It is obviously inspired by the known illustrations, but it has little detail compared to them.³⁶ And although Van Doesborch according to Proctor was a careless printer this is not altogether true. Yes, he did use woodcuts in a careless way, but he started as an illustrator and there are a lot of very fine illustrations known from his publications.³⁷ So the use was very often careless and rude, but the *quality* of his woodcuts was certainly not, so there is no reason why he would have produced such inferior work.

So why has this woodcut so little detail? In general Van Doesborch stays close to the original and the Antwerp illustrators were experts in copying woodcuts. The only reason I can think of is that the woodcut was copied by a less skilled illustrator.

In relation to Laurence Andrew's edition of *The vertuose boke of distyllacyon* Hill-Zenk notices that the woodcuts clearly are copies of those used by Johannes Grüninger from Strasbourg in his edition of the text, but that they are more simple and show no background. Just as in this case.³⁸

We have already seen that by 1519 Adriaen van Berghen copied woodcuts from Jan van Doesborch and used two stories from a Dutch *Ulenspiegel*. In his turn Jan van Doesborch used woodcuts belonging to a *Ulenspiegel* edition by 1516 and he specialized in jest books and was able to adapt texts in that direction, as we have seen in the example of

³⁶ Even the Hucker fragment has the same detailed woodcut according to Julia Buchloh (M. A.), *Hans Baldung Grien und Dyl Ulenspiegel. Studien zu den Illustrationen und zur Text-Bild-Struktur des Straßburger Eulenspiegeldruckes S 1515*. (Berlin: Technische Universität Berlin, Fakultät I - Geisteswissenschaften 2005), p.148.

³⁷ See for instance NAT = W. Nijhoff, *L'art typographique dans le Pays-Bas pendant les années 1500 à 1540*. 3 vols (Le Haye: Nijhoff 1926-35).

³⁸ Hill-Zenk p. 322, note 233 'Sie sind jedoch vereinfacht, lassen den Hintergrund weg'

Virgilius. If we accept that an earlier edition must have existed in English, Jan van Doesborch is the best candidate for having published it, probably as a Dutch / English double production.

The Dutch - English relations of Jan van Doesborch

The third topic I would like to reflect upon is the role of Jan van Doesborch in the book trade between England and the continent. Hill-Zenk claims that Franssen in 1990 overestimated his role and underestimated the role of English publishers and others in the international trade. As examples she mentions *The .ix. drunkardes* and *The deceyte of women* which could have been translated from English into Dutch and their woodcuts could be copies of the English ones.³⁹ In order to put the role of Jan van Doesborch into perspective, Hill-Zenk sketches in her study the international network to which he and the *Howleglas* production belonged. She mentions publishers and book traders like Franz Birckmann I, Lawrence Andrewe, William Copland, Richard Bankes, Robert Wyer, Wynkyn de Worde, Peter Treveris and especially Hans Dorn / John Thorne.⁴⁰ In the following I will summarize what is known about the contacts between Van Doesborch and these persons.

Van Doesborch did sell books in London, but he certainly also looked for interesting texts for the Antwerp market. It is known that publishers exchanged books between themselves, but Jan van Doesborch was probably only interested in texts that could be

³⁹ Hill-Zenk, p. 324.

⁴⁰ Hill-Zenk, p. 295-346.

translated into Dutch. The market for English books on the continent must have been small and the Latin texts in London mostly came from the continent. So Jan van Doesborch did probably know all of the people mentioned above. They indeed may all have had connections with the continent and they may all have introduced *Ulenspiegel* into England, but from the facts there is only little to conclude. Birckmann for instance traded on a much larger scale, but Van Doesborch was important in a niche market for popular fiction and non-fiction in English.

Jan van Doesborch appears in the mentioned ledger of John Thorne with two books. The first book that can with any certainty be linked to Jan van Doesborch is *Of the newe landes*, a text sold by Thorne for one penny. The other one is the text of the sorcerer *Virgilius* sold by John Thorne for two pence.⁴¹

Based on these facts Hill-Zenk sees a business relation between Thorne and Van Doesborch. In my opinion she overrates these facts. Two relatively cheap books out of a total of almost 2000 is not a large number. Far more important is the fact that Thorne sold books in Oxford which he probably bought in London. Thorne could have bought them from every publisher or bookseller. Of course Van Doesborch did do business in London and so there is a fair chance that they knew each other, but the *Howleglas* belonged to the category of ballads which was the most popular category at that time. However, it was not yet an exceptional bestseller in England, since it does not appear in the ledger in contrast to texts like *Aesopus*, *Bevis of Hampton* and *Fryer and the boy*.⁴²

⁴¹ NK 1311. STC (2nd. ed.) 7677; NK 4052; STC (2nd. ed.) 24828

⁴² F. Madan, 'Day-book of John Dorne, bookseller in Oxford, A.D. 1520.' in: *Collectanea*, first series. Hrsg. von C. R. L. Fletcher. Oxford 1885 (Oxford Historical Society), pp. 71–177; Falconer.Madan, 'Supplementary notes to Collectanea I, Part III. Day-book of John Dorne, bookseller in Oxford, 1520

The number of English texts that were translated into Dutch at the beginning of the sixteenth century is rather small. Apart from *Van den jongen geheeten Jacke* and *Van den .x. Esels*, only *Robrecht de duyvel*, *Die Historie van der ridder metter swane* and *Merlijn* were translated from English into Dutch, the latter three all based on editions of Wynkyn de Worde.⁴³

To this list two other texts might possibly be added. In 1997 Resoort showed clearly that the text NK 3059 ‘*Gedicht tot lof van vroeg trouwen*’ (*Poem in praise of an early marriage*) actually is a complaint about having married too late and that there are some remarkable similarities in presentation and content with *Tghevecht van Minnen* and also *Gedinghe tusschen eenen coopman ende eenen jode*, which were certainly published by Jan van Doesborch and furthermore also with *Van den .x. Esels*, presumably also published by Van Doesborch.⁴⁴

As Resoort shows the text was originally written in French by Pierre Gringore as *Complainte de trop tard marie* (Paris), (Pierre le Dru?), 1 Oct 1505. It was also translated into English by Robert Copland: *Here begynneth the complaynte of them that ben to late married*. The text was published by Wynkyn de Worde, the first time possibly around 1505. It might even be possible that the Dutch text was inspired by the English rather

including ‘A Half-Century of Notes’ by Henry Bradshaw’ in: *Collectanea*, second series 5. Ed. by Montagu Burrows. Oxford 1890 (Oxford Historical Society), pp. 453–480.

⁴³ See Franssen 1990, pp. 41–47. STC (2.ed.) 14522 *A mery geste of the frere and the boy*. On ‘John of Beverley’ See Malcolm Jones, *The secret Middle Ages*. (Westport, London: Praeger 2002), p. 24; Ben Parsons and Bas Jongenelen “‘IN WHICH LAND WERE YOU BORN?: Cultural Transmission in the *Historie van Jan van Beverley*” in: *Medieval English Theatre* 34 (2012), pp. 30–76. No copy exists of ‘The nine donkeys’. Respectively NSTC (2nd ed.) 21070, 7571, 17841. Furthermore there are still unclear relationships concerning *A lytell treatyse of the turkes lawe called Alcaron*, *The byrthe and lyfe of the Antechryst* and *The crafte of graffyng and planting of tryes* which could be translations out of the Dutch. This needs further research. See Franssen 1990, pp. 43, 52, 69 and 77

⁴⁴ Franssen 1990, pp. 20 and 86–87; Rob Resoort, ‘Nieuwe gegevens rond het <<Gedicht tot lof van vroeg trouwen>>’ in: *Queeste* 4 (1997), pp. 141–154.

than by the French edition.⁴⁵ As such, this text should indeed be attributed to Van Doesborch and might be another example of a text translated from English into Dutch.

A second possible translation from English into Dutch can be found in the possession of Charles II of Lelaing.⁴⁶ From the list of his books from 1541 it becomes clear that he had a copy of the following book: 'Droicte voye à l'hospital en flameng imprimé à Anvers par Jan Doesborch.' It seems obvious that we have here a Dutch translation of the text of Robert de Balsac's *Le chemin de l'ospital*. The French version however was also a source of inspiration for *The hye way to the spyttel house* of Robert Copland and again it is also possible that this was the source for the Dutch edition.⁴⁷

So we can conclude that the connection between Wynkyn de Worde and Robert Copland as his translator and the Low Countries may have been closer than we already knew.

Hellinga puts forward convincing arguments for Wynkyn de Worde being a Dutchman who did not originate from France as is generally accepted, but actually came from Woerden, a city near Utrecht. So this would make a relationship with Jan van Doesborch even more plausible.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ STC (2nd ed.) 5728.

⁴⁶ I owe this reference to Prof. Dr H. Brinkman, University of Amsterdam

⁴⁷ M. Mestayer, 'La bibliothèque de Charles II, comte de Lalaing, en 1541', in: J.-M. Cauchies (red.), Les sources littéraires et leurs publics dans l'espace bourguignon (XIV^e-XVI^e s.) Recontres de Middelbourg / Bergen-op-Zoom (27 au 30 septembre 1990). (Neuchâtel: Publication du centre européen d' études bourguignonnes 31, 1991), p. 212.

⁴⁸ Peter W.M. Blayney, *The stationers' company and the printers of London 1510-1557*. 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2013), I, pp. 61-62; Lotte Hellinga, 'Wynkyn de Worde's native land' in: *New science out of old books. Studies in manuscripts and early printed books in honour of A.I. Doyle*. Edited by Richard Beadle and A.J. Piper. (Aldershot: Scolar Press 1995), p. 342-359. N.F. Blake, 'Worde, Wynkyn de (d. 1534/5)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29968>, accessed 9 May 2016] thinks that De Worde came from Wörth in the East of France. He does not even mention this alternative.

Moreover, Van Doesborch had clear but limited relationships with Laurence Andrewe and Robert Wyer. The only real fact about the connection between Laurence Andrewe and Jan van Doesborch is that Andrewe translated *The noble lyfe and natures of man* for Jan van Doesborch. In the past various researchers have followed Proctor in attributing more translations to Andrewe, but there is no proof for this, as Janssen has convincingly shown.⁴⁹ Furthermore Andrewe published *The vertuose boke of distyllacyon* which was 'now newly translate out of the duyche into Englysshe'(a1r.)⁵⁰

The relationship between Robert Wyer and Jan van Doesborch is confirmed by the colophon of *The four tokens*. It states that 'This translated out of the Duche into Englysshe by John Dousbrugh. C Imprinted by me Robert Wyer.' This could indicate that Wyer knew Van Doesborch personally or that he had read his name in the colophon meaning 'translated out of the Dutch edition of Jan van Doesborch'.⁵¹ However, there are no other sources that provide us with other information on the further nature of their relationship.

More complicated is the relationship with Peter Treveris. In 1525 he publishes *The vertuous handywarke of surgeri*, an English translation of *Das Buch der Cirurgia* by Hieronymus Brunschwig. (STC 14434). Hill-Zenk thinks it possible that the Dutch edition of Jan Berntsz of 1535 *Dat hantwerck der cirurgien* (NK 506) may have been a translation out of the English instead of assuming a relationship to an earlier edition of the text in Dutch by Jan van Doesborch. The colophon however states 'whiche boke of

⁴⁹ W.A.F. Janssen, 'Studies over Mariken van Nieumeghen', In: *Leuvense Bijdragen* 56 (1967), pp. 1-99.

⁵⁰ NK 505; Franssen 1990, p. 76.

⁵¹ Janssen, p. 62. This is a possibility since Van Doesborch used translators like Lawrence Andrewe and Claes van den Langhe Water (Nicolaus Aqualonga) for other texts. This is however a very small text which did not have to take much time.

late was translated out of the speche of hye Almayne into lowe Duche. And afterward into our moders tonge of Englyssche' (T6v.). This sounds as if Treveris – who probably originated from Germany - knew the difference between German and Dutch quite well, so there must have been an earlier Dutch edition. Moreover, some of the woodcuts of the Treveris edition are to be found earlier in works of Jan van Doesborch like *Der dieren palley* of 1520 and *Thuys der fortun*en of 1518.⁵²

The nine worthies

For Van Doesborch's relationship with Richard Bankes, the publisher of *The .ix. Drunkards*, we have to turn to another phenomenon within the list of publications of Van Doesborch.⁵³ He published texts that were inspired by the topic of the nine worthies. This topic appears in literature and art from the thirteenth century onwards. It refers to the golden age of chivalry and consists of references to nine heroes, three good Pagans, three good Jews and three good Christians: Alexander, Hector and Julius Caesar, Joshua, David and Judas Maccabeus and Arthur, Charles the Great and Gottfried of Bouillon.

It is often presumed that the first testimony of the nine worthies is to be found in *Les voeux du Paon* by the French writer Jacques de Longuyon, but Van Anrooij has directed the attention towards the Dutch writer Jacob van Maerlant and his poem of *Die negen Besten*.⁵⁴ Quite soon variations were made on this topic of which the reference to a still

⁵² Another relation between Treveris and Van Doesborch can be found in *The great Herball* which contains some (copies of) woodcuts belonging to Van Doesborch.

⁵³ STC (2.ed.) 7260; USTC 501738.

⁵⁴ Wim van Anrooij, *Helden van weleer. De negen Besten in de Nederlanden. (1300-1700)*. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press 1997); Franssen 1990. p. 113-18; Anne Salamon, *Écrire les vies des Neuf Preux et des Neuf Preuses à la fin du Moyen Âge : étude et édition critique partielle du Traité des Neuf*

living tenth hero was the most popular. Later also nine and ten heroines were introduced. In the sixteenth century there was room for less serious variations on this topic and for instance the *neuf preux en gourmandise* [the nine gluttons] were introduced.

Van Doesborch took this idea further by introducing *Der ix Quaesten* [*The nine worst people*] and probably *Van den .x. Esels*: the ten donkeys! The tenth donkey is explicitly added on to the original nine. So *The .ix. drunkards* of 1523 fits into this scheme and it is explicitly said that the text was translated out of the Dutch. Furthermore Van Doesborch – as said before – tended to re-use woodcuts and parts of texts. In this case the stories of Lot and his daughters and of Sysara and Holophernes as well as the text and the woodcuts are taken from *Den bibele int corte* of 1518/19 (NK 4424). And also other woodcuts Bankes used originated from Van Doesborch.⁵⁵

Dat bedroch der vrouwen / The deceyte of women

Another text that, according to Hill-Zenk may have been translated from the English into Dutch, is *The deceyte of women*. However, the oldest English edition dates from 1557 while a Dutch edition published by Jan Berntsz from around 1532 survives. It is known that Jan van Doesborch resided during the last part of his life at the same address in Utrecht and he had a strong influence on the character of publications of Jan Berntsz after

Preux et des Neuf Preuses de Sébastien Mamerot (Josué, Alexandre, Arthur ; les Neuf Preuses), *Perspectives médiévales* [En ligne], 34 | 2012, mis en ligne le 23 septembre 2012, consulté le 10 mai 2016. URL : <http://peme.revues.org/2501>.

⁵⁵ See Franssen 1990, pp. 40-41 and note 149 on p. 200

1530. Quite a few texts that Van Doesborch had published in Antwerp were reprinted by Jan Berntsz. It is quite probable *Dat bedroch der vrouwen* was among them.⁵⁶

The 23 stories in *Dat Bedroch der Vrouwen* (BV) all deal with the treachery of women. The text starts with quotations from authorities like Saint Paul and Chrysostom about how evil women are. The first story is logically the story of Adam and Eve. Because Adam was afraid of Eve, he did not dare to refuse to eat from the apple of the tree of life. The following stories are alternately 'new' and 'old'. The old ones are derived from biblical and classical sources, the new ones appear to derive from the famous French story collection *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* (CNN) that was written for Philip the Good of Burgundy in the 1460s. The text was printed several times by the famous Paris publisher Antoine Vérard.⁵⁷ The old stories deal with Lot and his daughters, Sisara and Jahel, Holophernes and Judith, Naboth and Jezebel, Virgil in the basket, Samson and Delilah, Hercules and Deianira, John the Baptist and Herodias and Hercules and Jole. For some of the old stories he used fragments from texts that he himself had published earlier like *Virgilius* (c. 1518), *Van Jason ende Hercules* (1521) and this is probably also true for

⁵⁶ STC (2nd ed.) 6451 and 6452; EBOO 'deceyte';

⁵⁷ Neither *Dat bedroch der vrouwen*, nor *Dat bedroch der mannen* survived as a Van Doesborch edition. However, there are reprints. NK 4422 Utrecht, Jan Berntsz. See P.J.A. Franssen, 'Jan van Doesborch's departure from Antwerp and his influence on the Utrecht printer Jan Berntsz' in: *Quaerendo* 18 (1988) pp. 163-90 for the relationship of Van Doesborch with this printer. *Dat bedroch der mannen*, [Antwerp,], Marten Nuyts, 1543? See C.H.A. Kruyskamp, 'Een onbekende verhalenbundel van 1543', in: *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 78 (1961), pp. 161-167; H. Pleij, 'Een fragment van de oudste Nederlandse novellenbundel te Cambridge' in: *Opstellen aangeboden aan C.H.A. Kruyskamp*. Onder red. van H. Heestermans. 's-Gravenhage 1977, pp. 142-55; P.J.A. Franssen, 'Dat Bedroch der Vrouwen, een onderzoek naar de functie van een 16e-eeuwse verhalenbundel I' in: *Spektator* 12 (1982-3) 4, p. 270-89. www.dbnl.org. See also R. Maslen, 'The Early English Novel in Antwerp. The impact of Jan van Doesborch' in: Gerd Bayer, Ebbe Klitgard (eds.) *Narrative developments from Chaucer to Defoe*. (New York, Routledge 2011), p. 136-57. Routledge studies in Renaissance literature and culture, 11. http://bouwstoffen.kantl.be/bml/Bedroch_der_mannen/Bedroch_der_mannen.pdf
http://bouwstoffen.kantl.be/bml/Bedroch_der_vrouwen/Bedroch_der_vrouwen.pdf

the stories that originate from the Bible. *Den Oorspronck onser Salicheyt* (NK 1627) and *Den Bibeke int corte* (NK 4424) also have corresponding texts and the same illustrations, the latter a particularly telling indication.⁵⁸

Another argument for assuming that *The deceyte of women* was translated out of the Dutch is that there also exists a fragment of a text that was probably called *Dat bedroch der mannen* (*The deceyte of men*). From the fragment of *Dat Bedroch der Mannen* the first page is missing as well as A4 and quire D, but obviously it had the same structure although there were fewer stories. The surviving fragment has at least parts of eleven stories from what were probably thirteen tales. The stories 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 10 and 11 are based on stories numbers 26, 14, 9, 18, 39, 67 and 68 from the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*. The other ones are largely old stories which deal with Jason and three queens Mirro, Isaphile and Creusa; Amnon and Tamar and Mahomet (Mohammed) and his wife. And also for some of these, texts were used that had been published earlier by Van Doesborch.⁵⁹

Conclusion

The role of Jan van Doesborch as a book trader between the continent and England was important, but not only through selling fictional texts back and forth between the Low Countries and England. His importance lies also in the fact that he had a nose for trends, that he was creative in re-using texts and making texts fit for a specific market by turning

⁵⁸ Franssen 1982-83 gives a detailed description of the relationship between *Dat bedroch der vrouwen* and *Dat bedroch der mannen* and the sources used by Van Doesborch.

⁵⁹ Franssen 1990, pp. 81-82.

them into prose or by adding verses. This quality distinguishes him from most of the other publishers of his time.⁶⁰ So he is responsible for bringing texts like *Friar Rush*, *Howleglas*, *Virgilius*, *Frederyke of Jennen*, *The parson of Kalenborow* together with other non-fictional texts in English to England. Undoubtedly many other editions of small popular fiction and non-fiction published by him will have been lost.

As Hill-Zenk clearly shows Van Doesborch's name is always mentioned in the shadow of Caxton, V  rard and Gerard Leeu who worked in Gouda and Antwerp. And she is right about the fact that this is unfair, and more recently also Parsons and especially Maslen have emphasized the importance of Jan van Doesborch in bringing fictional prose to England.⁶¹ However, Gerard Leeu certainly had a direct or indirect influence on Van Doesborch. Leeu may have inspired Van Doesborch to publish double productions in English and to adapt texts for different markets. Leeu published in Dutch a *Reinaert de Vos* in prose and at least one in verse. Caxton published in English a text in prose.

And Leeu could have inspired Van Doesborch to sell books in the Low German area. In fact, we know that Leeu did publish a *Paris & Vienne* also in Low German and that he traded with Northern Germany. From 1492 a document has survived which states that he

⁶⁰ Y.G. Vermeulen, *Tot profijt en genoegen. Motivering en produktie van Nederlandstalige gedrukte teksten 1477-1540*. (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff/Fosten 1986).

⁶¹ Maslen, p. 136 'The name of the Antwerp printer Jan van Doesborch is not much mentioned in histories of the English novel, but this chapter will suggest that it should be. If William Caxton and Wynkyn de Warde had a more obvious influence on a wider range of literary genres, van Doesborch and his translators -who included the Englishman Laurence Andrewe- may be said to have shaped the entire course of English prose fiction in the sixteenth century.' Ben Parsons, 'Dutch Influences on English Literary Culture in the Early Renaissance, 1470-1650' In: *Literature Compass*, Volume 4 (2007) p. 1581 says: 'The most industrious of these was Jan Van Doesborch, who printed over twenty English books between 1501 and c. 1530.⁸ Van Doesborch may even be termed a literary dictator, as his publications set the tone of the English book market for a number of years.' Blayney however shows little interest in Van Doesborch and refers only to Proctor 1894.

did send two barrels of books on a ship to Lübeck.⁶² Certainly something came back in return. The sea route to Northern Germany and the Baltic has always been important for the Low Countries. Dutch books from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century are to be found in libraries as far as Saint Petersburg.⁶³ Also in *Dat Bedroch der Vrouwen* we find evidence of this relationship with the Baltic. The eighteenth story is announced as ‘Een nieu bedroch geschiet in onsen tijden te Danswick in Pruysen’ The text refers to a dwelling place in Danzig called ‘Artus hof’ that actually existed and ,according to the writer, merchants gather there early in the evening to drink Jopen beer, a speciality of North-West Germany.⁶⁴

⁶² GW 12699, USTC 438824; Kees Gnrirrep, ‘Relaties van Leeu met andere drukkersen met boekverkopers. Verspreide archivalia. in: *Een drukker zoekt publiek. Gheraert Leeu te Gouda 1477-1484*. Redactie Koen Goudriaan, Paul Abels e.a. (Delft: Eburon 1993), pp. 193-203.

⁶³ *Robrecht de duyvel*. Uitgeg. en van comm. voorz. door R.Resoort. (Muiderberg: Coutinho 1980), p. 64 was rediscovered around 1980 in Wroclaw. An unknown edition of *Karel en Elegast* was discovered in 1990 in Leningrad, now Saint Petersburg: A.M. Duinhoven en G.A. van Thienen, ‘Een onbekende druk van de ‘Karel ende Elegast’ in Leningrad’ in: *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 106 (1990) p. 1.

⁶⁴ http://cf.hum.uva.nl/dsp/scriptamanent/bml/Bedroch_der_vrouwen/Bedroch_der_vrouwen_kritisch.pdf number 18.

Appendix: Books published by Jan van Doesborch according to Nijhoff-Kronenberg

Since the nineteenth century Jan van Doesborch has been an object of research. The first overview of his publications was delivered by Robert Proctor in 1894. In his great book *Jan van Doesborgh. printer at Antwerp. An essay in bibliography* he not only describes the by that time known editions which could be attributed to Van Doesborch, but he also delivered a description of the illustrations Van Doesborch used in these books. The image Proctor gave to Van Doesborch had –and in fact has – a vast influence. This influence is evident in the *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540* of W. Nijhoff and M.E. Kronenberg (NK). Franssen in his book on Van Doesborch expanded the list in 1990 as a result of his different research method. He tried to show that making Dutch / English double productions and the reuse of texts were characteristics of his business model. In 2010 Anja Hill-Zenk provided another list of Van Doesborch editions in her book *Der englische Eulenspiegel*, regrettably with some inaccurate entries. In the same year *Netherlandish Books* (NB) was published. This bibliography of Dutch books published before 1601 by Andrew Pettegree and Malcolm Walsby is the main source for the Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC).⁶⁵

Although all these publications in their way are very valuable, the list Nijhoff-Kronenberg have provided is in my opinion still the best. The descriptions are, like Proctor, precise and elaborate and where necessary they express their doubts. NK takes

⁶⁵ R. Proctor, *Jan van Doesborgh, printer at Antwerp: an essay in bibliography*. (Londen: The Biographical Society, 1894); NK 1923-1971, III, pp. 151-151 *Cumulatief Register volgens de drukkers* p. 151-152 (Antwerpen) and p. 290 (Utrecht); Franssen 1990, between pp. 48-49; Hill-Zenk 2010. p. 292-295.

into account all editions that have survived and all the editions of which some sort of evidence exists. Besides this Kronenberg was not only a bibliographer, but also a specialist in sixteenth-century literature. This has as a consequence that she also reflected upon the outcome of research.

Franssen's list is less reliable because his research focuses on what Van Doesborch did and did not publish, but also on what he 'probably' published. It is an interpretation of the existing material and the outcome can be discussed, accepted or denied. *Netherlandish Books* and *USTC* are computer based lists in which different bibliographical sources are combined. In the case of Van Doesborch this has sometimes a negative effect on the quality of the entries. Furthermore these bibliographies do not take into account the research that has been done on the texts. Understandable of course, but the consequence is that errors are passed on from one to the other. Because of this I will present a new list in which I comment on the above-mentioned sources using the list provided by Nijhoff-Kronenberg as a starting point.

Johannes Paltz, *De conceptione vel electione eternali beata virginis cum appendice Nic. De Aqualonga*. (Jan van Doesborch, Antwerpen. after 1502). 8° NK 1671; NB 16809: USTC 403627; not mentioned by Hill-Zenk. NB / USTC suggest certainty about the date 1501.

Historie van Buevijne van Austoen wt Engelandt gheboren. Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, 1504. 2°. NK 1085; NB 6169; USTC 436691.

NB 6170 / USTC 403633 does not exist. The library E13 ((BMI Epinal-Golbay) was never in possession of a copy.

Legenda sanctissimae virginis et martyris Dymphne, etc. (Antwerpen), Jan van Doesborch, c. 1504. 4°. NK 4252; NB 10575; USTC 436694; not mentioned by Hill-Zenk 2010.

Tekenen, Vijfthien vreesselijke, die voerghaen sullen dat strange oordeel Jhesu Chrysti. (Jan van Doesborch, Antwerpen, c. 1505). 4°. NK 1975; NB 16620; USTC 436709.

NB / USTC mention *The fifteen tokens* first, but according to Proctor the English text is a translation from the Dutch. See also Franssen 1988, p. 50 and 204, n. 5 suggests a date around 1502.

Tokens, The fifteen. Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, (c. 1505?). 4°. Proctor, Van Doesb. 1; NK 2047; ESTC S103663; NB 31878 USTC 410043; STC 793.3.

Pape Ians landen. Van de wonderlicheden ende costelicheden van. Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, (c. 1506?). 4°. Proctor, Van Doesb. 2; NK 1675; NB 23555; USTC 410053.

The edition NB 17048 / USTC 436742 does not exist.

Joh. Holt, *Lac puerorum.* Z.p.n.j.? (Antwerpen), Jan van Doesborch, (c.1507?). 4°. NK 4282; ESTC S93018; NB 15481; USTC 415561; STC 13606.5.

(Vespucius, Americus), *Van der nieuwer werelt.* Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, (c. 1507?). 4°. Proctor, van Doesb. 3; NK 2154; NB 30696; USTC 436755

As NB 30697 USTC there is an entry for the same text, a copy to be found in K07, the Royal Library of Copenhagen with a date 1508. I was unable to trace this edition. The catalogue of the Royal Library only mentions a German edition of around 1505. The WorldCat also mentions a Dutch edition of 1508 in some libraries, but this appears to be a facsimile of the only surviving copy of the John Carter Brown Library.

Reyse, Die, van Lissebone. 4°. Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, Dec. 1508. Proctor, Van Doesb. 4; NK 1800; NB 28436; USTC 410058.

Accidence, Longer. (Antwerpen), Jan van Doesborch, (c. 1509?). 4°. Proctor, Van Doesb. 5; NK 1; ESTC S95333; NB 19500; USTC 410785; STC 23153.7

(John Stanbridge?), *Os, facies, mentum* (vocabularium latino-britanicum). Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, (c. 1510?). 4°. Proctor, Van Doesb. 6; NK 1656; NB 23280; STC 188735; ESTC S112213; USTC 410070.

Regiment der ghesontheyt, Dat. Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, (c. 1510?). 4°. NK 4397; (= NK 01033); NB 13336; USTC 436786

NB / USTC refer to NK 1033 instead of 01033.

Distructie, Die, van Troyen die laetste. Z.j.?, Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, (c. 1510-1515?). 2°. Proctor, Van Doesb. 7; NK 4137; NB 29709; USTC 436813.

NB / USTC suggest certainty about the date 1510. Franssen 1990. p. 55 and p. 206, n. 32 suggests a date before Dec. 1508.

Gest of Robyn Hode. Z.p.n.j.? (Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch? C. 1510-1515?). 4°. Proctor, Van Doesb. 8; NK 3080; NB 26727; USTC 436806; STC 13689.5.

NB / USTC suggest that there is certainty about the publisher which is actually not the case. See Franssen 1990, p. 18.

Cronike van Brabant, Hollant, Seelant, Vlaenderen. Antwerpen, (Jan van Doesborch), Oct. 1512. 2°. NK 652; NB 5642; USTC 403654.

NB / USTC suggest uncertainty about the date of printing.

Laet de Borchloen, Gaspar (Jasper), , *Pronosticacion of the yere 1516.* (Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch? 1515). 4°. Proctor, Van Doesb. 11; NK 1303; NB 17618; STC 15121

NB / USTC suggest certainty about the date 1515.

(John Stanbridge). *Accidence, Shorter.* Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, (c. 1515). 4°. Proctor, van Doesb. 10; NK 2; NB 28450; STC 23155.2; ESTC S122460; USTC 404695

NB / USTC suggest certainty about the date 1515.

Aeneas Sylvius (Pius II), *(History of Eureka and Lucretia).* Z.p.n.j.? (Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, c. 1515?). 4°. Proctor, Van Doesb. 9; NK 2240; NB 25634 USTC 436929 STC 19969.8. ESTC S125025.

NB / USTC suggest certainty about the publisher and the place of printing.

Gedinghe (Ghedinghe), Vanden, tusschen eenen coopman ende eenen Iode.

Z.p.n.j.? (Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, c. 1515?). 4°. NK 3063; NB 17618; USTC 410657.

NB / USTC suggest certainty about the publisher. Franssen 1990, p. 53-54 and p. 205, n. 24 suggests a date of c. 1505-1510?).

(*Historie vanden ridder metten swaen*). Z.p.n.j.? (Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch? c. 1515-1520?). 4°. NK 3172; NB 26638; USTC 436920.

Franssen 1990, p. 60 suggests a date c. 1512- c. 1515?.

Tghevecht van minnen. Van Venus Ianckers ende haer bedrijven. Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, begin Juni 1516. 4°. NK 2115 NB 30265 USTC 407310

NB/USTC suggest that Leiden University Library has a copy. This is incorrect.

Oorspronck, Den, onser salicheyt. Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, Mei 1517. 2°. Proctor, Van Doesb. 12; NK 1628. (=NK 0942) NB 23153 USTC 436965

Hill-Zenk 2010, p. 293 refers to an edition of the text of 1514 (NK 0942) that does not exist.

(*Causes that be proponed ... in a consultacyon of a journey to be made ... agaynst the Turkes*). (Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, na 12 Nov. 1517). 4°. Proctor, Van Doesb. 13; NK 0279. NB 29725 USTC 441903

NB / USTC suggest certainty about the publisher and the place of printing.

(*Historie van Floris ende Blanceflour*). Z.p.n.j.? (Antwerpen), Jan van Doesborch, (c. 1517). 4°. NK 3160; NB 12290; USTC 436979.

Huys (Thuys) der fortunen ende dat huys der doot. (Antwerpen), Jan van Doesborch, 7 Febr. 1518. 4°. Proctor, Van Doesb. 20; NK 1150; NB 16045; USTC 437024.

NB / USTC suggest certainty about the place of printing.

Cronike van Brabant, Vlaenderen, Hollant, Zeelant. Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, 1518. 2°. Proctor, Van Doesb. 15; NK 653; NB 5644; USTC 402891.

Story of Lorde Frederyke of Jennen. Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, 1518. 4°. Proctor, Van Doesb. 17; NK 3904; NB 12622; ESTC S125703. USTC 437023; STC 11361.

Clereville, Bartholomeus de, *The copye of the letter folowyng which spcifyeth of the greatest...natayle, that ever was sene etc.*, written Jan. 1517 (= 1518). Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, (1518). 4°. Proctor, Van Doesb. 14; NK 2677; NB 8483; STC 5405; ESTC S105104; USTC 437022.

Vergilius Maro, Publius. *Of the lyfe of Virgilius and of his deth, etc.* Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, (1518?). 4°. Proctor, Van Doesb. 16; NK 4052; NB 30351; ESTC S114884; USTC 437027; STC 24828.

Story of Mary of Nymmegen. Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, (c. 1518?). 4°. Proctor, Van Doesb. 18; NK 3905; NB 20556; ESTC S109951; USTC 437010; STC 17557.

Die bibele int Corte. 4°. Z.p.n.j.? (Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, c. 1518-1519?). 4°. NK 4424; NB 3701; USTC 436993. Not in Hill-Zenk 2010.

NB / USTC suggest certainty about the date of printing.

(*Howleglas, Tyll*). (Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, c. 1519?). 4°. Proctor, Van Doesb. 19; NK 1144; ESTC S117876; NB 15991; USTC 437066; STC 10563.

As NB 29326 / USTC 410127 is the same fragment described under the title **Till Eulenspiegel**. Also here a reference to L01 and STC 10563. Furthermore NB / USTC suggest certainty about the publisher and the place of printing.

Palley, Der dieren. Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, 5 Mei 1520. 2°. Proctor, Van Doesb. 21; NK 1667; NB 15890; USTC 410142.

Kamintus episc. Arusiensis (= Westeraes?), *A boke on the pestilence.* (Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch?). 4°.

Proctor, Van Doesb. 31; NK 1261 (= NK 0970?); ESTC S111597; NB 6733; USTC 410683; STC 4593; NB 6733 suggest certainty about the publisher and the place and date of printing (1520). This is actually quite uncertain.

Mondo, De novo, et Figura noni praecepti. Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, (c. 1520). 1°. NK 3541; NB 30699; USTC 404717. Franssen 1990, p. 57 and p. 207, n. 39 suggests a date (1509-1510).

(Gedicht tot lof van het vroeg trouwen). Z.p.n.j. (Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch? c. 1520. 4°. NK 3059; NB 12960; USTC 437116; mentioned three times by Hill-Zenk 2010.

NB 30971 / USTC 410681 does not exist. Looking in the digital catalogue of the University of Cambridge reveals that it is actually NK 3059. According to Resoort 1997 the title of the poem should be '*Klacht van de te laat getrouwden*' (*Complaint of them that been to late married*).

Landes, Of the newe, etc. (Antwerpen), Jan van Doesborch, (c. 1520?). 4°. Proctor, Van Doesb. 22; NK 1311; NB 20397; USTC 410154; ESTC S106440; STC 7677. Franssen 1990, p. 57 suggests a date of (c. 1510-1511?)

NB / USTC suggest certainty about the place of printing.

Lyfe, The noble, etc. Vertaald door Laurens Andrewe of Calis. Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, (na 1520). 2°. Proctor, Van Doesb. 23; NK 1901; NB 1062; USTC 437179; STC 13837.5

NB / USTC dates 1521 and gives Lawrence Andrew as the author. Entry NB 1063 / USTC 441405 does not exist. According to NB/UTSC there are two editions of the text; one of 1521 and one of 1527. Curiously two copies exist of each edition and both in the same libraries: C01 and L39; Cambridge University library and the Wellcome Library in London. Indeed the Wellcome Library has two copies; they are incomplete but not different. NK dates the edition after 1520 and refers to Sayle who dates 1527? for the Cambridge copy; The Wellcome Library dates 1521. In EEBO one of the copies of the Wellcome Library is dated 1527, probably following STC 13837.5.

Valuacyon of golde and silver of 1499. (Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch?). 8°. Proctor, Van Doesb. 30 / 32; NK 2105; NB 21795 (= NK01193?); ESTC S105224; USTC 410158; STC 24591; not mentioned by Hill-Zenk 2010. Proctor, van Doesb. 30 (bij "doubtfull books")

NB/USTC name Laurens Andrewe as the author and date 1520. See Franssen 1990, p. 51 who dates c. 1503.

(Parson, The, of Kalenborowe). Z.p.n.j. (Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, na 1520?). 4°. Proctor, Van Doesb. 26; NK 3676; NB 23742; STC 14894.5; ESTC S125052; USTC 437148.

Historie (Historien) van Jason ende van Hercules. Dl I-II. Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, I 8 Nov. 1521, II: 12 Dec. 1521. 2°. Proctor, Van Doesb. 24 / 25; NK 3164; NB 16473; USTC 410164.

*(*Profetie Tiburtijnse Sibille*). (Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, (c. 1521-1522).

Cornelis Gemma refers in his *De naturae divinis characteris* from 1575 to a Dutch / Latin edition of Jan van Doesborch: 'Impressum legimus Antwerpiae in moenibus foeneratoriis sub insigni Aquilae aut 4 Evangel. typographo Ioh. Dousborch cum gratia et privilegio: sed huic sunjunxerat translatum non ita feliciter in teutonicam linguam.' (Secret 1969, 427).

Pronosticatie, Een warachtighe, ende prophecien duerende totten iare 1524. Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, I April 1522. 4°. NK 4452 (= NK 01019; NK 01327); NB 17869 USTC 437192; not in Hill-Zenk.

NB / USTC refer to NK 1327 instead of NK 01327

*(*Den rechten weg naar het Gasthuis*). (Antwerpen. Jan van Doesborch, na 1525?) Mestayer 1991, p. 212 refers to list of books of Charles II, count of Lelaing from 1541 from which it becomes clear that he had a copy of: '*Droicte voye à l'hospital en flameng imprimé à Anvers par Jan Doesborch.*'

Quaesten, Der negen, warachtighe historien. Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, 25 Juni 1528. 4°. Proctor, Van Doesb. 27; NK 1774; NB 22182; USTC 437396.

Amé de Montgesoie, *Tdal sonder wederkeeren oft Tpas der doot*. (vertaald door Colijn Cailleu). Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, 10 Juli 1528. 4°. Proctor, Van Doesb. 28; NK 1519; NB 21615; USTC 437415.

Refreynten int sot, amoreus, wys, Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, (c. 1529). langw. 4°. NK 1784; NB 26363; USTC 402894.

Cronike van Brabant, Vlaenderen, Hollant, Zeelant. Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, Juni 1530. 2°. Proctor, Van Doesb. 29; NK 654; NB 5647; USTC 437527.

NB 5645 USTC 441143 Brabant. *Die tafele beghint hier van den eersten deele der cronijcken van den lande van Brabant*. Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, 1530. 2^o.

One could ask whether it deserves a separate record since it is part of the *Chronike van Brabant* printed by Van Doesborch in 1530.

Cronike van Brabant, Vlaenderen, Hollant, Zeelant. Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, voor Mich. Hillen van Hoochstraten, Juni 1530. 2^o. NK 655. NB 5646 USTC 400488

Cronike van Brabant, Vlaenderen, Hollant, Zeelant. Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, voor Henr. Petersen van Middelburch. Juni 1530. 2^o. NK 656. NB 5648 USTC 437471

(Cornelius Aurelius [Gaudanus van Lopsen]), *Cronycke van Hollandt, Zeelandt, ende Vrieslant* (Divisiechroniek) met vervolg – 1530. Dl. I: Leiden, Jan Seversz., 18 Aug. 1517; Dl. II: Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, Juni 1530. 2^o

NK 614; NB 15009; USTC 407353;

Continuation-1530. 2^o. NK 614; NB 2902; USTC 441846; not mentioned by Hill-Zenk 2010.

Historie van Coninck Karel ende Elegast. Z.p.n.j.? (Antwerpen? c. 1530?). 4^o. NK 3166; NB 17494; USTC 424759; STCN 102573026.

NK cannot decide whether Adriaen van Berghen, Jan van Doesborch or even Jan Berntsz, is responsible for this edition of the text. Since it is a reprint and totally in verse it would be my guess that it was printed by Van Berghen.

NB / USTC mention Van Berghen and Van Doesborch as possibilities and date 1501-1540.

(Dialogues of creatures moralised. (Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch? Te koop te Londen op S. Paul's churchyard. (c. 1530?). 4^o. NK 2774; STC 6815; NB 9751; ESTC S105313; NB 9751; USTC 410776.

According to NB / USTC: *Dialogus creaturarum* [Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch]: London 1534.

I wonder what this entry actually means. I suppose that it was printed by Van Doesborch and sold in 1534 in London. According to Franssen 1990, p. 20 the attribution to Van Doesborch is very doubtful.

[UTRECHT]

Vrouwen, Der, natuere ende complexie. Utrecht, Jan van Doesborch, (1531?) 4°. NK 2184; NB 31239; STCN 102575657; USTC 421109.

1532 18 Jan. *Herbarius, Den groten* (Ortus sanitatis). (Utrecht), Jan van Doesborch, 18 Jan. 1532. 2°. NK 3145; NB 9171; USTC 400523; STCN 102577765.

NB / USTC suggest that this edition is printed in octavo which is incorrect. It was certainly printed in Utrecht according to a correction made by NK in part III, 3.

Paradijs, Int, van Venus. Z.p.n.j. (Utrecht, Jan van Doesborch, c. 1532?). 4°. NK 1678 (= 0961); NB 30266; STCN 10255899X; USTC 424761

According to Franssen 1988, 172 and based on the emendation of NK III, 3, p. XVI this edition is from Van Doesborch instead of Jan Berntsz.