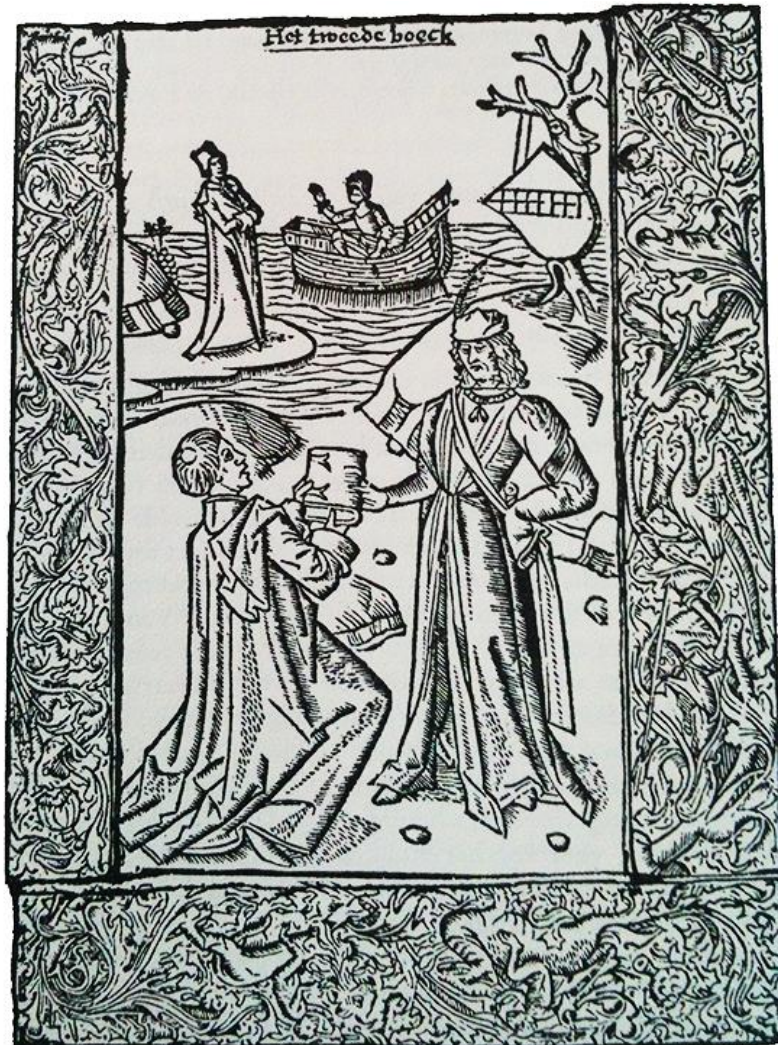




Questions and Answers

*The secondary reception of the Middle Dutch Sydrac
including its German and Danish translations*



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Woodcut in printed edition I, Hugo Janszoon van Woerden, N°160.1 (see Appendix 5).
Depicted in *Verjaring* 1973, p. 490.

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Legend¹

Dutch Manuscripts²

What?	Localisation	Date
m	East Flanders (to the west of the Schelde)	Final quarter of the fourteenth century
g	East Flanders (Gent and surroundings)	Second half of the 14 th century
H	Utrecht	±1400
C	East Flanders	1400-1450
d	West Brabant?	Middle of the 15 th century
b ¹	Brabant	15 th century
b ²	Brabant	Second half or end of 15 th century.
K	West Flanders	Late 15 th century
O	Brabant	End of the 15 th century
L	Northern Netherlands	End 15 th /beginning 16 th century
B	East Flanders	Beginning of the 16 th century
h	Unknown	Unknown

Middle German Manuscripts

What?	Language	Localisation	Date
Kln	Ripuarian	Manderscheid/Blankenheim?	1410-1420
IV 1164	Moselle	Manderscheid/Blankenheim	1430
	Franconian		
q1410	Ripuarian	Unknown	Second quarter of the 15 th century
J	Low German	Unknown	1479
Q536	Ripuarian	Unknown	1529
Sh.	Low German	Hamburg	Second half of the 16 th century

Danish Manuscript

NKS236 Copenhagen, Ny Kgl. Saml. 236, 4°. København 1921-'32

Printed editions

Nr	Printer	Date	Localisation
I	[Hugo Janszoon van Woerden]	28-04-1495	Leiden
II	Hugo Janszoon van Woerden	1496	Leiden
III	Jacob van Breda	06-09-1496	Deventer
IV	Govert Bac	±1500?	Antwerp
V	Jan Seversoen	-	Leiden
VI	Willem Vorsterman	02-02-1516	Antwerp
VII	Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten	09-08-1522	Antwerp
VIII	Willem Vorsterman	12-10-1540	Antwerp
IX	Jan Roelants	06-03-1564	Antwerp
X	Claes van den Wouwere	06-03-1564	Antwerp

¹ Manuscripts with capital letters, fragments with lower case letters.

² See: Beckers 1972, p 90.

1. Introduction

This thesis analyses the Middle Dutch secondary reception of the *Sidrac*. To understand this sentence correctly, some of the terms need an explanation, namely: ‘secondary reception’ and ‘*Sidrac*’. This will be done first, and at the end of this section, the structure of this thesis will be outlined.

Secondary reception

Secondary reception is a part of the reception history. It is difficult to define what reception history is, and therefore there are many different definitions. One of these is: “[r]eception history is the history of the meanings that have been imputed to historical events. This approach traces the different ways in which participants, observers, and historians and other retrospective interpreters have attempted to make sense of events, both as they unfolded, and over time since then, to make those events meaningful for the present in which they lived and live”.³

In this case, the event is the *Sidrac*, and a way to ‘make sense’ of this ‘event’ is through readers research, or, more specifically, through the extant manuscripts and printed editions these readers used to consume the story.

The reception of a literary work is usually divided into phases.⁴ The state of the art of research on the *Sidrac* focuses on the primary reception, i.e. the primary audience, with questions as: who is the author (or in this case: the translator), where did he work and for whom? This thesis intends to supplement the research by focusing on the secondary reception of the *Sidrac*, which indicates every readership that comes afterward, with afterward meaning in this case: in medieval times. The tertiary reception indicates, then, the scholars who investigate the text or the reception(s) of a text.

Sidrac

The Old French *Livre de Sidrac* was written in the thirteenth century; it is an encyclopaedic dialogue between the philosopher and astronomer Sidrac and king Boctus of Bactria. In the main part of the text, the king asks many questions that relate to many different fields and Sidrac answers them. This text was translated into several languages, including Middle Dutch.

The Old French *Livre de Sidrac* was translated into Provençal, Italian English, and, around the beginning of the fourteenth century⁵, into Middle Dutch.⁶ Then, the Middle Dutch text was translated into three West German dialects (Low German, Ripuarian, and Moselle Franconian). One version of the Low German text was translated into Medieval Danish. The titles of the work differ per language. In Middle Dutch, it is called *Boek van Sidrac*. The Germans call it *Buch Sidrach* and in Danish, it is the *Sydrak*.

The Middle German and Middle Danish translations and adaptations that are directly or indirectly translated from the Middle Dutch text will be included in this thesis, for they can be seen as a readership of the Middle Dutch version. This means that possible versions of the

³ Harold Marcuse, professor of modern German and public history at the University of California, Santa Barbara, on his personal website: <http://www.history.ucsb.edu/faculty/marcuse/receptionhist.htm#hmdef>. Visited: 21-05-2015.

⁴ See for example Van Oostrom 1992. I will use the terminology of the secondary and tertiary reception differently.

⁵ Van Tol 1936, p. XXIV.

⁶ Van Tol 1936, p. XXXVIII.

*Sidrac*⁷ in German or Danish that do not have a Dutch origin will be ignored (for more information see below, under ‘Translations’), as will texts that only use the *Sidrac* as a source. This means that they were not intended as another version or a translation. A striking example of such a text is the *Lekenspieghel* by Jan van Boendale, because the *Sidrac* was “eine der Hauptquellen”⁸ of this text, but Boendale did not copy (parts of) the *Sidrac* into his work.⁹

Structure of the *Sidrac*

Van Tol¹⁰ proposes an arrangement of the structure of the text of the Middle Dutch *Sidrac*, which I consider to be very useful:

Rhyme prologue

I: Introduction (origin and adventures of the book)

II: History of King Boctus and Sidrac

III: Dialogue (King Boctus asks and Sidrac answers) (this is the main part)

IV: Resumption and end of II

Rhyme epilogue

Not all of the elements of this arrangement occur in every version; especially the prologue and epilogue were sometimes left out.

Middle Dutch rhymed prologue and epilogue

As stated above, the Middle Dutch translator added a rhymed prologue and a rhymed epilogue. These are not handed down in every printed edition (see chapter 3.1.1), and the prologue is not exactly the same in every manuscript. I will base my summary on the edition of Van Tol¹¹.

The translator starts with a critique of people who waste their time on useless stories, more specifically: love-stories.¹² They should put their time to good use, for everything that is sowed on earth can be reaped hundredfold in heaven. Then, the translator refers to his own history with the book. He read it in French, without rhyme and *in slechte woert* [l. 53]. He aspired to translate it in Dutch, without rhyme in order not to twist the words. He aimed at perfection, in order to be just as good as Jerome, the Bible translator. The purpose of this translation is that *Dietscen lieden*[l.85] who cannot speak French, could understand the text as well. The translator asks them to pray for him. The source of his translation is *die wise Sidrac* [l.96]. The translator elaborates on Sidrac: he was wise, had a great knowledge, and everything is written down in his book. Then, the translator prays to Jesus for power, intellect and a long enough life. He hopes for purgatory after death. At the moment, he is fifty years old [l. 120]. He announces that he will omit parts of the French source; subjects as spices and healing stones will not be translated. At the end, he prays to Mary. He emphasizes she is the mother of Jesus, and therefore of God; she is God’s bride [*Goids bruit*, l. (160)] as well. *Hier met latic dese prologhe* [l.166].

The rhymed prologue is structured loosely. This means that the information is ordered in subtopics (the source, prayer to Jesus, omitting of texts, prayer to Mary), but the larger themes are not together: the prayer to Jesus is not next to the prayer to Mary, nor is the information about how he translated the text next to his announcement that he omitted parts.

⁷ I have found none of these.

⁸ Beckers 1972, p. 89.

⁹ See chapter 1.2.

¹⁰ Van Tol 1936, p. XVI. See there for a summary of part I and II.

¹¹ Van Tol 1936, p. 1-6, 226-227. He based his edition on the prologue on manuscript O (like the rest of his text) with corrections based on manuscript K, and his edition of the epilogue is based on manuscript K.

¹² Lie 1994^b, p. 48.

The rhymed epilogue is far shorter than the prologue. The prologue was about 160 lines, but the epilogue only has 31. The translator starts the epilogue with a praise to God, asking Him that He let him finish the text and helped him clear his mind. The translator's only purpose was the common salvation of his readers. He hopes that they will pray for him, so that God will be merciful when he dies. The text was translated in Antwerp, in 1315 and 3 (see chapter 1.2, date), where he prays to the virgin Mary, the mother of God.

Popularity of the *Sidrac*

The *Sidrac* was a very popular text in substantial parts of Europe for a long time. “Der erfolg des Sidrach war durch mehr als zwei jahrhunderte ausserordentlich in der laienwelt. Die Bibliothèque Nationale hat mehr als zehn exemplare davon, das Britische Museum nicht viel weniger. Fast alle europäischn sprachen besassen übersetzungen desselben”.¹³ So, there are many copies of the work, but it was not popular with every segment of the population. It was “[f]ast unbekannt bei den geistlichen schreibern¹⁴”, but the text was cited by “den vulgärschriftstellern auf einen fuss mit Aristoteles und den angesehensten lehrern [...]. Zu vergessen begann man ihn [...] seit 1535. Aus einer menge gründen musste er den Protestanten missfallen”.¹⁵ Concluding: the *Sidrac* was popular with the laypeople, but not with the clergymen and especially not with the protestants. In the Low Countries, the text was widely spread as well, and had a “nicht geringe Bedeutung”.¹⁶

Scholarship on *Sidrac*

In the section above, I stated that the *Sidrac* must have been widely spread and popular with an important part of the people. This popularity was not visible for a long time in the academic world. In 1993, there was still no edition of the French text.¹⁷ I know of an edition made in 2000¹⁸, but not an earlier one.

The most recent academic study that is useful for the secondary tradition of the Dutch *Sidrac* is Beckers 1972, an article about some newfound manuscripts.¹⁹ The only study that aimed at completeness is Van Tol 1936. This study was received well in the Netherlands, but was viewed more critically by Beckers.²⁰ There is, to my knowledge, no study focusing on the secondary reception of the *Sidrac*. This thesis is meant to fill this gap, and will answer the question: which features characterise the secondary reception of the Middle Dutch *Sidrac*?

Genre of the *Sidrac*

Although Wackers²¹ argues that an objective and general definition of genres is impossible, the concept of genre will be useful in this thesis later on (especially in chapter 3.4.2). Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that these genres are defined in modern times, and did not necessarily exist as such in the middle ages, and are definitely not mentioned in the text of the *Sidrac*.

There are a couple of genres that are relevant in combination with the *Sidrac*. The first is connected to the format of the text: it is a dialogue. The second one is connected to the goal

¹³ Jellinghaus 1904, p. V.

¹⁴ Jellinghaus 1904, p. V.

¹⁵ Jellinghaus 1904, p. V.

¹⁶ Beckers 1972, p. 89.

¹⁷ Wins 1993, p. 36 and note 2, p. 36-37.

¹⁸ Ruhe 2000.

¹⁹ This does not mean that this is the most recent study about the *Sidrac* in general. See f.e. Lie 1994⁴ (this article is about a certain aspect of the text of the *Sidrac*) or Lie 2006 (her aim is to make the text accessible for a broader public, and consists therefore, for the most part, of translations and contextualisations of the texts).

²⁰ Beckers 1972, p. 89-90.

²¹ Wackers 2000, p. 237.

of the text: the translator told us in his prologue that he aims to educate his readers, therefore we can call the text didactical. Thirdly, a religious theme is important in connection to the *Sidrac*. Many questions are about religious themes, and the questions are answered in the first place, as told in part II, because king Boctus wants to convert to Christianity, but has some questions beforehand.

More problematic is the genre of an artes text. This is a modern definition, and will be avoided in this thesis.²² Now, the text is regarded as an encyclopedia and published by the ‘Werkgroep Middelnederlandse Artesliteratuur’ (WEMAL).²³ The definition for artes texts is: “geschriften die een utilitair, instructief en niet (hoofdzakelijk) een recreatief, esthetisch, religieus of emotioneel doel beogen”.²⁴ This definition is not opposed to the religious aspect, because the text is mainly didactical.

Concluding, *Sidrac* fits in more than one genre. These genres are at least: dialogue, didactical, and religious.²⁵ Now, it is called an artes text as well.

Research question and structure of this thesis

As stated before, this thesis analyses the Middle Dutch secondary reception of the *Sidrac*. It focuses on the question: ‘which characteristics determine the secondary reception of the Middle Dutch *Sidrac* (including its translations)?’.

I will now explain how this question will be answered. Firstly, in the rest of chapter 1, a general introduction to respectively the French, Dutch, German, and Danish versions of the *Sidrac* will be provided. For an introduction to the printed editions, see the beginning of chapter 2.4. Chapter 2 will discuss the individual versions of the Dutch *Sydrac* and its German and Danish translations: their manuscripts and printed editions. Firstly, the manuscripts will be examined, sorted according to language, and within this language chronologically. This overview is necessary, and will be used in chapter 3. There, the research question will be answered. The information of the individual versions (chapter 2) will be combined to find out which characteristics determine the secondary reception of the Middle Dutch *Sidrac* and its (German and Danish) translations.

1.1 Old French

Originally, the work was written in Old French²⁶, and was called *Livre de Sidrac, le philosophe, lequel s’apelle le livre de la Fontaine de toutes sciences*.²⁷

The work consists of four parts²⁸, which are equivalent to the four parts in the structure of the Middle Dutch version:

- I, called ‘the first prologue’ in studies about the French version;
- II, called ‘the second prologue’;

²² If secondary literature defines a text as ‘artes’, I will change this into didactical.

²³ Lie 2006.

²⁴ Jansen-Sieben 1989, xii.

²⁵ There are, of course exceptions. Sabbe 1924, p. 146-147 suggests that *Sidrac* is a “schoone ‘ende waerachtige’ histori[e]”; a historical text. It could be possible to argue that this is a solid classification, but only the fact that the book claims that the text is true, and has some historical elements does not make it an historical text.

²⁶ The prologue refers to an Oriental or Latin original. There is no evidence of the (former) existence of these originals, so the hypothesis is unlikely. Furthermore, the author seems to have based his text on French sources. See Wins 1993, p. 38-40, 45-51.

²⁷ Marichal 1964, p. 687.

²⁸ Wins 1993, p. 37.

- III, the main text (the questions and answers);
- IV, called ‘the epilogue’.

Neither the Middle Dutch rhyme prologue nor the Middle Dutch rhyme epilogue occurs in any of the French manuscripts or prints. Between the first prologue and the second prologue, a list of the questions is given.²⁹

In the second prologue, the history of Boctus and Sidrac is explained. The first prologue gives biographical information about Sidrac, and it unveils what supposedly happened to the book made by King Boctus.

Authorshipart

The authorship of the French version is uncertain.³⁰ One option is the cleric Jean Pierre de Lyons, but this is by no means definite. It is doubtful that the complete text was written by the same person, and quite probable the first prologue (I) was added later.³¹

The French manuscripts are roughly dividable in two versions: a shorter one (β) with about 600 questions and a longer one (γ) with about 1200 questions; the difference is primarily caused by the fact that many of the questions in β are split up in γ .³² It is unclear which of these versions was the first, it is even possible that both were written by the same person.³³

Date and localisation

The first prologue of the French text offers an exact date, 1243. This date cannot be accepted as true without discussion, because other information in this prologue proved to be doubtful as well.³⁴

The currently accepted date is after 1268, perhaps even after 1291.³⁵ These dates are based on prophecies in the text, which were made *post eventum*. A date before 1268 is highly unlikely: question 1148 predicts the destruction of Antiochias at 19 May 1268; if the date would be before 1268, this event would have been prophesied before it actually happened. The date ‘after 1291’ is a bit more difficult: Langlois suggests that the answer to question 150 refers to the fall of Acre in 1291. It is doubtful if this is true, because most versions name the city ‘Alixandre’. It is possible that Acre and Alixandre refer to the same city, but this has not been cleared up.³⁶

The localisation is unknown.³⁷

Tradition³⁸

We know of 53 complete manuscripts, 14 fragments, 6 *Sidrac*-lapidaries and “eine Reihe von Drucken”³⁹, dated between the 13th and 16th century.

In most cases, the text was handed down in single-text codices. In 21 cases, it was extant in a multi-text codex; in five of those cases, the part of the *Sidrac* in the codex is only

²⁹ Weisel 1993, p. 58.

³⁰ See for some early speculations Wins 1993, p. 40.

³¹ Wins 1993, p. 40.

³² Van Tol 1936, p. XL.

³³ Wins 1993, p. 41.

³⁴ See note 26.

³⁵ Wins 1993, p. 44 and Marichal 1964, p. 687.

³⁶ Wins 1993, p. 44-45.

³⁷ Currently, Ernstpeter Ruhe is writing a book about the French *Livre de Sidrac*. Perhaps this book will provide more information. See: http://www.romanistik.uni-wuerzburg.de/mitarbeiter/emeriti_und_ehemalige_mitarbeiter/ruhe/forschung/sydrac/, visited 26-06-2015.

³⁸ See Weisel 1993, p. 53, 65-66.

³⁹ Weisel 1993, p. 53.

an excerpt. The other texts in these 21 cases are mostly connected by theme or genre, mostly encyclopaedic. All manuscripts were neatly written, with “*einem gewissen Aufwand*”⁴⁰: red and blue initials, trails, colourful rubrics. A number of manuscripts have miniatures.

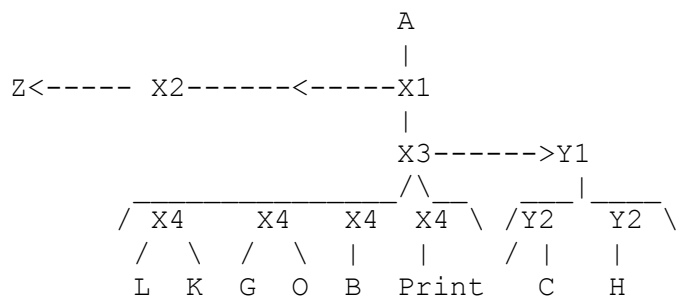
1.2. Middle Dutch

The French *Livre de Sidrac* was translated into many languages; one of them was Middle Dutch. This translation is most likely based on β .⁴¹ As I stated above, the biggest difference between the French versions β and γ is not the text, but the fact that many questions of β were split up in γ . The Dutch version has only about 430 questions⁴², and is probably closer to β .⁴³

In his prologue, the translator declares that he followed the original precisely, but omitted certain topics: *vanden cruden*, *vanden stenen die virtuu*t and *eenegherhande meestrie*.⁴⁴ However, he added something important: a rhymed prologue and a rhymed epilogue, which gives us useful information about this translation.

Division and genealogical coherence

Van Tol argues that the Dutch manuscripts can be divided into two groups (group I and group II). Group I consists of B, g, K, L and O and group II consists of H and C (see ‘Legend’). Van Tol did not mention the other fragments, because they were not discovered at the time that he wrote his monograph. The first group preserves texts that are close to the French, the second group is more deviant. Van Tol gives this⁴⁵ schematic interpretation of the genealogical coherence:



A: Antwerp translation

X, Y: manuscripts (now lost), respectively the first and second redaction. Z: the oldest (now lost) Low German translation. X2 had all the questions (426), X3 only had 421 questions.

Beckers wrote in 1972 about new fragments that contained parts of the *Sidrac*. In this article, his goal is “*durch die Bekanntmachung und Analyse einiger neugefundener Textzeugen die Diskussion über die Probleme des genealogischen Zusammenhangs der Handschriften neu zu eröffnen. Denn gerade dieser bisher nur wenig befriedigend behandelte Fragenkomplex (Van Tol hat sich dazu weder in seinen Aufsätzen noch in seiner Ausgabe eingehender geäußert*

⁴⁰ Weisel 1993, p. 65.

⁴¹ Van Tol 1936, p. XL.

⁴² Van Tol 1934, p. 59: “*de oorspronkelijke Nederlandse vertaling [was] uitgebreider [...] dan de relatief volledigste hss. H, O en L en [bevatte] waarschijnlijk bijna 430 vragen*”.

⁴³ “*De conclusie is dan ook gewettigd, mede in verband met het aantal vragen, dat de Antwerpse vertaler een Frans hs. der β -redactie tot voorbeeld had*”. Van Tol 1936, p. XL.

⁴⁴ Van Tol 1934, p. 31.

⁴⁵ Van Tol 1936, p. LXIV.

und ist für das auf S. LXIV der Ausgabe aufgestellte Stemma die begründete Argumentation schuldig geblieben) rückt durch einen dieser Neufunde, das Münstersche Fragment [m, see 2.1.1, LR] (...) in so überraschender Weise neu ins Licht, daß seine erneute Behandlung sowohl dringend geboten als auch reizvoll und lohnend zugleich erscheint“.⁴⁶

We will see in 2.1.1 that Beckers is mistaken about the uniqueness of the Münster fragment (m), but he is correct in one point: a new (or at least substantiated) view on the genealogical coherence would be very welcome.

Date

The Dutch translation was made in 1318 or 1323. According to Van Tol⁴⁷, the work was translated into Middle Dutch in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, more specifically, around 1318.⁴⁸ He based his conclusion on the rhymed epilogue, where the translator mentioned the year. This epilogue is handed down in three Middle Dutch manuscripts⁴⁹ and in the prints. These dates mention *Derthien hondert sessentwintich ende drye* (B) ; *Dertienhondert .XXVI. ende drie* (H) ; *XIIIF XV ende drie* (K) ; *dertyen hondert ende XXVI* (prints). Van Tol finds the ‘and three’ addition important, and states that it seems that the main number is 1326. Nonetheless, the variance in K (1315+3=1318) should be regarded. Another factor has to be taken into consideration: Boendales *Lekenspieghel*. It is known that Boendale used *Sidrac* for his first, third and fourth book of the *Lekenspieghel*.⁵⁰ This means that the *Sidrac* must have been finished by then, for he used not only the first questions, but for example question 319 as well. The date of the *Lekenspieghel* is 1325. This makes it unlikely that the number 1326 is correct. Now, states Van Tol, there are three possibilities:

- a) K has the correct text: 1318
- b) XXVI is incorrectly copied from XXIII (which is the same as *XX ende drie*, which is incorrectly copied in K as *XV ende drie*). The year would be 1323
- c) 1329 (1326+3) could be the year in which manuscript H (or the manuscript it was based on) was made.

The possibility c) does not exclude a) or b). Van Tol concludes that 1318 is a possibility, because there has been a version of the *Sidrac* in England before 1319. This is the reason that Van Tol advocates 1318.

Localisation

Antwerp.⁵¹ The prologue states: *Te Antwerpen daer ic wone / Soe quam my een boec ter hant, / Daer ic in beschreven vant / Vele duechden ende wijsheden / Ende leringe van goeden seden / Ende hoe die mensce soude leven*.⁵²

Authorship

There has been some discussion about the author (the person who translated the *Sidrac* first from French into Dutch). Basically, there are two opinions in this discussion. One group of scholars assumes that Jan van Boendale is the author, the other group does not, but mostly assumes it is someone from the ‘Antwerpse School’, a term currently used to describe a group of unknown authors from Antwerp, who lived and worked there around the same time as Boendale.

⁴⁶ Beckers 1972, p. 90.

⁴⁷ Van Tol 1936, p. XI.

⁴⁸ Van Tol 1936, p. XLIII.

⁴⁹ The German manuscripts do not help in this case. The epilogue is only handed down in one manuscript: J (2.2.3), but the year was switched out for the date of the German manuscript (1479). See Van Tol 1936, p. XLI.

⁵⁰ Deschamps 1980, p. 6.

⁵¹ For example: Beckers 1972, p. 89.

⁵² For example: Van Tol 1936, p. 2, l. 46-51 (prologue).

Van Anrooij explains this discourse eloquently: “Bijna al deze teksten [above is a list of books, including *Sidrac*, LR] staan in het tegenwoordige onderzoek op naam van Jan van Boendale. Alleen bij *Sidrac*, *Melibeus*, *Boec exemplaer*, *Dietsche doctrinale* en *Boec van der wraken* is in de twintigste eeuw een zekere mate van terughoudendheid te bespeuren bij toeschrijving aan de Antwerpse schepenklerk. Misschien is dit voor een deel te verklaren als reactie op de onderzoekspraktijk in de negentiende eeuw, toen de neiging bij literatuurhistorici juist heel groot was om allerlei teksten aan de Antwerpse schepenklerk toe te kennen. De voorzichtigheid leidde in de vorige eeuw in elk geval tot de introductie van het begrip ‘Antwerpse School’, waarmee onderzoekers aangeven dat Boendale volgens hen niet de enige Antwerpse dichter is in de eerste helft van de veertiende eeuw”.⁵³

Reynaert is a representation of the first group, who supposes that Boendale wrote the *Sidrac*.⁵⁴ He wrote this in an article, which Van Anrooij discussed: “[i]n zijn artikel [verdedigt] [...] Reynaert [...] de stelling [...] dat de Antwerpse School (door hem bewust tussen aanhalingstekens geplaatst) als begrip heeft uitgediend: alle hierboven genoemde teksten kunnen volgens hem aan Boendale worden toegeschreven”.⁵⁵

Van Tol⁵⁶ argues that the author was not Boendale, but has no alternative: “[w]ie dan wel de vertaler is? Deze vraag kan nog niet worden beantwoord. Daar hij omstreeks 1315 aan zijn werk begonnen kan zijn, was hij vermoedelijk ±1265 geboren. Vóór 1315 had hij al verscheidene werken geschreven (waarschijnlijk geen berijmde vertellingen, waarin hij o.m. een vermanende stem heeft laten horen tegen de lectuur van ridderromans. [...])”.⁵⁷ In the prologue (see chapter 1), the author states that he is fifty years old. If you combine this information with the date, van Tol’s suggestion seems correct.

1.3 Middle German

The Low German (J, Sh.), Ripuarian (or ‘Nederrijns’) (Kln, Q536, q1410), and Moselle Franconian (IV 1164) versions of the *Sidrac* are (independent?) translations of a Middle Dutch text.

The Moselle Franconian text is a relatively new discovery, as it has barely been added to the research. Most scholars did not know of its existence, and have therefore not included it in their studies. The only proper information about it was provided by Deschamps 1980.

Dutch original text of Low German and Ripuarian translations

There has been some discussion about the origin of the Low German and Ripuarian texts; scholars are wondering about the number of source texts for these translations. There are three scholars that have contributed to this discussion: Jellinghaus, Van Tol and Beckers. They seem to disagree.

The oldest source, Jellinghaus, only addresses the sources of the Low German translations, J and Sh. He supposes that they were translated from two different Middle Dutch versions: “[d]ie abweichungen der beiden nnd. hss. [J and Sh, LR] von einander in der anordnung der fragen, in der auslassung einzelner und in der auslassung und hinzufügung von worten, sätzen und ganzen abschnitten sind zu beträchtlich, als dass beide auf eine gemeinsame vorlage

⁵³ Van Anrooij 2002, p. 13.

⁵⁴ Reynaert 2002.

⁵⁵ Van Anrooij 2002, p. 15.

⁵⁶ Van Tol 1936, p. XLIV.

⁵⁷ Van Tol 1936, p. XLIV.

zurückgehen könnten. Wahrscheinlich benutzen beide Übersetzer wesentlich von einander verschiedene mittelniederländische Texte”.⁵⁸ Concluding: Jellinghaus argues that one Middle Dutch example for J was used, and another for Sh.

Van Tol, thirty years later, addresses the Low German and Ripuarian translations (J, Sh., Kln. Q536 and q1410). He argues that there were two different Dutch sources⁵⁹: one for the Ripuarian and one for the Low German translations. This means that he disagrees with Jellinghaus, because Van Tol argues that J and Sh. stem from a joint source.

More than forty years later, Beckers argues that there was only one Dutch version that was the original text for the Low German and Ripuarian texts: “[d]ie in den 3 ribuarischen und den 2 n[iederdeutschen] H[andschriften] überlieferten Versionen des B[uches] S[idrach] stellen textlich nur geringfügig voneinander abweichende Übertragungen eines m[itte]lniederländischen] Originals dar”.⁶⁰

If there was only one original text, as Beckers suggests, it is not extant, because the texts J and Sh both have some questions which do not appear in any of the currently known Dutch manuscripts.

Date

Van Tol estimated the date of the translation in German (Ripuarian) at about 1400, because “het oudste der drie nog bestaande handschriften [...] dagtekent [...] uit die tijd”.⁶¹

The translations were quite popular: “[b]emerkenswert ist, daß die ribuarische Übersetzung sich am Niederrhein einer mehr als 100jährigen Beliebtheit erfreuen konnte und daß die (wohl einige Zeit nach der ribuarischen entstandene) n[iederdeutsche] Version ihrerseits zur Vorlage einer dänischen Übersetzung geworden ist”.⁶²

1.4 Danish

There is one extant Danish version of the *Sydrac*. It is a translation of one of the Low German texts.⁶³ The five extra questions in J are copied in this Danish manuscript as well. The Danish manuscript has a question (e6) which does exist in the Dutch Ms (O166), but not in J. Apparently, the Danish manuscript is based on a Low German manuscript that is older than J. The order of the questions confirms this: it corresponds better to the Middle Dutch manuscripts than to J.⁶⁴

Not much has been written about the Danish manuscript. There is only one edition, made by Gunnar Knudsen in 1932. He mentions a lack of interest as well: “I Betragtning af vor Middelalderlitteraturs Fattigdom kan det maaske synes underligt, at et Værk som dette ikke før er blevet fremdraget og omtalt, da det jo dog har staaet over 100 Aar i det kongelige Bibliotek, men det har, som vi skal se, en særlig Forklaring”.⁶⁵

Gunnar Knudsen noticed many mistakes, and supposed that the copyist was in a great hurry.⁶⁶ He also argues that many mistakes were made in the translation.⁶⁷

⁵⁸ Jellinghaus 1904, p. X.

⁵⁹ Van Tol 1934, p. 57-59 and Van Tol 1936, p. XXXIX.

⁶⁰ Beckers 1978, p. 1098.

⁶¹ Van Tol 1936, p. XXXIX.

⁶² Beckers 1978, p. 1099.

⁶³ Van Tol 1936, p. XXXIX.

⁶⁴ Van Tol 1936, p. XL.

⁶⁵ Knudsen 1932, p. V.

⁶⁶ Knudsen 1932, p. VI-VII.

⁶⁷ Knudsen 1932, p. XIX-XX.

2. Individual versions

In this section, I will discuss the manuscripts and printed editions separately. Firstly, the manuscripts will be presented in paragraphs 2.1 - 2.3, for I ordered them in language-groups. I will start with the Middle Dutch manuscripts, then I will move on to the German manuscripts and I will finish with the Danish one. Paragraph 2.4 will be concerned with the printed editions, which are all in Middle Dutch.

Some preliminary remarks are in order. Firstly, I use the term ‘Table of contents’ for the list of questions which is in front of some of the versions. This does not necessarily mean there are page numbers involved in this list. Furthermore, in the secondary literature, most manuscripts are compared to manuscript O. I assume this is the case because Van Tol⁶⁸ rested his only existing complete edition on O, and took this manuscript as a base text for everything, among others his concordance. I will do the same to avoid confusion.

I only give information that will help me answer my research question, and do neither pursuit nor claim to be exhaustive. The information I give without accompanying footnotes is either ‘common knowledge’ or, more likely, is derived from the text mentioned under ‘Literature’. The text in the line directly after literature is the most important secondary work. The texts that follow are also worthwhile, but less informative.

Some explanation of the used terms is in order. ‘Content’ lists all the texts in the manuscript. ‘Sidrac’ tells which part of the Sidrac is included in the manuscript. After ‘Description’, codicological information of the manuscript will be catalogued. The sizes are given in height x width. I strived to give information about the material, the number of folios, the size, the written space, the number of columns, the script and the illuminations/penwork/.... Unfortunately, not all information was available for each of the manuscripts, and it would be a great help if some of the descriptions were redone according to modern standards.

2.1 Middle Dutch manuscripts

This section is about the Middle Dutch manuscripts. They will be discussed, one manuscript or fragment per paragraph. I tried to include every manuscript and every fragment, they are chronologically ordered. I know this is tricky, because date is often unsure. Still, I thought it useful, because it could be possible that it demonstrates a certain development. I decided not to make a distinction between manuscripts and fragments, because fragments were formerly manuscripts as well.

There is one fragment I would like to discuss beforehand. This is Hasselt, RA, fragm. neerl. 2. Beckers refers to this discovery by Deschamps, but noted that it could not be found.⁶⁹ Correspondence between me and Rombout Nijssen⁷⁰, keeper of the Public Records of Hasselt, was not very fruitful. He wrote that the signature ‘Fragm. neerl. 2’ did not exist in Hasselt. Furthermore, he explained that after 1956, documents were traded between Hasselt and the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in Brussels. Hasselt exchanged its manuscripts or fragments with literary worth for records about Limburg. Most probably, the fragment of the *Sidrac* was included in this exchange. Unfortunately, this trade was not documented sufficiently, so its

⁶⁸ Van Tol 1936.

⁶⁹ Beckers 1972, p. 90-91.

⁷⁰ Here, I would like to thank him for his quick answer.

signature in Brussels is unknown. I hoped that the information of Deschamps could tell us more (it could be for example b¹ or b², see chapters 2.1.6 and 2.1.7), but the only thing he states is: “Hasselt, Rijksarchief, [...]. Buiten de *Aiolfragmenten* berusten in het Rijksarchief te Hasselt: [...] een fragment van het *Boec van Sidrac* (fragm. neerl 2) [...]”.⁷¹ This information does not provide a base for a comparison, and was therefore an end to the quest for the fragment of Hasselt. It goes without saying, that I cannot include this fragment in my list.

2.1.1 Münster, Universitätsbibliothek, 1271,2 (m)

- Signature: Münster, Universitätsbibliothek, 1271,2
Literature: Beckers 1972, p. 91-101
Date: Final quarter of the fourteenth century
Localisation: Flanders, perhaps East Flanders, west of the Schelde
Content: A part of the *Sidrac* (O413-417, 6-7, partly 9, 150 and 214)
Sidrac: The order of the questions is different from the other manuscripts, but the same as the Kaliningrad-manuscript (see chapter 2.1.8). The questions in m correspond to K49-54, 55 (partly) and 56-57. This is contrary to what Beckers claims: “Eine ähnlich tiefgreifende Umgestaltung der Textanordnung des *Sidrac* findet sich sonst nur noch in der (ebenfalls flämischen) Handschrift *K*; allerdings ist die dort vorliegende Reihenfolge von der hiesigen ebenfalls vollkommen verschieden”.⁷² A comparison with the concordance of Van Tol⁷³ shows that the order in K and m is the same
Description: Parchment, one leaf
Size: cropped, now 315 x 224 mm
Three columns. Because of the cropping, the final letters of the rc-column and the final two lines of all columns have been lost. Width per column: ±60 mm; width between the columns: 13 mm; width inner margin: 11 mm; width upper margin: 19 mm. Every column consists of 38 lines, so originally it must have been 40. Before cropping, the estimated size is ±380 x 275 mm
Script: littera textualis formata
The answers begin with a red initial of 10-22 mm height. The first word of each column begins with a black majuscule of 25-35 mm height that is “grotesk verziert”.⁷⁴
The written space and lines are thinly sketched
Provenance: Unsure. All the archival documents of the University library of Münster have been destroyed in a fire during WWII. The fragment was most likely used as a pastedown: there are rests of adhesive and dirt and the recto-side has lost some of its legibility. The fragment is situated in a file with seven other parchment fragments, which were pastedowns as well, including descriptions by Hermann Degering

⁷¹ Deschamps 1956, p. 2 (n. 10).

⁷² Beckers 1972, p. 94.

⁷³ Van Tol 1936, p. 248-257.

⁷⁴ Beckers 1972, p. 92.

2.1.2 **Gent, UB, 2749,7** (g)

- Signature: Gent, UB, 2749,7
Van Tol calls this manuscript ‘G’. Because it is a fragment, I changed it to a lower-case letter, like Beckers suggests⁷⁵
- Literature: Van Tol 1934, p. 37-39
Van Tol 1936, p. LIII-LIV
Edition in Van Tol 1936, Appendix III
Reynaert 2004, p. 155
- Date: Second half of the 14th century⁷⁶
- Localisation: East Flanders (Gent and surroundings)⁷⁷
- Content: *Sidrac*
- Sidrac: Questions 188-201
- Description: Parchment, two folios
Size: 300 x 230 mm., 3 columns with 45 lines per folium
Littera textualis
Each question begins with a red capital of ± 10 mm, each answer with one of ± 20 mm
The first folium misses a strip on the right with a width of ±55 mm: this causes the loss of half of column 3r and 1v. Both folios are damaged at the top, this causes some text loss
- Provenance: There is a note below the first column. Van Tol⁷⁸ suggested that ‘P. Oris’ is written there. Later⁷⁹, he corrects this to ‘nous’, which is probably a writing test from a chancellery-cleric

2.1.3 **Hamburg, SUB, Cod. germ. 24 fol.** (H)

- Signature: Hamburg, Cod. ms. germ. 24 (fol.)⁸⁰
- Literature: Van Tol 1934, p. 31-34
Van Tol 1936, appendix II, lists the variants of H of the rhyme prologue and epilogue
- Date: ±1400
- Localisation: The scribe is unknown, but in the text of *Melibeus*, it is told that this text was written “met dezelfde hand”.⁸¹ The *Melibeus*-manuscript in Oxford contains the following words: *Al t Andwerpen, daer ic wone, / Maecte ic dit boexken scone*. This text does not exist in this manuscript. There is, however, some text added to the prologue (in red): *Tot Utrecht daer ic wone / Screve ic dit ghedichte scone*. This means that the copyist is from Utrecht
- Content: *Sidrac* and *Melibeus* (an allegorical poem, dialogue between Melibeus and his wife Prudentia). Because of improper binding, the two texts got mixed up:
fol. 1-6: *Sidrac* (table of contents and rhymed prologue)

⁷⁵ Beckers 1972, p. 109 (n. 5).

⁷⁶ This means that g could have been written before m (2.1.1).

⁷⁷ Van Tol 1936, p. LIV.

⁷⁸ Van Tol 1934, p. 38-39.

⁷⁹ Van Tol 1936, p. LIII (n. 2).

⁸⁰ Beckers 1972, p. 91 mentions that this document had disappeared. Apparently did it take a while after WWII to return every manuscript to its original place, but at the moment it is safely back in Hamburg.

⁸¹ Van Tol 1934, p. 32.

fol. 7-32: *Melibeus*
 fol. 33-107: *Sidrac* (main text)

Sidrac: 420⁸² questions and answers, rhyme prologue and rhyme epilogue.

Description: Parchment, 107 fol.
 Size: cropped, currently 250 x 165 mm⁸³
 Text of Sidrac in two columns, 45-50 lines each, 220 x 60 mm each.
 The first capital of the text (D) has not been filled
 The script is readable and neatly written

Provenance: At the end, the librarian of Hamburg pasted an envelope, with two tightly written parts of parchment, found in an old binding
 A piece of the text is: *Gegeven te Gendt..... de XVIde meye XVc LXXV*⁸⁴

2.1.4 Manuscript Comburg (Comburgse Handschrift) (C)

Signature: Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. poet. et phil. 2022

Literature: Brinkman and Schenkel 1997, esp. p. 11, 17, 48, 51-53, 84, 87 (incl. ed. on p. 620-783)
 Schenkel 1998

Date: ±1400

Localisation: Perhaps Gent, but unclear

Content: 131r-174v *Sidrac*
 175r-178v Eleven⁸⁵ short prose texts (mostly religious). At the end a rhyme proverb of six lines⁸⁶

Sidrac: 211 questions

Description: Convolute with 6 parts. The *Sidrac* is in part III
 Written by hand D
 Parchment (good quality), 6 quires
 Size: 264 x 193 mm, written space: 224 x 142 mm. 2 columns of 39 lines.
 It is striking that the outer columns are more narrow (55 mm) than the inner columns (66 mm). Upper margin: 8 mm, lower margin: 32 mm, inner margin: 20 mm, outer margin: 30 mm
 Script: littera textualis, between libraria and currens
 The incipit is nondescript: the *Sidrac* starts not with an prologue, a title, or an introduction, but with the words: *Dit na volghende sijn eeneghe van tsonincs bottus vraghen curt na noes tijt tote sidrac den groeten cleric*⁸⁷. After these words, the questions begin immediately. This is striking; it could be possible that this manuscript once started with one or more quires, which are now missing⁸⁸
 If there is space left on the final line of an answer, it was often filled with simple decorations (f.e. pretzel-shaped, horizontal lines and colons)
 Copyist L made some notes in the margins, and made some letters, words or lines more visible. This was probably done around 1440-1450

⁸² Van Tol 1936, p. LXII.

⁸³ Personal correspondence with the curator of the University Library Hamburg, Dr. Hans-Walter Stork.

⁸⁴ Van Tol 1934, p. 33 (n. 2).

⁸⁵ Schenkel 1998, p. 119.

⁸⁶ Schenkel 1998, p. 119.

⁸⁷ Brinkman and Schenkel 1997, p. 621.

⁸⁸ Schenkel 1998, p. 124.

The texts after the *Sidrac* start with an pen flourished initial. Codicological research suggests that some of these texts belong together⁸⁹

Later, in a *textualis hybrida*, someone improved the legibility of the text. This happened, at the earliest, around 1440-1450

At the verso-side of the final leaf, someone made some unclear drawings, probably as a *probatio pennae*. Two seem to be a snail with tentacles

Someone who wrote with red chalk throughout the rest of the convolute drew a sun with rays on 175r and made some scribbles on 174v

Provenance: Around 1440-1450, someone improved the legibility

The Vreese suggests that hand D also wrote *De Rijkroniek van Vlaanderen*. Other scholars suggested there is a similarity between hand D and the hand of a copyist who wrote for the Rooklooster in 1394

The six parts of the convolute existed separately before they were bound together around 1540. Parts I and VI were not bound before that date, for the other parts, this is unclear. After the binding, they were bought by Erasmus Neustetter (1522-1594), probably around 1543. His collection was later the start for the Comburgian Library

2.1.5 **Düsseldorf, UB, F 88** (d)

Signature: Düsseldorf, Heinrich-Heine-Archiv und Handschriftensammlung der Stadt, Hs. F 88

Literature: Beckers 1972, p. 102-104

Date: Middle of the 15th century

Localisation: Perhaps West Brabant

Content: *Sidrac*

Sidrac: The beginning of the table of contents

The order is mostly similar to O (see chapter 2.1.9). The questions listed in d are O1-43 and O45-79. O44 has been omitted. There is one other manuscript where only question O44 has been omitted: b²

Description: Parchment, it was used as a pastedown. It consists of two fitting strips of a horizontally cut leaf of parchment

Size: 135 x 96 mm and 135 x 95 mm. They consist of virtually the complete written space and a part of the upper margin; the size of the whole leaf was ± 230 x 175 mm. The leaf consists of two columns with 42 lines each. The size of the written space is 182 x 130 mm, the width between the columns is 55-65 mm

The text is written in the *littera textualis formata*, in brown/black ink. The first letter is a simple red initial, with a height of 2 lines (10 mm)

Some loss of text occurred in column v^b: the final 3-5 letters per line are missing

The fragment is in a bad condition, difficult to read

Provenance: The fragment was used as a pastedown in an incunabulum in the Landes-und Stadtbibliothek Düsseldorf: Nicolaus Herborn, *Locorum communium aduersus huius temporis hæreses enchiridion*, Coloniae 1528; Signature: Syst. Th. III,235. Since the first of January 1971 it is situated in his current place (see 'Signature' above)

⁸⁹ Brinkman and Schenkel 1997, p. 51.

2.1.6 Brussels, Fragment 1

(b¹)

- Signature: Brussel, Kon. Bibl. Albert I, Hs. IV 636
Former Signature: Algemeen Rijksarchief te Brussel, *Manuscripts divers* no. 3986
Van Tol's abbreviation: BRA⁹⁰
- Literature: Van Tol 1935^a
Date: 15th century
Localisation: Unknown
Content: Beckers⁹¹ states that b¹ and b² are from the same manuscript: "Da ich die Brüsseler Bruchstücke nicht im Original, sondern nur anhand eines Mikrofilmes untersuchen konnte, mußte die sich aufgrund der Übereinstimmung der Maße, der Mundart, der Datierung und des Fundortes der Fragmente b¹ und b² naheliegende Frage, ob beide ursprünglich zu ein und derselben Hs. gehört haben, oben unerörtert bleiben. Dank der Bereitwilligkeit von Herrn. J. Deschamps, die Stücke am Ort und Stelle noch einmal persönlich zu überprüfen, läßt die Frage sich nunmehr positiv beantworten: die alten und die neuen Brüsseler Funde sind tatsächlich Teile ein und derselben Hs."
However, something strikes me as odd. Beckers states about b², that the questions it covers correspond to O134-136, 142-143, 147-152, and 155-160.⁹² The numbers in the manuscript are one less, so: b²133-135, 141-142, 146-151, and 154-159. If you compare this to Van Tol's description of b¹, the questions of that manuscript correspond to O135-190 and O241-291. In the manuscript, these questions are numbered as b¹134-189 and 240-290. Evidently, there is a huge overlap between those two fragments: virtually every question that is in b², is in b¹ as well. That is why it is very unlikely that they come from the same manuscript, and I regard them as remains from two different manuscripts
- Sidrac: Fol. 1 begins with question O135, but numbered here as 134. Then the questions are the same as in O (see chapter 2.1.9), until fol. 2v, where question 189 (O190) breaks off halfway. Fol. 3r begins with the end of question 240 (O241), until fol. 4v which ends with the beginning of question 290 (O291)
There are probably two leaves missing between fol. 2 and 3
- Description: Parchment, 4 fol., written on both sides in a "mooi schrift" (p. 212)
Size: 223 x 146 mm, written space: 140-150 x 80-95 mm, one column
The punctures of the binding are still visible in the crease, but the thread is gone
- Provenance: Unknown

2.1.7 Brussels, Fragment 2

(b²)

- Signature: Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Hs. 398,4
Literature: Beckers 1972, p. 105-108 (partly edited)
Date: Second half or end of the 15th century
Localisation: Unknown
Content: See b¹ (content) on why it is unlikely that this fragment belonged to the same manuscript as b¹

⁹⁰ Van Tol 1936, p. IX.

⁹¹ Beckers 1972, p. 110 (n. 17).

⁹² Beckers 1972, p. 107.

- Sidrac:** The questions correspond to O134-136, 142-143, 147-152 and 155-160.⁹³ The numbers in the manuscript are one less, so: b²133-135, 141-142, 146-151, 154-159
- Description:** Parchment, 4 bi-folios
 Size: 220 x 150 mm, probably not cropped. Written space: 140 x 82 mm. 1 column, 26 lines
 The margins have a width of respectively 34 mm (upper), 46 mm (lower), 21 mm (inner) and 47 mm (outer)
 The text was written in a gothic bastarda formata in one hand
 The questions start with a black initial (height of 1.5 lines), the answers with a red initial (2 - 3 lines)
 They are the remains of two successive, probably consecutive, quires from the middle of the manuscript. The modern foliation is incorrect: leaves 5-8 have to come before leaves 1 - 4
- Provenance:** The leaves are bound, in an incorrect order, together with some empty papers, in a narrow cahier
 The four leaves were probably a while the cover for files or the like. This fits with their finding place (the Algemeen Rijksarchief in Brussels) and with their appearance: the outside of two of the leaves (1r/4v and 5r/8v) are filthy and therefore mostly illegible

2.1.8 **Kaliningrad, UB, 903** (K)

- Signature:** Kaliningrad, UB, 903
 formerly: Königsberg, UB, 903
 At the moment, this manuscript is unavailable. Most probably, it was destroyed during a bombing in WWII. There is another possibility that it is somewhere in Germany, but this is highly unlikely
- Literature:** Van Tol 1934, p. 34-36, Van Tol 1935^a, p. 214⁹⁴
 Van Tol 1936, p. LV-LXIII, incl. beginning on p. LV-LVI
 Van Tol 1936, appendix I catalogues the variants of K
 A partly unpublished edition was made by Hoffmann von Fallersleben, currently in Leiden.⁹⁵ The edition consists of the rhymed parts, the names of the chapters (see below), observations, a glossary and appendixes. 8 leaves, folio/quarto-format
- Date:** Late 15th century
- Localisation:** West Flanders, probably from the region between Ypres and Hazebrouck. Perhaps the manuscript that was used as an example was from West Flanders as well, with a nearby dialect (Bruges?)⁹⁶
- Content:** Only *Sidrac*.
- Sidrac:** Rhyme prologue and rhyme epilogue
 The text does not have a table of contents, and misses parts I, II and IV (see chapter 1)
 Compared to O, there were 33 questions left out, especially those about *minne tot wiven* and intercourse

⁹³ Beckers 1972, p. 107.

⁹⁴ In Van Tol 1935^a, the number of questions was corrected from Van Tol 1934.

⁹⁵ See Penon 1890 for an edition by De Vries rested on the edition by Hoffmann von Fallersleben.

⁹⁶ Van Tol 1936, p. LXII.

The order of the questions is very different from the other manuscripts, but the same as the Münster-manuscript (see chapter 2.1.1). They are divided over chapters:

- Tbouc van Gode* (q. 1-52)
- Dit es de bouc vanden inglen* (q. 53-62)
- Van Adame* (q. 63-78)
- Van Noe ende der aerken* (q. 79-80)
- Vanden hemelrike* (q. 105-108)
- Vanden paradise* (q.109-113)
- Vanden vagheviere* (q.114)
- Vanden erdrike* (q.115-134)
- Vanden quaden inghelen* (q.135-138)
- Vander hellen* (q.139-140)
- Vander doot* (q.141-144)
- Vanden ghelove* (q.145)
- Vanden kinderkinne* (q.146-149)
- Vander edelheit* (q. 150-151)
- Vander godliker leringhen* (q.152-172)
- Hoe men leven zal* (q.173-267)
- Dit es de bouc van rechte ende van wetten* (q.268-282)
- Tbouc vanden consten* (q.283-297)
- Tbouc van Astronomien* (q.298-321)
- Van naturen* (q.322-389)

Description: Parchment, 106 folios. The titles of the chapters are written in a big script above the questions and lined through in red

Size: 210 x 140 mm. 1 col, the lines are completely filled

There is some damage to the upper right corner of the final five pages.

At the corner of the final page of each quire is a catchword

The manuscript was written by three copyists. CI (the first copyist) wrote everything until question 275, CII wrote questions 275-321 and CIII did the rest: question 321-389 and the epilogue. They are simple to identify by their difference in g's⁹⁷, and there is a difference in punctuation. CI uses 31-32 lines per page, CII uses 35-36 and CIII 39-43. Sometimes, CI adds information Finally, there are some language and spelling differences⁹⁸

Provenance: Unknown

2.1.9 Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Ms. Marshall 28 (O)

Signature: Bodleian Library, Ms. Marshall 28

Literature: Van Tol 1934, p. 40-42

Van Tol 1936, p. XLVI-LIII. This is the edition of the text in manuscript O

Date: End of the 15th century

Localisation: Brabant, but (one of) his example(s) was Flemish (perhaps one from East Flanders and one from West Flanders)⁹⁹

Content: Only *Sidrac*

Sidrac: 1r: See 'Provenance' below

⁹⁷ See: Van Tol 1936, p. LVI.

⁹⁸ Van Tol 1936, p. LVI-LVII.

⁹⁹ Van Tol 1936, p. LIII.

1v-2r: Rhyme prologue
2v-10r: Table of contents. See 'Provenance' below
11r-114v: The main text
114v-151v: See 'Provenance' below

Description: Paper. 115 leaves, with three empty leaves before and four afterwards
Size is 266 x 198 mm. Two columns with 36-38 lines each
Written by one hand. Initials were drawn in with red ink
Bound in a solid binding made of light yellow oilcloth
The water mark is the head of an ox with a star. This dates the paper on 1460-1480

Provenance: Beginning of the 17th century, this manuscript was the property of P. Oris (see chapter 2.5). He made some interesting notes to the text on April 26, 1621. He wrote on 1r:

Hier beghindt een seer schoon boeck vanden wijzen filosooph Sijdrack die op aertrijck was duijsent jaeren voor Godts gheboorte ende heeft ons beschreven vier hondert ende vier en twintich questien de welcke seer vremdt ende ghenoechelijcken sijn om te lesen die den koninck Boctus den wijzen filosooph Sijdrack vraechde.

Ende hoort toe den Lieffhebber der boecken Peeter Oris

Below this text, someone wrote: *Ende nu Ariaan Boenes* But this has been crossed out

In the second column on 10r, P. Oris wrote: *Inden sijdrack ghedruckt te leyden in hollant bij huijghen Janssoon / int Jaer 1496 staat dit ghedicht meer in. ghebet des auteurs oft schrijver van dezen boeck / tot godt ende alle goede menschen*¹⁰⁰

Then a poem follows.¹⁰¹ It is a prayer to God from, it seems, the original translator who translated it from French into Dutch in Antwerp in 1326. Peter Oris claims that he copied this prayer from printed edition II (see chapter 2.4.2). However, it is unclear where this text originates, because none of the printed editions have a prologue and Van Tol could not find it in the printed edition¹⁰²

On page 114v, after the text, P. Oris wrote: *Hier na volgen noch V vragen die inden ghedrucken sidrack ghevonden worden meer als hier.* Then. P. Oris (partly) copied questions 28, 80, 285, 411 and 413 of printed edition number II. Interesting to note, is that only question 285 does not exist in O (albeit it occurs in the table of contents), a part of 411 is missing as well. Oris copies only a part of question 28 and 80 (=O94)

After the copied questions, P. Oris wrote on fol. 151r: *geschreven door mij peeter oris tot Antwerpen in de sleustelstrate [sic!] int jaer ons heeren mdcxxi den xxvi aprile / zonder geschille al heusch en stille / twas mijnen wille.*

¹⁰⁰ I called this printed edition 'II'. See chapter 2.4.2.

¹⁰¹ Van Tol 1936, p. XLVII.

¹⁰² Van Tol 1936, p. XLVII (n. 1).

2.1.10 Londen, BL, Add. 10,286 (L)

- Signature: British Museum, Add. 10286
Literature: Van Tol 1934, p. 39-40
Van Tol 1936, p. LXII
Date: 15th century
Content:¹⁰³ 1r-114v *Het boek van Sidrac*
115r-113r Middle Dutch copy in prose of the German *Lucidarius*
113v *Van die nydighe werelt*
134r-134v Satirical recipe
135r-135v *Van dat edele lant van Cockaengen* (incomplete)
136r *Nummus* (satirical dispute about power and money)
137r-146r *Die peregrinacie van Jherusalem*
146v-148v *Een moy sprake van sesterhande verwe (Van VI vaerwen en XII outheyden)* (End is missing¹⁰⁴)
Sidrac: 117 folio's. First a table of contents (4 leaves), then the prologue (3 leaves, then 2 leaves are torn out). fol. 6-114: the text. 419 questions.¹⁰⁵ It misses both the rhymed prologue as the rhymed epilogue
Description: Paper, 148 folios, one modern, fol. 135 strongly ripped. Final fol. is missing¹⁰⁶
Size: 269 x 194 mm. Two columns (except fol. 2-6)
One hand, red initials
Watermarks: head of an ox with a long girdle between its horns
Localisation: North Netherlands, but with reminiscence of its South Dutch example¹⁰⁷
Provenance: Hoffmann von Fallersleben made a note about manuscripts and printed editions of *Sydrac*, dated 21. Erndtem¹⁰⁸. 1821. He made several other notes as well. "Auf moderner Vorder custode: Purchased Feb. 1836, Heber's Sale, lot 1435 (Ankaufspries [sic!] £ 5.5)"¹⁰⁹

2.1.11 Brussels, Manuscript (B)

- Signature: Koninklijke Bibliotheek te Brussel (Fonds Général no. 1714 C.)
Literature: Van Tol 1934, p. 42-46
Van Tol 1936, p. LIII
Date: Beginning of the 16th century
Localisation: East Flanders
Content: *Sydrac* (fol. 3-66)
fol. 1, 2 and 67 are copied by different hands:
1r. ^(hand 2) *Claes Ruelens vas gheboren int jaer ons heeren duysent vijfhondert en XLIII den XIII dach novembre op eenen Donderdach smorgens tusschen V en VI. vas gheboren anno XVc en LI den XXVI dach decembre op eenen saterdach tusschen X en XI tsavons*
2r. Filled with scribbles, probably by a child

¹⁰³ Schenkel 1998, p. 141.

¹⁰⁴ Klunder 2004, p. 37.

¹⁰⁵ Van Tol 1936, p. LXII.

¹⁰⁶ Klunder 2004, p. 37.

¹⁰⁷ Van Tol 1936, p. LXII.

¹⁰⁸ He probably meant August, the month of harvest ('Ernte' in German).

¹⁰⁹ Van Tol 1934, p. 40.

- 2v. ^(hand 3) Poem¹¹⁰ about friendship; how a friend can help in unfortunate times, but one should not impose on them
- 66r. ^(hand 4) *Desen boeck hoort toe Jan van Habbecke. Die en vint die brincken weder en hij sal eenen goeden drinckpenninck hebben. Die en vint ende wilten behouwen, die duvel sal sijn gat crawwen. Amen.* ('Jan van Habbecke is stricked out, above is written: 'Nicolaes Ruelens')
- 66v. ^(hand 5) A text¹¹¹. A bailiff claimed the possessions of Jan Baecke. In this letter, Baecke calls on the bailiff to undo this
- 67r. ^(hand 6) A list of headings, copied from a different manuscript. Van Tol states: "[i]n deze 'IV libri dialogorum de vita etc.' beantwoordt paus Gregorius I (590-604) de vragen hem gesteld door de weetgierige Petrus Diaconus de zalige"¹¹²
- Sidrac: No rhyme-prologue. 413 questions and answers. Rhyme-epilogue and introduction (I, see chapter 1)
This manuscript belongs to group I (see chapter 1.2), but many answers were abridged or differently drafted
- Description: Paper, 67 folio's
Size: 274 x 204 mm. (fol. 67: 245 x 182 mm)
Written in long lines by a legible hand
The questions are not numbered
There are empty places for the capitals which are supposed to be the first letters of the answers; some are filled (10-15 mm) with red ink
Hand 3 is older than hand 2
- Provenance: Jan van Habbecke, Nicolaes Ruelens, A. Dullert (see 'Content')

2.2 Middle German manuscripts

The German manuscripts were written in three West German dialects: Ripuarian (or 'Nederrijns') (q1410, Q536 and Kln), Low German (J and Sh, both in Kopenhagen), and Moselle Franconian (IV 1164). Like the Middle Dutch manuscripts, I will order them chronologically. See for more information chapter 1.3.

2.2.1 Köln, Hist. Arch., cod. W*f°4 (Kln)

- Signature: Köln, Hist. Arch., cod. W*f°4
- Language: Ripuarian
- Literature: Menne 1931, p. 13-14, [632 (taken from VT 1934)]¹¹³
Van Tol 1934, p. 56-57 (uses mostly Menne, so I will cite him)
Van Tol 1936, p. XXXIX
Deighton 1986, p. 272-273, 279
Beckers 1990, p. 67, 74
Meesters 1951, LVIII
- Date: 1410-1420¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ Van Tol 1934, p. 44.

¹¹¹ Van Tol 1934, p. 45.

¹¹² Van Tol 1934, p. 45-46 (n. 11).

¹¹³ Menne wrote his text in 1931. Van Tol used this text, and in a reprint of his original text, Menne cited Van Tol.

¹¹⁴ Beckers 1990, p. 74.

Localisation: Cologne and surroundings¹¹⁵
Content: *Das Buch Sydrach*
Sidrac: 1r: Title
1-14: table of contents
17-142: text
Description: Paper, 166 leaves¹¹⁶
Size: 280 x 210 mm, written space: 185 x 130 mm. One column with 25 lines.
Broad margins
Nicely and legible written by one hand. Chapters start with red initials
Bound in brown/red leather with paintings (and wood)
Two fly leaves in front, the second has many holes. Fol. 89 has been cut out.
Between fol. 20 and 21, two leaves are missing. Between fol. 43 and 44, three or four leaves are missing. The order of fol. 157-162 is: 157, 159, 158, 161, 160, 162
Watermark: anchor
Provenance: Dubious. Most scholars argue Blankenheim, but Beckers 1990 is unsure. See for discussion: chapter 3.3.1

2.2.2 Brussels, Ms. IV 1164

(IV 1164)

Signature: Ms. IV 1164
Language: Moselle Franconian
Literature: Deschamps 1980
Beckers 1990, p. 67, 70
Schlusemann 2011, p.174
Date: 1430¹¹⁷
Localisation: Manderscheid-Blankenheim?
Content: *Das Buch Sydrach*
Sidrac: 419 questions and rhymed prologue. Not the rhymed epilogue
Description: Paper, 105 fol
Size: 294 x 207 mm, written space: 213-220 x130-145 mm, 1 column with 30-39 lines
Littera cursiva
Fol. 97 was bound incorrectly. The proper order is: fol. 95, 97, 96, 98.
Nineteenth-century binding, carton with brown calf leather on spine and corners. Spine decorated with gilt and stamps
Provenance: Written in 1430 by Claisgin van Hirschfelt, made for the library of Manderscheid-Blankenheim, more specifically count Kuno. See for the provenance afterwards: Deschamps 1980, p. 7

¹¹⁵ Beckers 1990, p. 74.

¹¹⁶ Beckers 1990, p. 74.

¹¹⁷ Deschamps 1980.

2.2.3 Berlijn, SB-PK, mgq 1410

(q1410)

- Signature: Berlijn, SB-PK, mgq 1410
former: Hs. Ms. Germ. 4^o 1410¹¹⁸
- Language: Ripuarian¹¹⁹
- Literature: Niewöhner 1932
Van Tol 1934, p. 49, 54-56. Partly edited
Van Tol 1936, p. XXXIX
- Date: Second quarter of the 15th century
- Localisation: Unknown
- Content: *Sidrach*
- Sidrac: Niewöhner compared this text to the edition of Jellinghaus (J); I have copied this comparison below. If a number is between brackets, the question is not complete in q1410. The text that is in q1410 is:
*The rhyme prologue;
*a part of II (see chapter 1);
*J(27) - J(31), J(241) - J(355),
*a part that is not in J;
*J 361 - J 378;
*a part that is not in J;
*J(379) - J(380)
*J(382)
*J(383) - J(388)
*IV (the final part) and the table of contents
- Description: Paper
Size: cropped, before 209 x 140 mm, written space: 165 x 110 mm. One column with 31-34 lines
Some leaves are damaged by water, mould and bookworms. The fragment is currently not bound, but the many leaves and shreds have been sorted and, where possible, joined with transparent paper
No visible frame or lines
The paragraphs begin with simple red (or dark olive green) initials
Watermarks: a crown, keys, crossbow, another crown
- Provenance: The fragment was bought in 1910 from the antiquarian bookshop Jacques Rosenthal. It was probably used as a pastedown

2.2.4 Kopenhagen, UB, cod. 807 4

(J)

- Signature: Arnamagnaean collection. 807. 4^o of the royal university library in Kopenhagen (AM 807 4^{to})
This manuscript is commonly referred to as 'J', because the only edition was made by Jellinghaus (see 'literature' below)
- Language: Middle Low German, with many traces of Middle Dutch¹²⁰
- Literature: Jellinghaus 1904, p IX-XI and edition
Van Tol 1934, p. 47-48, edition of the epilogue

¹¹⁸ Niewöhner 1932, p. 183.

¹¹⁹ Niewöhner 1932, p. 183.

¹²⁰ Jellinghaus 1904, p. XI.

Van Tol 1936, p. XXXIX
 Borchling 1900, p. 103
 Date: 1479
 Localisation: Kopenhagen?
 Content: *Buch Sidrach*, 388 questions
 It has a (changed) rhyme epilogue, but no rhyme prologue¹²¹
 Sidrac: Important is that it has five questions which are not present in O. These questions are Jellinghaus 37, 61, 78, 81 and 109, which would be questions 37a, 60a, 76a, 78a and 105a in O¹²²
 The manuscript ends with the rhymed epilogue, but this was changed to the context of the manuscript. For example, the city of Copenhagen was mentioned and the date (1479) as well¹²³
 Description: Parchment and paper, 155 leaves¹²⁴
 Size: 205 x 145 mm, written space: 150-155 x 100 mm. 1 column, mostly 27-30 lines¹²⁵
 Provenance: 1r, below, right (16th century): *Andreß Söffren scripsit*

2.2.5 Berlin, SB-PK, mgq 536

(Q536)

Signature: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, mgq 536
 Language: Ripuarian
 Literature: Van Tol 1934, p 49-54. Edition of the final page on p. 49 and of the rhymed prologue on p. 50-54.
 Van Tol 1936, p. XXXIX.
 Date: 1529
 Localisation: Unknown
 Content: Table of contents on fol. 1r:
 Secretum secretorum aller naturliger dingen
 I Van gesteynte I blat.
 IX Van dem bloitlassen.
 XIII Van den vier getijden.
 XIIIJ Van der naturlicher geboirt.
 XVII Van den seven planeten.
 XVIIJ Van den droymen.
 XIX Van dem wasser zo erkennen.
 XXIII Van dem gekruyde.
 XL Van specerien.
 LIIIJ Van apoteken gemess.
 LXXVI Van kranckheit der litmaissen
 LXXXIIIJ Sydrach phs Aller konsten.
 Sidrac: Only the last ‘chapter’ of this manuscript is the *Sidrac*. If you do compare the numbering to H, this manuscript (Q536) seems to have omitted some questions. These are: H42, H44, H120, H137, H148, H188, H194, H204, H294, H319, H338, H339, H346, H362, H363, H364, H368, H372, H416-420.

¹²¹ Van Tol 1936, p. XXXIX.

¹²² Van Tol 1936, p. XXXIX. Van Tol is convinced that these five questions are also translated from Middle Dutch.

¹²³ Van Tol 1934, p. 47-48.

¹²⁴ <http://www.handschriftencensus.de/21950>, visited 21-05-2015.

¹²⁵ <http://www.handschriftencensus.de/21950>, visited 21-05-2015.

However, there is much less text loss than expected, because many of these questions are combined in Q536. The only questions that are really missing are H120, H193 and H416-420 because the last leave(s) have vanished

Description: Paper, 295 leaves¹²⁶
 Quarto format¹²⁷
 The questions are not numbered, but it is indicated on which leave the answers are¹²⁸
 The binding is not completely correct: fol. 93-94 follows fol. 90 and fol. 99-100 follow fol. 96

Provenance: On the final page is written: *...me Wilhelmus Kettwich canonicum in Duysseldorf et pastor in Vucham (?) Anno 1529*

2.2.6 Kopenhagen, Kgl.Bibl., NKS f°285,2° (Suhm) (Sh.)

Language: Middle low German, only a few traces of Middle Dutch¹²⁹

Literature: Jellinghaus 1904, p. IX-XII, incl. edition of question 10
 Van Tol 1934, p. 47
 Van Tol 1936, p. XXXIX

Date: Second half of the 16th century

Localisation: Hamburg¹³⁰

Content:

1-62r	<i>Sidrac</i>
62v	Empty
63r-93r	<i>Eine Chronica disser wendisschen Stede unde Lande Gescheffte belangende (810-1534)</i> (same hand as <i>Sidrac</i>)
93v-95v	Empty
96r-257r	A Middle Low German translation of the High German <i>Hamburgian chronicle</i> by Tratziger. From a different, worse hand than the first two texts
257v-258r	?, perhaps the flyleaf (see below)
258v-261v	A High German discourse about a printed flyleaf (added before) with pictures of a prodigium (a miracle) in the form of a strange herring that was caught on the 28. November 1587 near Marstrand. Includes a High German poem of 111 lines. Dated <i>den 22. Februarij Anno 1588 T.H. Rößlin</i>

Sidrac: A part: questions 1-74 of J. It has three of the five questions that exist in J but not in O (see J [2.2.4] for more information)

Description: Paper, 261 fol.
 4°

Provenance: 1r: *Joannes Eysij Hamb. Anno 1612. Bibl. Suhm (S)*
 T.H. Rößlin? (See 'content')

¹²⁶ Degering 1926, p. 94.

¹²⁷ Degering 1926, p. 94.

¹²⁸ "De vragen zijn niet genummerd, wel staat aangegeven op welke folio de antwoorden staan". (Van Tol 1934, p. 49.)

¹²⁹ Jellinghaus 1904, p. XI.

¹³⁰ Niewöhner 1932, p. 185.

2.3 Danish

(NKS 236)

- Signature: *Ny Kgl. Saml. 236 4^{to}*
Literature: Knudsen 1932
Date: Second half of the fifteenth century
Content: *Sidrac* and a fragment of *Priorens Disputats med Guidos Sjæl* (on fol. 122, a pastedown). This is originally a Latin text about the soul of Guido de Corvo. Guido de Corvo died, his soul troubles his widow. She calls a prior to help her, the soul of Guido tells the prior about the purgatory.¹³¹ (See for more information chapter 3.2)
- Sidrac: Not complete. The five extra questions in J are all in this Danish ms. as well. The Danish ms. has a question (e6) which does exist in the Dutch Ms (O166), but not in J. Apparently, the Danish manuscript is based on an Low German manuscript that is older than J. The order of the questions confirms this: it corresponds better to the Middle Dutch Manuscripts than to J¹³²
- Description: Paper, 122 fol., paper
Size: 210x155 mm. Written space: 170x120 mm in two columns
Not complete: after fol. 113, two leaves are missing and the end is missing: probably around 20 fol. disappeared
Watermark: ox head with horns and a flower. It is known and comes from Bartholomæus de Scantio's papermill in Brescia, Italië
Written by one copyist, readable but seems hasty. This hastiness is also visible in many transcription mistakes and omissions
- Localisation: Unknown
Provenance: Since 1798 it is in the Royal Library in Kopenhagen. It was brought there by Suhm, who bought it on an auction in Klevenfeld. He payed five Rigsdaler. Where the manuscript was before this time is unclear

2.4 Middle Dutch printed editions

There are in total ten extant printed editions of the *Boek van Sidrac* in the Netherlands. The French version was only printed seven times.¹³³ There are no extant Middle German or Middle Danish printed editions.

Printed editions

The printed editions are substantially different from the manuscripts. First of all, most printed editions are not anonymous and most of them are dated as well, so we have much more (reliable) information about them. The dates of these printed editions range from 1495-1564. In every printed edition, there is only one text: the *Sidrac*. Van Tol claims that “[a]lle Nederlandse drukken [...] op hetzelfde voorbeeld terug[gaan], en in wezen verschillen ze dan ook niet van elkaar”.¹³⁴ This is not completely true. Although there are many similarities, there are some differences as well. The format of every printed edition is 2^o.¹³⁵ “De drukken die hier genummerd zijn 1-4 hebben Vragenlijst en Rijm-epiloog, doch de latere drukken

¹³¹ Knudsen 1919.

¹³² Van Tol 1936, p. XL.

¹³³ Weisel 1993, p. 63. There are 13 copies. (Weisel 1993, p. 64, note 23). Van Tol 1936, p. XIV addresses eight printed editions.

¹³⁴ Van Tol 1936, p. LXV.

¹³⁵ Van Tol 1936, p. LXVI.

missen ze. De Rijm-proloog ontbreekt in alle”.¹³⁶ The printed editions cover 421 questions, except IX and X of 1564; in them question 320 is missing.¹³⁷ In the first printed edition, the answers were considerably shortened, in the later printed editions this is even more the case.¹³⁸

The two manuscript groups and the order of the questions

Van Tol¹³⁹ commented on of the relation between the manuscripts and the printed editions. I will deliver a short recap of this. As I explained above (see chapter 1.2) Van Tol divided the manuscripts into two groups: I (O, L, K, g and B) and II (H, C). The texts in the first group follow, more or less precisely, their French example¹⁴⁰, but the texts in the second group have more deviations. By comparing the printed editions to these groups, something is striking. Mostly, the printed editions are similar to the texts of group II (even more to C than to H), but beginning with question O211/H211 (in the printed editions, this question is 160, so P160), this is not the case anymore. In the text of the printed edition of question O211/H211/P160, the beginning is similar to H, but the rest is similar to O; O belongs to the first group. The questions following (that means, the questions that correspond to O212 until O421) in general correspond to the first group (alternately B, K, and O) as well. So, the first half of the questions in the printed editions corresponds to group II and the second half corresponds to group I. It is interesting, that question 211 is the middle of the total number of questions in the printed *Sidrac*, as the most complete manuscripts have 421 questions. It has to be noted that the two groups do not differ in every question. Furthermore, there are some instances where the printed editions use variants that none of the manuscripts known by Van Tol use.

The order of the questions in the printed editions is interesting as well. In the manuscripts, this order is normally (in B, C, G, H, L, O and most German texts) similar to the French versions, but the Dutch printed editions are often different.

Van Tol speculates that the printer (or possibly someone who made the copy of the text which the first printer used, but Van Tol states that this is unlikely¹⁴¹) made these changes on purpose. “[D]e 211de vraag in H en O beantwoordt aan de 160ste in de incunabels. Toch was de drukker [...] er volkomen van op de hoogte, dat de 211de vraag de middelste was van de 421, al zette hij die op de 160ste plaats! Het is dan ook vrij zeker, dat de drukker [...] bewust afweek van de gewone volgorde, gesteund door de toch al onsystematische opeenvolging”.¹⁴² Why? Van Tol speculates: “[w]aarschijnlijk om het enigmatische hybride karakter van de tekst te verbergen; een karakter, dat de gewone lezer niet zou opvallen, maar dat het zelfrespect van de drukker niet geheel bevredigde”.¹⁴³

An eleventh printed edition?

Van Tol¹⁴⁴ mentions a printed edition with the number XI. Nijhoff and Kronenberg 1923, 1096, refer to it and claim it was printed by Jan Seversoen. Later, Nijhoff and Kronenberg 1965, 4353 replace this entry. An eleventh printed edition does not exist, XI is actually the same as VI. VI was not printed by Jan Seversoen, but by Willem Vorsterman on the second of February 1516. I corrected the information in the section about VI, 2.4.6.

¹³⁶ Van Tol 1936, p. LXV.

¹³⁷ Van Tol 1936, p. LXV.

¹³⁸ Van Tol 1936, p. LXV.

¹³⁹ Van Tol 1935^b, p. 23-25 and Van Tol 1936, p. LXV-LXVI.

¹⁴⁰ Van Tol 1936, p. LXV: “de eerste volgt min of meer nauwkeurig de Franse text”. It is unclear which French text he means specifically.

¹⁴¹ Van Tol 1935^b, p. 24, note 14.

¹⁴² Van Tol 1935^b, p. 24-25.

¹⁴³ Van Tol 1935^b, p. 25.

¹⁴⁴ Van Tol 1935^b.

Explanation of the section

This section discusses every printed edition separately. Some of the terms used need an explanation.

‘Also called’ lists the other names by which this printer is sometimes called in literature. ‘Literature’ mentions the most important literature of this printed edition. If there exists other often quoted literature, I mention it in a footnote. ‘Biography’ strives to give a short overview of the relevant aspects of the printer’s life. The characteristics of their printer’s list is included. ‘Copies’ indicates the number of surviving copies per edition, their current location and their provenance. If known, ‘Sidrac’ gives more information about the paratexts. The title, incipit and excipit of the *Sidrac* are not in this list, but in Appendix 6. For information about the woodcuts, see chapter 3.1.3.

2.4.1 I: [Hugo Janszoon van Woerden] (28-04-1495)

Also called: Hugo Jansz./Huych Jansoen

Literature¹⁴⁵: Van Tol 1935^b, p. 11-12

Localisation: [Leiden]

Sidrac: Unknown

Description: 2^{o146}, 76 leaves, 2 columns of 40 lines

Copies: 2

*Londen (British Museum IB.48433)

*Leeuwarden (Now: Tresoar, WE4. Once: Bibliotheek van het Friesch Genootschap FG6). At the beginning of the edition in Leeuwarden, there is a letter from Campbell to Mr. Boelens, the discoverer of this copy

Biography¹⁴⁷: Hugo Janszoon van Woerden¹⁴⁸ was primarily a bookseller, but besides that a relatively small printer, and perhaps also a woodcut-cutter.¹⁴⁹ His main printed editions were religious and small books, mostly in Dutch.¹⁵⁰ Not only at his own expense, but commissioned as well.

There is discussion about where he worked. It is certain that he was active in Leiden (1494-1506/1518), where he moved at least once.¹⁵¹ Afterwards he was a printer and later bookseller in Den Haag. Some¹⁵² scholars suggest that he worked in Amsterdam, Haarlem, Den Bosch and/or Delft as well¹⁵³, but others¹⁵⁴ doubt this, and suggest that these cities only functioned as printing addresses.

In the beginning, Hugo Janszoon printed with the material that he acquired of Gerard Leeu of Gouda, who bought it from the printer’s company

¹⁴⁵ Can also be found in: Campbell 1874, p. 273, n° 981; Brunet, *Manuel du libraire*, 5^e éd., t. V, 607; Graesse, *Trésor de livres rares*, t. VI, p. I (1865), 536.

¹⁴⁶ He primarily printed octavo-editions. Because this edition also misses the printer’s name, it has been suggested that this one was commissioned. *Verjaring* 1973, p. 489.

¹⁴⁷ *Verjaring* 1973, p. 488.

¹⁴⁸ His modern name, see *Verjaring* 1973, p. 488.

¹⁴⁹ *Verjaring* 1973, p. 488.

¹⁵⁰ Bouwman and Van der Vlist 2008, p. 99.

¹⁵¹ Bouwman and Van der Vlist 2008, p. 99: “op twee adressen die worden genoemd in de colofons van zijn drukken: Sint Pieterskerk Koorsteeg en de Vismarkt”.

¹⁵² *Verjaring* 1973, p. 488, perhaps Bouwman and Van der Vlist 2008, p. 78.

¹⁵³ *Verjaring* 1973, p. 488.

¹⁵⁴ Van der Lof 1986, p. 13.

of Jacob Bellaert from Haarlem.¹⁵⁵ One distinguishing characteristic of Hugo is that he liked to illustrate his work, the smaller books as well. In 1496, he acquired new material of Henrick die Lettersnider, a new typeface and a “reeks lombarden”.¹⁵⁶ “De wisseling is fraai te zien in de twee uitgaven van de *Historie van Sydrack*. De eerste (gedateerd 28 april 1495) drukte Hugo Janszoon nog met het Bellaert-materiaal, de tweede (gedateerd 1496) met zijn nieuwe lettertype”.¹⁵⁷

“Op enkele uitzonderingen na drukte Hugo Janszoon kleine boeken in octavo-formaat, rijkelijk voorzien van houtsneden, die hij speciaal had laten vervaardigen”.¹⁵⁸ One of these exceptions is the *Sydrac*, which he printed both in 2^o.¹⁵⁹ It is unclear where he got the examples for each text, but it is clear that he had “zich verzekerd van de beschikking over de rijke bibliotheek van het naburige klooster Roemburg”.¹⁶⁰ His successor in Leiden is Jan Seversz. (see chapters 2.4.5 and 2.4.6).

It is interesting to note that there is a group of miniature-painters named after this printer: the ‘Meesters van Hugo Janszoon van Woerden’.¹⁶¹ This is a confusing name; they were called thus because the illustrations used in texts of Hugo Janszoon were similar to the miniatures of this group. It is unclear if they had anything to do with each other, and even who was influenced by whom.¹⁶²

2.4.2 II: Hugo Janszoon van Woerden (1496)

Literature: Van Tol 1935^b, p. 12-13

Localisation: Leiden

Sidrac:	1r	Title
	2r-64rb	Text
	64rb	<i>Ende is gheprent te leyden in hollant bi mi huych ian soen van woerden inden iare MCCC ende XCVI</i>

This printed edition has a table of contents and an epilogue

Description: 2^o, 69 leaves, 2 columns of 42 lines

Copies: 1
*Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris.¹⁶³ This copy once belonged to Peeter Oris¹⁶⁴

Biography: See chapter 2.4.1

¹⁵⁵ See *Verjaring* 1973, p. 93 and Bouwman and Van der Vlist 2008, p. 101.

¹⁵⁶ *Verjaring* 1973, p. 488.

¹⁵⁷ Bouwman and Van der Vlist 2008, p. 101.

¹⁵⁸ Bouwman and Van der Vlist 2008, p. 101.

¹⁵⁹ See for example Bouwman and Van der Vlist 2008, p. 100.

¹⁶⁰ Pleij 1992, p. 237.

¹⁶¹ For example Bouwman and Van der Vlist 2008, p. 78.

¹⁶² Bouwman and Van der Vlist 2008, p. 81: “Dit stelt ons soms voor het dilemma van de kip en het ei: het is niet altijd duidelijk of de drukker zijn houtsneden modelleerde naar miniatures uit zijn omgeving, of dat Leidse miniaturisten zich lieten inspireren door Van Woerdens (post)incunabelen”.

Bouwman and Van der Vlist 2008, p. 100: “De verwarrende noodnaam bedoelt overigens alleen aan te geven dat deze miniaturisten zich in hun iconografie lieten inspireren door houtsneden uit de drukken van Hugo Janszoon”.

¹⁶³ See: Marais and Dufresne de St.-Léon 1898, p. 487, n^o 903.

¹⁶⁴ Biemans 1983, p. 47-48.

2.4.3 III: Jacob van Breda (06-09-1496)

Also called: Jacob die Prenter¹⁶⁵

Literature¹⁶⁶: Van Tol 1935^b, p. 13-14
Campbell 1874, p. 273-274, n° 982
Polain 1932, p. 711, n° 3531

Localisation: Deventer

Sidrac ¹⁶⁷ :	1r	Title
	1r-68v	Text
	68v, after text	<i>Eñ is volmaect eñ ghe- // prent in der waerdigher stadt van // Deunter bi my Jacob vā Breda. // Jnt iaer ons herē doemē screif. M. // CCCC. eñ xcvi. Den seestē dach in // dem maende September. // Hier nae volghet doe tafel vā de // etc.</i>
	68v-75v	Table of contents
	76	Blank? Missing

This printed edition has an epilogue

Description: 2°, 76 leaves (two leaves are numbered '60'), 2 columns of 42 lines

Copies: Now 3, once 4

*Brussels (Kon.Bibl. B 1444). The printed capitals are lined through with red, the places left blank were filled in with big red capitals. Leave 44¹⁶⁸ is missing.

Provenance: Roeyendael

*Paris (B. N. Rés. y² 184). One fol. is blank or missing

*Düsseldorf ULB. Imperfect. Provenance: Georgius Widdith¹⁶⁹

*Once, there was one in Leuven (university library) but this library was burned to the ground in 1940. From this copy, leaves 42-43 were missing

Biography: Jacob van Breda came in 1483 to Deventer, to marry Geertrui (the widow of Dirk van Borne).¹⁷⁰ He settled at a strategic point in Deventer (at the corner of the Polstraat)¹⁷¹, and started as a printer in 1485, when he seems to have taken over the company of Richard Pafraet.¹⁷² He was probably one of Pafraet's former co-workers; certain is that he possessed Pafraet's typographic material. He printed "meest kleine boekjes. Van 1485 tot en met 1487 maakt Van Breda gebruik van Pafraet's lettermateriaal. Hij zette ook een stuk van diens traditie voort [hij herdrukte bepaalde dingen]".¹⁷³

Jacob van Breda printed primarily school books, for example *the fables of Aesop*, Cicero, and Virgil.¹⁷⁴ He "richtte zich eveneens vooral op de Latijnse school en de humanisten. [...] In zijn fonds nam hij ook enige devote werkjes in

¹⁶⁵ Koch 1977, p. 63.

¹⁶⁶ Can also be found in: Campbell 1874, p. 273-274, n° 982; Polain 1932, p. 711, n° 3531.

¹⁶⁷ See Campbell 1874, p. 273-274, n° 982 or Polain 1932, p. 711, n° 3531.

¹⁶⁸ Van Tol 1935^b, p. 43.

¹⁶⁹ See catalogue of the Library of Düsseldorf:

http://katalog.ulb.hhu.de/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=detailsTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=DUE_01_aleph002383239&indx=4&recIds=DUE_01_aleph002383239&recIdxs=3&elementId=&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&http://katalog.ulb.hhu.de:80/primo_library/libweb/action/expand.do?dscent=0

¹⁷⁰ Koch 1977, p. 62.

¹⁷¹ Koch 1977, p. 62.

¹⁷² Van der Lof 1986, p. 11-12.

¹⁷³ Koch 1977, p. 63.

¹⁷⁴ Koch 1977, p. 63-64.

de landstaal op, [...] verder drukte hij een tweetal zgn. evaluatie-boekjes”.¹⁷⁵ From 1488 onwards, he was, together with Pafraet, the leading supplier for schoolmasters. They were probably not just competitors, but worked together as well.¹⁷⁶ They printed many school and study books, for the whole of Europe (especially eastwards and northwards).¹⁷⁷ “Het verbaast dan ook niet, dat de gezamenlijke inspanningen van de prenters Richard en Jacob de stad Deventer, wat de productie van steeds nieuwe boektitels aangaat, snel deed klimmen op de ranglijst der Europese boekdrukkerscentra. In de jaren 1488-90 produceerden beiden op zijn minst 110 boeken. Op zijn minst, want zeker van kleine drukken plegen de exemplaren zo snel te loor te gaan dat wij van hun bestaan soms geen weet meer hebben; bovendien had vooral Van Breda de gewoonte menig boek af te leveren zonder jaartal, zodat het moeilijk is statistiek te bedrijven”.¹⁷⁸

In 1489, Jacob Pafraet renewed his typographic material (there is no dated material from 1488, maybe there is an interruption). The evolution of his material is more or less parallel to Pafraet’s, they were alternately precursors. Van Breda never had a Greek script and was one of the first to use Hendric Lettersnider (who printed ‘the script of the future’).¹⁷⁹

At the latest in 1515, he was remarried with Hermanna.¹⁸⁰ He became stepfather to ‘Derick Prenter’.¹⁸¹ He stopped printing around 1519.¹⁸² Jacob van Breda died in or before 1525.¹⁸³ He left a son, Johan (also: ‘Jan van breda Jacobss[oen]’).¹⁸⁴

2.4.4 IV: Govert Bac (±1500?)

Literature¹⁸⁵: Van Tol 1935^b, p. 15

Localisation: Antwerp

Sidrac ¹⁸⁶ :	1r	Title
	1v	Empty
	2r-61va, l.30	Text
	61vb, l.23-68rb, l.10	Table of contents
	61rb, l.11	<i>Gheprent Thantwerpē bij mi Gouaert Bac </i> [printer’s device]
	68v	Same printer’s device
	Has table of contents and epilogue	
Description:	2 ^o , 68 leaves, 2 columns of 42 lines	
Copies:	1	

¹⁷⁵ Van der Lof 1986, p. 11-12.

¹⁷⁶ *Verjaring* 1973, p. 310, 403, 409.

¹⁷⁷ *Verjaring* 1973, p. 310, 403, 409.

¹⁷⁸ Koch 1977, p. 65-66.

¹⁷⁹ *Verjaring* 1973, p. 310, 403, 409.

¹⁸⁰ Houck 1904, p. 27.

¹⁸¹ Houck 1904, p. 27.

¹⁸² Houck and Kronenberg 1931, p. 247.

¹⁸³ Houck 1904, p. 27.

¹⁸⁴ Houck 1904, p. 27.

¹⁸⁵ Can also be found in: Nijhoff en Kronenberg 1923, 1094.

¹⁸⁶ See: Nijhoff en Kronenberg 1923, 1094.

*The Hague (Koninklijke Bibliotheek). In the table of contents, the text and the numbers of the questions 57, 316, 351, 352 were made virtually completely illegible with ink. Leaf 18 is missing.¹⁸⁷ leaves K I v and K VI r were changed. At the end, it is stated: *Gekocht in auctie T. de Bruyn Utr. 31 Oct. 1863, n^o 1248, voor f. 25.*-

Biography: Govert Bac started “his career as a master printer in 1493, shortly after his marriage to the widow of Matthijs van der Goes – a marriage whereby the typographical material of his former master passed into his possession. In the matter of choosing texts, types and formats (by preference quarto) for his books, he followed Van der Goes’s example. For the most part he printed works of a devotional nature, but there were also some chapbooks and scholarly treatises”.¹⁸⁸ In his profession “gaf [hij blijk] in de eerste plaats een zakenman te zijn, die er niet naar streeft aan zijn boeken een kunst-karakter te geven, maar tracht een groot zakencijfer te verwezenlijken, door haastig en slordig drukken de productie-kosten vermindert en zich ook, bij de keuze van zijn teksten, te zeer laat leiden door commercieele overwegingen”.¹⁸⁹ This is not a surprise, because the profession of printing was very commercialised all along the line. Bac printed until 1511.¹⁹⁰

2.4.5 V: Jan Seversoen

Also called: Jan Severszoon/Seversz., Jan Cornelisz./Cornelissen, Jan Cornelisz. alias seuerijns, perhaps Jan Cornelissen alias Heymerius¹⁹¹

Literature: Van Tol 1935^b, p. 15

Localisation: Leiden

Sidrac ¹⁹² :	1r	Title
	1v	Empty
	2r-66rb	Text
	66rb, after the text	<i>Ende is // gheprent tot leyden in hollant bi mi // Ian seuersoen Lof god van al.</i>

No epilogue or table of contents.

Description: 2^o, 66 leaves, 2 columns of 43 lines

Copies: 2

*Paris (B.N. Rés. y² 185)

*Hamburg (Stadt-Bibl.)

Biography¹⁹³: Jan Seversz. was born around 1475 in Leiden. He printed there first (±1502-1524) and later in Antwerp (±1527-1530). He must have printed in Utrecht as well, after he was banished from Leiden¹⁹⁴, and returned to Leiden after Antwerp. He was not only a printer, but made parchment as well.¹⁹⁵ His life was turbulent, including an exile.

¹⁸⁷ Nijhoff en Kronenberg 1923, 1094.

¹⁸⁸ Vervliet 1979, p. 22.

¹⁸⁹ Dermul and Bouchery 1938, p. 9.

¹⁹⁰ Dermul and Bouchery 1938, p. 9.

¹⁹¹ See for the three last names: Kronenberg 1944-46, p. 295, 298.

¹⁹² See: Nijhoff en Kronenberg 1923, 1095.

¹⁹³ Most of this information comes from Kronenberg 1924.

¹⁹⁴ Kronenberg 1944-46, p. 297.

¹⁹⁵ Kronenberg 1924, p. 5.

In Leiden, he printed “[v]oor een groot deel [...] devote boekskes met eenigszins weeïg mystieke titels”.¹⁹⁶ “Buitengewoon groot is daarbij ‘t percentage boeken in de landstaal, ongeveer 67 percent, tegen slechts 23 percent in ‘t Latijn”.¹⁹⁷ He printed around ninety books in Leiden.¹⁹⁸

Later, he published “ook ‘ambitieuzer’ werk, o.a. een aantal schoolboeken, een zeer fraai uitgevoerd liturgisch werk, het *Missale Traiectense* [...] en een uitgave van de staatkundige verhandeling van Philippus van Leyden *De rei publicae cura* [...]. In de jaren twintig week hij nog verder van het normale patroon af door het drukken van ‘verboden’ boeken. [...] Voor deze activiteiten werd hij door het Hof van Holland voor het leven uit dat gewest verbannen. Tijdens de verbanning bleef zijn pers gewoon doorwerken en uit gerechtelijke stukken blijkt dat hij na een kort verblijf in Antwerpen al vrij snel weer terug was in Leiden”.¹⁹⁹

2.4.6 VI: Willem Vorsterman (2-2-1516)

Literature: Nijhoff and Kronenberg 1965, 4353
Van Tol 1935^b, p. 15-16 (mentions this printed edition with printer ‘Jan Seversoen’)

Localisation: Antwerp

Sidrac: 1r Title
1va-64b Text
21ra Signature
Probably no table of contents or epilogue.

Description: 2^o, 64 leaves, 2 columns of 42 lines

Copies: 2
*Brussels (Bibliothèque Royale). faulty. Only 60 leaves; three leaves are missing (of quire I, L, and M)
*L.J. Rosenwald, Jenkintown (Pa.; ex. Arenberg)

Biography: Willem Vorsterman was printer, bookseller, publisher, and bookbinder, and very active between ca. 1504 - 1543.²⁰⁰ He “began printing in Antwerp as early as 1499”.²⁰¹ “1512 wurde er Meister der Gilde Sint-Lucas und erhielt 1514 ein Patent zum Drucken. [...] Rouzet bezeichnet ihn als einen Geschäftsmann, der ‘extrêmement actif’ war. Er druckte in den vier Jahrzehnten ungefähr 400 Texte”.²⁰² “He and his contemporary Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten (d. 1558), [...] dominated Antwerp’s printing industry in the first half of the sixteenth century”.²⁰³

Vorsterman was very good at his profession. “Printing meant profits for Vorsterman. This was an ‘exceedingly successful businessman’ who reaped where others had sown, printing texts that already had successfully issued forth from other presses, and who liked to adorn texts with woodcuts because he

¹⁹⁶ Kronenberg 1924, p. 4.

¹⁹⁷ Kronenberg 1924, p. 4.

¹⁹⁸ Kronenberg 1924, p. 5.

¹⁹⁹ Van der Lof 1986, p. 14.

²⁰⁰ Schlusemann 1997, p. 39 Also Vervliet 1979, p. 32; 1504 in: Derwijl and Bouchery 1938, p. 12

²⁰¹ Pabel 2007, p. 270.

²⁰² Schlusemann 1997, p. 39.

²⁰³ Pabel 2007, p. 270.

knew that illustrated books sold well. A *bon marchand*, Vorsterman cast his nets very widely. Preferring the popular Gothic type, he printed a wide variety of texts in several languages: chapbooks, devotional works, Bibles, ordinances, almanacs and one music book. Like Hillen, Vorsterman printed for both sides of the confessional divide”.²⁰⁴

His printer’s list consists of many different books: “religious literature alongside chapbooks, school books and elevated tracts, official communications and suspect literature; even music”²⁰⁵, but he did not print at random: “einer seiner Leitfäden für die Auswahl seiner Texte [war], ob ein bestimmter Text bereits bei einem Kollegen erfolgreich war, d.h. höchstwahrscheinlich einen gewissen Absatz garantieren kann”.²⁰⁶ Furthermore, there is a visible shift in genre: in the beginning (1501-1510), he printed especially professional literature.²⁰⁷ Later he printed much more religious texts.²⁰⁸ He had international connections, and therefore printed in several languages, but mostly Middle Dutch. He is “der Drucker in Antwerpen, der nach H. Eckert die meisten niederländischen Texte auf den Markt bringt”.²⁰⁹

2.4.7 VII: Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten (09-08-1522)

Literature²¹⁰: Van Tol 1935^b, p. 16-17

Localisation: Antwerp

Sidrac ²¹¹ :	1r	Title
	1v-60rb, l.26	Text
	60rb, after the text	<i>Eñ is gheprent Tantwer // pen binnen dye Camerpoorte. In dye // Raepe. bi mi Michiel vā hoochstraten // Int iaer ons heeren. M.CCCCC. eñ // xxij. den ix. dach Augusti</i> ²¹²
	60v	Empty

No table of contents or epilogue

Description: 2^o, 60 leaves, 2 columns of 43 lines

Copies: 2

*Ghent (University library), once owned by senator Vergauwen. He bought it in Paris

*The Hague (Kon. Bibl. 228 A 4). This copy has some notes at the front: *Zie Catalogus v. Bijbels, psalmen, incunabelen, enz. van F. Muller te Amsterdam van 12 Nov. 1857 onder n^o 398 genoteerd ad f. 20,- Bibliophile Belge XIX, p. 295, n^o6.*

Gekocht in auctie Lenshoek (Febr 1884 M. Nijhoff)

The frontispiece is damaged, but the missing parts were touched up on affixed paper

On the final leaf, there are some notes:

²⁰⁴ Pabel 2007, p. 270-271.

²⁰⁵ Vervliet 1979, p. 32.

²⁰⁶ Schlusemann 1997, p. 52.

²⁰⁷ Schlusemann 1997, p. 40.

²⁰⁸ Schlusemann 1997, p. 41.

²⁰⁹ Schlusemann 1997, p. 52.

²¹⁰ Can also be found in: Nijhoff en Kronenberg 1923, 1097.

²¹¹ Nijhoff en Kronenberg 1923, 1097.

²¹² De Pauw 1919, p. 430 gives vjⁿ instead of ix.

Dit tegewordighe boeck hoert toe Stijn ~~van Wachtendonck~~ off Yegerums die hoir dit afleent ende sy dat vergheten heeft die bringt hoer weder om gods wyl want hy mit recht nyet halden ~~en mach off vaert dan mit voir dysent duvel inder hellen gront.~~

Nota bene die genoich heeft die en darff niet lenen.

(below this, on the left, bad legibility):

Doe men screef duessent ende vyffhondert ende liij doe quam onsse lieve vrouwe boetscap op den heiligen paessdach. Den donredach daer nae adt men vleys dat nyet meer geschien en sal voer duessent VI hondert ende ~~æcht~~ ende XII.

(beside it): *anno duesent V hondert ende xxxij den xxij dach inden mertte sterff mette moey der got gedechtich zij.*

anno dñi M ende V^c xl des sonnendaghes nae de heilige sacramentsdach sterff luytken got heb hoer zyel ende alle geloevighe syelen amen.

Anno dñi duessent ende vyffhondert ende li sterff jan Yegrum op enen saterdach op suntte marien dach omtrynt des morgens... der god genadich sij requiescant in pace.

Doe men screeff duessent ende vyff hondert jaer ende lv des saterdages voer Kersavont omtryent te x uren des morgens sterff trynken syn dochter welck was hinnerk manners (?) huysvrouw van gelre geboren, got heb hoer syel ende alle geloeviche syelen amen

Biography: Michien Hillen van Hoochstraten was “een der meest productieve Antwerpse drukkers”.²¹³ He worked there from 1506 until 1546 (or 1558?²¹⁴), and “published over five hundred works, on his own account and for other publishers both at home and abroad”.²¹⁵ He published many different books, from humanistic texts to almanacs, from imperial ordinances to books in favour of Luther and against him.²¹⁶ Many of these books have illustrations, by Jan Swart and Dirk Vellert or borrowed from incunabula or copied from Holbein or French engravers.²¹⁷

He probably had a son, Johannes van Hoochstraten.²¹⁸ He was a printer as well and published many books about the Reformation and Protestantism.

2.4.8 VIII: Willem Vorsterman (12-10-1540)

Literature: Van Tol 1935^b, p. 17-18.
Nijhoff en Kronenberg 1923, 1098.

Localisation: Antwerp

Sidrac²¹⁹: 1r Title
1v-56rb, l.32 Text
56rb, after the text *Eñ is gheprent Tantwerpē ||voerdye Camerpoorte inden gulden Eē- || hoorn bi mi Willem vorsterman. Int iaer ||*

²¹³ Kronenberg 1948, p. 64.

²¹⁴ Derwijn and Bouchery 1938, p. 12.

²¹⁵ Vervliet 1979, p. 38.

²¹⁶ Vervliet 1979, p. 38.

²¹⁷ Vervliet 1979, p. 38.

²¹⁸ See for Johannes van Hoochstraten (incl. that he was probably Michiel's son): Kronenberg 1948, p. 74-84.

²¹⁹ See: Nijhoff en Kronenberg 1923, 1097.

ons heeren. M.CCCCC. ende xl. den xij. // dach in
October.

56v Empty

No epilogue or table of contents

Description: 2^o, 56 leaves, 2 columns of 45 lines

Copies: 2

*Amsterdam (Now: library of the IISG), inscription tells us that it once belonged to Prof. Kist

* Paris (B.N. Rés. y² 373)²²⁰

Biography: See chapter 2.4.6

2.4.9 IX: Jan Roelants (06-03-1564)

Literature: Van Tol 1935^b, p. 18-19

Localisation: Antwerp

Sidrac: Question 320 (present in the other printed editions) is missing.

No epilogue or table of contents

1r Title (l. 1-2 red, the rest is black)

Woodcut

*[Gheprint] Thantwerpen in die Cammerstrate [by my Jan Roelants. Anno. 1564.]*²²¹

56r (end) *Ende is ghevisiteert by eenen gheleerden man by der K.M. daer toe ghecommitteert. Ende is by den Hove toeghelaten te moghen printen. Ghegeven tot Bruessel den twaelfsten dach van Januario, Anno duysent vijfhondert ende tweenvijftich. Onderteekent M.P. de Lens.*

Endets gheprent Thantwerpen in die Cammerstrate in onder liever vrouwen Thoren, by my Jan Roelants, Int iaer ons heeren. MCCCC. ende. LXIII.

Ende men salse te coope vinden op onser liever Vrouwen kerckhof onder den Thoren

Description: This printed edition looks very similar to printed edition X, but is not the same (see f.e. appendix 6)

2^o, 56 leaves, 2 columns of 45 lines

Copies: 3

*Leiden (Bibl. der Mij. v. Lett. 1498 B 15). Fol. 54 is missing. In the front, a letter of M de Vries was pasted in. In this letter, De Vries copied the rhymed prologue and epilogue of the Hamburg manuscript (see chapter 2.1.3). See 'Provenance' below. Behind fol. 56, there is another leaf of paper. On this, one can read: *Paul Petrus Stuer 1691* and below that in printed script: *Item dit boeck hoert tue Claes Claeszoen barbier tot Naeldwijck*

*Paris (Bibl. de l'Arsenal, S.A. 1459^A)

*Brussels (Kon. Bibl.) [seems not to be there at the moment, LR]

Biography²²²: Jan Roelants is the son of Jan Roelants a.k.a. van den Langenberghe. He was born in Zundert (ca 1511)²²³, but moved to Antwerp on the 20th of October

²²⁰ Nijhoff en Kronenberg, p. 103: "Vroeger Bibl. Arenberg".

²²¹ The text between [] was printed in red.

²²² Most of this information comes from Koepp 1929, p. 38.

²²³ Verberckmoes 1997, p. 414.

1536 and became a member of the guild of St. Luke in 1559 as a printer and bookseller. He married Marie Gielis, after her death he remarried Elisabeth Dyckstrate. In 1569/1570 “worden te Antwerpen geconfisqueerd de ‘goeden, boecken ende druckerye, toebehoirende Lysbeth, huysvrouwe van Jan Roelants, boeckvercoopere, gebannen ende daernaer deselve Jan geapprehendeert synde, gestorvensyn selffs doot opte gevangnisse”²²⁴: he was banished and his goods were confiscated, because he was a suspected to be a protestant.²²⁵ He died in April 1570 in prison. It is possible that he had a son, David Roelandts, who also became a printer.²²⁶

There are no characteristics or overview available for his prints. Because of that, I catalogued everything that I could find below. The year of publication is between brackets.

**Een nieuwe cluchtboek* (?)

**Een suyuerlijck boecxken* (1558)

**Een corte oeffeninghe* (1543)

**Een schoon liedekens boek* (1544)

**Die institutie ende leeringe van een christelycke vrouwe gemaect door Johannes Ludovicus Vives*. [Middle Dutch translation of the tract *de instutione foeminae christianae*]

**Die peerle der chirurgijen*²²⁷ (1553 and 1556)

**Hier beginnen seer schoone christelijcke ende euangelische sermoonen, opten Vader onse, Aue Maria vanden ghelooue, Thien Gheboden, ende de seuen Sacramenten*²²⁸ (1554)

**Een Nederdutsch boeck, ab format, in fransin ingebonden, omtrent 30 bladen groet, spreckende van de vrouwencomplexien ende natuere*²²⁹ (1563)

**Den wech des levens* (1564)

**Sidrac* (1564)

**Costumen van Mechelen* (1565)

Because of his imprisonment, it is evident that he printed some protestant literature as well.

2.4.10 X: Claes van den Wouwere (06-03-1564)

Literature: Van Tol 1935^b, p. 19-21

Localisation: Antwerp

Sidrac:	1r	Title (1.1-2 in big red script, 1.3-5 in small red script) Woodcut <i>Gheprent Thantwerpen op die Lombaerde Veste by Claes van den Wouwere teghen die Gulden hant overe.</i>
	56r (end)	<i>Ende is ghevisiteert by eenen gheleerden man by der K.M. daer toe ghecommitteert. Ende is by den Hove toe ghelaten te moghen printen Ghegeven tot Bruessel den twaelfsten dach van Januarius. Anno duysent vijfhondert ende tweenvijftich.</i>

²²⁴ Briels 1974, p. 419, also Génard s/d, p. 472.

²²⁵ Verberckmoes 1997, p. 414.

²²⁶ Briels 1974, p. 419.

²²⁷ Van Hee 2000, p. 209.

²²⁸ <http://lib.ugent.be/nl/catalog/rug01:001713269>, visited on 21-05-2015.

²²⁹ <http://home.online.nl/mpaginae/Melchior/boeken.htm>, visited on 21-05-2015.

Onderteekent M.P. de Lens. Gheprent Thantwerpen op dye Lombaerde veste / teghen over die Gulde hant. Bi mi Claes van den Wouwere. Int iaer ons heeren. MCCCCC. ende. LXIII. Den sesten dach in Meerte.

Description: It looks very similar to IX, but is not the same (see chapter 2.4.9)
2°, 56 leaves, 2 columns of 45 lines

Copies: 2
*The Hague (Museum Meermannno-Westreenianum VI B 17). In the front are some notes of the previous owner, who refers to some catalogues²³⁰

*The library of Mr, Dr. L. Willems

Biography: Unknown

²³⁰ See Van Tol 1935^b, p. 20.

3. Characteristics of the secondary reception

The research question of this thesis is: ‘which characteristics determine the secondary reception of the Middle Dutch *Sidrac* (including its translations)?’. In this chapter, I will answer this question. It will use the descriptions of the medieval text witnesses of the *Boec van Sidrac* in Middle Dutch, Middle German and Middle Danish in chapter 2. Now, I will identify similarities and striking differences, and through these I seek to find, as stated, the characteristics of the secondary reception.

This chapter is divided into five parts. The first part discusses the manuscripts and prints. It starts with the rhymed prologue and epilogue and the table of contents. Then, general aspects of the manuscripts will be described. This includes the order of the questions in m and K and Q536. Section 3.1.3 is about the printed editions, with the emphasis on their size and on the woodcuts. In the second part, a closer look will be taken at the texts that are combined with the *Sidrac*; this part will be mainly about the manuscripts. In 3.3, the printed editions will be examined. Firstly, the cities in which they were printed, then the individual printers and the connections between them. This part concludes with a closer look at their titles and the first and final sentences. In the fourth part, the provenance, primarily the former owners, will be discussed. The chapter ends with a general conclusion.

3.1 Appearance

This paragraph is about appearance of the manuscripts and printed editions, about what they look like.

The first section is about the table of contents and the rhymed prologue, the parts a customer might read before buying the codex. Because of logic, I included the rhymed epilogue as well in this analysis.

The second section is about the general appearance of the manuscripts: the size, margins etc.

The last section is about the general appearance of the printed editions. This includes their size and the woodcuts.

3.1.1 Rhymed prologue / epilogue and table of contents

Some of the manuscripts and printed editions preserve the rhymed prologue, rhymed epilogue or the table of contents. See appendix 1 for an overview. It is interesting to see if there are some characteristics visible in this. The rhymed prologue and epilogue are, as stated earlier, added by the Middle Dutch translator. The prologues are quite similar, if they occur in the manuscripts. Some of the changes that were made are that the city ‘Antwerp’ in H was changed to ‘Utrecht’ and, in Kln, the prologue was rewritten into prose. Nothing is known about the Danish manuscript, because there is no note in the description of the manuscript about any of these elements.

Prologue in Middle Dutch manuscripts and printed editions

It is difficult to point at characteristics in the occurrence of prologues and epilogues in the Middle Dutch manuscripts. It must be noted that both C and Sh. are miscellanies, and only preserve part of the text of the *Sidrac*. The text is incomplete (albeit in a different way: C has ‘random’ questions, Sh. has the first part, until O76), and therefore it is unsurprising that they

miss the rhymed prologue, rhymed epilogue and the table of contents. Sadly, many of the other texts are fragments, so there are only five versions of the *Sidrac* about which will be discussed. Of these five manuscripts, three have the rhymed prologue (H,K,O). Two of those have the rhymed epilogue as well (H,K), and another manuscript has an epilogue without a prologue (B). It is interesting to see that the two youngest manuscripts (L,B) both miss the prologue, just as the printed editions. There could be a couple of reasons for why the prologue is missing in younger texts. Firstly, it is possible that it lost its function. The prologue is written by the translator, and very personal; he gives information, like his age, his motivation and personal prayers. None of it is essential for the content or understanding of the *Sidrac*, and could easily be left out. Maybe people felt more free to change the text as time passed. Another reason could be that the prologue starts with a critique on people who are reading certain kind of texts, especially romances.²³¹ This could be very disadvantageous for printers, because they wanted to earn money selling texts. If they also sold romances, it would be negative publicity for these texts. The owners of the manuscripts without the prologue could have liked romances as well, and therefore simply not wanted to read the diatribe.

Prologue in German manuscripts

The three Ripuarian manuscripts (Kln, q1410, Q536) all have the prologue but miss the epilogue, just like the Moselle Franconian (IV 1164). It would be an interesting characteristic if they were translated from O (since the same occurs in this manuscript), but this would only be possible if there was another source besides O. O could not have been the only source, because that manuscript misses five questions that are (partly) in the German texts.

It is interesting that J is the only German translation with the rhymed epilogue. Because the *Sidrac* in Sh. (the other Low German manuscript) is incomplete, it could be possible that the epilogue was planned for this manuscript as well; we will never know.

Table of contents

Most of the manuscripts have a table of contents, mostly in the form of a list of the questions. Q536 is the exception. In this manuscript, the *Sydrac* is not the main text, but merely a chapter. The *Sydrac* does not have a table of contents on his own, but the work is mentioned as the last chapter of the table of contents.

Conclusion

None of the printed editions preserve the prologue, but it seems that the existence of the epilogue goes hand in hand with the existence of a table of contents and vice versa. The existence of an epilogue and table of contents seems to have changed with printed edition V: before, they were there and from V onwards, they were skipped.

3.1.2 Manuscripts

The manuscripts vary in size a lot. The height is between 210 and 380 mm, and the width between 140-275 mm. Three manuscripts are notably bigger than the rest: m (380 x 275 mm), g (300 x 230 mm) and Kln (280 x 210). Two are fragments, and, much more interesting, they

²³¹ *Dicke hebbic die gene bescouden, / Die hem ane die boeke houden, / Daer sy clene profijt inne leren, / Alsoe sijn geesten vanden heren, / Van Pertelpeuse, van Amedase, / Van Troyen ende van Fierenbrase / Ende menich boec datmen mint / Daer men luttel orboers in vint; / Nochtan half logene es ende mere / Ende anders en hebben engene lere, / Dan vechten ende vrouwen te minnen / Ende lant ende stede ende borge te winnen, / Daer anders niet inne en leit / Dan der werelt ydelheit.* Prologue, l. 1-14. (Van Tol 1936, p. 1).

are the oldest and second oldest manuscripts we have. Kln is the oldest Middle German manuscript and just a bit younger than the fragments.

The size of the rest of the manuscripts varies largely between 205-294 x 140 x 210 mm, see appendix 3 for specific data. These sizes are fairly ordinary. There are no particularly small ones or ones with a deviant shape.

None of the manuscripts have illustrations. Only the large fragment m has an illuminated majuscule, the others either do not have majuscules or they are simply rubricated. The manuscripts are mostly written in one or two columns. Only the two biggest ones have three columns.

The margins (see appendix 3) are not all known. Those that are, vary between 30-95 mm for the upper and lower margin combined and 30-80 mm for the inner and outer margin combined. Principally, the larger the manuscript, the larger the margins, but Kln. has larger margins than the biggest manuscript m. The oldest Middle Dutch manuscripts were written on parchment, the newer ones on paper. All Middle German manuscripts were written on paper (except J, which is a rare combination of parchment and paper), just as the Danish one.

The conclusion is that none of the manuscripts was overly expensive. Only the first one, m, was not as cheap as the rest with at least one (but probably more) illuminated majuscule and a large size. The rest was more modest, without illuminations or other elements that would make them more expensive. This could indicate that they were all made for private use, as Obbema suggests: “[ook] handschriften die niet behoren tot de literatuur [...] zijn, te oordelen naar de inhoud, vooral bestemd voor partikulier gebruik. Ze zijn minder kostbaar en tegelijkertijd persoonlijker van karakter en eerder bestemd voor een lezer dan een voorlezer”²³².

Order of the questions (m and K; Q536)

Fragment m is a very early manuscript in the tradition, in großfolioformat; a size which only appears further in fragment g (see chapter 2.1.2). The questions in m have a different order from the other *Sidrac* texts; however, this order is (contrary to Beckers’ opinion) the same as in K (see chapter 2.1.8). Luckily, K is, contrary to m, not a fragment but a manuscript. Because we still have the list of chapters from K, it becomes clear that the order of the questions in K (and, subsequently m), is not random, but the questions are sorted into chapters with titles. These titles are catalogued in 2.1.8. When studied closely, it becomes clear that the text of the *Sidrac* was, first of all, regarded as religious. The first seven chapters are all about something religious: God, angels, Adam, Noah, heaven, paradise and purgatory. The eighth chapter is about earth. Then, the chapters are religious again, but this time in a more negative sense: bad angels, hell and death. It seems as if the order is working downwards: it starts with God (in the heaven above), then the earth and finally hell down below.

The other chapters afterwards are about belief, children, nobleness, the divine learnings, how one has to live (this part is by far the longest with virtually a hundred questions. The other parts consist of [much] less questions), law and order, arts, astronomy, and nature (again long with about seventy questions).

Considering that the first seven chapters consist of 114 questions, and *Hoe men leven zal* alone of about a hundred, the text can be connected with two genres: the religious (which was also mentioned in chapter 1) and the moral-didactical one. This last one is interesting, because morality is not one of the larger themes if you read the book; mostly this is combined with devotional and religious aspects.

²³² Obbema 1996, p. 89.

Manuscript Q536 is interesting as well regarding the order of the questions. As mentioned before (see chapter 3.2 for more information), *Sidrac* is not the main text of this manuscript, but merely a chapter. The main text is *Secretum secretorum aller naturliger dingen*, with twelve chapters; *Sydrach phs Aller konsten* is the final one. All the other chapters are about science: stones, bleeding for medical reasons, the four seasons, birth, planets, dreams, water, herbs and spices, pharmaceutical information, and diseases. This could indicate that the information about nature in the *Sidrac* is the most relevant, and it would be interesting to know if this is visible in the text, for example in the order of the questions, as well.

3.1.3 Prints: size and woodcuts

The sizes of the prints are all the same: 2°. This is quite large, and could mean that it was not cheap to print these books. One could argue, that this means that there were also less leaves needed in total. This is probably true, but one large page was probably more expensive than two smaller ones.

Much information will be given about the woodcuts from the first three printed editions (I, II, III), because they were printed before 1500 and Kok 2013 gave a great overview of all the woodcuts in this period. Sadly, there is no such overview about the latter period.

All of the printed editions are illustrated. Sometimes, the letters of the title were printed with woodcuts as well, but I will not include that aspect in my overview. The woodcuts on the title pages will be discussed per printed edition. By comparing the number of woodcuts in the printed editions to one another, one can notice a decline. Printed edition I has woodcuts on seven folios, while the latter printed editions only have one or two woodcuts. See appendix 5 for an overview.

Woodcuts in I and II (Hugo Janszoon van Woerden)

Hugo Janszoon van Woerden “made prolific use of woodcuts as a medium for book illustration. The liberal use of illustrations is in fact one of the most noticeable features of his work”.²³³ He probably cut prints for a convent.²³⁴ “His activity as a print cutter naturally raises the question whether he may also have cut woodcuts for his own use in Leiden”.²³⁵

With one possible exception (291), none of the woodcuts of the printed edition I (and II, by default) were made for the *Sydrack*. They all originally derived from Bellaert’s stock²³⁶, sometimes with a detour through Geraert Leeu (160.1, 158.1-4). This is no surprise, because “[a]fter Bellaert closed his press in 1486, his material went to Gerard Leeu in Antwerp. When Leeu’s own material was dispersed in 1493 following his death in December 1492, Hugo Janszoon van Woerden purchased at least one of Bellaert’s typefaces [...] with which he used to print his first books [ILC 2066 amongst others]. At the same time Janszoon van Woerden bought a number of Bellaert’s woodblocks deriving from various series”.²³⁷ Woodcut 164.5 could have belonged to Van Os after Bellaert. Kok refers to this woodcut and four others: “[t]he question arises whether these five woodcuts were directly passed on to Hugo Janszoon van Woerden in Leiden when Bellaert closed his press, or whether the entire series went

²³³ Kok 2013, p. 573.

²³⁴ “He is known to have dealt in books as well, while he probably also cut prints for the Bridgettine convent of Coudewater or Marienwater near ’s-Hertogenbosch”. (Kok 2013, p. 573.)

²³⁵ Kok 2013, p. 573.

²³⁶ Deriving from various series of Bellaert: 160, 163, 157, 164 and his printer’s device: 156 and border 158.

²³⁷ Kok 2013, p. 574.

straightaway to Van Os in Zwolle, from whom Hugo Janszoon van Woerden was able to borrow the above five woodcuts".²³⁸

A further two woodcuts “make their first appearance in this edition and must also have belonged to Bellaert on the grounds of style”.²³⁹ These woodcuts are 166.6 and 171. Woodcut 166.6 was not primarily used as an illustration, but to help the printing process.²⁴⁰ Originally, it was probably cut as an auxiliary piece.²⁴¹ Number 171 depicts a monk holding a spade. “The woodcut does not have a border line and must have been cut out of a larger woodblock, while the gesture of the raised hand also suggests the monk was originally paired with another figure, perhaps that of Death?”.²⁴²

Woodcut 291 was probably not made for the printed edition either, because it does not fit perfectly.²⁴³ It could have been from Bellaert, albeit he “never used it himself in Haarlem while it also lacks the characteristic ‘Bellaert style’”.²⁴⁴ It is unlikely that it belonged to Hugo Janszoon van Woerden, because it does not fit his style either. It could have been from the printer of the *Kerstenspiegel* or from Gheraert Leeu.

Woodcuts in III (Jacob van Breda)

This edition of the *Sidrac* contains four woodcuts: 85.2, 85.3, 85.111 and 170.8. All the images are religious, and all of them were used before.

170.8 comes, just like most of the woodcuts from Hugo Janszoon van Woerden, from Bellaert: “The nineteen woodcuts of series 170 are highly characteristic of the style of Bellaert’s woodcutter and were undoubtedly part of Bellaert’s stock. It is very likely that they passed to Leeu along with other cuts of Bellaert after the latter’s press closed in 1486. [...] From Leeu the woodcuts next went to Jacobus de Breda in Deventer, who was the first to print sixteen woodcuts of the series [...]. Without doubt these woodcuts derive from Leeu”.²⁴⁵

The three woodcuts of series 85 were first used by Leeu as well. Afterwards, Claes Leeu and Peter van Os use 85.2 and 85.3. Then they appear in this printed edition, and subsequently, Peter van Os used all of them again. This makes it probable that Jacob van Breda borrowed or rented at least the woodcuts 85.2 and 85.3, and perhaps 85.111 as well.

Woodcuts in IV-X

Printed edition IV is printed by Govaert Bac. It is the first that was made with only an illustration on the title page. “Bac was the fifth largest user of woodcuts in the Low Countries, and was surpassed only by Leeu, Veldener, Bellaert and Eckert. In all, some 240 woodcuts are known to have been printed by Bac, and virtually all his editions contain one or more woodcuts”.²⁴⁶ This is one of the editions he made with only one woodcut.

Printed edition V, made by Jan Seversoen, has three woodcuts. One on the title page, similar to IV and two others. Both IV and V are undated, so it could be that V was made before IV, and just followed the general decrease in woodcuts.

²³⁸ Kok 2013, p. 383.

²³⁹ Kok 2013, p. 389.

²⁴⁰ “166.6 [...] was not actually used as an illustration in ILC 2066. This edition was printed in double columns, though the text on fol. a4r^o was printed in a single column and woodcut 166.6 was purely used to support the platen. Traces are visible to the right of this single column of a vertical bar which was used as a bearer. Apparently the bar was supported halfway by means of a woodblock used as a sort of wedge. When the type was inked, parts of the vertical bar and the left part of the bearer were inadvertently inked as well”. (Kok 2013, p. 389.)

²⁴¹ Kok 2013, p. 389.

²⁴² Kok 2013, p. 394.

²⁴³ Kok 2013, p. 581.

²⁴⁴ Kok 2013, p. 581.

²⁴⁵ Kok 2013, p. 393.

²⁴⁶ Kok 2013, p. 515.

Printed editions VI, VII, VIII and X each have only one woodcut: on the title page. Woodcut IX has a similar title page and one extra woodcut. These title pages are very similar, but, according to Van Tol, not identical: “[v]oor de nauwkeurige beschouwer van de titelprent in VI, VII, VIII, IX en X zijn er verscheidene kleine verschillen waar te nemen; evenzo in die van IV en V”.²⁴⁷

It is remarkable that the editions VI and VIII just have one woodcut. Both are made by Willem Vorsterman, and he is known for his use of woodcuts: “[er strebt] zwar danach, seine Texte [...] mit Holzschnitten zu illustrieren, um sie werbewirksam auszustatten. Dieses betreibt er jedoch mit möglichst wenig Aufwand, indem er meistens auf bereits vorhandenes Illustrationsmaterial zurückgreift, sei es, daß er es kauft oder leiht bzw. mietet, und für seine Zwecke im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes zurechtschneidet”.²⁴⁸ Maybe these printed editions are an example to his adage of putting as little effort in his woodcuts as possible.

It is striking to see that the number of woodcuts in IX and X differs, because these editions are very similar. Firstly, as discussed above are the title pages similar but not identical. Furthermore has IX an extra woodcut compared to X: on fol. 56v, there is a Moses-like figure with a compass or astrolabe. It is unclear in which context this woodcut was added, so there is no explanation of this difference I can give.

In conclusion: the number of woodcuts declines over time. Hugo Janszoon van Woerden made the first two printed editions, and the decline is already noticeable in these two. None of the woodcuts used seem to be originally made for the *Sidrac*, they were all ‘recycled’. All the printed editions have a woodcut on the title page. This means that the printers wanted the book to look as nice as possible, while they spent as little effort and money on it as possible. In this perspective, it is interesting that they all printed their editions in an (expensive) large folio format, mostly in contrast to the other codici they printed (see chapter 3.4.2).

3.2 Texts combined with the *Sidrac*

In most of the manuscripts (K, O, Kln, IV 1164, J and NKS 236, not counting the fragments²⁴⁹) and all of the prints, the *Sidrac* is not combined with another text; the text is copied as a single text manuscript. This is a very important feature, and is at odds with what Reynaert claims: “Arteshandschriften bestaan zelden of nooit uit één enkele tekst”.²⁵⁰ There are, of course, exceptions: H, L, C, Sh, Q536, and, to a lesser extent, B. In this paragraph, I will discuss the manuscripts with more than one text. At the end, printed edition II will be discussed.

Manuscript B contains a couple of different texts. These seem to be ‘fillers’, which, by my definition, are texts that are added to the manuscript because some pages were blank. These ‘fillers’ are: scribbles (by a child), a poem about friendship, and a formal letter to a bailiff. Finally, a list of headings from another manuscript is pasted in this one. The text of this manuscript was similar to the *Sidrac*, because it also consists of questions (by Petrus Diaconus), that are answered by an authority (Pope Gregory I).

Manuscript H contains the *Melibeus*. This text is an allegorical poem, written in the middle of the fourteenth century. It is a dialogue between Melibeus and his wife Prudentia; Melibeus

²⁴⁷ Van Tol 1935b, p. 20-21.

²⁴⁸ Schlusemann 1997, p. 52.

²⁴⁹ One cannot be completely sure if the fragments were or were not once a part of a multi-text codex.

²⁵⁰ Reynaert 2004, p. 158.

wants revenge for an attack on his wife and daughter, but his wife convinces him that clemency is the better disposition.

This text is, in several aspects, quite fitting next to the *Sidrac*. Firstly, it is a dialogue, just as the *Sidrac*. Moreover, the *Melibeus* seems to stem from the same milieu: “[a]lleen in het Hamburgse handschrift Cod. germ. 24 vinden we naast *Sidrac* het zedenkundig traktaat *Melibeus*, toegeschreven aan Jan van Boendale of de Antwerpse school”.²⁵¹

Manuscript L holds many texts. The *Sidrac* is the main text: it is the first and by far the longest (114 fol., the complete manuscript has 148 fol.). After this, seven other texts follow. One could call these texts ‘extras’ as well, and perhaps even ‘fillers’. They are only fillers if they were added to already existing pages in aquire. If extra pages were added for these texts, they are ‘extras’. In that case, we can state that the *Sidrac* is still the main text, and assume that the other texts were added because of some significance or relation to the *Sidrac* or the owner of the manuscript.

The first text after the *Sidrac* is a Middle Dutch copy in prose of the German *Lucidarius*. This text is, as stated, relatively short compared to the *Sidrac*. In the German *Lucidarius*, theological and scientific matters are discussed. Thematically, this text fits very well with the *Sidrac* and it is an excellent choice to add this text if there are a couple of pages left. They are also similar in format: both are dialogues.²⁵²

The second text is *Van die nydighe werelt*. This text is copied on one page and a rhymed lamentation about the selfish, greedy nature of people.²⁵³ The next text is a satirical recipe, which diecribes a way to cure a non-existent illness.²⁵⁴ This one is also very short. Both are, because of their brevity, probably fillers.

The fourth text is *Van dat edele lant van Cockaengen*. This is a rhymed text about a perfect land, Cockaigne. It is incomplete. Pleij speculates: “[m]ogelijk had de kopiist de besteding van één blad op het oog voor deze tekst, en beschikte hij in dit geval [...] niet over een voorbeeldtekst die hij kon overschrijven”.²⁵⁵ After this text, a Latin satirical dispute about power and money, *Nummus*, follows. This is written on one page as well, and could therefore perhaps be regarded as a filler.

The sixth text is a bit longer, 9 fol., and called *Die peregrinacie van Jherusalem*. This is a medieval translation of *Peregrationes terrae sanctae* by Willem van Gouda, and can be described as “een reisgids voor de bedevaartganger”.²⁵⁶

The final text, *Een moy sprake van sesterhande verwe (Van VI vaerwen en XII outheyden)*, is a moral didactic ‘spoke’ about the phases in life.

Klunder concludes: “[d]e teksten in dit handschrift hebben één ding gemeen: ze vertellen allemaal over de wereld”.²⁵⁷ This is a very broad conclusion and a statement which can be made about virtually every text. Pleij’s comments are more specific: “H. Pleij karakteriseert het Londense handschrift als overwegend moralistisch-didactisch maar ook als een ‘bont samenstel aan teksten, dat in onze ogen evengoed een ratjetoe zou kunnen heten’. Het ‘voorlopig trefwoord’ dat hij aan de codex, die door één kopiist geschreven zou zijn, wil toekennen is ‘wereldoriëntatie’”.²⁵⁸

In the context of this thesis, it is important to realise that the text of the *Sidrac* is by far the largest part of the codex, and that the other texts can be seen as extras that were added to

²⁵¹ Schenkel 1998, p. 125.

²⁵² Klunder 2004, p. 36-37.

²⁵³ Klunder 2004, p. 37.

²⁵⁴ Klunder 2004, p. 37.

²⁵⁵ Pleij 1997, p. 64.

²⁵⁶ Klunder 2004, p. 37.

²⁵⁷ Klunder 2004, p. 38.

²⁵⁸ Schenkel 1998, p. 125. See as well: Pleij 1997, p. 68.

the *Sidrac*. They first one has a clear thematic relevance (see ‘genre’ in chapter 1): it is a dialogue, religious and a didactical text. This relevance is less clear for the other texts.

The third part of the Comburg manuscript contains, beside the *Sidrac*, eleven or twelve short prose texts and one short rhyme proverb. These texts are on the four final folios; because of their brevity, they could be fillers if they are written on blank ‘leftover’ pages. Otherwise, they are ‘extras’. Schenkel tried to find the parallel texts, but was only partially succesful; she calls them “lichtelijk problematisch”.²⁵⁹ Furthermore, she argues that “[h]et [...] niet verwonderlijk [is] dat paralleloverleveringen van de stichtelijke prozatekstjes voornamelijk gevonden worden in handschriften met een religieus karakter. Het is misschien wél opmerkelijk dat ze in het Comburgse handschrift staan”.²⁶⁰ Besides that, it is remarkable as well that they follow the *Sidrac*. Until now, all relevant texts combined with the *Sidrac* were (religious) didactical texts, more didactical than religious (*Mellibeus*, *Lucidarius*). These, however, are not didactical texts at all, but purely religious.

The Middle German Manuscript Sh. is a multi-text codex. Besides the *Sidrac* (62 fol.), the first text, it contains a couple of other texts. One very long one, the *Hamburgian chronicle* (161 fol.) and a shorter one, *Eine Chronica disser wendisschen Stede unde Lande Gescheffte belangende (810-1534)* (31 fol.). The last pages are filled with a flyleaf and a short discourse (3 fol.) afterwards.

The *Hamburgian chronicle*, or: *Hamburgische Chronik* by Adam Tratziger is, as the title says, a chronicle about Hamburg. I do not see a direct connection to the *Sidrac*, but the localisation of this manuscript is Hamburg, so it could be of personal interest to the commissioner.

Eine Chronica disser wendisschen Stede unde Lande Gescheffte belangende (810-1534) is a chronicle as well. The exact content is unknown to me, but the ‘Wendische Städtebund’ started in 1259 and was between the cities of Lübeck, Kiel, Wismar, Rostock and Stralsund, to secure the trade routes. Its roots were in the alliance between Hamburg and Lübeck in 1230. Again, this text provides a connection to Hamburg.

The final text is a discourse about the text on the flyleaf. This flyleaf had pictures of a prodigium (a miracle) in the form of a strange herring that was caught on the 28. November 1587 near Marstrand. It includes a High German poem of 111 lines. Marstrand is in Sweden.

The three texts added to the *Sidrac* are all texts about history: two chronicles and one about an event in 1587. Perhaps, the commissioner thought about *Sidrac* as a historical work as well.

The Middle German manuscript Q536 is different from the other manuscripts and printed editions that preserve the *Sidrac*. The main text of this manuscript is a Middle German translation of the *Secretum secretorum*. The *Sidrac* is integrated in this text as the final chapter.

The *Secretum secretorum* “purports to be an extended letter of advice sent by [Aristoteles] to his former pupil Alexander the Great while the latter was away campaigning in Persia”.²⁶¹ It was “one of the most popular books of [the Middle Ages]”.²⁶² It is an didactical text and has therefore a very clear connection to the *Sidrac*. What is most striking, is the order of the chapters of the texts. The chapters of the *Secretum secretorum* are very clearly structured (see chapter 2.2.5). As I mentioned before (see 3.1.2), the questions of the

²⁵⁹ Schenkel 1998, p. 125.

²⁶⁰ Schenkel 1998, p. 125.

²⁶¹ Williams 2003, p. 1.

²⁶² Williams 2003, p. 1.

Sidrac are not clearly structured, and there is no indication that the text is re-ordered for this manuscript.

The only Danish manuscript NKS 236 has beside the *Sidrac* a short fragment of the *Priorens disputats med Guidos Sjæl*.²⁶³ This is the only extant Danish translation of a Latin text about the French Guido de Corvo. He is already dead at the beginning of the text, and his Soul is following his widow, and is later speaking to the Prior Johannes Goby. In this conversation, the Soul tells that he was in purgatory for eight days where it acquired the theological doctrine.²⁶⁴

The only printed edition that is worth mentioning in the context of other text that are combined with the *Sidrac*, is printed edition II (1496). This is a single text codex as well, but one of the later owners, Peeter Oris (see chapter 3.3.2), combined it with *Historia Destructionis Troiae* and *Der Zielentroost*.²⁶⁵ This miscellany was “echter in latere eeuwen weer uit elkaar genomen”.²⁶⁶

This *Historia Destructionis Troiae* (early thirteenth century) is a Middle Dutch translation of a Latin prose narrative written by Guido delle Colonne. The main source was the *Roman de Troie* by Benoît de Sainte-Maure. It was printed in Gouda by Gherard Leeu in 1479. *Der Zielentroost* is a catechetical text about the ten commandments. It was printed in Haarlem by Jacob Bellaert in 1484.

There are two similarities between those texts. Firstly, all three are printed editions, and secondly, they are printed relatively close together in time as well as place. Considering that Peeter Oris lived around 1600, these could be the reasons he bound them together.

Conclusion

There are only five manuscripts that are multi-text codices: H, L, C, Sh., Q536, and to a lesser extent B. H is bound together with the *Melibeus*, Sh. with some chronicles about Hamburg and the main text of Q536 is the *Secretum Secretorum* of which *Sidrac* is a part. The other texts in L, C, and B can be counted as ‘extras’ or even ‘fillers’. None of the prints have any extra texts. As Schenkel states: “Als we de overlevering van de *Sidrac*-teksten beschouwen, kunnen we concluderen dat deze tekst zich in handschriftelijk verband kennelijk lastig laat combineren met andere teksten. Daar kan tegenin gebracht worden dat de *Sidrac*-excerpten doorgaans lang genoeg zijn om als zelfstandig handschrift te functioneren; het is derhalve niet noodzakelijk om een *Sidrac*-excerpt samen te voegen met andere teksten of ‘materiële eenheden’”.²⁶⁷

If a manuscript preserves any text besides the *Sidrac*, the nature of it differs. In B, these texts are purely fillers. The *Melibeus* in H is from the same milieu as the *Sidrac* and a dialogue as well. The texts in L are worldly, and partly of the didactical genre. The texts in C are religious. The texts in Sh. are either personal or the commissioner thought of the *Sidrac* as a historical text, and the *Secretum secretorum* of Q536 is of course an didactical text as well.

It seems that the buyers thought that the *Sidrac* was a religious didactical text in dialogue form from the milieu of Antwerp, if they chose the accompanying texts because of their thematic relevance to the *Sidrac*. But more often, they seemed of the opinion that the *Sidrac* could function on his own.

²⁶³ See Knudsen 1919.

²⁶⁴ “Det vil her føre for vidt at referere alt dette; kun skal det tilføjes, at Læseren unægtelig bliver forbløffet over al den teologiske Lærdom, som Sjælen har tilegnet sig under de 8 Dages Ophold i Skærsilden, for der forlyder intet om, at Guido i levende Live har syslet med Teologi.” Knudsen 1919, p. 53.

²⁶⁵ See Biemans 1985, p. 36-37.

²⁶⁶ Biemans 1985, p. 37.

²⁶⁷ Schenkel 1998, p. 125.

3.3 Printed editions

As described in chapter two, there are ten known printed editions of the *Sidrac*, all in Middle Dutch. It is important to bear in mind that there could have been more printed editions by other printers and from other cities, which may influence the conclusions. I will not put emphasis on this in this chapter, because it can be said after virtually every sentence.

In any case, it is evident that many copies of the printed *Sidrac* disappeared. After the invention of printing around 1450, a lot changed regarding the book production. The most important aspect is the growing importance of commercialism and capitalistic thinking. Printing books was a huge financial risk: “[n]atuurlijk kregen deze commerciële ondernemingen [...] onmiddellijk de rekening gepresenteerd in de vorm van een faillissement, wanneer zij zich onvoldoende bewust toonden van de problemen om geschikte teksten te vinden, de productiekosten en bovenal de afzet van een voorraad van driehonderd à duizend exemplaren van eenzelfde tekst”.²⁶⁸ This means, that the *Sidrac* was probably printed as well, with 300-1000 copies at the same time. With ten extant separate editions, this means that the *Sidrac* was printed between 3000-10.000 times in total. That there were so many copies, is a good indication of the popularity of the text. None of the editions exceeded four extant copies.

Why was the *Sidrac* reprinted this often? One of the reasons must be its relative popularity in the manuscripts. At the beginning of the printing era, the printing of new texts was not common for printers: “[h]et is bekend dat de vroegste drukkers wars waren van experimenten en zich vooral richtten op boeken waar traditioneel een vraag naar bestond; inhoudelijk voegden zij aanvankelijk weinig nieuws toe aan het repertoire”.²⁶⁹ This is not surprising, because “[v]ernieuwing, in de zin van een radicale breuk met het middeleeuwse verleden bij de keuze en de presentatie van teksten, is iets dat men van drukkers uit deze experimentele periode niet mag verwachten. Hun vak bracht ook zonder een dergelijke vernieuwing al genoeg risico’s met zich mee”.²⁷⁰

In other words: the *Sidrac* had to be a secured success, and a sellable text.

The main audience for printed editions are laypeople.²⁷¹ There is no indicator that this is not the audience for the *Sidrac* as well. The text of the *Sidrac* would be very suitable for them, for it is neither too complicated nor too specialised. It is interesting that there were so many reprints, for even if the text was interesting for a large audience, books were still expensive: “[n]u kennen we weliswaar geen prijzen, maar formaat, uitvoering, gebruikte materialen en versiering van deze gedrukte literatuur en fictie zijn relatief kostbaarder dan die van de talrijke op persoonlijke devotie gerichte gebruiksboekjes. En ze mogen goedkoper zijn dan vergelijkbare handschriften – daar ligt de grond voor de aangehaalde kreten over de goedkoopte van het gedrukte boek –, nog steeds moet een gedrukt boek van kloek formaat met houtsneden een veelvoud gekost hebben van wat thans een dergelijk uitgevoerd boek zou kosten. Met andere woorden, ook de kostprijs blijft in deze beginperiode een moeilijk te nemen obstakel wanneer men eenvoudige leken zich zo'n boek wil laten aanschaffen”.²⁷² The *Sidrac* had illustrations as well (see chapter 3.1.3 for more information about them), and was large. All this means that still not everyone could buy books (like now), and the books people were buying, were carefully selected.

²⁶⁸ Pleij 1992, p. 228.

²⁶⁹ Obbema 1996, p. 87.

²⁷⁰ Goudriaan 1993^a, p. 6.

²⁷¹ See f.e. Pleij 1992, p. 230-231.

²⁷² Pleij 1992, p. 244.

3.3.1 Cities

The extant prints of the *Sidrac* were printed in only three cities. The first prints are from the North of the Netherlands: Leiden (Holland) and Deventer (Gelre), the later ones are from Antwerp. This follows a common trend. Some numbers²⁷³ are interesting in this context. “Van de 3814 boeken die in den loop van die veertig jaren [1500-1540] in de Nederlanden verschenen, werden er 2137 te Antwerpen gedrukt, hetzij 56% van de productie. Terwijl in de vijftiende eeuw Noord-Nederland vooruit was op het Zuiden – van de 21 plaatsen waar werd gedrukt, bevonden er zich dertien in het Noorden en de productie overtrof aldaar ook die van de Zuidelijke Nederlanden – zien we in de eerste helft der zestiende eeuw de Vlaamsche steden het grootste aantal boeken voortbrengen, nl. 2545 of 66,7%. De stad Antwerpen, die reeds in de zestiende eeuw de andere plaatsen Aalst, Brugge, Brussel, Leuven overvleugelde, staat in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden triomfantelijk aan de spits; met haar productie van 2137 boeken bereikt zij alhier 84% van het geheel”.²⁷⁴

In conclusion, the north printed first, the south followed later: “Pleij signaleert dat de boekdrukkunst allereerst aansloeg in – wat hij noemt – ‘een paar kleine stadjes in het graafschap Holland’: Delft, Gouda en Haarlem”.²⁷⁵

Before I am going to attempt to explain the switch, I have to explain my terminology. The north is a problematic concept. It can be used as the whole north of the Netherlands, but it turns out that most authors only mention the district ‘Holland’.²⁷⁶ One of the cities where the *Sidrac* was printed is in Holland (Leiden), but the other northern city, Deventer, is not in Holland.²⁷⁷ This means that their conclusions are only valid for Leiden, and not for Deventer. Fortunately, Leiden is far more important for the *Sidrac* than Deventer; it was the first city where this text was printed. Moreover, it was printed there three times as opposed to just once in Deventer.

The most convincing explanation was suggested by Pleij. He is very negative about the North: “[h]et ziet er naar uit dat de wet van de remmende voorsprong een snelle introductie van de drukpers in het Zuiden tegengehouden heeft. En andersom liep het Noorden zo achter, dat vernieuwingen in de vorm van mechanisering van de tekstverspreiding nauwelijks enige tegenstand ontmoetten”.²⁷⁸ He suggests that the clergy was the driving force behind the act of printing. “Duidelijk lijkt [...] dat de geestelijkheid een dominante rol speelt bij zowel het maken als het aanschaffen van deze teksten, in het kader van de door de moderne devoten opgefriste en verder gedemocratiseerde beleringstechnieken en de mede daaruit voortvloeiende lees- en leehonger onder leken”.²⁷⁹ They chose what was printed and for whom it was printed. “De vroege fictie in druk in het Noorden wordt allereerst geregeerd door

²⁷³ Some other numbers are given by Bouwman and Van der Vlist 2008, p. 97-98: “In de Nederlanden neemt het totale productievolume tijdens de eerste twee decennia [1471-1490] flink toe ([van] 299 [naar] 803), stagneert vervolgens in de jaren 1491-1510 (705, 672), en groeit pas in de decennia erna weer door, ongeveer vanaf 1515 (1087, 1033, 1313). Het meest opvallende in deze gegevens is de overheersende positie van Antwerpen, dat vooral vanaf 1520 de drukkersstad bij uitstek is”.

²⁷⁴ Derwijn and Bouchery 1938, p. 11.

²⁷⁵ Goudriaan 1993^b, p. 34.

²⁷⁶ Pleij 1992 seems to focus on Holland. Goudriaan 1993^{a&b} does so explicitly: “Met ‘Holland’ wordt daarbij overigens op het gewest Holland bedoeld, niet op de Noordelijke Nederlanden als geheel. [...] De IJsselsteden, Deventer en Zwolle voorop, als de bakermat van de Moderne Devotie, behoorden daarentegen tot een andere kring: ze waren meer op Gelre en het Rijnland georiënteerd”(Goudriaan 1993^b, p. 36).

²⁷⁷ In the current Netherlands, one would classify Deventer as East Netherlands. However, in the Netherlands of the Middle Ages, the country included Flanders; because of this, Deventer could be classified as Northern.

²⁷⁸ Pleij 1992, p. 233.

²⁷⁹ Pleij 1992, p. 255-256.

het winstgevendende streven naar volkscatechese, in het voetspoor van de moderne devoten. [...] Zij hebben niet alleen hun moraliserende en didactische waarde gemeen, maar ook hun ouderdom. Vrijwel allemaal stammen zij uit een, soms ver, verleden waarin zij hun betekenis en succes bewezen hebben. Hierachter schuilt zeker niet uitsluitend het commerciële oog van de drukker-uitgever. Natuurlijk was het drukken van een oud succes uit de handschriftperiode het veiligst en eenvoudigst”.²⁸⁰ The *Sidrac*, although not fictional, fits perfectly in this description. It is both an ‘old succes’ and religious.

Goudriaan nuances this picture, and is much more positive about the northern Netherlands: “Gouda en de andere Hollandse steden hadden in de jaren tot 1477 een bloeiperiode doorgemaakt, die echter juist in dat jaar ten einde liep als gevolg van de onrust die uitbrak na de dood van Karel de Stoute”.²⁸¹ He admits that the south was still more important economically, but stresses that we should not underestimate the importance of the north: “[p]erifeer ten opzichte van Vlaanderen en Brabant kan men Holland wel noemen; dit geldt in deze periode overigens voor elke regio in Noordwest-Europa. Maar dat het de bewoners van dit gewest aan ondernemingsgeest ontbroken zou hebben of dat ze de werking van de markt niet begrepen, is volstrekt bezijden de waarheid, laat staan dat men van economische achterlijkheid zou mogen spreken. [...] We doen er goed aan ons het Holland van de tweede helft van de vijftiende eeuw niet al te primitief voor te stellen”.²⁸² This means that, among others, there was a growing manuscript industry: “het boekenbedrijf in Holland [floreerde] rondom 1470 [...] als nooit tevoren”.²⁸³ This means that Pleij’s ‘dialectics of progress’ is not as probable as it seemed before.

It is true that religious texts were popular in the Netherlands: “[n]iemand zal echter betwijfelen dat het klimaat in [Holland] gunstig was voor een drukker die met een sterk godsdienstig getint fonds de markt op ging”,²⁸⁴ and even though there were many cloisters in Holland²⁸⁵, this does not mean that they were the only buyers of the books. One cannot underestimate the importance of laypeople. “Het stijgende scholingsniveau van de [Hollandse] bevolking, zelf ten dele het gevolg van de economische bloei in het derde kwart van de vijftiende eeuw, heeft uiteraard op de ontvankelijkheid voor gedrukte boeken een positief effect gehad. Deze boeken vonden, behalve naar kloosters en geestelijke personen, rechtstreeks hun weg naar de leek”.²⁸⁶

All in all, Holland was perhaps as inferior as Pleij claims. It could have been simply a great start for a printer: “[het is niet erg aannemelijk d]at Holland in de bevoorrading met boeken een achterstand zou hebben opgelopen. Het niveau van de boekproductie lag vlak voor de introductie van de boekdrukkunst hoger dan ooit tevoren en schaarste heerste er alleen in relatie tot de nóg meer gestegen vraag. Een drukker kon zich geen betere start wensen”.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁰ Pleij 1992, p. 240.

²⁸¹ Goudriaan 1993^a, p. 3.

²⁸² Goudriaan 1993^b, p. 42.

²⁸³ Goudriaan 1993^b, p. 50. More information: “Sinds kort beschikken we over resultaten van onderzoek naar productiecijfers van geschreven boeken uit de periode direct voorafgaande aan de introductie van de boekdrukkunst. Deze ondersteunen de veronderstelling van een ingezakte productie bepaald niet. Gumbert publiceerde een curve van gedateerde manuscripten die laat zien dat de absolute top – niet alleen voor de vijftiende eeuw, maar voor de gehele middeleeuwen – werd bereikt in de jaren rondom 1470” (Goudriaan 1993^b, p. 48-49).

²⁸⁴ Goudriaan 1993^b, p. 48.

²⁸⁵ “We moeten de kloosterlijke dominantie [in Holland] [...] als gegeven aanvaarden” (Goudriaan 1993^b, p. 49).

²⁸⁶ Goudriaan 1993^b, p. 53-54.

²⁸⁷ Goudriaan 1993^b, p. 53-54.

Deventer

Only one printed edition of the *Sidrac* was produced in Deventer. This is number III (1496), and unsurprisingly it was printed by Jacob van Breda, one of the three main printers of Deventer. This city was the most important book printing city in the North of the Netherlands.²⁸⁸ Some numbers illustrate this perfectly. “In het tijdvak 1500-1540 hebben in Noord- en Zuid-Nederland een 120 drukkers gewerkt, die gezamenlijk zeker ruim 4600 boeken hebben uitgegeven. Op rekening der 56 Antwerpse drukkers staan stellig een 2480 boeken, meer dan de helft dus van de totale productie. (...) Toch zijn er ook in de Noordelijke Nederlanden enige belangrijke centra van boekenproductie geweest. Houdt men uitsluitend rekening met de kwantiteit, dan staat Deventer aan de spits. (...) De verschillende Deventer drukkerijen hebben tussen 1500 en 1540 zeker een 780-800 boeken uitgegeven”²⁸⁹

The importance of Deventer is so remarkable, because only three printers were responsible for the production.²⁹⁰ They were: Richard Pafraet, (he printed from 1512 onwards until he was replaced by his son Albert); Jacob van Breda (see chapter 2.4.3) (printed 1485-?) and his stepson, Theodoor (Dirk) de Borne (printed: ±1510-1519).” In the final decade of the fifteenth century, Van Breda and Pafraet made Deventer the largest and most important printing city of the Netherlands, with a production of about 300 books.²⁹¹

It could be remarkable that Pafraet did not print *Sidrac*. Maybe that is because he worked closely with Van Breda, and Van Breda already printed it.

Leiden

In Leiden, there were eight printers until 1541. They printed mostly Dutch texts.²⁹² Their names, editions and active years are conveniently arranged in the following table.²⁹³

Years (in Leiden)	Editions (in Leiden)	Name
1483-84	6	Heynricus Heynrici
1494	1-3	Cornelis Kers (possibly worked in Gouda as well)
1494-±1506	52-56	Hugo Janszoon van Woerden (later worked in Haarlem, Amsterdam, Delft and The Hague)
1495/1506	2	Govaert van Ghemen (also active in Gouda and Kopenhagen)
1503-1523	116	Jan Severszoon (also worked in Antwerp)
1530-±1532	3	Bartholomeus Jacobszoon
1532-1546	52	Peter Janszoon
1534-1539	14	Peter Claeszoon van Balen

The two largest printers, Jan Severszoon and Hugo Janszoon van Woerden, both printed the *Sydrac*. Hugo Janszoon even reprinted the text.

²⁸⁸ In the current Netherlands, one would classify Deventer as East Netherlands. However, in the Netherlands of the Middle Ages, the country included Flanders; because of this, Deventer could be classified as Northern.

²⁸⁹ Kronenberg 1948, p. 65-66.

²⁹⁰ Van der Lof 1986, p. 11.

²⁹¹ “Ook al herhaalden zij [Jacob van Breda en Richard Pafraet] deze krachttoer [110 titels tussen 1488-90] niet meer, toch brachten zij Deventer met een geschatte productie van 280 à 327 boeken in het laatste decennium der 15de eeuw aan de top der Nederlandse steden, vór voor Antwerpen, Gouda en Delft, die beneden de honderd titels bleven, en zeer ver voor Zwolle dat als eervolle vijfde circa 55 titels haalde. Als eerste drukkerscentrum der Nederlanden behoorde Deventer waarschijnlijk tot de tien eerste van de ruim 200 Europese plaatsen waar gedrukt werd. Venetië was en bleef de drukkersmetropool, gevolgd door Parijs. Maar het verdient vermelding dat er in deze laatste stad vóór 1501 minder oude klassieke auteurs van de pers kwamen dan in Deventer.” (Koch 1977, p. 65-66).

²⁹² Bouwman and Van der Vlist 2008, p. 97.

²⁹³ See Bouwman and Van der Vlist 2008, p. 97-98.

South/Antwerp

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Antwerp, and mainly because of this city the south of the Netherlands as well, was much more popular for printers than the north. Between 1490 and 1500, the north was abandoned by most printers.²⁹⁴ Pleij suggests that the clergy (the main commissioners) in the North finished their printing, and the printers were, simply put, out of a job.²⁹⁵ They needed a new place where they could practice their profession. “Zoals bekend is die omgeving snel gevonden in Antwerpen. Deze locatie is rond 1500 voor welke nieuwe handelsactiviteit dan ook zo evident, dat zich daar binnen korte tijd een groot aantal drukkers annex uitgevers-boekhandelaars vestigt”.²⁹⁶

It is not a surprise that they chose Antwerp. “Tegen het einde van de vijftiende eeuw had de Scheldestad zich ontwikkeld tot het belangrijkste handelscentrum van Noordwest-Europa. Antwerpen beleefde een periode van nooit geziene welvaart”.²⁹⁷ It was the largest market and the largest banker’s city of the world in the first half of the sixteenth century.²⁹⁸ Of course, printers preferred an active city with a connection to the usual trade routes and a proper local demand.²⁹⁹ Antwerp became the “belangrijkste typografisch centrum van de Zuidelijke Nederlanden. Van de 900 Zuid-Nederlandse incunabelen werden er maar liefst 432 in Antwerpen uitgegeven. Van de 25 drukkerijen die in die tijd in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden actief waren, bevonden er zich minstens tien in Antwerpen”.³⁰⁰ In the middle of the sixteenth century, the number of printers in Antwerp was even more substantial.³⁰¹

When the printers moved to Antwerp, the genre of the texts they printed, changed as well: “[m]et de oude teksten is het niet afgelopen, maar men heeft nu geleerd om ze te richten op een nieuw publiek, te weten de burger. Zijn behoeften aan een nieuw gemotiveerde ontspanning te zamen met zijn meer algemene ambities, verwachtingen en frustraties vormen nu de richtsnoer voor de productie van literatuur en fictie in druk die zich daarbij kenmerkt door adequate adaptaties. Geestelijken spelen hierbij zo te zien geen rol meer”.³⁰²

²⁹⁴ “Deze [overgang van Antwerpen naar Holland] voltrekt zich in feite tussen 1490 en 1500 met de, soms letterlijke, verhuizing naar Antwerpen van de betrokken drukkers” (Pleij 1992, p. 251).

²⁹⁵ “Maar voor 1500 kan zo de situatie ontstaan – althans in Holland –, dat men naar algemeen gevoel ‘klaar’ is met drukken” (Pleij 1999, p. 245).

“Aan deze door de typografie gestuurde explosie van literaire activiteit in het Noorden komt een spoedig eind. De markt is snel verzadigd met al die oude, leerzame teksten in druk, de geestelijken hebben hun boekenkast voorlopig vol. En uit deze situatie laat zich goed verklaren, dat de drukkers die het risicovolle bedrijf in deze beginfase overleefd hebben zowel op zoek gaan naar andere teksten als naar nieuwe afzetgebieden” (Pleij 1992, p. 255-256).

²⁹⁶ Pleij 1992, p. 245.

²⁹⁷ De Nave 2009, p. 41.

²⁹⁸ “Te Antwerpen, de groote havenstad der Nederlanden, die in den loop der XV^e eeuw haar verbazingwekkende opgang op economisch gebied begon, om, in de eerste helft der XVI^e eeuw, te worden ‘te gelijk én de grootste markt én de grootste bankiersstad ter wereld...’, toen schepen en kapitalen er heen stroomden, toen men er alle talen hoorde, toen zij ten slotte, zoowel om haar rijkdom als om haar schoonheid, een van de ‘bloemen der aarde’ mocht genoemd worden” (Derwijn and Bouchery 1938, p. 7-9).

²⁹⁹ “[B]oekdrukken [werd] een bedrijvigheid die vanuit en via bestaande centra aansluiting zocht op de gebruikelijke handelswegen. Daarbij ging de voorkeur uit naar plaatsen waar ook lokaal een behoorlijke vraag mocht worden verwacht” (Obbema 1996, p. 33-34).

³⁰⁰ De Nave 2009, p. 41.

³⁰¹ “Men krijgt eveneens een beeld van de belangrijkheid van Antwerpen’s toenmalige typographie en boekhandel, als men bedenkt dat deze stad van ten hoogste 110.000 inwoners, rond het midden der zestiende eeuw ruim vijftig drukkerijen telde en in den loop van de eerste helft der eeuw wel 97 drukkers binnen haar muren zou hebben gekend” (Derwijn and Bouchery 1938, p. 12).

³⁰² Pleij 1992, p. 256.

A famous³⁰³, maybe even the most important, Antwerp printer was Christoffel Plantijn (Saint Avertin near Tours ca. 1520 - Antwerp 1589)³⁰⁴. Together with Gheraert Leeu (Gouda ca. 1445 – Antwerp 1492), he was the most productive printer in the Netherlands.³⁰⁵ One could find it noteworthy that neither of them did print *Sidrac*. For Plantijn, there is an explanation; if you look at his birth dates, this is not surprising. Around 1555, Plantijn printed his first book.³⁰⁶ The final extant printed edition (IX and X) of the *Sidrac* was made in 1564, the one before that (VIII) in 1540. In 1555, *Sidrac* was past his peak, and probably not the best choice to print any more. Leeu however, lived about a century earlier, and it would not have been strange if he was the first to have printed *Sidrac*, even before Hugo Janszoon van Woerden. However, if he did, none of the copies survived, so we have to assume he did not.

3.3.2 Individual printers

In this section, the individual printers will be discussed. The *Sidrac* will be compared to their printer's list. For the genre of the *Sidrac*, see chapter 1. There, three genres were attributed to the *Sidrac*: dialogue, didactical, and religious

Hugo Janszoon van Woerden printed the *Sidrac* twice (I and II). As stated earlier in 2.4.1, this is an exceptional work in Hugo's printer's list. Mostly, he printed religious³⁰⁷, small³⁰⁸ (in octavo) and in Dutch³⁰⁹. The *Sidrac* was however printed in 2^o. Therefore, and because he produces the first printed edition anonymously, it has been suggested that this edition was commissioned.³¹⁰ It is possible that he got the text from the cloister Roemburg, but that is pure speculation. The reprint of the *Sidrac* was large as well, but that was probably the case because he followed the lay-out of the first time. A reprint shows that printed edition I must have been a succes. According to Bouwman and Van der Vlist, *Sidrac* is, with regard to the genre, an exception as well: “[s]lechts twee van de 35 teksten die Hugo Janszoon tijdens zijn Leidse periode drukte – in 52, mogelijk zelfs 56 edities – hebben een niet-geestelijk karakter: de *Historie van Sydrack*, (didactische literatuur) en Donatus’ *Ars minor* (Latijnse grammatica voor schoolgebruik)”.³¹¹ I am doubtful whether the *Sidrac* is really an exception in this case. It is didactical literature, but it can be seen as religious as well. It is known that Hugo Janszoon van Woerden liked to illustrate his work.³¹² Mostly, he used simple woodcuts in a fifteenth century style.³¹³ The *Sidrac*, with five woodcuts and a fifteenth century print (which fits to the woodcuts), is no exception.

Jacob van Breda (III) is the only printer from Deventer. He is known for his study books (see chapter 2.4.3), but “[i]n zijn fonds nam hij ook enige devote werkjes in de landstaal op, [...] verder drukte hij een tweetal zgn. evaluacie-boekjes”.³¹⁴ The *Sidrac* is not

³⁰³ “Met de naam Plantijn is meteen een der bekende namen uit de volgende periode in de Noordnederlandse typografie genoemd, de periode van opbloei die begint met de komst van veel Zuidnederlandse drukkers naar het Noorden” (Van der Lof 1986, p. 25).

³⁰⁴ De Nave 2009, p. 48.

³⁰⁵ Goudriaan 1993^a, p. 9.

³⁰⁶ De Nave 2009, p. 48.

³⁰⁷ Van der Lof 1986, p. 14.

³⁰⁸ Van der Lof 1986, p. 14.

³⁰⁹ Bouwman and Van der Vlist 2008, p. 99.

³¹⁰ *Verjaring* 1973, p. 489.

³¹¹ Bouwman and Van der Vlist 2008, p. 100.

³¹² *Verjaring* 1973, p. 488.

³¹³ Van der Lof 1986, p. 13.

³¹⁴ Van der Lof 1986, p. 11-12.

the only Middle Dutch work that Jacob van Breda printed. It fits within his printer's list, because Jacob printed religious works as well as didactic books.

Govaert Bac (IV) is the first printer from Antwerp who printed the *Sidrac*. He mostly printed works of a religious nature, but he printed chapbooks and scholarly treatises as well. The *Sidrac* fits quite well in his printer's list, as it has religious aspects. More interesting is the format. Govaert Bac printed by preference quarto, but his *Sidrac* is, just as the other printed *Sidracs*, in folio format. It has been stated that Govaert Bac was a commercial printer, and chose his texts because of this. The whole profession of printer was quite commercial, but if Bac was even more commercial than the rest of the printers, it is possible that he chose to print the *Sidrac* because it was a bestseller.

Jan Seversoen (V) printed first in Leiden and later in Antwerp. He has a huge printer's list. In Leiden, he printed especially small religious books, mostly in Middle Dutch (only 23% was in Latin). Later, he published 'more ambitious' work as well, for example school books, a liturgical text and a political treatise. Afterwards, he printed banned books as well. Seversoen has a very diverse printer's list, so it is difficult to classify the *Sidrac*; it could be classified as a schoolbook, but also as one of the diversities in Seversoen's printer's list.

Willem Vorsterman (VI and VIII) is the second and final printer who printed the *Sidrac* twice (the first was Hugo Janszoon van Woerden, I and II): once in 1516, once in 1540. After 1510, he printed especially religious literature, it is possible that he regarded the *Sidrac* as such. He printed many Middle Dutch works, the *Sidrac* is no exception. Vorsterman is known for printing books that were successful in other languages or with other printers. This was probably his reason for printing the *Sidrac* in the first place, and definitely his reason for reprinting it. The *Sidrac* was a success story!

Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten (VII) published many books (over five hundred) and in many genres, mostly these books were illustrated. The *Sidrac* has only one woodcut and no other illustrations, but it is difficult to decide if the *Sidrac* fits, because Hillen van Hoochstraten has such a varied printer's list.

Jan Roelants (IX) and Claes van den Wouwere (X) were the final printers of the *Sidrac*. They printed the text probably together, both on the sixth of March 1563. Both printers are only marginally researched, and proper information about both the biography and the printer's list is missing. From what I could find, I conclude that Roelants mostly printed in Middle Dutch. He printed various genres, including farces, religious literature and didactical texts. He printed the *Sidrac* relatively at the end of his life. I could not find any biographical information on Claes van den Wouwere, which means I cannot expand on him here.

The *Boec van Sidrac* was printed at least ten times in seventy years. This is not a long time, but it seems that it was a guaranteed best seller and very popular. During the early period of printing, most printers opted for safe choices, the *Sidrac* was clearly one of them. It is possible that, from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, they preferred to print new texts.

It was theorised that the *Sidrac* was firstly printed because it was commissioned. Certain is, that it was printed in a large format, 2°. All the other versions of the *Sidrac* were printed in the same format, even though that is sometimes unusual for the printer. Every printer had at least some other Middle Dutch texts made, for most it was the main language to print in. None of the printers have a printer's list with only one genre; none of them were focused on only one literary niche. This makes it difficult to claim that they printed the *Sidrac* because it fitted into their list. The *Sidrac* could have been regarded as a religious or didactical text. Probably, it was mostly printed because it sold so well.

3.3.3 The connections between the printers

Most of the printers were connected to each other. I have found an (indirect) connection between Hugo Janszoon van Woerden (I and II), Jan Seversoen (V), Willem Vorsterman (VI and VIII) and Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten (VII). The spider in the web seems to be Willem Vorsterman.

The printers Jan Roelants (IX) and Claes van Wouwere (X) were connected as well, because their printed editions are similar, and, more important, the printing date of printed editions IX and X is exactly the same. The printers I could not connect to any of the others are Jacob van Breda (III) and Govaert Bac (IV).

Hugo Janszoon van Woerden and Jan Seversoen are both from Leiden, the latter one is possibly the successor to Hugo.³¹⁵ They are connected to the Antwerp printer Willem Vorsterman: “[o]verigens vormen die Leidsche drukkers [meant are, at least, Jan Seversoen and Huych Jansoen van Woerden, LR] een kluwen, dat in verbinding staat met Vorsterman te Antwerpen. Ik vermoed sterk, dat er te Leiden gedrukt werd met het adres Antwerpen en (of) andersom. – Dr. Burger wees mij er nog op, dat Vorsterman later houtsneden gebruikt, die vroeger (1506) in het bezit zijn geweest van Hugo Janszoon van Woerden”.³¹⁶ It is possible, that both also had a connection to other Antwerp printers.³¹⁷

The connection between Hugo and Willem Vorsterman can be seen in the edition of the *Fascilus Mirre*, where “[h]et [...] aannemelijk [is] dat Hugo Janszoon de gehele oplage van 1519 drukte met twee verschillende colofons, voor rekening van hemzelf en van Willem Vorsterman. Een andere mogelijkheid, nl. dat Vorsterman het materiaal van Hugo Janszoon overgenomen had en in Antwerpen voor hen beiden het werk drukte, is minder waarschijnlijk.” Another example is *Een devoet boexken van die heilige vijf wonden ons liefs heren* by Hugo Janszoon. This text: “verscheen [...] nog slechts één maal en wel bij Willem Vorsterman in Antwerpen. Weer een keer dat Vorsterman in verband met Hugo Janszoon genoemd moet worden”.³¹⁸

Seversoen first worked in Leiden, and later moved to Antwerp.³¹⁹ There is evidence of a collaboration with Willem Vorsterman: a printed edition of the New Testament. It was printed in July 1528 by both printers, as the colophon states: *Ghedruet Thantwerpen in die Camer // strate / inden gulden Eenhoren / Bi mi // Willem Vorsterman en Ian Cornelisz. // alias zeuerijns. // Int iaer. m. cccc. xxviii. // In Iulio. //*³²⁰ This was not the first connection between them: “[r]elaties met Vorsterman had hij [Jan Seversoen] ook reeds vroeger gehad. Houtsneden zijner uitgave der *Historie vanden vier Heemskinderen* van 1508 [...] komen later voor in de *Historie van Margarieten van Lymborch* van 1516 en in *La bataille faicte...devant Pavie* van 1525, twee drukken van Vorsterman”.³²¹

An example of a connection between Willem Vorsterman, Hugo Janszoon and Jan Seversoen is “een uitgave van Heer Berhlem’s *Deuoet meditacie op die passie ons heren*, zonder opgave van jaar verschenen bij Jan Severszoon te Leiden. [Hierin] komt het volgende colophon voor, dat een crux interpretum is (NK. 311, bl. 32b): *Ghecorrigeert wt een boexken dat willem vorsterman [te Antwerpen] gedruet heeft bi enen wisen voirsichtigen notabulen man meester Hugo Ians soen van woerden daer hem grote profijit ende deuocien toe porden Ic*

³¹⁵ *Verjaring* 1973, p. 489.

³¹⁶ Kruitwagen 1923, note 1, p. 204.

³¹⁷ *Verjaring* 1973, p. 489.

³¹⁸ *Verjaring* 1973, p. 496.

³¹⁹ Schlusemann 1997, p. 47.

³²⁰ Kronenberg 1944-46, p. 295.

³²¹ Kronenberg 1944-46, p. 297. See Schlusemann 1997, p. 47-48 as well.

de minste namaels nv verbeteret heb nae mijn crancke vermoghen I[an] Lof god van al. Z[everszoon]".³²²

Willem Vorsterman is also connected to Michiel Hillen van Hoogstraten. Schlusemann mentions that they have "in Antwerpen zusammen Texte erstellt".³²³ Vorsterman was a good networker: he "collaborated with Hillen and other printers and contracted out work to and took on work from colleagues within Antwerp and without".³²⁴

As demonstrated above, four of the eight printers are connected to each other. It is possible that they got material from each other to print the *Sidrac*. To be certain, a closer look at the printed editions is required.

3.3.4 Title, incipit and excipit

This section is about the titles, the incipits and the excipits of the printed editions; see appendix 6 for an overview. Not all printed editions have been properly described, which complicates the extraction of characteristics from this information; it is important to keep in mind that not every title, incipit and excipit is known: printed edition I and III are incompletely described.

Title

In every title, the questions are mentioned. Number V stands out, because an adjective, *veel* (many) was used, the other printers mention the number of questions. This could persuade the public to buy the book: one acquires many answers for one's money.

The oldest prints have 421 questions, first (II, IV, VI) they are indicated by numbers (f.e. cccc. xxi) and later (VII, VIII) they are mentioned with letters (f.e. *vierhondert eenentwintich*). The two youngest ones (IX, X) mention the number as well with letters, but here, one question is missing, the one corresponding to 320 in the other prints³²⁵, so that 420 questions remain.

The titles of II and IV mention their table of contents proudly. As we have seen before, IV is the final printed edition with a table of contents. The titles of I and III are (mostly) unknown, but it would be interesting to see if they mentioned their table of contents as well.

There seems to be another title change. Until edition V, the text states that 'a story is starting *geheten Sydrac. Welcke sydrac was een filosooph*'. From VI onwards, the story is *vanden wijzen Filosooph Sydrac*. In both, it is stressed that Sydrac is wise and a philosopher: an authority. Just like the explicit mentioning of the number of questions, it could persuade customers to buy the book. In the final editions (VI-X), it is told that the questions are *seer vreemt ende ghenoechlijck zijn om te lesen*, so: they are new and fun! This could be another form of 'advertisement'.

Concluding: the title seems to be mostly used as an advertisement, all stressing the substantial number of questions answered by an authority. In the final printed editions, the questions are called *vreemd ende ghenoechlijck*, which takes the emphasis from learning to amusement.

³²² Kruitwagen 1923, p. 204.

³²³ Schlusemann 1997, p. 45.

³²⁴ Pabel 2007, p. 270.

³²⁵ Van Tol 1934, p. 19.

Incipit

The story seems to start with *de voersienicheyt ons heren...* Before printed edition VI, the incipit preserves a few words before these, which are a summary of the title.

Excipit

In printed edition VI, the end is missing. Before this edition (in editions II, IV, and V), the excipit starts with *Hier neemt eynde*; afterwards (in editions VII, VIII, IX, and X) it starts with *Hier eyndet*. It could be, that the ending changed between printed edition V and VI. Because the title changed in two wayw between printed editions V and VI, it could be that some important re-write between V and VI occurred.

Noticeable is that Jan Roelants, the printer of IX, specifically writes where his books can be bought. This seems to be a form of advertising, similar to the title. As I mentioned before, IX and X belong together. The text is very similar, which is especially interesting at the end, for they state that they passed the censor (see chapter 3.3.3). It has to be noted, that the texts are not identical. Often, the spelling is a bit different, or the line ends with a different word. This means that the two printers did not use exactly the same press or even the same settings.

3.4 Provenance/former owners

Few manuscripts and prints mention their former owners, and from even less, we know more than the owner's names. As Biemans states: “[e]en goed overzicht, of beter nog een uitvoerige geschiedenis van het particuliere boekenbezit in de Nederlanden is een al lange tijd gekoesterd desideratum”.³²⁶ In this chapter, only the owners who can shed some light on the secondary reception will be discussed.

3.4.1 Middle German and Manderscheid-Blankenheim

Beckers summarised the provenance of the Ripuarian and Low German manuscripts: “[ü]ber die Auftraggeber und den Besitzerkreis der erhaltenen H[andschriften] wissen wir nicht mehr, als daß die ältere der beiden vollständigen ribuarischen H[andschriften] der berühmten Manderscheid-Blankenheimer Schloßbibl[iothek] angehört hat und daß die jüngere i[m] J[ahr] 1529 von dem Düsseldorfer Kanonikus Wilhelm Kettwich zu eigenem Gebrauch abgeschrieben wurde; die ältere der beiden n[iederdeutschen] H[andschriften] ist dem vom Schreiber stammenden Anhang zum Reimepilog zufolge i[m] J[ahr] 1479 in Kopenhagen gefertigt worden”.³²⁷ Sh. contains a poem by T.H. Rößlin. Furthermore, the first page states: “Joannes Eysij Hamb. Anno 1612”, but no more information about him is available. J once belonged to the unknown Andreß Söffren. The Moselle Franconian Manuscript, Brussels, Ms. IV 1164, was made for count Kuno of Manderscheid-Blankenheim.

Albeit that the latter one is definitely made for Manderscheid-Blankenheim, there is discussion whether Kln belongs to that library as well. In a relatively recent study, Beckers doubts the provenance of this manuscript. In his catalogue, he states: “Besitzhinweise fehlen. Die Hs. wurde von Menne³²⁸ [...] ohne nähere Argumentation (wohl aufgrund der Art des

³²⁶ Biemans 1985, p. 34.

³²⁷ Beckers 1978, p. 1099.

³²⁸ Menne 1939, p. 13.

Einbandes) der Blankenheimer Schloßbibliothek zugewiesen. Obwohl H. Neu und Deighton (1986) dem zustimmen, muß die Zuweisung an Blankenheim beim Fehlen eindeutiger Indizien auch hier vorerst offen bleiben”.³²⁹

There are more indications besides the binding that connect Kln to Manderscheid-Blankenheim. One is explained in a catalogue³³⁰ of the codices of this library; *Sidrac* (Kln) was number 37. Deighton connects this codex to two other Manuscripts: numbers 10³³¹ and 28³³².

Deighton tells us that “Meesters³³³ [...] auf die außergewöhnliche Ligatur für *tt* in 10 [...] aufmerksam [macht] und [er] weist darauf hin, daß die gleiche Ligatur in zwei anderen Kölner Handschriften mit Blankenheimer Provenienz zu finden ist: Hs 28 und Hs. 37”³³⁴; so: *Sidrac*, 10 and 28. All three manuscripts were written in Ripuarian, i.e. in the surroundings of Blankenheim. Deighton reasons that if this *tt*-ligature is so extraordinary as Meesters claims, a common origin in a scriptorium would be very plausible, because it would be a big coincidence if these manuscripts started together, got separated but ended together in Blankenheim. 28 has a loose connection to Blankenheim as well: only through “der Einband und der Schnitt”³³⁵, which makes this assumption of a scriptorium in Cologne a bit weaker.

In his catalogue, Deighton argues about manuscript 10 that it started in the possession of Wirich von Daun, but got to Blankenheim before 1474, perhaps into the possession of Kuno. “Von Wirich von Daun haben die Blankenheimer insgesamt drei Handschriften erworben: Hs. 10, 33 und 9”.³³⁶ Manuscript 10 has two marks of the owners, one of Wirich von Daun and one of perhaps Kuno.³³⁷ This means, that it was first Wirich’s von Daun property, and from, at the latest, 1474 onwards, the property of a count of Manderscheid-Blankenheim, perhaps Kuno von Manderscheid-Blankenheim (1444-1489).³³⁸

In conclusion: Deighton suggests that ms. 10, 28 and 37 had been made in a scriptorium, then had been bought by Wirich von Daun and changed their owner in or before 1474, perhaps into the possession of Kuno.

Deighton’s assumption seems to be based on little evidence. According to Meesters, the manuscript Van Hulthem has the same ligature. This manuscript is from a completely different region, which means it was not as rare as he suggests. Kuno, on the other hand, already possessed one *Sidrac* manuscript (IV 1164), which means that it would fit his interest.

³²⁹ Beckers 1990, p. 74.

³³⁰ Deighton 1986.

³³¹ *Roman van Heinric en Margriete van Limborch*. Brussels, ms. KB 18231, 15th century, Ripuarian.

³³² *Schwabenspiegel*. Cologne W f° 327, 15th century, Ripuarian.

³³³ Meesters 1951, p. LVIII: “Enigszins ongewoon is de vorm van de dubbele t. De tweede t is voorzien van een lus die terugkeert naar het gemeenschappelijk dwarsstreepje. Eenzelfde ligatuur troffen we aan in het vijftiende-eeuwse hs. W. f° 327 (*Menne* S. 79, No. 62) van het Stadsarchief te Keulen, dat afkomstig is van Blankenheim, o.a. op fol. 27^v *hatten* en op fol. 28^r *hatte*, *hette* en *ritter*. Eveneens in het vijftiende-eeuwse hs. W. f° 4 (*Menne* S. 13, No. 10) van hetzelfde archief en ook afkomstig uit Blankenheim o.a. op fol. 28^r *satte* en *Bottus* en op fol. 166^r twee maal *bottus*. Ook het Hulthemse hs. – begin 15^{de} eeuw – vertoont dezelfde ligatuur”.

³³⁴ Deighton 1986, p. 272.

³³⁵ Deighton 1986, p. 272.

³³⁶ Deighton 1986, p. 272.

³³⁷ Deighton 1986, p. 269-270.

³³⁸ Deighton 1986, p. 268.

3.4.2 Peeter Oris

Peeter Oris had once manuscript O and printed edition II in his possession. He is the oldest son of Jan Oris or Orens, from ‘Veursten in de lande van Vogelsanck’.³³⁹ Peeter was born around 1582; when he was about eleven years old, he moved to Antwerp with his family. He married twice. The first time was on the 7th of April 1614 to Sara Fijens, the mother of his first daughter. On the 4th of February 1617 he remarried to Gertrudis Tas, who gave him six children.

In Antwerp, the family had contact with the printers of the Kammenstraat. In 1611, Peeter bought his first codex, a bible manuscript from Gheleijn Janssens. In 1617, Peter was registered as ‘constvercoper op de Borsse’.³⁴⁰ In 1640 it was documented that he was ‘bode op Hulst’.³⁴¹ This could mean that he was a merchant’s messenger or some kind of mailman. The last time he was officially mentioned was in 1647.

He is known as a book collector, but “[h]oe groot zijn verzameling was, weten we niet, maar buitengewoon omvangrijk zal hij niet geweest zijn”.³⁴² His codices are recognisable by the notes he made in them, which he sometimes signed.³⁴³ There are thirteen³⁴⁴ extant codices that belonged to the library of Peeter Oris; eight manuscripts and five prints. It is known that Peeter rebound his texts regularly: of these eight manuscripts four were bound into one miscellany, two others in another, and three prints became a third. For an overview, I include the table of Biemans.³⁴⁵ See appendix 4.

As we can see in the table, Peeter Oris had (at least) two versions of the *Sidrac*: a manuscript (Oxford, see chapter 2.1.9) and a printed edition (II, Huych Jansoen van Woerden, see chapter 2.4.2). In this printed edition, on the woodcut, “is een handgeschreven notitie aangebracht: *het tweede boeck*. Deze op zichzelf onbeduidende aantekening bracht bij mij niettemin een schok van herkenning teweeg, want ze is onmiskenbaar van de hand van Peeter Oris”.³⁴⁶ Biemans mentions that he found the note ‘het derde boek’ in the *Der Zielentroost* and supposes that the first book is the *Historia destructionis Troiae*. This means that Oris perhaps bound the books into miscellanies. See for more information chapter 3.2.³⁴⁷

Biemans states the following about the collection in general: “[z]ijn voorkeur voor bijbels en bijbelse geschiedenissen mag voor die tijd vanzelfsprekend genoemd worden. Voorts blijkt hij belangstelling gehad te hebben voor didactische werken, zoals de *Lekenspiegel* van Jan van Boendale. Daarbij valt tevens het aantal catechetische teksten op: zowel de *Drie Martijns*, de *Sidrac* als de *Zielentroost* vertonen dezelfde vorm, een aaneenschakeling van vragen en antwoorden. Ook Maerlants *Der naturen bloeme* en het Troje-verhaal van Guido delle Colonne [...] passen goed in Oris’ coherente verzameling van gewijde en nuttige of leerzame boeken. Toch moeten we ons goed realiseren dat de boekerij van Peeter Oris veel uitgebreider en gevarieerder van samenstelling kan zijn geweest dan thans uit de reconstructie daarvan naarvoren komt”.³⁴⁸ He liked useful or religious codices,

³³⁹ All the information in this chapter is from Biemans 1983, p. 51-52.

³⁴⁰ See Biemans 1983, p. 52.

³⁴¹ See Biemans 1983, p. 52.

³⁴² Biemans 1985, p. 36.

³⁴³ See: Biemans 1985, p. 36.

³⁴⁴ Perhaps there was a fourteenth: “Er is reden te vermoeden dat Oris eigenaar geweest is van tenminste nóg een boek” (Biemans 1983, p. 49). This could be a manuscript or an old printed edition of Vergil’s *Aeneïs*, that he used to pay a copyist for an extra page in Londen, BL, Add. 15.410 (see Biemans 1983, p. 49).

³⁴⁵ Biemans 1983, p. 49.

³⁴⁶ Biemans 1983, p. 47-48.

³⁴⁷ See Biemans 1983, p. 48.

³⁴⁸ Biemans 1983, p. 53.

and the *Sidrac* fits well into this characteristics. Oris' must have thought the same, because he possessed the *Sidrac* twice. The only other text he in duplicate was the *Drie Martijns*.

What is also striking, is that he 'combined' his two editions of the *Sidrac*. He added a poem to O, from which he claimed that he copied it from his printed edition II, and five questions from the same printed edition as well.³⁴⁹

3.4.3 Other former owners

In this section, I will investigate the provenance of the other manuscripts and printed editions, which were not mentioned in the two sections above. Often, no information is available; this means that there are no derivable characteristics.

The parts of manuscript C were once combined by Erasmus Neustetter. He does not shed any interesting light on the question, so I will ignore him now.

B belonged to several people. Jan van Habbecke (Jan Baecke?) wrote a little poem in it about how he wanted it to not be stolen. Later on, Nicolaes (Claes) Ruelens replaced Jan's name with his own; his exact time and date of birth (05:00-06:00, Thursday 13-11-1543) are noted, as are those of someone else (22:00-23:00, Saturday 26-12-1551). There is a letter which attempts to get back the possessions of Jan Baecke, who is probably the same as Jan van Habbecke, a former owner of this manuscript. Perhaps, he used the parchment to compose his letter before he copied it.

After Peeter Oris, Ariaan Boenes possessed O.

The catalogue of printed edition III mentions Georgius Widdith as a former owner of the copy in Düsseldorf and Roeyendael once had the copy in Brussels.

IX and X were overviewed by a censor, and were approved. M.P. de Lens, the censor, wrote that the two were ordered by the 'K.M.', the Royal Majesty. A copy of IX once belonged to "Paul Petrus Stuer 1691" and probably afterwards to Claes Claeszoen barbier tot Naeldwijck.

Many interesting notes were made in the copy of VII that currently is kept in The Hague. It once belonged to Stijn van Wachtendonck off Yegerums, who wrote his name in it and a rhyme against stealing. Below this, there is a story about a message on Easter in 1554, and afterwards four dates of deaths, between 1533 and 1555, these were probably family of the owner. The printed edition that currently is kept in Ghent comes from senator Vergauwen. He bought it in Paris.

3.5 Conclusion

These are the characteristics of the secondary reception of the Middle Dutch *Sidrac*.

Rhymed prologue, rhymed epilogue and table of contents

The Middle Dutch translator added a rhymed prologue and epilogue. None of the printed editions preserve this prologue, but it seems that the appearance of the epilogue in the editions goes hand in hand with the existence of a table of contents and vice versa. The existence of an epilogue and table of contents seems to have changed with printed edition V. Before edition V they were there, yet in later editions they were omitted.

³⁴⁹ Van Tol 1936, p. XLVII-XLVIII.

Manuscripts

None of the manuscripts was overly expensive. Only the first one, m, was not as cheap as the rest with at least one (but probably more) illuminated majuscule and a large size. The rest was more modest, so without illuminations or other elements that would make them more expensive. This could indicate that they were all made for private use.

The order of the questions is mostly similar. The order in m and K is very different from the other manuscripts. In m and K, the questions are ordered thematically. The manuscripts begin with questions concerning religious themes. Firstly, God is treated. After that earth and subsequently hell come into play: the manuscripts could be said to ‘descend’. After the religious questions, the rest follows. The longest of these other themes is the part on how one should live.

Printed editions

The *Sidrac* was printed in only three cities: first in Leiden (Holland) and Deventer (Gelre); the later ones are from Antwerp.

All printed editions are 2^o. This is a large format, also when they are compared to the printer’s lists. This size is mostly much larger than other codices the printers made. This probably means that the editions were not cheaply printed.

All printed editions are illustrated, but the number of woodcuts declines over time. None of the woodcuts used seem to be originally made for the *Sidrac*. They were all ‘recycled’. All the printed editions have a woodcut on the title page. This might mean that the printers wanted the book to look as nice as possible, while spending as little effort and money as they could.

The title of the printed editions seems to be mostly used as an advertisement: all titles stress the large number of questions answered by an authority. In the final printed editions, the title takes the emphasis from learning to amusement. Because the title changed in two ways between printed editions V and VI, and the excipit may have changed between these printed editions as well, it could be that some important re-write between V and VI occurred.

Most of the times, the *Sidrac* fits the individual printer’s lists. Sometimes because of its genre, and sometimes because it was a secured success. Four of the eight printers are connected to each other. It is possible that they got material to print the *Sidrac* from each other.

Sidrac and other texts

The *Sidrac* is mostly extant in single text codices. The reason might be, that it is difficult to combine the *Sidrac* with other texts. More probable, it was unnecessary because the text is long enough on its own. In some manuscripts, other texts are added to the *Sidrac*. If a manuscript preserves any text besides the *Sidrac*, the nature of those texts differs. The text could be from the same milieu (B), have the same form (B), or have the same genre (L and Q536 [didactical], C [religious], Sh. [historical?])

Provenance

One manuscript (IV 1164) was made for Manderscheid-Blankenheim, and was in the possession of count Kuno. The same could be true for Kln, but there are some doubts about this.

Peeter Oris possessed manuscript O and printed edition II. He bound the last one with *Der Zielentroost* and the *Historia destructionis Troiae* into miscellanies. He liked practical or religious codices, and the *Sidrac* fits those characteristics well. Oris must have thought the

same, because he possessed the *Sidrac* twice. Oris ‘combined’ his two editions of the *Sidrac*. He added a poem to O, from which he claimed that he copied it from his printed edition II, and five questions from the same printed edition as well.

The rest of the former owners are less interesting, because we know next to nothing about them.

Suggestions for further research

The most helpful addition to the research of the secondary reception of the *Sidrac* would be a renewed and up to date description of the manuscripts and printed editions. Some of the manuscripts are described perfectly, like C, but other descriptions miss important information, such as the used letter or the sizes. Furthermore, it would be interesting if some of the found characteristics were compared to the texts. For example, if the suggested re-write between V and VI is visible in the rest of the text of the *Sidrac* as well.

APPENDIX 1 Rhymed prologue/epilogue and table of contents

Ms./Pe.	Prologue	Epilogue	Table of contents
m	?	?	?
g	?	?	?
H	Yes	Yes	Yes
C	No	No	No
d	?	?	Yes
b¹	?	?	?
b²	?	?	?
K	Yes ³⁵⁰	Yes	Yes
O	Yes	No	Yes
L	No	No	Yes
B	No	Yes	(No?)
Kln	Yes, prose	No	Yes
IV 1164	Yes	No	?
q1410	Yes	No	Yes
J	No	Yes (changed)	Yes
Q536	Yes	No	Yes (changed)
Sh.	No?	No	No
Danish	No?	?	?
I	No	Yes	Yes
II	No	Yes	Yes
III	No	Yes	Yes
IV	No	Yes	Yes (partly invisible)
V	No	No	No
VI	No	No	No
VII	No	No	No
VIII	No	No	No
IX	No	No	No
X	No	No	No

³⁵⁰ But misses part I, II and IV (see chapter 1).

APPENDIX 2 Size of the manuscripts, sorted

Middle Dutch

b ¹ , b ² , K	210-223 x 140-150 mm
d	230 x 175 mm
H	250 x 165 mm
C, O, L, B	264-274 x 193-204 mm
g	300 x 230 mm
m	380 x 275 mm

Middle German

Q536, Sh	?4°
Kln, IV 1164	280-294 x 207-210 mm
q1410, J	205-209 x 140-145 mm

Danish

NKS 236	210 x 155 mm
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APPENDIX 3 Size, written space, margins of the manuscripts³⁵¹

	Size	Written space	Margins
m	[380] x [275] mm	[312] x 206 mm	[68] x 61 mm
g	300 x 230 mm	?	?
H	250 x 165 mm	220 x [130] mm	30 x [35] mm
C	264 x 193 mm	224 x 142 mm	40 x 51 mm
d	230 x 175 mm	182 x 130 mm	48 x 45 mm
b ¹	223 x 146 mm	140-150 x 80-95 mm	73-83 x 51-66 mm
b ²	220 x 150 mm	140 x 82 mm	60 x 68 mm
K	210 x 140 mm	? ³⁵²	none?
O	266 x 198 mm	?	?
L	269 x 194 mm	?	?
B	274 x 204 mm	? ³⁵³	little?
Kln.	280 x 210 mm	185 x 130 mm	95 x 80 mm
IV 1164	294 x 207 mm	215-220 x 130-145 mm	74-79 x 62-77 mm
q 1410	209 x 140 mm	165 x 110 mm	44 x 30 mm
J	205 x 145 mm	150-155 x 100 mm	50-55 x 45 mm
Q536	4°	?	?
Sh.	4°	?	?
NKS 236	210 x 155 mm	170 x 120 mm	40 x 35 mm

³⁵¹ [...] means that the number is an estimation.

³⁵² “One column, the lines are completely filled”. See chapter 2.1.8.

³⁵³ “Written in long lines”. See chapter 2.1.11.

APPENDIX 4 The books of Peeter Oris

Source: Biemans 1983, p 49

Signature	Content	Date	# Fol.	
<i>Manuscripts</i>				
1 Den Haag, RMW, 10 C 19	<i>Rijmbijbel</i>	1453	197	\
2 Den Haag, KB, KA XXIII	<i>Lekenspiegel</i>	XV ^{3/4}	159	
3 Den Haag, KB, 73 F 19	<i>Drie Martijns, Dietse doctrinael</i>	XV ^{3/4}	58	Miscellany, 508 fol.
4 Londen, BL, Add. 11.390	<i>Der naturen bloeme</i>	beg.XIV	94	/
5 Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Marshall 28	<i>Sidrac</i>	end XV	115	
6 Londen, BL, Add. 15.410	Utrecht Bible	±1440	298	
7 Utrecht, UB, 1006	1 st MD hist. Bible	±1470	[224]	\ Miscellany,
8 Utrecht, UB, 1006	2 nd MD hist. Bible	±1480	[298]	/ 522 fol.
<i>Prints</i>				
9 -	<i>Drie Martijns</i> , 4 ^o	1477 ⁺	[36]	
10 -	<i>Drie Martijns</i> , 8 ^o	1496	44	
11 Gent, UB, Res. 401(2)	<i>Historia Destructionis Troiae</i>	1479	171	\ Miscellany, 365 fol.
12 Parijs, BM, Inc. 903	<i>Sidrac</i>	1496	68	
13 Parijs, BM, Inc. 373	<i>Der Zielentroost</i>	1484	126	/

APPENDIX 5 Descriptions of the woodcuts

Pr. ed.	Fol.	N°	Description
I (ILC 2066)	1r	160.1	The author of <i>Jason</i> (the book in which this woodcut was used first), Raoul Lefèvre, is presenting his book kneeling to Philip the Good who wears a hat with a feather. In the background: a tree with a shield. The author is walking along a river with Jason addressing him from a boat. It has three separate borders and a caption. 140 x 82 mm. ⁱ
	1v	163.2	“God [...] enthroned; the fall of the rebel angels: four devils falling from heaven to earth. 198 x 139 mm” ⁱⁱ .
	4v	160.1	The same woodcut as 1r, but now it has four borders. ⁱⁱⁱ
	10r		This is the main woodcut of a larger picture on this folio. 164.5 is in the middle. On the right is 171, on the left is 157.25. Printed above and below these three woodcuts are the lower and upper parts of the border 158. They “are slightly narrower than the width of the ‘tryptich’” ^{iv} .
		164.5	This woodcut depicts the “[e]xpulsion of Adam and Eve from paradise, 105 x 80 mm” ^v . The following text was printed in moveable type in the open spaces between the five [...] woodcuts: ‘O adam adam wat // hebdi v selvuen al misdaen // Ic danc mijn heere mijn god’[Oh Adam, Adam, how you have wronged yourself I thank the Lord my God]. the cuts were printed in <i>Sydrac</i> before chapter 11: ‘Die coninc vraecht doe adam was gheworpen vten paradise waer ghinck hi doe’ [The King asks where Adam went to after he had been expelled from paradise]” ^{vi} .
		157.25	Printed to the left of woodcut 164.5. Depicted is “Christ standing in a room. 94 x 30 mm” ^{vii} .
		171	Printed to the left of woodcut 164.5 Depicted is: “[a] monk in a landscape working with a spade. c.69x c.23 mm” ^{viii} . The field has two trees. ^{ix} The right hand of the monk is raised, and “in his left hand he carries a spade. The woodcut does not have a border line and must have been cut out of a larger woodblock, while the gesture of the raised hand also suggests the monk was originally paired with another figure, perhaps that of Death?” ^x .
		158.1-4	“Four-part border: 158.1 Upper borderpiece: Foliage with two peacocks. 20x122 mm. 158.2 Vertical borderpiece (broad): Foliage with birds and a man holding a spear below. 143 x 24 mm. 158.3 Vertical borderpiece (narrow): Foliage with birds. 142 x 17 mm. 158.4 Lower borderpiece: Foliage with two monkeys, one riding a dragon, the other riding a lion, engaged in a swordfight. 26 x 123 mm. Total size of the border: 190 x 124 mm.” ^{xi}
	69r	291	“Mary standing on the crescent, holding the Christ Child. 88 x 58 mm” ^{xii}

	???	156	“[A griffin holding a blank shield]; the shield above the head of the griffin is blank: the coat of arms of Haarlem has disappeared; [flanked by two pillars ending in ornamental interlace at the top]. 142 x 82 mm ^{xxiv} .”
	???	166.6	“Additional woodcut (right part): a landscape with a hill and a tree, a river and a flower (a fragment). c. 70 x ? mm ^{xxvi} .”
II (ILC 2068)			The woodcuts are similar to I ^{xvii} , but some were omitted. The woodcuts that are there are: 158.2-4, 160.1, 163.2, The woodcuts that are omitted are: 156, 157.25, 158.1, 164.5, 166.6, 171.
III (ILC 2067)	1r	85.3	“Creation: the six works of Creation; God forming Eve from Adam’s rib. 187 x 129 mm ^{xxviii} . In the four corners: blowing heads. ^{xix} ”
	1v	85.2	“Sacra Scriptura, represented as a nun, reading to a kneeling man (=’die mensche’ [man]); Chirst appearing above as Salvator Mundi. 186 x 126 mm ^{xx} .”
	4r	170.8	“Christ disputing with the doctors in the temple ^{xxi} .”
	9r	85.111	“Fall: Adam and Eve eating from the Tree of Knowledge; Expulsion of Adam and Eve from paradise. 96 x 130 mm.; ILC 2067: fol. B3r ^{o,xxii} . The Tree of Knowledge has a women’s head. On the background is some kind of watchtower. ^{xxiii} ”
IV	1r		“Een baardig vorst met tabberd en tulband luistert zittend naar een ‘clerc’ die al disputerend (r. wijsvinger tegen l. duim) voor hem knielt. Page met paard in poort erachter. ^{xxiv} ”
V	1r		Similar to IV 1r ^{xxv}
	4r		Monk, writing in his study cell. ^{xxvi}
	10r		“In vier afdelingen. Rechtsboven: de verzoeking in het paradijs Rechtsonder: de verdrijving uit het paradijs Linksboven: de verzoeking van Jezus door de duivel Linksonder: de uitdrijving der kooplui uit de tempel ^{xxvii} .”
VI	1r		“De Heilige Drievuldigheid (in dubbele cirkel). Rondom engelen en mensen in aanbidding. Daaronder: koning (met kroon en scepter) en clerc, aan weerszijden van een paar grote stenen; groot gebouw op de achtergrond ^{xxviii} .”
VII	1r		Similar to VI, 1r. ^{xxix}
VIII	1r		Same as VI, 1r. ^{xxx}
IX	1r		Same as VI and VIII. ^{xxxi}
	56v		“Een Mozes-achtige figuur, die in de linkerhand een geopende passer (een astrolaab?) omhoog heft ^{xxxii} ”
X	1r		Same as VII. ^{xxxiii}

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- ⁱ Van Tol 1935b, p. 11 and Kok 2013, p. 579.
ⁱⁱ Kok 2013, p. 580.
ⁱⁱⁱ Van Tol 1935b, p. 11.
^{iv} Kok 2013, p. 394.
^v Kok 2013, p. 378.
^{vi} Kok 2013, p. 366.
^{vii} Kok 2013, p. 579.
^{viii} Kok 2013, p. 580-581.
^{ix} Kok 2013, p. 394.
^x Kok 2013, p. 394.
^{xi} Kok 2013, p. 580 [also p. 367] .
^{xii} Kok 2013, p. 581.
^{xiii} Kok 2013, p. 359: n6v, but I am not sure which fol. that is.
^{xiv} Kok 2013, p. 359.
^{xv} Kok 2013, p. 389: a4r, but I am not sure which fol. that is.
^{xvi} Kok 2013, p. 580.
^{xvii} Van Tol 1935b, p. 13.
^{xviii} Kok 2013, p.237, 461.
^{xix} Van Tol 1935b, p.13-14.
^{xx} Kok 2013, p. 237, 461.
^{xxi} Kok 2013, p. 393., 459.
^{xxii} Kok 2013, p. 240, 461.
^{xxiii} Van Tol 1935b, p.14.
^{xxiv} Van Tol 1935b, p.15.
^{xxv} Van Tol 1935b, p.15.
^{xxvi} Van Tol 1935b, p.15.
^{xxvii} Van Tol 1935b, p.15.
^{xxviii} Van Tol 1935b, p.16.
^{xxix} Van Tol 1935b, p.16.
^{xxx} Van Tol 1935b, p.18.
^{xxxi} Van Tol 1935b, p.18.
^{xxxii} Van Tol 1935b, p.19.
^{xxxiii} Van Tol 1935b, p.20.

APPENDIX 6 Printed editions: title, incipit, excipit

Between [...]: here is some text about printer (this was printed by x at y on z) or here is the table of contents

Pr. ed.	Title	Incipit	Excipit
I	Hier beghint een schone hystorie ghehyeten Sydrac: Welcke Sydrack was een filosooph ende...	?	?
II	Hier beghint een schone historie ghehieten Sydrac, welcke sydrac was een/philosooph ende was op aertrike durent iaer voer goods gheboorten Ende/heeft veel diversche questien geset in desen tegenwoerdigen boeck te weten dat hem die coninc Boctus vraechde CCCC ende XXI questien die hem sydrac solveerde met veel soonre redenen Ende is wel ende correct ghemaect bi een goede tafel dienende op die capittelen metten getale om lichtelic te vinden dat men begeert te lesen.	Hier beghint een scone historie van/den wisen filosooph Sydrac die op aertrijc was durent iaer voer goods geboorten Ende heeft bescreven CCCC ende XXI questien die seer vreemt ende genoechlic sijn te lesen Die hem die coninc Boctus vraechde. Die voersienicheit ons heren...	Hier neemt eynde dat boec des wisen filosofhen ende astronomiqns sydracx die sijn wijsheit... [Printer]
III	?	?	?
IV	Een zeer scone histo/rie gheheten sydrac/Welcke sydrac was een philozooph ende was op aertrijc. M. iaer voer gods gheboorten Ende he-/uet veel diuersche questien geset in desen boec/Te weten dat hem die coninc Boctus vraechde./CCCC. ende. xxi. questien. die hem sydrac solveerde/met veele soonre reden Ende is wel gecorrigeert/bi een goede tafelde diende op die capittelen met/ten getale om lichtelic te vinden datmen begeert	Hier beghint een scoen boec vanden/wisen filosooph Sydrac...	Hier neemt eynde dat boec des wizen/philosophen ende astronomijn sydracx./die sijn wijsheit liet na hem al de werlt. [Table of contents, Printer]
V	Hier begint een schone/historie geheten Sydrac/mit veel questien.	Hier beghint een schone historie van/den wijsen filosooph Sydrack...	Hier neemt eynde dat boec des wij-/sen filosoophen ende astronomijns sy-/drac die sijn wijsheit ende conste hier/opter aerden ghelaten heeft

VI Hier beghint een/schone hijstorie/vanden wijsen filosooph Sydrac die op aertrijc was duysent iaer voer gods geboert <i>ende</i> heeft bescreuen cccc.xxi. questien die/seer vreemt <i>ende</i> genoeghlic sijn te lesen die de coninc boctus die/philosooph sydrac vraechde	De voersienicheyt <i>ons</i> he/ren des vaders almach-/tich...	-
VII Hier beghint een/schone hijstorie/vanden wijsen Filosooph Sydrac/die op aertrijc was duysent/iaer voer gods geboerte. <i>Ende</i> heeft bescreuen vierhondert eenen-/twintich Questien/die seer vreemt <i>ende</i> genoeghlijck sijn te lesen/die die Coninck Boctus die Filosooph Sydrac vraechde.	Die voersienicheit <i>ons</i> he/ren des vaders...	Hier eyndet dboec des wijsen Phylo/sophen <i>ende</i> astronomijns Sydrack dye/sijn wijsheyt <i>ende</i> conste hier opter aerden/gelaten heeft. [Printer]
VIII Hier beghint een/schone Historie/vanden wijsen Filosooph Sydrac. die op aertrijc was duyzent/iaer voer gods geboerte. <i>Ende</i> heeft bescreuen vier hondert eenen-/twintich Questien. die seer vreemt <i>ende</i> genoeghlijck sijn te lesen./die die Coninck Boctus dye Filosooph Sydrack vraechde.	Die voersienicheyt <i>ons</i> hee-/ren des vaders...	Hier eyndet dboeck des wijsen Phylo-/sophen <i>ende</i> astronomijns Sydrack dye/sijn wijsheyt <i>ende</i> conste hier opter aerden/gelaten heeft. [Printer]
IX Hier beghint een/schoone Historie/van den wijsen Filosooph Sydrack, die op eertrijck was duysent iaer voor/Gods gheboorte <i>Ende</i> heeft beschreven vier hondert <i>ende</i> twintich Que/stien dye seer vreemt <i>ende</i> ghenoechlijck zijn om te lesen, dye den Coninck/Boctus dye Filosooph Sydrack vraechde	Die voersienicheyt <i>ons</i> Heeren des vaders almachtich...	Hier eyndet dat boeck des wysen Phylosophen <i>ende</i> Astronomijns Sydrack, dye zijn wijsheyt <i>ende</i> conste hier opder eerden ghelaten heeft. <i>Ende</i> is ghevisiteert [...] M.P. de Lens. [Printer] <i>Ende</i> men salse te coope vinden op onser liever Vrouwen kerckhof onder den Thoren
X Hier beghint een/schoone Historie/van den wijsen Filosooph Sydrack, die op aertrijck was duysent Jaer voor/Gods gheboorte. <i>Ende</i> heeft beschreven vierhondert <i>ende</i> twintich/Questien dye seer vreemt <i>ende</i> ghenoechlyck sijn om te lesen/die den Coninck Boctus den Filosooph Sydrack vraechde	Die voersienicheyt <i>ons</i> Heeren des vaders almachtich...	Hier eyndet dat boeck des wijsen Phylosophen <i>ende</i> Astronomijns Sydrack/dye zijn wijsheyt <i>ende</i> conste hier opder aerden ghelaten heeft. <i>Ende</i> is ghevisiteert [...] M.P. de Lens. [Printer]

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