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

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

The story of *Fortunatus* recounts the adventures of a young man from Cyprus setting out to find fame and fortune. He literally meets his fortune when he encounters Lady Fortune, who offers him one of the following virtues: wisdom, wealth, strength, health, beauty, or longevity. *Fortunatus* chooses wealth and receives a magical purse that immediately replenishes the moment any money is withdrawn from it. Later, he also acquires a magical hat that transports the bearer wherever he wants to go. After returning to Cyprus, our hero leads a comfortable life, but upon his death, his two sons, Ampedo and Andolosia, handle his legacy recklessly and both die miserably.

The narrative was first published in German and printed in Augsburg in 1509. From there, it spread to many other European linguistic regions. Unlike most titles on the Top Ten list, the early modern editions of *Fortunatus* do not build on an earlier manuscript tradition, and although the story contains several motives that link it to folktales and medieval travel literature, its main theme echoes the social and economic changes in western Europe at the end of the Middle Ages. Scholars nowadays agree that the *Fortunatus* narrative originated in southern Germany, possibly in Augsburg or one of the other trading cities in the region. Two different Augsburg citizens have been suggested as authors: Burkhard Zink, who published a chronicle of the city, and Johann Heybler, who commissioned the oldest known edition. There is, however, no concrete evidence pointing to authorship by either man (Roloff 1996, 214–222; Speth 2017). The fact that the first died around 1475 seems to indicate that he could not have been the author, because the *termini post quem* that have been proposed for *Fortunatus* are almost all posterior to 1479 (Valckx 1975; Mühlherr 1993; Prager 2004; Speth 2017).

The contents of this German “proto-novel” (Speth 2017, 13) comprise elements coming from a wide range of sources from different eras and belonging to various literary genres. While some critics distinguish several layers, for example by considering it a magical and worldly tale that was given a religious or moral colouring, to be later moulded into a romance of adventure, others characterize the composition as a “montage” arranged by a single author (Roloff 1996, 223–227; Speth 2017). The sources and motives that come together in *Fortunatus* result in a

broad interpretative spectrum that has indeed engendered a wide variety of – sometimes diametrically opposed – readings (cf. Roth 2007).

Rather than studying the entire potential of meanings carried by the narrative as it appeared in 1509, the present chapter examines specific appropriations by historical readers, notably translators and publishers. How did they interpret, frame, or reshape the text and its presentation, and for what reasons? After an overview of the spread of the story through Europe between 1509 and 1800, the chapter will zoom in on three moments – one for every century – that will be studied by highlighting different aspects of the production, distribution, and reception of the *Fortunatus* narrative:¹

- the sixteenth-century Polish translation as an early example of the transcultural transmission of the story (a contribution by Krystyna Wierzbicka-Trwoga);
- the seventeenth-century French and Italian translations and the question of the role of publishers' networks in the spread of early modern narratives;
- eighteenth-century editions printed in the British Isles as examples of publishers' strategies to conquer and diversify the book market.

1 The European Dissemination of *Fortunatus*

The oldest known representative of the story is the German *Fortunatus*, published in 1509 in Augsburg by Johann Otmar and financed by the apothecary Johann Heybler, of whom we unfortunately know very little (Müller [J.D.] 1990).² A large woodcut depicting a luxuriously dressed Fortunatus sitting on a throne and holding his magical purse, while his two sons Ampedo and Andolosia play at his feet, serves as a title page to this quarto edition. The woodcut is repeated at the end of the book, which contains 44 other illustrations.³ They constitute a series that was designed especially for this edition, probably in the workshop of Jörg Breu the Elder in Augsburg.

The text has a short preface that reads as a long title summarizing the contents and attracting potential buyers. It might have been added by the publisher, possibly together with the table of contents and the epilogue at the end of the last chapter. The latter presents the story as a negative exemplum, thus confirming –

1 The present chapter was written before the publication of Kiening's study on *Fortunatus* (2022) was brought to my attention. It has therefore not been taken into account.

2 For the bibliographical details of the early modern editions of *Fortunatus* discussed in this chapter, see Jungmayr (1996), Tab. 2, and the appendix attached to this chapter. Abbreviated references identify editions in standard reference works; abbreviations are expanded in the list of references at the end of this volume.

3 One of them is also repeated once, and another one twice, so that there are 49 images in total.

albeit with a touch of irony – the lesson announced in the preface that “reason and wisdom should be desired and chosen above all worldly treasures”:

So aber er ym dotzumal in seiner jugent umb freüd unnd wollust willen / der welt reich-
tumb und güt am maysten liebet und geveile [...] schüff er im selbs une seinen sünen mye
und bitterkait der gallen [...] Dem nach ain ygklicher dem solliche wal gegeben wurde / be-
dencke sich nit lang / volge der vernunft und nit seinem frechen torechten gemu[e]lt /
erkyeß Weißhait für reichtumb. Als auch gethon hat Salomon / dadurch er der reichest
künig der erden wordenn ist. Aber wol is zu besorgen / die jungfraw des gelücks / die sol-
liche wal außgibt / und Fortunato den seckel gegeben hat / sey auß unseren landen verjaget /
und in dieser welt nit mer tzu finden (Roloff 1996, 194–195)⁴

In the following decades, the story went through several re-editions in Augsburg, mostly from the workshop of Heinrich Steiner, who included close copies of the original woodcuts. These re-editions brought slight textual changes: the second edition (1518, Jungmayr 1996, 324), for example, cut the epilogue and probably also the table of contents, which did not reappear afterwards. The third edition by Steiner (1530, Jungmayr 1996, 324) added a proper title above the engraving of *Fortunatus* with his sons: *Von Fortunato und seinem Seckel auch Wünschelhütlin, Gantz kurtzweylig zele- sen* (“On *Fortunatus* and his Purse also Wish Hat, Very entertaining to read”).

In 1540 the Strasbourg publisher Jacob Cammerlander brought a revised edition on the market (Jungmayr 1996, 325). Besides its updated spelling and syntax, the change of the title page illustration in this publication catches the eye: instead of a woodcut of *Fortunatus* and his sons, it shows an illustration depicting the key moment in the story, *Fortunatus*' encounter with Lady Fortune. When at the end of the 1540s, the Frankfurt-based publisher Hermann Gülfferich succeeded Heinrich Steiner as the main publisher of fictional narratives, his workshop embraced Cammerlander's idea for the title page illustration; all eleven editions published in Frankfurt between 1549 and 1600 (Jungmayr 1996, 326–330) show the same image of Lady Fortune handing the magical purse to *Fortunatus* on the title page (see Fig. 1). It was part of a series created by Hans Brosamer for Gülfferich's *Fortunatus*.⁵

4 “... because, at that time in his youth, he preferred wealth and worldly goods, for the sake of pleasure and sensual appetite [...] he brought much bitterness and gall on his own and his sons' heads. [...] So anyone who faces such a choice need not reflect for long: follow reason, ignore forward folly, and select wisdom before wealth. This is what Solomon did, and it made him the richest King on Earth. But there is the real concern that Lady Fortune, who deals such choices and bestowed the Purse on *Fortunatus*, has been hunted from our lands, and is to be found in this world no longer.” (Haldane s.a.). All translations in this chapter are my own (unless otherwise stated).

5 On Brosamer's series of woodblocks in *Fortunatus* and other Top Ten narratives, see Gotzkowsky (2002).



Fig. 1: Fortunatus and Lady Fortune on the title page of the first *Fortunatus* edition printed by Hermann Gölfferich. Frankfurt am Main: 1549, A1r (München, UB, 0014/W 8 P. germ. 42). By courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek München.

More or less close copies of Brosamer's woodcut also appeared on the title of editions printed in other cities, with one early and curious exception: the 1558 edition by Cammerlander's fellow citizen Christian Müller opens with a copy of Steiner's title page illustration. The woodcut of Lady Fortune's encounter with *Fortunatus* as represented by Brosamer has in fact become iconic for our story: copies of it not only appear on the titles of most German editions published until the 1620s but also in multiple editions of 'foreign' translations, together with a large part of the rest of Brosamer's series.

The editions of the "Frankfurter Gruppe" in fact served as a basis for the translations that started to be published in the last decades of the sixteenth century. Besides their characteristic title woodcut, the editions belonging to this group distinguish themselves from the earlier Augsburg editions through their octavo-format and their adaptations of structure and content: certain episodes have been abbreviated and, as in the case of *Pierre et Maguelonne*, there are a few more chapters than before.⁶ Another similarity with the Frankfurt *Magelona* can be found in the adaptations reflecting the Reformation's growing influence: most references to the Virgin Mary and to Catholic practices and sacraments such as indulgences, confession, and the commendation of the dying have disappeared. The editions of the "Frankfurter Gruppe" are finally the first to call "die Junckfrau des Glücks" ("The Virgin of Fortune") by the name "Fortuna". Despite these adaptations, the Frankfurt version is still very close to the Augsburg *Fortunatus* (Valckx 1975; Schmidt 1996; Roloff 1996; Kuiper 2021).

We cannot say with certainty into which language the *Fortunatus* story was first translated. The oldest known extant copy of a 'foreign' adaptation belongs to a Polish edition published around 1570, probably by Stanisław Szarfenberger, a printer based in Kraków whose family was originally from Silesia.⁷ Yet the approbation in the Dutch edition published in 1610 by Hieronymus [I] Verdussen in Antwerp (Jungmayr 1996, 342, see Fig. 2), which closely follows the Frankfurt edition from 1549, indicates that the Dutch *Fortunatus* may be from before 1560, which would make it the earliest known translation. The approbation is signed by a Jan Goeswini (Goossens) "Licentiate in Theology Pastor of St Jacob's Church in Antwerp", who would have been active in Antwerp from 1552 to 1557 (Valckx 1975, 106).⁸ The gap between the presumed date of the approbation and the publication year suggests

⁶ Cf. the chapter on *Pierre et Maguelonne* in this volume.

⁷ See below, section 2.

⁸ Two literary references from the 1560s also suggest that *Fortunatus* was by then well known in Antwerp (Kalff 1889, 399). Furthermore, the title page of the second known edition in Dutch (Amsterdam: Broer Jansz, 1638, see the appendix below) states that it is the eighth reprint.

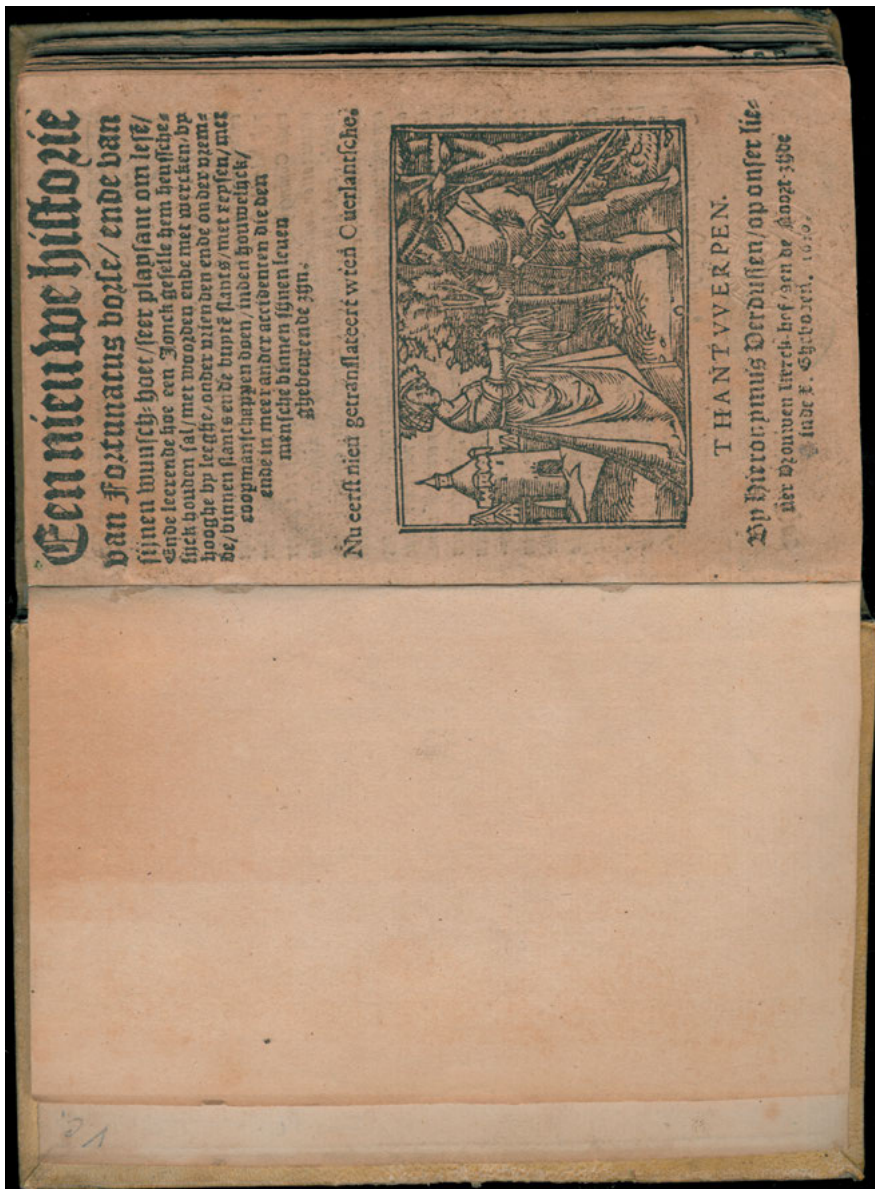


Fig. 2: Title page of the oldest extant edition of the Dutch *Fortunatus*. Antwerpen: Hieronymus Verdussen, 1610, A1r (Antwerpen, MPM, OD A-3620). By courtesy of Museum Plantin-Moretus UNESCO Werelderfgoed, Antwerpen.

that Goossens gave this declaration for an earlier and now lost edition of the Dutch *Fortunatus* and that Verdussen copied it for his edition.⁹

To further complicate the question of the 'foreign' *princeps*, there are also traces of a now lost Czech translation printed as early as 1561, possibly by Jan Günther in Olomouc.¹⁰

In the last quarter of the sixteenth century, *Fortunatus* reached a fourth 'foreign' language region immediately adjacent to the German language area: a Danish *Fortunatus Bog* ("Book on Fortunatus") appeared in 1575 in Copenhagen (Jungmayr 1996, 336), with a copy of the characteristic woodcut from the Frankfurt editions on its title page. The circle then widened further with translations in Low German (1602, Jungmayr 1996, 330), English (ca. 1612?),¹¹ French (1626, Jungmayr 1996, 340),¹² followed by renderings in Swedish (before 1651?),¹³ Hungarian (1651),¹⁴ Italian (1676, Jungmayr 1996, 342), and Yiddish (1699, *idem*). In total, my inventory of early modern editions lists 160 editions in twelve languages, which is no doubt a low estimate due to identification problems and lost editions that did not leave enough traces to include them in the survey. Judging by the number of editions for which no extant copies can be located, many *Fortunatus* editions seem indeed to have succumbed to the ravages of time, notably in central Europe and Scandinavia. The numbers presented in the table below (Tab. 1) should therefore be interpreted with caution.¹⁵ To give but one example, although no Polish

9 Approbations by a "Jan Goossens van Oorschot", pastor of the St Jacob's Church and licentiate in Theology, can also be found in the Dutch *Historia septem sapientum Romae*, e.g. in 1595 (Debaene 1977, 205), and 1719 (copy Leiden, UB, BKNOOG 125). The fact that these are dated to 1580 contradicts Valckx' *terminus ante quem* and thus destabilizes the hypothesis of a Dutch translation as the first edition in another language than German. Yet it does not render it invalid since an approbation by "Goossens van Oorschot" already appears in an Antwerp edition from 1553 (USTC 400875).

10 See the details in Tab. 2 and the appendix.

11 Date proposed by Haldane (2006). See on this translation sections 3 and 4.

12 The 1615 edition cited by Rubini (2003, 26) and others is a bibliographical ghost born from a deficient title page in a copy of the 1655 Lyon edition.

13 See Tab. 2 and the appendix below.

14 An anonymous verse translation had already seen the light in Kolozsvár between 1577 and 1583 but, given that it is a free adaptation in which only the basic theme is reminiscent of the German *Fortunatus* – the poet thoroughly reshaped the plot (Tüskés 2010) –, unlike Jungmayr (1996, 347), I did not include it in my corpus.

15 Especially the undated, unsigned, and practically identical seventeenth- and eighteenth-century German editions pose problems. Jungmayr's bibliography (1996) is not complete, and its estimated dates are uncertain, as are those in VD17 and VD18. The additions and corrections to Jungmayr based on my own research can be found in the appendix. However, a book-in-hand survey of all located copies of German editions remains a desideratum. Now lost editions for

edition from the seventeenth or eighteenth century is known, the fact that Fortunatus' purse was proverbial in Polish at the time and that there also were literary references to his "fable" (Krzyżanowski 1962, 84), strongly suggests that the Polish translation was reprinted after its first appearance around 1570. Furthermore, if the fact that we found the by then already iconic image of Fortunatus and Lady Fortune in three different Polish publications from the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries does not provide as such conclusive proof of the existence of these reprints, at the very least it supports the hypothesis.¹⁶

Tab. 1: Printed editions of *Fortunatus* before 1800 per period and per language.

	1501–1600	1601–1700	1701–1800	
German	29	9	5	43
	Augsburg 11	Basel 1	Cologne 1	
	Leipzig 1	Augsburg 1	s.l. 3	
	Frankfurt am M. 11	s.l. 5	London [fake imprint] 1	
	s.l. 1	Nuremberg 2		
	Magdeburg 1			
	Strasbourg 3			
	Cologne 1			
Dutch		6	19	25
		Antwerp 3	Utrecht 1	
		Amsterdam 3	Amsterdam 7	
			Antwerp 8	
			Ghent 1	
			Brussels 2	
Czech	1	1	3	5
	Olomouc? 1	s.l. 1	s.l. 3	

which I found sufficient evidence proving that they once existed have been included but if the information on an unknown edition given in a particular source was not substantiated by data from other sources, this edition was left out. For that reason, the Swedish editions from 1675 and 1694 mentioned by Graesse (1861) have not been included. Eighteenth-century literary reworkings like those by Jean Castillon have also been excluded.

¹⁶ The woodcut can be found in: Jakub Kazimierz Haur, *Skład albo skarbiec znakomity sekretów oekonomiej ziemianskiej* ("Storehouse or excellent treasury of secrets of landowner economics"). Kraków: Mikołaj Aleksander Schedel, 1693; in *Historia o Lukrecji rzymskiej* ("History of Lukrecja of Rome"). S.l.: s.n., ca. 1700; and in *Historia o szlachetnej a pięknej Meluzynie* ("History of the noble and beautiful Meluzyna"). Kraków: Michał Dyaszewski, 1744. On this last edition, see also the chapter on *Melusine* in this volume. All three editions are digitized in POLONA (<https://polona.pl/>).

Tab. 1 (continued)

	1501–1600	1601–1700	1701–1800	
Polish	1 Kraków			1
Danish	2 Copenhagen 2	4 Copenhagen 3; s.l. 1	7 Copenhagen 5; s.l. 2	13
Low German		1 Hamburg		1
English		7 London 7	19 London 13 Glasgow 3 Worcester 1 s.l. 1 York 1	26
French		16 Rouen 7 Paris 2 Lyon 2 Troyes 2 Troyes/Paris 3	18 Rouen 4 Troyes 9; Lille 1 Bédarrides 1 Lélis [i.e. Caen] 1 Limoges 2	34
Swedish		4 Stockholm 1; s.l. 3		4
Hungarian		2 Levoča 2	2 Levoča 1; Pest 1	4
Italian		3 Naples 1 Bologna 2		3
Yiddish		1 Frankfurt am M. 1		1
	33	54	73	160

Despite the uncertainty of the numbers in the table, we can note some tendencies: firstly, the immediate and lasting success of the German language editions. Secondly, the fact that translations of the German *Fortunatus* were first printed in ‘foreign’ languages spoken in neighbouring regions. Thirdly, despite the successful start of the transmission process, it seems that only the Dutch, the English, and the French traditions were continuous and substantial, but here we encounter another difficulty: if measuring the number of editions published before 1800 is hazardous

as it is, comparing the results evokes questions that cannot easily be answered. The publishing market for these fictional narratives evidently differed according to time and place: what could be called a publishing success was not necessarily the same everywhere. There were no doubt also specific factors determining the publishing fate of the narrative in certain regions. Part of the success of the English *Fortunatus* could thus be attributed to the energetic and creative marketing techniques of the publishers in the British Isles.¹⁷ The absence of editions published in the Iberian Peninsula cannot for its part be explained by the state of printing in this region, as it was, for example, the case for Iceland, where printing only began in the 1530s and was long restricted to religious works (Seelow 1989, 12–14).¹⁸ It is difficult to explain this apparent lack of interest from sixteenth-century Spanish publishers and readers but it is clear that *Fortunatus* diverged from the profile of the then popular chivalric romances denounced by *Don Quixote*. It might simply have been a question of timing and taste. As for editions in Italy, Rubini has studied the Italian *Fortunatus* in relation to the chapbook tradition of a folktale featuring three desperate young men who meet three fairies, first printed under the title of *Historia di tre Giovanni: et di tre fate* (“History of the three Giovannis and the three fairies”) (2003). While this story in *ottava rima*, which was printed at least 24 times between 1500 and 1800, shares indeed some plot elements with *Fortunatus* (wandering protagonists; an encounter with a fairy; gift of a magical purse, which is then stolen but won back by the hero posing as a medical doctor; a magical object that transports the owner wherever he wishes), it is nonetheless sufficiently different for doubting that its popularity would have had a negative impact on the reception of the Italian *Fortunatus*.

2 The Polish Sixteenth-Century Translation of *Fortunatus*

Krystyna Wierzbicka-Trwoga

In 1924 Julian Krzyżanowski described a newly discovered composite, consisting of five independent books bound together in one volume. An inscription on the first page stated that the volume came from the library of the Franciscan monastery in

¹⁷ See section 4.

¹⁸ Instead of printed editions, at least four seventeenth- and eighteenth-century manuscripts containing copies of two different seventeenth-century Icelandic translations of the Danish *Fortunatus* have come down to us (Seelow 1989, 97–102).

Rava-Ruska (today on the border between Poland and Ukraine in the Lviv region); despite such origin it comprised not religious, but narrative texts in Polish (Krzyżanowski 1924, 6).¹⁹ The first three mention the name of the printer, and the place and year of publication – they were printed by Mikołaj Szarfenberger in Kraków: the story about “Emperor Otto” (i.e. “Kaiser Octavianus”, from the German version of *Florent et Lyon*, although without the first 32 leaves, including the title page) in 1569; the story about Pontianus (i.e. *Historia septem sapientum Romae: Hithorya piękna z | przykłady nadobnemi / o Pon|cyanie Cesárzu Rzymym*, “A beautiful history with excellent examples about Pontianus the Roman Emperor”); and the Polish selection from *Gesta Romanorum* (including *Apollonius: Historie Rozmái-te z Rzymyckich y z innych dzie-|iow wybráne*, “Various Histories selected from Roman and other acts”), both in 1566. The narratives about “Emperor Otto” and Pontianus were richly illustrated. The title page and the beginning of the preface are missing from the fourth narrative, but the text itself survived intact: it is the only extant copy of the Polish translation of *Fortunatus*, regrettably without any illustrations. The fifth narrative, *Historia bárzo | piękna y żálosná o Equá-|nušie Krolu Skockim* (“A very beautiful and pitiful history about Equanus, King of Scots”), printed by Stanisław Szarfenberger, Mikołaj’s brother, in Kraków in 1578, was a translation from Italian – *Historia di Aurelio et Isabella* (1521), ascribed to Lelio Manfredi (d. 1528), a version of *Grisel y Mirabella* (ca. 1495) by Juan de Flores (ca. 1455–ca. 1525; Krzyżanowski 1924–1925, 249–250).

Krzyżanowski ascribed the *Fortunatus* edition to Mikołaj Szarfenberger, by interpreting the printer’s mark preserved in the colophon. His attribution has generally been adopted in research, in Krzyżanowski’s edition of *Fortunatus* from 1926, in his study of “Polish romances” from the sixteenth century (Krzyżanowski 1962 [1st ed. 1934]), and in Striedter’s comparative analysis of the Polish and German texts (Striedter 1960). Since the 1573 post-mortem inventory of a Lviv bookseller, Hanusz Brickyer (Łoziński 1890, 453), mentions a book “o Fortunacie” (“about *Fortunatus*”), the *ante quem* date has been set for 1573 (Krzyżanowski 1924, 35; Striedter 1960, 53–54). Drawing on Krzyżanowski’s attribution, Striedter points out that Mikołaj Szarfenberger began his independent printing business in 1565 and suggests this date as a *post quem* (1960, 54). Before 1565 the brothers Mikołaj and Stanisław, who inherited their father’s well-known printing workshop, collaborated under the name of “Haeredes Marci Scharffenberger”.

Striedter’s study of *Fortunatus* is of particular importance not only for Polish but also for German scholarship. He established the aforementioned date of the Polish *Fortunatus* – and thus of the translation, which must have been completed before the publication – and examined the transmission of the German text: he

¹⁹ Today the five prints are kept separately in Kraków, BJ.

compiled a list of 23 sixteenth-century editions of the German *Fortunatus*, starting with the *editio princeps* from 1509 (1960, 47–48; today we know of eight more).²⁰ Moreover, Striedter was able to identify the base exemplar of the Polish translation: it was the Frankfurt edition of 1564, the only one that could have been the source of a characteristic mistake in the Polish translation (1960, 53–54). Using the method of comparative analysis of geographical names, Striedter distinguished three approaches to the translation of place names in the Polish *Fortunatus*, of which the third group – where the translator created his own naming forms because he either misunderstood the typography, further distorted names that were already spoiled in the base text, or created linguistic calques – counts less than twenty names but provides the most important evidence for the basis of the translation. Apart from this evidence, the Polish text contains all those distortions of names that only appear in German editions from 1564 onwards (1960, 57); and the shortening of the travel descriptions in the Polish translation is also the result of using an edition from the “Frankfurter Gruppe” (1960, 33).

Establishing the basis of the translation enabled Striedter to analyse the translation strategies of the Polish interpreter. One of the key features of the Polish text is that it does not omit any episodes from the German original and contains fewer omissions than additions; in most cases, these additions expand events only mentioned in the original to the size of small scenes (1960, 66). Furthermore, the Polish text demonstrates a concern to provide the whole story with a more coherent structure and motivation of events. This can be best seen in the chapter division, which in the German version was dependent on technical or printing considerations rather than composition, and which in the Polish translation does justice for the first time to the structure of the narrative, because the translator treated the distribution of the chapters freely – combining some, dividing others, but always aiming for “ein möglichst konsequentes erzählerisches Abschließen der Einzelepisoden” (“the most consistent narrative conclusion as possible of each episode”; 1960, 71).²¹

A particular group of changes relates to the character of Agrippina, the greedy daughter of the English king. In the German version, she is depicted as a cunning woman; the Polish translator transforms her into a miser, and juxtaposes

²⁰ Striedter also included in his list Feyerabend’s edition in the multiple-text unit *Buch der Liebe* (1587; VD16 B 8959), which is not taken into account as an independent *Fortunatus* edition by Gotzkowsky (1991; 1994) or Jungmayr (1996). Gotzkowsky’s bibliography, corrected by Jungmayr (Gotzkowsky 1991, nos. 19 and 20 represent the same edition, see Jungmayr 1996, 328), describes 30 known editions before 1600; one of them is, however, only hypothetical, based on five wood-blocks extant from an unknown edition of *Fortunatus* (Striedter 1960, 47, no. 15a = Gotzkowsky 1991, no. 25).

²¹ All translations in section 2 by Krystyna Wierzbicka-Trwoga.

her with the profligate Andolosia, son of Fortunatus – they become “exemplarische Verkörperungen zweier gegensätzlicher Umgangsweisen mit Geld, die beide maßlos sind (nur mit umgekehrten Vorzeichen)” (“exemplary personifications of two contrasting ways of dealing with money, both of which are immoderate (only with opposite signs)”; 1960, 74). As a result, the Polish version emphasizes all the more strongly the novel's central theme of wise and foolish money handling. This new conception of the heroine leads to some plot changes, especially towards the end of the Polish translation – Agrippina, after her remorseful conversion, becomes the avenger of Andolosia's death.

Striedter summarizes the Polish translator's achievements as follows: he proceeded skilfully in expanding descriptions and scenes, as well as in motivating particular events, and his text is superior to the original in the construction of the narrative (1960, 76). What is more, Striedter argues that the translator may have been Marcin Siennik (d. ca. 1590), editor of a Polish *Herbarium* and translator of *Melusine*, since an important group of additions in *Fortunatus* includes botanical vocabulary – where the German text offers even the slightest possibility, the translator shows off his knowledge in this field (1960, 81). One of the reasons supporting this hypothesis was the fact that Siennik's *Herbarium* was published by Mikołaj Szarfenberger in 1568, which proved their mutual connection, and the attribution of the Polish edition of *Fortunatus* to this printer.

This last element is, however, one of the few points on which Striedter's valuable dissertation needs to be corrected. According to Katarzyna Krzak-Weiss's research on Polish printers' marks in the early modern period, the mark found in *Fortunatus* belonged to Mikołaj's brother Stanisław Szarfenberger and is evidenced in his other printings (Krzak-Weiss 2006, 135, 203). In their marks – Mikołaj had four, Stanisław even six – both brothers used their coat of arms (a goat emerging from behind three hills with three stars above it), granted to them on their ennoblement in 1554 (Kiliańczyk-Zięba 2015, 104–107), which was the source of Krzyżanowski's mistake. This does not mean that the hypothesis concerning the identity of the translator cannot be maintained: Siennik was collaborating as editor with both brothers (Wawrykiewicz 1983, 290), so he may have published his translation of *Fortunatus* with Stanisław. Paradoxically, this finding even strengthens this hypothesis, since the initials M.S., which sign the preface, could in principle refer to either Marcin Siennik or Mikołaj Szarfenberger (Striedter 1960, 84), but after excluding Mikołaj only Siennik remains.

The Polish preface is interesting in many respects. Although it has not been preserved intact, it is clearly not an adaptation of the German preface. The preface to the German *Fortunatus* contains a summary of the narrative, ending with a praise of wisdom: “Unnd in alweg vernunfft und weißhait für all schätzt diser welt / zu begeren und zu erwölen ist.” (Roloff 1996, 5; “And in every way reason and wis-

dom for all the treasures of this world / is to be desired and chosen.”). In the 1564 Frankfurt edition the summary is a little shortened, while this last sentence is significantly specified: “Darauß jederman vernunfft und Weißheit / welche für alle Schätz diser Welt zu begeren ist / nach gelegenheit eines jeden Standes wol erlernen mag.” (VD16 ZV 30894, A1v; “Whereby every man, according to the circumstances of his own station, may well learn reason and wisdom, which is to be desired for all the treasures of this world.”). The preface to the Polish translation, as it has been preserved, begins with a sentence stating that this story is eagerly read by the Germans, and continues with creating a fictive Italian translation, explaining that since the Germans read this text, and the Italians have their own translation, the Poles should have one too. Such practices of inventing foreign parallels served to enhance the attractiveness of the book (Striedter 1960, 56). However, the most important point of the Polish preface is an elaborate explanation of the benefits to be gained from reading this story:

Abowiem aczby kto rzekł, iż to w rzeczy nigdy nie było, jednak tak roztropnie jest opisana ta Historyja, iż czytając niektórych przewrotnych ludzi wykręty a przechyrne szyderstwa, ktore w nią wmieszane są, gdy ty czytając baczność twą tym pobudzisz, ztrudna cię ma takowy szyderz oszukać, abyś jego fierlejow a wykrętow nie obaczył, a przeciw oszukaniu jego niejakiej przestrogi nie znalazł. Abowiem, jako się rzekło, dobrze temu, który się cudzą przygodą karze.²² (Krzyżanowski 1926, 10)

It was not the moral about Fortunatus’ wrong choice from the gifts of Lady Fortune that was of interest to the Polish translator, but learning how to beware of deceivers. It is a very concrete lesson to be drawn from the narrative. The preface ends with a request for the reader’s favour and a promise that if granted, the writer will be moved to present something even more delightful.

It is possible that it was indeed the translator and not the printer who wrote the preface, and it is quite tempting to think that it was Siennik who offered here to translate other narratives as well, as he did with the *Melusine* story in 1569.

²² “For though some may say that it never happened, yet so prudently is this History described, that when you read about some perverse men’s mischiefs and cunning mockery, which are mingled therein, when your attention is aroused thereby, it is difficult for such a mocker to deceive you, lest you should see his falsities and mischiefs, and find some warning against his deception. For, as has been said, it is good to him who chastises himself by another’s adventure.”

3 Intellectual Networks as a Vector for the Transmission of *Fortunatus*? The French and Italian Translations

The French *Histoire des aventures de Fortunatus* (“History of Fortunatus’ adventures”) that appeared in 1626 sets itself apart from most earlier translations in that it bears little resemblance to the popular editions richly illustrated with low-quality woodcuts copied from the Frankfurt version. Besides some vignettes, its neat *editio princeps*, published by the Rouen bookseller Jacques [I] Cailloué and the printer Jean Roger (Jungmayr 1996, 340), only has an illustration on the title page: a copper engraving representing Fortunatus on horseback with a falcon on his wrist and a dog running beside him. It is a copy of the woodcut Brosamer designed for the fourth chapter of Gülfferich’s Frankfurt edition (1549).



Figs. 3a and 3b: Fortunatus on horseback. On the left: *Fortunatus. Von seinem Seckel, unnd Wuenschhuetlin ...* Frankfurt am Main: Hermann Gülfferich, 1551, A7v (Darmstadt, ULB, 31/308, <http://tudigit.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/show/31-308/0017>). On the right: title vignette of the first French edition (1626), reused on the title page of a later edition: *Histoire des aventures heureuses et malheureuses de Fortunatus ...* Rouen: Jean Boulléy, 1656, A1r (Troyes, BM, B. Bl. 2590, photo Médiathèque Jacques Chirac, Troyes Champagne Métropole). By courtesy of Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, and Médiathèque Jacques Chirac, Troyes Champagne Métropole.

Together with the new preface and the adapted title, which also falsely claims that the text was “Nouvellement traduit d’Espagnol” (“Newly translated from Spanish”), this illustration indicates that the translator and the publishers intended to present the text as a modern narrative in the tradition of the then highly popular Spanish picaresque novel and the French “roman comique”, as represented for example by Mateo Alemán’s *Guzmán de Alfarache* (1599/1604) (French translations in 1600 and

1619/1620), and Charles Sorel's *Histoire comique de Francion* (1623).²³ The moral take in the preface of the German original was consequently replaced with a light-hearted recommendation of the story's useful depiction of the powerful influence "l'esprit & la richesse" ("wit and wealth") can have. Moreover, instead of being the result of Fortunatus' bad choice, the disastrous ending was now used to warn against the perils of disunity. As such, a literary 'novelty' coming from Spain fitted seamlessly in the production of the two Protestant publishers,²⁴ but one might wonder what gave them the idea to pick *Fortunatus* and to present it as a translation from a non-existent Spanish original. Regarding this question, a recent study has hypothesized that an international network of well-connected Huguenot theologians, ministers, printers, and booksellers played a crucial role in *Fortunatus*' appearance in France; in 1625 minister Jean-Maximilien de Langle would have brought a copy of the 1615 English translation printed by Richard Field in London from England to Rouen. He would then have trusted his fellow citizen and co-religionist Jacques Cailloué with producing a translation that would be "both educational and incentive" for the future French inhabitants of the "Protestant Republic of Ireland" (Velay-Vallantin 2021, 265), a plantation project in which the dreams of the persecuted French Huguenots presumably merged with the ambitions of the English Crown. While Cailloué accepted the first part of the mission, he would have been reluctant to carry it out according to the instructions, since the idea of a Protestant Ireland as the promised land for the Huguenots would not have appealed to him (Velay-Vallantin 2021, 271).

Seducing as this theory may be, the reader in search of evidence underpinning the claim of a direct link between the English and the French versions will be disappointed. Velay-Vallantin's remark that it is all the more curious that the 1615 English edition insists on Fortunatus' skills as a falconer because it does not contain Brosamer's image of the hero with his falcon, implies that she has seen a copy of Field's publication. There is however reason to doubt this, since no copy of it seems to have been preserved, and Field's edition has never been described in detail. One might even question whether the 1615 *Fortunatus* actually did exist: according to the registers of the Stationer's Company, Richard Field obtained a licence for "The History of Fortunatus" on 22 June 1615, but this does not necessarily mean that he used it. On 4 April 1626, three weeks before Jean Roger obtained his "privilege" for the French translation – which he later passed on to Cailloué –, Field's widow sold her licence to their former apprentice George Miller.²⁵ It was

²³ On these genres, see Serroy (1981) and Cupers (1984).

²⁴ Cf. Mellot (1998, 67, 99–101).

²⁵ SRO, entries 6534 and 8205.

in fact Miller who signed the first known extant edition in English, which appeared fourteen years after the French translation, in 1640 (Jungmayr 1996, 337)! So, unless Velay-Vallantin has discovered a hitherto unknown copy of the 1615 edition, we must assume that it was the 1640 edition, which claimed on the title page that it was “abstracted” from the Dutch *Fortunatus*, that served as the basis for her analysis.

Even when one would presume that Miller's edition reproduced a hypothetical English version from 1615, the idea that the French translator used this version seems untenable: the French translation from 1626 carefully follows the text of the Dutch 1610 edition (both have 50 chapters),²⁶ and shares with it several features that clearly set them apart from the English version (48 chapters). For example, in chapter 17, both the Dutch and the French editions spell the German city name “Waldrick” as “Maldric” – possibly because of an error by the Antwerp printer – whilst the English text has “Waldrink”. In the next chapter, the first two mention a gift of two guilders to a single priest, whereas the English and the German versions speak of “priests”. In the 1640 edition, the guilders have furthermore become “pieces of gold”. There are other instances of this type of distinguishing similarities and differences,²⁷ and the specific example given in the article to prove that the Rouen edition depends on the English version (Velay-Vallantin 2021, 247) is incorrect: when he introduces *Fortunatus*' father in the first chapter, the French adapter translates the Dutch text literally, except for the word “jong” (“young”), and not the differently formulated English text.

So, instead of receiving an English translation from the hands of their minister, the French publishers had probably picked up a copy of a Dutch edition from before 1626, which was used as a model for a translation that, as such, was rather straightforward and not so much a “complex patchwork” of materials borrowed from both German versions and the Dutch and English translations, as suggested by Velay-Vallantin (2021, 247).²⁸ Despite the close contact between Huguenot Rouen and Protestant England, the network playing a part in the creation of the French

²⁶ There are only a few minor divergences, which suggests that the French translator might have used a Dutch source closely resembling the 1610 edition.

²⁷ E.g. the caption title at the beginning of the text of the French edition, which contains the subtitle of the Dutch translation; the encounter with Lady Fortune, who in the English version scolds *Fortunatus* for his choice; chapter 35, the description of the physical appearance of the female neighbour; and chapter 49, the formulation of the Count of Limosi's question.

²⁸ Also, we cannot follow the author's conclusion that the French edition's title page illustration with *Fortunatus* holding the falcon on his right wrist – instead of his left – functions as a “fake profile” (270); this engraving is the exact reproduction of an image that can be found in the Dutch 1610 edition and that goes back to the earliest editions of the “Frankfurter Gruppe” (see Figs. 3a and 3b).

Fortunatus should therefore rather be identified as the publishers' commercial relations with Antwerp or perhaps Cailloué's relatives in the Dutch Republic.²⁹

Unfortunately, the translator himself and his role in this process are unknown. The translation is generally attributed to Charles de Vion, seigneur d'Alibray (ca. 1600–ca. 1654),³⁰ but his name only appears as the author of an – apparently unrelated – “lettre burlesque” (“burlesque letter”) attached to the heavily revised *Fortunatus* edition published in 1655 in Lyon under the title *Histoire comique, ou les aventures de Fortunatus, traduction nouvelle* (“Comical history, or Fortunatus' adventures, new translation”).³¹ While Charles de Vion, who is known as an author of Bacchic and erotic poems, but also as a translator of Italian and Spanish works such as Torquato Tasso's *Aminta* (1573, tr. 1632) and Juan Huarte de San Juan's *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias* (1575, tr. 1645), could have been a likely candidate for a translation from Spanish, it is doubtful that he knew Dutch. Moreover, his signed poems and translations all seem to have been published first in Paris, between 1632 and 1653. The “burlesque letter” added to the 1655 Lyon *Fortunatus* edition had also already appeared as a separate publication in 1643, and it had been incorporated as well in the edition of Vion's *Œuvres poétiques*, issued in 1653 by the Parisian publishers Antoine de Sommaville and Jean Guignard (Van Bever 1906, xxxvii). All things considered, there is no evidence tying Vion to the creation of the French *Fortunatus*. It seems more likely that he would have authored the preliminary poetic tribute to Fortunatus' purse in the 1626 edition – although the poem does not appear in Vion's *Œuvres poétiques* – or maybe even the reworking of the first *Fortunatus* translation (1655), which was published shortly after his death. Interestingly, the laudatory poem to the second *Fortunatus* translator, which first appeared in the 1665 reprint of the revised edition of 1655, is signed by Jean Baudoin, a well-known poet and, like Charles de Vion, a translator of Spanish and Italian (and even English) texts. Since Baudoin deceased in 1650, the revisions to the first *Fortunatus* translation and the laudatory poem to the second translator must have been made before that date.

In the end we must conclude that much remains unclear with regard to the creators of these two French *Fortunatus* versions and the circumstances of their publication. A comparative analysis of the data collected on the editions listed in Tab. 1 above reveals that in the last decades of the seventeenth century, both versions ended up as chapbooks, the first in the *Bibliothèque bleue* of Troyes (from 1662 onwards), the second in its Rouen counterpart (from 1688 onwards), but also

²⁹ Cf. Mellot (1998, 100–101).

³⁰ See, for example, the online catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris.

³¹ The word “comique” in the sense of the “roman comique”, where the protagonists are ordinary people. On Charles de Vion, see Van Bever (1906).

that the revised version travelled to Naples, where an Italian translation was published in 1676 by Antonio Bulifon. It was no doubt the publisher himself who initiated this project: born in 1649 in a village south of Lyon, young Bulifon one day “set off on a marvellous adventure that ultimately would bring him wealth and a marriage” (Magnanini 2007, 80). Like *Fortunatus*, he wandered from one place to another until, in 1670, he settled in Naples and started working in the book trade. Within a few years he managed to build a flourishing business, specializing in Neapolitan culture, as well as an impressive network of contacts in the Republic of Letters, several of which visited him in person on their travels (Magnanini 2007).

The model for the Italian *Fortunatus* was an edition of the French revised version, which Bulifon could have acquired as a boy or picked up during his wanderings.³² The text was translated by Pompeo Sarnelli, a priest born in 1649, like Bulifon himself, and a keen amateur of literary studies. He authored, translated, and edited several works for the publisher, signing those which appeared in Italian under the pseudonym Masillo Reppone di Gnanopoli (Rubini 2003, 29–30; D'Eugenio 2017, chapter 3). Hence, the dedicatory letter from Masillo to the “illustrious” Pompeo Sarnelli, “Doctor of Laws and protonotary apostolic” that opens the 1676 edition is, in fact, a letter to the self. This erudite composition, full of quotations in Greek and Latin, justifies the translator’s choices; his *Degli avvenimenti di Fortunato e de’ suoi figli* (“Of the adventures of *Fortunatus* and his sons”) is an adaptation in which he inserted moral lessons while censoring passages that he considered too liberal.³³ Since the amount of text doubled, he created two books of 30 chapters each. Thus, contrary to contemporary editions in other languages, which by then tended to be relatively cheap editions destined for a large audience, the Italian edition presented itself as a literary endeavour worthy of the author’s and the publisher’s reputation. According to Rubini (2003, 31), Sarnelli transformed the story “into a fictionalized textbook for young, inexperienced (newly rich) men, with ironic criticism of the newly ‘ennobled.’” Another typical feature is that it is filled with advice for travellers and, at some point, becomes a proper guidebook like the ones Bulifon and Sarnelli produced in the same period. Sarnelli even inserted four new chapters discussing the touristic highlights of the Naples region and featuring the translator and publisher themselves under the names Samuel Lipper and Antonio Buonfil (Rubini 2003, 31–32).

³² According to Rubini (2003, 28), citing a study carried out by Maria Franca Frola, this would have been the Rouen edition from 1670. I have not been able to access Frola’s article, but since Rubini’s contains several errors, it would be worthwhile verifying whether Bulifon did actually use this Rouen edition instead of a copy printed in Lyon.

³³ On these adaptations, see Rubini (2003).

Bulifon advertised his Italian *Fortunatus* in the booklists that he inserted in several of his publications.³⁴ The translation was probably primarily aimed at an Italian audience but, no doubt thanks to Bulifon's large network, copies of it ended up in other regions with their own *Fortunatus* tradition as well, for example in the library of the French king, where it sat companionably with the first edition of the French translation,³⁵ and in other collections of French *amateurs de belles-lettres*, such as Jean-Louis Barré and Adrien Larchevesque.³⁶ Although it was met with some success in Italy – Sarnelli's translation was reprinted twice in Bologna (1677 and 1681)³⁷ – this learned reworking did not find the same echo as most more faithful translations in other languages or the Italian chapbook tradition of the story of the three companions who encountered three fairies.

4 Eighteenth-Century Editions Printed in the British Isles as Examples of Publishers' Strategies to Conquer and Diversify the Book Market

From 1648 onwards, English readers looking for advice on what to read could consult *An Easy and Compendious Introduction for Reading all sorts of Histories*. It was said to be “contrived [...] out of the Papers” of the late Mathias Prideaux, son of bishop John Prideaux, who is thought to be the actual author of the work (Maddicott 2022, 162). As was to be expected, this guide had nothing good to say about fictional narratives:

ROMANCE'S or the *Bastard* sort of *Histories*, may be noted not for any great *uses* in them, but for manifold *abuses* by them, 1. In wasting *pretious time* which might be better *employed*, 2. In stuffing the *Fancy* and *Memory* with ridiculous *Chimerah's*, and wandering *Imaginations*, to

³⁴ See, for example, the *Nota de libri stampati* (“Notice of printed books”) at the end of Camillo De Notariis, *Flavio Costantino il Grande ...* Napoli: Antonio Bulifon, 1677 (Wien, ÖNB, 40.Q.23), and Antonio Muscettola, *Epistole familiari ...* Napoli: Antonio Bulifon, 1678 (Firenze, BNC, MAGL. 3.7.292).

³⁵ See the *Catalogue des livres imprimés de la bibliothèque du roy. Belles Lettres II*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1750, 1220–1221.

³⁶ See the *Catalogue des livres de feu M. Barré ...*, vol. II. Paris: Gabriel Martin, 1743, 4129, and the *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu Monsieur Larchevesque ...* Rouen: Nicolas Le Boucher and Paris: Jacques Barrois, 1749, 2734.

³⁷ See the appendix to this chapter.

the *excluding* or *stifling* of more serious and profitable meditations, 3. For *transporting* and *deluding* the *affections*, with languishing *Love*, impossible *attempts* and *victories*, stupendous *enchancements*, wherewith the weake Reader is often so taken, that he makes himselfe (as it were) a *Party* in the businesse, and *rejoyceth* or is *sorry*, as matters are brought to succede according to his *Fancy*, or otherwise.³⁸

It then distinguishes seven subcategories among these “*Brats of Invention, and Spawne of Idle houres*”, according to their being “1. *Rude*, or 2. *Endlesse*, 3. or *Depraved*, 4. or *Superstitious*, or else, 5. *Morall*, 6. *Politicall*, or 7. *Satyricall*.” With the *Seven wise masters, Valentine and Orson*, and several chivalric romances, *Fortunatus* falls into the first category: rude, i.e. without “favour of *Ingenuity, Language, or Invention*”. Although Prideaux’s guide went through several re-editions in the seventeenth century, it did not have the desired effect, at least not in the long term: especially after 1700, the number of English editions of our narrative grew exponentially, outranking those in most other languages. Apart from increased literacy, the diversification strategies and promotional activities used by the publishers in the British Isles were no doubt decisive in this process, which also sparked a fierce competition that left its traces in the editions themselves.

To start with the oldest extant English edition, published in 1640 by George Miller (Jungmayr 1996, 337): slightly abbreviating the wording of the Dutch version, its title page advertises the narrative as a “right pleasant and variable tragicall historie [...] Whereby a young man may learne to behave himselfe in all worldly affaires and casuall chances.” It further notes that it was “[f]irst penned in the Dutch tongue” and, “therehence abstracted”, “now first of all published in English”. The translator, who is only known by his initials T.G.,³⁹ probably also provided the rhymed set of moral lessons to be learned from specific episodes at the beginning of the book. These are followed by an original note to the reader, which anticipates possible criticisms by also insisting on the moral sense and the educational value of the story, as well as the efforts made to rewrite certain passages. As if this was not enough, a long poem giving the “summe and argument” of the book closes the paratext. Despite all these precautions, the English *Fortunatus*, which like its model reproduced several of Brosamer’s woodcuts, apparently did not immediately seduce the public; the second (known) edition, published by George Sawbridge, only appeared in 1676 (Jungmayr 1996, 337). It omits the long poem, but the rest of the text and iconography follow the first edition. Sawbridge’s widow reprinted the

³⁸ *An Easy and Compendious Introduction For Reading all sorts of Histories: Contrived, In a more facile way then heretofore hath been published, out of the Papers of Mathias Prideaux Mr of Arts and sometime Fellow of Exeter Colledge in Oxford*. London: Leonard Lichfield, 1648, 343.

³⁹ Later editions indicate “T.C.”. The translator is thought by some to be Thomas Gainsford, but Haldane (2006) believes that it is Thomas Combe.

work six years later, with the poem this time. The last page of her re-edition contains an advertisement that shows that, by then, *Fortunatus* had become part of a competitive struggle for the market:

This Book having found very good Acceptance for many Impressions, some Ill minded persons (and particularly one *Thomas Haley*) has Printed a Counterfeit Impression in Quarto, therein falsifying the Original, and endeavouring to deprive the true Proprietor of the Copy: Therefore let the Buyer take heed of cheating himself and encouraging such base practices, the true Copy being in Octavo, and so sold by *H. Sawbridge* ... (*The Right, Pleasant, and Variable Trachical History of Fortunatus* ... London: Hannah Sawbridge, 1682, K8v, BL copy digitized in EEBO)

Thomas Haley had indeed recently brought out a revised edition of *Fortunatus* under the title *The History of the Birth, Travels, Strange Adventures and Death of Fortunatus* ... (London: 1682, copy of the Huntington Library digitized in EEBO). Cleverly reusing elements from the preface in the earlier editions, its densely printed title page boasted that the story contains “such Variety both of Comical and Tragical Discourse, That the like is not afforded in any *Histories* of this Nature”, especially since it has “several new Additions” and “several New Pictures”. Haley also made sure the reading benefits that were until then listed in the preface were better highlighted by moving them to the title page. A new “Epistle to the Reader” further presented the book as a useful mirror, reflecting the “follies of extravagant Youth, the vanity of aspiring greatness”, the problems caused by wealth and, last but not least, the vices of wicked men and “the snares that are layed by false and dissembling Women to intrap the too too [sic] credulous Youths, and then to plunge them into an Ocean of misery” (π2r). This promising paratextual material, including a new poem summarizing the plot, precedes a text that has been qualified as a “garbled adaptation” (Haldane 2006, 313), full of errors in the chapter numbering. The few “New Pictures” do not match the style of the others and since all the illustrations used by Haley were created for an octavo edition, other images – mostly of trees – were placed next to each of them in order to fill the space. One can imagine Hannah Sawbridge’s indignation even more when one realizes that Haley was the former associate of Anne Purslowe (d. 1679?), who had printed the 1676 edition for Hannah’s husband.

Haley’s career did not last long but, despite its shortcomings, his edition initiated a long line of partly competing and partly complementary editions. Near the end of the seventeenth century, a 24-page quarto chapbook, entitled *The Comical and Tragical History of Fortunatus* ..., was put on the market. This cheap and abbreviated version, aimed especially at “young Men and Women, whose Impatience will not allow them to read the larger Volume”, was presumably made at the initiative of booksellers specializing in ballads and chapbook editions of fictional narratives, like

Charles Brown, Josiah Blare, and George Conyers.⁴⁰ Blare's name is also listed on the title page of one of the editions of a longer version published in duodecimo: *The Famous and Delightful History of Fortunatus, And his Two Sons ...*. This adaptation "in two parts", one dedicated to the father and one to the sons, like in the Italian *Fortunatus*, recycled Hayley's reworking from 1682, and while it also promised new content "not being in the former impressions", the only substantial change made seems to be the inclusion of a sort of frontispiece composed of poor-quality copies of two of Brosamer's woodcuts, which were provided with two rhymed verses. The two parts were created by simply marking the end of the story of Fortunatus' life and the beginning of his sons' adventures with a half-title and by restarting the chapter numbering. The oldest edition with this title dates to 1702 and bears the mention "fourth edition".⁴¹ If this number is correct, it would mean that two other – now lost – editions of this version had appeared between 1682 and 1702, or else that the 1640 edition was indeed the first and that they did not count Hannah Sawbridge's edition.

Besides this "new" version of the 1682 adaptation, for which I also found editions marked as the sixth (1712) and the seventh (1715) in line, the "original" translation apparently also continued to circulate. In any case, it surfaced around 1730 when John Osborne, a J. King and James Hodges issued what they called the tenth edition (Jungmayr 1996, 338). They gave the competition a taste of their own medicine by copying the idea of the two parts – without implementing it – and by falsely promising a "Variety of New Pictures and New Additions", the only extras being indicating the price on the title page – one shilling for a bound copy – and inserting an opening page depicting the iconic image of Lady Fortune and Fortunatus. This illustration was placed above the advertisement against the – now anonymous – counterfeiters, whose duodecimo edition was said to infringe the rights of the publishers in question. This time, the rightful owners were successful in defending their position: no further reprints of Haley's version seem to have seen the light but, either as a precaution or out of laziness, they continued to place the advertisement at the beginning of their editions. The fact that, in the 1750s, two different editions both numbered "twelfth" edition appeared shortly one after another might be due to an error that occurred when there was a change in the composition of the publishing collective rather than a sign of reigniting competition.⁴²

⁴⁰ Quoted from the title page of the edition by C. Brown (London: [1700], FSL copy digitized in EEBO). For the different editions of this version, see the appendix. On the seventeenth-century trade in chapbooks, see Spufford (1989). On the term itself and its relation to children's literature, see Grenby (2008).

⁴¹ On this edition and subsequent ones, see the appendix.

⁴² The twelfth edition by Osborne, King and Hodges (London: 1752, Jungmayr 1996, 338) was illustrated with a "very Curious Frontispiece" (quotation from the title page) i.e. a new and large

Publishers in the British Isles also made use of the emergence of a special literature for children to create new shortened versions of bestselling narratives like *Fortunatus* which they incorporated in educational and entertaining anthologies such as the popular *The Child's new Play-Thing: being a Spelling-Book Intended to make the Learning to Read, a Diversion instead of a Task* (1742), published by the printer Thomas Cooper and possibly authored by his wife and successor Mary. The eight-page retelling of *Fortunatus* is a compilation of some remarkable adventures that are now all ascribed to Fortunatus himself. Conforming partly to earlier moral readings, it ends with the hero concluding “that great Riches are a great Burthen, and that the having our Wishes often lead us into Miseries and Misfortunes”, and subsequently burning the purse and hat.⁴³ Interestingly, the accompanying woodcut depicts Lady Fortune as the blindfolded Roman goddess standing on her wheel, a type of image that later also appeared in some of the short “chapbook” editions.⁴⁴ Other adaptations for children in the same vein appeared in *A Pretty Book for Children or an Easy Guide to the English Tongue* (first issued ca. 1744) and in *The Pleasing Companion; or Short Histories to instruct and entertain all little Boys and Girls* (ca. 1790).⁴⁵

While eighteenth-century popular editions in other language regions generally reproduced previous editions with minor revisions, the publishers in the British Isles – possibly prompted by a more competitive or promising trade – have thus shown exceptional creativity in marketing various types of *Fortunatus* editions for different types of audiences. Furthermore, their often densely printed title pages advertising contents, benefits, distribution points, and sometimes also the price show the commercial interests at stake in a way that does not compare to the strategies used at the time by their foreign counterparts. The same goes for the polemic advertisements and the number of publishers and stock lists mentioning *Fortunatus* in contemporaneous publications from the British Isles.

engraving of Lady Fortune handing the purse to Fortunatus. It was the only woodcut in the book. The twelfth edition by C. Hitch, L. Hawes, and S. Crowder (London: ca. 1758, see the appendix) used old woodcuts, as did their following editions, so if there was indeed a friendly take-over, the new engraving of Lady Fortune was apparently not included. In 1755 we find it in the stock of the London publisher J. Fuller, who used it in an edition of *The Interpretation of Dreams* (copy John Rylands University Library Manchester digitized in ECCO).

⁴³ Quoted from the second edition (London: M. Cooper, 1743, 106).

⁴⁴ For instance, on the title page of an undated edition “Printed and Sold in Aldermary Church-Yard, Bow Lane” (see the appendix).

⁴⁵ I did not include the editions of these anthologies in Tab. 1.

Conclusion

This overview of the publishing history of the *Fortunatus* story is evidently too short to allow for a well-based analysis of its success in early modern Europe, but it contains several leads that could be further examined. One of the pressing questions in the context of a book on the Top Ten is of course the secret of *Fortunatus*' success. Albert Classen (1990) was probably right when he attributed the "Weltwirkung" of the story matter (all types of creative adaptations and reworkings included) to its general human theme, which would have made it a popular read and creative source for audiences of all times, but this remains a fairly general assessment and does not take into account the fact that due to specific circumstances and developments, the *Fortunatus* reception was not as enthusiastic or durable in all language regions. If we only look at the number of editions of the 'original' narrative, it was not as popular and as widely disseminated as some other narratives discussed in this book.

That *Fortunatus* sparked so many editions in twelve different languages between 1509 and 1800 might more specifically have to do with its unique combination of magical and folktale elements with a more realistic, cosmopolitan description and analysis of a developing 'modern' society. It thus easily lent itself for various interpretations and reframings: societal mirror, moral tale, survival guide for young men on the threshold of adulthood, travel literature, fairy tale etc. It is particularly interesting to see that whereas, from 1530, onwards, the magical purse and hat constituted an essential element in the titles published in most language regions, the French, Italian, and English translations initially omitted these objects and focused on other aspects. It seems that it was only with the broadening of their audience that French and English editions put these magical objects to the fore. If anything, this chapter has indeed shown that, apart from the general appeal of a 'time-less' story, the secret of *Fortunatus*' wide and enduring popularity in early modern Europe resides within the networks and strategies of the publishers who played an essential role in its dissemination.

Tab. 2: Earliest extant editions of *Fortunatus* in European vernaculars.

Language	Title	Title (English translation)	Place, printer-publisher and year	Reference
High German	No title, only a woodcut representing Fortunatus and his sons with in it the names FORTVNATVS, AMPEDO, and ANDOLOSIA		Augsburg: Johann Otmar for Johann Heybler, 1509	VD16 F 1928
Polish	Title page missing [<i>Historia o Fortunacie</i>]	[History of Fortunatus]	[Kraków: Stanisław Szarfenberger, ca. 1570]	Kraków, BJ, Cim. 887
Danish	<i>Fortunatus Bog. En subtilig Historie, om Fortunatus Pung, oc hans Ynske Hat. Nu paa det ny udsæt aff Tyske paa Danske, met skøne Figurer beprydet, Saare lystig at laese, etc.</i>	The Book of Fortunatus. A subtle History, about Fortunatus' Purse, and his Wishing Hat. Now newly translated from German into Danish, adorned with beautiful Figures, Very pleasant to read, etc.	København: Matz Vingaard, 1575	USTC 303024
Low German	<i>Fortunatus. Van synem Büdel unnde Wünschelhode; Itzundes appet nye in de Sassische Sprake gebrocht, mit schönen Figuren gezyret, seer lustich unde kortwylich tho lesende</i>	Fortunatus: About his Purse and Wishing hat; Now newly transposed into the Saxon Language, decorated with beautiful Images, very pleasant and entertaining to read	Hamburg: Hermann Möller, 1602	VD17 7:685005F

Tab. 2 (continued)

Language	Title	Title (English translation)	Place, printer-publisher and year	Reference
Dutch	<i>Een nieuwe historie van Fortunatus borse, ende van sijnen wunsch-hoet, seer playsant om lese (n), Ende leerende hoe een Jonck geselle hem heusschelijck houden sal, met woorden ende met wercken, by hooghe by leeghe, onder vrienden ende onder vremde, binnen slants ende buyte(n) slants, met reysen, met coopmanschappen doen, in den houwelijck, ende in meer ander accidenten die den mensche binnen sijnen leuen ghebeurende zijn. Nu eerst nieu getranslateert wten Ouerlantsche</i>	A new history about Fortunatus's purse and wishing hat, very pleasant to read, And teaching a Young man how he should behave, in words and actions, among the high- and low-placed, among friends and strangers, at home and abroad, in travels, in trading, in marriage, and in more other events that can befall upon a human being during his life. Now newly translated from German	Antwerpen: Hieronymus Verdussen [and Pauwels Stroobant? ⁴⁶], 1610	Antwerpen, MPM, OD A-3620
French	<i>Histoire Des Advantures De Fortvnatvs. Nouuellement traduits d'Espagnol en François</i>	History Of Fortunatus' Adventures. Newly translated from Spanish into French	Rouen: Jacques Cailloué and Jean Roger, 1626	Paris, BnF, Y2-11237 (USTC 6811358 gives incorrect information)
English	<i>The Right Pleasant And Variable Tragicall Historie of Fortvnatvs. Whereby a young man may learne how to</i>	—	London: George Miller, 1640	New Haven, CT, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Ih F779 640

46 On Stroobant, see the appendix.

Tab. 2 (continued)

Language	Title	Title (English translation)	Place, printer-publisher and year	Reference
	<i>behave himselfe in all worldly affaires, and casuall chances. First penned in the Dutch tongue. Therehence abstracted, and now first of all published in English, By TG</i>			
Swedish	<i>Een mechta lustigh Historia, Om Fortunato, huru han, [...] bleff aff Jungfrun Fortuna begåfwat medh en sådan lycksaligh Pung, vthi hwilken aldrih trööt penningar, medh hwilken han igenom reeste många fremmande Land och Konungarijke, [...] medh list aff hände en gammal vthsliten Hatt, medh hwilken han vthi itt ögnableck kunde önska sigh hwart han wille, och huru hans två Sönnner effter hans död h begge klenodierne ärfvde, och myckin [...] ther medh bedrefwo. På nytt reviderat, medh åtskillige Figurer beprydd, och itt kort register öfwer alla historier widh andan tillsatt.</i>	A very amusing History, About Fortunatus, How he [...] was gifted by the Maiden Fortuna with such a lucky Purse that it never ran out of money, with which he travelled through many foreign Countries and Kingdoms, [...] with the cunning of an old worn-out Hat, with which he could wish himself wherever he wanted to go in that very moment [...] and how his two Sons after his death inherited both treasures, and were able to do a lot of things [...] with them. Revised again, decorated with several Figures, and a	S.l.: s.n, 1651	Uddevalla, Bohusläns museum, Biblioteket, Rum 228 Hc

Tab. 2 (continued)

Language	Title	Title (English translation)	Place, printer-publisher and year	Reference
		short index of all the stories added in the end ⁴⁷		
Hungarian	<i>Az Fortunatusrol Iratott Igen Szep Nyajas Beszed. Könyvetske Miképpen az ő Erszényéhez és kívánt kedves Süvegetskejéhez jutván és több történt sok dolgairol. Melly most Németből Magyarrá fordítottat az szép Ujságokban gyönyörködöknek kedvékért</i>	A very Nice Book about Fortunatus. How he got his Purse and Wishing hat and more things that happened. Which I have now translated from German into Hungarian for the pleasure of those who enjoy beautiful Novelties	Levoča: [Lorentz Brewer], 1651	Cluj, Biblioteca centrală universitară, BMV 2643
Italian	<i>Degli Avvenimenti Di Fortunato E De' Suoi Figli Historia Comica Tradotta, & illustrata Da Masillo Reppone da Gnanopoli. Libri Dve</i>	The Comical History Of The Adventures Of Fortunatus And His Sons Translated, & embellished By Masillo Reppone from Gnanopoli. Two Books	Napoli: Antonio Bulifon, 1676	London, BL, 1074.e.36
Yiddish	<i>Fortunatus miṭ zain sekl un winšhitlein: wi er dozelbigi bikumn un im domiṭ ergangn; in einr ibroiz lušign lebnś bešraibung for gišetl un itzund tzum erštn mol alzo gidrukṭ⁴⁸</i>	Fortunatus with his purse and wishing hat: how he acquired them and fared with them; presented in a very funny life story and now for the first time thus printed	Frankfurt am Main: s.n., 5059 [i.e. 1699]	Frankfurt am Main, Universitätsbibliothek, Jud. Germ. 1211

⁴⁷ With thanks to Anna Katharina Richter for her help with the translation.

⁴⁸ Transliterated title, with thanks to Anna de Wilde for her help with the translation.

Tab. 2 (continued)

Language	Title	Title (English translation)	Place, printer-publisher and year	Reference
Czech	<i>Fortunatus s swým Pytlíčkem a Klobaučkem, kterak gednoho y druhého gest nabył, a co se mu přihodilo w geho welmi weselým a kratochwjlným Žiwota Popsánj, prw w německým, nynj pak w Česským Gazyku s ozdobjnými Figurami předstawený. A nowě wytisštěný.</i>	Fortunatus with his Bag and Hat, how he acquired the one and the other, and what happened to him in his very merry and entertaining Life's Description. First described in German, now translated into Czech presented with decorative Illustrations. Newly printed.	S.l.: s.n., [1750]	Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, 27 E 9

Appendix

The Printed Tradition of *Fortunatus* in European Vernaculars until 1800: additions and corrections to Jörg Jungmayr's "Bibliographie" (1996). These additions and corrections only concern the period until 1800 and include lost editions.⁴⁹

Czech

[Kronika, jenž slove Fortunatus]. [Olomouc: Jan Günther or Prostějov: Kašpar Aorgus], 1561 (KPS K02564; no copy located; mentioned in a booklist from 1567, see Lechner 1896)

[Fortunatus]. [S.l.: s.n., ca. 1561–1620] (no copy located; mentioned in *O nebi a peklu* (1620), see <https://www.encyklopedieknihy.cz/index.php/Textologie>, 17 March 2023)⁵⁰

⁴⁹ This appendix does not aim to give complete bibliographic transcriptions of the title pages, but it provides the details necessary to identify editions, to compare titles and to find extant copies. Like Jungmayr, I did not add the 1625 Leipzig edition by Nikolaus Nerlich and the 1690 Nuremberg edition mentioned in Gotzkowsky (1994, 116) because I have not been able to check Gotzkowsky's information.

⁵⁰ With thanks to Matouš Jaluška (Univerzita Karlova, Prague) for his generous help.

Danish

- Fortunatus Bog. En subtilig Historie, om Fortunatus Pung, oc hans Ynske Hat. Nu paa det ny udsæt aff Tyske paa Danske, med skøne Figurer beprydet, Saare lystig at læse, etc.* København: Matz Vingaard, 1575 (incomplete copies København, KB, LN 625a 8° copy 1 and 2)
 [Fortunatus Pung og Ynske-Hat]. S.l.: s.n., 1627 (no copy located; DFB 10, 278)
 [Fortunati Pung oc Ynske Hat]. København: s.n., 1664 (no copy located; DFB 10, 278)

French

- Les Riches Entretiens Des Adventvres Et Voyages de Fortvnatvs. Nouuellement traduits d'Espagnol en François. Derniere Edition, reueuë & corrigée.* Paris: François Hébert, 1637 (copy: Lausanne, BCU, 1M 26, <https://books.google.ch/books?vid=BCUL1092400631>)
- Histoire Des Avantvres Du Chevalier Fortvnatvs.* Paris: Jérémie Bouillerot, 1644 (copy: Paris, BIS, FB 483)
- Histoire Des Avantvres Hevreuses et Malhevreuses de Fortunatus, qu'il à euë en son voyage. Auec sa bourse, & son Chapeau enseignant comme un ieune homme se doit gouverner, tant enuers les grands que les petits, entre amis & estrangers, tant hors que dedans son pays. Comme Fortunatus ayant peur qu'on ne le fit Chapon s'en alla à la chasse en haste sans dire adieu à son Maistre, renuoya son Cheual & l'Oiseau. Nouuellement Traduit d'Espagnol en François.* Troyes: Nicolas Oudot, 1662 (copy: Toronto, UL, PQ805F671662, <https://archive.org/details/histoiredesavant00fort>)
- Histoire Comique, Ov Les Aventvres de Fortunatus. Traduction nouvelle. Reueuë, & augmentée en cette derniere Edition d'une lettre Burlesque de Monsieur d'Alibray.* Lyon: Vincent Moulu, 1665 (copy: Paris, BnF, Y2-12562, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k111520x>)
- Histoire comique ou aventures de Fortunatus. Traduction nouvelle, revue et augmentée en cette dernière édition d'une lettre burlesque de Mons. d'Alibray.* Rouen: Jacques Lucas, 1667 (no copy located; copy Yves Levy sold at auction by Artcurial on 17 March 2006: https://www.bibliore.com/cat-vent_arturial-18-3-061.htm, 17 March 2023)
- The Rouen 1670 edition with the imprint of Pierre Cailloué listed by Jungmayr (340) seems to have been a shared edition: there are also copies with the imprint of Jacques Lucas (private collection), Gabriel Bellier (Marseille, Mucem, 1R 1295), and David Berthelin (*Catalogue des livres de feu M. Bellanger ...* Paris: Gabriel and Claude Martin, 1740, 2223)
- Histoire Des Avantvres Hevreuses et Mal-hevreuses De Fortvnatvs qu'il a euë en son voyage. Auec sa bourse & son Chapeau, enseignant comme vn ieune homme se doit gouverner, tant envers les grands que les petits, entre amis et estrangers, tant hors que dedans son pays ... Nouuellement traduit d'Espagnol en François.* Troyes, & se vendent à Paris: Antoine Rafflé, 1674 (copy: Versailles, BM, F.A. in-8 E 252 e)
- Histoire Comique, ou Les Aventures de Fortunatus. Traduction Nouvelle. Revûë & augmentée en cette derniere Edition, d'une Lettre Burlesque de Mr. d'Alibray.* Rouen: Pierre Amiot, 1679 (Dijon, BM, 8287CGA)
- Histoire Comique, ou Les Aventures De Fortunatus. Traduction Nouvelle. Revûë & augmentée en cette derniere Edition, d'une Lettre Burlesque de Mr. d'Alibray.* Rouen: Jean-Baptiste Besongne, 1688 (copy: Paris, BnF, 8-NF-83098, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k323914j>)
- Histoire Des Aventures Heureuses Et Malheureuses De Fortvnatvs. Qu'il a euë en son voyage ... Nouuellement traduit d'Espagnol en François.* Troyes & se vend à Paris: Antoine de Rafflé, [1661–1696] (Marseille, Mucem, 1R 786; Morin 1974, 567)
- Histoire Comique, Ou Les Aventures De Fortunatus. Traduction Nouvelle ...* Rouen: Jean-Baptiste Besongne, 1700 (copy: Paris, Ars. 8-BL-30558(2))

Histoire Des Aventures Heureses Et Mal Heureses De Fortunatus, qu'il à euë en son voyage. Avec sa bourse & son chapeau enseignant comme un jeune homme se doit gouverner, tant envers les grands que les petits, entre amis & estrangers; tant hors que dedans son pays. Comme Fortunatus ayant peur qu'on ne le fist Chapon s'en alla à la chasse en hâtes sans dire adieu à son Maître, renvoya son Cheval & l'Oyseau. Nouvellement traduit d'Espagnol en François. Troyes & se vendent à Paris: Jean Musier, [1696–1703] (copy: Troyes, BM, B. Bl. 680, <https://portail.mediatheque.grand-troyes.fr/iguana/www.main.cls?url=search#RecordId=7.1432>)

Histoire Des Avatures [sic] Heureses Et Malheureuses De Fortvnatvs, qu'il a euë en son voyage. Avec sa bourse, & son chapeau enseignant comme un jeune homme se doit gouverner, tant envers les grands que les petits, entre amis & estrangers, tant hors que de daus [sic] son pays. Comme Fortunatus ayant peur qu'on ne le fit chapon, s'en alla à la chasse en haste sans dire adieu à son maître, & renvoya son cheval & l'oiseau. Nouvellement traduit d'espagnol en françois. Troyes: Jacques Oudot, [1679–1711] (copy: Toronto, UL, B-10 07539)

Histoire Comique Ou Les Aventures De Fortunatus. Revûë & augmentée en cette dernière Edition d'une Lettre Burlesque de Mr d'Alibray. Rouen: Veuve de Jean Oursel, [1692–1725] (copy: Paris, Ars., 8-BL-29609, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k324310f>)

Histoire Des Aventures Heureses Et Malheureuses De Fortunatus ... Troyes: veuve Jacques Oudot and Jean Oudot fils, [ca. 1723–1741] (copy: Paris, Ars., 8-BL-28838(3))

Histoire Comique Ou Les Aventures De Fortunatus. Traduction nouvelle. Revûë & augmentée en cette dernière Edition d'une Lettre burlesque de Monsieur d'Alibray. Rouen: Jean Oursel l'aîné, [1735–1745] (copy: Paris, Ars., 8-BL-19589(2), <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k324585c>)

Histoire Des Aventures Heureses Et Malheureuses De Fortunatus, Avec Sa Bourse Et Son Chapeau. Enseignant Comme Un Jeune Homme se doit gouverner. Troyes: Pierre Garnier, [1728–1738] (copy: Troyes, BM, B. Bl. 625)

Histoire Des Aventures Heureses Et Malheureuses De Fortunatus ... Troyes: Pierre Garnier, [1728–1738] (copy: Marseille, Mucem, 1R 734)

Histoire Des Aventures Heureses Et Malheureuses De Fortunatus ... Troyes: veuve Pierre Garnier, [1738–1754] (copy: Troyes, BM, B. Bl. 450)

Histoire Comique Ou Les Aventures De Fortunatus. Traduction nouvelle. Revûë et augmentée en cette dernière Edition d'une Lettre burlesque de M. d'Alibray [sic]. Rouen: Jean-François Behourt, [1740–1759] (copy: Troyes, BM, B. Bl. 3325)

Histoire Comique Ou Les Aventures De Fortunatus ... Rouen: Pierre Seyer, [ca. 1751] (copy: Troyes, BM, B. Bl. 3209)

Histoire Des Aventures Heureses Et Malheureuses De Fortunatus ... Troyes: Jean Garnier, [1754–1765] (copy: Troyes, BM, B. Bl. 48)

Histoire Des Aventures Heureses Et Malheureuses De Fortunatus ... Troyes: Jean Garnier, [1754–1765] (copy: Troyes, BM, B. Bl. 808)

Histoire Des Aventures Heureses Et Malheureuses De Fortunatus ... Troyes: Garnier, [1765–1814] (copy: Troyes, BM, B. Bl. 452, <https://portail.mediatheque.grand-troyes.fr/iguana/www.main.cls?url=search#RecordId=7.1406>)

Histoire Des Aventures De Fortunatus, Avec Sa Bourse et Chapeau. Enseignant comme un Jeune-homme doit se comporter dans toutes rencontres, tant dans son país, que dehors. Nouvellement traduit de l'Espagnol en François. Bédarrides: Mathieu Portulier, 1767 (copy: Avignon, Bibliothèque Ceccano, 8° 48006)

Histoire Des Aventures De Fortunatus Avec Sa Bourse et Chapeau. Enseignant comme un jeune-homme doit se comporter dans toutes rencontres, tant dans son pays, que dehors. Nouvellement traduit d'Espagnol en François. Limoges: Pierre Chapoulaud, [1758–1794] (copy sold at auction by

Métayer-Mermoz on 5 April 2023, <https://drouot.com/l/21023494-limousin-histoire-des-aventure#modal-vente-CGV>, 25 March 2023)

Histoire des aventures de Fortunatus, avec sa bourse et chapeau, enseignant comme ... Limoges: Jacques Farne, s.a. (no copy located; *Catalogue des livres français bien conditionnés sur les beaux-arts ...* Paris: Adolphe Labitte, 1874, 791)

Histoire des aventures heureuses et malheureuses de Fortunatus ... Lélis [i.e. Caen]: Goderfe [i.e. Pierre-Jean-Aimé Chalopin], 1790 (copy: Milano, Biblioteca del Centro APICE, A.F.PW. D. 019)

Italian

Degli Avvenimenti Di Fortvnato E De' Svoi Figli Historia Comica Tradotta, & illustrata Da Masillo Reppone da Gnanopoli. Libri Dve. Bologna: Giovanni Recaldini, 1677 (copy: Praha, NK, 9 J 000305, <http://books.google.cz/books?vid=NKP:1003277439&printsec=frontcover>)

Degli avvenimenti di Fortunato ... Bologna: Giovanni Recaldini, 1681 (no copy located; Rubini 2003, 32)

Dutch

Hieronymus [I] Verdussen, the publisher of the oldest known *Fortunatus* edition in Dutch (Antwerpen: 1610) possibly shared this edition with another Antwerp bookseller, Pauwels Stroobant: the 1734 shelf catalogue of the Hofbibliothek Sulzbach lists a Dutch *Fortunatus* edition published in Antwerp in 1610 with Pauwel's imprint.⁵¹

Een nieu Histor[ie] van Fortunatus Borse, ende [van] sijnen Wensch Hoet, seer ghenoechlijck [ende] playsant om lesen, leerende hoe een jonck-ghe[selle] hem heusselijck houden sal, in handel en wandel, met woorden ende wercken, bij hooche ende leeghe. Op nieu oversien ende verciert met veel schoone Figueren. Om zijn cort-wijlicheyte de achte mael herdruckt. Amsterdam, Broer Jansz, 1638 (copy: London, BL, 635.a.1, defective title page)⁵²

Een nieu Historie van Fortunatus Borse, ende van sijnen Wensch-hoet, seer geneuchlijck ende playsant om lesen, leerende hoe een jongh geselle hem heusselijck houden sal, in handel ende wandel, met woorden ende werken, bij hooge ende leege. Op nieuw oversien, ende verciert met veel schoone nieuwe Figueren. Amsterdam: Michiel de Groot, 1670 (copy: Oxford, BL, 8° D 285(1) Linc.)

Een Nieuw Historie Van Fortunatus Borse, Ende van sijnen Wensch-hoet, seer playsant om te lesen ... Antwerpen: Joseph Jacops, 1687 (copy: Troyes, BM, B. Bl. 3202)

Een nieuw historie van Fortunatus Borse ende van sijnen wensch-hoet, seer playsant om te lesen [...] van nieuws oversien ende verbeteret. Antwerpen: weduwe Joseph Jacops, 1694 (no copy located; mentioned in a bookseller's catalogue: <https://docplayer.nl/49909651-Marc-van-de-wiele-internationale-antiquarenbeurs-mechelen-2011.html>, 17 March 2023)

Een nieuw Historie Van Fortunatus Borse ... Antwerpen: weduwe Joseph Jacops, 1706 (copy: Antwerpen, EHC, 1706, <https://dams.antwerpen.be/asset/D14WhfXlfQVRPKuEO4xteXpU/oIKXkZXmWMMVgKW7Aq4f4vQu0>)

⁵¹ See van Gemert (2009, 435).

⁵² The online catalogue of the BL indicates 1635 as the reconstructed publication date on this defective copy but it should be 1638. See Ellis and Baber (1814, s.p.) and Pinkerton (1865, 256).

- Een Nieuw Historie van Fortunatus Borse, En van zijnen Wensch Hoed. Zeer Geneuegelyk en Playsant om te Lesen, Leerende hoe een Jong Gesel hem Heuslyk houden zal in Handel en Wandel, met Woorden en Werken; by Hoge en Lage Personen. Desen alderlaatsten Druk van Nieuws overgesien, En met nieuwe Figuren, daar op Passende, Verbeteret. Noit voor desen zo Gedrukt.* Amsterdam: Isaak van der Putte, 1735 (copy: Amsterdam, UB, O 60–2270, <https://books.google.nl/books?id=JERkAAAcAAJ&>)
- Een Schoone Historie Van Fortunatus Borse Ende van zyn Wensch-hoedeken. Seer genuchelijck ende vermakelijck om lesen, besonderlijck voor de Jonckheyt. Den Lesten Druck. Van nieuws oversien, en op veel plaetsen verbeteret.* Brussel: Guillielmus Cawe, [1733–1740] (copy: Bruxelles, BR, III 93.108 A (RP))
- Een Schoone Historie Van Fortunatus Borse ...* Antwerpen: weduwe Thieullier and Andreas Paulus Colpyn, [1745–1750] (copy: Bruxelles, BR, II 57.324 A (RP))
- Een Schoone historie van Fortunatus Borse ...* Brussel: weduwe Guillielmus Cawe, [1750–1777] (copy: Gent, UB, BIB.BL.006237)
- Een nieuwe historie van Fortunatus Borse, en van zijnen wensch hoed ...* Amsterdam: erven Hendrik van der Putte and Bastiaan Boekhout, 1777 (copy: Amsterdam, UB, O 60–142)
- Een Schoone Historie Van Fortunatus Borse ...* Antwerpen: Petrus Josephus Rymers, [1767–1792] (copy: Leiden, UB, BKNOOG 149; different from the copy mentioned by Jungmayr (344))
- Een Schoone Historie Van Fortunatus Borze ...* Antwerpen: Franciscus Ignatius Vinck, [ca. 1768–1798] (copy: Antwerpen, MPM, A 4280, <https://books.google.be/books?id=UMR11yQas8cC&>)
- Een Schoone Historie Van Fortunatus Borse ...* Antwerpen: Philippe Gimblet, [1767–1800] (copy: Gent, UB, BIB.G.002586).

The edition by van Paemel listed by Jungmayr (345) and dated “um 1790” is from the nineteenth century.

Swedish

- Een mechta lustigh Historia, Om Fortunato, huru han, [...] bleff aff Jungfrun Fortuna begåfwat medh en Sådan lycksaligh Pung, vthi hwilken aldrigh trööt penningar, medh hwilken han igenom reeste många fremmande Land och Konungarijke, [...] medh list aff hände en gammal vthsliten Hatt, medh hwilken han vthi itt ögnableck kunde önska sigh hwart han wille, och huru hans två Sønner effter hans död begge klenodierne ärfvde, och myckin [...] ther medh bedrefwo. På nytt reviderat, medh åtskillige Figurer beprydd, och itt kort register öfwer alla historier widh andan tillsatt.* S.l.: s.n., 1651 (copy: Uddevalla, Bohusläns museum, Biblioteket, Rum 228 Hc; see also Wingård 2018, 47)
- Historia om Fortunato, hans pung och önskehatt, och sedan huru Sönnerne effter hans död begge Clenodierne ärfvde, och mycken kortwijn ther met drefwo, swara lustigt och kortwilligt at läsa. Nu på nytt af trycket uthgängen.* Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer, 1651 (no copy located but it is possible that the copy without title page in Stockholm, KB, F1700 2294 belongs to this edition; SF II, 4)⁵³
- Fortunati Historia, Om Hans Pung och Önskehatt. I ledige stunder mycket lustig och behagelig at läsa; hwitken nu efter mångens begäran, är tryckt på nytt.* S.l.: s.n., [1750–1800] (no copy located; SF II, 4)
- Fortunati Historia ...* S.l.: s.n., [1700–1800] (Wingård 2018, 47)

⁵³ SF II, 4 also cites editions of 1675 and 1694 but I did not include these because there is not enough evidence of their presumed existence.

English

- The 1672 and 1682 editions listed by Jungmayr are one and the same. Due to a printing or inking error, the year on the title page is not clearly visible, hence the confusion. The correct year is 1682. The British Library copy dated [ca. 1650] listed on p. 337 also belongs to this edition (see London, BL, 124.bb.8)
- The most excellent and delightful history of Fortunatus.* London: J. Conyers and J. Blare, [ca. 1690] (copy: Cambridge, Magdalen College, provenance Samuel Pepys)
- The Comical and Tragical History of Fortunatus: Wherein is contained his Birth, Travels, Adventures, last Will and Testament to his two Sons, to whom he bequeathed his Purse and Wishing-Cap: Together with their Lives and Death. Abbreviated for the Good and Benefit of young Men and Women, whose Impatience will not allow them to read the larger Volume. The whole being Illustrated with divers Cuts suitable to the History.* London: C. Brown, and are to be sold by the book-sellers of Pye-corner and London-bridge, [ca. 1700] (copy: Washington / D.C., FSL, F1618.5, digitized in EEBO)
- The Famous and Delightful History Of Fortunatus, And his Two Sons: In Two Parts. Part I. Containing an Account of his Noble Birth, Travels, and Adventures, in many strange Land; how he came by a Purse, which always supplied him with store of Money, and a Wishing hat which caused him to be in an instant at any Place he desired to be at; how, at his Death, he bequeathed his Purse and Hat to his two Sons; with his pompous Funeral, Monument and Epitaph. Part II. Containing, the Travels and Adventures of Andalocia and Ampedo [...] with their untimely Deaths, Burials ...* London: A. B [ettesworth] (part 1) / W.O. [William Onley?] and sold by Jos. Blare; and Peter Parker (part 2), 1702 (fourth edition) (copy: Oxford, BL, Douce F 95 (v.1–2))
- The Comical and Tragical History of Fortunatus ...* London: W.O.; and are to be sold by C. Bates, [1709] (copy: Edinburgh, NLS, L.C.1282(2))
- The Famous and Delightful History Of Fortunatus, And his Two Sons: In Two Parts ...* London: C. Brown, 1712 (sixth edition) (copy: Oxford, BL, Vet.A4f.1982, digitized in ECCO)
- The Famous and Delightful History Of Fortunatus, And his Two Sons: In Two Parts ...* London: T. Norris, [1715] (seventh edition) (copy: London, BL, 12410.a.20, digitized in ECCO)
- The Right, Pleasant, and Diverting. History Of Fortunatus. And his Two Sons. In Two Parts ...* London: J. Osborne; J. King; J. Hodges, 1740 (eleventh edition) (copy: London, BL, 1077.e.35, <https://books.google.nl/books?id=MPXeAAAACAAJ&>)
- The Right, Pleasant and Delightful History Of Fortunatus, And His Two Sons. In Two Parts ...* London: C. Hitch & L. Hawes; S. Crowder; J. King, [ca. 1758] (twelfth edition) (no copy located, described in a bookseller's catalogue: <https://www.davidmilesbooks.com/book/13791/the-right-pleasant-and-delightful-history-of-fortunatus-and-his/>, 17 March 2023)
- The Most Pleasant and Delightful History Of Fortunatus ...* London: printed and sold in Bow-church-yard, [ca. 1775] (copy: Edinburgh, NLS, L.C.2737(22))
- The most Pleasant and Delightful History Of Fortunatus. Containing, Varians [sic] surprizing Adventures, Among which he acquired a Purse, that could not be emptied, And a Hat, that carried him wherever he wished to be.* [London]: Printed and Sold at the Printing-Office in Bow-Church-Yard, [ca. 1775] (copy sold by Heritage Auctions on 16 December 2020, lot #45264, <https://historical.ha.com/itm/books/color-plate-books/two-copies-of-the-most-pleasant-and-delightful-history-of-fortunatus-containing-various-surprising/a/6234-45264.s>, 17 March 2023)
- The Pleasant and Delightful History Of Fortunatus.* Worcester: Printed for Samuel Gamidge. Sold by Mr. Taylor, Kidderminster; Mr. Harward, Tewkesbury; Mr. Hemming, Alcester ..., [1755–1775] (copy: London, BL, 1076.l.15(2), digitized in ECCO)

The Pleasant and Delightful History Of Fortunatus. York: J. Jackson, in Petergate, [ca. 1770?] (copy sold by Heritage Auctions on 16 December 2020, lot #45264, <https://historical.ha.com/itm/books/color-plate-books/two-copies-of-the-most-pleasant-and-delightful-history-of-fortunatus-containing-various-surprising/a/6234-45264.s>)

The History Of Fortunatus. Setting Forth His Birth, Life, Travels, and Adventures in most parts of the World ... Glasgow: J. and M. Robertson, 1787 (copy: London, BL, RB.23.a.7724)

The History Of Fortunatus. Setting Forth His Birth ... Glasgow: J. and M. Robertson, 1790 (copy: London, BL, 1076.I.20.(2.)), <https://books.google.nl/books?id=CSNI4UYaWk0C&>

The History Of Fortunatus Containing Various surprising Adventures. Among which he acquired a Purse, that could not be emptied, and a Hat that carried him wherever he wished to be. [Gloucester?]: Sold by J. Bence, in Wotton-Underedge, [ca. 1790] (copy: Oxford, BL, Douce PP 177(13), digitized in ECCO)

The History Of Fortunatus. Setting Forth His Birth ... Glasgow: J. and M. Robertson, 1799 (copy: Edinburgh, NLS, L.C.2833(17), <https://digital.nls.uk/chapbooks-printed-in-scotland/archive/104185304#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&xywh=-1038%2C-124%2C3327%2C2466>)

The History Of Fortunatus. Containing, Various surprising Adventures. Among which he acquired a Purse, that could not be emptied. And a Hat that carried him wherever he wished to be. [London:] Printed and Sold in Aldermary Church-Yard, Bow Lane, London, [1750–1800?] (copy: London, BL, 1079. i.13.(22), https://books.google.nl/books?id=yt3arDf8GDgC&printsec=frontcover&hl=fr&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false)

German

[Von Fortunato und seinem Seckel]. Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner, 1539 (Gotzkowsky 1994, 425. The copy formerly held in the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Königsberg was lost during World War II).

The two copies listed by Jungmayr at the top of p. 332 (München, BSB, P.o.germ. 1692[2] and Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Lo 1479.I) belong to two different anonymous, and probably eighteenth-century, editions.

Fortunatus mit seinem Seckel- und Wunsch-Hütlein, Wie er dasselbe bekommen, und ihm damit ergangen, in einer überaus lustigen Lebens-Beschreibung vorgestellt. Mit schönen Figuren gezieret. S.l.: s.n., Gedruckt im diesem Jahr [1750–1800?] (copy: Wien, ÖNB, 5785-A ALT MAG, <http://data.onb.ac.at/rep/102BC5F5; VD18 90823265>)

Fortunatus mit seinem Seckel und Wunsch-Hütlein, wie er dasselbe bekommen und ihm damit ergangen, in einer überaus lustigen Lebens-Beschreibung vorgestellt. Mit schönen Figuren gezieret. "Londen" [fake imprint]: s.n., [ca. 1750–1800?] (copy: London, BL, 1607/5474, https://books.google.nl/books?id=JaZhAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=fr&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false)