

Chapter 3

The Birth of an Anatomical Icon

Anatomical fugitive sheets clearly constitute a printed, iconographical and textual genre of their own. Their main characteristic, common to them all throughout the centuries, is to show the human anatomy by means of a printed figure made out of flaps of paper one can lift up, and surrounded with a brief explanatory text. This idea is at the basis of the tradition which persists from Vogtherr to R Emmelin's *Catoptron* until the anatomical tables of Alexander Ramsay and Edward William Tuson, published in the nineteenth century.¹ Even today one can find books—particularly for children—which use the same, simple, immediate, intuitive method of unveiling figures in order to explain the make-up of the human body and the connections between its parts.² Renaissance fugitive sheets constitute in fact one solution to the problem posed by the need to represent visually data which are intrinsically topographical: the body is a map, a collection of forms, parts and spatial relations hidden away under the skin, which can be explained in terms of these connections and relations. It was Vogtherr, as far as available documents show, who established the technique for these fugitive sheets with superimposed flaps; and his invention was a success because the method allowed for the restitution of a virtual three-dimensionality to an object—the human body—which would otherwise, when reproduced in print, be restricted to the two-dimensionality of pictorial representation.

But what are the antecedents of Vogtherr's invention? What are its iconographical and textual sources? What were the channels for its diffusion? The reconstruction of this story, partial as it is, helps to throw some light on aspects of the cultural context in which the fugitive sheets were produced, and provides some clues about their social destination.

A Medieval Prologue

Some hypotheses can be made regarding the execution of the anatomical images printed in the fugitive sheets. A first, superficial impression is that the position of the main figure in the sheets, especially in the case of the female figure, strongly resembles the splayed, frog-like posture chosen by the author of the woodcuts for Johannes de Ketham's *Fasciculus medicinae*—a best-seller of academic and Galenic Renaissance medicine—to

¹ Examples of nineteenth-century flap anatomies are A. Ramsay, *Anatomy of the heart, cranium, and brain: adapted to the purposes of the medical and surgical practitioner: to which is added, in notes, observations on the laws of life and sensation* (Edinburgh, 1813), and E. W. Tuson, *The dissector's guide* (London, 1846).

² A recent example is the pop-up anatomy book published by Jonathan Miller and David Pelham, *The human body*, London, 1984.

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represent the female internal, especially reproductive, organs (Fig. 4).³ This image of the *gravida* had also, it should be noted, circulated as a fugitive sheet in an edition published between 1520 and 1530.⁴ In fact it has its origins in manuscript form, in a tradition which was taken into print and slavishly adhered to. One might recall a manuscript from the end of the fourteenth century—a more ancient version of the collection of texts that appeared under the name of Johannes de Ketham in the second half of the fifteenth century with the title *Fasciculus medicinae*—which contains, together with other illustrations, a *figura infirmitatum*, indisputably the model for the *gravida* figure in the printed editions of the *Fasciculus* (Fig. 42).⁵ There is another similar *figura infirmitatum* in an early fifteenth-century manuscript at the University Library in Leipzig (Fig. 43).⁶ The frog-like posture in this image is much more pronounced, and resembles to an even greater extent the *gravida* illustrations printed later on. That later image, then, is a partial adaptation for anatomical purposes of the earlier illustration which mainly indicated diseases.

The *figura infirmitatum*, it seems to me, is relevant in many ways to the history of anatomical iconography, and recurs particularly frequently in anatomical fugitive sheets. The representation of a pregnant woman is common to many fugitive sheets; so is the collage of images and text, the latter not only inscribed within the figure—to designate parts and their pathologies—but also consisting of captions around the figure, which permit the summary explanation of physiology, pathologies and relevant treatments. These are explanatory techniques which use textual inscriptions on and around the body, and which indeed would appear some decades later in printed images. More significant still, I believe, is the two-tiered mode of representation characteristic of the image: while there is a clear effort at naturalism in the realization of the female figure (evident in the head, hands and feet), the representation of the internal parts is merely approximate and indicates the absence of any intention of producing a realistic image. The artist, yet again, here uses excessively simple diagrams straight out of the medieval tradition, appropriate only to enable the localisation of anatomical parts within the body's cavity. Such a dichotomy—the naturalistic representation of the body's external appearance and of the surrounding ornamental elements, and the approximate representation of its internal parts, intended merely to convey a sense of their spatial and physiological relations—still survives in fugitive sheets published from 1538. The frog-like posture actually had been

³ The first edition of the *Fasciculus* is dated 1491. Many others followed, in Italy, France, Spain, Germany, Switzerland and Holland, both in Latin and in the vernacular, between the late fifteenth and the second half of the sixteenth centuries. It was, moreover, used as the manual for the teaching of anatomy in many European universities. On female anatomical images from the period, see F. Weindler, *Geschichte der gynäkologisch-anatomischen Abbildung* (Dresden, 1908).

⁴ The sheet bears the title: 'Tabulae de matrice mulierum et impregnatione'. There is no indication of either place or printer. The sheet was recorded by Le R. Crummer, 'Early anatomical fugitive sheets', *Annals of Medical History*, 1923, 5: 189–209, p. 208.

⁵ The manuscript is at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (MS. lat. 11229). The female *figura infirmitatum* is on fol. 31r. Another *figura infirmitatum*, this one male, is on fol. 37v, but the iconographical composition is quite different from the first. The manuscript contains other illustrations, some of which were adopted in the printed editions: the uroscopic diagram, the zodiacal man, the figure representing the wounds and points at which to execute phlebotomies.

⁶ MS. 1122. On this manuscript, see K. Sudhoff, *Tradition und Naturbeobachtung in den Illustrationen medizinischer Handschriften und Frühdrucke vornehmlich des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 79–82, and K. B. Roberts and J. D. W. Tomlinson, *The fabric of the body: European traditions of anatomical illustration* (Oxford, 1992), esp. pp. 15–17.

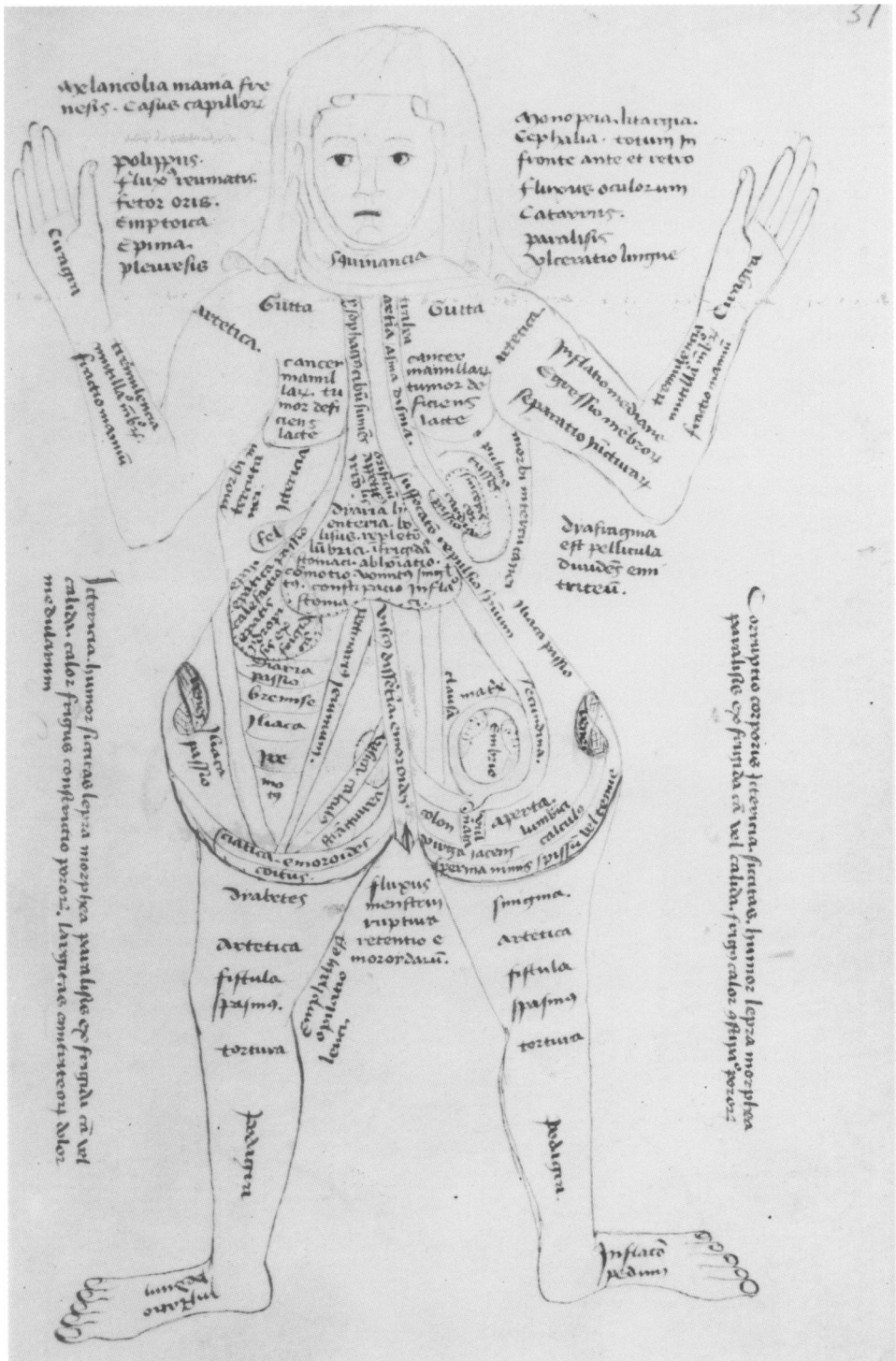


Figure 42: *Figura infirmitatum*, ms. lat. 11229, fol. 31r (cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris).

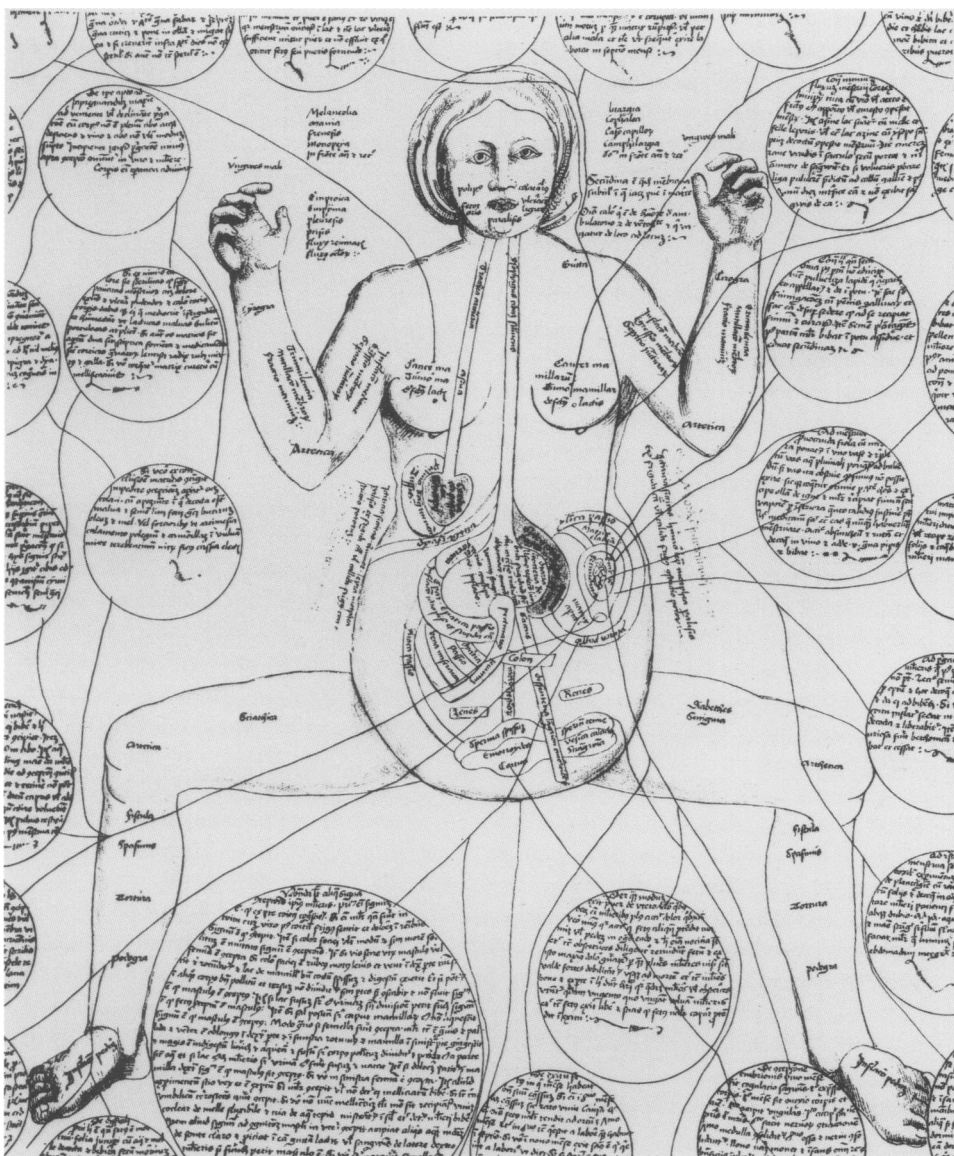


Figure 43: *Figura infirmitatum* (also described as a “gravidia figure”), ms. 1122, fol. 348r, (by permission of the University Library, Leipzig; photo: from K. B. Roberts and J. D. W. Tomlinson, *The fabric of the body*, Oxford, 1992).

widely used in anatomical illustrations contained in some medieval manuscripts, from the twelfth century onwards. It is to this late-medieval iconographical tradition that one should look in order to identify some of the formal elements that later would be taken up in the production of fugitive sheets. Indeed, the need to devise a technique for the simultaneous representation of the internal and external aspects of the human body was already strong at that time, and not only in the Christian West.

Five of the illustrations that accompany the anatomical text contained in Manuscript Ashmole 399 at the Bodleian Library in Oxford (Fig. 44) show a figure in a frog-like position. The contours are drawn rather imprecisely. Only a specific part of the anatomy is shown within each drawing: respectively, veins, arteries, muscles, nerves, bones. There is, again, no concern here with realism in the depiction of features, even less so in the representation of anatomical parts. The schematic representation, closer to a diagram than to an illustration, gives an approximate idea of the shape and location of some anatomical elements. The description of the reproductive organs, also in this manuscript, is illustrated with a simple diagram—almost a decoration—that merely indicates the spatial disposition of the parts.⁷

A rather crudely drawn skeleton in a thirteenth-century manuscript from the University Library in Basel (MS D.II.11)⁸ is shown in an identical position (Fig. 45). Anatomical images of this sort, however—anatomical diagrams drawn within a human figure in a frog-like position—exist also in the Islamic tradition, so are not specific to Western iconography. An example is a Persian anatomical manuscript, written in the late fourteenth century by Mansur ibn Ilyas and copied in the second half of the fifteenth century by Hasan ibn Ahmad (Fig. 46), where figures are represented in the frog-like position.⁹ It remains to be established whether there ever existed a common, more ancient iconographical source, to which the provenance of this model of anatomical representation adopted in both the medieval West and the East could be ascribed.

⁷ There are several versions of this series of anatomical images, called by Karl Sudhoff the *Fünfbilderserie*. See K. Sudhoff, *Tradition und Naturbeobachtung*, esp. pp. 24–8. On the *Fünfbilderserie*, see also L. C. MacKinney and B. H. Hill, jr, 'A new *Fünfbilderserie* manuscript—Vatican Palat. Lat. 1110', *Sudhoffs Archiv*, 1964, 48: 323–30; B. H. Hill, jr, 'The grain and the spirit in Medieval anatomy', *Speculum*, 1965, 40: 63–73; Y. Violé O'Neill, 'The *Fünfbilderserie* reconsidered', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 1969, 43: 236–45. I have not had the opportunity of consulting Hill's unpublished thesis, 'Fünfbilderserie in medieval anatomy', PhD. diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1963.

⁸ The figure is at fol. 169v. On this image and its tradition, see K. Sudhoff, *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Anatomie im Mittelalter speziell des anatomischen Graphik nach Handschriften des 9. bis 15. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 29–34.

⁹ This manuscript contains six anatomical images, one of which represents a pregnant woman. It is at the Duke University Medical Center (History of Medicine Collection), Trent MS. fol. 44r. On Islamic anatomical illustrations and manuscripts containing similar figures, see E. Savage-Smith, 'The depiction of human anatomy in the Islamic world', in F. Maddison and E. Savage-Smith, *Science, tools and magic. Part one: Body and spirit, mapping the universe* (London, 1997), pp. 14–24, for the anatomical manuscript in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection (MS. 387); and E. Savage-Smith, *Islamic culture and the medical arts* (Bethesda, MD, 1994), for the manuscript at the National Library of Medicine (Bethesda, MD), MS. P18. A more general and exhaustive overview of the frog-like figures in different versions and manuscripts of the *Tashrih-i Mansuri* (and of the Islamic medical tradition) by E. Savage-Smith is forthcoming in the monograph series 'Studies in the Khalili Collection'. See also J. E. Murdoch, *Album of science: Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (New York, 1984), no. 209. Murdoch points out that some Far Eastern—Thai and Tibetan—anatomical and medical images represent the human body in the same "gynaecological" position.

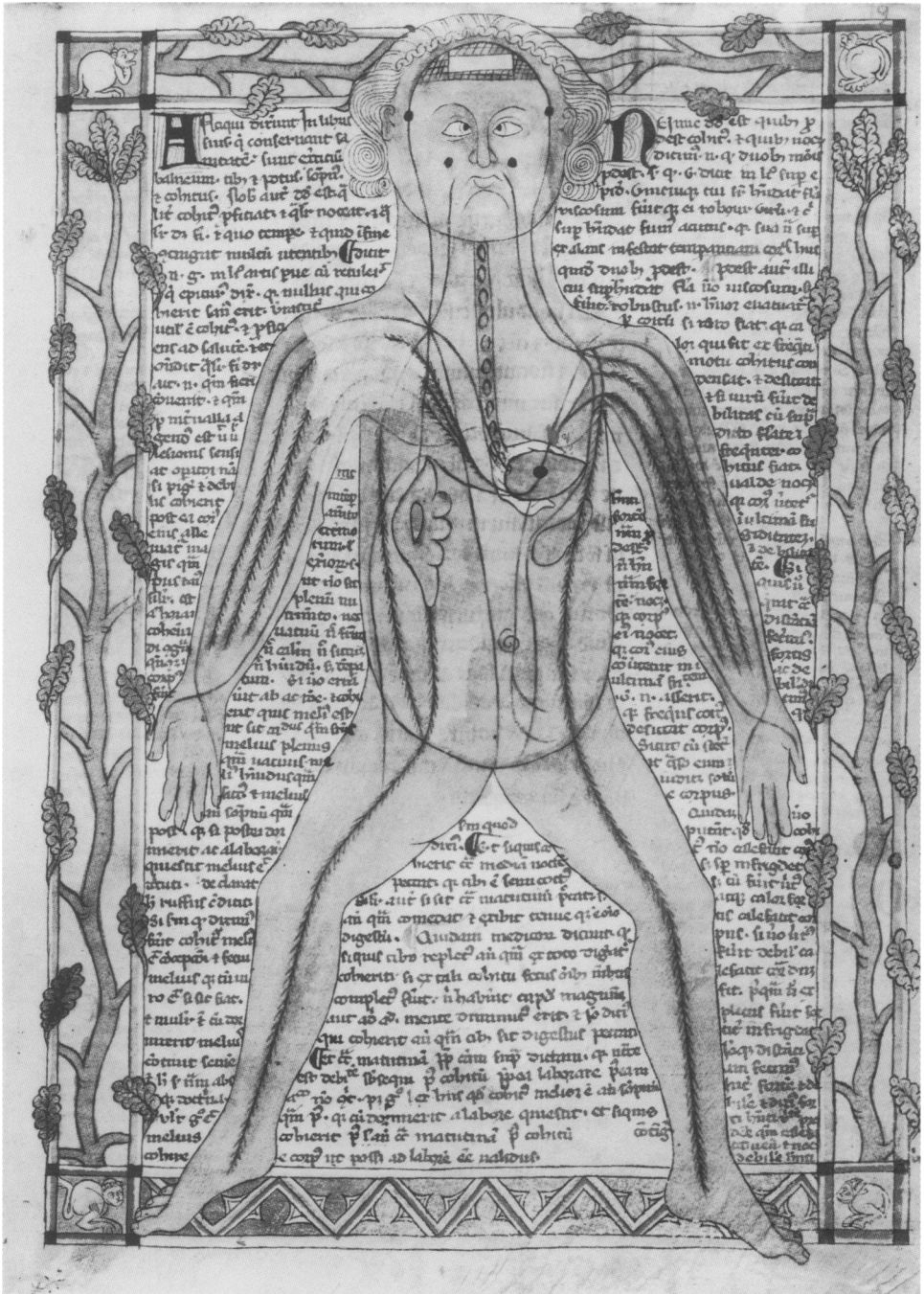


Figure 44: Anatomical figure. The arteries and the heart, ms. Ashmole 399, fol. 19r (Bodleian Library, Oxford).

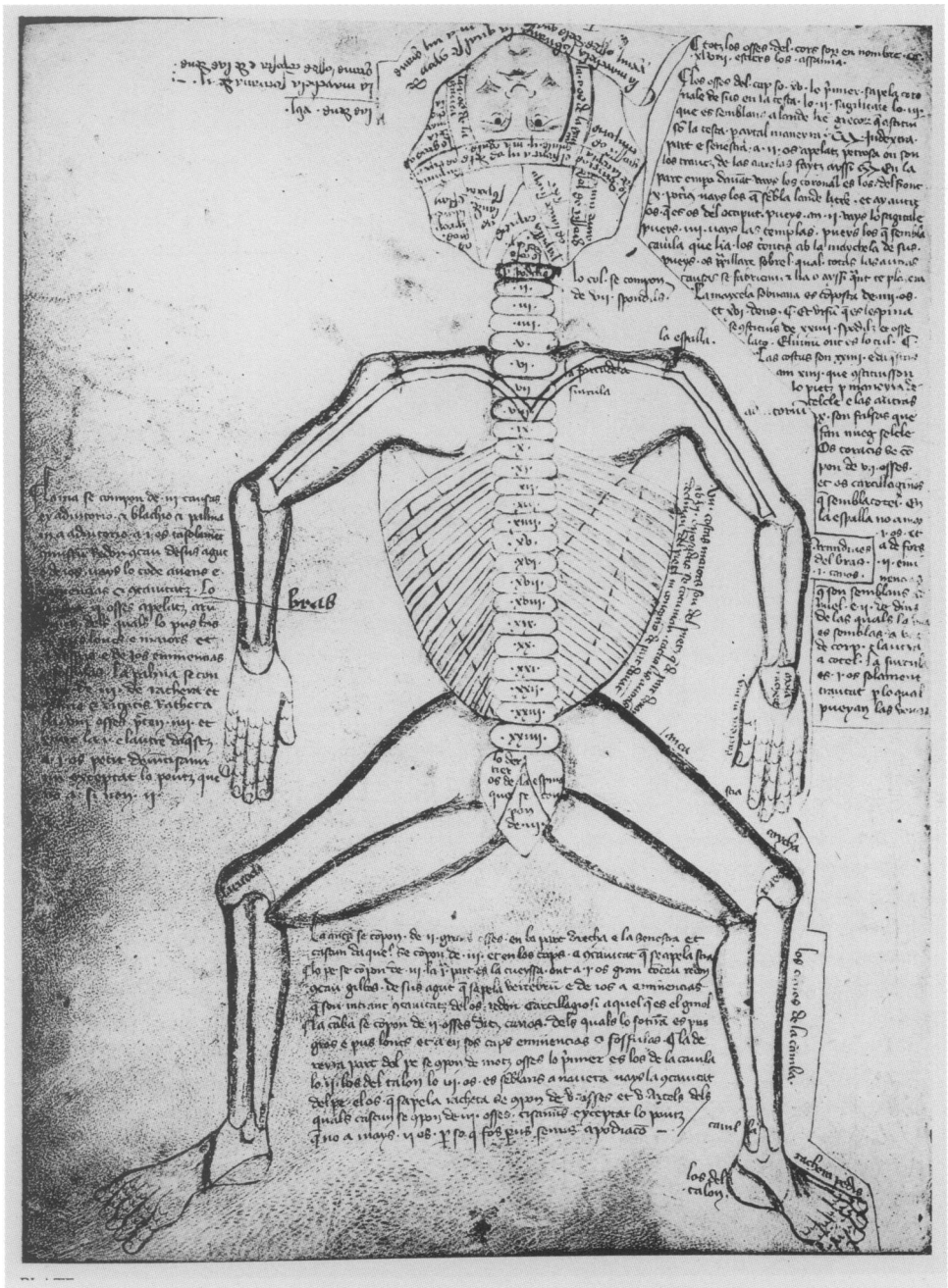


Figure 45: Skeletal figure, ms D.II.11, fol. 169v, University Library, Basel (from L. Choulant, *History and bibliography of anatomic illustration*, trans. and ed. M. Frank, Chicago, 1920; photo: Wellcome Library, London).

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Certainly the frog-like position was, in the late Middle Ages, the pictorial technique most used to solve the problem of the graphic representation of human internal anatomy; these are the images one can identify as the distant ancestors of the fugitive sheets with superimposed flaps. There were, however, two other techniques in use for anatomical illustration before the advent of printing. The first was adopted by the artist who, around 1412, drew the figures for the *De arte physicali et de cirurgia* by the English surgeon John Arderne.¹⁰ The body seems divided into two symmetrical parts, separated by a long sagittal median, in such a way as to show the internal anatomy of the skull, thorax and abdominal cavity (Fig. 47). In this unusual representation, the figure itself holds open the body, an iconographical trick which would be adopted later on by Vesalius and by Juan de Valverde in some of the illustrations to their anatomical treatises.

Another technique, closer to that adopted by the printers of fugitive sheets, was one used in some of the illustrations to Guido da Vigevano's *Anatomia*, in the 1345 manuscript at the Musée Condé.¹¹ A figure is drawn with a window open to the abdomen, through which one can view the internal organs (Fig. 48). Although it seems improbable to me that Vogtherr and his circle would have known this Guido da Vigevano manuscript, the figure does contain a forerunner of the idea of paper flaps characteristic of anatomical fugitive sheets, and of a body whose insides become visible as one strips its layers.¹²

Imago Contrafacta

The passage from manuscript to print did not, as we have seen with the *gravid*a figure of the *Fasciculus medicinae*, bring with it any major or radical change to the techniques of representation of the human anatomy. Another instance of this is the case of the two sheets published by Johann Schott in Strasbourg in 1517—and an account of it may help us to consider more directly the cultural and geographical contexts in which the fugitive sheets were invented. Schott had the two sheets, which represent respectively a skeleton (Fig. 49) and a dissected body (Fig. 33), bound with Hans Gersdorff's *Feldtbuch der*

¹⁰ The manuscript is in the Royal Library in Stockholm (ms. X 118). It was published in facsimile and translated by Sir D'Arcy Power, *De arte physicali et de cirurgia of Master John Arderne* (London, 1922).

¹¹ Musée Condé (Chantilly), ms. 334, fol. 264r. On these figures and on images of the body in medieval manuscripts in general, see M. Camille, 'The image and the self: unwriting late medieval bodies', in S. Kay and M. Rubin (eds), *Framing medieval bodies* (Manchester, 1994), pp. 62–99.

¹² It might be possible to find other sources, also from the late Middle Ages and not only in anatomical and medical iconography, in which such figures are used. One of these could be the so-called "vierges ouvrantes", or "Schreinmadonna", wood sculptures of the seated Virgin with Child, bearing on the front two shutters that open. The inside of the Virgin's body is decorated with sculpted and/or painted scenes and figures, generally of three subjects—the Passion, the Marian cult, and the Trinity. The first such "vierges ouvrantes" appeared in the thirteenth century, though they were still being made in the seventeenth century. One of the major areas in which they were produced, and widely distributed, was that around the Franco-German border, in Alsace in particular. One could infer from this that the artisans and artists of the region began this tradition of figures with doors, and that the invention of anatomical sheets is a product of it. There is, however, no solid documentary evidence and too few bibliographical references to support this hypothesis. I am grateful to Jean Wirth for having drawn my attention to the existence of the "vierges ouvrantes". For a catalogue raisonné of surviving examples, see Gudrun Radler, *Die Schreinmadonna, 'vierge ouvrante'. Von den Bernhardinischen Anfängen bis zur Frauenmystik im Deutschordensland* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990).

Wundtartzney, which he printed in the same year.¹³ The skeleton—as stated in the letterpress—has been copied from one on the tomb of Duke Albrecht, Bishop of Strasbourg, at Zabern carved by Master Niclaus. The technique used for the display of the names of the bones has been taken from a woodcut by the French physician Richard Helain, published in Nuremberg in 1493 (Fig. 50). Helain in turn had copied the figure from a manuscript of medical texts written in 1454 by Étienne Beludet (Fig. 51).¹⁴

The skeleton published by Schott is surrounded by the Latin names of the bones, while a brief German text in verse—meditations on the theme of death in twenty-four lines—is printed under the image. The other sheet, bearing the title *Ein contrafact Anatomy der inneren glyderen des menschen . . .* shows in a schematic way the disposition of the organs within the human body. Around the main figure are placed seven smaller images of the anatomy of the head. The names of the organs are here in German, as are the title and the text at the bottom of the woodcut.

Fugitive sheets with superimposed flaps clearly owe a lot to this image: the derivation can be traced in the use of small complementary images that surround the main illustration and, above all, in the mode of representation of the internal organs, both by the shape of the aperture drawn into the torso and by the way in which the organs are schematized. The author of the image is Hans Wechtlin (or Wächtlin) who, as is reported in the last paragraph of the first treatise of the *Feldtbuch*, drew from life the corpse of a man condemned to death, hanged in Strasbourg in 1517 and dissected by the doctor Wendelinus Hock von Brackenaw.¹⁵ The position of the head is clearly that resulting from executions by hanging, and, as far as I know, this is the only anatomical sheet in which the subject is actually represented as a cadaver. The image's realism is therefore all the more acute, and its scientific content all the more accurate.

The adjectives “contrafact” and “contrafacter” appear in the title of the two sheets published by Schott. Words derived from the same Latin root (*contrafacere*, *contrafactus*) constantly recur in subsequent editions of fugitive sheets with superimposed flaps, including those of Vogtherr, de Negker, Guldenmundt, Frölich, Wechel, Rauch, Corthois, Lang, and in the bilingual edition of Sylvester van Parijs (“Abconterfettung”, “Conterfettung”). In a recent article Peter Parshall drew attention to these Latin terms (and to their vernacular variants).¹⁶ They recur in the iconography of northern European printing, and refer to the veracity of the reproduced image. Often they are used in the titles

¹³ Hans Gersdorff, *Feldtbuch der Wundtartzney*, Strasbourg, Johann Schott, 1517. On these two broadsheets, see L. Choulant, *History and bibliography of anatomic illustration* (Chicago, 1920), pp. 162–6. Choulant states that a separate copy of the dissected body “belonged formerly as a fugitive sheet in Meuselbach’s library and as such came to the Royal Library in Berlin”. He gives as his source: Sotzmann, *Deutsches Kunstblatt*, 1852, no. 2.

¹⁴ The manuscript is ms. fr. 19994 in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, copied in 1454 by Étienne Beludet for a “barbier” (fol. 9v). It contains medical works by Guy de Chauliac, Lanfranc, Jean Le Lièvre and Hippocrates. The skeleton is on fol. 38v. On the Bibliothèque nationale manuscript and Helain’s print, see K. Sudhoff, *Ein Beitrag . . .*, esp. pp. 44–9. A 1501 edition of “Helain’s skeleton”, published in Leipzig by Wolfgang Stoeckel with some differences from the 1493 edition, is bound inside a copy of Magnus Hundt’s *Antropologium* at the British Library (*Antropologium de hominis dignitate, natura, et proprietatibus . . .*, (Leipzig, 1501)); another version is included in three editions of the *Hortus sanitatis* printed by Johann Prüss at Strasbourg about 1496–97.

¹⁵ H. Gersdorff, *Feldtbuch*, ch. 12, fol. 13v.

¹⁶ P. Parshall, ‘Imago contrafacta: images and facts in the northern Renaissance’, *Art History*, 1993, 16: 554–79.

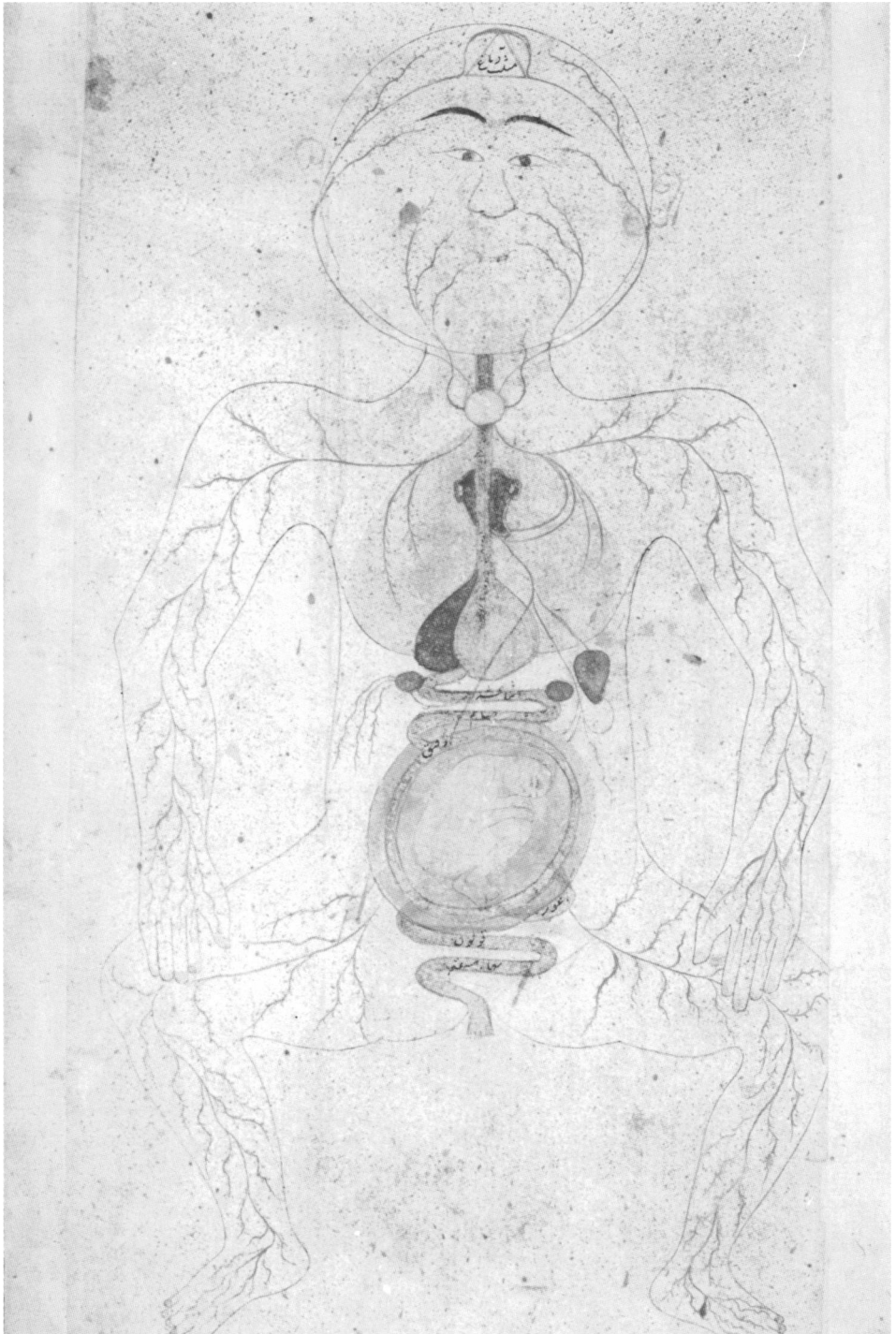


Figure 46: Pregnant anatomical figure. Mansur ibn Ilyas, *Tashrih-i Mansuri*. Trent ms. fol. 44r (property of Duke University Medical Center Library, History of Medicine Collections, Durham, NC).

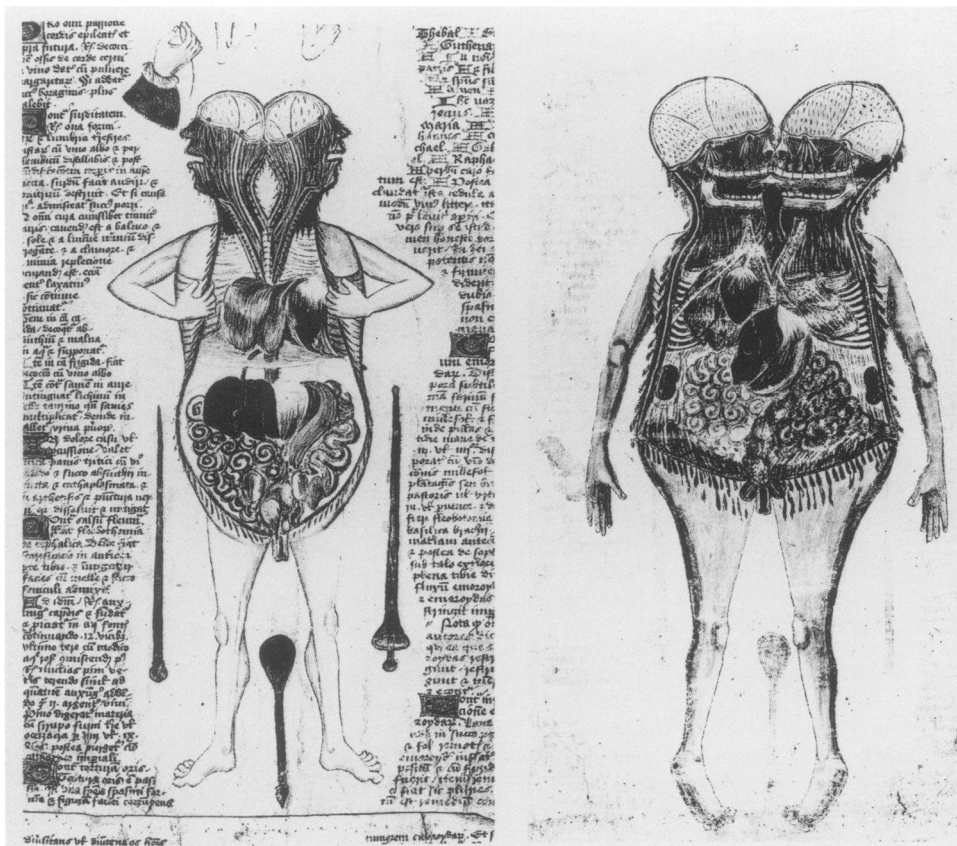


Figure 47: Two anatomical figures (sagittal sections), ms X. 118 (Collections of the Swedish Royal Library, Stockholm).

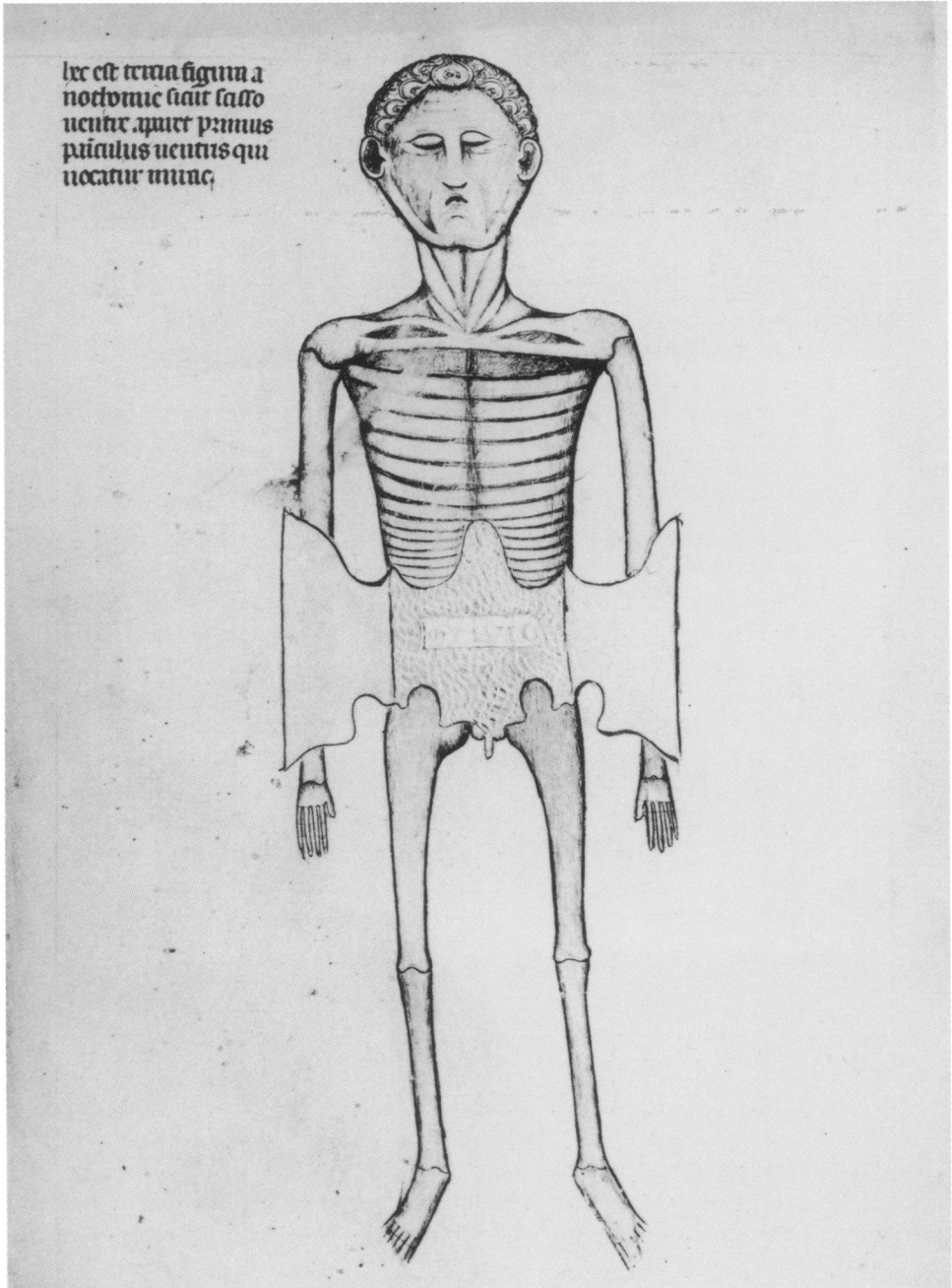
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of woodcuts bearing portraits, copies of icons, and especially naturalistic images as well as images that record testimony of extraordinary events, miracles and monstrous births.

Contrafactus is a somewhat ambiguous Latin term; it can mean “copy” or “reproduction” of a model, or “portrait”, “effigy”; it can also mean “imitation”—a fundamental concept in Renaissance art theory—both in the sense of “true resemblance” and in the sense of “counterfeit”, or “falsification”, “forgery” in the modern sense. In the context of northern European artistic production, the word has a dual, albeit quite precise meaning: the *imago contrafacta* is a faithful copy of another image, or a realistic representation of something that the artist claims to have *personally* witnessed: it designates the exact and detailed, not the invented representation of an object or event. In calling the image he himself has created a “contrafact”, the artist claims to be a simple eyewitness and reports only what he has seen. These images are conceived as objective descriptions, devoid of the artist’s imaginative input, informative and able in principle to transmit data seized direct from reality. When Schott charged Christian Egenolff with plagiarism—for having had copies made of Hans Weiditz’s botanical illustrations from the first two volumes of Otto Brunfels’s herbarium, published by Schott in 1530, and for having printed them in the *Kreutterbuch von allem Erdgewächs* (Frankfurt, 1533)—Egenolff justified himself by declaring: “And if indeed these herbs appear somewhat alike, your Graces should consider whether rosemary, asphodel, borage, or another specimen can be painted or portrayed in some manner or shape other than it truly is”.¹⁷ By posing the problem of iconographical representation in this way, by denying the existence of artistic ownership, he managed to overthrow the very concept of plagiarism, indeed to render redundant the very notion of an author. This double meaning (where an image can be a copy of another image, or, inversely, a faithful copy of reality) became particularly significant in the new context afforded by the printing process. The authors of *imagines contrafactae* became promoters of the transmission of knowledge, mediators of facts and experiences passed on in iconographical form and according to a criterion of objective imitation. They were able to inform through images an ever-growing public, a public whose very expansion, indeed, was a function of the advent of mechanical, printed reproduction. And print was the means through which the *imago contrafacta*, once produced, was disseminated and, as it were, let loose in a world in which it could be appropriated by anyone.

All the ingredients that make up the *imagines contrafactae* play a notable role, one that should be taken into consideration in Schott’s sheets as well as in the fugitive sheets with superimposed flaps published later on, especially in Germany. The titles of the fugitive sheets allude to the veridical, non-imaginary character of the representation of human anatomy, to the thoroughness and reliability of the pictorial representation of real or iconographical models. Direct observation is implied, or at least presumed, in the term *contrafactus*, and in anatomical iconography—as in botany and zoology—this is crucial in conferring on iconographical documents the value of objective testimony. In parallel, the use of the term *contrafactus* and of its cognates acquired market-value in the context

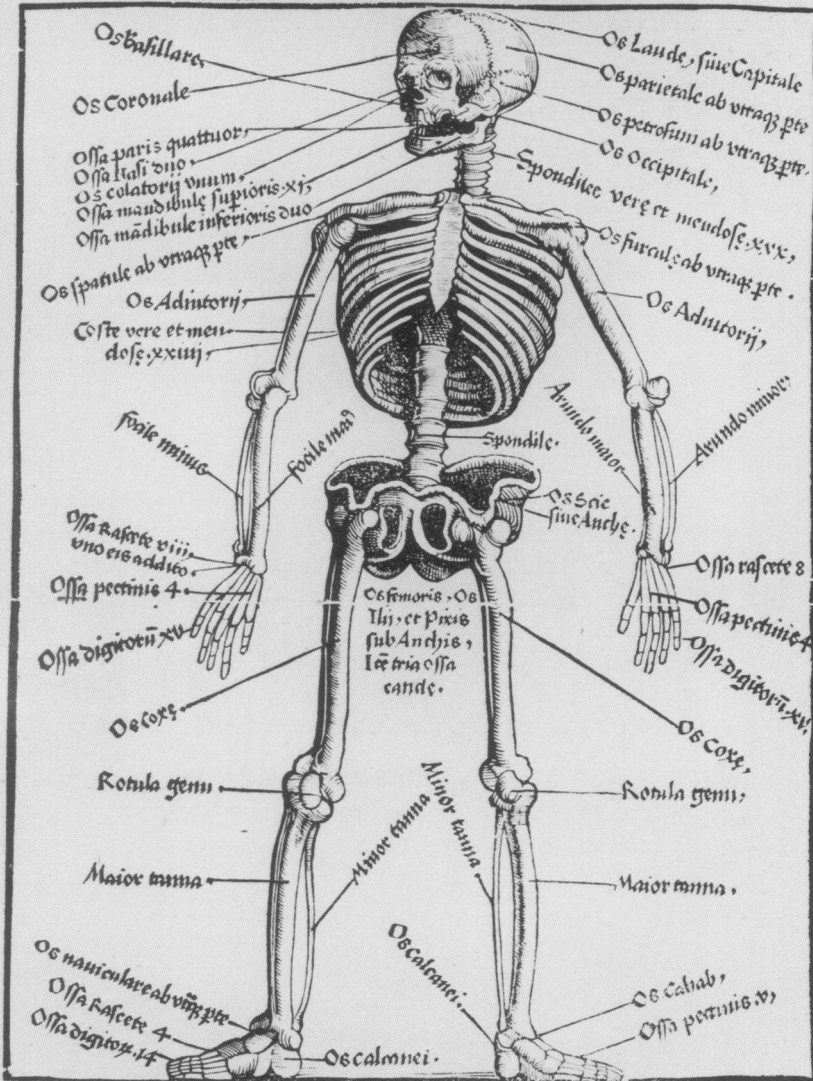
¹⁷ The documents relating to the trial were first published by H. Grotefend, *Christian Egenolff der erste ständige Buchdrucker zu Frankfurt a. M. und seine Vorläufer* (Frankfurt/Main, 1881), pp. 16–17. I quote here from the translation in P. Marshall, ‘Imago contrafacta’, p. 569, in which there is an accurate account of the document and its implications.



hec est tertia figura a
nocturnic hanc casto
uente apert primus
pūculus uentris qui
uocatur mīac,

Figure 48: Anatomical figure with flaps, Guido da Vigevano, *Anathomia*. ms 334, fol. 264r Musée Condé, Chantilly (from E. Wickersheimer (ed.), *Anatomies de Mondino dei Luzzi et de Guido de Vigevano*, Paris, 1926; photo: Wellcome Library, London).

Ein Contrafacter Todt mit seinen bainen fugen vndgliedern vnd
 gewerben/auf beuelh loblicher gedechtnus hertzog Albrechts Bischoff zu Straßburg
 durch maister Nicolaus Byldhauwer zu Zaberem warlich in steyn abgehawen/vn nach
 anzahl rechter gewyßer Anatomy mit sein latinischen namen verificiert .



¶ Der Tode bin ich grausam vngstalt
 Vnd doch des lebens auffenthalte.
 Wann ich flaisch/adern leblich trag/
 Behalt all glyder vest on klag.
 Allain so ich stand offennbar/
 Heraus pliers/fleische/hut,dazü har
 So hat all welt ein schüh an mir/
 O mensch betrachte dein werd gezyer
 Wiehoch du bist geschöpfft von Got/
 Vnd dich so ellend würffst yns tot.
 Fleischlicher byrd/der la ster vil/
 zergenglich als der schnee mit wyl

Kain bleibliche hast auf erden mit/
 reichthüß/schön gwalt,vnd all fürbit
 Dich mügen vhalten in kein weg/
 Vom leben müßt zü codes steg.
 Der du bist was ich/jung/schön starck
 Werd/edel/reich/lyg hie on marc.
 On leblich krafft der würmen aß
 Erkenn dich mensch on vnderlaß
 Gland mir/erschrocklich bin ich zwar/
 Vnd trag dir doch güte warnung vor
 Ehr Got/deyn acht,die welt vernicht/
 Dein seelenig/der leyb verblicht.

Figure 49: Ein Contrafacter Todt . . . , Strasbourg, J. Schott, 1517, woodcut (Wellcome Library, London).

of printed iconographical production in general, and in the case of fugitive sheets in particular. Apart from the case of Wechtlin, who reproduced a corpse dissected in Strasbourg in 1517, no sixteenth-century sheet seems to have been produced from the direct observation of a dissection. Most were copies, plagiarisms, adaptations of previous images, that played on the ambiguity of the term *contrafactus* to capture the attention of their potential users. This tells us something about the nature of plagiarism: it is no accident that it is the Printer, never the Author (of the drawing or text), who is referred to in anatomical fugitive sheets—the broadsheet printer’s function is simply to put on the market an artefact, created once and endlessly reproduced, which illustrates the human body and its anatomy as faithfully and objectively as possible.

The Strasbourg Connection

Johann Schott was certainly one of the most enterprising printers of the first half of the sixteenth century. He played an important role, in the 1520s, in the establishment of Protestantism in Strasbourg, and like many other editors of the time devoted a great deal of his energy to the publication of polemical works and of works of religious doctrine.¹⁸ His catalogue, however, was also rich in scientific and technical works, many of them published in German. Like his colleagues in Strasbourg and elsewhere, Schott quickly realised that with printing the book and print market could be expanded to encompass a public that had previously been excluded. Great printers and booksellers like Johann Grüninger, Wolfgang Köpfel, Christian Egenolff (who would later move to Frankfurt), Balthasar Beck—who had published Walter Ryff’s anatomies—and small printers, like Jacob Cammerlander, Jacob Frölich and Heinrich Vogtherr himself, continued, along with Schott, to print works destined for the educated public, while also aiming at a larger market by producing books in the vernacular on subjects of general interest, simplifying form and content for the sake of accessibility.

The new vernacular production included religious works and light literature—such as tales, songs and poems drawn from the oral tradition and printed for the popular market—but not only these. Printers, booksellers and printsellers, from the very first decades of the sixteenth century, identified a potential market for printed texts and artefacts of a practical nature, in which knowledge and techniques, previously the exclusive preserve of professional and craft guilds and usually passed down orally, were made available to the public, free of the corporate ties that had kept them locked away in secrecy. These were manuals of agriculture, jewellery, metallurgy, and, of course, medicine, surgery and pharmacology, destined for non-professionals and aimed at increasing the spread of such specialist knowledge.¹⁹

The two woodcuts by Wechtlin that Schott published in 1517 and their editorial fate during the course of the sixteenth century fit into this broader cultural context and constitute a paradigmatic example of the kind of strategy adopted to open the book market to new outlets. What Schott did to stretch the social and cultural boundaries within which the woodcuts could be marketed was quite simple. The text in verse which accompanies the

¹⁸ On Schott and the publishing world in sixteenth-century Strasbourg in general, see M. U. Chrisman, *Lay culture, learned culture* (New Haven and London, 1982).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, esp. pp. 171–91.

.. Anathomia Ossium totius humani Corporis ..

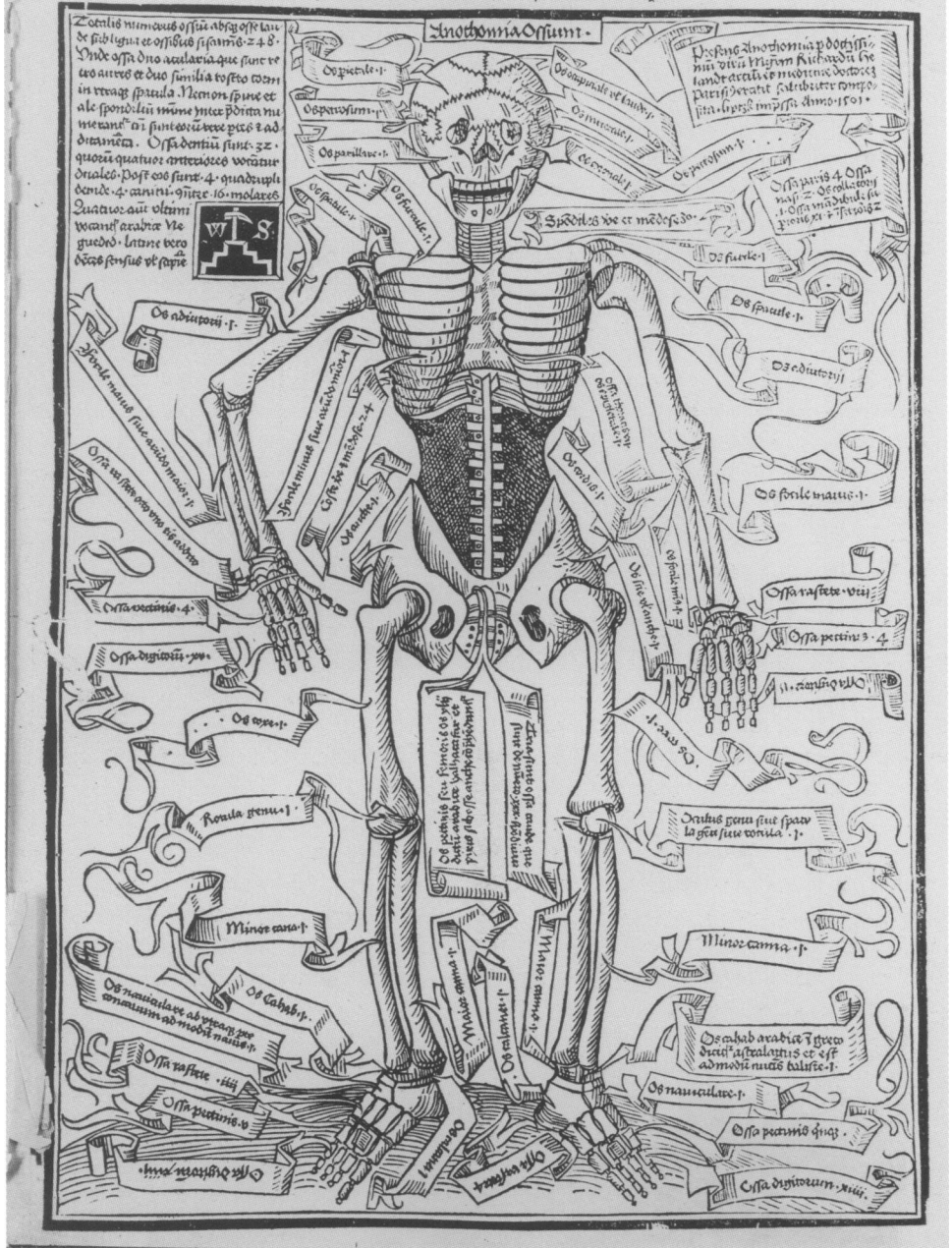


Figure 50: Richard Helain, *Anathomia ossium totius humani corporis*, Leipzig, Wolfgang Stoeckel, 1501, woodcut (by permission of the British Library, London: shelfmark IA.22560(1)).

image of the skeleton insists on the skeleton's macabre denotation—it induces fear and plays the role of a *memento mori* that leads to the honouring of God. The skeleton is here to remind us of the soul's survival beyond death, and, conversely, of the fate of our mortal remains.²⁰ The association of an anatomical image with a moralistic text in which the reader is invited to reflect upon the meaning of life and death is quite obviously inspired by the theme of the “dance of death” common in late-medieval iconography and particularly vivid in German woodcuts from the first decades following the advent of print, surviving in popular as well as learned versions well into the Romantic era.²¹ This association—which occurs again and again in fugitive sheets from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—affords a reading of the woodcuts as anatomical images while allowing for different interpretations and uses, and for different audiences. The adoption of a theme that mattered in popular culture (and not only there) broadened the appeal of woodcuts, while concurrently assigning to anatomy a value of concern to the non-specialist public. The anatomy Schott was able to show and uncover with the means of this simple manipulation, once the reflection of a body of knowledge necessary for the practice of medicine or for the training of natural philosophers, became the terrain on which to reflect upon the meaning of life and death, on the fragility and transience of physical life, as opposed to the immortality of the soul. This kind of anatomy was no longer confined to the university lecture-room: it was a matter of concern to larger segments of society.

It was with such an increase in their public appeal in mind that Schott printed Wechtlin's woodcuts as fugitive sheets: they could be bought as such, but also bound inside other texts relevant in one way or another to anatomy. Hans Gersdorff's *Feldtbuch der Wundtartzney* was one of these. Gersdorff was a military surgeon who had written his book on the basis of his own experience of military campaigns, notably in Lorraine, Alsace and Switzerland. The book, he says, was conceived to make available to all barbers and surgeons the techniques and methods he had discovered and tested during the course of his career. In 1518, a year after the publication of the *Feldtbuch*, Schott's sheets appeared bound in another book: Lorenz Fries's *Spiegel der Artzny*, also published in Strasbourg by Johann Grüninger. Unlike Gersdorff, Fries was a member of the Strasbourg medical élite and university-trained, and the *Spiegel* is an instance of a different approach to medical knowledge from that of the *Feldtbuch*. After a philosophical disquisition in which he describes mankind according to humoral theory, Fries offers a series of recipes and remedies for the cure of common illnesses. His text is entirely based on the writings of a well-established tradition of university medical teaching—showing a predilection for Arabic medicine—without any reference to the doctor's personal, direct experience. But both the contents of the book and the fact that it was written in the vernacular show that, notwithstanding the nature of Fries's approach and his professional status, both author and printer were aware of the, at least potential, existence of a new public, less educated and less informed, for whom it was worth ensuring that the *Spiegel* should be easy to read and use.²²

²⁰ The title is: *Ein Contrafactor Todt mit seinen bainen fugen und glidern und gewerben, auf beueth loblicher gedechtnus . . . und nach anzaig rechter gewysser Anatomey mit sein latinischen namen verificiert.*

²¹ J. Wirth, *La jeune fille et la mort. Recherches sur les thèmes macabres dans l'art germanique de la Renaissance* (Geneva, 1979).

²² Fries's book, like Wechtlin's illustrations, was clearly successful: only a few months later Grüninger decided to republish the *Spiegel* with the same figures, printed this time not from Schott's blocks but from new ones that he had had cut for the new edition.

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Both the *Feldtbuch* and the *Spiegel* were a tremendous success and were reprinted numerous times during the first half of the sixteenth century, proof that there was indeed a non-specialist, non-learned public whose members were not familiar with Latin, but who were interested in acquiring the knowledge and technical skills that until then had been the monopoly of intellectual and professional elites.

The various ways in which Wechtlin's woodcuts were distributed and sold—as fugitive sheets, together with a manual for surgeons and barbers or bound in a text written by a university-trained doctor—testify to their flexibility, and show the adaptability of anatomical discourse to a variety of contexts once a readership no longer bound to one social, professional or cultural class began to be able to interpret and appropriate it. The woodcuts published by Schott in 1517 thus appear to be a model for fugitive sheets with superimposed flaps not only in terms of form, of their status as *imagines contrafactae*, but also, and mostly, in the “spirit” in which they were produced and published, and with which the Strasbourg publishing world, consisting of a large number of printers, booksellers and wood-block cutters, was imbued in the first decades of the sixteenth century. When Vogtherr arrived in Strasbourg in late 1525 or 1526, he rapidly became a part of this milieu and a participant in its culture and business. He received commissions for graphic work from Johann Prüss, Johann Grüninger, Christian Egenolff, Balthasar Beck, Wolfgang Köpfel and Johann Schott himself. There were minor commissions for such things as decorative frontispieces, but also more important and complex ones, like the illustrations to a vernacular edition of the New Testament published by Grüninger, and for Köpfel's more scholarly 1530 Bible. He produced, at around the same time, images for medical texts, such as Lorenz Fries' *Eyn Clarer bericht von dem holtz Guaiaco*.²³ But of particular interest to us is his collaboration with Schott, through which one can trace a link—as yet hypothetical—between Wechtlin's woodcuts and the appearance of fugitive sheets with superimposed flaps. Vogtherr certainly did know these images since he worked as a woodcut designer for Johann Schott in 1527, at the very time when Schott was reprinting Gersdorff's *Feldtbuch*.²⁴

Vogtherr was versatile in his activities: besides working as a printer, author and woodcut designer involved in the Protestant movement, publishing texts and images aimed at the diffusion of Reformation ideas, he also made and published a series of technical and educational works: some dealt with specific aspects of medicine (such as urology, anatomy, ophthalmology), others included geographical maps, views, political and religious propaganda, allegories, coats of arms, *imagines contrafactae* of monstrous births and extraordinary events, even a manual of ornamental motifs for artisans.²⁵ Vogtherr's scientific texts allow ample space for illustrations; they have a small number

²³ Published by Grüninger in 1529.

²⁴ Vogtherr was responsible for the decorative figures of Biblical heroines on the title-page of the thirteenth book of Otto Brunfels's *Pandectarum . . . Libri XXII*, published by Schott in Strasbourg in March 1527, and of the frontispiece to William Roy and Jerome Barlow's *Rede me and be nott wrothe . . .*, published, again, by Schott, in 1528. An analysis of Vogtherr's first works appears in F. Muller, 'Les premières années (1526–1530) de l'activité de Heinrich Vogtherr à Strasbourg', *Revue d'Alsace*, 1987, 113: 129–250.

²⁵ The *Kunstbüchlein*, first published in Strasbourg in 1538, was reprinted many times until the early seventeenth century. Still in 1538, in the same city, Vogtherr published *Ein Newes hochnutzliches Büchlin von erkantnis der kranckeyten der Augen . . .*—a small quarto volume of 12 leaves, replete with woodcuts of the structure of the eye—and a text on urine, *Eyn kunstreichs warhafftigs und wolgegründtes urteil und secret büchlin, des harns . . .*

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of pages, and their language is simple and vernacular, as was the case with the texts he published on religious themes. For one of these, *Eyn Schöne und Gotselige kurtzweil eines Christlichen Lossbüchs*, published in Strasbourg in 1539, Vogtherr designed a volvelle made of superimposed disks rotating around each other and around a bone pivot—a device which shows, as do the fugitive sheets, just how much he was wont to invent unusual methods of communication aimed at capturing the public's attention.²⁶ Vogtherr's publishing activities, particularly those that engaged him during his first Strasbourg period (from 1526 to 1541), show his determination to use printing technology (applied both to text and image) to help foster the circulation and spread of ideas and knowledge through those strata of society that were less familiar with books—aiming at the very same groups as the other Strasbourg printers and booksellers with whom Vogtherr had collaborated occasionally.

By contextualising the conception and realisation of the anatomical broadsheets within the Strasbourg publishing world of the first decades of the sixteenth century, the connection between Schott and Vogtherr appears indisputable, as does the attribution to the latter of the first fugitive sheets. Some precious indications emerge, too, about the reason for their editorial success and diffusion: it is that, from the very beginning, their public was culturally very varied, the anatomical knowledge they gave could be read on a variety of levels, and they were pliable and adaptable to various contexts and uses.

Corner Presses and Printers' Networks

The invention of fugitive sheets with superimposed flaps had an immediate, remarkable commercial success. As we have seen in chapter two, there was within the space of a few years an extraordinary proliferation of editions, produced in various European publishing centres. They are all more or less direct copies of Vogtherr's sheets, they preserve the same general layout, give or take a few textual and iconographical variations. By following the thread, throughout Europe, of the fugitive sheets' publishing history and their diffusion through Germany, Flanders, France, Italy and England between the 1530s and 1550s, a group of printers can be identified who were all, albeit each perhaps for a different reason, intent on finding new outlets in the press and print market. The case of Strasbourg, sketched in the preceding pages, is in fact not an isolated one: printers established themselves during those years throughout Europe, assuming, through their own productions, the function of cultural mediators, adapting and publishing texts and images conceived for a wide public whose affiliations with a socio-cultural group were ill-defined. A brief look at some of the people involved in the production of anatomical fugitive sheets can help to trace the various, more or less direct relationships among print workshops all over Europe, and thus provide one explanation for these sheets' wide availability, while also providing some insights into their cultural context.

²⁶ On Vogtherr, see F. Muller, *Heinrich Vogtherr l'ancien. Un artiste entre Renaissance et réforme* (Wiesbaden, 1997). Some other information on Vogtherr can be found in the book written by his descendant F. Vogtherr, *Geschichte der Familie Vogtherr* (Ansbach, 1908). See also F. Muller, 'Heinrich Vogtherr, alias Henricus Satrapitanus, alias the "Master H.S. with the Cross"', *Print Quarterly*, 1987, 4: 274–82. For a synthetic overview of Vogtherr's biography and works, see F. Muller, 'Heinrich Vogtherr der Ältere (1490–1556). Aspekte seines Lebens und Werkes', *Jahrbuch des historischen Vereins Dillingen*, 1990, 92: 173–276.

When Vogtherr, in 1538, published his fugitive sheets, Jost de Negker reprinted—as we have seen—the female figure in Augsburg, and in 1539 made a copy of Vesalius's *Tabulae*, publishing them in German. Augsburg was an important centre in the history of printmaking, thanks to the great print and woodcut projects financed by the Emperor Maximilian I at the beginning of the sixteenth century.²⁷ Maximilian had quickly sensed the potential for printed reproduction, and particularly woodcut images, to function as an instrument of political propaganda. His editorial projects were co-ordinated in Augsburg, seat of the Imperial Council. Maximilian commissioned, apart from the publication of illustrated texts designed to celebrate the glories of the court and praise the princely patron, the production of a series of prints like the *Genealogy of the Habsburgs*, and of monumental woodcuts like the *Triumphal arch* or the *Triumphal procession*, worked on by the greatest artists of the time—Albrecht Dürer, Hans Burgkmair, Albrecht Altdorfer, Lucas Cranach, and the blockcutter Jost de Negker himself. Many of these works were to remain unfinished because of Maximilian's death in 1519, after which this community of wood-block cutters was dispersed around Europe. De Negker remained in Augsburg and, like some of his colleagues, started a workshop of his own, becoming the designer, printer, and seller of his own woodcuts. He now united his ability to produce the work, acquired during his apprenticeship in Maximilian's group, with his ambition to print and sell it.²⁸ De Negker became the printer to successful artists such as Burgkmair, while commissioning drawings from other artists which he himself would cut into wood-blocks, print, and sell. For his business to survive, however, he was obliged also to print plagiarisms and copies of other works with guaranteed commercial viability. Vesalius's *Tabulae* and Vogtherr's female figure were among these, along with, for instance, Hans Holbein the Younger's *Dance of Death*, in the version by Heinrich Vogtherr—a successful iconographical theme, both in cultured circles and with the wider public.²⁹ It is, however, impossible to ascertain whether de Negker used Vogtherr's drawings or even the block that Vogtherr left with him temporarily, or whether he actually plagiarised them in the strict sense.³⁰ It is a fact, however, that de Negker had recourse to Vogtherr's drawings on more than one occasion, and that the works which he copied and printed—for purely commercial reasons—include two highly popular subjects: the female anatomy and the Dance of Death.

The publication of the anatomical sheets is a consequence of the increasing numbers everywhere in Europe of small print-and-sale workshops similar to the one de Negker

²⁷ For a general description of Maximilian's projects, see L. Baldass, *Der Künstlerkreis Kaiser Maximilians* (Vienna, 1923).

²⁸ On Jost de Negker and the evolution of his career, see D. Landau and P. Parshall, *The Renaissance print, 1470–1550* (New Haven and London, 1994), pp. 206–12.

²⁹ The Dance of Death is a recurrent theme in popular and colportage literature. For the case of France, see C. Nisard, *Histoire des livres populaires ou de la littérature de colportage depuis l'origine de l'imprimerie jusqu'à l'établissement de la commission d'examen des livres de colportage* (Paris, 1968; 1st ed. 2 vols, 1854), pp. 275ff; R. Mandrou, *De la culture populaire aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* (Paris, 1975, first ed. 1964), pp. 133ff; G. Bollème, *La Bible bleue. Anthologie d'une littérature "populaire"* (Paris, 1975), p. 47.

³⁰ It is impossible to establish with certainty, on the basis of the reproductions available to me, whether the female figures of de Negker and of Vogtherr respectively were printed from the same wood-blocks or not. That the drawing of the female figure from the Augsburg edition of 1538 should nevertheless be attributed to Vogtherr is a hypothesis put forward by F. Muller in 'Heinrich Vogtherr, alias Henricus Satrapitanus', p. 278. If this were indeed the case, Jost de Negker would only have made the woodcuts and printed the fugitive sheet. He did in fact sign the woodcut "Jost de Negker *Formschneider*".

founded in Augsburg. The appearance of these small businesses is a crucial episode in the history of woodcut (and of printing in general): it marks the beginning of a process which eventually would lead to the professional and commercial independence of wood-block cutters, no longer bound to the workshops of great artists and large printing houses which had hired or commissioned them, and certainly no longer dependent on them for their professional survival. Small workshops of this kind were founded, for example, by many publishers of anatomical broadsheets—Vogtherr and Jacob Frölich in Strasbourg, Hans Guldenmundt in Nuremberg, Cornelis Bos and Sylvester van Parijs in Antwerp, Gilles Godet in London, Alain de Matonnière in Paris. They usually only had one press, and produced for the most part works that would be guaranteed a commercial success; they added brief texts to the iconographical elements, and published works in a variety of subjects and genres in order to conquer larger parts of the market; they printed unpublished works, though in order to make ends meet, they did not hesitate to take on ideas and works already used by others.³¹ These corner-press printers, especially in Germany and in parts of Flanders, signed the works they published as *Formschneider* or as *Briefmaler*. These two words denote the activities, in these first independent printmaking firms, concerned with the publication of texts and drawings which were commissioned from other authors or simply copied, and which the corner-press printer then transferred on to the block in the workshop, printed as a broadsheet and sold to the general public.³² These works included maps, representations of contemporary military and political events, political propaganda and religious polemics, portraits of important local figures and of the great actors of the Protestant reformation, satires and allegories on religious and social themes, extraordinary events and naturalistic descriptions in the genre of *imagines contrafactae*, thus described by the printers themselves.

Hans Guldenmundt, for example, was a Nuremberg miniaturist and print and pamphlet merchant in the second decade of the sixteenth century, who later opened a profitable print and bookshop, often signing his own productions as *Briefmaler*.³³ Besides the prints made

³¹ There is a growing literature on the production of these images and fugitive sheets for a mainly popular market. Amongst the most recent contributions, and besides P. Parshall's article on the *imagines contrafactae* and the beautiful book by him and David Landau, *The Renaissance print*, both quoted above, see, on Germany, K. Moxey, *Peasants, warriors and wives: popular imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago, 1989), and R. Scribner, *For the sake of the simple folk: popular propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge, 1981); on Italy, O. Niccoli, *Profeti e popolo nell'Italia del Rinascimento* (Bari-Rome, 1987), esp. ch. 2, 'Mostri. Divinazione e propaganda nei fogli volanti', pp. 47–88; on England, M. Spufford, *Small books and pleasant histories: popular fiction and its readership in seventeenth-century England* (London, 1981); T. Watt, *Cheap print and popular piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge, 1991); A. Fox, 'Ballads, libels and popular ridicule in Jacobean England', *Past and Present*, 1994, 145: 47–83; on France, see, for example, besides the work of Nisard and Bollème on colportage literature, with which one can associate the production of fugitive sheets, Jean Adhémar's introduction to *Cinq siècles d'imagerie française* (Exposition du Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires, Paris, 1973), and his 'La rue Montorgueil et la formation d'un groupe d'imagiers parisiens au XVIe siècle', *Le Vieux Papier*, 1954, 21, and *Imagerie populaire française* (Milan, 1968).

³² The French equivalent is "tailleurs d'histoires". See M. Grivel, 'La réglementation du travail des graveurs en France', in M. Grivel (ed.), *Le livre et l'image en France au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1989), pp. 9–27. In Paris, many of the printers who specialized in popular production had their shops in the rue Montorgueil. On these, see J. Adhémar, 'La rue Montorgueil'.

³³ The bibliography on Guldenmundt is quite short, as it is for most of the *Briefmaler* and *Formschneider* of the time despite the importance of their contribution to the history of printmaking and of the print culture in general. See U. Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler* (Leipzig 1907–50), vol. 15, p. 239, the article by W. Fries, 'Der Nürnberg Briefmaler Hans Guldenmundt', *Zeitschrift für Buchkunde*, 1924, 1: 39–48, and the section on Guldenmundt and on printing in Nuremberg in D. Landau and P. Parshall, *The Renaissance print*, pp. 223–31, and the corresponding notes for further bibliographical references.

from drawings by most of the great artists working in Nuremberg at the time—Sebald Beham, Albrecht Dürer, Peter Flötner, Georg Penz, Erhard Schön, Virgil Solis—he published many other prints, books and broadsheets for the popular market. His name is in fact linked with the origin of the first daily newsheets (*neue Zeytung*). Between 1530 and 1545, Guldenmundt collaborated frequently with Hans Sachs, a *Meistersinger* in Nuremberg. Together they published pamphlets and broadsides of a polemical and satirical, anti-papal nature, in which the texts, songs and rhymes by Sachs, accompanied images intended to increase their impact and broaden their scope.

Guldenmundt also published educational and technical works, including some on anatomical themes, with the same commercial goal of satisfying the taste, sensibilities and interests of a wide public. He used Vogtherr's idea—publishing fugitive sheets with superimposed flaps—but transformed the iconography of the male and female figures by lending them the attributes of Adam and Eve (the fatal apple and the fig leaf covering the genitals). But their mutual commercial interest in anatomy is not only apparent in the production of fugitive sheets, and leads one to suspect that there might have been some direct contact between them. In 1539 they both published an anatomy booklet bearing the same title, adorned with rough woodcuts of some thoracic and abdominal organs.³⁴ The images in Guldenmundt's edition were probably cut by Hans Weygel—another *Formschneider* from Nuremberg, who in 1556 published a new edition of fugitive sheets with superimposed flaps, adopting Vogtherr's iconographical model in 1564, and also brought out three editions of the booklet in the second half of the century. The booklet, aimed at readers totally ignorant of anatomy, gives basic information, conveyed through text and image, on the make-up of the human body and some simple treatments. The Adam and Eve figures must have been conceived and printed by Vogtherr and Guldenmundt as a complement to this booklet, since they were the only complete human figures in which to place the parts of the body that were described one by one in the booklet.

The brothers Cornelis and Willem Lieftrinck, from Antwerp, belonged to the same professional milieu of small corner-press printers. Both had worked in Augsburg in the first decade of the sixteenth century, in the group of printmakers around Maximilian I, collaborating closely with Hans Burgkmair and especially Jost de Negker, with whom they maintained ties in later years. The Lieftrincks and their heirs introduced to Antwerp workshops similar to those of the German *Formschneider* and *Briefmaler*, relying on a large network of people involved in woodcut production in Antwerp and on the many wood-block cutters, draughtsmen and printers, everywhere in Europe, who specialised in products for the new print market.³⁵ Sylvester van Parijs was in 1528 one of Willem's apprentices. By the end of the 1530s he had opened his own workshop, though he continued to collaborate with the Lieftrinck family—especially with Willem's son Hans—and with other local printmakers, such as Cornelis Bos, also a broadsheet printer and

³⁴ *Ausslegung und beschreybung der Anatomi . . .*, Nuremberg, Hans Guldenmundt, 1539. The same title, published by Vogtherr in the same year, in Strasbourg, is in J. Benzing, J. Muller, *Bibliographie strasbourgeoise*, (Baden-Baden, 1981), vol. 1, p. 437. Guldenmundt reprinted it in [1540], 1541 and 1547, and Hans Weygel took over in 1556, 1563, 1567 and 1570, still in Nuremberg. An edition by Jacob Frölich in Strasbourg is dated 1544. Another edition, printed in Ulm in 1541 is mentioned in A. von Haller, *Bibliotheca Anatomica*, ed. G. Mann (Hildesheim, 1969), vol. 1, p. 180.

³⁵ For a discussion of this, see D. Landau and P. Parshall, *The Renaissance print*, pp. 220–3.

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printseller involved with fugitive sheets, who had produced a French edition of Walter Ryff's *Anatomia*. In the fugitive sheets he published, Sylvester described himself as a *formschnijder* (in the Flemish version) and *Tailleur de formes* (in the French one), thus inscribing his own activity within the tradition begun by the German wood-block cutters and printers.

It is possible that Sylvester was the continental source for the English anatomical broadsheets produced by Godet or Geminus in 1559 in London (Cat. 25 and 28). Godet was a wood-block cutter and printseller of French origin, who at the end of the 1540s emigrated to England for religious reasons. From then on, as one can gather from the catalogue of his works in the Register of the Stationers' Company for 1562–63 (and from other entries between 1564 and 1568), he produced nothing but prints or series of prints on subjects aimed at a wide public.³⁶ For example, he designed, printed and sold a map of England, a view of London (Fig. 52), the ten commandments, the creation of the world, the history of human life, the twelve months. There was also a series of works praising the

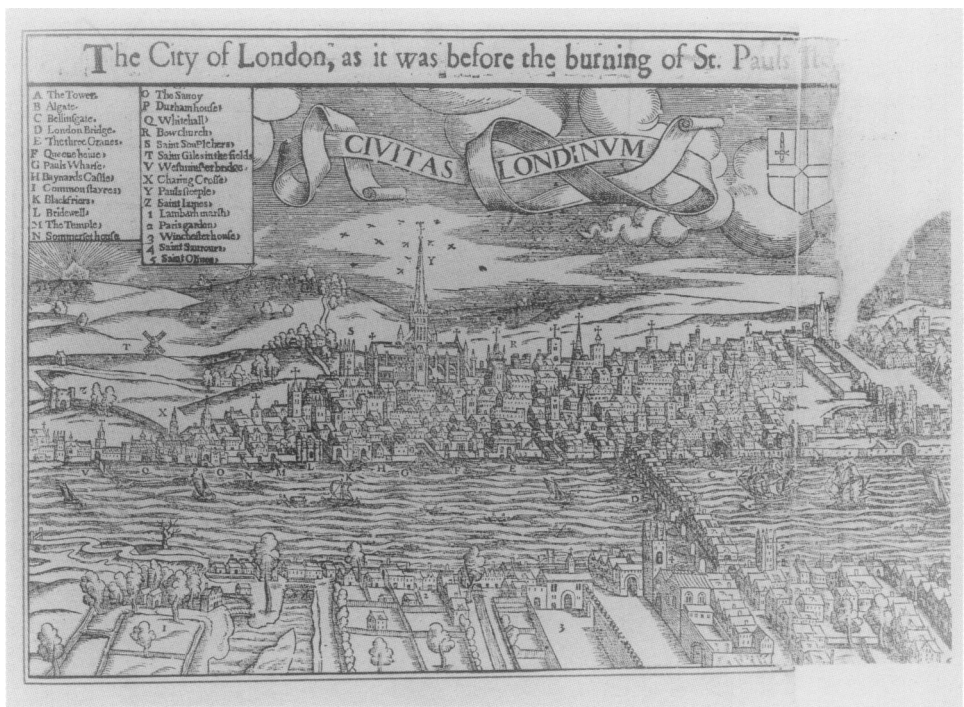


Figure 52: *The city of London, as it was before the burning of St. Pauls Steeple*, [London, Gilles Godet, c. 1560], woodcut (Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge).

³⁶ For the year 1562–63, Godet managed to register more than twenty printed works. See *A transcript of the registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640 A.D.*, ed. E. Arber (London, 1875), vol. 1, pp. 211–12. There are more in the years 1564–65 (Arber, p. 272), 1565–66 (Arber, p. 300) and 1567–68 (Arber, p. 362). There is a catalogue of extant copies of Godet's works in *A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English books printed abroad 1475–1640* (STC), first compiled by A.W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave (London, 1976–91), vol.1, *sub voce* "Godet".

English monarchy, tokens of gratitude for the religious tolerance shown by the sovereigns and for the hospitality given to refugees from other countries: portraits of Edward VII, Henry VIII, Elizabeth, and a series on the genealogy of the Kings of England. In addition, Godet printed a series of fugitive sheets on religious and moral themes, at times of a Huguenot character, such as *The Devil and the Pope*, *The Faithfull Man*, *Example of Justice*, *The Pycture of Charity*, *Remembrance to Dye*, *The Fyigure of True Religion*, *The Pycture of True Sobryete*, *The Good Hows-Holder*.³⁷ The latter image (Fig. 53)—one of the small number of Godet's prints still extant—brings us back to Sylvester, since it is an adaptation of *Le divin philosophe* (Fig. 54), which Sylvester published in Antwerp a few years before. Godet's *Genealogie . . . of all the kynges of England* (Fig. 56) itself is a version of a series of prints by a monogrammist PVD, published in Dutch in 1534 (Fig. 57), probably in Antwerp as well: Godet recut the figures, provided a longer genealogical reconstruction in images (which led back to Noah), added portraits down to Elizabeth I, and translated into English, from the Flemish, the verse texts accompanying each figure.³⁸

Although he settled in England, Godet maintained ties with his country, particularly with the *imagiers* and *tailleurs d'histoire* of the rue Montorgueil, which until the mid-seventeenth century was the centre in Paris of prints and of the market for images, mostly religious, for a popular audience.³⁹ There is an unusual series of woodcut illustrations to Biblical stories bound in a volume at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris. It was a collective project in which many *tailleurs d'histoire* of the rue Montorgueil had participated, and for which Godet had made three series of woodcuts, of the stories of Joseph (Fig. 58), St Paul, and the parable of the prodigal son (Fig. 59). Among the printmakers who contributed to it were Jean de Gourmont and Alain de Matonnière, who had, yet again, copied and sold under their own names fugitive sheets with superimposed flaps (the former made an edition of Godet's sheet in 1585, the latter republished Ruelle's version around 1560).

Put together, all these elements suggest that the woodcuts, drawings or even wood-blocks were circulating not only between Germany and Flanders but also between Flanders, France and England. The traffic in such works, of which the fugitive sheets were a part, was channelled on the one hand through the French and Flemish Huguenot communities in England, which numbered many artisans working in the world of printing, and on the other through connections which continued to exist in spite of religious persecutions, confessional differences and exile.

³⁷ I am aware of only one copy of *The good hows-holder* (STC 13851) held by the British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. It bears the date 1607 and was printed by Paul Boulenger, a descendant of Godet.

³⁸ The series of woodcuts by Godet . . . *a brief abstract of the genealogie and race of all the Kynges of England* (STC 10022) is at the British Library, as is the genealogy with the PVD monogram (attributed tentatively to Dirk Vellert). The only known copy of the woodcut *Le divin philosophe* is in Antwerp, at the Museum Plantin-Moretus. A woodcut in which a similar image appears is called *Le vieillard discrest* and was published in Lyon by Jean Le Maistre and Anthoine Volant (active in 1570–72); it is in the Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum in Rotterdam (Fig. 55). I am grateful to Sheila O'Connell, of the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum, for the information, advice and help—including material help—she gave me for this research on Godet.

³⁹ Not much is known about Gilles Godet: the fullest account is T. Watt, *Cheap print*, esp. pp. 178–93.



Figure 56: Edward the iii. Edward the v. Richard the iii. from the series of woodcuts *A brief abstract of the genealogie . . . of all the kynges of England*, [London, Gilles Godet, c. 1562], woodcut (by permission of the British Library, London: shelfmark G.6456).



Vvillen die eerste Vvillen rufus die ij. Henricus de eerste.

Vvill de cōquesteerder hertoge vā Romādien. In i aer. M. lxxv. waer wel vermondēn
 Cōquesteerde Engelant en began te regneren. Dolyche Vvillen rufus naect hem vaclant
 In i aer. M. lxxv. en leuene te dyen tyen. En was in edich ho uerdich / tes waer beuēden
 Mer doer sijn sūderheit en hē rebellerē. De Schoutē vielen hē weder sijn amich int lanc
 En de walsche mer hi brachtē rouder wāt. En de walsche mer hi brachtē rouder wāt
 Der wārfē in batracgē en sūoch hāre conincē. Der wārfē in batracgē en sūoch hāre conincē
 Doerde oerloghe met sijn oudeste sone Kōbbrecht. Senaet sijn sone vā de hiltōē crēgē tōē tē tē
 Wil die gloseren. Onderhelein Romān. Sijē coninc meer en regneerde. dus hie te bouen
 dien mer coninc Phillips tot sijnder affctie. (ghinck)

Hier na de Scotte weder in Engelāte quamen. Kōbbert sijn broet hē in onlogē tōē brochte
 Tot Kōbrecht sijn oudste sone sōmē hec: gē schout. In Romādien nā hi hē gheuangen daer
 En besette hē tērooelōō vā Romādien groot. Vā Kōbrechtē graue vā Northūberlē sijn onvūa. En hielt hē in Engelāte tōē hē mer dō or berodhte
 Tot sijn sone gheheertē Wille rufus sicut. verdreef dūerle pōchtē die sō hē sijn gewēcht / inē Dese Cōn had eē dochter genaet mādē voerwāe
 Hi voerde tēgē vā Engelāte mer sijnat en gont. Om vō forceste mer dēē wānt: sijn hē gebre. Sērl gēhōt was aendē heper: en daer naer
 Moeste sijn oneste sone Henric onfacu. En vā sijn riddē sicut na eē hēre sōmē sēpr. hē Alende graue vā Angewē was sē ghehōt.
 In i aer regneerde hi als de cronike tūcht boue. Dē pyl stampe en bleef dē coninc int heere stēken. In i aer dese coninc regneerde. si aer
 En leyt begraven in Romādien te Kāen. regneerde. sijn aer te wēlmūter hē begrānt leyt. In i aer dese coninc regneerde. si aer

Figure 57: Monogrammist PVD, Vvillen die eerste, Vvillen rufus die ij, Henricus de eerste, from the series bearing the incipit *Prologhe van allen den Coninghen in Enghelant . . .* [Antwerp] 1534, woodcut (by permission of the British Library, London: shelfmark C.39.1.2).



Figure 58: *Howe Iosephe is sett in great authoritie in Egypte*, from the series of woodcuts *The historie of Joseph*, [London, Gilles Godet, c. 1565?], woodcut (cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris).



Figure 59: “*Loo the prodigall childe wasteth . . .*”, from the series of woodcuts *L'enfant prodigue*, [London, Gilles Godet,] 1566, woodcut (cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris).

The Birth of an Anatomical Icon

From this rapid excursus through the small printmaking workshops between the 1530s and the mid-sixteenth century, and by following the Europe-wide networks they formed, one can gather some elements about the context in which the fugitive sheets were produced, the editorial and iconographical genre of which they partook, and the public for which they were made. What is most striking is that almost all the participants in the production of these items were also involved in the process that led to the birth of a new profession, ill-defined though it might have been at that point. Woodcut designers, draughtsmen, wood-block cutters, printsellers, and merchants were engaged in a commercial venture which was a response to the needs of a new market, itself grown precisely out of the promising advent of mechanical reproduction of word and image. It is not surprising that these activities flourished and grew mostly in countries affected by religious strife: print was used as a tool of propaganda, polemics and proselytising for the new creeds, which aimed at the largest possible public.⁴⁰ At the same time the political and religious authorities (Maximilian I is a case in point) made use of the new technology for publicity, in order to broaden the sphere of consensus. No longer did it address only the intellectual, political and religious élites—the public now included the part of *Ancien Régime* European society made up of merchants, artisans, apprentices and laymen who had important social, cultural, political and economic roles to play in both rural and urban communities. Introduced again and again, because of religious strife, to the culture of printing, this public was the perfect, dependable market for the new workshops, though its presence did not preclude their commercial interest in the culturally more refined reaches of the public. The new workshops eventually would have to satisfy the needs of the new public, but they also determined in a significant way the direction and tenor of its choices and taste, and broadened its range of interests.

The publication of anatomical images—along with that of, say, natural curiosities, extraordinary events, geographical maps, moral and social allegories—is thus the fruit of the interplay between product (by the broadsheet printers) and demand (of the public), characteristic of this moment in the history of iconography and printing. Many of the images produced against this background—and the anatomical figures in particular—were conceived as *imagines contrafactae*, drawn once and for all by an anonymous author who was supposed to have faithfully reproduced reality, and thrown them into the market, easily copied, exchanged and remade as they travelled along the network that touched on the central European nodal points of woodcut publishing. The field of anatomy, thanks to the socio-cultural conjuncture described here, and thanks to the crucial contribution of the new professional figure of the broadsheet printer, could emerge out of the academic world, and be shared by all.

⁴⁰ See R. Scribner, *For the sake of the simple folk*, and, *idem*, *Popular culture and popular movements in Reformation Germany* (London, 1987).