EARLY MODERN PRINT CULTURE IN CENTRAL EUROPE

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STEFAN KIEDROŃ, ANNA-MARIA RIMM

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PATRYCJA PONIATOWSKA

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This volume was reviewed by:
Andrzej Borowski (Uniwersytet Jagielloński), Wilken Engelbrecht (Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci), Klaus Garber (Universität Osnabrück), Janusz S. Gruchała (Uniwersytet Jagielloński), Siegfried Huigen (Uniwersytet Wrocławski), Dzmitry Kliabanau (Uniwersytet Jagielloński), Hubert Meeus (Universiteit Antwerpen), Anna Migoń (Uniwersytet Wrocławski), István Monok (Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Budapest), Marko Pavlyshyn (Monash University, Melbourne).

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Stefan KIEDROŃ (University of Wrocław)
Anna-Maria RIMM (University of Uppsala)

INTRODUCTION

This volume brings together twelve texts devoted to *Early Modern Print Culture in Central Europe*. The idea behind it is to discuss the development and complexities inherent in the printing of books — an initially revolutionary way of building up international communication networks in this important region. An international group of researchers involved in the project takes on board a wide array of subjects ranging from the first books printed at the end of the 15th century in Central Europe (the first printing press in the region was established in 1473 in Cracow, Poland), through the contacts between Western, Central and Eastern Europe thriving in the 16th and 17th centuries, to the books about newly emergent sciences in the 18th century. Bringing in their various interests and perspectives, the contributors illuminate the vast chronological scope and undeniable variety of print culture in Early Modern Central Europe.

Historically speaking, Central Europe has persistently been — and still is — lingering in a kind of cultural isolation from the West. There are different reasons for this "un-knowledge." One of them is a language barrier, with the Central-European languages (Polish, Czech, Romanian or Hungarian) largely unknown to Westerners. Also Central Europe's rich cultural history, which saw its golden age in the Early Modern period, still remains, for the most part, a *terra incognita* in popular Western reception. That is why Central Europe should be, as Prof. Siegfried Huigen from the University of Wrocław had formulated it, "relocated" in the studies of the Early Modern period.

"Relocating Central Europe in international humanities research by way of focusing on international communication networks since Gutenberg" was the guiding objective Prof. Huigen phrased for international scholarly "meeting points" in Wrocław (Poland). He developed its essential premises, and within the framework he largely devised, an international seminar was held in the historical capital of Silesia in September, 2013.

Why Wrocław? This Central-European city, known under so many names — *Wratislavia* (Latin), *Vratislav* (Czech) and *Breslau* (German), to name but a few — is barely recognisable in the West today. (One of the few notable exceptions is *Microcosm: Portrait of a Central European City*, a comprehensive history

of Wrocław by Norman Davies and Roger Moorhouse.) But in the Early Modern period this city was a special place and played an important role in the Habsburg Empire. Crucially, it still proudly boasts an immense collection of books from the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries housed in the Wrocław University Library. The wealth of old prints makes the city even more "print culture special".

But there is more. In the past, Silesia's Wrocław had vibrant connections with Alsace's Strasbourg and Brabant's Antwerp. Furthermore, Silesia was at one point a part of the Crown of Saint Wenceslaus, alongside Bohemia, Moravia, Lusatia and, temporarily, also Upper Palatinate and parts of Brandenburg. The grid of connections among these regions stretched onto such Central-European countries as Austria and Hungary and, in fact, it spread out into Southern Europe (Italy and Spain), Western Europe (France and Holland) and Northern Europe (Sweden). The Wrocław book and print collections provide ample insights into how this network came into being and kept expanding. Clearly, Wrocław, lying more or less in the centre of Central Europe, is indeed *the Meeting Place* for print culture.

Of course, when we address "Central Europe" as a phenomenon, it is important to bear in mind that the neighbouring countries were by no means separated from it by some unbridgeable divide (as the maps of Central Europe, the Cusanus-map from the 16th century, Fig. 1, and the Schenck-map from the 18th century, Fig. 8, tell us). Their print cultures may have been at the periphery, but they were definitely there. And what sense does it make to speak of national borders in the context of intellectual goods, such as books? In the Early Modern period, the country borders were blurred and in constant flux. At the same time, the intellectual, Latin-reading, book-buying elite in each and every one of those countries was relatively small. This meant that international networks were expedient, if not outright necessary.

Scandinavia, for instance, could not be called a part of Central Europe either in the Early Modern era or today. But the Swedish realm lay (and, of course, still does) just across the sea from Poland, and trade between the two countries flourished, with merchandise including books among many other commodities. It is difficult to speak about *national* book trades in Early Modern Europe; nevertheless: their transcontinental connections are obvious.

The "Print Culture Meeting in Wrocław" was organised by the *Academia Europaea* (London), the *Academia Europaea Knowledge Hub Wrocław* and the Faculty of Letters at the University of Wrocław. The Chairman was Prof. Stefan Kiedroń, and the Scientific and Organising Committee included Prof. Pieter Emmer (University of Leiden, *Academia Europaea*), Prof. Siegfried Huigen (University of Wrocław), Dr. Irena Barbara Kalla (University of Wrocław) and Dr. Aleksandra Nowak (*Academia Europaea Knowledge Hub Wrocław*).

The project was generously funded by the *Stiftelsen Riksbankens Jubileumsfond för humanistisk och samhällsvetenskaplig forskning* (Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation for Humanities and Social Sciences), a foundation set up in

1968 to celebrate the 300th anniversary of the *Sveriges Riksbank* (the central bank of Sweden) founded in 1668, that is, in the Early Modern period.

The "Print Culture in Wrocław" was an exciting and illuminating scholarly meeting, assembling many scholars from Belarus, Belgium, the Czech Republic, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Russia, Slovakia, Sweden and the USA. The keynote speakers were Prof. Andrzej Borowski (Head of the Department of Old Polish Literature at the Faculty of Polish Studies, Jagiellonian University; Vice-president of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences), Prof. Gábor Gángó (Institute of International Studies and Political Science, Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Hungary scholarly advisor in the Institute of Philosophy of the Research Centre in the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences), Prof. Béla Mester (Institute of Philosophy of the Research Centre in the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences; Assistant Professor at the College of Nyiregyhaza), Prof. Jonathan Israel (Princeton University, USA, an eminent specialist on the European Enlightenment), Dr. Anna-Maria Rimm (Department of Comparative Literature, Uppsala University, Sweden), and Dr. Richard Šípek (Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague).

The present volume, prepared in co-operation with Dr. Patrycja Poniatowska, who, being a Renaissance literature scholar from Wrocław, contributed very much to its final shape, collects articles arising from what came to be the "Research on Print Culture by Young Scholars" project. Some of the contributors have already had more or less experience in this field of study, while for others this is a debut publication. The authors come from various countries of historically defined Central Europe and its neighbourhood: Belarus (Raman Voranau), Belgium (Giuseppe Perri), the Czech Republic (Jan Ivanega, Vojtěch Šícha), Germany (Tobias Budke, Dominic Olariu), Hungary (Gábor Farkas, Krisztina Péter), Poland (Karolina Mroziewicz, Agnieszka Patała), Slovakia (Mariana Čentéšová) and Sweden (Christine Watson). How complex the notion of "Central Europe" is can be inferred from their various thematic interests, focal points, methodological approaches and, last but not least, differing spellings in different languages of the names and people essential to the development of print culture (e.g. Mikołaj Radziwiłł and Francisk Skoryna; Vilnius, Libníč, Prešov and, for that matter, Wrocław).

Our book offers a great variety of material: new analyses of the already known facets of Central-European print culture from the 15th–18th centuries, comparisons of different viewpoints on the already explored research topics, details of so far not widely known collections of old prints from Central European libraries and illuminating examinations of relations among the members of the *Respublica Literaria* from Western, Central and Eastern Europe. The authors raise questions for the new generations of print culture historians, show new research perspectives in investigating different aspects of print culture and portray lesser known print culture personalities or "relocate" them into different perspectives in older and newer periods.

The volume indeed accomplishes the feat of relocating Central Europe — in the sense of the circulation of knowledge — traversing the space between the Baltic Sea (with Sweden) and the Alps (reaching to Hungary), between the Rhine in the West and the Belorussian and Ukrainian Pripyat river in the East. The book performs and embodies a transfer of scholarship and knowledge between, from, to and across the West, the East, the North and the Centre of Europe.

Gábor Farkas FARKAS (Hungarian National Library Budapest)

Chronica Hungarorum: The First Printed Book in Hungary (Buda, 1473)

Abstract: *Chronica Hungarorum*, containing 70 leaves, has survived in ten copies. The *spiritus rector* of Hungarian printing was János Vitéz, Archbishop of Esztergom. Andreas Hess was a typographer who worked as an assistant in Georg Lauer's office in Rome. László Kárai, a delegate in Rome in autumn 1470, invited Andreas Hess to Buda upon János Vitéz's request. Andreas Hess departed from Rome, carrying his cast types weighing half a ton, and arrived in Buda in early spring 1471. However, the political situation in Hungary changed considerably in the second half of 1471, when János Vitéz offered the Hungarian throne to the son of Casimir IV Jagiellon, the king of Poland. The first printing office worked in Buda with one press, and Andreas Hess did the type setting himself. In publishing a book on Hungarian history, Andreas Hess departed from the typical practice of other contemporary printers. The original copies of *Chronica Hungarorum* were primarily distributed across Central Europe.

Keywords: incunabula, office press in Hungary, first Hungarian printer.

"Finita Bude anno Domini MCCCCLXXIII in vigilia penthecostes: per Andream Hess": It was completed by Andreas Hess in Buda in 1473 A.D., the day before Pentecost.[1] The history of printing in Hungary started with this closing line (colophon) of the Buda Chronicles. The small *folio* containing 70 leaves (therein 133 printed pages) has survived in ten copies. Numerous questions arise concerning the book, its text, printer and patron. Some of these questions have already been answered by renowned 20th-century scholars, but there are still a number of issues to be researched in the history of the first Hungarian incunable.[2]

[1] *Chronica Hungarorum*, *Budae, per Andream Hess, in vigilia Penthecostes*, 1473. – 2° 67 ff. (GW 6686).

[2] The most important international literature on the subject includes Gy. Sebestyén, "Die erste Buchdruckerei in Ungarn 1473," in *Gutenberg Festschrift, zur Feier des 25 jaehrigen Bestehens des Gutenbergmuseums in Mainz* (Mainz: Gutenberg-Gesellschaft, 1925), pp. 29–32; J. Fitz,"König Mathias Corvinus und der Buchdruck," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 14 (1939), pp. 128–137; Z. Soltész, "Fifteenth Century Printing Presses in Hungary," in *Catalogus incunabulorum quae bibliothecis publicis Hungariae asservantur. Vols. I–II*, eds. G. Sajó and Z. Soltész (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1970), Vol. I, pp. LIII–LV; B. Varjas, "Das Schicksal einer Druckerei im östlichen Teil Mitteleuropas, Andreas Hess in Buda," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 52 (1977), pp. 42–48; G. Borsa, "Zeilenhöhe-Prob-

We know some important facts about the printer; however, all the information we have about him comes from his book. Hess was a typographer who worked as an assistant in Georg Lauer's office in Rome.[3] Judging by his name, he was of German origin. He arrived in Buda in late spring 1471 at the invitation of László Kárai,[4] the provost of Buda, to prepare the first Hungarian incunable with the cast types brought from Italy. He completed his work on 5 June, approximately two years after arriving in Buda. An indirect explanation for this delay is to be found in his frank confession that for a long time he had wondered to whom to dedicate his book.[5]

Undoubtedly, the *spiritus rector* of Hungarian printing was János Vitéz (ca.1408–1472), the Archbishop of Esztergom. Vitéz participated in the Wiener Neustadt Diet in 1455, where he met Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, the papal legate, who later entered history as Pope Pius II. The two learned and broad-minded humanists must have found common grounds for discussions.[6] Besides the Ottoman threat, a possible topic of discussion could have been the novelty of the 42-line Bible printed in Mainz. Piccolomini's 1455 account of Johann Gutenberg's invention is well-known.[7] Vitéz himself headed a delegation to Mainz a year earlier, so one cannot rule out the possibility that the Hungarian archbishop actually saw the first office of European printing there. The archbishop of Esztergom, always receptive to technical innovations, must have been captivated by the idea of books which could be produced in many copies with the help of a set of replaceable cast types. He must have thought of printing books about the Ottoman threat, thus influencing the public opinion, or of re-editing the ancient authors, reducing thus — if not completely preventing — the corruption of the text, otherwise inevitable in copying and re-copying. Besides, the bibliophilic Vitéz, when founding the

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leme bei der ersten Druckerei von Ungarn," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 64 (1989), pp. 97–100; I. Monok, "Towns and Book Culture in Hungary at the End of the Fifteenth Century and during the Sixteenth Century," in *Print Culture and Peripheries in Early Modern Europe: A Contribution to the History of Printing and the Book Trade in Small European and Spanish Cities*, ed. Benito Rial Costas (Leiden: Brill, 2012) (Library of the Written Brill, Vol. 24; The Handpress World, Vol. 18), pp. 174–175.

[3] The press office of Georg Lauer was involved in printing activity between 1470–1482 in Rome. Cf. G. Borsa (ed.), *Clavis Typographorum Librariumque Italiae 1465–1600.* Vol. I–II (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1980), Vol. I, p. 196.

[4] László Kárai lived in Buda from the mid-15th century to before 1488; he was a provost and a vice-chancellor between 1473–1483.

[5] *Chronica Hungarorum*, eds. J. Horváth and Z. Soltész (Budapest: Helikon, 1973), p. 3.

[6] G. Borsa, "A hazai könyvnyomtatás megalapítása" [The foundation of Hungarian printing], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 105 (1989), pp. 338–354.

[7] E. Meuthen,"Ein neues Quellenzeugnis (zu Oktober 1454?) für den ältesten Bibeldruck. Enea Silvio Piccolomini am 12. März 1455 aus Wiener Neustadt an Kardinal Juan de Carvajal," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 57 (1982), pp. 108–118.

University of Pozsony (present-day Bratislava) in 1465, must have been aware that books in sufficient numbers were of vital importance for education.[8]

We could draw up the following probable timeline: László Kárai as a delegate in Rome in the autumn of 1470 invited Andreas Hess to Buda upon János Vitéz's request. The typographer did not count as a young assistant since, as he put it in the dedication of the *Chronica*, "I have made considerable progress"[9] in printing. Hess must have received an attractive offer promising privileges, an opportunity to establish his own office, financial support and regular orders. However, in the second half of 1471, the situation dramatically changed in Hungary, and the relationship between the Hungarian king and the archbishop of Esztergom deteriorated so much that apparently they actually came to blows.[10] The last straw was when the archbishop offered the Hungarian throne to the son of the Polish king Casimir IV Jagiellon.[11] Although King Matthias (1443–1490) and János Vitéz reconciled before the Christmas of 1471 (a minor victory won by the younger Casimir in a battle in Upper Hungaria must have played a part there), a few months later, in March 1472, the archbishop was already under house arrest in Esztergom, where he stayed until his death in August.[12] Andreas Hess must have departed from Rome, with his cast types weighing half a ton, in early spring 1471, and one and a half months later he arrived in Buda. The establishment of the first office in Hungary, however, did not start the way Hess had hoped.

Apparently, the first office worked with a press, and Andreas Hess himself did the type setting, the most complicated procedure in printing. Whether Hess cast his letters in Buda or whether he had brought them with him from Rome was a hotly debated issue once.[13] In spring 1471, he must have set off with a load of cast types rather than with matrices since with the help of these matrices he could easily have replaced the used types, the wearing of which can be clearly detected in the surviving volumes. The change in the types of the *Chronica* conclusively indicates

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[8] L.G. Astrik, *The Mediaeval Universities of Pécs and Pozsony: Commemoration of the 500th. and 600th. Anniversary of their Foundation: 1367–1467–1967* (Frankfurt am Main: Knecht, 1969), pp. 37–50.

[9] *Chronica* f. 2^{r}: "pro voto meo aliquantisper profecissem."

[10] P. Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary 895–1526* (International library of historical studies) (London-New York: N.Y., Tauris, 2001), p. 318; A. Kubinyi, *Matthias Rex* (Budapest: Balassi, 2008), pp. 91–93.

[11] Saint Casimir (1458–1484) — *Święty Kazimierz Jagiellończyk* — was a crown prince of the Kingdom of Poland who became a patron saint of Poland.

[12] F. Földesi, "A Society of Scholars and Books: The Library of János Vitéz," in *A Star in the Raven's Shadow, János Vitéz and the Beginnings of Humanism in Hungary, Exhibition organised by the National Széchényi Library, 14 March–15 June 2008* [exhibition curated by Ferenc Földesi] (Budapest, Nat. Széchényi Libr., 2008), p. 103.

[13] J. Fitz, *Hess András, a budai ősnyomdász* [Andreas Hess, the first printer of Buda] (Budapest: Magyar Bibliophil Társaság, 1932), p. 132; Z. Soltész, "Milyen tervekkel és felszereléssel jöhetett Budára Hess András?" [What kind of plans and equipments did Hess have when he came to Buda?], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 90 (1974), pp. 1–12.

that the dedication to László Kárai set at the beginning of the book was actually prepared the last.[14] The original text dedicated to János Vitéz had to be revised by the printer due to the political events of 1471 and 1472, when the archbishop fell out of royal grace. Based on the change of types, one can assume that the dedication to Kárai and the colophon were made at the same time. Unfortunately, the original dedication, the one addressed to the archbishop of Esztergom, has not survived.[15]

Another often debated issue is the precise dating of the *Chronica*. The available sources imply that Andreas Hess must have arrived in Buda by the spring of 1471. If he had arrived from Rome a year later (in the spring of 1472), as some researchers have claimed, he would have had two or three months to get installed in the Royal Palace, prepare his press, buy the paper and set to work. He would have had to hurry to take out the original dedication addressed to János Vitéz as the archbishop died in August 1472 in Esztergom. At the same time, under house arrest and isolated from the outside world, the Hungarian archbishop would have been unable to help Hess start printing in Hungary. The typographer wrote the following in his dedication: "I had ample time for it"[16] — for the printing of the *Chronica*. That sounds plausible only if the typographer's arrival in Buda is set a year earlier, in the spring of 1471. Moreover, it is highly unlikely that Vitéz should have invited Hess to Buda at the time when, against King Matthias, he invited the Polish prince Casimir to the throne of Hungary and was therefore faced with an armed conflict. One should also bear in mind that by the spring of 1471 László Kárai must have returned from Rome. Why would Hess have waited one more year to set out?

It is also worth enquiring why the typographer established his office in Buda. If the role played by János Vitéz in establishing printing in Hungary was indeed decisive, Esztergom, the archbishop's see, or the building of the University of Pozsony founded half a year earlier by Vitéz would have been more convenient. If Hess arrived in Hungary in late spring 1471, he could easily have chosen one of those two venues. Vitéz enjoyed a relatively stable position then, the university was functioning, and King Matthias was involved in fights in Bohemia. One might wonder whether the former typographer of the Lauer office did not prefer to prepare his first printed publication close to the royal court.

If we accept this time line (i.e. that Hess started his work in the summer of 1471), we must assume he printed 6 to 7 pages a month, which is an incredibly slow pace, considering contemporaneous printing efficiency. The small scale of the press, Hess's incompetence and the small number of assistants could not account for this inefficiency (one page per four days). Most probably, the additional

[14] G. Borsa, "Hess betűöntvényeinek mérete és az ebből levonható következtetések" [The size of Hess's metal alloys and their conclusions], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 104 (1982), pp. 241–243.

[15] G. Borsa, "Milyen műhelye lehetett Hessnek Budán?" [What kind of press office did Hess have in Buda?], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 105 (1989), pp. 237–246.

[16] *Chronica* f. 2^{r}: "essemque non parum otiosus."

jobs such as cleaning the types, putting them back into the type case, dampening and drying the paper and correcting the type were done by the typographer and his assistant. Under such circumstances, Hess could have printed four or five books of similar size during the period in question.

Evidence suggests that the Buda *Chronicle* was printed in almost two years, which seems a rather long time. This can be explained only if we assume that there were months or even a whole year without work. Hess must have followed the events of autumn 1471 and the spring of the following year. Most probably, he had to put work on hold for long months. The question is when he would have done that. There are two options. One is that he suspended work from the summer of 1471 until the summer of 1472, waiting for the conflict between Vitéz and King Matthias to end. In any case, it would have been difficult for him then to gather the necessary instruments and materials for printing. It is contradicted by the fact that he would have written his original dedication to Vitéz during the most hopeless period in the summer of 1472, when the seriously ill archbishop was under house arrest in Esztergom. The second option is that Hess abstained from work from the spring of 1472 to the spring of 1473, wondering to whom to dedicate the *Chronicle*. In spring 1473, he hurriedly type-set a new dedication addressed to László Kárai so that the book could be published on 5 June. In this version of the story, Hess set up the office quite fast, set to work in the summer of 1471, wrote the dedication to the archbishop of Esztergom and almost completed the work when János Vitéz was arrested in the spring of 1472. He waited for almost a year for the situation to improve and in the spring of 1473, when he realised that his book could only appear with a new dedication, he type-set a new dedication addressed to Kárai with the corresponding *folio*, so that the publication of the *Chronicle* would coincide with the Pentecost market.

It is also rather unclear who was actually Hess's patron, especially after examining the dedication to Kárai closely. Living in the Royal Palace, Hess must have been aware of the most important political events. By the spring of 1472, his office had fallen in a difficult situation since his major patron, János Vitéz, was dying under house arrest. King Matthias, a strong ruler, had defeated his enemies while Andreas Hess was surrounded by the unbound copies of the *Chronica* dedicated to the archbishop, who had fallen out of grace and was put in confinement. This sheds some light on the words: "I was deliberating for a long time," which must refer to the period from the summer of 1472 to the beginning of 1473, when it seemed that Hess's investment and "gigantic work which took many days" would not render any profit at all unless the typographer changed the dedication. We may ask at this point why Hess did not dedicate his book to the Hungarian king when it was clear that the days of János Vitéz were numbered (summer of 1472) or he had been dead for months (the beginning of 1473). For some reason, Hess was unable to do this even if the future of his office depended on the decision. It is not for nothing that the typographer wrote the following: "I was wondering for a long

time to whom to dedicate this first piece of work of this kind; the fruit of many days' tiresome work."[17]

The name of László Kárai did not seem to be obvious for him even if Hess himself admitted that "without you I could not have set to work or complete the job."[18] His conclusion is revealing indeed: "I did not find anybody but you."[19] The necessary rhetorical element aside, Hess's conclusion seems contradictory. If he could not have started and completed the *Chronica* without Kárai's help, why did he have to deliberate for a long time while the solution could be one name only as he ultimately admitted?

The programme of Hess's office outlined in his dedication to Kárai sounds contradictory as well. "I undertook the gigantic work of printing The Chronicle of Pannonia which took many days and which, to my mind, must be important to and favoured by all Hungarians,"[20] as the typographer puts it. It looks as if the future of the publishing house also depended on Kárai since Hess continues in the following manner: "if I am going to come out with greater and greater works I believe I will have to dedicate them too to your bright name."[21] So the typographer, on the one hand, hoped for more and greater work and, on the other hand, knew he needed the provost's support in doing so. That is why the last part of the dedication to Kárai is about the future of Hess's printing shop and features the name of the provost of Buda. After a long deliberation and excluding other candidates, the typographer finally made up his mind and chose László Kárai as his patron to ensure the future of his printing shop. One thing is certain: the idea of publishing *Chronica Hungarorum*, "a job which, to my mind, must be important to and favoured by all Hungarians,"[22] did not come from the provost of Buda since Hess attributed it to himself. If Kárai had had anything to do with the idea behind the publication, Hess would not have been silent about it especially if he wanted to advance the future of his printing shop. It is curious that Andreas Hess did not follow the example of contemporary printers when coming out with a book on Hungarian history. Mindful of high costs of printing, those typographers embraced cautious publishing policies, favouring Latin grammars, indulgences or calendars, smaller volumes by popular Humanists and *sacramentaria*. We do not know any

[17] *Chronica* f. 2^{r}: "et dium mecum ipse volutarem, cui meam primam in hoc sedulitatem pluribus diebus lucubratam, dirigerem."

[18] *Chronica* f. 2^{r}: "et sine Te susceptus labor neque iniri, neque expleri potuisset."

[19] *Chronica* f. 2^{r}: "preter, Domine mi observandissime, invenio neminem."

[20] *Chronica* f. 2^{r}: "suscepi laborem ingentem, dierumque plenum, imprimendi videlicet Cronicum Pannonie opus, laborem inquam, quem omnibus Hungaria gratum atque iocundum fore putavi."

[21] *Chronica* f. 2^{r}: "Et si qua in dies maiora excudemus, Tuo etiam Illustri Nomini dedicanda putabimus."

[22] *Chronica* f. 2^{r}: "imprimendi videlicet Cronicum Pannonie opus, laborem inquam, quem omnibus Hungaria gratum atque iocundum fore putavi."

printing shops in the fifteenth century which chose to publish the history of a people as their first book.[23]

Hess's disappearance is also mysterious although one can find good reasons for this. A glance at the map of the history of printing convinces that north or east of the Rheine–Main–Nuremberg–Augsburg–Venice area, Gutenberg's invention was unable to survive for a longer period in the fifteenth century. What seems amazing is that a printing shop managed to get established in Buda *so early*. Hess's potential clientele of educated university graduates was rather slim — just a few hundred, perhaps, who could have bought the *Chronica*. With a print run of 200 copies, almost all potential members of the Hungarian intelligentsia would have owned a copy. In the fifteenth century, a book of this kind could have been successful in Europe, as well, due to the universality and ubiquity of Latin. Suffice it to mention that fifteen years later, in 1488, the historical book of János Thuróczy (ca. 1435–1488/89) came out also in Brünn[24] and Augsburg[25] within a few months. One can state, therefore, that a printed book on history in Latin seemed a good choice. The success of the Thuróczy *Chronicle* helps explain the disappearance of the printing shop in Buda. Erhard Ratdolt in Augsburg would not have undertaken the publication of the Thuróczy *Chronicle* if there had been enough copies of the Buda *Chronicle* available on the German market especially that the edition in Augsburg was preceded by the *editio princeps* in Brünn two months earlier. Besides, some of the contemporaries made copies of the Hess edition; the most renowned name among them is chronicler Hartmann Schedel.[26] Both the Thuróczy editions and the hand-written copies lead us to believe that only a few copies of the Buda *Chronicle* were purchased and even fewer were sold abroad. That scarcity resulted in the demand which Konrad Stahel and Matthias Preinlein in Brünn and Erhard Ratdolt and Theobald Feger in Augsburg managed to profit from in 1488.

The text of the Buda *Chronicle*, which merged several separate historical writings, survived in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century codices. The last part of the *Chronica*, whose author is unknown, relates the history of eight decades spanning from the death of King Louis I (1382) to King Matthias's military campaign in Moldova (1468). It is worth noting that it takes only four pages, so the editor considerably condensed the numerous and turbulent events of those years. The disproportions are quite obvious. Albert the Magnanimous, who was king of Hungary only for two years (1437–1439), got just as much space as Sigismund of

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[23] The first printed chronicle of the history of a people was Rodericus Zamorensis's *Compendiosa historia hispanica*, Roma, Ulrich Han, 1470 [non after 10. 04.].

[24] Johannes Thuróczy, *Chronica Hungarorum*. Brno, [Konrad Stahel et Matthias Preinlein], 1488.

[25] Johannes Thuróczy, *Chronica Hungarorum*. Augsburg, Erhard Ratdolt, pro Theobaldo Feger, 1488.

[26] Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 442. [Ex libris H. Schedelii] *Andreae Chronica hungarorum,* ff. 165–265.

Luxemburg, whose reign lasted for half a century (1387–1437). There is only one short chapter devoted to King Matthias, mentioning just his coronation (1458), the retake of Jajce (1463), the acquisition of the Holy Crown (1464) and, finally, the military campaign in Moldova (1468).[27] Here the *Chronica* abruptly ends; the history of Hungary of the last four years between 1469 and 1473 is missing. This can be explained by the delicate nature of the political events in Hungary between 1471 and 1472 and the fact that they were very recent: the conspiracy, the attempted invasion by Casimir of Poland, the house arrest and death of János Vitéz. Therefore, Hess refers to this period with only one sentence at the end of the *Chronica*: "Although foreigners such as Poles, Czechs and other peoples submitted to the Holy Crown had conspired against King Matthias, he confronted them like a courageous and invincible lion."[28] At the end of the *Chronicle*, Andreas Hess tries to justify the size of the chapter on Matthias and the omission of current political events in an explanation which echoes his editorial policy mentioned above: "We have to put off to a later date the detailed depiction and the enumeration of the other memorable deeds of Our Majesty and invincible king since these deeds are so numerous that it is impossible to condense them here."[29] Apparently, Hess intended to bring out a longer book on King Matthias later on. But if the typographer had that plan in mind, we might wonder why he did not dedicate the Buda *Chronicle* to King Matthias after the fall of János Vitéz.

Provenance of *Chronica Hungarorum*

Summary

1. The Hungarian National Library acquired the *Hildebrand-copy* in 1843 at an auction for over 400 Forints. Franz Xaver Edler von Hildebrand (1789–1849) was a German botanist and physician. *Budapest*, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Inc. 326.

2. The University Library of Budapest acquired the *Jankovich-copy* from the Hungarian National Library in 1874 for the lapidarium of the University. Miklós Jankovich (1772–1846) was a Hungarian collector. *Budapest*, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Könyvtára, Inc. 10.

3. The National Museum of Kraków acquired the *Czartoryski-copy* as a donation from the library of Czartoryski in 1871. Prince Władysław Czartoryski (1828–1894) was an art collector and the museum founder. *Kraków*, Muzeum Narodowe, Zbiory Czartoryskich, Biblioteka, Inc. 55 (3).

4. The University Library of Leipzig acquired the *Leipzig-copy* before 1769, knowing nothing about the former owners. *Leipzig*, Universitätsbibliothek, Edit. vet. 1473, 14.

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[27] I.Gy. Tóth (ed.), *A Concise History of Hungary: The History of Hungary from the Early Middle Ages to the Present* (Budapest: Osiris, 2005), pp. 138–139.

[28] *Chronica* f. 68^{r}: "Qui tam exteris, ut Bohemis, et Polonis, quam nonnullis, incolis Sacre Corone subiectis, sibi plurimum insidiantibus, ut Leo fortissimus invictissimusque restiti."

[29] *Chronica* f. 68^{r}: "Reliqua autem preclara ac memorabilia facinora Serenissimi atque Invictissimi Domini nostri regis, quia tanta sunt, quod breviter comprehendi nequeunt, in aliud tempus differenda, ac latius prosequenda erunt."

5. The National Library of Saint Petersburg acquired the *Lemberg-copy* from the library of Lviv Franciscan Monastery at an auction (?) in the 19th century. *Санкт-Петербург*, Российская Национальная Библиотека, Inc. 9. 4. 4. 12.

6. The National Library of France acquired the *Hopetoun-copy* at a Sotheby auction in 1889 for £86. Charles Hope, 1st Earl of Hopetoun (1681–1742) was a Scottish nobleman. *Paris*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. m. M. 20.

7. The University Library of Prague acquired the *Jesuit-copy* from the library of Jindřichův Hradec Jesuit College — after the dissolution of the Jesuit Order — in 1773. *Praha*, Univerzitní knihovna, Inc. 39. D. 14.

8. The Library of Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei acquired the *Rossi-copy* as a donation from the library of Corsini in 1883. Prince Tommaso Corsini (1835–1919) was an Italian noble and politician. *Roma*, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Biblioteca Corsiniana, 53. F 25.

9. The National Library of Austria acquired the *Dominican-copy* before 1666 from the library of Vienna Dominican Monastery. *Wien*, Österreichische National-bibliothek, Inc. 5. F 35.

10. Princeton University, Scheide Library acquired the *Henrici-copy* at an auction of Hartung & Hartung in 1991 for DM 420 000. Georg Henrici (1844–1915) was a professor at Leipzig University. *Princeton*, Scheide Library, WHS S2.11A.

On 5 June 5, 1473, on the eve of Pentecost, Andreas Hess, a typographer of German origin invited to Hungary from Italy, must have been one of the happiest men in the Buda Royal Palace. The printer must have calculated happily which copy he would sell at the Buda market. We did not manage to reconstruct fully the mysterious story of the first Hungarian printing press, the first Hungarian incunable and its proud master. After a thorough study of the surviving copies, we are still left with a lot of question marks. Nevertheless, it was not for nothing to raise these questions which may be answered one day by a new generation of historians.

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Karolina MROZIEWICZ (Faculty of "Artes Liberales," University of Warsaw)

Illustrated Books on History and Their Role in the Identity-Building Processes: The Case of Hungary (1488–1700)*

Abstract: The article aims to demonstrate that illustrated books on history were both influential subjects and objects of discursive processes shaping individual and collective identifications. As subjects, by virtue of text and images, they influenced ways in which their manufacturers and readers determined who they were in relation to the present and the past, and within their political and cultural communities. As objects, they provided a space in which their users could articulate and promote particular models of collective (proto-national, social, religious and/or genealogical) identity. More specifically, the paper discusses the corpus of illustrated books on the history of St. Stephen's kingdom, printed between 1488 and 1700. The inquiry into their reception shows that they effectively participated in the identity-building practices unfolding in the course of writing, reading, viewing, annotating, encountering and playing with their visual and literary content.

Keywords: illustrated book, history, identity, Hungary, historical imagery, visual communication, verbal communication, reception.

The main objective of this inquiry is to show in what ways illustrated books on history participated in discursive processes forging individual and collective identifications of their users. The paper discusses books as an efficient means of verbal and visual communication among the members of the higher strata of the late medieval and Early Modern society. Authors, commissioners and/or printers involved in their production constructed and disseminated particular historical imagery that was successfully internalised by the community of readers, as demonstrated by the long afterlife of the visual and literary narratives propagated by each of the books under discussion here. More specifically, in what follows I aim to investigate the role of illustrated books on history within the identity discourse in Hungary. A brief comparison with Polish, Bohemian and German illustrated print production will allow me to tackle the question of the hallmarks of Hungarian illustrated book production between 1488 and 1700.

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Illustrated books on Hungarian history constitute a heterogeneous collection of sources which begs a brief clarification as neither "illustrated" nor "history" (nor even Hungarian, for that matter) has a unanimously accepted definition. I use both terms in their broad sense. An "illustration" is understood here as a woodcut or an engraving which accompanied the textual message and through the process of printing became an inseparable component of a book.[1] Apart from illustrating (Lat. *illustrare*: elucidate, explain, adorn), it could perform numerous other functions such as didactic, moralising, propagandistic, devotional, scientific and, I argue, also an identity-building role.

The word "history," (Gr. *ἱστορία*, Lat. *historia*, which predates *ἱστοριογραφία* in Hellenistic Greek and the post-classical Latin *historiographia*) is used in its wide sense referring to "written account of past events," "historical narrative."[2] As such, it encompasses various genres of historical writing: chronicles, genealogical works, eulogies of rulers or lives of Hungarian saints. Different as they are in their function and content, they all have a great capacity to narrate the history of St. Stephen's kingdom.

In selection of sources I therefore followed three main criteria: 1) The subject of the book should be a historical narrative on past events in Hungary; 2) The book ought to contain an expanded series of illustrations accompanying the textual message;[3] 3) The book was conceived by and — not necessarily exclusively — for the Hungarian members of the political and cultural elite (i.e. the largest group of *litterati*) of the composite kingdom of St. Stephen before 1700.[4]

I did not follow any strict topographical criterion, deciding that the geographical scope of this study would be delineated by the printing centres which

[1] Illustrations added at the end of the book in the form of plates are not taken into consideration in this study. Yet, the fact that a certain illustration functioned as an individual image outside the structure of the book, when a part of its edition was thought to circulate separately or when it was intentionally removed, cut or torn out from its original context because of its high material or collecting value, does not exclude it from the studied corpus. On the contrary, such a case only proves the influential role of an illustration in the process of visual communication.

[2] "history, n." Oxford English Dictionary Online. December 2013. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/87324?rskey=6OwcM5&result=1&isAdvanced=false (retrieved 4 February, 2015).

[3] This criterion excludes series of printed portraits, such as for instance influential *Icones illustrium heroum Hungariae* by Elias Wideman printed in Vienna 1652, from the corpus.

[4] The chronological caesura adapted in this study follows neither the traditional periodisation (1473–1711) for Hungarian early printed books established by Károly Szabó (K. Szabó, *Régi magyar könyvtár*, 4 Vols [Old Hungarian library] [Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1879–1898]) nor temporal divisions for research on Hungarian literature and historiography (the late fifteenth century–ca. 1770; cf. L. Czigány, *The Oxford History of Hungarian Literature from the Earliest Times to the Present* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), pp. 25–81; and T. Klaniczay (ed.), *A History of Hungarian Literature* (Budapest: Corvina, 1982), pp. 37–113). It is closer to the time framework adopted in the series *Hungaria typographica* (V.J. Ecsedi, 2004, 2010). Such a chronological scope captures the dynamics and specificity of the production of illustrated books on Hungarian history and concentrates on a formative and highly influential phase of Hungarian print culture.

collaborated with Hungarian commissioners and/or authors. This would reflect a complex geography of Hungarian print production with its fluctuating space and ephemeral local hand-presses. Therefore, "Hungarian" is, in this case, a category undetermined by geographical dimensions. The borders of the Hungarian Kingdom changed several times between 1488 and 1700. Moreover, Hungarian book production and the main actors involved in it often operated within the space encompassing prominent communication hubs of the Habsburg domains, such as Vienna and Nuremberg, as well as local printing centres working on a smaller scale, such as Brno or Trnava (Hungarian Nagyszombat).[5]

From Medieval Chronicle to Genealogical Fiction

The corpus of illustrated books on Hungarian history ranges from a late medieval chronicle to the Jesuit works, to a fictional genealogical treatise. It includes five books: 1) a Brno edition of János Thuróczy's *Chronica Hungarorum* (1488), 2) its second edition published in Augsburg (1488), 3) *Mausoleum … regum et primorum militantis Ungariae ducum* (1664, hereafter *Mausoleum*), 4) Gábor Hevenesi's *Ungaricae sanctitatis indicia* (1692), and 5) *Trophaeum nobilissimae ac antiquissimae domus Estorasianae in tres diversum partes* (1700, hereafter *Trophaeum*). A short overview of their content shows that each of these books glorifies shared Hungarian history and provides a visual costume for it crafted by foreign masters. Seen as a corpus, these publications contributed to the establishment of the normative past and historical imagery that proved highly influential in the subsequent centuries.

The earliest of them is the famous *Chronica Hungarorum*, as the author of the text, János Thuróczy (ca. 1435–ca. 1489), called it in the opening dedication to Tamás Drági (*fl.* 1456–1490), a jurist from Matthias Corvinus's chancellery and Thuróczy's protector. The book was first issued by the Brno printing house of Konrad Stahel (died 1499) and Matthias Preinlein (*fl.* 1484–1499) with the use

[5] For the convenience of the reader, I will use the modern names of localities and refer to their original names in parentheses. The exceptions from this rule are the place names that are strikingly anachronistic, such as Bratislava or Budapest.

On the Hungarian print production in these printing centres, see N. Viskolcz, "Matthaeus Cosmerovius, a magyarok nyomdásza a 17. századi Bécsben" [Matthaeus Cosmerovius, Hungarian printer in 17th-century Vienna], in *A MOKKA-R Egyesület 2007. december 17-i felolvasóülésének anyaga* [Proceedings of *MOKKA-R* Association on 17th December 2007], eds. I. Monok and J. Nyerges (Budapest: Argumentum: OSZK, 2007), pp. 7–26; N. Viskolcz, "Die Ungarn betreffenden Drucke der Nürnberger Verleger-Familie Endter im 17. Jahrhundert," *Ungarn Jahrbuch* 27 (2004), pp. 349–357; B. Iványi and E. Czakó, *A Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda története 1577–1927* [History of the Royal Hungarian University Press 1577–1927] (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1927); I. Käfer, *Az Egyetemi Nyomda négyszáz éve: 1577–1977* [Four hundred years of the university press: 1577–1977] (Budapest: Magyar Helikon, 1977). I am grateful to István Monok for refering me to the articles by Noémi Viskolcz.

of fonts brought by Stahel from Venice.[6] The colophon informs about the exact date and place of publication: 20 March 1488, "in the renowned land of Moravia, in the town of Brno."[7] The book could have been financed by the chancellor of Matthias Corvinus, the Moravian-born bishop János Filipec (1431–1509), Royal Chancellor and Bishop of Olomouc and Várad, but there are no references to him in the print.[8] The second edition of the chronicle was printed in two variants[9] on 3 June 1488 — as the colophon informs — in the Augsburg printing house of Erhard Ratdolt (1442–1528), "a most skilled man in the distinguished craft and in the extraordinary art of printing. On the expenses of Theobald Feger citizen of Buda,"[10] a book-seller of German origin.

The Brno and Augsburg editions were richly illustrated and contain series of woodcuts within the text modelled after the narrative miniatures and figurative initials of the famous *Illuminated Chronicle* (*Chronicon Pictum*, ca. 1358). The woodcuts show likenesses of Hungarian commanders and rulers from Attila to Matthias Corvinus and one full-page image depicting the arrival of the Mongols/Ottomans to Hungary.[11] The Augsburg edition additionally contains generic battle

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[6] See G. Sajó *et al.*, *Catalogus incunabulorum quae in bibliothecis publicis Hungariae asservantur* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1970), p. LXXII.

[7] Colophon of János Thuróczy, *Chronica Hungarorum*, Brno 1488, fol. X8r: *In inclita terre Moravie civitate Brunensi lucubratissime impressa finit felicius. Anno salutis M.CCCC.LXXXVIII. die. XX. Martii.*

[8] The sponsorship of János Filipec had recently been taken with reservation in M.F. Bajger, "Bratr, někdy biskup Jan Filipec (1431–1509) a knihy okolo něj," *Problematika historických a vzácných knižních fondů Čech, Moravy a Slezska* 19 (2010), pp. 132–134.

[9] For the description of the variants, see János Thuróczy, *Chronica Hungarorum*, 3 Vols., ediderunt E. Galántai et J. Kristó (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985–1988), Vol. I, p. 10.

[10] Colophon of János Thuróczy, *Chronica Hungarorum*, Augsburg 1488, fol. y9v: *Impressa erhardi Ratdolt viri solertissimi eximia industria et mira imprimendi arte ... Impensis siquidem Theobaldi feger conciuis Budensis.*

[11] See E. Soltész (1993) [with the references to the earlier scholarship]; Á. Salgó, "A Thuróczy-krónika brünni kiadása" [The Brno edition of Thuróczy's chronicle], in *Történelem–kép: szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatából Magyarországon* [History and image: Relations between art and the past in Hungary], eds. Á. Mikó and K. Sinkó (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria), pp. 281–282; Á Salgó, "Thuróczy János Magyar krónikája" [The Hungarian chronicle of János Thuróczy], in *Jankovich Miklós (1772–1846) gyűjteményei: kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Galériában, 2002. november 28–2003. február 16.* [Miklós Jankovich's collection: Exhibition in the Hungarian National Gallery, 28th November 2002–16th February 2003] (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2002), pp. 269–271; Á. Salgó and T. Wehli, "A Thuróczy-krónika augsburgi kiadása" [The Augsburg edition of Thuróczy's chronicle], in *Történelem–kép…* (2002), *op. cit.*, pp. 282–284; Á. Tóvizi, "Thuróczi János: Chronica Hungarorum," in *Sigismundus rex et imperator: művészet és kultúra Luxemburgi Zsigmond korában, 1387–1437: kiállítási katalógus* [Sigismundus rex et imperator: Art and culture in the times of Sigismund of Luxemburg, 1387–1437: Exhibition catalogue], ed. I. Takács (Mainz: Zabern, 2006), pp. 495–496; T. Wehli, "Magyar uralkodók ábrázolásai Thuróczy János krónikájában" [Representations of Hungarian rulers in János Thuróczy's chronicle], in *A középkori magyar királyok arcképei: Szent István Király Múzeum, Székesfehérvár, 1996. május 22–augusztus 21* [Medieval likenesses of Hungarian kings: King Saint Stephen Museum, Székesfehérvár, 22nd May–21st August 1996], ed.

scenes, a full-page woodcut showing the history of St. Ladislas and a circular heraldic composition. The Brno edition, which was illustrated with forty two images impressed from thirty seven blocks,[12] served as a point of reference for the woodcutters working on the illustrations for the Augsburg edition. They extended the illustrative programme to sixty six images impressed from thirty two blocks. Neither the cutters nor the draughtsmen who worked on these two editions have been identified.[13]

The series of fifty nine portraits used for illustrating *Mausoleum*, published in 1664 in the Nuremberg printing house of Michael (1613–1682) and Johann Friedrich Endter (*fl.* 1661–1682), was supervised and financed by Ferenc Nádasdy (1623–1671).[14] The images echoed woodcuts of both editions of Thuróczy's chronicle. They were juxtaposed with Latin-language elogia composed by the Jesuit Nicolaus von Avancini (1611–1686) and accurately translated into German by Lutheran Sigmund von Birken (1626–1681).[15]

Mausoleum served as a direct model for the main concept and the literary and visual form of *Trophaeum*, a genealogical treatise ordered by Pál Esterházy (1655–1713) and published in 1700 in the printing house of the University of Vienna

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G. Fülöp (Székesfehérvár: Szent István Király Múzeum, 1996), pp. 9–12; T. Wehli, "Magyarország történelme a középkori krónikaillusztrációk tükrében" [Hungarian history as reflected in medieval chronicle illustrations], in *Történelem–kép…* (2000), *op. cit.*, pp. 304–307.

[12] G. Rózsa, *Grafikatörténeti tanulmányok: fejezetek a magyar vonatkozású grafikai ábrázolások múltjából* [Studies on the history of graphic arts: Chapters on graphics with connections to Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1998), pp. 10–11.

[13] There has been a long long debate about the authorship of the woodcuts and their iconographical models in Hungarian scholarship. Most of the scholars point to the Ulm workshop in the case of the Brno edition and to the use of models from the circle of Martin Schongauer in regard to the Augsburg versions (among recent articles, see: Á. Salgó and T. Wehli, "A Thuróczy-kronika…" (2000), *op. cit.*, p. 284; T. Kerny, "Historia Sancti Ladislai. A kerlési ütközet ábrázolásairól" [Historia Sancti Ladislai: Fighting depiction in Kerlés], in *Történelem–kép…* (2000), *op. cit.*, p. 191).

[14] Most of the engraving matrices used in *Mausoleum* were carried out by the circle of Isaac Major around the 1630s for the unfinished *Historia Hungariae* by Illés Berger; then, they were acquired by the Jesuits from Pozsony, from whom Nádasdy obtained them; cf. G. Rózsa, "Das Nadasdy Mausoleum," in *Mausoleum potentissimorum ac gloriosissimorum regni apostolici regum et primorum militantis Ungariae ducum* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1991), p. 9; B. Holl, *Ferenczffy Lőrinc: Egy magyar könyvkiadó a XVII. században* [Lőrinc Ferenczffy: A Hungarian publishing house in the seventeenth century] (Budapest: Helikon, 1980), pp. 152–170; M. Árpád, "A Nádasdy-Mausoleum," in *Történelem–kép…* (2000), *op. cit.*, pp. 389–390. For more details on the iconographic programme of *Mausoleum*, see G. Rózsa, *Magyar történetábrázolás a 17. században* [Images of Hungarian history in the seventeenth century] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973), pp. 13–50; G. Rózsa, "Das Nadasdy Mausoleum" (1991), *op. cit.*

[15] G. Rózsa, "Nicolaus Avancini und der Originaltext des Nádasdy-Mausoleums," *Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten* 30 (2003), pp. 72–74. On the Hungarian connections of Sigmund von Birken, see N. Viskolcz, "Die Ungarn betreffenden Drucke…" (2004), *op. cit.*, p. 353; K. Németh, "Sigmund von Birken magyar kapcsolatai" [Hungarian connections of Sigmund von Birken], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 110 (1994), pp. 78–82.

operated by Leopold Voigt (1650–1706).[16] The juxtaposition of text and image that time served to glorify the new aristocratic family and provide it with a remarkable (though forged) genealogy.[17] The book consists of three parts, of which the largest shows the "most ancient" genealogy of the family with genealogical and heraldic plates, a hundred and sixty five likenesses of its members along with eulogies of their illustrious deeds, beginning from Attila, Örs and his son Estoras, and ending with the prince's contemporaries. The myth of the origins of Hungary is interwoven with a recently invented genealogy of the Esterházys.

Like in *Mausoleum*, each eulogy is preceded by an engraving presenting the commemorated person, often in a traditional or "orientalised" garb, together with a depiction of the military events from Hungarian history in which the person participated. The copperplates were signed by the Viennese master Johann Jacob Hoffmann, who collaborated for a longer time with Pál Esterházy, and Jacob Hermundt, a Munich-born engraver based in Vienna. The drawings of Esterházy's court painter Petrus served as the chief models for the portraits of family members. The signature under the opening epigrams permits to attribute the eulogies to Pavao Ritter Vitezović (1652–1713), an influential Croatian poet and historian. The signatures under several other short poetical pieces indicate that Pál Esterházy's relative Ádám Bezerédy and his secretary István Jeszenszky played some role in writing some passages of *Trophaeum* as well. The palatine supervised the work as its commissioner, an author of a few poetic parts of the book and perhaps also its editor.

Ungaricae sanctitatis indicia, the last illustrated book from the corpus, is an example of Jesuit book production. The compendium of Hungarian saints — as the genre of the book could perhaps the most accurately be defined — presents, through a series of fifty well-known *vitae* of Hungarian saints and blessed, a Counter-Reformation reinterpretation of history characteristic of the scholarship of *Societas Iesu*. It describes and depicts several episodes from Hungarian history and national mythology, among which Christianisation, the establishment of ecclesiastical structures, the "apostolic" past of the kingdom, the offering of the

[16] On the conceptual and iconographic models of *Trophaeum*, see E. Buzási, "Az Esterházy család *Trophaeuma*" [*Trophaeum* of the Esterházy family], in *Történelem–kép…* (2000), *op. cit.*, p. 387; E. Buzási, "Fikció és történetiség az Esterházy család ősgaléríájában és a *Trophaeum* metszeteiben" [Fiction and historiocity in the Esterhazys' ancestor gallery and in the engravings of *Trophaeum*], in *Történelem–kép…* (2000), *op. cit.*; *eadem*, "Fiktion und Geschichtlichkeit in der Ahnengalerie und in den Kupferstichen des *Trophaeum*s der Familiengeschichte der Esterházy," trans. A. Harmath, *Acta historiae artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 43 (2002).

[17] On the Esterházys' genealogy, see L. Berényi, "Domini de Salamon-Watha dicti Zyrház de genere Salomon. Der Ursprung der Familie Esterházy und ihre frühneuzeitliche Geschichte," in *Die Fürsten Esterházy: Magnaten, Diplomaten und Mäzene: Eisenstadt, Schloss Esterházy 28. 4. bis 31. 10. 1995: [Katalog der] Ausstellung der Republik Österreich, des Landes Burgenland und der Freistadt Eisenstadt* (Eisenstadt: Amt der Burgenländischen Landesregierung, Landesarchiv-Landesbibliothek, 1995), pp. 19–46.

crown to the Virgin Mary and the conflict with the Ottomans are of primary importance.

Published for the first time in Trnava in 1692, in the printing house of the Jesuit academy operated by Johann Adamus Friedl (*fl.* 1693–1703), the compendium included illustrations — copperplates signed by two Viennese engravers: Johann S. Schott and Johann Jacob Hoffmann.[18] The book was dedicated to Ferenc Klobusiczky (ca. 1650–1714), Baron of Zétény, a royal representative and an advisor to the emperor, as his function is called in the opening line of the dedication.

Hungarian History in Print

The illustrated *Chronica Hungarorum* by János Thuróczy was preceded by another historiographic work which opens the history of Hungarian printing — *Chronica Hungarorum* (Buda 1473). This is in itself unusual as the onset of the use of movable type was commonly marked by the publication of religious and legal works. The forty-two-line Gutenberg Bible, regarded as the first complete letter-pressed book, is the most obvious example of the practice. Similarly, *Explanatio in Psalterium* printed in the mid-1470s heralded the advent of movable type to the Polish Kingdom, and *Statuta provinicialia Arnesti* were printed at the same time in Bohemia.

Likewise, the most elaborate series of woodcut illustrations were initially attached to religious or didactic books. The first illustrated book in Europe was a German collection of fables titled *Der Edelstein* (1461); in Bohemia the first illustrated book was, similarly, a collection of Aesop's fables (1488?). The richly illustrated world chronicle *Liber chronicarum* by Hartmann Schedel was printed only in 1493. The first Bohemian chronicle (*Kronika česká,* a vernacular version of *Chronica Bohemica* by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, 1510) and the earliest Polish printed illustrated chronicle (*Chronica Polonorum* by Maciej of Miechów, 1519) were both published in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

Needless to say, no references to the meaning of this uncharacteristic beginning of Hungarian printing are to be found on the pages of the books. The reflections of the authors or sponsors of the prints are confined to stressing the importance of the memory of Hungary's origins and glorious past and the moral lessons to be learnt from the illustrious deeds and virtues of its heroes. The Hungarian discussion about *ars historica*, in turn, similar to that in Italy and France, is mostly

[18] On the engravings of *Ungaricae sanctitatis indicia*, see G. Galavics, "Ősök, hősök, szent királyok. Történelmünk és a barokk képzőművészet" [Ancestors, heroes and holy kings. Our history and baroque art], in *Történelem–kép…* (2000), *op. cit.*, p. 67; T. Kerny, "Hevenesi Gábor: Magyar szentség" [Gábor Hevenesi: Hungarian sanctity], in *Történelem–kép…* (2000), *op. cit.* [with further bibliographical references].

concerned with Aristotle's and Cicero's understanding of the status of historiography and does not shed new light on the specificity of the Hungarian case.[19]

Printers, commissioners and authors of the books rarely expressed opinions about the role of the prints and the accompanying images. Andreas Hess admits that he thought that all Hungarians would find his effort of printing the chronicle of Pannonia dear (*labor gratus*) and delightful (*iocundus*).[20] The publisher of the Augsburg edition of Thuróczy's work follows this line of argumentation and stresses that his book could be even more pleasing because he added "a few beautiful pictures, so the effort of reading will be more rewarding for everyone owing to the variety of images."[21] The relationship of the images to the text is left unaddressed in the chronicle. Only the introduction to *Mausoleum* refers to it and expresses some reservation about the trustworthiness of images, in contrast to the text, whose the fidelity it acknowledges.[22] This rhetorically embellished comment is the only self-reflection of this kind to be found in the discussed sources.

Approaching Identities of Books and Their Users

There are two main research problems in studying the role of illustrated books within the identity discourses. Though each of them pertains to a different conceptual field, both become interconnected in the process of using the books. One of them concerns the identities of books, which were established in production and comprise a set of features characterising the genetic and material sameness and differences of the books. The other touches upon a more complex issue of the identities of their manufacturers (users I) and readers (users II). They could be studied on the basis of direct and indirect articulations of self-identification. The interplay between books and their readers emerges not only through the active involvement of the users, but also through the active role of the books in identity-building mechanisms as both subjects and objects of such process. As subjects,

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[19] Cf. S. Bene, "The 'ars historica' debate in Hungary and Transylvania," in *Az értelem bátorsága: Tanulmányok Perjés Géza emlékére* [The courage of intellect: Essays to the memory of Géza Perjés], ed. G. Hausner (Budapest: Argumentum, 2005), pp. 75–90; S. Bene, "Latin historiography in Hungary: Writing and rewriting myths of origins," in *Myth and Reality: Latin Historiography in Hungary 15th–18th Centuries: Exhibition in the National Széchényi Library, 7 July–3 September, 2006*, ed. I. Monok (Budapest: National Széchényi Library, 2006), pp. 10–19; P. Kulcsár, "Ars historica," in *Klaniczay-emlékkönyv: tanulmányok Klaniczay Tibor emlékezetére* [Klaniczay memorial book: Studies to the memory of Tibor Klaniczay], ed. J. Jankovics (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1994), pp. 119–127.

[20] *Chronica Hungarorum*, Buda 1473, fol. [2r].

[21] Fragment of Theobald Feger's dedication to Matthias Corvinus, in János Thuróczy, *Chronica Hungarorum*, Augsburg 1488, fol. [A4v]: "*addidi et non parum venustas picturas, quo legendi labor picturae varietate leuatus gratior omnibus occurreret*."

[22] *Mausoleum*, fol. 4v.

by virtue of text and images mediating the message about shared past and customs, the books influenced ways in which their users identified their position in the present and historical reality and within the political and cultural community. They provoked an array of different responses (interventions in the text and/or images, repetitions, reworking in other media, etc.). The influence of a given book could grow as its popularity increased and its editions, translations, adaptations, versions and copies multiplied. As objects, the books constituted a space in which their users (I) could express their identifications and promote particular models of collective (proto-national, social, religious and/or genealogical) identity.

Texts, images and paratexts could convey articulations of numerous individual self-identifications of the authors, commissioners, printers, illustrators, etc. Indications of active reading (such as, for instance, marginalia, underlinings, handwritten corrections of the text), ex-libris plates and readers' other marks make it possible to track — on different levels and in different forms — the expressions of personal, socio-professional, political and religious self-identifications of the books' readers and owners.

The corpus of Hungarian illustrated books offers numerous examples which show in what way this brief theoretical outline could be applied in practice. To begin with the material and genetic identities of the studied books on history, they could be characterised in at least ten points detailed below. Five of these concern the circumstances in which the books were manufactured:

1) Illustrated books were rarities in Hungarian book production as the political, economic and social situation of the kingdom considerably hindered their publication. Their number is much lower than in the neighbouring German- or Polish-speaking regions. Most significantly, in the sixteenth century, a period that witnessed a growth in the production of illustrated books on history both in the Holy Roman Empire and in the Kingdom of Poland, the Hungarian print market did not release any of them.

2) The illustrated books were collaborative and expensive projects manufactured in the circle of upper-class patrons, who made extensive use of visual propaganda. Matthias Corvinus's entourage, the Nádasdys and the Esterházys alike were renowned for their engagement in artistic patronage, serving the needs of their political lines.[23]

[23] On Matthias Corvinus's court, see *inter alia* J. Balogh, *A művészet Mátyás király udvarában* [Art at the Court of king Matthias], 2 Vols. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1966); Farbaky, P. (ed.) (2008); Feuer-Tóth, R. (1990); Hoensch, J.K. (1998); E. Marosi, "Mátyás király és korának művészete" [King Matthias and the art of his time], *Ars Hungarica* 21 (1993), pp. 11–38.

On the artistic patronage of Nádasdy and Esterházy and the role which illustrated books played in it, see G. Rózsa, "Nádasdy Ferenc és a művészet" [Ferenc Nádasdy and art], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 20 (1970), pp. 185–202; G. Galavics, "Fürst Paul Esterházy (1635–1713) als Mäzen, Skizzen einer Laufbahn," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 45 (1992), pp. 121–141; K. Semmelweis, "Die gedruckten Werke des Palatins Paul Esterházy (1635–1713)," *Burgenländische Heimatblätter* 23 (1961), pp. 32–42.

3) The burgher commissioners played a marginal role in the production of illustrated books. It could be considered a Hungarian peculiarity that virtually no town chronicles were published at that time.

4) The illustrated books were at the same time rare and highly influential as clear inter-textual and inter-iconic links among these books imply. To illustrate this with but a few examples: Thuróczy's chronicle was utilised as a point of reference for *Mausoleum* and *Ungaricae sanctitatis indicia* (directly) as well as for *Trophaeum* (indirectly); *Mausoleum* was a conceptual model for *Trophaeum*.

5) What is a striking and original feature is that each of the books was illustrated with the use of different blocks or matrices, even though some images, for example in *Mausoleum* and *Trophaeum*, closely resemble each other.

The main content of the books:

6) Historical reflection is presented verbally and pictorially within broader royal (*Chronica Hungarorum*), Counter-Reformation Catholic (all seventeenth-century examples) or aristocratic (*Trophaeum*) narratives; the historical works of Evangelical authors were not embellished with series of illustrations;

7) The books reflect on shared Hungarian history in the Latin language. What is worth noting is that in the discussed period there were no richly illustrated Hungarian-language histories. This suggests that Latin had a privileged place in coding historical messages and transmitting accounts about the collective past. More generally, it was used as an efficient language of "Magyarisation" and communication in culture, religion and politics in such a multilingual and multiethnic realm as St. Stephen's kingdom. Furthermore, during the Counter-Reformation in Hungary it was also used as the universalistic language of *ecclesia militans*.

8) Likenesses of rulers with the Hungarian royal insignia (Holy Crown), heraldic images and battle scenes dominate among the pictures; there were no separate cityscapes or portraits of the burghers; likewise, the civic environment was marginalised in all the studied narratives.

9) The myth of origins played an important role in all of the books, with the image of Attila opening most of the visual narratives (a noticeable exception is *Ungaricae sanctitatis indicia*, which refers to him in the text only); along with the figures of holy rulers, it was invoked to display the postulated "distinctiveness" of the Hungarian cultural and political path.

10) The visual component of the illustrated books, often serving as an iconographic model for artistic programmes carried out in other media, became an important part of the iconosphere of the upper classes; each of the books had a wide reception among the upper class of Hungarian society.

What differentiates the books is the striking temporal and spatial distance that separates the time and place of their production. Because they were manufactured in dissimilar cultural milieus, they differ in literary genres, visual and verbal content and, finally, the number of circulating copies and the range of readership. Consequently, the afterlives of the books had different dynamics and distinct *modi*

vivendi, in which the reception of texts and illustrations followed divergent trajectories.

The reception of the books can be studied in terms of the role of prints as a subject of identity processes — their impact on the intended and unintended audience, who were immediate recipients of books (readers I) and who read books distributed in subsequent circulations (readers II). The transition of a book from the hands of readers I to the hands of readers II is one of the most decisive moments determining the impact of a given publication. People who later "discovered" the book for commercial, collecting, scientific or artistic purposes and reprinted, reused and/or popularised the book (readers II) contributed to its long-term influence.[24] On the one hand, this wider impact of the book could be roughly measured by the number of editions, versions, translations and adaptations, and, on the other, it could be assessed based on various responses of readers (I, II). Copies of the studied books provide numerous examples of both.

Thuróczy's chronicle became popular immediately after the publication of its first Brno edition, as can be inferred from the prompt appearance of the book's second edition published in Augsburg two and a half months later. At the same time, the demand for the book was partially met by its handwritten, illustrated copies.[25] They were soon followed by two German-language editions, of which the first was embellished with a new series of woodcuts.[26] More than a century later, the book was republished in a collection of texts on Hungarian history and geography,[27] which was followed by a flood of similar, eighteenth-century compendia.[28] This phase of the book circulation was decisive for the reception of Thuróczy

[24] T.R. Adams and N. Barker, "A new model for the study of the book," in *A Potencie of Life: Books in Society. The Clark Lectures 1986–1987*, ed. N. Barker (London: Oak Knoll Press, 2001), p. 32.

[25] A. Boreczky, "Eine vergessene Porträtreihe ungarischer Könige aus dem 15. Jahrhundert und die Handschriften der Ungarnchronik des Johannes von Thurocz," *Acta historiae artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 51 (2010), pp. 71–84.

[26] *Der Hungern Chronica*, Nuremberg 1534; *Der Hungern Chronica*, Augsburg 1536.

[27] *Rerum Hungaricarum scriptores varii historici, geographici*, Frankfurt am Main 1600.

[28] The first among the eighteenth-century editions of the chronicle was an elegant Viennese edition of *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum* of 1746, in the first volume of which Thuróczy's chronicle was reprinted with engravings and figural initials copied after the famous illuminated codex known as *Képes krónika* [illustrated chronicle] from the times of Louis the Great. This is the only text in this volume which was embellished with illustrations and complex initials; moreover, it is the first known example of the illumination of *Képes krónika* being copied and used as illustrations of a printed book. Cf. T. Kerny, "A Képes Krónika miniatúráinak rézmetszetű másolatai" [Engraved copies of the miniatures of *Illustrated Chronicle*], in *Történelem–kép…* (2000), *op. cit.*, pp. 489–491. The next, more handy edition of *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum* was printed in Trnava in 1765, and similarly included Thuróczy's chronicle in the first volume of the compendium. It was followed by the Viennese *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum* of 1766 and *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum* printed in Vac in 1773. In the Hungarian National Library in Budapest (OSzK), there is also a copy of another eighteenth-century edition of the chronicle (shelfmark 605/1770) of unknown place and date of printing, titled *Chronica Hungarorum ab origine gentis, inserta simul Chronica Joannis archidiaconi de Kikullew,*

in the nineteenth-century academic historiography, which established a national reading of Hungarian history.

In the history of the reception of *Chronica Hungarorum,* the textual and the visual components of the book followed different paths. In the case of *Mausoleum*, eulogies and likenesses of chieftains and rulers were sometimes republished together (with considerable changes in the text and illustrations) and sometimes apart.[29] Except for the adaptations and actualisations of the content of the book, the most reworked version of which is provided in *Trophaeum*, the engravings of *Mausoleum* were transposed to other media, mainly oil and wall paintings in numerous residential spaces such as, for instance, the castle in Forchtenstein (Hungarian Fraknó).[30] They also had a wide reception in the popular illustrative arts — in engravings and lithography.[31]

Lives of saints belong among the most popular genres of religious literature, which in the post-Tridentine era had numerous polemical, apologetic, didactic, dogmatic and identity-building functions to perform, especially in such a confessionally diverse environment as the Hungarian kingdom. *Ungaricae sanctitatis indicia* filled the gap in Hungarian hagiography and has functioned as the most comprehensive catalogue of Hungarian saints until the present day. The book was published at least four times in the Early Modern era, three times in a Latin-language version[32] and at least once in Hungarian,[33] in the printing house of the Jesuit

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ad annum usque Christi 1484 & ultra perducta, nunc ad fidem duarum editionum, Brunnesis nimirum & Augustanae de anno 1488 [s.l: s.n., s.d.].

[29] After the first Nuremberg edition, *Mausoleum* was reprinted in 1667 in a much more modest form (without illustrations and without German-language eulogies) in the printing house set up by Nádasdy in his own residence in Pottendorf. Later, it had at least four other Latin editions (Buda 1752, Eger 1758, Eger 1759, Pest 1779) and three Hungarian editions translated by Elek Horányi (Buda 1773, 1779 and 1799) in the eighteenth century. At the same time, the albums titled *Icones regum Hungariae: figurae aeri incisae* were also in circulation, containing only the visual component of the books – impressed engravings of Hungarian kings (without date and place of publication) or images cut out of the 1664 edition (cf. OSzK, shelfmark 504.923).

[30] More examples are provided by G. Rózsa, *Magyar történetábrázolás…* (1973), *op. cit.*, pp. 69–71.

[31] The popular portraiture and historical illustrations disseminated by the easily affordable nineteenth-century prints made up an especially prominent field of the reception of *Mausoleum*'s illustrations for identity-building processes. As Emese Révész claims, the visual model was successfully absorbed because of its ubiquity and intimate conditions of its reception. The high number of copies of illustrated magazines, newspapers and albums in which these pictures were published along with copious loose leaflets effectively disseminated the images of kings and chieftains based on *Mausoleum*. The close contact between a reader and a small-format image, in turn, guaranteed a successful internalisation of the visual message. Cf. E. Révész, "Virtuális Panteonok. Grafikai arcképcsarnokok a 19. századi hazai populáris grafikában" [Virtual pantheons: The portrait gallery in the 19th-century national popular arts], *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 34 (2009), pp. 109–134.

[32] The Latin-language editions printed in Trnava in 1692 and 1737 were illustrated; the third one published in Győr in 1750 was printed without images.

[33] The edition of 1695 printed in Trnava.

academy in Trnava. Furthermore, it had two twentieth-century editions.[34] As in the previous cases, the textual content of the book often functioned separately from the images and the same was true for the series of engravings, which served as a model for numerous works of religious art.[35] This double textual and visual field of impact — the parallel reception in literary and visual culture — made the studied book efficient in reshaping the historical imagination of its Hungarian readers.

The readers often left marks of their attentive reading or viewing on the pages of the studied books. By adding their commentaries to the texts,[36] marking particular passages,[37] adding Hungarian equivalents to the Latin names,[38] complementing the illustrations with their own drawings[39] or having their illustrations coloured,[40] they "personalised" their own copies. Moreover, they tended to leave signs of ownership in their books that informed about the personal or socio-political identifications of their owners.[41] All of those turned a book into an object of identity-building practices.

The printed text and illustrations were also devices used for the self-fashioning of their wealthy commissioners or authors. The most striking among the studied examples is the case of the commissioner of *Trophaeum* — Pál Esterházy. On the pages of this genealogical treatise, one can find statements about the self-perception of the aristocrat, boasting about his newly accomplished advancement to the status of a prince of the Reich. The book, which he supervised, smuggles through numerous accounts of his political and genealogical identity, political ambitions, cultural aspirations and, finally, an image testifying to his visual identity. The main problem with *Trophaeum* is, however, the uncertainty as to the intended recipients of this message. It is not clear to whom the book was actually addressed. The

[34] Both twentieth-century Hungarian editions of Hevenesi's work (Budapest 1988, 1999) are based on Ferenc Sinkó's translation from the Latin text of 1737.

[35] The illustrations served as a model for the programme of the wall-painting of the church in Orawka, which was executed at the turn of the seventeenth century; cf. N. Udvarhelyi, *Magyar szentek temploma* [Church of Hungarian saints] (Budapest: Kairosz, 2013), pp. 60–133; as well as for other religious works of art, cf. G. Galavics, "Ősök, hősök, szent királyok…" (2000), *op. cit.*, p. 67; T. Kerny, "Hevenesi Gábor…" (2000), *op. cit.*

[36] Commentaries to the text can be found, for instance, in the copies of Thuróczy's chronicle (Inc. 668d, Inc. 1144, both housed in OSzK).

[37] Underlinings or drawn hands pointing to a particular passage of the text are common traces of reading in Thuróczy's chronicle (Inc. 338 and Inc. 339. in the collection of the Library of Eötvös Loránd University — ELTE; Inc. 1144 in OSzK).

[38] As in the copy of *Mausoleum* in OSzK, shelfmark 618.662.

[39] An example could be provided by Inc. 338 in ELTE's collection, fol. B5r.

[40] Numerous copies of both editions of Thuróczy's chronicle kept in the collection of OSzK have hand-coloured woodcuts (to mention only Inc. 668c, Inc. 668d, Inc. 1145, Inc. 1145b, Inc. 1146b).

[41] Copies of the studied books were important items in noblemen's libraries. Although most of the collections have been scattered over the last centuries, many copies of these books are available in present-day libraries and private collections, some of them still bearing signs of ownership; cf. E. Soltész, "Die gedruckten Werke des Palatins Paul Esterházy (1635–1713)," *Burgenländische Heimatblätter* 23 (1994), pp. 32–42.

paratexts mostly mention Pál Esterházy and are rather self-referential. Also, the reception of the book could mostly be traced among the family members.[42] Hence, it is difficult to specify to what extent the book fulfilled its role as a promoter of the glory of the recently elevated family.

Conclusion

Illustrated books narrating the Hungarian past were rare cultural events in the history of Hungarian printing. Circulated in several different editions, variants, translations into vernacular and adaptations, they were influential subjects and objects of identity-building processes, which took place in the course of writing, reading, viewing, annotating and playing with the visual and literary content. They proved important for the establishment of the normative past and historical imagery, which dominated the national discourse of nineteenth-century Hungary.

Reception of their visual and verbal content took place in different phases of circulation, often separately. Illustrations generally had an independent, long-lasting afterlife, which had a significant impact on the historical imagination and self-identifications of the upper strata of Hungarian society.

The seventeenth- and eighteenth-century ancestor galleries embellishing the walls of Hungarian aristocratic residences, religious programmes depicted on the altars and church walls, illustrations in newspapers and historical albums demonstrate how successful the internalisation of the imprinted patterns was. The illustrated books on history unified the visual and verbal imagery of Hungarian mythology and the pantheon of saints, monarchs and their subjects in both public and domestic spaces. In the selection of images that were brought to the fore, the prevalent ones were portraits of Hun chieftains, Hungarian rulers, saints from the times of the Árpáds, aristocrats in the traditional garbs and battle scenes. All of them were firm anchors of collective identifications, perpetuating the memory of common roots and the shared militant and prosperous past of the sovereign kingdom of St. Stephen. Imprinted on paper, the visual and verbal messages coined in the circle of royal courtiers, the most influential aristocrats and the clergy went on to impress particular models of self- and collective identification that were further disseminated by the eighteenth-century re-editions of the printed texts and images. This phase of circulation was crucial for inscribing these books into the corpus of sources important for the nation-building historiography of the nineteenth century.

[42] With János Eszterházy's genealogical work (J. Eszterházy, *Az Eszterházy család és oldalágainak leírása* [The Eszterházy family and a description of its side line] [Budapest: Athenaeum, 1901]) and *Harmonia Caelestis* by Péter Esterházy (2000) being its twentieth-century examples.

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Dominic OLARIU (Philipps-Universität Marburg)

The Misfortune of Philippus de Lignamine's Herbal, or New Research Perspectives in Herbal Illustrations from an Iconological Point of View

Abstract: The herbal illustrations undergo an important change during the 15th and 16th centuries due to the invention of the press print in Germany. By addressing a wider range of an audience, the printed illustrations acquire, step by step, a scientific status and put to the test different ways of visualising the botanical knowledge. The paper analyses the changes undergone by the botanical images in the herbals produced in the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century, including the woodcuts of *Das puch der natur* (Konrad von Megenberg, printed by Hanns Bamler, Augsburg 1475), the *Herbarum vivae eicones* (Otto Brunfelsius, Strassburg, 1530) and the very first herbal with illustrations, the *Pseudo Apuleius*, printed for Philippus de Lignamine. The development of new visualising methods of plants — introducing illustrations of the roots, adapting the plant illustration to the flatness of the paper, focusing on certain parts of plants, etc. — contributes to a modern and different visual culture depending on the possibilities of the woodcut technique as well as on a new understanding of nature philosophy. The strategies of conceiving scientific images are examined here from an iconological point of view (*Bildwissenschaft*).

Keywords: Early Modern herbals, iconology, herbal illustrations, nature prints, Philippus de Lignamine.

Herbals originating from the Renaissance period have increasingly become a research topic over the last few decades. This is unsurprising as they represent an intriguing phenomenon from the very onset of print culture. Not only were they amongst the most published natural history books in an age when the definition and discipline of natural science had just begun to emerge, but they were also symptoms of a new and more visual culture.[1] At a rapid pace, from the 15th century onwards, herbal books started to feature images in substantial quantities, while pictorial in-

[1] A very valuable overview of the history of herbals in the 15th and 16th centuries is D. Landau and P. Parshall, *The Renaissance Print* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 245–258. For the gradual emergence of disciplines of natural science in the Early Modern period, see B.W. Ogilvie, *The Science of Describing. Natural History in Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); L. Daston, and K. Park (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Science. Volume 3. Early Modern Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), especially L. Daston and K. Park, "Introduction: The Age of the New," pp. 1–17.

formation had previously been a rather neglected matter in medieval herbals. Next to anatomical treatises — such as the well-known *De humani corporis fabrica libri septem* by the Brussels anatomist Andreas Vesalius, published in 1543 at Basel in Johannes Oporinus's *officina* — herbals, for a long time, were the most illustrated and most productive specimens of what might be the precursor of scientific books from the 15th century onwards.[2] Both these types of books initially shared the same intent: the advancement of medicine and its healing powers. Since Antiquity, herbals had belonged to curative texts explaining the specific ways in which plants could be employed in the treatment of diseases. However, even if linked to medicine, herbals encountered specific visualisation problems not identical with those related to anatomy books. It is for this reason that herbal books can be studied independently of anatomy books, even if some of their respective aspects are correlated.

Recent research has produced a number of very revealing insights into the use and the production of plant books during the Renaissance, mainly from the perspective of the history of science.[3] Additionally, an older research tradition exists offering a botanical point of view, which is corroborated by philological perspectives from the history of medicine and pharmacy. This botanical tradition provides identifications of the plants shown as well as references of synonyms used in herbals.[4] Attention has also been devoted to a range of specific questions pertaining to

[2] For herbals and anatomy books, see the recent S. Kusukawa, *Picturing the Book of Nature. Image, Text and Argument in Sixteenth-Century Human Anatomy and Medical Botany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

[3] For instance, B.W. Ogilvie, *Science…* (2006), *op. cit.*; C. Swan, "The Uses of Realism in Early Modern Illustrated Botany," in *Visualizing Medieval Medicine and Natural History, 1200–1550*, eds. J. Givens, K. Reeds and A. Touwaide (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 239–249; P.H. Smith, *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); L. Daston and P.L. Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2007); B. Schmidt and P.H. Smith (eds.), *Making Knowledge in Early Modern Europe. Practices, Objects, and texts, 1400–1800* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); S. Dackerman (ed.), *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe* (exhib. cat. Harvard Art Museum, Cambridge, MA/Block Museum of Art, Evanston; Sept. 2011–April 2012) (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); S. Kusukawa, *Picturing the Book of Nature...* (2012), *op. cit.*

General studies are: A. Arber, *Herbals. Their Origin and Evolution. A Chapter in the History of Botany 1470–1670* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990 [1912]); C. Nissen, *Die botanische Buchillustration. Ihre Geschichte und ihre Bibliographie*, 2 Vols. (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1966 [1951]); F. Anderson, *An Illustrated History of Herbals* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977); W.-D. Müller-Jahncke, "Die Pflanzenabbildung im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit," in *Inter folia fructus*, ed. P. Dilg (Frankfurt a/M: Govi-Verlag, 1995), pp. 47–64; W.-D. Müller-Jahnke, "Die botanische Illustration des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts in Italien," in *Die Kunst und das Studium der Natur vom 14. zum 16. Jahrhundert*, eds. A. Beyer, and W. Prinz (Weinheim: Acta Humaniora, VCH, 1987), pp. 75–81; K. Reeds, *Botany in Medieval and Renaissance Universities* (New York/London: Garland, 1991); W. Blunt and S. Raphael, *The Illustrated Herbal* (London: Frances Lincoln, 1994 [1979]); M. Collins, *Medieval Herbals: The Illustrative Traditions* (London: The British Library, 2000).

[4] See, e.g., W. Dressendörfer, G. Keil and W.-D. Müller-Jahnke, *Älterer deutscher "Macer." Ortlof von Baierland "Arzneibuch." "Herbar" des Bernhard von Breidenbach. Färber- und Maler-Rezepte: die oberrheinische medizinische Sammelhandschrift des Kodex Berleburg, Berleburg, Fürstlich Sayn-Witt-*

the chronology of publications or interrelations amongst certain herbals.[5] Moreover, academic literature on a few particular herbal books can also be found, notably in the form of essays on and commentaries to facsimile publications.[6]

Nonetheless, one aspect of early plant books has been somewhat neglected although several studies have highlighted its scientific relevance. Quite recently, Renzo Baldasso's essay on the "The Role of Visual Representation in the Scientific Revolution" has brought the visual matter of scientific books of Early Modernity back into the debate, as noted also by other studies on the same topic.[7] In a more recent publication, Claudia Swan states that in current research on herbals, "what is less frequently asked — or explained — is why these publications were illustrated in the first place."[8] Indeed, little effort has been made to examine the general role of illustrations in the emergence of Renaissance botany and its scholarly discourse. This paper will not conclusively answer these questions, but it will propose some possible analytical angles and clues on how research on herbal illustrations from the Renaissance may advance. By concentrating on images of plants during and after the shift from manuscripts to typescripts, it offers a perspective based on *Bildwissenschaften* and the history of science, therein potentially differing from the majority of papers in this volume. Thus, a further research aim would be to comprehend the mechanisms underlying these illustrations in becoming scientific "tools." This would help understand the ways in which knowledge of plants was transferred into herbal illustrations and reveal the specific ideas that effected their inclusion in books. To put it yet another way, the herbals of the interim phase

genstein'sche Bibliothek, Cod. RT 2/6 (München: Helga Lengenfelder, 1991); G. Hayer and B. Schnell (eds.) *Johannes Hartlieb,* "*Kräuterbuch*" (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2010).

[5] See, e.g., the recent B. Baumann and H. Baumann, *Die Mainzer Kräuterbuch-Inkunabeln* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2010).

[6] See, e.g., M. di Vito and V. Segre Rutz (eds.), *Historia plantarum Ms.459, Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense (facsimile and commentary)*, 2 Vols. (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 2001); I. Müller (ed.), *Anholter-Moyländer Kräuterbuch. Das Kräuterbuch von Johannes Hartlieb (facsimile)* (Bedburg-Hau: Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, 2004); *Codex Berleburg, op. cit.*; J.D. Koning (ed.), *Drawn after Nature: The Complete Botanical Watercolors of the 16th-Century Libri Picturati* (Zeist: KNNV Publications, 2008); H. Zoller (ed.), *Conradi Gesneri Historia plantarum (facsimile edition)*, 8 Vols. (Dietikon-Zürich: Urs-Graf, 1972–1980); M. Collins and S. Raphael (eds.), *A medieval herbal. A facsimile of British Library Egerton MS 747* (London: British Library, 2003).

[7] R. Baldasso, "The Role of Visual Representation in the Scientific Revolution: A Historiographic Inquiry," *Centaurus*, 48 (2006), pp. 69–88. For another study that addresses illustrations in atlases, see: L. Daston and P. Galison, *Objectivity* (2007), *op. cit*. See also Ivins's highly interesting outline of an investigation proposal and the desiderata concerning illustrations in herbals: W.M. Ivins, "The Herbal of 'Pseudo Apuleius,'" *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 2.7 (1944), pp. 218–221, on p. 220. Ivins proposes a wide investigation on herbals and sketches its outlines. Many of the aspects mentioned by Ivins have been addressed in scientific research over the last decades. However, one of Ivins's postulates — "it would have to consider the history of the search for logical methods of classification in the descriptive biological sciences" — has not yet been examined in relation to the early herbal prints.

[8] C. Swan, "The Uses of Realism…" (2006), *op. cit.*, p. 239.

from manuscripts to typescripts may help in grasping the role visual representation played in the 15th and 16th centuries.[9]

Research undertaken by historians of pharmacy and medicine has aptly stressed some seemingly simple facts. According to these earlier studies, it is very likely that the phytographic material was useful, if not essential, for the identification of the herbs commented on in the respective chapters. The images were to guide the reader, whether a physician, an apothecary or a scholar, when trying to find information about a specific plant observed in nature. Hence, images would be subordinated to the text, aiding the reader in his attempt to localise the plant within the herbal book. They would complement the textual description of the plant with a depiction. This particular approach to images in herbals seems to be the underlying logic of Brian Ogilvie's interesting book *The Science of Describing*. He notes, for instance, that the changes occurring in the early Renaissance "prompted the development of new descriptions modelled after the old. Initially, these descriptions were pictorial, but soon a technical descriptive language was elaborated that eventually took precedence, within the community [i.e. the scholarly community], over pictures."[10]

Challenging the one-sidedness of this point of view, this paper would like to stress the crucial role of images for the development of botany as a discipline in the natural sciences. The apparent obviousness of the arguments cited above, which emphasise the bare identification of plants, does seem to be undermined by several observations. In focusing here on such instances and the complexity inherent in the use of illustrations, this paper does not wish to deny the cognitive function of herb illustrations. Neither does it neglect the importance of pictures as field guides, the apparent purpose of some herbals, or the importance of recognising plants for scholarly studies; it also admits that herbals were indispensable in teaching in the mid-16th century, when "botanical study came to involve direct sensory study of its objects" and botany lectures had become a process relying on direct observation.[11] These aspects are extremely important for understanding the use of illustrations in the 15th and 16th centuries. This said, this paper interrogates the view that the botanic illustrative material was just a matter of responding to the simple needs of physicians and apothecaries. In doing this, it seeks to underline the facets of phytographism which go beyond the mere quality of recognition.

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[9] I cite here the title of Renzo Baldasso's essay; R. Baldasso, "The Role…" (2006), *op. cit.*

[10] B.W. Ogilvie, *Science…* (2006), *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[11] C. Swan, "The Uses of Realism…" (2006), *op. cit.*, p. 245. For the importance of illustrations in teaching, see also K.M. Reeds, *Botany…* (1991), *op. cit.*; A. Cunningham, *The Anatomical Renaissance. The Resurrection of the Anatomical Projects of the Ancients* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1997).

Ancient and Medieval Herbal Illustrations

At this point, it might be helpful to recall some general facts in the history of plant illustrations in order better to understand the specific questions underlying the herbals of the print period.[12] Pictureless herbals are known to have existed in ancient Greece as early as in the 4th century BC.[13] In 75 BC, the physician Cratevas was first to produce an illustrated herbal book for his king, Mithridates VI of Pontus. Despite the fact that no herbals of classical Antiquity have survived, the pictures of the Cratevas herbal seem to have been drawn according to the living models as contemporaneous sources, as well as its influence on late antique herbals, suggest.[14] The impact of the Cratevas paintings may be evaluated vis-à-vis the so-called *Vienna Dioscorides*, a lavishly illustrated late antique copy of the Greek physician's first-century medical book *De materia medica*, dating from 512.[15] Following the so-called fragmentary *Papyrus Tebtunis 679* and the *Johnson Papyrus*, the *Vienna Dioscorides* is the oldest preserved herbal.[16] It is important to note the lifelike quality of many of its paintings, which were, however, placed in one book side by side with schematic, artificially composed as well as less naturalistic, archetypical representations.[17]

We possess only limited knowledge about the extent of pictorial practice in antique plant books, but given the passage in Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia* explicitly devoted to herbal book paintings, it cannot have been rare, at least in Greek culture.[18]

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[12] Parts of the following are indebted to an interesting survey in F.A. Baumann, *Das Erbario carrarese und die Bildtradition des Tractatus de herbis: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Pflanzendarstellung im Übergang von Spätmittelalter zu Frührenaissance* (Bern: Benteli, 1974), p. 15.

[13] For antique herbals, see M. Collins, *Medieval Herbals…* (2000), *op. cit.*, pp. 31–35; C. Singer, "The Herbal in Antiquity and its transmission to later ages," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 47 (1927), pp. 1–52.

[14] C. Singer, "The Herbal in Antiquity…" (1927), *op. cit.,* p. 5.

[15] *De materia medica* by Pedanios Dioscorides of Anazarba was composed about 65 AD. For the *Vienna Dioscurides*, see M. Collins, *Medieval Herbals…* (2000), *op. cit.*, pp. 39–50; S. Toresella and M. Battisti, "La principessa bizantina Giuliana Anicia e il suo erbario," *Lèsopo* 101/102, March–June (2005), pp. 35–64.

[16] For the *Papyrus Tebtunis 679*, Berkeley, Bancroft Library, dating from the 2nd century AD, see A. Stückelberger, *Bild und Wort. Das illustrierte Fachbuch in der antiken Naturwissenschaft, Medizin und Technik* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1994), p. 79, who draws on J.M. Johnson, "A Botanical Papyrus with Illustrations," *Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik* 4 (1912), pp. 403–408. For the *Johnson Papyrus*, London, Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, MS 5753, dating from around 400 AD, see M. Collins, *Medieval Herbals…* (2000), *op. cit.*, pp. 36–38.

[17] F.A. Baumann, *Erbario…* (1974), *op. cit.*, p. 15; M. Collins, *Medieval Herbals…* (2000), *op. cit.*, pp. 46–50.

[18] Pliny, *Naturalis historia,* book 25, chap. 4: *"Praeter hos Graeci auctores prodidere, quos suis locis diximus, ex his Cratevas, Dionysius, Metrodorus ratione blandissima, sed qua nihil paene aliud quam difficultas rei intellegatur, pinxere namque effigies herbarum atque ita subscripsere effectus. Verum et pictura fallax est coloribus tam numerosis, praesertim in aemulationem naturae, multumque degenerat transcribentium fors varia. Praeterea parum est singulas earum aetates pingi, cum quadripertitis varietatibus anni faciem mutent. Quare ceteri sermone eas tradidere, aliqui ne effigie quidem indicata et nudis plerumque nominibus defuncti, quoniam satis videbatur potestas vimque demonstrare quaerere volentibus."* For a discussion of Pliny's view on botanical illustrations, see T. Fögen,

Pliny bemoans the degeneration of plant illustrations caused by repeated copying without the use of natural samples. In doing so, besides hinting at the noticeable role plant illustrations must have played in Antiquity, Pliny directs attention to the trickiness and subtlety inherent in phytographism with which his contemporaries were familiar: in Book 25, which is concerned with herbals by the Greek Cratevas, Dionysios and Metrodoros, he notes the deceptiveness of colour illustrations, as copyists produced faulty illustrations whenever they did not study the chromatic quality of the real plant.[19] Pliny also underlines the poor utility of paintings displaying just one of the stages of a plant's life cycle, since its appearance undergoes visible changes throughout the four different seasons. In the same breath, he informs us of the practical function of plant pictures for ancient physicians in particular. Pliny emphasises that the pictures of plants in treatises such as the Cratevas herbal were of principal interest, whereas captions to the illustrations solely indicated the curative effect.[20]

These particular complexities involved in the pictures of herbals might partly explain their rare incidence in the Middle Ages. Like in Antiquity, medieval plant manuscripts focused on the curative effects of simples as well as on synonyms of plant names and their translations in different languages. They did not, however, include illustrations.[21] Instead, the scribes copied and recopied the antique sources of knowledge — mainly those created by Dioscorides, Galen and Theophrastus — in writing. Gradually, several medieval scholars, such as Albertus Magnus and Thomas of Cantimpré, were added to the list of referenced authors. The erudition of these authors was transmitted via different sources and translations so that in the 15th century herbal manuscripts existed in Greek, Latin, Arabic as well as vernacular languages.[22]

As already mentioned, the vast majority of medieval herbals were entirely textual. The little medieval herb illustration that did exist can be divided into two main stylistic groups. One consists of what are called Romanesque illustrations. This illustrative style is abstract and schematic, and the illustrations were mainly produced for copies of the so-called *Pseudo Apuleius*: a herbal originally put together

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Wissen, Kommunikation und Selbstdarstellung. Zur Struktur und Charakteristik römischer Fachtexte der frühen Kaiserzeit (Munich: Beck, 2009), pp. 236–238; M. Collins, *Medieval Herbals…* (2000), *op. cit*., pp. 37–38.

[19] For a discussion of Pliny's complaint about the chromatic quality of herbal illustrations as well as for the revival of the preoccupation with colour in herbals, see D. Freedberg, "The Failure of Colour," in *Sight and Insight. Essays on Art and Culture in Honour of E. H. Gombrich*, ed. J. Onians (London: Phaidon Press, 1994), pp. 243–262.

[20] Pliny, *Naturalis historia,* book 25, chap. 4: *"pinxere namque effigies herbarum atque ita subscripsere effectus."* See footnote 89.

[21] See F.W.T. Hunger, *The Herbal of Pseudo-Apuleius from the Ninth Century MS. in the Abbey of Monte Cassino — Codex Casinensis 97. Together with the first printed edition of Joh. Phil. de Lignamine [Editio princeps Romae 1481] both in facsimile* (limited edition of 200 copies) (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1935), p. XIX. The synonyms were probably taken from the Alexandrine lexicographer Pamphilos, who lived in the 1st century AD. Herbals of this kind seem to have appeared at that point in time.

[22] O. Mazal, *Geschichte der abendländischen Wissenschaft des Mittelalters*, 2 Vols. (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 2006), Vol. 2, pp. 220–239.

using Greek medical material from around AD 400, which was very popular in the Middle Ages. Its anonymous author is often referred to as Apuleius Barbarus or Apuleius Platonicus and should not be confused with the author of *The Golden Ass*. The other stylistic group includes illustrations which were produced for copies of the *De simplicibus medicinis* composed in the 11th century by Platearius, a member of the Salernitan medicine school. Platearius' oldest manuscript paintings date from the mid-14th century. Elements characteristic of the two groups are described in detail by Felix Baumann.[23] He highlights both the bias towards flat and schematic compositions without line intersections as well as the efforts to show the plant in its completeness, i.e. all its important parts, such as the roots, stem, leaves, flowers and fruit. The illustrations lack any sort of depth effect, and the herbs seem to be spread out flat. Therefore, all of the component parts are shown either in a frontal or in a profile view. The proportions of the parts are neglected for the sake of enlarging details, and the plants are arranged symmetrically on the central axis.

Herbal Illustrations from the 15th Century on

Given the scarceness of medieval simple illustrations, it is surprising that herbals featuring illustrations start to spring up towards the very end of the 14th century and are seen more and more frequently from the 15th century onwards. Thus, the question arises as to why botanic illustrations suddenly became indispensable at that point in time and, even more pertinently, how their closer resemblance to nature and sometimes even lifelike quality could have evolved so rapidly from the herbal tradition of schematic illustrations that directly preceded these developments. Citing the new naturalism discovered by the art of the time is certainly correct; however, for a number of reasons, it does not suffice as an explanation. Many important herbals dating from the 15th century — for instance, the *Kräuterbuch* by Johannes Hartlieb and its eight stylistically coherent copies or the *Codex Berleburg* — still employ schematising pictures.[24] Additionally, as shown above, illustrations in herbals followed their own laws, which in part contradicted the principles of naturalism. Naturalistic botanic illustrations begin to appear roughly around 1400 with the *Carrara Herbal* (ca. 1390–1404) and the *Historia Plantarum* (before 1400) (Fig. 2).[25]

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[23] F.A. Baumann, *Erbario…* (1974), *op. cit.*, pp. 16–17.

[24] The *Kräuterbuch* was written between 1435 and 1450. It is the first fully illustrated German herbal. The copies date from the 3rd quarter of the 15th century. G. Hayer and B. Schnell, *Johannes Hartlieb...* (2010), *op. cit.*

[25] *Carrara Herbal*, MS Egerton 2020, British Library, London. *Historia Plantarum*, MS 459, Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome. A similar manuscript is mentioned in a Latin verse sent about 1340 from the town of Prato to king Robert of Anjou (British Library, Royal MS. 6E ix, fol. 15v). W. Blunt and W. Stearn, *The Art of Botanical Illustration* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1994), p. 47. For the *Carrara Herbal*, see F.A. Baumann, *Erbario…* (1974), *op. cit.*; S.R. Kyle, *The Carrara Herbal in context, imitation, exemplarity, and invention in late fourteenth-century Padua* (Ph.D. Thesis, Art His-

Other herbals of the 15th century containing strikingly lifelike illustrations are, for instance, the *Roccabonella Herbal* (ca. 1445–1448); the *Belluno Herbal*, a Venetian manuscript from the early 15th century in the British Library (Add. MS 41623); the fifteenth century *Livre des Simples* at Brussels (Codex Bruxellensis IV. 1024); the herbal painted by Guarnerino Antonio of Padua, dated 1441; the *De medicinis simplicibus* (Ms. Fr. F. v. VI. 1) at St. Petersburg; and, finally, the *Codex Berleburg* dating from around 1470, to mention just a few.[26] However, it has not yet been observed that these manuscripts, in spite of their naturalistic style, display characteristics corresponding to the paintings that had dominated the older herbal tradition for hundreds of years.

Similarly to the earlier illustrations in the *Pseudo Apuleius* and the *Circa instans* copies, the 15th-century copies also tend to show botanic specimens in frontal view, concentrating on the outline of the plants, avoiding cross-sections and arranging the plant in a not so rigorous, yet evident axiality (Fig. 3).

The style of 15th-century illustrations might by affected by the use of dried plants as models. Some phytographics indeed suggest this practice, such as the violet in the *Carrara Herbal*, for example; with its overlapping stems and leaves, and the a-typical detailed representation of the root, the general *habitus* does bring to mind a flattened violet.[27] Yet, certain elements cannot be explained by this technique. This becomes particularly evident when, for example, the same plant is

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tory, James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies, Emory University, Atlanta, 2010). For the *Historia plantarum*, see M. di Vito and V. Segre Rutz (eds.), *Historia plantarum…* (2001), *op. cit.*

[26] For these herbals, see: (1) *Roccabonella Herbal*, Cod. Lat. VI, 59 = 2548, Marciana, Venice: M. Ambrosoli, *The Wild and the Sown: Botany and Agriculture in Western Europe, 1350–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 104–106; M. Collins, *Medieval Herbals…* (2000), *op. cit.*, p. 281; S. Marcon, "Effetto natura. L'erbario di Nicolò Roccabonella," *Alumina (Italian edition). Pagine miniate* 1 (2003), pp. 4–13; G. Mariani Canova (ed.), *Codex Bellunensis. Erbario bellunese del XV secolo. Londra, British Library, Add. 41623*, 2 Vols. (Feltre: Parco Nazionale Dolomiti Bellunesi, 2006). (2) *Belluno Herbal*, Add. M.S. 41623, British Library, London: M. Collins, *Medieval Herbals…* (2000), *op. cit.*, pp. 279–281; G. Mariani Canova (ed.), *Codex Bellunensis…* (2006), *op. cit*. (3) *Livre des simples*, Cod. Bruxellensis IV. 1024, Biliothèque royale, Brussels: C. Opsomer, *Livre des simples medecines. Codex Bruxellensis IV. 1024. A 15th century French Herbal*, 2 Vols. (Antwerp: De Schutter, 1984). (4) The Herbal of Gurnerino Antonio da Padova, MS MA 592 (già Lambda 1.3), Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, Bergamo: G. Mariani Canova (ed.), *Codex Bellunensis…* (2006), *op. cit.* (5) *De medicinis simplicibus*, Ms. Fr. F. v. VI. 1, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg: J.M. López Piñero (ed.), *Le livre des simples médecines*, 2 Vols. (Barcelona: M. Moleiro, 2000–2001). (6) *Codex Berleburg*, Cod. RT2/6, Fürstlich Sayn-Wittgenstein'sche Bibliothek, Berleburg: W. Dressendörfer, G. Keil and W.-D. Müller-Jahnke, *Älterer deutscher "Macer"* (1991), *op. cit.*

[27] British Library, MS Egerton 2020, f. 94r. See the photo in P.H. Smith, "Artisanal Knowledge and the Representation of Nature in Sixteenth-Century Germany," in *The Art of Natural History: Illustrated Treatises and Botanical Paintings, 1400–1850. Proceedings of the Symposium "The Art and History of Botanical Painting and Natural History Treatises" 3–4 May 2002 in Washington*, eds. T. O'Malley and A.R.W. Meyers (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 15–31, on p. 17. Photo available also on the website of the British Library: https://imagesonline.bl.uk/en/asset/show_zoom_window_popup.html?asset=6490&location=grid&asset_list=12375,20564,20561,20558,20557,31508,31509,31510,31511,31512,31513,31514,31515,31516,31517,31518,1333,2476,6451,6455,6490,6505,6701,6833,12134&basket_item_id=undefined (retrieved: 23 June, 2014).

shown from two different points of view in one image (the leaves seen from above, but turned parallel to the page so that they face the reader frontally, while the petals are seen in profile[28]) (Fig. 4), or when schematic and naturalistic painting styles are combined in the depiction of one plant[29] (Fig. 3), or, to give one more example, when the components of the simple are represented true to nature, but its proportions are neglected. It is in these incoherencies that one can clearly see the medieval heritage these herbals are tied to: despite being examples of a newly introduced naturalism in botanic pictures, they still respect the traditional patterns. Otto Pächt, when referring to an early 14th-century herbal, called the fusion of the aforementioned features "artificially arranged, prepared for the herbarium; half picture, half diagram."[30]

Pächt addresses only one side of the coin when he regards the onset of the naturalistic quality in the *Carrara Herbal* as "an entirely new conception."[31] Without any doubt, the manuscript stands for the initial phase of nature studies, but it also shares the aforementioned traditional characteristics of the much older forerunners of herbal painting. These characteristics, especially when employed in lifelike illustrations, are rather symptoms of the tension between the awareness of the plants' mutability (expressed in the naturalistic features) and the desire to convey those qualities that were unchanging (expressed in the diagram-like features).[32] These illustrations, in spite of their lifelike character, can still only be classified as half diagrams, half pictures. The artists or the commissioners of the herbals, or both, must have been aware of their "scientific" character, since the abovementioned patterns, articulated more or less explicitly, determine the herbals from the 15th century onwards. The

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[28] See also *Martagon* (Martagon lily), fol. 66v, *Belluno Herbal*, Add. M.S. 41623, British Library, London. See photograph in G. Mariani Canova (ed.), *Codex Bellunensis…* (2006), *op. cit.*

[29] For instance *Dens leonis*, (Taraxacum officinale), fol. 107r, MS MA 592 (già Lambda 1.3), Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, Bergamo. See also *Scariola* (Taraxacum officinale), *Vitus Auslasser Codex*, MS Clm 5905, fol. 141r, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, dated ca. 1479. See K. Goehl, K. Englert and J.G. Mayer, *Die Pflanzen der Klostermedizin in Darstellung und Anwendung: mit Pflanzenbildern des Benediktiners Vitus Auslasser (15. Jh.) aus dem Clm 5905 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München* (Baden-Baden: Deutscher Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2009), pp. 82–83. Fig. 4 shows fol. 314, *Phaffenkrudt*, of the *Codex Berleburg*. It appears to show rather Taraxacum than Leontodon. Fol. 313v in the *Codex Berleburg* carries the synonyms *Tharascon/Crisipina italice* for *Phaffenkrudt*. Leonhart Fuchs uses the name *Pfaffenröhrlein* for Taraxacum. *Ibid*., p. 83. W.-D. Müller-Jahncke, *Älterer deutscher "Macer"* (1991), *op. cit.*, p. 89; and B. Baumann and H. Baumann, *Mainzer Kräuterbuch-Inkunabeln* (2010), *op. cit.*, p. 122.

[30] O. Pächt, "Early Italian Nature Studies and the early Calendar Landscape," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13 (1950), pp. 13–47, on p. 30. Pächt refers to the early 14th-century herbal *Compendium Salernitanum*, MS Egerton 747, British Library, London. The same, however, could be said about the 15th-century herbals, under different premises.

[31] *Ibid*., p. 31.

[32] Freedberg stresses this point, referring to Ernst Gombrich's review of William Ivins's book *Prints and Visual Communication*, cf. D. Freedberg, "The Failure of Colour" (1994), *op. cit.*, p. 245; Ernst H. Gombrich in *The British Journal for Philosophy of Science* 5 (1954), pp. 168–169; W.M. Ivins, *Prints and Visual Communication* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953).

traditional tendency exemplified in the aforementioned plant books extends even further. In the *Carrara* and other herbals, such as the *Codex Berleburg*, the herbs are often represented without roots, and sometimes only parts of the plants are depicted as representations of the whole species (like the ear of oats standing for the whole plant) (Figs. 2, 3).[33] Pächt understood this modality as a break with the tradition in botanic pictures. Granted, with regard to the custom of representing the full herb with the root, it was certainly a change. However, as far as the illustrations' focus on details is concerned, it was not. For instance, herbals dating from the 14th century produced in the Salernitan School sometimes display naturalistic details fitted into customary, simplified plant schemes representing the full plant.[34] The plum, pine and peach trees in MS Egerton 747 (ca. 1280–1310) have naturalistic or identifiable leaves, needles and fruit, but the miniatures seem to show only small plants rather than trees (Fig. 5).[35] Uncommonly, spurge laurel is not even rendered as a full shrub, but solely represented in the form of leaves on a twig.[36]

The reader may be surprised to come across these remarks on plant codices in a collection of essays on print culture. Yet they intend to show that investigations of printed herbal illustrations must take into account the preceding manuscript tradition. In view of the many comments on the Early Modern plant books and their role in the so-called scientific revolution, it is rather surprising that manuscripts and printed botanic pictures have seldom been jointly considered in academic research. In fact, only few authors have done so. Pamela Smith, in a comparison of the *Carrara Herbal* and the woodblock prints prepared by the painter Hans Weiditz for Otto Brunfels' *Herbarum vivae icones* (1532–36), regards the naturalism of the manuscript as "emerging out of a new self-consciousness on the part of the artisan."[37] She

[33] *Oats*, *Carrara Herbal*, MS Egerton 2020, fol. 19r, British Library, London. See also *Ear of Corn*, fol. 21r.

[34] Spurge laurel and pine, Italian, between 1280 and 1310, *Compendium Salernitanum*, MS Egerton 747, fol. 40v and 74v, British Library, London. Thus, these herbals did employ the practice of selecting details for illustrative purposes long time before Leonardo da Vinci, Andreas Vesalius and Conrad Gessner. It is, therefore, likely that these early herbals influenced the visualising methods of 15th- and 16th-century scholars, in the sense that the latter drew on representational benefits of older schemes. For the claim that the mentioned personalities were the founders of the mentioned method, see A. Pfister, "Die Pflanze und das Buch. Grundsätze ihrer Darstellung in Handschriften und Drucken älterer Zeiten," *Librarium. Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Bibliophilen Gesellschaft* 3 (1963), pp. 147–184, on pp. 150–151.

[35] O. Pächt, "Early Italian Nature" (1950), *op. cit.*, p. 29, gives the example of pine. See *Pine*, fol. 74v, see also *Plum*, fol. 74v, *Peach*, fol. 81v.

[36] *Compendium Salernitanum*, MS Egerton 747, fol. 40v, British Library, London.

[37] P.H. Smith, "Artisanal Knowledge…" (2008), *op. cit.*, pp. 15–31, on p. 18. See also *eadem*, *The Body of the Artisan…* (2006), *op. cit*. A few studies on the history of medicine and pharmacy have investigated the relationship between codices and prints from their point of view, e.g. B. Baumann and H. Baumann, *Mainzer Kräuterbuch-Inkunabeln* (2010), *op. cit.*, referring to the herbal incunabula produced in Mainz at the end of the 15th century. See also A. Pfister, "Die Pflanze und das Buch…" (1963), *op. cit.*; W.-D. Müller-Jahncke, "Pflanzenabbildung im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit" (1995), *op. cit.*; *idem*, "Die botanische Illustration…" (1987), *op. cit.*; L. Tongiorgi Tomasi, "Toward the

also stresses that herbal pictures did not play an auxiliary role to textual descriptions but were at least equally instrumental to the transmission of knowledge. Also, Karen Reeds has explored nature prints and, in particular, the difficulty of defining naturalism in this kind of illustration.[38] This paper would like to pursue the latter point of view while focusing on the link between manuscripts and first prints.

The Philippus de Lignamine Herbal and the First Incunabula Herbals

In Italy, the very first printed herbal carrying illustrations, which is also the very first illustrated incunabulum herbal, is an edition of the aforementioned *Pseudo Apuleius*. It is a treatise completely and solely dedicated to plants. This kind of print had only been produced once before, when an edition of *De viribus herbarum* by Macer Floridus was printed at Naples by Arnoldum de Bruxella in 1477.[39] While the Naples print was not illustrated, the *Pseudo Apuleius* was a lavish production which contained botanical illustrations for all of its 131 chapters.[40] It was printed anonymously in Rome for the publisher Johannes Philippus de Lignamine. Since Hunger's investigation in 1935 as well as Frank Anderson's *An Illustrated History of the Herbals*, which seems to rehearse Hunger's point of view, its *editio princeps* has repeatedly and erroneously been dated at 1480/81.[41] Although the incunabulum lacks both an indication of the year of publication and a title, Vito Capialbi, in a scarcely known biography of the publisher, had convincingly dated the publication to the period between 4 February, 1482 and 22 January, 1483 by the mid-19th century.[42]

The print of this herbal is rather striking. The plants are very schematised, hardly allowing identification by visual means. One would assume that the *Pseudo*

Scientific Naturalism: Aspects of Botanical and Zoological Iconography in Manuscripts and Printed Books in the Second Half of XV [sic] century," in *Die Kunst und das Studium der Natur vom 14. zum 16. Jahrhundert*, eds. W. Prinz and A. Beyer (Cologne: Acta humaniora, 1987), pp. 91–101.

38 K.H. Reeds, "Leonardo da Vinci and Botanical Illustration: Nature Prints, Drawings and Woodcuts ca. 1500," in *Visualizing Medieval Medicine and Natural History, 1200–1550*, eds. J. Givens, K. Reeds and A. Touwaide (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 205–237.

39 F. Anderson, *Herbals* (1977), *op. cit.*, p. 35.

40 The treatise provides the name, synonyms, the spreading of the plants and curative effects. Following Anderson, the work contains 131 chapters. F. Anderson, *Herbals* (1977), *op. cit.*, p. 26, mentions editions containing 130 or 131 chapters, and an Anglo-Saxon manuscript translation containing 132 chapters. Possibly, Anderson did not take it into account that the tabula of the book numbers mistakenly chapters I–CXXXII, while chapter LIII is missing so that LII is immediately followed by LIV. For the most extensive investigation of this print, see F.W.T. Hunger, *Herbal…* (1935), *op. cit*.

41 F.W.T. Hunger, *Herbal…* (1935), *op. cit.*, p. XX. F. Anderson, *Herbals* (1977), *op. cit.*, p. 29.

42 V. Capialbi, *Notizie circa la vita, le opere, e le edizioni di Messer Giovan Filippo La Legname Cavaliere Messinese e Tipografo del secolo XV raccolte dal Conte Vito Capialbi Napoli* (Napoli: Porcelli, 1835), p. 43: "crediamo stabilirla dopo i 4 febbraio 1482, e prima de'22 gennaio 1483." Capialbi established this period by investigating the datable events mentioned in the dedication.

Apuleius would have tried to introduce lifelike illustrations in print, drawing on the naturalistic features in the herbal manuscripts of the much earlier *Carrara Herbal* and the *Codex Roccabonella*. Presumably, there were no naturalistic manuscripts or drawing patterns available for copying in Rome at that time. However, Johannes Philippus de Lignamine himself provides us with relevant information. As he indicates in his preface, the illustrations in the book copied the miniatures of an older manuscript that he had discovered a little earlier in the monastery of Montecassino.[43] As he states in his dedication, he thought "Apuleius Platonicus" to have been a direct disciple of Plato.[44] He believed the manuscript to be a later Roman translation and to contain first-hand illustrative material. He may have supposed that is was written during Emperor Augustus' rule and, consequently, ordered the miniatures and the text of the Montecassino herbal to be copied.[45] According to present-day research, the manuscript is a ninth-century copy of the *Pseudo Apuleius*, produced in the famous Italian School of Salerno. It is identified as the *Codex cassinensis 97*, formerly kept in the monastery at Montecassino, based on the clear analogies between the hand-painted and printed pictures. Because this manuscript was destroyed in a bombardment in 1944, further investigations have to rely on its facsimile of 1935.[46]

The idea of producing a printed copy of the manuscript is of considerable interest. Since the *Pseudo Apuleius* was held in high esteem in the Middle Ages — it was one of the most read herbals at that time — the Lignamine print, on the one hand, reflects the contemporary custom of publishing texts which would likely result in high sales.[47] On the other hand, the inclusion of illustrations in an herbal was a novelty, and Johannes Philippus — the very first typographer in Italy, who at that time had more than ten years of experience in this business — would have carefully calculated the success of his project.[48] At first sight, it seems as if Johannes

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[43] F.W.T. Hunger, *Herbal…* (1935), *op. cit.,* pp. XXIV and XXXV–XXXVIII.

[44] For the medieval misinterpretation of "Apuleius Platonicus" to be Plato's disciple, see F. Anderson, *Herbals* (1977), *op. cit.*, pp. 24–25.

[45] Fol. 3v: *"ipse libellus cui preponitur Apuleium Platonicum de viribus herbarum nuper apud Cassinum inventum diligenti studio correctum imprimi iussi [...] fuit enim vir iste platonis* [*sic*!] *discipulus."* See also F.W.T. Hunger, *Herbal…* (1935), *op. cit.*, p. XXIV. Philippus composed the title for the book, dedicating it to a certain Marcus Agrippa, to whom another medical treatise was also dedicated — the *Liber de herba Vettonica*. This latter treatise is attributed to Ant. Musa, a physician of Emperor Augustus. *Ibid*., p. XIX. Compared to the Montecassino manuscript, Philippus' text contains interpolations. See *Ibid*., p. XXXV*sq*.

[46] Montecassino, Archivio della Badia, Cod. 97. F.W.T. Hunger, *Herbal…* (1935), *op. cit.*, p. XXXV. M. Collins, *Medieval Herbals…* (2000), *op. cit.*, pp. 179–180, and p. 229, note 128 with bibliography. W. Blunt and S. Raphael, *Illustrated Herbal* (1994), *op. cit.*, p. 113.

[47] For the production of *Pseudo Apuleius* copies between the 6th and the 15th centuries, see M. Collins, *Medieval Herbals* (2000), *op. cit.*, p. 165. See the interesting example of a *Pseudo Apuleius* herbal manuscript MS Ar. 26 n. 1283, Biblioteca Orto Botanico, Padua, dated last quarter of the 15th century.

[48] C. Alaimo, "De Lignamine, Giovanni Filippo," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (1988), Vol. 36.

Philippus made a very reasonable choice, and the factors that should guarantee the success of the *Pseudo Apuleius* sound plausible, and even promising. Indeed, printing texts on plants had proven to be a successful enterprise in Italy in previous years.

A brief chronology of the first herbal incunabula shall highlight the facts which Johannes Philippus most likely took into account when he made his project decision. The list of printed plant books below is complete. Indeed, around the time that Philippus carried out his project, texts on plants in incunabula had already existed for over ten years. Though featuring no illustrations, the *Naturalis historia* by Pliny the Elder, printed in 1469 by the German Johannes Spira at Venice, marks the beginning of a fast and steep career of herbal prints.[49] As commonly known, the *Naturalis historia* is concerned with a wide range of subjects, yet large sections are dedicated to discussions of plants, trees and simples in chapters 12–27. It must therefore be included in the chronology of incunabula herbals. The *Naturalis historia* was one of the first printed books in Venice and in Italy since the monopoly on printing was granted to the printer Johannes by the Venetian Senate on 18 September of the same year.[50] Initially, it was followed by editions of purely text-based books containing, amongst other subjects, only a few chapters on herbs. The *Liber de proprietatibus*, which features descriptions of plants in chapter 17, was printed around 1470 by Bartholomaeus Anglicus at Basel.[51] Another edition of this work is said to have been printed in 1470–1471 at Cologne by William Caxton, but it does not contain references to either the place or date of publication or the printer.[52] *De medicinis universalibus* of Mesue in Venice by Clemens Patavinus[53] followed in 1471 as well as the *Opus ruralium commodorum* of Pietro Crescenzi in Augsburg by Johannes Schussler,[54] followed in turn by the *Liber Serapionis aggregatus* in Milan by Antonius Zarotus of Parma in 1473.[55]

In 1475 *Das puch der natur* by Konrad of Megenberg appeared. Printed in Augsburg, Germany, by Hans Bämler,[56] it was the first incunabulum ever to

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[49] F. Anderson, *Herbals* (1977), *op. cit.*, p. 22.

[50] J. Franck, "Johann von Speyer," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, ed. Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (1881), Vol. 14, pp. 472–475; G. Del Torre, "Emerich, Johann (Giovanni da Spira)," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (1993), Vol. 42, pp. 583–585.

[51] The first illustrated edition in 1482 in Lyon by Matthias Huss. F. Anderson, *Herbals* (1977), *op. cit.*, p. 65. 25 editions of it appeared by the end of the 15th century: A. Arber, *Herbals…* (1986), *op. cit.*, p. 13. Bartholomaeus Anglicus was a monk, contemporary of Albertus Magnus, compiling an encyclopaedia which contained an account of a large number of trees and herbs.

[52] F. Anderson, *Herbals* (1977), *op. cit.*, p. 60.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 44. Mesue is supposed to have lived in 926–1016 A.D.

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 72. Books V and VI contain information on arboriculture and horticulture, but a greater emphasis is placed on medicaments made from fruits and herbs.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

[56] There will be six reprints in Augsburg before 1500. For the incunabula of the *Buch der Natur* of Konrad of Megenberg, see U. Spyra, *Das "Buch der Natur" Konrads von Megenberg. Die illustrierten Hand-*

contain plant illustrations devoted entirely to plants rather than serving as mere ornaments or parts of a landscape. Furthermore, it is the first text written in the vernacular which contained a section on plants. Two plant woodcuts introduce chapters four and five, which discuss trees and herbs, respectively. Even if strongly schematised, the pictures refer directly to the ensuing chapter. Each of them fills a full page and shows a group of plants pretending to bring together several of the herbs discussed in the chapter that follows. The woodcut introducing the fifth chapter on herbs shows nine herbs, four of which may be identified as a lily, a calabash (*Lagenaria vulgaris*), a violet and a lily of the valley (*Convallaria majalis*). The plants are arranged from the rear to the front in three horizontal lines, showing high, middle high and low growing plants as if in an attempt to systematise the different plants according to their height.

In 1477, the abovementioned *De viribus herbarum* by Macer Floridus printed in Naples by Arnoldum de Bruxella, was the first proper herbal dedicated entirely to plants. However, it did not feature any plant illustrations. In Colle, Tuscany, the German Johannes Allemanus de Medemblick printed the antique reference treatise *De Materia Medica* by Dioscorides in 1478. The volume had been translated into Latin by Pietro d'Abano some 178 years before.[57] In the year 1482 *alterae editiones* appeared: on 19 November 1482, a second edition of *De viribus herbarum* by Macer Floridus was published in Milan by Antonius Zarotus, while the *quarta* and *quinta editio* of *Das puch der natur* appeared in Augsburg.[58] Finally, on 20 February 1483, *De causibus plantarum* by Theophrastus was published, *Impressus Tarvisii per Bar-*

schriften und Inkunabeln (Köln: Böhlau, 2005), pp. 345–381. For the illustrations, see *Ibid.,* pp. 349–350. See also B. Baumann and H. Baumann, *Mainzer Kräuterbuch-Inkunabeln* (2010), *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[57] For Dioscorides, see A.G. Morton, *History of Botanical Science* (London: Academic Press, 1981), p. 117. F. Anderson, *Herbals* (1977), *op. cit.*, p. 15. For the reception of Dioscorides' *Materia medica* in 15th-century Europe, as well as for its printed incunabula, see A. Touwaide, "Botany and Humanism in the Renaissance. Background, Interactions, Contradictions," in T. O'Malley and A.R.W. Meyers (eds.), *The Art of Natural History…* (2008), *op. cit.*, pp. 33–62, on pp. 38–40; J. Stannard, "Dioscorides and Renaissance Materia Medica," in *Analecta Medico-Historica, I: Materia Medica in the XVIth Century*, ed. M. Florkin (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1966), pp. 1–21; J.M. Riddle, "Dioscorides," in *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Medieval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries. Annotated Lists and Guides*, eds. E.F. Kranz and P.O. Kristeller (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1980), Vol. 4, pp. 1–143. For the Latin translation by Pietro d'Abano, see J.M. Riddle, "Dioscorides," in *Complete Dictionary of Scientific Biography* (2008). Retrieved: 23 June, 2014 from Encyclopedia.com: http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G2-2830901183.html.

[58] F. Anderson, *Herbals* (1977), *op. cit.*, p. 35, erroneously mentions the first illustrated edition as having been printed in 1482. This extremely rare edition is also un-illustrated: *Liber Macri philosophi de virtutibus herbarum* (Mediolani: Antonius Zarotus Parmensis impressit, 1482). The first illustrated edition seems to be *De viribus herbarum*, Geneva, undated, ca. 1495/98, printed by Jean Belot. See facsimile: A. Lökkös and R. Joris (eds.), *De viribus herbarum. Reprint of the edition Genève 1485/98* (Genève: Typ. Genevoise, 1970).

Editio altera of *Das puch der natur*, Augsburg, by Johannes Bämler, 1478; *editio tertia* Augsburg, by Johannes Bämler, 1481; *quarta editio* Augsburg, by Johann Schönsperger, 1482; *editio quinta* Augsburg, Anton Sorg, 1482. See U. Spyra, *Buch der Natur…* (2005), *op. cit.*, pp. 345–381.

tholomaeum Confalonerium de Salodio, and on 31 July 1483, the herbal *Promptuarium Medicinae* was printed in Magdeburg by Bartholomäus Ghotan.[59]

It was within this context of botanical prints that Johannes Philippus decided to place his herbal. We may conclude that by 1482/83 printing of texts about plants had become a significant practice in Italy as well as in Germany. Other countries do not seem to have had any herbals put into print before then. Thus, Johannes Philippus' decision to print the very first illustrated herbal must be regarded as a well calculated risk. After all, the choice to publish a fully illustrated herbal was certainly a difficult one, considering the novelty of it. However, Johannes Philippus must have estimated its precariousness to be restricted by his choice for pictorial material legitimised by its antique provenance.

In fact, the Lignamine *Pseudo Apuleius* was not destined to be successful. A second edition was published only in 1528 in Paris by Christian Wechel, and followed by the last one in 1543 at Petrus Drouart in Paris again, both of them containing no images at all.[60] This rather surprising situation may be explained by the fact that the images the *Pseudo Apuleius* offered its readers were considered to be old-fashioned. Italy did not produce any typographic herbal with genuine illustrations over the following decades. Editions of the posterior German *Gart der Gesuntheit* (Mainz, 1485 by Peter Schöffer) and *Hortus sanitatis* (Mainz, 1491 by Jacobus Meydenbach) certainly reached Italy, but it was not until 1554 that Pierandrea Mattioli's Latin commentaries on Dioscurides' work *Commentarii in sex libros Pedacii Dioscoridis* (Venice, by Vincentius Valgrisius) contained woodcuts produced in Italy.[61]

Despite the lack of Italian illustrative material in typography in the aftermath of the *Pseudo Apuleius* and in the first half of the 16th century, production of manuscript

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[59] The *Promptuarium Medicinae* is the first proper herbal printed in Germany, and its language is a Middle Low German dialect. The textual model for it was an "Aderlaßbüchlein," a blood-letting book, to which a bulky but unillustrated *herbarius* was added. Only 13 copies of it are preserved in different libraries. The *Promptuarium medicinae* is introduced by a title woodcut saying *"Eyn schone Arztedyge boeck van allerleye ghebreck vnnde kranckheyden der mynschen"* — "A beautiful medical book about different afflictions and illnesses of humans." The woodcut shows two late medieval physicians during a visit to a bed-bound patient, controlling his pulse and urine. It pretends, therefore, together with its title, to have been compiled under the supervision of one or several physicians, although its editor Bartholomäus Gothan was no qualified doctor. It has thus been regarded as the print of an incomplete manuscript whose author is unknown to us. Within a few years, several other prints with similar textual content were printed in Germany. There was a second edition of the *Promptuarium Medicinae* in 1484 by Gothan himself, who moved to Lübeck, where he printed it. B. Baumann and H. Baumann, *Mainzer Kräuterbuch-Inkunabeln* (2010), *op. cit.*, pp. 75–97.

[60] Later editions of the *Pseudo Apuleius* are not to be considered *editiones alterae* of the Philippus de Lignamine *editio princeps*.

[61] On Mattioli's woodcuts, see H.W. Lack (ed.), *Ein Garten Eden. Meisterwerke der botanischen Illustration* (Köln: Taschen, 2001); I. Bain *et al.* (eds.), *The Mattioli Woodblocks* (London: Hazlitt/Gooden & Fox, 1989); J. Bidwell, *Mattioli's Herbal: A Short Account of Its Illustrations, with a Print from an Original Woodblock* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 2003); C. Delisle, "The Letter: Private Text or Public Place? The Mattioli-Gesner Controversy about the *aconitum primum*," *Gesnerus* 61 (2004), pp. 161–176.

herbals should be taken note of in the northern part of the peninsula. As shown above, manuscript painting was practiced throughout the 15th century, thriving especially in last quarter of the 15th century and the first quarter of the 16th century, when preoccupation with naturalism and visualising techniques seems to have been overriding. Unlike the *Pseudo Apuleius* incunabulum, these herbal manuscripts show a vivid interest in overcoming schematic representations and apply special means to attain lifelike depictions. Besides painting herbs, two distinct, but correlated, ways of recording the appearance of simples are used in these manuscripts.

One method is exemplified by a treatise now kept at the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence. In the centre of the *folio*, surrounded by medical comments on the corresponding plant, traces of a plant leaf once glued to the page can be spotted. The book is dated to the late 15th century. In another herbal employing the same technique of fixing natural herbs to the page, currently to be found in Brescia, two flattened branches of, apparently, *"filipendula"* and *"imperatoria,"* as they are labelled, are presented to the readers.[62] The *folio* carries the date "1506." A final interesting example of this "nature gluing," as analogy to "nature prints," may be mentioned. It is a much later painting in a Venetian book (MS Sloane 5281), dating from ca. 1560 and containing mainly medical imagery.[63] The illustration shows a drawn and coloured copy of the plant "Salomon's seal" (*Polygonatum latifolium*) as printed in the herbal *De historia stirpium* by Leonhart Fuchs (Basel, 1542 by Michael Isingrin). The artist of the manuscript added three natural leaves of the same plant to his copy painting, imitating the alignment of the painted leaves and, in this manner, their organic way of growing (Fig. 6).

In the context of botanic knowledge at the beginning of the Early Modern period, these examples turn out to be far more than mere dried plants herbaria. In imitating the layout of older herbals, such as the *Roccabonella Herbal*, by fixing the plants to the centre of the book *folios*, using similar flattened structures and, finally, adding written explanations, they certainly represent a less expensive variation of a herbal for a less prosperous owner. By the same token, however, they are also a statement about the visualising capacities and limitations of "simply" painted or printed herbals. By resorting to the use of natural leaves, the Venetian image clearly wants to add to the illustration a quality that was missing in the printed version (as well as in the solely painted one). In incorporating genuine leaves into his painting and, therefore, juxtaposing them with the printed originals, the artist less wished to express their high visualising quality than attempted to achieve a perfect

[62] Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze, MS B. V. 24 (no indication of the folio nr.). The plant does not seem to be identifiable. Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, MS B. V.24 (no indication of the folio nr.). The plants are *Spiraea filipendula* and *Aegopodium podagraria.* For images of the respective folios, see S. Toresella and M. Battisti, "Gli erbari a impressione e l'origine del disegno scientifico," *Scienze. Italian Edition of Scientific American* 239 (1988), pp. 64–78, on pp. 72–73.

[63] London, The British Museum, Museum Number 1928, 0310.94.1-205 (previously MS Sloane 5281), fol. 161r.

scientific illustration: an illustration that would combine the demonstrative character and clarity of the original Fuchs print with the texture, consistency, shape and colour indications of the dried plant. These latter qualities were undoubtedly the ones that were found to be missing in phytographics, and they were the reason why some artists or craftsmen produced the dried plant herbals.

In 1560, when the Venetian manuscript was produced, Italy's only contribution to printed herbal illustrations had been the abovementioned Mattioli treatise from 1554. Although printed in Venice and certainly known to the Venetian painter of the manuscript, it was not the one chosen to represent the "Salomon's seal." Instead, the miniaturist preferred the older print by Leonhart Fuchs. Several reasons may have led to this choice. One of them may be the fact that Mattioli's *Polygonatum latifolium* was a highly elaborate woodcut, containing a considerable amount of hatching. Also, Mattioli's illustrations were reputed to contain frequent inaccuracies, which may have been another reason for repudiating Mattioli.[64] Whatever reason utimately guided the painter, the Venetian treatise, as well as the mentioned books containing dried plants, indicates that methods to employ for visualising botanical knowledge were carefully reflected on. On the peninsula, such reflections seem to have been conveyed mainly through the medium of manuscripts.

Sergio Toresella and Marisa Battisti, in a highly inspiring essay on nature prints of the Early Modern period, posit that the absence of typographic herbals produced in Italy in, roughly, the first half of the 16th century may suggest that at the time Italian "botanists needed to be convinced that stamped herbals were indeed viable and useful sources."[65] This argument seems to be a very plausible one, given the predominance of painted and glued herbals in Italy since the 15th century. It should however be developed if it is to conclusively affirm a conscious refusal by Italian scholars and their craftsmen to produce herbal illustrations through the medium of print. Recent research has repeatedly stressed that many plant scholars articulated criticism against the use of illustrations in herbals.[66] At least as far as Italy is concerned, it seems that these objections were mainly levelled at the printed illustrations. For instance, in 1493, exceptionally lifelike paintings of a herbal were exhibited to the visitors of a Venetian pharmacy called the Ethiopian's head, as the plant scientist Pandolfo Collenuccio reports in his *Defensio pliniana*.[67] He praises the naturalism of the plants shown as so consummate that they indeed seemed to

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64 B.W. Ogilvie, *Science* (2006), *op. cit.*, p. 59.

65 S. Toresella and M. Battisti, "Erbari" (1988), *op. cit.*, p. 78. Translation by the author.

66 B.W. Ogilvie, *Science* (2006), *op. cit*, p. 39; S. Kusukawa, *Picturing the Book of Nature…* (2012), *op. cit.*, pp. 19–25.

67 P. Collenuccio, *Pliniana defensio* (Venice: André Belfort, 1493). The herbal is supposed to be the Roccabonella herbal and the mentioned pharmacy the "Testa d'oro" pharmacy at the Rialto bridge, cf. M. Ambrosoli, *The Wild and the Sown…* (1997), *op. cit.*, p. 99.

grow out of the pages of the book, rather than being a flat portrayal.[68] Pandolfo's admiration cannot have been a simple recourse to the *topos* of lifelikeness in order to make his tribute to an extraordinary herbal. It must have been related to his ability to compare the plant *Pentaphyllon*, which he saw in the manuscript, with the real plant, and in effect to point out the characteristics of the herb.

The custom of producing manuscript herbals rather than stamped ones seems even more probable in Italy when we consider another method of recording the plants' appearance. A substantial class of Italian manuscripts produced illustrations by applying nature prints. The technique of inking the plant and pressing it onto a page of paper in order to get a more or less precise imprint of the outer characteristics is to be witnessed in several Italian and Southern German manuscripts. The oldest preserved one to be found in Salzburg dates back to the first quarter of the 15th century.[69] It appears to be of German provenance even if some of the flora it contains is Italian. There is evidence, however, that this technique was known earlier, since a certain "Bihnam the Christian" included a nature print in his copy of an Arabic version of Dioscorides' *De Materia Medica* produced in 1228.[70]

At least nine manuscripts and herbals containing nature prints were produced in the 15th century and the first half of the 16th century. They are, in chronological order: (1) MS M. I. 36, preserved at the University Library, Salzburg, dated 1425; (2) MS 326, at the Muséum national d'histoire naturelle in Paris, dated 1485–87; (3) MS JD 50, at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France Paris, dated around 1520; (4) MS 1716, at the University Library of Leipzig, dated around 1520; (5) and

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[68] P. Collenuccio, *Pliniana defensio* (1493), *op. cit.*, pp. XVIIv–XVIIIr: *"Est Venetijs in eo vico quem speciarium vocant: seplasiarij cuiusdam non ignobilis taberna cui per titulo insignique sit aethiopis caput. In ea liber est haerbarius tanta arte ac diligentia pictus: ut natas paginis illis suis haerbas non effigiatas credas: in eo pictam vidimus ijsdem prorsus quae hic diximus signis haerbam: folijs quinque: quae et ipsa quinque ut pinximus porrectiores angulos sinuatosque haberent: sed et fructus quos fraga dicas: tum ad ipsam haerbam latinum nomen Sanicula: germanicum sanichel scriptum est. Citanturque inibi de sanicula hac scribentes. In Dinamidijs galenus et Petrus hyspanus is qui postea summum pontificatum gessit. Et Johannes vigesimus primus nuncupatus eum de medicina librum scripsit qui pauperum thesaurus inscribitur: tum Ceruiensiseperus quidam: et Laudensis Maphaeus et Gilbertus Anglicus Chirurgi."*

[69] MS M. I. 36, University Library Salzburg, Salzburg. One part of the manuscript, containing a compendium on astrology, astronomy and medicine, was written and finished in 1425 by the German physician Conradus de Boutzenbach. 88 herbs are printed on folios 154–177. The nature prints manuscript contains German, Italian and Latin inscriptions. See S. Toresella and M. Battisti, "Erbari" (1988), *op. cit.*, pp. 75*sq*; K.H. Reeds, "Leonardo…" (2006), *op. cit.*, pp. 212 *sqq*. See also footnote 71.

[70] R. Cave, *Impressions of Nature: A History of Nature Printing* (New York: Mark Batty, 2010), pp. 19 and 21. See also M. Collins, *Medieval Herbals…* (2000), *op. cit.*, pp. 124–129. The manuscript was produced for the ruler of Anatolia and northern Syria, Shams-al-Din, by Bihnam bin Musa bin Yusu-al-Mawsili. The Arabic text it was copied from is now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris: Paris Arabe 4947. The manuscript containing nature prints on fol. 143v and 144v is preserved at the library of the Topkapi Sarayi Müzesi, Istanbul: MS Ahmed III.-2127. For the latter, see S. Toresella, "Dioscoride," in *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale* (Roma: Istituto della enciclopedia italiana, 1994) 5, pp. 655–663, on p. 661.

(6) MS N. A. 90 and the slightly later MS N. A. 995, the latter dated 1522, both at the Biblioteca Nazionale of Florence; (7) MS Aldini 522, at the Biblioteca universitaria in Pavia, dated around 1525–30; (8) MS Lat VI 250=2679, in Venice at the Biblioteca Marciana, dated about 1520–40. (9) MS G1/6246 in Hamburg at the Fachbereichsbibliothek Biologie of Hamburg University.[71] In addition, the following single nature prints are conserved on separate paper leafs or inside manuscripts: (1) four nature prints amid a collection of German herbal remedies, MS XXIII F 129, at the Národni knihova, Prague, dated at the end of the 15th century; (2) one print in the MS LJS 419, at the University Library of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; (3) a sage leaf in the *Codex Atlanticus*, probably produced around 1508 by one of the pupils of Leonardo da Vinci (possibly Francesco Melzi); (4) on a paper showing a nature study of three nature prints, among which one is a leaf of an umbellifera (?) in reddish brown colour and the other two are leaves of *Veronica hederifolia* in green colour.[72]

It is not my purpose here to discuss all of these manuscripts in detail.[73] It may however be noted that employing the technique of nature prints was a frequent practice in Italy at the turn of the century. Given the anonymous note in the Paris-

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[71] For manuscript 1, see K.H. Reeds, "Leonardo…" (2006), *op. cit.*, p. 215; F.B. Brévart, "The German Volkskalender of the Fifteenth Century," *Speculum* 63 (1988), pp. 312–342; *idem,* "Chronology and Cosmology. A German 'Volkskalender' of the Fifteenth Century," in *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 57 (1996), pp. 225–265; *Katalog der deutschsprachigen illustrierten Handschriften des Mittelalters I: 1. 'Ackermann aus Böhmen' — 2. Astrologie/Astronomie* (*Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*), started by H. Frühmorgen-Voss, continued by N.H. Ott (Munich: Beck, 1991). For manuscript 2, see É. Antoine (ed.), *Sur la terre comme au ciel. Jardins d'Occident à la fin du Moyen Âge* (exhib. cat. Musée de Cluny, Paris, 2002), pp. 225–229. For manuscript 3, see I. Conihout (ed.), *Botanica in originali. Livres de botanique réalisés en impression naturelle du XVIe au XIXe siècle* (exhib. cat. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des livres imprimés, 1993), pp. 11–13. For manuscripts 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8, see S. Toresella and M. Battisti, "Erbari" (1988), *op. cit.*, pp. 65 and 75–78. For manuscript 7, see also A. Lo Vasco and G. Pollacci, "Di un codice erbario inedito del sec. XV. Memoria di Agata Lo Vasco e Gino Pollacci," *Atti dell'Istituto Botanico dell'Università di Pavia*, serie 4, 13 (1943), pp. 67–98. For manuscript 9, see H. Lorch, *Ein Hamburger Herbarius des 16. Jahrhunderts und seine Stellung in der Geschichte des Naturselbstdrucks* (doctoral dissertation Fachbereich Mathematik, February 6, 1980).

[72] 1. MS XXIII F 129, Národni knihova, Prague, dated late 15th century, compiled by the physician Wenzeslaus Brack. See K.H. Reeds, "Leonardo…" (2006), *op. cit.*, pp. 212 *sqq*.; 2. *salvia salvaticha*, [Herbal containing 192 drawings of plants], MS LJS 419, Longboat Key FL, Lawrence J. Schoenberg Collection, fol. 99v, on loan at the University Library of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. See K.H. Reeds, "Leonardo…" (2006), *op. cit.*, pp. 224–229. 3. *salvia*, Codex Atlanticus, fol. 197v, formerly fol. 72v-a, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, after 1507. Date after K.H. Reeds, "Leonardo…" (2006), *op. cit*. 4. German anonymous watercolour painting, Potsdam-Sanssouci, Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten, Inv. Nr. 536 b, dating from the beginning of the 16th century. See F. Koreny, *Albrecht Dürer und die Tier- und Pflanzenstudien der Renaissance* (Munich: Prestel, 1985), pp. 182–183.

[73] The author of this essay is currently researching nature prints of the 15th and 16th centuries under the project titled *Pressure on Plants. Herb Impressions as Epistemic Images on the Cusp of the Early Modern Period*.

ian MS 326 saying: "Today, the 19th of April, this book has been begun one and a half years ago," we may state with a lot of precision that herbals of this type were produced shortly after the *Pseudo Apuleius* print in Rome.[74] Most of the herbals of the period containing nature prints or dried plants discussed here have not been (properly) investigated. With only preliminary research in place, why Italians refused to produce printed herbals for more than 70 years after the *Pseudo Apuleius* print is largely a matter of speculation. A close look at the mentioned documents ascertains that the precise colour, shape, form and size of the plants were of immense importance. In this, they differ from the German herbal prints from the late 15th and the first half of the 16th century, where herb illustrations, in spite of an increasing accuracy in representation, are mostly uncoloured and produced by different individuals: the draughtsman producing a first image of the plant, another person often transferring the drawing to the woodblock, and then again the cutter working the woodblock.[75] By contrast, the nature prints resulted in an exact image reproducing the authentic size and shape of the dried herbs and displaying details that resemble photographic quality (Figs. 7, 8). Although colour in nature prints is added in a fairly unsubtle way — for instance in one manuscript only one green may be used for the leaves and one red for petals, ignoring nuances of hue — it provides the reader with supplementary information about the appearance of the herbs and must have been helpful in the identification of plants. Considering these facts, we may hypothesise that it was the antique scepticism about the correct employment of forms and colours in herbals, expressed by Pliny and Galen, that was kept alive in Italy and, thus, led to the employment of this particular technique.[76]

One more aspect of these manuscripts is of paramount importance to our discussion. The printing technique employed in some of them is a highly sophisticated one. At least both documents in Paris and the manuscript in Leipzig applied a multicolour and multiprint method (Fig. 9).[77] Indeed, some of the plants were depicted through superposed imprints. This may suggest that knowledge of printing procedures in typographers' workshops was applied in production of nature prints. Certainly, the nature prints attest that their producers were fully aware of intricacies involved in making adequate plant illustrations and of the fact that knowledge must be filtered. Their aspiration to systematise knowledge and make it objectively reproducible is manifest in preference for the methods that, in duplication, would

[74] MS 326, fol. 1r, Muséum national d'histoire naturelle, Paris: "AGi [sic] 19 de aprile 1487 fu commincatu il dite libro di Ano e mezo."

[75] These working steps are exemplified in Leonhart Fuchs's (1542) *De historia stirpium* (Basel: In off. Isengriana). They have been examined in many studies. See the recent S. Kusukawa, *Picturing the Book of Nature…* (2012), *op. cit.*, pp. 45–47.

[76] For Pliny, see footnotes 18–20. Galen, *De simplicium medicamentum facultatibus*, 6.1.

[77] These manuscripts have been closely inspected. Inspection of the other manuscripts is in preparation. Upon inspection of photographs, we may assume that nearly all of them used a multiprint technique.

eliminate, as much as possible, human interference. In this sense, the nature prints represent a crucial element in the history and development of sciences.

Johannes Philippus de Lignamine could not possibly have anticipated the destiny of his herbal. The Parisian manuscript MS 326, amidst the nature prints, contains crude paintings of the herbs which the author of the book was unable to find and inspect on his own. In such cases, he copied the schematic illustrations of older, more traditional herbal books.[78] This may suggest that on 19 October, 1485, when he started to work on his manuscript, the custom of including nature prints in herbals was still a rather rare practice. Nature prints and nature gluing, as stated above, became more frequent in the following decades. In the context of developing critical attitudes towards objective plant illustrations in Italy and printing increasingly detailed and lifelike herbal illustrations north of the Alps, the project of the *Pseudo Apuleius* herbal of Johannes Philippus de Lignamine was, from the start, destined to failure.

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[78] The Philadelphia MS LJS 419 proceeds similarly.

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Krisztina PÉTER (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

The News-Writer and the Chronicler

Abstract: *Messrelation* was a special genre of the news media in the Early Modern period. In the paper, I examine the main features of this genre by analysing a report of the assassination of Henry III (1589) included in *Relationis Historicae Continvatio* (1589), published by the Colognese writer Michael Eitzinger. Eitzinger drew on news-based sources but intended to write historical works. However, these historical works were designed to be sold every half year, which time frame strongly affected their characteristics. In addition, I compare Eitzinger's report with the account of the event in the diary kept by Hermann Weinsberg in order to highlight the differences between the two writers' opportunities and methods — the professional Eitzinger working for publication and the chronicler Weinsberg writing mostly for himself. This case illustrates such issues as the capabilities and limits of the news market and the circulation and transmission of news across the different genres of the news media in the 16th century.

Keywords: Michael Eitzinger, *Messrelation*, news, news-writer, news market.

Messrelation is a special genre of communication developed in the Early Modern times. These publications were small size booklets of approximately 100 pages, published on the occasion of the biggest summer and autumn fairs, containing reports about events that had occurred since the previous fair. The genre appeared first in Germany in the 1580s. *Messrelations* are usually considered to be the first real printed, periodically appearing medium ensuring a continuous flow of news. They can thus be regarded as forerunners of modern newspapers.[1]

The emergence of the genre is associated with Michael Eitzinger[2] (ca. 1530–1598), a university-educated Austrian polyglote[3] who held offices at the Imperial court. He spent two decades in the Netherlands, and the result of these years was a book titled *Leo Belgicus*, a historical description of the political events in the Netherlands from 1559 onwards. The work was published in 1581 and achieved a considerable success. Eitzinger later moved to Cologne, one of the most important

[1] E. Schnurr, *Religionskonflikt und Öffentlichkeit: eine Mediengeschichte des Kölner Kriegs (1582 bis 1590)* (Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2009), p. 17.

[2] Variations of his name: Eytzinger, Aitzinger, von Aitzing.

[3] M. Hille, *Providentia Dei, Reich und Kirche: Weltbild und Stimmungsprofil altgläubiger Chronisten 1517–1618* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), p. 183.

news centres of Europe at that time.[4] There, he wrote another book about recent conflicts in Cologne and Aachen and published it at the autumn fair in Frankfurt am Main in 1583, with the title *Relatio Historica*. During the next spring fair in 1584, he published a sequel to this book, called *Historische Tagbeschreibung*, in which he recounted the events up to April 1584. His third publication containing the most recent events appeared for the autumn fair of 1586. He thus kept publishing a practically uninterrupted series of updated additions to his former work, summarising the latest events. Meanwhile, he continuously broadened the geographical scope of his news collection and, when his publication entitled *Postrema Relatio Historica* finally appeared on the market in spring 1588, it dealt with the whole of Europe. As its title shows, Eitzinger originally intended to close the series with this work. However, this publication is considered to be the first *Messrelation* as Eitzinger had changed his mind and, six months later, published a supplement titled *Historica Postremae Relationis Appendix* with the latest events. Half a year later, he published an addendum to the supplement too, called *Appendicis Historicae Relationis Appendix* with fresh news again. From then on, he published two issues every year — one for the spring and one for the autumn fair. The genre rapidly became popular: soon enough, in autumn 1590, a similar publication was already put on the market in Strasbourg. The regular publication of *relations* started in Frankfurt in spring 1591, and between 1592 and 1597 four different *relations* were published only in Cologne. The *Messrelations*, "as regularly appearing and purchasable printed mediums containing universal news report, had reached the highest degree of development of the news media before the emergence of the weekly newspapers" (1609).[5]

And yet, very few historians have addressed the *Messrelations* so far. Even in Germany, the interest turned towards this genre only in the 1990s, mostly due to Klaus Bender, who devoted several important studies to it.[6] He also compiled a catalogue of the *Messrelations* held in the German library collections.[7] The only book-length study focused on this genre has been authored by Juliane Glüer, who distinguishes five characteristic types of *Messrelations*: annalistic *relation*, his-

[4] N.G. Etényi, *Hadszíntér és nyilvánosság. A magyarországi török háború hírei a 17. századi német újságokban* (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2003), p. 117.

[5] K. Bender (ed.), *Relationes historicae. Ein Bestandsverzeichnis der deutschen Messrelationen von 1583 bis 1648* (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), p.VII.

[6] Cf. K. Bender, "Eine unbekannte Messrelation. Die 'unpostreuterischen Geschichts-Schrifften' des Thobias Steger, Strassburg, 1590," *Wolfenbütteler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte* 6 (1981), pp. 346–365; *idem*, "Die Frankfurter Messrelationen und Michael Kaspar Lundorp. Neue Funde aus den Jahren 1620–1627," *Wolfenbütteler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte* 9 (1984), pp. 87–109; *idem*, "Die deutschen Messrelationen von ihren Anfängen bis zum Ende des dreissigjährigen Krieges. Ein Forschungsvorhaben," in *Presse und Geschichte II. Neue Beiträge zur historischen Kommunikationsforschung*, eds. E. Blühm and H. Gebhardt (München/London/New York/Oxford/Paris: K.G. Saur, 1987), pp. 61–70.

[7] K. Bender (ed.), *Relationes historicae* …(1994), *op. cit.*

tory-*relation*, pamphlet-*relation*, weekly paper-type and episodic *Messrelation*.[8] Also, many other scholars have dealt with the genre in shorter papers, applying mostly a press-historical perspective. They usually compare the texts of the *Messrelations* with those of other genres popular at the time (pamphlets, printed news-letters, newspapers, etc.) and try to reveal their similarities and dissimilarities. Susanne Friedrich, for example, compares the texts of weekly and monthly newspapers and those of the *relations* one by one, tracking omitted words, shortenings, etc.[9] Based on the case of the Cologne war, Eva-Maria Schnurr illustrates different functions of the various genres in the dissemination of news and their different structures adapted to those functions.[10] Thomas Schröder focuses on the year 1609 to analyse the different genres in terms of selection and description of the news, as well as text structure, relevance, topicality, intelligibility and other criteria.[11] Hungarian news about Gábor Bethlen, the prince of Transylvania, published in the German *Messrelations* is examined by Krisztina Varsányi.[12] Unlike these scholars, Ulrich Rosseaux examines the *Messrelations* in the context of Early Modern historiography, focusing on Eitzinger's historian ideals.[13] Valuable as the aforementioned contributions are, the *Messrelations* research is definitely far from completed.

In this paper, I wish to examine Eitzinger's publication prepared for the autumn fair of 1589 in Frankfurt, titled *Relationis Historicae Continvatio*. My most important questions are: Can we identify the sources of Eitzinger's information included in it? How did he use his sources and what were his methods (if any) of altering them in his publication? Secondly, it may be interesting to examine how he composed his publication. Did he articulate any individual opinion? Thirdly, what were the differences between his work and the other types of information media (especially news-letters) already on the market at the end of the 16th century? What methods did Eitzinger apply to create a special product which could be sold successfully on that media market? How did the bi-annual publishing schedule affect the content of his work? How did his past activity as a writer of historical works impact his work?

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[8] J. Glüer, *Meßrelationen um 1600 — ein neues Medium zwischen aktueller Presse und Geschichtsschreibung. Eine textsortengeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 2000).

[9] S. Friedrich, *Drehscheibe Regensburg: das Informations- und Kommunikationssystem des Immerwährenden Reichstags um 1700* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2007), p. 482.

[10] E. Schnurr, *Religionskonflikt…* (2009), *op. cit.*

[11] Th. Schröder, *Die ersten Zeitungen: Textgestaltung und Nachrichtenauswahl* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1995).

[12] K. Varsànyi, "Bethlen Gábor a korabeli német nyelvű hírlevelek és vásári kiadványok tükrében," *Sic Itur Ad Astra* 1–2 (2005), pp. 169–224.

[13] U. Rosseaux, "Die Entstehung der Meßrelationen. Zur Entwicklung eines frühneuzeitlichen Nachrichtenmediums aus der Zeitgeschichtsschreibung des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 124 (2004), pp. 97–123.

I would like to address these questions by analysing a particular case study: the assassination of the French king Henry III on 1 August, 1589, by the Dominican friar Jacques Clement. Eitzinger describes this event on eleven pages in his publication.

He reports the events as follows: On Sunday, 30 July, a black friar named Jacques Clement, aged 22 or 23,[14] born in a village named *Sorbonna*,[15] after saying mass made his farewell to his fellow members in Paris and claimed that he had to go to Orleans. Nevertheless, he did not go to Orleans but, instead, went directly to the king's camp in Saint Cloud. After having travelled the two miles road, Clement approached the guards and asked to see the king for discussing an important issue with him. He was taken to an official (Eitzinger remarks on the margin that it happened already on 31 July), who asked the king how to proceed. The king ordered him to give bed and board to the Dominican for the night and find out what he wanted. Clement promised to do brilliant service to the king. Thus the next day the king allowed Clement to enter his room. Clement handed him some letters. When the king had read all of them, he asked the monk if there were any other letters. "Yes, there is something more," answered Clement and took out his knife. He stabbed the king under the navel so that the knife penetrated into the stomach. (Note by Eitzinger: an event of 1 August). The king pulled out the knife, cut the Dominican on the throat and then called his men. Among the bodyguards rushing into the room was a certain Bastide, one of the 45 people who killed the Guise brothers the previous year. He stabbed the Dominican in the belly. Nevertheless, Clement did not die immediately; instead he started speaking and gave thanks to God for giving him such a pious and easy death he had not even dreamed of. After he died, he was quartered and burnt. Although the king felt the stab, he did not think he would die of it. But at about four o'clock in the afternoon, he felt that his wound opened and was hurting. Physicians were called. They found the stab to be a very dangerous one, and on clysterising the king they saw that his intestines were injured, too. They informed the king of the danger, but he still did not believe them. However, he grew weaker and weaker with every hour spent. Finally, they decided to send for a clerk, but by the time he arrived the king was not able to speak. He died the next day, two hours after midnight. There are various stories about his last will (note: 2 August), but one thing is sure — that he asked the king of Navarra not to avenge his death on Paris. It is also known and certain that Clement did not act on others' advice, but of his own accord, and his intention was to serve the whole Christendom and France by killing the king, whereby he knew he would

[14] M. von Eitzinger, *Relationis Historicae Continvatio. Zuwissen was wunderbärliche gedenckhwierdige seltzame sachen oder geschichte sich zugetragen vnd (die negsten sechs monat hero) biß auf den 19. tag Septemb. 1589., So wol Jn Franckreich vnd Engellandt als im Niderlandt Ertzstifft Cölln … auch anderßwo … durch gantz Europa noch weitter verlauffen* (Cölln: Godtfridt von Kempen, 1589), pp. 46–47.

[15] Today Serbonnes in Burgundy.

die. It is also said that this poor simple monk had said several times, not only in the presence of his fellow friars but out in Paris too, that the king should die only by his hand and nobody else's hand, for it was promised to him in his visions.[16]

My first question is obviously whether we can detect the sources of Eitzinger's text. According to the *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts* (VD16), twenty-four pamphlets reporting the king's death were published in the German speaking countries in 1589. I was able to see sixteen of them. These sixteen copies belong to 8–10 different text-versions (depending on what we consider an independent text), and only two titles of the remaining eight copies imply that they may be independent texts. To be able to find Eitzinger's sources, I looked for elements or motifs of the story which are the same or very similar. I searched for data and small details (e.g. the king died either at two or at eight o'clock, the knife entered his stomach half-finger deep, etc.), expressions and similarities in phrasing (*Guisischen faction*, *rechten natürlichen oberherrn*, etc.).

On the grounds of joint occurrence of such details, we can separate several text-groups. One text-group contains details of the king pulling out the knife from his wound, making the wound even bigger in effect. In this version, the king is clysterised while in another group of texts the knife is poisoned and the king is given medicinal draught. According to a third group of texts, the king was given the best drugs available, while in a fourth version the arrival of physicians, surgeons and pharmacists is emphasised. Based on these details, Eitzinger's description resembles one publication from Augsburg[17] and two from Cologne.[18] In these texts, most of the motifs correspond to Eitzinger's version. The Augsburg text appears to be the first published one because, except the news itself, no supplementary information is attached to it while other publications include the king's epitaph, illustrations and other annexes. It is imaginable that Eitzinger chose this version to print in his booklet because this was the very first news of the murder.

There are, thus, two possible answers to the main question. One is that Eitzinger chose one of these three publications and published it again slightly rephrased. He used this method elsewhere, too, to compose his *relations*.[19] On the other hand, there are small details in each of the four texts that are missing in the other ones.[20] That is why it is also imaginable that they all go back to one source

[16] M. von Eitzinger, *Relationis…* (1589), *op. cit.*, pp. 101–103.

[17] Zeyttung Auß Franckreich 1589.

[18] *Warhaffte vnd eigentliche Beschreibung* 1589a and *Warhaffte und eigentliche Beschreibung* 1589b. Both texts are almost the same; only two sentences are omitted from the second one.

[19] For example, the chapter about Catherine de Medici's advice to his son before her death is also a word by word transposition from a news-letter: Abschrifft 1589. M. von Eitzinger, *Relationis…* (1589), *op. cit.*, pp. 10–12.

[20] Two examples: the name of the knife is *Coutelas* in Eitzinger and in the text from Augsburg but *Dolch* in the *Fugger-Zeitungen* and *Kurtzen laß* in the two prints from Cologne; only Eitzinger and the texts of Cologne mention the 45 people who killed the Guise brothers.

text. Given that the titles of the pamphlets from Cologne clearly claim that their original text was written in French, it is possible that Eitzinger, who had previously translated pamphlets from foreign languages into German several times,[21] did an independent translation in this case, too.

Moreover, Eitzinger's description of the murder resembles not only the three news-letters but also the description of the assassination in the *Fugger-Zeitungen*.[22] Therefore, we can consider these five versions to form one text-group. The Augsburg text and the text in the *Fugger-Zeitungen* could easily have the same author because at least two journalists worked for the Fuggers in Augsburg.[23] Given the fact that Eitzinger's wife was Maria Fugger,[24] it is also imaginable (as a third possibility) that he could have gained access to the Fugger correspondence and printed it out.

As compared to the text of news-letters, the most striking difference of the *Messrelation* is that Eitzinger's sentences are usually much more complicated and, consequently, hard to follow. He writes long sentences stretching sometimes over as many as nineteen lines, which makes us think that he targeted rather experienced readers. He often inserts Latin or French expressions into his booklet without translation, assuming apparently that his readers could understand them. He employs many small notes to demonstrate that he is well-educated himself (the murderer *omnem euentum* kept his knife ready[25] and took leave from his fellow members with an *Adieu*,[26] etc.). The description of the news is usually concise, comes quickly to the point and avoids circumlocution. His style is completely neutral, strict and factual; he does not try to affect the reader's feelings.

However, he strives to connect and link news items in order to produce a continuous account. For instance, he finishes his story on the murder with a remark that before continuing writing about Henry III he has to report a wonderful event (*Ehe vnnd zuuor ich aber weitter von disem König schreybe / so mueß ich ein wunderbarlichs gesicht / so eben diesen tag / wie er mit todt abgangen / sich zu Hamburg erzaigt*).[27] This next report is about a solar eclipse that occurred in Hamburg on the very day of the assassination, and it is obvious that this was a sign by which God showed that he wanted great changes among the kings.[28] In this way, Eitzinger tries to highlight connections

[21] For instance, he translated from Spanish into German and published a document about the Spanish Armada in 1588: Weisenberg, 28 July, 1588.

[22] V. Klarwill (ed.), *Fugger-Zeitungen: ungedruckte Briefe an das Haus Fugger aus den Jahren 1568–1605* (Wien/Leipzig/München: Rikola Verlag, 1923), pp. 131–132.

[23] O. Bauer, *Zeitungen vor der Zeitung: Die Fuggerzeitungen (1568–1605) und das frühmoderne Nachrichtensystem* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2011), p. 103; and Th. Schröder, *Die ersten Zeitungen…* (1995), *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[24] O. Bauer, *Zeitungen…* (2011), *op. cit.*, p. 33.

[25] M. von Eitzinger, *Relationis…* (1589), *op. cit.*, p. 86.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 101.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 104.

among events taking place far away from each other. For the same reason, he prints in the margins small index-fingers which refer to the page where he has already dealt with the event or the person in question. Evidently, it is important to him to give a complex account of the events to the readers, and it is perhaps one of the top advantages of this genre as compared to independent pamphlets and news-letters. Coherent description of the events was indeed a strength of the *Messrelations*[29] besides a well-ordered presentation of important information, which made the news easy to survey.[30] However, what Eitzinger does is a mere compilation. The arrangement of the news is simply chronological. He does not want to or cannot move on towards a synthesis. For example, even his remark that there are various stories about the king's last will is copied and not his own view inferred from his sources.

Eitzinger considered himself a historian;[31] that is why he tried to demonstrate his historical knowledge, too. For instance, the *mignon*s (young friends and protégés) of Henry III make him think of Edward II of England, who had similar favourites accused of sodomy.[32] In connection with the murder of Cardinal Guise, he mentions (mistakenly) Henry I of England, who had Thomas Becket killed.[33] Clearly, he tries to place the events in a historical context, too.

After the account of the assassination, he summarises the king's life in four chapters. The title of the first chapter suggests that Henry III was a righteous prince even before his coronation (*Wie Henrich von Vallois der 3. dieses namens König in Franckreich / ein Streitbarer und gerechter Fürst gewest*).[34] We can learn that Henry (as a crown prince) fought to defend the Catholic Church during the Wars of Religion in France. After the death of the last Jagiellonian king in Poland (1572), Henry was elected king of Poland. In late August 1573, a Polish delegation arrived in France announcing to have been sent by the Polish estates (*von den Ständen des gantzen Königreichs Poln*).[35] They said that they had been searching for a proper king for Poland and found Henry the most suitable one from among all of the potentates of Christendom. Henry appreciated this honour and went with them. The delegates led him to Poland, where they arrived at the end of November 1573, according to Eitzinger's estimation (actually he arrived there in January 1574[36]), and he was inaugurated on 18 February 1574 (in fact, it happened on 21 February[37]). The title of the second chapter reflects the first one: Henry was righteous as a king, too (*Wie er*

[29] E. Schnurr, *Religionskonflikt…* (2009), *op. cit.*, p. 144.
[30] U. Rosseaux, "Die Entstehung der Meßrelationen…" (2004), *op. cit.*, pp. 118–119.
[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 105, 120–121.
[32] M. von Eitzinger, *Relationis…* (1589), *op. cit.*, p. 108.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 15.
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 104.
[35] *Ibid.*
[36] D. Stone, *The Polish-Lithuanian State, 1386–1795. A History of East Central Europe Vol. IV.* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), p. 120.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

über daß / auch ein Gerechter König gewesen).[38] To prove this, Eitzinger presents an edict[39] written in Latin in which Henry III annuls the verdict against Paulus Scalichius.[40] The title of the third chapter claims that after his brother's death, he acquired reputation in France, too (*Wie sich Henricus / nit allein in Poln / sonder nach abgang seines Bruedern Caroli / auch in Franckreich / jme / als König / ein gueten namen gemacht / nachdem er Poln verlassen*).[41] After the death of Charles IX in May 1574, Henry III returned home to his own realm in secret because he knew that the Polish estates would not let him go, though on 18 June he sent a letter to Poland apologising for leaving in such a hurry. On 14 June, he arrived in Vienna, where the Emperor greeted him in a friendly manner and entertained him for several days. The king's next stop was Venice, where he also spent some days and then travelled to Savoy, where the prince showed his friendship towards him. On 4 September 1574, Henry arrived in his kingdom receiving respectful welcome from his subjects. Finally, he was crowned in Reims on 15 (in fact on 13) February 1575.

It is obvious that Eitzinger knows virtually nothing about Henry III's activities in Poland. All we can find out about his Polish reign is how he went there and how he came back. However, Eitzinger is very well informed of the travels of the king and different delegations and tries to write the king's biography based on those and some festive events.

Of the events after Henry's return to France, Eitzinger mentions the Edict of Boileau and the foundation of the Order of the Holy Spirit and sums up the king's reign by stating that he managed to pacify France partly by weapons and partly by holding diets (*Reichstagen*).[42] The fourth chapter is about how Henry III first lost his reputation and then his life (*Wie / wan / vnd durch wene / könig Henricus / seinne gueten namen / in Franckreich / auch letzlich sein leben verlohren*).[43] Henry Bourbon is found responsible for this turn of events because he wanted to accede to the throne, which trigerred the civil war again. Eitzinger finishes the biography with the events of the preceding year (e.g. the day of the barricades, 12 May 1588) reported already in his former *relations* and, then, continues with the events after the assassination in chronological order (Henry IV's seizure of power).

Despite gaps in the biography, this part of the work is probably not a mere copy or a rephrasing of one source only, but Eitzinger's own historical work compiled from several sources. And because I have not found any biography of Henry III published in the German language in 1589 yet, it is possible that the biography produced by Eitzinger was one of the most important parts of his pamphlet for

[38] M. von Eitzinger, *Relationis…* (1589), *op. cit.*, p. 105.

[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 106–107.

[40] Paulus Scalichius (1534–1573/1574) was a humanist scholar and adventurer of Hungarian or Croatian origin.

[41] M. von Eitzinger, *Relationis…* (1589), *op. cit.*, pp. 107–108.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 110.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 108.

the German readers, and it was published shortly after the king's death. Such a continuous biography was completely missing from the news-letters, though the assassination reminds some authors either of the case of the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VII, who was believed to have been poisoned by a Dominican monk in 1313,[44] or of a century-old prophecy which seems to have come true with this murder.[45] However, the completeness of this biography was probably largely due to Eitzinger's personal interest and experience as well as to the considerable size of his publication. In spite of its insufficiencies, Eitzinger's work is a well-balanced description, and the author obviously tries to reconcile the picture of the righteous king with that of the rightfully killed despot.

Although Eitzinger intended to write about the events of the previous six months, the biography of Henry III clearly interrupts the chronological order of his publication. He struggled to maintain the temporal frames of the *Messrelation* otherwise, too: in this 122-page-long booklet, he planned to report the events from March until the end of September, but on page 94 he is still at the events of 1 June while the events of September are squeezed into the last one and a half pages. He managed to do so because he had hardly any news about the events of September since it had not reached him in time. On the other hand, he usually started his *relations* with a foreword mentioning the previous issues of the *Messrelations* and with an introduction containing news from before the time-span of the current issue. It is obvious that the bi-annual publishing schedule presented some difficulties to him, but he apparently insisted on publishing his works at the book fairs.

Furthermore, obviously he was only partly able to predict which contemporary events would turn out to be significant and which not. There is no sign of emphasising or highlighting particular news items. Although he considered his works part of contemporary historiography,[46] an almost complete lack of retrospection is one of the most significant features of this genre.

Finally, to better understand the relevance and authenticity of Eitzinger's information, it might be useful to examine how the news of the French king's murder features in another source from Cologne. In his later life, the wine-trader Hermann Weinsberg (1518–1597) kept a diary he called *Gedenckboich*. He intended his diary for the posterity, but not for publication,[47] and recorded a lot of news besides private notes. Weinsberg had studied at university, like Eitzinger, and was a member

[44] E. Bourgoing, *Wolbedenckliche Beschreibung. Des an dem Koenig in Franckreich newlich Verrhaeterlich begangenen Meuchelmords von einem Moench Prediger Ordens. Jnmassen solchen die Rebellischen Paryser selbst haben an Tag gegeben vnd in offenem Truck zu Parys publicieren vnd auß kommen lassen. Auß dem Frantzoesischen ... verteutschet vnd mit Noetigen Erinnerungen ersetzt: Durch Bernhart Janot*. ANNO M.D.LXXXIX (Straßburg: Bernhard Jobin, 1589), p. 13. (He claims that the murder happened in 1308).

[45] *Wunderbärlicher Abschiedt* 1589, 7.

[46] M. Hille, *Providentia…* (2010), *op. cit.,* p. 186; U. Rosseaux, "Die Entstehung der Meßrelationen…" (2004), *op. cit.*, p. 105.

[47] E. Schnurr, *Religionskonflikt…* (2009), *op. cit.*, pp. 464–465.

of the City Council. Hence, he belonged to the decision-making urban elite, i.e. to the class which was to become the greatest consumer of the weekly newspapers in the following century.[48] He was a curious, inquisitive and open-minded person. In his diary, he repeatedly refers to the death of Henry III. The news first appears in an entry dated to 1 August, in which he reports the assassination in a single sentence: a Dominican monk went to the king's camp on the battlefield situated in the vicinity of Paris and asked to have an opportunity to speak personally to the king about an important issue, but at the presentation of some letters he stabbed the king in the stomach and the guards cut him down; the king stayed alive for another five days, and when he learnt his wounds were fatal he named his brother-in-law, Henry Bourbon, as his successor. Weinsberg adds that although the news had reached Cologne in early August, and everybody was talking about it in the whole town, the Council banned the printing of the news.

This remark is interesting not just because, as we could see, news-letters on the murder did appear in Cologne despite the ban, but also because it shows the rhythm of news dissemination at that time. If the king survived the assassination five days (as Weinsberg claims based on a false rumour), then Weinsberg cannot have written his entry earlier than on 7 August. Thus it took the sensational news of the king's death at least five days to reach Cologne (because the death actually occurred on 2 August), and he regards this speed as quite quick. He adds that he reported the murder from hearsay because he was not able to get any other news. There is, thus, a certain hierarchy of sources of news for him: he records oral news only because he could not get any printed information. Although Schnurr claims that Weinsberg's main sources were oral information and he used printed news only if nothing else was available,[49] the passage suggests the direct opposite: printed news was primary for him and he considered it more valuable.[50] That foreign news was involved in this case can perhaps explain Weinsberg's different attitude: he might have regarded oral news as less reliable due to vast distances it had travelled. When writing about less remote events, he probably relied on oral news more safely and with less doubt. This might be one reason for the general predominance of foreign news in printed news products in the Early Modern times.[51]

Sharing common interest in history with Eitzinger, Weinsberg takes the opportunity to describe the king's biography, too. Arguably, he writes from his own knowledge, because later, when he has learnt some new facts, he will supplement

[48] N.G. Etényi, *Hadszíntér és nyilvánosság…* (2003), *op. cit.*, p. 56.

[49] E. Schnurr, *Religionskonflikt…* (2009), *op. cit.*, p. 477.

[50] As did another chronicler (Georg Kölderer, c. 1550–1607) in Augsburg, cf. S. Tschopp, "Wie aus Nachrichten Geschichte wird. Die Bedeutung publizistischer Quellen für die Augsburger Chronik des Georg Kölderer," in *Consuming News: Newspapers and Print Culture in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)*, eds. G. Scholz Williams and W. Layher (Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi, 2009), pp. 33–78, on p. 64.

[51] N.G. Etényi, *Hadszíntér és nyilvánosság…* (2003), *op. cit.*, p. 77; J. Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 103.

it with additional information. According to him, Henry III came from the Valois family, and it is possible that the male line died out with him. Francois Valois was the first from the family to become king, and he fought a lot against Charles V. He left behind a boy, Henry II, but his other sons — Charles, Francois and Henry III — became kings, too. He also had a daughter, who married the king of Navarra and at their bloody wedding in Paris in 1572 lots of people were murdered, among others the admiral. Henry III was blamed for these killings, and he had a bad end foretold to him. He was a king of Poland, too, but when his brother Charles died, he left Poland in secret. Weinsberg remarks that it is all he wants to write until more concrete news comes, because in France both fighting parties disseminate lies about the other.[52]

Possibly a more or less basic, generally familiar historical knowledge, this is rather different from what can be read in Eitzinger. It is possible that Eitzinger did not mention these points because they were widely known, and he wished to provide extra information to his readers.

Weinsberg addresses the king's death again almost a month later, on 28 August,[53] after he managed to purchase two engravings of the assassination from Frankfurt. He describes the two pictures in detail and adds some additional facts about the history of the Valois family he probably did not know before: for example, that Francois II died without an heir, and his wife was the Scottish king's daughter. He adds regretfully that he still was not able to buy any printed news (*Getruckte zeitung*[54]).

Finally, almost two months after the murder, a detailed report can be found in a diary entry dated to 26 September, announcing at the beginning that he has got some information at last.[55] In the entry, Weinsberg summarises the content of a news-letter which was probably a pamphlet titled *Wahrhaffter vnd Gruendlicher Bericht*,[56] as only in this pamphlet the birthplace of the murderer was called *Harbonen* (a typographic error instead of *Sorbonna*), and Weinsberg copied this form into his diary. Based on the description of the assassination (e. g. blaming the Guise family for the crime and emphasising that the king wanted Henry Bourbon to succeed him on the throne), it is evident that this is an anti-Guise and pro-Bourbon pamphlet. It is interesting, because it indicates that news-letters advocating the Protestant cause were available in Cologne, an important Catholic hub.[57] On

[52] H. Weinsberg, *Die autobiographischen Aufzeichnungen Hermann Weinsbergs. Digitale Gesamtausgabe. Liber Decrepitudinis* (1588–1597), 1 August, 1589.

[53] H. Weinsberg, *Die autobiographischen Aufzeichnungen…, op. cit.*, 28 August, 1589.

[54] H. Weinsberg, *Die autobiographischen Aufzeichnungen…, op. cit.*, 28 August, 1589.

[55] H. Weinsberg, *Die autobiographischen Aufzeichnungen…, op. cit.*, 26 September, 1589.

[56] *Wahrhaffter vnd Gruendlicher Bericht* 1589.

[57] J. Engelbrecht, "Konfessionbedingte Migrations- und Kommunikationsprozesse im nordwesteuropäischen Raum vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert: Köln, Antwerpen, Amsterdam," *Blätter für Deutsche Landesgeschichte* 137 (2001), pp. 1–15, on p. 7.

the other hand, Weinsberg does not seem to have known news-letters published in Cologne, his home city.

In the news-letter, the first five pages are about the events prior to the assassination, but Weinsberg devotes only six lines to them. The murder itself is four and half pages long in the pamphlet and twelve lines in Weinsberg's diary. He condenses the new king's two-page long oath, in which he promised to protect the Catholic subjects, into one paragraph. Clearly, Weinsberg does not copy mechanically but tries to underline the main points and rephrases even the king's words. He is rather interested in the facts and omits the parts which appeal to emotions (e. g. the godless monk gave the forged reference letters to the king like Judas[58]). But he does not change the order of the narrative and practically extracts the whole pamphlet into his diary.

The news-letter copied by Weinsberg mentions that on 26 April the king made an alliance with Henry Bourbon, which is completely new information to him at the end of September.[59] This fact sheds a new light on the rhythm of news dissemination. Subsequently, Weinsberg adds that another news-letter was attached to this, which seems to have been printed in Antwerp. According to him, the other narrative recounts the event in the same way as the first one but gives a different tinge to it, for it claims that the king was a despot, a hypocrite and an apostate and praises the humble monk who will surely be beatified. The second narrative was presumably attached to the first to counterbalance its pro-Henry attitude. Finally, Weinsberg tells his own opinion. He cannot decide who is right: probably nobody can tell, anyway, and it is up to God to judge, but one thing is certain — the Dominican Order became now hated.[60] That is everything a well-educated and truly inquisitive person in one of the biggest news centres of Europe could know about the events that happened in the neighbouring country.

It is worth noting that Weinsberg did not use the current *relation* to write his work at all, although he knew about Eitzinger. They lived in the same town, and he followed Eitzinger's work with some attention.[61] In 1588, he even mentioned the current issue of Eitzinger's *Messrelation*.[62] Despite that, he does not seem to actually use Eitzinger's works. He probably preferred more topical news-letters although he was a member of the educated decision-making elite, which many scholars recognise as the main public of the genre.[63] This throws light not only on the fact

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[58] *Wahrhaffter vnd Gruendlicher Bericht* 1589, p. 9.

[59] H. Weinsberg, *Die autobiographischen Aufzeichnungen…, op. cit.*, 26 September, 1589.

[60] *Ibid.*

[61] Once he commented on an illustration printed in one of Eitzinger's works that it had already been published earlier in *Leo Belgicus*. H. Weinsberg, *Die autobiographischen Aufzeichnungen…*, *op. cit.*, 2 September, 1588.

[62] Mentioned as *Appendice relationis historice*. *Ibid.*

[63] U. Rosseaux, "Die Entstehung der Meßrelationen…" (2004), *op. cit.*, p. 99.

that there can be a difference between the targeted and the actual readership but also on how little we know about the real readers of the Early Modern news media.

Eitzinger writes in order to sell, while Weinsberg writes primarily for himself. Comparing them makes the similarities and differences between the opportunities and working methods of the two authors apparent. They both record the events chronologically and do not even try to arrange the news according to any other order (e.g. the subject or the country dealt with). Both of them try to record precise details, and their data are more or less accurate. Both of them are emotionless and write in a dry, rigorous style, focusing on the facts, and they tend to copy or publish official documents. Both are prudent and critical of their sources and prefer printed news. The differences lie mostly in their sources: Eitzinger probably used foreign language materials, while Weinsberg had no access to them. Handwritten news-letters are hardly present among Weinsberg's sources — at least in the case of the news from abroad[64] — as he works only from oral and printed materials. Eitzinger had foreign correspondents,[65] might have had access to the Fugger-correspondence but never reported oral rumours or gossip. Weinsberg names his sources more frequently than Eitzinger does. Weinsberg obviously writes more openly about his opinion and thoughts.

There are several news items related to the events in France in Eitzinger's *Messrelation*, for instance the murder of the Guise brothers, the reactions of Catherine de Medici and the pope to it, the occupation of Senlis, the agreement between Henry III and Henry Bourbon, etc. Out of the 85 news items included in the booklet, 25 deal with France. Thus, the reader of the *relation* was given quite a detailed, continuous and complex picture of the events of the first half of 1589 in France. At the same time, France-related events mentioned in Weinsberg's diary include: the murder of the Guise brothers, Catherine de Medici's death (5 January 1589), the decree of the Sorbonne against the king (7 January 1589) and the next news is the death of Henry III in August. In general, there is a much more detailed picture of foreign events in Eitzinger's *relations* whereas in Weinsberg there is more information about developments in his neighbourhood (e. g. the war of Cologne).[66]

We have seen that Eitzinger considered himself a historian and his works historical works.[67] He did not intend to create a new type of information media, which emerged almost by accident. However, he succeeded in forming a new genre of communication which became popular rapidly and turned out to be a very successful product on the German news market.

In conclusion, the example of the news of the French king's assassination has shown us some of the features of the *Messerelations*, a significant genre of communi-

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64 E. Schnurr, *Religionskonflikt…* (2009), *op. cit.*, p. 468.

65 J. Engelbrecht, "Konfessionbedingte Migrations- und Kommunikationsprozesse…" (2001), *op. cit.,* p. 13.

66 E. Schnurr, *Religionskonflikt…* (2009), *op. cit.*, p. 465, n. 241.

67 U. Rosseaux, "Die Entstehung der Meßrelationen…" (2004), *op. cit.*, pp. 105, 120–121.

cation in the Early Modern times at its formation. The inventor of the genre, Michael Eitzinger, built mostly upon news-based sources but intended to write historical works based on them. However, these historical works were intended to be sold every half year, and the six-months time frame formatively affected their characteristics.

At the same time, this case illustrates also some other important phenomena, such as the capabilities and limits of the news market and the circulation and transmission of news among the different genres of the information media in the 16th century.

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belägerte der Statt Paris) zu Pont S. Clou von einem Jacobinen oder Prediger Mönch eilendt vom Lebem zum Todt bracht am ersten Tag Augusti Anno 1589: sampt einer Weissagung so vor hundert Jahren von des Königs Todt geprophecyrt ist worden… ([Köln]: [Nikolaus Schreiber]). [VD 16.1 W 469] http://objects.library.uu.nl/reader/resolver.php?obj=001933407&type=2 (retrieved 20 January, 2014).

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Tobias BUDKE (Universität Münster)

A Network and Its Book Gifts: The Case of Mikołaj Radziwiłł "Czarny"

Abstract: The paper deals with the efforts made by the reformers' network around Heinrich Bullinger to influence the course of the Reformation in Poland by sending book gifts to Mikołaj Radziwiłł "Czarny," the Palatine of Wilna. It highlights the amount of planning and preparation that had to go into a seemingly simple act of giving a book and shows not only some of the intricacies involved in the venture but also the important role of all the actors involved, including the book giver's colleagues and friends as well as messengers and intermediaries on location. The question of success and failure of book gifts is also addressed, as is the urgency to probe beyond the overly simplified dyadic "giver-recipient" relationship, which proves insufficient as soon as the sources allow one to look behind the obvious.

Keywords: gift, book gift, Reformation, Bullinger, Radziwiłł, network, Poland, Lithuania.

1. Introduction: Gifts and Networks

Ever since the invention of culture, gift-giving has been a perennial and ubiquitous cultural practice. A random list of examples — ranging from the Kwakiutl *potlatches* described by Marcel Mauss[1] to the official gifts in ancient Egypt[2] and the presents given to judges presiding over trials in 16th-century France[3] — conveys an idea of the variety of forms that gift-giving has taken throughout history. All these kinds of gifts involved not only different objects to be given but also, more importantly, different purposes: the *potlatch* was meant to show what Torstein Veblen has called "conspicuous waste";[4] in Egypt, official gift-giving was used as a form of commerce; and gifts to 16th-century French judges were meant to influence their ruling in favour of the giver. Some of the many possible objectives and goals of gift-giving have been enumerated by Helmut Berking:

[1] M. Mauss, *Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques* (Paris: Quadrige/Presses universitaires de France, 2007).

[2] E. Bleiberg, *The Official Gift in Ancient Egypt* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1996).

[3] Cf. N.Z. Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 148–149.

[4] T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (Fairfield, NJ: Kelley, 1991), p. 97.

> Schenken heißt eine Macht erwerben, einen symbolischen Tausch realisieren, Bindungen und Bündnisse initiieren, Rechte und Pflichten attribuieren, subjektive Bedeutungen objektivieren und Alter ego systematisch klassifizieren, heißt strategische Orientierungen in altruistische Motive kleiden, soziale Herausforderungen als Wohltätigkeit stilisieren, beehren, beschämen, hierarchisieren und stratifizieren, solidarisieren, reziproke Anerkennungsformen einfädeln; egalisieren und intimisieren.[5]

It is easy to see that a concept so ancient and versatile cannot easily be captured in any precise definition, and the general tenor in gift research seems to be that there is none. Gift-giving has been approached from a multitude of angles and with the help of many disciplines, such as anthropology, history, sociology or psychology, and different theoretical frameworks, for example structuralism or deconstruction, and "gift research" itself should be understood as an interdisciplinary umbrella term. Consequently, if one wants to discuss the gift as a concept, an operational definition — inevitably incomplete and vulnerable to counter-examples — is needed, and, for the purposes of this paper, a gift should be understood as a voluntary transfer of objects or services to another person or persons without any formal or legally enforceable reward or payment in a transaction that is understood by both parties to be exactly that. Since, according to this definition, the recipient of a gift is not legally obliged to reciprocate, a gift transaction unavoidably contains a certain element of risk and uncertainty; there can be no guarantees although, of course, there is usually a strong moral obligation to reward the gift-giver in some way or another.

The term "network," often used without any theoretical reflection, should be understood as meaning "a social network" in the sense proposed by Georg Simmel in 1908: "The causal connection that involves every social element in the being and action of every other one and thus brings the external network of society into existence […]."[6] Basically, a network can be understood as a metaphor for a pattern of relationships among elements called *points* or *nodes*, linked through connections — usually called *ties* — that differ somewhat in length, strength and other characteristics; these connections are typically directional and thus create a certain order between the nodes. In a social network, these nodes are human beings, often individuals and sometimes groups; the whole structure is open-ended, dynamic and heterarchical (with "brokers" or "relay stations" but without a centre), it has functions but no central purpose, and its stability derives from its intrinsic looseness. Few would dispute the usefulness of the network concept when applied to present-day settings and contemporary research, but applying it to historical contexts might seem risky since empirical research methods, such as interviewing the network actors or direct observation of the network in action, cannot be em-

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[5] H. Berking, *Schenken. Zur Anthropologie des Gebens* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 1996), p. 10.

[6] G. Simmel, *Sociology: Inquiries into the construction of social forms*, Vol 1 (Leiden Boston: Brill, 2009), p. 51.

ployed.[7] This question has been addressed before,[8] and the viability of the network concept in historical settings seems to have been fairly well established. Lloyd Michael White even goes so far as to say: "[T]he network concept is in principle capable of universal application."[9] Even if this might sound overly optimistic, there can be little doubt that the concept can be very useful when applied to historical periods that are comparatively well-known to us due to a wealth of source material preserved.

2. The Evangelical Network and Its Book Gifts

Such a comparative wealth of source material was provided by the network that will be the focus of the discussion to follow, a network that came into existence at the time of the Reformation. It consisted of evangelical authors connected with the *antistes* of Zürich, Heinrich Bullinger, Zwingli's successor, who proposed a type of Reformation markedly different from Luther's.[10] The members of this network, like others at the time, communicated with each other above all by writing letters, and the main "relay station" was none other than Bullinger himself, a man of phenomenal productivity: approximately 10,000 letters sent to him and 2,000 letters written by him have survived and are currently being edited by the Institut für Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte in Zürich.[11] The writing of letters was, in fact, one of the main methods by which the evangelicals (and their opponents) tried to influence powerful individuals and families all over Europe, and it is thanks to this method that we have comparatively very good sources regarding many developments of the time.[12] Another method of exerting influence was the giving of books,[13] a well-established cultural

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[7] See J. Scott, *Social Network Analysis: A Handbook* (London: SAGE, 2004), p. 3, for an overview of the types of social science data and the methods of obtaining them. Of the three research types mentioned, documentary research is the only mode available to historians.

[8] See T. Budke, "Cultural Networks of the Past," in *Book Gifts and Cultural Networks from the 14th to the 16th Century*, eds. G. Müller-Oberhäuser and K. Meyer-Bialk (Cologne: Rhema, forthcoming).

[9] L. Milroy, *Language and Social Networks* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), p. 178.

[10] For this issue, see E. Grötzinger, *Luther und Zwingli. Die Kritik an der mittelalterlichen Lehre von der Messe als Wurzel des Abendmahlsstreites* (Zürich: Benziger, 1980).

[11] http://www.irg.uzh.ch/hbbw/briefverzeichnis.html (retrieved 4 February 2014). Currently, the Institute's edition of Bullinger's letters has reached the year 1545 (Vol. 15).

[12] This article is mainly based on the letters found in H. Robinson (ed.), *Original Letters relative to the English Reformation written during the reigns of King Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Queen Mary, chiefly from the archives of Zurich*, 2 Vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1847), henceforth referred to as *OL*; and Th. Wotschke (ed.), *Der Briefwechsel der Schweizer mit den Polen. Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte,* Ergänzungsband III (Leipzig: Heinsius Nachf., 1908), henceforth referred to as *Wotschke*.

[13] A discussion of the network's activities in promoting the English Reformation through book gifts can be found in T. Budke, "Re-forming Connections: Evangelicals and Their Book Gifts in

practice in Europe at the time of the Reformation, with a tradition going back at least to the Middle Ages, as suggested by the impressive number of dedication pictures preserved in many manuscripts and some printed books. In most cases, these depict a scene that never took place: an individual (usually the author or the translator) gives a book to another individual (a king or another powerful noble), thereby establishing a dyadic relationship, which was emphasised by the dedication itself, and excluding other actors who must have been there, or else the book in question would not have been bound, illuminated and typeset at all. These book gifts were usually made with the aim of establishing a relationship between the giver and the recipient which would benefit the former. The book historian Robert Darnton's famous "communications circuit,"[14] a diagram showing not only the way a book takes from creation to distribution and reception, but also the number of relay stations involved, has alerted us to the complexity of book production, distribution and reception, and the main objective of this article is to identify and explore the complexities inherent in the act of giving books and establish whether an individual giver's personal success or failure (for example, in securing a financial compensation or a lucrative position at court) provides an adequate criterion for measuring the book gift's efficacy. Apart from giving books to each other in order to learn the recipient's opinion or express friendship and/or appreciation, the members of the evangelical network used book gifts for the same purpose they used letters: to obtain some reward or support for their efforts from powerful noblemen and to convince them to espouse the kind of Reformation the evangelicals were promoting. Consequently, success could be measured on both the individual and the network levels, and a book gift that failed on the former could still succeed on the latter, and vice versa, although whether a book gift succeeded in shifting a recipient's attitude in favour of the Reformation or in strengthening such an already existing attitude is naturally extremely difficult to establish and often can only be speculated about.

One example of the evangelicals' use of book gifts can be found in 16th-century England, where the Reformation had begun with Henry VIII's attempt to have his marriage to Katherine of Aragon annulled, leading to a profusion of book gifts addressed not only to the king himself but also to some of his influential advisors, among them Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury.[15] After Henry's death, his nine-year-old son Edward VI had to rely on evangelically-minded noblemen, such as Edward Seymour, the Duke of Som-

England and Europe," in *Book Gifts and Cultural Networks*, eds. G. Müller-Oberhäuser and K. Meyer-Bialk, *op. cit.*

[14] Cf. R. Darnton, "What is the History of Books?," *Daedalus*, Summer 1982, pp. 65–83.

[15] These book gifts are described in detail in T. Budke, *Das Buchgeschenk im religiösen Kontext im England der Reformationszeit,* Chapters 5.2 and 5.5 (unpublished dissertation) (forthcoming).

erset, who received a substantial number of book gifts himself.[16] An analysis of the book gifts made by Bullinger to another of these noblemen, Henry Grey, the Marquess of Dorset, and his daughter Jane shows the complexity of such an operation and the important roles several members of the evangelical network had to play in order to make it happen.[17] No less than eight stages can be distinguished in the process:

Stage 1: John Hooper, the future Bishop of Gloucester, writes to Bullinger to tell him to send "anything suitable in the press"[18] to Grey.

Stage 2: The following month, John ab Ulmis, a disciple of Bullinger's studying in Oxford, sends a letter to the *antistes* in which he expresses satisfaction about Bullinger's plan to do just that and instructs him precisely how to address the Marquess.[19] He also makes it clear that the only way this book should be delivered to Grey is through him and his young protégé named Alexander Schmutz.

Stage 3: He is supported in this by Peter Martyr, who discourages Bullinger from directly asking for a financial reward.

Stage 4: In a letter dated two days later, John Hooper suggests that the book Bullinger intends to dedicate to the Marquess should be the fifth part of his *Decades*.[20]

Stage 5: One month later, John ab Ulmis informs Bullinger that he has given a copy of some Oxford disputations to Grey, for which he has been amply rewarded, a good indication that Bullinger's gift might elicit the same reaction from the Marquess.[21]

Stage 6: Ab Ulmis tells Bullinger that if he receives the book from him, he will take it to his patron, Bartholomew Traheron, who is connected to Grey.

Stage 7: Ab Ulmis postpones delivering a letter from Bullinger to Grey, because he wants to present his own book gift to Grey's daughter first.

Stage 8: Eventually, in May 1551, John ab Ulmis reports success and observes that Thomas Thirlby, the Bishop of Norwich, seems to have liked the book very much. Later, Jane Grey and, afterwards, her father thank Bullinger for the gift.

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[16] See T. Budke, *Das Buchgeschenk*, Chapter 5.3.1.

[17] For a more detailed description of these book gifts, see T. Budke, "Re-forming Connections…," *op. cit.*

[18] *OL*, Letter 37, Hooper to Bullinger, 5 February 1550, p. 77.

[19] *OL*, Letter 192, Ab Ulmis to Bullinger, 25 March 1550, p. 399: "To the Lord Henry Grey, marquis of Dorset, Baron Ferrers of Groby, Harrington, Bonville, and Astly, one of his majesty's most honourable privy council […]." He was to do the same for Jane Grey (*OL*, Letter 199, ab Ulmis to Bullinger, 11 November 1550, p. 423).

[20] *OL*, Letter 38, Hooper to Bullinger, 27 March 1550, p. 82.

[21] *OL*, Letter 193, Ab Ulmis to Bullinger, 30 April 1550, p. 404.

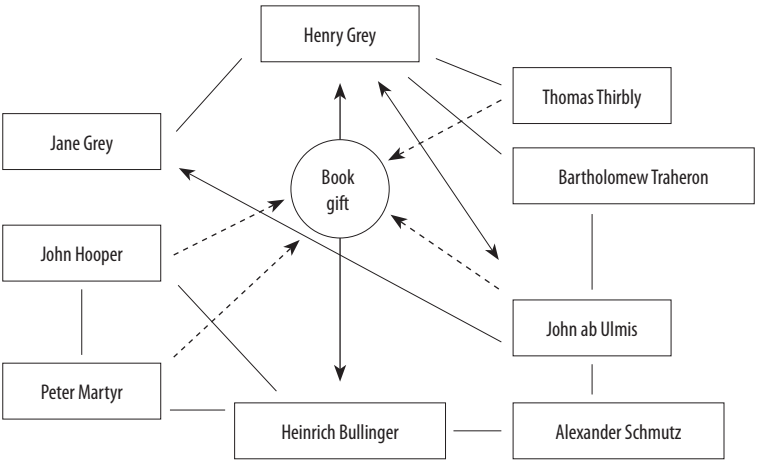

Fig. 1. Book gifts to the Henry Grey circle. Connections established through book gifts are indicated by arrows (possibly reciprocal), whereas those established by other means are simple lines. Arrows with dotted lines indicate the influence the members of the network had on the execution of the book gift from Bullinger to Grey (thick arrow). Only connections relevant to the book gift/s mentioned in the text are shown

Such aspects as which text to send, the form of address or the choice of intermediaries were not left to chance but carefully planned and prepared to maximise the likelihood of success, and the network itself emerges as the actor and, in a certain sense, the book-giver, transcending the dyadic relationship that has been the focus of book-gift research so far. Since gifts, by definition, always imply a certain element of risk, these preparations and considerations were obviously meant to reduce risk as much as possible. Another example of a precarious and well-planned book gift, albeit a less well-documented and therefore more speculative one, could be found in Eastern Europe.

3. A Book Gift to Mikołaj Radziwiłł "Czarny"

The ascension of Mary Tudor to the throne of England in 1553 meant not only a mass exodus of evangelical reformers to the continent[22] but also the end of all attempts to approach evangelically-minded English nobles with book gifts directly. Still, there were other countries in which the Reformation needed all the support it could get. One of them was Poland-Lithuania, where the Lutheran Reformation had begun in 1520[23] and the Reformed Movement, strongly influenced by Antitrini-

[22] See C.H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938).

[23] On the Reformation in Poland in general, see Ch. Schmidt, *Auf Felsen gesät. Die Reformation in Polen und Livland* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000); B. Stasiewski, *Reformation und*

tarian Italian Protestants,[24] was taking roots in the mid-16th century. Motivated by the weakness of the royal power rather than by any kind of principle of tolerance,[25] the Polish king Zygmunt I (1506–1548) had not seriously inhibited the progress of the Reformation in his country; hamstrung by the political structure of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, in which the *szlachta* (comparable to the English landed gentry) enjoyed a degree of independence and power unparalleled in England,[26] no king could hope to control the spread or the direction of the Reformation. The fact that the state consisted of two countries, the less powerful and less advanced of which, Lithuania, was rather anxious about relinquishing too much of what was left of its independence, was a further obstacle to a centralisation of the English kind.

At the same time, the relative powerlessness of King Zygmunt II August (1548–1572) might be compared to the minority of Edward VI, the result in both cases being that the nobility wielded considerable power and, therefore, made an even more inviting target for evangelical influence than was regularly the case. Due to all these circumstances, the geographical proximity to Germany, the early commencement of Polish printing[27] and the powerful *szlachta*'s reluctance to pay tithes, the Reformation had a good start in Poland-Lithuania.[28] After the phase which Christoph Schmidt has called "failed suppression,"[29] the kind of Reformation envisaged by Zürich and Geneva began to spread in Poland-Lithuania,[30] and the countries experienced an open clash of opinions, with all sides using similar tactics to promote their cause, book gifts among them. In 1530, Charles V sent Johannes Eck's refutation of the *Confessio Augustana* to Zygmunt I; the prolific Cardinal Stanisław Hosius dedicated his *Confessio catholicae fidei christiana* (part I printed in 1552, part II in 1557) to Zygmunt II August; Celio Secondo Curione, not affiliated with any movement, dedicated his *De amplitudine beati regni dei* and a book on the history of Italy to the same monarch.[31]

Gegenreformation in Polen. Neue Forschungsergebnisse (Münster: Aschendorff, 1960); Th. Wotschke, *Geschichte der Reformation in Polen* (Leipzig: Haupt, 1911); P. Fox, *The Reformation in Poland: Some Social and Economic Aspects* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1971); J. Tazbir, *Reformacja w Polsce: szkice o ludziach i doktrynie* (Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 1993).

[24] L. Hein, *Italienische Protestanten und ihr Einfluss auf die Reformation in Polen während der beiden Jahrzehnte vor dem Sandomirer Konsens* (Leiden: Brill, 1974).

[25] Cf. Ch. Schmidt, *Auf Felsen gesät*… (2000), *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[26] Because of the *nihil novi* of 1505, no Polish king was able to enact any legislation without the consent of the *szlachta*.

[27] Cf. Ch. Schmidt, *Auf Felsen gesät*… (2000), *op. cit.*, pp. 221–231.

[28] Cf. F. Büsser, *Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575). Leben, Werk und Wirkung*, Vol. 2 (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2005), p. 300; Ch. Schmidt, *Auf Felsen gesät*… (2000), *op. cit.*, pp. 34–44.

[29] Ch. Schmidt, *Auf Felsen gesät*… (2000), *op. cit.*, p. 34.

[30] Schmidt dates the beginning of this "middle phase" of the Polish Reformation to 1544 for Małopolska and to 1548 for Wielkopolska. In the central region of Mazovia "the Reformation stood no chance." (cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 34 and 44).

[31] Cf. E. Bryner, "Der Briefwechsel Heinrich Bullingers mit polnischen und litauischen Adligen," in *Kirche im Osten. Studien zur osteuropäischen Kirchengeschichte und Kirchenkunde,*

Since Polish Lutheranism soon proved to be "a flash in the pan"[32] and, therefore, did not enter the scene as a serious rival to the Zürich type of Reformation, Catholics and Antitrinitarians became the main opponents of the evangelicals' network. Despite some differences between Calvin and Bullinger, "a real cooperation to promote the Reformation in Poland"[33] developed between Geneva and Zürich. Thus, it was to be expected that members of the Bullinger network would try to seize this particular opportunity.[34] In the person of Jan Łaski, probably the "actual reformer of Poland"[35] between 1556 and 1560, one of its nodes was in a good position to further the cause in Poland-Lithuania, and again book gifts were deemed a suitable way of initiating contacts; but before any could be sent, the terrain had to be reconnoitred. Łaski had already sent his *Forma ac ratio*[36] to several Polish dignitaries,[37] and his *Purgatio ministrorum in Ecclesiis pregr. Francofurti* to Zygmunt II August[38] in order to facilitate his return,[39] but one particular target presented itself before all others.

On 23 June 1557, Jan Utenhove, a well-connected Dutch reformer who had emigrated to England in 1544 and lived there with Thomas Cranmer and John Hooper and later accompanied Łaski to Poland, wrote to Heinrich Bullinger and Peter Martyr:

> You will, I think, do very right to dedicate to him some book, by way of interesting his mind in the cause of religion. For you are aware that great men, especially of this kind […] require some spurs and excitements to make them run with greater alacrity in the path proposed.[40]

The target Utenhove had in mind was Mikołaj Radziwiłł "Czarny" ("The Black"), the Palatine of Vilnius and probably the most powerful man in Lithuania,[41] a rich magnate who had displayed sustained interest in theological ques-

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Band 23, ed. P. Hauptmann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), p. 65; *Wotschke*, No. 182, p. 99.

[32] Ch. Schmidt, *Auf Felsen gesät…* (2000), *op. cit.*, p. 66 (translation mine).

[33] F. Büsser, *Heinrich Bullinger…* (2005), *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 302 (translation mine).

[34] See E. Bryner, "Briefwechsel…" (1980), *op. cit.*, pp. 62–83.

[35] This is the opinion of F. Büsser, *Heinrich Bullinger…* (2005), *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 303; Ch. Schmidt, however, sees Łaski's influence as more limited: "[Łaski] may be rightly called a Polish reformer — but not the Reformer of Poland" (Ch. Schmidt, *Auf Felsen gesät…* (2000), *op. cit.*, p. 86, translation mine).

[36] *Forma ac ratio tota ecclesiastici ministerii,* according to MacCulloch, was "a key text for the future of Reformed Christianity throughout Europe" (D. MacCulloch, "The importance of Jan Laski in the English Reformation," in Ch. Strohm, *Johannes a Lasco (1499–1560). Polnischer Baron, Humanist und europäischer Reformator* [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000], p. 331).

[37] Cf. Ch. Schmidt, *Auf Felsen gesät…* (2000), *op. cit.*, pp. 79ff.

[38] Cf. O. Bartel, *Jan Łaski* (Berlin: EVA, 1981), p. 195; H.P. Jürgens (ed.), *Johannes a Lasco. Ein Leben in Briefen und Büchern* (Wuppertal: Foedus, 1999), pp. 83–84.

[39] On Łaski's last years in Poland, see H. Kowalska, *Działalność reformatorska Jana Łaskiego w Polsce 1556–1560* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1999).

[40] *OL*, Letter 276, Utenhove to Bullinger and Martyr, 23 June 1557, pp. 599–600.

[41] On Radziwiłł "Czarny," see the biography by J. Jasnowski, *Mikołaj Czarny Radziwiłł (1515–1565): Kanclerz i marszałek ziemski Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, wojewoda wileński* (Warszawa: Towarzystwo Naukowe Warszawskie, 1939).

tions,[42] was in constant touch with Łaski[43] and had the ear of the king.[44] As early as in May 1550, Radziwiłł had supported the evangelical cause in the Senate, together with other Reformation-minded magnates.[45] Possibly in the same year, Radziwiłł converted to the Reformed faith[46]; afterwards, he firmly exerted his influence to pave the way for the Reformation in Lithuania, whence, the Catholics feared, it might spread to Poland itself.[47] Radziwiłł sought to bring competent preachers to Lithuania, erected Protestant schools[48] and set up an evangelical printing press in Vilnius in 1553.[49] By 1555, many powerful Lithuanian families had converted.[50]

It is, therefore, rather surprising that Utenhove speaks of the necessity of "interesting his mind in religion," but it may well be that another book gift, made in 1556 by Jan Łaski's Lutheran opponent Pietro Paolo Vergerio,[51] had alerted the Zürich evangelicals to the danger of losing Radziwiłł to another kind of Reformation, and the Antitrinitarian influence made itself felt in Poland and Lithuania, too.[52] Over the following years, Bullinger was to send several works to Poland,[53] many of which were translated into Polish or German,[54] but he began with Radziwiłł, to whom he dedicated his *Festorum dierum sermones ecclesiastici* in August 1558.[55] On 27 October 1558, John Burcher, in Cracow at that time, wrote to Bullinger: "I gave your book to master John à Lasco […] He is taking care that the palatine's book shall be elegantly bound, and, should an opportunity offer, I am to present it […]."[56]

It goes without saying that intermediaries were needed to convey this book gift, but what is unusual about it is the material aspect of the book itself. Here, Jan Łaski offered the evangelicals an advantage that had been lacking in their dealings

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[42] Cf. F. Büsser, *Heinrich Bullinger…*, (2005), *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 302–303.

[43] Cf. H. Kowalska, *Działalność reformatorska...* (1999), *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[44] "[Radziwiłł was] everything for the king: advisor, chancellor, marshal, and faithful friend [...]" (A. Musteikis, *The Reformation in Lithuania: Religious Fluctuations in the Sixteenth Century* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1988], p. 49).

[45] Cf. Ch. Schmidt, *Auf Felsen gesät…* (2000), *op. cit.,* pp. 46–47.

[46] Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 151; Musteikis, however, gives 1553 as the year of this conversion (A. Musteikis, *The Reformation in Lithuania…* (1988), *op. cit.*, p. 49).

[47] Cf. J. Puryckis, *Die Glaubensspaltung in Litauen im XVI. Jahrhundert bis zur Ankunft der Jesuiten im Jahre 1569* (Fribourg: Fragnière, 1919), p. 110.

[48] Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

[49] Th. Wotschke, *Reformation…* (1911), *op. cit.*, p. 144.

[50] Cf. J. Puryckis, *Die Glaubensspaltung…* (1919), *op. cit.*, p. 109.

[51] Cf. Th. Wotschke, *Reformation…* (1911), *op. cit.*, p. 159; for details of this book, see L. Hein, *Italienische Protestanten…* (1973), *op. cit.*, p. 264.

[52] See L. Hein, *Italienische Protestanten…* (1973), *op. cit.*, pp. 119–202.

[53] For some examples of Bullinger's Polish contacts, see F. Büsser, *Heinrich Bullinger…* (2005), *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 303, and *Wotschke*, No. 170, p. 91.

[54] Cf. F. Büsser, *Heinrich Bullinger…* (2005), *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 304.

[55] Cf. *Wotschke*, No. 137, p. 80.

[56] *OL*, Letter 332, John Burcher to Bullinger, 27 October 1558, p. 700.

with Henry Grey: being a proud[57] member of the Polish *szlachta*, he was wealthy enough to furnish the means to present a book whose value did not reside in its content only. Usually and understandably, the books given by members of the evangelical network to potential patrons were considered special because of their content or their symbolic value — expressed, for example, by providing the recipient with the book before anyone else could obtain it or by declaring the book a token of affection or friendship.[58] This example at least hints at a possibility that even the evangelicals, though as a rule professing disdain for all things material, were sometimes willing to underline the importance of a book gift by enhancing its outer beauty.

Radziwiłł wrote back to Bullinger the following year and received a reply in 1560, in which the *antistes* thanked him for accepting the book and for his benevolence,[59] but it is unclear whether the benevolence remark meant that Bullinger had actually received some financial reward or a gift from Radziwiłł. Bullinger's *Diarium* shows no such entry for 1559 or 1560, but this, of course, does not rule out that such a reward was sent to Zürich — although Bullinger was officially forbidden to accept gifts from foreigners and did not care much for gifts anyway, at least according to John Hooper, who told a recipient of one of Bullinger's book gifts that he, Bullinger, "would esteem it a sufficient token of his gratitude, if he would actively and piously bestow his exertions on the vineyard of Christ […]."[60] If this judgment was accurate and Hooper was right in saying that Bullinger was "not in the habit of receiving presents from any one […],"[61] the *antistes* apparently was not only the most important relay station of the network. His role also demonstrated that the idea of remuneration could transcend the individual level and the question of *cui bono*, understood as a simplistic model of *do ut des* between the giver and the recipient. Since Jean Calvin followed up with a book gift to Radziwiłł in 1560,[62] it is likely that he, too, deemed the Palatine a promising target and, although Calvin was not as closely involved in Bullinger's network as the other evangelicals mentioned, he was able to use it indirectly for his own purpose. It seems poignant that Calvin postponed his book gift to Radziwiłł until after Bullinger had received a response from the Palatine to his own gift[63] although Radziwiłł had already written to him before.[64]

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[57] Cf. O. Bartel, *Jan Łaski* (1981), *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[58] The symbolic function of book gifts in the 16th century is discussed in T. Budke, *Das Buchgeschenk*, Chapter 3.

[59] Cf. *Wotschke*, No. 188, p. 108.

[60] *OL*, Letter 39, John Hooper to Heinrich Bullinger, 29 June 1550, p. 88.

[61] *Ibid.*

[62] Cf. *Wotschke*, No. 198, p. 111; No. 200, p. 114.

[63] Cf. *Wotschke*, No. 188, p. 108; No. 198, p. 111; No. 200, p. 114.

[64] Cf. *Wotschke*, No. 166, p. 88.

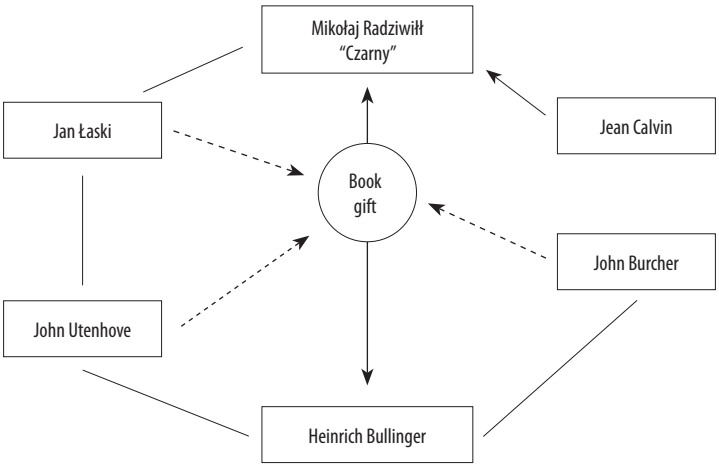

Fig. 2. Bullinger's book gift to Radziwiłł. The main arrow indicates the book gift itself whereas the dotted arrows show the influence the network members had on its planning and execution. Calvin's later book gift to Radziwiłł is indicated by a thin pointed arrow. Lines without arrow points indicate connections established by other means. Only the connections relevant to the book gift are shown

At first glance, it is difficult not to classify Bullinger's and Calvin's book gifts to Radziwiłł as complete failures.[65] Despite the influence of Radziwiłł and other similarly inclined magnates, the Polish Reformation proved to be short-lived for a number of reasons that have been described by Christoph Schmidt.[66] The result was, as Joseph Puryckis puts it: "Barely ten years after the death of Radvila the Black [Radziwiłł], we can see hardly anything but the ruins of the earlier splendor of Protestantism."[67] On a more personal level, the conversion of all of Radziwiłł's children, except one, to Catholicism (among them his son and successor, Mikołaj Krzysztof "Sierotka," who had been Bullinger's guest in Zürich in 1566[68] and who had all Brest Bibles he could get hold of burned after his conversion in 1567[69]) shows that the book gifts to Radziwiłł did not have any Reformation-fostering effect on the members of his family; his son Jerzy even became the Bishop of Vilnius

[65] Büsser, for example, sees all efforts made by the evangelicals in Poland-Lithuania as "without result" (F. Büsser, *Heinrich Bullinger…* (2005), *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 303; translation mine).

[66] Cf. Ch. Schmidt, *Auf Felsen gesät…* (2000), *op. cit.*, pp. 57ff.

[67] J. Puryckis, *Die Glaubensspaltung…*(1919), *op. cit.*, p. 135 (translation mine).

[68] See E. Egli (ed.), *Diarium (Annales vitae) der Jahre 1504–1575* (Zürich: Theologische Buchhandlung, 1985), entry dated 4 September 1566, p. 85. Büsser has "Czarny" visit Bullinger (which is impossible) and gives "Czarny's" lifespan as 1515–1569, although he died in 1565 (F. Büsser, *Heinrich Bullinger…* (2005), *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 303). On "Sierotka," see T. Kempa, *Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Sierotka (1549–1616), wojewoda wileński* (Warszawa: Semper, 2000).

[69] Cf. Ch. Schmidt, *Auf Felsen gesät…* (2000), *op. cit.*, p. 152.

in 1581. Moreover, Radziwiłł himself may have flirted with Unitarianism during his last years.[70]

On the other hand, one should be careful not to apply perfect hindsight to historical processes. Although Radziwiłł had already become a staunch supporter of the Reformation before his first contact with Bullinger, his financing of the *Biblia Brzeska*, the first comprehensive Protestant Bible of Poland, dedicated to King Zygmunt August II, might at least in part have been due to "some spurs and excitements" in the form of book gifts, and Jan Łaski, an important religious advisor and preacher in Radziwiłł's churches,[71] had played an important role in its production. His opponents must have seen him as an influential supporter of the hated Reformation; otherwise, it would be difficult to explain why the Papal *nuntius* Francesco Commendone — who had been concerned about Radziwiłł's anti-Catholic influence in the magnate's lifetime[72] — saw it fit to relate a legend according to which the cause of Radziwiłł's death was that his head exploded after he had foolishly tried to cure his ailments by rubbing mercury all over his body.[73] At least one scholar is certain that "Protestantism in Lithuania would not have collapsed so quickly had he lived longer."[74] Regarding the personal relationship to Bullinger, Radziwiłł gratefully accepted the gift, and his son's visit to Bullinger in Zürich after Radziwiłł's death is indicative. And the simple fact that Radziwiłł's personal basic Protestant faith remained unchanged during the last fifteen years of his life may well have had something to do with the influence of the books given to him by the evangelical network.

4. Conclusion

Although not nearly as well-documented as his gift to the Marquess of Dorset, Heinrich Bullinger's book gift to Mikołaj Radziwiłł "Czarny" illustrates some of the network aspects mentioned above. Like the former, it presented an attempt to construct a link to a powerful recipient in another country, an attempt which was carefully prepared and executed by members of what might be called a network of "professional book givers," and one may suspect that the level of detail the sources provide us with for the book gift to Grey would be mirrored by a similar level of detail for the book gift to Radziwiłł if more letters or other documents had survived. The absence of documents describing the actual presentation of the book to Radziwiłł does not mean that the evangelicals did not plan this aspect of their gift as carefully as they had done with Grey, and neither does the lack of documentary evi-

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70 Cf. Ch. Schmidt, *Auf Felsen gesät…* (2000), *op. cit.*, p. 153.
71 Cf. Th. Wotschke, *Reformation…* (1911), *op. cit.*, p. 167.
72 Cf. J. Puryckis, *Die Glaubensspaltung…* (1919), *op. cit.*, p. 105.
73 *Ibid.,* pp. 129–130.
74 *Ibid.*, p. 129 (translation mine).

dence regarding the material aspect of the book gift to the Marquess of Dorset imply that the network did not consider this in the same way as in their dealing with the Palatine. In a sense, these two book gifts supplement each other by showing different aspects which almost certainly were involved in both cases, but about which, due to a lack of sources, we can only speculate. A greater number of "book gift operations" will have to be examined before a better picture of this cultural practice can emerge. In any case, it has been shown that giving books in the 16th century could be a complex activity requiring the efforts of several well-connected participants and that a perspective on gift-giving that focuses almost exclusively on the two main actors, overlooking aspects other than direct individual rewards, must be insufficient. At least in cases like these, it is the network as a whole that gives books and reaps the rewards, and the question of success or failure of a book gift should be amended by the question of the efficacy of the practice of book-giving itself.

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Agnieszka PATAŁA (University of Wrocław)

Officina Plantiniana and Breslau in the 16th Century: The Acquisition of Books

Abstract: This article discusses the real and hypothetical ways in which the Breslau Republic of Letters (represented by A. Dudith, T. Rehdiger, J. Monau and J. Crato von Crafftheim) acquired prints from the *Officina Plantiniana* in the second half of the 16th century. It also indicates the probable sources Breslau's elite relied on for information about publications to emerge from this particular publishing house. To this purpose, the correspondence between Plantin and the Silesian intellectuals is analysed, especially for clues about their probable personal acquaintance with the publisher. As the correspondence of the associates of Plantin's shop and his friends very often provided information about books to be published by the *Officina*, it is examined alongside their relationships with the Breslauers. New facts about the activity of Silesian booksellers and their presence at the so called Frankfurter Büchermessen are taken into consideration as well. Such a holistic approach comprehensively explains the analysed intellectual relationships and the presence of prints published in the *Officina Plantiniana* in the second half of the 16th century.

Keywords: University of Wrocław Library, *Officina Plantiniana*, C. Plantin, Breslau, Republic of Letters, A. Dudith, T. Rehdiger, J. Monau, J. Crato von Crafftheim.

Since 1945, the University of Wrocław Library has housed a remarkably rich collection of books, old prints and manuscripts, containing examples of almost all significant lay and ecclesiastical Silesian collections.[1] Both the quality and the quantity of this cluster reflect complexity and brilliance of the cultural, academic and everyday lives of the past inhabitants of Silesia. Almost every event that Silesia witnessed throughout its history, such as wars, floods, intellectual and religious movements, etc., had an impact on this assembly — not only on its content but also on its current state of preservation. Moreover, the collection reflects the owners' interests as well as the scope of their broad intellectual networks.

Among all these treasures, the prints published in Antwerp in the *Officina Plantiniana*, especially in the second half of the 16th century, i.e. during the life

[1] On the history of this assembly before World War Two, see E. Houszka, "Prehistoria wrocławskich muzeów," in *Muzea sztuki w dawnym Wrocławiu*, ed. P. Łukaszewicz (Wrocław: Muzeum Narodowe we Wrocławiu, 1998), pp. 11–24.

of its founder — Christoffel (Christophe) Plantin (ca. 1520–1589) — and shortly after his death, deserve particular attention. This is due to at least two facts. Firstly, the substantial number of preserved items (almost 400) indicates that books from "De Gulden Passer" were undoubtedly in demand in Silesia.[2] Secondly, it is by no means coincidental that at least some of them arrived in Silesia shortly after being published, as can be proven based on the owners' stamps in the books in question, the surviving portion of the 16th-century correspondence and business notes kept by Plantin as well as his successors.

These archival sources, preserved mostly in the Plantin-Moretus Museum in Antwerp and in the archives of Wrocław, make it possible to establish not only the routes which some of these books probably took on their way to the capital of Silesia, but also the circumstances of their acquisition, which are in some ways as intriguing as the content of the prints themselves. The history of these books, or at least of a part of this collection, coincides with the lives of four renowned Silesian intellectuals: Andreas Dudith (1533–1589), Thomas Rehdiger (1540–1576), Jacob Monau (1546–1603) and Johannes Crato von Crafftheim (1519–1585) as well as with the international operations of the most successful Antwerp publishing house and with those of its impressively large circle of partners. Tracing the relationships of the Breslau Republic of Letters with Plantin and his rich repertoire of friends, we may reach more general conclusions concerning the factual and hypothetical reasons for the presence of such a large number of Antwerp prints in Breslau.

In this essay, I will present the factual and, to some extent, hypothetical ways of acquiring prints from the *Officina* by the Breslau Republic of Letters in the second half of the 16th century. I will also indicate the probable sources of information about publications coming from this particular publishing house for Breslau's elite, some of which have never been discussed before. In order to accomplish that goal, I will analyse the correspondence between Plantin and the Silesian intellectuals, with a particular focus on their probable personal acquaintance with the publisher. Secondly, as the members of Plantin's workshop as well as his friends very often unconsciously provided indications of the nature of books yet to be published by the *Officina Plantiniana*, I will examine their correspondence and relationships with the Breslau Republic of Letters. Thirdly, I will address the inestimable role of professional agents who purchased the books in the name of their rich commissioners, such as Thomas Rehdiger, whose case will be investigated separately. Finally, in order to make greater sense of the enormous popularity of Plantin's prints in Breslau, I will examine new facts concerning the activity of Silesian book-

[2] The number of books published in the *Officina Plantiniana* in the second half of the 16th century owned by the University Library of Wrocław was established within the international project "Oude drukken uit de Lage Landen uit de post-incunabele periode (1500–1800) in de universiteitsbibliotheken van de landen van de Boheemse kroon" [Old Prints from the Low Countries from the Post-Incunable Period (1500–1800) in the University Libraries in the Lands of the Bohemian Crown] carried out in 2010–2012 by researchers from the universities in Olomouc, Prague and Wrocław.

sellers and their presence at the so called *Frankfurter Büchermessen*. Only such a holistic approach can provide a comprehensive explanation of the analysed intellectual relationships and the presence of prints published in the second half of the 16th century in the *Officina Plantiniana*.

Breslau in the 16th Century: Intellectual Life and Previous Contacts with Antwerp

Throughout the 16th century, Breslau underwent a great many pivotal changes in the fields of religion, education, politics and social life. It was a time when its inhabitants faced not only a peaceful introduction of Lutheranism, but also incorporation into the great Habsburg domain, changes in the educational system and an exceptional rise of power of the city-council.[3] The period is also regarded as fundamental in the history of the region in terms of economic growth. Importantly, this blossoming did not occur unexpectedly — it was rooted in the efforts of generations of merchants, councillors, clerics and craftsmen, who contributed to the city's success throughout the Middle Ages.[4] In order to understand all the circumstances of the circulation of books in the second half of the 16th century between the *Officina Plantiniana* and the Breslau Republic of Letters and the fact that it was not an arbitrary process, it is necessary briefly to characterise the most important factors that shaped the intellectual life of Breslau in those days. Also, it is worthwhile to refer to the region's prior communication with Antwerp to corroborate this hypothesis.

The 95 Theses coined by Martin Luther in 1517 were very quickly disseminated, reaching Breslau two weeks after publication.[5] The enormous popularity of Lutheranism in the capital of Silesia may be indicated by the fact that the first Protestant sermon was given there as early as in 1523, in the church of St. Mary Magdalene. Only one year later Ambrosius Moiban (1494–1554), the first Protestant pastor of the most important Breslau church — St. Elizabeth church — received his nomina-

[3] G. Bauch, "Biographische Beiträge zur Schulgeschichte des XVI. Jahrhunderts," *Mitteilungen der Gesselschaft fur Deutsche Erziehung- und Schulgesichte* 5 (1895); G. Meinert, *Das Auftreten der Renaissance in Schlesien*, Diss. (Breslau 1935), p. 10; S. Tync, "Z życia patrycjatu wrocławskiego w dobie renesansu," *Sobótka* 8 (1953), pp. 69–123; G. Wąs, "Dzieje Śląska od 1526 do 1806 roku," in *Historia Śląska*, ed. M. Czapliński *et al.* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2005), pp. 180–299.

[4] G. Bauch, *Geschichte der Breslauer Schulwesens vor der Reformation* (Breslau: Ferdinand Hirth, 1909); K. Lambrecht, "Breslau als Zentrum der gelehrter Kommunikation unter Bischof Johann V. Thurzo (1466–1520)," *Archiv für Schlesische Kirchengeschichte* 58 (2000), pp. 117–141; J. Gilewska-Dubis, "Środowisko wrocławskiej kapituły katedralnej w średniowieczu jako kolebka życia intelektualnego," in *Viae historicae. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana prof. Lechowi A. Tyszkiewiczowi w 70. rocznicę urodzin*, eds. M. Goliński and S. Rosik (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2001), pp. 274–279.

[5] J. Swastek, "Starania i próby założenia uczelni akademickiej na Śląsku na przestrzeni XVI i XVIII wieku," *Colloquium Salutis* VI (1974), p. 100.

tion from the city council.[6] Introduction of the Reformation in Silesia demarcates the beginning of what is known as *Späthumanismus* (Late Humanism) in the cultural history of Silesia, a period that lasted until 1618 and was characterised by interpenetration of humanistic ideas and Protestant ideology.[7] This resulted in the grammar schools of the city having their curricula modified and contributed to a great many achievements in German poetry, medicine, botany and zoology.[8]

The modification and operations of the educational system in the two leading former parish schools of St. Elizabeth and St. Mary Magdalene churches in Breslau were instrumental to the rise of Early Modern Breslau's intellectual elite. In 1527, the city council took control over the educational system and assumed responsibility for all innovations in this field.[9] Before long, the school of St. Elizabeth came to the fore as an institution of an almost academic character, and from 1562 on it was officially called *gymnasium academicum*, whereas the institution established by St. Mary Magdalene church played the role of a preparatory school for this *gymnasium.*[10] Soon afterwards, in 1570, the city council officially introduced the new school curriculum, according to which students had to study literature in Latin and Greek with an emphasis on poetry.[11] This was different from approaches applied by other European schools in the Early Modern period, where students were taught based on prose. Moreover, every schoolboy by the end of each semester had to write and declaim his own poem and speech.[12] The interiors of both these schools were filled up with portraits of famous ancient philosophers, kings and mythological characters as well as lines of the apophthegma in Latin and Greek. After graduating from the Breslau *gymnasium academicum*, which was one of the most renowned schools in this part of Europe, the sons of patricians were prepared to expand their knowledge at Protestant universities. One of the most important effects of this educational reform was the blossoming of poetry in 17th-century Breslau, when the phrase "I come from Silesia, therefore I am a poet" was coined.[13]

The Breslau city council paid strategic attention to the educational system and schools for good reason. Schools were then regarded as institutions shaping selfhood and personalities of the prospective citizens — cradles where the intellectual

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[6] P. Oszczanowski, *Kościół św. Marii Magdaleny* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Naukowo Techniczne, 2009), p. 13; A. Lubos, "Der Späthumanismus in Schlesien," *Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau* 2 (1957), p. 109.

[7] A. Lubos, *Der Späthumanismus…* (1957), *op. cit.*, p. 108.

[8] M.P. Fleischer, *Späthumanismus in Schlesien* (Bad Windsheim: Delp, 1984), p. 246.

[9] G. Bauch, *Geschichte des Breslauer Schulwesens in der Zeit der Reformation* (Breslau: F. Hirt, 1911), p. 56.

[10] S. Tync, "Z życia patrycjatu…" (1953), *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[11] D.G. Halsted, *Poetry and Politics in the Silesian Baroque: Neo-Stoicism in the Work of Christophorus Colerus* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), p. 38.

[12] S. Tync, "Z życia patrycjatu…" (1953), *op. cit.*, p. 88.

[13] M.P. Fleischer, *Späthumanismus…* (1984), *op. cit.*, p. 10.

and political elite of Breslau developed and whence it spread.[14] The period saw the rise of new generations of scholars, civil servants, physicians, lawyers, teachers and pastors, supervised by the old members of the Breslau *Respublica Literaria*, who graced the students with their presence at numerous school ceremonies, such as lectures or exams. Breslau teachers and councillors put into practice almost all principles of Justus Lipsius's (1547–1606) Neo-Stoic theory, which recommended referring to old historic exempla to be found in ancient history and philosophy.[15] At the same time, the members of the Breslau *fine fleur* had to serve in everyday life as real examples of good governors and intellectuals. For this reason, their presence in schools was highly recommended.

Andreas Dudith, Thomas Rehdiger, Jacob Monau and Johannes Crato von Crafftheim, the members of the Breslau Republic of Letters who maintained contact with the milieu of the *Officina Plantiniana*, also graduated from the *gymnasium academicum* by St. Elizabeth church.[16] Despite many essential differences in personality traits, career paths, lifestyles and even social backgrounds, they all became renowned as highly educated residents of Breslau and students of European universities who exchanged a lively correspondence and kept personal contacts with the intellectual elite of 16th-century Europe. The biographies of these four men embody the achievement of the reformed Breslau educational system, which prepared them for successful international careers.

When presenting the cultural and intellectual life of the Early Modern Protestant Breslau, one should not forget about three very important libraries affiliated with the churches of St. Elizabeth, St. Mary Magdalene and St. Bernardino of Siena since the Middle Ages.[17] Their collections were comprised of books not only acquired for the use of the clergy but also, in most cases, inherited as a bequest from wealthy intellectuals, pastors and collectors who decided to make their goods available to nearly the entire community.[18] The library of St. Mary Magdalene became accessible to the public in 1644, with the library of St. Elizabeth following only 17 years later.[19] As such, books stored there served not only pastors or students but also almost all people who were able to read them. In the period, the collections of these three libraries contained prints from the *Officina Plantiniana*;

[14] A. Patała, "Siedmiu mędrców z przegrody lektorium dawnej biblioteki przy kościele św. Marii Magdaleny we Wrocławiu," in *Między Wrocławiem a Lwowem. Sztuka na Śląsku, w Małopolsce i na Rusi Koronnej w czasach nowożytnych*, eds. A. Betlej and P. Oszczanowski (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2011), p. 234.

[15] D.G. Halsted, *Poetry and Politics…* (1996), *op. cit*.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 47, according to the archival source from 1699.

[17] E. Houszka, "Prehistoria…" (1998), *op. cit.*, pp. 11–24.

[18] K. Dola, "Środowisko intelektualne i kulturalne na Ostrowie Tumskim we Wrocławiu w dobie humanizmu," *Studia Teologiczno-Historyczne Śląska Opolskiego* 10 (1983), p. 172.

[19] A. Patała, "Siedmiu mędrców…" (2011), *op. cit.*, p. 229.

however, these were undoubtedly not the only places in Breslau where books of Antwerpian origin were being stored.[20]

Finally, it must be mentioned that as a prelude to the intellectual and cultural relationships between Breslau and Antwerp, robust trade connections were established between the two towns. Silesian merchants became active in Antwerp in the second half of the 15th century.[21] Initially, they travelled there to buy wool, linen and dyes, which were later put up for sale in their hometown. Gradually, Breslau merchants started to settle in Antwerp for longer periods, and some of them even decided to buy property there. The most active were those representing the families of Popplau, Banck, Hornick and Rehdiger, though the number of Breslauers must have grown rapidly so that in 1488 they were allowed to establish their own guild — the so-called St. Erasmus guild, which had its own altarpiece in St. Mary Church in Antwerp. This association existed until the very beginning of the second half of the 16th century, when the declining Antwerp trade and the growing role of the transport companies induced merchants from Breslau to return to their home city. The connection between Antwerp and Breslau was never suspended; however, the second half of the 16th century saw intellectuals, instead of merchants, wielding the paintbrush.

Correspondence between Christoffel Plantin and Silesian Intellectuals

Throughout his professional life, Christoffel Plantin maintained prolific correspondence with his clients all over the world.[22] Today these letters are mostly preserved in Antwerp and have been reprinted chronologically in nine extensive volumes.[23] Among thousands of epistles sent mainly for business reasons, four pieces addressed to three intellectuals connected with Silesia, namely Andreas Dudith, Tomas Rehdiger and Jacob Monau, are only a drop in the sea of Plantin's commercial correspondence; however, from a Silesian perspective, the terse content of these letters reveals very interesting details concerning the Silesian intellectual network as well as their interest in Plantin's publishing activity. It should be borne in mind that, in all probability, Plantin's correspondence with the Silesian

[20] J. Jungnitz, "Geschichte der Dombibliothek in Breslau," in *Silesiaca. Festschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Altertum Schlesien s zum 70. Geburtstage seines Präses Colmar Grünhagen* (Breslau: E. Morgenstern Verl.-Buchh., 1898), p. 188.

[21] A.K.L. Thijs, *Een 'gilde' van Breslause kooplieden te Antwerpen (einde van de 15de — eerste helft van de 16de eeuw)* (Studia Historica Gandensia 197) (Gent: RUG, 1975). This is a very comprehensive and, at the same time, sole study on this subject.

[22] L. Voet, *The Golden Compasses: A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerpen in Two Volumes* (Amsterdam: Van Gendt, 1969–1972). This is still the most important publication concerning Plantin and his enterprise.

[23] *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, 9 Vols., eds. Max Rooses and Jean Denuce (Antwerp/The Hague, 1882–1918).

intellectuals was far more expansive than the letters analysed below would suggest on their own.

Two preserved epistles[24] written in 1569 by Plantin are addressed to Andreas Dudith — a Catholic intellectual of Hungarian extraction, who was a diplomat in the service of the Habsburg rulers, a contributor of The Council of Trent and, finally, a bishop who would go on to lose his position after marrying a Polish aristocrat.[25] He spent two very important periods of his life in Breslau: as a young boy, when he attended the *gymnasium academicum*, where he met one of the most renowned Silesian intellectuals Johannes Crato von Crafftheim (the court physician to three Holy Roman emperors[26]), and in the last years of his life, when he became an important representative of the Breslau Republic of Letters. Despite the fact that his impressive assembly of books, which included 4000 volumes, was stored in Breslau only for the first 20 years following his death and afterwards sold by his heirs to two German collectors, Dudith is a very important figure when discussing the circulation of books printed in the *Officina Plantiniana* in Silesia and a highly relevant factor to a large body of related information.[27] It may serve as a testament to the importance of Dudith in the intellectual life of Breslau that following his death in 1589 another Breslau scholar, Jacob Monau, wrote to Justus Lipsius: "Respublica viro praestantissimo caret. Literae summum decus amiserunt."[28]

In the first letter to Dudith, dated 3 April 1569, when the Hungarian bishop was still living in Cracow, Plantin made his acquaintance and asked him for two manuscripts: a commentary on the Song of Songs by Gregory of Nazianzus and a commentary on the Gospel.[29] He explained his request by saying that those manuscripts were necessary for completing a publication which was going to be

[24] *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, ed. M. Rooses, Vol. II, Antwerpen 1968, pp. 46–47; *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, ed. M. Rooses, Vol. III, Antwerpen 1968, pp. 56–57.

[25] The first biographies of Dudith came into being in the 17th and the 18th centuries: Quirinus Reuter Conrad*, Andreae Dudithii de Horehowiza quondam episcopi Quinque-ecclesiensis… orations* (Neben, 1610); K.B. Stieff, *Versuch einer ausfürlichen und zuverlässigen Geschichte von Leben und Glaubens -Meynungen Andreas Dudiths* (Breslau, 1756). The most important recent publications concerning his life are P. Costil, *André Dudith. Humaniste Hongrois. 1533–1589. Sa vie, son oeuvre et ses manuscrits grecs* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1935); K. Juhás, "Andreas Dudith. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Humanismus und der Gegenreformation," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 55 (1935), pp. 55– 74; D. Caccamo, "Una societ di umanisti intorno al diplomatico imperiale Andrea Dudith-Sbardellati," in *idem*, *Eretici italiani in Moravia, Polonia, Transilvania (1558–1611). Studi e documenti* (Florence: G.C. Sansoni, 1970), pp. 109–151; G. Almasi, *The Uses of Humanism: Johannes Sambucus (1531–1584), Andreas Dudith (1533–1589), and the Republic of Letters in East Central Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

[26] J.F.A. Gillet, *Crato von Crafftheim und seine Freunde. Ein Beitrag zur Kirchengeschichte. Nach handschriftlichen Quellen* (Frankfurt am Main: Brönner, 1860), Vol. 1–2.

[27] J. Jankovics and I. Monok, *Dudith Andras könyvtara. Andras Dudith's Library: A Partial Reconstruction* (Szeged: Scriptum, 1993), p. 10.

[28] Jacob Monau wrote that on 12 March 1589 "The Republic lost an excellent man. The science lost its real ornament," in J. Lipsius, *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae,* Vol. 3, 1588–1590, eds. S. Sue and H. Peeters (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor wetenschappen, 1987), p. 162.

[29] *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin…* (1968), *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 46–47.

essential for the whole of Christianity. Plantin also explained why he had decided to write specifically to Dudith — it was their mutual friend, the bookseller Petrus Antesignanus (?–1574), who informed the Antwerp publisher of Dudith's collection. The content of Dudith's reply remains unknown, but according to the following letter from Plantin, written on 23 July that same year, the publisher received the requested manuscripts from Antesignanus at the *Frankfurter Büchermesse*.[30] He also expressed gratitude for Dudith's trust and good will. Furthermore, Plantin provided an explanation regarding the exact purpose of his request — he was working on the so-called Polyglot Bible, which he actually finished many years later. Besides, Plantin mentioned another Hungarian humanist and, at the same time, Dudith's friend — Johannes Sambucus (1531–1584) — and another intellectual and the *Officina*'s employee, Gerhard Falkenburg (1538–1578). Finally, he was hoping to meet and talk to Dudith in Frankfurt. As regards these two letters, we can assume that Dudith was familiar with the operations of the *Officina Plantiniana* before Plantin's letter. Otherwise, he would probably not have been so eager to lend his books. Further, the Hungarian bishop probably travelled to Frankfurt during the book fairs, and it cannot be ruled out that he finally met Plantin in person. Dudith's collection contained many prints published in the *Officina Plantiniana*, and other members of the Breslau Republic of Letters probably had access to them when he moved to Breslau again before his death. The fame of Christoffel Plantin could reach Breslau and entrench itself also owing to Dudith and his contacts with the *Officina.*

The second Breslauer with whom Plantin also maintained correspondence was Thomas Rehdiger.[31] This rich Silesian intellectual, though admittedly for some a *bon vivant* only, was born and received early education in Breslau, of course in the *gymnasium academicum*. Subsequently, he left to Germany, where he became closely acquainted with Philipp Melanchton (1497–1560) and continued his studies at numerous universities in Italy and France, accompanied by his mentor Carolus Clusius (1526–1609), a famous French botanist from Arras, who served at the court of Maximilian II.[32] According to the correspondence with Johannes Crato

[30] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, 1968, pp. 56–57.

[31] The most important literature on the life and collection of Thomas Rehdiger includes A. Wachler, *Thomas Rehdiger und seine Buchersammlung in Breslau* (Breslau: Grüson, 1828); J. Baecker, *Thomas Rehdiger. Der Mann und sein Werk. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des geistigen Lebens im 16. Jahrhundert* (Breslau, 1921); K.A. Siegel, "Crato von Krafftheim, Simon Schard und Thomas Rehdiger: Ein Beitrag zur Gelehrtengeschichte des 16 Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Schlesiens* 64 (1930), pp. 75–88; C. Gündel, *Thomas Rhediger. Ein Jahrhundert grosser Breslauer Gelehrten, Sammler und Förderer der Kunst* (Breslau, 1941); H.-J. von Witzendorff-Rehdiger, "Die Rehdiger in Breslau," *Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau* 2 (1957), pp. 93–106; *idem*, "Herkunft und Verbleib Breslauer Ratsfamilien im Mittelalter. Eine genealogische Studie," *Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau* (1958), pp. 111–135; Anita Frank. Diss. 1998 (unpublished).

[32] F.W.T. Hunger, *Charles de l'Escluse (Carolus Clusius), Nederlandsch kruidkundige*, Vol. 2 (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1927/1943), p. 54.

von Crafftheim and his other friends, Thomas Rehdiger spent at least some time in Antwerp, where the Rehdiger firm, set up by his father Nicolas I, had its office.[33] Thomas's education, travels and personal library were financed from the firm's profits, so naturally he was a regular supervisory presence in Antwerp, though he settled down in Keulen. There are two reasons why Thomas Rehdiger is important in the context of the Antwerp-Breslau relationships. Firstly, he was the only Silesian intellectual who, beyond any doubt, met Christoffel Plantin in person. Secondly, his collection of 300 manuscripts and 5,000 books, including those printed in the *Officina*, became the main foundation of the library by St. Elizabeth church in Breslau, named *Rehdigeriana* after its founder.[34]

There is only one letter, written on 9 November 1573 by Plantin, which attests to his acquaintance with Rehdiger.[35] The publisher expresses his gratitude for the gift which he received from the Breslau intellectual. This was probably an acknowledgement of a book concerning "l'histoire du Roy Louis," which Rehdiger had wished to own and which he obtained from Falckenburg or Plantin himself. In the subsequent part of the letter Plantin, in many long sentences, assures Rehdiger of their great friendship and mutual respect. This letter differs somewhat from the rest of the correspondence analysed here. First of all, it is written in French, Plantin's mother tongue, and not in Latin, which could mean that their relationship was probably less formal as the communication was conducted in Plantin's vernacular. However, one cannot forget that French was also the language of commerce in the 16th century. What is more, this letter is actually part of a longer correspondence, so we may presume that a number of letters have been lost and some may yet be unearthed, and shed light on this probably very close relationship.

Rehdiger's collection contained a great many books published in "De Gulden Passer" during the lifetime of its founder.[36] It is more than possible that the personal connection with Plantin was one of the most decisive reasons why Rehdiger owned so many volumes printed in the *Officina Plantiniana*. There is no doubting that Thomas Rehdiger did not assemble his collection single-handedly. He deliberately hired Jean Neodicus as his purchasing agent who took care of acquiring the latest and best publications, while Rehdiger himself could concentrate on social life.[37] According to the preserved correspondence, Neodicus spent a lot of time in Antwerp, so he had easy access to the publishing house and the books printed there.[38] When analysing the book collection of Thomas Rehdiger, one must bear in mind that many people contributed to his success.

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[33] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

[34] J. Baecker, *Thomas Rehdiger…* (1921), *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[35] *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin…* (1968), *op. cit.,* Vol. IV, pp. 27–28.

[36] A.Wachler, *Thomas Rehdiger…* (1828), *op. cit.*

[37] J. Baecker, *Thomas Rehdiger…* (1921), *op. cit.*, p. 63. Baecker cites a letter from Neodicus to Rehdiger written in Antwerp in 1569.

[38] *Ibid.*

The third and last representative of the Breslau Republic of Letters who maintained epistolary contact with Plantin was Jacob Monau.[39] Very little is known about him, probably because he lived in the shadow of his brother, Peter Monau — the imperial physician and the author of the first doctoral dissertation in stomatology.[40] After graduating from Breslau's *gymnasium academicum*, Jacob Monau studied in Wittenberg, Frankfurt, Tubingen, Jena and Padua. He was a Protestant lawyer, a linguist and a poet whose acuity and intellectual connections impressed his contemporaries.

The content of a letter written by Plantin to Monau on 7 January 1581 differs from that of the letters discussed above, especially in terms of its positive and friendly tone, without any businesslike formality.[41] In the letter, Plantin repeatedly emphasised his friendship and respect towards Monau. The publisher expressed his thanks for the latest letter from Monau and subsequently mentioned their mutual friends, the Flemish cartographer Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598) and the Spanish humanist Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598). He was hoping that Monau was familiar with Montano's latest publication comprising commentaries on the Gospel. Finally, Plantin informed Monau about his publishing plans for the future and passed on regards from two employees of the *Officina*. The content of this letter suggests that Monau was probably much more familiar or even involved with the world of "De Gulden Passer" than other Silesian intellectuals. Moreover, the fact that Plantin was referring to Montano's book printed in his own publishing house implies that Monau owned at least some books with the "Labore et Constantia" mark. Unfortunately, today we are unable to indicate any book that undoubtedly belonged to him.

The four letters presented here are only fragments of, in all likelihood, a broader communication between Plantin and the three Silesian intellectuals. However, the messages, short though they are, clearly imply the character of the correspondence: very formal with Dudith and friendlier with Rehdiger and Monau. The Silesian intellectuals not only maintained epistolic contact with the publisher but also probably met him in person, either in Antwerp or at the so-called *Frankfurter Büchermessen*. A small group of books printed in the *Officina Plantiniana* and preserved in Breslau indicate that the members of the Breslau Republic of Letters participated in the international intellectual network, which resulted in the exchange of information concerning books and of the books themselves.[42] Furthermore, as the correspondence is preserved in fragments only, it cannot be ruled out that other residents of Breslau also maintained epistolic contact with Plantin. Unfortu-

[39] A. Schimmelpfennig, "Monau, Jakob," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Vol. 22 (Leipzig: Verlag Duncker & Humblot, 1885), pp. 162–163.

[40] B. Bruziewicz-Mikłaszewska, "Peter Monavius (1551–1588) — physician from Wrocław and his doctor's degree thesis (1578) *De dentium affectibus* — the oldest work about stomatology topics in Europe," *Advances in Clinical and Experimental Medicine* 12/6 (2003).

[41] *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin…* (1968), *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 216–217.

[42] According to the findings of the latest project, this is a group of 20 books.

nately, most of the 400 books in question are silent about their first owners, so we are unable to estimate the scale of this phenomenon.

Plantin's Other Acquaintances and the Breslau Republic of Letters

The great success and popularity of the prints originating from the *Officina Plantinina* is due not only to its charismatic owner but also to his numerous friends and clients. "De Gulden Passer" was not only an exclusive publishing house, but also a meeting place for many renowned scholars and intellectuals in the 16th-century Europe. Some of them, such as philologist and humanist Justus Lipsius, even had his own room there.[43] During the lifetime of Christoffel Plantin the circle gathered around "De Gulden Passer" was also responsible for popularising the fruits of the *Officina Plantiniana*. With reference to Silesia and the promotion of Plantin's prints here, three cases merit consideration; namely, those of Justus Lipsius, Carolus Clusius, and Abraham Ortelius.

Justus Lipsius, a famous representative of the intellectual movement of Neo-Stoicism, a scholar who lectured at the universities in Jena, Leiden and Leuven, as well as the author of *De Constantia* (among many other books), became one of the most influential scholars in the circle of the *Officina Plantiniana.*[44] Christoffel Plantin and his successor eagerly printed his works as they were sought-after all over Europe. Lipsius's reputation spread far beyond the borders of the Low Countries, reaching also Silesia. Many European intellectuals were seeking contact with him, and some of them, including Thomas Rehdiger, supported him financially. In a letter written by Gerhard Falkenburg to Rehdiger in 1575, Plantin's friend informs the Silesian intellectual that he handed over Rehdiger's remuneration to Lipsius.[45] The famous intellectual expressed his gratitude to Thomas Rehdiger in a dedication opening his book *Antiquarum Lectionum*. Another member of the Breslau Republic of Letters, Jacob Monau, maintained a very animated correspondence with Lipsius for a very long time. This exchange of letters was so fascinating that in 1592 they were bound under the title *Justi Lipsi ad Jac. Monavium epistola*, published by the *Officina Plantiniana*.[46] One copy of this print belongs to the collection of the University of Wrocław Library.

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[43] E. Breuls, "De Büchermessen van Frankfurt en de internationale verspreiding van Lipsius' werken door de Moretussen," *De Gulden Passer* 84 (2006), p. 282.

[44] *Ibid*.

[45] D.G. Halsted, *Poetry and Politics…*(1996), *op. cit.*, p. 43. The dedication for Thomas Rehdiger can be found in *Iusti Lipsi Antiquarum Lectionum commentarius. Tribus in libros,* Leiden Plantin 1575. There was only one edition of this book. Later, it was added to *Iusti Lipsi Opera Omnia quae ad Criticam proprie spectant* Leiden, Plantin 1585. Copies of both works belong to the collection of the University of Wrocław Library.

[46] J. Lipsius, *Justi Lipsi ad Jac. Monavium epistola*, Antverpiae 1592, The University Library of Wrocław, sign. 395434.

Relationships between the members of the Breslau Republic of Letters, especially Thomas Rehdiger and Johannes Crato von Crafftheim, with the famous Flemish pioneering botanist Carolus Clusius were not only very vivid but also fruitful in information concerning new books published by the *Officina Plantiniana*. As already mentioned, Carolus Clusius was a teacher and mentor of young Thomas Rehdiger, with whom he travelled around most of Europe. Symptomatically, it was Johannes Crato von Crafftheim who recommended Clusius to Rehdiger. Carolus Clusius in his numerous letters put Rehdiger in the know mainly about his own books printed by Plantin. It happened for instance on 18 September 1565, when Clusius wrote to his pupil in Antwerp about publication of his *Epistolae Clenardi* (two copies of the book are still accessible in the University Library of Wrocław) and about the problems he had coped with while preparing it for print.[47] A letter written by Clusius to Rehdiger was used as a *praefatio* to the book's second part. In an epistle of 16 December this same year, Clusius informed that the book would be available at the following fair in Frankfurt.[48] Christoffel Plantin printed at least one more of Clusius's books containing a dedication to Rehdiger, namely *De simplicibus medicamentis ex occidental India delatis.*[49] Another Silesian recipient of Clusius's letters was Johannes Crato von Crafftheim; however, this correspondence contained mostly Clusius's grousing and complaints about mistakes, flaws and inaccuracies in his books printed at Plantin's workshop.[50] The Flemish botanist was very often dissatisfied with the quality of the *Officina's* work.

The last renowned intellectual, crucial in this context, who served as an "intermediary" between the *Officina* and Breslau, was Abraham Ortelius, a cartographer and geographer, the author of *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* — the first modern atlas, printed also in "De Gulden Passer."[51] The exchange of letters between Ortelius and the imperial medic Johannes Crato von Craffteim lasted at least eleven years.[52] From its content one can deduce that as Crato was familiar with the activity of the *Officina* so were Plantin and his closest friends aware of him. In every letter, the Flemish

[47] N. Clénard, *Nic. Clenardi Epistolarum Libri Duo*, Antverpiae 1566, The University Library of Wrocław, sign. 374 343 (originating from the library at St. Mary Magdalene church) and 317269 (originating from "Rhedigersch. StadtBibliothek zu Breslau"). The letter in *Supplement a la Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, ed. M. van Durtme (Anvers: De Nederlansche Boekhandel, 1955), p. 20.

[48] *Ibid*., p. 21.

[49] J. Baecker, *Thomas Rehdiger…* (1921), *op. cit.*, p. 95. Baecker actually saw *De simplicibus medica mentis* when it belonged to another Breslau library. Unfortunately, the book was lost during World War Two.

[50] *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin…* (1968), *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 36 (letter of 15 April 1567); p. 219 (letter of 26 March 1584).

[51] B. van 't Hoff, "Abraham Ortelius, oudheidkundige en geograaf, 1527–1598," *Hermeneus* 34 (1962), pp. 97–103.

[52] *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin…* (1968), *op. cit.*, pp. 142–143; 150–151; 155–156; 158; 186; 205.

cartographer mentions the most recent work carried out at "De Gulden Passer," such as the publication of *Dionysi Alexandrini de Situ orbis liber, Interprete Andrae Papio Gandensi* in a letter of 2 December 1574 (the book is still in Wrocław).[53] In Ortelius's letters, Plantin's name emerges many times, especially with reference to the publisher's travels,[54] illnesses[55] and business problems.[56] More often than not, letters from Ortelius contain greetings from Plantin to Crato and references to the previous letters in which Crato asked to pass his messages to Plantin. What is more, in an epistle written on 21 December 1574, Ortelius informs Crato that the book he wanted will not be available in Frankfurt.[57] In all probability, it means that Crato used to commission books directly in the *Officina*, later collecting them at the *Frankfurter Büchermessen*. How deeply "humanistic" their friendship was can be inferred from the fact that they also exchanged gifts. Crato sent his portrait ("effigies") to Ortelius,[58] and the cartographer, in a similar spirit, provided his friend with gravures executed by Galle.[59] Johannes Crato von Crafftheim tended to sign his books with a pen writing "Jo Crato" or "Crato," and this can still be found in four books published in the *Officina Plantiniana* and preserved in the University Library of Wrocław.[60]

Jacobus Monau also belonged to the big circle of Ortelius's friends. Together with the German humanist Wacker von Wackenfelsen, Monau encouraged Ortelius to design the map of *Utopia*.[61] The Flemish cartographer demonstrated his friendship towards Monau at least twice. Firstly, the map of Germany printed in Antwerp in 1587 contains a dedication to Monau "viro et erudition et humanitate ornatissimo."[62] Secondly, Ortelius sent Monau a book together with his portrait.[63] Moreover, *De Miseriis et fragilitate humanae vitae libellus*, printed in the *Officina Plantiniana* in 1566 and containing a handwritten dedication from Ortelius to

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[53] Dionisius, *Dionysi Alexandrini de Situ orbis liber, Interprete Andrea Papio Gandens*, Antverpiae (*Officina Plantiniana*) 1575, The University Library of Wrocław, sign. 317897.

[54] *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin…* (1968), *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 155 (letter of 24 June 1576).

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 205 (letter of 25 July 1583).

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 143 (letter of 21 December 1574), p. 186 (letter of 10 May 1581).

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 142.

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 150 (letter of 5 February 1576).

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 143 (letter of 21 December 1574), p. 186 (letter of 10 May 1581).

[60] *Pomponii Melae de situ orbis libri tres*, Antverpiae (*Officina Plantiniana*) 1582, sign. 539284; P. Mela, A. Schott, *Geographica et historica Herodotim quae Latine Mela exscripsit […]*, Antverpiae (*Officina Plantiniana*) 1582, sign. 539285; P. Van Dieven, *Petri Divai Lovaniensis De Galliae belgica antiqvitatibvs liber I*, Antverpiae (*Officina Plantinana*) 1584, sign. 38359; A. Ortelius, J. Vivianus, *Itinerarium per nonnullas Galliae Belgica e partes, Abrahami Ortelli et Joannis Viviani*, Antverpiae (*Officina Plantiniana*) 1584, sign. 383592.

[61] A. Schimmelpfennig, "Monau…" (1885), *op. cit.*, p. 162.

[62] *Germaniae veteris typus / ex conatibus geographicis Abrah. Ortelij*, Antwerpen 1587: "Dn. Iacobo Monavio Silesio patricio Vratislaviensi, viro et eruditione et humanitate ornatissimo, Abrahamus Ortelius hoc mutuae amicitiae monumentum libens donabat dedicabatque."

[63] *Abrahami Ortelii (geographi Antverpiensis) et virorum eruditorum ad eundem… epistulae*, ed. Jan Hendrik Hessels (Cantabrigiae: Typic Academiae, 1887), pp. 192, 212.

Monau, can be found among the collection of the University Library of Wrocław.[64] This print was either a gift from Ortelius, following the portrait mentioned above, or possibly another gift not mentioned in the archives.

Undoubtedly, the Antwerpian and international intellectual network of Silesian humanists was not confined to these three people. The web was in fact impressively expansive, and to investigate it fully may take many years. Nevertheless, the correspondence and relations with Lipsius, Clusius and Ortelius illustrate the mechanisms of exchanging both books and information concerning them. These three examples also demonstrate that it was not necessarily the publisher who contributed the most to the advertising and circulation of his books.

Booksellers in Breslau and Their Contacts with the *Officina Plantiniana*

In the 16th century, most Breslau intellectuals could not afford to hire private agents responsible for buying books on their behalf. Moreover, travelling to Leipzig or Frankfurt to visit the book fairs was not only time consuming but also quite expensive. Fortunately, numerous booksellers active in Breslau from the second half of the 15th century on were able to meet the expectations of a great many local clients, supplying them with almost all the books they needed, including those printed in the *Officina Plantiniana*.[65] According to the records, in the second half of the 16th century there were at least four booksellers in Breslau who maintained contact with Plantin's publishing house, and one of them, Petrus Antesignanus, knew the publisher in person. At the end of the 15th century in Breslau, printed books were available at three market places: at today's Kurzy Targ Street (former Hühnermarkt), today's Wita Stwosza Street (former Albrechtstraße), and by St. Elizabeth church.[66] Most of the booksellers who ran their businesses here travelled from town to town during the fairs, selling books printed in Nuremberg, Strasbourg, Cracow, Frankfurt and Leipzig. The earliest reference to a bookseller who officially settled down in the capital of Silesia in 1488 concerns Johannes Krichberg, but the number of *mercatores* (the official name of the booksellers united in the merchants' guild) started to grow rapidly soon afterwards.[67] In the second half of the 16th century, at least 30 members of this profession operated on a regular basis in Breslau. The number mirrors the extent of the local demand for printed books.

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[64] Melchior Barlaeus, *De Miseriis et fragilitate hu manae vitae libellus*, Antverpiae 1566, The University Library of Wrocław, sign. 317270.

[65] M. Burbianka, *Zarys dziejów handlu księgarskiego we Wrocławiu do połowy XVII wieku* (Wrocław: Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, 1950).

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

At the *Frankfurter Büchermessen*, Christoffel Plantin and later his successor Balthasar Moretus scrupulously took notes registering all their clients and books sold during this most important book fair in 16th-century Europe. Today, all their records, named *Grand Livre de Francfort*, *Cahiers de Francfort* and *Carnets de Francfort*, are preserved in The Plantin-Moretus Museum.[68] For us, the most interesting items are included in *Cahiers* listing the names of three Breslau clients of the *Officina Plantiniana*: Georg Baumann (a client in 1593–1596), Johannes Scharfenberg (1589) and Andreas Wolcke (1589–1596).[69] Moreover, in the years 1566–1599, Plantin and, after his death, Balthasar Moretus sold 11 books to unnamed clients from Breslau.[70] This means that in Plantin's lifetime at least some of his books reached the capital of Silesia thanks to the activity of Breslau booksellers.

In the already discussed letter from Plantin to Dudith, the publisher mentioned another bookseller, Petrus Antesignanus, whom he not only knew in person but also regarded as his good friend.[71] That merchant also contributed to the popularisation of Plantin's prints in Breslau as it will be proven below. For many years, the identity of Petrus Antesignanus was a rather confused issue because scholars tended to combine information concerning his life with the facts related to the biography of his elder brother, Petrus Antesignanus Rapistagniensis (1525–1561).[72] It was only in the mid-20th century that the Polish scholar Marta Burbianka discerned and separated the life stories of the two brothers.[73] The elder brother was born in France and, as a Protestant linguist and musician, he had to escape to Geneva to avoid confessional persecution. He published books devoted to Greek grammar and Terence in Lisbon. After his death, his younger brother Petrus Davantesius Antesignanus, about whom Plantin wrote, inherited his book collection and became a bookseller. He also had to flee from France but found shelter in the cities of Eastern Europe. First, he settled down in Cracow in 1568, where, in all likelihood, he became acquainted with Andreas Dudith. Presumably, it was Dudith who encouraged Antesignanus to move to Breslau, where the bookseller was officially granted citizenship in 1572.[74] Obtaining citizenship was man-

[68] Franc.-flamand, n°s 849 961. Carnets de Francfort (bilans) 1571–1644; Franc., n° 43I. Grand livre de Francfort 1566–1596; Franc.-flamand, n°s 962 1052. Cahiers de Francfort 1579–1647.

[69] R. Lauwaert, "De handelsbedrijvigheid van de Officina Plantiniana op de Büchermessen te Frankfurt am Main in de XVIde eeuw," *De Gulden Passer* 50 (1972), p. 140. For the conflict between Baumann and other booksellers in Breslau at the end of the 16th century, see M. Burbianka, *Zarys…* (1950), *op. cit.*, pp. 47–49.

[70] R. Lauwaert, *De handelsbedrijvigheid…* (1972), *op. cit.*, p. 140.

[71] *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin…* (1968), *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 46–47.

[72] P. Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, Vol. I (Amsterdam: P. Brunel, 1730), p. 243; C.G. Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten — Lexicon*, Vol. I (Leipzig: Gleditsch, 1750), p. 243; R. Eitner, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen — Lexicon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten…* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Haertel, 1900), p. 152.

[73] M. Burbianka, *Zarys…* (1950), *op. cit.*, pp. 45–46.

[74] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

datory for getting permission to sell books in the city, so Antesignanus probably intended to or indeed did set up his own firm in Breslau. The second, and at the same time the last, mention concerning this bookseller appeared in 1581, when a clerk recorded that Antesignanus, from France, the citizen of Breslau, had died seven years earlier in Frankfurt. The information implies that Antesignanus might have plied his trade in the capital of Silesia for about two or three years. Being Plantin's good friend and at the same time a bookseller esteemed in Europe, who regularly attended the *Frankfurter Buchmessen*, he could become one of the links in the chain connecting the *Officina Plantiniana* and Breslau, providing local intellectuals with the newest prints from Antwerp. Despite numerous archival sources confirming contacts between Plantin and the booksellers of Breslau, it can be only hypothetically assumed that this particular group of merchants was responsible for the acquisition of some of the books which belong now to the collection of the University Library of Wrocław. Nevertheless, their role cannot be underestimated as they were pivotal (although usually anonymous) middlemen between the publisher and the clients from all over Europe, in this particular case from Silesia.

Conclusion

Focusing on the collection of Plantin's prints from the second half of the 16th century preserved in Breslau, this article has presented four hypothetical channels by which books could be acquired and prints circulated. The almost 400 prints originating from the *Officina Plantiniana* to be found in Breslau today made their way to Silesia probably through the collectors' personal acquaintance with Plantin and his friends as well as through the activity of the private purchasing agents and independent booksellers. At the same time, the collection was reduced by many cataclysms and enriched by presumably numerous accidental acquisitions. Of course, it is possible that only a tiny part of the assembly from the University Library of Wrocław is a legacy of the activity of Dudith, Rehdiger, Monau and Crato. Nonetheless, their activity testifies to the expanding intellectual and cultural horizons of the members of the Breslau Republic of Letters.

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Vojtěch ŠÍCHA (Academy of Sciences Library of the Czech Republic)

16th-Century Bohemian Old Prints in the Tschammer Library in Cieszyn

Abstract: The paper aims to present recent results of the ongoing research on Bohemian old prints from the Tschammer Library belonging to the Evangelical Church. The original goal of the research was to complete the bibliographic data on foreign-language Bohemian old prints and make them available to the national Bibliography of Bohemian Prints in Foreign Languages 1501–1800. The research was later extended to encompass the excerption of Bohemian prints in Czech to complete the register of all Bohemian old prints held by the Tschammer Library. The author focuses on ownership book provenances of the 16th-century Bohemian prints inscribed in the books by their previous owners and readers. Although primary research is still in progress, the data presented in the article suffice to suggest that a very lively cultural exchange was taking place in the Bohemian-Silesian, and thus also in the Cieszyn Evangelical community of the time.

Keywords: Tschammer Library, Cieszyn, Cieszyn Silesia, Evangelical Church, church libraries, old prints, Bohemian prints, Early Modern period.

Almost every library of some significance in countries neighbouring the Czech Republic has numerous Bohemian old prints in its holdings. It is a natural reflection of cultural contacts engaged in over the centuries. In many cases, they are individual handwritten or printed copies; some library collections, however, have even significant sizeable sets of them. Most of them were reviewed by Czech bibliographers already in the 19th and 20th centuries. Also, they have gradually become objects of research for historians, bibliologists and other scholars. One of such libraries is Biblioteka im. Tschammera — the Tschammer Library — in Cieszyn, whose collection of historical books, though not particularly large, offers not only abundant source of materials to those interested in the Protestant Reformation in the Cieszyn region in the 16th–18th centuries but also material for research into the history of book printing and book culture, historical librarianship and book trade, and mutual cultural influences between neighbouring nations.

There are two Czech scholars whose contribution to the study of Bohemian old prints from the historical fund of the Tschammer Library has been particularly impressive. At the beginning of the 20th century, the prints were investigated

by A. Frinta,[1] who published his findings about the Library in the *Časopis Musea Království českého* [*Magazine of the Bohemian Kingdom Museum*]. Almost a hundred years had passed before A. Baďurová[2] from the Czech Academy of Sciences Library revisited the topic, making a preliminary exploration of the Library's collection for Bohemian old prints written in foreign languages. Baďurová's work served the author of this paper as a starting point for his own research, whose primary goal was to complete the bibliographic data on foreign-language Bohemian old prints in the Tschammer Library and make them available to the national Bibliography of Bohemian Prints in Foreign Languages from the Period of 1501–1800. The research project was later expanded to encompass the excerption of Bohemian prints in Czech, which then became the basis of a comprehensive register of all Bohemian old prints of the Tschammer Library, listing approximately 300 titles.

In this article, the author focuses on ownership book provenances of the 16th century Bohemian prints, which were inscribed in the books by their previous owners and readers. Although the research is still work in progress and many ownership signs remain yet to be deciphered, the data presented in this article suffice to suggest a very lively cultural exchange was taking place in the Bohemian-Silesian, and thus also in the Cieszyn Evangelical, community at that time.

Cieszyn Silesia, or the Duchy of Teschen, was established as an independent geopolitical entity in 1289/90, when, after the death of Władysław I of Opole, the territorial inheritance was divided among his sons. The Duchy of Teschen fell to Mieszko of Cieszyn, who soon afterwards concluded a treaty with Wenceslaus II, the king of Bohemia, which marked the beginning of contacts with Bohemia, which have been maintained, with varying intensity, until the present day.

From the 16th century onwards, religious denominations and affiliations proved an issue of great importance. Similarly to Wrocław, the capital of Silesia, which could still be considered a stronghold of anti-Hussite forces around the year 1500,[3] Cieszyn, too ,was a Catholic region at the time of Hussite expeditions. By the mid-16th century, however, Cieszyn had come under the sway of Luther's revolutionary ideas, which soon started to gain ground in this region. In his article on the Reformation in Silesia, Fukala describes the conditions under which new ideas spread across this region:

> The proponents of the new movement were merchants, students, burghers, itinerant preachers and mendicant monks, who eagerly watched the ongoing events in the empire and who were great-

[1] A. Frinta, "Stará bohemica v Těšíně," *Časopis Muzea království českého* 93 (1919), pp. 81–88, 256–253.

[2] A. Baďurová, "Historické knižní fondy v Cieszynie-jejich význam pro české a slezské písemnictví," in *Historyczne księgozbiory Cieszyna na tle Śląskim*, ed. R. Gladkiewicz (Cieszyn: Książnica Cieszyńska, 1997), pp. 149–168.

[3] R. Fukala, "Knížecí reformace ve Slezsku a její ohlas na Těšínsku," in *Trzysta lat tolerancji na Śląsku Cieszyńskim. W trzystulecie założenia kościoła Jezusowego w Cieszynie*, ed. R. Czyż *et al.* (Cieszyn: Parafia Ewangelicko-Augsburgska, 2010), pp. 22–35.

ly affected by the local humanism. Luther's social conservatism met with ever greater interest also among some members of Silesian ducal families. The demand that church property be secularized and the strengthening of secular power of the aristocracy acted as a trigger for the falling away of secular Silesian dukes from their old faith. In this sense, the German historical term "princely reformation" can be applied to Silesia, although the term is misleading and falls far short of describing the entire process of reformation.[4]

Be it as it may, it was Wenceslaus III Adam of Cieszyn who significantly facilitated the penetration of Protestants to Cieszyn and, later, embraced the Augsburg Confession himself. After he began to rule his estate in 1545, he gradually dissolved the Catholic orders which had been active in Cieszyn until then and confiscated their property.[5] And so, it did not take long before most parishes in the Cieszyn area were being administered by Protestant pastors. In 1568, duke Wenceslaus Adam issued his *Řád církevní* [Church Order] and, thus, established the legal framework for further spread of Lutheranism in the land. The existing state of affairs was confirmed by Duchess Sidonia Catharina in 1584 with the publishing of *Školské a církevní zřízení* [School and Church Installation]. Ten years later, the Cieszyn Protestants had a Church of the Holy Trinity built. It was at that time, at the turn of the 17th century, that Protestantism reached its temporary peak.

The situation, however, changed radically in 1610, when duke Adam Wenceslaus, son of Wenceslaus III Adam, converted to Catholicism and launched a strong counter-Reformation campaign. His successor, Elisabeth Lucretia, the last of the Cieszyn Piasts, though a Catholic herself, tried to protect her subjects regardless of denomination, despite the fact that she was forced by the Emperor to issue a decree against non-Catholics in 1629.[6] While she herself did not enforce adherence, after her death its content was put in force in its entirety. Of course, at that time the Duchy of Teschen was held by Ferdinand III of Habsburg, under whose reign it fell as an extinct feoff after the death of duchess Elisabeth Lucretia in 1653. The emperor, who had long been promoting the idea of a single religion — i.e. the Catholic religion — in his monarchy, was not at all interested in supporting the Cieszyn Protestants. On the contrary, he used the possibilities ensuing from the agreements made after the Peace of Westphalia and very soon reduced the number of Protestant churches. For that purpose, the so-called religious commission was established, whose task was to close down all Protestant churches and to expel all Protestant pastors. Re-Catholisation in Cieszyn progressed successfully and, above all, swiftly, so that in 1688 Cieszyn was already, at least officially,

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] R. Jež, "I v paměti máme, když jsi o téhož opata orlovského na Hradě pražském s námi austně mluvil … K sekularizaci církevních majetků na Těšínsku v počátcích reformace," in *Trzysta lat tolerancji...* (2010), *op. cit.*, pp. 36–65.

[6] D. Pindur, "Století rekatolizace Těšínska. Ke konfesním proměnám — od knížete po poddané (1609–1709)," in *Trzysta lat tolerancji...* (2010), *op. cit.*, pp. 89–129.

completely Catholic.[7] Some of the Cieszyn estates (in particular Bielsko) were in a slightly different situation, still fighting for the old right of *cuius regio, eius religio*. The fact that the Protestant nobility did not leave the land proved decisive for Protestantism, which, although considerably weakened, managed to survive in the region and subsequently experienced a resurgence in the early 18th century.[8]

The decisive turn — or, rather, a return back to normal — came in 1707 and 1709 with the signing of the Convention of Altranstädts.[9] A number of originally Protestant churches were gradually returned to the Protestants in the so-called pardoned duchies, and the Protestants in other duchies were at least allowed to erect six new religious buildings. Among them is the Jesus Church in Cieszyn,[10] whose layout was traced out by Count Zinzendorf, the envoy of the Emperor Joseph I, on 24 April 1709. The corner stone was laid in autumn 1710. The church acquired its present-day appearance only in 1772, when the construction of the church tower was completed. It was the only Protestant shrine in Cieszyn Silesia, and in the Czech lands as such for that matter, until the Emperor Joseph II issued his Tolerance Act in 1781. Several conditions had to be fulfilled before the church could be built. One of them, a stipulation that all Protestant shrines be located outside the city gates, paradoxically proved fortunate in later periods, as the Jesus Church is one of Cieszyn's few structures that escaped the many devastating fires, which caused irrevocable damage to the city. Together with the church, the library of the Lutheran congregation in Cieszyn, known today as the Tschammer Library, has also survived unchanged until the present day.[11]

The library was established in 1709,[12] when, as Frinta recounts:

> Adolf Schmelling, one of the aristocratic patrons and supporters of this only pre-tolerance Evangelical congregation in our lands, initiated the foundation of a library there. Other books, old and mostly Czech ones, were donated to the library by the local aristocratic families of the Bludowskys of Bludovice and Skrbenskys of Hříště and Šenov. Finally, a large collection of books was donated to the library by the lawyer Gottlieb Rudolf von Tschammer und Iskrzyczyn († 1787 in Cieszyn), who in his foundation charter of 1778 bequeathed 1,000 Rhenish guilders for the maintenance and growth of the library, which is permanent property of the local Evangelical congregation.[13]

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[7] J. Spyra, "Kontrreformacja w Cieszynie w latach 1653–1709," in *Trzysta lat tolerancji...* (2010), *op. cit*., pp. 66–88.

[8] D. Pindur, "Století rekatolizace…" (2010), *op. cit.*

[9] D. Spratek, "Právní poměry v evangelické církvi na Těšínsku v letech 1709–1781 a jejich vliv na uspořádání toleranční církve v Rakousku (1. díl)," *Revue církevního práva — Church Law Review* 21 (2002), pp. 17–50.

[10] Kościoł Jezusowy w Cieszynie.

[11] W. Gojniczek and M. Gabryś (eds.), *Jerzy Fryderyk Erdmann Klette z Klettenhofu: Pamiętniki kościoła ewangelickiego z łaski danego przed stema laty założonego przy świątobliwym obchodzeniu miłościwego lata 24 maja 1809* (Cieszyn: Książnica Cieszyńska, 2009), pp. 45–46.

[12] M. Gabryś, "K počátkům Tschammerovy knihovny evangelického sboru v Těšíně," *Knihy a Dějiny* (2013), pp. 21–38.

[13] A. Frinta, "Stará bohemica…" (1919), *op. cit.*

Today, the library bears the name of the same Rudolf Tschammer not only because of his generous donation funding the library's operations and advancement, continuous complementation of library holdings and the librarian's remuneration, but also in recognition of Tschammer's overall contribution to the Evangelical congregation, which he vigorously supported for years.

The library, which is still located on the second gallery of the above-mentioned Jesus Church, was at first managed by priests from the local Evangelical congregation, but in 1778 the library already had the first full-time librarian in the person of Jan Bogumil Kotscha. He had the first catalogue of the library collection drawn up, or drew it up himself, in 1786. A piece of interesting evidence documenting the importance of the library for the Cieszyn Protestant community is a list of rules and obligations from 1778 which were to be observed by all future administrators of the library fund. The document, *Instructions for the Librarians and Archivists at the Grace Church of Evang. Confession at Cieszyn*, was published in 1807 in a now almost forgotten paper by K.G. Rumi.[14] For instance, Article 2, which explains how volumes should be kept clean, is certainly worth mentioning:

> These books should be cleaned and rid of dust and vermin as well as protected against damage from bookworms twice, or at least once a year, just as the congregation itself should mind its cleanliness.

Articles 6 and 7 refer to library acquisitions:

> Should there be an opportunity (during sales, auctions, etc., but also through purchase from individuals), good, beautiful and useful books are to be acquired. […] wrongful, inappropriate or forbidden books should be taken no heed of […] new books should be selected and purchased from all four faculties.[15]

The number of volumes in the library gradually grew. When in 1829 the librarian Tragutt Sittig drew up a new catalogue, it included 3,210 items, which marks a threefold increase since Tschammer's donation. In the period between World Wars One and Two, after an overall re-cataloguing and reorganisation of the library fund, the total stood at 5,156 catalogued and 844 numbered uncatalogued volumes. Thematically classified, according to J. Broda, the total holdings included

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[14] K.G. Rumi, "Evangelische Kirchenbibliothek zu Teschen in Schlesien," *Intelligenzblatt der Annalen der Literatur des Oesterreichischen Kaiserthumes* (1807), pp. 28–32.

[15] *Die Instruction für den Bibliothecar und Archivar bey der Gnadenkirche Aug. Conf. Vor Teschen:* "Sollen diese Bücher alle Jahr zwey, wenigstens einmahl, suber geputzt, von dem Staube und Ungeziefer gereinigt, und vor den Motten-Ruin verwahret, folglich auch das Conclave selbst ausgekehret werden. […] Sollte sich auch dann und wann einige Gelegenheit, aufsern bey einer Vendite, Auction oder aus einem Erbnachlafs, oder sonst von einigen Privatpersonen einiges gutes, nettes und nützliches Buch anzuschaffen, so kann selbiges allemahl statt des neuen Einkaufs surrogirt werden, doch mit keinen bereits einmahl vorhandenen, noch weniger mit schlechten, nichtswürdigen, oder gar verbothenen Büchern oder Piecen sollen es nicht augmentirt werden, […] der neue Bücher-Einkauf hingegen kann und soll aus allen vier Facultäten, in so weit die Werke reell und nutzbar sind, gewählet und angeschaffet werden."

2,600 volumes on Evangelical theology, 653 on history and 400 on church history as well as 500 law works and 316 philosophical works. Surveying the languages in which the books were written, we can see that German and Latin predominated. Polish prints, just like Bohemian prints, make up just a few percent of the library's total number of volumes.[16]

However, if we take the collection of old prints only, the proportion of Bohemian prints is somewhat higher. The older literature reports that there were about 5,000 old prints in the Tschammer Library fund. After an extensive reconstruction of the library and continuous re-cataloguing, the electronic catalogue of old prints[17] already comprises over 7,000 volumes. The number of extant volumes increases mainly due to a careful registration of works included in the so-called convolutes. In the earlier cataloguing practice usually only the first volume of a work was registered while the remaining ones were ignored although in many cases there were dozens of them. For this reason, also the number of old Bohemian prints cannot be considered definitive yet despite thorough excerption. At present, the established number of old Bohemian prints exceeds 300 volumes, representing approximately 4% of the entire collection of old prints. Of these, roughly two thirds are Bohemian prints in foreign languages and the remaining one third are in Czech. Although Bohemian old prints in foreign languages predominate in the total number of Bohemian old prints, the opposite is true about prints from the 16th century. Of the 40 works printed from the mid-16th century to the year 1600, 39 are prints in Czech (which represents nearly half of all prints in Czech in the historical collection) and only one work is in a foreign language.

This fact is closely related to the way in which the library gained new acquisitions for its holdings throughout its existence. Given that the Protestants in the pre-White Mountain period failed to create a unified provincial Evangelical Church in Silesia,[18] individual congregations had to contend with the onset of the Counter-Reformation separately. Gradual cessation of their official activities was inevitable at a certain point in time. Afterwards, Lutheran ideas persisted in the residences of the Protestant nobility, and the common people resorted to attending Protestant churches in Upper Hungary or religious gatherings in the open air, which meant in both cases that they ran the risk of persecution and punishment. Clandestine readings, holy mass celebrated in someone's house, self-education in the Scripture, all these activities led to the strengthening of the faith of the persecuted Protestants. That, of course, entailed and enhanced cultural exchanges with the neighbouring countries. And printed books served as a medium that enabled and facilitated the exchange of the recent ideas, which is evidenced by read-

[16] J. Broda, "Biblioteka im. Tschammera w Cieszynie," *Biuletyn Informacyjny Biblioteki Śląskiej* (1970), pp. 83–88.

[17] See on-line Catalogue of the Tschammer library: http://www.biblioteka.cieszyn.org.pl/index.php/online,129.

[18] R. Fukala, "Knížecí reformace…" (2010), *op. cit.*

ers' inscriptions in extant copies. In the case of the Tschammer Library, essential information about previous book owners is provided by the recently discovered archival materials[19] from the archives of the Cieszyn Evangelical church, which is currently the only institution with a library. Several fundamental facts can be deduced from these documents. Above all, they confirm assumptions which earlier relevant sources about the origins of the library failed to substantiate, they extend our understanding of active Protestants both from the aristocratic environment and from town and rural populations, and — unsurprisingly — they underline the importance of Czech printed books in the Silesian Evangelical environment.

The decision to set up a library was made immediately after the Cieszyn congregation was reactivated in 1709. The first book donated (as early as in 1710) to the nascent collection was the Czech Bible by Adam of Veleslavín in Prague (1613); the donator was the aristocratic patron of the Cieszyn Evangelical church, Václav Pelhřim of Třenkovice. There were several more Czech prints among the first books donated to the library, for instance *Postilla* (1575) by Johann Ferus, *Duchovní evangelické písně* [*Evangelical Spiritual Songs*] (probably 1615) and Urban Rhegius's *Rozmlouvání o krásném kázání* [*Conversation about a beautiful sermon*] (1545), which is probably the oldest Czech print in the library holdings. The first donators included not only members of the Teschen nobility but also, among others, a shoemaker and a peasant.[20]

In almost half of the prints written in Czech and published in the 16th century, preserved in the Tschammer Library, we find ownership inscriptions, ex-libris and supralibros. Direct evidence that a book was donated to the Evangelical Library is, of course, rare. Although in most cases only initials were used, sometimes full names of the original owners appear in the books, especially in the six-volume *Bible kralická* [*The Kralice Bible*], where readers noted when they read it. Unfortunately, those inscriptions yield relatively little information related to the history of the library, but they do show that the books were read and, most importantly, present in Cieszyn Silesia long before the existence of the Jesus Church and the library housed in it. If we sort the Czech language prints in chronological order, we will not find any ownership notes in the first five oldest items. A closer look at the oldest of them, Jan Günter's Prostějov edition of Rhegio Urban's *Rozmlauwánj O krásném a Spasytedlném Kázanij…*[21] from 1545, will however show that the dedicant — and, thus, likely the benefactor — of the edition was Jan IV of Pernštejn (1487–1548), a Moravian and Czech nobleman, leader of the Czech estates and the non-Catholic opposition and the guardian (later a father-in law) of duke Wenceslaus III Adam of Cieszyn. Similarly, the following print from 1546, also published by Jan Gunther in Prostějov, *Postylla Cžeská* [*Czech Postila*][22] by

[19] M. Gabryś, "K počátkům Tschammerovy knihovny…" (2013), *op. cit.*
[20] *Ibid.*
[21] BiAT, APEAC, shelfmark BT 00066 I.
[22] BiAT, APEAC, shelfmark BT 00066 I.

Jan Spangenberg is dedicated to the benefactor of that edition, Ondřej Ungnad of Sunek, the husband of Bohunka of Pernštejn.

The third oldest print is *Bible Netolického* [*The Netolický Bible*],[23] referred to also as the first edition of *Bible Melantrichova* [*The Melantrich Bible*] from the year 1549. In this case, there is not even a whiff of any connection with the Silesian environment. The only interesting aspect might be the fact that the printer Bartoloměj Netolický associated with Utraquist authors, such as Pavel Bydžovský or Sixt of Ottersdorf, in the first half of the 16th century.[24] The fourth book, published in 1551 again in Prostějov by Jan Günther, was *Postylla Czeská* [25] by Johann Hoffmeister. Also the fifth oldest book in the Czech language preserved in the Tschammer Library was printed by Jan Günther in 1553. It is Joseph Flavius's work titled *O Válce Židowské …* [*The Jewish War*].[26] The dedicant was Vojtěch of Pernštejn, the son of Jan of Pernštejn, who even tried to set up an independent Protestant Church in the town where the book was printed, i.e. in Prostějov. The first of Bohemian old prints in which the previous owner is identified is Münster's *Kozmograffia Czeská…* [*Universal Cosmography*],[27] printed in 1554 in Prague by Jan Kosořský of Kosoř. The front board of the book carries a monogram supralibros IFSSPZHA Z SS dated 1665. In all probability, the book was owned by Julius Ferdinand Skrbenský of Hříště (1628–1668), a member of Cieszyn's important aristocratic family of the Skrbenskys of Hříště.

Münster's *Kozmograffia Czeská…*[28] is found in two more copies in the library's collections. The second of the two is relatively rich in ownership inscriptions. Unfortunately, detailed information on the persons concerned has not been traced yet. The inscriptions, however, indicate that the book was given to the library later, probably not before the 19th century. The book was donated by one Babilon, as transpires from the inscription on the inside cover: "dar p. Babilona dla biblioteki Tschammera" [the gift of Mr. Babilon to the Tschammer Library]. The following inscription also mentions the date of 26 November 1870, but it is not quite clear whether it refers to the original inscription or to the other names mentioned there, which are Johann Pilch and Weichsel. Because next to the name of Pilch there is the serial number "nr. 180 ," we can assume that the book was first in his library, then it went to Weichsel, perhaps in 1870, and it was only later acquired by the said Babilon, who gave it to the Tschammer Library.

The three copies that follow have no ownership inscriptions. The first of them is the second edition of *Bible Melantrichova…*,[29] printed in 1556–1557 in Prague;

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[23] No shelfmark as yet.

[24] P. Voit, *Encyklopedie knih: starší knihtisk a příbuzné obory mezi polovinou 15. a počátkem 19. století* (Praha: Libri, 2006), p. 624.

[25] BiAT, APEAC, shelfmark BT 00150.

[26] BiAT, APEAC, shelfmark BT 002874 III.

[27] BiAT, APEAC, shelfmark BT 001478 IV.

[28] BiAT, APEAC, old shelfmark 18577.

[29] BiAT, APEAC, old shelfmark 18579.

another edition of Jan Spangenberg's work *Postylla Czeská*,[30] probably completed and printed in 1560 in Nuremberg by Jan Montán and Oldřich Nayber and dedicated again to Ondřej Ungnad of Sunek; and, apparently, an Ivančice edition of *Písně duchovní evangelistské…*,[31] probably from 1564. Also from the production of the Ivančice print shop is *Nowy Zákon…* [*The New Testament*][32] from 1568 with, on its front board, a supralibros E S of an as yet undetermined owner. The fourth Prague edition of *Bible Melantrichova…*[33] from 1570 could be the copy which, according to archival documents,[34] was donated to the library by countess Anna Kateřina Henckel of Donnersmarck. The handwritten inscription says that the donation of the book to the Jesus Church was made on 24 July, 1725. The donator is identified as Anna Catharina, née von Stoltz, probably the widow of Johann Ernest Henckel von Donnersmarck. The book's front board features a supralibros TFK or TFH, dated 1673; the exact identity of this owner has not been established yet. The two-volume *Postilla aneb Kázanij Ewangelitské Prawdy…* [*Postila or a sermon on Evangelical truth*][35] by Johan Ferus, published in Prague in 1575, is also mentioned in the archival documents together with the name of the donator Bernard Skrbenský. This is corroborated by baron Skrbenský´s inscription in the book. There are other ownership inscriptions in the book, written by a Johann Miklas Oslaviensis, from whom the copy was obtained in 1587 by an Andreas Rageczenus.

Five volumes of the six-volume edition of *Bible kralická*[36] have a fine uniform binding in brown leather decorated with blind tooling. A supralibros WDZD appears on all front boards, in some cases complete with a date (the earlierst one is 1596 in the 1587 edition), and a supralibros ADZD on the back boards. Individual volumes contain handwritten notes about when the owner started to read the book and, sometimes, also when he finished it. For instance: "began to read these books on the day of All Saints in the year 1605 WDZD," and below that "began to read these books on Friday after the Candlemass in the year 1621 IDZD." The books were evidently inherited, and successive family members continued the tradition of making notes in the same style. Although the inscriptions are two decades apart, their wording is almost identical. Attempts to identify the owners have been unsuccessful, and it cannot be ruled out that the books arrived in Cieszyn Silesia only later. In any case, it was a Protestant and religiously very conservative family, most likely an aristocratic one, which is indicated not only by the recurring surname initials that certainly represent a name with an epithet, but also by quite expensive binding of all the five volumes. In addition to the above WDZD and ADZD in

[30] BiAT, APEAC, old shelfmark 18567.
[31] BiAT, APEAC, old shelfmark 18591.
[32] BiAT, APEAC, shelfmark BT 00174 II.
[33] BiAT, APEAC, old shelfmark 8117.
[34] M. Gabryś, "K počátkům Tschammerovy knihovny…" (2013), *op. cit.*
[35] BiAT, APEAC, old shelfmark 18588.
[36] BiAT, APEAC, old shelfmark 175–182.

supralibros, monograms WDZD or WADZD, IDZD and MDZ repeatedly appear in handwritten inscriptions.

The library also has another copy of the first volume of the six-volume edition of *Bible kralická*.[37] Although it sheds no light on the identity of its past owners, it does confirm the importance that the Protestants attributed to printed books and to the Bible in particular. The boards have the year 1579 stamped on them, and there is a largely legible handwritten inscription on inside board: "1607 on Monday a memorable day... these books are given to me by his my... the most Beloved Kinsman. May it be God's will... that I may find benefit in them. Amen. Written this year on Saturday before the feast commemorating the descent of the Holy Spirit" ["...pondiely den pamatny…tyto knihy jsau mi dany od jeho meho… Nejmilejšího panatáty. Pánbuh dáti racz abych v nich…aužitku … najíti mohla Amen. Psáno leta toho v sobotu przed pamatkou seslání seslání ducha svatého"]. It is clear from the inscription that the recipient was a female, which only confirms the well-known fact that upholders of and successor in the Evangelical religion were often women.[38] The library has two more volumes, the first and the fourth, of the six-volume *Bible kralická*, which come from the library of Albrecht the Elder Sedlnický of Choltice.[39] A reference to it is made in the armorial supralibros with a monogram AZCH, dated 1617, which is the same in both volumes. It can therefore be assumed, also because of the identical decoration on the binding, that the owner acquired a complete set of six volumes, and then he had them bound, decorated (in white leather and with silver-embellished blind embossing) and marked with the coat of arms of his family and his monogram.

Also printed in Kralice was *Agenda, aneb Způsob oddáwanj k Stawu manželskemu* [*Agenda or the procedure of the wedding ceremony*] (1580),[40] which, like *Srownánij Wijry a Učenij Bratřij starssijch* [*Comparison of faith and doctrine of elder brothers*][41] by Václav Šturm published in Litomyšl in 1582 by Andreas Graudenc, carries no name of the new owner. From the provenance inscription in the second of the two copies, we at least know that the book was acquired on 27 January, 1681. Georg Lauterbeck's legal treatise *Politia Historica…*,[42] published in 1584 in Prague by Daniel Adam of Veleslavín, was owned shortly after the publishing — in 1587 to be precise — by one Hadrianus Palingenius, as stated in the title page header. The front flyleaf carries a handwritten inscription: "These books were given to me by my... dear brother and brother-in-law and brother, Mr Kasspar Czrha on Monday, the day of the new year... 1590..." ["Tyto knihy jsou mne

[37] BiAT, APEAC, old shelfmark 176.

[38] J. Spyra, "Kontrreformacja…" (2010), *op. cit.*

[39] Canon of Frederic V, Elector Palatine, a supporter of the radical wing in the uprising of the Estates in Moravia.

[40] BiAT, APEAC, old shelfmark 18570b.

[41] BiAT, APEAC, shelfmark BT 03600 II.

[42] BiAT, APEAC, old shelfmark 18574.

darovane od meho… mileho pana bratra a svagra a bratra pana Kasspara Czrhy na pondieli den noweho leta… 1590…"]. The inscription is signed, but the owner's name has not yet been deciphered. The same is true about another work by Pius II, *Kronyky dwě…* [*Chronicle of the Foundation of* Bohemian *Land*][43] from 1585, also printed by Daniel Adam of Veleslavín in Prague, whose owner in 1629 was one Joachim Friedrich Wunsch von Bradlowitz. Two works printed in Prague — *Sečtenij Roků̊w od počátku Swěta…* [*Sum of the years from the beginning of the world*][44] by Jan the Elder Gryll of Gryllov from the printing shop of Jiří Černý of Černý Most from 1588 and *Tytulář…* [*Titular*][45] by Šebastyán Fauknar of Fonkenštejn issued by Jan Šuman in 1589 — provide no new names of owners.

Kalendař Hystorycký… [*An Almanac*],[46] printed by Daniel Adam of Veleslavín in 1590 in Prague, on the other hand, is a rather puzzling case. The copy features a monogram supralibros FBZDB on the left board, which unequivocally refers to Fridrich Bludovský (although it is unclear whether the book was owned already by the father Fridrich Bludovský or, only later, by his son Jiří Fridrich Bludovský), and also carries a handwritten inscription Glajcar Jan — Sibica on the back cover flyleaf. Jan Glajcar of Sibica (1823–1911) was a presbyter of the Cieszyn Evangelical congregation and its treasurer for more than twenty years. His inscription in the book is rather surprising, and it is difficult to make full sense of it. It could have been a simple statement that he read the book; but would he have dared to write such a note in a book owned by the library? Could it be that the book was originally in the Bludowskys' library, and Glajcar discovered or purchased it somewhere and then added to the holdings? The question cannot possibly be answered based on that one inscription alone, but it is definitely an interesting topic for further investigation. The answer may be found in some archival material; it may turn out that Glajcar, a keen reader, put such notes in books routinely.

The copy of Heinrich Bunting's work *Itinerarium Sacrae Scripturae…*,[47] printed in Prague in 1592 by Daniel Adam of Veleslavín, contains an inscription with information about when the owner read the book: "began to read this book 30xbris A in 1666 and finished it... 19th day of February 1667" ["tuto knihu počal jsem čísti 30xbris A 1666 a dočetl jsem ji… 19 dne februarijs 1667"]; unfortunately, the reader's identity remains unknown. The following five volumes have no inscriptions from readers, but the first two of them add to the number of places and print shops from which books came to the Tschammer Library. They are *Postilla ewangelitská…*[48] by Martin Filadelf Zámrský, published in 1592 in Jezdkovice near

[43] BiAT, APEAC, shelfmark BT 01525 II.
[44] BiAT, APEAC, old shelfmark 333.
[45] BiAT, APEAC, old shelfmark 4995.
[46] BiAT, APEAC, old shelfmark 18581a, 18581b.
[47] BiAT, APEAC, shelfmark BT 00121/01-02 III.
[48] BiAT, APEAC, shelfmark BT 00152/1-3.

Opava,[49] and Paprocký's *Zrcadlo Slawného Margkrabstwij Morawského…* [*Mirror of a Famous Moravian margraviate*][50] from Milichthaler's print shop in Olomouc, published in 1593. Two works devoted to church history were published by Daniel Adam of Veleslavín in Prague. They were Eusebio's *Historia Cýrkewnj…* [*The Church history*][51] and Cassiodor's *Historia Cýrkewnj….*[52] Both works were printed in 1594 and are bound in one volume. In 1596 *Biblj Swatá…* [*The Holy Bible*],[53] known also as *Bible kralická*, was printed in Kralice, in one volume.

A year later, *Regstřjk Pjsem Swatých…* [*Index of Holy Scriptures*][54] came out of the same print shop. On its front flyleaf, it has a handwritten inscription which includes a verse in German and the Skrbensky family's coat-of-arms with a monogram ex-libris KB ESR. The monogram refers to Kryštof Bernard Skrbenský of Hříště. Although no date is given, it can be reasonably assumed that the ownership inscription was made before 1658, because the Skrbenskys' coat of arms it contains is in the form it had before the family was raised to the peerage in 1658.[55] The inscription underneath reads Rudolf B. Skrbenský.

The last print from the 16th century in the Czech language in the Tschammer Library is a short work by Václav Brosius titled *Ohlássenj se Proti Pithartskému Netopýři* [*Appeal against Picards bat*][56] published by Ondřej Graudenc in Litomyšl in 1599. The print is part of a convolute whose flyleaf has a handwritten inscription IHS 1600. Given the topic, it can be assumed that it was part of this volume already in the Jesuit library, which had certainly owned it. The library might theoretically have acquired it when the Jesuit order was dissolved and some of the libraries were sold off after 1773.

The only foreign-language print from the 16th century in the library holdings, Spondrath's work *Geistliche Practica…* [*Spiritual practice*][57] published in Prague in 1588 in the print shop of Michael Peterle, apparently shared the same fate: according to the ownerships inscription, the copy belonged to the Brno Jesuits as late as in 1606.

Several conclusions can be drawn from the above. First of all, 16th-century Bohemian prints in the Tschammer Library are thematically relatively homogeneous. They are mainly biblical texts, religious literature and historical works with an emphasis on church history. Although the circle of owners is not very wide, it nevertheless offers quite an interesting insight into the owners' attitudes to indi-

[49] P. Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy…* (2006), *op. cit.,* p. 95.

[50] BiAT, APEAC, shelfmark BT 01828/01-05.

[51] BiAT, APEAC, old shelfmark 18580.

[52] BiAT, APEAC, old shelfmark 18580.

[53] BiAT, APEAC, shelfmark BT 00173 I.

[54] BiAT, APEAC, shelfmark BT SD 475 I.

[55] L.J. Szersznik, *Materiały genealogiczno-heraldyczne do dziejów szlachty księstwa cieszyńskiego* (Cieszyn: Książnica Cieszyńska, 2004), pp. 73–74.

[56] BiAT, APEAC, old shelfmark 1798/3.

[57] BiAT, APEAC, shelfmark BT 00653 I.

vidual works and the importance they attributed to them. This is particularly true about copies of *Bible kralická*, where it is obvious that to own — and also actively to study — them was an expression of strong religious beliefs for the readers. After the onset of an intensified Counter-Reformation campaign following the battle of White Mountain, home reading was the only way to cultivate the Protestant ideas, and it also supported the oppressed Protestants in their faith and their struggle for the freedom of religion. With some exceptions, ownership inscriptions provide no new answers to the question of when and how individual copies found their way to the Tschammer Library holdings. Provenance research into Bohemian prints from the 17th century may, theoretically at least, still suggest some connections and intersections, especially in the case of owners who actively worked in the Cieszyn Evangelical community. We are, however, more hopeful for the results of the exploration of the Tschammer Library as a whole. After all, Bohemian prints make up only a small percentage of the total library fund, and we can assume that by studying ownership inscriptions in the remaining prints from the 16th and 17th centuries, we can accumulate a greater body of inscriptions, notes, bookplates and supralibros that will help identify the owners of whom we currently do not have any detailed information.

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Giuseppe PERRI (CIERL, Université Libre de Bruxelles)

Print Culture in Early Modern Ukraine and Its Ukrainian Historiography

Abstract: The article surveys Early Modern Ukrainian printing and accounts of it produced in Ukrainian historiography. Attention is given to the first Cyrillic printed books issued by Schweipolt Fiol which, produced in Church Slavonic with a Ukrainian tinge, circulated widely in Ukraine, Belarus and other Orthodox countries. The second development addressed in the article is the printing activity of Franciscus Skoryna, a scholar born in Northern Belarus. Subsequently, discussion turns to Ivan Fedorov's publications in L'viv and Ostroh — notably the famous *Ostrohian Bible* supported by Prince Ostroz'kyj — and the printing production of Ukrainian Fraternities and the Lavra Monastery. The article examines also the rise and development of Ukrainian historiography of printing, focusing on the contributions of Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj, Ivan Ohijenko and Jaroslav Isajevyč. In conclusion, the article insist that assumptions underlying that historiography are acceptable, but the international context in which Ukrainian printing developed must not be overlooked. A tendency to Ukrainise early printing culture in Cyrillic is a rather reductive approach to the complex and multicultural phenomenon of Early Modern Ukrainian printing, especially in its initial stage.

Keywords: Early Modern Ukrainian printing, historiography, printing in Cyrillic, Schweipolt Fiol, Franciscus Skoryna, Ivan Fedorov.

1.

Ukraine was, and still is, a borderland between the East and the West, the Latin and the Byzantine worlds, Christianity and Islam. In the Early Modern age, the function of mediation among different civilizations was intrinsic to Ukraine as it belonged to the Kingdom of Poland and to the Lithuanian-Ruthenian Grand Duchy (and, after 1569, to the *Rzeczpospolita* — Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth). With the progressive absorption of Ukraine into the Muscovite Kingdom (after the Xmel'nyc'kyj[1] Uprising of 1648), its identity and importance as a crossroads of civilizations were obscured. The awareness of a distinct Ukrainian identity within the Russian Empire was kept alive throughout the 17th and 18th centuries by the Cossack nobility, who enjoyed a wide autonomy in the govern-

[1] In this text, the scientific system is used to transliterate Cyrillic alphabets. For Ukrainian toponyms, names, etc., I transliterate directly from the Ukrainian language. The translations of quotations from non-English sources are mine.

ment of the Western provinces of the Empire (Hetmanate). But the dismantling of the Hetmanate by the Tsars at the end of the 18th century weakened this identity; an anonymous text from the early 19th century, *Istorija Rusov* [*The History of Rus'*], collecting the facts narrated by the Cossack chronicles, served as a cornerstone and a source of 19th-century Ukrainian national pride.[2] Both Nikolaj Gogol' (1809–1852) — who was Ukrainian and who, with his *Taras Bul'ba* (1834), greatly contributed to the knowledge of the Ukrainian world in Russia and in Europe — and Taras Ševčenko (1814–1861), a Ukrainian national poet, drew from *Istorija Rusov* amongst their sources. In the second half of the 19th century, the movement "Ukrainophilia" generated, in Tsarist Ukraine, a wave of nation building and scientific study of the Ukrainian past. Volodymyr Antonovič, a leading exponent of Ukrainophilia, headed the Imperial commission that compiled and published the voluminous Arxiv Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossii [Archives of South-Western Russia],[3] still the main source for the history of Ukraine.

In 1904, Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj, a former student of Antonovič, wrote a revolutionary brief essay, published in the collection of the Russian Academy of Sciences, in which he challenged the imperial narrative of the history of the East Slavs and the traditional scheme of Russian history, commencing the construction of the Ukrainian national paradigm.[4] Twenty years later, Ivan Ohijenko wrote the first history of Ukrainian printing.[5]

2.

As early as in 1740, one of the first bibliologists, Johann Daniel Hoffmann, cited Ukrainian printing in L'viv, Ostroh and Kyïv and some of their publications.[6] The first scientific work on the history of Western Ukrainian printing was a text — in Polish — by Denys Zubryc'kyj, a Galician Russophile who gained access to the archival material of the L'viv Brotherhood.[7] In 1850, the rector of the

[2] Rus' (not to be confused with "Russia") was the name of the first East Slavic state, formed around the city of Kyïv (11th century). It was often used by Early Modern Ukrainians to delineate their territories.

[3] Southwestern Russia and Little Russia were the names used in 19th-century Russian Empire to designate Ukraine.

[4] For an English translation, see M. Hruševs'kyj, "The Traditional Scheme of 'Russian' History and the Problem of a Rational Organization of the History of the East Slavs," in L.R. Wynar, *Mykhailo Hrushevsky: Ukrainian-Russian Confrontation in Historiography* (Toronto/New York/Munich: Ukrainian Historical Association, 1988), pp. 35–42.

[5] I. Ohijenko, *Istorija Ukraïns'koho Drukarstva* [A History of Ukrainian Printing] (Kyïv: Lybid', 1994, 2nd ed.).

[6] I.D. Hoffmann, *De typographiis earumque initiis et incrementis in Regno Poloniae et Magno Ducatu Lithuaniae* (Dantisci: Georgium Marcus Knochium, 1740).

[7] D. Zubrzycki, *Historyczne badania o drukarniach rusko-słowiańskich w Galicyi* (Lwów: Drukarnia Instytutu Stauropigiańskiego, 1836).

Russian Saint Vladimir University in Kyïv, Myxajlo Maksymovič, made the first attempt — in Russian — to study the history of early printing in entire Ukraine, based on the surveys he carried out in old libraries of Central Ukraine.[8] A noteworthy book in Russian was authored by Ivan Karataev (1883), who accurately described many ancient Cyrillic incunabula.[9] In his Russian book (1918), Fedor Titov, Professor of Theology at the Kyïvian Academy,[10] discussed the printing activity of the Kyïv Monastery of the Caves (Kyïv Pečers'ka Lavra), which began in the 17th century. The Russian studies shared an all-Russian narrative assumption and failed to distinguish an autonomous Ukrainian cultural world. Among many Polish studies about Early Modern printing in Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, published before Ohijenko's book, particularly noteworthy is Jan Ptaśnik's work about early printing in Cracow, which presents, inter alia, 50 documents about Schweipolt Fiol (1460?–1525/6), the first printer of Cyrillic books.[11]

Before World War One, there were only very few studies about Ukrainian printing written in Ukrainian and from a Ukrainian point of view. In wartime, Ivan Ohijenko — one of the assistants of Professor Volodymyr Peretc (1870–1935), a prominent Ukrainian literary historian and bibliologist — set up a team of researchers on the history of Ukrainian printing at the University of Kyïv. In particular, Ohijenko developed a method for establishing the dating of publications, based on the analysis of font design.[12] He left Ukraine after the war, but his colleague Serhij Maslov, taking advantage of the favourable climate for Ukrainian culture typical of the first decade of the Soviet rule, founded the Ukraïns'kyj Naukovyj Instytut Knyhoznavstva (Ukrainian Scientific Institute of Bibliology)[13] in 1922 and, in 1924, published *Drukarstvo na Ukraïni v XVI—XVIII st.*,[14] a small but accurate work based on the regional grouping (Galicia, Volhynia, Kyïv, Černihiv) of printing activities. Although archival materials used in the study had already been published, it was the first reliable overview of printing materials about Ukrainian Cyrillic print.

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[8] M. Maksimovič, "Knižnaja starina južnorusskaja" [Antique Books of Southern Russia], in *idem*, *Sobranie sočinenij* [Collected Works], Vol. 3 (Kiev: Tipografija E.T. Kerer, 1880), pp. 661–716.

[9] I. Karataev, *Opisanie slavjano-russkix knig napečatannyx kirillovskimi bukvami* [Description of the Slavic-Russian Books Printed with Cyrillc Characters], Vol. I, *1491–1752* (St. Petersburg: Tipografija Imp. Akademii Nauk, 1883).

[10] F.I. Titov, *Tipografija Kievo-Pečerskoj Lavry. Istoričeskij očerk* [The Typography of Kyïv Pečers'ka Lavra. A Historical Essay] (Kiev: Tipografija Kievo-Pečerskoj Uspenskoj Lavry, 1918).

[11] J. Ptaśnik (ed.), *Cracovia impressorum XV et XVI ss.* (Lwów: Sumptibus Instituti Ossoliniani, 1922).

[12] J. Isajevyč, *Ukraïns'ke Knyhovydannja: vytoky, rozvytok, problemy* [The Ukrainian Publishing: Origins, Development, Problems] (L'viv: Instytut Ukraïnoznavstva I. Kryp'jakevyčja, 2002), p. 21.

[13] The Institute was closed down in the 1930s, when Stalin decided to destroy the Ukrainian intelligentsia.

[14] S. Maslov, *Drukarstvo na Ukraïni v XVI–XVIII st.* [Printing in Ukraine in the 16th–18th centuries] (Kyïv: Ukraïns'kyj Naukovyj Instytut Knyhoznavstva, 1924).

3.

The following year, Ivan Ohijenko published in L'viv the first of a planned 8-volume history of Ukrainian books: *Istorija Ukraïns'koho Drukarstva* [*A History of Ukrainian Printing*] (L'viv, 1925, 388 pages). The book was condemned by the Soviet regime and reprinted in Ukraine only in 1994 (except a reprint by the Ukrainian diaspora in Winnipeg in 1983). Subtitled "Historical and bibliographical review of Ukrainian publishing in the 15th–17th centuries," this first volume was conceived as a survey of the sources and the printed literature. However, Ohijenko not only wrote about the sources and analysed the views of his predecessors, but also gave a brief outline of printers and their employees, following the order of Maslov's regions. He supplied some material about Polish, Russian and Hebrew printing in Ukraine, as well. Indeed, with his *Istorija Ukraïns'koho Drukarstva*, Ohijenko produced the first history of Ukrainian printing. The materials compiled for the other volumes are preserved in Ohijenko's archives (now at St. Andrew's College in Winnipeg); however, much of the scholar's archives burned in Lublin in 1944.[15]

For more than six decades, Ohijenko's work was held in the Soviet *specsxovy* (hidden) Libraries Department, remaining practically inaccessible even to experts. In fact, the Ukrainian studies suffered a lot in the Soviet times, particularly from the 1930s on, when Stalin decided to put the Russian nationalist ideology at the core of the Soviet identity.[16] It was only in 2002 that a text of real scientific value came out: Jaroslav Isajevyč's *Ukraïns'ke Knyhovydannja: vytoky, rozvytok, problemy* [*The Ukrainian Publishing: Origins, Development, Problems*] was published in L'viv by Instytut Ukraïnoznavstva I. Kryp'jakevyčja and has since come to be the reference text in the field. In the international literature, the only text of note that deals with the Ukrainian press was authored by Lubomyr R. Wynar (a representative of an important Ukrainian diaspora in North America) and published in Denver in 1962 as part of the Colorado University Studies in Librarianship, although a note of the editor unexpectedly affirmed that it was "a fine study […], though of limited interest."[17]

4.

In his study, Ohijenko states that the first Cyrillic printed book appeared in Cracow in 1491,[18] i.e. two years earlier than a book published in Obod-Cetinje in

[15] J. Isajevyč, *Ukraïns'ke Knyhovydannja…* (2002), *op. cit.*, p. 26. In 1940, Ohijenko was tonsured, assumed the monastic name of Ilarion and was ordained as the orthodox Bishop of Chełm (Xolm); in 1944, he became the Metropolite of Chełm and Lublin. In 1947, he settled down in Winnipeg, where he soon became the Metropolitan Bishop of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada.

[16] D. Brandenberger, *National Bolshevism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002).

[17] S. Baillie, "Introduction," in L.R. Wynar, *History of Early Ukrainian Printing. 1491–1600*, (Denver: University of Denver Graduate School of Librarianship, 1962), p. III.

[18] I. Ohijenko, *Istorija…*(1994), *op. cit.*, p. 35.

Montenegro which some scholars, such as Tomanovič, claimed to have been the first Cyrillic printed book.[19] A book issued in Venice in 1483 was the first one printed in Glagolitic characters; it targeted Croatian readers only because these characters were not popular with East Slavic nations.

The two books printed in Cracow in 1491 were in the Church Slavonic language with a Ukrainian tinge (as stated by Ohijenko and Wynar): *Časoslov* [*The Book of Hours*][20] and *Oktoix* [*Octoechos,* i.e. a liturgical Orthodox book that contains canons and religious hymns].[21] The printer was Schweipolt Fiol, a German from Neustadt in Franconia, who like many other Germans emigrated to Poland, where Polish kings very readily welcomed skilled artisans. Initially involved in the mining industry, Fiol may have learned the Ruthenian tongue in Lublin. Another German resident of Cracow, Rudolf Borsdorf, prepared the Cyrillic letters following Fiol's instructions.[22] There has been much speculation about who the patron of Fiol's work was; according to Lubomyr R. Wynar, the only valid explanation is that "Fiol was printing at the request of some prominent priests of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church."[23] Isajevyč supports this hypothesis, corroborated by the fact that in both colophons — of *Časoslov* and of *Oktoix* — Fiol emphasised his German origin. Isajevyč explains that

> the true — Orthodox — initiators would prefer to remain in the shadows, knowing that the German Catholic was the least suspected of wanting to issue books to the detriment of the Catholic faith. The mention that the printer was of 'German family' was probably intended to create an impression that printing was only business and disguise the real motives of the organisers. Despite these precautions, clouds gathered over printing in Cyrillic. In November 1491, Fiol was imprisoned as a heretic. Shortly after his release from prison, he was forced into Levoča (Eastern Slovakia).[24]

Isajevyč supposes, too, that the orthodox eparchy of Peremyšl' (Polish Przemyśl), close to Cracow and with an intense cultural life, was involved in Fiol's printing. An important role was also played by Jan Turzo, who was the owner of the mines where Fiol worked as a technician and who financed his printing business in Cyrillic. According to Karen Lambrecht, the rich and powerful Hungarian Turzo family, with their international profile and their network of allies and friends, had a remarkable role in facilitating intercultural communications in Early Modern Central Europe.[25] Jan Turzo later became the Archbishop of Wrocław (1506–1520).

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[19] S. Tomanovič, "Die erste slavisch-cyrillische Buchdruckerei," *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* XVII (1900), p. 431.

[20] Copies are available in the "Vernads'kyj" National Library of Ukraine, Kyïv (NLVUK) and the Moscow State Library (MSL).

[21] A copy is available in the MSL.

[22] I. Ohijenko, *Istorija…* (1994), *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[23] L.R. Wynar, *History of Early Ukrainian Printing. 1491–1600* (Denver: University of Denver Graduate School of Librarianship, 1962), p. 21.

[24] J. Isajevyč, *Ukraïns'ke Knyhovydannja…* (2002), *op. cit.*, pp. 90–91.

[25] K. Lambrecht, "Aufstiegschancen und Handlungsräume in Ostmitteleuropäischen Zentren um 1500: Das Beispiel Der Unternehmerfamilie Thurzo." *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 47, (1998), pp. 317–346.

Given Fiol's Ruthenian and Orthodox clientele from Ukraine as well as his use, in Cyrillic letters, of Church Slavonic with a Ukrainian tinge, the prominent Ukrainian historians of Ukrainian printing open their works with discussions of the books printed by Fiol. It is, indeed, an acceptable historiographic choice, be it for no other reason than a wide circulation of Fiol's books among Ukrainian readers; but we must not forget the international character of the Fiol enterprise, implemented in Poland by a German craftsman funded by a Hungarian entrepreneur.

Fiol's *Oktoix* consists of 169 printed leaves in *folio* without printed numerals, with 25 or 26 lines per page. *Časoslov* consists of 769 pages. They had only scant decoration and used 230 different letters. Fiol's incunabula had many imperfections: his type was clearly cut but dense in spacing, and the margins in many places were irregular.[26] Fiol published three more undated books: *Triod' cvetnaja* [*Pentecostarion* or *Flowery Triodion*],[27] *Triod' postnaja* [*Fasting Triodion*][28] and a book of Psalms, which has been lost. Fiol's publications circulated widely across Ukraine, Belarus and other Orthodox countries. In Russia, where the first copy was imported in 1517, they were long used, especially, among the Old Believer communities. Today we know that 126 copies (identified or described) may have survived,[29] 9 of which are *Oktoix* (with only one of them complete, once preserved in the library of St. Elizabeth's Church in Wrocław and now kept in the Russian State Library of Moscow). A copy of *Triod' cvetnaja* is kept in the New York Public Library.

5.

The second printing enterprise analysed in the main Ukrainian historical reconstructions of print culture in Early Modern Ukraine (Ohijenko, Wynar, Isajevyč) is that run by Franciscus Skoryna (before 1490–ca. 1551), a scholar born in Polack, a town which belonged to the Lithuanian Grand Duchy (now to Northern Belarus). The Lithuanian Grand Duchy was a multinational state with a social and cultural cooperation between the Lithuanian rulers and the Slavic people; actually, Ukrainians and Belarusians shared religion, culture and a common language, i.e. Ruthenian (the old Rus' language, with local nuances). As Skoryna's vernacular printed language was closer to the Belarusian variant of the Ruthenian language, he is currently considered one of the fathers of the Belarusian language. Therefore, Skoryna should in fact be ranked as an epitome of Ruthenian-Belarusian print culture. He is included in the histories of Ukrainian printing because Ruthenian

[26] L.R. Wynar, *History…* (1962), *op. cit.*, pp. 24–26.

[27] Copies are available in the MSL and Biblioteka Narodowa [National Library], Warszawa (BNW).

[28] Copies are available in the NLVUK, the MSL and the BNW.

[29] L.R. Wynar, *History…* (1962), *op. cit.*, p. 27.

culture is the common source of the Ukrainian and the Belarusian ones, and because his books circulated largely in Ukraine.

Skoryna was born into a wealthy merchant family and graduated from Universities in Cracow and Padua (1512). Skoryna chose Prague as the most favourable place for publishing Cyrillic books, where the Hussite movement had prompted an unprecedented rise of cultural and political life. The first translation of the Bible into one of the Slavic languages was published, not incidentally, in Prague. On 6 August, 1517, Skoryna's *Psaltyr'* [*Psalter*][30] was published in Church Slavonic with annotations in the vernacular language. The publisher pointed out that the book could be used "by children as the beginning of all good learning." The book consisted of 142 leaves in a convenient format (*quarto*). Skoryna's real aim was to translate the Bible into Ruthenian; therefore, he published 22 separate Bible books over the next two years.[31] The printing was supported, as Ohijenko points out, by Bohdan Onkov, a rich merchant of Vilnius.[32] In 1525, Skoryna transferred his press from Prague to Vilnius, where he issued *Apostol* [*The Acts of the Apostles*],[33] but soon he had to stop his printing activity because of serious personal and financial troubles.[34] According to Ohijenko, Skoryna asked some German masters to prepare the Cyrillic letters.[35]

All Ukrainian scholars emphasise the high level of Skoryna's printing; Isajevich's opinion is that, "although Prague was the centre of ancient printing, at that time there were no Czech editions of such highly artistic Renaissance design as in the printing of Francišak Skoryna."[36] For Wynar, "it is necessary to emphasize the high degree of technological excellence of his printing."[37] Skoryna introduced a title page in Slavic incunabula and did not imitate (unlike Fiol) the features of manuscript books. His books are richly decorated with woodcuts, engravings, ornamental initials (like contemporaneous Italian and German books) and also portraits of the publisher, an unprecedented detail never seen afterwards.[38] Skoryna was inspired by humanistic ideals, and his translations were marked by a desire to make them understandable to "simple people." Hence, he used many grammatical and lexical "Belarusianisms."[39] On account of this, Ivan Franko, a prominent Ukrainian writer, defined Skoryna's printing not only as a literary fact but also as an important contribution to the history of culture. Interestingly, there are numerous handwritten copies of the Bible and Skoryna's other printed texts.[40]

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[30] A copy is available in the MSL.
[31] Copies of 22 books are available in the MSL; of 9 books in the NLVUK.
[32] I. Ohijenko, *Istorija…* (1994), *op. cit.*, p. 49.
[33] A copy is available in the MSL.
[34] L.R. Wynar, *History…* (1962), *op. cit.*, p. 35.
[35] I. Ohijenko, *Istorija…* (1994), *op. cit.*, p. 49.
[36] J. Isajevyč, *Ukraïns'ke Knyhovydannja…* (2002), *op. cit.*, p. 96.
[37] L.R. Wynar, *History…* (1962), *op. cit.*, pp. 36–37.
[38] J. Isajevyč, *Ukraïns'ke Knyhovydannja…* (2002), *op. cit.*, p. 96.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 99.
[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 99–100.

6.

Ruthenian-Belarusian was also the beginning, in the early 1560s in Nesviž (a village owned by Prince Mikołaj Radziwiłł), of the printed books used to disseminate religious ideas, in this case Protestant ones. It was in Nesviž in 1562 that the Calvinist Semeon Budnyj (1530–1593), aided by the pastor Lavrentij Kryškovs'kij, published *Katexyzys* [*Catechism*],[41] which consisted of 256 leaves. Because the type used in the Nesviž press was very close to Skoryna's type, Ohijenko suggest that Skoryna's equipment was handed over to them. The prince's death in 1565 and his son's reconversion to Catholicism put an end to the Nesviž Calvinist printing.[42] Patriotic and religious aims inspired the printing ventures of the Belarusian Protestant Vasyl Tjapyns'kyj (Polish Wasyl Ciapiński), the first Slavic wandering printer, who published *Evanhelie* [*The Gospel*] in the early 1570s, without engraved illustrations except the ornamental initial letters and with the type similar to that used by Skoryna and Budnyj. At the time of publication, this Gospel was unique in that it featured the Church Slavonic text and a translation into the language of "simple folk" (that is, Belarusians and Ukrainians) next to each other. Tjapyns'kyj provided also etymological explanations of words and passages. These materials demonstrate that he had a good knowledge of science and philology.[43] In his didactic, Protestant-inflected *Foreword* to the Gospel, Tjapyns'kyj articulated the stereotypical idea of the abandonment of the Ruthenian identity after the Union of Lublin, which was to find its most famous expression in the *Trenos* (1610) of the prominent orthodox writer Meletij Smotryc'kyj (ca. 1577–1633), who later converted and joined the Uniate Church. The Gospel of Tjapyns'kyj has been preserved only in two copies, one of which is kept in the Regional Museum of Arkhangelsk.

7.

Finally, the first Ukrainian book actually printed in Ukraine was published in L'viv, by a Muscovite craftsman. The press founder was, in fact, a refugee from Moscow, Ivan Fedorov (ca. 1520–1583), who arrived in Vilnius in 1566 with his collaborator Pëtr Mstyslavec. Two years before, they had printed *Apostol* in Moscow, but the Russian clergy — as Fedorov affirmed in the *Colophon* of his L'viv *Apostol* (1574)[44] — were hostile to printed books and forced them to leave Moscow. In Vilnius, they were invited by a prominent nobleman Hryhorij Xodkevyč to establish a printing house in Zabludiv (Podlasie). Here they printed *Evanhelie Uxitel'noe* [*The Instructive Gospel*] (399 leaves in *folio*) in 1568.[45] Based on the similarity of the types

[41] A copy is available in the MSL.
[42] I. Ohijenko, *Istorija…* (1994), *op. cit.*, p. 57.
[43] J. Isajevyč, *Ukraïns'ke Knyhovydannja…* (2002), *op. cit.*, p. 103.
[44] Copies are available in the NLVUK and the MSL.
[45] Copies are available in the NLVUK and the MSL.

used in Zabludiv and in Moscow, Maslov supposed that Fedorov had an opportunity to bring the printing equipment in from Russia.[46] In 1573, he was in L'viv: he could learn about the cultural and educational activities of the L'viv middle classes. That is why he hoped that in L'viv he could find favourable conditions for self-publishing. Some indications hint at printing activity in L'viv predating Ivan Fedorov's arrival there, but no such books have been preserved. All the illuminations of the L'viv *Apostol* (15 plus 264 leaves in *folio*) are ornamental plants, and the book has a high artistic value. Compared to the work made in Moscow, Fedorov used orthographic variants which were in use in Ukraine, but the emphasis was mostly the same as in the Moscow *Apostol*; according to Isajevyč, isolated cases of the Ukrainian accent type suggest that Ukrainian assemblers were involved in production.[47] One copy of this book is to be found in the New York Public Library and another one in the Harvard University Library (Harvard hosts one of the most important centres of the Ukrainian studies); a handful copies are preserved in L'viv and Kyïv libraries.

In 1836, Denys Zubryc'kyj expressed a belief that there must have been other books printed in L'viv by Fedorov. But it was not until 1954 that scholars and the public found out about the existence of another print — *Azbuka* [*Primer*] published in L'viv in 1574 — from an article by Roman Jakobson.[48] The discovered copy is now kept in the Library of Harvard University. In 1984, another copy of the book was reported and, subsequently, acquired by the British Library in London. This *Primer* is the first textbook in Ukrainian. According to Isajevyč,

> it was associated with the educational plans for the Ukrainian middle class, who gradually raised the level of their schools. In 1572 representatives of "the whole Rus' community and the burghers" of L'viv petitioned the monarch to recognise their right to send children to schools and to study "liberal arts," and in April 1575 they were granted approval. The publication of the *Primer* contributed to the implementation of the educational programme.[49]

In 1575, Fedorov left L'viv for Ostroh, in Volhynia; here, *knjaz'* (Prince) Kostjantyn Ostroz'kyj (1526–1608) had founded an Academy and initiated the project of translating and printing the entire Bible in Church Slavonic. This ambitious project took five years and involved the most prominent personalities of Orthodox culture. Finally, in 1581, Fedorov printed the famous *Ostrohian Bible* (628 leaves of petit type in *folio*),[50] one of the most important literary monuments in Eastern Europe; the first 5 unnumbered pages contained the title, Ostroz'kyj's coat of arms and two prefaces in Greek and Church Slavonic by the *knjaz'* and Herasym Smotryc'kyj, who led the commission of translators. The wealth of Ostroz'kyj and the expertise of Fedorov produced an excellent work printed in black and red,

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[46] S. Maslov, *Drukarstwo…* (1924), *op. cit.*, p. 32.
[47] J. Isajevyč, *Ukraïns'ke Knyhovydannja…* (2002), *op. cit.*, p. 113.
[48] R. Jakobson, "Ivan Fedorov's *Primer*," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 9 (1955), pp. 5–39.
[49] J. Isajevyč, *Ukraïns'ke Knyhovydannja…* (2002), *op. cit.*, p. 117.
[50] Copies are available in the NLVUK and the MSL.

with ornaments (flower designs, engraved initials and capital letters).[51] In 1582, Fedorov returned to L'viv, but the Ostroh press continued to print, issuing several publications. All of them were devised to defend the Orthodox faith; one of the most famous Ostroh issues was *Apokrysys* by Xrystofor Filalet (1598).[52] With the death, in 1608, of *knjaz'* Kostjantyn, his son decided to embrace Catholicism; consequently, both the Academy and printing practically ceased in Ostroh.

All in all, there are 28 specimens of Ostroh printing registered throughout its lifetime. Of these, only seven are liturgical. Other texts include mainly manuals, theological works and anti-Catholic, anti-Uniate and partly anti-Protestant *pamphlets* (10 publications). As for languages, Ostroh printings are distributed as follows: 14 Church Slavonic texts, 4 texts in Church Slavonic with added parts in Ukrainian, one bilingual edition, and the rest in the "simple" (usually Ukrainian) language.[53]

8.

When Fedorov died in L'viv in 1583, the *Uspens'ke braststvo* [Assumption Brotherhood] took over Fedorov's press and founded its own printing house. At that time, the Ukrainian Fraternities played a vital role, defending burghers' rights and the Orthodox faith. The press, schooling and charity were three closely related spheres of the Brotherhood's activity in L'viv. In 1592, the Brotherhood obtained the monopoly on printing Cyrillic church and school books from the Polish king; the director of the press house was the monk Minna, Fedorov's close collaborator helped by Fedorov's son and Hryn' Ivanovyč. In the 16th century, the main publication of the house was a Greek and Church Slavonic grammar, *Adelphotes* (1591),[54] used in the Brotherhood school (182 leaves). The church hierarchy attempted to subdue the Brotherhood publishing and put it under its control: on 26 October, 1591, the orthodox bishops decided at the Cathedral of Brest that the Vilnius and L'viv Brotherhoods were to print only the texts authorised by the bishops. To avoid the control of local bishops, the L'viv Brotherhood strengthened direct contacts with the Metropolitan of Kyïv and the Eastern Patriarchs. And in 1593 it assumed the name of "Stavropigian," granted by the Patriarch of Constantinople.[55] However, by that time the L'viv Brotherhood's printing activity had apparently come to a halt. No publication from 1594–1608 has been preserved that could be definitely attributed to this printer. The prohibition for Orthodox congregations to publish books

[51] S. Maslov, *Drukarstwo…* (1924), *op. cit.*, p. 40.

[52] A copy is available in the NLVUK.

[53] J. Isajevyč, *Ukraïns'ke Knyhovydannja…* (2002), *op. cit.*, p. 138.

[54] A copy is available in MLS.

[55] In Orthodox Christianity, "Stavropigian" designates an institution or a monastery that is answerable to a Metropolitan's or a Patriarch's direct jurisdiction, rather than to that of a diocesan bishop.

without the bishops' authorisation lost validity as almost all the bishops accepted the Union of Brest. Among the sixteen known Fraternity publications issued over the first 25 years (1591–1616) of its activity, there were only four liturgical books, a sign of the publishers' prevalent social and lay interests.

Since the printing press did not bring significant profits, it was not restored after a fire that had damaged the building. Due to a general decline in activity, the Brotherhood's most famous printing and school staff went to work in Kyïv; here, about 1615 there were the Lavra Monastery printing and a local Brotherhood with its own school. In 1617–1629 the L'viv Brotherhood printing was not active[56], but afterwards it recovered and remained in existence until 1939.

9.

According to an ancient opinion dating back at least to the 18th century, the characters and instrumentation for printing passed from Ostroh to Kyïv's Pečers'ka Lavra; but the Kyïvian font, although similar to the Ostrohian, is not identical with it. The most ancient Kyïvian editions are *The Book of Hours* (about 1616)[57] and a poetic panegyric in Ukrainian of the Lavra's Archimandrite, Jelysej Pletenec'kyj (who led the Monastery from 1599 until his death in 1624), written by Oleksandr Mytura (1618)[58]. Following an incorrect (as Maslov stressed)[59] list of the 19th century, Titov wrongly assumed in his book on the Lavra's typography that the press enterprise had started in 1606. But the very preface to *The Book of Hours* names it the first-born of Kyïv publishing, while the Pletenec'kyj' panegyric says that the Archimandrite bought the fonts and the printing equipment owned by the ancient bishop of L'viv, Hedeon Balaban, who died in 1607.[60] Balaban, in fact, had tried to compete with the Brotherhood printing by setting up his own office in the town of Stryatyn.[61]

The first major Lavra-edited volume was *Anfolohion* [*Menaion*],[62] released in January 1619. It counted 16 unnumbered and 1648 numbered pages in *folio*. The text was deliberately commissioned in small print (10 lines — 49 mm). It is interesting to note that some press notes placed on the sheets allow us to calculate the time required for printing: 12–14.5 pages per week. The selection of the Propers shows the publishers' intentions to use the cult of local saints to emphasise the role of Kyïv in the life of the nation and the Orthodox world: the book includes

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56 J. Isajevyč, *Ukraïns'ke Knyhovydannja…* (2002), *op. cit.*, p. 146.
57 A copy is available in the MLS.
58 A copy is available in the MLS.
59 S. Maslov, *Drukarstwo…* (1924), *op. cit.*, p. 45.
60 I. Ohijenko, *Istorija…* (1994), *op. cit.*, pp. 257–259.
61 *Ibid.*, pp. 164–170.
62 Copies are available in the NLVUK and the MSL.

liturgies of the noble Kyïvian saints (the *knjazi* Volodymyr, Borys and Hlib), of the Blessed Antonij and Feodosij of the Caves, of the Metropolitans Petro and Oleksij, of the Apostle Andrew (who was said to have predicted the future role of Kyïv), of the popular saints Paraskevija-P'jatnycja (Paraskevi of Iconium) and Onufrij, of the prophet Elisha and of the Great Martyr Euphemia — patrons of Pletenec'kyj.[63] Among the editions of the early period of the Cave printing, there is *Virši…* (*A Poem*)[64] in memory of Petro Konaševyč-Sahajdačnyj, Het'man of the Cossacks; it was composed (1622) by Kasijan Sakovyč, a monk and the rector of the Kyïvian Brotherhood schools. Sahajdačnyj had played an important role in the restoration of the Metropolitan See of Kyïv and in the emergence of Cossacs as a unified political power. According to Isajevyč,

> the book is very interesting because it contains historical and ordinary details; in it, patriotic motives resonated in a full voice. For the first time in the practice of Cyrillic typography there are secular illustrations: an equestrian portrait of Sahajdačnyj, an attack of the Cossack fleet on the Turkish fortress of Kaffa, in Crimea.[65]

Of course, the Lavra's liturgical texts and prayer books were almost all printed in Church Slavonic. A very significant exception is, in part, *Triod' pisna* of 1627,[66] which Tarasij Zemka translated into Ukrainian. This *Triod'* was the most richly illustrated Ukrainian book of the first half of the 17th century (125 illustrations with 84 boards). In autumn 1627, the printing was completed of Pamva Berynda's famous *Leksykon Slavenoros'kyj*,[67] which exerted a sustained influence on the development of the East Slavic lexicography. The dictionary consists of two parts: the first contains translations of words form Church Slavonic into Ukrainian, and the second comprises explanations of Biblical personal and place names.

With the election, in the same year, of Petro Mohyla as Lavra Archimandrite, who afterward became also the Metropolitan of Kyïv and founded the glorious Kyïvian Academy, the Lavra became the main Ukrainian and Eastern Orthodox publisher (1650–1720). Around 1650, for example, Tsar Alexis I promoted the publication in the Muscovite realm of the Kyïvian theological works, including the Profession of Faith written by Mohyla, a trend that grew with the election in 1652 of Patriarch Nikon, a reformist.

But in the 1720s, the situation changed radically. After Mazepa attempted a secession, the Russian government banned publications of Kyïvian and Černihiv printers other than reprints of old books, which had to be in Russian and even with the same Russian accents. Around the time when Kyïv and Černihiv printing came under devastating and humiliating control of the Russian government and of the Russian Church, the L'viv Brotherhood's printing was put under control of

63 J. Isajevyč, *Ukraïns'ke Knyhovydannja…* (2002), *op. cit.*, p. 170.
64 A copy is available in the MLS.
65 J. Isajevyč, *Ukraïns'ke Knyhovydannja…* (2002), *op. cit.*, p. 172.
66 Copies are available in the NLVUK and the MSL.
67 Copies are available in the NLVUK and the MSL.

the papal Nuncio and his designated commissioners.[68] However, their supervision was not as pervasive as the draconian Russian measures for the Hetmanate, where the Kyïv and Černihiv printing offices (the latter generally stopped working and was restored in 1743) confined their ventures to the art of book design and reprinting of prayer books. The Mohylian Academy had to resort to having some of its materials printed abroad, especially in Germany.[69] In 1767, the governor of the imperial Slobožanščyna asked the Russian Senate for permission to establish a printing press at the College of Xarkiv, but his request was rejected.[70]

10.

In the foregoing, we have extensively summarised the Ukrainian historiography of Ukrainian early print culture. In an interpretive perspective, we have seen at least 5 narrative assumptions at work in the Ukrainian historiography of this phenomenon:

1. The rebuttal of the pan-Russian rhetoric, accepted by both Russian nationalists and Soviets, in which Ukraine and Belarus are framed as two components of the greater Russian nation; consequently, the history of printing in Ukraine cannot fall within a broader history of Russian printing or Cyrillic printing. Indeed, it is the Ukrainian land that has given birth to printing in Cyrillic characters.

2. The existence, from the 11th century on, of a Ukrainian ethnic-territorial space and of a Ukrainian cultural world.

3. The emphasis on a Ukrainian tinge in Church Slavonic of the first books printed in Cyrillic.

4. The emphasis, on the other hand, on the shared life of Ukrainians and Belarusians in the times of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

5. The refusal of a rhetorical Polish narration, which, as Isajevyč claims, "subsumes all Ukrainians and Belarusians who worked in the *Rzeczpospolita* among 'Polish books editors,' even those who were given the Orthodox Church Slavonic liturgical books."[71]

All of these assumptions (some to a lesser and some to a greater extent, as we have seen) are shareable and justified but must be viewed in the context of international factors which contributed to the birth and development of Ukrainian printing. Sometimes, when this international conjuncture is not adequately emphasised, Ukrainian historiography tends to Ukrainise all of early printing in Cyrillic. We certainly can affirm that the Ukrainian space must be considered the

[68] I. Ohijenko, *Istorija…* (1994), *op. cit.*, p. 298; J. Isajevyč, *Ukraïns'ke Knyhovydannja…* (2002), *op. cit.*, p. 232.

[69] J. Isajevyč, *Ukraïnk'ke Knyhovydannja...* (2002), *op. cit.*

[70] *Ibid.*, p. 293.

[71] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

cradle of printing in Cyrillic characters, but the Polish and Belarusian impact must not be overlooked. In addition, the presence of German and Russian craftsmen in the printing enterprises makes it necessary to accept the multinational and complex character of Ukrainian printing at the onset of the Early Modern period. Soon afterwards, the high-quality printing activities of the Brotherhood of L'viv and of the Kyïv Pečers'ka Lavra prevailed as sources of dissemination of Orthodox-Ruthenian-Ukrainian print culture, in interaction with Polish and Latin culture of the *Rzeczpospolita* as well as in conjunction with other Orthodox Slavic countries where printing was less developed, such as Muscovite Russia.

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Raman VORANAU ("Political Sphere" Institute, Minsk, Belarus)

The Belarusian Printing Pioneer Francišak Skaryna: The Early Modern Hero in Later National Interpretations

Abstract: The Belarusian national pantheon of heroes includes today many figures representing various periods and various spheres of activity. The first place in this ranking belongs to Francysk (or Francišak) Skaryna, a printing pioneer. He is considered more important than the communist leader of Soviet Belarus Piotr Mašeraŭ or Eŭfrasińnia Połackaja, an ancient Belarusian patron saint. It is not common for the nations of Central and Eastern Europe to give precedence to a book printer as a national hero. The exceptional popularity of Francysk Skaryna in Belarus is a result of multiple factors acting over 200 years of the national development. He could have become a Russian hero, proved interesting for Ukrainian intellectuals and their national ideas, and was considered a Pole by Polish scholars in the early 19th century. The texts printed by Francišak Skaryna in the Early Modern times, his language(s), creed, name and the geography of his activities have all been alternately used or suppressed to produce his image as national and native or hostile and strange.

Keywords: Francysk Skaryna, early book printers, ideology, Belarus, Russian Empire, USSR.

The pantheon of Belarusian national heroes includes personalities from various epochs who made an impact in diverse spheres. According to the research carried out by the Belarusian independent sociological laboratory "Novak" in 2009 and 2012, Belarusians were proud of Piotr Mašeraŭ — a communist leader of the Soviet Belarus in 1965–1980, who died in suspect circumstances. Also, they knew about Eŭfrasińnia — an ancient Belarusian patron saint, who was one of the religious enemies suppressed by the Soviet propaganda but could find her way back to the mass consciousness after the USSR collapsed. Belarusians are also proud of Kastuś Kalinoŭski — the leader of an anti-tsarist rebellion in Belarus and Lithuania in 1863–1864, when the territories were part of the Russian Empire. A lot of people know Minaj Šmyroŭ, who coordinated the partisan movement in the north of Belarus during World War Two. Twice as many people "remember" about the first modern Belarusian poet Francišak Bahuševič, and thrice as many — about Tadeusz Kościuszko (Bel. *Tadeuš Kaściuška*), the

leader of an uprising against Imperial Russia in the lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1794.[1]

But the current number one for the majority of the Belarusian population is Francysk (or Francišak) Skaryna[2] — the first Eastern European book-printer and the first Slav to translate the Bible into a language close to "the people's." (Skaryna is popularly believed to have printed the first Belarusian book or the first book in the Belarusian language, which is in fact scientifically inaccurate.) In this article, we will try to single out Skaryna's main features which have been employed in casting him as a hero or an enemy and sketch the context in which they have affected his final image as a Belarusian hero. Skaryna's image will be outlined drawing on views and ideas articulated by East-European intellectualls in their texts on old prints, book art, Renaissance literature, history of culture and other subjects. Sometimes these ideas are expressed openly, but more often texts need to be analysed and compared to extract them.

Pages of Biography

Details of Francysk Skaryna's life are known from relatively sparse documents: the notes from Cracow and Padua Universities, the correspondence of the Czech king Ferdinand I, a document from the Prussian court in Keansburg, legal actions in Polack, Vilnius, Poznań and some other ones.[3] It is a typical scenario for a merchant who lived and worked in the first decades of the 16th century. Skaryna was born in Polack, an ancient Belarusian city in the north-eastern part of the present-day republic. His date of birth has not been precisely established, with "Skarynologists" tending to place it somewhere in the 1480s–1490s.[4]

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[1] The results of the 2009 research in V. Silicki, "Bielaruskija brendy: histaryčnaja pamiać, simvaly i masavaja kultura" [Belarusian brands: Historical memory, symbols and mass culture] (Vilnius: Belarusian Institute for Strategical Studies, 2009), URL: www.belinstitute.eu/images/stories/documents/budzma2.ppt. Concluding article about the 2012 research: "Histaryčnaja pamiać bielarusaŭ" [Historical memory of the Belarusians]. *Budźma bielarusami* (2012). URL: www.budzma.org/news/histarychnaya-pamyac-belarusau.html.

[2] Spelled also as Francišak Skoryna (cf. the previous article) (editors' note).

[3] H.Ja. Halienčanka, *Francysk Skaryna — bielaruski i ŭschodnieslavianski pieršadrukar* [Francysk Skaryna — Belarusian and Eastern Slavic books printing pioneer] (Minsk: Navuka i technika, 1993), pp. 32–36.

[4] E.g., P.V. Vladimirov, *Francysk Skorina: Iego perevody, pechatnyie izdaniia i iazyk* [Francysk Skorina: His translations, prints and language] (Saint-Petersburg: Tipografia imperatorskoi akademii nauk, 1888), p. 44; A. Stankievič, *Doktar Francišak Skaryna: pieršy bielaruski drukar. 1525–1925* [Dr. Francišak Skaryna: The first Belarusian printer. 1525–1925] (Vilnia: Bielaruskaha navukovaha tavarystva, 1925), p. 22; M.A. Alieksiutovič, *Skaryna: jaho dziejnasć i svietapohliad* [Skaryna: His activities and views] (Minsk: Akademii navuk BSSR, 1958), p. 40; H.Ja. Halienčanka, *Francysk Skaryna…* (1993), *op. cit.*, pp. 85–87.

Francysk Skaryna studied in a church school and a monk school of the Bernadines in Polack. He obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree from Cracow's Jagiellonian University. In 1512, he received a doctorate in medicine at the University of Padua, Italy, becoming thus the first Doctor of Medicine from Eastern Europe. Subsequently, for reasons so far unknown, Dr. Francysk Skaryna moved to Prague. On 6 August, 1517, he printed *Psaltyr* [*The Psalter*], the book of psalms in which a substantial proportion of vocabulary came from Belarusian and Old Belarusian. Today, it is considered to be the first Belarusian printed book and the majority of scholars define the language of *The Psalter* as Old Belarusian. By 1519, Skaryna had also printed translations of 22 Bible books in Prague.

In 1520, Skaryna left Bohemia and returned to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In 1522, he opened the first printing house in Vilnia (Vilnius), where he published *Malaja padarozhnaja knizhka* [*A Little Travel Book*] in 1522 and *Apostle* [*The Acts of the Apostles*] in 1525. They were the first books printed in Vilnius, in the Grand Duchy Lithuania and in all East-European or East-Slavic lands.

Apparently, Skaryna travelled extensively. His traces were found in Poznań, where he was imprisoned for his brother's debts. In Moscow, he probably wanted to start a book distribution business, which proved a rather inopportune venture. In Keansburg, he had some dealings with the Duke of Prussia, Albert, and took away his doctor for unknown reasons. Skaryna worked as a doctor and a secretary to the bishop in Vilnia, but the last mention about him concerns his stay in Prague, where he probably worked as a royal gardener. Historians concede that Francysk Skaryna died at the very beginning of the 1550s, after he had lived, as transpires from this brief account, a full life of a Renaissance man.

Obviously, Skaryna was an outstanding person in Eastern Europe's Early Modern printing culture. The impact of his heritage proved enduring. He greatly influenced his followers both in the Great Duchy of Lithuania (suffice it to mention such enlighteners and book-printers as Symon Budny and Viasil Ciapinski) and abroad. The books printed by Ivan Fedorov and Pyotr Mstislavets, who are considered to be the first Russian book-printers, include elements evidently modelled on Skaryna.[5]

Francysk Skaryna in the Russian Empire: From a Slavic Book-Pioneer to a Belarusian National Figure

A figure of such a powerful cultural impact could not be overlooked by the Russian humanities scholars of the 19th century, especially after the incorporation in 1772–1795 of the "Western borderlands" with the cities in which Skaryna lived

[5] H.Ja. Halienčanka, *Francysk Skaryna…* (1993), *op. cit.*, pp. 224–239. On the other hand, the influence of Skaryna's heritage was sometimes overstated. See, for example, A.S. Zernova, "Pervopechatnik Petr Timofeevich Mstislavets" [First books printer Petr Timofeevich Mstislavets], *The book: Studies and materials. Symposia 9* (1964), pp. 80–81.

and printed his books (Polack and Vilnius, or *Polotsk* and *Vilno*, according to the Russian language norms of that time; the English version of these names is: Polotsk and Vilna). Russian scholars started systematically to attend to the figure of the first book printer and his heritage at the very beginning of the 19th century. The interest in Skaryna's life and work concentrated on three contexts: bibliographical, philological and church history ones. The first of them seems to have attracted attention first.

Ever since old books started to attract professional researchers, they have focused on the books produced by Skaryna, printed in the "Russian" city of Vilna with Cyrillic letters in a language that is not Church Slavonic, but close to Old Russian. For example, one of the first fundmental Russian works on bibliography, *Bibliotieka Rossijskaia* [*Russian Library*] by bishop Damaskin, opens with Skaryna's Old Testament books.[6] Because Skaryna's prints were widely disseminated in Russian old book collections and monastery libraries, his name was frequently encountered in museums, libraries, exhibitions and private book collection inventories and descriptions. As a rule, Francysk Skaryna's legacy was among the oldest prints in these collections, and texts about it popularised and perpetuated his priority in "Russian" book history.

In the philological context, contradictory images of Francysk Skaryna were in circulation. The language of his books was classified as "Russian" (*russkij*), "Ruthenian" (*rus'kij*), "Belorusian," "Lithuanian-Russian," "Western-Russian" and so on. Some researchers interpreted Skaryna's language as an acceptable version of Russian or Great Russian (*vielikorusskij*) and, consequently, regarded him as an outstanding Russian or Belarusian personality (in the sense of the "triune" Russian nation, comprised of Belorusians, Ukranians and Great-Russians). But some specialists viewed the Old Belarusian language as artificial and Polonised very much. Because of such opinions, from the mid-19th century on, Francysk Skaryna was accused of being a "Poloniser" of the "Russian" people in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.[7] Nevertheless, this was not the mainstream attitude towards Skaryna in Russian Imperial historiography.

Texts pertaining to church history put forward various ideas about Francysk Skaryna. His faith still remains unknown. In the 19th century, it was one more reason for speculations around his figure. In 1867, Aleksandr Viktorov adduced several arguments for Skaryna's Orthodox affiliation.[8] Based on that, Russian scholars

[6] M.I. Suhomlinov, *Istoriia Rossiiskoi akademii* [History of the Russian Academy], *Vol. 1* (Saint-Petersburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoi Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk, 1874), pp. 163–164.

[7] E.g., I. Fliorov, *O pravoslavnyh tserkovnyh bratstvach, protiborstvovavshih Unii v Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii, v XVI, XVII i XVIII stolietiiah* [About the Orthodox church brotherhoods, opposed to Union in Southeastern Russia in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries] (Saint-Petersburg: Tipografiia Eduarda Veimara, 1857), p. 139.

[8] A. Ia. Viktorov, *Zamechatelnoe otkrytie v drevne-russkom knizhnom mire (pervaia kniga, napchatannaia dr. Fr. Skorinoi)* [A remarkable discovery in the world of ancient Russian books (the first book, printed by Dr. Fr. Skorina)] (Moscow, 1867).

started to picture him as a wholly regular Russian hero. Importantly, however, in Vilna in the 1860s, some intellectuals interpreted Skaryna as a "Russian Catholic,"[9] proposing in this way a distinctive local hero who could glorify the North-Western Province and its links with the centre of the empire. In this perspective, Francysk Skaryna was Russian by nationality and Catholic by faith. His books were suitable both for the Western and for the Byzantine ceremonies. This led to a desirable conclusion that Vilno had always been a Russian city because even Catholics printed here their books for Orthodox Christians, who could be of no other nationality but Russian. So the old book-printer was used as evidence of the whole region's primordial Russianness.

The Russian Empire and its dominant ethnic group did not need another book printing hero. Ivan Fyodorov was a well-known personality; he printed his *Apostol* in Moscow, the heart of the Russian lands, in 1564, when it was ruled by Ivan IV the Terrible. So although Francysk Skaryna's prints were earlier and his ethnicity and creed were interpreted as "Russian," he stood hardly any chance of becoming a popular figure in the Empire. Nevertheless, scholars continued researching his heritage, and the "local" context — the mark of Belarusianness — was still rather vivid, especially as regards the language of Skaryna's books.

Among different terms given to "the people's" language used in Francysk Skaryna's translations, "Old Belarusian" was the prevailing choice. And it was based on the language, the time and the place of birth that the intellectuals of the young modern Belarusian nation came to think of Francysk Skaryna as a "native." Vilnius (or *Vilnia* in Belarusian), as a city where he plied his printing trade, was one of the most important pages in the hero's biography for the Belarusian intellectual elite. This city was the capital of the new Belarusian national movement, the first Belarusian newspaper was edited here, the first legal Belarusian political party was established here, and the coutryside around Vilnia was populated by Belarusian peasants.[10] Vilnia was the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which the official historiography of the Russian Empire considered a "Lithuanian-Russian" state.[11] Belarusians insisted that it was "Lithuanian-Ruthenian" or "Lithuanian-Belarusian" and not to be confused with the name of the population in Muscovy.[12] A high percentage of the Slavic population in the Grand Duchy of

[9] Beloruss., "Sud'by russkogo iazyka v kostiolah Severo-Zapadnogo kraia" [The lot of the Russian language in Catholic churches of the Northwestern Province], *Russkii vestnik* Vol. 77, no. 9 (1868), pp. 134–163; Vol. 10 (1868), pp. 618–642.

[10] O Łatyszonek and E. Mironowicz, *Historia Białorusi od połowy XVIII do końca XX wieku* [History of Belarus from the middle of the 18th till the end of the 20th century] (Białystok: Offset-Print, 2002), pp. 121–125.

[11] T. Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569–1999*. (New Heaven/London: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 49–51.

[12] M. Liubaŭski, "Litoŭska-bielaruskaja dziaržava ŭ pačatku XVI staliećcia" [The Lithuanian-Belarusian State at the beginning of the 16th century], *Čatyrochsotlećcie bielaruskaha druku. 1525–1925* (Miensk: Instytut belaruskaj kultury, 1926).

Lithuania, a state language which was rather close to Skaryna's translations, numerous aspects of culture and traditions — all these factors led the Belarusian intellectuals to call the Grand Duchy of Lithuania their country, too. And Francysk Skaryna, who was born and worked in different corners of the Duchy, was, naturally, considered to be "theirs," as well.

A New Belarusian Perspective

As compared with other historical personalities, Francysk Skaryna was not as interesting as a national hero at the beginning of the 20th century. His "intellectual" exploits seemed not to be as effective in the nation building process. The focus was rather on the Great Dukes and commanders of the past, whose activities were more redily aligned with national interpretations.

Nevertheless, the book-printing pioneer found his niche as an ancient Belarusian intellectual, a predecessor of the modern *"intelihiencyja."*[13] Skaryna not only printed books and sold them but also was a very well educated person of his age. A Bachelor of Arts, Doctor of Medicine, secretary to the bishop, Francysk Skaryna was also the Bible translator and knew Church Slavonic, Latin, Greek, Hebrew and other languages. For the first modern Belarusian intellectuals, Skaryna's translating skills were even more important than his book-printing "career." (For example, Vaclaŭ Lastoŭski, a historian and a political leader in the early 20th century, considered Schweipolt Fiol from Cracow to be the first Belarusian book printer[14]). In the 1900s–1920s, Francysk Skaryna came to be portrayed as the first Belarusian intellectual. Symptomatically, artists depicted the Early Modern hero highlighting his "intellectual" properties. Artistic representations of an eager man near the printing press appeared later.

Historical developments of 1917–1920s affected Skaryna's image, which underwent further changes. The Belarusian elites managed to form a kind of statehood under the Bolsheviks' protectorate. Belarusians lived divided between two states: the Soviet Republic and the USSR on the one hand and the Republic of Poland on the other. In interwar Poland, so called "Western Belarusians" continued the pre-Soviet line of envisaging Sakryna as an intellectual national hero, with his role gradually strengthened and enhanced by the national movement activists. The key point of the figure was his potential popularity among all Belarusians: Orthodox Christians and Catholics alike. With the hero's creed remaining undetermined, his books were used by both denominations. His activities directly pertained to

[13] I. Abdziralovič, *Adviečnym šliacham: Daśliedziny bielaruskaha śvietapohliadu* [By the everlasting way: The Belarusian consciousness study] (Lvoŭ: Parachvija śv. Kiryly Turaŭskaha Bielaruskaj aŭtakiefalnaj pravaslaŭnaj carkvy, 2007), p. 5.

[14] V.Iu. Lastoŭski, *Karotkaja historyja Bielarusi* [A short history of Belarus] (Minsk: Universiteckaje, 1993), p. 48.

culture, so very important in face of the Polonising policies launched by interwar Poland. Thus the intellectuals saw Francysk Skaryna to be a uniting figure dear to every Belarusian in the Polish Republic.

The Soviet Belarus of the 1920s could implement the policy of strengthening non-Russian ethnic groups, which was being carried out in the Soviet Union (*karenizacyja* or "getting to the roots"). In 1925 Skaryna's glorification achieved its apex in the pre-war period. In that year, the 400th anniversary of *Apostle*, printed by Francysk Skaryna in Vilnia (1522 as the date of *The Little Travel Book* was not yet known) was celebrated, which elevated Skaryna to the position of the unchallenged, ultimate Belarusian hero.

Skaryna's work in Vilnia was of essential ideological importance. *Apostle* was presented as the first Belarusian book printed in the historical territory of Belarus. anti-Polish undertones of the glorification of the printing pioneer were obvious. The city where the first Belarusian book was born could not possibly be *Wilno*, as it came to be called in the Polish Republic after World War One. Using Skaryna's image, Belarusian national scholars, officials and cultural workers reminded how relevant Vilna was to them and their nation. At the same time, such position approximated that embraced by the Soviet leaders in Moscow, who fostered Anti-Polish attitudes in society.

Soon after Skaryna's fame reached its culmination, his swift desacralisation started. Stalin's national and historical policy revived many views promoted in the Russian Empire's concept of the past. The repressing of Skaryna's figure overlapped with glorification of the strong Russian leaders, such as Peter I or Ivan the Terrible, and powerful Russian state they were building. No traces of devotion to the Russian nation and its rulers could be identified in the ancient Belarusian book publisher. Since ideologues could not interpret this lack directly as a negative feature, Skaryna was criticised for being a monk (?), an obscurant and a non-labour worker.[15] So, in the 1930s, Stalin's propagandists not only distorted some well known characteristics of the old printer's figure but also attributed newly invented features to him.

Francysk Skaryna was a merchant who sold his books. This made him liable to accusations of non-labour activities (working at the printing press was "forgotten"). He printed the Bible, *The Psalter* and *The Acts of the Apostles*, which were certainly religious books. This was enough to brand him as an obscurant. Calling him a "monk" was not substantiated historically, but it seemed a logical choice for his detractors.

Skaryna's figure was not the only object of new negative interpretations. The rebel leader Kastuś Kalinoŭski, the writers Vincent Dunin-Marcinkiewicz and Francišak Bahuševič and many others came to be painted as "nationalistic"

[15] V.H. Knoryn, *Za kulturnuju revaliucyju* [For the cultural revolution] (Miensk: Bielaruskaje dziaržaŭnaje vydaviectva, 1928), p. 80; O. Konakocin, *Litaratura — zbroja klasavaj baraćby* [Literature as a weapon in the class struggle] (Miensk: Bieldziaržvyd, 1931), pp. 66–67.

and "anti-people." The heroes were dismantled simultaneously with their "nation-building" authors — Stalin's regime annihilated most of the Bealrusian intellectual elite in the Soviet Republic.

The Anti-Western Hero

The revival of Francysk Skaryna commenced during World War Two. A mobilising potential inhering in such a popular personality was obvious. The authorities "unsealed" the printer's positive image as part of their manipulation of Belarusian national feelings. (For example, the total number of Soviet newspapers in Belarusian increased several times). The book-printing pioneer was described as a person who could inspire the heroic deeds. Thus, suddenly a translator and "the first Belarusian intellectual" became a real military leader from the past.[16]

After the war the image of "restored" Francysk Skaryna acquired new, vivid features. It was a Slavic book-printer with some "labour" features. The fact that his books were widely spread in Muscovy was emphasised so that the hero could usefully represent eternal ties between Belarusians and Russians. The names "Francysk" or "Francišak," which could remind of his Catholic faith and "Western" features, were replaced with "Georgij" (or "Hieorhij" in Belarusian) — more common in Russian and Orthodox cultures. (Only one historical source features the combination "Georgij Skaryna," which in the 1990s was proven by Hieorhij Halenčanka, a Belarusian historian, to have been a mistake of a copyist, who confused "Georgij" with the Latin word *egregious*, i.e. eminent).

Anti-Western, anti-Latin and non-Catholic interpretations of Skaryna were reinforced during the Cold War. Skaryna's obscure and patchy biography made it possible to present different variants of his life to the modern audience. Literature and film showed an Orthodox hero who fought on behalf of common people, using his intellectual tools — books. His enemies were the rich gentry and all the Catholic powers: Jesuits, bishops and monks. Obviously, Soviet censorship did not easily approve of presenting religious topics in positive terms, but in the Cold War Georgij Skaryna could even cross himself in an Orthodox manner in front of the film camera.[17]

Current Popularity and Its Causes

Francysk Skaryna's deeply Belarusian image also had some currency in the post-war Soviet Republic. Historians, philosophers, artists, poets and writers

[16] C. Harbunoŭ, "25 hod BSSR" [25 years of the BSSR]. *Bielaruś* 1 (1944), p. 5.

[17] Among all the cultural products, films were controlled by the USSR ideologists the most intently. The film *I am Francysk Skaryna* (*Я, Францыск Скарына*, 1969) showed a rather vivid common-Slavic and anti-Western image of Skaryna and his activity.

turned to him repeatedly in their research and works. But a concerted popularisation of the Belarusian hero was rather problematic. Skaryna's first memorial was raised in 1974 in Polack, although it had been designed more than twenty years before. Certainly, its inscription read "Hieorhij."

The Belarusian diaspora that emigrated in the interwar period and especially during World War Two certainly cultivated a national image of Francysk Skaryna. Moreover, its contribution to "Skarynology" was so vivid that it could hardly be ignored by the humanities scholars in the BSSR.[18] Typically, that diaspora's national activism in exile assumed a variety of cultural forms, so the figure of Skaryna (see illustrations 10, 11, 12) was rather close to them. Also, the emigrants found Skaryna's biography powerfully appealing and relevant to their own experience. Namely, Francišak Skaryna was born in Polack, worked in Vilnius, studied and lived in various countries across Europe and finished his life abroad. In a way, Skaryna became a symbol of the Belarusian people in exile, with many émigré institutions and organisations named after him.

A similarly framed positive national Belarusian hero whose merit did not lie in fight against "Western capitalists" reappeared in the BSSR in the 1980s. The process was prompted by Skaryna's 500th birth anniversary. The exact date was actually unknown, but on that occasions the lack of knowledge turned out to be beneficial. Almost the whole decade passed with Skaryna as the chief cultural reference. And as the second part of the 1980s was the time of Gorbachev's *perestroika* and ideological liberalisation, the new national Belarusian "Renaissance" coincided with the anniversary. Articles, books, encyclopaedia, artworks, festivals, exhibitions and museums contributed to the image the "Belarusian national book-printing pioneer."[19]

At the end of the anniversary decade, Belarus became an independent republic and a recently popularised figure was important to the new state. It was known and popular, non-aggressive and culture-centred; it united people of different views and faiths. Francysk Skaryna was a hero whom the Belarusian national idea could monopolise without having to share him with other nations, unlike Tadeuš Kasciuška (*Tadeusz Kościuszko* in Poland) or Vitaŭt (*Vytautas Didysis* in Lithuania). So the least confrontational hero was chosen for further popularisation in the independent republic.

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[18] One of such examples is *Scoriniana 1517–1967 (Zapisy, 5)* (München: Bielaruski Instytut navuki j mastactva, 1970).

[19] In 1978, the literature on Skaryna comprised 56 items, in 1988 — 138; cf., Ja.L. Niemiroŭski and L.A. Osipčyk (eds.), *Francysk Skaryna: Žyccio i dziejnasć* [Francysk Skaryna: Life and Work] (Minsk: Navuka i technika, 1988).

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Mariana ČENTÉŠOVÁ (Prešovská Univerzita v Prešove)

Selected 17th-Century Prints in the Szirmay Library Preserved in the Fund of the Collegiate Historical Library in Prešov[1]

Abstract: The historical library of the noble family of Szirmay belongs to the most precious aristocratic library collections preserved in today's Slovakia. After the donation in 1833, it became part of the fund of the Collegiate Library of Prešov and holds now about 14,000 volumes in its collection. The aim of the paper is to identify some of the 17th-century prints preserved in the Szirmay Library and describe their content value. The identification of the Szirmay prints is hindered by that fact that the original conscription or the inventory of the prints remains unknown. Apart from the description of methods used to identify the prints, the paper reflects also on the historiography and the history of the library.

Keywords: aristocratic library, Szirmay Library, Collegiate Library of Prešov, 17th century.

In the seventeenth century, the Royal Free City of Prešov (*Eperjes* — a city located in the historical county of Šariš in today's Slovakia) became a centre of Lutheran Evangelicalism on the territory of Upper Hungary.[2] This position was strengthened after the foundation of the Upper Hungary Estate's Evangelical College in 1667 as, at that time, the school was the only Evangelical higher educational institution providing full theological training within the whole Kingdom of Hungary.[3] Since then, the history of Evangelical education in Prešov has been closely linked with the institution, and shortly after its foundation the Collegiate Library (CL) came to existence. The systematic expansion of the library began not earlier than in 1731, and it was only when Daniel Sartorius, the then rector, donated his own book collection to the library. His example was followed by his successors and also by other individuals. The book catalogue created between the years 1803 and 1806 included

[1] This article was created as an output within the grant project VEGA 1/0278/12 "Aristocratic Libraries in Eastern Slovakia."

[2] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Upper Hungary consisted of the territory of today's Eastern Slovakia and the adjacent territories of Hungary, Ukraine and Romania.

[3] P. Kónya, "Prešovské evanjelické kolégium v politických zápasoch konca 17. a začiatku 18. storočia" [The Evangelical College of Prešov in the Political Struggles at the end of the 17th Century and the Beginning of the 18th Century], in *Prešovské evanjelické kolégium, jeho miesto a význam v kultúrnych dejinách strednej Európy*, eds. Kónya P. *et al.* (Prešov: Biskupský úrad východného dištriktu ECAV na Slovensku, 1997), p. 24.

already about 1,555 titles. The library's fund was further significantly enlarged in the nineteenth century, when aristocratic Szirmay's and Bánó's libraries were donated, and some collections were set up also thanks to the gifts of the local student associations. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the libraries of the Bujanovics family and a local citizen Binder were donated.[4] After the political changes in 1918, the library was closed and was not officially accessible for almost half a century. In 1961, the political authorities appointed the newly established State Scientific Library in Prešov as an administrator of the nationalised CL. Currently, the library contains about 58,000 volumes of books altogether.[5] The CL has been returned to its original owner — the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Slovakia — but the public can access it through the State Scientific Library in Prešov.

Print culture professionals in Slovakia have already been acquainted with the history of the donated aristocratic library of the Szirmay family mainly through the work of József Hörk, Jozef Repčák and Libuša Franková.[6] However, the whole book collection has not been thoroughly researched yet. Although a number of relevant studies have been carried out since the late 1960s, resulting in the partial catalogues of selected prints preserved in the CL,[7] the Szirmay prints have received genuinely

[4] Both libraries became part of the Collegiate Library in 1902. The Library of the Bujanovics family consisted of 2000 volumes, which were given to the library as a gift. Károly Binder, an Evangelical teacher, left his library as a bequest in his last will. Thanks to his initiative, the Collegiate Library gained a rich collection of 970 volumes, 640 booklets and other shorter prints and manuscripts. The Collegiate Library of Prešov — historical funds, shelf mark B 13288/1899–1903. *A tiszai ág. hitv. ev. egyházkerület eperjesi Collegiumának értesítője az 1901–1902 iskolai évről* [Bulletin of the Prešov College of the Tisa District of Evangelical church of the Augsburg Confession from the schoolyears 1901–1902] (Eperjesen: Kosch Arpad konyvnyomtato-intezeteből, 1902), p. 152; *A tiszai ág. hitv. ev. egyházkerület eperjesi Collegiumának értesítője az 1902–1903 iskolai évről* [Bulletin of the Prešov College of the Tisa District of Evangelical church of the Augsburg Confession from the schoolyears 1902–1903] (Eperjesen: Kosch Arpad konyvnyomtato-intezeteből, 1903), p. 180.

[5] J. Repčák, "Historický vývoj kolegiálnej knižnice" [Historical Development of the Collegiate Library], in *Prešovské kolégium v slovenských dejinách*, ed. I. Sedlák (Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1967), pp. 271–281.

[6] J. Hörk, *Az Eperjesi Ev. Ker. Collegium Története, II. Füzet* [History of the Evangelical District College of Prešov, Booklet II] (Kassa: Nyom. Ifj. Nauer Henrik Könyv-, Kö-, és Münyomdájában, 1987); J. Repčák, "Historický vývoj…" (1967), *op. cit.*, pp. 277–278; L. Franková, "Szirmayho knižnica ako 'večný depozit' knižnice Prešovského evanjelického gymnázia" [Szirmay's Library as a "Permanent Deposit" of the Library of the Prešov's Evangelical College], in *Z dejín šľachtických knižníc na Slovensku I*, ed. M. Domenová (Prešov: Prešovská univerzita v Prešove, 2013), pp. 24–33. Original sources on the whole history of the Evangelical College of Prešov can be found in the archival fund of the Evangelical College kept in the State Archives of Prešov.

[7] L. Kolodziejský, *Katalóg slovacikálnych kníh do roku 1918 kolegiálnej knižnice v Prešove* [Catalogue of Slovak books till 1918 of the Collegiate Library in Prešov] (Martin: Matica Slovenská, 1969); B. Šmelková (ed.), *Poloniká v historických fondoch ŠVK Prešov* [Polish Prints in the Historical Funds of the State Scientific Library in Prešov] (Prešov: Štátna vedecká knižnica, 1989); J. Šelepec, *Slaviká Szirmayovskej knižnice* [Slavic prints in the Szirmay library] (Prešov: Krajská štátna knižnica, 1997); K. Lacko, *Tlače 16. storočia v knižnici Evanjelického kolégia a v Štátnej vedeckej knižnici v Prešove* [Prints from the 16th Century in the Library of the Evangelical College and the State Scientific Library in Prešov] (Prešov: Štátna vedecká knižnica v Prešove, 2013).

close attention only recently thanks to the investigation of the retrospective bibliographer Marcela Domenová. Having embarked upon a systematic research scheme, the author has already completed her analysis of incunables in the Szirmay Library (SL)[8] and is now working on processing the sixteenth-century prints.[9]

The aim of this article is to follow up on this research and contribute to it by identifying some of the seventeenth-century prints preserved in the SL and describing their content value. The identification of the Szirmay prints is hindered by that fact that the original list or the inventory of the prints remains unknown. Researchers can only locate the prints with the help of the author-and-title card-catalogue of the CL available in the study room of the State Scientific Library in Prešov. Although the card-catalogue of the Szirmay prints is based on a distinctive structure of the shelf marks, it is still impossible to go through the more than 14,000 entries in short time in order to select and identify all the seventeenth-century prints preserved in the library. Therefore, carrying out her research, the author of this paper relied on the already mentioned partial catalogues of the CL and the SL, drawing also on the knowledge of the structure of the shelf marks referring to the Szirmay prints; additionally, some prints were found only by chance when browsing the card-catalogue. So far, the research has identified 95 titles (in 22 volumes) from the SL which are kept in the fund of the CL. Their titles and content classification are included in Table 1 below.

Table 1. The Szirmay Library seventeenth-century prints preserved in the current fund of the Collegiate Library and their content classification (including duplicate prints)

Content classification	Number of titles			Total number of titles
	Officina in the Kingdom of Hungary	Foreign officina	Unknown officina	
Theology, philosophy	33	6		39
Law		35		35
History		8	1	9
Literary studies		5		5
Political science	1			1
Geology		1		1
Geography	1			1
Pharmacy	1			1
Other		3		3
Total	36	58	1	95

[8] M. Domenová, "Inkunábuly v Szirmayovskej knižnici — súčasť Kolegiálnej knižnice v Prešove" [Incunables in the Szirmay library — part of the Collegiate Library in Prešov], *Annales Historici Presovienses* 2 (2012), pp. 7–17.

[9] M. Domenová presented some of her research findings on the sixteenth-century prints at a recent conference *Spoločnosť a knižná kultúra (knižnice-osobnosti-udalosti)* [Society and print culture (libraries-personalities-events)] held at the University of Prešov on 11 November, 2013.

17th-Century Prints in the Szirmay Library: A Content Analysis

The noble family of Szirmay belonged among the oldest houses in the Kingdom of Hungary, dating back to the thirteenth century. The family's main properties were in the villages of Szirma and Szirmabesenyő in Borsod County (today's Hungary). Over the centuries, members of the family settled also in other counties, among others in Šariš (in the eighteenth century). At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the family bifurcated into the so-called noble and comital branches.[10] Ján Szirmay, in all probability a member of the comital branch, donated the family book collection to the Evangelical College in 1833 as a permanent deposit and supplemented it with a fund of 4,000 florins. He requested that the library should be placed in separate rooms, managed by an educated librarian and made accessible for educational purposes. The collection containing about 14,000 volumes was officially opened in 1835. After the second floor of the College was completed in 1871–1872, the library was moved to a big hall, where it can still be found today. Thanks to the donation of 4,000 florins, Szirmay's collection in the College was augmented with new acquisitions, reaching in time the substantial number of 20,000 volumes.[11]

Theological literature prevailed among the prints and was often thematically linked with philosophy. In the course of the investigation, 39 theological works bound in 4 volumes were identified.[12] The disproportion between the numbers of titles and volumes is caused by that fact that 37 prints were part of two volumes of a particular type known to the Central European bibliographic professionals as *convolutum*.[13] From the content point of view, there were different theological and philosophical disputes and dissertations among the prints. Most of them were authored by Lutheran theologians, except one work written by a Calvinist theologian and two items written by Catholic theologians. A large majority of the prints (33) were published within the territory of today's Slovakia, and only 6 prints were published abroad.

The first *convolutum* contains all the academic debates (*disputatio*) that were presided over by the Evangelical College Professor Izák Caban (Isaacus Zabanius)[14]

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[10] M. Szluha, *Felvidéki nemes családok I–II — Árva, Trencsén, Zólyom-Sáros, Turóc* [Upper Hungary's Families I–II. — Árva, Trencsén, Zólyom-Sáros, Turóc] [CD-ROM] (Budapest: Arcanum, 2007). Keyword: Szirmay I.

[11] M. Domenová, "Inkunábuly…" (2012), *op. cit.*, pp. 7–8.

[12] CL, I. V. 9.; I. V. 9-1.; I. V. 9-2.; M. V. 13.; Ő. VI. 3.

[13] *Convolutum* — a volume which consists of several individually published prints that do not have to be thematically related. The first print is called a title print, and the following prints can be defined as "bound prints" and are numbered. A *convolutum* is usually a result of individual collecting activities.

[14] I. Caban (1632, Brodzany, Slovakia — 1707, Sibiu, Romania) studied in Wittenberg, became rector of the Evangelical school in Brezno (Slovakia) and, later, lectured in philosophy and theology at the Prešov Evangelical College and gymnasium in Sibiu (Romania). He is the author of the philo-

and responded to by his students in the school between the years 1668 and 1670.[15] The disputations can be thematically divided into theological and metaphysical. There are altogether 19 disputations in the volume,[16] with all the prints published either by the printing house of Daniel Türsch in Košice or by the famous officina of the Brewer family in Levoča. Both of them were situated in the territory of Slovakia and belonged to the most productive printing enterprises in the Kingdom of Hungary in the Early Modern period.[17]

The second *convolutum* consists of 18 titles, out of which 17 are prints and 1 is a manuscript; however, the manuscript is an uncompleted transcription of a print and the typographic data are missing.[18] As regards the officinas, 11 of the prints were printed in the Slovak territory, thereof 5 were published in Levoča,[19] 5 in Trenčín[20] and 1 at the Jesuit University in Trnava.[21] Six prints were published abroad, thereof one print came from Königsberg,[22] 4 prints from Gdańsk[23] and 1 print from Altdorf.[24]

All the prints are thematically similar and contain primarily academic disputations defending Evangelical theology against Catholic or Reformed theology. The disputes in the prints coming from the Slovak territory were performed mostly at Evangelical schools and were presided over by rectors Ján Gracza and Hilarius Ernestus Binerus in Banská Bystrica, Alexander Hodikius and Jakub Faschko in Bánovce and by Michal Lasius in Levoča. The reactions to the works of Catholic theologians were often included in the disputes. Ján Gracza's discourse about the work of Matej Faber, a Jesuit from Trnava, which attacked the Evangelical teaching of justification, can serve as an example. Gracza led two disputations about the Faber work with his students, Pavol Bellobradenus from Beluša and Izaiáš Fabricius from Nemecká Ľupča.[25] Matej Faber responded to these disputations in a print

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sophical work *Existentia atomorum*, Wittenberg 1667. He was one of the first philosophers in the Kingdom of Hungary to embrace Atomism. J. Mikleš, *Izák Caban, slovenský atomista v XVII. storočí* [Izák Caban, a Slovak Atomist in the 18th Century] (Bratislava: Slovenská akadémia vied a umení, 1948), pp. 7–40.

15 CL, I. V. 9.; I. V. 9-1.

16 As the bound prints 2 and 5 are identical, there are 20 prints altogether in the *convolutum*.

17 J. Repčák, "Črty z minulosti knižnej kultúry na východnom Slovensku" [Features of the Past of Print Culture in Eastern Slovakia], in *Almanach východného Slovenska 1848–1948,* eds. E. Dolinka and I. Vindiš (Košice: Osvetová rada mesta Košíc, 1948), pp. 136–145.

18 CL, I. V. 9-2/ 1-17.

19 Bound prints 3, 4, 7, 11 and 16.

20 Bound prints 1, 2, 5, 8 and 9.

21 Bound print 6.

22 Title print.

23 Bound prints 10, 12, 13 and 14.

24 Bound print 15.

25 Bound print 5. Vindiciae, sanae et catholicae doctrinae, circa materiam Sanctissimae Iustificationis, ab absurdis seu deductionibus non tolerandis, quibus eam P. Mathias Faber Iesuita, in libello Germanico, cui titulum fecit, Wunderseltzame Abendhewer /welche entspringen ausz der Lu-

produced in the academic printing house in Trnava.[26] It was the only print in the *convolutum* which was authored by a Catholic theologian. The other disputations held at the foreign Universities of Gdańsk and Königsberg (Kaliningrad) were presided over by the local professors and responded to by the students coming mostly from the Kingdom of Hungary. A direct reaction against the work of a Catholic author is also included. The disputation conducted at the University in Königsberg was a response to the work of Ján Kircher from Tübingen in which he defended his conversion back to Catholicism. The leader of the disputation was the Evangelical theologian Abraham Calovius and the respondents were Pavol and Adam Kyssius from Sarvar (Hungary), Pavol Lochmannus from the county of Turiec (Slovakia) and Samuel Czernak from Bobot (Slovakia).[27]

The provenance inscriptions evidence that 5 of the prints in the *convolutum* were sent by the authors — i. e. students — to the members of the Lepinius family, Ján Jeremiáš and Juraj.[28] They were Evangelical pastors and from the dedication it is evident that Juraj Lepinius performed in Banská Bystrica.[29] The men supported the young scholars in their studies both in the Kingdom of Hungary and abroad. Additionally, a heraldic ex-libris with the name *Heinzely* can be found on overleaf of the title page in the title print (Fig. 13). The relation of that family to the Szirmay Library is not clear and needs to be investigated.

Among the other theological works, there is also one written in Hungarian which starts with the incipit *Dialogvs Politico-Ecclesiasticus*, Bartfan 1650.[30] The author — Pavol Medgyesi (1605–1663), who performed in Transylvania — was a Reformed theologian. Earlier in his life when studying in England, Medgyesi became a supporter of Puritanism and Presbyterianism. Inspired by the movements, he promoted a wider autonomy of Calvinist congregations as well as a greater par-

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therischen Lehr/ etc. Suâ Sophisticâ odiose & insidiose praegrauare conatus est: Conscriptae et ad disputandum propositae, a M. Iohanne Gracza, p. t. Gymnasij Novisoliensis Directore. Respondente, Paulo Belobradeno Bellusen: Gymnasij ejusdem Alumno. Trenchinii, Typis Laurentij Beniamini ab Hage.; Bound print 7. Vindiciarum sanae et catholicae dissertatio VI. & VII. In quibus sententia Catholicorum circa Materiam de Ecclesia, ab absurdis seu deductionibus non tolerandis, quibus eam P. Matthias Faber Iesuita, in libello Germanico, cui titulum fecit, Wunderseltzame Abendhewr welche entspringen au der Lutherischen Lehr/ &c. suâ sophisticâ odiosè & insidiosè praegravare conatus est, vindicatur, Quam, Sponsô Ecclesiae adjuvante, Praeside M. Johanne Gracza, gymnasii Novisolien: Directore. Defendere conabitur Esaias Fabricius, Teuto-Lypschâ: Lypt. Gymnasii ejusdem Alumnus. Leutschoviae, Typis Breverianis, A. 1649.

[26] Bound print 6. Vindex vindiciarvm, acatholicae doctrinae circa materiam de justificatione, quas germanico libello, cvi titvlvs est: Wunderszeltzame Abendheur, so auß der Lutherischen Lehr erfolgen, Opposuit M. Joannes Gracza p. t. gymnasii Novisoliensis Director: adiectus pro sue et catholicae Doctrinae defensione a R. P. Mathia Fabro e Soc: Jesu. Permissu Superiorum. — Tyrnaviae, Typis Academicis, per Philippum Jacobum Mayr, Anno 1649.

[27] Title print.

[28] Title print; bound prints 8, 10, 12 and 13.

[29] Bound prints 1 and 11.

[30] CL, M. V. 13.

ticipation of laymen in the organisation of the church. Requirements of Presbyterianism were discussed at the Synod of Satu Mare (Romania) in 1646, but they were actually never put to practice.[31] However, Medgyesi kept pursuing the ideas, which is evidenced also by the above-mentioned work published in 1650.

In this thematic field, the Catholic side is represented by the work of Juraj Barsony (1626–1678) with the incipit *Veritas Toti Mundo Declarata; Sacram Caesaream Regiamq[ue] Majestatem non obligari ad tolerandos in Ungaria Lutheranos, & Calvinistas...* Tyrnavia 1681[32] (Fig. 14). The provenance inscription on the paste-down of the print identifies Cardinal Kolonich as a former owner of the print.[33] The item was printed in the academic printing house in Trnava as a second edition after the death of the author. Juraj Barsony was a controversial figure of the Catholic Church, supporting the violent Counter-Reformation in the 1670s in word (as his works testify) and deed. A Provost of Spiš (a historical county in Slovakia), he was one of the upper judges who, despite a lack of evidence, proclaimed 41 Protestant preachers of thirteen Spiš cities as traitors and subsequently sentenced them to exile. Shortly afterwards, Barsony initiated an occupation of the Spiš churches.[34]

The field of law is represented by the total number of 35 prints bound in 4 volumes.[35] The most prints (15 items) were published in Jena, where the officina of the printer Bauhoffer was a leading establishment,[36] followed by the printing enterprises of Müller,[37] Werther,[38] Steinmann,[39] Gollner[40] and Nyssius.[41] The second biggest group of prints (7 items) came from the Leipzig officinas of Hahnius,[42] Ritzschius[43] and Hönius.[44] 6 prints were printed at Wil-

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[31] A. Kónyová, "Kalvínska reformácia v Sedmohradsku v 16.–17. storočí" [Calvinist Reformation in Transylvania in the 16th and 17th Centuries], *Annales historici Presovienses* 11 (2011), pp. 73–74.

[32] CL, Ő. VI. 3.

[33] *1687 Leopoldus Card[ina]lis à Koloniz Epp[iscopu]s Jauris.*

[34] T. Véghseő, "34. prepošt Spiša, biskup Juraj Bársony (Báršoň): predstaviteľ protireformácie v Uhorskom kráľovstve v druhej polovici XVII. storočia" [34th Provost of Spiš, bishop Juraj Barsony (Báršoň): Representative of the Counter-Reformation in the Kingdom of Hungary in the Second Half of the 17th Century], in *Studia Theologica Scepusiensia III. Z dejín spišského prepoštstva*, ed. Ľ. Hromják (Spišské Podhradie: Kňazský seminár biskupa Jána Vojtaššáka, 2010), pp. 172–173, 175–176.

[35] CL, I. V. 14/ title print, bound prints 1–23; I. V. 9-1/ bound prints 20–28; L. VI. 11/ bound print 1; Y. V. 7/title print.

[36] CL, I. V. 14/ title print, bound prints 1, 2, 7, 17 and 18.

[37] CL, I. V. 14/ bound prints 11 and 13.; Y V 7/title print.

[38] CL, I. V. 14/ bound prints 6 and 23.

[39] CL, I. V. 9-1/ bound print 27.

[40] CL, I. V. 14/ bound prints 12 and 20.

[41] CL, I. V. 14/ bound print 5.

[42] CL, I. V. 14/ bound print 14 and 21.

[43] CL, I. V. 9-1/ bound prints 20, 21, 22 and 26.

[44] CL, I. V. 9-1/ bound print 23.

ckius,[45] Henckel,[46] Wendt[47] and Gorman[48] in Wittenberg. Three prints are the production of Müller's printing press in Helmstedt,[49] two prints were published by Ernest[50] and Zeitler,[51] and one print was published at the Hertel workshop in Hamburg.[52] Although the prints are without any provenance inscriptions, it seems that they were collected for study purposes.

From the content point of view, the prints contain predominantly dissertations, disputations and treatises produced at universities in the German speaking countries. All these prints are similar in that they are related chiefly to civil law. One print is an exception, though: it bears the incipit *Jus Maritimum Hanseaticum, Olim Germanico tantum idomate editum, nunc verò etiam in Latinum translatum*, Hamburgi 1667 and deals with the law of the sea of Hanseatic cities.[53]

History was one of the most favourite topics in the Early Modern print culture, which preference is reflected in numerous prints by different authors to be found in the Szirmay Library. Three of them are related to the history of the Kingdom of Hungary. These are Caspar Ens's *Rervm Hvngaricarvm Historia, Novem libris comprehensa,* Coloniae Agrippinae 1604,[54] Joannes Nadányi's *Florus Hungaricus. Sive Rerum Hungaricarum*, Amstelodami 1663[55] and the anonymous print from 1683 known under the incipit *Das...Verwirrte Königreich Ungarn.*[56] All the three prints deal with the political history of the Kingdom of Hungary from the very beginning till the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. According to the provenance inscription, the work by Nadányi belonged to Tomáš Szirmay, and the heraldic inscription on the flyleaf of the anonymous print identifies the Pottornyay family as the previous owners. Another historical work similar to that of Nadányi bears the incipit *Florus Polonicus, seu polonicae Historiae epitome nova*, Amstelodami 1654. The title is unfortunately absent in the current fund of the CL.[57]

The history of Slavic countries is the main topic of the print known as *Chronica Slavorum*, which is a 1659 reprint edited by Henricus Bangertus.[58] The work

[45] CL, I. V. 14/ bound prints 3 and 16.
[46] CL, I. V. 14/ bound prints 4 and 15.
[47] CL, I. V. 9-1/ bound print 24.
[48] CL, I. V. 9-1/ bound print 28.
[49] CL, I. V. 14/ bound print 9, 19 and 22.
[50] CL, I. V. 14/ bound print 8.
[51] CL, I. V. 14/ bound print 10.
[52] CL, L. VI. 11/ bound print 1.
[53] CL, L. VI. 11/ bound print 1.
[54] CL, B III. 4.
[55] CL, Ty. II. 26.
[56] CL, Gy. II. 73.
[57] CL, Ty. II. 48.
[58] CL, L. VI. 11. This print is the title print of a *convolutum* which includes also two bound prints; one of them is the above-mentioned *Jus Maritimum Hanseaticum* and the other one is a declaration of Hanseatic cities with the incipit *Der vereinigten Teutschen Hanse Stått kurtze nothwendige verantwortung,* Lübeck 1609. The latter was classified as "other" in Table 1 above.

was originally written in the Middle Ages by the Saxon priest Helmond from Bosau and Abbot Arnold from Lübeck.

Numerous prints in small formats published in the West European printing houses at Leiden and Amsterdam form another distinct group of historical works. These were intended for the common use of educated people. In the Szirmay Library, the following titles can be found: *Thomae Smithi Angli De Republica Anglorvm Libri tres,* Lugduni Batavorum 1630, *Respublica sive Statvs Regni Scotiae et Hiberniae*, Lugduni Batavorum, 1626,[59] *Russia seu Moscovia itemque Tartaria Commentario Topographico atque politico ilustratae, Lugduni Batavorum 1630*,[60] *Respublica Moscoviae et Urbes*, Lugduni Batavorum, 1630[61] and *Respublica Namurcensis,* Amsterdam 1634.[62]

Among the Szirmay prints, there are also some remarkable titles from the field of natural sciences, mainly geology, geography and pharmacy. One of them is an extensive two-volume work by the German Jesuit Athanasius Kircher (1601–1680) with the incipit *Mundus Subterraneus, In XII Libros digestus*, Amstelodami 1664.[63] It contains a description of the geological structure of the Earth and examines the circulation of water, air and energy in the Earth's interior. The print was owned by the Pottornyays as indicated by the heraldic supra-libros on the front cover (Fig. 15).

The field of geography was represented by the work with incipit *Medulla geographiae*[64] authored by David Fröhlichius (1595–1638), a scholar of German origin born in the Spiš region. He was granted the title of "Imperial and royal mathematician and practical astronomer in the Kingdom of Hungary" by the Emperor Ferdinand III.[65] His work is a kind of travel guide to some well-known European countries, including a chapter about today's Slovakia, the author's birthplace.[66] In terms of the Slovak historiography, the information it provides about the High Tatras is considered to be the most valuable.[67]

This category of prints contains a very special print worth particular attention. Its author, Regensburg-born Ján Dávid Rulandus (1585–1648), was a doctor in the free royal city of Bratislava. In his work titled *Pharmacopoea Nova, in qua reposita sunt Stercora & Urinae*, Leutschoviae 1644,[68] Rulandus advocated the new

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[59] CL, Ty. I. 65/title print, bound print 1.

[60] CL, Ty. II. 35. On the title page a hand-written note can be seen which reads "*Jacob[us] [...] sthoff Hamb. 1646. Reg:*".

[61] CL, Ty. II. 31.

[62] CL, Ty. II. 36.

[63] CL, E. VII. 11.

[64] CL, Y. I. 23. The work has not been examined in the CL fund yet, but according to the information in the catalogue of Kolodziejský, it could be found there. Cf. L. Kolodziejský (ed.), *Katalóg slovacikálnych kníh…* (1969), *op. cit.,* p. 102.

[65] J. Tibenský, "Dávid Fröhlich," *Biografické štúdie* 11 (1984), p. 57.

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

[67] *Ibid.*

[68] CL, K. V. 39.

methods of healing derived from Paracelsus's Iatrochemistry, which was essentially based on providing chemical solutions to diseases. Medical remedies were also found, among others, in human and animal excrements. *Pharmacopoea Nova* expounds this theory and discusses its practical application.[69]

Works of the famous European scholar Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) hold a distinctive position among the identified prints. As of now, the presence of 6 titles in 5 volumes has been ascertained in the CL. Apart from one volume, all of them were published as later editions after Lipsius's death.[70]

Lipsius was a universal scientist and an expert in Latin philology, ancient literature, philosophy, theology and politics. Although his works could also be classified based on their main topics, which would actually better suit the whole concept of this paper, it was decided to treat them together as one separate group. The main reason is that most of his works are to a greater or lesser degree simultaneously related to the themes of literary criticism, philosophy and politics. Moreover, the formal features of the prints — i.e. two collections of works — also serve as a criterion to distinguish Lipsius as a category of his own.

The most noticeable item is an extensive two-volume work with incipit *Iusti Lipsi Opera, quae velut in partes antè sparsa, nunc in certas classes digesta,* Lugduni 1613, published by Horatius Cardon.[71] This collection contains almost all of Lipsius's works, including his literary, linguistic, historical and philosophical writings as well as *De Constantia*, his most valued work in which Stoicism and Christianity are fused into a platform for Early Modern Neo-Stoicism.

Each of the *Opera* volumes contains a heraldic supralibros on the cover and a heraldic ex-libris on the paste down, identifying the Pottornyays as the former owners of the book (Fig. 16). The inscription on the title page of the

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[69] P. Horváth, "Nobilitácia a erby lekárov na Slovensku v prvej polovici 17. storočia" [Ennoblement and Coats of Arms of Doctors in Slovakia in the first Half of the 17th Century], *Genealogicko-heraldický hlas* 1 (2000), p. 20.

[70] CL, E. VII. 7; Ny. VII. 8/ title print, bound prints 1 and 2; Ty. I. 14; Ty. I. 16.

[71] CL, E. VII. 7. Works included in the print: Tomus I. — Ad Belgas Centuriae tres; Ad Germanos et Gallos Centuria singularis; Ad Italos et Hispanos Centuria singularis; Epistolica institutio; De recta pronunciatione Latinae linguae, dialogus; Variarum Lectionum libri tres; Antiquarum lectionum libri quinque; Epistolicarum lectionum libri quinque; Electorum libri duo; In Valerium Maximum notae; Animaduersiones in Senecae tragoedias; Iudicium de Consolatione Ciceronis; Satyra Menippaea. Somnium; Manuductionis ad Stoicam Philosophiam libri tres; Physiologiae Stoicorum libri tres. Tomus II. — De Constantiâ libri duo; Politicorum siue Ciuilis doctrinae libri tres; Ad libros Politicorum Notae, et de unâ Religione liber; Monita et Exempla Politica. Libri duo; Leges Regiae et leges Xvirales; Dissertatiuncula apud Principes: Item C. Plinii Panegyricus Traiano dictus: cum eiusdem Lipsii perpetuo Commetario.; De militiâ Romanâ libri quinque, Commentarius ad Polybium; Poliorcetiωn, siue, de Machinis, Tormentis, Telis, libri quinque; Admiranda, siue, de Magnitudine Romanâ: libri quattuor; De Amphitheatro liber; De Amphitheatris quae extra Roma, libellus; Saturnalium Sermonum libri duo, qui de Gladiatoribus; De Vestâ et Vestalibus Syntagma; De Cruce libri tres; Diua Virgo Hallensis; Diua Virgo Sichemiensis; Louanium; De Bibliothecis Syntagma.

second volume shows that it was owned by the nobleman Ondrej Pottornyay from Tornaľa (Slovakia)[72] (Fig. 17). Ondrej Pottornyay (1704–1802) was a promoter of the College; moreover, in 1752 he held the inspectorate office in the school.[73] Pottornyay's wife, Anna Szirmay, was a relative of the Šariš branch of the Szirmay family,[74] which indirectly explains how the Szirmays acquired the volume.

Another of Lipsius's works bound in an individual volume is the print *Monita et Exempla Politica,* Tyrnaviae 1698[75] (Fig. 18). The print was produced at the academic printing house in Trnava and edited by Mikuláš Gusits, doctor of philosophy at the University of Trnava. It has a provenance inscription on fold *3 which reads "*Ex libris Georgii Lucsanszky pleb[an]o Neosoliens*."

The third of the preserved prints was written by Lipsius in joint authorship with the scholar and printer Franciscus Raphelengius Junior. It is the only print published in Lipsius's lifetime with the incipit *Decem tragoediae, Quae Lvcio Ann[ae]o Senecae tribuuntur: Operâ Francisci Raphelengii [FR]. F. Plantin[ia]ni Ope V. CL. Ivsti Lipsi emendatiores,* Antverpiae 1600.[76]

Lipsius's three other works contain critical commentaries on the works of ancient historians Tacitus and Paterculus. All three titles were bound in a *convolutum*-type of volume, but they were put together already at the time of publishing in 1668 in Antwerp.[77]

* * *

The Szirmay Library is an example of a typical aristocratic library created under the influence of the Enlightenment and the new rationalist philosophy of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Consequently, most of the prints preserved in the fund come from the eighteenth and, mainly, nineteenth centuries. That notwithstanding, the at least 95 identified prints from the seventeenth century represent a substantial rare books collection which deserves a detailed investigation. In terms of subject matters, the theological works, often associated with philosophy, prevail among them. The authority of scholasticism was still overriding though it found itself increasingly challenged by new ideas, such as Atomism of Izák Caban or Neo-Stoicism of Justus Lipsius. Similarly, the dawn of the new era of natural philosophy is announced by the works of natural sciences scholars.

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72 CL, E VII 7, *"Andreae Pottornyay de Tornallya Giralth 23. May. 1754."*

73 J. Hörk, *Az Eperjesi…* I (1897), *op. cit.*, p. 104.

74 M. Szluha, *Felvidéki…* (2000), *op. cit.* Keyword: Szirmay I.

75 CL, Ty. I. 6.

76 CL, Ty. I. 14.

77 CL, Ny. VII. 8; C. Cornelii Taciti Opera quae extant, a Iusto Lipsio postremvm recensita, eivsque avctis emendatisqve commentariis ilustrata: Item C. Velleivs Petercvllvs cvm eivsdem Ivsti Lipsi Avctioribvs notis. — Antverpiae, ex Officina Plantiniana Balthasaris Moreti, M.DC.LXVIII. [=1668]. 2°.

In addition, the collection contains also important juridical works, which were mainly used by university students for study purposes. The differing complexity of historical writings in the collection suggests that they were produced for various audiences and, as some of them were printed in a rather small format, they were probably intended as a common reading for the educated layers. Many of the prints were printed in the German and Flemish speaking countries, where under the flourishing Reformation Protestant universities came into being and evolved into important European centres of education. The universities were attended by many scholars and nobles from the Kingdom of Hungary. As those institutions disseminated ideas and learning, the printed books were the chief instruments in the transfer of new notions and concepts.

Because the research on the book market and book provenance on the territory of Slovakia has been launched only recently, it is rather urgent to identify and thoroughly examine the existing sources, including rich book collections hidden in many Slovakian libraries. The aim of this article was to further the study of the prints preserved in one of the most valuable collections known among the Slovakian professionals as the Szirmay library. Moreover, the research underpinning this article has also helped map the provenance of the prints. It is evident that the prints of the Szirmay family were enlarged through collecting activities engaged in by its members, e. g. Tomáš Szirmay, and the related Pottornyay family. Several prints, mainly the theological disputes, were originally owned by Protestant priests from the Slovak family of Lepinius. Finally, some of the prints were in the possession of Cardinal Kolonich and the Heinzely family, which needs further examination.

The research of the prints in the fund of the CL combined with a detailed archival investigation makes it possible to uncover the relations among educated residents of the Prešov territory and the intentions which guided them in collecting prints. Selected prints prove also that there was a strong cultural relation between the Kingdom of Hungary as a provincial territory and Western Europe as an important political, cultural and spiritual centre of the Early Modern period.

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Christine WATSON (University of Uppsala)

A Letter from the King of Poland to His Queen: News about the Siege on Vienna in 1683

Abstract: In the early days of printing, pamphlets were a common way of spreading information and influencing the public opinion. One widely spread pamphlet in the late 17th century contained a letter from the Polish king Jan III Sobieski to his wife, relating the end of the siege on Vienna in 1683. This article examines three Polish versions of the text, four German translations, a previously unknown Latin translation, printed in a Cologne newspaper, and an English translation, made from Latin and printed as a pamphlet. Besides establishing the relationships between the various versions, I also comment on certain aspects of translation technique. Some versions show evidence of having been translated from manuscript originals rather than from printed pamphlets. In other cases, the text has been shortened or expanded, sometimes adding details from other sources or from the translators' background knowledge. The many versions of the text testify to its importance and show the complexity of Early Modern information networks.

Keywords: philology, translation, news, pamphlets, Jan III Sobieski.

1. Introduction

In the early days of printing, pamphlets (German: *Flugschriften*, Polish: *gazety ulotne*) were a common way of spreading information and influencing the public opinion. Pamphlets were short, non-periodical prints, dealing with one or a few topics. They differed from newspapers by being occasional prints, not periodical ones, and they are not always considered to be part of press history.[1] However, many pamphlets were at some point incorporated into periodical newspapers, and newspaper articles could be extracted and printed separately as pamphlets. The text discussed in this article is an example of this. It was very common for pamphlets and news items to be translated and spread all over Europe, which was done both for purposes of disseminating information and in order to influence the public opinion.[2]

One widely circulated pamphlet in the late 17th century contained a letter from the Polish king Jan III Sobieski to his wife, queen Maria Kazimiera, relating

[1] E. Gruszczyńska, *Dawne polskie przekłady prasowe. Informacja — perswazja — manipulacja* (Warszawa: ASPRA-JR, 2012), pp. 9, 15.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

the end of the siege on Vienna in 1683 and the victory over the Turks. The Turks had besieged Vienna since July of the same year, and Sobieski led his Polish forces to join Austrian and German troops in breaking the siege. On 12 September, the Turks were defeated and Sobieski took over the Grand Vizier's camp, where he wrote a letter to his wife about the victory.[3]

The letter was written on 13 September, the day after the victory, and the queen received it at the latest on 24 September, as is evident from a letter she wrote on that date.[4] One of the preserved printed editions (KZ 1007, cf. below) concludes with the remark *Z wiednia de 19. Septemb.* [From Vienna, 19 September],[5] which could indicate the date when she received it.

On 3 October, she wrote back to the king that she had ordered the letter to be printed, as he had wished, with some alterations. The king, however, was not satisfied with the changes she had made and ordered the printed edition of the letter to be destroyed. It cannot now be determined whether it was actually destroyed, or whether it has simply not survived until the present day. Five later Polish editions have survived, however.

The letter was also translated into other European languages. There were at least four German translations, some of which were printed several times, so that nine German editions are known, including one which has not previously been included in bibliographies.[6] There were also several Italian translations, one Spanish, one Portuguese, one Danish and one English, all discussed by Zawadzki and Gruszczyńska.[7] In addition, I have located a Latin translation, previously unknown to scholars (cf. below).

In this article, I will examine a number of versions of this text in order to establish how the translations are connected to each other and how accurate the translations were. Three Polish versions will be compared, as well as four German translations. The chain of translations leading up to the English version will be established, and some aspects of the translation technique examined. This study belongs to the field of philology and translation studies, in that it contributes to the study of the textual tradition of this letter, introduces new source material

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[3] N. Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland. Vol. I: The Origins to 1795* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp. 481–486; D. Stone, *A History of East Central Europe. Vol. IV: The Polish-Lithuanian State, 1386–1795* (Seattle/London: University of Washington Press, 2001), pp. 239–240.

[4] K. Zawadzki, *Losy listu króla Jana III do Marii Kazimiery o zwycięstwie wiedeńskim 1683 roku*. (Warszawa: Zamek Królewski w Warszawie, 1984), pp. 7–10; *idem*, *Początki prasy polskiej: Gazety ulotne i seryjne XVI–XVIII wieku* (Warszawa: Biblioteka Narodowa, 2002), p. 231.

[5] Translations of non-English passages will be given in brackets. In comparisons between passages in different languages, a full translation will usually only be given of the first language cited, and the following examples will be translated only insofar as they differ from the first.

[6] Cf. K. Zawadzki *Losy listu…* (1984), *op. cit.,* pp. 10–16; *idem*, *Początki prasy…* (2002), *op. cit.*, p. 234.

[7] K. Zawadzki, *Losy listu…* (1984), *op. cit.*; *idem*, *Początki prasy…* (2002), *op. cit.;* and E. Gruszczyńska, *Dawne polskie przekłady…* (2012), *op. cit*.

and highlights some of the choices made by the various translators. However, it also ties in with more general aspects to show the intense connection between the European countries in the Early Modern period and the interest in Central Europe shown all over Europe.

This particular text has attracted scholarly attention before, especially from Konrad Zawadzki, one of the experts on early Polish press. He noted that whereas no pamphlets were printed in Poland between 1678 and 1682, the year 1683 saw a wave of pamphlets, many of which dealt with the victory in Vienna. This victory was the subject of some 400 pamphlets all over Europe.[8] The letter discussed in this article may have been the most popular account of the victory and the best-known Polish text of its time in Europe.[9]

Ewa Gruszczyńska has compared some translations of the text, noting what information is given about the time and place when the letter was written.[10] The title of the Polish original contains date and place, whereas some of the translations omit some of this information, which she interprets to mean that Polish readers already knew about the victory and wished to read about its details, whereas foreign readers may have needed more basic information.

2. The Polish Versions

The following table shows the known Polish versions and the designation I will use for them in this article. Numbers following the abbreviation KZ refer to Zawadzki's bibliography.[11] The same numbers are used in the Digital Library of Polish and Poland-Related News Pamphlets (http://cbdu.id.uw.edu.pl), which is based on this bibliography.

Table 1. Polish versions of the king's letter

Text	Similarities	Letter type	Comments
Original letter (Ms)			Source: K. Zawadzki, *Losy listu...* (1984), *op. cit.*, pp. 32–48
KZ 1007 (Pr 1)		Antiqua	
KZ 1036	Similar to KZ 1007	Blackletter	Written in third person
KZ 1005 (Pr 2)		Antiqua	
KZ 1006	Similar to KZ 1005	Antiqua	
KZ 1659	Similar to KZ 1005	Blackletter	

[8] K. Zawadzki, *Początki prasy…* (2002), *op. cit.*, p. 230; cf. also *idem*, *Gazety ulotne polskie i Polski dotyczące XVI–XVIII wieku. Bibliografia. Tom 2: 1662–1728* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich — Wydawnictwo, 1984), pp. 25–58.

[9] K. Zawadzki, *Losy listu…* (1984), *op. cit.*, p. 16; *idem*, *Początki prasy…* (2002), *op. cit.*, p. 236.

[10] E. Gruszczyńska, *Dawne polskie przekłady…* (2012), *op. cit.*, pp. 136–140.

[11] K. Zawadzki, *Gazety ulotne polskie…* (1984), *op. cit.*

The text of the original letter (Ms) is quoted here according to Zawadzki's edition.[12] It is based on earlier editions from 1823 and 1860. The present whereabouts of the original letter are not known.[13] Thus, although I refer to this version as "the handwritten letter," I follow the orthography of Zawadzki's edition.

KZ 1007 and 1036 are similar and differ in some points from KZ 1005, 1006 and 1659, but KZ 1036 is narrated in the third person instead of in the first person, which of course is not typical of a letter. It will therefore not be used in the further analysis. KZ 1007 is slightly closer to the king's original letter than the other versions, and it will therefore be referred to as Pr 1 (printed version 1), which is not to be taken as an assumption that it was chronologically earlier than the other ones, only that it is closer to the original letter.

Since KZ 1005, 1006 and 1659 contain the same text and differ only in matters of spelling and typography, only one of them will be used in the analysis of the translations. It can be added that the types used in the two antiqua prints are not identical; nor is there any other sign of them being made by the same printer. This version will be called Pr 2 (printed version 2), which, again, should not be interpreted as a sign of its being chronologically later.

Ms contains some passages that have been omitted from Pr 1 and Pr 2. These are mainly phrases that were addressed to the queen personally, such as the greeting in example 1 or the comment in example 2 on what her reaction would be if he did not bring back any plunder from the campaign.

(1) Ms: Jedyna duszy i serca pociecho, najśliczniejsza i najukochańsza Marysieńku![14]
[One and only comfort of my heart and soul, most beautiful and most beloved Marysieńka!]

(2) Ms: Nie rzekniesz mnie tak, moja duszo, jako więc tatarskie żony mawiać zwykły mężom bez zdobyczy powracającym „żeś ty nie junak, kiedyś się bez zdobyczy powrócił," bo ten co zdobywa, w przedzie być musi.[15]
[You will not say to me, my dear, what Tatar wives say to their husbands when they return without plunder, that "you are not a brave man, since you have come back without plunder," because he who wins must be among the first.]

The king's original letter contained some French words, scattered throughout the text, which were translated into Polish in both printed versions.

As has already been explained, Pr 1 and Pr 2 differ mainly in details, but usually in such a way that Pr 1 is closer to Ms, as can be seen in the two following examples. The words printed in boldface (emphasis added) are the ones that differ.

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[12] K. Zawadzki, *Losy listu…* (1984), *op. cit.*, pp. 32–48.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 20–24, 28, 30.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 37–35. In Zawadzki's edition, a facsimile of a handwritten copy of the letter is printed on even pages and the transcription on odd pages. Due to a misprint, the text that should be printed on p. 35 is found on p. 37 and vice versa.

(3) Ms: Nieprzyjaciel, zasławszy trupem **aprosze**, pola i obóz, ucieka w konfuzji.[16]
[The enemy, having covered the trenches, fields and camp in bodies, is fleeing in confusion.]

Pr 1: Nieprzyjaciel zasławszy trupem **Approsze**, pola, y Oboz, w konfuzyey ućieka. (KZ 1007: [2])[17]

Pr 2: Nieprzyiaćiel zasławszy trupem pola y Oboz; w konfuzyey ućiekł. (KZ 1005: [1])

(4) Ms: Kihaję jego, to jest pierwszego człowieka po nim, zabito i **panów** niemało.[18]
[His kahya, that is, the man next in rank after him, was killed, and many lords.]

Pr 1: Kihaja jego, to jest pierwszego człowieka ponim, zabito, y **Panow** nie mało. (KZ 1007: [2])

Pr 2: Kiháia iego, to iest pierwszego człe[ka][19] po nim zábito, y **Baszow** nie mało. (KZ 1005: [2])

In one instance, Pr 2 differs in facts from Ms and Pr 1.

(5) Ms: Książę **de Hesse von Cassel**, którego tylko nie dostawało, przybył tu do nas.[20]
[The Prince of Hesse-Kassel, who was the only one missing, has joined us here.]

Pr 1: Ostatnie Xiązę **Hassiæ Kassel**, ktorego tylko nie dostawało, przybył tu do nas. (KZ 1007: [4])

Pr 2: Ostatni Xiążę ***de Eysenak von Sexen***, ktorego tylko niedostawało, przybył tu do Nas. (KZ 1005: [4])

The reason for inserting the Duke of Saxe-Eisenach in the place of the Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel is unclear. All pamphlets belonging to the Pr 2 version have this reading, so it was probably found in the handwritten draft for Pr 2 and is not to be ascribed to the typesetters.

The substitution may have been made either unconsciously or consciously. The copyist who made the handwritten draft may have misread the name in the text he was copying. Another possibility is that it was motivated by political alliances, but since we do not know when, where and at whose behest this particular version of the pamphlet was printed, this cannot be verified at present. According to Zawadzki, all Polish versions of the pamphlet were printed in Cracow in 1683, so no additional clue to the substitution is to be found in the place where it was printed.[21]

3. The German Translations

As has already been mentioned, there were several German translations of the letter. Zawadzki listed eight printed editions, which I have identi-

[16] *Ibid.*, p 33.

[17] Many of the pamphlets do not have pagination or signatures, in which cases I have assigned page numbers to them to facilitate orientation. These are given in angular brackets.

[18] K. Zawadzki, *Losy listu…* (1984), *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[19] The copy of KZ 1005 available online is damaged along one edge. The lacuna has been filled with the help of KZ 1006.

[20] K. Zawadzki, *Losy listu…* (1984), *op. cit.*, p. 47.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

fied as belonging to four different translations. The numbers assigned to them (Ger 1, 2, 3 and 4) are arbitrary. Moreover, I have discovered a German edition which was not known to Zawadzki, but which is catalogued in VD17, the database of books printed in German-speaking countries in the 17th century and listed here by its identification number in that database.

Table 2. German translations of the king's letter

Text	Similarities	Closest Polish text	Comments
KZ 1661 (Ger 1)		Pr 1	
KZ 975 (Ger 2)		Pr 1	Contains many errors
KZ 1634	Similar to KZ 975		Part of a larger publication
KZ 1660	Similar to KZ 975		
KZ 1009 (Ger 3)		Pr 1	
KZ 1662	Similar to KZ 1009		Part of a larger publication
KZ 976 (Ger 4)		Pr 2	
KZ 977	Similar to KZ 976		
VD17 14:050624Z[22]	Similar to KZ 976		

When comparing the German translations, we can see that three of them were made from a Polish text close to Pr 1 and one was made from a text close to Pr 2. In several places, however, Ger 1, Ger 2 and Ger 3 agree only with the Ms version and differ from Pr 1. It was observed already by Zawadzki that the German translators might have had access to handwritten material.[23] The translations were probably made not from a printed pamphlet, but from a handwritten draft, which contained elements from the original letter that were later omitted in the Polish printed pamphlets.

This is the case, for instance, in the passage in Ms quoted above as example 2, which is repeated here as example 6, about the queen's presumed reaction if the king had come back without plunder. As explained above, this passage is not found in Pr 1 or Pr 2. It reads as follows in the translations:

(6) Ms: Nie rzekniesz mnie tak, moja duszo, jako więc tatarskie żony mawiać zwykły mężom bez zdobyczy powracającym „żeś ty nie **junak**, kiedyś się bez zdobyczy powrócił," bo ten co zdobywa, w przedzie być musi.[24]

Ger 1: Ewer Lübden werden mir also mit dem *Complement*/ womit der *Tartarn* Weiber ihre Männer/ wann sie ohne Beute zurück kommen/ zu bewillkommen pflegen/ nicht begegnen.

[22] A scanned version of this pamphlet is provided by the Sächsische Landesbibliothek — Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, www.slub-dresden.de.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 37–35.

Du bist nicht ein **rechtschaffener *Cavallier***, weil du ohne Beute zurück kehrest/ denn derjenige/ der gute Beute machet/ muß fornen an seyn. (KZ 1661:)(2r)
[a proper cavalier]

Ger 2: Ihro Liebden also mir nicht sagen können/ wie die Tartarische Weiber pflegen zu sagen/ wenn die Männer ohne Beuthe kommen du bist nicht der **Joneck oder Hanß**. (KZ 975: [2])
[Joneck or Hans]

Ger 3: Nun werde ich von Euer Liebden nicht hören dörffen/ was die Tartarische Weiber ihren Männern zu sagen pflegen/ wann sie keine Beute mitbringen: Du bist kein **hurtiger Kriegs-Mann**. Nein/ wer Beut haben will/ muß unter denen ersten beym Angriff seyn. (KZ 1009: A2v)
[brave warrior]

The Ger 2 translation is sometimes very inaccurate, an example of which can be seen in the passage quoted above. The Polish word *junak*, "young, brave man; soldier," is translated correctly in Ger 1 and Ger 3, but in Ger 2 the translator has apparently misunderstood the word and interpreted it as a form of the name Jan or Johannes, adding the name Hans — short for Johannes — in the translation.

Aside from the readings common to all editions of Ger 2, there is also an interesting instance of variation between them. The king explains that he took the Grand Vizier's standard and sent it to Rome with his secretary, Talenti. This passage is translated as follows.

(7) Ms: Mam wszystkie znaki jego wezyrskie, które nad nim noszą; chorągiew mahometańską, którą mu dał cesarz jego na wojnę i którą dziśże jeszcze posłałem do Rzymu Ojcu Św. przez **Talentego** pocztą.[25]
[I have all the Vizier's signs, that are carried above him; a Mahometan standard, which his emperor gave him for the war, and which I have even today sent to Rome to the Holy Father with Talenti by post.]

Ger 2: Ich habe alle Krieges Zeichen des Gros *Veziers*. welche sie unter ihnen pflegen zuführen/ bekomen: einen Mahometanischen Fahn/ welcher Ihm von seinem Käyser in diesem Krieg gegeben worden/ so Ich Ihro Bäpstl: Heyligkeit nach Rom durch den ***Pallanck*** auff der Post überschicket. (KZ 975: [2])

Ger 2: Ich habe alle Krieges-Zeichen deß Groß-Veziers/ welche sie unter ihnen pflegen zu führen/ bekommen: Einen Mahometanischen Fahn/ welcher Ihm von seinem Kayser in diesem Krieg gegeben worden/ so Ich Ihro Päpstlichen Heyligkeit nach Rom durch den ***Denhoff*** auff der Post überschicket. (KZ 1634: E1r–E1v)

Ger 2: Ich hab alle Kriegszeichen deß Groß-Vesiers/ welche sie zuführen pflegen/ bekommen. Unter andern ein Mahometisch Fahn/ welches ihm von seinem Käyser zu diesem Krieg gegeben worden/ dieses Fahn hab Ihro Päbstl Heylig: gen Rom durch den ***Tallenti*** *per postam* überschicket. (KZ 1660: [3])

Of the three editions belonging to the Ger 2 version, only KZ 1660 contains Talenti's name. The name "Pallanck" in KZ 975 probably originates in the typesetter's misreading the name in the handwritten draft (cf. the spelling "Tallenti" in KZ 1660). There is no person by the name of Pallanck in *Polski słownik biograficzny*.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

KZ 1634 has the name "Denhoff" in this place. Jan Kazimierz Denhoff was the Polish representative at the Holy See from 1682, and when Talenti had brought the standard along with news of the victory to Rome, Denhoff was the one who, on 29 September, presented it to the pope[26]. KZ 1634 is not a separate pamphlet: it was published together with other texts relating to the siege on Vienna, including a transcript of Denhoff's speech on this occasion.[27] With the substitution of the name, the two texts were brought into line with each other.

4. A Chain of Translations

The English translation is preserved in two editions: KZ 1012, printed in London, and an edition printed in Dublin, which was not listed by Zawadzki.[28] This translation is unusual in that it specifies the source text from which it was translated: "Translated from the *Cologne* Gazette, Octob. 19. 1683. *Numb*. 84." In this section, the chain of translations leading up to the English text will be examined.

4.1. Identifying the "*Cologne* Gazette"

Because of the information about the "*Cologne* Gazette," it has been assumed that the English translation was made from a German version of the text.[29] The source text was not a pamphlet, but a newspaper edition, published on 19 October, which in 1683 was a Tuesday. The main postal deliveries from Cologne were Tuesdays and Fridays, and therefore these were popular days for printing newspapers.[30]

There were three main newspaper publishers in Cologne at that time: Caspar Kempen and Georg Friedrich Franckenberg published in German, and Peter Hilden's heirs in Latin.[31] Scholars disagree as to whether there was a French newspaper in Cologne at that time. Blunck claims that Franckenberg began printing *Gazette de Cologne* in French in 1682,[32] although other scholars do not agree.[33]

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[26] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, Vol. 5, p. 112.

[27] Vortrag und Reden An Ihro Päbstliche Heiligkeit/ Als Deroselben der Haupt-Fahne deß Türckischen Kriegsheers in Namen Sr. Königl. May. von Polen/ von Dero *Extraordinar*-Abgesandten/ *IOANNE CASIMIRO DENHOFF* Abbten zu Claræ Tumbæ/ den 29. Sept An. 1683. Allerunterthänigst überbracht/ und überreicht wurde.

[28] The Dublin edition is available through Early English Books Online, eebo.chadwyck.com. Quotes will be taken from KZ 1012.

[29] Cf. E. Gruszczyńska, *Dawne polskie przekłady…* (2012), *op. cit.*, pp. 139, 240.

[30] C. Roeder, *Frühe Kölner Wochenzeitungen: Die Unternehmen der Offizinen Mertzenich und Kempen 1620 bis 1685* (Köln: Greven, 1998), p. 25.

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 25.

[32] J. Blunck, *Die Kölner Zeitungen und Zeitschriften vor 1814: Eine Bibliographie mit Standortnachweis* (Münster: C.J. Fahle, 1966), pp. 26–28.

[33] E.g. C. Roeder, *Frühe Kölner Wochenzeitungen…* (1998), *op. cit.*, p. 26.

The earliest preserved copy dates from 1723,[34] and there does not seem to be any evidence that it existed in the 1680s.

Caspar Kempen's paper was published on Tuesdays and Fridays, but only the Tuesday editions were numbered, which means that in the course of a year, it could only reach no. 52 or 53, and there could not be a no. 84.[35] The newspaper owned by Georg Friedrich Franckenberg and his wife Maria was printed on Wednesdays and Saturdays, and the two issues had separate numbering, which means that they also only reached no. 52 or 53, and never no. 84.[36] This leaves Peter Hilden's Latin paper as the most probable source.

In 1664, after a conflict with Caspar Kempen, the Cologne printer Peter Hilden received the permission to print newspapers, but not in German. He therefore founded the Latin newspaper *Extraordinariæ Relationes*.[37] From 1667 onwards, the Tuesday issues were called *Ordinariæ Relationes* and the Friday issues *Extraordinariæ Relationes*. Peter Hilden continued to print this paper until his death in 1682, when the business was continued by his widow Katharina and his son Peter Theodor.[38] Despite the fact that the Tuesday and Friday issues had different titles, they were numbered straight through, starting anew each year.

The source of the English translation is thus an article in the Tuesday issue, *Ordinariæ Relationes*, no. 84 from 19 October, 1683. The only known copy is to be found in a volume with the call number Fü 330 1a in Bibliotheca Fürstenbergiana Herdringen, i.e. in the private collections of Freiherr von Fürstenberg, who has kindly allowed me to publish it as an illustration to this article (see Fig. 19). It bears the colophon "Imprimebat Vidua PETRI HILDEN cum Privil. S. C. Mtis." [Printed by Peter Hilden's widow with the privilege of His Holy Imperial Majesty], showing that Peter Hilden's widow was at that time running the business.

The English translation differs quite noticeably from all the others, but as the "*Cologne* Gazette" has previously not been identified, it has not been established whether these changes were made by the English translator or at some other point in the chain of translations. This will be attempted below.

4.2. Finding Other Links in the Chain

As stated above, there were several Polish versions of the text that differed slightly from each other. To determine which Polish version the Latin and English translations were based on, we can look at the following example (cf. example 4 above):

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[34] J. Blunck, *Die Kölner Zeitungen…* (1966), *op. cit.*, p. 26; cf. historischesarchivkoeln.de.

[35] C. Roeder, *Frühe Kölner Wochenzeitungen…*(1998), *op. cit.*, p. 23; cf. J. Blunck, *Die Kölner Zeitungen…* (1966), *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 20.

[36] J. Blunck, *Die Kölner Zeitungen…* (1966), *op. cit.*, pp. 23–24.

[37] C. Roeder, *Frühe Kölner Wochenzeitungen…* (1998), *op. cit.*, pp. 88–89.

[38] J. Blunck, *Die Kölner Zeitungen…* (1966), *op. cit.*, p. 21; I. Maier, "Lateinische Quellen für russische Zeitungsübersetzungen?" in *Rusistika. Slavistika. Lingvistika. Festschrift für Werner Lehfeldt zum 60. Geburtstag*, eds. S. Kempgen, U. Schweier and T. Berger (München: Sagner, 2003), pp. 229–230.

(8) Pr 1: Kihaja jego, to jest pierwszego człowieka ponim, zabito, y **Panow** nie mało. (KZ 1007: [2])
[His kahya, that is, the man next in rank after him, was killed, and many lords.]

Pr 2: Kiháia iego, to iest pierwszego cźłe[ka] po nim zábito, y **Baszow** nie mało. (KZ 1005: [2])

Lat: ejus *Kihaia* ·1· primus ab illo, occubuit cum plurimis **Bassis** (Fü 330 1a)
[His kahya, the man next in rank after him, died with many pashas.]

Eng: yet his Caymecam, or Lieutenant-General, with some of the most Considerable **Bassa's**, fell by our Swords (KZ 1012: A1r)

It can thus be determined that the Polish version Pr 2 was the first link in the chain. However, it still remains to be seen if the Latin translation was made directly from Polish, or if there was another intermediate translation — a German text, for instance.

The German version closest to Pr 2 is Ger 4. It is a very accurate translation, whereas the Latin translation is rather free (cf. below), which makes it difficult to find instances where the Latin text agrees with the German text but differs from the Polish one. There is, however, one such instance:

(9) Pr 2: Elektorowi Bawarskiemu, ktory nigdy prawie odemnie niewynidźie, darowałem trzech koni moich, y Chorągiew Bászy Egipskiego, y **Dźiał część**. (KZ 1005: [4])
[To the Elector of Bavaria, who hardly ever leaves my side, I have given three of my horses, and the standard of the Pasha of Egypt, and some of the cannons.]

Ger 4: Dem Chur-Fürsten von Bäyern/ der gleichsahm nimmer von mir weggehet/ hab ich drey meiner Pferd/ des Egyptischen *Bassa* Fahn und **10. Canon** geschencket. (KZ 976:)(4r)
[ten cannons]

Lat: Electori Bavariæ, qui a me non cedit, tres ex meis equos, labarum Bassæ AEgyptiaci & **decem tormenta bellica** dono dedi. (Fü 330 1a)
[ten cannons]

Eng: This Prince has been very Assiduous in his Services to me; therefore I have presented him three of my Horses, the Bassa of *Egypt*'s Tent and Standard, and **ten Pieces of Cannon**. (KZ 1012: A1v)

The person who made the German translation apparently misread *dział część* ("some of the cannons") as *dział dziesięć* ("ten cannons"), and this was further translated into Latin and English.

It can be added that the Spanish translation (KZ 1031) and three of the Italian translations (KZ 1015, 1666 and 1687) all have readings corresponding to "some of the cannons," which rules them out as intermediate translations. I have thus established with certainty that the Latin translation was made from Ger 4.

4.3. Translation Technique

Compared to the Polish and German versions, the Latin translation has been considerably shortened: it is approximately 560 words long while Pr 2 is 1,700 words long and Ger 4 is 1,480 words long. This is perhaps a natural consequence

of the fact that it was printed not as a separate pamphlet, but as an article in a newspaper, where the editors wished to have room for other news items besides this one.

Several passages describing particulars such as the riches captured from the Grand Vizier, the terrors of the battle or news of the king's allies have been omitted. Most of what has been translated, however, has been translated faithfully.

The differences between the Latin and English texts are more significant. The English translator has not only excluded more information but also added new phrases: the English text is approximately 1,000 words long. There are numerous examples similar to the following:

(10) Pr 2: Bog y Pan nasz ná wieki Błogosłowiony, dał zwyćięstwo y sławę Narodowi Naszemu, o iakiey wieki pierwsze nigdy niesłychały. Dźiała wszytkie, Oboz, dostatki nieoszacowane dostały się w ręce nasze. (KZ 1005: [1])
[Our God and Lord, praised in eternity, gave such victory and glory to our people, as previous ages have never known. All the cannons, the camp and invaluable treasures have fallen into our hands.]

Ger 4: Unser Gott und Herr/ Hochgelobet in Ewigkeit/ hat einen Sieg und Ruhm Unserer *Nation*, dergleichen die vorigen Zeiten nie gehöret/ gegeben; Alle Stücke/ das Lager/ und unschätzbahre Gütter sind in Unsere Hände gekommen. (KZ 976:)(1v)

Lat: Deus immortalis, cui honor & gloria in æternum, nationi nostræ victoriam tribuit, qualem nulla hactenus memoria hominum vidit: tormenta omnia, castra & inæstimabilis thesaurus in potestatem nostram devenerunt. (Fü 330 1a)

Eng: The immortal God, (to whom Honour and Glory be Ascribed for Ever) has Blest us with so Signal a Victory, as scarce the Memory of Man can Equal: **The Enemy was not only content to Raise the Siege of *Vienna*, and Leave us Masters of the Field,** But also of all their Cannon, and Tents, with Inestimable Treasure. (KZ 1012: A1r)

In example 11, changes have been made in every subsequent translation. The name of the king's secretary, Talenti (cf. also example 7), has been omitted in Ger 4. When translating this further into Latin, the phrase set in boldface in the example from Ger 4, which gives additional information about the standard, has been left out. Finally, the boldface in the English example shows information that the translator has apparently added of his own accord, since it is not found in any of the other versions.

(11) Pr 2: Choragiew Machometańską, ktorą mu dał Cesarz iego ná woynę, ktorą dźiś zaraz posłałem Oycu S. do Rzymu przez Talentego Pocztą. (KZ 1005: [1])
[A Mahometan standard, which his emperor gave him for the war, which I sent at once today to the Holy Father in Rome with Talenti by post]

Ger 4: Die Mahometische Fahn/ **welche Ihm von seinen Käyser zum Krieg gegeben**/ und von Mir dem H. Vater nach Rom durch die Post überschicket worden. (KZ 976:)(2r)

Lat: Mahometicum labarum per cursorem misi ad Pontificem. (Fü 330 1a)
[The Mahometan standard I sent with a messenger to the Pope]

Eng: I have Presented the *Turkish* Standard to His Holyness, **who was Instrumental no less by His Money, than His Prayers, to their Overthrow**. (KZ 1012: A1r)

Although many of the additions in the English translation could be seen as pure embellishment, in a couple of instances, they contain details that give the impression that the translator incorporated information from another source or from his own background knowledge.

(12) Pr 2: My dźiś za Nieprzyiaćielem ruszamy się do Węgier. (KZ 1005: [3])
[Today we set out after the enemy to Hungary]

Ger 4: Wir brechen heute hinter dem Feind nach Ungern auff. (KZ 976:)(3v)

Lat: castra nunc promovemus. (Fü 330 1a)
[We now move our camp ahead]

Eng: We are now on our March towards *Hungary*; **taking the Advantage of their Distraction, to Defeat the Remainder of their scatter'd Troops, and Surprize *Gran* or *Newheusell***. (KZ 1012: A1v)

Gran was the German name for Esztergom in present-day Hungary, and Newheusell, or Neuhäusel, was the name for Nové Zámky in present-day Slovakia. These places were frequently mentioned in news reports, and the translator may have known them from other articles he had read or even translated.

In one case, the Latin translation contains a mistake that is further accentuated in the English version. According to the Polish and German versions, the Polish king explains that he has written to the king of France about the victory. The person who made the Latin translation seems to have misread or misunderstood *einige* ("a few") as *kein einziges* ("not a single one"), translating it as *ne vel verbulum* — "not even a little word." The English version, as usual, embellishes the text, saying that Sobieski has written to other dignitaries, but not to the king of France.

(13) Pr 2: Do Krola I M. Francuskiego napisałem kilka słow. (KZ 1005: [4])
[I have written a few words to His Majesty the King of France]

Ger 4: An den König in Franckreich Ihr. Maytt. hab ich einige Wort geschrieben. (KZ 976:)(4r)

Lat: Regi Galliarum ne vel verbulum scripsi de hac victoria. (Fü 330 1a)
[I have not written a single word to the King of France about this victory]

Eng: I have sent several Dispatches to Forein Princes to give Notice of this Action, **but the King of *France* was forgotten**. (KZ 1012: A1v)

There are many more examples of information being left out in the Latin translation and new embellishments being added in the English translation. In some cases, the details that have been added are incorrect, such as in the following example.

(14) Pr 2: Syn Nasz serca nieustraszonego, y fantazyey nad spodziewanie dobrey, na piądź mnie nigdźie nie odstąpił; zdrow dobrze w takich fatygach iakie większe być niemogą. (KZ 1005: [4])
[Our son is fearless of heart and in better spirits than expected, he never retreated even a hand's breadth from me; he is well in the greatest troubles that can be]

Ger 4: Unser Sohn ist unerschrockenes Hertzens und eines über vermuhten guten Muhts/ ist von mir nicht ein Handbreit gewichen/ auch in den *fatigiis*, die nicht grösser seyn können. (KZ 976:)(4r)

Lat: filius noster est animi imperterriti, non a me pedem latum cessit in præsentissimis periculis. (Fü 330 1a)
[Our son is fearless of spirit, he did not retreat even a foot's breadth from me in the most immediate of perils.]

Eng: I Rejoyce to see our Son ***Alexander*** of so Clear and Undanted a Courage who always stuck to me in my most iminent Dangers (KZ 1012: A1v)

Sobieski's son Aleksander, who is mentioned by name later on in the letter, was born in 1677 and was thus only six years old at the time. The son who took part in the battle was the eldest, Jakub, born in 1667.

5. Conclusion

The letter from the Polish king to his wife after the victory over the Turks at Vienna has attracted the interest of earlier scholars because of its many translations, which testify to its prominent position among news reports on that topic. This comparison of three Polish versions (the handwritten letter and two printed versions), four German translations, one previously unknown Latin translation made from German and an English translation made from the Latin version has added to the knowledge about this text.

There are certain signs that at least some of the translations were made from source texts that were not printed, but handwritten. Thus, the German translations Ger 1, Ger 2 and Ger 3 contain a phrase that can only be found in the Polish handwritten letter, not in either of the printed versions, although in other respects they are close to the printed version Pr 1. One edition of the Ger 2 translation contains a misspelled name which points to a handwritten source text.

Other details give the impression that some translators made use of additional material or of their own background knowledge. For instance, another edition of Ger 2 mentions a person who does not occur in any of the Polish versions or other translations, but who occurs in another text published together with it. The English translation contains place names that are not found in any other version, but that were probably familiar to the translator from other news reports.

A chain of translations was established, leading from Polish over German and Latin to English. The Latin translation was found in a newspaper printed in Cologne. In this translation, some passages were omitted, probably in order to adapt the text to this medium. The English translation was printed as a separate pamphlet, which allowed more room for embellishment. Some of these additions may have been made for effect and expressivity, whereas others contained new facts and details.

The many translations confirm the assumption that the victory at Vienna was of great importance all over Europe and make this letter stand out as one of the

most important sources of information on the subject. The additions and changes made in some of the translations suggest that details surrounding the event were known from other reports as well. All in all, the treatment of this letter shows the complexity of the relations between texts that were printed, reprinted, translated and distributed in Central Europe in the 17th century.

Sources

Copia Listu Krola Jmsci do Krolowey Jmsci, pisanego z Namiotow Wezyrskich w Obozie pod Wiedniem die 13. Septembris Anno 1683. http://cbdu.id.uw.edu.pl/10070/ [KZ 1007, Pr 1].

Kopia listu Krolá Imśći do Krolowey Ieymśći pisánego z Namiotow Wezyrowskich w Obośie pod Wiedniem die 13. Septembris Anno 1683. http://cbdu.id.uw.edu.pl/10050/ [KZ 1005, Pr 2].

Copey Eines Schreibens von Ihr. Königl. Majestät von Pohlen/ an Dero Gemahlin/ Aus des Groß-Veziers Gezelten in dem Lager vor Wien/ vom 13. Sept. 1683. Wegen der Entsatzung. http://cbdu.id.uw.edu.pl/16610/ [KZ 1661, Ger 1].

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Curieuses und recht Merckwürdiges Schreiben/ Welches Ihro Königliche Majestät in Polen/ an Dero Königliche Gemahlin/ Bey jüngster höchst-glücklichen Entsetzung der Käyserlichen Residenz-Stadt Wienn/ und gäntzlicher Verjagung der in mehr als 150000. Mann bestandnen Türckischen Armee/ abgehen lassen. Wegen vieler rarer Umstände nunmehr zum Druck befördert. Im Jahr Christi 1683. http://cbdu.id.uw.edu.pl/10090/ [KZ 1009, Ger 3].

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Jan IVANEGA (University of South Bohemia in České Budějovice)

Hydriatria nova, *Hydriatria recusa* and *Ursprung des Lebens*: On the History of the Schwarzenberg Book Patronage

Abstract: The article discusses three Baroque texts devoted to the spa resorts of Jánské Lázně (German: Johannisbad) in Eastern Bohemia and Libníč (German: Libnitsch) in South Bohemia, founded in 1675 and 1681, respectively, by the princely family of Schwarzenberg, one of the most important noble families in the Habsburg monarchy. In the article I focus on *Ursprung des Lebens…* by Melchior Wentzl Lodgman de Auen (1707), *Hydriatria Nova* by Johann Franz Löw of Erlsfeld (1721) and *Hydriatria recusa* (1766), an extended and modified edition of Löw's. I summarise the content of the books, draw on archival sources to reconstruct their creation, compare them and locate them in the context of the contemporaneous balneological literature. I argue that research on these three documents may provide an impulse for the study of the Schwarzenberg family's as yet unexamined book patronage.

Keywords: Early Modern printing, balneological literature, spa descriptions, Jánské Lázně, Libníč, Schwarzenberg family.

The Schwarzenberg family belonged among the most important noble families in the Habsburg monarchy,[1] yet the family roots originate from Middle Franconia (Bavaria, Germany). In the Habsburg service, the Schwarzenberg family achieved a definitely prominent position in the times of Johann Adolf I (1615–1683), who received a hereditary princely title for his important contribution to the imperial politics and, at the same time, consolidated the family's Bohemian property. Among others, in 1675, he bought the Vlčice manor, which is going to be of some consequence for my argument in this paper. His son, Ferdinand Wilhelm (1652–1703), continued to buy property and rose to the position of a steward at the Imperial Court of Eleonora Magdalena of Pfalz-Neuburg. Ferdinand Wilhelm's son, Adam Franz (1680–1732), the highest groom of the Emperor Charles VI, completed the land expansion of the family. In 1719, he inherited the Eggenberg family's property that doubled the Schwarzenberg land ownership. At that time, the Schwarzenberg

[1] K. Schwarzenberg, *Geschichte des reichsständischen Hauses Schwarzenberg* I–II (Neustadt an der Aisch: Verlag Degener & Co., 1963); M. Gaži (ed.), *Schwarzenberkové v české a středoevropské kulturní historii* (České Budějovice: Národní památkový ústav, 2008).

family held the top position in the social pyramid of the Habsburg monarchy. The fourth Prince of Schwarzenberg, Josef Adam (1722–1782, son of Adam Franz), enjoyed the most successful career, becoming Empress Maria Theresia's imperial steward. Although after World War Two a substantial part of the Schwarzenberg property was taken over by the state, the name of Schwarzenberg still resounds among the population of the Czech Republic. Prince Karl VII Schwarzenberg was the Minister of Foreing Affairs in two Czech Republic cabinets, and he was a presidential candidate in the 2013 elections.

In my paper, I will focus on the story of three Baroque Schwarzenberg spa descriptions. Such books, written to examine the benefits of mineral water and to inform about particular spa resorts, date back to the 16th century, as evidenced, among others, by the writings of Theophrastus Paracelsus (1483–1541), a German scholar and physician.[2] The first theoretical book on mineral waters and spa treatment written in the Bohemian Kingdom was authored by the Moravian physician Thomas Iordaneus de Clausenburg (1539–1586). Published in 1580, the book discussed the Moravian mineral water springs. Another fundamental text on the topic is Wenceslaus Hullinger's *Hydriatria Carolina* (1638), a description of the renowned Carlsbad springs, which was re-published several times and widely distributed. Even more influential were works by Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680), who explained, among others, how mineral springs had come into being.[3]

In my paper, I will attend to three books: *Ursprung des Lebens…* by Melchior Wentzl Lodgman de Auen (1707),[4] *Hydriatria Nova* by Johann Franz Löw of Erlsfeld (1721)[5] and *Hydriatria recusa* (an extended and modified edition of Löw's book from 1766).[6] Beside summarising the content of these texts and comparing them, I will attempt to locate them in the context of the contemporaneous balneological literature. Also, I will draw on archival sources to reconstruct the creation of these books and examine details of that process. I believe that the study of the

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[2] P. Kaufmann, *Gesellschaft im Bad. Die Entwicklung der Badefahrten und der "Naturbäder" im Gebiet der Schweiz und im angrenzenden südwestdeutschen Raum (1300–1610)* (Zürich: Chronos, 2009).

[3] A. Kircher, *Mundus subterraneus in XII libros digestus* (Amstelodam: Joannes Janssonius & Wliyeus Wezerstraten, 1665).

[4] M.W. Lodgman de Auen, *Ursprung deß Lebens Das ist: Beachtsambe, und warhafftige Beschreibung der mineralischen Wassern, in denen S. Joannis Bädern* (Prag: Georg Labaun, 1707).

[5] J.F. Löw von Erlsfed, *Hydriatria Nova, das ist: Kurzte Beschreibung von dem neu-erfundenen Frauenberger-Bad von Alters in Böhmischer Sprach ins gemein genant Smradlawá Woda auff Teutsch Stinckendes Wasser; Dessen Ursprung, und Gelegenheit, Alterthumb, heylsamben Mineralien Würckungen, Nutz und rechter Gebrauch* (Praga: Carolo-Ferdinandeischen Buchdruckerei der Gesellschaft JESU, 1721). Published also in Czech.

[6] J.A. Lintz (ed.), *Johann Franz Löw von Erlsfeld, Hydriatria recusa, Das ist: Wiederhollte kurze Beschreibung des Frauenberger Baades von Alters in Böhmischer Sprache genannt: Smradlavá Woda, auf Deutsch Stinkendes Wasser, Anjetzo aber insgemein Libnitscher Baad. Dessen Ursprung, Lage, Alterthum, heilsame Mineralien, Wirkungen, Nutzen und rechter Gebrauch* (Neuhaus: Ignatz Hilgartner, 1767).

three documents might be an impulse for further research on the Schwarzenberg family's book patronage, which has not been investigated yet.[7]

To start with, I will introduce the authors of the texts, who were actually all prestigious physicians. The author of *Hydriatria nova*, Johann Franz Löw of Erlsfeld (1648–1725), was a physician in aristocratic households, a many-time dean of the Medical Faculty and the rector of Prague University.[8] Spa springs were one of the topics in which Löw of Erlsfeld was particularly interested. He entered the Schwarzenbergs' service in 1680. Not much is known about Melchior Wentzel Lodgman de Auen, Löw's contemporary and the author of *Ursprung des Lebens*.[9] At the turn of the 17th century, he worked as a county physician in Hradec Králové. By virtue of his position, he studied regional mineral springs, therein Jánské Lázně springs, where he liked sending his patients, most of whom were wealthy burghers from Hradec Králové. The third author, Joseph Anton Lintz/Linz (1712/1719?–16 August, 1790), who edited *Hydriatria recusa*, lived a similar life.[10] Born in Moravia, he received medical education and acquired experience in Vienna. Subsequently, he worked in Jindřichův Hradec as a county physician of the Bechyně region. In 1747, he was employed by Josef Adam of Schwarzenberg as a court physician in Třeboň, one of the largest Bohemian manors.

Chronologically, the first description deals with the spa of Jánské Lázně in Vlčice, Eastern Bohemia. Johann Adolf of Schwarzenberg established the spa immediately after purchasing the manor in 1675.[11] As the spa was favourably located in the vicinity of the main trade route between Bohemia and Silesia, the number of visitors kept increasing steadily. According to historical sources, the Silesian and Bohemian aristocracy and Silesian merchants were the spa's most common and frequent visitors.[12] For their convenience, stables and several residential buildings were built over the following two decades nearby John Baptist's chapel, which served as the sacred centre of the place. The Schwarzenbergs' support extended beyond construction work. The mineral spring was tested several times for the presence of curative components. One of these tests was carried out by the county

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[7] The library of the Eggenberg family, who was related to the Schwarzenberg family, has already been thoroughly examined. See J. Radimská, *Ve znamení havranů. Knižní sbírka rodiny Eggenbergů na zámku v Českém Krumlově* (České Budějovice: Jihočeská univerzita, 2011).

[8] I. Čornejová, "Deník Jana Františka Lva z Erlsfeldu — pozoruhodný a nevyužitý pramen," in *Seminář a jeho hosté. Sborník prací k 60. narozeninám doc. dr. Rostislava Nového*, eds. Z. Hojda, J. Pešek and B. Zilynská (Praha: Filozofická fakulta univerzity Karlovy, 1992), pp. 237–245; E. Rozsívalová, "Knihovna profesora lékařské fakulty Joh. Fr. Löwa z Erlsfeldu," *AUC-HUCP* 17/1 (1977), pp. 47–68.

[9] State Regional Archives Třeboň (henceforth SRAT), Department Český Krumlov (henceforth dpt ČK), Schwarzenberská ústřední kancelář, staré oddělení (henceforth SCO), Manor Vlčice, signature A 6Bα 1a.

[10] Primary sources: SRAT, dpt ČK, SCO, Manor Třeboň, sign. B 7B 4d. — SRAT, Sbírka matrik, Parish Třeboň, book 39, p. 40.

[11] B. Pauer, *Illustriertes Führbuch durch Johannisbad* (Trautenau, 1886), p. 31; M.W. Lodgman de Auen, *Ursprung deß Lebens…* (1707), *op. cit.*

[12] SRAT, Cizí rody, inventory number 505, carton 160. — SRAT, dpt ČK, SCO, Manor Vlčice, sign. A 6Bα 1a, A 6Bß 2m.

doctor Melchior Lodgmann de Auen in 1696.[13] He found out that the mineral water in Janské Lázně was highly beneficial and began to prescribe spa treatment to his patients. At the same time, he started working on a manuscript describing the spa. Upon its completion in 1699,[14] the physician requested Prince Ferdinand Wilhelm of Schwarzenberg to fund the printing of the text. Although the prince repeatedly expressed his support, he never actually provided the doctor with money and, as a result, the document remained in the manuscript form only.

The situation changed when his son, Adam Franz of Schwarzenberg, acceded to the family's headship. The young prince's extensive support helped develop the Jánské Lázně Spa resort. In 1706, he authorised his architect, Paul Ignatz Bayer, to build a new inn to substitute the wooden houses previously in place and provide visitors with comfortable accomodation.[15] The new spa inn was finished in 1710. Together with funding the inn construction, the prince agreed to support the publication of Lodgmann's manuscript describing the spa. The two actions were clearly interrelated. The publishing of the book ensured wide dissemination of information about the spa resort of Jánské Lázně. And the visitors enticed in this way could stay in the new spa building. The book was printed in German only, which reflects the composition of the local, mainly German-speaking population.

The second document, *Hydriatria nova* by Johann Franz Löw of Erlsfeld, was composed under similar circumstances. In 1681, a princely official who had grown up in the Vlčice manor and was familiar with Jánské Lázně springs, discovered a mineral spring in Libníč in the South-Bohemian Hluboká manor, and recommended building a spa resort there. Prince Johann Adolf (the founder of the Jánské Lázně spa resort) agreed to set up a spa in Libníč. First of all, it was necessary to examine the quality of mineral water from the spring. Johann Franz Löw of Erlsfeld, Schwarzenberg's court physician, was authorised to carry out the required chemical analysis.[16] He found the spring highly useful and recommended the prince to take advantage of it. At the same time, he started preparing a spa description document, which was ready to be printed in the 1680s. However, Johann Adolf of Schwarzenberg, who supported the printing of the document on the Libníč spa, died in 1683. His son, Ferdinand Wilhelm, decided to postpone the printing of the spa description. He resumed the publication plan in the 1690s, when new houses were being built in Libníč. Because the author did not demonstrate enough interest (Löw progressed rather slowly with his final editorial work), the

[13] Melchior Lodgmann von Auen to Ferdinand Prince of Schwarzenberg, Hradec Králové, August 15, 1696, SRAT, dpt ČK, SCO, Manor Vlčice, sign. A 6Bα 1a.

[14] The Concept of princely letter, Vienna, August 22, 1699, SRAT, dpt ČK, SCO, Manor Vlčice, sign. A 6Bα 1a.

[15] J. Ivanega, "K architektuře schwarzenberských barokních lázní a morových kaplí: Janské Lázně, Libníč a Postoloprty na přelomu 17. a 18. století," *Opuscula historiae artium* (forthcoming).

[16] Primary sources: SRAT, Manor Hluboká, sign. IA 6Bα 1. — SRAT, dpt ČK, SCO, Manor Hluboká, sign. A 3Kα 1a/6. See J. Ivanega, *Lovecký zámek Ohrada a schwarzenberská sídla na panství Hluboká nad Vltavou* (České Budějovice: Národní zemědělské muzeum, 2014), pp. 94, 117–126.

plan was abandoned, and ultimately the document was not published until Adam Franz of Schwarzenberg's time.

Prince Adam Franz implemented a number of construction schemes that made the Hluboká manor his main Bohemian domain. Among others, he supported the expansion of the Libníč Spa resort. At the turn of the 17th century, a spa was a requisite element of every rural manor of some importance. The aristocracy could spend their time when they sojourned in the countryside, cure ills of the body and have their souls at ease. In the Libníč Spa, the princely architect Paul Ignatz Bayer built the Holy Trinity Chapel (1714–1715), which was an offering of the prince and his South-Bohemian subjects grateful for the divine protection against the plague in 1713. Subsequently, an old wooden inn was replaced by a larger spa building and a stonework inn completed in 1720.[17]

This coincided with the prince's decision to have Löw's spa document printed. It was eventually published in 1721, undoubtedly with the aim to spread information about the Libníč spa resort. The text came out in two versions: half of the total number of 1,000 copies were printed in Czech and the other half in German, in Prague's Jesuit printing-office in Klementinum.[18] It would be a sound speculation to assume that the printing was backed by Paul Ignatz Bayer, the architect who had designed and built the Jesuit printing-office in 1710, lived in Prague and kept close contact with the Jesuits (as early as in the 90th of the 17th century, he had worked on Jesuit Church of St. Ignatz in Prague). When looking for a suitable printing house, the princely officials could likely have taken advantage of Bayer's personal contacts with Prague's Jesuit printing house.[19] Ferdinand Staudigel, Schwarzenberg's physician in Třeboň, was delegated to arrange the publishing of the book. He knew Bayer (the builder renovated his apartment),[20] so he could indeed have relied on Bayer's contacts; however, he might have contacted the Jesuits in another way, as well. Unfortunately, since relevant historical sources are lacking, this assumption cannot be confirmed. Yet, it is quite certain that the book found ready buyers, and by the early 1730s most of the copies had sold out. The German language version appeared to be more popular. In keeping with the practice of donating books, the prince sent German copies to his allied noblemen,[21] which could well serve as an invitation to the spa.

Hydriatria nova was re-published after four decades. In the 1760s, Joseph Adam of Schwarzenberg decided to extend the Libníč spa resort and ordered a

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[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 99–108.

[18] M. Koldová, "Jezuitská tiskárna v Praze (1635–1773) a porovnání jejího fungování s jezuitskými tiskárnami v okolních zemích," in *Problematika historických a vzácných knižních fondů Čech, Moravy a Slezska. Sborník z 16. odborné konference Olomouc, 13.–14. listopadu 2006*, ed. R. Krušinský (Brno: Vědecká knihovna v Olomouci, 2008), pp. 245–254.

[19] Such hypothesis might be corroborated by research on Jesuitical primary sources.

[20] SRAT, Manor Hluboká, sign. A 6Bß 2a, fascicle II.

[21] Concept of Princely rescript, 31th May 1730, SRAT, dpt ČK, Manor Hluboká, sign. A 6Bα 1a, s. f.

new wing to be built in the existing spa building.[22] To facilitate selling the whole accommodation capacity of 23 brand new rooms, the prince had promotion leaflets printed and distributed.[23] Moreover, in 1763 he commissioned his physician, Joseph Anton Lintz, to prepare a new edition of Löw's spa description, without any doubt for the advertising purpose. Yet, the publication of the new edition was delayed, mainly due to a lengthy censorship process enforced by the Prague Vicegerency. In keeping with Lintz's proposition, also this edition was published in 500 Czech and 500 German copies. Although Lintz spoke both languages, another princely official translated the book from German into Czech. The printer Ignatz Hilgartner from Jindřichův Hradec, where Lintz used to work, printed the book.[24] In this case, the importance of personal connections is even more obvious than in the case of Bayer's contacts with the Prague Jesuits. Printer Hilgartner and doctor Lintz were members of the town's intellectual élite, and it is almost certain that they knew each other. As the custom had it, the printer supplied Lintz with book sheets, which were cut and bound by Lintz later. The book's distribution also suggests Lintz's close ties with the town of Jindřichův Hradec.[25] The first to receive the document were its landlady, Countess Maria Theresia Černín of Chudenice, her physician and her officials. Lintz sent a number of copies to other noblemen in Bohemia (primarily in Prague) and in Vienna. The luxuriously bound books could serve as gifts to particularly important members of the aristocracy.

There were no major differences among the books either in the circumstances in which they originated or in their respective content. *Ursprung des Lebens…* by Lodgman de Auen, the oldest description of Jánské Lázně, opens with a dedication to Adam Franz of Schwarzenberg. Afterwards, the author describes the Jánské Lázně spa resort and, relying on an analogy between cleansing of the body by diving into the spring and cleansing of the soul, he portrays a visit in Jánské Lázně as a spiritual journey. Further chapters list the author's specialisation certificates, issued by Johann Franz Löw of Erlsfeld, the then Dean of the Prague Medical Faculty, and provide a general introduction to mineral water springs and their origins. Subseqeuntly, Lodgman von Auen goes on to summarise the history of Jánské Lázně, depict the spa's location and anslyse the mineral water spring and its beneficial effects. A description of how the spring water can be used follows. The author mentions its three major uses: baths, covering the body with stones warmed up in mineral water and drinking the water, though he does not perceive the last option as a fully-qualified treatment method. He recommends ten- or twenty-days' cycles of spa treatment, providing an outline of the daily routine during a stay at the resort. Underlining the importance of prayers and spiritual revival, he recommends visiting the spa in early May and, preferably, in June, when the spa visitors could

[22] SRAT, Manor Hluboká, sign. IB 6Bβ 1b. — SRAT, SCO, Manor Hluboká, sign. A 6Bβ 2m.
[23] SRAT, Manor Hluboká, sign. IB 6Bα 1a.
[24] K. Pletzer, Jindřichohradečtí tiskaři Hilgartnerové, *Výběr* 34 (1997), pp. 178–190.
[25] J. Ivanega, *Vrchnostenská sídla…* (2012), *op. cit.*, pp. 157–158.

participate in celebrations of St. John's Eve. Following the convention of Early Modern balneological prints, Lodgman de Auen enumerates also the patients who benefited from the spa treatment. Having described a disease and its symptoms, he provides examples of efficacy of the mineral water in curing it. He finishes with details on a diet recommended during a spa stay. A general conclusion is missing.

The description of the Libníč spa in *Hydriatria nova* has a similar structure: an outline of history, discovery and characteristics of the mineral water spring and medical advice are combined in Löw of Erlsfeld's text. The main aim of the book was to advise potential spa guests on the proper conduct in the spa. In Löw's opinion, God created the spa for the benefit of the human body and its inner processes. Referring to the Baroque scholar Athanasius Kircher, he refuted ancient philosophers' opinion that mineral springs were unhelpful and gave a list of prominent European and Bohemian spa resorts, therein the Jánské Lázně Spa resort. The chemical composition of the Libníč Spa mineral spring, in which sulphur dominated, made the spring water particularly useful in internal and dermatic ailments. An essential part of the text is devoted to how the mineral water should be applied. In accord with the mainstream discourse of the period, Löw enumerated several kinds of spa treatments recommended between spring and summer and at the beginning of autumn, particularly encouraging combining baths with mineral water intake. From the viewpoint of modern balneology, his advice to drink 3 to 4 litres of water a day is quite surprising. Placing warm stones or pouring mineral water on the head or disease-affected places were examples of other curative procedures. The author also described the daily routine at the spa, highlighting diet, drinking habits and necessity of regular exercises and relaxation. The presentation of Adam Franz of Schwarzenberg is an important element of the book. He is introduced as an eminent nobleman who, by extending the Libníč spa resort, "founded a new Carlsbad." Such verbal usage clearly indicates that Löw's main source of inspiration was the already mentioned book *Hydriatria Carolina* by Wenceslaus Hullinger (according to the inventory of Löw's possession drawn up after his death, one volume in his library was a "*Description of Carlsbad*" — most probably Hullinger's text). Apart from the similarity of the title, Löw's book is organised upon the same structure. The content of Czech and German versions did not differ in any way.

A later, supplemented edition of *Hydriatria nova*, called *Hydriatria recusa*, also followed the same structure. It differs from the first edition in the dedication, as Dr. Lintz put in a new one, praising his employer — Prince Josef Adam of Schwarzenberg, who financed the new edition. The dedication is followed by a preface amended by Lintz, in which he expresses "the single interest to summarise his twenty-year experience with the Libníč spa." The original and new editions do not differ in content, yet the conclusion is designed in an entirely novel way. While in his conclusion written about 1720, Löw expresses a hope for the future development of the spa, Lintz provides several examples of patients successfully cured as soon as within a few years after the commencement of the spa services.

Many of the examples were based on his own practice, because he recommended spa treatment to his own patients, and confirmed by the the patients' testimonies.

To sum up, all the three analysed descriptions of the Schwarzenberg Baroque spa resorts were created in a similar way by doctors who were more or less closely connected to the Schwarzenberg family. They all shared the same aim of promoting the spa resorts and attracting visitors to them. However, there are some slight differences among the texts. *Hydriatria nova* provides the most methodical and thorough factual account. Its author, Johann Franz Löw of Erlsfeld, a university professor and an experienced published author, had a capacity for systematic and coherent interpretation. The book written by Melchior Wenzel Lodgmann de Auen, a practitioner himself, differed from *Hydriatria nova* in that the author did not convey the facts methodically but had practical experience with spa treatment. That part was added to Löw's document by Joseph Anton Lintz, who edited the second edition in the 1760s. All three publications inscribe themselves perfectly in the period's discourse, represented by descriptions of the most influential spas, and are closely related to several descriptions of the rural spa resorts in Bohemia and Moravia. I believe that by studying and comparing the books supported by the Schwarzenberg family, we may fruitfully add to the knowledge of their book patronage. Further analyses of the Schwarzenberg book patronage should not only attend to the advisable cataloguing of the Schwarzenberg historical libraries, but also include a qualitative study of books supported by the princely family based on primary sources.

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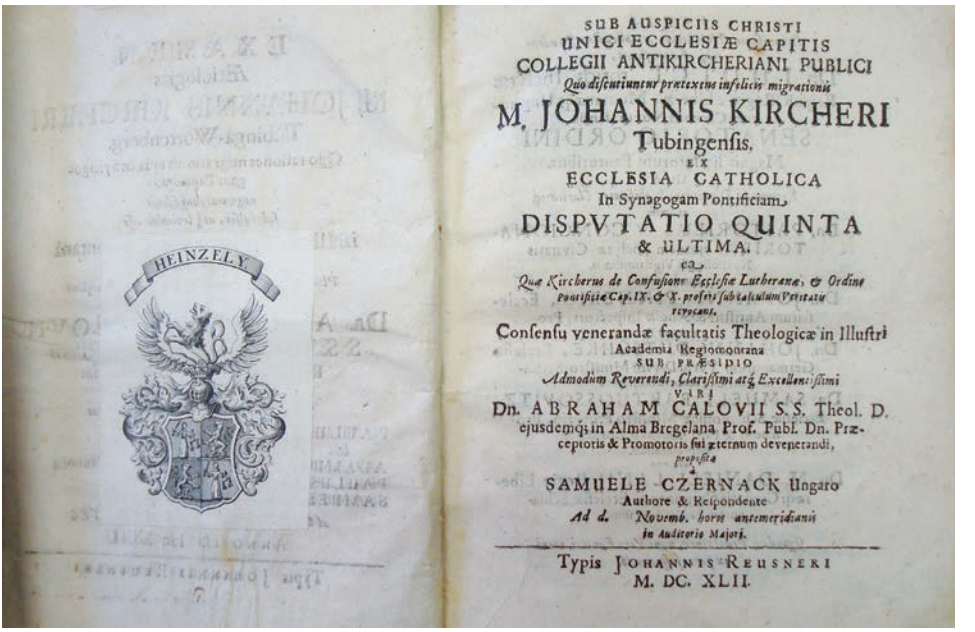


SUB AUSPICIIS CHRISTI
UNICI ECCLESIÆ CAPITIS
COLLEGII ANTIKIRCHERIANI PUBLICI
Quo discutiuntur pretextus infelicis migrationis

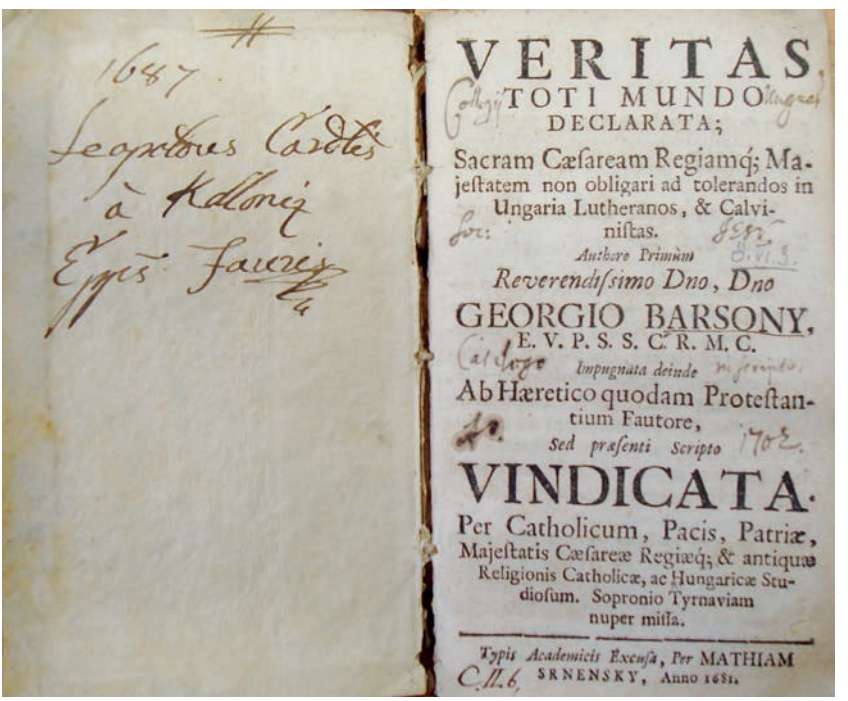
M. JOHANNIS KIRCHERI
Tubingensis,
EX
ECCLESIA CATHOLICA
In Synagogam Pontificiam,

DISPVTATIO QUINTA
& ULTIMA,
ea,
Quæ Kircherus de Confusione Ecclesiæ Lutheranæ, & Ordine Pontificiæ Cap. IX. & X. profert sub calculum Veritatis revocant.

Consensu venerandæ facultatis Theologicæ in Illustri Academia Regiomontana
SUB PRÆSIDIO
Admodum Reverendi, Clarissimi atq; Excellentissimi VIRI
Dn. ABRAHAM CALOVII S. S. Theol. D.
ejusdemq; in Alma Bregelana Prof. Publ. Dn. Præceptoris & Promotoris sui æternum devenerandi,
proposita
a
SAMUELE CZERNACK Ungaro
Authore & Respondente
Ad d. Novemb. horis antemeridianis in Auditorio Majori.

Typis JOHANNIS REUSNERI
M. DC. XLII.

Fig. 13. Heraldic Ex-libris — Heinzely
(Collegiate Library of Prešov — historical funds, I. V. 9/ 2)


1647.
Leopoldus Cardes
à Kolonic
Eppus Fauriens

VERITAS,
TOTI MUNDO
DECLARATA;
Sacram Cæsaream Regiamq; Majestatem non obligari ad tolerandos in Ungaria Lutheranos, & Calvinistas.
Authore Primum
Reverendissimo Dno, Dno
GEORGIO BARSONY,
E. V. P. S. S. C. R. M. C.
Impugnata deinde
Ab Hæretico quodam Protestantium Fautore,
Sed præsenti Scripto
VINDICATA.
Per Catholicum, Pacis, Patriæ, Majestatis Cæsareæ Regiæq; & antiquæ Religionis Catholicæ, ac Hungaricæ Studiosum. Sopronio Tyrnaviam nuper missa.

Typis Academicis Excusa, Per MATHIAM SRNENSKY, Anno 1681.

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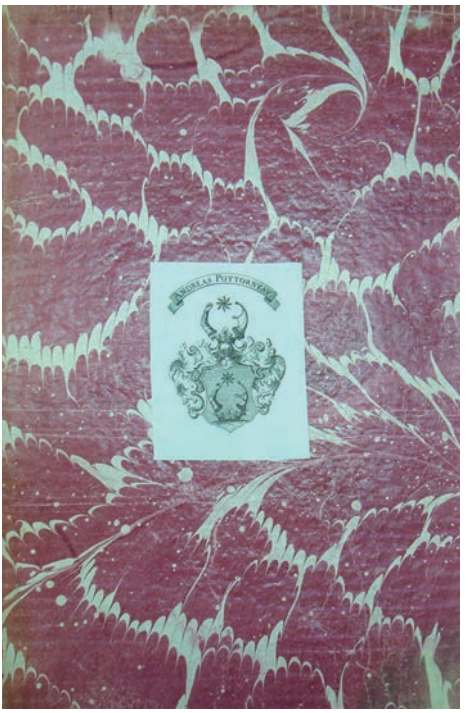

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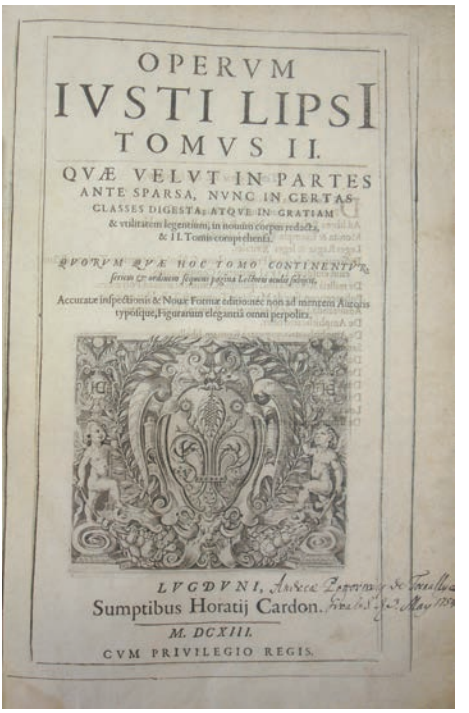

OPERVM
IVSTI LIPSI
TOMVS II.
QVÆ VELVT IN PARTES
ANTE SPARSA, NVNC IN CERTAS
CLASSES DIGESTA, ATQVE IN GRATIAM
& vtilitatem legentium, in nouum corpus redacta,
& I. L. Tomis comprehensa.
QVORVM QVÆ HOC TOMO CONTINENTVR,
series & ordinem sequens pagina Lectori aperiet.
Accurate inspectionis & Nouæ Formæ editionem non ad mentem Auctoris typisque, Figurarum elegantiâ omni perpolita.
LVGDVNI,
Sumptibus Horatij Cardon.
M. DCXIII.
CVM PRIVILEGIO REGIS.

Fig. 17. Provenance inscription — Ondrej Pottornyay (Collegiate Library of Prešov — historical funds, E. VII. 7)

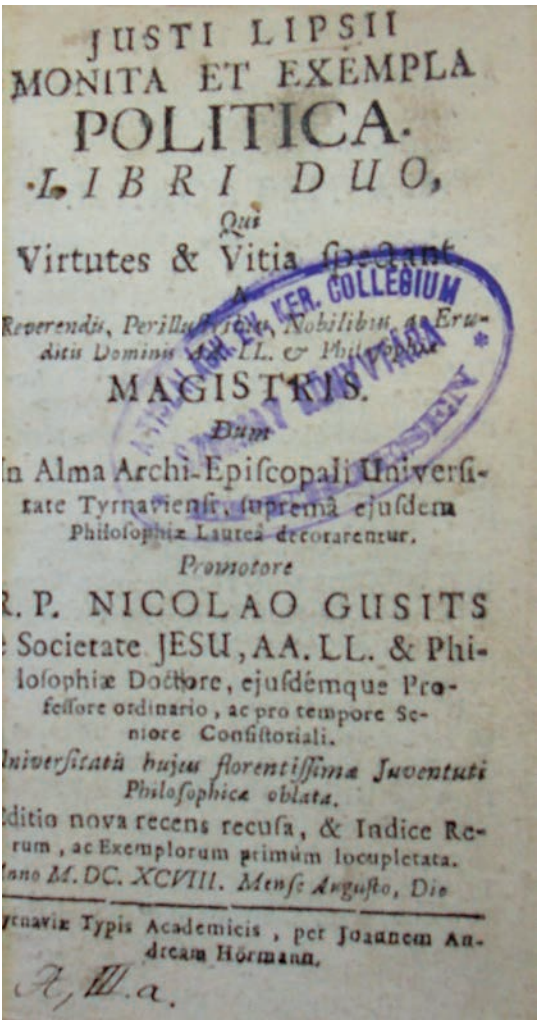
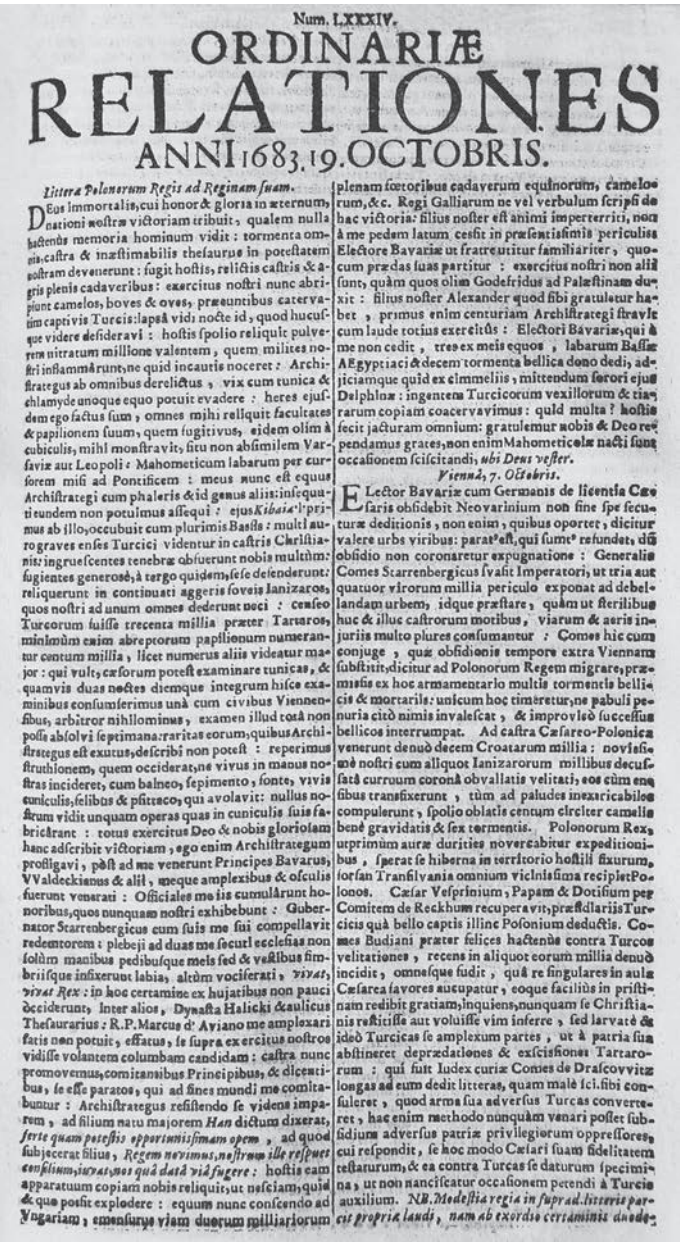

JUSTI LIPSII
MONITA ET EXEMPLA
POLITICA.
LIBRI DUO,
Qui
Virtutes & Vitia
A
Reverendis, Perillustribus, Nobilibus, ac Eruditis Dominis
MAGISTRIS.
Dum
In Alma Archi-Episcopali Universitate Tyrnaviensi, supremâ ejusdem Philosophiæ Laureâ decorarentur.
Promotore
R. P. NICOLAO GUSITS
Societate JESU, AA. LL. & Philosophiæ Doctore, ejusdémque Professore ordinario, ac pro tempore Seniore Consistoriali.
Universitatâ hujus florentissimæ Juventuti Philosophicæ oblata.
Editio nova recens recusa, & Indice Rerum, ac Exemplorum primùm locupletata.
Anno M. DC. XCVIII. Mense Augusto, Die
Tyrnaviæ Typis Academicis, per Joannem Andream Hörmann.
A, III. a.
EVANG. KER. COLLEGIUM

Fig. 18. Stamp of the Evangelical Districtual College in Prešov (Collegiate Library of Prešov — historical funds, Ty. I. 16)



Num. LXXXIV.

ORDINARIÆ RELATIONES ANNI 1683. 19. OCTOBRIS.

Litteræ Polonorum Regis ad Reginam suam.

DEus immortalis, cui honor & gloria in æternum, nationi nostræ victoriam tribuit, qualem nulla hactenùs memoria hominum vidit: tormenta omnia, castra & inæstimabilis thesaurus in potestatem nostram devenerunt: fugit hostis, relictis castris & agris plenis cadaveribus: exercitus nostri nunc abripiunt camelos, boves & oves, præeuntibus catervatim captivis Turcis: lapsâ vidi nocte id, quod hucusque videre desideravi: hostis spolio reliquit pulverem nitratum millione valentem, quem milites nostri inflammârunt, ne quid incautis noceret: Archistrategus ab omnibus derelictus, vix cum tunica & chlamyde unoque equo potuit evadere: heres ejusdem ego factus sum, omnes mihi relliquit facultates & papilionem suum, quem fugitivus, eidem olim à cubiculis, mihi monstravit, situ non absimilem Varsaviæ aut Leopoli: Mahometicum labarum per cursorem misi ad Pontificem: meus nunc est equus Archistrategi cum phaleris & id genus aliis: insequatiendum non potuimus assequi: ejus *Kibaia* primus ab illo, occubuit cum plurimis Bassis: multi auro graves enses Turcici videntur in castris Christianis: ingruescentes tenebræ obfuerunt nobis multùm: fugientes generosè, à tergo quidem, sese defenderunt: reliquerunt in continuati aggeris fovea Ianizaros, quos nostri ad unum omnes dederunt neci: censeo Turcorum fuisse trecenta millia præter Tartaros, minimùm enim abreptorum papilionum numerantur centum millia, licet numerus aliis videatur major: qui vult, cæsorum potest examinare tunicas, & quamvis duas noctes diemque integrum hisce examinibus consumserimus unà cum civibus Viennensibus, arbitror nihilominus, examen illud totâ non posse absolvi septimana: raritas eorum, quibus Archistrategus est exutus, describi non potest: reperimus struthionem, quem occiderat, ne vivus in manus nostras incideret, cum balneo, sepimento, fonte, vivis cuniculis, felibus & pfitzaco, qui avolavit: nullus noctium vidit unquam operas quas in cuniculis suis fabricârant: totus exercitus Deo & nobis gloriolam hanc adscribit victoriam, ego enim Archistrategum profligavi, pâst ad me venerunt Principes Bavarus, VValdeckianus & alii, neque amplexibus & osculis fuerunt venerati: Officiales meiis cumulârunt honoribus, quos nunquam nostri exhibebunt: Gubernator Starrenbergicus eum suis me sui compellavit redemtorem: plebeji ad duas me securi ecclesias non soldm manibus pedibusque meis sed & vestibus simbriisque infixerunt labia, altùm vociferati, *vivat, vivat Rex*: in hoc certamine ex hujatibus non pauci occiderunt, Inter alios, Dynasta Halicki & aulicus Thesaurarius: R.P. Marcus d'Aviano me amplexari satis non potuit, effatus, se supra exercitus nostros vidisse volantem columbam candidam: castra nunc promovemus, comitantibus Principibus, & clientibus, se esse paratos, qui ad fines mundi me comitabuntur: Archistrategus resistendo se videns imparem, ad filium natu majorem *Han* dictum dixerat, *forte quam potestis opportunissimam opem*, ad quod subjecerat filius, *Regem novimus, nostrum ille respuet consilium, juravit, nos quâ data vià fugere*: hostis cum apparatuum copiam nobis reliquit, ut nesciam, quid & quo possit explodere: equum nunc conscendo ad Vngariam, emensurus viam duorum milliariorum plenam fœtoribus cadaverum equinorum, camelorum, &c. Regi Galliarum ne vel verbulum scripsi de hac victoria: filius noster est animi imperterriti, nec à me pedem latum cessit in præsentiarum: periculis Electore Bavariæ ut fratre utitur familiariter, quocum prædas suas partitur: exercitus nostri non alii sunt, quàm quos olim Godefridus ad Palæstinam duxit: filius noster Alexander quod sibi gratuletur habet, primus enim centuriam Archistrategi stravit cum laude totius exercitûs: Electori Bavariæ, qui à me non cedit, tres ex meis equos, labarum Bassæ Aegyptiaci & decem tormenta bellica dono dedi, adjiciamque quid ex elmmeliis, mittendum sorori ejus Delphinæ: ingentem Turcicorum vexillorum & tiararum copiam coacervavimus: quid multa? hostis fecit jacturam omnium: gratulemur nobis & Deo rependamus grates, non enim Mahometicolæ nacti sunt occasionem scisciti andi, *ubi Deus vester*.

Viennâ, 7. Octobris.

ELector Bavariæ cum Germanis de licentia Cæsaris obsidebit Neovarinium non fine spe secuturæ deditionis, non enim, quibus oportet, dicitur valere urbs viribus: parat[æ] est, qui sumt[æ] refundet, dum obsidio non coronaretur expugnatione: Generalis Comes Starrenbergicus fuisse Imperatori, ut tria aut quatuor virorum millia periculo exponat ad debellandam urbem, idque præstare, quàm ut sterilibus huc & illuc castrorum motibus, viarum & aeris injuriis multo plures consumantur: Comes hic cum conjuge, quæ obsidionis tempore extra Viennam substitit, dicitur ad Polonorum Regem migrare, præmissis ex hoc armamentario multis tormentis bellicis & mortarils: unicum hoc timeretur, ne pabuli penuria citò nimis invalescat, & improvisò succedus bellicos interrumpat. Ad castra Cæsareo-Polonica venerunt denuò decem Croatarum millia: noviss. nè nostri cum aliquot Ianizarorum millibus decussatâ curruum coronâ obvallatis velitati, eos cùm ensibus transfixerunt, tùm ad paludes inexcaricabiles compulerunt, spolio oblatis centum circiter camelis bene gravidatis & sex tormentis. Polonorum Rex, utprimùm auræ duritiei novercabitur expeditionibus, sperat se hiberna in territorio hostili fixurum, forsan Transilvania omnium vicinissima recipiet Polonos. Cæsar Vesprinium, Papam & Dotifium per Comitem de Reckhum recuperavit, præfidiariis Turcicis quâ bello captis illinc Posonium deductis. Comes Budiani præter felices hactenùs contra Turcos velitationes, recens in aliquot eorum millia denuò incidit, omnesque fudit, quâ re singulares in aulæ Cæsarea favores aucupatur, eoque facilius in pristinam redibit gratiam, inquiens, nunquam se Christianis restitisse aut voluisse vim inferre, sed larvatè & ideò Turcicas se amplexum partes, ut à patria sua abstineret deprædationes & excisiones Tartarorum: qui fuit Iudex curiæ Comes de Drascovvitz longas ad eum dedit litteras, quam malè sci. sibi consuleret, quod arma sua adversus Turcas converteret, hac enim methodo nunquàm venari posset subsidium adversus patriæ privilegiorum oppressores, cui respondit, se hoc modo Cæsari suam fidelitatem testaturum, & ea contra Turcas se daturum specimina, ut non nanciscatur occasionem petendi à Turcis auxilium. *NB. Modestia regia in suprad. litteris parcit propriæ laudi, nam ab exordio certaminis duode-*

Fig. 19. *Ordinariæ Relationes*.
Bibliotheca Fürstenbergiana Herdringen, Fü 330 1a

Fig. 20. Peter Schenck the Younger, *Carte du Teatre de la Guerre dans la Pologne, Moscovie & Turquie*, Amsterdam 1733, Wrocław University Library, Maps Department, sign. 2608-IV.B