

**MONASTICA  
HISTORIA  
VOLUME 5**





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**Monastic Libraries  
in East Central  
and <sup>JAKUB ZOUHAR (ED.)</sup>  
Eastern Europe  
between  
the Middle  
Ages and the  
Enlightenment**



**PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE  
HELD ON 7 TO 9 DECEMBER 2020  
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ**

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# Introduction

The year 2020 will enter history as the “covid year”. The world is upside down, old certainties are not valid anymore, and most plans have vanished. In viewing of the day-to-day struggle for bare life and subsistence, the complications which we must deal with in our scholarly communities look banal. We try not to get frustrated but accustom ourselves to the changed situation. We look for new solutions, using the means of digital communication on a massive scale. We keep the stipulated measures, for we do not want to spread the contagion any further; we mutually keep our fingers crossed so that we do not fall ill. At the same time, we keep working. We do research, write articles and books, and teach students.

The present conference proceedings were compiled in this atmosphere of fear and uncertainty. The fifth *Monastica historia* conference had been planned for April 2020 in Broumov, East Bohemia. The first lockdown in the Czech Republic occurred a month and a half before, preventing the conference from taking place. While the situation looked dire at first, it quickly turned for the better. Czechia had been spared from the worst scenarios demonstrated in the media: snapshots of dying people from Italy, the United States, Ecuador, Brazil, and many other countries. Deceived by the workings of mob psychology, we collectively gave a sigh of relief – “Nevermind.” We moved the planned events, lectures, exhibitions, conferences to the autumn. The date of our conference, this time focusing on monastic libraries, their development and shape throughout the centuries, was postponed to the beginning of December 2020. In mid-October, we, the organisers, can but bitterly paraphrase an old Czech proverb: Events are getting ready, fools are making merry.

The summer in Czechia was beautiful, free, no face masks, no restrictions. Consequently, infected people are now counted in tens of thousands, the government has just announced another lockdown, and we wait in apprehension as to whether our healthcare system can sustain the onslaught of the sick. We have not the slightest idea what happens in the following days, weeks, months. A conference in December appears more distant than the planet Pluto and less important than yestereve's weather. When you, dear reader, hold this publication in your hands, you already know the resolution. Let us wish it to be better than we expect.

The decision to reverse the usual practice, i.e., to compile the proceedings before the conference takes place, was made hand-in-hand with the change of the date. We are fully aware of the fact that the traditional model is, by and large, more appropriate and preferable. First, it is necessary to meet as a community of people scrutinising similar topics, to present our methods and results, submit them to the questions and criticism of colleagues, consequently, modify our conclusions, and let ourselves be inspired for novel interpretations. Subsequently, to publish all this under our authorship in the conference proceedings. Yet we have no choice. On the one hand, the conference, as well as the proceedings, are part of the NAKI II (National and Cultural Identity) project, entitled *Brána moudrosti otevřená. Barokní kulturní dědictví klášterů Broumov a Rajhrad: ochrana, restaurování, prezentace* (The Gate of Wisdom Open. The Baroque Cultural Heritage of the Rajhrad and Broumov Monasteries: Protection, Restoration, and Presentation), that is about to finish this year. On the other hand, the situation is so unpredictable that it is frankly impossible to find another meaningful solution at present. The participants of the conference have been asked to prepare and submit their contributions by the summer. In total, thirteen contributors have submitted their contributions: nine from the Czech Republic, two from Serbia, one from Hungary, and one from Italy. Other colleagues, mostly from abroad in Austria, Germany and Poland, apologised for being unable to submit their contributions due to closed archives and libraries,

as well as to additional postponed commitments. The proceedings must also do without papers dealing with the Broumov monastic library, which are being published in an independent monograph entitled *Brána moudrosti otevřená. Knihovny a knihy broumovského kláštera* (The Gate of Wisdom Open – Libraries and Books of the Broumov Monastery). Libraries constituted a natural part of monastic culture from the very beginning of Western monasticism. Owing to their scriptoria and large arrays of books, particularly the monasteries following the rule of St. Benedict became the key centres of European learning, additionally preserving – aside from the spiritual and theological literature – a not insignificant part of Graeco-Roman intellectual heritage. The friary, canonical, later mendicant and cleric convents retained this function in the modern era as well. After all, the significance of libraries within the cloisters has been confirmed by the Baroque redesigns – besides the church, the still-preserved libraries often constitute architectonically impressive premises.

The papers that we offer you on the following pages focus on several groups of topics. The specifics of individual libraries of the religious orders, and cloisters according to the sort of the given institution, are addressed by: Jindra Pavelková, Kateřina Bobková-Valentová with Hedvika Kuchařová, Marek Brčák with Radek Šípek, Pavel Trnka, and Radovan Pilipović. The libraries of nunneries are presented by Karel Pacovský and Lucie Heilandová. The paper by René Hernández Vera and Dragoljub Marjanović is devoted to mediaeval book culture. Krisztina Rábai and Martin Janda present the incunabula kept in the Broumov Benedictine library and the episcopal library of the diocese of Hradec Králové. Michaela Šeferisová Loudová offers an analysis of iconographic blueprints of Baroque monastic libraries. In addition, Eva Richtrová focuses on the libraries of abolished cloisters in the context of the action of clearing cloisters in Czechoslovakia in the 1950s. However, the papers are arranged in alphabetical order by author.

The idea of a *Monastica historia* conference cycle came up – as it often happens – during an amicable gathering of several historians over a pint

of beer within a Budapest restaurant in 2005. The primary intent was to enable regular meetings of specialists on the history of religious orders from Central Europe who would discuss present topics, while following and comparing one another's results. The cycle was launched, in comparatively modest conditions, by the 2008 meeting in the Moravian Provincial Archives in Brno. The original organising institutions, the Diocesan Archives in St. Pölten and the Moravian Provincial Archives in Brno, were over time joined by the Institute of History of the Czech Academy of Sciences and the University of Vienna. The second conference was held in St. Pölten, Austria, six years later, in 2014. There followed the meeting at Melk, Austria, in 2016. The, yet last, fourth conference, organised under the baton of the Institute of History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, took place in Telč, Czech Republic, in 2018. The main organising institution of the current, fifth conference was the University of Hradec Králové, in collaboration with the Moravian Provincial Archives, Moravian Provincial Library, the Institute of History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, and the Diocesan Archives in St. Pölten. Compared to the previous conferences, the range of topics was extended to encompass the Middle Ages. English was introduced as the official language, which paved the way to the participation of international scholars from outside the German-speaking countries. The number of applications, thematic variety, and truly international body of participants looked promising indeed. We have been looking forward to hearing contributions from Germany, Poland, Austria, Italy, Serbia, Hungary, Slovakia, and Ukraine. While the question of how it will all end up remains, we do believe that we succeeded in interconnecting specialists, who perhaps did not know each other yet, and that we opened the door for future fruitful collaboration. We do hope that it will be possible to organise the next conference, from the *Monastica historia* cycle, in a better situation.

We wish you a pleasant read,  
Martina Bolom-Kotari and Tomáš Černušák



# The Telč Jesuit Library

KATEŘINA BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ  
HEDVIKA KUCHAROVÁ

## Introduction

One might say that books are the building stones of Jesuit order houses and schools.<sup>1</sup> Libraries and the administration thereof were therefore, understandably, embedded in the Order regulations; from the Constitutions (*Constitutiones*) and *Regulae*, through the school ordinance *Ratio studiorum* or the Superior Generals' decrees (*Ordinationes*), to the province and college consuetudines and special instructions.<sup>2</sup> These rules govern the establishment of the library, its composition and focus, and how the library's running would be organised.<sup>3</sup> The establishment of a

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<sup>1</sup> *Constitutiones cum declarationibus*, pars 4, cap. VI, § 7. In *Institutum Societatis Jesu...* (Praha 1705), vol. 1, 240.

<sup>2</sup> The central regulations are quoted from the 1705 Prague edition of *Institutum* (see footnote 1), the consuetudines from Kateřina Bobková-Valentová (ed.), *Consuetudines Assistentiae Germaniae* (Praha 2011), vol. 1.

<sup>3</sup> For regulations pertaining to libraries, see Martin Svatoš, *Libri sunt nosster thesaurus ... La cura per i libri da parte dei Superiori gesuiti durante il primo periodo della Compagnia di Gesù*. In Kateřina Bobková-Valentová – Eva Doležalová – Eva Chodějovská – Zdeněk Hojda – Martin Svatoš (eds.), *Roma–Praga. Praha–Řím. Omaggio a Zdeňka Hledíková* (Praha 2009) 397–407 and Zdeňěk ORLITA, *Olomoucká univerzitní knihovna od svého založení*

library in every Jesuit House was a given, but it was also seen as rather costly, which is why General Claudius Acquaviva, SJ (1543–1615) mandates that the establishment of a library should be taken into account when founding a College.<sup>4</sup> The expense included not only the establishment of the library, usually accompanied by the purchase of basic literature, but also ongoing acquisitions; which were to be prompted by the library prefect and approved by the college's rector.<sup>5</sup> The purchases were to be financed either by a sum set apart from the college's yearly income or another regular income, such as a special library foundation. Such means were never to be used for other purposes, only the purchase of books.<sup>6</sup> Throughout its history, the library list was added to with the aid of personal monetary gifts or book donations by lay persons as well as the clergy. The most detailed of the Order's ordinances govern the running of the library, entrusted to the library prefect or the librarian (*praefectus bibliothecae, bibliothecarius*). The librarian cared for books, as well as the spaces where they were stored and studied, but was also in charge of what we would nowadays refer to as "the borrowing protocol." The librarian's primary task was to categorise books and find them a corresponding place within the library. Each acquisition had to be entered into the catalogue, labelled with the name of the author, and the abbreviated title on the spine. As part of this process, and later in the

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do zrušení jezuitského řádu (1566–1773) [The Olomouc University Library from its Foundation to the Dissolution of the Jesuit Order (1566–1773)]. In Miloš Korhoň – Tereza Vintrová (eds.), *Chrám věd a múz. Dějiny vědecké knihovny v Olomouci* [A Temple of the Sciences and the Muses: A History of the Olomouc Research Library] (Olomouc 2016) 24–28.

<sup>4</sup> Ordinationes Generalium, cap. XVI. De acceptandis collegiis, § 6. In *Institutum 1705* (see footnote 1), vol. 2, 151.

<sup>5</sup> Regulae Societatis Jesu, Regulae Praefecti bibliothecae, § 9. In *Institutum 1705* (see footnote 1), vol. 1, 388.

<sup>6</sup> Ratio studiorum, Regulae Provincialis, § 33. In *Institutum 1705* (see footnote 1), vol. 2, 58.

physical library, the librarian categorised the volume into the applicable class and placed it on a shelf.<sup>7</sup>

In the following paper, we will attempt to summarise how these basic articles pertaining to library care within Jesuit order houses were implemented in the Telč College and Tertianship House. While the Telč College library may not be one of the largest libraries in the province, it holds interest with regard to the orientation of the House towards formation, as well as to several extant library catalogues, allowing us to identify almost 20% of its library list. We will examine the funding, the physical space and furnishing of the library, the different means of acquiring books, the library list, as well as the librarians who cared for it.<sup>8</sup>

## Jesuits in the Town of Telč

In every province, there was supposed to be a house intended to finish the formation of the members of the Order, known as tertianship. The Province of Bohemia only saw the establishment of such a house after thirty years of its existence, in the mid-seventeenth century. The foundation capital was provided by generosity of Countess Francisca Slavata, née von Meggau (1609–1676); this was also a factor in choosing the house's location. In 1650, the countess also donated several burgher houses in Telč to the Society of Jesus and the new order house's foundation stone was laid on 26 July 1651. The first tertians moved in during the autumn of 1655; in the mid-1660's, the original buildings were augmented, and the Order Church of the Name of Jesus was built. Thanks to the constant generosity of the benefactress, Countess Slavata, a music seminary was established in 1670 and a public school opened its doors in the autumn of 1664; first as a single class and later as two classes,

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<sup>7</sup> *Regulae Praefecti bibliothecae*, § 3–5. In *Institutum 1705* (see footnote 1), vol. 1, 388.

<sup>8</sup> Current research is presented in the exhibition catalogue Kateřina BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ – Jarmila HLAVÁČKOVÁ – Hedvika KUČHAŘOVÁ, *Knihovna telčské jezuitské koleje* [Library of the Telč Jesuit College] (Praha 2020).

forming the lower grammar school. Thus, the House took on the Order's educational role and could be referred to as a College. Higher classes were added to the grammar school in 1709.

Even after the Slavata family died out, the aristocracy remained among the main supporters of the Society of Jesus in Telč, although a certain cooling in the relationship can be seen after 1702, when the domain was taken over by Franz Anton von Liechtenstein Castelkorno (1679–1762). This makes the generosity of smaller founders even more apparent; these included Telč burghers. For example: the family of Tomáš Hoda of Elborod (d. 1709), who financially supported the teachers of the higher classes in the grammar school, or the widow Justina Barbora de Gregorio née Kapet (c. 1650–1739), whose donations included the foundation for two Czech morning preachers. Lower local aristocrats also counted among supporters: Matyáš Butz of Rolsperk (1673–1748), members of the family Cantelmo, or the Regels of Kranichsfeld; Maximilián Arnošt Regel (1712–1762) donated his library to the Telč Jesuits. The support from lay clergy was of similar importance as to whether the College's patronage included parish priests, or the administrators of more distant parishes who had been born in Telč, or them choosing to study at the local grammar school. The College was, therefore, relatively well provided for financially. In spite of the economic crisis it faced in the 1740's, in the Order's final decades, the College could afford to replace the furnishings in the Church of the Name of Jesus and carry out alterations in the residence in Knínice.

The Telč community was dissolved on 30 November 1773, after the Society of Jesus was suppressed by Pope Clement XIV (1705–1774). In March 1774, the grammar school was closed as well. Many Jesuits remained in town, joining parish service or living off of their pensions. The renewed Society of Jesus never returned to Telč.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Ivana ČORNEJOVÁ – Jiří M. HAVLÍK – Josef HRDLIČKA (eds.), *Telč a jezuité, řád a jeho mecenáši*. Monografie [Telč and the Jesuits, the Order and its Benefactors. Monography] (Praha 2020) passim.

## The Establishment of the Library, its Financing and Development

There are no documents of how the Telč library was established. However, it is possible that while the Order House was under construction in Telč, books were already being gathered in the centre of the Province. Franciscus van der Veken's (1596–1664) interpretation of the Canon of the Mass was set aside for the tertians as early as 1651. In 1655, the excerpt from Ludovico de Ponte's (1554–1624) *Meditations* and the biography of Kamil de Lellis (1550–1614) were purchased. Donations by individual benefactors to the provinciate or to the Professed House in Prague, were also sent to Telč; such as in July 1656: the recently published *De imitatione Jesu patientis* (Antwerp 1655) by Adrian Lyrae, SJ (1588–1661), was donated by the High Burgrave Bernard Ignatius Count Martinic (1614–1658).<sup>10</sup> An even more exclusive acquisition was the history of the first century of the Society of Jesus, *Imago primi saeculi* (Antwerp 1640), donated by Balthasar Moretus in the same year.<sup>11</sup> This exquisite edition may have reached Czech lands through his relation, Jesuit Theodor Moretus, SJ (1602–1667), who spent the 1650's in the Prague Clementinum College, in Kłodzko, and in Nysa.

At first, purchases by the Tertianship House were not financed by a separate foundation but instead used the funds left over after the expenses of the fathers' moves between the different order houses and the tertians' missionary work. Even though the Provincial Heinricus

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<sup>10</sup> Kateřina BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ – Petra HNILICOVÁ (eds.), *Telč a jezuité, řád a jeho mecenáši. Katalog výstavy [Telč and the Jesuits, the Order and its Benefactors. Exhibition Catalogue]* (Telč 2020) 349–350 (keyword n. C.II.22); *Kanonie premonstrátů v Nové Říši (NŘ)* [Premonstratensian Canonry in Nová Říše], shelfmark NŘ III 537.

<sup>11</sup> *Imago primi saeculi* (Antwerpen 1640). Strahovská knihovna, Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově [Strahov Library, Royal Canonry of Premonstratensians at Strahov], shelfmark AM XI 20. There were two Balthasar Moretus: the publisher of the book, who died in 1641, and his nephew (1615–1674); it is impossible to determine who made the inscription in this copy.

Lamparter, SJ (1591–1670)<sup>12</sup> did not consider this way of adding to the library list as especially productive, it continued to be fairly widely used as an option for buying theological literature, as evidenced by Baeza's *Historia evangelica*, published in Cologne in 1684 and paid for by the remainders of the viatica in 1699 or shortly before.<sup>13</sup>

The main source of funds, however, was the interest from the foundation capital. We are unable to tell exactly how the capital was created or structured<sup>14</sup> but we do know that, in the early 1760's, it was 2,000 gulden donated to the College in 1665 by the son of the College's founder, Countess Slavata, Jan Karel Jáchym – known under his Carmelite religious name Carolus Felix a S. Theresia, OCD (1640–1712). The donation was made with the condition that the first ten years of interest were to be used for the purchase of church silver. The first mention of this amount in extant documents is from the 1720's, as the portion of the College's basic capital intended especially for the running of the library.<sup>15</sup> For this, the interest from the capital was more or less sufficient. In 1710, half of the interest (sixty gulden) was used to purchase books. In 1761, the superiors requested one half (down to fifty gulden due to the decrease in the interest rate) for themselves while the College was

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<sup>12</sup> A letter by the Provincial Superior Heinricus Lamparter from 9 September 1656 to the rector of the Telč College Paulus Leskauer, SJ, Národní archiv České republiky (The National Archives, Czech Republic, NA), fond Jesuitika (Collection Jesuitika, JS), shelfmark IIIo-477, box 206, f. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Diego de BAEZA, *Historia evangelica universa ... i.e. Tomus 3* (Köln am Rhein 1684).

<sup>14</sup> The foundations intended for the library were listed in the foundation book; the relevant pages were cut out later, possibly in connection with the sale of the library (NR, shelfmark NR 27, *Liber foundationum conscriptus a P. Ferdinando Heinrich collegii Rectore anno 1766*, pp. 65–79), as the relevant pages are also missing from Jan Pavel Bílek's 1819 copy (Státní okresní archiv Jihlava [State District Archive in Jihlava], Archiv města Telč [Archives of Town of Telč], shelfmark L 744).

<sup>15</sup> Recorded in the third (catalogus tertius) of the triennial catalogues for 1724–1726 and 1727–1730, *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu*, Boh. 50, f. 32r; Boh. 53, f. 30r.

free to use the other half for its various needs. Only if it was necessary to add cabinets to house new books was the library to use the full amount.<sup>16</sup>

It is difficult to trace how the order house invested the money intended for the library. The annual report from 1658 mentions the purchase of books for one hundred imperial gulden, while spending two hundred gulden the following year.<sup>17</sup> As of 1676, the Telč Jesuits claimed that they had invested around eight hundred gulden, mainly, in acquisitions, but also in book binding and the purchase of library furniture.<sup>18</sup> Such flourishing of the library was made possible also by generous donators, for example: Catherine Beyer, who died in 1675. Four years earlier, she donated two hundred gulden, deposited for the College with Countess Slavata, and stipulated that some of this money be given, upon her death, to the Franciscans in Dačice to serve twenty messes. The remainder was to be used to purchase necessary books for the College library. This donation was used to buy the *Biblia maxima* and the complete biblical commentary by Cornelius a Lapide, SJ (1567–1637).<sup>19</sup>

Another extraordinary purchase, also noted by the author of the *litterae annuae*, were the twenty-three volumes of the collected works of St.

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<sup>16</sup> NA, JS, shelfmark IIIo-477, box 206, f. 37–38.

<sup>17</sup> *Annae literae provinciae Boemiae Societatis Jesu 1658 – Domus Telczensis, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB), Cod. 13558\**, f. 18r; *Annales domus tertiae probationis Telczensis Societatis Jesu 1659, Národní knihovna české republiky (The National Library of the Czech Republic; NK), shelfmark XXIII C 105/2, f. 333v*; in 1661, there is mention of donations reaching the value of 200 Rheinisch gulden; however, the mention includes the church (*Annae domus tertiae probationis Societatis Jesu Telczii anni 1661, NK, shelfmark XXIII C 105/6, f. 177v*).

<sup>18</sup> Státní oblastní archiv Litoměřice (State Regional Archive in Litoměřice, SOA Li), fond Jezuité Bohosudov – Velkostatek Soběchleby (Collection, JBoh-VS), inv. n. 53, box 2, *Informatio de statu domus Telczensis Soc[ietatis] Jesu a[nno] 1676, sine fol.*

<sup>19</sup> NA, JS, IIIo-477, box 206, f. 4; *Annae domus tertiae probationis Societatis Jesu Telczii anni 1675, ÖNB, Cod. 12284, f. 144r.*

Thomas Aquinas, OP (1225–1274), in the autumn of 1684.<sup>20</sup> In the following year, 160 gulden was spent on the library.<sup>21</sup> Numerous smaller acquisitions remain unknown, even though we can assume that larger purchases also happened, around the mid-1660's and the first half of the 1720's, based on the inscriptions inside the books.

The books themselves are oftentimes a good source of information on the acquisition activities. The inscriptions tell of previous owners and donations to the Order House in Telč. Books were also donated to the Tertianship House by its founder, Františka Slavata. In 1672, she donated the *Opera* by Hieronymus Drexelius, SJ (1581–1638), printed in 1660 in Antwerp.<sup>22</sup> As early as 1661, Miss Marie Kateřina Griesskircher (d. 1663) bequeathed monetary gifts as well as her own “holy books” to the Jesuits.<sup>23</sup>

We also have evidence of frequent bequests of books from Telč deans and the priests of nearby patronage parishes. In 1663, upon the death of the Telč dean, Joannes Franciscus Wentzký von Kreuzpalmen, the College received his entire library – possibly including the books from the collection of his predecessor, Georgius Joannes Nodelius (d. 1650).<sup>24</sup> At the end of the 1860's, the library received eleven valuable volumes from the donation by the Telč Dean Procopius Udalricus de Marco

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<sup>20</sup> Annuae collegii et domus tertiae probationis Telczii anni 1684, NK, shelfmark XXIII C 105/10, f. 382r. BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ – HLAVÁČKOVÁ – KUCHAROVÁ, Knihovna (see footnote 8) 93.

<sup>21</sup> Annuae domus tertiae probationis Telczij anno 1685, ÖNB, Cod. 13588\*, f. 115r: “*Iam et bibliotheca locupletior reddita, impensis in rem librariam centum sexaginta florenis Rhenensibus.*”

<sup>22</sup> BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ – HLAVÁČKOVÁ – KUCHAROVÁ, Knihovna (see footnote 8) 81–82.

<sup>23</sup> SOA Li, JBoh – VS, inv. n. 53, box 2, Informatio de statu domus Telczensis Soc[ietatis] Jesu a[nno] 1676, sine fol.

<sup>24</sup> SOA Li, JBoh – VS, inv. n. 53, box 2, Informatio de statu domus Telczensis Soc[ietatis] Jesu a[nno] 1676, sine fol.; BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ – HLAVÁČKOVÁ – KUCHAROVÁ, Knihovna (see footnote 8) 83–85; e.g. Manuale notariorum bipartitum. Notariat Hand Büchlin (Frankfurt am Main 1637), NŘ, shelfmark NŘ I 5624.



(1630/1640–1689); only one has survived.<sup>25</sup> This Telč native was only dean for a short time, from the summer of 1687 to his death on 24 March 1689.<sup>26</sup> In 1676, the Mrákotín parish priest, Jacobus Wenceslaus Hodek (d. 1676), bequeathed many of his books to the college; he was the brother of Andrea Hodek, SJ (1633–1691), a tertian at the Telč College in 1665–1666. The extant correspondence reveals how such a bequest would have been handled.<sup>27</sup> The books identified as having come from the College library include a volume originally owned by the parish priest from the nearby Urbanov, Tomáš Skotnica.<sup>28</sup>

We lack information about the additions to the library list in the second half of the eighteenth century, with the exception of the donation of Count Regal's library;<sup>29</sup> this is undoubtedly in part due to the wars waged by Maria Theresa and the consequent deterioration of the College's financial situation, but also the fact that the late 1700's publishing output was of the least interest to the buyers after 1774, therefore making it most likely to perish. The last currently known acquisition was the *Animadversiones in regulas et usum critices* by Honoratus a S. Maria (Venice, 1751), which was acquired for the College library in 1762, when Josephus Asten, SJ (1710–1782) was rector.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Georgius STENGELIUS, *Mundus theoreticus* (Köln am Rhein 1682); NŘ, shelfmark NŘ III 532.

<sup>26</sup> *Annuae collegii et domus tertiae probationis et Patrum tertiariorum Societatis Jesu Telzcii anno 1689*, ÖNB, Cod. 13558\*, f. 128v; e.g. Joannes FEBUREUS, *Dictionarium locorum ex Bibliis desumptorum* (Wien 1663), Vědecká knihovna v Olomouci (Olomouc Research Library; VKOL), shelfmark 643.

<sup>27</sup> NA, JS, shelfmark IIIo-477, box 206, f. 16.

<sup>28</sup> Sigismundus FERRARIUS, *De rebus Ungaricae provinciae Sacri ordinis Praedicatorum* (Wien 1637), VKOL, shelfmark 30.425.

<sup>29</sup> *Catalogue of the Regal Library: Catalogus der Teltscher Regal-Bibliothec 1774*, Moravský zemský archiv v Brně (Moravian Provincial Archives in Brno; MZAB), fond Gubernium (B 1), shelfmark J 220, no. 69, box 799, sine fol.

<sup>30</sup> HONORATUS A S. MARIA, *Animadversiones in regulas et usum critices, speculantes ad historiam ecclesiae, Opera Patrum, Acta antiquorum Martyrum, Gesta Sanctorum* (Venezia 1751), NŘ, shelfmark NŘ II 543.

## Library Location and Furnishings<sup>31</sup>

The radical remodels of the Order House in Telč after the dissolution of the Society of Jesus have erased all traces which would enable us to unequivocally identify the rooms which had housed the library. The designs and drawings from the time of first construction were also unhelpful. Based on usual practice, there are two options for the library's location: If we choose to prefer good lighting and peace for studying, the ideal space would be in the more recent southern wing but if we assume that there would have been an adjoining study room which could be used in the winter months, we would place the library in the south-western wing above the refectory. This option seems more probable, even though the corridor leading to the seminary through the roofed foot bridge was passing through these rooms, making the library space smaller. The location of the library above the refectory seems to be backed also by the list of benefactors who donated money towards the reconstruction, interior decoration and furnishings of the library, and the refectory at the same time. The construction is dated from 1721 and there are mentions of construction activities in the library as a specific space. Further mentions about the remodelling of the space are from the 1730's and the beginning of the 1740's.

Resources contain a single mention of the library furnishings throughout the seventeenth century. The College status report from 1676 notes that twenty gulden was paid for carpentry and other works to improve the library.<sup>32</sup> New library cabinets were commissioned after the remodel, which began in 1721.<sup>33</sup> Research conducted in the three recent years

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<sup>31</sup> Ondřej HNÍLICA – Dominik MATUS, *Prostory a vybavení telčské knihovny* [The Rooms and Furnishings of the Library in Telč], in: BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ – HLAVÁČKOVÁ – KUCHAROVÁ, *Knihovna* (see footnote 8) 55–71.

<sup>32</sup> SOA Li, JBoh – VS, inv. č. 53, kart. 2, *Informatio de statu domus Telczensis Soc[ietatis] Jesu a[nno] 1676, sine fol.*

<sup>33</sup> NA, JS, shelfmark. IIIo-478, box 206/1, f. 35r: *Syllabus benefactorum, qui pro instauratione et picturis bibliothecae ac refectorii suas liberales symbolas contulerunt.*

found that some of the library furniture is currently in the Premonstratensian Canonry in Nová Říše; these were, however, fundamentally adapted to fit into the library and extensions were added later. The probable authorship by the Jesuit carpenter Ignatius Knoll, SJ (1667–1752), would place the cabinets' origin into the 1730's;<sup>34</sup> the 1732 annual report mentions the investment of 180 gulden into the new library.<sup>35</sup> The adaptations, which could have been carried out by Knoll's younger Jesuit Brother, Joannes Potz, SJ (1702 - ?), could have been carried out as early as around 1740 when the cataloguing schema of the library was changed.<sup>36</sup> The new catalogue created in 1742 was in use until the dissolution of the College in 1773.<sup>37</sup>

The library did not see further remodels until twenty years later, in 1762, when Count Maximilian Regal bequeathed the Horní Cerekev castle library to the College. There are several extant design drawings documenting the planned extensions to the library furniture occasioned by this donation. As evidenced by the drawing of the entrance, bearing the sign "BIBLIOTHECA REGALIANA" commemorating Count Regal's donation, this library was to be placed in a separate room.<sup>38</sup> Whether this separate library was ever built remains unknown; how-

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<sup>34</sup> NA, JS, shelfmark IIIo-479, box 208, f. 18r, Eulogy of Brother Ignatius Knoll, SJ, 1752: "*Triclinium et bibliothecam laboriose et artificiose opere arculario instruxit.*"

<sup>35</sup> *Annuae literae collegii et domus tertiae probationis Telčii Societatis Jesu ad annum 1732*, ÖNB, Cod. 13588\*, f. 346r: "*Ad instruendam domus nostrae bibliothecam faciendamque pro cubiculis librorum provisionem impensi sunt circiter 180 floreni.*"

<sup>36</sup> *Literae annuae collegii et domus tertiae probationis Telčii ad annum 1740*, ÖNB, Cod. 13588\*, f. 361v: "*Bibliotheca compluribus tomis recens comparatis aucta est, etiam diuturno et accurato labore in meliorem ordinem redacta, novis nempe particularibus et universali catalogis ad id confertis, literis ac numeris bibliophilia opera librorum plurimis in dorso appressis ac pro uniformitate dispositis, quod mirum quantum gratiosos non minus decore, quam ordine cadit sub oculos.*"

<sup>37</sup> *Catalogues of the Library of the Jesuit College in Telč from 1773/1774*, MZAB, B1, shelfmark J 220, n. 69, box 799, sine fol.

<sup>38</sup> NA, JS, shelfmark IIIo-477, box 206, f. 29v–32v.

ever, the donated books would have to be to properly stored somewhere – as they nearly doubled the number of volumes already in the College. We can surmise that the donation was not integrated into the original library, as evidenced by extant lists from the time of the College's dissolution, which record the two libraries as separate.

## The Contents of the Library

The growing library list, and the changes to its contents, are documented in the four extant library catalogues. The oldest is dated around 1682 and has 870 entries.<sup>39</sup> The most recent cataloguing effort in around 1742 was apparently connected with the generous reorganisation of the library, the manufacture of new cabinets (or the remodelling of the old ones) and the unification of book design: books spines, made mainly from light-coloured leather, were given brown labels with gilded shelfmarks. Two variants of the catalogue from this time survived: a single volume dated around 1742 and catalogue organised purely by domain in twelve quarto volumes assigned to the specific fields of study, all bound in brown leather with two pairs of green tape each.<sup>40</sup> The single volume contains 2,155 entries, the twelve-volume catalogue has 2,178 entries. There are two other, undated catalogues; we estimate that the older can be dated to the 1690's and the younger to the second decade of the eighteenth century.<sup>41</sup>

The cataloguing schema generally corresponds to the schemas used by the college libraries in Prague and Olomouc, even though the library in Telč, due to its size, did not make use of the entire alphabet to denote the classes in the catalogue. The catalogue from 1742 is exceptional in that it does not contain classes of national languages, and all volumes

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<sup>39</sup> NA, JS, shelfmark. IIIo-477, orig. shelfmark 8/5, box 206.

<sup>40</sup> The single-volume catalogue is in the Moravian Library: *Catalogi bibliothecae Societatis Jesu Telczii anno MDCCXXXII [1742]*, Moravská zemská knihovna, shelfmark RKP 47954; the twelve-volume catalogue in the Moravian Provincial Archives, sine titulo, MZAB, B1, shelfmark J 220, č. 69, box 799.

<sup>41</sup> NA, JS, shelfmark IIIo-477, orig. shelfmark 8/3, box 206.

are categorised by field of study regardless of language. In general, the Telč library was lacking in certain specific sections. Unlike the Prague schema, created by Christophorus Micklis, SJ (1693/95–1765) around the mid-1700's, Telč did not have a manuscript section or one for prohibited books at all.<sup>42</sup>

Extant manuscripts from Telč were probably never in the library; on the contrary, mentions of manuscripts are rare in its catalogues. There is an index of prohibited books in the second undated catalogue, in the *Extravagantes* section; the absence of a proper section was probably due to the specific needs of the Tertianship House: the fathers passing through the house did not use prohibited literature for theological polemics, nor did they have reason to collect objectionable books confiscated on missionary voyages.

The three older catalogues allow us to focus on the language structure of the fond. After Latin, the most frequent language was German – the 1682 catalogue lists 156 volumes in German, the first undated catalogue lists 340, and the second undated catalogue a little fewer, 291. The class of “miscellaneous language” books remained empty in the 1682 catalogue; the first undated catalogue lists four French books, forty-six Italian and eighteen Czech books. There is no French book category in the second undated catalogue but there are twenty-nine Czech and forty Italian books. It is possible that the limited number of volumes in national languages led to the abolishing of this section altogether in the 1742 catalogue.

The division of the Telč library list, according to field, followed contemporary practice. Theology was dominant throughout the library's existence, subdivided into biblical study, patristics, dogmatic theology, preaching, and ascetic and polemic literature, with slight changes to these categories in the different catalogues. Early on, history became

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<sup>42</sup> Zdeněk TOBOLKA, *Národní a universitní knihovna v Praze. Její vznik a vývoj I. Počátky knihovny až do r. 1777* [National and University Library in Prague. Its Origin and Development. I. The Beginnings of the Library until 1777] (Praha 1959) 54–55.

subdivided into “profane” and “sacred”. With the exception of the 1682 catalogue, the legal science had its own section; however, it was not divided into secular and canonical law until the 1742 catalogue. Other classes – books of philosophy (in the sense of contemporary school philosophy), mathematics, ethics or humanities (in the sense of language, i.e. Latin, and literary education) were situated in the second half of the alphabetical order. Books which could be classified into multiple fields or which represented an encyclopaedic sum of knowledge were categorised as *Varii* or *Miscellanea*. In the 1682 catalogue, this included the works by Theophilus Raynaudus, SJ (1583–1663) the *Theatrum vitae humanae*, encyclopaedia by Laurentius Beyerlinck, SJ (1578–1627), and *Acta sanctorum*. In the second undated catalogue, Beyerlinck and Raynaud were categorised as *Miscellanea*, while *Varii* also included books which were present in multiple copies.<sup>43</sup>

1682	1690/1700	Cc. 1720	1742, 1774
A. Scriptura et Patres	A. Scriptura et Patres	A. Scriptura et Patres	A. Scriptura et Patres
B. Patres	B. Scripturistae	B. Scripturistae	B. Scripturistae
C. Scripturistae	C. Concionatores	C. Theologi morales et polemici	C. Theologi
D. Concionatores	D. Theologi speculativi et morales. Canonistae et controversistae	D. Theologi speculativi et canonistae	D. Theologi
E. Theologi	E. Ascetae	E. Concionatores	E. Ascetae
F. Ascetae	F. Philologi	F. Juristae	F. Concionatores

<sup>43</sup> Theophilus RAYNAUDUS, *Opera omnia* (Lyon 1665), NŘ, shelfmark NŘ III 1753, orig. shelfmarks: 1682: I 3–10; 1690/1700: F II 1–10, c. 1720: P II 1–10; 1742: M II 1–10.

G. Historici	G. Mathematici	G. Philosophi, ethici et mathematici	G. Historici sacri
H. Philosophi. Juristae. Mathematici	H. Juristae	H. Historici profani	H. Juristae
I. Varii	I. Philosophi et ethici	I. Ascetae	I. nepoužito
K. Germanici	K. Extravagantes	K. Historici sacri	K. Juristae
L. Variarum lingvarum	L. Historici	L. Humanistae	L. Historici profani
M. Qui saepius habentur	M. Germanici	M. Germanici	M. Miscellanei
N.	N. Gallici	N. Bohemici	N. Controversistae
O. Humanistae	O. Italici	O. Italici	O. Philosophi
	P. Bohemici	P. Miscellanei	P. Mathematici
	Q. Libri Latini variarum classium, qui etiam alibi suis classibus inserti reperiuntur	Q. Varii	Q. Logici. Phisici. Metaphisici
	R. Miscellanei Germanici	R. Varii	R. Humanistae ligati
	S. Humanistae	S. Extravagantes	S. (Humanistae) Soluti

As the books were probably used for the fathers' formation, we would expect more significant "movement" in the library list mainly in the ascetic literature section. This class was separate in all catalogues, usually after the biblical literature, patristics, and theological literature. In the 1682 catalogue, it was labelled F; in the first undated catalogue, E; in the second undated catalogue, I; and the 1742 catalogue returned to E. In the 1682 catalogue, it was assigned five different shelfmarks (the

last of these, Roman numeral five, remained empty), with a total of 145 volumes. The first undated catalogue has it again under five shelfmarks (all full) with 184 volumes, while the second undated catalogues also assigns five shelfmarks to a total of 195 volumes. The 1742 catalogue brings a change: the class is divided under eight shelfmarks with a total of 436 volumes. The updates to the ascetic literature fund were probably mainly focused on smaller format books, intended for private contemplative reading. We can assume that this section was not only added to, but also purged of copies overly damaged by reading and studying.

## The Librarians of Telč

Even though the library is referred to as the heart of a Jesuit order house, the Society of Jesus had no strict rules for how to fill the role of the librarian. It was one of the lower functions, usually combined with more significant activities or given to older and less physically capable members of the community. Although the role is mentioned in the *Regulae*, the librarian's name is not always mentioned in the Order's catalogues. Prosopographical research undertaken so far suggests that if there was no suitable senior to fill the role, it was given to someone involved in the running of the House or in its external activities. Therefore, libraries were often managed by school prefects or the teachers of the humaniora classes. Less frequent but not unusual was the combination of the librarian's role with that of the minister, who oversaw to the daily operation of the community and would assign regular tasks and services. The third most frequent option was to assign the role to the community's spiritual leader.<sup>44</sup>

Owing to the primary function of the House in Telč, the regular community was very small, and the librarian usually also performed another, more significant role. This was true until the first decade of the

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<sup>44</sup> The possible models were formulated based on the data in the BBDR (Bio-Biographical Database of Members of Religious orders, on-line at <http://reholnici.hiu.cas.cz/katalog/>).



eighteenth century, where there are no records of the librarian. We can document that his role was usually taken on by the tertianship instructor, who was also the spiritual leader of the community. There is evidence of such practice until 1709, when the role of the librarian disappears from the catalogues. The systematic records do not begin again until 1760; we can assume that in the interim years, even though the librarian is not named, the running of the college was governed by customary practice – which would have included entrusting the management of the library to the tertianship instructor.

The first recorded librarian in Telč was Ludovicus Crasius, SJ (1597–1677), in 1665 – a great if controversial historical figure.<sup>45</sup> It is probable that he was actively involved in the construction of the library, as he had relevant experience from his chancellorship in Olomouc.<sup>46</sup> During Crasius' time, the library acquired many volumes, and he had Nádasi's work *Tristae annuae* copied for the use of the tertians mere four years after the author had finished it in Rome.

Another figure of note administrating the Telč library was Bartholomaeus Christelius,<sup>47</sup> SJ (during his second stay in Telč as a tertianship instructor, 1667–1676). He could also wield influence over library acquisitions as the rector, a role he undertook from mid-February 1691 to 4 May 1694. While there are no records of the specific books he purchased, we assume it could have been him who encouraged Countess Slavata to donate one hundred gulden to the library; this donation motivated other (female) benefactors to follow suit. Christelius spent 800 gulden on books and book binding, as evidenced in the housekeeping

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<sup>45</sup> Josef KOLÁČEK, *Stříbrný a černý. Stříbrný je lev český, na červeném poli, černý lev je vlámský, na zlatém poli* [Silver and Black. The Silver is the Czech Lion, in the Red Field, the Black Lion is Flemish, in the Gold Field] (Roma 1994) passim.

<sup>46</sup> ORLITA, *Olomoucká univerzitní knihovna* (see footnote 3) 17.

<sup>47</sup> Kateřina BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ – Jarmila KAŠPÁRKOVÁ et al., *Historiam scribere. Řádová historiografie raného novověku 2. Biografický slovník* [Historiam scribere. A Historiography of Religious Orders in the Early Modern Period 2. Biographic Dictionary] (Praha – Olomouc 2018) 177-179.

report for 1673–1676, probably written up by Mathias Senst, SJ (1630–1702), the rector, which lists this amount as library running costs.<sup>48</sup>

Christelius also returned to Telč, in autumn of 1680, as a tertianship instructor. His care for the library can be represented in his 1682 attempt to compile the library's first catalogue, possibly with the help of some of the tertians; this catalogue did not survive.

It is difficult to point out those who significantly contributed to the library's prosperity; if for no other reason, then because the two more recent catalogues are not dated and can only approximately be set in the 1690's and the early 1720's, respectively. The cataloguing schema used in the second undated catalogue can be linked to Caspar Pfliger, SJ (1665–1730), the College's rector, rather than Caspar Mayer, SJ (1665–1734), the instructor.<sup>49</sup> Pfliger was apparently behind the construction of the new library room and he is known to have great interest in libraries during his previous rectorships in Chomutov and Český Krumlov.<sup>50</sup>

Professional librarians did not appear in the Telč College until the 1730's/1740's. Based on available documents, we cannot say with certainty whether this was coincidental or a targeted staffing policy motivated by the fact that the library and its furnishings had been finished and needed to be organised anew. Joannes Leipold, SJ (1696–1751) had to resort to librarian work due to his mental illness; the tertian Ernestus Strekenbach, SJ (1710–1747) was involved in the cataloguing of the library books in 1740.<sup>51</sup> Christophorus Fibig, SJ (1680–1742), who re-

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<sup>48</sup> SOA Li, JBoh – VS, inv. n. 53, box 2, Informatio de statu domus Telczensis Soc[ietatis] Jesu a[nno] 1676, sine fol., § 1.

<sup>49</sup> BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ – KAŠPÁRKOVÁ et al., *Historiam scribere* (see footnote 47) 475.

<sup>50</sup> Franz Martin PELTZEL, *Boehmische, maehrische und schlesische Gelehrte und Schriftsteller aus dem Orden der Jesuiten von Anfang der Gesellschaft bis auf gegenwaertige Zeit* (Praha 1786) 143; Anna FECHTNEROVÁ, *Rectores collegiorum Societatis Jesu in Bohemia, Moravia ac Silesia usque ad annum MDCCLXXIII iacentum* (Praha 1993) 84, n. 37; 104, n. 31; and 432, n. 23.

<sup>51</sup> MZAB, *Sbírka rukopisů Moravského zemského archivu* (G 10), inv. n. 157, *Diarium collegii et domus tertiae probationis Telczii ab anno 1736 usque ad annum 1748 20 Julii*, f. 48r, 11 Maji 1740: "*P. Regens excurrit Iglaviam ... cui*

placed Leopold, was not new to library work, but also of advanced age. However, we cannot say whether he succeeded in compiling the catalogue or whether the volumes dated 1742 were created by his anonymous successor.

Combining the role of the librarian with roles other than the tertian-ship instructor happened less frequently in Telč. The school prefect was entrusted with running the library only once; between 1760-1763, the library was in the care of German preachers, and as of 1764, the College minister was also listed as the librarian. The College rectors could also significantly influence the library's acquisitions and its shape; good examples include Caspar Pfliger, SJ (1665–1730) and Joannes Liebig, SJ (1681–1757) who finished the reconstruction of the library in 1740 by providing the entire library list with shelfmarks.

## Conclusion

The current state of research clearly shows that the Jesuit library in Telč was a live, scholarly, and spiritual library, rather than a collection or conservation-focused collection. Acquisitions were aimed first and foremost on acquiring the contemporary publishing output, presumably, often to replace older worn-out or unused volumes. There were relatively few books in the non-theological academic fields; these were acquired by personal initiative of the rectors and instructors. Acquisitions were funded by the revenue from a special foundation and financial donations. Specific purchases can only be identified in rare cases, thanks to mentions in the *literae annuae* or inscriptions in the books themselves. Donations of books were also of high importance. In addition to bequests by Telč deans and patronage parish priests, the most significant of such donations is one by Count Maximilian Regal – of which doubled the number of books in the library, adding numerous French language titles.

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*socium adjunxi P. Streckenbach ad aliquam eventilationem post labores bibliothecae.*"

After the dissolution of the Jesuit Order, the Telč library ceased to exist in its original form after the dissolution of the Order. A lot of information about the library, however, can be obtained by retaining part of its collections and furniture in the Nová Říše Canonry, as well as the books surviving mainly in the Moravian Library and the Olomouc Research Library. The four catalogues, mapping the four stages of the library's evolution, represent an especially valuable resource; however, they are yet to be used to their full potential, possibly leading to a virtual reconstruction of the library list.

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### **The Telč Jesuit Library**

**Kateřina Bobková-Valentová and Hedvika Kuchařová**

The library in Telč was created when the College was first occupied by the Jesuits, and its acquisitions were funded mainly by monetary donations from its benefactors and the college's budget. Initially, the funds used were left over from the tertians' travel budgets; later, interest from the relatively large foundation endowment of 2,000 gulden, according to the 18<sup>th</sup> century Jesuits, donated by Jan Karel Jáchym (Carolus Felix a S. Theresia, OCD), the son of the College's founder Františka Slavatová, became the main source of funding. Until 1675, the income from the endowment was used to finance the purchase of church silver; thereafter, it was used to fund the library. Books were donated to the college by the founder, Telč deans, as well as patronage parish priests. The largest donation was by Count Maximilian Regal, who bequeathed the entire library of the castle in Horní Cerkev to the college, in 1762. Even though the position of the library within the Telč College remains hypothetical, it was most likely placed in the West wing, above the refectory. From the 17<sup>th</sup> century on, there is not much information about the library's construction and furnishings. The library rooms were reconstructed, or, possibly, entirely new rooms built, together with the refectory in the 1720's. New shelves were built by the Jesuit Ignatius Knoll, SJ, in the early 1730's; the reorganisation of the books and new signatures were finished in 1740; and the new catalogues from 1742

were used until the dissolution of the order. After 1776, the shelves were adapted for the library of the Canonry in Nová Říše, where they can be found today.

The composition of the Telč library, as illustrated by the five extant catalogues reflecting four different cataloguing efforts, reflects the structure of libraries in other Jesuit colleges. It is apparent that it was a living research and spiritual library rather than a collection or conservation effort. Acquisitions, above all, aimed to supply the College with contemporary production, which apparently replaced older, worn-out, or unused volumes.

The library of the House in Telč was most often administered by the tertianship instructor, who was also the community's spiritual. The important contributors to the book list included Ludovicus Crassius, SJ, Bartholomeus Christelius, SJ, and Mathias Senst, SJ, who created the library's oldest extant catalogue. Professional librarians appeared in the late 1730's and early 1740's, possibly in connection with the library's reconstruction. College rectors could also participate in shaping the library and the acquisitions; good examples are Caspar Pffiger, SJ, who initiated the reconstruction, or Joannes Liebig, SJ, who finished it in 1740/1742.

A detailed analysis of the library catalogues could bring further insight, mainly into the development of the book fund; this would also facilitate its virtual reconstruction.

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### **Die Jesuitenbibliothek in Telč/Teltsch** **Kateřina Bobková-Valentová und Hedvika Kuchařová**

Die Jesuitenbibliothek in Telč/Teltsch gehörte nie zu den größten Buchbeständen der tschechischen Provenienz, trotzdem ist sie aus mehreren Gründen interessant. Den ersten Grund stellt die spezifische Stellung des hiesigen Ordenshauses dar, in dem die sog. dritte Probation verlief, also das letzte Jahr der Ordensformation, während dessen sich die jungen Geistlichen auf die vollständige Eingliederung in die Tätigkeit des Ordens und auch auf die Ablegung des Gelübdes

vorbereiteten. Der zweite Grund ist die außerordentliche Überlieferung einiger Buchkataloge und die mögliche Identifizierung von 20 Prozent des ursprünglichen Buchbestandes in den zeitgenössischen Bibliotheken. Der dritte Grund ist das Vorhandensein des sekundär benutzten Bibliotheksmobiliars und die Überlieferung eines Teils der Dokumente zu seiner Gestalt. Anhand dieser Quellen wie auch einiger Quellen aus dem Archiv des Kollegs und der bruchstückhaften Berichte, die in die sog. *literae annuae* eingegliedert wurden, versucht dieser Beitrag, die Art und Weise der Finanzierung der Bibliothek zu erfassen, die Räume und ihre Ausstattung darzustellen, die Beschaffung von Büchern und ihre möglichen Formen zu beschreiben, den Inhalt des Bibliotheksbestands anzudeuten und die Bibliothekare, die sich um ihn kümmerten, zu charakterisieren.

Die Bibliothek in Teltsch entstand gleichzeitig mit der Besiedlung des Hauses durch die Jesuiten, ihren Bücherbestand verdankte sie Buchschenkungen wie auch finanziellen Zuwendungen von Spendern oder Ankäufen aus dem Haushalt des Ordenshauses. Ursprünglich handelte es sich um Mittel aus den übrig gebliebenen Reisekosten für die Tertiärer, später wurden die Zinsen aus einem relativ großen Fundationskapital von 2000 Gulden zur Hauptquelle der Finanzierung, die der Aussage der Jesuiten aus dem 18. Jahrhundert nach ein Geschenk des Sohns der Begründerin des Kollegs Franziska Slawata, Johann Karl Joachim (= Carolus Felix a S. Theresia, OCD), waren. Die Erträge waren bis zum Jahr 1675 für die Beschaffung des Kirchensilbers bestimmt und danach dienten sie der Bibliothek. Bücher schenkten dem Kolleg auch die Begründerin des Kollegs, die Dekane von Teltsch wie auch die Pfarrer aus den Patronatspfarreien. Die größte Schenkung stellte jedoch das Vermächtnis des Grafen Maximilian Regal dar, der im Jahr 1762 dem Kolleg seine ganze Bibliothek aus dem Schloss in Horní Cerekev widmete.

Auch wenn der genaue Ort der Bibliothek im Jesuitenkolleg in Teltsch nicht bekannt ist, scheint es am wahrscheinlichsten zu sein, dass sie sich im südwestlichen Flügel über dem Refektorium befand. Von ihrem

Aufbau und ihrer Ausstattung stehen uns besonders für das 17. Jahrhundert ganz wenige Informationen zur Verfügung. Zum Umbau des Saales oder zum Bau eines komplett neuen Raumes kam es gleichzeitig mit der Erneuerung des Refektoriums in den Zwanzigerjahren des 18. Jahrhunderts. Das Bibliotheksmobiliar zu Beginn der Dreißigerjahre schuf der Ordensbruder Ignatius Knoll, SJ, die neue Zusammenstellung des Bestandes und die Beschilderung der Bücher mit einer Signatur wurde im Jahr 1740 beendet und im Jahr 1742 wurden neue Kataloge erarbeitet, die bis zur Aufhebung des Ordens benutzt wurden. Die Möbel wurden nach 1776 für die Bibliothek der Kanonie in Nová Říše/Neureisch verwendet.

Der Inhalt der Bibliothek in Teltsch, wie ihn fünf überlieferte Kataloge, die vier Katalogisierungen reflektieren, belegen, entspricht der Struktur der Bibliotheken anderer Jesuitenkollegien. Im Allgemeinen ist es offensichtlich, dass die Bibliothek den Charakter einer lebendigen wissenschaftlichen und geistlichen Bibliothek hatte, also nicht primär Sammlerzwecken diente. Die Beschaffungen wurden in erster Linie auf aktuelle Neuerscheinungen ausgerichtet, die offensichtlich ältere abgenutzte oder nicht mehr benutzte Schriften ersetzen.

Die Bibliothek des Ordenshauses in Teltsch verwaltete am häufigsten ein Instruktor der dritten Probation, der gleichzeitig Spiritual der Kommunität war. Am Aufbau des Buchbestandes beteiligten sich nachweislich Ludovicus Crassius SJ, Bartholomeus Christelius SJ und Matthias Senst SJ, der den ersten überlieferten Katalog der Bibliothek zusammenstellte. Bibliothekare von Beruf erscheinen in der Bibliothek nur an der Wende der Dreißiger- und Vierzigerjahre des 18. Jahrhunderts, wahrscheinlich in Zusammenhang mit ihrem Umbau. Einen deutlichen Anteil an den Beschaffungen und an der Gestalt der Bibliothek konnten auch die Rektoren des Kollegs haben, ein Beispiel können der Urheber des Umbaus Caspar Pfliger SJ oder Joannes Liebig SJ sein, der den Umbau im Jahr 1740 bzw. 1742 beendete.

Knihovna jezuitů v Telči nepatřila k největším knižním fondům české provincie, ale přesto je velmi zajímavá hned z několika důvodů. Prvním je specifické postavení zdejšího řádového domu, v němž probíhala tzv. třetí probace, tedy poslední rok řádové formace, během kterého se mladí duchovní připravovali na plné zapojení do činnosti řádu a také na složení posledních slibů. Druhým důvodem je mimořádné dochování několika knihovnických katalogů i možná identifikace skoro 20 % původního knižního fondu v současných knihovnách. Třetím důvodem je existence druhotně použitého knihovnického nábytku a zachování částí dokumentace k jeho podobě. Na základě těchto pramenů, ale také torza dokumentů pocházejících z archivu koleje a kusých zpráv vtělených do tzv. *literae annuae* se tento příspěvek pokouší postihnout způsob financování knihovny, představit prostory a vybavení, které jí náleželo, podchytit akvizice knih a jejich možné způsoby, nastínit obsah fondu knihovny a charakterizovat knihovníky, kteří o ni pečovali.

Knihovna v Telči vznikla zároveň s osazením domu jezuity, za akvizice vdělila knižním i finančním darům dobrodinců a nákupům z rozpočtu domu. Původně šlo jen o prostředky zbylé z cestovních nákladů pro terciány, posléze se hlavním zdrojem financování staly úroky z poměrně velkého nadačního kapitálu 2 000 zlatých, které byly podle výkladu jezuitů z 18. století darem syna zakladatelky koleje Františky Slavatové, Jana Karla Jáchyma (Carolus Felix a S. Theresia, OCD). Výnosy byly do roku 1675 určeny na pořizování kostelního stříbra a poté sloužily knihovně. Knihy koleji věnovala zakladatelka koleje, telčští děkani i faráři na patronátních farách. Největším darem byl však odkaz hraběte Maximiliána Regala, který roku 1762 daroval koleji celou svou knihovnu ze zámku v Horní Cerkvi.

Ač umístění knihovny v telčské jezuitské koleji zůstává v rovině hypotéz, zdá se nejpravděpodobnější, že byla zřízena v jihozápadním křídle nad refektářem. O její výstavbě a vybavení máme zejména pro 17. století



velmi málo zpráv. K přestavbě sálu či budování zcela nového prostoru došlo zároveň s obnovou refektáře ve 20. let 18. století. Knihovní nábytek na počátku 30. let vytvořil řádový bratr Ignatius Knoll, SJ, nové uspořádání fondu a označení knih signaturami bylo dokončeno v roce 1740 a 1742 byly vyhotoveny nové katalogy užívané až do zrušení řádu. Nábytek byl po roce 1776 upraven pro knihovnu kanonie v Nové Říši, kde se nachází dodnes.

Složení telčské knihovny, jak ho dokládá pět dochovaných katalogů reflektujících čtyři katalogizace, odpovídá struktuře knihoven jiných jezuitských kolejí. Obecně je zřejmé, že knihovna měla charakter živé vědecké a duchovní knihovny, nikoli sběratelského či konzervačního fondu. Akvizice byly v první řadě zaměřeny na zásobení aktuální produkci, která patrně nahrazovala také starší opotřeбенé či nepoužívané spisy.

Knihovnu telčského domu nejčastěji spravoval instruktor třetí probace, jenž byl zároveň spirituálem komunity. Na budování knižního fondu se prokazatelně podíleli Ludovicus Crassius, SJ, Bartholomeus Christelius, SJ či Mathias Senst, SJ, který sestavil první dochovaný katalog knihovny. Profesionální knihovníci se v koleji objevují pouze na přelomu 30. a 40. let 18. století, snad v souvislosti s její přestavbou. Výrazný podíl na akvizicích i podobě knihovny mohli mít také rektori koleje, příkladem může být iniciátor přestavby Caspar Pfliger, SJ, nebo Joannes Liebig, SJ, který ji k roku 1740, resp. 1742 dokončil.

Další poznatky zejména o rozvoji knižního fondu může přinést podrobný rozbor knihovních katalogů, který by umožnil také jeho virtuální rekonstrukci.

# The Libraries of Capuchin Convents in the Czech Lands during the Baroque Period<sup>1</sup>

MAREK BRČÁK  
RICHARD ŠÍPEK

The topic of convent libraries in relation to the history<sup>2</sup> of the Capuchin

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<sup>2</sup> The first Capuchins arrived in Prague in 1599, under the leadership of Lawrence of Brindisi (1559–1619). In 1600, the Bohemian-Austrian-Steier General Commissariat was established, which also oversaw convents in the Czech lands. The year of 1608 saw the split of the Steyer and the Carniola monastic houses, leading to the creation of a Bohemian-Austrian General Commissariat. In 1618, the latter was promoted to an independent Bohemian-Austrian province, which in turn in 1673 split into two entities: the Bohemian-Moravian province with its centre in Prague, which also contained monastic houses in Silesia, and the Austrian province with its Viennese headquarters. In 1754, following the ramifications of the War of the Austrian Succession, monasteries in Silesia, thus far forming a self-standing general chapter that was subject directly to the general headquarters in Rome, gained further independence. In 1783, pressured by Joseph II, the Bohemian-Moravian province was divided into independent Bohemian and Moravian parts, with centres in Prague and Brno, respectively. These two entities were not reunited into a single Bohemian-Moravian province centred around Prague until 1827. In the Czech lands of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, i.e., during the greatest

order<sup>3</sup> in the Czech Lands is one of the few areas that has been system-

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flourishing of the order in the country, the Capuchins established a total of 36 monasteries (30 convents and 6 hospices). In the age of Enlightenment religious reforms, more than one third of the monasteries in the Czech lands were abolished. At its peak in 1753, the Bohemian-Moravian province included 824 members. Marek BRČÁK, *Strategie kapucínského řádu při zakládání řeholních domů v českých zemích v raném novověku* [The Strategy of the Capuchin Order when Establishing Monastic Houses in the Czech Lands in the Early Modern Age]. In: *Folia Historica Bohemica* 33/1 (2018) 217–237.

- <sup>3</sup> So far, the essential work regarding the history of the Capuchin order in the Czech Lands – disregarding the as yet unpublished thesis of one of this article’s authors: Marek BRČÁK, *Působení kapucínského řádu v Čechách a na Moravě 1618–1673* [The Operation of the Capuchin Order in Bohemia and Moravia between 1618–1673] (doctoral thesis, Praha 2014); IDEM, *Kapucínský řád a jeho působení v Čechách a na Moravě 1673–1783* [The Capuchin Order and its Activities in Bohemia and Moravia between 1673–1783] (dissertation thesis, Praha 2019) – is the work of Vavřinec Rabas, OFM Cap (1901–1969). Vavřinec RABAS, *Řád kapucínský a jeho působení v Čechách v 17. století* [The Capuchin Order and its Activities in 17<sup>th</sup>-Century Bohemia] (Praha 1937). However, this monograph is highly problematic, due to both its author’s bias and the large number of factual errors it contains. For more detail regarding literature on the Czech and foreign history of the Capuchin order, see BRČÁK, *Kapucínský řád* (see footnote 2) 13–21, with the following sources of particular interest: Hillard VON THIESEN, *Die Kapuziner zwischen Konfessionalisierung und Alltagskultur. Vergleichende Fallstudie am Beispiel Freiburgs und Hildesheims 1599–1750* (Freiburg im Breisgau 2002), in our estimation an inspirational work that brings a series of new methodological approaches to bear on the topic area, cf., for example, its contextualisation of the order’s activities in the framework of the confessionalist paradigm, its focus on how the Capuchin order ideal was created by the order itself, and the attention paid to the order’s influence within the city. As regards newer work on the history of the Capuchins in the Czech Lands, the following titles deserve a mention: Marek BRČÁK, *Kapuziner und Stadt. Die Wirkung des Kapuzinerordens in böhmischen und mährischen Städten in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. und der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts*. In Jiří Havlík – Jarmila Hlaváčková – Karl Kollerman (eds.), *Orden und Stadt, Orden und ihre Wohltäter* (= *Monastica Historia* IV, Praha – St. Pölten 2019) 213–245; IDEM – Jiří WOLF (eds.), *Pax et Bonum, Kapucíni v Čechách a na Moravě v raném novověku* [Pax et Bonum. The Capuchin Order in Early Modern Bohemia and Moravia] (Praha 2020).

atically developed<sup>4</sup> since the year 1989.<sup>5</sup> Historians and book scholars have thus far dealt with either individual Capuchin convent libraries (e.g. in Brno,<sup>6</sup> České Budějovice,<sup>7</sup> Kolín,<sup>8</sup> Litoměřice,<sup>9</sup> Hradčany in Prague,<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> During the reign of the Communist Party (1948–1989) it was nearly impossible to subject the history of monastic orders to critical study, much less to publish scholarly articles about them. Jan ZDICHYNEC, *Monasteriologie a klášterní problematika v raném novověku* [Monasteriology and Early Modern Convents]. In Marie Šedivá-Koldinská – Ivo Cerman (eds.), *Základní problémy studia raného novověku* [Basic Issues in the Study of the Early Modern Age] (Praha 2013) 230–267, esp. 241–242.

<sup>5</sup> The topic of convent libraries in connection with the history of the Capuchin order is studied abroad as well, e.g., in Italy and Slovakia. See Natale VACALEBBRE (ed.), *I libri dei cappuccini: la Biblioteca Oasis di Perugia. Con il supplemento al catalogo delle cinquecentine. Atti dell'incontro di studio, Perugia, 16 aprile 2015* (= *Bibliotheca seraphico-capuccina* 103, Roma 2016); Erika JURÍKOVÁ – Ladislav TKÁČÍK, *Knihna ako obraz rehoľnej komunity* [The Book as an Image of the Monastic Community]. In Jitka Radimská (ed.), *K výzkumu zámeckých měštanských a církevních knihoven* [Research Notes on Chateau, Burgher and Church Libraries] (= *Opera Romanica* 16, Editio Universitatis Bohemiae Meridionalis, České Budějovice 2015) 82–93.

<sup>6</sup> Vladislav DOKOUPIL, *Klášterní knihovna kapucínů v Brně* [The Convent Library of the Brno Capuchins] (Brno 1955); IDEM, *Dějiny moravských klášterních knihoven ve správě Universitní knihovny v Brně* [The History of the Moravian Convent Libraries Managed by Brno University Library] (Brno 1972) 193–212.

<sup>7</sup> Karel PLETZER, *Josefínská likvidace knihovny kapucínů v Českých Budějovicích* [The Josephine Liquidation of the Capuchin Library in České Budějovicích]. In: *Jihočeský sborník historický* 65 (1996) 65–72.

<sup>8</sup> Miroslava JOUZOVÁ, *Kapucínský klášter v Kolíně a jeho knihovna* [The Capuchin Convent in Kolín and its Library]. In: *Archivní prameny Kolínska* 15 (2009) 3–46.

<sup>9</sup> Stanislav PETR, *Rukopisy kláštera kapucínů v Litoměřicích* [The Manuscripts of the Capuchin Convent in Litoměřice]. In: *Miscellanea of the Department of the Manuscript and Early Printed Books* 10/1 (1993) 117–163.

<sup>10</sup> Marta HRADILOVÁ, *Rukopisy knihovny kapucínského konventu Panny Marie Andělské v Praze na Hradčanech ve světle dochovaných knižních katalogů* [The Manuscripts at the Library of the Capuchin Convent of Our Lady of the Angels in Hradčany Prague in the Light of Preserved Book Catalogues]. In: *Studie o rukopisech* 35 (2005) 99–114; IDEM, *Italština v knihovně*

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kapucínského konventu na Hradčanech [Italian in the Library of the Capuchin Convent in Hradčany]. In Alena Čísařová-Smítková – Andrea Jelínková – Milada Svobodová (eds.), *Libri magistri muti sunt. Pocta Jaroslavě Kašparové* [Libri Magistri Muti Sunt. A Festschrift for Jaroslava Kašparová] (Praha 2013) 335–346.

- <sup>11</sup> Richard ŠÍPEK, Několik slov k fragmentům starších knižních sbírek v Knihozně roudnických kapucínů [A Few Words on the Fragments from Earlier Book Collections in the Library of the Monastery of the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin in Roudnice nad Labem]. In: *Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae – Historia litterarum* 63 (2018) 20–34; IDEM, Die Bücher von Ladislaus Seydlitz von Schönfeld in der Bibliothek der Raudnitzer Kapuziner. In Andrea Seidler – István Monok (eds.), *Reformation und Bücher – Zentren der Ideen – Zentren der Buchproduktion. Tagung des Wolfenbütteler Arbeitskreises für Bibliotheks-, Buch- und Mediengeschichte* (Wiesbaden 2020) 195–207.
- <sup>12</sup> Marta HRADILOVÁ, Knihovna kapucínského kláštera v Mnichově Hradišti (Historické knižní katalogy jako pramen pro studium klášterních knihoven) [The Library of the Capuchin Monastery in Mnichovo Hradiště (Historical Book Catalogues as a Source for the Study of the History of Monastic Libraries)]. In: *Knihy a dějiny* 25/1-2 (2018) 68–81; Anežka BAŘUROVÁ, Otázky nad katalogem kapucínské knihovny v Mnichově Hradišti z roku 1754 [Questions Regarding the Catalogue of the Capuchin Library in Mnichovo Hradiště]. In: *Knihy a dějiny* 26/1-2 (2019) 159–171.
- <sup>13</sup> Václav BOK, Knihovna kapucínů v Sušici jako typická knihovna venkovského kláštera mezinárodního církevního řádu [The Capuchin Library in Sušice as a Typical Library of a Rural Monastery Managed by an International Religious Order]. In Jitka Radimská (ed.), *K výzkumu zámeckých měšťanských a církevních knihoven* [Towards a Research of Chateau, Burgher and Church Libraries] (= Opera Romanica I, Editio Universitatis Bohemiae Meridionalis České Budějovice 2000) 225–238; Lenka MAŠKOVÁ, Knihovna kapucínského kláštera v Sušici. I. charakteristika knižního fondu [The Library of the Capuchin Convent in Sušice. I. The Characteristics of the Book Fund]. In: *Vlastivědný sborník Muzea Šumavy* 9 (2016) 225–248; Lenka BERNÁTKOVÁ, Knihovna kapucínského kláštera v Sušici. II. Provenience [The Library of the Capuchin Convent in Sušice. II. Provenance]. In: *Vlastivědný sborník Muzea Šumavy* 10 (2018) 155–169.
- <sup>14</sup> DOKOUPIL, Dějiny moravských klášterních knihoven (see footnote 6) 213–223.

or with the topic as a whole.<sup>15</sup> So far the scholarship has yielded a number of mutually confirmatory theses, with, for example, the thematic composition of the archive groups of books and the provenance of gifts of books exhibiting a range of identical features. This study will focus on these areas, comparing some of their conclusions with the results of a micro-historical study analysing the book collection of the Capuchin order in Roudnice.<sup>16</sup>

Research by Matyáš Bajger<sup>17</sup> has shown that libraries in individual Capuchin convents were founded soon after they were established. Ac-

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<sup>15</sup> Matyáš BAJGER, *Knihovny kapucínských klášterů v Čechách a na Moravě* [The Libraries of the Capuchin Monasteries in Bohemia and Moravia] (diploma thesis, Brno 2004); IDEM, *Česká františkánská knižní kultura. Knihovny minoritů, františkánů a kapucínů v průběhu staletí* [Bohemian Franciscan Book Culture. Libraries of Conventuals, Franciscans and Capuchins through Centuries] (rigorous thesis, Ostrava 2007). The author's thesis research has found expression in the following publications: IDEM, *Knihovny kapucínských klášterů v Čechách a na Moravě* [Libraries of Capuchin Convents in Bohemia and Moravia]. In: *Knihy a dějiny 11–15 (2004–2008)* 44–62; IDEM, *Kapucíni mezi svazky a policemi – správce řádových knihoven* [Capuchins Among Files and Shelves: Custodians of the Monastic Libraries]. In M. Brčák – J. Wolf (eds.), *Pax et Bonum* (see footnote 2) 203–218.

<sup>16</sup> The Capuchin convent in Roudnice nad Labem was founded by Zdeněk Vojtěch Popel of Lobkowitz (1568–1628) and his wife Polyxena (1566–1642) in 1614. Based on the provenance inscriptions in the books, its book collection, began to taking shape soon after its establishment. The convent was abolished during the reign of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, as part of the so-called Action K in 1950. After the shutdown of the convent, its library, whose collection was fortunately not selectively picked apart by various scientific institutions (a fate awaiting the majority of monastic libraries at the time), was handed over to the management of the Municipal Museum at Litoměřice. In the 1960s, the library became the possession of the National Museum, which moved its collection to Žďár nad Sázavou, where it formed part of the Book Museum exhibition. After the abolishment of this institution, the library was moved into the depository of the National Museum at Terezín, where it has resided ever since. ŠÍPEK, *Několik slov k fragmentům* (see footnote 11) 20–22.

<sup>17</sup> BAJGER, *Kapucíni mezi svazky a policemi* (see footnote 15) 206–207; IDEM, *Knihovny kapucínských klášterů* (see footnote 15) 56.

ording to the regular constitutions of 1536, every convent was to be furnished with a special room for storing books, as these were to serve the needs of the whole community and were not to be stored in large amounts in the cells of individual friars.<sup>18</sup> The book-lending and library management fell, at first, to the custos of individual convents,<sup>19</sup> given that the friars, especially lectors in theology and philosophy and sermonisers, frequently broke these rules by keeping books in large quantities in their cells,<sup>20</sup> or, in direct breach of regular rules, by considering them, their personal property.<sup>21</sup> In 1732, the function of convent librar-

<sup>18</sup> [Fidel ELIZONDO (ed.)], *Constitutiones Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum saeculorum decursu promulgatae I. Constitutiones antiquae (1529–1643)* (Roma 1980) 66; Pavel PRIHATNÝ (ed.), *Konštitúcie sv. Eufémie (Rím, 1536)*. In: *Studia Capuccinorum Boziniensia* 2 (2014) 13–67, esp. 54–55.

<sup>19</sup> BAJGER, *Kapucíni mezi svazky a policemi* (see footnote 15) 207.

<sup>20</sup> See the preamble to the provincial statutes regarding library maintenance (*Statuta Provincialia pro Bibliothecis nostris ordinate conservandis*) from 1737 (for more regarding this norm, see below). “*Toties quidem iam facta statuta pro meliori Bibliothecarum statu, quae etiam per ordinationes generales fuerunt confirmata, nondum tamen satis provisum videtur, dum tot et tanti Libri a Fratribus, praesertim Officialibus in cellis reservantur aut ad cellas expetuntur, ut pro communi usu aliquid vix remaneat.*” Following this in the sixth paragraph: “*Admonentur maxime illi [i.e., lectors, preachers, confessors] qui his statutis non attentis Bibliothecam 100 et ultra Librorum, quae plus ad Cellae ornamentum et magnam Studiis apparentiam facit, quam ut pro necessitate requiratur adhuc in Cellis servaverint. Quod A[dmodum] R[everendus] P[ater] Provincialis dum ad visitationem Familiae advenerit Statutorum exemptionem, et Librorum communitatem promovebit.*” Národní archiv Praha [National Archives, the Czech Republic, Prague] [NAP], *Kapucíni – provincialát a konventy, Praha* [The Capuchins – Their Provinces and Convents, Prague] [ŘK], Files 72, box 218.

<sup>21</sup> For example, Capuchin Engelbert Leilenek of Bílina (d. 1685) used to mark the books obtained during his stay at Roudnice nad Labem as his personal possessions, a practice which very much angered later members of the local convent (librarians presumably). His name is repeatedly crossed out and records adjusted so as to reflect the communal ownership of the books. See, for example, the record, “*Emptus et Donatus a Celsissimo Principe Wenceslao De Lobkowitz PP: ~~Engelberto Billinensi~~ Concionatoribus loci Raudnicensis. o stupor! Non Engelberto sed monasterio Raudnicensi.*” Parts highlighted in bold have been adjusted and added by a later scribe. Knihovna Národního Muzea,

ian<sup>22</sup> was established within the Bohemian-Moravian province on the basis of a congregation<sup>23</sup> edict issued on 29 August in Znojmo. The librarian was to help the busy custos with the management of the library, but his duties were not specified any further.<sup>24</sup>

In 1733, the establishment of a librarian's office in every convent was promulgated by a general chapter edict at the level of the entire order.<sup>25</sup> Following this edict, in 1737, provincial minister Václav Pfeffr of Strakonice (1691–1755) issued a special librarian regulation for the Bohemian-Moravian province, the so-called *Statuta Provincialia pro Bibliothecis nostris ordinate conservandis*,<sup>26</sup> which detailed the librarian's tasks. These generally concerned the records of loans (their approval and/or requisition) and book cataloguing.<sup>27</sup>

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Oddělení rukopisů a starých tisků, Knihovna roudnických kapucínů [The National Museum Library, Department of Manuscripts and Old Prints, the Library of the Roudnice Capuchins] [KRK], sign. 720/1.

<sup>22</sup> NAP, ŘK, Manuscripts 98, *Protocollum sive Liber provinciae*, f. 276r.

<sup>23</sup> Among the provincial capitula, which under normal circumstances were assembled once every three years, so-called *congregatia* also took place, gatherings of the provincial minister and definitors, who managed the affairs of the province as a collective body. Lázaro IRIARTE, *Der Franziskusorden. Handbuch der franziskanischen Ordensgeschichte* (Altötting 1984) 187.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. BAJGER, *Kapucíni mezi svazky a policemi* (see footnote 15) 207–208.

<sup>25</sup> *Lexicon Capuccinum. Promptuarium Historico-bibliographicum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum (1525–1950)* (Roma 1951) 221–222; BAJGER, *Knihovny kapucínských klášterů* (see footnote 15) 47.

<sup>26</sup> NAP, ŘK, Files 72, box 218. Transcripts of these rules can be found in the libraries of individual convent libraries from the 18<sup>th</sup> century; see, for example, the 1754 catalogue of the convent library at Mnichovo Hradiště. Knihovna Akademie věd České republiky [Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic], sign. 1 TB 1, *Honori ac Venerationi Francisco Seraphico Christiano Orbis Fulcimento Ecclesiae Catholicae Reparatori Christi Crucifixi Plagarum insignibus admirando ante obitum mortuo post obitum Vivo Catalogum Librorum Bibliothecae Hradistiensis ad Iseram Posuit A[dmodum] V[enerabilis] P[ater] Stanislaus Schattaviensis Pro tunc Guardianus Dignissimus*, ff. 4r–5r.

<sup>27</sup> BAĎUROVÁ, *Otázky* (see footnote 12) 168–169.



On the basis of these provincial edicts, books in Capuchin libraries were classified into twenty-one to twenty-three thematic groups.<sup>28</sup> From the viewpoint of content analysis, a majority of the books in Capuchin library book collections are homiletic literature, comprising one fifth (approximately seventeen to twenty per cent) of the book collections of individual libraries.<sup>29</sup> This is due to the order's orientation, as its focus was on preaching activity.<sup>30</sup> The second largest group is prayer literature, which includes books designed to support contemplation and spiritual life (approximately eight to ten per cent).<sup>31</sup> The final relatively

<sup>28</sup> A=*Sacra Biblia et Concordantiae*; B=*Expositores*; C=*Patres et antiqui Scriptores*; D=*Theologi Speculativi*; E=*Concionatores Latini*; F=*Conceptus praedicabiles et Postillae veteres*; G=*Concionatores Germanici*; H=*Libri Spirituales Latini*; I=*Libri Spirituales Germanici*; K=*Controversistae*; L=*Canonistae*; M=*Legistae*; N=*Theologi Morales*; O=*Historiae Sacrae*; P=*Historiae Profanae et Libri Politici*; Q=*Philosophi, Mathematici et astronomi*; R=*Dictionaria Oratores, Grammatici et Epistolae*; S=*Medici*; T=*Poetae Sacri et Profani*; V=*Libri Boemici*; W=*Libri Graeci Arabici, Hebraici*; Y=*Libri Italici et Gallici*. NAP, ŘK, Files 72, box 218, *Series Titulorum in Bibliothecis observanda*. Cf. DOKOUPIL, *Dějiny moravských klášterních knihoven* (see footnote 6) 209–210, 221; JOUZOVÁ, *Kapucínský klášter v Kolíně* (see footnote 8) 17; HRADILOVÁ, *Knihovna kapucínského kláštera v Mnichově Hradišti* (see footnote 12) 75; BAĐUROVÁ, *Otázky* (see footnote 12) 160–161; MAŠKOVÁ *Knihovna kapucínského kláštera v Sušici I* (see footnote 13) 240–241; BAJGER, *Knihovny kapucínských klášterů* (see footnote 15) 53.

<sup>29</sup> JOUZOVÁ, *Kapucínský klášter v Kolíně* (see footnote 8) 14; PETR, *Rukopisy kláštera kapucínů v Litoměřicích* (see footnote 9) 139–140; ŠÍPEK, *Několik slov k fragmentům* (see footnote 11) 20–21, 26–27; HRADILOVÁ, *Knihovna kapucínského kláštera v Mnichově Hradišti* (see footnote 12) 79; BOK, *Knihovna kapucínů v Sušici* (see footnote 13) 233; BAJGER, *Knihovny kapucínských klášterů* (see footnote 15) 49.

<sup>30</sup> Marek BRČÁK, *Kazatelská činnost kapucínů jako nástroj sebezprezentace řádu v Čechách a na Moravě v 17. a 18. století* [Capuchin Preachment as Means of the Order's Self-Presentation in 17<sup>th</sup>- and 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Bohemia and Moravia]. In IDEM – J. Wolf (eds.), *Pax et Bonum* (see footnote 2); VON THIESEN, *Die Kapuziner* (see footnote 2) 143–202; Ronnie Po-chia HsIA, *The World of Catholic Renewal 1540–1770* (Cambridge 1998) 30, 200–201.

<sup>31</sup> MAŠKOVÁ, *Knihovna kapucínského kláštera v Sušici I* (see footnote 13) 239–240; BAJGER, *Knihovny kapucínských klášterů* (see footnote 15) 49–50.

large category is moral theological literature, whose share is roughly five per cent. None of the other book groups exceeded five per cent.<sup>32</sup> This composition of Capuchin book collections as revealed by the research, is confirmed by the thematic composition of the Roudnice Capuchin library, the main part of which is comprised of prints from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and, to a lesser extent, sixteenth-century print production, plus thirty-nine incunabula. A small part of the collection was added in the nineteenth century. The historical library contains 1,800 titles. As regards the content structure of the collection, the most numerous books are homiletics, consisting of 428 titles (twenty-four per cent), classified according to the last handwritten catalogue from 1843<sup>33</sup> into three separate groups based on linguistic and formal viewpoints. Other thematic groups, however, also feature titles that may have served the purpose of sermon preparation. Prayer literature and personal spirituality manuals are represented by 248 titles (fourteen per cent). One hundred and four titles (six per cent) are devoted to moral and pastoral theology. In the Roudnice Capuchin library there are a surprisingly large number of historical-political sources, as many as 200 titles (eleven per cent). At the very end of the catalogue there are thirty-seven volumes of forbidden books (*Libri prohibiti et haeretici*), which were excluded from the continuous signature series and were assigned a separate group marked by the red letter A (entered into the catalogue as *A rub[rum]*).

Capuchin libraries were created, to a great extent, on the basis of donations,<sup>34</sup> as the Capuchins were otherwise strictly observant of

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<sup>32</sup> *IBID.*, 50. The composition of the individual library collections at Capuchin convents was largely influenced by whether a novitiate or a regular study of philosophy and theology took place there.

<sup>33</sup> KRK, *Catalogus generalis bibliothecae P.P[atrum]. capucinatorum Conventus Raudnicensis. Auctore A[dm]odum. V[enerabili]. P[at]re. Bonifacio t[unc]. t[empore]. praefati conventus vicario ... 1843* (no signature). According to sources, the catalogue continued to be revised and supplemented until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>34</sup> The library collections of other regular orders, for example, the Piarists, were created in the same way. See Metoděj ZEMEK – Jan BOMBERA – Aleš FILIP,

standard rules forbidding the purchase of books.<sup>35</sup> This research indicates that in terms of both quantity<sup>36</sup> and the frequency of donations most gifts came from diocese clergymen,<sup>37</sup> followed by the nobility<sup>38</sup>

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Piaristé v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku 1631–1950 [The Piarists in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, 1631–1950] (Prievidza 1992) 58.

<sup>35</sup> See Marie Markéta of Valdštejn's (1687–1728) donation of 1,000 gold coins, from whose interest rate (50 golden coins per annum) new books were to be obtained for the convent library at Mnichovo Hradiště. Kapucínská provinční knihovna Praha [Prague Capuchin Provincial Library], Manuscripts 405, *Annales Patrum Capucinatorum Provinciae Bohemiae*, tom. XVII, 49 (1722); Cf. Josef Vítězslav ŠIMÁK, Máti kapucínů [The Mother of the Capuchins]. In *Od pravěku k dnešku (sborník prací z dějin československých k šedesátým narozeninám Josefa Pekaře)* [From Antiquity to Today: A Festschrift on the History of Czechoslovakia, Marking Josef Pekař's 60<sup>th</sup> Birthday] (Praha 1930) 163–183, esp. 178.

<sup>36</sup> BAJGER, Knihovny kapucínských klášterů (see footnote 15) 47–48.

<sup>37</sup> Of the dozens of records of book donations from diocese clergymen to Capuchin convents in Brno and Znojmo, collected in Vladislav Dokoupil's research; the vast book asset after Bernard Voscino (d. 1677), a long-time preacher in Kunštát, is a good example. DOKOUPIL, *Dějiny moravských klášterních knihoven* (see footnote 6) 193–223. For other examples of gifts from diocese clergymen for convents in Kolín and Sušice, see JOUZOVÁ, *Kapucínský klášter v Kolíně* (see footnote 8) 24; BOK, *Knihovna kapucínů v Sušici* (see footnote 13) 231; BERNÁTKOVÁ, *Knihovna kapucínského kláštera v Sušici II.* (see footnote 13) 155–160, 164.

<sup>38</sup> For instance, Jan František of Thun (1683–1719), the owner of the Choltice estate, gifted a part of his library in 1719 to the Capuchins in Chrudim, as he was a major supporter. NAP, ŘK, Manuscripts 101, *Memoriale memorabilium seu Liber, in quem omnia, quae in Archivio Monasterii Chrudimensis inventa sunt fideliter translata et ordine suo disposita sunt, Ubi etiam quantum fieri potuit plurrima pro directione Posterorum annotata sunt, quibus pro placito suo uti poterunt*, p. 60.

and burghers.<sup>39</sup> Gifts of books from members of other orders were rather rare.<sup>40</sup>

From the viewpoint of Capuchin history, the topic of gifts of books is important in that it allows a very clear reconstruction of the networks of Capuchin benefactors (*benefactores*). From the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century provenance inscriptions in the book collection of the Capuchin convent at Roudnice nad Labem, we know that the local library was largely supported by local diocese clergymen and nobles of the Lobkowitz family, whose members were patrons of the local convent.

The largest number of books, thirty-nine volumes in total,<sup>41</sup> arrived at the Roudnice Capuchin library from the estate of Kryštof František Sieber (d. 1725), a clergyman in Robeč.<sup>42</sup> A large part of the preacherly library is also made up by a collection of thirteen prints<sup>43</sup> that were re-

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<sup>39</sup> For instance, the library of the burgher family Strialius, whose members were active in České Budějovice and Zatec in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, was donated in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century to the Capuchin convent in Žatec. Part of this collection are books and manuscripts belonging to the famous humanist Jan Strialius of Pomnouch (1535–1582). Marie TOŠNEROVÁ – Miroslava KVVĚTOVÁ, *Paměť měst. Narativní prameny k dějinám Prahy, Českých Budějovic a Litoměřic* [The Memory of Cities. Narrative Sources for the History of Prague, České Budějovice, and Litoměřice] (Praha 2019) 142.

<sup>40</sup> For example, in 1765, the Louka Premonstratensian Siardus Zerhan (born 1737) gifted the Znojmo Capuchins the book Laurentius CHRYSOGONUS, *Mundus Marianus, sive Maria speculum mundi sublunaris* (Augsburg 1712). DOKOUPIL, *Dějiny moravských klášterních knihoven* (see footnote 6) 219.

<sup>41</sup> All books from his legacy bear on the front inside cover the following note: “*Conventui n[ost]ro Raudnicensi Capucínico legavit hunc librum pie defunctus Curatus Robitschensis Christophorus Franciscus Sieber. A[n]no 1725.*” KRK, sign. 178, 193, 195, 372, 376, 431, 435, 465, 466, 468, 472, 492, 523, 551, 557, 558, 563, 659, 669, 671, 696, 714/1, 714/2, 715, 716, 828, 846, 848, 852, 854, and 1047.

<sup>42</sup> Sieber’s name is frequently featured in the registry of baptisms at the church of Robeč: Státní oblastní archiv Litoměřice [State Regional Archive in Litoměřice] [SOAL], *Sbírka matrik severočeského kraje* [Collection of North Bohemian Birth Records] [SMSK], sign. L 98/3.

<sup>43</sup> He usually marked his books with his handwritten *ex libris* “*Franciscus Koraisl*” – KRK, sign. 265, 301, 566, 569, 817, 929, 1189, 1203, 1208, 1209, 1316, 1455, and 1493.

ceived courtesy of František Josef Koraisl, who is recorded in the 1730s as a priest at Minice<sup>44</sup> (today part of the city of Kralupy nad Vltavou). Koraisl's donation was recorded in the Roudnice convent memorial book, thanks to which we know the date of its acceptance (18 June 1739).<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, we have managed to identify a book donation (of ten items)<sup>46</sup> from Jiří Kuntze,<sup>47</sup> who is recorded in 1735 as a minister in Měděnec near Chomutov.<sup>48</sup> A smaller number of books, but significant given their previous owner, were those marked by the *ex libris* of Prague's general vicar and humanist Jiří Bartholus Pontanus of Breitenberg (1550–1614), who donated six volumes.<sup>49</sup> The last notable donation was the five volumes<sup>50</sup> courtesy of Doksy minister Jiří Stanislav Gärtner and his vicar Baltazar Antonín Ziegler, which were originally received in 1680–1681 as a personal gift from a member of the local convent, Makarius of České Budějovice (d. 1717).

As regards their content, the fragments of these libraries are no exception to the usual composition of convent libraries,<sup>51</sup> as the books found

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<sup>44</sup> His name appears in the Minice birth, marriage and funeral registry from 1736–1777, which he also founded. Státní oblastní archiv Praha [State Regional Prague Archive], Sbíрка matrik Středočeského kraje [Collection of Central Bohemian Registers], sign. M 9–6/3.

<sup>45</sup> Lobkowiczské sbírky Nelahozeves [The Lobkowicz Collection at Nelahozeves] [LSN], Rodinný archiv Lobkoviců, Roudnice nad Labem [Archive of the Lobkowicz Family] [LRRRA], sign. R5/25a, *Protocollum Conventus Roudnicensis*, p. 89.

<sup>46</sup> The front inside covers of the books are marked as follows: “*Conventui Nostro Raudnicensi Legavit pie defunctus V[enerabilis]: D[ominus]: Georgius Kuntz Curatus Kupferbergensis A[nno] 1736.*” KRK, sign. 508, 657, 667, 686, 691, 778, 797, 880, 1219, and 1454.

<sup>47</sup> His book legacy was accepted by the Roudnice Capuchins on 20 January 1736. *Protocollum Conventus Roudnicensis* (see footnote 44), p. 57.

<sup>48</sup> SOAL, SMSK, sign. L 98/3, p. 66.

<sup>49</sup> These books, or at least two of them, were originally donated to the Capuchin convent at Prague Hradčany, from where it arrived at Roudnice nad Labem – KRK, sign. 66, 179, 451, 1202, and 1281/1–2.

<sup>50</sup> KRK, sign. 194, 370, 456, 490/1, and 490/3.

<sup>51</sup> Marie RYANTOVÁ, *Knihovny světských duchovních arcidiecéze pražské na konci 17. a počátku 18. století* [The Libraries of the Clergymen of Prague

here fall particularly into the homiletic category, and, to a lesser extent, into pastoral theology, scholastic philosophy and ecclesiastical law. The titles were published between the second half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century. The only exception is the sermon incunabulum from 1496,<sup>52</sup> originally owned by K. F. Sieber. A noteworthy curiosity is a book from J. Kuntze's estate entitled *Gründlicher Bericht (...)*,<sup>53</sup> whose author was František Haselbauer (1677–1756), a Jesuit and important Hebraist at Prague University. The book is printed with Hebrew typescript in Yiddish and was designed for missionary work with the Jewish population.

Apart from donations from diocese clergymen, the other important source that most helped to enlarge the Capuchin library in Roudnice nad Labem were gifts of books from the noble family of Lobkowicz, who were funders and benefactors of the local convent. In particular, the records document the gift of two books<sup>54</sup> from Polyxena of Lobkowicz (1566–1642),<sup>55</sup> fifteen

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Archdiocese in the Late 17<sup>th</sup> and Early 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries]. In J. Radimská (ed.), *K výzkumu* (see footnote 5) 239–254.

<sup>52</sup> Pierre DE LA PALUD, *Sermones Thesauri novi de sanctis* (Nürnberg 1494) – KRK, sign. 46.

<sup>53</sup> FRANZ HASELBAUER, *Gründlicher Bericht von dem Christenthum Erster Theil. Was die Christen glauben und nicht glauben. Allen Kindern Israel zur Erkantnus der Wahrheit in Jüdisch-Deutscher Sprach vorgetragen* (Praha 1720) – KRK, sign. 2019.

<sup>54</sup> “*Loci Raudnicens[is] Capucinatoru[m] Anno 1622 Comparatus Sumptibus Illust[rissi]mae D[omi]nae Polixenae a Pernstein Lobkovici[an]ae Cancellariae Regni Bohemiae*” – KRK sign. 88, 92.

<sup>55</sup> It was by virtue of Polyxena of Lobkowitz that the Roudnice library acquired part of the book collection (a total of 38 volumes identified) of Ladislav Zejdlic of Schönfeld (1566–1632), whose confiscated estate of Encovany she bought together with its extensive library in 1623. In the preserved 1624 inventory list of his library, we even find the note, “*Inventario delle Case del Federico Grison [?] I libri furono dati a Cappucini de Raudnitz. 31. decembris A[nn]o 1624*” – LSN, LRR, sign. G 17/96, f. 34v. This inventory also informs us that a part of his books was acquired by the Capuchin library at Most. “*R[everen]dissimis P[at]ribus Capucinis Pontum [con]cessi sunt libri infra scripti.*” *Ibid.*, f. 30r. The fragment of Ladislav Zejdlic of Schönfeld is also interesting in that the majority

volumes<sup>56</sup> from Václav Eusebius of Lobkowitz (1609–1677), and eleven titles<sup>57</sup> from Filip Hyacinth of Lobkowitz (1680–1734). Again, the vast majority of works donated are various printed sermons, the exceptions were only various editions of the Bible and the collected works of St. Augustine in the edition of the Benedictine Congregation of St. Maur published in Antwerp in 1700.<sup>58</sup>

In conclusion, during the golden age of their activities in the Czech lands, i.e. the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Capuchin order devoted a great deal of care to their convent libraries, as testified by the issuance of numerous normative regulations governing the management of them and also by the dozens of preserved catalogues of individual libraries. When we study them, we learn that Capuchins managed to accrue tens of thousands of books and that the largest part of their book collections was made up of homiletic literature, which was related to the order's great emphasis on preaching activity. It can be concluded from the early modern provenance inscriptions found in the Capuchin book collections that the Capuchins managed to amass such a great number of titles particularly by virtue of the generosity of diocese clergymen. These donors did not perceive the order as simply competition, taking away their parishioners and depriving them of surplice fees.<sup>59</sup> Their gifts of books, which were not necessarily mere acts of devotion,<sup>60</sup> were also

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of its titles do not concern religious literature, but are mostly works by ancient authors. For more detail on this library fragment, see ŠÍPEK, *Die Bücher von Ladislaus Seydlitz von Schönfeld* (see footnote 11).

<sup>56</sup> KRK, sign. 368, 374, 375, 379, 381, 509, 512, 515, 525, 531, 490/1, and 720/1–4.

<sup>57</sup> KRK, sign. 70, 73, 74, 75, 77, 197, 401, 502/1–2, 830, and 1020.

<sup>58</sup> Aurelius AUGUSTINUS, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi Opera*, tom. I, III, IV, VI, VIII, X. (Antwerpen 1700) – KRK, sign. 401.

<sup>59</sup> In the period under scrutiny, diocesan clergymen were, among other things, often also Capuchin tertiaries. BRČÁK, *Kapuziner und Stadt* (see footnote 2) 235–237.

<sup>60</sup> IDEM, *Kapucíni jako zprostředkovatelé barokní caritas* [The Capuchins as Recipients and Mediators of Baroque Caritas]. In: *Opera historica* 20/2 (2019) 189–206, esp. 193.

expressions of fondness and gratitude towards the order for their practical help in spiritual management.<sup>61</sup>

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**The Libraries of Capuchin Convents in the Czech Lands during the Baroque Period**  
**Marek Brčák and Richard Šípek**

In the Baroque period, Czech Capuchins devoted a great deal of care to their convent libraries, where they amassed tens of thousands of volumes. This is documented particularly by the serial publication of normative rules governing the management of their libraries. The largest part of the archive groups of books of the Capuchin convent libraries was comprised homiletic literature, which related to the order's focus on preaching activity. The early-modern provenance inscriptions found in the Capuchin collections (this particular study focused on the book collection of the Capuchin library in Roudnice) indicate that the Capuchins managed to amass such large quantities of books through donations from diocesan clergymen in particular. It can be concluded that these clergymen did not perceive the order as simply competition, insofar as vying for their followers. Their book donations were surely an expression of their gratitude to the order for their practical help in pastoral administration.

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**Die Bibliotheken der Kapuzinerkonvente in den böhmischen Ländern der Barockzeit**  
**Marek Brčák und Richard Šípek**

Die böhmischen Kapuzinermonche der Barockzeit kümmerten sich um ihre Klosterbibliotheken, in denen sie Zehntausende Buchtitel sammelten, mit entsprechender Sorgfalt. Dies kann man nämlich anhand der Aufstellung einer ganzen Reihe von normativen Vorschriften belegen, die ihre Verwaltung regulierten. Den Kern der Buchbestände der Kapuzinerklosterbibliotheken stellte die homiletische Literatur dar, dies lag an

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<sup>61</sup> IDEM, Kapuziner und Stadt (see footnote 2) 217–218.



der Orientierung des Ordens auf die Predigertätigkeit. Aus den frühneuzeitlichen Provenienzzuschreibungen (im Rahmen der Studie wurde vor allem dem Bestand der Bibliothek der Kapuziner in Roudnice/Raudnitz das Hauptaugenmerk geschenkt), die in den Kapuzinerbuchsammlungen vorkommen, geht hervor, dass die Kapuziner eine große Menge von Büchern vor allem aufgrund von Schenkungen von Diözesanpriestern erhielten. Diese nahmen somit den Orden nicht immer als Konkurrenz wahr, die ihnen die Gläubigen abtrünnig machte. Ihre Buchschenkungen waren ganz bestimmt auch eine Ausdrucksform von Dankbarkeit dem Orden gegenüber für die Hilfe der Ordensbrüder in der Pfarrverwaltung.

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### **Knihovny kapucínských konventů v českých zemích v barokním období** **Marek Brčák – Richard Šípek**

Čeští kapucíni se v době baroka o své klášterní knihovny, v rámci nichž shromáždili desetitisíce titulů, pečlivě starali. To lze doložit zejména vydáním řady normativních předpisů, které upravovaly jejich správu. Jádrem knižních fondů kapucínských konventních knihoven tvořila homiletická literatura, což bylo dáno zaměřením řádu na kazatelskou činnost. Z raně novověkých provenienčních přípisů (v rámci studie byl zkoumán zejména fond knihovny roudnických kapucínů), které se vyskytují v kapucínských knižních sbírkách, vyplývá, že se kapucínům tak velké množství knih podařilo získat především díky donacím diecézních kněží. Ti tedy řád nevnímali vždy jen jako svou konkurenci, která jim odvádí věřící, ale jejich knižní dary byly jistě rovněž projevem vděčnosti vůči řádu za praktickou pomoc řeholníků v duchovní správě.

# The Library of the Brno Ursuline Convent

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## Introduction

The Ursuline Convent in Brno was established during the Josephine reforms in 1782 on the site of the abolished Franciscan convent, whose history dated back as far as 1484. Then, the widow of a Brno goldsmith, Markéta Goldschidt, joined the Franciscan order and, with the help of the Franciscan provincial Pavel from Moravia, laid the foundations for the Franciscan convent; which had formerly been situated in front of the town walls, near the Jewish Gate. The battles and Swedish siege of Brno during the Thirty Years' War resulted in the original Franciscan convent being torn down and the order's sisters being moved outside the town walls, where an extensive convent complex with St. Joseph's Church was built during the 1650s and 1660s on what is now Josefská and Orlí streets.<sup>1</sup> The original Franciscan community, which in the seventeenth century consisted of twelve orders, expanded during the eigh-

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<sup>1</sup> For more about the history of the Brno Franciscans and the convent complex, see Jiří KROUPA, *Dějiny Brna, Uměleckohistorické památky, historické jádro* [A History of the City of Brno: Monuments of Art, Historical Centre] (Brno 2015), vol. 7, 360–362; Bohumil SAMEK, *Umělecké památky Moravy a Slezska* [Monuments of Art in Moravia and Silesia] (Praha 1994), vol. 1 (A–I),

teenth century. By the time the convent was abolished by the imperial decree of 12 January 1782, excluding the mother superior, Bonaventura Tomerin, there were twenty-three choir sisters aged 26–64, six lay sisters aged 32–64, and five novices.<sup>2</sup>

After the convent was abolished during the Josephine reforms, it was to be taken over as soon as possible and a decision was to be made on the fate of the convent buildings, estates, as well as that of the entire community. It was decided that a new convent would be founded on the old site of the Franciscan convent, which would be in line with Josephine ideals. Before the convent was taken over, records of its assets had to be drawn up, which were to become part of the religious fund. The court commission arrived at the convent on 18 January 1782 at 9 o'clock in the morning; headed by the commissioner and governor's council, Johann Franz von Beer, between 18 and 25 January, it carried out an inventory of all the convent's assets. Assets included movable and immovable property belonging not only to the convent, but also to St. Joseph's Church. The commission not only recorded all of the assets, income, and expenses of the convent and St. Joseph's Church, but also took note of the obligations and spiritual services which were still to be carried out.<sup>3</sup> Thanks to the preserved evidence report compiled by the commission, we can gain an idea of not only the property and assets of the original Franciscan convent, but also of how it was managed, how it had worked up until then, and the daily routine of the community. The convent's main income came from the revenues of its estates in Tuřany and Židlochovice, as well as receiving rent from several farms. We should also mention the generous church and secular donations, which included, for example, the foundation of Cardinal Dietrichstein

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207–208; Dušan FOLTÝN, *Encyklopedie moravských a slezských klášterů* [An Encyclopaedia of Moravian and Silesian Monasteries] (Praha 2005) 190–191.

<sup>2</sup> Moravský zemský archiv v Brně [Moravian Provincial Archives in Brno], B2 Gubernium collection – ecclesiastical department [MZA, B2], card 76, sig. K 20/23, ff. 8–9.

<sup>3</sup> MZA, B2, card 76, sig. K 20/23, ff. 13–155.

and pledges in Náměšť nad Oslavou and Kunštát.<sup>4</sup> In 1756, the convent had 156,733 gold pieces in its coffers and its annual income amounted to 8,905 gold pieces.<sup>5</sup> These assets, as well as the revenues from rent and St. Joseph's Church, were made part of the religious fund, which in the future was to be used to cover necessary expenses associated with the running of the convent and St. Joseph's Church – the pay for the chaplain, the spiritual administrator, and remuneration for the order's sisters, which was initially set at 200 gold pieces for order sisters and 150 gold pieces for lay sisters.<sup>6</sup>

From the basis of an imperial decision on 12 January 1782, the former Franciscan nuns were offered secularisation or conversion to the Elizabethans or Ursulines, whose activities were supported by Joseph II and confirmed by a court decree on 30 April 1782.<sup>7</sup> The Franciscan nuns were to remain in the convent while a decision about their fate would be taken no later than by May. During that time, they were to be paid rent of 30 groschen per day from the religious fund, as well as money to cover the necessary costs of running the convent complex and St. Joseph's Church. The nuns were also to fulfil obligations associated with the operation of the convent and spiritual administration, as well as tasks relating to the convent legacy – holding funeral masses, decorating St. Joseph's Church, and making candles. Spiritual administration was the task of two ex-Jesuits, the priest Anton Prosser and the chaplain Lorenz Matz; although they had worked with the convent before, they were fully replaced by Franciscans, who had been in charge of

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<sup>4</sup> Diecézní archiv, Brněnské biskupství [Diocesan Archives of the Bishopric of Brno], Episcopale Consistorium [DABB, BK], card 921, inv. no. 3227, sig. B9, ff. 150–154.

<sup>5</sup> MZA, B2, card 76, sig. K 20/23. Tomáš V. BÍLEK, *Statky a jmění kolejí jezuitských, klášterů, kostelů, bratrstev a jiných ústavů v království Českém od císaře Josefa II. zrušených* [Property of Jesuit Colleges, Monasteries, Churches, Brotherhoods dissolved by Joseph II] (Praha 1893) 335.

<sup>6</sup> MZA, B2, card 76, sig. K 20/23.; DABB, BK, card 920, inv. no. 3227, sig. B9, ff. 91–98.

<sup>7</sup> DABB, BK, inv. no. 3227, sig. B9, card 920, ff. 179–180.

the spiritual administration of the Franciscan convent until then, after 1782. In 1783, the spiritual management of the Ursulines was entrusted to the nearby Minorites and Anton Prosser became the administrator of St. Joseph's Church.<sup>8</sup>

As the town council expressed its opposition to the establishment of an Elizabethan convent in the town itself, it was decided that the former Franciscan convent would be converted to an Ursuline convent. Although the Franciscan Order had previously considered joining the Elizabethans in February, which was also recorded in the court commission's report, the older nuns decided to stay at the St. Joseph's convent, convert to the Order of Saint Ursula,<sup>9</sup> and also accept a new mission, the main task of which was the education of Christian girls. A total of seventeen order sisters and four lay sisters converted to the Ursulines which, on 2 May 1782, was reported by the former mother superior of the Franciscan convent, Marie Bonaventura Thomerin, to the episcopal consistory; the order's nuns signed a deed to confirm the fact. The deed also contained a request for a dispensation from the perpetual vows they had sworn as members of the Franciscan Order, which was granted to them by Bishop Matyáš Chorinský.<sup>10</sup> In 1783, following a decision taken by the court commission, the number of nuns was reduced to twelve (eighteen order and two lay sisters)<sup>11</sup> and this large community also worked in the convent during the nineteenth century, when an order of lay workers was added, which helped the nuns with the running of the convent and the Ursuline institute.

Two Ursulines from the only Ursuline convent in Moravia, which had existed in Olomouc since 1697, were summoned to Brno on behalf of the episcopal consistory and the court chamber. The Olomouc Mother Superior, Marie Aloisie, chose her own nun, Stanislava von Johannes Sarkander, who became the first Mother Superior of the Brno Ursuline

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<sup>8</sup> MZA, B2, card 33, sig. 13.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 56–57.

<sup>10</sup> DABB, BK, card 728, inv. no. 5083, sig. V 13/28, ff. 1–4, 183–191.

<sup>11</sup> DABB, BK, card 920, inv. no. 3227, sig. B9, ff. 91–99.

convent; Anna Angela von der Himmelfahrt Maria, who was to supervise the running and management of the convent, was also entrusted with managing the school and teaching the girls and the Ursulines.<sup>12</sup> The Olomouc Ursulines arrived in Brno in the evening of 16 July 1782 and soon took over the running of the convent. Their task was to keep the spiritual and economic sides of the convent running and to ensure the community's smooth transition to the Order of Saint Ursuline. Other important tasks of the new Ursulines were the establishment of a school and Ursuline guest house, as well as supervising the teaching and spiritual guidance of new Ursulines and girls visiting the school, which was opened at the convent on 4 November 1782. The newly established Ursuline institute was to provide classes for up to 130 girls and was intended primarily for pupils from Brno and the surrounding region, with preference shown to the daughters of soldiers and state officials. The girls at the Ursuline institute were to be schooled beyond the basics of reading, writing, grammar, and arithmetic (trivium) while, unlike classes in normal schools, the lessons were to have a practical focus; according to the Order of Saint Ursuline, the girls needed to be brought up as proper wives or proper nuns. Lessons therefore included conversation and language training, with handiwork and care for the sick playing an important role.<sup>13</sup> In formal terms, the Ursuline school was a private and confessional school, whose teaching was based on the regulations of the Theresian school reforms for convent schools from 30 October 1775. The school and the guest house, in which the girls stayed, ate, and spent all their time in, were situated in the convent building near the enclosed religious orders. Marie Angela was entrusted with the management of

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<sup>12</sup> Marie Stanislava von Johannes Sarkander Miloučková, née from Gnadenthal, was the mother superior of the Brno Ursuline convent until her death in 1809. The second Ursuline to be sent to Brno was Anna Angela von der Maria Himmelfahrt, née Theis.

<sup>13</sup> DABB, BK, card 728, inv. no. 5083, sig. V 13/28, ff. 170.

the school; she was also in charge of teaching new Ursulines. Besides Sister Marie Angela, other choir sisters also gradually started to teach.<sup>14</sup>

## Library

The Brno Ursulines swore their solemn vows on 9 September 1782, and it is from that date that the convent can be considered fully operational, with the Ursuline institute subsequently being built and a school established. This was another reason why there was a need to provide sufficient spiritual, secular, and professional literature for not only for the new nuns, but also for the school's pupils. Therefore, work soon commenced on the construction of a library to accompany the convent and the school. The Ursuline library was based on the original Franciscan library, which was systematically added to and greatly expanded by the Ursulines during the eighteenth to twentieth century. Like the archive containing all the sources and deeds on the convent's history, the small Franciscan library was situated in an unspecified room in the enclosed religious orders. There were also books in the refectory, where they were prepared for recitals during meals. Unfortunately, the original inventory of the Franciscan library has not been preserved and there are doubts over whether it actually existed. The first preserved list of titles in the Franciscan library appears in the eighteenth century, when the books were recorded during an inventory of the convent taken upon its abolishment in 1782. The court commission that visited the convent on 18–25 January 1782 compiled a list of 131 books stored in the convent, as well as several publications situated in the refectory. Unfortunately, the list of books that made up the inventory form has not been preserved in its entirety; several books are missing from the refectory,

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<sup>14</sup> From the beginning Sister Marie Angela was assisted by sister Nepomucena Albertin, who was more in charge of ancillary work and teaching the youngest pupils; other nuns also gradually joined in, teaching practical subjects or trivium. DABB, BK, card 920, inv. no. 3227, sig. B9.

where only eleven volumes are recorded.<sup>15</sup> *Inventarium Uber die, in dem aufgehobenen Jungfräulichen Franciscanerinen Kloster ad St. Josephum in Brünn vorgefunden Bücher* contains a mere 142 works, which are listed here with just a brief, often merely summary title.<sup>16</sup> Details of the size of the books situated outside the refectory were then added. Although, thanks to this, we learn that the 131 publications included twenty volumes in folio size, three books in small folio size, fifty-two in quarto format, three in large quarto size, three small quartos, four volumes in large octavo, thirty-six octavos, eight volumes of small octavo format and five smaller sextodecimo books; yet the summary names of the works with no author specified makes it difficult to identify them. Despite the fact that the list is written in German, we may not assume that all the publications in the Franciscan convent were in German. This theory is also supported by specimens containing titles written in German and also in Latin. Other shortcomings of the brief inventory include the fact that it does not differentiate between the prints and manuscript books situated in the convent at that time. The commission also did not consider it important to note any details of the impressum, the form of binding, or any other information about particular titles.

The folio-sized publications comprehend in the governor's list include: The Bible (containing both Testaments), liturgical books (a missal and antiphony), German sermons on the suffering of Christ, exempla and Christological literature, the order and life of St. Francis and the Franciscan Order. The books in quarto format, which appear most frequently in the collection, included: hagiography, literature on Christ and the Virgin Mary, and martyrologies. Hagiographic works mainly comprised the lives of saintly women and girls (e.g. St. Catherine, St. Teresa, St. Ursula, and Mary Magdalene), as well as Franciscan literature, which was dominated by the lives and works of St. Francis of Assisi, St. Francis of Paula, and St. Francis de Sales. Other publications

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<sup>15</sup> Originally, the inventory consisted of two parts, of which the second, listing books located in the refectory, is missing.

<sup>16</sup> MZA, B2, card 76, sig. K 20/23, ff. 91–92.



held in the Franciscan library included the collected writings of Thomas à Kempis, Jesuit literature, catechisms, postils, spiritual exercises and spiritual literature, prayer books and festive, and Sunday sermons. Brno is associated with one work in the collection that has not been preserved, *Beschreibung des Gnaden Bild bey St. Thomas in Brünn*, while the publications of their order and teachings on the management of the convent are associated directly with the Brno Franciscans. Publications on a similar theme that we have come across in quarto form could also be found amongst the octavos. The five sextodecimos included spiritual exercises and meditations, reflections on eternity, how to lead a good life, and treatises on the suffering of the Egyptians. From the incomplete inventory of books located in the refectory, we learn that the nuns had, for example, gospels for the whole year, four works of the lives of the saints, martyrologies, sacramentaries, and works on the suffering of Christ.

Aside from the aforementioned governor's list, a catalogue of the original Franciscan library was also drawn up by Johann Hanke of Hankenstein during the 1780s. Additionally, Hanke was commissioned to review the Moravian convent libraries on 6 January 1785. Johann Hanke von Hankenstein visited what was by then the Ursuline convent on 9–14 July 1789.<sup>17</sup> He marked his visit to the library in his accounting journal as “Anecdoten” and described it as follows:

“The Mother Superior was very courteous to me, but she stayed with me for the whole of the time I was conducting my review, prob-

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<sup>17</sup> In his review study devoted to the monasteries, convents and their libraries in Moravia and Silesia abolished during the Josephine reforms, Antonín Rybička mentions the size of the collection as recorded by Johann Hanke of Hankenstein during his visit to the Ursuline convent in Brno: “*The library of the Nuns at St. Joseph’s in Brno, from 10 to 13 July [1789] ... 153 books.*” Antonín RYBIČKA, *Přehled knihoven zrušených na Moravě a ve Slezsku, které Jan Hanke z Hankenštejna, bibliothekář Olomoucký, z nevyššího rozkazu v letech 1786–1790 prohlédl a sepsal [A Survey of the Abolished Libraries in Moravia and Silesia written by Olomouc Librarian J. Hanke of H. in 1786–1790]*. In: *Časopis Matice Moravské* 19 (1895) 65.

ably to prevent me from visiting the beautiful young nuns. I found her to be a very wise, humble and friendly lady. [On] 14 July, when I passed on Wust to the Jews in the convent, the nuns [screamed] that a Jew had desecrated their holy place. The Mother Superior had to come and calm down the distraught community.”<sup>18</sup>

Hanke’s inventory had unfortunately not been preserved in the Olomouc library archive. But, as the library did not contain multiplicities and the theological, liturgical and spiritual works it held were also used in the life of the Ursulines, the library as a whole was left in place and served as the basis for the Ursuline library. The only books that Hanke removed from the library during his visit were several inappropriate and, in his view, unnecessary prints deemed “Wust” (trash). There is also nothing to indicate that the collection of the Franciscan library included rare manuscripts or books worthy of greater attention that deserved to be sent to the court library in Vienna. The only rare volume mentioned in the governor’s list is a now-missing theological treatise, to which the Franciscan Order was bound, of historical value particularly to the convent. “*Schöne sehr Geist. Tugenden, ob den ersten Blath aber eine Anmerkung enthaltend Erste Regln, so 1525 ein erster Closter Von der Stadt ist gehalten und gebraucht worden – klein folio.*”<sup>19</sup>

As Hanke’s inventory, which probably included the 153 books listed by Antonín Rybička, has not been preserved, we have to base our assumptions solely on the aforementioned brief governor’s list when identifying the works from the original Franciscan library; of which records a total of 142 books and the provenance of the notes that appear in the prints. Despite this fragmentary information, a number of volumes from the Franciscan library have been identified in the collection of the Ursuline

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<sup>18</sup> Jiří GLONEK, Jan Nepomuk Alois Hanke z Hankenštejna a role Lyceijní knihovny v Olomouci při rušení klášterních knihoven na Moravě a ve Slezsku [J. N. A. Hanke of H. and a Role of the Lyceum Library in Olomouc at the time of Closing Down of Monastic Libraries in Moravia and Silesia] In *Chrám věd a múz: dějiny Vědecké knihovny v Olomouci* [A Temple of the Sciences and the Muses: A History of the Olomouc Research Library] (Olomouc 2016) 94.

<sup>19</sup> MZA, B2, card 76, sig. K 20/23, f. 91v.

library, which nowadays contains a total of 4,231 volumes from the sixteenth to twentieth centuries.<sup>20</sup> It should be pointed out that the preserved collection is merely a part of the original Ursuline library, which also included books formerly belonging to the Ursuline institute and the girls' school, as corroborated by manuscript notes or stamps in the publications.<sup>21</sup> The oldest volume from the original Franciscan library, and now lodged with the Ursuline library, is the liturgical handbook *Geistliche Practica* from 1588.<sup>22</sup> Although this publication is not mentioned in the governor's list, there is no doubt that this is one of the books owned by the Franciscan nuns, as is also proven by the manuscript provenance note on the title page, which reads *In die gemein zu St. Joseph in Brun*. We may assume that the Franciscan convent made its own larger book acquisitions in the second half of the seventeenth century when the convent was not only moved outside the town walls, but also gained a generous supporter and donor in the figure of Cardinal Franciscus of Dietrichstein and other members of the Dietrichstein family – who became patrons of the convent. Proof that the convent was in a good financial situation can also be seen in the grand construction of the convent complex with St. Joseph's Church on what is now Josefská and Orlí streets, which was carried out in 1650–1658.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> For more on the collection, see Lucie HEILANDOVÁ, *Knihovna kláštera brněnských voršilek, nový deponát ve fondu Moravské zemské knihovny v Brně* [The Library of the Ursulines Monastery, the New Deposit in Moravian Library in Brno] In: *Bibliotheca Antiqua 2019*. Proceedings from the 28th conference on 13–14 November 2019 (Olomouc 2019) 110–117.

<sup>21</sup> The books contain stamps: KLOSTERBÜCHEREI DER URSULINEN IN BRÜNN; Lehrerinnen-Bücherei der Ursulinen in Brünn; URSULINEN-MÄDCHENSCHULE IN BRÜNN; PENSIONAT der URSULINEN in BRÜNN and KAISER FRANZ JOSEF MÄDCHEN SCHULE BRÜNN.

<sup>22</sup> Nicolaus SPHONDRATUS, *Geistliche Practica, Das ist Gottseliger Bericht, in Personen einer Dienerin Gottes...* (Praha 1588).

<sup>23</sup> MZA, collection E 66 Voršilky Brno, card 6, sig. 18, f. 1; Karel KUČA, *Brno. Vývoj města, předměstí a připojených vesnic* [The City of Brno: a Development of the City, Suburbs and Attached Hamlets] (Praha–Brno 2000) 292.

In the second half of the seventeenth century, a library was also built together with the Franciscan convent; although the library was never very large and had to be greatly expanded upon by the Ursulines. The present-day collection of the Ursuline library contains a hundred books from the seventeenth century, predominantly liturgical books, spiritual exercises and holy conversations, catechisms and educational manuals, prayer books, and theological and hagiographic literature. The prints from the eighteenth century, of which there are now around 450 in the collection, are on similar themes. Many of the publications issued in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries now lodged with the Ursuline library show that the Ursulines systematically extended the Franciscan library, not only with the addition of new titles, but also through the purchase of older prints which they needed for their spiritual development and for classes at the girls' school. The works printed during the seventeenth century that have been identified from the original Franciscan library, and which are also stated in the governor's list, include the order of the Brno Franciscans Bernard Sannig, *Regeln, Deß Jungfräulichen Klosters St. Josephs in Brünn, deß dritten Ordens S. Francisci der Büsserin genant* (Praha, 1677), as well as a number of liturgical and theological works and spiritual literature. Works worth mentioning include: Georgius Reeb, *Christlicher Weißheit Regel, Antrib, Mittel, vnd ausserlesnere Exempel* (Ingolstadt, 1642); *Himmels-Cron, Das ist: Gantz andächtige Gebett, zu allen lieben Heiligen Gottes* (München, 1668); *Betrachtungen deß Heil. PETRI DE ALCANTARA, Ordens S. Francisci der Reform* (Glutz, 1686); *EXERCITIA SPIRITUALIA: Das ist: Geistliche Ubungen Deß heiligen IGNATII LOJOLAE* (Innsbruck, 1667), and Fabio Ambrosio Spinola, *Heiliger Jahrs Calender Das ist Betrachtungen Uber das Leben und Lehr unsers Herren JESU CHRISTI* (Würzburg, 1694) with the manuscript note: *Pro Con: S. Josephi Brunae*. Also published in the seventeenth century was Michael Denck's work *Nagender Wurm, Eines Bösen Gewissen: Oder Einhaimischer Plagteuffel eines Gottlosen Menschen...* (Wien, 1642), which is one of the prints not specified in the governor's list, clearly demonstrating that the commission did not

record all of the books. The fact that the book belonged to the Brno Franciscans is proven not only by the contents page, but also by the manuscript provenance note *Convent zu St. Joseph in Brun gehorig*. The oldest manuscripts, *Gottliebende Begirden Auß Unterschidlichen Geist. Reichen Sprüchen Gericht Auf Alle Seegen der octaven corporis Christi und MARIAE Empfängnuß* of 1683, also come from the Franciscan convent. Manuscripts appear in the collection in greater numbers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, written by the Brno Franciscan nuns and later by the Ursulines, that include prayer books, spiritual exercises and reflections or spiritual songs, sheet music, and copies of songs.<sup>24</sup>

Prints from what was originally the Franciscan library are to be found in the works issued in the eighteenth century. Once again, several of them can be identified in the governor's list, including, for example, the eight-volume work entitled *Dess Himmlischen Phönix-Nests...* (Wien, 1716–1751); Tobias Soltner, *Erklärung Uber die Regel des H. Augustini Auff die Constitutionen der Geistlichen Jungfrauen der Heil. URSULA* (Wien, 1711); Fridericus Mibes, *Dreyfaches Ordens-Band* (Köln, 1710). Certain original Franciscan publications contain manuscript provenance notes or manuscript inscriptions, as in the case of the work *Geheime Lehr-Stücklein* (Augsburg – Dillingen, 1735), where on the end-sheet we can read a schedule with a list of prayers and daily tasks. We find a manuscript note on the dedication of *Dieses Buch bekomme von meinen Geistlichen Vatter den Herren Rath. Johnas Ottoniell 1741* in the work of Maximilian Wietrowski, *Lehrreiche Weis und Art Ein Stilles und ruhiges Leben in einem Closter zu führen...* (Augsburg, 1739) and the manuscript provenance *In die gemein zu St Joseph in Brünn in Stephan*

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<sup>24</sup> Manuscripts include, for example, *Tisch Seegen Vor dem Mittagessen fangt die segnende an.; Geistliches Vergiß nicht Mein. Darinnen durch verschiedene Andachten eine Gottliebende Seel ihres Heyls wird erinnert, und Zur Beforderung desselben verhoffen, zusammengetragen. Anno 1752; OratIones In aeDe Joseph- Ina De Cantarl soLItae, In AvgVsto pro pIentI VsV DesCrIptae* (1779); *Gebetbuch einer Ursuline* from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century; *Gewöhnliche Ordensgebete* (1798).

Christ, *THEOLOGIA MYSTICA Oder geheime Gottes-Kunst...* (Wien, 1741). Although the books from the Franciscan library do not give a unified impression, and tend to comprise a fairly diverse range of bindings, the Franciscans wanted to make the library more consistent at the beginning of the eighteenth century – as exemplified by the work bound in cowhide, decorated with a gilded blind supralibros, with a portrait medallion of St. Joseph featuring a motto with the name of the church's patron saint and the date *S. IOSEPH 1716*.<sup>25</sup>

Although the original collection of the Franciscan library formed the basis of the newly-built library of the Ursulines, as it was entirely inadequate for the needs of the Ursulines, older and currently published works had to be systematically added right from the start. The works that came out in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries thus include volumes added to the library collection after 1782 and thereby acquisitions of the Ursulines – who also purchased older yet still topical literature that in many cases they managed to buy cheaply from collections of books originally belonging to the Jesuit Order or the abolished convents in Moravia. This means that the collection of the Ursuline library includes, for example, prints that come from the library of the Olomouc Jesuits,<sup>26</sup> which were acquired by the convent's new mother superior Marie Stanislava von Johannes Sarkander and brought to Brno from Olomouc by the Olomouc Ursulines. In most cases, these were the lives of saints and hagiographic works, catechisms and other religious literature that could be used for the spiritual education of the nuns and pupils of the Ursuline institute. One work from the collection of the Olomouc Jesuit library is *Zehn-Tägige Geistliche Einöde...* (Köln, 1723), which features not only the provenance note *Coll. S: Jesu Olom: Pro Bibliotheca Pres. Spiritualis*, but also the ownership note of

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<sup>25</sup> *MISSALE NOVUM ROMANUM MORAVICUM...* (Olomouc – Brno 1712).

<sup>26</sup> The Jesuit provenance of the note *Collegij Soc: Jesu Olomucij Cubiculi Pat: Praefecti s Spiritus 1759* can be found, for instance, in the work entitled *Via Compendii ad Perfectionem Statui Religioso...* (Augsburg 1757).

the convent mother superior *Mater Maria Stanislaa Von St. Johannes Sarcander*. Other works assumed to have been purchased by Marie Stanislava include, for example, Johann Crasset, *Seelen-Außzug Auß der Egyptischen Dienstbarkeit der Sünd und Laster, In das Welobte Land...* (München, 1710) and the work of Carolo Ambrosio Cattaneo, *Ewige Grund-Sätze In unterschiedliche eistliche Lesungen* (Olomouc, 1742). We should also mention the three-volume spiritual exercise *PRIMA-TER-TIA CLASSIS EXERCITIORVM, Das ist: Erster-Dritter Thail Der geistlichen Ubungen...* (München, 1677), bound in leather with a gilded supralibros, consisting of the initials *B.V.D.A.K.T. 1730* and an abbot's crozier, which enables us to identify their original owner – the abbess of the Tišnov convent Benigna of Deblín. These books were purchased by Marie Stanislava as the mother superior of the Brno Ursuline convent, proof of which can also be seen in the manuscript provenance of the note *Mater Maria Stanislaa Oberin* located on the front end-sheets. The Brno Ursulines expanded the library particularly by the addition of publications from what were originally Brno institutions. The Ursuline library collection thus came to include volumes from the Brno Jesuits,<sup>27</sup> the Carthusians from Královo Pole,<sup>28</sup> the Brno Franciscans, Dominican friars<sup>29</sup> and Dominican nuns.<sup>30</sup> Works in the collection

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<sup>27</sup> A great number of books originally owned by the Brno Jesuits are marked with the Jesuit emblem or a manuscript exlibris, e.g. *Collegii SJ Brunae pro cubiculo Praefecti spiritus; Collegii et Domus Prob: S. J. Brunae 1715 Pro Cubiculo P. Spiritualis* or *Collegij et Domiis Probationis Soc. JESU Brunae 1689*.

<sup>28</sup> Books originally owned by the Carthusians are often dated with the manuscript exlibris *Cartusiae Brunensis Anno 1743*, as in the case of the work of Columbanus HABISREUTTINGER, *Etwas für Alle In sich enthaltend unterschiedliche Zweiffels-Sachen* (Augsburg 1742).

<sup>29</sup> The provenance of *Conventus Brunae F. F. O. Praed: ad S. Mich:* can be found, for example, in the work of Peter CANISIUS, *Fragstück Uber den Catechismus deß hochgelehrten Herrn* (Passau 1610).

<sup>30</sup> The provenance note *Maria Carolina a S: Anna Antonia Aloysia Maximiliana Francisca de Paula Neyss Ord: S: Dominici* is found in the publication by Karl Gregor ROSIGNOLI, *Ewige Grund-Wehrheiten...* (Augsburg – Dillingen 1753).



from institutions outside Brno include several from the Zábřdovice Premonstratensian convent<sup>31</sup> and from the Piarists of Mikulov.<sup>32</sup> However, the original provenance of many prints issued in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries added to the Ursuline library after 1782 cannot be determined; it is either completely missing, has been crossed or torn out, or the original owners have not yet been identified.<sup>33</sup>

The works that the Ursulines primarily acquired for their collection included liturgical books, catechisms, prayer books, spiritual exercises, Bibles and gospels, commentaries and interpretations of biblical texts, sermons, and occasional speeches. The collection also included Jesuit works, dominated by the life of Ignatius of Loyola, sermons, theological works and educational manuals and textbooks, which became the fundamental and primary source for the Ursuline classes. The Ursuline library also contained a large number of martyrologies, works on Christ and the Virgin Mary and hagiographic literature, most of which were lives of the saints and holy women and girls, and were very popular. When reading about their lives the Ursulines and the pupils of the Ursuline institute were able to learn about their pious lives and find examples for their future life, whether they were to spend it in the convent or outside it. Naturally, a place of honour in the Ursuline library was held by order-related literature and writings primarily associated with the Ursulines, such as on the Order of Saint Augustine, the collected works of Thomas à Kempis, the statutes of the Ursuline Order, spiritual and theological handbooks published for the needs of the convents of Saint Ursula, and the life of Angela Merici. These works were added to the library on a regular basis, often in several copies. As the Franciscan li-

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<sup>31</sup> The books of the Zábřdovice Premonstratensians were marked with the manuscript exlibris *Bibliotheca Zabrdocicena*, see e.g. Michael LANG, *Seelen-Wayd Für die Schäflein Christi...* (Augsburg 1708).

<sup>32</sup> Prints originally owned by the Mikulov Piarists bear the manuscript provenance inscription: *Bibliothecae Nicolspurgensis Scholarum Piarum*.

<sup>33</sup> Many leather-bound books are marked with a medallion with the emblem of the Jesuits and the Virgin Mary or their bindings feature *supralibros* in the form of initials, in some cases including dates.



brary collection did not contain any works primarily associated with the Ursulines, all the Ursuline literature published from the seventeenth to twentieth centuries was acquired by the Ursulines themselves.

Besides buying older prints at auctions, the Ursulines also purchased the latest contemporary literature. In addition to order-related literature, these were mostly works that the nuns used in lessons or their spiritual development. They included, for instance, the publication by Pierre Lalemant, *Geistliche Werke...* (Opava, 1782); Johann Sianda, *Historische Handbibel: Oder auserlesene Geschichten des alten und neuen Testaments...* (Brno, 1783); and Joseph Mayer, *Das Evangelium zergliedert nach dem historischen Zusammenhange der vier Evangelisten...* (Wien, 1783). The front flyleaf of these publications features the manuscript provenance note *dem Ursuliner Kloster zu S. Joseph*. Also added to the collection soon after their publication were the several volumes of the work *Die Lebensgeschichten der Heiligen auf alle Tage des Jahrs* (Opava, 1783); and *BIBLIA SACRA oder die Heilige Schrift des alten und neuen Testaments* (Wien, 1784). In the 1780s and 1790s, the Ursuline library was expanded to include works such as new sermons, moral and theological works, spiritual literature, gospels and interpretations of biblical texts. From the 1780s, the school library collection was also regularly expanded with the addition of catechisms, textbooks, schoolbooks and appropriate literature, intended to further the development of the girls living in the guest house. This is another reason why the additions to the school library and that of the Ursuline institute, which became independent of the Ursuline convent library during the nineteenth century, also included a wide variety of handbooks and recipe books besides textbooks and schoolbooks. The pupils of the Ursuline school also had access to publications on household economy, cookbooks, recipes, handiwork guides, etc. Appropriate fiction and plays were also added to the library during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – thanks to which the collection of the modern-day Ursuline library also includes translations of ancient classics, as well as the collected works of Friedrich Schiller, Johann Wolfgang Goethe, Božena Němcová, and Julius Zeyer.

Besides the publications available to the entire community, the individual nuns also bought their own books or brought them along with them when they entered the convent. Books also became a welcome and popular gift, as proven by the numerous manuscript dedications or provenance notes. Works owned by the nuns were often added to the Ursuline library collection after they died, which is why nowadays the library also contains a number of publications associated with private piety, from small prayer books, *Himmel-Schlüssels*, spiritual writings and everyday contemplations, as well as popular works on the Virgin Mary and hagiographic literature. The books originally owned by the order's nuns are characterised not only by their small size, mostly being sextodecimos, but by the fact that holy pictures or flowers have been inserted into them.

Apart from the books purchased by the Ursulines themselves, books were also added to their library as gifts; although these were not extensive and often numbered just one title or a few dozen books. Donations to the Ursuline convent came mostly from religious associations, relatives of the nuns, and spiritual figures such as Leopold Korompay, Ferdinand Panschab, Anton Prosser, Josef Kittner, Leopold Wohlfarth, the dean Jakob Kapusta, the catechists Emanuel Koubek, and Johann Kopp.

## Conclusion

As is evident from the above, the library of the Ursuline convent established in 1782 was systematically and actively built right from the very beginning. The basis of the collection was the original Franciscan library, which was left in place and to which the Ursulines soon started adding the necessary spiritual and secular literature, which increased the size of the Franciscan library's original collection several times over. Although the modern-day Ursuline convent library is merely a fraction of the original convent and school library, its content reflects the historical development of the convent, the activities of the Ursulines specialising in upbringing, education, their acquisitions, social contacts, and their status within the town.

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## **The Library of the Brno Ursuline Convent**

**Lucie Heilandová**

The Ursuline Convent was established in Brno in 1782, on the site of the original Franciscan convent, which was abolished during the Josephine reforms on 18 January 1782. After the abolishment of the convent, most of the Franciscan sisters decided to join the scholastic order of the sisters of Saint Ursula. A library was built in the newly established convent, in which a girls' school was also opened in the same year. The library collection contained the publications situated in the original Franciscan library, as well as a number of works obtained through book auctions, donations, and purchases of contemporary literature intended not only for the needs of the order, but also for use in teaching, which was the main mission of the order's sisters. This attention was focused on the establishment of the Ursuline Convent, the creation of its library, the content of its collection, and how new works were added.

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## **Die Bibliothek des Ursulinenkonvents in Brünn**

**Lucie Heilandová**

Das Ursulinenkloster in Brünn wurde im Jahr 1782 an der Stelle des ursprünglichen Franziskanerinnenklosters, das im Rahmen der Josephinischen Reformen am 18. Januar 1782 aufgehoben wurde, errichtet. Die meisten Franziskanerschwestern beschlossen nach der Aufhebung des Klosters, dem Schulorden der Ursulinen beizutreten. In dem neu errichteten Kloster, an dem gleichzeitig eine Mädchenschule eröffnet wurde, entstand zur selben Zeit auch eine Bibliothek. In deren Bestand wurden sowohl Buchbände aus der ursprünglichen Franziskanerinnenbibliothek aufgenommen als auch Werke, die in Buchauktionen angekauft wurden. Weiters handelte es sich um Schenkungen oder um aktuelle literarische Produktionen, die nicht nur für den Bedarf des Klosters, sondern auch für den Unterricht, der die Hauptaufgabe der Ursulinen darstellte, bestimmt waren. Im Rahmen dieses Beitrags gilt das Hauptaugenmerk zwei Aspekten: der Gründung des

Ursulinenkonvents sowie der Errichtung der Bibliothek und ihres Bestands, dessen Grundlage die aus dem Eigentum des ursprünglichen Franziskanerinnenklosters stammenden Werke bildeten und der fast unmittelbar ergänzt wurde, sei es durch die Werke aus den Beständen der aufgehobenen mährischen Klöster oder durch die Ankäufe der aktuellen Produktion.

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### **Knihovna konventu voršilek v Brně**

**Lucie Heilandová**

Kláster voršilek byl v Brně založen roku 1782 na místě původního františkánského klášteřa, který byl zrušen v rámci josefinských reforem dne 18. ledna 1782. Většina františkánských sester se po zrušení klášteřa rozhodla vstoupit do školského řádu sester sv. Voršily. V nově založeném klášteři, u něhož byla ještě téhož roku otevřena dívčí škola, byla současně budována knihovna. Do fondu knihovny byly zařazeny jak publikace nacházející se v původní knihovně františkánek, tak řada děl získaných v rámci knižních aukcí, dary či nákupem aktuální literatury určené nejen pro potřeby řádu, ale také školní výuky, jež byla hlavním posláním řádových sester. V rámci příspěvku byla pozornost věnována založení klášteřa voršilek, vzniku jeho knihovny a jejímu fondu, jehož základ tvořila díla pocházející z majetku původního františkánského klášteřa a který byl skoro okamžitě systematicky doplňován, ať již díly pocházejícími z fondů zrušených moravských klášteřů nebo nákupy aktuální produkce.

# From Chained Books to Portable Collections: Franciscan Libraries in Padua during the Fifteenth Century

RENÉ HERNÁNDEZ VERA

## Introduction

The distinction between heretical movements and communities of regular religious life seems, to our contemporary eyes, straightforward and reasonably easy to grasp. However, as happens with all things mediæval, the question is not as clear as it seems, and it is fair to say that distinguishing between mendicant orders and heterodox forms of devotion was difficult for the men and women of the thirteenth century. Both movements were the expression of a wish for renewal at different levels, linked to the consolidation of the urban mercantile life. Both satisfied the spiritual expectations of the new society with their flexibility, mobility, and declared devotion to poverty, which conferred them a remarkable adaptability, and both expressed a wish to embrace the written sources of spiritual life with unconditional piety. Nevertheless, while heretical movements were the subject of efficient strategies of con-

trol and eventual dissolution, Mendicants flourished and left a lasting impact in society.<sup>1</sup>

Among the groups that eventually became mendicant orders, the most influential and extended were the Preachers (Dominicans), the Friars

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<sup>1</sup> The assessment of the numerous and complex factors that contributed to the demise of heretical movements and the affirmation of Mendicants is beyond the reach and purpose of this contribution. For an introductory survey on the question, see Gordon LEFF, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages: The Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent c. 1250-c.1450* (Manchester 1967), vol. 2, 3-7; Franco Andrea DAL PINO, *Rinnovamento monastico-clericale e movimenti religiosi nei secoli X-XIII* (Roma 1973); Grado Giovanni MERLO, *Religiosità e cultura religiosa dei laici nel secolo XII*. In *L'Europa dei secoli XI e XII fra novità e tradizione: sviluppi di una cultura. Atti della decima settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 25-29 agosto 1986* (= *Miscellanee del Centro di studi medioevali*, 12, Milano 1989) 197-215; André VAUCHEZ, *La spiritualità dell'Occidente medioevale* (= *Cultura e storia*, 9, Milano 1993); John MARENBO, *Imaginary Pagans: From the Middle Ages to Renaissance*. In Charles Burnett – José Meirinhos – Jacqueline Hamese (eds.), *Continuities and Disruptions Between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Louvain-la-Neuve 2008) 151-165; David L. D'AVRAY, *Medieval Religious Rationalities: A Weberian Analysis* (Cambridge 2010); Michael BAILEY, *Religious Poverty, Mendicancy and Reform in the Late Middle Ages*. In: *Church History* 72 (2003) 457-483; Malcolm LAMBERT, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to Reformation* (Oxford 2002); Grado Giovanni MERLO (ed.), *Eretici ed eresie medievali nella storiografia contemporanea. Atti del XXXII convegno di studi sulla Riforma e i movimenti religiosi in Italia* (Torre Pelice 1994); Grado Giovanni MERLO, *Contro gli eretici. La coercizione all'ortodossia prima dell'Inquisizione* (Bologna 1996); Grado Giovanni MERLO, *Eretici ed eresie medievali* (= *Storica paperbacks*, 176, Bologna 2019); L. J. SACKVILLE, *Heresy and Heretics in the Thirteenth Century: The Textual Representations* (York 2014); Chris SPARKS, *Heresy, Inquisition and Life Cycle in Medieval Languedoc* (= *Heresy and Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, 3, York 2014). A comprehensive study of the origins, role and impact of the mendicant orders on society can be found in Clifford H. LAWRENCE, *The Friars: The Impact of Early Mendicant Movement in Western Society* (London 1994). See also Lester K. LITTLE, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (New York 1994); Theophile DESBONNETS, *Dalla intuizione alla istituzione. I Francescani* (= *Presenza di San Francesco*, 33, Milan 1986); André VAUCHEZ, *Ordini mendicanti e società italiana (XIII-XV secolo)* (Milan 1990).

Minor (Franciscans), and the Augustine Hermit Friars (Austin friars). Mendicant communities established their houses within the urban conglomerates, pursued their activity of preaching and pastoral care among the people and were closely linked to the Holy See, which embraced them not only as a valuable resource for highly-skilled administrative duties, but also as a truly effective asset to fight heresy.<sup>2</sup> In order to accomplish such an important mission, Mendicants established an internal programme of study that soon led them to pursue studies at the highest levels in the universities, where they became protagonists of the intellectual life of their time, and contributed decisively to the development of scholarly practices alongside book-culture.<sup>3</sup> At the core of such achievement were the libraries of their respective convents, which guaranteed the continuous availability of the required materials for learning, training, copying, and writing new books.

One of the most important mendicant centres in Italy during the Middle Ages was the city of Padua. The strategic location of the city and the presence of an important university favoured the settlement of the main mendicant communities. Therefore, the political, religious and cultural environment of Padua during the late Middle Ages was determined by the interaction between the government of the city, the University, and Mendicants – particularly, Franciscans. The movements of spiritual reformation of the late-fourteenth century had a deep impact on the city, and by the first half of the fifteenth century, the reformed Franciscans (Observants) founded the convent of San Francesco Grande, which became one of the most influential *studia* in Italy.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Raoul MANSELLI, *Studi sulle eresie del secolo XII* (= *Studi Storici*, 5, Roma 1975) vi.

<sup>3</sup> See Luigi PELLEGRINI, *L'incontro tra due "invenzioni" medievali: Università e Ordini mendicanti* (= *Scienze Storiche*, 13, Napoli 2003) 115–131.

<sup>4</sup> A comprehensive profile of the mediaeval history of Padua, particularly of its affirmation as a *Comune*, and the rule of Ezzelino da Romano can be found in Sante BORTOLAMI, *Fra "alte domus" e "populares homines": il Comune di Padova e il suo sviluppo prima di Ezzelino*. In *Storia e cultura a Padova nell'età di sant'Antonio: convegno internazionale di studi 1-4 ottobre 1981 Padova-Mon-*

This paper will offer a swift survey of the mediaeval book collections of mendicant orders in the city of Padua during the fifteenth century, and will consider, with further detail, the composition of the libraries of the Franciscan friars. The available sources allow us to compare the library of Franciscans of the Community, or Conventuals, with the book collection of the Observants. The study will explore the similarities and differences between these libraries and will provide us with a better understanding of the relation between late-mediaeval book production, circulation, and the practices of librarianship.

## Mendicant Orders and Books

The Dominican order was founded in 1215 with the specific purpose of fighting against heresy through preaching.<sup>5</sup> A rigorous discipline of study based upon the extensive use of books was at the core of the Dominican programme of preaching; therefore, Dominicans needed efficient libraries. By the second half of the thirteenth century, Humbert of Romans, the fifth general of the order, prepared a set of detailed instructions concerning libraries, which eventually became known as his

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*selice* (= *Fonti e Ricerche di Storia Ecclesiastica Padovana*, 16, Padova 1985) 1–74. See also Benjamin G. KOHL, *Padua under the Carrara: 1318–1405* (Baltimore – London 1998) 35–38, 251–260, and 315–336; Benjamin G. KOHL, *Government and Society in Renaissance Padua*. In: *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 2 (1972) 205–221; and Giuseppe GULLINO, *Storia di Padova: dall'antichità all'età contemporanea* (Sommacampagna 2010).

<sup>5</sup> “*Notum sit omnibus presentibus et futuris quod nos. F.[oulques] Dei gratia Tolosane sedis minister humilis, ad extirpandam hereticam pravitatem et vicia expellenda et fidei regulam edocendam et homines sanis moribus inbuendos, instituimus predicatorum in episcopatu nostro fratrem Dominicum et socios eius, qui, in paupertate evangelica, pedites religiose proposuerunt incedere et veritatis evangelice verbum predicare.*” Marie-Hyacinthe LAURENT (ed.) *Monumenta Historica S. P. N. Dominici* (= *Monumenta Ordinis F. Praedicatorum Historica* 15, Paris 1933) 66. See also William HINNEBUSCH, *The History of the Dominican Order* (New York 1966–1971), vol. 1, 39–43, and Georgina R. GALBRAITH, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order: 1216 to 1360* (= *Publications of the University of Manchester. Historical Series*, 44, Manchester 1925) 6, 31–34.



*De officiis Ordinis*. In the chapters *De officio cantoris*, *De officio librarii* and *De officio gerente curam scriptorum*, Humbert established the principles of the organisation and functioning of Dominican libraries, such as: the classification of volumes, opening hours, regulations on consultation and loan of books, indispensable books of reference that should be in the library, and provision of materials to carry out the task of copying.<sup>6</sup> The general purpose of those regulations was to guarantee the most rational and efficient use of libraries and books in the education of the preacher.<sup>7</sup>

Dominicans had a clear restriction on property of goods, but books were considered tools of personal use, which could be available through purchase, donations, and bequest, and friars could buy books from other friars. It was forbidden that friars copied texts to sell them, but it was allowed to copy texts for personal use.<sup>8</sup> In any case, books were considered as a property of the Province, or of the convent of provenance, and once the friar died, or was awarded a special dignity, such as a bishopric, his books should be returned to his convent of origin.<sup>9</sup> Concerning the libraries of the order, it seems that the provisions of books and topics depended on whether the convents were centres of study or not, and,

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<sup>6</sup> Joachim J. BERTHIER (ed.), *Humbert of Romans. Opera de Vita Regulari* (Torino 1956), vol. 2, 238–239, and 263.

<sup>7</sup> Gabriella SEVERINO POLICA, *Libro, lettura, “lezione” negli studia degli ordini mendicanti (sec XIII)*. In *Le scuole degli ordini mendicanti, secoli XIII-XIV (11-14 ottobre 1976)* (Todi 1978) 373–413, esp. 384–388. See also Kenneth W. HUMPHREYS, *The Book Provisions of the Mediaeval Friars, 1215–1400* (= *Studies in the History of Libraries and Librarianship*, 1, Amsterdam 1964) 44–45.

<sup>8</sup> A master could ask others to copy some of the texts he needed, as shown by Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana [BAV], Città del Vaticano, Vat. Lat. 718, a selection of works by Albert the Great copied to be used by Thomas Aquinas. See Louis-Jacques BATAILLON, *Le letture dei maestri dei Frati Predicatori*. In *Libri, biblioteche e letture dei Frati Mendicanti (secoli XIII-XIV)*. *Atti del XXXII convegno internazionale, Assisi, 7-9 ottobre 2004* (= *Atti dei Convegni della Società internazionale di studi francescani e del Centro interuniversitario di studi francescani*. Nuova Serie, 15, Spoleto 2005) 115–140, esp. 129–130.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 120–121.

therefore, there were substantial variations in the presence of some topics or authors; for example, the Fathers of the Church.<sup>10</sup>

The Franciscan order had a more complex relationship with study, books, and libraries. The first community of apostles was the model of life that Francis chose to follow, and, therefore, there was little space for books, libraries, or a culture of intellectual achievement in the early phases of the Franciscan order.<sup>11</sup> However, the purpose of preaching the Gospel implied some degree of education of the friars and, consequently, the use of books. The order tried to reconcile poverty, apostolic life, and the presence of books and libraries through regulations, but the process of establishing a set of directives was not smooth. This was reflected by the internal struggles of the order between the institutional life, and the model established by its founder. If using books could be a problematic practice, collecting them could be even more so. Nevertheless, books were necessary to perform the divine office and, therefore, they should be part of the goods of the convents. From the second decade of the thirteenth century, the growth of schools in the convents led to the enhancement of the book collections. However, libraries for study were not a distinctive feature of the early Franciscan community. The first Franciscan book collections were intended to gather liturgical books, while other books arrived through donations and bequests.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 130.

<sup>11</sup> For a survey on the first phases of the Franciscan community of friars, see Grado Giovanni MERLO, *Storia di frate Francesco e dell'Ordine dei Minori. In Francesco d'Asisi e il primo secolo di storia francescana* (= Biblioteca Einaudi, 1, Torino 1997) 3–32; Grado Giovanni MERLO, *Nel nome di san Francesco: storia dei frati Minori e del francescanesimo sino agli inizi del XVI secolo* (Padova 2003), and Michael ROBSON, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge 2006).

<sup>12</sup> Simona GAVINELLI, *Per una biblioteconomia degli Ordini mendicanti*. In *Libri, biblioteche e letture dei Frati Mendicanti (secoli XIII-XIV)*. *Atti del XXXII convegno internazionale, Assisi, 7-9 ottobre 2004* (= Atti dei Convegni della Società internazionale di studi francescani e del Centro interuniversitario di studi francescani Nuova Serie, 15, Spoleto 2005) 271–274. See also Attilio BARTOLI LANGELI, *I libri dei frati. La cultura scritta dell'Ordine dei Minori*.

These sets were complemented by reference books and preaching aids to be kept in repositories.<sup>13</sup> The book collections started to grow as early as the first half of the thirteenth century, when particular educational needs arose and special provisions, like having two separate collections of books – one for consultation and one for loan – were adopted in order to guarantee that books were always available for the friars.<sup>14</sup>

Along with the Minors and the Preachers, the Augustine Hermit Friars (Augustinians) played a significant role in the development of literacy from the second half of the thirteenth century onwards. The Augustinians were originally formed by the aggregation of clusters of hermits who adopted the distinctive way of life of the mendicant orders, in an attempt to reconcile the active apostolic vocation with the contemplative life of the desert. Contrary to Preachers and Minors, the order was not the result of the personal spirituality of a charismatic founder, and there is not a specific date of foundation for the religious community.<sup>15</sup> In fact, the order emerged from groups distributed in Lombardy, Tuscany and the Romagna during the thirteenth century. In 1256, Innocent IV instructed Cardinal Richard Annibaldi to proclaim an act of union, merging the hermits in a single new religious order.<sup>16</sup> The new order adapted and followed the rule of St. Augustine, modelling their constitutions to that of the Dominicans, devoting themselves to preaching

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In *Francesco d'Asisi e il primo secolo di storia francescana* (= Biblioteca Einaudi, 1, Torino 1997) 283–305, esp. 288–291.

<sup>13</sup> HUMPHREYS, *Book Provisions* (see footnote 7) 56–57. See also Bert ROEST, *A History of Franciscan Education* (c. 1210–1517) (= *Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, 11, Leiden 2000) 197–199.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 200.

<sup>15</sup> Clifford H. LAWRENCE, *Medieval Monasticism. Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (London – New York <sup>2</sup>1994) 266.

<sup>16</sup> The bull *Licet Ecclesiae Catholicae* ratified the union and constituted the Order of Friars Hermits of St. Augustine. See *Ibid.*, 268–269; Frances ANDREWS, *The Other Friars. The Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge 2015) 72, and 84.

and pastoral care.<sup>17</sup> By the time of the order's inception, Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure of Bagnoregio were influential masters in Paris, and the seeds of the dispute between secular masters and mendicants were already growing within the community of scholars.<sup>18</sup>

Learning and study were of paramount importance for the Augustinians. In accordance, one of the main criteria for recruitment into the order was the disposition and ability to learn, and, therefore, houses of learning flourished – primarily in Italy.<sup>19</sup> The intellectual profile of the Augustinians was modelled by Giles of Rome, the first master of the order educated in Paris, whose legacy could be summarised as the careful reading, contextualisation, and harmonisation of Aquinas and Augustine of Hippo.<sup>20</sup>

Having such a commitment to learning naturally developed a special relationship with books and tools of learning. Accordingly, dispositions

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<sup>17</sup> For a detailed description of the normative development of the order, see Matthew PONSSE, *The Augustinian Rules and Constitutions*. In Krijn Pansters (ed.), *A Companion to Medieval Rules and Customaries* (= Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition Series 93, Leiden 2020) 393–428.

<sup>18</sup> Giorgio PINI, *Le letture dei frati agostiniani: Egidio Romano e Giacomo da Viterbo*. In *Libri, biblioteche e letture dei Frati Mendicanti (secoli XIII-XIV). Atti del XXXII convegno internazionale, Assisi, 7-9 ottobre 2004* (= Atti dei Convegni della Società internazionale di studi francescani e del Centro interuniversitario di studi francescani Nuova Serie, 15, Spoleto 2005) 79–114, esp. 81. See also David GUTIÉRREZ, *Gli Agostiniani nel medioevo (1256–1356)* (Rome 1986), vol. 1, 54–84.

<sup>19</sup> “*From the very beginning, the early constitutions emphasise the importance of learning and it is clear that what the order sought was men who could already read or sing competently or at least showed aptitude*”. ANDREWS, *Other Friars* (see footnote 16) 121, 148, and 165; see GUTIÉRREZ, *Agostiniani* (see footnote 18) 85–122.

<sup>20</sup> PINI *Letture* (see footnote 18) 84–90. See Eric L. SAAK, *Augustine in the Later Middle Ages*. In Irena Backus (ed.) *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: from the Carolingians to the Maurists* (Boston 2001), vol. 2, 367–404; and IDEM, *Creating Augustine. Interpreting Augustine and Augustinianism in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford 2012); ANDREWS, *Other Friars* (see footnote 16) 149–150. For a description of the three stages of the intellectual history of Giles, see PINI *Letture* (see footnote 18) 93–107.

reflected such frame of mind. There should be a library in every *studium generale*, as well as a copyist in order to transcribe books according to the needs of the community.<sup>21</sup> Giles' contribution to book culture was of great importance: the section of the constitutions of 1290 regarding the structure and role of the libraries was written following his advice.<sup>22</sup>

## Modalities of Book Collection and Circulation within Mendicant Orders

Naturally, Mendicants' devotion to study implied the continuous growth of their book collections, and, therefore, it was necessary to find efficient ways of collecting and distributing books within their libraries. Eventually, Mendicants adopted the same model for their libraries: the double collection; that is, on the one hand, a collection of books deemed essential to study that should remain in the library and, on the other, a second collection, conformed by copies destined to loan and circulation. The provision of two sets of books for the same library was not invented by Mendicants. In 1212, a diocesan synod, summoned in Paris, recommended to monasteries to divide their books into two groups: one should remain in the house, while the other should be kept for lending.<sup>23</sup> In order to fulfil these dispositions, some monastic houses followed the practice of chaining the most valuable volumes to benches.<sup>24</sup> Later, the recent University colleges adopted the same practice. It has been argued, therefore, that Mendicants followed the example of the existing colleges and kept a chained collection of books, in order to ensure that the most requested volumes were always available for loan. How-

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<sup>21</sup> ANDREWS, *Other Friars* (see footnote 16) 156.

<sup>22</sup> PINI *Lecture* (see footnote 18) 108. See also HUMPHREYS, *Book Provisions* (see footnote 7) 67–76.

<sup>23</sup> Johannes Dominicus MANSI (ed.), *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*. Tomus 22 (Venezia 1778; repr. Paris 1903) 832.

<sup>24</sup> John Willis CLARK, *The Care of Books: An Essay on the Development of Libraries and their Fittings, from the Earliest Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge 1909) 101–116.

ever, this assumption has been challenged, as evidence suggests that the colleges copied the strategy of book collection already employed by Mendicants.<sup>25</sup>

In spite of loans, restrictions in the use of books had a significant impact on the discipline of study. The normal practice of reading, especially at scholastic levels, implied long periods of time and, most importantly, interaction with the text.<sup>26</sup> It was necessary, therefore, to guarantee longer periods of work with books. It is in this context that long-term loans were devised as a solution, and, in some cases, even life-long loans were to be granted. There is early evidence of this practice, for example, in the first Franciscan general constitutions, dating from 1239. These statutes made it possible for friars who held the office of preacher to take with them the books granted to them for life, or “*concessi ad vitam*”. The expression that typically indicates the concession of books on loan for long periods of time, usually for life is, “*Concessus ad usum*”, and it is not rare to find it in manuscripts and inventories.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> For example, a study on the process of gathering of the library of the College of the Sorbonne shows that the idea of employing the double collection within the College dates long after the arrival of Mendicants to the University of Paris, and that its actual application happened only at the end of the thirteenth century, when the Mendicants’ double collections were already set up. See Claire ANGOTTI, *Les bibliothèques des couvents mendiants, un modèle pour les séculiers? L'exemple de deux premiers bienfaiteurs de la bibliothèque du collège de Sorbonne (Robert de Sorbon, Gérard d'Abbeville)*. In Nicole Bèriou – Martin Morard – Donatella Nebbiai (eds.), *Entre stabilité et itinérance. Livres et culture des ordres mendiants XIII<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (= *Bibliologia*, 37, Turnhout 2014) 31–72, esp. 44–49. See also Richard H. ROUSE, *The early Library of the Sorbonne*. In: *Scriptorium* 21 (1967) 42–71, esp. 68–69.

<sup>26</sup> For example, by writing personal comments, identifying passages of interest with the aid of *maniculae*, adding cross references to the same text or by adding references to other works. See René HERNÁNDEZ VERA, *Franciscan Manuscripts in Padua from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century: Following the Traces of a Conception of the Book* (Leeds 2014) 131–138.

<sup>27</sup> Neslihan Şenocak has discussed the circulation of books in the mediaeval Franciscan order, and has considered some examples of long-term loans and loans for life to Franciscan lectors and preachers who received books in conces-

## Mendicants and Libraries in Padua

The city of Padua was a strategic hub in northern Italy during Roman times, and in the Middle Ages was a renowned centre of culture, as shown by Albertus Magnus' description of the city as a place where study flourished from ancient times.<sup>28</sup> The name of the city is closely linked to both its University and mendicant orders. It is traditionally assumed that the origins of the University of Padua are located around 1222, when a group of students and masters migrated from Bologna in search of flexible conditions for study.<sup>29</sup> This is also the period when the mendicant orders arrived to the city, and when the rule of Ezzelino da Romano began.<sup>30</sup> During the fourteenth century, under the *signoria* of the Carrara, the cultural environment grew further. The new regime not only appointed scholars in key positions of administration but reinforced the cultural role of religious from different orders. There was a relationship of training and exchange between the hospitals in the city – the professors of medicine in the University, and the mendicant friars.<sup>31</sup>

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sion “ad usum”. See Neslihan ŞENOCAK, Circulation of Books in the Medieval Franciscan Order: Attitude, Methods, and Critics. In: *Journal of Religious History* 28 (2004) 147–153, and Neslihan ŞENOCAK, Book Acquisition in the Medieval Franciscan Order. In: *Journal of Religious History* 27 (2003) 14–28. See also Donatella FRIOLI, Gli inventari delle biblioteche degli Ordini mendicanti. In *Libri, biblioteche e letture dei Frati Mendicanti (secoli XIII-XIV). Atti del XXXII convegno internazionale, Assisi, 7-9 ottobre 2004* (= *Atti dei Convegni della Società internazionale di studi francescani e del Centro inter-universitario di studi francescani Nuova Serie*, 15, Spoleto 2005) 301–373, esp. 334–335.

<sup>28</sup> “*Patavium quae nunc Padua vocatur civitas, in qua floruit studium ante paucum tempus.*” Paul HOSSFELD (ed.), Albertus Magnus, *Opera omnia*. Tomus V, II: *De natura loci; De causis proprietatum elementorum; De generatione et corruptione* (Aschendorff 1980) 33.

<sup>29</sup> Nancy G. SIRAJI, *Arts and Sciences at Padua: The Studium of Padua before 1350* (Toronto 1973) 15–20.

<sup>30</sup> Paolo MARANGON, *Ad cognitionem scientiae festinare: gli studi nell'Università di Padova nei secoli XIII e XIV* (Trieste 1997) 48–49 and 52–53.

<sup>31</sup> KOHL, Padua (see footnote 4) 199–204; MARANGON, *Cognitionem* (see footnote 30) 69. For a profile of the life and activities of students during the

During the fifteenth century, the Venetian administration transformed the University of Padua into a University of state. At the same time, the reformed Franciscan friars (Observants), arrived at the city and swiftly engaged in preaching and studying.<sup>32</sup>

## The Library of the Dominicans at Padua

Dominican friars arrived at Padua in 1226, and settled within the walls of the city, on the premises of the river Bacchiglione, near the city centre. By 1229, they had completed a church dedicated to Sant'Agostino and a small adjacent convent. According to sources, from the beginning, the convent had a collection of books devoted to both the divine office and satisfying the needs of study to prepare for preaching. The fourteenth-century movement of reform, that spread across the order, had a limited impact on the Paduan community and, by 1397, the convent passed under the jurisdiction of the unreformed province of Lower Lombardy. Eventually, the conventual school became part of the *Universitas Theologorum*, instituted at the University of Padua, through the aggregation of the theological schools of the mendicant orders active in the city.<sup>33</sup>

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early history of the University of Padua, see SIRAISSI, Arts (see footnote 29) 20–31. See also Sante BORTOLAMI, *Studenti e città nel primo secolo dello studio padovano*. In Francesco Piovan – Luciana Sitran Rea (eds.), *Studenti, università, città nella storia padovana: atti del convegno, Padova 6-8 febbraio 1998* (= Contributi alla storia della Università di Padova, 34, Trieste 2001) 3–28.

<sup>32</sup> Their hospital offered places for students, as shown by the case of Antonio da Urbino and his two brothers, who lived there while they were students. After completing their studies, one of the brothers, Francesco, remained as the surgeon of the hospice. See Silvana COLLODO, *Una società in trasformazione: Padova tra XI e XV secolo* (= Miscellanea erudita 49, Padova 1990). See also François, DUPUIGRENET DESROUSSILLES, *L'università di Padova dal 1405 al concilio di Trento*. In Girolamo Arnaldi – Manlio Pastore Stocchi (eds.), *Storia della cultura veneta* (Vicenza 1980), vol. 3, II, 607–647.

<sup>33</sup> Luciano GARGAN, *Lo studio teologico e la biblioteca dei Domenicani a Padova nel Tre e Quattrocento* (= Contributi alla Storia della Università di Padova 6,



The library of the Dominicans at Padua was certainly contemporary to the construction of the convent and, as was usual for Mendicants, the original collection of books contained the tools necessary to the divine office, for the basic duties of preaching, and pastoral care. The first library was destroyed in a fire during 1352, and a second library was built soon after. The first inventory of the collection was carried out at the end of the fourteenth century. According to the document, the manuscripts were distributed in sixteen cupboards: eight *versus claustrium*, to the left-hand side, and the rest were *versus cimiterium*, namely, to the right-hand side. The library kept the same structure until the sixteenth century, which was enhanced in order to allocate room for arriving printed books.<sup>34</sup>

The three mediaeval inventories outline a book collection that reflected the purpose of offering the tools required for the duties of preaching and pastoral care.<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, and in spite of the important role played by the order, the Dominican book collection at Padua was not as rich and complete as that of the Franciscan library of Sant'Antonio.<sup>36</sup> The library had the typical structure and composition of a Dominican collection for the time. Apart from volumes of the Bible, the library had a representative collection of biblical comments, books on philosophy and theology, and other useful tools for students. There were also some works from the Fathers of the Church, and additional volumes such as texts on grammar and law.<sup>37</sup> Sadly, no manuscripts of the original collection survived, and the loss of the volumes seems to be related with both the introduction of printed books and sudden changes in the forms of

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Padova 1971) 3–6, and 13.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 175–176.

<sup>35</sup> Louis-Jacques BATAILLON, *Le lettura dei maestri dei Frati Predicatori*. In *Libri, biblioteche e letture dei Frati Mendicanti (secoli XIII-XIV)*. Atti del XXXII convegno internazionale, Assisi, 7-9 ottobre 2004 (= Atti dei Convegni della Società internazionale di studi francescani e del Centro interuniversitario di studi francescani, Nuova Serie 15, Spoleto 2005) 115–140, esp. 128.

<sup>36</sup> GARGAN, *Studio* (see footnote 33) 184–189.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 186–187.

acquisition of books.<sup>38</sup> By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the library was practically lost and abandoned. When the Napoleonic suppressions arrived in 1806, there were no manuscripts at all: only a few printed volumes remained.<sup>39</sup>

## The Library of the Augustinians at Padua

The Augustinian Hermit Friars established a house in Padua in 1237. By 1264, they built a convent that became their permanent house until 1806. From 1287 onwards, the convent became *Studium Generale*, and was among the most important *studia* of the order in Italy.<sup>40</sup> Accordingly, the library of the convent was well provided, and its collection grew steadily. This growth was accompanied by a set of specific norms concerning the management of the collection and the circulation of books. For example, a disposition of 1422 established that there should be two set of keys for the library: one of them should be in possession of the librarian, and the other should be made available for the cycles of preaching; additionally, the disposition requested the immediate return of all books in possession of anyone who was not a member of the order.<sup>41</sup> In 1430, Michele Savonarola described the splendour of the building in his *Libellus De magnificis ornamentis regie civitatis Padue*. The distribution of the volumes and the size of the collection comprised four-hundred manuscripts. An important feature of Savonarola's description is that it reveals the presence of *libros speciosos cum catenis*, which suggests the model of organisation of the collection as a double collection, typical of mendicant *studia*.<sup>42</sup> During the sixteenth century, a project to en-

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 187.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 188.

<sup>40</sup> David GUTIÉRREZ, *De antiquis ordinis eremitarum Sancti Augustini bibliothecis*. In: *Analecta Augustiniana* 23 (1953-1954) 240–251, esp. 240.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 240.

<sup>42</sup> “Alterum vero locum gloriosum, primo in aspectu iucundissimum nimis nominabo, quem bibliothecam Eremitarum appellant, cuius ingressus librorum pulchritudine eorumque multitudine homines in admiratione ducit; locus enim amplissimus est,

hance the library by building a new place for the collection was conceived. However, it seems the plan was eventually delayed and abandoned. Apparently, the availability and portability of printed volumes had a negative impact on the attention and care with which old codices were managed.<sup>43</sup>

The inventory of the Paduan libraries, carried out by Filippo Tomasini in 1639, shows that the library preserved approx. 380 manuscripts produced before the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>44</sup> According to Tomasini, by the seventeenth century, only a fraction of the original manuscripts survived. Still, there were volumes on theology, collections of sermons, among which those of the most important masters of the order, books on poetry, such as Virgil, and the odes of Horace, books on history, the life of Francis of Assisi, followed by a collection of philosophical texts – mainly Aristotle and comments to his works – and then came a collection of books of law and canon law, decretals, and *summae*. Finally, there were a few books on mathematics, astronomy, and medicine. This set of tools for learning survived, more or less, unaltered until the end of eighteenth century when the Napoleonic suppressions led to the scat-

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*vitreis fenestris et lucidis ornatus, cuius superiora scampna parte ad septemtrionem versa: quae grammaticae, quae rethoricae, quae loycae, quae philosophiae attinent libros speciosos cum catenis tenent. Hacque in parte in mechanica plurimi et in theologia collocantur. Altera vero ad meridiem versa: quae decretis, quae decretalibus, quae novo et vereri Testamento attinent. Eorum omnium summa sunt quadringenta gloriosa volumina.”* Arnaldo SEGARIZZI (ed.), *Libellus de magnificis ornamentis regie civitatis Padue Michaelis Savonarole*. In *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores: Raccolta Degli Storici Italiani Dal Cinquecento Al Millecinquecento*. Ordinata Da L. A. Muratori. 24. 15 (Città di Castello 1902) 56; See GUTIÉRREZ, *Ordnis eremitarum* (see footnote 40) 240.

<sup>43</sup> “*Fratres illius temporis, non solum Patavii sed fere ubique, de libris impressis praecipue habendis diligenter curabant, dum antiquos codices – utpote ad studium difficiles vel saltem minus commodos – saepe negligebant.*” *Ibid.*, 241–242.

<sup>44</sup> “*Ut ex inventario apparet, valde bonam saeculis XIV–XVII conventus Patavinus habuit bibliothecam, inter maiores Ordinis librarias eiusdem temporis certe annumerandam; nam, quamvis melior pars suorum codicum iam a. 1639 ‘temporum iniuria ab alienata esset’, 380 volumina manuscripta – fere omnia saeculo XVI antiquiora – adhuc conservabat.*” *Ibid.*, 251.

tering of the collection. Some of the surviving manuscripts are currently available at the Biblioteca Universitaria of Padua.

## The Libraries of the Franciscans at Padua

The mendicant community that had the deepest impact in the city of Padua was, undoubtedly, the Franciscan order. There is no precise record of the arrival of the first Franciscans to Padua, nevertheless, it is very likely that a vigorous campaign of preaching took place shortly before 1229, as recorded by chronicles of the time.<sup>45</sup> Most probably, the nearby convent of Arcella offered support for the Franciscan preaching at Padua, and, as a result, friars from that convent were called by Bishop Jacopo Corrado to settle in the city, within the small church of Santa Maria Mater Domini, located on the site of the current Chapel of the Virgin in the Basilica of Sant'Antonio.<sup>46</sup> There are grounds to suppose that Anthony of Padua himself established the convent's *studium*, which should satisfy the increasing need of preparation for preaching. In a very

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<sup>45</sup> “*Hic speravit Padua pacem amodo permansuram in ea. – Nunc circa unius anni spacium civitates de Marchia tarvisina adeo quieverunt in pace, quod quasi circa finem anni domini MCCXXVIII, et circa principium subsequentis nulla fuit terrarum predacio, nulla hostium incursio vel insultus, preter supra dictum exercitum, set bonorum omnium copia; tantum gaudium et leticia intergentes, ut a pluribus crederetur quod amodo nulle sediciones esse debeant in Marchia nulle werre. Imo et religiose persone totum quasi populum in laudabili contemplacione manentem divinis predicacionibus recreabant. Nam et in illo tempore inter ceteros viros religiosos et iustos advenit beatus Antonius, sicut dicitur inferius, et in diversis locis per Marchiam verba Dei voce melliflua predicavit.*” ANTONIO BONARDI (ed.), Rolandinus Patavinus, Cronica in factis et circa facta Marchie Trivixane aa. 1200-cc.1262. In *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores: Raccolta degli Storici Italiani dal Cinquecento al Millecinecento. Ordinata da L. A. Muratori*. 8. 1 (Città di Castello 1905) 40.

<sup>46</sup> Giovanni LUISETTO (ed.), *Archivio Sartori: documenti di storia e arte francescana* (Padova 1983), vol. 1, 1309; see also Bernardino BORDIN, *Profilo storico-spirituale della comunità al Santo*. In Antonino Poppi (ed.), *Storia e cultura al Santo di Padova fra il XIII e il XX secolo* (= *Fonti e studi per la storia del Santo a Padova* 1, Vicenza 1976) 15–115, esp. 74–75.

short time, the convent established a strong relation with the University, following the model of the University of Paris.<sup>47</sup>

Later, during the first-half of the fifteenth century, the foundation of an institution to receive the poor, sick, and pilgrims, settled the grounds for the arrival of the reformed community of the Franciscan order (Observants).<sup>48</sup> The reformed community grew swiftly, and, in a short time, there were nearly fifty observant friars at the convent of San Francesco Grande. From 1444, the Observants obtained the right to provide spiritual assistance to the sick and pilgrims in the hospital.<sup>49</sup> The convent became one of the most important centres of the Observance in northern Italy, and its importance as a centre of education also grew steadily.<sup>50</sup> Very soon the observant house was able to offer not only basic levels of education, but also the instruction required to gain access to the university. By 1470, it became a *studium* of the Venetian prov-

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<sup>47</sup> MARANGON, *Cognitionem* (see footnote 30) 65–69 and 115–125; Emanuele FONTANA, *Frati, libri e insegnamento nella provincia minoritica di S. Antonio (secoli XIII–XIV)* (= Centro Studi Antoniani, 50, Padova 2012) 52–56.

<sup>48</sup> COLLODO, *Società* (see footnote 32) 473 and 481–487. It is very probable that Baldo had known the Franciscan Observance during his stay at Venice during 1405–1413, through the Venetian convent of San Francesco della Vigna, when Bernardino of Siena visited the city for the first time. See also Martina PANTAROTTO, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande di Padova* (= Centro Studi Antoniani 39, Padova 2003) 8.

<sup>49</sup> COLLODO, *Società* (see footnote 32) 520, and PANTAROTTO, *Biblioteca* (see footnote 48) 10.

<sup>50</sup> In 1423 and 1443 it was visited by Bernardino of Siena; in 1441, 1443, 1450, and 1451 the Paduan convent received John of Capistrano, Robert of Lecce, and John Marchesinus. Usually, the visiting masters preached a cycle of sermons, many of which were transcribed in volumes destined to become part of the library collection. See *Ibid.*, 11. See also Silvana COLLODO, *Il convento di S. Francesco e l'Osservanza francescana a Padova nel '400*. In G. B. F. Trolese (ed.), *Riforma della chiesa, cultura e spiritualità nel Quattrocento veneto: Atti del convegno per il VI centenario della nascita di Ludovico Barbo (1382–1443)*, Padova-Venezia-Treviso, 19–24 settembre 1982 (= Studi e documenti di storia monastica 6, Cesena 1984) 359–369.

ince. Consequently, at the end of the fifteenth century, the city of Padua could count on two Franciscan *studia*, with their respective libraries, to support the training of the growing community of friars, many of whom had arrived at Padua as students of the university.<sup>51</sup> In what follows the libraries of these two Franciscan communities will be explored with further detail.

## The Library of the Convent of Sant'Antonio of Padua

The first library to be considered is the ancient library of the friars of the Community, namely, the Pontificia Biblioteca Antoniana. It is difficult to establish, with a reasonable amount of certainty, the origins of the collection. However, one can assume that the Franciscans brought with them the books required to perform the divine office when arrived at Padua in 1229. It is possible that the most ancient volumes of the collection were read, studied, and commented on by Anthony of Padua himself.<sup>52</sup> In fact, among the earliest volumes of the collection, there were the Bible and copies of patristic and theological literature that were part of the collection of sources for the sermons and theological lessons of Anthony.<sup>53</sup>

One of the first available documents concerning the history of the library is the last will of the canon of the cathedral, Egidius, who bequeathed to the convent his books and a copy of the sermons of Anthony in 1237.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> PANTAROTTO, Biblioteca (see footnote 48) 11 and 13; COLLODO, Società (see footnote 32) 527–528 and 553.

<sup>52</sup> LUISETTO, Archivio (see footnote 46) 1309. See also Giuseppe ABATE, Manoscritti e biblioteche francescane del medio evo. In *Il libro e le biblioteche: Atti del primo congresso bibliologico francescano internazionale, 20-27 febbraio 1949* (Roma 1950), vol. 2, 77–126, esp. 87–88.

<sup>53</sup> See Giuseppe ABATE – Giovanni LUISETTO, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana col catalogo delle miniature* (Vicenza 1975), vol. 1, xxiv.

<sup>54</sup> “*Conventui fratrum minorum de Padua et ad eorum utilitatem et usum reliquit libros suos, qui sunt apud dictos fratres, et sermones quondam fratris Antonii, qui sunt apud magistrum Patavinum.*” See Paolo SAMBIN, *Tre notizie per la storia*

In 1240, Uguccone, another canon of the cathedral, donated to the convent a Bible in twenty-five volumes, which he had probably acquired in Paris in 1214–1220.<sup>55</sup> Further donations to the conventual library were registered in 1260, 1289, 1300, and during nearly all the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>56</sup>

Emanuele Fontana's research on the mediaeval writing practices within the Franciscan province of Sant'Antonio has shown that, apart from donations and bequests, there were other significant modalities of acquisition of books for the library, such as the purchase from other convents or even from friars from other orders.<sup>57</sup> Additionally, in 1290, the regu-

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culturale ed ecclesiastica di Padova (secoli XII e XIII). In: *Archivio veneto* 56 (1955) 1–11, esp. 2.

<sup>55</sup> It is the current Pontificia Biblioteca Antoniana [BA], Padova, MS 285. In an internal note it is written: "*Iste liber est de conventu Padue et in eodem conventu debet permanere, qui fuit quondam magistri Ugutionis de voluntate ipsius. Si quis autem eum alienaverit anathema sit; et est Genesis de littera et apparatu Parisiensi, cum multis aliis quorum scripta sunt inferius, quos magister Ugutio dedit fratribus Minoribus de conventu Padue, ut ibi debeant stare.*" See ABATE – LUISETTO, *Codici* (see footnote 53) xxvii. See also Cristiana CASSANDRO et al. (eds.), *I Manoscritti datati della provincia di Vicenza e della Biblioteca Antoniana di Padova* (= *Manoscritti Datati d'Italia* 4, Firenze 2000) 53.

<sup>56</sup> In 1260, Nicolaus Clericus, from the Benedictine monastery of San Pietro in Padua, donated to the convent a book of sermons. See SAMBIN, *Notizie* (see footnote 54) 4. Later, in 1289, Zilborga, widow of the count of Vicenza, stated in her will that two hundred pounds should be given to her son in order to buy books, but only if he entered the Franciscan order: "*Libras ducentas pro libris si ordinem fratrum Minorum intraverit; alias non.*" ABATE – LUISETTO, *Codici* (see footnote 53) xxvii. Among the most important donations to the library during the fourteenth century were those of Beatrice Tolomei, who in 1300 donated to the Paduan provincial minister the sum of twenty-five lire to repair the books in the library. Another significant donation to the conventual library was the legacy of Bishop Ildebrandino de' Conti in 1352, as well as that of the professor of Natural Philosophy at the University of Padua, Gaetano of Thiene, in 1461. See LUISETTO, *Archivio* (see footnote 46) 1309.

<sup>57</sup> FONTANA, *Frati* (see footnote 47) 92–108. See also Emanuele FONTANA, *La bibliothèque du convent des frères mineurs de Padoue (XIII<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*. In N. Bèriou – M. Morard – D. Nebbiai (eds.), *Entre stabilité* (see footnote 25) 13–29.

lations of the provincial chapter gathered at Treviso, established that a scribe should be appointed in the convents of the Venetian province to copy the books required. Therefore, it has been assumed that the Biblioteca Antoniana was among those that could count on its own *scriptorium*.<sup>58</sup> This assumption has been recently challenged by Nicoletta Giovè Marchioli, who argues that there is not satisfactory evidence to confirm the presence of a permanent *scriptorium* in many of the Franciscan convents – including the convent of Sant’Antonio.<sup>59</sup>

The arrival of printing was also an opportunity to enhance the book collection.<sup>60</sup> In 1477, the minister general, Francesco Sansone, created a fund of two-hundred pounds for the acquisition of books for the library. This sum was used exclusively for the acquisition of printed books, among which were the *Rationale divinatorum officiorum*, printed in Mainz in 1459, and the decretals of Boniface VIII.<sup>61</sup> The designation of the Paduan convent as a site for a theological college, with the prerogative of awarding degrees in 1630 represented a considerable increase in the theological collection of the library. In 1772, Professor Alessandro Burgos brought to the convent his remarkable personal collection of books.<sup>62</sup> In 1806 and 1810, the Napoleonic laws separated the library from the

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<sup>58</sup> The text of the decree is as follows: “*Item ordinat minister et diffinitores cum provinciali capitulo quod in conventu Padue et Veneciis, et aliis conventibus qui sustinere potuerunt, teneatur continue unus scriptor qui scribat libros necessarios et pro armario opportunos.*” Andrew G. LITTLE (ed.), *Statuta Provincialia Provinciae Franciae et Marchiae Trevisae* (s. XIII). In: *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 7 (1914) 447–465, esp. 460.

<sup>59</sup> Nicoletta GIOVÈ MARCHIOLI, *Codici francescani a Roma nel Duecento. Le testimonianze, le assenze e i problemi*. In: *Scripta* 7 (2014) 127–138, esp. 133; Nicoletta GIOVÈ MARCHIOLI, *Scrivere e leggere il libro francescano*. In *Scriptoria e biblioteche nel basso medioevo (secoli XII-XV)*. *Atti del LI convegno storico internazionale, Todi, 12-15 ottobre 2014* (= *Atti dei convegni del Centro italiano di studi sul basso Medioevo – Accademia Tudertina, Nuova serie* 28, Spoleto 2015) 179–212, esp. 185.

<sup>60</sup> ABATE – LUISETTO, *Codici* (see footnote 53) xxxvii.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxviii.

<sup>62</sup> LUISETTO, *Archivio* (see footnote 46) 1310.



convent. However, the library was not affected by the suppressions and/or Napoleonic confiscations because the rights of ownership and the duties of administration had been transferred since the fourteenth century to a lay entity – the Arca del Santo. Consequently, the Biblioteca Antoniana is an exceptional case of a Franciscan library in Italy that remained in its original location and did not suffer the complete loss, or dispersion, of its collection.<sup>63</sup>

## The Collection of the Biblioteca Antoniana

Two inventories – the first carried out in 1396, the current Pontificia Biblioteca Antoniana [PBA], Padova, MS 572, and the second, completed in 1449, the current PBA, Padova, MS 573 – provide information about the configuration and remarkable growth of the book collection in the convent during the brief period between them, as well as about some significant losses.<sup>64</sup> The second inventory is remarkably detailed in the description of the volumes by indicating their location in a specific bench or cupboard, the title of the work, followed by a swift codicological description, the *incipit* of the manuscript, the *incipit* of the second quire and, finally, the *explicit* of the volume. Additionally, it includes a section where all the books on loan are listed, thus allowing the proper

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<sup>63</sup> See Raoul MANSELLI, Due biblioteche di “Studia” Minoritici: Santa Croce di Firenze e il Santo di Padova. In *Le scuole degli ordini mendicanti: secoli XIII–XIV* (Todi 1978) 353–371.

<sup>64</sup> See HUMPHREYS, Book Provisions (see footnote 7) 7. See also Donatella FRIOLI, Gli antichi inventari della Biblioteca Antoniana di Padova: lessicografia e concezioni codicologiche. In: *Le Venezie francescane* 4 (1987) 73–103; Giovanna BALDISSIN MOLLI, La sacrestia del Santo e il suo tesoro nell’inventario del 1396: Artigianati d’arte al tempo dei Carraresi (Padova 2002); René HERNÁNDEZ VERA, A Space in the Cupboard: The Organisation of the Book Collection in the Franciscan Convent of Sant’Antonio in Padua during the Fifteenth Century. In: *Bulletin of International Medieval Research* 19 (2014) 101–121, esp. 107–110.

identification and retrieval of any volume in the collection.<sup>65</sup> As a result, we know that by the mid-fifteenth century, the library had near 1,024 volumes distributed among fifty-three repositories, placing the Paduan collection at the same level of the most important libraries of the order – such as the libraries of Assisi, Bologna, Florence, and Siena.<sup>66</sup>

The order of registration adopted in MS 573 followed the organisation of the space and the distribution of volumes in the library. Consequently, the inventory is also a map of the collection, which was located in a wide room whose area was divided into two sides. On the right-hand side, there were fourteen benches and twelve cupboards, while on the left-hand side, there were fourteen benches and thirteen cupboards. The books for consultation were chained to the benches, while the books available for loan were kept in the cupboards, following the model of the double collection, as was typical for mendicant houses.

On the right-hand side, the first two benches kept copies of the Bible and biblical texts. From the third bench onwards, ending at the ninth bench, there was a complete collection of specific commentaries on biblical texts.<sup>67</sup> Among them, on the seventh bench, there was a magnificent manuscript of Joachim of Fiore's *Psalterium decem chordarum*, one of the sources for the controversial interpretation of the role of Francis-

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<sup>65</sup> On fol. 64v: “*Infrascripti sunt debitores librorum habentes infrascriptos libros apud se a quibus nunquam potui habere ad perfectionem inventarii, in quolibet descripserim libros simpliciter tamen non potui designare et scribere qualitates et signa librorum. Ideo hic pro debitoribus inscripti sunt.*” See *Ibid.*, 109. See also René HERNÁNDEZ VERA, *L'inventario della Biblioteca Antoniana di Padova del 1449* (ms. Padova, Biblioteca Antoniana 573) (Padova 2009) 216.

<sup>66</sup> Cesare CENCI (ed.), *Bibliotheca Manuscripta ad Sacrum Conventum Assisensem* (= *Il Miracolo d'Assisi* 4, Assisi 1981), vol. 1, 29–34; HUMPHREYS, *Book Provisions* (see footnote 7) 111–115; Kenneth W. HUMPHREYS, *The Library of the Franciscans of Siena in the Late Fifteenth Century* (= *Studies in the History of Libraries and Librarianship* 4, Amsterdam 1978) 24. HERNÁNDEZ VERA, *Space* (see footnote 64) 110.

<sup>67</sup> Some of the commentaries were Augustine's on the book of Genesis, the commentary of Nicholas of Lyra on the Psalms and the treatises of Thomas Aquinas on the Gospels.

cans within society and Church history, adopted by some groups during the thirteenth century.<sup>68</sup> From the ninth bench to the fourteenth bench, there was a collection of sermons on biblical books. The theological section began on the left-hand side. The first bench held copies of the *Book of Sentences*, a Bible, and a copy of Dante's *Comedy*. The second and third benches had theological treatises, like the *Summa* of Henry of Ghent, but were mainly occupied by commentaries on the *Book of Sentences* written by masters of the order.<sup>69</sup> The fourth bench had mainly *summae*, *quodlibetales*, and *questiones*, while works on logic and commentaries on the *Sentences* occupied the fifth bench.<sup>70</sup> The sixth and seventh benches were dedicated to the literature of the Fathers of the Church.<sup>71</sup> Treatises on canon law and philosophy were available on the eighth and ninth benches, whereas the volumes on moral theology were chained to the tenth bench.<sup>72</sup> The eleventh bench was dedicated to Aristotle and the

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<sup>68</sup> The manuscript is the current PBA, Padova, MS 322. See ABATE – LUISETTO, Codici (see footnote 53) 290–292.

<sup>69</sup> For example, the commentaries of Alexander of Hales, Bonaventure, Duns Scotus, Peter Auriol, Francis of Meyronnes, Landolfus Caracciolus, and Richard of Middleton.

<sup>70</sup> Such as the *Summa theologiae* and *Quodlibetales* by Thomas Aquinas, and two volumes of *quaestiones* on the *Sentences* by Landolfus Caracciolus and Giles of Rome. Some of the works on the fifth bench were the *Dialogus* and the *Summa logicae* by William of Ockham, accompanied by volumes of the *Quaestiones* by Henry of Ghent, other works by Giles of Rome, the *Summa super Sententias* by Philip the Chancellor and the commentary on the fourth book of the *Sentences* by Duns Scotus.

<sup>71</sup> The sixth bench was dedicated almost exclusively to Augustine. There were copies of *De civitate Dei*, *Milleloquium*, *Confessiones*, and a volume containing *De vera religione*, *De libero arbitrio*, and *De conflictu vitiorum*. The seventh bench was dedicated to treatises by other Fathers of the Church such as Jerome, John of Damascus, Isidore of Seville, and Pseudo-Dionysius the Aeropagite. The bench also contained the *Breviloquium* of Bonaventure, the treatise *De miseria humanae conditionis* by Pope Innocent III, and copies of the *Ordinarium vite religiose* by John of Wales.

<sup>72</sup> The eighth and ninth benches had copies of the *Decretales* and commentaries such as the *Summa super titulos decretalium* by Geoffrey of Trani, the *Summa super titulos decretalium* by Henry of Segusio, and the *Tabula Iuris canonici et*

commentaries to his works; a set that was complemented by the books kept on the twelfth bench, dedicated to the treatises on natural philosophy and logic.<sup>73</sup> Finally, the thirteenth and fourteenth benches kept treatises on mathematics, rhetoric, history, and manuals of grammar.<sup>74</sup> The cupboards, containing the copies available for loan, were behind the benches. On the left-hand side, the first four cupboards contained the Bible, biblical books, and concordances to the biblical text. The fifth and sixth cupboards were occupied by commentaries on biblical books. From the seventh cupboard to the eleventh cupboard, more than one hundred and fifty volumes of sermons were available. The twelfth

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*civilis* or *Tabula Iuris utriusque* by Johannes de Erfordia (de Saxonia). On the tenth bench there were treatises such as the *Summa de penitentia* by Servasancus of Faenza, the *Summa* by Peter Cantor and several treatises on virtues and vices.

<sup>73</sup> There, copies of the *Metaphysica*, *De anima*, the *Physica*, and other major works by Aristotle could be found. Among the commentaries there were copies of the *Super methaphysicam* by Duns Scotus, the *Expositio in librum de Anima Aristotelis* by Gaetano of Thiene and the commentaries by Averroes. The twelfth bench contained the *In quatuor libros metheorum* by Albert of Cologne, and the *De caelo et mundo* by Gaetano of Thiene. The works on logic comprised the *Summa logicae* or *Loyca guallis* by William of Ockham, the *Logica* by William Burley, and a copy of the *Quaestiones* of Rudolf Brito. There was also a copy of the *Ethics* by Aristotle, one volume containing *De officiis* by Cicero, and *De beneficiis* by Seneca.

<sup>74</sup> There was one copy of Boethius's *De arithmetica*, and one miscellany with encyclopaedic works by Rabanus Maurus, Isidore of Seville, Macrobius and Bede, as registered on fol. 29<sup>r</sup> of MS 573: "*Rabanus De computo in aseribus et coreo viridi et blavo ad ligaturas, cuius principium 'Dilecto fratri' et est in antiqua littera et incipit secundus quaternus 'dianum et nocturnum' et habet in finem novem folia circulis et signis de zodaico [sic].*" It is the current PBA, Padova, Biblioteca Antoniana MS 27. See HERNÁNDEZ VERA, *L'inventario* (see footnote 65) 150; See also ABATE – LUISETTO, *Codici* (see footnote 53) 28–33. On the same bench there was also a copy of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* by Pseudo-Cicero, two miscellanies of historical works by Sallust, and the treatise *De sphaera* by John of Sacrobosco. The fourteenth bench was devoted to works on grammar and reference such as the *Derivationes* by Hughes of Pisa, a manual on grammar by the same author, a miscellany of works of William Brito that included the *Expositio vocabulorum Bibliae*, and *De accentu* by Priscian.

cupboard contained glossed volumes of biblical books, especially the Psalms, as well as commentaries on the Gospels, the prophets, and the Book of Revelation. The thirteenth cupboard contained useless, unidentified material.<sup>75</sup>

The first cupboard on the right-hand side contained copies of the *Book of Sentences* and the commentaries by Thomas Aquinas. The second cupboard contained fourteen volumes of commentaries on the *Sentences*, all by Bonaventure, while the third cupboard was dedicated to the commentaries on the *Sentences* and *summae* by other Franciscan masters.<sup>76</sup> The series of commentaries on the *Sentences* continued through the fourth cupboard and was complemented by volumes of *quaestiones* in theology.<sup>77</sup> The fifth and sixth cupboards kept the volumes on canon law and the commentaries on the subject, as well as tools of reference.<sup>78</sup> The volumes on the lives of saints filled the seventh cupboard, while the eighth cupboard had more heterogeneous content.<sup>79</sup> The ninth cupboard contained volumes concerning theological questions, includ-

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<sup>75</sup> On fol. 49<sup>r-v</sup>: “*Tertia decima scaffa sinistra. Quedam scartafacia inordinata et quasi inutilia.*” See HERNÁNDEZ VERA, *L’inventario* (see footnote 65) 186.

<sup>76</sup> There were copies of the commentaries by Alexander of Hales, Duns Scotus, William of Ware, Peter Auriol and Francis of Meyronnes.

<sup>77</sup> Apart from the *Quaestiones* written by the authors of the commentaries kept in the third cupboard, there were the compilations of Henry of Ghent and Hannibal of Hannibaldis, a disciple of Thomas Aquinas.

<sup>78</sup> There were six copies of the *Decretales*, thirty *summae* and commentaries, plus one copy of the *Institutiones* of Justinian.

<sup>79</sup> Apart from the general hagiographical compilations such as the *Legenda aurea*, the seventh cupboard contained four copies of Bonaventure’s *Legenda* of Francis, and two of the *Legenda* of Anthony of Padua. This series was complemented by six copies of the *Mammotrectus Biblie*, a popular encyclopaedic guide to understanding the biblical text, composed by John Marchesinus. On the other hand, apart from a copy of *De proprietatibus rerum* and a missal, one could say that the eighth cupboard was dedicated to treatises on virtues and vices, including the homilies and the *Dialogi* of Gregory the Great, and the popular *Diadema monachorum* by Smaragdus.

ing those related to the *Book of Sentences*.<sup>80</sup> Many volumes on natural sciences were placed in the tenth cupboard with topics such as arithmetic and astrology, while the eleventh cupboard contained works on logic.<sup>81</sup> Finally, the twelfth cupboard had only eight volumes on unrelated, different topics.<sup>82</sup>

This survey shows that the book collection at the convent of Sant'Antonio was designed to efficiently support the education and training of the preachers of the order. Accordingly, the core of the library was the impressive set of sermons, the comments to the *Book of Sentences*, and the theological volumes, while the literature of the Fathers played an important role, albeit subordinated to the scholastic masters of the order. The distribution of the volumes between chained volumes on benches and manuscripts for loan placed on cupboards, reflects the will to guarantee the availability of the most relevant texts for the community. It is interesting though, that the lending copies of the chained volumes were not gathered in the cupboard directly behind their respective bench but were located in the cupboards at the opposite side. This arrangement certainly was deliberate and perhaps was useful to avoid confusion while carrying out inventories and helped to verify the circulation

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<sup>80</sup> There were also copies of the *Summa theologica* by Alexander of Hales, the *Quaestiones* by Francis of Meyronnes and the *Quodlibetales* by Duns Scotus.

<sup>81</sup> On the tenth bench there was the *De sphaera*, as well as works by Aristotle such as the *De historia animalium*, the *Ethica*, *De anima*, the *Physica*, and the *Metaphysica*. The eleventh bench had copies of the *Summa logicae* by William of Ockham.

<sup>82</sup> There were two copies of the *Expositiones vocabulorum Scripturae* by William Brito, one volume of *De bello civili* by Lucan, one exemplar of an anonymous *Ars dictandi*, one copy of the *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* by Martianus Capella, and one volume described as a "*Pirtimanus sine principio*". It is worth noting that there were also two choir books available for loan, as registered on fol. 64<sup>v</sup>: "*Liber Cantus in magno volumine in papiro in aseribus et coreo rubeo per totum. Incipit in secundo quinterno 'Ave maris stella' cum A magno laborato in medio cum figuris beate Virginis et aliis. Finis ultimus 'CCCLXXXII'. Liber in quinternis CC in cantu in papiro, cuius principium 'Sanctus'. Finis 'seculi amen'*". HERNÁNDEZ VERA, L'inventario (see footnote 65) 216.

of volumes. It is clear, also, that the remarkable gathering of books allowed to offer the best conditions for the loan of items. Concerning this point, there are two additional considerations. On the one hand, the fifteenth-century inventory's list of the books that could not be properly described because they were on loan or because their borrowers simply never returned them.<sup>83</sup> On the other hand, the manuscripts themselves. A case in point is the set of copies of the *Commentary* of Bonaventure of Bagnoregio to the first *Book of Sentences*. A close look at the palaeographical and textual settings of the manuscripts shows how the incoming volumes were corrected against reliable exemplars. The arriving manuscripts were swiftly chained, and the older ones became available for loan.<sup>84</sup>

## The Library of the Convent of San Francesco Grande

As mentioned before, the convent of San Francesco Grande at Padua became one of the most important centres of the Franciscan Observance in Italy. The convent became a *studium* from the second half of the fifteenth century onwards, and, therefore, its book collection grew steadily – thanks to gifts or bequests to buy manuscripts. The library also enriched its collection with the donations of books from students and

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<sup>83</sup> On fol. 66<sup>r</sup>: “*Infrascripti sunt debitores librorum, quos reperi in libro antico alterius armatiste, non cancelatos usque ad tempus 1423*”. Further, on fol. 66<sup>v</sup>: “*Suprascripti nominati in dicto libro antiquo pro maiori parte sunt mortui et tamen non sunt depenati in ipso libro.*” Ibid., HERNÁNDEZ VERA, *L'inventario* (see footnote 65) 225.

<sup>84</sup> The incoming manuscripts were not necessarily more recent than the copies already present in the library. The set of copies of the *Commentary* to the first *Book of Sentences* are the current PBA, Padova MSS 120, 123, 124 and 125. See ABATE – LUISETTO, *Codici* (see footnote 53) 161–164. The palaeographical and codicological analysis will be offered by the author of this contribution in the forthcoming volume: René HERNÁNDEZ VERA, *Franciscan Books and their Readers: Friars and Manuscripts in Late Medieval Italy* (Amsterdam 2021).

visitors who lived in the hospital.<sup>85</sup> There are, therefore, good grounds to suppose the presence of a book collection from the first moments of the institutional life of the convent. Nevertheless, the earliest available document that describes the composition of the book collection dates to 10 January 1600. It is an inventory carried out under the request of the Congregation of the Index of Prohibited Books.<sup>86</sup> The inventory registered 193 manuscripts, giving their title, author, and, in some cases, including a brief description of the contents. The list also made a distinction between manuscript and printed volumes. A second inventory of the book collection was made thirty-nine years later in the context of the compilation of the inventories of the libraries at Padua, under the direction of Filippo Tomasini.<sup>87</sup> This was a list of the volumes available in the convent and registered 128 volumes, plus seventeen from the convent of St. Ursula. This second inventory offered additional information on other aspects of the volumes, such as the *incipit* and *explicit*, the date of the book, and the works that formed part of a single volume, although the information was not always accurate. A third inventory of the book collection was carried out in 1776, and was part of a miscellaneous manuscript, currently in the Biblioteca Civica of Padua.<sup>88</sup> The inventory registered 346 manuscripts, described with a great level of detail. This precision has allowed a secure identification of many volumes as books belonging to the library of the convent.

Recent research has made an important contribution to the reconstruction of the mediaeval book collection. Martina Pantarotto revised and

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<sup>85</sup> PANTAROTTO, Biblioteca (see footnote 48) 12.

<sup>86</sup> It is the current BAV, Città del Vaticano, MS Vat. Lat. 11283, ff 40<sup>r</sup> - 54<sup>r</sup>. See Madeleine LEBRETON – Luigi FIORIANI (eds.), *Codices Vaticani Latini: Codices 11266–11326* (Roma 1985) 112–113 and PANTAROTTO, Biblioteca (see footnote 48) 14.

<sup>87</sup> Giacomo Filippo TOMASINI, *Bibliothecae Patavinae manuscriptae publicae et privatae* (Utini 1639).

<sup>88</sup> Biblioteca Civica di Padova [BCP], Padova, MS B.P. 929. The inventory, which occupies 39 leaves, is the sixth work of the miscellany. The volume lacks numeration. See PANTAROTTO, Biblioteca (see footnote 48) 16.



edited the three inventories of the library, identifying the surviving mediaeval volumes.<sup>89</sup> She has also established, from codicological and philological evidence, a large corpus of manuscripts that, undoubtedly, were in the library before 1525.<sup>90</sup>

## The Collection of the Library of San Francesco Grande

There is not consistent evidence that allows us to say there was a double collection at the convent of San Francesco Grande during the fifteenth century. The earliest inventories available do not register the presence of chained and/or unchained books, and the absence of the original bindings makes it difficult to establish whether the volumes were chained or not. Most likely, the books were available for consultation and loan, without distinction, and this, perhaps, reflects an essential feature of observant collections, namely, to be “recent”. In effect, only five out of 170 volumes were produced before the fifteenth century. And, although, it is not possible to reconstruct the distribution of the books in the space of the library, it is possible to identify the main thematic groups around which the collection was organised. First, it is necessary to consider the presence of the Bible and biblical texts. Surprisingly, there are only two volumes in the corpus established by Pantarotto. The first is a copy of the Bible from the thirteenth century. The second is a copy of the Epistles of Paul, included in a miscellany.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> See *Ibid.* The main evidence is the enumeration of the leaves, completed on all the volumes of the collection during the late sixteenth century, plus the registration, at the end of each volume, of the total number of leaves and, in some cases, the number of quires. Moreover, there are traces of a previous system of reference, which was modified by the scribe of the sixteenth-century inventory.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 98. Additional evidence is provided by the absence of ownership inscriptions from later periods. This feature has been fundamental to establish the presence of the volume in the convent during the fifteenth century.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 111 and 154. Most probably, the circulating copies of the Bible were part of the collection of the sacristy, and therefore were not registered on the inventories.

The most important part of the collection consisted of tools useful for the training of the preachers. There were fifty-three volumes of postils, commentaries, compilations, treatises on the vices and virtues, and miscellanies of treatises on different topics by masters of the order – especially the two most influential observant preachers: Bernardino of Siena and John of Capistrano. There were also works by Thomas Aquinas, and the library had a few copies of the works of the fourteenth-century Dominican master, Antonino of Florence.<sup>92</sup> A set of extracts from the *Divina Commedia* was included in a volume of treatises on moral subjects.<sup>93</sup>

As expected from an observant library, sermons constituted a vital part of the collection. There were at least twenty-eight volumes of sermons, especially miscellanies that included Fathers of the Church, Dominican masters, such as Jacobus de Voragine, and the main observant masters. There were also some works, such as the treatise *De ornatu et habitu mulierum* by Antonino of Florence, and only two copies of the lives of saints – one of which was the *Legenda aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine. There were also six volumes on canon law, among which were volumes of the *Decretals* and tables of concordances. The theological treatises focused on commentaries on the *Sentences* and on the *Decretals*. The treatise *Compendium theologicae veritatis* by Hugo Ripelin de Argentina should be mentioned because it was available in a single copy of its vernacular version under the title *Spina e rosa*.<sup>94</sup> On the other hand, the literature of the Fathers was present with volumes concerning commen-

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<sup>92</sup> See Thomas KAEPPELI, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevii* (Roma 1970), vol. 1, 80.

<sup>93</sup> It seems to be a personal copy, prepared by friar Francis of Padua, who left it to the convent after his death. On Biblioteca Universitaria di Padova [BUP], Padova, MS 1030, fol. 11<sup>r</sup> there is a note: “*Hic liber est ad usum fratris Francisci minorite de civitate Patavii quem propria manu conscripsit et post mortem ipsius pertinet ad locum Padue.*” HERNÁNDEZ VERA, *Franciscan Manuscripts* (see note 26) 107–110; See also PANTAROTTO, *Biblioteca* (see footnote 48) 138.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 162.

taries on biblical books or treatises on Christian spirituality – such as the *Scala Paradisi* of John Climacus. An important section of the collection dealt with Franciscan institutional life. There were copies of the Constitutions, of the bulls of the popes Nicholas III and Clement V, of the Franciscan rule and commentaries on the rule, and the founder's *Testamentum*.

The presence of ten manuals of logic, grammar, and similar works of reference, illustrates the importance of these subjects for the convent. There were works such as the *Grammatica Latina* by Gaspare of Verona, the *Summae Grammaticae* of Petrus de Isolella, a copy of the *Orthographia* by Gasparino Barzizza and the *Sophismata* by William of Heytesbury. Classic literature was represented by works such as the *Achilleid*, the *Satires* of Juvenal, works by Cicero, and a commentary by Nicholas Trivet on the tragedies of Seneca.<sup>95</sup> The library had a few books on natural sciences, particularly on astronomy and astrology, plus a treatise on natural philosophy known as *Mare Magnum*.<sup>96</sup> There were also volumes on Roman history, including a catalogue of the Roman emperors, and some philosophical treatises, especially the commentaries on Aristotle's works.

The composition of the Observant book collection suggests that its aim was to support the education and training of friars devoted to preaching and pastoral care. In this sense, it had the same purpose of the ancient collection of the conventual friars of Sant'Antonio. Nevertheless, while the core of the collection of the Biblioteca Antoniana was the gathering of volumes of sermons by single masters of the order, the observant collection focused on biblical commentaries, postils, and treatises. At the same time, the small number of exemplars on philosophical literature

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<sup>95</sup> The *Achilleid* is an unfinished epic poem by Statius, intended to celebrate the life and deeds of Achilles. See Oswald A. W. DILKE (ed.), *Statius Achilleid* (Bristol 2005).

<sup>96</sup> It is the current BUP, Padova, MS 1110, a paper manuscript in-folio written during the fifteenth century, titled: *Theorica in lapide philosophico quae intitultur Mare Magnum*. See PANTAROTTO, *Biblioteca* (see footnote 48) 30, 76, and 143.

or lives of saints suggests that these topics were not as relevant for the observant community as the regulations concerning the institutional life of the order, the works on canon law, and the theological treatises. Another interesting feature of the collection is that the earliest volume available was produced during the thirteenth century, and there was a very small number of works produced before the fifteenth century. This is mainly due to the fact that a significant part of the collection was produced by their own readers, as suggested by the results of an analysis of the traces left by scribes. This is consistent with the fact that *studia*, among the observance, are prior to the process of configuration of a systematic library, and, therefore, it seems that observants arrived to the convent with their books and bequeathed the volumes to the library later.<sup>97</sup> Finally, it is important to acknowledge that ancient inventories, and even some catalogues, can be misleading, because usually behind a single title in their list, there is a set of texts gathered into a small-format codicological or textual miscellany, mostly in paper. These manuscripts were remarkably flexible and suited well with the needs and expectations of a community of scholars devoted to itinerant preaching and pastoral care; therefore, they can perfectly be considered as portable collections of books.<sup>98</sup>

This overview of the Francian libraries in Padua during the fifteenth century allows us to establish some interesting topics of analysis.

The first thing to take into account is the aim of the book collections. Both, the ancient and the reformed collections were the answer to the need of an efficient tool for the education and training of friars devoted to study, preaching, and pastoral care. The library of Sant'Antonio privileged the collection of sermons by masters of the order, while the strength of the library of San Francesco Grande was the set of com-

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<sup>97</sup> See HERNÁNDEZ VERA, *Franciscan Books* (see note 84). See also Letizia PELLEGRINI, *Cultura del libro e pratiche dei libri nell'Osservanza italiana (XV secolo)*. In N. Bèriou – M. Morard – D. Nebbiai (eds.), *Entre stabilité* (see footnote 25) 189–201, esp. 197.

<sup>98</sup> See René HERNÁNDEZ VERA, *Franciscan Observant Miscellanies and Ownership of Books: the Paduan Case*. In: *Il Santo* 60 (2020) 177–193, esp. 185–192.

mentaries, postils, and treatises. This feature underlines how, in each case, the settings of the collection suited the needs of the community of scholars. A second relevant similarity is the fact that both libraries privileged efficiency when dealing with circulation of volumes. The ancient library of Sant'Antonio had a double collection with volumes for consultation and copies for loan. Evidence shows that arriving copies were first checked, corrected, and then chained, leaving the previously chained volumes available for loan. This practice guaranteed the circulation of corrected and completed copies of texts. The more recent library of San Francesco Grande, perhaps, did not have a double collection, but there is no doubt that there were volumes conceded on loan to friars. Moreover, since reading for purposes of study implied a long-term relation with manuscripts, it should not be surprising that both libraries extensively employed the concession of books *ad usum*, that is, on loan for life, as showed by manuscript evidence.<sup>99</sup>

Perhaps the differences between these Franciscan libraries are even more interesting. The starting point is the age of the libraries: by the end of the fifteenth century, the library of Sant'Antonio had, at least, two centuries of history, whereas the observant library of San Francesco Grande was a very recent collection with barely fifty years of existence. This, and other factors, such as the profile of the friars of the convents, contributed to outline a clear distinction between the codicological features of the manuscripts gathered in the collections. Whereas the library of Sant'Antonio grew around a collection of mid-format parchment volumes, which usually contained single works or compilations of

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<sup>99</sup> Some examples are: PBA, Padova, MSS 248, fol. II<sup>v</sup>; 118, fol. I<sup>r</sup>, 278, fol. 108<sup>v</sup>; 240, fol. I<sup>v</sup>; 249, back cover, 308, fol. I<sup>r</sup>; 344, fol. 99<sup>v</sup>; 273, fol. 133<sup>v</sup>; 350, pastedown; 334, fol. 82<sup>v</sup>; 125, fol. 127<sup>v</sup>; or BUP, Padova, MSS 736, fol. 117<sup>v</sup>; 1159, fol. 188<sup>v</sup>. See HERNÁNDEZ VERA *Franciscan Manuscripts* (see note 26) 145–155, and HERNÁNDEZ VERA *Franciscan Books* (see note 84). For a consideration of the practice of concession *ad usum* within the Franciscan convents, see ŞENOCAK, *Book Acquisition* (see footnote 27), and ŞENOCAK, *Circulation* (see footnote 27). See also FONTANA, *Fрати* (see footnote 47) 98, 110–125.

single authors, the observant library had, predominantly, small-format volumes in paper which were, mostly, textual or codicological miscellanies that suited the mobility of friars in terms of the portability of the collections of texts.<sup>100</sup> This is also related with the mechanisms of acquisition of volumes. Donations, bequests, and internal production played a significant role in the growth of the collection of both libraries. However, by the end of the fifteenth century, there was a clear difference between the practices of writing between the communities: while the friars of the Community preferred to commission, or to directly acquire their books, the friars of the observant house used to write themselves their own materials of work and study, and this difference in the practices of writing, and even of reading, certainly had a significant impact in the configuration of the book collection of each convent.<sup>101</sup>

## Conclusion

Books were crucial to the activity of mendicant orders, and, therefore, their libraries were deemed to become essential part of their identity. The case of the libraries of Franciscan friars in Padua shows the extent and impact of the practice of study and training through the extensive use of books, whether friars belonged to a reformed community or not. In addition, the overview of the sources allows us to better understand why and how, apart from the presence of capable lectors, excellent libraries were the necessary condition for any mendicant house to host a *studium*. Perhaps, rather than the quantity, or even the typology of manuscripts, the determining factor was their availability, and, there-

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<sup>100</sup> See HERNÁNDEZ VERA, Space (see footnote 64) and HERNÁNDEZ VERA, Miscellanies (see footnote 98).

<sup>101</sup> See Nicoletta GIOVÈ MARCHIOLI, La cultura scritta al Santo nel Quattrocento: fra produzione, fruizione e conservazione. In *Cultura, arte, committenza al Santo nel Quattrocento, Padova, Basilica del Santo, 25-16 settembre 2009*. In: *Il Santo* 50 (2010) 361–388; GIOVÈ MARCHIOLI, Libro (see footnote 59) 191–194; FONTANA, Frati (see footnote 47) 92–108; PANTAROTTO, Biblioteca (see footnote 48) 98–100.

fore, efficient models of circulation of books – such as how the double collection and loans *ad usum* became characteristic of the Mendicants' centres of study.

The study of the settings and codicological features of the Franciscan book collections in Padua during the fifteenth century reveals significant similarities and differences in their composition. On the one hand, both libraries shared the same purpose: being the most efficient tool possible for the education and training of the preachers within the order. Both conceded loans *ad usum* as a result of the intensive practice of reading, and both collections satisfied the needs of their respective *studia*. On the other hand, the age, dimensions, composition, and nature of their book collections were strikingly different. The library of Sant'Antonio was an ancient library with more than a thousand volumes available. The library of the Paduan observant house was a recent library with fewer than two hundred volumes. The core of the ancient collection of Sant'Antonio was the remarkable set of parchment volumes of sermons by masters of the order, whereas the most important part of the observant collection was the set of paper compilations of commentaries, postils, treatises, and regulations of the order. This difference also reflects the contrast between their respective original clusters: the friars of the community of Sant'Antonio gathered their books for the performance of the divine office and devotional purposes. This original group grew quickly and steadily through donations, bequests, internal production, and acquisition. The observant library started when friars arrived at the city with their books and configured a collection around study. This is consistent with the findings of recent scholarship, which shows how, with the introduction of *studia* among the observance during the fourth decade of the fifteenth century, there was an affirmation of observant libraries and their book collections as gatherings of materials of study. By the fifteenth century, while books were already in the repositories and conceded *ad usum* to friars in the conventual libraries, for observant houses, friars entered into the order already in possession of their books,

and eventually bequeathed them to their convents.<sup>102</sup> This process is not only the result of observant libraries being “new” or recent, but also the consequence of the characteristics of the books employed by Observants: usually small-format codicological and/or textual miscellanies of paper. This type of manuscript showed remarkable flexibility as a tool in the hands of itinerant preachers by becoming portable collections of works and served also as a suitable solution to the observant endeavour to follow the rule of Francis. In this sense, manuscript miscellanies became an element in the construction of a reformed identity within the Franciscan Order.<sup>103</sup>

This brief overview of the role and configuration of the Franciscan libraries of Padua during the fifteenth century allows us to better understand the significant impact of mendicants in the late-mediaeval practices of writing, reading, and collecting manuscripts. By assimilating and adapting the double collection already in use by Benedictine monasteries, Mendicants configured the most effective tool in the education and training of preachers, paving the way for the rise of international Humanism. Perhaps this is why mendicant libraries are too easily defined as “modern”. It is important, however, to remember that awareness of the monastic legacy, and the constant search for an efficient form of providing, distributing, and locating knowledge, are, precisely, the essence of the mediaeval conception of written culture. In this sense, Letizia Pellegrini rightfully observes that mendicant libraries, rather than being the first modern libraries, are the ultimate expression of mediaeval librarianship.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> PELLEGRINI, *Cultura* (see footnote 97) 197–200.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 191. See HERNÁNDEZ VERA, *Miscellanies* (see footnote 98) 192–193.

<sup>104</sup> “*Le grandi biblioteche quattrocentesche (esemplari fra tutte la Malatestiana di Cesena e quella di S. Marco a Firenze) – proprio perché mettono insieme cultura religiosa, imprenditorialità umanistica, funzione pubblica e architettura specifica – costituiscono, tradizionalmente, il primo capitolo della storia delle biblioteche. Ma nella mia prospettiva non sono le prime biblioteche moderne, sono – per così dire – le ultime biblioteche medievali che certo svettano, ma entro un fitto sottobosco biblio-*



At this point, it is possible for us to acknowledge that a medieval book collection could be both an ancient and magnificent gathering of parchment manuscripts, as well as a single, humble, portable volume containing a miscellany of works which, one wonders, was a sort of library suited to be carried in the pocket.

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**From Chained Books to Portable Collections: Franciscan Libraries in Padua during the Fifteenth Century**  
René Hernández Vera

This paper offers an analytical comparison between the book collections of the Franciscan friars in the city of Padua during the fifteenth century. In order to do so, the study offers, first, a brief survey of the mediaeval book collections of Dominicans and Austin friars in Padua during the period under consideration, and then it considers with further detail the communities of Franciscan friars in the city – namely, on the one hand, the Friars of the Community, or Conventuals and, on the other, the Friars of the Observance, or Observants. The exceptional circumstances of the preservation of their book collections allows one to compare their libraries in terms of their respective tradition, dimension, and composition of the collection. The study explores their similarities and pays attention to their differences. As a result, it will offer insight on how specific typologies of books were related to each collection, on how the strategies of circulation of volumes guaranteed their availability, on how the original cluster of the libraries reflect the nature of friars as readers and writers, and on how their apparently contradictory nature reflected late-mediaeval ideas of librarianship that had significant and lasting impact in written culture.

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*tecario e librario ancora in gran parte manoscritto e ‘medievale.’* PELLEGRINI, *Cultura* (see footnote 97) 192.

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**Von Kettenbüchern zu übertragbaren Büchersammlungen:  
Die Franziskanerbibliotheken in Padua während des  
15. Jahrhunderts**  
René Hernández Vera

Dieser Beitrag bietet einen analytischen Vergleich der Büchersammlungen der Franziskanerbrüder in Padua während des 15. Jahrhunderts. Er legt zuerst einen kurzen Überblick zu den mittelalterlichen Buchsammlungen der Dominikaner und Augustiner in Padua in dem untersuchten Zeitraum dar. Dann befasst er sich ausführlich mit dem Wirken der Franziskanerbrüder in der Stadt. Es handelt sich namentlich um die Minoriten oder Franziskaner-Konventualen und um die Franziskaner-Observanten oder auch die Barfüßer. Da ihre Bücherbestände ausnahmsweise erhalten blieben, kann man sie hinsichtlich ihrer Entwicklung, ihres Umfangs und ihrer Struktur vergleichen. Das Ergebnis liefert eine Büchertypologie im Rahmen dieser Sammlungen, eine Übersicht zu den Strategien der Bereitstellung der Bücher, die die Zugänglichkeit der Bücher den potenziellen Lesern gewährten, die Antwort auf die Frage, inwiefern die ursprüngliche Zusammensetzung der Bibliotheken die Leser und die Verfasser unter den Brüdern widerspiegelt. Ebenso zeigen sich die widersprechenden Tendenzen in den spätmittelalterlichen Vorstellungen bezüglich des Bibliothekswesens, die einen grundsätzlichen und langfristigen Einfluss auf die Schriftlichkeit und Schriftkultur ausübten.

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**Od knih připevněných na řetízku k přenosným sbírkám knih:  
františkánské knihovny v Padově během patnáctého století**  
René Hernández Vera

Tento příspěvek nabízí analytické srovnání knihovnických sbírek františkánských bratří žijících v Padově během patnáctého století. Zachycuje nejprve stručný přehled středověkých knižních sbírek padovských dominikánů a augustiniánů ve sledovaném období, poté detailněji probírá působení františkánských bratří ve městě. Jedná se jmenovitě o minority neboli konventuály a o bratry přísné observance neboli bosé františ-

kány. Protože se jejich knižní fondy výjimečně zachovaly, můžeme je srovnávat co do vývoje, rozsahu i jejich složení. Výsledkem je typologie knih v rámci těchto sbírek, přehled strategií oběhu svazků garantující jejich dostupnost potenciálním čtenářům, odpověď na otázku, nakolik původní seskupení knihoven odráží bratry-čtenáře a bratry-spisovatele a nakolik odráží zjevně odporující si tendence pozdně středověkých představ o knihovnictví, které měly zcela zásadní a dlouhotrvající vliv na písemnou kulturu.

# Incunables in the Bishop's Library of the Hradec Králové Bishopric

MARTIN JANDA

## Introduction

The aim of this contribution is to introduce the reader to the *incunables* (from Latin *in cunabulis* = in a cradle) which the Bishop's Library of the Hradec Králové Bishopric cares for. Examples are found among them that were part of the libraries of some monasteries in the past – including the local library in Broumov, justifying their inclusion in this contribution to the conference aimed at monastery libraries.

It should be remembered that an incunable is a print originating from the invention of the letterpress by Johannes Gutenberg in the half of the fifteenth century up to, and including, the year 1500. Books printed in the range of 1501–1550 are called *paleotypes*.<sup>1</sup> Finally, *old prints* are books originating from 1551 to 1800.

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<sup>1</sup> Česká terminologická databáze knihovnictví a informační vědy [Czech Terminological Database of the Library and Information Science]. Consulted online on 20 October 2016 <http://aleph.nkp.cz/publ/ktd/00000/25/000002565.htm>.

## The Bishop's Library of the Hradec Králové Bishopric

Before coming to the incunables themselves, it is necessary to say a few words about the Bishop's library of the Hradec Králové Bishopric. The beginnings of the Bishop's Library of the Hradec Králové Bishopric date back to 1812. The then-fifteenth metropolitan Bishop of the Hradec Králové diocese, Maria Thaddäus von Trautmannsdorf-Wiensberg (1761–1819), who became the archbishop of Olomouc in 1811, donated his library to the bishopric for the needs of the diocese and especially the local, founded on his initiative, theological institute.<sup>2</sup> The number of gifted books differs in different sources.<sup>3</sup> The collection was continuously added to, and expanded by, Trautmannsdorf's successors, as well as other persons<sup>4</sup> or their legacies. The library was used by the general public during the nineteenth century, with a book loan register as an

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<sup>2</sup> Petr ADAM, *Biskupská knihovna Biskupství královéhradeckého* [The Bishop's Library of the Hradec Králové Bishopric] (Svitavy 2002) 13–14. The most significant, basically the only work concentrating on the Bishop's Library is being dealt with here.

<sup>3</sup> The stated number is either 3,222 library units – in the transferring protocol of the Trautmannsdorf's donation (*Biskupská knihovna Biskupství královéhradeckého* [Bk BiHK], *Verzeichniß der Bücher, aus welchen die in der bischöflichen königgrätzer Residenz befindliche Bibliothek bestehet, welche S[ein]e bischöfliche Exzellenz Maria Thaddaeus des h[eiligen] röm[ischen] Reiches Graf von und zu Trautmannsdorf-Weinsberg (Tit[ulo] pl[eno]) angeschaft, und zum gemeinnützigen Gebrauche der Diözes, besonders des hiesigen theologischen Instituts aufstellen lassen*, manuscript, convolute (see footnote 14), without reference number) – or Bishop Hanl in *Memorabilien-Buch*, which states 3,558 titles in 5,418 volumes (Bk BiHK, *Memorabilien-Buch der königgrätzer Bisthums – Herrschaft Chrast und des königgrätzer Bisthums, II. Theil Das königgrätzer Bisthum betreffend*, manuscript, Hradec Králové 1847, reference number RKP007). However, the library was amended with more reference numbers during the time of bishop Hanl. Compare with ADAM, *Biskupská knihovna* (see footnote 2) 20.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 18–22, 31–35.

evidence.<sup>5</sup> The library was found in various parts of the bishop's residence.<sup>6</sup> In 1881, the library was relocated to the newly built western wing of the bishop's residence.<sup>7</sup> It remains there today, as the so-called Trautmannsdorf Library. After 1901 when the last loan was recorded, the library started to be used as a reference library of the bishops. Additions to the library collection also continued during the first half of the twentieth century, finishing with bishop Mořic Pícha. The period during the sede vacante in the second half of the twentieth century was not the happiest for the library. However, during the time of František Pecina, a church dignitary, some books were lent unofficially and, in the eighties, a modern card catalogue with 9,075 units was created.<sup>8</sup> Incunables were also registered in the catalogue.<sup>9</sup> Many precious prints were stolen though.<sup>10</sup> After the fall of the communist regime, the decision to renew the Bishop's library was made; which started with Bishop Karel Otčenášek and completed under Bishop Dominik Duka. A new working place in the premises of the former Jesuit college was established.<sup>11</sup> The library was opened to the public in 2002. Its most significant part is the Trautmannsdorf library, the original historical collection consisting of books donated by Bishop Trautmannsdorf. A separation was made between the original Trautmannsdorf library and the books added later, too. The collection of the Trautmannsdorf library now consists of

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<sup>5</sup> Bk BiHK, Vormerkung aus der bischöflichen Bibliothek entlehnten Bücher schon ihnen bezeichneten Individuen (a book loan register 1820–1901), manuscript, reference number Bk – 7729.

<sup>6</sup> The purpose of this text is not to give a detailed development about the changes of the library and its furniture. Those who are interested can refer to the publication of ADAM, Biskupská knihovna (see footnote 2).

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 44.

<sup>9</sup> Věra Paulíčková processed the card catalogue in 1982–1989. Compare with ADAM, Biskupská knihovna (see footnote 2) 111. She wrote reference numbers in pencil inside an oval.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 44.

<sup>11</sup> Today's Nové Adalbertinum. The library is situated in the former garden building on the second courtyard, so called Salla Terena.

about 3,000 books and it is roughly in the state in which Bishop Trautmannsdorf gave it to the bishopric. Old prints (up to the year 1800), some manuscripts, and incunables, which is the concentration of the topic, are included. Books from these two last categories are the only ones which can be placed in the Trautmannsdorf library, although not belonging to the original collection of donated books.<sup>12</sup>

## The Incunables

Altogether, there are twenty-seven incunables within a total of twenty volumes in the Trautmannsdorf library. Some works are bound into convolutes or have been preserved in fragments.

In the following lines, the origins of the incunables, which are in the care of the Bishop library, will be analysed. Ex-libris of Bishop Trautmannsdorf can be found in ten volumes; they are in the form of a coat of arms attached mostly on the front inside cover of the books.<sup>13</sup> These make clear the fact that these incunables come from the Trautmannsdorf donation.<sup>14</sup>

Furthermore, two incunables come from the castle bishop's library in Chrast. It is not known when they became a part of the Trautmanns-

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<sup>12</sup> ADAM, Biskupská knihovna (see footnote 2) 46.

<sup>13</sup> Of interest here are the following reference numbers particularly: INK002, INK006, INK008, INK009, INK010, INK012, INK013, INK014, INK016, and INK018.

<sup>14</sup> The situation is rather complicated by the fact that also a proprietary note of the Canon Augustin Helfert can be found under the INK002 reference number in the incunables besides the Trautmannsdorf ex-libris coat of arms (Compare the note on the handwritten front sheet and folio a "*Augustini Helfert m[anu] p[ropria]*"). The mentioned incunable can be found on page 228 in the list of the estate of Augustin Helfert which will be mentioned later. Perhaps the ex-libris could have been attached to this book in error by librarian Weber. Thanks for this suggestion to Jiří Navrátil, librarian of the Bishop's Library. Bk BiHK, Bücher aus der Verlassenschaft des am 9 Februar 1810 verstorbenen Herrn Domdechant Augustin Helfert, manuscript, convolute (see footnote 3), without reference number.

dorf library.<sup>15</sup> Four incunables do not have *ex-libris*.<sup>16</sup> Three of them come from the estate of Augustin Helfert.<sup>17</sup> Augustin Helfert (1757–1810) was a priest, and the secretary of Hradec Králové consistory, who became a canon in 1794 and a chapter dean in 1796.<sup>18</sup> One of the incunables from Helfert's estate is the so-called Bible of Kutná Hora.<sup>19</sup> All sixteen of these volumes are in the ownership of the bishopric. The library also has, in its care, four deposit collections from a different owner and are only deposited in the Bishop's library. Two of these books are in the ownership of the Archdeaconry of Chrudim.<sup>20</sup> One incunable belongs to the Ledeč nad Sázavou parish<sup>21</sup> and the rest belongs to Čenkovice parish.<sup>22</sup>

As for the range of topics, religious literature prevails in the collection. Different publications of the Bible and its parts<sup>23</sup> (some with postulates – Nicolaus de Lyra),<sup>24</sup> in addition to various explanations of hymns, sequences and also Books of Wisdom.<sup>25</sup> Only one specimen, namely *Missale Olomucense*, represents liturgical books.<sup>26</sup> Another item to be

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<sup>15</sup> Namely, reference numbers INK007 and INK017. From these two, INK017 is not provided with a reference number in an oval which means this incunable was not available to Dr. Paulíčková during cataloguing of the library in the 1980s.

<sup>16</sup> Reference numbers INK001, INK003, INK004, and INK011.

<sup>17</sup> Reference numbers INK001, INK004, and INK011; Bk BiHK, Bücher aus der Verlassenschaft (see footnote 14).

<sup>18</sup> Lucie BLAŽEJOVÁ, Augustin Helfert. In: Encyklopedie města Hradec Králové (A–M) [Encyclopaedia of the City of Hradec Králové (A–M)] (Hradec Králové 2011) 174.

<sup>19</sup> Reference number INK001.

<sup>20</sup> Reference numbers INK005 and INK020.

<sup>21</sup> Reference number INK019.

<sup>22</sup> Reference number INK015.

<sup>23</sup> Reference numbers INK001, INK004, INK015, INK016, and INK017.

<sup>24</sup> Reference numbers INK009, INK010, and INK014.

<sup>25</sup> Reference number INK005 (a sequence regarding the Virgin Mary and explanations), 1<sup>st</sup> addendum to reference number INK005, and INK007.

<sup>26</sup> Reference number INK019.



mentioned is the *Summa* by Johann aus Freiburg<sup>27</sup> and a mediaeval textbook of theology by Petrus Lombardus<sup>28</sup> from scientific specialized theological literature. The Letters by Saint Jerome represent patristic literature.<sup>29</sup> The *Summa theologica* by Thomas Aquinas is represented by fragments – only half of the remaining folio.<sup>30</sup>

Two prints are dedicated to the lives of the saints: torso of the Czech passion<sup>31</sup> by Jacobus de Voragine, i.e. *Legenda aurea sanctorum, sive Lombardica historia*; Passional, or The Life and Torture of All the Martyred Saints and *Vitae sanctorum patrum* by Saint Jerome.<sup>32</sup> The first mentioned has been kept only in the form of two corrected folios on the front and back endpaper of the covers of the incunable with reference number INK013 – *Sententiarum libri IV* by Petrus Lombardus.

Altogether, there are eighteen pieces; two thirds of the collection relating to religious literature. The remaining nine specimens relate to secular literature. Aristotle (*Problemata*)<sup>33</sup> and Seneca (*Formula vitae honestae*)<sup>34</sup> represent ancient philosophers. The collection also includes the textbook of rhetoric by the Roman rhetorician Quintilian.<sup>35</sup> In addition, Pseudo-Boëthius's piece *De disciplina scholarium*<sup>36</sup> and anonymous *Manuale scholarium*<sup>37</sup> can be counted as educational writings. Mediaeval knowledge is contained in the encyclopaedia *Speculum doctrinale* by Vincentius Bellovacensis.<sup>38</sup> A work by Petrarch<sup>39</sup> represents the period of humanism and the Renaissance. Moreover, there are two

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<sup>27</sup> Reference number INK003.

<sup>28</sup> Reference number INK013.

<sup>29</sup> Reference number INK018.

<sup>30</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> addendum to reference number INK003.

<sup>31</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> addendum to reference number INK013.

<sup>32</sup> Reference number INK012.

<sup>33</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> addendum to reference number INK008.

<sup>34</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> addendum to reference number INK008.

<sup>35</sup> Reference number INK020.

<sup>36</sup> Reference number INK008.

<sup>37</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> addendum to reference number INK008.

<sup>38</sup> Reference number INK006.

<sup>39</sup> Reference number INK011.

epistolae, a popular genre at that time emanating from Petrarch.<sup>40</sup> They are a complex publication of letters intended not only to the addressee but also to a broad reading public reflecting different problems of the time and opinions of the author – a specific kind of journalism.<sup>41</sup> These are *Epistolae familiares* by Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Pope Pius II)<sup>42</sup> and *Epistolae longiores*<sup>43</sup> by Paul Schneevogel.

From the chronological point of view, the highest number of incunables come from the nineties (fifteen altogether), with ten incunables from the eighties and only two specimens were printed in the seventies of the fifteenth century. The oldest one is the Bible, printed by Anton Koberger in Nuremberg in 1477.<sup>44</sup> The latest specimen is *Missale Olomucense* from 1499.<sup>45</sup>

Based on geographical areas, the highest number of incunables come from present Germany with sixteen altogether. Six of them were printed in Nuremberg<sup>46</sup> and the same amount in Cologne.<sup>47</sup> Two specimens were printed in Leipzig,<sup>48</sup> one specimen in Ulm<sup>49</sup> and one in Augsburg.<sup>50</sup> Three incunables come from France: one from Haguenau<sup>51</sup> and two from Strasbourg.<sup>52</sup> The same amount was created in Italy, name-

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<sup>40</sup> The above-mentioned piece by Petrarch *Opera* contains also his *Epistolae*.

<sup>41</sup> Claudio LEONARDI (ed.), *Středověká latinská literatura (6.–15. století): Příručka [Mediaeval Latin Literature (6<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> Century): A Handbook]* (Praha 2014) 464–465.

<sup>42</sup> Reference number INK002.

<sup>43</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> addendum to reference number INK008.

<sup>44</sup> Reference number INK017.

<sup>45</sup> Reference number INK019.

<sup>46</sup> Reference numbers INK002, INK004, INK009, INK010, INK017, and INK019; mostly in the printing shop of Anton Koberger.

<sup>47</sup> Reference numbers INK005, first addendum to INK005, INK008, second and third addendum to INK008, INK014.

<sup>48</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> addendum to reference number INK008.

<sup>49</sup> Reference number INK012.

<sup>50</sup> Reference number INK003.

<sup>51</sup> Reference number INK007.

<sup>52</sup> Reference numbers INK015, and INK016.

ly in Venice.<sup>53</sup> Three incunables come from Switzerland, namely from Basel,<sup>54</sup> and two from Bohemia – Kutná Hora<sup>55</sup> and Prague.<sup>56</sup>

From the language point, the collection of incunables includes two Czech incunables – the so-called Bible from Kutná Hora, printed by Martin from Tišnov in Kutná Hora in 1489,<sup>57</sup> which is one of the most significant Czech incunables. The other Czech printed specimen, is *Passional, Or the Life and Torture of All the Martyred Saints* by Jacobus de Voragine from 1495 that has been preserved in a highly fragmented version.<sup>58</sup> The others are nearly all printed in Latin.<sup>59</sup>

From the point of focus of this conference, the most interesting part of the incunable collection are those of “monastery provenance”. The table below lists the incunables which were previously parts of the monastery libraries.

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<sup>53</sup> Reference numbers INK006, INK018, and INK020.

<sup>54</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> addendum to reference number INK003, and reference numbers INK011 and INK013.

<sup>55</sup> Reference number INK001.

<sup>56</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> addendum to reference number INK013.

<sup>57</sup> Reference number INK001.

<sup>58</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> addendum to reference number INK013.

<sup>59</sup> Specimen reference number INK003 is printed only in German. Latin with German can be found in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> addendum to reference number INK008. Latin is the language of other cases.

Reference number	Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke (GW); Incunabula Short Title Catalogue (ISTC)	Author	Title	Publication, dating	Monastery	Ownership note
INK006	GW(M) 50566; ISTC iv00281000	Vincentius Bellovacensis	Speculum doctrinale	Venice 1494	Benedictine monastery in Broumov	On the front plate of the gilted supralibros of Franz Stephan Rautenstrauich
INK009	GW 4289; ISTC ib00614000		Biblia: cum postillis Nicolai de Lyra et expositionibus Guillelmi Britonis in omnes prologos S. Hieronymi et additionibus Pauli Burgensis repleisque Marthiae Doering. Add.: Nicolaus de Lyra: Contra perfidiam Iudaeorum. Add.: Nicolaus de Lyra: Probatio incarnationis Christi [part I, Gen–2Chr]	Nuremberg 1487	Benedictine monastery in Police nad Mětují; Benedictine monastery in Broumov	On the front endpaper record "Monasterij Policensis" (handwriting of the 2nd half 17th–18th century); on the folio a1 record "Monasterij S[ancti] Wenceslai Braunae" (about 17th century)
INK010	GW 4289; ISTC ib00614000		Biblia: cum postillis Nicolai de Lyra et expositionibus Guillelmi Britonis in omnes prologos S. Hieronymi et additionibus Pauli Burgensis repleisque Marthiae Doering. Add.: Nicolaus de Lyra: Contra perfidiam Iudaeorum. Add.: Nicolaus de Lyra: Probatio incarnationis Christi [part III, Is–2Macc]	Nuremberg 1487	Benedictine monastery in Broumov	On the folio A1 record "Monasterij S[ancti] Wenceslai Braunae Anno 1626"
INK012	GW 50882; ISTC ih00200000	Sophronius Eusebius Hieronymus	Vitae sanctorum patrum = Vitae patrum. Add.: Hieronymus, Sophronius Eusebius (Pseudo); De regulari conuersione Egiptiorum monachorum. Add.: Hieronymus, Sophronius Eusebius (Pseudo); Liber exhortationum. Add.: Hieronymus, Sophronius Eusebius (Pseudo); De laude et effectu uirtutum	Ulm [1478–1479]	Benedictine monastery in Police nad Mětují	On the folio ix record "Monasterij Policensis S. B." (about 17th century)
INK013	GW(M) 32486; ISTC ip000495000	Petrus Lombardus	Sententiarum libri IV (cum conclusionibus Henrici de Gorichem et problematibus S. Thomae articulisque Parisiensibus)	[Basel] 1492	Benedictine monastery in Police nad Mětují	On the front sheet handwriting 17th century record "Monasterij Policensis"
INK014	GW 2602; ISTC im00136000	Nicolaus de Lyra	Postilla super totam Bibliam: cum expositionibus Guillelmi Britonis et additionibus Pauli Burgensis et correctis editis a Marthia Doering = Postilla litteralis in Yerus et Nouum testamentum [only parts IV and II in this order; Marc–Apoc, 1Chr–Ps]	Cologne not later 1483	Benedictine monastery in Břemov; Benedictine monastery in Broumov	On the folio a1 [pars IV] handwriting 16th century. "Monasterij Sanctae Mar-/garethae in Brzewnow", on the same place record "Mon[as]terij Braunouitiensis 1630 // S.B.A.B."
INK017	GW 4027; ISTC ib00552000		Biblia. Cum collationibus Menardi monachi	Nuremberg 1477	Saint James's Abbey in Würzburg (Herbipolis)	There is a record on the folio a1r according to which the Bible from 1499 was handed down to Saint James's Abbey in Würzburg. "Anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo vicesima die // mensis februarij obiit honorabilis dominus Conradus] wuzst: altarisca[n] Goringen // qui legauit obremodiu[m] et salu[m] [ani]me sue presente[m] ihoru[m] biblie me[n]strisio sancti // Jacobi ap[ostoli] extra muros herbipole[is] cui[us]d[am] [ab]b[atis] req[ui]esca[n]t in sancta pace Amen"

## Conclusion

Cataloguing of incunables was carried out in 2015–2016. Records are freely accessible for browsing on the web with the catalogue of the Bishop's library.<sup>60</sup>

In addition, the catalogue of incunables is being prepared for publication. Thus, this extremely valuable part of the Trautmannsdorf library will be made available to specialist members of the public in an appropriate manner for further scholarly use.

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### **Incunables in the Bishop's Library of the Hradec Králové Bishopric Martin Janda**

The contribution concentrates on the incunables which are kept in the Bishop's Library of the Hradec Králové Bishopric. Also, a few specimens that were previously a part of different monastery libraries can be found here.

The beginnings of the Bishop's Library in Hradec Králové date back to the year 1812. At that time, Maria Thaddäus von Trautmannsdorf-Wiensberg, former Bishop of the Hradec Králové diocese, donated his library to the bishopric. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the collection grew. The library was used by the general public until 1901; thereafter, it started to gain the character of a reference library of bishops. The time of communist totality was not the best for the library, as a lot of books were stolen. The library was restored in 2002. Trautmannsdorf library is the most significant part, which contains the original historical collection in about the same condition as when Bishop Trautmannsdorf donated it to the bishopric; books added

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<sup>60</sup> The catalogue is available online at <http://knihovna.bihk.cz/> (consulted online on 07 October 2020). However, the first time the incunables were listed was during cataloguing of the Bishop's library in the eighties of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as was previously stated.

later were separated. The collection includes about 3,000 books and it is kept in the facilities of the bishop's residence.

Twenty volumes, containing twenty-seven incunables, are part of the Trautmannsdorf's library although not all of them come from the bishop's donation. Nine incunables were in the property of the Bishop. Some of them come from the castle bishop's library in Chrast and from the estate of the Canon Augustin Helfert. At present, sixteen volumes are in the property of the bishopric, four of which are deposits – the Archdeaconry of Chrudim, the Ledeč nad Sázavou parish, and Čenkovice. The so-called Bible from Kutná Hora, a rare specimen printed in Czech, is from 1489. Judging from their owners' notes, seven incunables belonged to different monastery libraries; four of which belonged to the Broumov monastery library. A table included as part of the contribution provides details. Incunables were processed in the electronic catalogue of the library and printing of the catalogue is being prepared.

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### **Die Inkunabeln in der Bischöflichen Bibliothek des Königgrätzer Bistums** Martin Janda

Der Beitrag fokussiert sich auf die Inkunabeln, die in der Bischöflichen Bibliothek des Königgrätzer Bistums aufbewahrt werden. Unter ihnen befinden sich einige Exemplare, die sich früher in den Beständen verschiedener Klosterbibliotheken befanden.

Die Anfänge der Bischofsbibliothek in Hradec Králové/Königgrätz fallen in das Jahr 1812. Damals schenkte der einstige Bischof von Königgrätz Thaddäus Maria von Trautmannsdorf-Weinsberg dem Bistum seine Bibliothek. Während des 19. und der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts wurden ihre Bestände fortlaufend erweitert. Bis zum Jahr 1901 stand die Bibliothek der Öffentlichkeit zur Verfügung, danach erwarb sie den Charakter einer Präsenzbibliothek der Bischöfe. In der Zeit der kommunistischen Herrschaft ging es der Bibliothek gar nicht gut. Zahlreiche Buchtitel wurden gestohlen. Zur Erneuerung der Bibliothek kam es im Jahr 2002. Ihren bedeutendsten Teil stellt die Traut-

mannsdorfer Bibliothek dar, der ursprüngliche historische Bestand; er befindet sich in jenem Zustand, in dem ihn der Bischof von Trautmannsdorf dem Bistum schenkte. Die später erworbenen Bücher wurden separiert. Der Bestand umfasst ungefähr 3000 Buchtitel und wird in den Räumen der bischöflichen Residenz aufbewahrt.

Zum Bestandteil der Trautmannsdorfer Bibliothek gehören auch siebenundzwanzig Inkunabeln in zwanzig Bänden, auch wenn nicht alle aus der Schenkung des Bischofs stammen. Im Besitz des Bischofs befanden sich mit Gewissheit neun Inkunabeln. Einige sind aus der bischöflichen Schlossbibliothek in Chrast oder aus dem Nachlass des Kanonikers Augustin Helfert. Aktuell befinden sich im Besitz des Bistums sechzehn Bände, vier sind Deposita (Erzdekanat Chrudim, Pfarrgemeinde Ledec nad Sázavou und Čenkovice). Ein rares Exemplar stellt die in der tschechischen Sprache gedruckte sogenannte Kuttenberger Bibel von 1489 dar. Gemäß den Aufzeichnungen des Besitzers gehörten insgesamt sieben Inkunabeln verschiedenen Bibliotheken an (davon vier der Bibliothek in Broumov/Braunau). Ihre Übersicht vermittelt die Tabelle, die einen Bestandteil des Beitrags bildet. Die Inkunabeln wurden in einem elektronischen Katalog der Bibliothek erfasst. Die gedruckte Version des Katalogs wird vorbereitet.

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### **Inkunábule v biskupské knihovně královéhradeckého biskupství** **Martin Janda**

Příspěvek se zaměřuje na prvotisky, které jsou uchovávány v Biskupské knihovně Biskupství královéhradeckého. Mezi ně patří i několik exemplářů, které byly dříve součástí různých klášterních knihoven.

Počátky Biskupské knihovny v Hradci Králové se datují do roku 1812. Tehdy daroval bývalý biskup královéhradecký Maria Tadeáš hrabě Trautmannsdorf-Wiensberg biskupství svou bibliotéku. V průběhu devatenáctého i první poloviny dvacátého století byl fond dále rozšiřován. Do roku 1901 byla knihovna využívána veřejností, poté získává charakter příruční knihovny biskupů. Doba komunistické tota-

lity knihovně příliš nepřála. Mnoho knih bylo odcizeno. K obnovení knihovny došlo roku 2002. Její nejvýznamnější součástí je Trautmannsdorfská knihovna, původní historický fond nacházející se zhruba v tom stavu, v jakém jej biskup Trautmannsdorf věnoval biskupství. Později doplňované knihy byly separovány. Fond obsahuje asi 3 000 knih a je uložen v prostorách biskupské rezidence.

Součástí Trautmannsdorfské knihovny je i dvacet sedm inkunábulí ve dvaceti svazcích, i když všechny nepochází z biskupova daru. V majetku biskupa bylo s jistotou devět prvotisků. Některé jsou ze zámecké biskupské knihovny v Chrasti nebo z pozůstalosti kanovníka Augustina Helfera. Celkem šestnáct svazků je v současnosti v majetku biskupství, čtyři jsou deponáty (arciděkanství Chrudim, farnost Ledec nad Sázavou a Čenkovice). Vzácným exemplářem je česky tištěná tzv. Bible kutnohorská z roku 1489. Soudě dle vlastnických poznámek celkem sedm prvotisků kdysi náleželo do různých klášterních knihoven (z toho čtyři do broumovské). Jejich přehled podává tabulka, jež je součástí příspěvku. Prvotisky byly zpracovány v elektronickém katalogu knihovny a též se připravuje vydání katalogu tiskem.



# The Historical Value of *The Life of St. Sabbas* by Monk Domentijan of Serbia

DRAGOLJUB MARJANOVIĆ

We know only as much about Domentijan as he himself tells us in his work. He described himself as “the last disciple” of St. Sabbas, archbishop of the Serbian Church (1219–1236). Disregarding the obvious topos of monastic modesty, which represented the dominant literary manner of Byzantine and Serbian writers of monastic provenance, these few words may imply that he was indeed one of St. Sabbas’s disciples.<sup>1</sup> Based on detailed descriptions of St. Sabbas’s pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Christian Near East between 1229 and 1235, it can be deduced that Domentijan was, in fact, his companion on at least one of the two journeys St. Sabbas made to the Holy Land. Monk Domentijan lived for some time in the Chilandar monastery,<sup>2</sup> later moving to

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<sup>1</sup> In Serbian mediaeval sources there are reliable references about St. Sabbas of Serbia having many spiritual disciples, such as Methodios, the hegumenos of the Chilandar monastery on Mount Athos, or Arsenios, second archbishop of the Serbian Church, whom St. Sabbas received among his disciples and made abbot of Žiča monastery in Serbia, before making him his successor to the See of the Serbian Archbishopric.

<sup>2</sup> Chilandar was a joint foundation of St. Sabbas and his father, the monk Symeon Nemanja, a former grand zhupan of Serbia, and was officially established as a Serbian monastery on Mount Athos by the Byzantine Emperor

the Athonite Hermitage of St. Sabbas of Jerusalem, where he wrote *The Life of St. Sabbas*.<sup>3</sup> We can assume that as a monk in the Chilandar monastery Domentijan distinguished himself among other monks. The proof of this is the existence of the Typikon of the Hermitage of St. Sabbas, which regulates that the monks living there should be experienced in monastic virtues of fasting and prayer and thus capable of fulfilling the norms of the prescribed typikon. After some time, around 1263, Domentijan returned to the Chilandar monastery in order to assume the position of spiritual elder. However, he did not live in the monastery itself, but in the Tower of the Holy Transfiguration, where he wrote *The Life of St. Symeon* in 1264 at the request of King Stephen Uroš I Nemanjić, who he acknowledged in his work.<sup>4</sup> Domentijan had obviously not renounced his former ascetic lifestyle in Hesychia even as a spiritual elder of a large monastic community, a personal feature which he would embed and develop in his literary works.<sup>5</sup>

Domentijan wrote *The Life of St. Sabbas* in the Hermitage of St. Sabbas in 1253, during the reign of King Stephen Uroš I, most likely under his patronage, eighteen years after the repose of St. Sabbas. Domentijan's work is the most significant narrative source for the biography of the

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Alexios III Angelos in June 1198 and recognised as an “independent” and “self-governing monastery”.

<sup>3</sup> The Hermitage of St. Sabbas of Jerusalem was founded by St. Sabbas of Serbia as a dwelling place for two or three monks whose manner of life was organised by the Typikon composed by its founder. St. Sabbas of Serbia was the namesake of St. Sabbas of Jerusalem.

<sup>4</sup> The Tower of the Holy Transfiguration, in essence a typical mediaeval Byzantine *pyrgos* – a fortification tower, was built by King Stephen Uroš I Nemanjić (1243–1276) with a small *parekklesion* – a chapel on the top of it dedicated to the Transfiguration of Christ. King Stephen Uroš I Nemanjić was St. Sabbas's nephew, son of King Stephen the First-Crowned who was a brother of St. Sabbas, and he was also a grandson of St. Symeon Nemanja, the father of St. Sabbas and King Stephen the First-Crowned.

<sup>5</sup> Notions of Hesychasm and its theology and the anthropology are visible in the works of both St. Sabbas and Domentijan, and this issue is a great thematic field worth specific analysis.

first archbishop of the autocephalous Serbian Church, with major parts of it obviously written on the basis of personal accounts of the author. According to the judgments of earlier historians of the Serbian Middle Ages, *The Life of St. Sabbas* is a type of Byzantine rhetorical hagiography, which, according to its content, composition and purpose, surpasses its main function, i.e., as spiritual literature to be read in monasteries such as Chilandar, Studenica, and Mileševa on the feast day of St. Sabbas. It thus became classical literature, which was also obviously read at the royal court of King Stephen Uroš I Nemanjić.<sup>6</sup> As a writer, Domentijan is a well-educated and a skilled hagiographer. He often quoted from the Old and New Testament and had a skilful command of various narratological techniques that are characteristic of Byzantine hagiography and which he evidently meticulously investigated. Both *The Life of St. Sabbas* and *The Life of St. Symeon* are full of rhetorical elements such as *The Cry* of Sabbas's parents Nemanja and Ana after his flight to Mount Athos as a young prince renouncing his earthly rule, or, *The Cry* of the Bulgarian patriarch Athanasios over the grave of St. Sabbas in Tarnovo before the translation of his relics to Serbia. Furthermore, Domentijan interpolates many encomia in both the of the works on St. Sabbas and St. Symeon, specific laudations of these saints, as well as their *orations* and *prayers*, which are complex literary forms skilfully embedded in the narration of both hagiographies. Many parallels are drawn between the main protagonists, Saints Sabbas and Symeon, and Old Testament figures such as Moses, Aaron, Jacob and Joseph, King David, and the wise Solomon. According to Milan Kašanin, Domentijan develops in his works the complex idea of "state and temporal power", where narrations about the origin and legitimacy of a kingly power are intertwined with the images of the ruler's relationship towards the Church and clergy, and with the significance of the miracles of the first

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<sup>6</sup> Vladimir Ćorović, *Предговор, Доментијан, Животи Св. Саве и Св. Симеона* [Forward, Domentijan, Lives of St. Sava and St. Symeon] (Beograd 1938) 13.

saints of the Nemanjić dynasty, Sabbas and Symeon.<sup>7</sup> Domentijan's *The Life of St. Sabbas* was later suppressed by a revised version composed by the Athonite monk Theodosios. However, Domentijan's version was used for liturgical purposes in the Serbian Church during the fourteenth century in the Mileševa monastery, where the relics of St. Sabbas were laid after his death in 1236. By contrast, the version by Theodosios did not circulate outside of Mount Athos throughout the late Middle Ages.<sup>8</sup>

Nevertheless, apart from being the main source for *The Life of St. Sabbas*, Domentijan's hagiography of the first archbishop of the Serbian autocephalous Church is a significant source for investigating the process of the foundation of the Church's organisation in the Serbian lands in the early thirteenth century. Following carefully the flow of narration which Domentijan developed in this work, it is evident that the issue of the creating of the autocephalous Church in the Serbian lands had to be set in an international milieu of the wider region of the Byzantine world of the late twelfth century.<sup>9</sup> In that sense, Domentijan described

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<sup>7</sup> Milan KAŠANIN, *Српска књижевност у средњем веку* [Serbian Literature in the Middle Ages] (Beograd 1975) 152–177.

<sup>8</sup> Đorđe Sp. RAĐOJČIĆ, *Служење Доментијаном у литургијске сврхе* [Utilization of Domentijan in Liturgical Purposes]. In: ЈУЖНОСЛОВЕНСКИ ФИЛОЛОГ [Southslavic Philologist] 21 (1955–1956) 151–155.

<sup>9</sup> One certainly must recognise the preceding period, which is marked by the reign of grand zhupan Stephen Nemanja, who introduced and followed the principles of Byzantine imperial church policy, establishing monastic foundations in his land, nurturing monasticism, and organising state and ecclesiastical councils which defined the true faith in his land in accordance with the Byzantine Orthodoxy. In this period, several significant monasteries were established in Serbia, such as St. George's Monastery in Studenica, the monasteries of the Virgin and St. Nicholas. Some of them closely resembled the Constantinopolitan architectural and painting models, and also translated the monastic typica which were in use in most notable monasteries of Constantinople, such as the Typikon of the Evergetis monastery. See Jelena ERDELJAN, Studenica. All Things Constantinopolitan. In Ivan Stevović – Jelena Erdeljan (eds.), *ΣΥΜΜΕΙΚΤΑ*, *Collection of Papers in Honor of the 40th Anniversary of the Institute for Art History, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade* (Beo-

St. Sabbas' flight to Mount Athos under the Byzantine imperial realm. There, after becoming a monk,<sup>10</sup> he began to prepare the ground for the establishment of the Serbian Chilandar monastery with the approval of Emperor Alexios III Angelos.<sup>11</sup> Domentijan's narration in this regard is corroborated by other, independent sources. In the founding charter of the Chilandar monastery from July 1198 Emperor Alexios III recognised Chilandar as an "independent and self-governing monastery".<sup>12</sup> In *The Life of St. Sabbas* Domentijan presented this fact with a story about how Alexios III promulgated a chrysobull proclaiming the Chilandar monastery an "imperial monastery" – a term not present in the chrysobull of June 1198 or other subsequent charters issued to the Serbian monastery by the emperor.<sup>13</sup>

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grad 2012) 93–101; Vlada STANKOVIĆ, The Character and Nature of Byzantine Influence in Serbia (from the End of the Eleventh to the End of the Thirteenth Century): Reality – Policy – Ideology. In Mabi Angar – Claudia Sode (eds), *Serbia and Byzantium, Proceedings of the International Conference Held on 15 December 2008 at the University of Cologne* (Frankfurt am Main 2013) 75–94. For the Studenica Typikon of St. Sabbas, see Maja ANĐELKOVIĆ, Студенички типик Светог Саве, у: Свети Сава, Студенички типик / Saint Sava, The Studenica Typikon. In Maja Anđelković – Tihon Rakićević (eds.), *Святой Савва, Студеницкий типикон* [Saint Sava, The Studenica Typikon] (Studenica 2018) 13–25.

<sup>10</sup> Vladimir ĆOROVIĆ (ed.), ДОМЕНТИЈАН, ЖИВОТИ СВЕТОГА СИМЕУНА И САВЕ [Domentijan, Lives of Saint Symeon and Sava] (Beograd 1865) 127–128.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 162–167.

<sup>12</sup> Actes de Chilandar I, 108–109.

<sup>13</sup> In such a way, Domentijan managed to elevate the reputation of Sabbas' monastic foundation on Mount Athos in the literary manner of his work. Another significant motif promulgated by Domentijan in this segment of *The Life of St. Sabbas* is the recurrent remark that St. Sabbas and his father, Symeon Nemanja, who joined him on Athos, founded the monastery in order to serve the purpose of salvation for all those who came to the Holy Mountain from the Serbian "genus and fatherland" – thus additionally developing the idea of laying the foundation of the future independent Serbian Church in the Serbian lands. It is worthy of note that later on Domentijan remarks that St. Sabbas travelled to Nicaea in 1219 to the court of Emperor Theodore I Laskaris and

Other contemporary or near-contemporary sources linked to St. Sabbas of Serbia can also be useful in analysing the literary style and information that Domentijan provided in his work *The Life of St. Sabbas*. Thus, also linked to the issue of founding of the Serbian Church, the letter of Archbishop Demetrios Chomatenos of Ohrid is of particular interest to us here. Demetrios Chomatenos, a learned clergyman of the Byzantine Archbishopric of Ohrid, was a church dignitary under whose ecclesiastical jurisdiction the Serbian lands belonged from 1018 to the time of the Serbian grand zhupan Stephen Nemanja.<sup>14</sup> Thus, Sabbas's acquisition of the autocephaly in Nicaea in 1219 was a direct undermining of the authority and power of the Archbishop of Ohrid. In a letter to Archbishop Sabbas of Serbia, of May 1220, Demetrios Chomatenos addressed Sabbas as a monk, clearly not recognising the authority of his archbishopric. Moreover, he accused him of dealing with "worldly issues" and having close contact with temporal rulers.<sup>15</sup> Demetrios Chomatenos then proceeds to undermine the authority of Emperor Theodoros I Laskaris of Nicaea, noting that, at that time, after Constantinople had been conquered by the Crusaders in 1204, "no one

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the Constantinopolitan patriarch Manuel I Sarantenos Charitopoulos from the Chilandar monastery.

<sup>14</sup> Alexander P. КАЗНДАН (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford 1991), vol. 1, 426; Јованка КАЛИЋ, Црквене прилике у српским земљама до стварања архиепископије 1219. године. Сава Не мањић – Свети Сава, Историја и предање [Ecclesiastical Conditions in the Serbian Lands before the Making of the Archbishopric in 1219. Sava Nemanjić – Saint Sava, History and Tradition] (Beograd 1979) 27–52. For a general history of the Empire of Nicaea, see Michael ANGOLD, *A Byzantine Government in Exile. Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea (1204–1261)* (Oxford 1975).

<sup>15</sup> Vlada СТАНКОВИЋ, Стефан Немањић и његов брат Сава у списима Димитрија Хоматина [Stefan Nemanjić and His Brother Sava in the Acts of Demetrios Chomatenos]. In Војана Крсмановић – Љубомир Максимовић – Раdivој Радић (eds.), *Византијски свет на Балкану I* [The Byzantine World and the Balkans I] (Beograd 2012) 111–118.

holds the imperial power in full and not reduced".<sup>16</sup> In *The Life of St. Sabbas*, Domentijan gives a similar image of the monk Sabbas of Serbia. He is portrayed as a man of trust by the hegumenos of the Vatopedi monastery, who sent him to Constantinople to complete various monastery business that needed the emperor's recognition. Sabbas was received by the emperor "with great honour" and the emperor asked him about his father, St. Symeon Nemanja and how he had renounced temporal power and became a monk. Domentijan then goes on to narrate how Alexios III Angelos sent "much gold with great honour" to the former grand zhupan of Serbia, who was at that time living in the Vatopedi monastery on Mount Athos together with his son Sabbas.<sup>17</sup> The successful founding of the Chilandar monastery with the emperor's acknowledgment has already been mentioned. Thus, Domentijan managed to fit this "worldly" motif in the hagiography of St. Sabbas of Serbia into a specific religious milieu which transformed his personality into a saintly figure respected by many in the Byzantine world. Since there was no response to the letter of Archbishop Demetrios Chomatenos by St. Sabbas, it can be deduced that it was Domentijan who replied in a specific sense in *The Life of St. Sabbas* to all the promulgated accusations against Sabbas's ordination as archbishop of Serbia, additionally strengthening his argumentation in favour of Sabbas's legitimacy with several other of his relations to significant political and ecclesiastical figures in the region.

The path towards the making of the Serbian Church is portrayed later in Domentijan's narrative in the story about how St. Sabbas received the rank of archimandrite in Thessaloniki from the Metropolitan Constantine Mesopotamites around the year 1204. Mesopotamites was a high ranking Byzantine clergyman of the metropolitan of Thessaloniki who had had a previous political career at the imperial court in Constantinople during the reign of two emperors, Isaac II Angelos, and Alexios III

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<sup>16</sup> Demetrii ЧОМАТЕНИ, *Ponemata Diaphora*, ed. Günter Prinzing (Berlin – New York 2002) 298, and 63–67.

<sup>17</sup> ĆOROVIĆ (ed.), *Доментијан* (see footnote 10) 160–161.

Angelos, as their personal secretary – *epi tou kanikleiou*.<sup>18</sup> Domentijan adds that Mesopotamites gave the dignity of an archimandrite to Sabbas “according to his own Greek custom, so he may become a bishop”.<sup>19</sup> This all corresponds to what Demetrios Chomatenos accuses Sabbas of, in order to portray his unlawful reach towards the dignity of archbishop. In this sense, we must remark upon the role of both bishops in the events after 1204 in the Byzantine world, when the new Greek state of Epiros rose to power in the Balkan regions of the former Byzantine Empire with Emperor Theodor I Ducas Komnenos. Soon after conquering Thessaloniki in 1224, he proclaimed himself Emperor, and while Constantine Mesopotamites as the rightful metropolitan of the city refused to participate in his coronation, considering it unlawful, Demetrios Chomatenos accepted this invitation and indeed crowned Theodore I Ducas Komenons in 1228, thus giving himself prerogatives of patriarchal status which did not belong to his see nor his title.<sup>20</sup> Constantine Mesopotamites was obviously loyal to the Nicaean emperors, towards whom St. Sabbas reached out in asking for the consecration of an archbishop for the Church in the Serbian lands. All this is described vividly and in detail in Domentijan’s *The Life of St. Sabbas*, making this hagiography a first-class narrative source for the history of the Serbian Church and state in the thirteenth century. In other words, St. Sabbas, as portrayed by Domentijan, was embedded in the multifaceted processes and relations of significant political and ecclesiastical protagonists of the Byzantine world at the end of the twelve and in the first

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<sup>18</sup> Alexander P. KAZHDAN (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford 1991), vol. 2, 1101.

<sup>19</sup> ĆOROVIĆ (ed.), *Доментијан* (see footnote 10) 191–192.

<sup>20</sup> Günter PRINZING, A Quasi Patriarch in the State of Epiros: The Autocephalous Archbishop of “Boulgaria” (Ohrid) Demetrios Chomatenos. In: *ЗРВИ* 41 (2004) 165–182; Apostolos KARPOZIOS, *The Ecclesiastical Controversy between the Kingdom of Nicaea and the Principality of Epiros (1217–1233)* (Thessaloniki 1973).



decades of the thirteenth century.<sup>21</sup> In this sense, one more example may suffice. Domentijan gives an extensive account of Sabbas's relationship with the Patriarch of Jerusalem – Athanasios II. In *The Life of St. Sabbas*, Athanasios II of Jerusalem is mentioned a total of fifteen times, and is thus one of the characters most mentioned in the work. Obviously, Domentijan not only recognised the importance of portraying close relations between the two Church hierarchs in order to fully elevate the personality of St. Sabbas, he also recognised the significance of this relationship of the two hierarchs in the process of the legitimisation of the newly established autocephalous Serbian Church, which faced the opposition of the Archbishop of Ohrid – Demetrios Chomatenos.<sup>22</sup> In 1229, St. Sabbas visited Jerusalem and the Holy Land, where he not only venerated the holy places of the Old and New Testament, relics of Christ's passion and of other saints of the early Church, but where he managed to leave a trace of *Serbian presence* by founding monasteries, becoming a major ktetor for many traditional places of Christian worship in Jerusalem and its surroundings, and also visiting and venerating all the places significant for the idea of the Christian *oikonomia* of the salvation of the human race – the Church of the Resurrection, the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem and many other similar sites.<sup>23</sup> Domentijan portrays St. Sabbas at such places as a person who always gave alms and substantial donations in order that his names and those of his brother,

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<sup>21</sup> Božidar FERJANČIĆ – Ljubomir MAKSIMOVIĆ, Sava Nemanjić and Serbia between Epiros and Nicaea. In: *Balkanica* 45 (2014) 37–54.

<sup>22</sup> It is important to mention that Sabbas visited the Holy Land and Jerusalem twice, in 1229, and 1234, on both occasions meeting with the patriarch of Jerusalem Athanasios II. ĆOROVIĆ (ed.), *ДОМЕНТИЈАН* (see footnote 10) 262–276, and 296–326.

<sup>23</sup> For a wider context of this travel, see Miodrag MARKOVIĆ, *Прво путовање Светог Саве у Палестину и његов значај за српску средњовековну уметност* [The First Voyage of Saint Sava to Palestine and its Significance for Serbian Medieval Art] (Beograd 2009); Dragoljub MARJANOVIĆ, *Византијски свет и Српска црква у 13. и 14. Веку* [The Byzantine World and the Serbian Church in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> Centuries] (Novi Sad 2018) 77–85.

King Stephen the First-Crowned, and his father, St. Symeon Nemanja, would be commemorated at such places, thus establishing a specific kind of presence of the authority of his royal family and the Serbian state and Church in the Holy Land, in the place where Christianity as a religion was founded. The personal relationship of St. Sabbas of Serbia with the Patriarch Athanasios II of Jerusalem is particularly emphasised by Domentijan in *The Life of St. Sabbas* in an attempt to confer similar authority on the first Serbian archbishop. Thus, Sabbas is portrayed as equal to the patriarch of Jerusalem. The two hierarchs serve together at the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem, and they sit in the temple side by side talking about everyday issues in Serbia and in the region. Jerusalem has a significant role in *The Life of St. Sabbas* by Domentijan. First, St. Sabbas took the name of St. Sabbas of Jerusalem when he became a monk on Mount Athos. He later founded and lived for some time in the Hesychastirion of St. Sabbas of Jerusalem on Mount Athos. When he went to Athos, St. Sabbas of Serbia “*shaped the path towards Jerusalem and every place where God is praised*”, wrote Domentijan. As we have seen, he had close relations with Athanasios II, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and he became a significant ktetor to many churches and monasteries in Jerusalem and the Holy Land.

The image of St. Sabbas of Serbia in the work by Domentijan is a complex illustration of a saint who is both a founder of the Serbian Church, but also a saint who establishes, or rather, consolidates Orthodoxy in the Serbian lands. As previously mentioned, Domentijan wrote *The Life of St. Sabbas* at the request of the King Stephen Uroš I Nemanjić. Although the work conforms to all the models of Byzantine hagiography, it is a text which has a strong ideological context. This stems from the ideological needs of the royal court in Serbia, since both St. Sabbas and his father, the former grand zhupan St. Symeon Nemanja became the first national saints of the Serbian Church and the Nemanjić dynasty. It is evident that with such hagiographical texts, as a member of and the most eloquent representative of Serbian monastic society in the second half of the thirteenth century, Domentijan produced a literary

work of great value for legitimising and shaping the identity of the Serbian Church.

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**The Historical Value of The Life of St. Sabbas by Monk  
Domentijan of Serbia  
Dragoljub Marjanović**

Monk Domentijan lived in the Serbian monastery Chilandar on Mount Athos during the 13<sup>th</sup> century, where he composed works on the lives of two saints. The first deals with St. Sabbas who later became the Archbishop of the Serbian Church, the second one narrates the life of St. Symeon Nemanja, his father, who was formerly grand zhupan (district governor) of the Serbian lands and founder of the Nemanjic dynasty. The two works present a core narrative about the establishing of the Nemanjic dynasty, and its state and Church in the late 12<sup>th</sup> and early 13<sup>th</sup> century. In this paper, I give an evaluation of the historical background of the composition of *The Life of St. Sabbas* and an internal analysis of the literary forms used by monk Domentijan as a writer in order to promote a specific image of St. Sabbas, with particular attention to the Byzantine literary models that Domentijan used. In addition, I propose a wider perspective of ideological notions surrounding the creation of *The Life of St. Sabbas*, between Mount Athos where it was written by Domentijan and the Serbian state, from where it was commissioned by the Serbian king Stephen Uroš I between 1253 and 1263.

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**Der historische Wert der Viten des heiligen Sava von dem  
serbischen Mönch Domentijan  
Dragoljub Marjanović**

Der Mönch Domentijan lebte im serbischen Kloster Hilandar auf dem Berg Athos während des 13. Jahrhunderts. Dort verfasste er zwei Heiligenviten. Die erste Schrift erzählt vom heiligen Sava, der später zum ersten Erzbischof von Serbien wurde, und die zweite vom heiligen Simeon aus der Dynastie Nemanjić, seinem Vater und dem serbi-

schen Großzupan und dem Begründer der Dynastie Nemanjić. Diese zwei Arbeiten stellen das Hauptnarrativ zur Gründung der Dynastie Nemanjić, des Staates und der Kirche im späten 12. und frühen 13. Jahrhundert dar.

In diesem Beitrag bemühe ich mich um eine Bewertung des historischen Hintergrunds für die Verfassung der Viten des heiligen Sava und um eine innere Analyse der literarischen Formen, die der Mönch Domentijan als Verfasser anwendete, um ein spezifisches Bild des heiligen Sava zu vermitteln, mit besonderem Hinblick auf die byzantinischen literarischen Muster, deren sich Domentijan bediente. Darüber hinaus zeige ich eine breitere Perspektive ideologischer Ansichten, die die Entstehung der Viten des heiligen Sava begleiten.

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**Historická hodnota Života sv. Sávy od srbského mnicha  
Domentijana  
Dragoljub Marjanović**

Mnich Domentijan žil v srbském klášteře Hilandar na hoře Athos během 13. století. Tam sestavil dva životopisy svatých. První pojednává o sv. Sávi, který se později stal prvním arcibiskupem v Srbsku a druhý vypráví o sv. Simeonovi z rodu Nemanja, jeho otci a srbském velkožupanovi a zakladateli rodu Nemanja. Tyto dvě práce představují hlavní narativ o vzniku dynastie Nemanja, státu a církvi v pozdním 12. a raném 13. století. V tomto příspěvku se pokouším o zhodnocení historického pozadí sestavení Života sv. Sávy a o vnitřní analýzu literárních forem implementovaných mnichem Domentijanem coby autorem za účelem vytvoření specifického image sv. Sávy, se zvláštním zaměřením na byzantské literární vzory, které Domentijan užil. Kromě toho ukazují širší perspektivu ideologických názorů, které provázejí vznik Života sv. Sávy.

# Elzka legit et relegit. A Benedictine Nun in Early Fifteenth-Century Prague as a Reader and a Librarian<sup>1</sup>

KAREL PACOVSKÝ

## Introduction

In the early fifteenth century, a Benedictine nun called Elžka (a familiar form of the name Elizabeth in Old Czech) lived in St. George's abbey at Prague Castle. There is very little known about her, or other women, who lived in the religious houses of mediaeval Bohemia. The only specific date we know of related to her life can be found in the official confirmation of the abbatial election of Anna Bartovna on 29 December 1401, where *Elzka de Waldstein* was listed as the fourth-to-last among nearly thirty-eight voters of the new abbess.<sup>2</sup> The given position of her name reveals that she was already considered a member of the convent, with full rights, while also being one of its youngest professed nuns. There-

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<sup>1</sup> The study was supported by the grant SVV 2020 – 260 554 realised at the Charles University, Faculty of Arts.

<sup>2</sup> Josef EMLER (ed.), *Libri confirmationum ad beneficia ecclesiastica Pragensem per archidioecesim* (Praha 1883), vol. 6, 60–61.

fore, she must have taken her vows shortly before 1401, undoubtedly under the recently deceased Abbess Kunhuta of Kolowrat (1386–1401). It would not have been possible to say anything more about Elžka's life, had a single paper book, addressed to her, not been preserved. The manuscript contains, among shorter texts, the only known feminine version of the Rule of St. Benedict from mediaeval Bohemia with many inter-linear glosses and an extensive commentary in the margins.<sup>3</sup> It follows on several references in the codex that it was written by Martin of Vyšehrad, a monk from the Benedictine abbey of St. John the Baptist at Ostrov (*Insula*), south of Prague, between 1402–1420. It is clear that he knew his addressee – as her confessor – very well.<sup>4</sup> Thanks to his personal comments, it is possible to take a closer look into Elžka's life and, with her as a model, into the life of a Benedictine nun in late mediaeval Prague.

Although Elžka was the addressee of the manuscript mentioned above, she did not leave any trace of herself in it, so it is not obvious whether the codex has ever come into her hands. Still, during the fifteenth

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<sup>3</sup> Národní knihovna České republiky, Praha [National Library of the Czech Republic, Praha; NK], I F 29, ff. 34r–175v.

<sup>4</sup> Josef TRUHLÁŘ, Paběrky z rukopisů Klementinských VIII. Řehole sv. Benedikta komentovaná jeptiškám Svatojirským [Pickings from the Manuscripts of Clementinum 8. The Rule of St. Benedict with Commentary for St. George's Nuns]. In: Věstník České akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění 7 (1898) 209–211; Karel PACOVSKÝ, Řehole svatého Benedikta s glosami a komentářem určená pro benediktinky kláštera svatého Jiří na Pražském hradě [The Rule of St. Benedict with Glosses and Commentary Addressed to the Benedictine Nuns of St. George's Abbey at Prague Castle]. In Lucie Doležalová – Michal Dragoun – Jan Ctibor (eds.), *Čítanka latinských textů z pozdně středověkých Čech* (Praha 2017) 13–24. Based on the same script being used in some other signed manuscripts (NK, IV H 8, fol. 190r; NK, X H 2, fol. 1r), *Martinus Vissegradensis* can be identified as the author. For Martin as confessor of the nuns, see Bohuslaus BALBINUS, *Miscellanea historica Bohemiae. Decadis 1. Liber 5. Parochialis et sacerdotalis* (Praha 1683) 140 (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München, 2 Austr. 5-1,5/6); Cynthia J. CYRUS, *The Scribes for Women's Convents in Late Medieval Germany* (Toronto 2009) 52.

century, an ownership-note of the Benedictine monastery at Břevnov near Prague (today a part of the city) appeared in it. How can this be explained? As the codex did not survive the Hussite wars, alongside the other books of St. George's abbey, it is highly likely that it never became a part of its common book collection. Thus, there are only two possible explanations. If the manuscript did indeed reach Elžka, it remained in her private possession and left the convent with her after the eviction of St. George's abbey on 21 June 1421. If Elžka had eventually found refuge outside Prague with the help of "friends" (*ad amicos*), as Abbes Anna and some other nuns did,<sup>5</sup> the manuscript could get to Břevnov via those friends; maybe the Břevnov monks themselves. Since the codex did not return to Prague Castle, its owner either died before the end of the war, or she was forced to give it up during the turbulent years. It is possible, however, that for some reason (due to the outbreak of war, Elžka's untimely death etc.) the writer was not able to hand over his work directly to the addressee. The manuscript would then have met the same fate as the other books from the Ostrov abbey, which were dispersed after the monastery was destroyed by the Hussites in 1420. Possibly even after this disaster, the manuscript could have been kept by its author, who could have resorted to Břevnov (as it is documented in the case Ostrov's Abbot Franek in his old age).<sup>6</sup> However, all these are only hypothetical scenarios that cannot unambiguously clarify the mysterious path of this codex to Břevnov.

As already indicated, the surrender of Prague Castle to the Hussites in May 1421, along with the events of the following weeks, presented each of the nuns with difficult decisions. Following an ultimatum, most of them (led by Abbess Anna) joined the Four Articles of Prague. Whoever refused could leave. After they were forced to move to Dominican

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<sup>5</sup> Jaroslav GOLL (ed.), Laurentii de Brzezowa Historia Hussitica. In *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum* (Praha 1893), vol. 5, 484.

<sup>6</sup> Zdeněk BOHÁČ, Ostrov. Tisíciletá historie zmařeného kláštera [Ostrov. A Thousand-Year History of a Ruined Monastery] (Jílové u Prahy 1999) 24 and 30.

St. Anne's convent, in the Old Town of Prague, in June 1421, the abbess accompanied by some others decided to leave Prague completely – as well as the doctrines of the Bohemian Reformation. On the other hand, many of the nuns continued their religious life in Hussite Prague together with nuns from other convents.<sup>7</sup> Nothing is known about Elžka's decisions, how she acted in these moments, whether she ever came back to her abbey, or even whether she died before these landmark events.

## Education

As it is not known how Elžka's life ended, it is only possible to speculate as to how it began. Elžka was a member of the Bohemian noble family of Waldstein (Valdštejn), but nothing is known about her father which makes it impossible to place her into the already unclear genealogy of her numerous relatives.<sup>8</sup> However, her mother's name could possibly have been Sophia.<sup>9</sup> Elžka entered the Benedictine community at Prague Castle, following the example of her maternal Aunt Elizabeth who was still alive when the manuscript for Elžka was written.<sup>10</sup> As the lineage of Elžka's mother is unknown, there are two probable candidates for Elžka's aunt among the nuns listed in 1401: Elizabeth of Vrabí or Elizabeth of Nyněchov. After all, family ties within the convent were nothing exceptional. The Abbess Kateřina of Lipoltice (1378–1386) had at least two relatives among the nuns (Běta and Anna) and equally her successor Kunhuta of Kolowrat (Agnes, sister of her father Ješek and Anna, pos-

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<sup>7</sup> GOLL (ed.), *Laurentii de Brzezowa Historia* (see footnote 5) 484.

<sup>8</sup> Přemysl ŠPRÁCHAL, *Problematika genealogického zařazení několika Heníků z Valdštejna kolem roku 1400* [Problematics of the Genealogical Assignment of Several Heníks of Waldstein around 1400]. In: *Z Českého ráje a Podkrkonoší. Vlastivědná ročenka 25* (2012) 13–42.

<sup>9</sup> NK, I F 29, fol. 36r.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 154v.



sibly the daughter of her uncle Purkhart). Other cognomina were also shared by several nuns (e.g. of Chrást, Libčan, Vrabí, and Voděrad).<sup>11</sup> Most future nuns were sent to the convent as children. It was common that not even seven-year-old girls accepted the religious habit.<sup>12</sup> It seems, therefore, that family relations were crucial in the choice of the convent or at least increased the chances of the candidate being admitted. Experienced nuns certainly played an important role in the upbringing of their younger relatives as their special protectors. The monk of Ostrov even suggested that these women urged their young nieces to enter the community, later to be blamed by them for their pressure; perhaps compensating for their unfulfilled maternal feelings and longing for a family of their own.<sup>13</sup>

Most of the girls grew up in the convent with a prospect of staying within its walls for the rest of their lives.<sup>14</sup> Not only their upbringing but undoubtedly their education too, had to lead towards this goal: the necessary formation of a future choir sister. The essential part was the schooling in liturgical singing.<sup>15</sup> The teaching of reading-skills had to go hand in hand alongside musical training. Their education – focused mainly on the practical management of the demanding liturgical pro-

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<sup>11</sup> Národní archiv v Praze [National Archives in Prague; NA], Archivy českých klášterů zrušených za Josefa II. [Archives of Bohemian Monasteries Dissolved under Joseph II; AZK], 264, 305; Kamil KROFTA (ed.), *Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Bohemicas illustrantia* (Praha 1903), vol. 5, 255–257; Josef EMLER (ed.), *Libri confirmationum ad beneficia ecclesiastica Pragensem per archidioecesisim* (Praha 1879), vol. 3–4, 193–195; EMLER (ed.), *Libri 6* (see footnote 2) 60–61; Vlastimil BORŮVKA, *Genealogie rodu pánů z Kolovrat* [Genealogy of the House of the Lords of Kolowrat]. In: *Heraldika a genealogie* 25, 1 (1992) 3–4 and 9.

<sup>12</sup> NK, I F 29, fol. 144v.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 145r.

<sup>14</sup> Eva SCHLOTHEUBER, *Ebstorf und seine Schülerinnen in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts*. In Falk Eisermann – Eva Schlotheuber – Volker Honemann (eds.), *Studien und Texte zur Literarischen und Materiellen Kultur der Frauenklöster im späten Mittelalter* (= *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought* 99, Leiden – Boston 2004) 174.

<sup>15</sup> See the Guidonian hand in NK, XII E 15c, fol. 2v.

gramme – could, of course, be provided by the nuns on their own and, in additional cases, they could educate noble girls who were not destined for religious life. In the abbey, these young women would also acquire skills useful for their life in the outside world, such as reading, knowledge of Latin, breviary prayer, as well as handicrafts, including sewing, knitting, or embroidery.<sup>16</sup>

Interestingly, novices and other girls raised in the convent, who had not yet taken religious vows, were called *scolares* in a document from 1406 (the same term used for university students).<sup>17</sup> These schoolgirls (most often called simply *puelle*) were overseen by a *magistra*.<sup>18</sup> However, among the offices of the community, as listed in 1367, no novice mistress can be found. Yet a cantor (*cantrix*) is documented, who – like the cantor in the neighbouring St. Vitus' cathedral – was responsible for the quality of the liturgical singing and almost certainly would have been teaching it as well.<sup>19</sup> The convent (or at least its leaders) did not suffer from intellectual isolation. At the end of the thirteenth and during the fourteenth century they maintained direct contacts with teachers at the cathedral school and the Dominican studium generale in Prague. In the

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<sup>16</sup> The only known “secular” woman educated in the convent was Elizabeth of Bohemia (1292–1330), mother of Emperor Charles IV, who may have made embroidery on her wedding dress directly under the guidance of the nuns. Josef EMLER (ed.), *Chronicon Benessi de Weitmil*. In *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum* (Praha 1884), vol. 4, 464; Božena KOPÍČKOVÁ, *Eliška Přemyslovna. Královna česká* [Elizabeth of Přemyslid. Queen of Bohemia] (Praha 2008) 133–134.

<sup>17</sup> NA, AZK, 315.

<sup>18</sup> NK, I F 29, fol. 169v; XIII E 14d, fol. 17r.

<sup>19</sup> NA, AZK, 264; Jana MAŘÍKOVÁ-KUBKOVÁ et al., *Katedrála viditelná i neviditelná. Průvodce tisíciletou historií katedrály sv. Víta, Václava, Vojtěcha a Panny Marie na Pražském hradě* [The Visible and Invisible Cathedral. A Guide through the Millennial History of the Cathedral of Saints Vitus, Wenceslas, Adalbert and the Virgin Mary at Prague Castle] (Praha 2019) 348–350.

1360s, they did not hesitate to invite the most fashionable preacher in the city, Milíč of Kroměříž, to hold a sermon for them.<sup>20</sup>

## Reading

Although the young nuns had to learn to read as part of their religious formation, at least in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was assumed that some sisters taking vows could not read.<sup>21</sup> However, this most likely only concerned lay sisters (*converse*) who were not obliged to participate in the liturgy of the hours, but instead ensured the practical operation of the convent's household.<sup>22</sup> Certainly, Elžka could read, as a choir nun, as she would not be able to fulfil her duties otherwise. Reading was one of the activities so typical for her that her confessor from Ostrov used the sentence “*Elžka reads and reads again, Katherina does the same*” as an example to clarify the meaning of a less common Latin adverb.<sup>23</sup>

An integral part of Elžka's everyday life was the loud reproduction of liturgical texts during the divine office, which was held seven times a day and once a night in the conventual church. The Ostrov's monk informs that the active participation of nuns of all ages was expected in the liturgy. When inspired by the customs of the Monte Cassino abbey,

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<sup>20</sup> Zdeňka HLEDÍKOVÁ, Lector Vitus, Berhel a Aldík [Lector Vitus, Berhel, and Aldík]. In Zdeněk Hojda – Jiří Pešek – Blanka Zilynská (eds.), *Seminář a jeho hosté. Sborník prací k 60. narozeninám doc. dr. Rostislava Nového* (Praha 1992) 49–50; Emma URBÁNKOVÁ – Karel STEJSKAL, *Pasionál Přemyslovny Kunhuty. Passionale Abbatissae Cunegundis* (Praha 1975) 14; Jaroslav KADLEC, *Mistr Vojtěch Raňkův z Ježova* (Praha 1969) 36; Josef TRUHLÁŘ (ed.), *Vita Milicii*. In *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum* (Praha 1873), vol. 1, 406.

<sup>21</sup> NA, AZK, 2571, 15, no. 215; NK, XVII G 31, no. 8. Similarly, the *liber ordinarius* from the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century prescribes that the women who cannot sing the psalm *Miserere*, should pray the Lord's Prayer seven times instead (NK, XIII E 14d, fol. 18r).

<sup>22</sup> Josef MACEK, *Víra a zbožnost jagellonského věku* [Faith and Piety in the Jagellonian Age] (Praha 2001) 226.

<sup>23</sup> NK, I F 29, fol. 84v: *Itidem adverbium est, ut sic dicendo Elzka legit et relegit, Katherina facit itidem, id est illi similiter vel iterum.*

he suggested to the Benedictine nuns in Prague to let children choristers (*kórnice*) recite the reading in the first nocturne of the matins, adult professed nuns in the second, and the eldest sisters with a black veil in the third nocturne.<sup>24</sup>

The nuns found written support for the extensive liturgical programme in their breviaries, which, apart from the religious habit, became an attribute of every choir nun.<sup>25</sup> The large number of preserved mediaeval breviaries of St. George's convent indicates the need for these book aids. They were often commissioned by individual nuns, perhaps as part of their dowry for the entry to the community, and thus they often gained a very personal character. Especially the calendars placed on their first folios which were often used by the sisters to note the dates of death of their loved ones.<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately, none of the surviving volumes can be identified as Elžka's breviary.

However, the breviary was not the only book in Elžka's everyday life. Leaving aside books used during the services in the abbey church, she regularly encountered the Rule of St. Benedict, from which one chapter was read daily in the chapter house. Vojtěch Raňkův of Ježov (Adalbertus Ranconis de Ericinio; d. 1388) admits that the constant reading of this text could tire the nuns.<sup>27</sup> However, no Benedictine monastery could get along without it. It is therefore not surprising that the Rule became one of the first volumes owned by the convent, as the first Abbess Mlada received its copy and an abbatial crosier from Pope John XIII in Rome around 970.<sup>28</sup> Unfortunately, we do not know how old the copy

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., fol. 109v.

<sup>25</sup> See the Passional of Abbess Kunhuta; NK, XIV A 17, fol. 1v.

<sup>26</sup> Zdeňka HLEDÍKOVÁ, Kalendáře rukopisů kláštera sv. Jiří [Calendars from the Manuscripts of St. George's Convent]. In: Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Philosophica et Historica 2; Z pomocných věd historických 8 (1988) 39.

<sup>27</sup> Jaroslav KADLEC, Leben und Schriften des Prager Magisters Adalbert Rankonis de Ericinio (Münster 1971) 246.

<sup>28</sup> Bertold BRETHER (ed.), Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum. In *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, Nova series* (Berlin 1923), vol. 2, 42.

Elžka was familiar with was. We do know, however, that one chapter (the fifty-sixth) was completely absent in the manuscript, perhaps by scribal error, and that it was written in Latin.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, Elžka may have belonged to the last generation of St. George's nuns who listened to the Rule in that language. When Josef Bonaventura Pitr, a Benedictine monk of Rajhrad in Moravia, published the first printed Czech translation of Benedict's Rule in 1760, he relied on the wording of its Czech version which was used in St. George's convent daily – although, in the eighteenth century, German became the predominant language of the community.<sup>30</sup> The question, therefore, arises as to whether the radical transition from the Latin version to the Czech version occurred in connection with the Hussite movement and the attempt to reform religious life in Prague in the 1420s, when the nuns were taken to the convent of St. Anne.

Since the time of St. Benedict, reading aloud has also been an inseparable part of dining together. The Benedictines would take turns each week in the task of reading religious literature in the refectory.<sup>31</sup> The *liber ordinarius* of St. George's abbey, from the mid-fourteenth century, lists the works read in the refectory; including sermons and homilies, books of the Bible, or their explanations (e.g. Gregory's *Moralia in Iob*).<sup>32</sup> After dinner, the nuns left the refectory and prepared themselves for another common reading called *collatio*, which took place in front of the nuns' choir (*ante chorum*); thus somewhere in the southwest corner of the convent, likely in the cloister.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> NK, I F 29, fol. 142v, 166r.

<sup>30</sup> Bonaventura PITR, *Ržehola aneb zákon swatého otce Benedykta oppata* [The Rule or the Law of the Holy Father Benedict the Abbot] (Brno 1760) dedication (NK, 54 E 000066).

<sup>31</sup> Rudolf HANSLIK (ed.), *Benedicti Regula* (= *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 75, Wien 1960) 97–99 (38,10).

<sup>32</sup> NK, XIII E 14d, fol. 195v–196v.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 74r; Eva SCHLOTHEUBER – John T. MCQUILLEN, Books and Libraries within Monasteries. In Alison Beach – Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cam-*

Moreover, the Rule places a strong emphasis on personal reading, which should not be neglected, especially on Sundays. Each nun was to read at least one book a year on her own. In St. George's convent, these books were allocated to the nuns on the first Monday of Lent.<sup>34</sup> On that day in the chapter house, a list of books distributed to the sisters the previous year was read and were then asked, one-by-one, to stand up and return the borrowed book. Eventually, they received books for another year, which were to be recorded again.<sup>35</sup> Who was it who made these records? Probably the librarian. The office of *libraria* is documented in a detailed list of the nuns in 1367 when it was held by *Katherina*.<sup>36</sup> Since it is listed among other functions as the last one, it was apparently the least important and has never appeared in any other document –not even in later centuries.<sup>37</sup> Although no other “librarian” was ever mentioned in the sources, a rebuke of the Ostrov's monk addressed to Elžka shows that she was also in charge of the books for a certain length of time. Elžka was thus responsible to make the annual list of borrowed books and, if she took her task seriously, she should have kept records of all entrusted books. However, she presumably did not do that.<sup>38</sup> After all, there are no traces of any book records in the convent before its dissolution in 1782.

The monk speaks about Elžka's task only in the past tense; therefore, it is not clear if she was still serving as a librarian when the manuscript was written. The character of the texts contained in the codex (e.g. *Formu-*

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*bridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West* (Cambridge 2020) 981.

<sup>34</sup> HANSLIK (ed.), *Benedicti Regula* (see footnote 31) 117 (48,14–16); NK, I F 29, fol. 127r, 128r.

<sup>35</sup> NK, XIII E 14d, fol. 57r.

<sup>36</sup> NA, AZK, 264.

<sup>37</sup> Jindřich KOLDA, *Benediktinky u sv. Jiří na Pražském hradě v raném novověku* [The Benedictine Nuns at Prague Castle in the Early Modern Period], PhD thesis, University of Hradec Králové, Hradec Králové 2019, 184.

<sup>38</sup> NK, I F 29, fol. 100r: *Sic debuit facere Elzka, cum intromisit se de servandis libris, debuit omnes libros in parva cedula conscribere propter memoriam, sed credo, quod non fecit.*

*la noviciarum* by David of Augsburg, *Ad exercitium humilitatis quinque prosunt* by Bernard of Clairvaux), as well as the didactic arrangement of the Rule with glosses and commentary, indicate that it was intended for the formation of young novices. Although Elžka was still classed as a younger nun, she was no longer a *scolaris* or *puella choralis*, on the contrary, she herself took care of at least one girl named Margaret.<sup>39</sup> Unfortunately, it cannot be determined if the codex was written on Elžka's request or out of the writer's unprompted initiative. It seems that Elžka could welcome it because she was to educate young girls in the principles of religious life. At the same time, the exposition of the Rule provided her with instructions on how to act in concrete situations into which she would have found herself in – even as an adult nun.

## Latin and Vernacular

Latin was a natural part of the convent's life. The clerics who addressed their texts (including admonishments) to the Benedictine nuns in Prague, in the later Middle Ages, never questioned the nuns' ability to understand Latin and expected them to read their writings on their own.<sup>40</sup> They did not underestimate them as readers and wrote to them the same as they would to any other literate person. Only Martin, the monk from Ostrov, facilitated the reading of Benedict's Rule by explanatory glosses. Although he sometimes used Czech translations, his goal was to lead the reader to an independent reading of the Rule in the original Latin. His glosses and comments do not necessarily point to Elžka's lack of knowledge in Latin, as they could be intended as a teaching aid for her as a novice mistress.

Elžka and her co-sisters commonly spoke to each other, not only the local vernacular (undoubtedly Czech in the late Middle Ages), but also

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid., fol. 111r.

<sup>40</sup> Dana MARTÍNKOVÁ (ed.), *Frater Colda. Tractatus mystici (= Fontes Latini Bohemorum 2, Praha 1997) 5, 82, and 86; KADLEC, Leben (see footnote 27) 247.*

in Latin which was considered a language of higher communication. This gave them the confidence to dare to speak in Latin, even during the *silentium*, when they would never have dared to speak in Czech.<sup>41</sup> Latin remained the main language of the written communication of St. George's abbey throughout the pre-Hussite period, both in documents issued by, and addressed to, the convent – which, in the case of other institutions in Bohemia, slowly ceased to be the rule.<sup>42</sup>

Some texts written in Czech, as is well known, already appeared in the convent during the late thirteenth century, which led some researchers to conclude that the Prague Benedictine nuns did not understand Latin very well and thus their convent became a cradle of the earliest Czech literature. The former observations, however, make this picture problematic. The abbey was associated particularly with the origin of the Czech translation of the Bible, especially of the Psalms, because its earliest surviving fragments (several translation glosses copied from a complete Czech psalter) were written into a Latin psalter owned by the convent around 1300.<sup>43</sup> However, it cannot be verified that the translation was initiated by St. George's nuns because – as far as it can be proved – they only owned its parts. This selection served just as an aid to a better understanding of the Latin text, not as an independent translation. There were great differences in the level of education among women living in various forms of consecrated life. More specifically, the women who joined the Beguine communities, or became recluses as adults, could never equal the nuns in their skills that the latter had acquired during the monastic formation since their childhood.<sup>44</sup> The question, therefore, arises as to whether the association of the oldest biblical

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<sup>41</sup> NK, I F 29, fol. 116r.

<sup>42</sup> Ivan HLAVÁČEK – Jaroslav KAŠPAR – Rostislav NOVÝ, *Vademecum pomocných věd historických [Vademecum of the Auxiliary Sciences of History]* (Jinočany 2002) 262.

<sup>43</sup> Josef VINTR (ed.), *Die älteste tschechische Psalterübersetzung. Kritische Edition* (Wien 1986) 13–14, 23–24, and 47.

<sup>44</sup> Klára PETŘÍKOVÁ, *S Pánem Bohem zazděná. Průvodce pro poustevnice [Walled In with the Lord God. A Guide for Anchoresses]* (Praha 2019) 27.



translations into Czech at the nunnery is not based solely on the erroneous or anachronistic assumption that nuns did not understand Latin.<sup>45</sup> After all, the use of translations that allowed less educated individuals to deepen their spiritual life, or to get closer to the meaning of the Latin version, is not limited exclusively to nunneries. If there really was a complete copy of the Old Czech psalter in the abbey, it was certainly not created primarily for the personal needs of a choir sister such as Elžka. It would far more likely have been used for the teaching of novices or for private piety of widows who might have decided to spend their old age near the nuns. This does not mean that Czech texts such as the famous rhymed Eucharistic prayer *Vítaj králu všemohúcí* (“Welcome, King Almighty”) could not be commissioned and used by the nuns. However, the lack of understanding in Latin cannot be considered as the sole motivation for their creation. After all, Latin manuscripts clearly dominated the convent’s pre-Hussite library.

## Writing

Although every future choir nun, including Elžka, was taught to read, this was not necessarily coupled with a training in writing; at least not on a professional level. Even though Benedictine monasteries often produced manuscripts, in the case of St. George’s convent it has not yet been proven that any nun had copied any single book herself.<sup>46</sup> In the early fourteenth century, many books used by the nuns were made by

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<sup>45</sup> See František Michálek BARTOŠ, *Počátky české bible* [The Beginnings of the Czech Bible] (Praha 1941) 4; Vladimír KYAS, *Česká bible v dějinách národního písemnictví* [The Czech Bible within the History of Czech Vernacular Literature] (Praha 1997) 50; Milada SVOBODOVÁ, „Zapomenuté“ breviáře z kláštera benediktinek u sv. Jiří na Pražském hradě a jejich kalendáře [“Forgotten” Breviaries from St. George’s Benedictine Convent at Prague Castle and their Calendars]. In: *Studie o rukopisech* 36 (2005–2006) 4.

<sup>46</sup> Unlike some other communities (e.g. female scribes have been identified in 25% of Benedictine convents in late mediaeval Germany). CYRUS, *The Scribes* (see footnote 4) 215–216.

St. George's canons; the clerics of the abbey church were directly subordinate to the abbess and were organised like a collegiate chapter.<sup>47</sup> Although Elžka and her co-sisters were undoubtedly able to write, they apparently could not write at the level required of scribes or copyists.<sup>48</sup> The fact that the nuns did not personally participate in the production of books is also indicated by the Ostrov's monk, who names textile crafts as a typical labour of the nuns in the place of writing whereas binding books was typical for monks.<sup>49</sup>

Unlike the early modern period,<sup>50</sup> no mediaeval nun of St. George's abbey can be identified as an author. The authorship of an unknown nun is at least considered in the case of the hymn *A sompno* dating from, at the latest, the thirteenth century, which was often added to the hymn *Lux vera* and used in the office of St. Ludmila. While in the latter hymn the first letters of the verses form the acrostic LUDMILA, clearly referring to the revered saint buried in the abbey church, the acrostic ANNAP appears in the former. It was, therefore, suggested that this could reveal the author's name, perhaps a prioress named Anna.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Zdeňka HLEDÍKOVÁ, Několik úvah o kapitulách v českém středověkém státě [Some Reflections on the Chapters in the Mediaeval State of Bohemia]. In Jan Hrdina – Martina Maříková (eds.), *Kapituly v zemích Koruny české a v Ubrách ve středověku* [Chapters in the Lands of the Bohemian Crown and in Hungary in the Middle Ages] (= Documenta Pragensia Supplementa 2, Praha 2011) 18.

<sup>48</sup> HLEDÍKOVÁ, Lector (see footnote 20) 46–49; HLEDÍKOVÁ, Kalendáře (see footnote 26) 38.

<sup>49</sup> NK, I F 29, fol. 116v–117r; see Anselmus Maria CAPLET (ed.), *Bernardi I abbatis Casinensis in regulam S. Benedicti expositio* (Montecassino 1894) 298.

<sup>50</sup> Kateřina BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ – Jarmila KAŠPÁRKOVÁ et al., *Historiam scribere. Řádomá historiografie raného novověku 2. Biografický slovník* [Historiam scribere. Order Historiography of the Early Modern Period 2. Biographical Dictionary] (Praha – Olomouc 2018) 480, 581–582, and 708.

<sup>51</sup> HLEDÍKOVÁ, Lector (see footnote 20) 46.

## Library

Thanks to the large number of properties owned, St. George's abbey was able to house one of the largest monastic communities in the pre-Hussite Czech lands.<sup>52</sup> When Abbess Kunhuta of Kolowrat died in 1401, Elžka continued to live in the convent with another thirty-eight choir sisters (except lay sisters, novices, and candidates) and, generally, the abbey operated with a capacity of fifty nuns at this time (including those still before their profession).<sup>53</sup> Its wealth was reflected not only in the number of nuns, but also in the extent of its book collection<sup>54</sup> – of which was comparable with the larger monastic libraries in mediaeval Bohemia.<sup>55</sup> However, after the Hussite wars, the abbey, which was previously one of the richest in the Crown of Bohemia, would then only be considered as a religious house with a medium-sized property as a result of losing many of its estates.<sup>56</sup> Similarly, its library could no longer

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<sup>52</sup> Antonín RYBIČKA, Kolik berně platily města a klášterové v Království českém do komory král. v XV. století? [How Much Tax Did the Towns and Monasteries in the Kingdom of Bohemia Pay to the Royal Chamber in the 15<sup>th</sup> Century?]. In: Památky. Listy pro archaeologii a historii 9 (1871–1873) 557–559; Václav Vladivoj ТОМЕК (ed.), Registra decimarum papalium (Praha 1873) 29–30; Zdeněk BOHÁČ, K počtu řeholníků v předhusitských klášterech [The Number of Members of the Pre-Hussite Monasteries]. In: Historická geografie 29 (1997) 11–20.

<sup>53</sup> NA, AZK, 315.

<sup>54</sup> HLEDÍKOVÁ, Kalendáře (see footnote 26) 35.

<sup>55</sup> After the convent was dissolved in 1782, its 112 manuscripts (mostly of mediaeval origin) were moved to the National Library in Prague's Clementinum. For their list, see Ondřej BASTL, Knihy a listiny zrušeného svatojiřského kláštera [Books and Documents of the Dissolved St. George's Convent]. In: Documenta Pragensia 23 (2004) 202–206. Other monastic libraries contained usually over 100, exceptionally some hundreds of volumes. Michal DRAGON, Středověké rukopisy v českých zemích. Handbušek kodikologa [Mediaeval Manuscripts in the Czech Lands. Codicologist's Handbook] (Praha 2018) 21–31.

<sup>56</sup> Zikmund WINTER, Život církevní v Čechách. Kulturně-historický obraz XV. a XVI. století [An Ecclesiastical Life in Bohemia. The Cultural and Historical Picture of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries] (Praha 1895–1896) 717.

compete with the libraries of other monasteries.<sup>57</sup> Unfortunately, there is no known library catalogue from St. George's convent before its dissolution in 1782.<sup>58</sup> Only an inventory of the archive from 1692 has been preserved.<sup>59</sup> Unlike these archival documents, and the practice of some other monasteries, the books of St. George's abbey never had any shelfmarks to be arranged by nor did they contain any marks of ownership. This makes it extremely difficult to identify and reconstruct its book collection. Only a few ownership notes reveal the individual owners or donors from the ranks of nuns.<sup>60</sup>

Where were the books kept within the convent? According to surviving sources, the nuns of St. George's abbey did not refer to their library with the Greek word *bibliotheca*, but simply *armaria* or *almarie*.<sup>61</sup> The plural of this mediaeval expression suggests that the convent did not have a single space for storing books, but rather various book cabinets or chests. It is not possible to determine whether these pieces of furniture were located together in one place (e.g. in a special chamber)<sup>62</sup> or were

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<sup>57</sup> In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, while Premonstratensians could not accommodate tens of thousands of volumes at Strahov, St. George's convent owned just a few thousand books at most (one list contains 112 manuscripts and 240 prints, additionally the inventory of the dissolved convent registers about 1,500 books in the cells and other rooms). BASTL, *Knihy* (see footnote 55) 196–206; NA, *České gubernium – Publicum* [ČG-Publ], F 2 21/7, 681.

<sup>58</sup> SVOBODOVÁ, „Zapomenuté“ breviáře (see footnote 45) 5.

<sup>59</sup> NK, XVII E 48.

<sup>60</sup> Renáta MODRÁKOVÁ, *Středověké rukopisy v soukromém vlastnictví benediktinek z kláštera sv. Jiří na Pražském hradě* [Mediaeval Manuscripts in Private Property of the Benedictine Nuns from St. George's Convent at Prague Castle]. In Jitka Radimská (ed.), *Knihy v proměnách času. K výzkumu zámeckých, měštanských a církevních knihoven* (České Budějovice 2015) 349–350; besides Abbess Kunhuta of Bohemia other known private owners were the nuns Elizabeth (NK, XXIII D 142, 806) and Máňa (NK, XII F 9, fol. 212v), Abbess Agnes (NK, XIII E 14e, fol. 430v) and Abbess Kunhuta of Kolowrat (NK, XIII E 1, fol. 7v; XIII E 14a, fol. 10v, 11r, 151r, 155r, and 198v).

<sup>61</sup> NK, I F 29, fol. 127r; NK, XIII E 14d, fol. 57r.

<sup>62</sup> In St. Marienstern in Lusatia books were kept together with liturgical objects in a chamber next to the *matroneum*. Marius WINZELER, *Die Bibliothek der*

scattered around the convent, especially in the cloister, as was common in other mediaeval monasteries.<sup>63</sup> However, the location of the books in the convent is not entirely clear – even for the early modern period. It seems that during the Baroque reconstruction, no library room was built and most of the books were dispersed in the personal cells of the nuns.<sup>64</sup> It can therefore be concluded that, in previous centuries, the books were also not kept in one place. Namely, the breviaries were very likely never part of the common book collection, but as a personal possession of the individual sisters. After all, this widespread practice was not a violation of the prohibition of private ownership because, even according to the Rule, the monks were allowed, by the abbot, to keep what they needed to use on a daily basis.<sup>65</sup>

For the pre-Hussite period, it should be distinguished between the books owned directly by the nunnery and the books used by the clergy of the conventual church. According to the memorial book of these so-called St. George's canons, written between 1354–1357, two of the canons excelled in scribal craft – namely Vavřinec Kočka (active around 1300), who wrote an epistolary and Beneš (who became a canon after 1302 and died between 1334–1344); the writer of a gradual.<sup>66</sup> It

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Zisterzienserinnenabtei St. Marienstern. Zu Geschichte und Bestand einer frauenklösterlichen Büchersammlung des Mittelalters. In Falk Eisermann – Eva Schlottheuber – Volker Honemann (eds.), *Studien und Texte zur Literarischen und Materiellen Kultur der Frauenklöster im späten Mittelalter* (= Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought 99, Leiden – Boston 2004) 337.

<sup>63</sup> Theresa WEBBER, The Libraries of Religious Houses. In Erik Kwakkel – Rodney Thomson (eds.), *The European Book in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge 2018) 106; SCHLOTHEUBER – MCQUILLEN, Books (see footnote 33) 979–986.

<sup>64</sup> NA, ČG-Publ, F 2 21/7, 681.

<sup>65</sup> WINZELER, Die Bibliothek (see footnote 62) 336–337; MODRÁKOVÁ, Středověké rukopisy (see footnote 60) 346.

<sup>66</sup> NK, XIII A 2, fol. 6v, 7v; Karel PACOVSKÝ, Fragmentum praebendarum. Komentovaná kritická edice a překlad rukopisu svatojiřských kanovníků ze 14. století [Fragmentum praebendarum. A Commented Critical Edition and Translation of the Manuscript of the Canons of St. George in Prague from the 14<sup>th</sup> Century], MA thesis, Charles University (Praha 2018) 43–44.

is striking that, although Beneš was also the scribe of the famous Passional of Abbess Kunhuta, a masterpiece of mediaeval book painting,<sup>67</sup> this crucially important work of his was not mentioned in the memorial text. Its author, probably Canon Tomáš Sýřec (d. 1357),<sup>68</sup> names only the works of his colleagues, which the canons knew intimately as they were still using them regularly in the church. Thus, he wanted to remind the younger clerics that the mentioned codices were written by their predecessors whom he knew personally. The Passional, on the other hand, was apparently used by the Benedictine convent and the canons did not have any access to it, as the author's silence indicates.<sup>69</sup>

Various pious bequests – which were made in favour of the nunnery and its church up to the beginning of the fifteenth century – were also recorded in the manuscript. The first benefactor mentioned was the Abbess Kunhuta (1302–1321), daughter of King Ottokar II of Bohemia (d. 1278), who donated “to her successors the abbesses and to her subordinate nuns” a significant number of books (among other things).<sup>70</sup> On the other hand, the former St. George's Canon Beneš (d. 1397), who later became a canon of St. Apollinaris collegiate church in Prague's New Town, bequeathed his travel breviary (*viaticum*) “to the canons and vicars of the church of St. George”.<sup>71</sup> Moreover, according to a gloss from around 1400, the memorial manuscript of St. George's canons itself belonged to the church, not the convent.<sup>72</sup> It became property of the nuns only after the institution of the canons of St. George's church ceased to exist, as a result of the Hussite wars. From these references, it follows that the clergy of the church had their own collection of predominantly

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<sup>67</sup> URBÁNKOVÁ – STEJSKAL, *Pasionál* (see footnote 20) 14.

<sup>68</sup> PACOVSKÝ, *Fragmentum* (see footnote 66) 32–33.

<sup>69</sup> According to marginal notes, the contained tract *De strenuo milite* by Kolda of Koldice was read during the evening *collatio* for both Good Friday and Holy Saturday. NK, XIV A 17, fol. 13r; GIA TOUSSAINT, *Das Passional der Künigunde von Böhmen. Bildrhetorik und Spiritualität* (Paderborn 2003) 16.

<sup>70</sup> NK, XIII A 2, fol. 9v.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 12v.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 1r.

liturgical books, probably kept in the sacristy, which was not part of the nunnery's library.

The fate of the convent's books during and after the Hussite wars is unknown. As the large number of the surviving mediaeval manuscripts confirms, they did not suffer any major damage. Afterwards, the book collection grew occasionally and at least its core collection survived another great danger – a devastating fire of the left-bank of Prague in 1541, even as the convent burned down in addition to the roof of its church.<sup>73</sup> Shortly after the fire, when Abbess Barbara of Schellenberg died in 1550, the royal officials drew up an inventory of the convent's valuables.<sup>74</sup> According to the document, written in German, a room (*Gewölb*) on the right side of the choir (most likely the church's sacristy) contained a chest with reliquaries, as well as two other chests and a cupboard (*Allmar*), where numerous old liturgical and prayer books written in Latin were found.<sup>75</sup> Unfortunately, the number of the books was not stated; so it is not possible to find out whether all the convent's books were stored here at that time, or only a part of them, as can be presumed was the case for the sacristy in the Middle Ages.

Although very likely, not even the clergy of the conventual church had free access to the books of the convent, some mediaeval authors certainly studied them. St. George's Canon Tomáš Sýřec quoted a document from a book owned by the nuns.<sup>76</sup> Similarly, Cosmas of Prague (d. 1125), the dean of the cathedral chapter, referred to a privilege kept

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<sup>73</sup> Václav HÁJEK z LIBOČAN, O nesstiatstnee przihodie kteráž gse stala skrze ohen w Menssim Miestie Pražském, a na Hradie Swatého Wácslawa, y na Hradčžanech etc. [An Unhappy Accident that Took Place through the Fire in the Lesser Town of Prague, the Castle of St. Wenceslas and Hradčany etc.] (Praha 1541) fol. 3v (NK, 54 J 1484).

<sup>74</sup> Jan ZDICHYNEC, Ferdinand I. a kláštery v Praze [Ferdinand I and Monasteries in Prague]. In: *Historie – Otázky – Problémy* 7, 2 (2015) 105–106.

<sup>75</sup> NA, České oddělení dvorské komory [Bohemian Court Chamber; ČDKM] IV, 187, no. 7.

<sup>76</sup> NK, XIII A 2, fol. 4v.

in the convent in his chronicle of Bohemia.<sup>77</sup> Martin of Vyšehrad, the confessor of St. George's convent from the Ostrov monastery, noticed that in the copy of Benedict's Rule used by the nuns a chapter was missing.<sup>78</sup> Thus, the walls of the convent were not impervious; even if sometimes the visitor had to endure indiscriminate remarks of the convent's porter, such as the Prior Martin of Ostrov (very likely Martin of Vyšehrad) in Elžka's time.<sup>79</sup> Acquaintances were probably the most important basis for allowing a visit. Some directly knew the abbess or a nun (like the mentioned mediaeval writers), others could obtain a recommendation of an influential intercessor (such as Bohuslav Balbín in 1668).<sup>80</sup>

## Conclusion

Elžka of Waldstein, who took her vows in the abbey of St. George in Prague shortly before 1401, was certainly not an uneducated illiterate. There were few women in Bohemia at that time surrounded by as many books as she was; books formed her entire world. Even before dawn, she began the day in a choir pew with a breviary in her hand and, this book accompanying her throughout the rest of her day during the divine office, ended with compline after sunset. During mass, in addition to the words of the Holy Scriptures, she also heard other religious texts and chants carefully recorded in neat liturgical manuscripts. Then, she would listen to other edifying readings while eating in the refectory and during the evening *collatio*. Above all, the rhythm of her whole life followed the rules of a single book, which the sisters read chapter-by-chapter, every day, in the chapter house. Life, according to the Rule of St. Benedict, therefore really meant life according to a book. A book, as the

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<sup>77</sup> BRETHOLZ (ed.), *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica* (see footnote 28) 42.

<sup>78</sup> NK, I F 29, fol. 140v.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 165r.

<sup>80</sup> E.g. Cosmas knew Abbess Windelmuth personally. BRETHOLZ (ed.), *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica* (see footnote 28) 171. The Jesuit historian was recommended to Abbes Elizabeth Kestner by the Prague Archbishop Sobek. NA, AZK, 2590, 22, fol. 2087.



key element of a religious life, even played a major role as a symbol in the representation, or self-identification, of the nuns.

When Elžka did not take part in the never-ending cycle of liturgical celebrations or did not engage in handicrafts or other activities necessary for the operation of the convent, she spent time with a book. After all, every Benedictine was to read at least one book a year according to the Rule. Elžka probably encountered books more than others as she was entrusted with the care of the convent's library and the formation of future nuns. Even though Elžka was able to write, it has not yet been proven that she or her co-sisters were the authors of longer texts beyond short notes. The sources of the fourteenth and early-fifteenth centuries clearly attest that professed nuns, such as Elžka, used Latin as a language of common conversation, not only as a liturgical or literary language. Sometimes they even commissioned original (short) works written in Latin. Although the nuns were also readers of some of the earliest pieces of Czech literature, their origin should not be hastily associated with the female monastic milieu without convincing evidence. The books of St. George's abbey were never housed in a single library room. At least some of them were stored in the sacristy of the church. In Elžka's time, these books belonged to the male clergy. However, as Elžka was a librarian, she was probably responsible only for the books which were kept in the so-called *almarie* (*armaria*) directly within the convent. Even though we have an appreciation of the rarely preserved collection of mediaeval manuscripts of this female community in modern times, a visitor from Elžka's time was not overly enthused by the caring of books in the convent, as he sighted: *Ad sanctum Georgium nimis sordide et negligenter servantur libri!*<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> NK, I F 29, fol. 100v.

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**Elzka legit et relegit. A Benedictine Nun in Early Fifteenth-Century Prague as a Reader and a Librarian**  
Karel Pacovský

In the early fifteenth century, a commentary on the Rule of St. Benedict was written by Martin of Vyšehrad, a monk from the abbey of Ostrov in Central Bohemia, for the Benedictine nun, Elizabeth of Waldstein, called Elžka, living in St. George's abbey at Prague Castle. The text reveals, often unique, details from the everyday life of its addressee and of a late mediaeval nunnery in general. It is evident (not only from this source) that books played a crucial role in the lives of choir nuns. The books accompanied them all day long, both during and outside the liturgy, both in the community and in private. In addition to the Divine Office and sewing, reading was an integral part of Elžka's life. Elžka herself was entrusted with the convent's books for a certain time, but she did not perform her task very conscientiously. According to the contemporary witness, the Benedictine nuns of Prague did not keep their books tidy, in good order and ultimately, they operated without any library catalogue until the convent's dissolution in 1782. Although some Czech texts were also found in their codices, there is no doubt that, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the nuns still read mainly in Latin and were also able to hold a common conversation in that language. The nuns who usually grew up in the convent since childhood were certainly taught reading, Latin, and singing because these skills were necessary for them to fulfil their liturgical tasks as choir sisters. Elžka also took part in the upbringing of the younger girls, and this was perhaps the main reason why the Ostrov monk addressed his educational manuscript to her. On the other hand, no great emphasis was placed on the ability to write. Even though the nuns of St. George's convent could write, they were not skilled scribes, and it has not yet been possible to unequivocally identify any author of a literary work among them.

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## Elzka legit et relegit. Eine Prager Benediktinerin zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts als Leserin und Bibliothekarin

Karel Pacovský

Zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts schrieb Martin von Vyšehrad, ein Mönch aus dem Kloster Ostrov in Mittelböhmen, für die im Kloster St. Georg auf der Prager Burg lebende Benediktinerin Elisabeth von Waldstein, genannt Elžka, einen Kommentar zur Regel des heiligen Benedikts. Dieser Text enthüllt zahlreiche, oft einzigartige Details aus dem Alltagsleben der Empfängerin, bzw. des Frauenklosters im Spätmittelalter im Allgemeinen. Nicht nur aus dieser Quelle geht hervor, was für eine wichtige Rolle die Bücher im Leben der Ordensschwester spielten. Sie begleiteten den ganzen Tag nicht nur während der Liturgie, sondern auch außerhalb, in der Gemeinschaft sowie im privaten Leben. Die Lektüre stellte neben dem Gemeinschaftsgebet und dem Nähen einen unabdingbaren Bestandteil von Elžkas Leben dar. Sie selbst wurde für eine gewisse Zeit mit der Verwaltung der Klosterbibliothek beauftragt. Diese Aufgabe übte sie allerdings nicht gerade sorgfältig aus. Dem zeitgenössischen Zeugnis nach hatten die Prager Benediktinerinnen in ihren Büchern ein großes Chaos und behalfen sich ohne etwaige Inventarisierung bis zur Aufhebung des Klosters im Jahr 1782. Obwohl man unter ihren Handschriften auch tschechisch geschriebene Texte fand, besteht kein Zweifel daran, dass sie zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts vor allem auf Latein lasen und dass sie fähig waren, in dieser Sprache geläufige Gespräche zu führen. Die Ordensschwester, die im Kloster von klein auf lebten, absolvierten dort auch den Unterricht und lernten Lesen, Latein und Singen, denn dies waren Fertigkeiten, die für die Ausübung der liturgischen Verpflichtungen jeder Ordensschwester unabdingbar waren. An der Erziehung der jüngeren Mädchen beteiligte sich auch Elžka und dies war wahrscheinlich auch der Grund, warum der Mönch aus dem Kloster Ostrov gerade an sie seine Lehrschrift adressierte. Auf's Schreiben wurde dagegen kein Nachdruck gelegt. Die Benediktinerinnen aus dem Kloster St. Georg konnten zwar schreiben, aber nicht auf einem hohen Niveau, und es gelang bisher nicht, unter

ihnen die Autorinnen der literarischen Werke eindeutig zu identifizieren.

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## **Elzka legit et relegit. Pražská benediktinka na počátku**

### **15. století jako čtenářka a knihovnice**

**Karel Pacovský**

Na počátku 15. století napsal Martin Vyšehradský, mnich z ostrovského kláštera ve středních Čechách, pro benediktinku Elišku z Valdštejna, zvanou Elžka, žijící v klášteře sv. Jiří na Pražském hradě, komentář k řeholi sv. Benedikta. Tento text odhaluje mnohdy jedinečné detaily z každodennosti jeho adresátky, potažmo ženského kláštera v pozdním středověku obecně. Nejen z tohoto pramene vysvítá, jak zásadní roli v životě chórových sester hrály knihy. Doprovázely je celý den jak během liturgie, tak mimo ni, jak ve společenství, tak v soukromí. Četba byla vedle chórové modlitby a šití nejzákladnější součástí Elžčina života. Ona samotná byla na určitou dobu pověřena správou klášterních knih, ale svůj úkol nevykonávala příliš svědomitě. Podle dobového svědectví měly pražské benediktinky v knihách velký nepořádek a bez jakékoli jejich inventarizace se ostatně obešly až do zrušení kláštera roku 1782. Ačkoli se v jejich rukopisech našly i česky psané texty, není pochyb, že ještě na počátku 15. století četly především latinsky a v tomto jazyce byly rovněž schopny spolu vést běžné rozhovory. Řeholnice, které v klášteře vyrůstaly zpravidla od dětství, v něm jistě absolvovaly výuku čtení, latiny a zpěvu, protože to byly dovednosti nezbytné pro plnění liturgických povinností každé chórové sestry. Na výchově mladších dívek se podílela i Elžka a možná to byl hlavní důvod, proč právě jí ostrovský mnich svůj vzdělávací rukopis adresoval. Naproti tomu na psaní žádný velký důraz kladen nebyl. Svatojiřské benediktinky sice psát uměly, nikoli však na profesionální úrovni a nepodařilo se mezi nimi dosud jednoznačně identifikovat ani autorky literárních děl.

# The Library Collection of the Brno Charterhouse in the Rajhrad Monastery Library<sup>1</sup>

JINDRA PAVELKOVÁ

## Introduction

The founder of the Královo Pole Carthusian monastery was the Margrave of Moravia, John Henry (Jan Jindřich), who invited the first member of this order – Gottfried of Enns from the Austrian Charterhouse in Gaming – to Brno as early as 1369, and six years later issued the founding charter of the monastery with the consent of his wife, Elizabeth, and his sons. The Královo Pole Charterhouse was not incorporated into the order until a year later.<sup>2</sup> The monastery was dissolved by

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<sup>1</sup> The paper was created within the project NAKI II DG16P02R047 A Gate to Wisdom has been opened. Baroque Cultural Heritage of the Monasteries in Broumov and Rajhrad: Protection, Restoration, Presentation.

<sup>2</sup> Jiří KROUPA – Dušan FOLTÝN, Brno – Královo Pole (Brno) Bývalá kartouza „Cella Trinitatis“ s kostelem Nejsvětější Trojice [Former Carthusian “Cella Trinitatis” with the Church of the Holy Trinity]. In: Encyklopedie moravských a slezských klášterů [Encyclopaedia of Moravian and Silesian Monasteries] (Praha 2005) 196; Libor JAN, Ves a klášter ve středověku [Village and Monastery in the Middle Ages] (1240–1526). In Milan Řepa (ed.), *Dějiny Králova Pole* [History of Královo Pole] (Brno 2014) 46–75; Karel ŽÁK, *Dějiny kartouze královopolské* [History of Carthusians in Královo Pole] (Nové Město

a decree on 12 January 1782, along with other monasteries that did not establish a school or a hospital and the brethren of which did not hold a preaching or a priesthood position. The dissolution committee arrived at the monastery in Moravia six days later.<sup>3</sup>

It is understood that the Carthusian library was founded together with the monastery; as of 1387, there is a mention that Jan Czafpel, a chaplain at the Church of St. Jacob in Brno, dedicated his library to the Královo Pole Carthusians. According to this mention, the manuscripts were donated by Jan Czafpel to the Carthusians even earlier.<sup>4</sup> From the end of the fourteenth century, there was a bookbinding workshop in the monastery; the peak of which dates back to the second half of the fifteenth century, and these late Gothic bindings are still preserved in the library collection scattered around several memory institutions in our country and abroad<sup>5</sup> – especially the Olomouc Research Library, the National Library, the Brno City Archive, and the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.<sup>6</sup>

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na Moravě 1929) 25–28; Milan M. BUBEN, Královo Pole u Brna [Královo Pole at Brno]. In: Encyklopedie řádů, kongregací a řeholních společností katolické církve v českých zemích [Encyclopaedia of Orders, Congregations and Religious Societies of the Catholic Church in the Czech Lands] (Praha 2007), vol. 2/2, 328–334, esp. 328.

<sup>3</sup> BUBEN, Pole (see footnote 1) 331; Milan ŘEPA, Josefsinské a předbřeznové intermezzo [The Reign of Joseph II and Pre-March Intermezzo] (1782–1844). In M. Řepa (ed.), *Dějiny Králova Pole* (see footnote 1) 105–122, esp. 106.

<sup>4</sup> Prokop ZAORAL, Knihovna zrušeného kartuziánského kláštera v Králově Poli a její rukopisy [The Library of the Abolished Carthusian Monastery in Královo Pole and its Manuscripts]. In: *Studie o rukopisech* 12 (1973) 207–231, esp. 208; ŽÁK, *Dějiny* (see footnote 1) 32.

<sup>5</sup> Jiří GLONEK, Knihvazačská dílna královopolských kartuziánů [Bookbinding Workshop of the Carthusians in Královo Pole]. In: *Bibliotheca Antiqua* 2014 (2014) 7–13; IDEM, Gotická a renesanční knižní vazba [Gothic and Renaissance Bookbinding]. In: Jana Hrbáčová – Rostislav Krušínský (eds.), *Chrám věd a múz. 450 let vědecké knihovny v Olomouci* [A Temple of the Sciences and the Muses. 450 years of the Olomouc Research Library] (Olomouc 2016) 335–347.

<sup>6</sup> GLONEK, *Dílna* (see footnote 4) 8.

The library made a larger acquisition a few years before the dissolution of the monastery, occurring in 1771 when the Carthusians bought the library from the estate of the parish priest, at the Church of St. James in Brno, for 1,400 gulden.<sup>7</sup>

## Královo Pole Library Collection at the Time of the Dissolution of the Monastery

The Carthusian library was captured at the time of the dissolution of the monastery in the inventories of Jan Expedit Hanke (d. 1807), which were acquired between 16 April and 16 August 1782, and Jan Alois Hanke of Hankenstein (1751–1806) in 1786. The inventories differ slightly in the total number of volumes.<sup>8</sup> The library, at the time, possessed fewer than 3,000 volumes, including manuscripts and incunabula.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> ZAORAL, *Knihovna* (see footnote 3) 208 and footnote 8. Zaoral refers to Cerroni (Jan Petr CERRONI, *Geschichte der Bibliotheken in Mähren I*, the manuscript stored in the Moravian Archive in Brno [MZA], G12 Czeroni Collection [G12], sig. I 28, ff. 76r) where Cerroni incorrectly stated the name of the parish priest as Karl Friedrich instead of Josef Friedrich and the search for Friedrich's estate has so far been without result. However, in the Gubernium collection of the Moravian Archive in Brno, together with the inventories of the library of the Královo Pole Charterhouse at the time of the dissolution of the monastery, an inventory depicting, among other things, this library acquisition from 1771 is stored. It is stated at the end of the inventory: *Hi sunt libri selectiones, praeter alios minoris considerationis pene Ducentos in bibliotheca suis loci aggregatos, qui post admodum r[e]v[eren]dum D[omi]num Carolum Friedrich, Parochum Brunensem, Decanum foraneum relictis, ad usum Cartusae Brunensis Anno 1771, die 20 nove<sup>mbris</sup> mille quardingentis florenis Rhemensibus comparati sunt.* (Catalogus Librorum Sub Litteris Alphabeti in Bibliotheca Cartusiae Contentorum. MZA, B2 Gubernium [B2], cart. 75, sig. K20/22, ff. 67–74a.

<sup>8</sup> GLONEK, *Dílna* (see footnote 4) 8.

<sup>9</sup> J. E. Hanke lists 2,900 volumes, of which 271 volumes of manuscripts and 110 volumes of incunabula, J. A. Hanke, whose list is often described as less accurate, records 2,700 volumes and, for example, only 58 manuscripts. See ZAORAL, *Knihovna* (see footnote 3) 207.

Jan Expedit Hanke was commissioned to list the library by the chairman of the dissolution committee, Count Jan Mitrovsky of Nemyšl. Upon taking possession of the library, Count Jan Mitrovsky of Nemyšl stated that the library lacked a proper catalogue and that most of the books were not catalogued.<sup>10</sup>

The list of Jan Expedit Hanke, for old prints, is preserved in several copies<sup>11</sup> and brings a record of volumes in the form of: author, title, place, year of publication, number of volumes, format, and type of binding. The lists also include a breakdown of convolutes; so, not only are all volumes captured but also all titles in the library. The lists stored in the Gubernia collection also conclude that specially marked books from the catalogue (a total of 145 volumes, including manuscripts and incunabula) were sent to the Imperial Royal Court Library in Vienna after 10 March 1784 (when the record was taken) according to the order of the court decrees of 10 February and 5 March of the same year.<sup>12</sup>

J. E. Hanke's inventory is divided into separate sections: manuscripts, incunabula, post-incunabula, old prints (in some copies divided by fields and within them by alphabet), and incomplete works.<sup>13</sup>

The list of Jan Alois Hanke is dated 25 July 1786 and, likely due to the aversion to his collaborator and almost namesake, Jan Expedit, Hanke did not use the lists Jan Expedit compiled for his work. Instead, Jan Alois Hanke created the list according to records on cards, which led to significant mistakes in sorting books (mixed manuscripts and old

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 208.

<sup>11</sup> MZA, B14 Moravské místodržitelství, všeobecné oddělení, sig. M 1430; MZA G11 sbírka rukopisů Františkova muzea, sig. FM 341. See Irena ZACHOVÁ – Stanislav PETR, *Soupis sbírky rukopisů bývalého Františkova muzea fondu G 11 Moravského zemského archivu v Brně* [Catalogue of the Collection of Manuscripts of the Former František Museum of the G11 Collection of the Moravian Provincial Archive in Brno] (Praha 2010) 144, no. 341; MZA, B2 (see footnote 6).

<sup>12</sup> GLONEK, *Dílna* (see footnote 4) 8; MZA, B2 (see footnote 6) ff. 182/251.

<sup>13</sup> ZAORAL, *Knihovna* (see footnote 1) 208, complemented from MZA, B2 (see footnote 6) ff. 57–183 and 148–252 (catalogues are foiled separately according to storage in folders always from ff. 1, therefore, the foliation is repeated).



prints) and inaccurate numbers of titles and volumes.<sup>14</sup> In his inventory, J. A. Hanke lists: fifty-eight manuscripts (separately mentioned missals, and other manuscripts, increase that number to 106), eighty-seven typographic antiques (i.e. incunabula and post-incunabula), 486 necessary books, 280 books for sale, sixty-five incomplete works, and 1,731 worthless books.<sup>15</sup> Disparity between the numbers stated by J. E. Hanke and J. A. Hanke were caused, as mentioned above, by different sources of information and by the fact that J. A. Hanke recorded a library that no longer contained books sent to Vienna in 1784.

Besides these two collections of lists, we can find the library of the Královo Pole Carthusians described together with the inventory of manuscripts and incunabula in the manuscript of Jan Petr Cerroni.<sup>16</sup>

Based on the inventory of Jan Expedit Hanke, we can get an idea of the composition of the Carthusian library in Královo Pole. In 1771, the catalogue further divided the library into the fields: *S. Patres et S. P. Interpretes, Theologi tam Cannonistae quam Civilistae, Controversistae, Concionatores, Ascetae, Historici* and *Miscellanea*, with patristic, historical, and preaching literature having the largest representation.<sup>17</sup> Hanke divides the library into twenty disciplines: *Hierographici, Hermeneutici, Patres, Dogmatici, Polemici, Casuistae, Ascetae, Concionatores, Synodici, Liturgici, Iurisprudencia civilis et canonica, Historici ecclesiastici et profani, Hagiographici, Philosophia et historia naturalis, Medici, Oeconomici, Grammaticii, Rhetorici, Poetae, and Philologia*.<sup>18</sup> It can be assumed that Hanke himself did not divide the library into these fields, but that it may have been already arranged this way within the library hall or room. Preaching literature is the most abundant (371 titles in 399 volumes), which is surprising in the Carthusian order; it also includes a greater number of manuscripts (fifty-four volumes) and incunabula (twenty-one volumes).

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<sup>14</sup> ZAORAL, Knihovna (see footnote 1) 229–230, footnote 21.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 208.

<sup>16</sup> MZA, G12 (see footnote 6).

<sup>17</sup> MZA, B 2 (see footnote 6), ff. 11–74a.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 57–183.

On the contrary, the large amount of ascetic literature is understandable (228 titles in 316 volumes). Also in abundance are ecclesiastical and civil law writings (301 titles in 274 volumes), historical writings (225 titles in 246 volumes) and case studies (178 titles in 207 volumes), dogmatic writings (191 titles in 178 volumes), hermeneutic writings (143 titles in 174 volumes), hagiographic (140 titles in 184 volumes) and polemical writings (115 titles in 111 volumes), liturgical handbooks (167 titles in 165 volumes, of which sixty-nine are manuscripts) and philological writings (167 titles in 166 volumes).

Of the total number of 2,900 volumes, 1,014 date back to the eighteenth century, 997 to the seventeenth century, and 346 volumes were printed in the sixteenth century.<sup>19</sup> The predominant part of the library collection was in Latin, there were fewer than 300 German books, mostly in medical and economic fields where German predominated, especially in the case of historical and preaching manuals. Romance languages are represented by thirty titles – mostly French, Italian, and in three cases Spanish. In addition, the *Grammatici* section contains Latin, German, Polish, Czech, Greek, Italian, French, Spanish, Hebrew, and English dictionaries. Six different instances of Czech are present in the list and, among the Czech titles, there are also three editions of the Bible – Nuremberg from 1540, Melantrich's fourth edition from 1570 and two of the three volumes of the first edition of the St. Wenceslas Bible from 1677–1715.<sup>20</sup>

## Královo Pole Books in the Collection of the Rajhrad Benedictine Library

Books that were not selected for the Court Library in Vienna went to auction, which took place from 7 September 1786 to the end of 1790.

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<sup>19</sup> ZAORAL, Knihovny (see footnote 3) 210–211.

<sup>20</sup> MZA, B 2 (see footnote 6) ff. 57–183. For more information about the editions of the Bible, see Vladimír KYAS, *Česká Bible v dějinách národního písemnictví* [Czech Bible in the History of National Literature] (Praha 1997).

We do not know exactly which of the auctions the Carthusian books were sold at, but they probably went to sale at the first September and October auctions in Brno, together with collections from other Brno monastery libraries.<sup>21</sup> However, a part of the unsold collection could still have been offered; unsold books became a part of the collection of today's Research Library in Olomouc.

Neither from our own books nor from secondary sources do we know exactly when the part of the Carthusian collection was bought by the Rajhrad Benedictines for their library. The Benedictines not only obtained books from the Královo Pole Charterhouse, but also a (larger?) part of the documentary archive.<sup>22</sup>

One-hundred and twenty-three titles within 114 volumes were acquired for the library from Královo Pole, most of which were published in the first half of the seventeenth century, but the Benedictines of Rajhrad significantly expanded their collection to also include prints from the sixteenth century.<sup>23</sup> The oldest print was published in 1505,<sup>24</sup> the most modern item was published in 1726.<sup>25</sup> Thus, no incunable was gained nor was any manuscript acquired of the Královo Pole Carthusians.

As mentioned above, the Carthusian library in Královo Pole was predominantly Latin, and this corresponds to the language composition of the books purchased to Rajhrad; only two books are in German,<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Antonín RYBIČKA, *Přehled knihoven zrušených na Moravě a ve Slezsku, které Jan Hanke z Hankenštejna, bibliotekář Olomoucký, z nejvyššího rozkazu v letech 1786–1790 prohlédl a sepsal* [An Overview of Libraries closed in Moravia and Silesia, which Jan Hanke of Hankenstein, the Olomouc librarian, inspected and wrote by the Highest Order in 1786–1790]. In: *Časopis Matice moravské* 19, 1 (1895) 63–67.

<sup>22</sup> MZA, E6 Benediktini Rajhrad [E6].

<sup>23</sup> Fifty-eight works from the 16<sup>th</sup> century in the Benedictine Library of Rajhrad are of Carthusian provenance, eighty-seven from the 17<sup>th</sup> century and fourteen from the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>24</sup> Knihovna Benediktinského opatství Rajhrad, ve správě Muzea Brněnska, p.o., Památníku písemnictví na Moravě [KBOR], sig. R–V.f.78.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. R–L.II.ee.21.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. R–M.I.cc.54 and sig. R–T.e.3.

one explanatory dictionary is in Latin-German,<sup>27</sup> one book is in Italian,<sup>28</sup> two in Latin and Greek<sup>29</sup> and one in Hebrew and Latin.<sup>30</sup> Most of the books were published in publishing houses in present-day Germany (69), significantly fewer in today's Belgium (27), Italy (24) and France (18). Individual items were published in today's Switzerland (7), the Czech Republic (2) and Poland (1).

The first rank among the publishing places belongs to Cologne (38), the publishing houses of which are mentioned in books between 1508 and 1706; represented are also the printers of: the Quentel family,<sup>31</sup> Maternus Cholinus,<sup>32</sup> Ludwig Alector,<sup>33</sup> Gerwin Calenius,<sup>34</sup> Arnold Birkman,<sup>35</sup> Arnold Mylius,<sup>36</sup> Jacob Soter<sup>37</sup> from the sixteenth century, Peter Ketteler,<sup>38</sup> Anton and Arnold Hieratů,<sup>39</sup> Konrad Bůtgen,<sup>40</sup> Johann Gymnich,<sup>41</sup> Johann Kincki,<sup>42</sup> Konstattlín Můnich<sup>43</sup> and Johann Wilhelm Friessem<sup>44</sup> from the seventeenth century, and Thomas Fritsch<sup>45</sup> from 1706. Very often we find Venice (20) as the place of pub-

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid. sig. R-Ž.I.ff.2.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., sig. R-R.II.bbb.33.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., sig. R-B.II.ee.10, sig. R-II.a.1745.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., sig. R-A.II.e.32, přív.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., sig. R-V.f.78, přív.3, sig. R-H.II.e.13, sig. R-VII.b.10430.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., sig. R-A.II.d.36, sig. R-A.II.d.36, přív.1, sig. R-A.II.d.36, přív.2, sig. R-A.II.e.13, sig. R-III.b.4411.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., sig. R-A.II.d.37.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., sig. R-H.II.e.13.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., sig. R-M.II.a.8, sig. R-A.II.e.30.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., sig. R-R.II.bbb.10.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., sig. R-A.II.d.37.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., sig. R-F.I.c.4.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., sig. R-VI.a.8025, sig. R-F.I.dd.4, sig. R-F.I.dd.2, sig. R-F.I.dd. 3, sig. R-J.II.dd.18.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., sig. R-R.II.cc.2.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., sig. R-A.II.ee.15.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., sig. R-R.II.bbb.32, sig. R-H.II.e.11, sig. R-T.II.cc.18.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., sig. R-A.I.f.17.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., sig. R-R.f.11.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., sig. R-H.II.gg.8, sig. R-H.II.gg.9.

lication; it was represented by the workshops of the second half of the sixteenth century (Angelus Raphael,<sup>46</sup> Comin de Tridino,<sup>47</sup> Pietro Longo,<sup>48</sup> Marurizio Rubini,<sup>49</sup> Giorgio Angelieri,<sup>50</sup> and Francesco Ziletti);<sup>51</sup> besides these, two more Carthusian books were published in Venice by Paolo Baglioni<sup>52</sup> in 1698 and 1706. Other Italian cities, where a book in each was published, include Florence (Barthomolaeus Sermatellius),<sup>53</sup> Rome (Alesandro Zanneti),<sup>54</sup> Turin (Giovanni Domenico Tarino),<sup>55</sup> and Milan (Joann Petri de Cardis).<sup>56</sup> Antwerp (17), Belgium, is represented by the printer Johann Steelsius,<sup>57</sup> Peter Beller<sup>58</sup> from the end of the sixteenth century, the prints of his heirs from the beginning of the following century,<sup>59</sup> and especially the Plantini publishing house,<sup>60</sup> in which Jan I, Jan II and Balthasar Moreti<sup>61</sup> worked on prints. Two prints of Martin III Nutius<sup>62</sup> are from the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. The seventeenth century is fur-

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid., sig. R–F.II.cc.17, sig. R–F.II.cc.17,přív.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., sig. R–T.II.dd.20.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., sig. R–T.I.a.12,přív.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., sig. R–T.f.20.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., sig. R–T.f.20,přív.1.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., sig. R–T.f.20,přív.2.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., sig. R–H.II.cc.6, sig. R–H.II.cc.6, přív.1, sig. R–H.II.cc.6,přív.2, sig. R–H.II.cc.7, sig. R–H.II.cc.7,přív.1, sig. R–H.II.cc.7, přív.2, sig. R–H.II.cc.8, sig. R–H.II.cc.8,přív.1, sig. R–H.II.cc.8, přív.2, sig. R–H.II.cc.9, sig. R–Q.e.28.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., sig. R–H.II.e.7.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., sig. R–R.II.bbb.33.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., sig. R–T.f.70.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., sig. R–A.I.ff.10.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., sig. R–A.II.e.32.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., sig. R–B.II.dd.11.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., sig. R–A.II.e.29.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., sig. R–M.e.86, sig. R–Q.e.9, sig. R–Q.e.9, přív., sig. R–II.a.174, sig. R–H.II.bb.10, sig. R–A.II.e.32, přív.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., sig. R–Q.I.aa.13, sig. R–M.e.86, sig. R–Q.e.9, sig. R–Q.e.9, přív., sig. R–II.a.1745.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., sig. R–Z.f.3, sig. R–Z.II.cc.28.

ther represented by Guislain Janssens,<sup>63</sup> Joachim Troгнаesius,<sup>64</sup> and Johannes Keerberghen.<sup>65</sup> The last print is by Joann Baptiste Verdussen<sup>66</sup> from 1715. Another of the Belgian places of publication – Leuven (10) – is documented in prints from the first two decades of the seventeenth century produced by Jean-Christophe Flavius<sup>67</sup> and Servatio Sassen;<sup>68</sup> the last print was published in 1705 by Wolfgang Konrad Prix.<sup>69</sup> The French places of publication include Lyon, Paris and Strasbourg, only providing two prints. Lyon (12) is the publishing place of prints published between 1554 and 1642 by: Johann Frellon,<sup>70</sup> Wilhelm Rosilius,<sup>71</sup> Jean Pillehotte,<sup>72</sup> Thibaud Ancelino,<sup>73</sup> Jean Caffin,<sup>74</sup> Guillaume Rouillé,<sup>75</sup> Jean Françoise de Gabiano and Pierre Fradin,<sup>76</sup> and by the Carthusian monastery print.<sup>77</sup> Paris prints (5) date back to 1505–1630 and are represented by the workshops of Joss Badius,<sup>78</sup> Michael Julian,<sup>79</sup> Claudius Morelli,<sup>80</sup> and Johannes Parvus.<sup>81</sup> Strasbourg can be found in two prints from the beginning of the sixteenth century produced by

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. R–B.II.ee.15, sig. R–B.II.ee.15, přív.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. R–F.I.gg.14.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. R–H.II.aa.20.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. R–A.I.ee.12.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. R–II.a.1614, sig. R–II.a.1614, přív.1–4.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. R–P.I.d.7, přív.2.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. R–T.I.b.28.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. R–A.II.d.38.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. R–C.I.g.30.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. R–G.II.cc.19.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. R–K.I.cc.1, sig. R–K.I.cc.2.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. R–L.I.cc.10.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. R–R.II.a.49.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. R–O.e.1.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. R–K.I.cc.1, sig. R–K.I.cc.2.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. R–B.I.ee.14.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. R–B.II.ee.9.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. R–B.II.ee.10.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. R–V.f.78.

Johann Knobloch<sup>82</sup> and Matthias Schürer.<sup>83</sup> There are sixteen prints from the territory of today's Switzerland, represented by: Basel (4 – Peter Perna,<sup>84</sup> Johann Amerbach,<sup>85</sup> Daniel Agricola,<sup>86</sup> Johann Oporinus)<sup>87</sup> and Freiburg (1 – Abraham Gemperlin),<sup>88</sup> at the beginning of the seventeenth century again Basel (1 – Andreas Cellarius)<sup>89</sup> and Geneva (1 – Pierre and Jacques Chonet).<sup>90</sup>

Other publishing places in present-day Germany include: Frankfurt am Main (5 – workshops by Johann Wechel,<sup>91</sup> Petr Fischer,<sup>92</sup> Sigmund and Hieronymus Feyerabend<sup>93</sup> and Martin Lechler<sup>94</sup> from the second half of the sixteenth century, and Ludwig Elzevier<sup>95</sup> from 1614–1615), Augsburg (6 – workshops of Christoph Mang<sup>96</sup> from 1615, Andreas Aperger<sup>97</sup> from 1641 and Martin Happach and Georg Schlüter,<sup>98</sup> Johann Schötter<sup>99</sup> and Abraham Gugger<sup>100</sup> from the beginning of the eighteenth century), Ingolstadt (6 – workshops of Adam Sartorius,<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid., sig. R–V.f.78, přív.4.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., sig. R–V.f.78, přív.5.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., sig. R–J.II.ee.6.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., sig. R–K.II.cc.33.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., sig. R–Q.II.cc.3.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., sig. R–V.b.7959.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., sig. R–Z.e.4.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., sig. R–P.I.c.29.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., sig. R–V.III.b.43.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., sig. R–A.II.d.39, přív.1, sig. R–A.II.d.39, sig. R–A.II.d.39, přív.2.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., sig. R–A.II.d.39.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., sig. R–T.f.27, sig. R–O.e.25.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., sig. R–T.f.27.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., sig. R–P.I.d.7, přív.1, sig. R–P.I.d.7.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., sig. R–L.I.ee.25.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., sig. R–Ž.I.ff.2.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., sig. R–F.I.aa.4.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., sig. R–H.II.d.5.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., sig. R–H.II.d.5, sig. R–H.II.d.5.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., sig. R–A.II.e.12, sig. R–V.III.b.9, sig. R–A.I.c.25.

David Sartorius<sup>102</sup> and Wolfgang Eder)<sup>103</sup> and Mainz (5 – workshops of Johann Albin,<sup>104</sup> Petr Henning and Bernhard Wolter,<sup>105</sup> Balthasar Lippsius and Johann Hemthemius<sup>106</sup> from the beginning of the seventeenth century and Johann Gottfried Schönwetter<sup>107</sup> from 1654). Other places that appear in relation to only one print include: Dillingen (Johann Caspar Bencard),<sup>108</sup> Nuremberg (Martin Endter),<sup>109</sup> Leipzig (Jakob Gerdesius),<sup>110</sup> Berlin (Johann Wilhelm Meyer),<sup>111</sup> Tübingen and Pforzheim (Thomas Anshelm).<sup>112</sup>

The last two places of publication that appear in books from the Brno Carthusian monastery are Krakow (print by Maciej Szarfenberg<sup>113</sup> from 1536) and Prague (2), represented by the prints of the Jesuit printer under the agent Jiří Laboun from 1689<sup>114</sup> and Barbora Františka Berinegová, and the agent Jan Jiří Behr from 1726.<sup>115</sup>

The diverse range of publishing data is complemented by the professional diversity of the books acquired. In addition to the books of the Holy Scriptures, which are represented by the Latin-Greek edition of the Gospels and the Epistles from 1610<sup>116</sup> and the Psalms from 1559,<sup>117</sup> the Benedictines from Královo Pole also purchased the Sixto-Clementine edition of the entire Bible from 1715.<sup>118</sup> In addition to these, the

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid., sig. R–K.II.ee.8.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., sig. R–R.II.bbb.10, přív.1, sig. R–R.II.bbb.10, přív.2.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., sig. R–H.II.dd.9.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., sig. R–K.I.cc.4, sig. R–K.I.cc.4, přív.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., sig. R–P.I.c.29, přív.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., sig. R–H.II.cc.10.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., sig. R–H.I.b.13.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., sig. R–K.I.e.31.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., sig. R–M.I.cc.54.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., sig. R–T.e.3, sig. R–T.e.3, přív.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., sig. R–V.f.78, přív.1-2.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., sig. R–K.I.d.41, přív.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., sig. R–X.I.f.57.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., sig. R–L.II.ee.21.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., sig. R–A.I.c.25.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., sig. R–A.II.d.38.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., sig. R–A.I.ee.12.



acquisition also included interpretations of biblical texts and biblical commentaries, produced by important authors such as: Peter Canisius (1521–1597),<sup>119</sup> bishop of Ghent Cornelius Jansenius (1510–1576),<sup>120</sup> Louis Abbely (1604–1691),<sup>121</sup> Paolo Aresi (1574–1644),<sup>122</sup> Wilhelm Damas Lindan (1525–1588),<sup>123</sup> Sisto of Siena (1520–1569),<sup>124</sup> Levius Lemnius (1505–1568),<sup>125</sup> Obadiah,<sup>126</sup> Hector Pinto (1526–1584),<sup>127</sup> Belgian Augustinian Jacob Van de Velde (d. 1583),<sup>128</sup> bishop Jerónimo Osório (1506–1580),<sup>129</sup> Benedictine monk of Montserrat Jerónimo Lloret (1506–1571)<sup>130</sup> and Jesuits Ludovico Crucero (d. 1604)<sup>131</sup> and Brás Viegas (1553–1599).<sup>132</sup>

What was acquired were also the file of the Church Fathers of St. Bruno (c. 1030–1101),<sup>133</sup> Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274),<sup>134</sup> Tertullian (c. 160–240),<sup>135</sup> St. Gregory of Nazianzus (c. 329–390),<sup>136</sup> and Pope Leo I (c. 400–461)<sup>137</sup> prepared for publication by the Carthusian Laurentius Surius (1522–1578) or an interpretation of the works of Dionysius Car-

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid., sig. R–Z.e.4.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., sig. R–B.II.e.15, sig. R–B.II.e.15, přív..

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., sig. R–A.I.f.17.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., sig. R–A.I.ff.10.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., sig. R–A.II.d.36, sig. R–A.II.d.36, přív.1-2.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., sig. R–A.II.d.37.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., sig. R–A.II.d.39, sig. R–A.II.d.39, přív. 1-2.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., sig. R–A.II.e.13.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., sig. R–A.II.e.32.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., sig. R–A.II.e.29.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., sig. R–A.II.e.30.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., sig. R–A.II.ee.15.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., sig. R–A.II.e.12.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., sig. R–A.I.ff.8.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., sig. R–B.I.ee.14.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., sig. R–B.II.d.11.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., sig. R–B.II.ee.9.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., sig. R–B.II.ee.10, sig. R–B.II.ee.11.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., sig. R–B.II.ff.16.

thusianus (1402–1471) and Peter the Lombard (c. 1096–1160),<sup>138</sup> and *Vitae patrum* in the Antwerp edition of 1615.<sup>139</sup>

Naturally, theology is largely represented in most of its branches, and especially systematic (dogmatic) theology, in a large part in the fields in which it is interested. These include, for example, the work of the Jesuit Johann Crombecius, active in Belgium and France (1563–1626) *De Studio Perfectionis Libri Duo*,<sup>140</sup> or Francisco Suárez (1548–1617) *Tractatus de legibus ac Deo legislatore...*<sup>141</sup>. From Christology we can mention the work of the Carthusian Ludolph of Saxony (1300–1377) *Vita D. N. Iesu Christi, e sacris quattuor Evangeliorum, Samctorumque Patrum...*<sup>142</sup> Moral theology and writings devoted to virtues are represented by the works *Virtutum vitiorumque exempla ...* by William Perault (c. d. 1270) in two editions from 1585<sup>143</sup> and 1608,<sup>144</sup> *Ethica supernaturalis salisburgensis sive cursus theologiae moralis* by Ettal Benedictine Ludwig Babenstuber (1660–1726),<sup>145</sup> *Institutiones morales* by the Jesuit Azorus (c. 1535–1603),<sup>146</sup> *De Iustitia et Iure caeterisque Virtutibus Cardinalibus* by the Jesuit Leonard Lessius (1554–1623),<sup>147</sup> *De patientia aurei libri tres* by the Carmelite Giovanni Battiste Spagnoli (1448–1516),<sup>148</sup> *Coordinati, seu omnium resolutionum moralium* by Antonius Diana (1585–1663),<sup>149</sup> *Theologia moralis* by the Jesuit Paul Laymann (1574–1635),<sup>150</sup> *Summae theologiae moralis libri quindecim* by the Portuguese Jesuit Hen-

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<sup>138</sup> Ibid., sig. R–F.II.cc. 17.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., sig. R–II.a.1745.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., sig. R–F.I.gg.14.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., sig. R–H.II.aa.20.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., sig. R–L.I.cc.10.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., sig. R–R.II.a.49.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., sig. R–C.I.g.30.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., sig. R–F.I.aa.4.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., sig. R–F.I.dd.2–4.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., sig. R–H.II.bb.10.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., sig. R–V.f.78.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., sig. R–H.II.cc.6-9.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., sig. R–H.II.cc.10.

rique Henriques (1520–1600),<sup>151</sup> *De statibus hominum* by the Jesuit Johann Busae (1547–1611),<sup>152</sup> *Tractatus de voto paupertatis* by the Olivetan Alessandro Archirota,<sup>153</sup> *Congressus pomeridiani et sermones symposiaci* by the Jesuit Antoine de Balinghem (1571–1630),<sup>154</sup> *Vera ac sincera vitae christianae...* by the Carthusian Florentius Harlemius in the adaptation of the German Carthusian and order historiographer Laurentius Surius (1522–1578),<sup>155</sup> *Theologia moralis* by the bishop François Genet (1640–1707),<sup>156</sup> *Opera omnia* by Mark Marulić (1450–1524),<sup>157</sup> *De eloquentia sarca et humana...* by Nicolas Caussin (1583–1651)<sup>158</sup> or *Directorium conscientiae ...*<sup>159</sup>

Practical theology, specifically homiletics, is represented by the prints: *Decretum et documentum pastorale...*,<sup>160</sup> *Bibliotheca homiliarum et sermonum priscorum ecclesiae patrum...* by Lorenzo Condiv in the Latin edition of Lyon edited by the German Dominican Gerard Mosan,<sup>161</sup> three parts of the book of sermons on Sundays and saints' days by Bernard Carasso (1504–1586),<sup>162</sup> *Secreta Sacerdotum* by the Carthusian Henria de Langenstein (1325–1397),<sup>163</sup> *Enchiridion, sive manuale confessoriorum, et poenitentium* by Martín de Azpilcuet (1492–1586),<sup>164</sup> *Praxis fori poenitentiales ad directionem confessorii...* by the Jesuit Valèr Regnault (1543–1623),<sup>165</sup> *Caelum empyreum...* by Henric Engelgrave

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., sig. R–H.II.cc.11.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid., sig. R–H.II.dd.9.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., sig. R–H.II.e.7.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., sig. R–H.II.e.11.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., sig. R–H.II.e.13.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., sig. R–H.II.gg.8-9.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., sig. R–Z.II.cc.28.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid., sig. R–C.I.ff.5.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., sig. R–F.I.c.4.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., sig. R–H.I.b.13.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., sig. R–E.I.bb.14-15.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid., sig. R–K.I.cc.1-3.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid., sig. R–K.I.d.41.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid., sig. R–K.I.ee.16.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid., sig. R–K.I.cc.4.

(1610–1670)<sup>166</sup> and the Krakow print *Compendiosum examen* from 1536.<sup>167</sup> The liturgy includes the work of Jerónimo Nadal (1507–1580) *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia quae in sacrosancto misae sacrificio toto anno leguntur*,<sup>168</sup> *Martyrologium romanum* compiled by the Jesuit Heribert Rosweyde (1588–1629)<sup>169</sup> from 1613 and two works, *Martyrologia Romana* compiled at the instigation of popes Gregory XIII (1502–1585) and Clement X (1590–1676) published in 1690<sup>170</sup> and 1709;<sup>171</sup> the catechetics include *Apparatus interrogationum et responsium* by Tommaso Francesco Roer (1660–1748).<sup>172</sup>

The hagiographic works from the Brno Carthusian Library, which enriched the Rajhrad collection, consist primarily of the works: *Quinque martyres* by Francesco Benci (1542–1594),<sup>173</sup> *Historia Ecclesiastica, De Martyro Fratrum Ordinis Minorum Divi Francisci...* by Thomas Bourchier (d. 1586),<sup>174</sup> *Historia Passionis novorum in Germania inferioris provincia Constantissimorum Martyrum Ordinis sancti Francisci ex observantia* by Florentinus van Oyen (1515–1595),<sup>175</sup> *S. Caroli card. Borromaei, archiepiscopi Mediolanensis vita, miracula, et nupera eiusdem Canonizatio...* by Francisco Peña (1540–1612),<sup>176</sup> *De vita et moribus Ignatii Loiolae* by the Jesuit Giovanni Pietrus Maffei (1536–1603)<sup>177</sup> and *Vita del gran patriarca s. Bruno cartusiano*.<sup>178</sup>

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., sig. R–C.I.ff.22.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid., sig. R–K.I.d.41, přív.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid., sig. R–Z.f.3.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., sig. R–Q.e.9.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., sig. R–Q.e.28, přív.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., sig. R–Q.e.28.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., sig. R–K.I.e.31.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., sig. R–R.II.bbb.10.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., sig. R–R.II.bbb.10, přív.1.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid., sig. R–R.II.bbb.10, přív.2.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid., sig. R–R.II.bbb.32.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., sig. R–III.b.4411.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid., sig. R–R.II.bbb.33.

Furthermore, among the Carthusian books we can find a work on the missionary activities of the Jesuits in China<sup>179</sup> or on Carthusian<sup>180</sup> and Jesuit<sup>181</sup> spirituality.

Concerning the history of the Church, the Rajhrad Library gained from the Carthusian Library the writings: *Divinarum hebraicarumque literarum* by Gilbert Générard (1537–1597),<sup>182</sup> twenty books in seven volumes, *Magna theatra vitae humanae*<sup>183</sup> by Laurentius Beyerlinck (1578–1627), *Adversaria historica, in centurias, Quinquagenarias, Decurias & Ataktus digesta* by Richard Dinoth (1540–1586),<sup>184</sup> *Chronicorum discalceati ordinis sanctissimae trinitatis de redemptione captivorum* Didaca a Matre Dei<sup>185</sup> and *Historia sacrae epitomé, sive De Christianarum rerum memoria libri decem* by St. Haim of Halberstadt (778–853).<sup>186</sup>

Law – canonical and secular – is represented by the edition of the Carthusian statutes in: the Basel edition of 1510,<sup>187</sup> *Enchiridion de censuris irregularitate, et privilegiatis* by Felician Ninguard (1524–1595),<sup>188</sup> *Astrum inextinctum sive ius agendi antiquorum religiosorum ordinum* by Roman Haye (active 1625–1653),<sup>189</sup> *Praelectiones publicae in D. Justiniani Institutionum juris* by Bohemian lawyer and university professor Johann Christophe Schambogen (1636–1696),<sup>190</sup> *Titulorum omnium iuris tam civilis, quam canonici* by Sebastian Brant (1457–1521),<sup>191</sup> *Thesaurus Practicus* by Christophe Besold (1577–1638),<sup>192</sup> *Remissiones vel, ut alii commodus*

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<sup>179</sup> Ibid., sig. R–L.I.ee.25.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid., sig. R–R.II.cc.2.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid., sig. R–R.f.11, sig. R–R.f.11, přív.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid., sig. R–G.II.cc.19.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid., sig. R–J.II.dd.11-18.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid., sig. R–J.II.ee.6.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid., sig. R–L.II.ee.21.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., sig. R–VI.a.8025.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid., sig. R–K.II.cc.33.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid., sig. R–K.II.ee.8.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid., sig. R–K.II.ee.28.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid., sig. R–T.I.b.28.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., sig. R–T.II.dd.20.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid., sig. R–Ž.I.ff.2.

*dici arbitrantur*,... by Raphael Seiler (active 1553–1574),<sup>193</sup> *In tres priores institutionum libros eruditissima commentaria* by Christofor Porcius (d. 1442),<sup>194</sup> *Commentaria* by Antonio Córdoba de Lara (d. 1586),<sup>195</sup> *Distinctiones Bartoli de Saxo Ferrato*,... by Marian Soccini (1401–1467)<sup>196</sup> and *Aurea opuscula*... by Peter of Ravenna (c. 1448–1508).<sup>197</sup> There are also books devoted to court proceedings – *Noave decisiones sacri senatus Pedemontani*,<sup>198</sup> *Einleitung zur Praxis, oder Gerichtlichen Proceß*<sup>199</sup> – and marital law. Two writings – *Tractatus de Syndicatu* by Gabriel Sarain (active 1556–1590)<sup>200</sup> and *Tractatus Dividui & individui cum nova et analytica tam in theoria, quam in praxi declaratione legum omnium eius materie* by Charlese Du Moulin (1500–1566)<sup>201</sup> – represent the history of law.

Other books include works devoted to rhetoric – *Neu-Erleiterter Politischer Redner* by Christian Wies (1672–1798),<sup>202</sup> *Camporum eloquentiae*,... by Juan Luis de la Cerdá (1560–1643),<sup>203</sup> *Epitheorum* by Jean Tixier de Ravisi (about 1480–1524)<sup>204</sup> and *De arte predicandi* by Johann Reuchlin (1455–1522).<sup>205</sup> There is also the work of Erycio Putean (1574–1646) devoted to epistology<sup>206</sup> and of the Jesuit Jacobus Pontanus (1524–1626) on Latin grammar.<sup>207</sup> The books also include prints devoted

<sup>193</sup> Ibid., sig. R–T.f.27.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid., sig. R–T.f.20, přív.1.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid., sig. R–T.f.20, přív.2.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid., sig. R–V.b.7959.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid., sig. R–V.f.78, přív.3.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid., sig. R–T.f.70.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid., sig. R–T.e.3.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., sig. R–T.I.a.12.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid., sig. R–T.I.a.12, přív.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid., sig. R–M.I.cc.54.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid., sig. R–P.I.c.28.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid., sig. R–P.I.c.29.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid., sig. R–V.f.78, přív.2.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid., sig. R–II.a.1614, přív.1–4.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid., sig. R–V.III.b.9.



*Lower part of a cabinet originally from the library in Telč; the books in the shelves are of the same provenance but have been placed there secondarily. Nová Říše Library, Photo: Otmar Petyniak.*



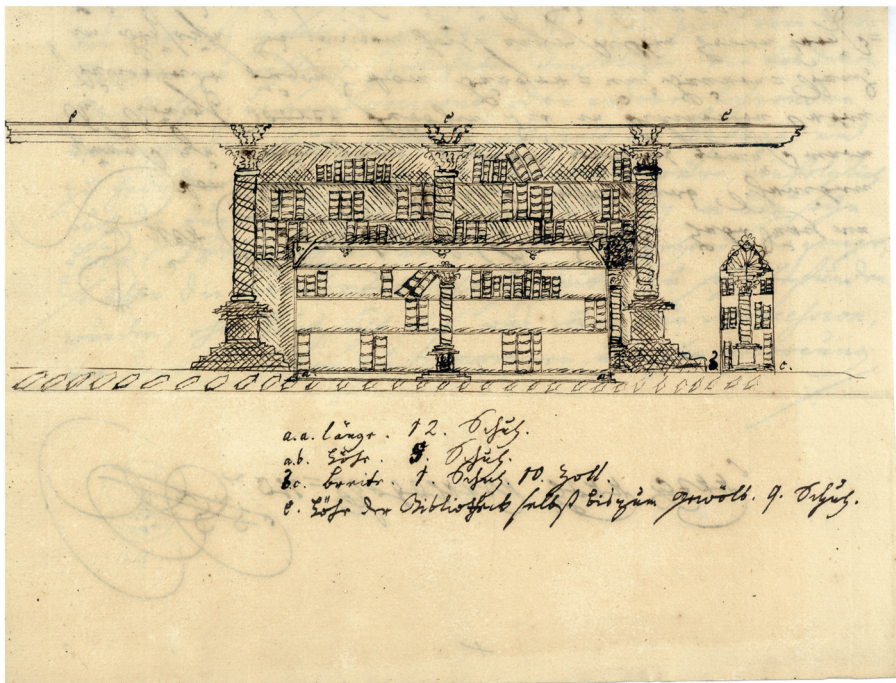
REVERENDI PATRIS  
P. HIEREMIÆ  
DREXELII  
SOCIETATIS JESU PRESBYTERI  
TOMUS SECUNDUS.  
INDICIBUS ILLUSTRATUS  
ET AVCTVS CONCIONATORIIS.

B N  
Domus III. Probationis Soc. JESU Telczij  
Dono Illmæ Fundatricis.  
Anno 1672.



*The collected works of the Jesuit Jeremias Drexel, which were intended to be used by preachers, are part of a larger gift made to the college by its founder, Countess Františka Slavatová of Meggau. Jeremias Drexelius, Opera omnia, Antwerpen: Jan Cnobbart's widow and heirs, 1660, Nová Říše Library, shelfmark NR III 544.*





The design drawing of furniture for the planned expansion of the library in the 1762 gives us an idea of how bookshelves in the Telč library may have looked. The author of this ink drawing is probably the rector of the College Josephus Asten, SJ. National Archives, JS, shelfmark IIIo-477, box 206, f. 29v

16.	Joannis Guorlori Considerationes Asceticae, Tomus I. et II.
17.	Eiusdem earundem Tomus III.
18.	Eiusdem earundem Tomi IV. Libr I.
19.	Eiusdem earundem Tomi IV. Libr II.
20.	Eiusdem earundem Tomus V.
21.	Adriani Lyrei de Imitatione Iesu Patientis.
22.	Nicolai Lancicij Casuculorum Spiritualium To- mus I.
23.	Eiusdem earundem Tomus II.
24.	Michaelis a S. Catharina trinum perfectum.
25.	Eiusdem Volumen II. et III.
26.	Angeli Patruisticij Excitationes dormientis Animo.
* 27.	Anonymi Displeging Irem Epistola, und Evange- lism des gauten Jafes. 4te Teil.
28.	Eiusdem auctoris 2te Teil.
* 27.	Ferdinandi Zucconi S. J. Intrae Ritus Iesu Christi.
* 27.	Joannis Bona Cardinalis Opera Omnia.

<b>E. II.</b>	
1.	Maximiliani Capdei Theologia Mystica.
2.	Julij Nigroni Ascetica.
3.	Pauli Steuber Promontorium malefeci.
4.	Ludovici de Ponte Meditationum Pars I. II. et III.

Catalogue of the Library of the Jesuit College in Telč from 1742, which was compiled in the context of the library's reconstruction. Moravian Provincial Library in Brno, B 1, shelfmark RKP 47954, p. 16, part E – Ascetiae.



Domus 3<sup>a</sup> probationis: Telčský Societatis Jesu.

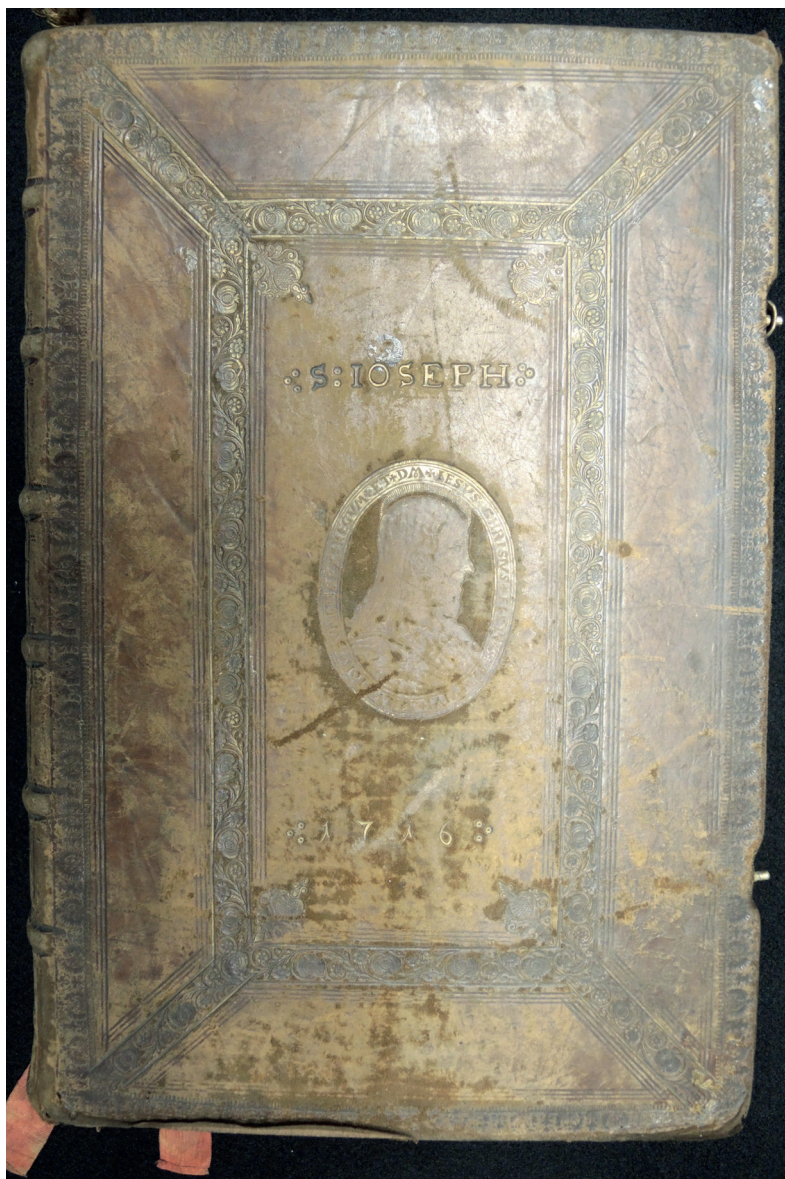


The treatise of Adrianus Lyreus, SJ, *De imitatione Jesu patientis* is a meditation on the suffering and death of Jesus. Adrianus Lyreus, *De imitatione Iesu patientis sive de morte et vita in Christo Iesu patiente abscondita*. Antwerpen: Jacob van Meurs, 1655, Nová Říše Library, shelfmark NŘ III 537.



Kircher's work *Mundus subterraneus* (Underground World) was probably obtained by the Tertianship instructor and the librarian Ludovicus Crasius, SJ. Athanasius Kircher, *Mundus subterraneus in XII libros digestus*, Amsterdam: Jan Janssonius and Elizeum Weyerstraten, 1665, Nová Říše Library, shelfmark NŘ III 2518.





*The supralibros of the Franciscan convent with a portrait medallion of St. Joseph featuring a motto with the name of the church's patron saint and the date S. IOSEPH 1716. (no. 2776)*

Geistliche Practica/  
Das ist  
**Gottseliger**  
Bericht / in Personen ei-  
ner Dienerin Gottes / wie ein  
Christliche Seel / Gott recht vnd  
wolgefellig dienen / auch dem ewigen  
Leben embsig vnd heilsamlich  
nachstreben solle.

**Zu vor in Belscher sprach / aus**  
des Hochwirdigen Herrn / H. Nicols  
lai Sphondrati Bischoffs zu Ere-  
mona verordnung vnd befehl in  
Druck geben.

Anjetzo aber  
**Den Gottliebenden Catholischen**  
Christen zu nutz Heil vnd Wol-  
fart in das Deutsch gebracht.

**Gedruckt zu Prag / bey Michael**  
Peterle / an der Schloßstiegen.

<sup>1 5 8 8.</sup>  
In die gawnen zu St.  
Joseph in Brno

The book from the Franciscan library with the manuscript provenance. (no. 2086)



Christlicher Weisheit  
**Regel/ Antrib/**  
**Mittel/ vnd aufferles-**  
**nerer Exempel/**  
**Gericht zu rechter anstellung**  
des Lebens zu einem jeden  
Standt.

In Latein beschrieben durch

**Den WolEhewürdig / vnd Hoch-**  
gelehrten Herren Georgium Reeb,  
der Societet I E S V Priester / vnd  
Theologum.

An jergo aber in die teursche Sprach  
übersetzt durch

**Matthiam Alt / H. Schriffe Do-**  
ctor / Dechant / Pfarzherren / vnd  
Beichtvatter zu Weisenfeldt zc.

*Cum facultate Superiorum.*

**Gedruckt zu Ingolstatt Bey Grego-**  
rio Hänlin. Im Jahr 1642.

*Zu H. Joseph in Craun in der  
Gemein schaff*

The book from the Franciscan library with the manuscript provenance. (no. 401)

# Dreyfache Glory

Des heiligen Vatters

# Ignatii/

Der Societät Jesu

Stifters <sup>erwähnt in holl. Brno.</sup>

1715

Welche ihm erworben

Seine Wunderbahrliche Heiligkeit/

Seine Krafft in Wunderzeichen/

Sein himmlische Lehr/

Und heylsamste Anweisung der Seelen  
zum ewigen Leben/

Durch den Weeg der geistlichen Übungen.

So alhier zu grösserer Erkandtnuß/

und Ehr Gottes/

*pro Cubiculo*

Wie auch

*P. Spirituali.*

Zu Verehrung des H. Ignatii / als eines  
sonderbahren Fürsprechers in allerhand

Nöthen/ vorgestellt wird

Von P. NICOLAO POTTU,

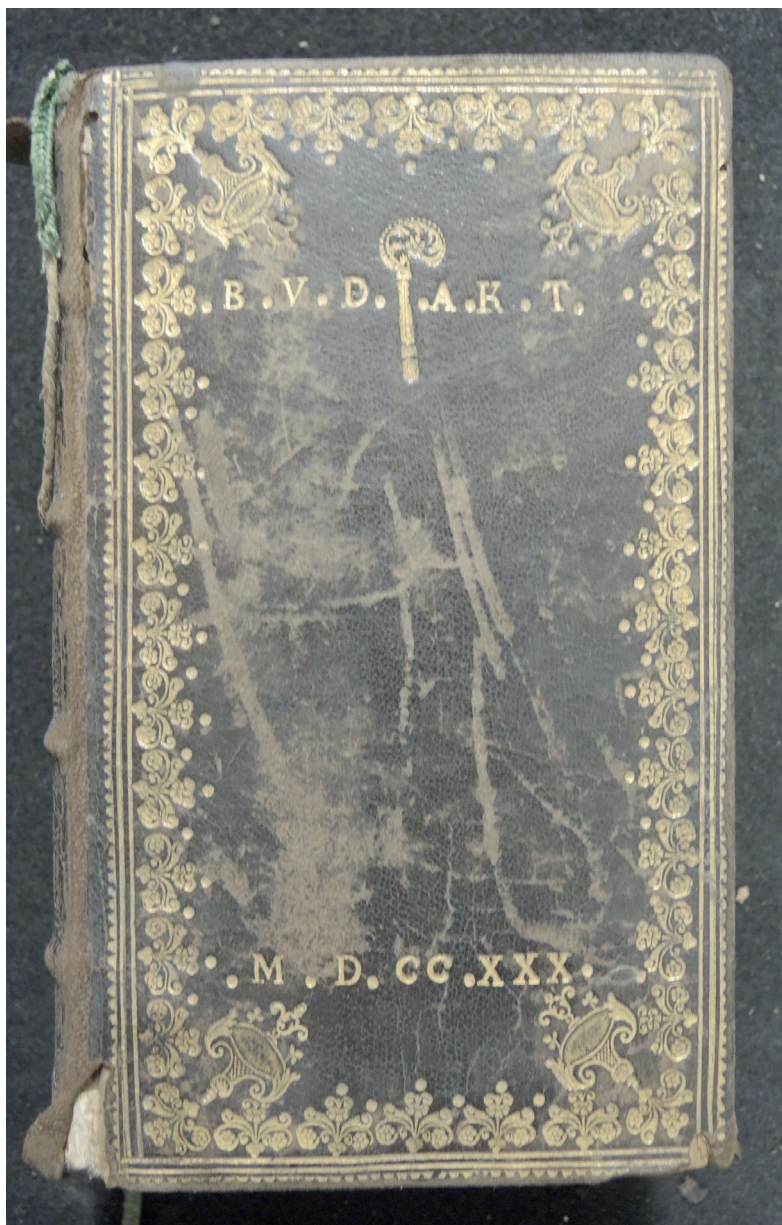
gemeldter Societät Jesu Priestern.

*Cum Privilegio Sac. Caesar. Majest.*

Maynz in Verlag Johann Mayers / Hoff- und  
Academischen Buchdruckers/ Anno 1710.

The exemplar originally from the Brno Jesuits. (no. 177)

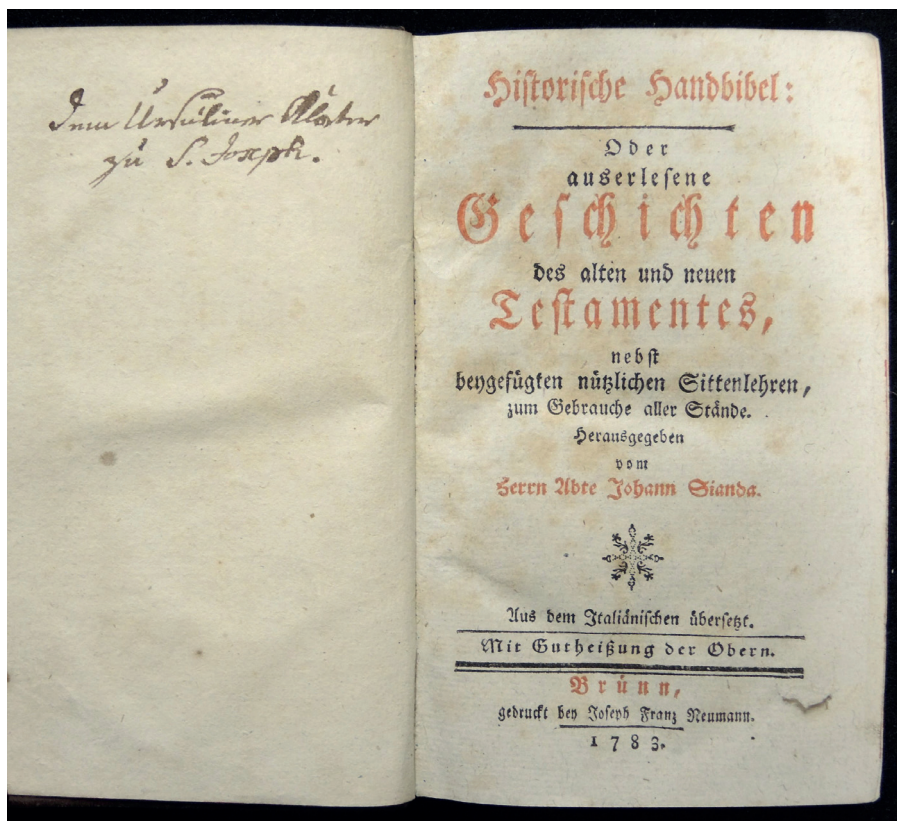




*The supralibros the abbess of the Tišnov convent Benigna of Deblín. (no. 1081)*

Maria Stanislava von  
Johannes Sarkander.

The manuscript provenance of the convent  
Mother Superior Mater Maria Stanislava von  
Johannes Sarkander. (no. 1081)



The exemplar with the manuscript provenance of the Ursuline convent. (no. 417)

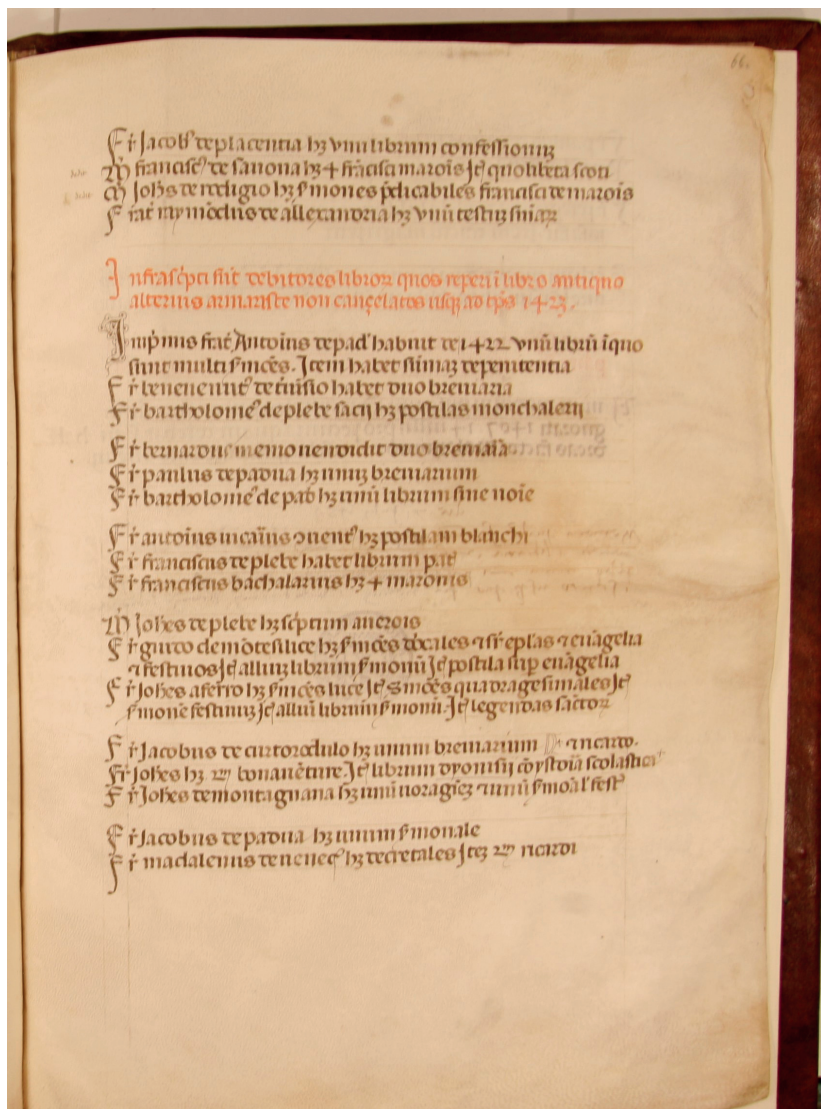
In nomine sancte et in unitate trinitatis patris q̄siti  
et spiritus sancti: Glorose virginis marie: Beatorum  
simonis et anthony confessorum totiusq; anime celestis  
Amen.

Je liter presens continet inuentariuz om̄m  
librorum existentium in libraria huius sacri o  
nensis fratrum minorum patrone s̄m̄i c̄i charena  
q̄ sine charena. In super et in uentariuz om̄m  
reorum existentium in sacristia predicti sacri onent̄.  
Vitelis reliquiarum. Tabernaculorum. Citharam.  
patenarum. Turbatorum. ampularum et alliarum ar  
gentearum generis cuiuscumq; In super om̄m apparatuum  
aurorum argenteorum sericorum. tulle. c̄i om̄ibus ad illa spectanti  
bus: s̄m̄i palliorum peliarum uellitorum et sericorum. s̄m̄i et missali  
um ceterorumq; librorum omnium officiorum. s̄m̄i et alliarum re  
rum et ornam̄entorum in dicta sacristia existentium. Que quidem  
inuentaria c̄i magna diligentia nominatim facta sunt p̄ honora  
bles massarios. nec plibari sancti anthony aues patruos eg  
regios yrecher. Spectabiles milites. D̄m̄i leonclum de  
leonie. D̄m̄i danieli de doctoribus. Famosiuz doctoris D̄m̄i  
Jacobum de almaronis. Prudentiuz maḡi s̄i franciscuz braga  
nie reputatos p̄ comunitate patrone ad uictam archam. Ac  
uenerabiles et religiosos uiros D̄m̄i s̄m̄i lambertuz de mon  
tagnana. et D̄m̄i s̄m̄i bartholomei de curtorchalo reputa  
tos p̄ s̄m̄i fratrum conuentuz. Prestantibus t̄ic pro ge  
nerali ministro totius ordinis minorum Religiosissimo uiro  
ac pelaro sacre theologie doctore D̄m̄o fratre anthonio de nis  
combis reuicinis. Pro ministro uero provinciali R̄m̄o maḡo  
D̄m̄o fratre johanne in panno patreano. Pro guardiano uenera  
bili D̄m̄o fratre baptista patreano ac predicatore pelaro. Pro sa  
cristia predicta D̄m̄o fratre lambro. Pro am̄arista. D̄m̄o nicolao de  
cōsue. Cur̄ quibus annis in unitate d̄m̄i n̄i ih̄u x̄i. 1449. te  
nise marci. Et pontificatus beatisim̄i d̄m̄i n̄i ih̄u x̄i. anno 2.



Pontificia Biblioteca Antoniana [PBA], Padova, MS 573 fol. 1r





Pontificia Biblioteca Antoniana [PBA], Padua, MS 573 fol. 66r





Duplex de bonis in eoz p l. dux  
doctina  
sacer  
p  
duo fratres venerunt ad Abbatem Elyan in pugnat  
regitatoribus et videns eos sanos et copulati cont  
tunc ad bispulā d. qd videro aut vultu  
rubicundo pte qz sic copulati cont p m ai pstruiss  
mōdū, pallor enī cū huius et mltos d. d. e  
mōdū de aut dno. qz mōdū edis mltū  
et opant multū nō pōt. qz ut puz est et  
si puz apertur qfident rultu agat

hic liber pertinet ad locū s. f. f. apud  
hospitale padue. gestus ad d. p. m.  
f. simonio d. pazma o. d. m. m. m. m.  
hic p. July. 1462.

330988

Biblioteca Universitaria di Padova [BUP], Padova, MS 736 fol. 117v.











View of St. George's church and the cloister from the north. Photo: Karel Pacovský.



Abbess Agnes, sister of King Ottokar I of Bohemia, holding a book (probably the Rule of St. Benedict, an attribute of the superiors of Benedictine abbeys). A relief from St. George's abbey, before 1228. Photo: Karel Pacovský.

<p>filia aliqui de natura ut elizab:  est filia sophie Aliqua ad optatione  sed que filia ponit doctud &amp; imi  tatione Ad qua loquitur alibi  dus i psalmo xlvij d audi  filia &amp; vide &amp; michi an tua &amp;</p>	<p>Alia ca qd  obsculta fi  Ra &amp; tunc  apud na  ob. ponitur  p simul sic  illud Eca x  xx ps ob  audite me  dimini fructus  &amp; sicut  du ob tupa  o filia &amp; ty  valet ob.  sicut dicit  his filia ut  his vocata  ad audien  du sit mag  atteta</p>
<p><b>Incipit prologus</b></p>	
<p><b>O</b> filia ausculta pcepta  mgn et in clina au  re cordis tui et ammonito  rij patris tui ecce et ef  ficiat ope ut ad eum pobe  dicere labore redcas a quo  p m obedie desidia recess  ras ad te nunc meo sumo  dirigit queq ab renuans  p nro voluntatibus duo xpo  vero regi militatura obedie  fortissima atq p clarissima  tibi assumis supimus quid qd</p>	<p>Ad te go vi  deluz a dca  da es &amp; loq  que bene d  dicitur qd m  dicitur p  sup ob scul  ta filia nre  pntis tuis  ad idem est  ut no pte  reas quod  hic edoce  no sed sep  pntis p a  monio &amp;  doctua qd  i cor de no ab renuans de  pemie vna al qd dicit  ambitatura i pntia  quia milia est i pnt  c vna homis sup  tra vob vni do sedm  aply memo militas  do i place qd culatib  negocijs n ad tq n  supimus hic ponit  p semp ut ibi pntia  vide vnum si &amp; p  no est ad idem or  dinis</p>

Prologue of the Rule of St. Benedict with a commentary written for Elzka. National Library of the Czech Republic, I F 29, fol. 36r.

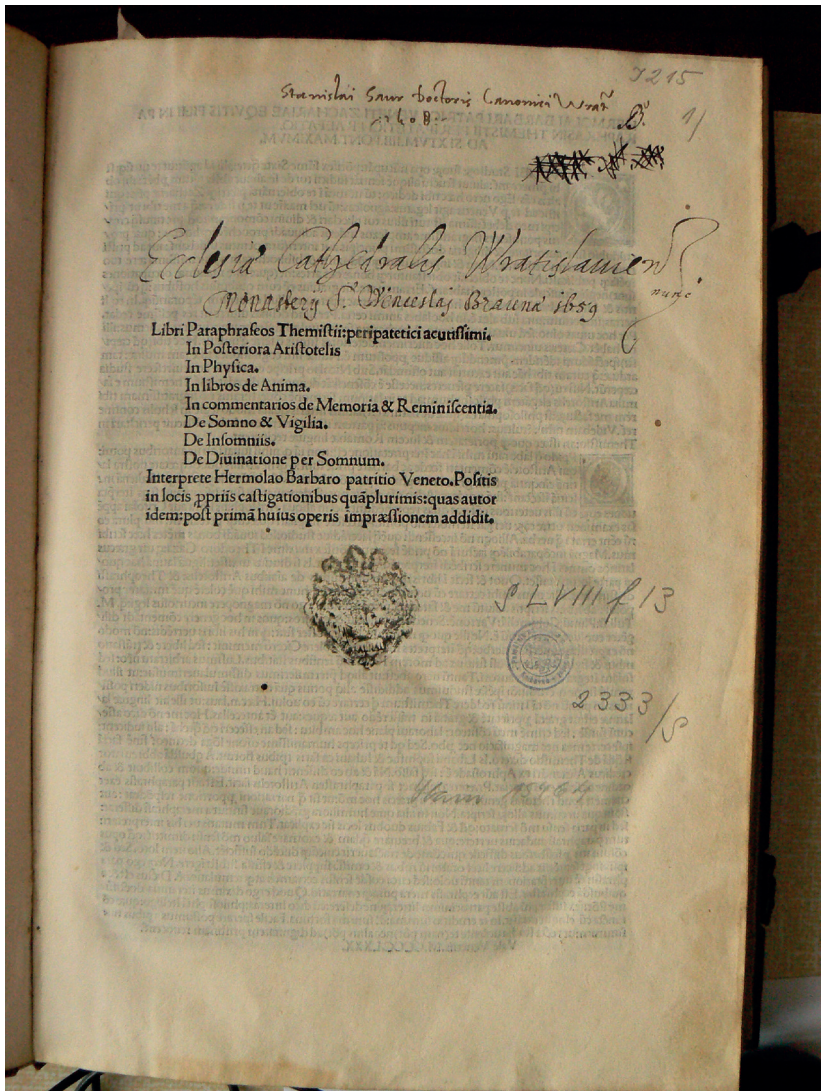


The portrait of Stanislaus Sauer by unknown artist from 1530. (<http://www.renaissance-port.de/katalog/70-unknown-artist/115-unknown-artist-stanislaus-sauer.html>; Sotheby's Auction 6.7.2006. London 2006 Nr. 137)



Two watermarks: a bull's head with eyes, and nostrils; above its head is a serpent twined around a rod ending in a letter 'W', with a crown on its top. Both of them among the earliest watermarks made in Wrocław (one from AGAD, ASK I. nr. 12. fol. 27. and the other from the inside cover of *Themistius Peripateticus, Paraphrasis in Aristotelem* [Venice, 1499] MEI Id. 02137939; shelfmark: B - S. LVIII. f. 13.)





Provenance notes on the first printed page of Themistius Peripateticus, Paraphrasis in Aristotelem (shelfmark: B - S. LVIII. f. 13.)



*The front binding of Themistius Peripateticus, Paraphrasis in Aristotelem (shelfmark: B - S. LVIII. f. 13.)*





*Bibliotheca Major*

Salomon Kleiner, *Bibliotheca Major*. View of the library hall of the Göttingen monastery, 1743–1745



František Vavřinec Korompay - attributed, Pietro da Cortona. South Moravian Museum in Znojmo, 1779



*Brno, Minorite monastery,  
interior of the main hall of the  
library, 1737*





Prague Strahov, Royal Canonry of the Premonstratensian Order, library shelves in the Theological Hall, 1620s and 1720s



David Altmann of Eydenburg, personification of the Performing Arts (1632), accompanied by the later non-matching inscription "Classis Theologica". Prague Strahov, Royal Canonry of the Premonstratensian Order, library shelves in the Theological Hall, 1620s and 1720s

ORDO  
RECITANDI  
DIVINUM OFFICIUM  
MISSASQUE CELEBRANDI  
JUXTA RITUM BREVIARII  
MISSALISQUE ROMANI,

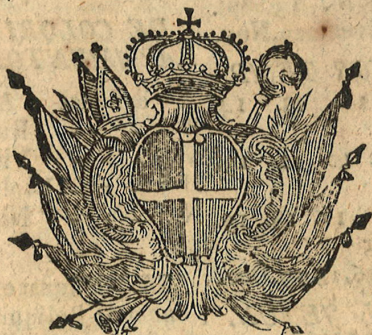
A D

Usum Ecclesie Prioralis & Fratrum Sacri Equest.  
Exempti Ordinis JOANNIS HIEROSOLIMI-  
TANI in antiquissimo Conventu ad B. V. M. sub  
• Catena Micro - Praga ad pedem pontis Professorum.

J U S S U

*Reverendissimi Perillustris ac Amplissimi D. D.,*  
FRA. JOANNIS NEPOM. MAYER,  
Præfati Sacri Equestris ac Exempti Ordinis S.  
JOANNIS HIEROSOLIMITANI Professi  
Incltyi Magni Prioratus in Bohemia Vicarii in Spirit.  
Generalis, nec non dictæ Ecclesiæ  
& Co ventus

PRIORIS INFULATI



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Pro ANNO MDCCLXXVIII.

*Title page of the conventual directory for 1778 (KNA, Knih.Malt., Malt 2231/21).*



OFFICIA PROPRIA  
SANCTORUM

*Ex concessione*

Sacræ Sedis Apostolicæ

Pro

UNIVERSO ORDINE

SANCTI

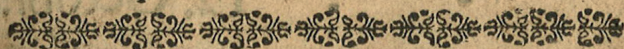
JOANNIS

HIEROSOLYMITANI,

Reimpressu.

*AD USUM*

Ecclesiæ Prioralis, & Fratrum ejusdem Sacri Equestris ac Exempti Ordinis in antiquissimo Conventu ad B. V. M. Sub Catena Micro-Pragæ ad pedem Pontis Professorum.



Pragæ Typis Joannis Caroli Hraba, Incluti Regni Bohemiæ DD. Statuum Typographi,

Title page of the Order *Officia propria sanctorum ...* printed around 1755 (KNA, *Knih.Malt.*, Malt 126).

# DEODATUS à GOZZONE

Aus dem Hochbefreyten Ritterlichen Orden  
**S. JOANNIS HIEROSOLYMITANI**  
Ein glücklicher / und siegreicher Überwinder des ab-  
scheulichen / und giftigen Rhodischen Drachen  
Ein Sinnbild

## Christi unsers Erlösers,

(Welcher am Stamm des H. Creuzes den  
giftigen höllischen Drachen heldenmüthig besritten/  
und glorreich besieget)

Bermög jenen Worten des Psalmisten: Du wirst über Klattern, und Bas-  
sitschen wandeln, und wirst Löwen und Drachen zerretten  
Entworfen,

Dem Glorreich auferstandenen

## Erlöser,

Als ein Siegs Zeichen aufgeführt

In der Hoch = befreyten Priorats Kirchen / des Hoch-  
gedachten Ritterlichen Ordens St. Johann. Hierosol. bey unser Lieben  
Frauen unter der Ketten in der Kleineren Residenz-Stadt Prag  
am Fuß der Brucken

Bey

Dem Grab des Heylands

Vor

Dessen Glorreicher Auferstehung

Am Char-Sambstag

Im Jahr Christi M DCC LIV. nach Mittags umb 4. Uhr  
in einem Sing-Spiel fürgestellt.

---

Im Prag bey Johan Carl Kraba Landschafftlichen Buchdrucker.

Title page of the libretto *Deodatus à Gozzone ...* from 1754 (KNA, Knih.Malt., Malt 2208).



# Ismeria

eine  
Prinzessin und Tochter  
des  
Sultan von Aegypten  
wird

ben Gelegenheit dreier in ägyptische Gefangenschaft gerathenen Hospitalariern (an jetzt genannt) Matheser: Rittern wunderbarer Weise zum christlichen Glauben bekehret.

aus dem wältschen Geschichtschreiber  
JACOMO BOSIO  
in die deutsche Sprache übersetzt.



Mit Genehmigung der k. k. Censur.

Prag,  
bey Johann Thomas Höfchenberger.

Title page of the first edition of the legend of Ismeria (KNA, Knih.Malt., Malt 2145).

**P r e d i g t**  
Von den besondern Vortheilen  
des gemeinschaftlichen  
**A l m o s e n s .**

Bei Gelegenheit der mit hoher Ge-  
nehmhaltung eines hochlöbl. Landes-  
gubernii gemachten Armenverfor-  
gungsanstalten.

V o r g e t r a g e n  
am Sonntage Sexagesimä,  
v o n

**F r a J o h a n n R a y m u n d,**  
des heil. ritterl. und befreuten Ordens des  
h. Johannes von Jerusalem Priester, und ge-  
wöhnlichen Sonntagsprediger in der Kirche dieses Or-  
dens bey unser lieben Frau unter der Kette,  
in der kön. kleinern Stadt Prag.

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Prag,  
bey Fr. Augustin Höchenberger Erzbischöfl. Buchdrucker.

*Title page of the Jan Raymund's sermon on the benefits of a common alms  
(KNA, Knih.Horký, J 939).*

ed to education,<sup>208</sup> Latin literature,<sup>209</sup> physics,<sup>210</sup> ethics,<sup>211</sup> and political science – *Hieropoliticon* by Giovanni Stefano Menochio (1575–1655)<sup>212</sup> and *Monita et exempla politica* by Justus Lipsius (1547–1606).<sup>213</sup>

Among the prints we can find one work by ancient authors, namely Publius Cornelius Tacitus (c. 55–116) in the Geneva edition from 1619,<sup>214</sup> and two humanistic authors – the Italian author Polydore Vergilio (1470–1555)<sup>215</sup> and the Croatian author Mark Marulić (1450–1524).<sup>216</sup> Medicine is represented by Hippocrates' work *De praeparatione hominis*,... published in Tübingen in 1512.<sup>217</sup>

As we can see, in addition to the Carthusian authors, such as the prior Guido I (c. 1083–1136),<sup>218</sup> Dionysius Carthusianus (1402–1471),<sup>219</sup> Laurentio Surius (1522–1578),<sup>220</sup> Ludolph of Saxony (1300–1377),<sup>221</sup> Florentio Harlemio,<sup>222</sup> Henric de Langenstein (1325–1397),<sup>223</sup> and the Brno prior Petr Carb (d. 1591),<sup>224</sup> a large number of Jesuit authors are also represented. Thus, we can find writings by: Ludovico Crucero (d. 1604),<sup>225</sup> Brás Viegas (1553–1599),<sup>226</sup> Johann Crombecius (1563–

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<sup>208</sup> Ibid., sig. R–II.a.1614, sig. R–P.I.d.7.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid., sig. R–P.I.c.29, přív.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid., sig. R–M.II.a.8, sig. R–O.e.1.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid., sig. R–O.e.25.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid., sig. R–T.II.cc.18.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid., sig. R–M.e.86.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid., sig. R–V.III.b.43.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid., sig. R–V.f.78, přív.5.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid., sig. R–Q.II.cc.3.

<sup>217</sup> Ibid., sig. R–V.f.78, přív.1.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid., sig. R–K.II.cc.33.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid., sig. R–F.II.cc.17.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid., sig. R–VII.b.10430, sig. R–B.II.ff.16.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid., sig. R–L.I.cc.10.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid., sig. R–H.II.e.13.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid., sig. R–K.I.d.41.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid., sig. R–A.II.c.33.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid., sig. R–A.II.e.12.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid., sig. R–A.I.ff.8.



1626),<sup>227</sup> Juan Azor (c. 1535–1603),<sup>228</sup> Leonard Lessius (1554–1623),<sup>229</sup> Paul Laymann (1574–1635),<sup>230</sup> Henrique Henriques (1520–1600),<sup>231</sup> Johann Busae (1547–1611),<sup>232</sup> Antoine de Balinghem (1571–1630),<sup>233</sup> Valère Regnault (1543–1623),<sup>234</sup> Heribert Rosweyd (1588–1629)<sup>235</sup> Giovanni Pietr Maffei (1536–1603),<sup>236</sup> Jacobus Pontanus (1524–1626),<sup>237</sup> Nicolas Trigault (1577–1628),<sup>238</sup> Alofons Antonio de Sarasa (1618–1667),<sup>239</sup> Francisco de Toledo (1532–1596),<sup>240</sup> and Albrecht Chanovský of Dlouhá Ves (1581–1643).<sup>241</sup>

As for the identification of Carthusian books, they can be identified in the Rajhrad collection both by handwritten notes in various versions and, in the case of sixteenth-century prints, by a supralibros in the form of God the Father with the crucified Christ and the Holy Spirit, with the legend “*Sigillum Domus Brunensis S[anctae] Trinit[at]is Ordin[is] Carth[usiae]*”. This supralibros also appears on the bindings of prints from the sixteenth century, but it is more common in the younger collection, which is bound in wooden boards covered with white pigskin with blind printing. The supralibros tend to be smaller on parchment bindings.<sup>242</sup>

<sup>227</sup> Ibid., sig. R–F.I.gg.14.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid., sig. R–F.I.dd.2–4.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid., sig. R–H.II.bb.10.

<sup>230</sup> Ibid., sig. R–H.II.cc.10.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid., sig. R–H.II.cc.11.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid., sig. R–H.II.dd.9.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid., sig. R–H.II.e.11.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid., sig. R–K.I.cc. 4.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid., sig. R–Q.e.9.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid., sig. R–III.b.4411.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid., sig. R–V.III.b.9.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid., sig. R–L.I.ee.25.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid., sig. R–R.f.11, sig. R–R.f.11, přív.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid., sig. R–M.II.a.8.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid., sig. R–X.I.f.57.

<sup>242</sup> Vladislav DOKOUPIL, *Dějiny moravských klášterních knihoven ve správě Universitní knihovny v Brně* [History of Moravian Monastic Libraries managed by the University Library in Brno] (Brno 1972) 53.

The above-mentioned supralibros appears in books in two forms, not only in connection with the type of binding used; it always has the motif described above. The smaller variant shows a baroque cartouche, on which there is an oval shield with the image of the Holy Trinity, in the line around the perimeter is a legend: \*+ SIGILLVM \*\* PRIORIS \*. The larger variant has the same field content, only the legend has a different wording: \* SIGILLVM \* DOMVS \* PRVNENS[IS] \* S[ANCTAE] \* TRINIT[ATIS] \* ORDIN[IS] \* CHART[USIAE]; and is laid not on a line, but between the astragals.

In several cases, we can also find books that have one of these variants of supralibros on the front board accompanied by a supralibros on the backboard. This can take the form of either a medallion placed in an oval plate with the Sacred Heart of Jesus Christ with the capital letters IHS and surrounded by a halo, or an oval plate with another image of the Holy Trinity.

One of the Carthusian books, preserved in the Rajhrad collection, brings a different form of supralibros on the front board – there is a picture of the head of Christ looking to the left, around which a legend winds between the lines: + IESSVS + CHRISTVS + FILIVS + DEI + VIVI + SALVATOR + MVNDI + REX + REGVM + ET + DoM[INUM] However, the same supralibros is preserved in Rajhrad on a book originally belonging to the Brno Franciscans' collection and could have been based on the fictitious seal of Jesus Christ which appeared in the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, it cannot be attributed solely to the Carthusian monastery in Královo Pole in Brno.

However, the form of the supralibros of the Brno Carthusians is, as with other monasteries, completely dependent on the form of the seals used by the monastery. In the case of the Brno Carthusians, the depiction of the Holy Trinity on seals appears as early as at the end of the fourteenth century and was used until the dissolution of the monastery only in various forms corresponding to the development of sealing and contemporary fashion. The supralibros captures the form used in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. What distinguishes the

supralibros from the seal image is only the label with the Moravian eagle, which is placed on the seals at the foot of the cross.<sup>243</sup>

In addition to the supralibros, books from the former Brno Charterhouse in the Rajhrad collection are recognisable by their provenance. The Carthusians did not mark their collection with any printed exlibris, as did other monasteries, and handwritten notes of various forms were sufficient to indicate their ownership of the books.<sup>244</sup> The most common was the name of the monastery in Latin – *Cartusiae Brunensis* – in various forms and abbreviations, such as: *Cart[husiae] Brun[ensis]*<sup>245</sup>/*Brunensis*,<sup>246</sup> *Cartusia Brunae*<sup>247</sup> or *Kartusiae Brunensis*.<sup>248</sup> This designation appears in books dating from the second half of the sixteenth century to the first half of the eighteenth century. Of course, it also differs in the handwriting of the writer.

Moreover, we often find an entry in the form *Liber Carthusiae Brunensis*, again with variants such as: *Lib[er] Cart[husiae] Brun[ensis]*,<sup>249</sup> *Lib[er] Carth[usiae] Brunensis*,<sup>250</sup> *Lib[er] Carthus[iae] Brunensis*.<sup>251</sup> This entry, written by various writers, appears in books dating from the first half of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the seventeenth century.

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<sup>243</sup> Jindra PAVELKOVÁ, Vliv pečetnictví na supralibros a exlibris moravských klášterů [Influence of Sealing on Supralibros and Exlibris of Moravian Monasteries]. In: Sborník Národního muzea v Praze 60, 1–2 (2015), 5–9, esp. 8.

<sup>244</sup> A basic overview of Královo Pole provenance records is available in Jindra PAVELKOVÁ, Brno – Královo Pole – kartuziánský klášter [Brno – Královo Pole – Carthusian Monastery]. In: Jindra Pavelková – Lucie Heilandová – Pavla Rychtářová, Církevní provenienční mapa rajhradského fondu [Church Provenance Map of the Rajhrad Collection]. See <https://ecclesia.mapy.mzk.cz/institute/9> (consulted online on 17 June 2020).

<sup>245</sup> KBOR (see footnote 23) sig. R–A.I.f.17.

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. R–A.II.e.30.

<sup>247</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. R–A.I.ff.10.

<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. R–T.II.cc.18.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. R–P.I.c.29.

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. R–B.I.ee.14.

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. R–A.II.e.29.

In addition to these, there are also others, only individual notes in the following wording: Cartusiae SSmus Trinitatis praep[ositus] Brunnae Moravicus Cathalogus inscriptus,<sup>252</sup> Liber domus S[anctae] Trinitatis Carthus[iae]<sup>253</sup> and others in variants.

The above-described proprietary designations may be accompanied by additional provenance. Let us set aside the secondary provenance – the provenance of the Rajhrad monastery. In addition to the provenance of the Carthusian monastery, there is also personal provenance – it could be individual Carthusians from Královo Pole.<sup>254</sup> In two cases, however, we encounter a provenance note from another Carthusian monastery – the Carthusian monastery Vallis Josaphat in Olomouc<sup>255</sup> and the Carthusian monastery in Gaming, Austria.<sup>256</sup> In most cases, however, the provenance of the Charterhouse in Královo Pole is the only provenance note on the book, which proves that the Carthusians bought books in most cases directly from distribution. Occasionally, the books feature several different notes from different times referring to the Brno Charterhouse, which may be evidence of the reorganisation of the Královo Pole Library.<sup>257</sup>

In addition to the ownership designation, these important notes also contain other important information, namely about the entry in the library catalogue or about the date and place of acquisition of the book.

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<sup>252</sup> Ibid., sig. R–F.I.gg.14.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid., sig. R–V.f.78.

<sup>254</sup> The book of Jacobus Pontanus *Progymnasmatum latinitatis* published in 1606 bears the most personal provenance notes. There we can find the names of individual users of this Latin grammar from the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century: *Anumerus libri Joannus Hollerwedel 1635; Ego Matheus Hegl. mai.; Ego Joanes Riden; Ego Christophorus Pelle; Ego Philipus Jacobus Hech Stebes. sui verus possessor huius libri 1625; Philijs Heckstetl.* Ibid., sig. R–V.III.b.9.

<sup>255</sup> Ibid., sig. R–Q.II.ee.3.

<sup>256</sup> Ibid., sig. R–Z.f.3.

<sup>257</sup> The most striking are the four provenance entries of various wording on the book *Enchiridion de Censuris Irregularitate* by Felician Ninguard from 1583: *Lib. Carthus: Brunen., Carth: Brunen: C.T., Carthusiae Brunensis, Carthusiae Brunensis Compactura nova A. 1743.* Ibid., sig. R–K.II.ee.8.

The oldest record documenting the maintenance of the library catalogue dates to 1659,<sup>258</sup> the library seemingly reorganised in the eighteenth century (see above). The largest acquisition of books, which can be read from provenance notes, took place in Augsburg in 1617.<sup>259</sup> Based on the dating of the books purchased here (between 1613 and 1615), it can be seen that the Carthusians of Královo Pole bought new books on the market for their library collection. Of course, some books could have been acquired later, which is the case of the biography of St. Bruno published in Rome in 1622. It was bought here on his way to the General Chapter of the Order in 1648 by the Brno superior.<sup>260</sup>

## Conclusion

Although only 114 volumes, from the nearly 3,000 original books in the library of the Královo Pole Carthusian monastery, came to the collection of the Rajhrad monastery library, we can get an idea of what the collection of the Carthusian library was like, what fields were represented, and what books from what printing workshops were included. At the same time, this group of volumes allows us to understand how the Carthusians labelled their books, to see that a catalogue already existed in the library after the middle of the seventeenth century, that books were regularly recorded in it, that the collection was rearranged in the eighteenth century, and, above all, that the Carthusians were usually the first owners of the books, i.e., they bought them directly from publishers or their sellers (most often in Augsburg) shortly after the books were published. All of this allows us to get an idea of the attitude of the Carthusians in Brno, Královo Pole, to books, book culture, and education in general.

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<sup>258</sup> *Cartusiae Brunensis Cathalogo inscriptus 1659*. Ibid., sig. R–M.II.a.8.

<sup>259</sup> These are, e.g., books sig. R–B.II.ee.15, sig. R–H.II.aa.20, sig. R–P.I.d.7, sig. R–Q.e.9.

<sup>260</sup> Ibid., sig. R–R.II.bbb.33.

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## The Library Collection of the Brno Charterhouse in the Rajhrad Monastery Library

Jindra Pavelková

The founder of the Královo Pole Carthusian monastery was the Margrave of Moravia, John Henry (Jan Jindřich), who invited the first member of this order – Gottfried of Enns from the Austrian Charterhouse in Gaming – to Brno as early as 1369, and issued the founding charter of the monastery with the consent of his wife, Elizabeth, and his sons, six years later. The monastery was dissolved by a decree on 12 January 1782, along with other monasteries that did not establish a school or a hospital and the brethren of which did not hold a preaching or a priesthood position.

It is understood that the Carthusian library was founded together with the monastery. From the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, there was a bookbinding workshop in the monastery, the peak of which dates back to the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and these late Gothic bindings are still preserved in the library collection scattered around several memory institutions in our country and abroad. The library made a larger acquisition a few years before the dissolution of the monastery, occurring in 1771 when the Carthusians bought the library from the estate of the parish priest, at the Church of St. James in Brno, for 1,400 gulden.

The Carthusian library itself was captured at the time of the dissolution of the monastery in the inventories of Jan Expedit Hanke (d. 1807), which were acquired between 16 April and 16 August 1782, and Jan Alois Hanke of Hankenstein (1751–1806) in 1786. Books that were not selected for the Court Library in Vienna went to auction, which took place from 7 September 1786 to the end of 1790. We do not know exactly which of the auctions the Carthusian books were sold at, but they probably went to sale at the first September and October auctions in Brno, together with collections from other Brno monastery libraries. However, a part of the unsold collection could still have been offered; unsold books became a part of the collection of today's Research Library in Olomouc.



Neither from our own books nor from secondary sources do we know exactly when the part of the Carthusian collection was bought by the Rajhrad Benedictines for their library. The Benedictines not only obtained books from the Královo Pole Charterhouse, but also a (larger?) part of the documentary archive.

123 titles, within 114 volumes, were acquired for the library from Královo Pole, most of which were published in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, but the Benedictines of Rajhrad significantly expanded their collection to also include prints from the sixteenth century. The oldest print was published in 1505, the most modern item was published in 1726.

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### **Die Büchersammlung der Kartause in Brünn in der Klosterbibliothek in Rajhrad/Groß Raigern Jindra Pavelková**

Der Begründer der Königsfelder Kartause war der mährische Markgraf Johann Heinrich, der schon im Jahr 1369 das erste Mitglied des Ordens, Gottfried von Enns aus der österreichischen Kartause in Gaming, nach Brünn einlud und sechs Jahre später mit Zustimmung seiner Gemahlin Elisabeth und seiner Söhne die Gründungsurkunde ausstellte. Das Kloster wurde durch Dekret vom 12. Januar 1782 zusammen mit anderen Klöstern, die keine Schule oder Krankenhaus verwalteten und deren Ordensbrüder kein Prediger- oder Priesteramt ausübten, aufgehoben.

Von der Bibliothek der Kartause vermuten wir, dass sie zusammen mit dem Kloster gegründet wurde. Seit Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts fungierte im Kloster eine Buchbinderwerkstatt, deren Tätigkeit in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts ihren Höhepunkt erreichte. Die spätgotischen Bucheinbände werden bis heute im Buchbestand überliefert, der in einigen Denkmalinstitutionen bei uns und im Ausland verstreut ist. Eine größere Bücherbeschaffung erfuhr die Bibliothek noch ein paar Jahre vor der Aufhebung des Klosters, als die Kartäuser im Jahr 1771 die Bibliothek aus dem Nachlass des Pfarrers zu St. Jakob in Brünn für 1400 Gulden ankauften.

Die Bibliothek der Kartause selbst erfassen die Verzeichnisse Johann Expeditus Hankes (gest. 1807) zum Zeitpunkt der Aufhebung des Klosters. Dieses Verzeichnis entstand zwischen dem 16. April und 16. August 1782. Ihm folgte das Verzeichnis Johann Alois Hankes von Hakenstein (1751–1806) von 1786. Die Bücher, die nicht für die Hofbibliothek in Wien ausgewählt wurden, gingen in Auktionen, die vom 7. September 1786 bis Ende des Jahres liefen. Wir wissen nicht, während welcher Auktion die Bücher aus der Kartause zusammen mit den Beständen anderer Klosterbibliotheken in Brünn verkauft wurden, wahrscheinlich handelte es sich um die ersten Auktionen, die im September und Oktober in Brünn stattfanden. Ein Teil des nicht verkauften Bestands wurde auch weiterhin angeboten; die nicht verkauften Bücher wurden in den Buchbestand der heutigen Wissenschaftlichen Bibliothek in Olmütz aufgenommen.

Es ist nicht möglich, weder anhand der Bücher noch der Sekundärquellen, zu erfahren, wann genau die Benediktiner aus Groß Raigern einen Teil des Buchbestands der Kartause für ihre Bibliothek ankauften. Die Benediktiner erwarben aus der Königsfelder Kartause nicht nur die Bücher, sondern auch den (größeren) Teil des Urkundenarchivs.

Für die Bibliothek wurden aus Königsfeld 123 Buchtitel in 114 Bänden beschafft, unter denen die Mehrheit zwar erst in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts herausgegeben wurde, aber die Benediktiner aus Groß Raigern erweiterten durch diesen Ankauf ihren Bestand um Drucke aus dem 16. Jahrhundert erheblich. Der älteste Druck erschien im Jahr 1505, der jüngste Posten wurde im Jahr 1726 herausgegeben.

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### **Knihovný sbírka brněnských kartuziánů v rajhradské**

**knihovně**

**Jindra Pavelková**

Zakladatelem královopolského kartuziánského kláštera byl moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich, který již roku 1369 pozval do Brna prvního příslušníka tohoto řádu – Gottfrieda z Enže z rakouské kartouzy v Gamingu a o šest let později vydal se souhlasem své manželky Alž-

běty a svých synů zakládací listinu kláštera. Klášter byl zrušen dekretem z 12. ledna 1782 spolu s dalšími kláštery, které nezřizovaly školu nebo nemocnici a jejichž řádoví bratři nezastávali kazatelský nebo kněžský úřad.

O kartouzské knihovně tušíme, že byla založena spolu s klášterem. Od konce 14. století fungovala v klášteře knihvazačská dílna, jejíž vrcholné působení spadá do 2. poloviny 15. století a tyto pozdně gotické vazby jsou dodnes zachovány na knihovním fondu roztroušeném po několika paměťových institucích v ČR i v zahraničí. Větší akvizici zaznamenala knihovna ještě pár let před zrušením kláštera, když v roce 1771 kartuziáni odkoupili za 1 400 zlatých knihovnu z pozůstalosti po faráři u sv. Jakuba v Brně.

Samotnou kartuziánskou knihovnu zachytily v okamžiku zrušení kláštera soupisy Jana Expedita Hankeho († 1807), který byl pořizovaný mezi 16. dubnem a 16. srpnem 1782, a Jana Aloise Hankeho z Hankeštejna (1751–1806) z roku 1786. Knihy, které nebyly vybrány pro Dvorskou knihovnu ve Vídni, šly do aukce či aukcí, které probíhaly od 7. září 1786 do konce roku 1790. Nevíme přesně, na které z aukcí byly kartuziánské knihy prodávány, patrně šly do prodeje již na prvních zářijových a říjnových aukcích v Brně spolu s fondy dalších brněnských klášterních knihoven. Avšak část neprodaného fondu mohla být nabízena i nadále; neprodané knihy se staly součástí fondu dnešní Vědecké knihovny v Olomouci.

Ani z vlastních knih ani ze sekundárních pramenů se tak nedozvíme, kdy přesně část kartuziánského fondu pro svou knihovnu zakoupili rajhradští benediktini. Benediktini nezískali z královopolské kartouzy pouze knihy, ale rovněž (větší?) část listinného archivu.

Pro knihovnu bylo z Králova Pole pořizeno 123 titulů ve 114 svazcích, z nichž většina sice byla vydána v první polovině 17. století, ale rajhradští benediktini si tímto nákupem významně rozšířili fond i o tisky ze století šestnáctého. Nejstarší tisk byl vydán v roce 1505, nejmladší položka byla vydána v roce 1726.

# The Library of the Serbian Orthodox Krupa Monastery in Northern Dalmatia

RADOVAN PILIPOVIĆ

## Introduction

Cyrillic literacy in South Slavic history is linked to the cultural circle of the Orthodox Church. Based on biblical motifs and subjects shaped in Byzantium from the ninth century, through the missionary and translation activity of Saints Cyril and Methodius, Church and liturgical literature became accessible to the Balkan Slavs. The manuscripts kept in monastic treasuries and libraries are historical testimony to the use of Cyrillic script, which is the most significant legacy of Cyrillic literacy. Ecclesiastical literature was produced in book types of various genres that were necessary for conducting church services. In addition, there are manuscript books, which, although they enunciate and depict the religious ethos, are not strictly part of liturgical literature and, as such, are more a part of antiquity and history.

In the Krupa monastery library, which contains one of the most significant library archive groups of Serbian-orthodox provenance, shaped by the activity and mission of the Orthodox Church of the Serbs, there is a diptych of the Krupa monastery from the end of the seventeenth and

the very beginning of the eighteenth century. We identified this book in 2014, during our research in the monastery.<sup>1</sup>

In the Dragoman archive collection of the Venetian Republic, which is kept in the Archive of Zadar, there is a large number of so called “Krajišnik Letters”, epistolary sources which are evidence of correspondence in Cyrillic script between the Ottoman magnates from the border and the subjects of the *Providur* (*Provveditore*) in Venetian Dalmatia. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, even in the periods of official peace, the Dalmatian border, “*Konfin*”, i.e., the triple border between the Habsburg Empire, the Venetian Republic and the Ottoman Empire (*Triplex Confinium*) was the stage for border incidents. Most frequently, they were cases of abductions, cattle theft and land devastation, which could become the cause of more serious conflicts or even a war between the great powers if the losses were not compensated.<sup>2</sup>

Not far from the Krupa monastery, Žegar was located near the mountain range of Velebit, a large natural border between Lika and Dalmatia, where border controls in the above-mentioned centuries were able to operate. Hajduks and Uskoks were easily able cross over from one side to the other through ravines, dried-up creeks and mountain passes. Thus, in a letter from Krajina sent to Zadar by the Ottoman authori-

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<sup>1</sup> For more on Serbian manuscript heritage, see Vladimir MOŠIN, *Stari rukopisi Srba u Hrvatskoj od XIII do XX stoljeća* [Old Manuscripts of the Serbs in Croatia from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> Century] (Zagreb 1970); Idem, *Ćirilski rukopisi u Povijesnom muzeju Hrvatske; Kopitareva zbirka slovenskih rukopisa i Cojsov ćirilski odlomak u Ljubljani* (palografski album) [Cyrillic Manuscripts in the Croatian Historical Museum; Kopitar’s Manuscript Collection and Cojś’s Cyrillic Fragment in Ljubljana (a Paleographical Album)] (Beograd 1971); Lukijan PANTELIĆ – Lazar ČURČIĆ (eds.), *Српске рукописне и штампане књиге у Славонији од XV до XVIII века – каталог* [Serbian Manuscript and Printed Books in Slavonia from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> Century – Catalogue] (Pakrac – Beograd 1990).

<sup>2</sup> See Egidio IVETIĆ – Drago ROKSANDIĆ (eds.), *Tolerance and Intolerance on the Triplex Confinium – Approaching the “Other” on the Borderlands (Eastern Adriatic and beyond 1500–1800)* (Padova 2007).

ties around 1680 we read that “*Žegar thieves*” destroy the peace between “*the reputable Emperor of Stanbul and the illustrious princeps*”, they go to Velebit and steal cattle from Turkish subjects, and pretend to be unaccustomed to the law standing on the Emperor’s land, but, in fact, act in favour of the princeps and the Doge of Venice.<sup>3</sup>

## The Library of the Krupa Monastery

The Krupa monastery is located in the geographical region of Bukovica in the littoral of the North Dalmatian coast, in the triangle between the slopes of Velebit mountain and the regions around the cities of Benkovac and Knin. According to sources from the middle of the eighteenth century, Krupa monastery was founded by monks who were refugees from the monastery of the same name located in the valley of the river Vrbas, and who migrated in the time of the Serbian king Milutin (1282–1321). They laid the foundation for the new monastery with the old name in 1317. The monastery was destroyed during the Venetian-Turkish wars of 1502, 1620, 1642, and 1766, during the turmoil under the Habsburg Empire in 1828 and 1855, and during the Second World War in 1941.<sup>4</sup> The library collection of the Krupa monastery was cared for particularly by Gerasim Zelić (1752–1828). He was a significant person in the Serbian Orthodox Church in Northern Dalmatia in the first half of the nineteenth century. Gerasim Zelić was the episcopal vicar of Boka Kotorska, a great advocate of Serbian ecclesiastical and national interests, a traveller, and a lover of books. He is famous for his autobiography, the three-tome *Hagiography*.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Croatian State Archives of Zadar, Dragoman, Filza LXXXIV, 85.

<sup>4</sup> For the history and cultural significance of the monastery, see Dušan KAŠIĆ – Anika SKOVAN, Манастир Успења Богородице – Крупа [Monastery of the Assumption of the Theotokos – Krupa] (Šibenik 1983); Snjezana ORLOVIĆ, Манастир Крупа – монографија [Monastery Krupa – Monography] (Beograd – Šibenik 2008).

<sup>5</sup> For more on Zelić as a traveller and a writer, see Željko ĐURIĆ, Велико путовање Герасима Зелића [The Great Voyage of Gerasim Zelić] (Beograd



When drawing up the inventory of the Krupa monastery library in 1958, Milan Radeka, a priest and a historian, met with the support and apprehension of the then hegumenos Pavle Kozlica. The inventoried books were listed up until the number 531, and were divided into the following groups: The **first group** (No. 1–24) was made up of manuscripts, books from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries and old printed liturgical books written and printed in the Serbian recension of Church Slavonic. The **second group** (No. 45–113) was made up of older books printed from 1620 to 1794. The **third group** (No. 113–146) contained various undated printed books from the eighteenth century. The **fourth group** (No. 147–242) consisted of printed books from 1800 to 1850. The **fifth group** was made up of the serial publication “Serbo-Dalmatian Magazine” (No. 244). The **sixth group** also consisted of a serial publication entitled “Schematism of the Dalmatian Bishopric” (No. 245). The **seventh group** was comprised of manuscript schoolbooks of the Zadar clerical school (No. 246–278). The **eighth group** (No. 279–296) consisted of undated books of the first half of the nineteenth century. The **ninth group** contained books from the second half of the nineteenth century (from 1850) (No. 297–487). The **tenth group** was made up of “Reports of the Theological Institute in Zadar” (No. 488). The **eleventh group** covered the books from the twentieth century (No. 489–529). The **twelfth group** was related to the “Herald of the Serbian Orthodox Church” (No. 530), and the **thirteenth group** presents various other periodicals (No. 531).<sup>6</sup>

Ljubomir Durković Jakšić, an expert in church librarian studies, believes that the older printed books of the Krupa monastery are mostly of Russian origin, but there are also some that were printed “*in various printing*

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2015); The work *Hagiography* was reprinted but the most extant edition is: Gerasim ZELIĆ, Житије, поговор Јован Радуловић [Hagiography, afterword by J. Radulović] (Beograd 1988).

<sup>6</sup> Ljubomir Durković Jakšić, Српске библиотеке у Северној Далмацији [Serbian Libraries in Northern Dalmatia], Гласник – службени лист Српске православне цркве [The Herald – Official Journal of the Serbian Orthodox Church] 4 (1977) 87–88.

houses from Venice to Belgrade – most of them from printing houses which worked in Austria and Hungary”.<sup>7</sup> Of special interest are those school-books which were used in the Clerical School and at the Theological Institute in Zadar (between 1842 and 1856), and books printed in the Principality of Serbia (of theological and various other provenance from 1844), which were mostly the property of archimandrites Isaija Olujić.

## A Significant Manuscript in the History of the Monastery

The Diptych of the Krupa monastery was not researched in detail by librarians or by archaeographers. It is not widely known that the Diptych described by Vladimir Mošin, known as P-80 and dated to 1725, measures 27.5 cm x 18 cm.<sup>8</sup> We do not have testimonies as to whether it was described in the inventory of Milan Radeka, since the inventory was lost after 1995. After the war of 1991–1995, the manuscript was lost in the Republic of Croatia; it was later returned to the monastery by the locals. The first contact and the identification of the manuscript, its palaeographic characteristics, and the characteristic of the scribe showed that it is a manuscript with a certain spiritual and cultural value. Between the leather-bound wooden covers, there are forty pages measuring 28 cm x 19.5 cm.

The manuscript begins with the title “*This is a diptych called also Holy Proskomidion*”, in other words, on pages one and two we find a theologically inspired prologue. On page three there is a list of “All the most holy patriarchs of Peć”, that is hierarchs of the Serbian Church. In an abbreviated form, there is a list of hierarchs of the Church from St. Sava up until the last listed in the catalogue – Patriarch Arsenije Čarnojević (1672–1706). On page four, there is a list of “Hieromonks of Krupa”, members of the Krupa brotherhood. On page five, there is a list

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<sup>7</sup> JAKŠIĆ, Srpske biblioteke (see footnote 6) 88.

<sup>8</sup> MOŠIN, Ćirilski rukopisi (see footnote 1) tabla III.

of “Metropolitans”, but only Metropolitan Arsenije is mentioned. His mention is significant as a means of internally dating the manuscript. The above-mentioned Atanasije Ljubojević was the Metropolitan of Sarajevo (*dabrobosanski*) from 1682. His jurisdiction covered the entire Eyalet of Bosnia of that time. This spiritual jurisdiction included the Orthodox Serbs of Bosnia, Dalmatia, Lika, Krbava, and Pounje. During the War of the Holy League of 1683–1699, he left with a part of his priesthood and settled in Ravni Kotari in Venetian Dalmatia. Owing to unionist pressure, he translated the centre of his church administration to Medak, in Lika, in 1695, and from 1698 to 1712 he held the dignity of the Bishop of Karlovac and Zrinopolje.<sup>9</sup> Page six was left for “village Islam”, which no one mentioned.

Furthermore, we find enumerated the places from where contributors gave alms to the Krupa monastery: on page eight **Plaški**, on page nine **Tržić**, on page ten **Gojemirje** (currently Gomirje), on page eleven **Budački**, on page twelve **Perjasica**, on page thirteen **Poloj**, on page fourteen **Moravice**, on page fifteen **Vojnić**, and on page sixteen **Petrovo Polje**. Thereafter, it moves to the near vicinity of the monastery: on page seventeen the villages **Karin** and **Gornji Obrovac**, on page eighteen **Žegar**, on page nineteen **Zemunik**, and on page twenty **Kula Atlagića** and **Kninsko Polje**.

On page twenty-one **Krbava** with “all neighbouring villages” is mentioned, page twenty-two is illegible, page twenty-three is reserved for **Lika** “with all neighbouring villages”. Later, on page twenty-four there are the “villages **Zrmanja** and **Mokro Polje**”, page twenty-five lists **Pađene**, page twenty-six mentions **Gračac**, **Jošani**, **Bruvno**, and **Visuč**, page twenty-seven refers to **Mazin**, **Komić**, **Srednja Gora**, and **Mekinjar**, page twenty-eight cites the “village **Oton**”, and on pages twenty-nine and thirty there is a village called **Kostrić** (unknown).

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<sup>9</sup> Sava Vuković, *Српски јерарси од деветог до двадесетог века* [Serbian Hierarchs from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> Century] (Beograd – Podgorica – Kragujevac 1996) 39–40.

The manuscript ends with pages thirty-one to thirty-five with longer historical notes about life in the monastery, economic progress, the relation of the monastery to its surroundings, and, in particular, regarding the life of the monastery parish in **Greek Islam** between 1754 and 1818. At the very end, on pages thirty-six to forty, we find shorter notes on those who contributed to the monastery in the same period.

## Notes on the Margins of Old Printed Books

In semi uncial script (damaged, no page with bibliography)

*“This booklet called Half Uncial was bestowed by Kyr Kyr, most Holy Danil Jakšić, Bishop of Karlsad, of Banija up to the river Glina and Lika, of Krbava to Zvonigrad, and the rest to Kyr Kyr, and most Holy Simeon Končarević, archierarch of Dalmatia in the year 1755”.*

On the Akatisthos hymn dedicated to St. Great Martyr Varvara (Moscow, 1755)

*“Sent from the Holy Prodromos monastery of Gomirje by hieromonk Teofil Aleksić to serve the Holy Assumption monastery of Krupa in 1755, on 26 December.”*

On the Great Horologion (Venice, 1784):

*“This book, of I, the archimandrite Gerasim Zelić from the Krupa monastery, I bought it in Carigrad (Constantinople) for 60 coins, 1785, on 25 of June.” “This Greek book from the number of books of I, Gerasim Zelić, the archimandrite of the Krupa monastery, in the year 1794 in Zadar, signed by me with my sinful (perishable) hand.”*

On a Greek Euchologion (Venice, 1777)

*“This Horologion, that is Chasoslov and Trebnik (Euchologion) in the Hellenogreek language, of I, the archimandrite Gerasim Zelić, monk of the Holy Assumption Krupa monastery and a native of Dalmatia in the regions of the*

*village Žegar, and I signed with my earthly hand in the City of Constantine, that is, in Carigrad, on 25 January in the year 1785 and bought it.”*

On a Bible (in several books on the Church-Slavonic language; the end of the eighteenth century):

*“This is from the number of books of Gerasim Zelić, archimandrite of the Holy Assumption Krupa monastery, signed by my hand in the imperial city of Moscow, in 1784, the fifteenth day”.*

On the book *Rite of the Consecration of a Temple by an Archhierarch* (Moscow, 1770):

*“The Rite of the Consecration of the Holy Assumption Krupa monastery with the entire circle of church canonical and didactical books brought from Moscow by the great sinner of that monastery, archimandrite Gerasim Zelić in the year 1790, month June, sixteenth day.”*

On the book *About the Soul’s Mysterious Road* (the end of the eighteenth century):

*“A book of Gerasim Zelić, the Krupa monastery archimandrite, signed in Sankt Petersburg 1784, in May, tenth day, and given to him from mister merchant Mihail Mihailovich Javljev Sabakin as a sign of his truthful love and good faith. I signed it by my own earthly hand on the before mentioned year.”*

## **Conclusion**

A well-preserved treasury is kept in the Krupa monastery where objects of art and the ritual life of earlier centuries are deposited, classified, and presented. Apart from old ritual books, icons, crosses, and holy vessels, a number of significant documents are held in the treasury: the firmans of sultans from the seventeenth century and also documents which testify to the life in the monastery in later centuries.

According to the testimony of Ljubomir Durković Jakšić, the old library of the Krupa monastery was inventoried by Milan Radeka (Српске библиотеке у северној Далмацији [Serbian Libraries in Northern Dalmatia], in: Гласник СПЦ [The Herald of Serbian Orthodox Church] 4 (1977) 87–88). During our work on the library collection in Krupa we were not able to find the inventory. Compared with the descriptions from the 1980s and previous years of the last century, it is evident that the war which took place in former Yugoslavia had an adverse impact on the cultural heritage which once existed in the Krupa monastery, despite attempts to preserve the library and treasury.

This paper has given a detailed description and a historical context of the making of the book *Diptych of the Krupa monastery* (from the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century) which is only mentioned in various works, but which, in terms of its content, presents the relations of the North Dalmatian monastery with the Serbian population in south-western Croatia that inhabited the regions of Lika, Krbava, and Kordun. The book offers a wealth of onomastic material and, as a domestic source, it fits with attempts to cast light on the social and ethnic past with lists of foreign administrative provenance.

This Diptych of Krupa, several decades older than the one dated to 1725, has a well-developed theological and rhetorical prologue which links the manuscript to an earlier time, at least three decades earlier, since the last mentioned church hierarchs who had a significant role in the life of the Serbian Church organisation were Metropolitan Atanasije Ljubojević (1682–1712) and Patriarch Arsenije Čarnojević (1672–1706).

The manuscript is digitalised and is available to researchers in the electronic database of the Archives of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Belgrade.



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**The Library of the Serbian Orthodox Krupa Monastery in  
Northern Dalmatia**  
**Radovan Pilipović**

This paper presents a short historiographical overview and the cultural context of the library heritage that is kept in the Assumption of the Theotokos Krupa monastery, in Žegar village in Northern Dalmatia, in what is now the Republic of Croatia. This monastic centre is one of the most westerly monasteries of Serbian Orthodox provenance and testifies to the continuity of Cyrillo-Methodian literacy, Eastern (Byzantine) rite and Serbian ecclesiastical and administrative affiliation and jurisdiction. Together with the Serbian episcopal library in Pakrac (Slavonija, northern Croatia), the collection of manuscripts and old printed books of the Krupa monastery is a significant cultural monument.

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**Die Bibliothek des serbisch-orthodoxen Klosters in Krupa in  
Norrdalmatien**  
**Radovan Pilipović**

Dieser Beitrag legt eine kurze historiographische Übersicht und einen kulturellen Kontext des Bücherreichtums dar, der sich im Kloster des Ablebens der Allerheiligsten Gottesmutter im Dorf Žegar in Norddalmatien, heute Kroatien, befindet. Dieses Kloster ist eines der westlichsten Klöster der serbisch-orthodoxen Kirche und ist ein Beleg für die kyrillische Schriftkultur und Schriftlichkeit, für den östlichen (byzantinischen) Ritus wie auch für die serbische kirchliche wie auch administrative Eingliederung und Jurisdiktion. Zusammen mit der serbischen Bischofsbibliothek in Pakrac (Slawonien, Nordkroatien) stellen die Handschriftensammlung und die Sammlung der alten Drucke des Klosters Krupa ein bedeutendes Kulturdenkmal dar.

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**Knihovna srbského ortodoxního kláštera v Krupě v severní  
Dalmácii**  
**Radovan Pilipović**

Tento příspěvek představuje stručný historiografický přehled a kulturní kontext knihovního bohatství nacházejícího se v krupském klášteře Zesnutí přesvaté Bohorodice ve vesnici Žegar v severní Dalmácii, dnešní Chorvatské republice. Tento klášter je jedním z nejzápadnějších klášterů srbské ortodoxní církve a svědčí o cyrilometodějské písemné kultuře, východním (byzantským) ritu i srbském církevním a administrativním přivtělení a jurisdikci. Spolu se srbskou biskupskou knihovnou v Pakraci (Slavonie, severní Chorvatsko) tvoří sbírka rukopisů a starých tisků krupského kláštera významnou kulturní památku.

# The Incunabula Collection of the Benedictine Monastery in Broumov

KRISZTINA RÁBAI

## Introduction

The purpose of this study is to demonstrate the richness of the incunabula collection of the Benedictine Monastery in Broumov and to make known and accessible the treasures of this library internationally through the medium of the Material Evidence in Incunabula (MEI) database.<sup>1</sup> Through this process, the study also attempts to contribute to the investigation and understanding of our collective European print heritage.

The monastery was founded in the fourteenth century but the current building, which is monumental and very impressive, is Baroque in style.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> [https://data.cerl.org/mei/\\_search](https://data.cerl.org/mei/_search) (consulted online on 09 October 2020).

<sup>2</sup> For further reading about the building and the library, see Daniela ŠTĚRBOVÁ – Michal PATRNÝ, *Der immerwährende Kaiser: der Plan für die „Provinzkapitel“ in Braunau in dem sog. Dientzenhofer-Skizzenbuch*. In: *Umění 3* (2014) 240-250; Martin MÁDL – Radka HEISSELOVÁ – Michaela ŠEFERISOVÁ LOUDOVÁ – Štěpán VÁCHA, *Barokní nástěnná malba v českých zemích: benediktini* [Baroque Wall Paintings in the Czech Lands: Benedictines] (Praha 2016), vol. 1, 395; Tomáš DURDÍK, *Monastery Castle in Broumov*. In Gianni

According to the Rule of St. Benedict, the community could not exist without books. This and the testimony of historical documents, which record the opening of a grammar school in the monastery around 1306 and an inventory issued between 1390 and 1394, corroborate the existence of the library.<sup>3</sup> Over the centuries, the building has endured many catastrophic events leading to the devastation of the building and also the books on the shelves. After the most recent misfortune, which was the confiscation of the building and transfer of the library's collection under the communist regime, the Benedictines were able to recover and restore their properties by the end of the twentieth century.

However, none of the nearly two hundred incunabula and many early printings in the library has been acknowledged abroad. Thanks to the efforts and the collaboration of a group of scholars led by Martina Bolom-Kotari, the impressive building of the library and its whole collection has now been recognised all over the Czech Republic through the work and published results of the project *The Gate of Wisdom Open: The Baroque Cultural Heritage of the Rajhrad and Broumov Monasteries: Protection, Restoration, Presentation (The Gate)*.<sup>4</sup> The programme (which

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Perbellini (ed.), *Fortified churches and monasteries – églises et monasteres fortifiés* (The Hague 2006) 117-122; Giovanni DENTI – Aleksandr SKALICKÝ (eds.), *Krajinou českého baroka: církevní stavby Kryštofa a Kiliána Ignáce Dientzenhoferů na Broumovsku* [The Czech Baroque Landscape: the Church Buildings of Christoph and Kilian Ignaz Dientzenhofer in the Broumov Region] (Praha 2004) 60.

<sup>3</sup> Josef EMLER, *Zlomek inventáře kláštera břevnovského z let 1390-1394*. [A Fragment of the Inventory of Břevnov Monastery, 1390-1394]. In: *Věstník Královské české společnosti nauk* 1 (1889) 280-313.

<sup>4</sup> The Moravian Library (Moravská zemská knihovna; MZK) is involved in the project, providing librarians for cataloguing the whole library. Specialists and students from the University of Pardubice (Univerzita Pardubice, Fakulta restaurování) are engaged in the restoration of books and experts and students from the University of Hradec Králové, in collaboration with the Bishop's Library in Hradec Králové (Biskupská knihovna Biskupství královéhradeckého), are dealing with the cleaning and digitising of the volumes. The title of the project is *Brána moudrosti otevřená. Barokní kulturní dědictví klášterů Broumov a Rajhrad: ochrana, restaurování, prezentace (2016-2020)*; NAKI

was financially supported by the Czech Ministry of Culture) has been of interest to both scholarly and lay audiences interested in book culture and national heritage. There have been several publications and events since 2016.<sup>5</sup>

## **A Short History and Important Facts of the Incunabula Collection in the Broumov Monastery**

According to the generally accepted definition used by scholars, incunabula are a defined group of early printings which were produced in the fifteenth century using movable type.

The Benedictine monastery in Broumov, which preserved the precious collection of incunabula, was established in the Middle Ages and has a very eventful past, which has included wars and fires. It is probable that the monastery had a library from the fourteenth century, but a major change took place in the fifteenth century when Benedictine monks from Prague sought asylum there while trying to escape from the Hussites. They settled in Broumov and, as a result, a new period in the history of the Broumov and Břevnov (Prague) monasteries began; thereafter, for centuries, the two monasteries were connected by the person of the abbot. The collection of Broumov, which can be considered significant in the Central European context, survived the communist regime and, after the revolution of 1989, it was returned to the possession of the Benedictines along with the Baroque building complex that had been its home for centuries. The collection, estimated to be around 17,000

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DG16P02R047. For further details, see the project's webpage: <http://branamoudrosti.cz/> (consulted online on 09 October 2020).

<sup>5</sup> This study is the second summary of my work in progress. The first article (with a similar English summary as the introduction to this chapter) was published in Hungarian and is available online on the web page of Kaleidoscope: A broumovi bencés monostor könyvtára és annak orvosi gyűjteménye [The Benedictine Library at Broumov and its Medical Collection]. <http://www.kaleidoscopehistory.hu/index.php?subpage=cikk&cikkid=436> (consulted online on 10 July 2020).

to 18,000 volumes, was transported back from Prague and Hradec Králové, but then remained untouched on the shelves until 2016, when the surveying, cataloguing, reconstruction and preservation of volumes started within the framework of the above-mentioned Czech project (*The Gate*).

It is necessary to mention earlier research dealing with the history and the collection of the library in Broumov. The most detailed study was carried out by Ludmila Vlčková in the 1960s; her work was published in 1969. Vlčková conducted her studies on the material which was at that time divided into three parts: parts stored in Broumov, Prague, and Hradec Králové. Furthermore, she worked with the five historical catalogues known at that time (from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries).<sup>6</sup> She described the manuscripts (256 items, the number was based on the aforementioned catalogues), and also the incunabula. Forty volumes remained in the monastery building and 142 items were transferred to the library of the Museum of Czech Literature in Prague (Památník národního písemnictví).<sup>7</sup>

Since the 1960s there have been several changes. Thanks to *The Gate* project, the cleaning and conservation of the volumes has been completed, along with the cataloguing process. In addition to many articles, a collection of studies based on the scholarly work carried out in the

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<sup>6</sup> Zdeněk ZAHRADNÍK, Fond knihovny benediktinského kláštera v Broumově a jeho evidence na přelomu 18. a 19. století [The Collection of the Library of the Benedictine Monastery in Broumov and its Evidence around the Turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Century]. In: *Východočeské listy historické* 37 (2017) 87-111.

<sup>7</sup> Prvotisky z Broumova, nyní v knihovně Památníku národního písemnictví v Praze [Incunabula from Broumov, now in the Library of Museum of Czech Literature in Prague]. Ludmila VLČKOVÁ, Benediktinská klášterní knihovna v Broumově [The Benedictine Monastic Library in Broumov] (Hradec Králové 1969) 52–65; Prvotisky, které zůstaly v broumovské klášterní knihovně [Incunabula which remained in the Broumov Monastic Library]. *Ibid.*, 68–72. Ludmila VLČKOVÁ, Broumov. In: *Handbuch deutscher historischer Buchbestände in Europa*. Tschechische Republik (Hildesheim - Zürich - New York 1998), vol. 3, 42-45.



monastery has also been published.<sup>8</sup> The list of incunabula currently located in the monastic library, with a general description of the items, is available via the Moravian Library's catalogue system (in Czech). According to the data in this catalogue, there are 161 incunabula in Broumov at present.<sup>9</sup>

## Material Evidence in Incunabula (MEI)<sup>10</sup>

The purpose of this article is to sketch out the process and complexity of transferring and uploading data into MEI, based on the example of the incunabula collection preserved in Broumov. However, according to the above-mentioned online catalogue, there are already twenty-one volumes fewer than those listed by Vlčková in the 1960s. MEI may provide evidence of copies that have gone missing. From documentary evidence, such as the historical catalogues of the library, we can reconstruct the collection more accurately.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Martina BOLOM-KOTARI (ed.), *Knihovny benediktinských klášterů Broumov a Rajhrad: katalog k výstavě [Libraries of the Broumov and Rajhrad Benedictine Monasteries: A Catalogue for the Exhibition]* (Hradec Králové 2019).

<sup>9</sup> [https://vufind.mzk.cz/Search/Results?sort=relevance&join=AND&lookfor0%5B%5D=&type0%5B%5D=AllFields&lookfor0%5B%5D=&type0%5B%5D=AllFields&lookfor0%5B%5D=&type0%5B%5D=AllFields&lookfor0%5B%5D=&type0%5B%5D=AllFields&lookfor0%5B%5D=&type0%5B%5D=AllFields&bool0%5B%5D=AND&filter%5B%5D=base\\_txtF\\_mv%3A%22facet\\_base\\_MZK03\\_broumov%22&illustration=-1&limit=10&daterange%5B%5D=publishDate&publishDatefrom=&publishDateto=1500](https://vufind.mzk.cz/Search/Results?sort=relevance&join=AND&lookfor0%5B%5D=&type0%5B%5D=AllFields&lookfor0%5B%5D=&type0%5B%5D=AllFields&lookfor0%5B%5D=&type0%5B%5D=AllFields&lookfor0%5B%5D=&type0%5B%5D=AllFields&lookfor0%5B%5D=&type0%5B%5D=AllFields&bool0%5B%5D=AND&filter%5B%5D=base_txtF_mv%3A%22facet_base_MZK03_broumov%22&illustration=-1&limit=10&daterange%5B%5D=publishDate&publishDatefrom=&publishDateto=1500) (consulted online on 09 October 2020).

<sup>10</sup> [https://data.cerl.org/mei/\\_search](https://data.cerl.org/mei/_search) (consulted online on 09 October 2020).

<sup>11</sup> David PEARSON, Provenance and Rare Book Cataloguing: Its Importance and Its Challenges. In David Shaw (ed.), *Books and their Owners. Provenance Information and the European Cultural Heritage. Papers Presented on 12 November 2004 at the CERL Conference Hosted by the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.* (= Consortium of European Research Libraries, London 2005) 1-10; Marieke VAN DELFT, CERL's work and vision for provenance research II: The Provenance Digital Archive in CERL. In: *La Bibliofilia* 117 (2015) 321-324; Marieke VAN DELFT, Guidelines for Uploading and Describing Images in

Moreover, the author intends to emphasize the importance of joining international projects and sharing data with scholars all over the world, using a well-known, widely used and ever-growing database; an act which can only benefit all concerned.

The MEI database operates within the framework of the Consortium of European Research Libraries (CERL), organically linked to the Incunabula Short Title Catalogue (ISTC), which is available through the CERL website. Theoretically, ISTC contains the basic data concerning all/most of the incunabula that have been preserved until today (held in public, private or religious collections).<sup>12</sup>

The creator of the MEI database,<sup>13</sup> Cristina Dondi (University of Oxford, secretary of CERL), has developed a flexible, expandable and easy-

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the Cerl Provenance Digital Archive. With contributions of Cristina Dondi, Marian Lefferts and John Lancaster. Version 0.5. (April 2020), <https://www.cerl.org/resources/provenance/pdaguidelines> (consulted online on 09 October 2020); Marieke VAN DELFT, A New Tool for Describing Provenance Images. CERL's Provenance Digital Archive. In Cristina Dondi (ed.), *Printing R-evolution and Society 1450–1500: Fifty Years that Changed Europe* (= Studi di storia 13, Venezia 2020) 909-920; Marieke VAN DELFT, Researching Provenance with Two New Tools Developed by the Consortium of European Research Libraries (CERL). In: *Quaerendo* 50 (2020) 194-206. About the recently found historical catalogues of Broumov Library, see ZAHRADNÍK, Fond knihovny (see footnote 6) 87-111.

<sup>12</sup> John GOLDFINCH - Karen LIMPER-HERTZ, The Incunabula Short Title Catalogue (ISTC): Past, Present and Future. In DONDI, *Printing R-evolution* (see footnote 11) 897-907.

<sup>13</sup> Cristina Dondi published several articles and gave many lectures on the MEI, as well as encouraging institutions and scholars to incorporate their material into the MEI. Just a couple of examples to read more about the MEI and its progression: Cristina DONDI - Alessandro LEDDA, Material Evidence in Incunabula. In: *La Bibliofilia* 113 (2011) 375-382; Cristina Dondi, Provenance records in the CERL Thesaurus and in Material Evidence in Incunabula. In: *Sborník Národního muzea v Praze. Řada C – Literární historie* 58, 3-4 (2013) 15-19; IDEM, CERL's work and vision for provenance research I: CERL Thesaurus, Material Evidence in Incunabula, and the 15cBOOKTRADE Project. In: *La Bibliofilia* 117 (2015) 317-321; IDEM, Piętnastowieczny handel książką. Gromadzenie świadectw źródłowych i badanie inkunabułów - baza danych

to-use system with the help of Alexander Jahnke from the Data Conversion Group at the University of Göttingen. The database is designed to process all extant incunabula according to a unified framework of criteria which connects the data to a person, institution, location, and time. Experts who enter the information into the database strive to incorporate all the data that can be obtained into the system and completely reconstruct the history of each volume from its inception to the present day. Everything must be examined, for example, bindings, ornaments of individual specimens, watermarks of the paper of the prints, marginal and other notes, drawings, handwritten notes related to the owner(s) or reader(s), *exlibris*, *supra libros*, stamps, prices, and entries referring to trade with them.<sup>14</sup> Every single detail is important and the database is suitable for recording each of these subtle differences and features. This consistent and detailed processing allows us to track the work of masters, craftsmen, and owners associated with a particular

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MEI [Fifteenth-Century Book Trade: Collecting and Researching the Material Evidence of Incunabula - the MEI Database]. In: Z Badań nad Książką i Księgozbiorami Historycznymi 7 (2013) 233-249; IDEM, The Venetian Book Trade: A Methodological Approach to and First Results of Book-based Historical Research. In Marcia Reed - Bettina Wagner (eds.), *Early Printed Books as Material Objects: Proceeding of the Conference Organized by the IFLA Rare Books and Manuscripts Section Munich, 19-21 August 2009* (= IFLA Publications 149, Berlin - New York 2010) 219-227.

- <sup>14</sup> Paul NEEDHAM, Copy-specifics in the Printing Shop. In REED - WAGNER, *Early Printed Books* (see footnote 13) 9-20; Christine BEIER, Producing, Buying and Decorating Books in the Age of Gutenberg. The Role of Monasteries in Central Europe. In *Ibid.*, 65-82; Bettina WAGNER, Introduction. In *Ibid.*, 1-6. Claire BOLTON, Links between a Fifteenth-Century Printer and a Binder. In *Ibid.*, 177-190; Ulrike MARBURGER, The German Database of Historical Bookbindings (EBDB): Aims and Perspectives of a Cooperative Research Tool. In *Ibid.*, 191-204; Neil HARRIS, Cost We Don't Think About. An Unusual Copy of Franciscus de Platea, *Opus restitutionum* (1474), and a Few Other Items. In DONDI, *Printing R-evolution* (see footnote 11) 511-540.

item, along with other material evidence that can be used for different research areas.<sup>15</sup>

Satellite databases make MEI even more complex and help with the work of data processing. A fundamental collection is the *Owner of Incunabula* database. It records basic bibliographical information on identified and unknown (anonymous) people and institutions. It also lists the very large number of anonymous owners, a category which also includes artists, bookbinders, and other craftsmen who might have been in connection with the examined printed items in the course of their story.

The CERL Thesaurus database works as a solid background for the identification of owners. A list of English book owners from the seventeenth century is one of the newest databases that assists with the identification of people related to books.<sup>16</sup>

Provenance research has been developing since the 1980s, especially in the Western countries and America. It is clear to see how much work and effort goes into these enterprises. Many of them serve as a reference for catalogues, libraries and publications. CERL, which has a pioneering role in organising a great deal of worldwide co-operation in preserving and representing European culture, has also developed an in-

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<sup>15</sup> To gain a broad idea about the opportunities that lie in the information available through MEI, one can examine the results of a 5-year ERC Consolidator Grant held by Cristina Dondi as leader of the 15th-century book trade project (<http://15cbooktrade.ox.a.uk>) which concluded in the exhibition held in Venice. Cristina DONDI, Introduction: The 15cBOOKTRADE Project and the Study of Incunabula as Historical Sources. In IDEM, *Printing R-evolution* (see footnote 11) 897–907.

<sup>16</sup> Book Owners Online database <https://bookowners.online/About> (consulted online on 09 October 2020). A couple of more examples: Early Bookowners in Britain ([https://data.cerl.org/ebob/\\_search](https://data.cerl.org/ebob/_search)); Index Possessorum Incunabulorum, created by Paul Needham ([https://data.cerl.org/ipi/\\_search](https://data.cerl.org/ipi/_search)); Verzeichnis der Vorbesitzer von Handschriften, Inkunabeln, Frühdrucken und Rara der Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg (<http://www.ubs.sbg.ac.at/sosa/webseite/vorbesitzer.htm>); Centre de Recursos per a l'Aprenentatge i la Investigació (Antiquos poseedores: [https://crai.ub.edu/sites/default/files/posseidors/home\\_eng.htm](https://crai.ub.edu/sites/default/files/posseidors/home_eng.htm)) (all consulted online on 09 October 2020).

novative provenance database that is freely available to and can be used by anyone. It is possible not only to search for data but also to upload. Besides its well-functioning, logical and easy-to-use system for provenance research, CERL also provides links to other ongoing projects and databases on its webpage.<sup>17</sup>

Nevertheless, although an ever-increasing amount of data is becoming available, there is a lack of representation of Central-Eastern and Eastern European collections. Not only are the preserved volumes missing from the extensive, collective European heritage, but also the past owners. It is as if they had never existed and this region of Europe was never part of European culture in general.

Scholars who live in this part of the continent know that the situation is different, as they are working on many inspiring projects. However, these are still underrepresented and not widely known in other countries. In some cases, there are differences in the techniques used, in logical inferences, visualisations and other innovations. Above all, there are problems associated with the languages used. The previously mentioned *The Gate* project also has a database with significant data and much new information.

## One Example

Nowadays, provenance research has received more attention worldwide thanks to greater interest in reading practices, especially among women readers and book owners.<sup>18</sup> Any sign of ownership evidence can give us

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<sup>17</sup> <http://arkyves.org/r/cerl/pda> (consulted online on 09 October 2020). Just two other examples, not cited by CERL online provenance resources (<https://www.cerl.org/resources/provenance/geographical>): <http://pex.sk-szegeed.hu/> and <http://branamoudrosti.cz/> (consulted online on 09 October 2020).

<sup>18</sup> Just a couple of examples to demonstrate the increasing interest in this research field: MEDIATE project at Radboud University, supported by ERC, with Prof. Alicia C. Montoya as principal investigator aims to study the circulation of books and ideas in the 18<sup>th</sup> century through the elaboration of private catalogues (<https://earlymodernfemalebookownership.wordpress.com/>);

clues and allow sophisticated studies on the use of books, readership, and reading. Such signs include possessor notes, margin notes, annotations, drawings and other small details, mementoes of readers and reading, historical catalogues, book dealers' catalogues, and inventories. The idea behind the MEI database is to capture the circulation of books (i.e. incunabula) throughout their existence by visualising their movement in time and space. Registering those fragments of evidence allows us to demonstrate this circulation is connected to owners. It seems logical to build on the infosheet of each item chronologically. By examining material evidence, editors can create different layers, demonstrating the story of the studied volume in a specific period of time. Entries should be linked to the owners or the craftsman/artist related to the book. If we can identify this person through the evidence, they should be named, located and dated.

I recently created an entry for the *Ownership database*,<sup>19</sup> while working on the provenance of philosophical work that was written by Themistius Peripateticus, translated into Latin by Hermolaus Barbarus, and printed in Venice in 1499.<sup>20</sup> Based on the evidence of the oldest handwritten possessor notes at the top of the first printed page in the volume, it can be supposed that the first owner was Stanislaus Sauer, a well-educated humanist from Silesia. Among other positions, Sauer occupied the post of canon in Wrocław Cathedral. He was also mentioned in the correspondence of Jakob Ziegler, who advised Erasmus of Rotterdam in 1522 to contact Sauer:

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as well as numerous conferences, either specifically or partly dedicated to the topic such as the next conference of German History Society (2-3 September 2020) with the first panel in the first session dedicated to "Late Medieval and Early Modern Women and Books".

<sup>19</sup> <https://data.cerl.org/owners/00029207> (consulted online on 09 October 2020).

<sup>20</sup> ISTC nr. it00130000; MEI Id. 02137939; recent shelfmark in Broumov Monastic Library: B - S. LVIII. f. 13.



“In your Cyprian you regret the loss of Pontius the deacon. This is at Wrocław, in the possession of either the bishop or the chapter, among Cyprian’s works, a very fine manuscript. You should write to a canon of Wrocław called Stanislaus Sauer, a good scholar, if he is still alive, or perhaps better and with more confidence to the chapter, which cannot die...”<sup>21</sup>

Besides the fact that Sauer had an extensive network and good relationships with significant humanists of the time, he was also known beyond the borders of Silesia, a region where he spent a significant part of his adult life, and as a bibliophile, he possessed a substantial library.<sup>22</sup>

It is possible to reconstruct his collection, at least in part, thanks to the handwritten possessor notes he made in the volumes he owned. Unfortunately, I was not able to trace his handwriting, as I was only able to look at one of the volumes formerly in his possession. Still, the manuscript notes in the fifteenth-sixteenth century hand in his books could be compared and his handwriting distinguished.<sup>23</sup> Most of his library became, most likely as a bequest, part of the Cathedral Library in Wrocław, which has been incorporated into the collection of the

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<sup>21</sup> James M. ESTES (ed.), *The Correspondence of Erasmus: Letters 1252-1355* (University of Toronto Press 1989) 26.

<sup>22</sup> Hermann HOFFMANN, *Die Chronica des Breslauer Domhern Stanislaus Sauer (gest. 1535)*. In: *Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift* 4 (1953) 102-118; Marta BURBIANKA, *Śląski bibliofil Stanisław Saur – wychowanek Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego [A Silesian Bibliophile, Stanisław Saur – A Graduate of the University of Krakow]*. In: *Roczniki Biblioteczne* 8 (1964) 33-37. Michael ERBE, *Stanislaus Sauer*. In *Contemporaries of Erasmus*. (Buffalo – Toronto – London 1985) 197. The article about Sauer’s portrait and life written by Christoph Wilhelmi: <http://www.renaissance-port.de/katalog/70-unbekannte-k%C3%BCnstler/115-unbek-k%C3%BCnstler-stanis%C5%82aw-sauer.html> (consulted online on 09 October 2020).

<sup>23</sup> Wincenty URBAN, *Szkice z dziejów diecezji wrocławskiej*; cd.: *Biskup Jan Roth (1482-1506) [Sketches from the History of the Wrocław Diocese: cont.: Bishop Jan Roth]*. In: *Studia Theologica Varsaviensia* 5, 1 (1967) 16 (footnote 26); 56-57 (footnote 218).

Library of the Pontifical Faculty of Theology in Wrocław (Biblioteka Papieskiego Wydziału Teologicznego we Wrocławiu).

Today, we know of more than thirty books that were previously owned by Sauer. Some of the libraries in possession from Sauer's books have online catalogues with provenance information, rendering his items easy to find. The thirty items of Sauer's library can be found by the means of the *Fides* catalogue (Federacja Bibliotek Kościelnych).<sup>24</sup> Two volumes can be found in the Nostitz Palace Library in Prague's Lesser Town, according to a dissertation by Richard Šípek on the Castle Library of Otto Junior of Nostitz in Jawor.<sup>25</sup> Šípek also mentions that five copies belong to the collection of the University Library in Wrocław.<sup>26</sup> One incunabulum is to be found in the special collection of the University Library in Bratislava<sup>27</sup> and we know about the above-mentioned example from Sauer's collection. This list, however, is not complete. Still, this demonstration does not aim to reconstruct the bibliophile canon's library, but it does indicate the potential usefulness of very large, corporate databases, which increase the chances of tracing all the surviving copies of a particular book collection and can save a great deal of scholars' time.

To demonstrate the process and what additional value could be attained by provenance research, which is necessary according to MEI rules, we

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<sup>24</sup> [https://katalog.fides.org.pl/cgi-bin/koha/opac-search.pl?q=c-cl=an%3A401321&offset=20&sort\\_by=pubdate\\_dsc](https://katalog.fides.org.pl/cgi-bin/koha/opac-search.pl?q=c-cl=an%3A401321&offset=20&sort_by=pubdate_dsc) (consulted online on 09 October 2020).

<sup>25</sup> Richard ŠÍPEK, *Die Jauerer Schlossbibliothek Ottos des Jüngeren von Nostitz*. PhD thesis, Charles University (Praha 2013) 165; 50, 51, 154. (Signatures: cg 496; K 159). Consulted online on 17 June 2020 <https://is.cuni.cz/webapps/zzp/detail/104619>. Also registered in PROVENIO database: <http://provenio.net/documents/42619>. Printed: IDEM, *Die Jauerer Schlossbibliothek Ottos des Jüngeren von Nostitz* (Frankfurt am Main 2014), vol. 1, 2.

<sup>26</sup> Verzeichnis der relevanten Provenienzeinträge aus der Universitätsbibliothek Breslau. ŠÍPEK, *Die Jauerer* (see footnote 25) 32. Signature: 458097; 452559-61; 460796; 460375; and 459607-09.

<sup>27</sup> Incunabula of the University Library in Bratislava: <http://retrobib.ulib.sk/Incunabula/html/212.html> (consulted online on 09 October 2020).

can examine the volume preserved in Broumov. According to the online catalogue, four works were bound together. Only one is considered to be an incunabulum, as the three others were printed at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The *colligatum* has its original, sixteenth-century binding, with floral ornament on stamped brown leather over wooden boards and has two metal clasps. The front board is labelled with a manuscript note, giving the names of the authors whose works were bound together. On the spine of the volume, old shelfmarks are visible. When we open the volume, we see the possessor notes and stamps on the first printed page. The handwritten notes are clearly legible, immediately at the top. It is possible to make out *Stanislai Saur doctoris canonici Wratislaviensis* and the next line is not clear but probably refers to 1508.<sup>28</sup> Comparing this information with the dates of printing, we may suppose that the four works were bound between 1506 and 1508. The watermark visible on the binding also refers to this period and also suggests the locality of the bookbinder's workshop.

The very end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century saw the foundation of the first Silesian paper mills. The scholarship describes two types of watermarks found on paper produced in the first years of the paper mill that was established in Wrocław. One of them, which is claimed to be the earliest, is a bull's head with eyes and nostrils. Above its head is a serpent twined around a rod ending in a letter 'W', with a crown above it. The letter refers to the name of the place where the paper was produced: Wratislavia. For comparison, it is possible to see similar but not identical, watermarks in a Polish tax register issued around 1508.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Unfortunately, there are some mistakes in the Moravian online catalogue, such as in this case of Sauer's possessor note: "*Stanislai Sane Doctoris Canonici Wratislaviensis* 1608." <https://vufind.mzk.cz/Record/MZK03-001235957/Details#tabnav> (consulted online on 09 October 2020). This makes it impossible to recognise Sauer's name and refer to him as the owner of the volume.

<sup>29</sup> AGAD (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych [Central Archives of Historical Records]) ASK (Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego [Archival Material of the Royal Treasury]) I. nr. 12 (fol. 27). For further details about paper production

Without going into a detailed analysis of the binding and the paper used for the binding, we can presume that the four printings were bought by Sauer (who had other incunabula in his library) and that he probably paid for the craftsman to bind them together. This work was carried out after 1506 (when the last print left the printing office) by a local binder in Wrocław (or a binder nearby who used “local” paper products in his workshop).<sup>30</sup> Fortunately, unlike usual library catalogues, all the information can be registered in the MEI interface. *The Gate* project’s webpage also provides access to visual provenance information, but this serves to represent the already defined signs, marks, stamps and notes, excluding photos of incunabula. In the case of uncertainty, the CERL provenance database allows for the uploading of photos of provenance marks and asks for help in identification.

Decoration, rubrication, and illumination do not appear in the volume, neither can we see any sign of reading marks, such as marginal notes, annotations, the extraction of keywords, corrections, comments, and pointing hands, which, among others, can be registered and specified in the infosheet of each layer, indicating the interest, erudition, and perception of the reader(s).

The following chapter in the history of this book was probably written in the library of Wrocław Cathedral. As we have seen previously, many of Sauer’s volumes were incorporated into the Cathedral Library, probably as a bequest. Among the fields on the info sheet, editors can also indicate the method of acquisition, the range of which can be quite wide

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in Silesia, see Krisztina RÁBAI, *The Usage and Acquisition of Paper in the Jagiellonian Courts, 1490–1507*. In Daniel Bellingradt – Anna Reynolds (eds.), *The Paper Trade in Early Modern Europe. Practices, Materials, Networks* (Leiden – Boston 2021) (it will be published in May, therefore no page numbers as yet, but the article is chapter 10 in the volume).

<sup>30</sup> It cannot be excluded that Sauer bought the already bound volume in 1508 from its previous owner who also lived in or around Wrocław. Unfortunately, an in-depth examination of the cover’s decoration and, consequently, the identification of the workshop was not possible due to the lack of opportunity and the lack of proper scholarly works on the topic.

from a simple (usual) purchase to theft, and includes the options of donation, institutional transfer, exchange, requisition, restitution, deposit, consignment, and dedication copy.

The note which refers to possession by the cathedral was written in the seventeenth century, when the book became part of the library in Broumov around 1659: "*Ecclesiae Cathedralis Wratislaviens[is] nunc Monasterii S[ancti] Wenceslai Brauenaë 1659*". The ownership of the Benedictines was also confirmed by the stamp of the monastic library.<sup>31</sup>

The next period in the story of the book is the eventful twentieth century, when the collection was divided and a significant part transferred to Prague. A library stamp proves that the book was in the library of the Museum of Czech Literature (Památník národního písemnictví), probably from the 1950s until the 1990s, when the Benedictines recovered their books and other confiscated properties.

Old shelfmarks, information indicating the price of the book, and any other bookseller's mark are valuable pieces of evidence that have to be registered (there is no indication of any book trade activity in the case of the studied volume).

After all the copy specific information is uploaded to the database, a visualisation tool available via the webpage of the 15th-century book trade project can help to demonstrate the story of the studied book from the place and time of its production up until today. In the described example, from Venice in 1499, it is possible to follow these few printed sheets to Wrocław, the capital of Silesia, where, in the workshop of a local binder, around 1506, it was bound along with three other early printings and became part of the library of Stanisław Sauer (who could have bought it in Italy while he was studying there or in Wrocław, which was a central town and important market place at that time). After the

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<sup>31</sup> This was, however, quite blurred, the online catalogue identifies its inscription as "S.A.B. BRAUNAU". For more information about the results of provenance research in Broumov, see Martina VITKOVÁ, *Knihy broumovské klášterní knihovny a jejich provenience* [Books of the Broumov Monastic Library and their Provenance]. In BOLOM-KOTARI, *Knihovny* (see footnote 8) 59-66.

death of Sauer, in 1535, the volume most probably became part of the library in Wrocław Cathedral for a century. In the seventeenth-century, it could be found in the Benedictine monastery library in Broumov, where it spent a longer “peaceful” time, judging by the lack of reading notes, before it was transported to Prague in the middle of the twentieth century and then returned at the end of the same century.

## Expected Positive Results

The recently available information about incunabula in the online catalogue of the Moravian Library needs to be further detailed and its accuracy improved, in accordance with the general rules of MEI. The extensive and very important work on the library that has been completed in the last four years will be incorporated into MEI in English. Those who are familiar with the specific segment of the database “owners of incunabula” know how weak the lists of people and institutions that are not from Western Europe. The collections of this region (libraries of Central and Eastern Europe) have so far entered only a very limited amount of data into the MEI database, so the datasheets of the owners, collections, libraries and institutions related to the volumes must be created and situated in time and space. Although a great number of book owners have been identified and this information is available on the web pages of the *Gate* project (in Czech), the problem is as previously mentioned: more people/scholars/potential users are able read English than are able to read Czech.

The short manual prepared by William Hale in 2017 to help with cataloguing incunabula states the first important step:

“Your first port of call should be the Incunabula Short Title Catalogue (ISTC), available online at [http://data.cerl.org/istc/\\_search](http://data.cerl.org/istc/_search). This gives brief details of every known incunable, together with a comprehensive list of copies, references to published descriptions and, where available, links to digitized versions. Your library’s incunables should be listed too; if they are not, you should contact



the ISTC with details when you have finished your cataloguing project.”<sup>32</sup>

However, even though all librarians who are preparing catalogues for rare and early printings know about the existence of ISTC, there is still a tendency to ignore this first and extremely important step. Although there are ISTC numbers of the volumes in Broumov in the catalogue of the Moravian Library, when we check the ISTC itself, we see that it does not know about the copies preserved in Broumov. Therefore, first of all, this connection has to be made, and then the existence of the precious collection of the monastic library will be known throughout the world.

Since the late twentieth century, bibliophiles, librarians and book historians, have not only attempted to create an internationally used database to record every single item which was printed since Gutenberg’s invention, they have also strived to collect data and make it freely available to a wider audience. “*Today, some 30,000 editions of books printed between 1450 and 1 January 1501 in about 450,000 copies survive in circa 4,000 libraries, mostly in the Western world.*”<sup>33</sup> According to the information listed in ISTC or GW (Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke),<sup>34</sup> the most substantial collections of incunabula are located in North America and Western Europe. The most significant ecclesiastical, national and university libraries own hundreds and thousands of incunabula. Although these early printings are not unique in the way manuscripts are, all surviving copies have individual features which make them singular. There are approximate estimations as to the number of incunabula and also

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<sup>32</sup> William HALE, Cataloguing Incunabula  
<http://www.historiclibrariesforum.org.uk/hlf/Guides/Incunabula%20Cataloguing%20Guide.pdf> (consulted online on 10 July 2020).

<sup>33</sup> VAN DELFT, Researching (see footnote 11) 196.

<sup>34</sup> <https://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/> (consulted online on 10 July 2020).

the number of copies that have ever existed.<sup>35</sup> But what is the precise situation in Eastern Europe?

Considering the historical background, it is hardly surprising that, in general, countries in the east and south of Europe, further from the fifteenth-century centre of printing and very considerably affected by the devastation of the wars over the previous five centuries, possess fewer surviving copies of early printings. But if a person were to search for these precious printings on the websites of ecclesiastical, provincial, university and city libraries, they would readily discover that these institutions do possess collections of incunabula of various sizes, and that they are listed in their catalogues, but not in the ISTC. In the national libraries, the preserved copies are usually incorporated into both ISTC and GW, because their printed catalogues (mostly completed after the middle of the twentieth century) are available for a wider audience, especially for the creators and developers of these very large international databases.

As MEI develops and more Central and Eastern European institutions upload data into it, these barely visible and invisible incunabula, their owners, and all other important players of the book trade will become visible. The first Czech collection which has appeared in MEI is the incunabula collection of the Benedictine Library in Broumov.<sup>36</sup> This ar-

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<sup>35</sup> Jonathan GREEN - Frank McINTYRE - Paul NEEDHAM, *The Shape of Incunable Survival and Statistical Estimation of Lost Editions*. In: *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 105, 2 (2011) 141-175.

<sup>36</sup> I have also elaborated the collection of Károly Somogyi City and County Library in Szeged, Hungary, which is the first Hungarian collection uploaded to MEI. My work with the incunabula collection in Broumov started in 2017, although its completion was postponed until 2020. At the beginning, it was supported by two grants: Visiting International Fellowship in the Humanities at the Silesian University in Opava, Moravian Silesian Region 01204/2016/RRC, Project Nr. P01-2016-18 and another Visiting International Fellowship in the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Hradec Králové, Department of Auxiliary Sciences of History and Archival Sciences. The continuation of the project is supported by an intergovernmental grant (Tempus Public Foundation, AK 2019-2020).

ticle hopes to encourage all small collections, especially the hidden ones, to follow this example. All the little bits and pieces are important and contribute to the creation of the whole picture.

## Conclusion

As researchers, many of us face the problem of extremely large amounts of data in different forms and shapes which are indigestible for one person or even a group. There is an enormous puzzle and one wants to see the picture, if not the whole picture, as life may be too short for that, then at least to see the contours and some of the fascinating details. For observing patterns and trends, it is necessary to collect small pieces of data and connect them up to form small parts of the overall puzzle. Nowadays, as we have seen, thanks to rapidly developing digital tools, information is becoming increasingly accessible, comparable and controllable, which does make a difference. Mostly since the 1980s, librarians and book historians - have been making efforts to collect and make accessible information/data and have developed systems and tools which allow us to see the bigger picture comprised of all the puzzles.

Even though items such as incunabula are part of our common European cultural heritage (and have often had a very adventurous journey geographically), they are not considered to be in the public domain, but, rather, they are considered to be the property of a particular community/nation/country, which makes the expert processing of them almost impossible.

The implementation of the outlined plan would primarily contribute to making a completely unknown collection of incunabula visible, accessible and researchable for the international academic community. This would be beneficial for the whole of the Central and Eastern European region, especially in relation to how the international scientific community judges scientific achievement. Although the historical elements of our past and many cultural elements connect us, there are still too many hidden or forgotten treasures of our common heritage. With the help

of international co-operation, we could overcome linguistic difficulties and, instead of the prevailing western orientation, scholarship could engage in a much larger number of “local” co-operative efforts.

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**The Incunabula Collection of the Benedictine Monastery in  
Broumov**  
**Krisztina Rábai**

The study briefly summarises the history of the Broumov Benedictine monastery and the incunabula collection of its library and then describes the process of making these valuable volumes known internationally. The collection contains nearly two hundred items, all of which preserve a unique story, the journey of the specific book through time and space from leaving the printing house up until the present day. By incorporating the data into the Material Evidence in Incunabula (MEI) database, the treasures of the Benedictine library will become known and accessible to a wider international audience. Many unknown characters, former owners, institutions, communities, artisans and other members and places of the book trade will be discovered and entered into the database to enrich our knowledge of our common European cultural heritage.

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**Die Inkunabelsammlung des Benediktinerklosters in  
Broumov/Braunau**  
**Krisztina Rábai**

Diese Studie befasst sich nach einer kurzen Zusammenfassung der Geschichte des Braunauer Benediktinerklosters und seiner Inkunabelsammlung mit dem Prozess, wie die Inkunabeln der internationalen Fachöffentlichkeit zugänglich gemacht wurden. Die Sammlung umfasst ca. 200 Objekte. Jedes der Bücher bietet eine einzigartige Geschichte auf seinem Weg durch Raum und Zeit vom Moment, als es in die Buchdruckerei kam, bis zur Gegenwart. Durch die Eingabe der Daten in die Datenbank MEI (*Material Evidence in Incunabula*) werden

diese Schätze der Braunauer Benediktinerbibliothek bekannt und der internationalen Fachöffentlichkeit zugänglich gemacht. Wir enthüllen somit viele bisher nicht bekannte Details, ehemalige Besitzer, Institutionen, Künstler und weitere Menschen, die sich in der Vergangenheit am Buchhandel beteiligten. Durch die Eingabe in die Datenbank bereichern wir unsere Kenntnis des gemeinsamen europäischen Kulturerbes.

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### **Sbírka inkunábulí benediktinského klášteera v Broumově** **Krisztina Rábai**

Tato studie se po stručném shrnutí dějin broumovského benediktinského klášteera a jeho sbírky inkunábulí zabývá procesem zpřístupnění samotných inkunábulí mezinárodní odborné veřejnosti. Sbírka obsahuje téměř 200 položek. Každá z nich poskytuje jedinečný příběh, svou cestu dějinami (časem i prostorem) od chvíle, kdy přišla do tiskárny až po naši dobu. Vložení dat o nich do databáze MEI (*Material Evidence in Incunabula*) stanou se tyto poklady broumovské benediktinské knihovny známé a přístupné mezinárodní odborné veřejnosti. Objevíme tak mnoho dosud neznámých podrobností, bývalé vlastníky, instituce, umělce a další lidi podílející se v minulosti na knižním obchodu. Vložení je do databáze tedy obohatíme naši znalost společného evropského kulturního dědictví.

# The Libraries of Abolished Cloisters in the Context of the Action of Clearing Cloisters in the 1950s: Ideology, Practice, and Consequences

EVA RICHTROVÁ

“I know how much you like books and the library. See, they’ll take us and everything. It is already sealed, the guard at it, we are not allowed in the library. And there are many things, many a work we would not like to leave there. The commission came before we could clean it up. We didn’t expect it. We know what will happen to everything. They sell it to Jews and shoppers for cheese – Eternal, eternal pity!”<sup>1</sup>

In the spring of 1950, the communist power in Czechoslovakia moved to the closure of all men’s religious houses – Action K. There was a ban

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<sup>1</sup> Alois JIRÁSEK, F. L. Věk. *Obraz z dob našeho národního probuzení* [F. L. Věk. *An Image from the Time of our National Awakening*] (Praha 1972) 68. (Prior of the Benedictine monastery in Prague in Břevnov to F. L. Věk). Alois Jirásek (1851–1930) was a Czech playwright and writer, the author of nationalistically oriented historical prose. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alois\\_Jir%C3%A1sek](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alois_Jir%C3%A1sek) (consulted online on 3 August 2020).

on religious life and the confiscation of all order property.<sup>2</sup> Action K was accompanied by Action VK – clearance of the cloisters. Movable property (collections of museum and gallery character, teaching collections, cabinets of curiosities, libraries and interior equipment of monastic buildings) was classified into several categories (according to type and according to artistic-historical or utility value) and assigned (first by handing over reversals to administration/use, later by donation contracts into property holdings)<sup>3</sup> to various state entities (museums, galleries and other memory institutions, or offices of various levels). Action K was governed and conducted by the State Authority for Ecclesiastical Affairs (in Czech: Státní úřad pro věci církevní, official acronym SÚC),<sup>4</sup> Action VK according to the guidelines and under the supervision of its Cultural Commission.<sup>5</sup> A special, separate category of removed furnishings was comprised of the cloister libraries.

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<sup>2</sup> Vojtěch VLČEK, *Perzekuce mužských řádů a kongregací komunistickým režimem 1948–1964* [Persecution of the Male Orders and Congregations by the Communist Regime, 1948–1964] (Ostrava 2003). Most of the real estate was expropriated for church entities even before Action K as part of several phases of land reforms. (The first land reform pursuant to Act no. 215/1919 Coll., revision of the first land reform based on Act no. 142/1947 Coll. and the so-called new land reform, Act no. 46/1948 Coll.)

<sup>3</sup> The Religious Matrix (Fund) became the administrator of the essential property of the abolished monasteries, which from July 1951 operated under a designation taken from the fund originally founded by Joseph II, Náboženská matice. Vladimír KINDL, *Náboženská matice – zrušení, likvidace, zánik?* (Subjektivní právněhistorický pohled) [The Religious Matrix – Abolition, Liquidation, Closure? (A Subjective Legal-Historical View)]. In Věra Jirásková – Radovan Suchánek (eds.), *Pocta JUDr. Václavu Pavlíčkovi, CSc. k 70. narozeninám* [Tribute to JUDr. Václav Pavlíček, CSc. to His 70th Birthday] (Praha 2004) 152–166.

<sup>4</sup> Established by Act no. 217/1949 Coll. It was a ministry-level office that managed the affairs of all state-sanctioned churches. See Jiří PIŠKULA, *Státní úřad pro věci církevní 1949–1956. Ministerstvo pro kontrolu náboženského života v Československu* [State Authority for Ecclesiastical Affairs 1949–1956. Ministry for the Control of Religious Life in Czechoslovakia]. In: *Církevní dějiny* 4 (2009) 65–73.

<sup>5</sup> It was comprised of experts on the individual categories of the cleared items. It was headed by the art historian, conservationist Zdeněk Wirth (1874–1961);



The Cultural Commission of the SÚC managed the compilation and coordinated the activities of working groups of experts on the individual categories of the removed material –archivists, art historians, historians, and librarians. According to the first ideas about the organisation of the Action VK, all experts should always work together in a given monastery. Several groups were established to visit the individual abolished monasteries and to evaluate and sort their furnishings. They were always composed of a representative of the Ministry of the Interior (for archival material),<sup>6</sup> the National Gallery (for fine art works – statues and paintings), museums (National, Technical, Decorative Arts) for the other collection items, and a representative of the Ministry of Education, Sciences and Arts for libraries. There was a gradual re-evaluation of the organisation of the work. Two working groups were established – the experts from the field of library science formed an independent (second) group and began to work separately from the first group, under which all other types of moveable property fell.<sup>7</sup>

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it was presided over by Zdeněk Fierlinger (1891–1976), who was the head of SÚC [State Authority for Ecclesiastical Affairs] in 1950–1953.

<sup>6</sup> The monastery (abbey) archives were taken to the Benedictine abbey of St. Markéta (Margaret) in Prague at Břevnov. The patrimonial (economic) archives of the cloisters were already acquired within the land reforms (see footnote 2) by the Archive of the Ministry of Agriculture.

<sup>7</sup> The initial (often unrealistic to absurd) ideas of SÚC officials about the possibilities of implementing the Action VK were changed and corrected in practice (also thanks to the comments and efforts of experts). This was reflected in the ongoing amendment and refinement of the relevant directives and guidelines. During the Action VK, political-economic interests clashed with professional aspects. SÚC officials and interested experts had one thing in common – a fatal underestimation of the total number of art-historical objects and books to be removed. For the characteristics and pitfalls of criticism and interpretation of the written sources, see Eva RICHTROVÁ, *Akce VK – vyklizení benediktinského kláštera v Broumově v písemnostech Státního úřadu pro věci církevní a Náboženské matice* [Action VK – Clearance of the Benedictine Monastery in Broumov in the documents of the State Authority for Ecclesiastical Affairs and the Religious Matrix]. In Martin Bakeš – Jitka Císařová – Kristina Uhlíková (eds.), *Osudy konfiskátů. Výzkum provenience a problematika*

The first library science specialists, addressed by the SÚC, included Václav Čejchan (1904–1973; Director of the University Library in Prague), Miloslav Novotný (1894–1966; Director of the Library of the National Museum) and Jaroslav Drtina (1908–1967; Head of the Department of Scientific Libraries of the Ministry of Education, Science, and Arts). The director of the National Library in Prague, Jan Petrmichl (1921–1964), was also approached by its bibliographer and member of the commission for the *Knihopis českých a slovenských tisků* [A Descriptive List of Czech and Slovak Printed Books], František Horák (1911–1983), who found out about the Action of the Removal of the Cloister Libraries from the newspapers and radio, offering his services to the SÚC through Petrmichl. Interest was shown in this offer. Horák was invited to participate in the meetings of the SÚC Cultural Commission, asked by J. Drtina to represent him on the inspection commission during the tour of the cloisters.<sup>8</sup>

The problems accompanying the sorting and collecting of books were similar to the problems accompanying the manipulation of furnishings of an artistic nature. Just as monasteries often did not keep adequate records of the locations and professionally erudite inventories of picture

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*přesunů kulturního majetku v Československu na základě prezidentských dekretů* [The Fate of Confiscates. Research of Provenance and the Problems of Transfers of the Cultural Goods in Czechoslovakia in Accord with Presidential Decrees] (Praha 2020) 173–198.

<sup>8</sup> Archiv Národní knihovny České republiky [Archiv NK ČR], cart. 2, My participation in the Action Liquidation of the Cloisters [orig. Czech: *Moje účast v akci likvidace klášterů*], an unsigned, undated document compiled by F. Horák. From the beginning of the 1950s (from 1949), the University Library and National Library were autonomous components of an umbrella institution, which officially operated under the name National and University Library. See Vlasta FALTYSOVÁ (ed.), *Rukověť tištěných knihovních fondů Národní knihovny České republiky. Od prvotisků do konce 19. století* [Handbook of the Printed Book Fonds of the National Library of the Czech Republic: From Early Printed Books to the End of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century] (Praha 2006) 16. The history of the institution at that time has not been professionally treated in greater detail.

galleries, cabinets of graphics, or collections of coins or historical furniture,<sup>9</sup> the state of the records of library collections did – at various levels. In general, it can be said that library catalogues, if they existed and were found during the Action VK, were mostly incomplete and often did not correspond in terms of locations to the current state of the libraries. In most monasteries, the library collection did not form an individual whole. In addition to the main library halls, and possibly also the depositories, the cloisters had special abbey libraries, novitiate collections, while smaller libraries were private within the cells of the monks. Sometimes the collection could be divided into “living,” i.e. the newest, most often used literature, and “historical” collections, the components of which often were manuscripts with archival, rather than library, content. Of course, experts were aware of the vastness and decoration of the most important historical library halls of the Bohemian, Moravian, and Silesian cloisters, as well as information about their rarest library monuments. However, an exact idea of the number of volumes found in the property of the cloisters, and thus of the complexity and length of the task of removing these libraries from the abolished monasteries, was not the case.

The experts repeatedly dealt with the precision of sorting, redistribution, mode of transport, and schedule of the book collection. The basic rules for the sorting and method of transport was set at the meeting on 25 May 1950. “*Depending on the size and nature of the libraries*”, the experts, who “*will be provided by the university library*” in total number for the entire action of the clearance of the libraries “*perhaps twenty people*”, were to arrive at the cloister two or three days before the planned removal of the library and conduct the sorting of the collection in the

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<sup>9</sup> Eva RICHTROVÁ, Klášterní inventáře v první polovině 20. století na příkladu mužských benediktinských domů v Rajhradě a Broumově [Monastery Inventories in the First Half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century using the Example of the Male Benedictine Houses in Rajhrad and Broumov]. In Jiří Roháček – Lubomír Slavíček (eds.), *Hortus inventariorum. Statě k problematice inventářů pro dějiny umění* [Hortus inventariorum. Articles on the Issue of Inventories for the History of Arts] (Praha 2018) 141–155.

following method and priorities: The highest priority was given to manuscripts, incunabula, post-incunabula, and *Bohemica*, published up to 1880.<sup>10</sup> Within the plan for establishing a Memorial of Czech Culture, the manuscripts and early printed books from all of the cloister libraries<sup>11</sup> were to be taken to the building of the cloister of the Premonstratensians in Prague at Strahov.<sup>12</sup> Others, in order of importance, for sorting in the removed libraries were rare foreign prints, scientific literature, and maps, followed by engravings and art graphics. The last-named group was sheet music. All of the items of these categories “were to be written down” (i.e. in detail according to the individual volumes/titled items). “*The other book material is only to be marked by the number [of volumes].*” Attention was also paid to the technical side of things. “*Books must not be placed on the ground during storage.*” Their transport was to be carried out exclusively by lorries, because “*books will often be very damaged by the railway and transport will become very expensive in this way as well.*” The books were to be transported in crates and, only

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<sup>10</sup> All of the *Bohemica* issued in the 16<sup>th</sup> through 18<sup>th</sup> centuries should be registered in detail, only rare prints from the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>11</sup> Another issue in play was a plan to tie the manuscripts from the Moravian cloisters to the building of the Benedictine cloister in Rajhrad, which did not happen in the end. The building of this monastery was handed over for use (as storage facilities) to the Czechoslovak People’s Army. See Eva RICHTROVÁ, *Die Geschichte des Rajhrader Klosters in der Nachkriegszeit*. In Lucie Heilandová – Richard Mahel – Jindra Pavelková – Eva Richtrová, *Letzte zweihundert Jahre in der Geschichte des Benediktinerklosters in Rajhrad* (Brno 2013) 117–178.

<sup>12</sup> It was to be a cultural centre with a library, archive and exhibition rooms and even with the capacity to house attendees of the trainings of the SÚC. Inter alia, the memorial was to serve to “*capture the evidence of our revival period, in which the revivalist priests played an important role.*” See Archiv NK ČR, cart. 2, Record of the meeting of the commission for the construction of Strahov [orig. Czech: Záznam o poradě komise pro vybudování Strahova], 31 August 1950. The concept of an institution, established under the name Memorial of National Culture (renamed in 1953 as the Memorial of National Literature, under which title it operates to this day) has changed in various ways in the subsequent years for political reasons. The topic has not yet been treated professionally.

in cases where crates could not be provided, could they be transported “in properly wrapped packages.” From the point of view of the structure of the library collection, it was essential to state that “if it is necessary to preserve the libraries as a whole, the packages will be numbered, thus maintaining order.”<sup>13</sup> As for the interior equipment of libraries (furnishings), it was decided that “only artistic shelves will be transported to Prague” – they should also be stored in the complex of the cloister Strahov.<sup>14</sup>

The distribution of competencies within the library system was proposed by František Horák at a meeting of the SÚC on 20 June 1950.<sup>15</sup> In terms of methodology, the collection of cloister libraries continued to be managed by the Prague National and University Library. The removed libraries were to be assigned to the administration of regional study (scientific) libraries after sorting out the most valuable volumes; some of which went to Strahov and some to the National Library.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> An opinion gradually developed on the preservation of the library wholes. From the first proposals, which counted with preservation (see the appeal “*that wholes be preserved if possible*” – Národní archiv [NA], Státní úřad pro věci církevní [SÚC], cart. 5, Securing the collection of books and monuments from cloisters [orig. Czech: Zabezpečení svozu knih a památek z klášterů], 28 July 1950), through the statement of F. Horák himself: “*It would not make sense to maintain 152 monastic libraries of similar or identical content in our lands, if it is possible to use appropriately selected books from their holdings to supplement state and specialised libraries.*” See Archiv NK ČR, cart. 2, F. Horák State Authority for Ecclesiastical Affairs, 26 January 1953.

<sup>14</sup> NA, SÚC, cart. 5, Record of the meeting of the commission of experts [orig. Czech: Zápis z porady komise odborníků], 25 May 1950.

<sup>15</sup> Archiv NK ČR, cart. 2, My participation in the Action Liquidation of the Cloisters, an unsigned, undated document compiled by F. Horák.

<sup>16</sup> In practice, this meant dissolving the collections of monastic libraries in the collections of state study libraries. Library wholes were not preserved, books conceived as duplicates were discarded. In the language of the sources were “*common books*”, of which 90% were estimated to be “*outdated theological literature*,” books “*with a low content value, rather of historical significance.*” See Archiv NK ČR, cart. 2, Proposal for ensuring the ecclesiastical monuments [orig. Czech: Návrh na zabezpečení církevních památek], 9 May 1950. Václav Nuska, Otázky likvidace rezervních fondů a duplikátů u starých tisků [Questions of the Liquidation of the Reserve Collections and Duplicates with Early

However, the division of selected parts of the library collections of the abolished cloister libraries, between state libraries of various levels, was even more detailed. Appropriate fiction was to be sent to the so-called centralising monasteries for the “cultural use” of the interned monks.<sup>17</sup> Books with a content focus on church politics, ecclesiastical life, church history, and ecclesiastical law, were intended for the study library of the SÚC.<sup>18</sup> The books that were not selected for inclusion, in any of the mentioned types of libraries, could be assigned to municipal libraries (local public)<sup>19</sup> and/or museum libraries.<sup>20</sup> The schedule for the trans-

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Printed Books]. In: Strahovská knihovna 1 (1966) 187–197. Exceptions were possibly thanks to the enlightenment of specific librarians. See Jindra PAVELKOVÁ, Vladislav Dokoupil. Zpracování moravských klášterních knihoven. Katalog k výstavě z cyklu Moravské zemské knihovny Oči Brna [The Treatment of Moravian Monastic Libraries: A Catalogue for the Exhibition from the Cycle of the Moravian Regional Library Eyes of Brno] (Brno 2018) 35–36.

<sup>17</sup> The monks from all the closed monasteries were illegally interned in centralisation monasteries immediately after Action K. They were assigned to various jobs in the buildings of the monastery and in its vicinity. Pressure was put on them to resign from the order and be included in civilian life, and an effort was made to re-educate them politically. The leadership of the orders and the “most reactionary” monks were concentrated in the internment monastery Želiv. See VLČEK, Perzekuce (see footnote 2) 82–102.

<sup>18</sup> Established for the education of employees of the authorities, and thus their better equipment for combating the “internal enemy” in the field of church issues.

<sup>19</sup> On the changes in the system of libraries and their names in 1949/1950, see Jaromír KUBÍČEK, Dějiny veřejných lidových knihoven v českých zemích [History of the Public People’s Libraries in the Czech Lands] (Brno 2019) 214–215.

<sup>20</sup> Depositories should be set up at regional study libraries for books that have not been included in the holdings of any of the listed libraries (“*and which destroying would be a cultural pity*”). Given the absolute lack of suitable depository space for the already existing state library collections, it was definitely a remarkable plan that these depositories were to be established at the Regional National Committees (KNV) even where there was no regional study library. See Archiv NK ČR, cart. 2, Proposal for ensuring ecclesiastical monuments, 9 May 1950; NA, SÚC, cart. 5, Securing the collection of books and monuments from monasteries, 28 July 1950. In the end, some monastic buildings were also used

port of the books from the cloisters, the start of which was set for 1 June 1950, was to be compiled according to the urgency of the assignment of their buildings to new users.<sup>21</sup> The removal was to take place under the supervision of the regional ecclesiastic secretary, and the protocols on the handover of the books were to be made in six copies.<sup>22</sup>

A smaller group consisted of cloister libraries, of which it was decided that they were to remain in their original places – regardless of further planned use of the building. Contrary to the first plans to preserve only three and five libraries,<sup>23</sup> in the end, the group of these libraries was fundamentally expanded. These libraries were left in situ, based on the decision of the Cultural Commission of the SÚC, from 19 September 1950; In

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to store “surplus” books (Franciscan friaries in Uherské Hradiště, Kadaň, and the cloister of the Redemptorists in Obořiště). However, Kadaň and Obořiště were rather transshipment points, where books and other furnishings from other monasteries eventually travelled to the Strahov complex. Regarding the furnishings of the Broumov monastery, see RICHTROVÁ, Akce VK (see footnote 7) 192 (Note 89). On the book materials in general, see esp. Archiv NK ČR, cart. 2, Report on the collection of monastic libraries as of 19 February 1951 [orig. Czech: Zpráva o svozu klášterních knihoven ke dni 19. února 1951].

<sup>21</sup> The government deployment commission decided on the allocation of monastic buildings. The deadline for the removal of books was to be agreed between the SÚC and the new transferee of the building. Archiv NK ČR, cart. 2, Proposal for implementing the transport of books and cultural monuments from the cloisters [orig. Czech: Návrh na provedení převozu knih a kulturních památek z klášterů], 26 May 1950; NA, SÚC, cart. 5, Securing the collection of books and monuments from monasteries, 28 July 1950.

<sup>22</sup> For the KNV, for the ecclesiastical secretary, for the new transferee of the books, two for the IIIrd (economic) Department of the SÚC and one for Religious Matrix (Fund).

<sup>23</sup> At first it was only to be the monasteries Teplá, Rajhrad and Strahov. See NA, SÚC, cart. 5, Proposal for the measures to assure the cultural monuments of the cloisters [orig. Czech: Návrh na opatření k zajištění kulturních památek klášterů], undated concept with manuscript notes and supplements. An intermediate step was the plan to preserve the three libraries together with the libraries of the Osek and Nová Říše monasteries. See Archiv NK ČR, cart. 2, Proposal for ensuring ecclesiastical monuments, 9 May 1950.



Prague Strahov, the cloister of the Augustinians in Prague III, the Franciscans in Prague II, the Dominicans and Knights of the Cross in Prague I, the Benedictines at Břevnov;<sup>24</sup> in Bohemia: the libraries of the Premonstratensian cloisters of Nová Říše, Osek and Teplá, further Vyšší Brod (Cistercians), Cheb (Franciscans), Pilsen (Franciscans), Lnáře (Augustinians Hermits);<sup>25</sup> in Moravia: the libraries of the Augustinians in Staré Brno, the Minorites and Capuchins in Brno, the Benedictines in Rajhrad and the Dominicans in Olomouc were to remain preserved in situ as wholes.<sup>26</sup> Besides the libraries listed in the decision from 19 September 1950, the historical library hall of the Benedictine abbey of St Wenceslas in Broumov remained unremoved.<sup>27</sup> The care of the preserved Prague libraries was taken over by the National Library. Outside of Prague they

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<sup>24</sup> The already closed library of the Knights of Malta in Prague III was to be “restored” and handed over to the administration of the Náprstek Museum for its valuable fund of “foreign” literature. Contrary to the above list, at the request of Minister Plojhar, a library (about 30,000 volumes) was left at the former Jesuit monastery in Ječná Street in Prague II, which was converted into an accommodation facility of the Czech Catholic Charity, the so-called Priestly House “for the use of the clergy, accommodated in the building.” See NA, SÚC, cart. 5, Report on the collection of monastic libraries and archives in Bohemia and Moravia [orig. Czech: Zpráva o svozu klášterních knihoven a archivů v Čechách a na Moravě], 31 March 1952.

<sup>25</sup> In the end, this library was removed “under the pressure of the new transferee” (a women’s prison was established in the building). See NA, SÚC, cart. 5, Report on the collection of monastic libraries and archives in Bohemia and Moravia, 31 March 1952.

<sup>26</sup> The library of the Dominicans was removed “for security reasons”. See NA, SÚC, cart. 5, Report on the collection of monastic libraries and archives in Bohemia and Moravia, 31 March 1952.

<sup>27</sup> A specific decision regarding the library of the Broumov monastery has not yet been found in the source material. F. Horák stated without further specification that the decision to leave it in situ was “subsequently”. See NA, SÚC, cart. 5, Report on the collection of monastic libraries and archives in Bohemia and Moravia, 31 March 1952, p. 2. The protocol on the handover of the library to the administration of the State Study Library of Zdeněk Nejedlý in Hradec Králové (about 16,000 volumes of books, historical shelves, a globe and other small furnishings) is dated 7 May 1952. The takeover consisted of handing

were entrusted to the care of the relevant university, or state study libraries, under the supreme oversight of the NL.<sup>28</sup> From the property point of view (security, technical care), these libraries were guaranteed by the new transferees/users of the cloister buildings.<sup>29</sup>

The retention of selected libraries in their original places was justified by general statements. These were the “*most significant and most famous*” libraries, “*culturally and historically valuable monuments*,” which “*comprise a rare artistic whole of a value of millions*.”<sup>30</sup> More detailed argumentation, e.g. library science surveys, monument documentation, was not found in the source material.<sup>31</sup> An exception is the case of the library of the Cistercian monastery in Vyšší Brod. At the meeting of the Cultural Commission of the SÚC, the second deputy minister (chairman) of the SÚC, Josef Plíhal, presented this justification – based on which the

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over the keys (from the entrances to the ground floor of the library hall and to the gallery). See Archiv NK ČR, cart. 2.

<sup>28</sup> An exception from the Prague libraries was Strahov under the direct administration of the SÚC (under the professional supervision of F. Horák) and two other libraries mentioned in footnote 24. Among the non-Prague libraries, the Osek monastery library was an exception, entrusted to the administration of the Municipal Museum in Lázně Teplice (because it was not in reach of any of the regional libraries). See Archiv NK ČR, cart. 2, Report of the National Library for the Ministry of Education, Sciences and Arts, 3 October 1950.

<sup>29</sup> Archiv NK ČR, cart. 2, SÚC to the Ministry of National Security, notice from 19 September 1950, copy; NA, SÚC, cart. 5, Minutes from the 2nd meeting of the Cultural Commission of the SÚC [orig. Czech: Zázpis ze 2. zasedání kulturní komise SÚC], 31 August 1950.

<sup>30</sup> NA, SÚC, cart. 5, Record on the collection of valuables for the report to the prime minister [orig. Czech: Záznam o svozu cenností pro zprávu předsedovi vlády], undated; Archiv NK ČR, cart. 2, Proposal for ensuring ecclesiastical monuments, 9 May 1950. According to librarians' estimates, these holdings numbered a total of about 524,000 book volumes (see further footnote 41).

<sup>31</sup> On the practical level, the decision (and significant expansion of the group of libraries left in situ) could also have been helped by the realisation that if all libraries were to be removed, the books (and historically valuable shelves) would not be easy to store (which is after all what the librarians and SÚC officials soon convinced themselves of thanks to the libraries removed).

proposal to preserve the Vyšší Brod library was unanimously approved:  
The library

“bears the seal of the period of its creation [...], is housed in valuable stylistic Baroque furniture [...], has value as a whole, as a museal object.” The material found in it “for the most part today has no scientific value, but a museal value, as evidence of the book culture of a certain period and a certain territorial unit. [...] It emerged, albeit indirectly, from the work of the South Bohemian people, and it would be unfair to this people to take it away from them today.”<sup>32</sup>

The position repeatedly declared in the practice of the Action VK does not correlate too well with the political logic contained in the last sentence of this justification. For instance, the representative of the Czechoslovak Journalism Institute, editor Josef Dvořák, came into a dispute at the Rajhrad cloister with the employees of the Land and University Library in Brno concerning the right of priority selection of the magazines from the collections of the Rajhrad library.<sup>33</sup> In his written report on the trip, Dvořák did not fail to inform that one of the representatives of the Brno library demonstrated in the meeting a reprehensible “*non-partisan and not only bourgeoisie nationalistic but even local-patriotic*” standpoint, “*which he should get rid of as a member of the party.*”<sup>34</sup> František Horák also drew attention to the same negative aspects in his

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<sup>32</sup> NA, SÚC, cart. 5, Minutes from the 2nd meeting of the Cultural Commission of the SÚC, 31 August 1950.

<sup>33</sup> Even the libraries left in situ did not remain intact as wholes. Material was also selected even from them for the “needs” of various institutions. The Czechoslovak Journalism Institute selected and removed 1,204 volumes of magazines and related literature from the library of the Rajhrad monastery (the list numbered 295 items). See NA, SÚC, cart. 5, The Czechoslovak Journalism Institute, Report on the takeover of magazines and books from the cloister libraries, Appendix Rajhrad [orig. Czech: Zpráva o převzetí časopisů a knih z klášterních knihoven, příloha Rajhrad], 19 October 1950.

<sup>34</sup> NA, SÚC, cart. 5, Josef Dvořák, Trip to Rajhrad, Velehrad, Uh. Hradiště and Olomouc [orig. Czech: Zájezd do Rajhradu, Velehradu, Uh. Hradiště a Olomouce], report, 24 September 1950.

summary reports on removal of the libraries. In the evaluation of the action, he stated that its shortcomings fall inter alia on the ecclesiastical secretaries “*were sometimes more local patriots than was beneficial for the liquidation of the libraries*”<sup>35</sup> and accommodated the efforts “*of local cultural employees to acquire and hide items which belonged to nationwide institutions for local institutes.*”<sup>36</sup>

A statistical and chronological synopsis of the course of the Action of Clearance of Cloister Libraries is provided by Horák’s reports from 1950–1952, preserved in the Archive of the National Library of the CR and in the materials of the SÚC. Only the basic general facts will be presented.<sup>37</sup> During Action K, 140 libraries of the abolished cloisters were affected in Bohemia and Moravia. The most in the Brno region (18), Prague region (17), in Prague (16), and Ústí region (16). At the opposite end, there were the Pardubice region (two cloister libraries) and Hradec Králové and Jihlava regions (six libraries each). Professional commissions conducted a preliminary survey of the cloister libraries

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<sup>35</sup> Archiv NK ČR, cart. 2, František Horák to the State Authority for Ecclesiastical Affairs, report dated 26 January 1953.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., The main shortcomings of the liquidation of the cloister libraries [orig. Czech: Hlavní nedostatky likvidace klášterních knihoven], undated, unsigned document compiled by F. Horák. “*Some regional, district or local bodies allowed local interested parties to select literature with preference [...] without the awareness and consent [...] of the Prague officials.*” – NA, SÚC, cart. 5, Report on the collection of monastic libraries and archives in Bohemia and Moravia, 31 March 1952. Rivalry between the central (esp. Prague) and local collection institutions clearly marked the entire Action VK. See RICHTROVÁ, Akce VK (see footnote 7).

<sup>37</sup> Drawn from the documents: NA, SÚC, cart. 5, Report on the state of the cloister libraries in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia as of 15 October 1950 [orig. Czech: Zpráva o stavu klášterních knihoven v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku ke dni 15. října 1950], Ibid., Report on the collection of monastic libraries and archives in Bohemia and Moravia, 31 March 1952; Archiv NK ČR, cart. 2, Report on the collection of cloister libraries as of 19 February 1951, Ibid., Report on the collection of cloister libraries in Bohemia and Moravia [orig. Czech: Zpráva o svozu klášterních knihoven v Čechách a na Moravě], 30 June 1952.

(“if they were accessible to them”) in the period from April to June 1950. As of 15 October 1950, the libraries had been removed from fifty-two cloisters and sixty-seven were left to be removed.<sup>38</sup> The collection of cloister libraries, under the guidance of the National and University Library, was “essentially completed” in the period from 1 December 1950 to 19 February 1951. “Perhaps 700,000 volumes” had been moved. It was “at least 600 tonnes of books.” The number of relocated volumes was given by Horák as follows: The National and University Library transferred 90,000 volumes from the Prague cloisters, 23,602 volumes from the Prague region, and 55,200 volumes from the Ústí region. The Land and University Library in Brno transferred 77,578 volumes from Brno itself, 25,075 volumes from the Brno region, and 5,620 volumes from the Jihlava region. The University Library in Olomouc transferred books from the Olomouc region, a total of 175,826 volumes – including Olomouc.<sup>39</sup> The State Study Library of Zdeněk Nejedlý in České Budějovice transferred 87,250 volumes from the České Budějovice region. The State Study Library in Pilsen conducted a collection of the libraries from the Pilsen region (53,510 volumes) and Karlovy Vary region (82,170 volumes).<sup>40</sup> The State Study Library in Liberec sorted

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<sup>38</sup> Provisional book depositories were established in the three monasteries (see footnote 20) and 19 libraries remained in situ based on the decision of the Cultural Commission of the SÚC (for clarification, see footnotes 24–27). In fact, however, more of them remained in monastic buildings in their original places, where there were museums or archives. See e.g. footnote 39.

<sup>39</sup> It was precisely this library that due to the lack of its own space stored another 60,000 volumes from the Gottwald (today's Zlín) region in the summer refectory of the Franciscan friary in Uherské Hradiště. This friary's own library also remained in the building (about 6,000 volumes), which was handed over to the administration of the regional archive, which was headquartered in the building. See NA, SÚC, cart. 5, Report on the state of cloister libraries and depositories in the Brno, Gottwaldov and Jihlava regions as of 26–28 April 1951 [orig. Czech: Zpráva o stavu klášterních knihoven a depozitářů v kraji brněnském, gottwaldovském a jihlavském ke dni 26.–28. dubna 1951].

<sup>40</sup> Most of the books from the Karlovy Vary region were stored in the Teplá monastery, where the original (monasterial) library also remained. See Archiv

and transferred books from the Liberec region, a number of 12,000 volumes. According to Horák's data, the State Study Library of Zdeněk Nejedlý in Hradec Králové took over 22,900 volumes from the Hradec Králové and Pardubice regions. In the Ostrava region, 63,260 volumes were taken to the Silesian Study Library in Opava.<sup>41</sup>

It is clear from Horák's reports that many books, estimated at 260,000 or 280,000 volumes,<sup>42</sup> were taken, apart from the libraries, also by other institutions. Other than the actual SÚC,<sup>43</sup> it was especially local museums, but also branches of the archives, or, for instance, the already mentioned Czechoslovak Journalism Institute.<sup>44</sup> However, in the prac-

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NK ČR, cart. 2, Report on the collection of monastic libraries and archives in Bohemia and Moravia, 30 June 1952, p. 17.

<sup>41</sup> The total number presented by Horák: In Bohemia and Moravia (including Silesia), about 1,820,000 volumes of books were "found" in cloisters. The state study libraries (including the National Library) "took over as a collection" about 1,000,000 volumes. Approximately 540,000 volumes remained in situ. About 260,000 volumes were taken over by other institutions (archives, museums, and public libraries). Data according to the NA, SÚC, cart. 5, Report on the collection of monastic libraries and archives in Bohemia and Moravia, 31 March 1952. According to the Archiv NK ČR, cart. 2, Report on the collection of cloister libraries in Bohemia and Moravia, 30 June 1952, the summary data were as follows: There were a total of about 1,800,000 volumes in the monastic libraries, the collection to state study libraries amounted to 1,000,000 volumes, about 520,000 volumes remained in situ and other institutions took over about 280,000 volumes.

<sup>42</sup> See previous footnote.

<sup>43</sup> In the end, the SÚC reference study library numbered approximately 3,000 volumes of scientific dictionaries, lexicons, theological compendia and other literature necessary "for ordinary church political work." See NA, SÚC, cart. 5, Report on the collection of monastic libraries and archives in Bohemia and Moravia, 31 March 1952, p. 21.

<sup>44</sup> In all regions (only the Karlovy Vary region cannot be commented on based on Horák's reports, information about it is only fragmentary due to organisational shortcomings on the part of the State Study Library in Pilsen), at least one (usually whole or mostly) monastery library was handed over to the administration of a museum, archives or other local cultural institution or for use by units of the diocesan parish administration. The list of new transferees can be supplemented by the State Monument Administration – the library

tice of the removal of the cloister libraries, there were more significant deviations from the general guidelines of the SÚC – in the sources they are euphemistically called “*defects in the implementation of Action VK*.”<sup>45</sup> They can be summarised briefly in several common denominators: Sudden evacuation of the cloister buildings due to pressure from the new transferees for the expeditious handover of buildings for use, non-compliance with SÚC directives, lack of a conception, incompetence, jurisdictional disputes, and property crime.<sup>46</sup>

The weaknesses in planning, coordination of implementation, and checking in the realisation of the Action VK did not only concern the

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of the Kroměříž Franciscans was incorporated into the archiepiscopal library, which remained deposited in the local chateau.

<sup>45</sup> The “defects” occurred with the dispositions of all the monastery furnishings. A considerable amount of archival material on the topic has been preserved, which has not yet received comprehensive processing. For a partial evaluation (for the Benedictine monastery Broumov): RICHTROVÁ, Akce VK (see footnote 7), generally: Petra GABRIELOVÁ, Vyšetřování zaměstnanců Státního úřadu pro věci církevní v souvislosti s akcí VK – vyklízení klášterů [Examination of the Employees of the State Authority for Ecclesiastical Affairs in Connection with Action VK – Clearance of the Cloisters]. In Petr Kubín (ed.), *Brány pekelné ji nepřemohou. Kapitoly z pronásledování církvi v Československu kolem roku 1950* [The Gates of Hell will not overcome Her. Chapters from the Persecution of Churches in Czechoslovakia around 1950] (Praha 2013) 83–93; Eva RICHTROVÁ, Organisation of the Catholic Charita. The Manufacturing and Sales of Devotional and Service Objects. In *An vědy a umění miloval... Milovníci a mecenáši věd a umění v řeholním rouše* [And He Loves Arts and Sciences. Lovers and Benefactors of the Arts and Sciences in Vestments]. Catalogue for the exhibition (Brno 2014) 193–196 (The VK Operation in Charita).

<sup>46</sup> See list of inscriptions of the National and University Library regarding various defects and shortcomings – Archiv NK ČR, cart. 2 (a total of 16 documents in the period from 3 May 1950 to 30 November 1950). Ibid., National Library to the Ministry of Education, Sciences and Arts in the affair Shortcoming in the takeover of cloister libraries [orig. Czech: Závady při přejímání klášterních knihoven], 7 October 1950 (response to the circular of the ministry from 26 September 1950). Ibid., The main shortcomings of the liquidation of the cloister libraries, undated, unsigned document compiled by F. Horák.



books; the same transgressions with the same negative effects continued during the removal of the artistic-historical furnishings.<sup>47</sup> However, it was precisely the careless, reckless, or even liquidating, treatment of books, which in the general consciousness (contemporaries of the Action VK and recent interested parties in the issue) became a synonym for the sloppiness and cultural barbarism of the Action (V)K.<sup>48</sup> A narrative that develops vivid images of throwing books through library windows, or throwing them with pitchforks, onto lorry trailers, preferably in heavy, persistent rain, and hauling hundreds-to-thousands of books into collection points for raw materials, can be detected with little effort in remembrance stereotypes – practically related to every cleared monastery. There is no need to question that excesses of this kind continued; they are also documented in the sources.<sup>49</sup> However, in the context of the critique of the source material, it should be emphasised in general that such management of property was not approved by the responsible officials; in specific cases they drew attention to them and demanded redress.<sup>50</sup> The most valuable books, i.e. manuscripts, incunabula, post-incunabula, *Bohemica*, were gathered with priority and professionally registered. Considering the number of books actually moved to the depositories of state libraries and other institutions, the losses in the thousands of items within the individual monastic collections must be

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<sup>47</sup> The losses and damages to items, the disintegration of collection wholes, the loss of information relevant for artistic collecting, or the collection-creation activity of the transferee institutions (attribution, provenience etc.).

<sup>48</sup> We will leave aside the question of the moral perspective of the application of state power-political arbitrariness against religious orders, which would deserve a separate discussion beyond the scope of this text.

<sup>49</sup> See footnotes 45 and 46.

<sup>50</sup> Leaving aside professional positions, it is necessary to realise that even from a political point of view (possible public outrage) the destruction (and not at all the theft) of confiscated ecclesiastical, now socialist property was not in the state interest.

considered rather exceptional.<sup>51</sup> The real losses on the number of books cannot be reliably quantified on the basis of the preserved sources. The narrative mentioned, popularly referenced in recent popularisation works on Action K,<sup>52</sup> paradoxically correlate with the propagandistic understanding of the act of the clearance of the libraries as it was presented, by the librarians themselves in the 1950s – because its roots reach back to the period of Josephinism.<sup>53</sup> The Josephine abolition of the cloisters in the 1780s, which had far-reaching consequences both in the areas of church administration and pastoral care, as well as property, meant the closure of a number of cloister libraries. A great number of books from these libraries, and other items, were subsequently sold in public auctions.<sup>54</sup> And it is here that the motif of the Jews and shopkeepers, who bought up these books in large quantities as utility paper (waste paper) for the production of cones for goods originates – a motif

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<sup>51</sup> An example is the collection of the library of the Znojmo Dominicans with an estimated loss of 3,000 volumes – Thanks to Jindra Pavelková [email communication, 4 August 2020].

<sup>52</sup> Most recently, for instance, the virtual exhibition of the Moravian Library in Brno *Akce K*: <https://akcek.knihovny.cz/> (consulted online on 3 August 2020), accompanied in the interior of the library by an “instructional installation” of a pile of books thrown on the floor before entering the loan section with the caption “*Historical manuscripts and early printed books from the cloister libraries were handled in exactly this way in 1950.*”

<sup>53</sup> I leave aside the motive for the ostentatious, public destruction (burning) of the books of Koniáš or the Nazis in 1933, connected with the Counter-Reformation, or with an open demonstration of the victory of the new ideology, because they differ precisely in the nature of the staged public spectacle from the described events of the 1950s.

<sup>54</sup> Karel BERÁNEK – Věra BERÁNKOVÁ, Rušení klášterů v Čechách za Josefa II. [The Closure of Monasteries in Bohemia under Josef II]. In Zdeňka Hledíková – Jaroslav V. Polc (eds.), *Pražské arcibiskupství 1344–1994. Sborník statí o jeho působení a významu v české zemi* [Archbishopric of Prague 1344–1994. Collection of Works of its Activity and Importance in the Czech Land] (Praha 1994) 209–224. Ondřej BASTL, Rušení klášterů v Čechách a na Moravě za Josefa II. [The Closure of Monasteries in Bohemia and Moravia under Josef II]. In: *Historická geografie* 28 (1995) 155–177.

that repeated in the work of Alois Jirásek, quoted at the beginning of this study.<sup>55</sup> The politically correct interpretation of the works of Alois Jirásek, initiated by President Klement Gottwald himself, and perfectly implemented by the Minister of Education, Sciences and Arts, Zdeněk Nejedlý (1878–1962), in collaboration with the Minister of Information and Edification, Václav Kopecký (1897–1961), resulted in a consistent ideologization of the interpretation of Jirásek's historical novels that have become the interpretive matrix of our national history.<sup>56</sup> The politically constructed and propagandistically spread thought-stereotypes were successfully anchored in the subconscious of several generations of the population of the totalitarian state.<sup>57</sup>

The statement of František Horák, the librarian and specialist employee at the National and University Library in Prague, entrusted with supervising the Action of the Clearance of the Cloister Libraries, in his Report on the collection of cloister libraries written on 19 February 1951 – with satisfaction over a job well-done, fits well into this context. It said:

“An important cultural task has been fulfilled, to dispose of surplus cloister libraries without defects and in a manner appropriate to the cultural state. If it succeeded, the old sins of cultural vandalism, which were blamed on the responsible officials for the abolition

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<sup>55</sup> See the introductory citation and footnote 1.

<sup>56</sup> Zdeněk NEJEDLÝ, *Komunisté dědici velkých tradic českého národa* [Communists Heirs to the Great Traditions of the Czech Nation] (Praha 1951). IDEM, *Doslovy k souboru spisů Aloise Jiráska „Odkaz národu“* [Afterwords on the Collection of the Treatises of Alois Jirásek “Legacy for the Nation”] (Praha 1960).

<sup>57</sup> The ideological campaign, the so-called Jirásek Action, was announced by K. Gottwald in November 1948. Its goal was the mass distribution of A. Jirásek's work through extensive publishing activities, accompanied by educational lectures, the establishment of museum exhibitions, the presentation of Jirásek's plays and other propaganda cultural activities led by the Communist state power. See Michal BAUER, *Ideologie a paměť. Literatura a instituce na přelomu 40. a 50. let 20. století* [Ideology and Memory: Literature and Institutions at the Turn of the 1940s and 1950s] (Jinočany 2003) 153–185.

of monasteries in the Josephine period and which Alois Jirásek described to us as a warning exclamation mark in the 1st volume of his immortal *F. L. Věk*, were at least partially atoned for.”<sup>58</sup>

In yet another aspect, however, unfortunately, today’s way of looking at cloister libraries – their state and fates – intersects with the view and approach of the 1950s. Undoubtedly, everyone who is more or less well-acquainted with the issue, knows how fatally wrong František Horák was, when he idealistically proclaimed, at the very beginning of the communist dictatorship:

“In recent years, some cloister libraries have been mere repositories of books, for which the location was not suitable enough and which were not properly processed. Our state is now undertaking to put these memorial witnesses to our cultural past in order in the coming years in terms of the construction and interior design, in order to provide them with the most necessary lighting and heating, and in the future for our experts to process them for the benefit of our knowledge. [...] Now all these libraries will be put in order and their professional processing will certainly enrich not only our old literature but also the development of other scientific disciplines.”<sup>59</sup>

The fact that such interest and care for the library holdings of the abolished monasteries was by no means desirable in socialist society, was made very clear by the Ministry of Education, Sciences and Arts as early as 1951:

“The priority task of every study library is to quickly process and lend the additions of new and such literature that is important for building socialism and educating the new person. Only after fulfilling this fundamental task can we consider the processing of old

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<sup>58</sup> Archiv NK ČR, cart. 2.

<sup>59</sup> Archiv NK ČR, cart. 2, Memorable cloister libraries [orig. Czech: Památné klášterní knihovny], undated document by F. Horák from the first half of the 1950s.

collections, especially *Bohemica*, which the library does not have. The systematic processing of the collections of the cloister libraries, their revision and, in the case of copying of catalogues, cannot be a reason to increase the workforce plan.”<sup>60</sup>

After 1989, there was a restitution of the cloister libraries. Some religious orders entrust their administration as well as collections as deposited items, to museums or to libraries (the successors of the former state university and regional study libraries) in the face of their economic problems related to the forty years of communist dictatorship and another thirty years, after which the inability of our state to settle property wrongs committed against religious orders and congregations continues. However, everyone who is more or less acquainted with the issue, undoubtedly knows very well that the last quotation has still not lost its objective relevance.

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### **The Libraries of Abolished Cloisters in the Context of the Action of Clearing Cloisters in the 1950s: Ideology, Practice, and Consequences**

**Eva Richtrová**

In the spring of 1950, so-called Action K took place in Czechoslovakia. All men's religious houses were abolished, their property was confiscated, and religious life was banned. Action K was accompanied by Action

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<sup>60</sup> Archiv NK ČR, cart. 2, reaction of the Ministry of Education, Sciences and Arts (from 13 March 1951) to the document submitted by the Land and University Library in Brno entitled Plan for the processing of cloister libraries [orig. Czech: Plán na zpracování klášterních knihoven] dated 30 January 1951. A large number of exemplary examples of the impact of this opinion on the practice of “care” for the cloister libraries over the next 40 years could be given; the Broumov library is one of them. After all, K. Bursa, an employee of the Regional Museum in Teplice, estimated the duration of the cataloguing of the Osek monastery library at the same time – the only employee of the administering institution who devoted himself to this work (mostly in his free time, unpaid overtime and instead of holidays). See Archiv NK ČR, cart. 1, K. Bursa to the clerk of the National Library Dr. K. Mikula, 8 June 1955.

VK – the clearance of movable property from monasteries. All interior equipment was sorted and assigned to state institutions. Beside art collections (taken to galleries and museums), the monastery libraries were the most valuable items. Actions K and VK were managed by the State Authority for Ecclesiastical Affairs. The professional supervision over Action VK for the libraries was entrusted to František Horák, bibliographer of the National and University Library in Prague.

Action VK affected 140 libraries. Most of the items were taken to the depositories of regional study (scientific) libraries. Seventeen libraries with valuable historical halls and furniture remained in situ. Some smaller libraries also remained in place and were mostly assigned to the administration of archives and regional museums. The most valuable volumes (manuscripts, incunabula, post-incunabula, *Bohemica*) were sorted out and stored in the National Library and in the newly established Memorial of National Culture in the abolished cloister in Strahov.

Communist propaganda called the Action of Clearance of Cloister Libraries a “salvage of the libraries” and worked with literary images from the National Revival, which referred to cultural barbarism when treating books during the Josephine abolition of the cloisters. Paradoxically, the same narrative is used by recent popularization works about the Action VK from 1950. The losses, damage and disorder during the removal in the 1950s equally affected all the movable property of the monasteries. The real total losses on the number of books cannot be reliably quantified on the basis of the preserved historical sources.

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**Die Bibliotheken der aufgehobenen Klöster im Kontext der  
Aktion zur Ausräumung der Klöster in den Fünfzigerjahren  
des 20. Jahrhunderts: Ideologie, Praxis, Folgen**  
Eva Richtrová

Im Frühling des Jahres 1950 erfolgte in der Tschechoslowakei die Akce K (Aktion K). Es wurden alle Männerklöster aufgehoben, ihr Eigentum und Vermögen beschlagnahmt und das Ordensleben untersagt.

Die Aktion K wurde von der Aktion VK begleitet – der Ausräumung des beweglichen Eigentums aus den Klöstern. Die gesamte Ausstattung der Innenräume wurde sortiert und staatlichen Institutionen übergeben. Außer den Kunstsammlungen (diese wurden in die Galerien und Museen überführt) zählten die Klosterbibliotheken zum wertvollsten Inventar. Die Aktionen K und VK leitete das Staatsamt für kirchliche Angelegenheiten (Státní úřad pro věci církevní). Mit der Fachaufsicht über die Aktion VK bei den Bibliotheken wurde der Bibliothekar der National- und Universitätsbibliothek in Prag, František Horák, beauftragt.

Die Aktion VK betraf 140 Bibliotheken. Der Hauptteil wurde in die Depositorien der Regionalbibliotheken (wissenschaftliche Bibliotheken) überführt. Siebzehn Bibliotheken mit wertvollen historischen Sälen und Mobiliar blieben in situ. Vor Ort blieben auch einige kleinere Bibliotheken, meistens fielen sie dann in die Verwaltung der Archive und der Regionalmuseen. Die wertvollsten Bände (Handschriften, Inkunabeln, Postinkunabeln, Bohemika) wurden aus den Beständen entfernt und in der Nationalbibliothek und in der neu errichteten Památník národní kultury (Gedenkstätte der Nationalkultur) in dem aufgehobenen Kloster in Strahov aufbewahrt.

Die kommunistische Propaganda bezeichnete die Aktion zur Ausräumung der Bibliotheken als ihre Rettung und arbeitete mit literarischen Bildern aus der Zeit der Nationalen Wiedergeburt, die auf den kulturellen Vandalismus im Umgang mit Büchern in der Zeit der josephinischen Klosteraufhebung hinwiesen. Paradoxerweise dasselbe Narrativ verwenden die aktuellen popularisierenden Unternehmungen zur VK-Aktion aus dem Jahr 1950. Die Verluste, Schäden und Verwirrungen bei dem Transport betrafen in den Fünfzigerjahren des 20. Jahrhunderts den gesamten Klosterbestand. Die tatsächlichen Gesamtverluste bezüglich der Bücherzahlen lassen sich anhand der überlieferten Quellen in Zahlen nicht zuverlässig ausdrücken.



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**Knihovny zrušených klášterů v kontextu Akce vyklizení klášterů v 50. letech 20. století: Ideologie, praxe, důsledky**  
Eva Richtrová

Na jaře roku 1950 proběhla v Československu tzv. Akce K. Byly zrušeny všechny mužské kláštery, jejich majetky zkonfiskovány a řeholní život zakázán. Akce K byla provázena Akcí VK – vyklizením movitého majetku z klášterů. Veškeré zařízení interiérů bylo roztrženo a přiděleno státním institucím. Kromě sbírek uměleckých (odvezených do galerií a muzeí) byly nejcennějším mobiliářem klášterní knihovny. Akci K a VK řídil Státní úřad pro věci církevní. Vrchním odborným dozorem nad Akcí VK knihoven byl pověřen bibliograf Národní a univerzitní knihovny v Praze František Horák.

Akce VK zasáhla 140 knihoven. Hlavní část byla odvezena do depozi-tářů krajských (studijní) knihoven. Sedmnáct knihoven s cennými historickými sály a mobiliářem zůstalo in situ. Na místě zůstaly i některé menší knihovny, většinou přidělené do správy archivům a regionálním muzeím. Nejcennější svazky (rukopisy, inkunabule, postinkunabule, bohemika) byly z fondů vybrány a uloženy v Národní knihovně a v nově zřízeném Památníku národní kultury ve zrušeném klášteře na Strahově.

Komunistická propaganda označovala Akci vyklizení knihoven za jejich záchranu a pracovala s literárními obrazy z dob národního obrození, jež odkazovaly na kulturní vandalismus v nakládání s knihami při josefín-ském rušení klášterů. Paradoxně tentýž narativ užívají recentní popularizační počiny o VK akci z roku 1950. Ztráty, poškození a zmatky při odvozech se v 50. letech 20. století týkaly stejnou měrou veškerého klášterního mobiliáře. Skutečné celkové ztráty na množství knih nelze na základě dochovaných pramenů spolehlivě vyčíslit.

# Baroque Monastery Libraries: Between Iconography and Function

MICHAELA ŠEFERISOVÁ LOUDOVÁ

I

For the history of art, Baroque monastery libraries are a very attractive research topic; not only due to the high artistic quality of the paintings and sculptures that still remain there, but also for the exceptional iconographic programmes of their decoration. The existence of these programmes is evidenced by several surviving written concepts – manuscripts (also called *concetti*), which prescribed the iconographic themes of the frescoes for the executing artists. However, most of these concepts have been lost in modern-day times and we rely on their reconstruction when interpreting the contents of ceiling paintings.<sup>1</sup> In Central Europe,

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<sup>1</sup> The principal works on concettism are Hans TIETZE, Programme und Entwürfe zu den großen österreichischen Barockfresken. In: Jahrbuch der Kunstgeschichtlichen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses 30 (1911–1912) 1–28; Kurt L. SCHWARZ, Zum ästhetischen Problem des „Programms“ und der Symbolik und Allegorik in der barocken Malerei. In: Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte 11 (1937) 79–88; Wilhelm MRAZEK, Ikonologie der barocken Deckenmalerei (Wien 1953); Hermann BAUER, Barock. Kunst einer Epoche (Berlin 1992) 183–216 (the chapter entitled “Concet-

especially in the German and Austrian lands, where the greatest number of monumental library halls from the Baroque period have been preserved, but also in Hungary and the Czech lands, a number of art historical studies dealing with the interpretation of the artistic decoration of individual library halls have been established since the 1960s.<sup>2</sup> In addition to these individual works, overview publications were gradually created, which, on the basis of the number of collected examples, represented the various forms of decoration of Baroque libraries and their changes over time.<sup>3</sup> Research to date has focused on the search for com-

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tismo”); Idem, *Barocke Deckenmalerei in Süddeutschland* (München – Berlin 2000) 18–31 (the chapter entitled “Die Konzepte”).

- <sup>2</sup> Pavel Preiss systematically devoted himself to the artistic decoration of library halls in Bohemia. From his extensive bibliography, we should mention for example Pavel PREISS, *Pod Minerviným štítem. Kapitoly o rakouském umění ve století osvícenství a jeho vztahu ke Království českému* [Under Minerva's Shield: Chapters on Austrian Art in the Century of the Enlightenment and its Relation to the Kingdom of Bohemia] (Praha 2007) (this includes an extensive discussion on the fresco by F. A. Maulbertsch in the Philosophical Hall of the Strahov Library, based on the author's previous studies) or Pavel PREISS, Václav Vavřínek Reiner. *Dílo, život a doba malíře českého baroka* [The Work, Life and Time of a Painter of the Czech Baroque] (Praha 2013) (chapters devoted to the Carthusian library in Gaming and sketches for a painting in an unknown library hall). The decoration of the interiors of Baroque libraries preserved in Moravia is summarised in a monograph by the author of this paper: Michaela ŠEFERISOVÁ LOUDOVÁ, *Ve jménu moudrosti. Ikonografie barokních knihoven na Moravě v 18. století* [In the Name of Wisdom: The Iconography of Baroque Libraries in Moravia in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century] (Praha 2018).
- <sup>3</sup> First and foremost are Edgar Lehmann's extensive two-part work, affected however by a number of inaccuracies and errors (and therefore rightly criticised), and Eric Garberson's inspirational review of monastic libraries in Austria and southern Germany: Edgar LEHMANN, *Die Bibliotheksräume der deutschen Klöster in der Zeit des Barocks* (Berlin 1996); Eric GARBERSON, *Eighteenth-Century Monastic Libraries in Southern Germany and Austria. Architecture and Decorations* (Baden-Baden 1998). Then for example Margarete BAUR-HEINHOLD, *Schöne alte Bibliotheken. Ein Buch vom Zauber ihrer Räume* (München 1972); André MASSON, *Le décor de bibliothèques du Moyen Age à la Révolution* (Genève 1972); on libraries in present-day Hungary, see Dorottya DOBROVITS, *Books and Library Halls in 18<sup>th</sup> Century Hungary*. In

mon features that are characteristic of the iconographic programmes implemented in library halls, arriving at a definition of thematic areas that were usually depicted in monastic libraries. The central point of these conceptual programmes was Divine Wisdom (*Sapientia Divina*), accompanied by other personifications that embodied science and art, but also the virtues that were inextricably associated with true wisdom. A variation of this iconographic scheme was the frequently-used scene of the twelve-year-old Jesus teaching in the temple, or the depiction of the Holy Trinity, as well as depictions of founders of orders and saints; the four Evangelists, and western and eastern Church Fathers, who were seen as the bearers and mediators of God's wisdom. These thematic areas, which were further varied and expanded, create the so-called library décor: a set of themes, suitable in line with the period theory of décor, for the decoration of library halls. However, the term library décor is not limited to the iconographic aspect of decoration, but also includes specific art forms typical for the decoration and fitting out of libraries; such as emblems, statues of personifications (usually placed at the entrance), sculptural or painting decoration of library cabinets consisting of portraits, busts, statuettes, etc.

Several years of research into Baroque monastic libraries, preserved in Bohemia and Moravia,<sup>4</sup> have confirmed the functioning of library décor in the country. But, at the same time, have shown that an inexhaustible number of other, sometimes completely unique, motifs appear within it.

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Lech Kalinowski et al. (eds.), *Late Baroque Art in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century in Poland, Bohemia, Slovakia and Hungary. October 15–17, 1987* (= Niedzica seminars 4, Cracow 1990) 75–84; Anna JÁVOR, Bücher und Fresken. Die künstlerische Ausstattung von Barockbibliotheken in Ungarn. In Frédéric Barbier – István Monok – Andrea De Pasquale (eds.), *Bibliothèques décors (XVII<sup>e</sup>–XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle) / Bibliotheken, Dekor (17.–19. Jahrhundert) / Biblioteche decorazioni (XVII–XIX secolo)* (Paris 2016) 121–143.

<sup>4</sup> In the former Austrian part of Silesia, only one library hall has been preserved, in the Minorite monastery in Opava. See Marie SCHENKOVÁ – Jaromír OLŠOVSKÝ, Barokní malířství a sochařství v západní části českého Slezska [Baroque Painting and Sculpture in the Western Part of Czech Silesia] (Opava 2001), 53–54, Cat. No. M. 22.1.

The artistic decoration, and especially the wall painting on the vaulting, is to some extent completely unique in each library, lacking analogies or parallels in the decorations of other Baroque libraries. The same can be applied to other preserved library halls in Central Europe. One of the ways to grasp this feature of the uniqueness of a particular iconographic programme, and systematically incorporate it into research on Baroque libraries, is to try to interpret the decoration of a particular library hall in the context of the entire building in which the library is located. A prerequisite for this research approach is a thorough knowledge of the other artistic decoration within the monastery complex, its meaning and content, and, if possible, a reconstruction of the iconology of the monastery i.e. a reconstruction of the ideological concept of the decoration of the whole building complex.<sup>5</sup> The results of such an approach show that the library hall was perceived as a place where the high level of education cultivated within the monastery, and the maturity of the monastic community in the intellectual field were presented: here the ceiling paintings and other works of art visualised the original thinking of the creators of the ideological concept. Unlike other functionally different areas of the monastery, such as the refectory, the ceremonial hall/dining room, or the main staircase, the libraries were the only ones that displayed quite exceptional, now difficult to interpret, themes which formed part of iconographic programmes of multiple layers of meaning, reflecting the uniqueness of the particular monastery where they originated.

Today, the reconstruction of complex ideological programmes is made possible not only through the analogous iconographic solutions used in the libraries of Central European monasteries, but primarily by the study of contemporary iconology and emblematics, for which numerous books on iconology and emblematics are available, giving us an interpre-

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<sup>5</sup> See ŠEFERISOVÁ LOUDOVÁ, *Ve jménu* (see footnote 2), here for example 69–76 (Hradisko monastery near Olomouc) or 228–236 (the bishop's residence at Kroměříž).

tation of baroque symbolism.<sup>6</sup> The creators of the concepts themselves drew their ideas and inspiration for the creation of their own motifs from the iconological literature of the day. Especially within the environment of the monasteries, we observe their extraordinary erudition and ability to handle common Baroque symbols inventively. Although in the ecclesiastical field, we encounter the names of these creators a little less often than in artistic realisations of a profane nature, specific personalities are also documented here: a very important concertist and painter of his order, Martin Antonín Lublinský (1636–1690), an Augustinian-canon from Olomouc, who also worked for numerous aristocratic employers, including the Bishop of Olomouc, or his pupil, the Premonstratensian Dionysius Strauss (1660–1720), who worked mainly in his mother canonry at Hradisko near Olomouc. Strauss's works also include a concept for the artistic decoration of the Hradisko library, implemented by the Italian painter Innocenzo Monti (1653–1710) and stucco artist Baldassare Fontana (1661–1733) in 1702 and 1704. The Rector of the Kroměříž Piarist College and Episcopal Librarian, Jeremias a Matre Dolorosa (Jeremias Saudny, in office 1749–1760 and again 1767–1768), appears in the surviving sources as artistic advisor to the bishops of Olomouc; in the late 1750s he was commissioned to create an iconographic programme for the library halls of the bishop's, later archbishop's, castle at Kroměříž, which was decorated with frescoes in 1759 and 1760 by Josef Stern (1716–1775). A contemporary of Dionysius Strauss, and his brother in the order, was the painter of the Premonstratensian canonry

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<sup>6</sup> Here we mean mainly contemporary "iconologies" (*Iconologia*, a work by Cesare Ripa was very widespread and often used) and emblematic books, which served as inspiration for so-called applied emblematics, i.e. the application of emblems in the fine arts. For example, the works of Lubomír Konečný and Carsten-Peter Warncke can serve as an introduction to this issue: Lubomír KONEČNÝ, *Mezi textem a obrazem: Miscelanea z historie emblematicky* [Between Text and Image: Miscellanea from the History of Emblematics] (Praha 2002), Carsten-Peter WARNCKE, *Symbol, Emblem, Allegorie. Die zweite Sprache der Bilder* (Köln 2005); Idem, *Sprechende Bilder – sichtbare Worte. Das Bildverständnis in der frühen Neuzeit* (Wiesbaden 1987).

in Prague Strahov, Siard Nosecký (1693–1753), who is also credited with skills as an inventor, which he used to decorate the Theological Hall in the library of the Premonstratensians in Prague Strahov (1721–1727). A prominent creator of concepts in the final third of the eighteenth-century was the librarian of the Premonstratensian canonry at Louka near Znojmo, Řehoř Norbert Korber, a knight from Korborn (1749–1843). His remarkable ideological programme, influenced by the ideas of the Catholic Enlightenment, defined the theme of the paintings by Franz Anton Maulbertsch (1724–1796) in the Louka library hall (1778). This unique work has disappeared, but its appearance is shared with us by Maulbertsch's fresco on the same subject on the vault of the Philosophical Hall in Prague Strahov (1794). The execution of the ceiling paintings in the library of the metropolitan chapter at Prague Castle (Jan Ezechiel Vodňanský, 1725) was exceptional; the canons had invited Prague historian and genealogist Michael Adam Franck of Franckenstein (1675–1728) as a paid (sic) creator of concepts.<sup>7</sup>

If the creators of the concepts are not known, within the environment of monasteries, the authors of iconographic programmes are usually assumed to be their superiors or other educated members of the monastery community. There is almost no doubt that the provost of the Benedictine monastery in Rajhrad, Antonín Pirmus (in office 1709–1744), who himself demonstrably designed the iconography of the altars in

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<sup>7</sup> For more on these examples, see ŠEFERISOVÁ LOUDOVÁ, *Ve jménu* (see footnote 2) (further literature is given here). On the personality of M. A. Franck of Franckenstein, see also Alena RICHTEROVÁ, *Osud knihoven Bohuslava Balbína a Michala Adama Francka z Franckensteinu* [The Fate of the Libraries of B. Balbín and M. A. Franck of Franckenstein]. In Olga Fejtová – Václav Ledvinka et al. (eds.), *Barokní Praha – Barokní Čechie 1620–1740. Sborník příspěvků z vědecké konference o fenoménu baroka v Čechách, Praha, Anežský klášter a Clam-Gallasův palác, 24.–27. září 2001* [Baroque Prague – Baroque Bohemia 1620–1740: Proceedings of a Scientific Conference on the Phenomenon of the Baroque in Bohemia, Prague, St. Agnes Monastery and Clam-Gallas Palace, 24-27 September 2001] (= *Documenta Pragensia*, Praha 2004) 647–651.



the monastery church,<sup>8</sup> actively intervened in the ideological aspect of the artistic decoration of library halls, as did Josef Bernard Pelikán, the abbot of the Premonstratensian canonry in Nová Říše (in office 1755–1792). The key role of the abbot of Strahov, Václav Josef Mayer (in office 1779–1800), in saving the Louka library hall, and creating its replica within the walls of the monastery in Strahov, has long been well known and includes the abbot's direct involvement in the content of the original Korber *concerto* for Maulbertsch's fresco at Louka. Considerations on the conceptual activities of Stephanus Christ, a librarian of the Minorite monastery in Brno, remain conjectural; his extensive education and erudition are also evidenced by his authorship and translations of a number of books.<sup>9</sup> This lecturer in theology and philosophy in Brno and Vienna, who also repeatedly held the position of quardian (1724–1726, 1729–1732), had all the prerequisites to compile an exceptionally elaborate ideological concept for the artistic decoration of two library halls of the Brno Convent, which is unparalleled in the environment of the mendicant orders in the country.

Artists who had sufficient education to be able to participate in designing the ideological background to a future painting, also found work as authors of *concerti*.<sup>10</sup> One famous learned painter (*pictor doctus*) was, for

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<sup>8</sup> Jiří KROUPA, *Rajhradský chrám v proboštské korespondenci 18. století* [Rajhrad Church in the Provost's 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Correspondence]. In: *Opuscula historiae artium* F 50 (2006) 71–72.

<sup>9</sup> Vladislav DOKOUPIL, *Dějiny moravských klášterních knihoven ve správě Universitní knihovny v Brně* [History of Moravian Monastic Libraries managed by the University Library in Brno] (Brno 1972) 171.

<sup>10</sup> The requirement for the artist to be able to design the content of his work was explicitly expressed, for example, by the Spanish Baroque painter Antonio Palomino in his theoretical work *El museo pictórico y escala óptica* (1715). See BAUER, *Barocke Deckenmalerei* (see footnote 1) 20. On the demands placed on the education of artists in the theory of art of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, see Lubomír SLAVÍČEK, *Potřebné knihy? Ikonografie, knihy emblémů a artifex doctus v Čechách na konci 18. století* [Needed books? Iconography, Books of Emblems and Artifex Doctus in Bohemia at the End of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century]. In Beket Bukovinská – Lubomír Slavíček (eds.), *Pictura verba cupit. Sborník*

example, Daniel Gran (1694–1757), who was employed by the Austrian imperial court. His contemporary Bartolomeo Altomonte (1694–1783) decorated the library of the Augustinian canonical monastery in Sankt Florian in Upper Austria in 1747 using Gran's *conchetto* for the painting.<sup>11</sup> This group of learned painters also includes the most important figure in Central European painting of the second half of the eighteenth century, the aforementioned Franz Anton Maulbertsch, who also worked in Moravia and Bohemia. His involvement in the creation of the iconographic programme of the large dining room, today's Assembly Hall of the Kroměříž Episcopal Residence is well documented (1760) and it is probable that he was involved with the content aspect of his works in other implementations.<sup>12</sup> The ability to inventively handle the themes of his own works is also shown by Maulbertsch's pupil, Josef Winterhalder the Younger (1743–1807), who in 1805 in Geras, Lower Austria, paraphrased his teacher's famous library frescoes in the Premonstratensian canonry, commissioned by the Premonstratensian order in Prague Strahov and Louka.<sup>13</sup>

Equally remarkable, however, is the formal-style aspect of "library" paintings, which occupy a crucial place in the work of some painters, such as the already mentioned Daniel Gran, Bartolomeo Altomonte, Franz Anton Maulbertsch, and, his teacher, Paul Troger (1698–1762). The library hall paintings created by these painters are undoubtedly among their best artistic achievements.<sup>14</sup> This can also be applied to

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*příspěvků pro Lubomíra Konečného* [Festschrift for Lubomír Konečný] (Praha 2006) 79–93 (with reference to other literature).

<sup>11</sup> TIETZE, *Programme und Entwürfe* (see footnote 1) 4–6, 20–22; Brigitte HEINZL, *Bartolomeo Altomonte* (Wien – München 1964) 34–35.

<sup>12</sup> ŠEFERISOVÁ LOUDOVÁ, *Ve jménu* (see footnote 2) 229.

<sup>13</sup> For the painting in the library in Geras, see Karl MÖSENER, *Franz Anton Maulbertsch. Aufklärung in der barocken Deckenmalerei* (Wien – Köln – Weimar 1993) 161–167.

<sup>14</sup> Daniel Gran: *Court Library of the Vienna Hofburg* (1726–1730), Sankt Pölten (1739 or 1746); Bartolomeo Altomonte: *Sankt Florian* (1747), Linz, *Jesuit College* (1760, unpreserved), *Engelszell* (circa 1760), *Admont* (1774/1776); Franz Anton Maulbertsch: *Mistelbach* (1760), *Louka u Znojma*

Maulbertsch's Moravian colleague and friend, Josef Stern, the author of the colouristically remarkable painting of the halls of the Kroměříž castle library, as well as the library of the Brno Capuchins (after 1763). In the work of other painters, paintings in library halls are their only known wall painting, as is the case with Jan Fertl (d. 1742) – the author of the rich painted decoration of the two library halls of the Minorite monastery in Brno (1737). Fertl, best known from the sources as a “stafierer” (gilder and painter of altar figures), proved to be a skilled painter of figures and architecture, even within such a challenging task. Thanks to his abilities, all the elements of library décor could be used in the Minorite library, including figural ceiling paintings (oil paintings and frescoes) with the theme of Divine Wisdom, a portrait cycle of scholars of the order, emblems and illusive statues personifying the sciences, which complemented the free-standing personifications and putti statuettes from the workshop of sculptor Anton Schweigl (1695–1761). Ignaz Mayer the Elder (1720–1785) is a less well-known painter who excelled as the artist of the fresco in the library hall of the Premonstratensian canonry in Nová Říše. In addition to the paintings on the vaults of the refectory and the foyer in the Premonstratensian canonry in Brno-Zábrdovice (1777?), which are attributed to Mayer with reservations and in which Jan Jablonský (1737– after 1778) was probably involved, the fresco in the Nová Říše library represents the painter's only intact work of wall painting, which, thanks to its artistic quality, is unparalleled in his hitherto known work.<sup>15</sup>

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(1778), Prague Strahov (1794); Paul Troger: Melk (1732), Zwettl (1732/1733), Sankt Pölten (1734), Seitenstetten (1740/1741), Altenburg (1742). LEHMANN, Die Bibliotheksräume (see footnote 3) provides basic data on these libraries. See also Hellmut LORENZ (ed.), *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich*, vol. 4, Barock (München – London – New York 1999).

<sup>15</sup> The basic work on the work of I. Mayer the Elder is a study: Petr ARIJČUK, “Diese Stadt hatte auch in ihren Mauern immer brave Künstler aller Art...” Poznámka k „objevování“ brněnského malíře Ignaze Mayera st. [A Note on the “Discovery” of the Brno Painter Ignaz Mayer the Elder]. In Jiří Kroupa – Michaela Šeferisová Loudová – Lubomír Konečný (eds.), *Orbis artium. K jubii*

The care and attention paid to books and libraries in the milieu of the church orders (especially the monastic orders, orders of religious canons and the Jesuits) shows that library halls were not only used to store books, but also had a notable representative function. These richly artistically decorated libraries were the pride of the monasteries and were presented to honoured guests.<sup>16</sup> The importance of the library within the monastery complex is evidenced by records of abbatial elections, which apparently often took place in the libraries. After the Benedictine provostship in Rajhrad near Brno finally gained independence from the Břevnov-Broumov abbey, after many years of effort, the first Rajhrad abbot, Augustin Koch, was elected on 18 May 1813 in the library hall.<sup>17</sup> Abbatial elections in the library also took place, for example, in the Premonstratensian canonry in Louka near Znojmo, at first in the original library (the election of an abbot is documented here in 1745<sup>18</sup>) and following the reconstruction of the monastery, in a new library hall

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*leu Lubomíra Slavička* [On the jubilee of L. Slaviček] (Brno 2009) 235–256. For the other examples given, see ŠEFERISOVÁ LOUDOVÁ, *Ve jménu* (see footnote 2).

<sup>16</sup> Documented by the sources, for example, is a visit of the imperial couple Maria Theresa and Francis Stephen of Lorraine to Hradisko near Olomouc in 1748; ŠEFERISOVÁ LOUDOVÁ, *Ve jménu* (see footnote 2), 344, Note 2.

<sup>17</sup> Václav POKORNÝ, *Klášter Rajhrad. Jeho dějiny a památnosti* [Rajhrad Monastery. Its History and Monuments] (Brno 1925) 36; Lucie HEILANDOVÁ, *Rajhradský klášter v době prvních opatů* [Rajhrad Monastery at the Time of the First Abbots]. In Jindra Pavelková et al., *Milovníci a mecenáši věd a umění v řeholním rouše* [Lovers and Patrons of the Sciences and Art in the Monastic Habit] (Brno 2014) 131. Previous provost elections had been held in the summer refectory, as is recorded for the years 1759 and 1764. See Zuzana MACUROVÁ, *Kunstpraxis in einem Barockkloster. Verwandlung der Propstei Rajhrad im 18. Jahrhundert* (Brno 2015) 158.

<sup>18</sup> Petr KROUPA, *Premonstráti v Louce – dějiny kláštera* [The Premonstratensians in Louka – A History of the Monastery]. In Idem – Jiří Kroupa – Lubomír Slaviček – Josef Unger, *Premonstrátský klášter v Louce. Dějiny – umělecká výzdoba – ikonologie* [The Premonstratensian Monastery in Louka. History – Artistic Decoration – Iconology] (Znojmo 1997) 40.

decorated in 1778 with a fresco by Franz Anton Maulbertsch.<sup>19</sup> Libraries were also used to hold disputations and for the defence of doctoral theses. According to records in the diaries of the rector of the Jesuit college in Olomouc, examinations and doctoral graduations took place in the library (now defunct) in the 1670s, but also, remarkably, flagellations, documented four times in 1672.<sup>20</sup> The library space was thus perceived as a ceremonial space that could be used for important events connected with the running of the university but, in this particular case, also as a space for prescribed religious acts, to which the performance of so-called discipline or flagellation belonged.

How the library functioned in the everyday life of the monastic community is shown by one of Salomon Kleiner's graphics from a series of interior views of the Benedictine monastery in Göttweig, Lower Austria, from 1743–1745. The graphic depicts monks at work in the Göttweig library: two of them carry bundles of books, the last reading at one of the three tables on which globes stand.<sup>21</sup> However, we do know that even though the libraries were equipped with desks, as shown by

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<sup>19</sup> Znaimer Bilder aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Geschichte und Ortskunde des Thaja-Gebietes (Znojmo 1903), vol. 2, 91.

<sup>20</sup> Zdeněk ORLITA, Olomoucká univerzitní knihovna od svého založení do zrušení jezuitského řádu [The Olomouc University Library from its Foundation until the Abolition of the Jesuit Order] (1566–1773). In Miloš Korhoň – Tereza Vintrová (eds.), *Chrám věd a múz. Dějiny Vědecké knihovny v Olomouci* [Temple of the Sciences and the Muses: History of the Olomouc Research Library] (Olomouc 2016) 30. It is not known today what the library looked like and whether it had artistic decoration.

<sup>21</sup> See Gregor M. LECHNER – Michael GRÜNWARD, Gottfried Bessel (1672–1749) und das barocke Göttweig. Zum 250. Todesjahr des Abtes. Ausstellung des Archivs und der Sammlungen des Stiftes Göttweig, Niederösterreich, 24. April bis 15. November 1999 (Bad Vöslau 1999) 150, Cat. No. IV 22.9; Andreas GAMERITH, Klosterbibliotheken des Wiener Umlands – Alte und neue Motive. In Frédéric Barbier – István Monok – Andrea De Pasquale (eds.), *Bibliothèques décors (XVII<sup>e</sup>–XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle) / Bibliotheken, Dekor (17.–19. Jahrhundert) / Biblioteche decorazioni (XVII–XIX secolo)* (Paris 2016) 82, Fig. 2.

Kleiner's graphic, and with various other storage areas (often, for example, in window niches), more time-consuming study had to take place elsewhere because the library halls were not heated.<sup>22</sup> Study evidently took place in the monks' cells and, especially, in the so-called *musaea*. The most information about these rooms can be found in the sources of the Jesuit order, but the so-called *musaeum* is also documented at the monasteries of the Premonstratensian order in Louka and the Augustinian Hermits in Brno. In the Jesuit milieu, it was a space, accessible to all residents of the college, which was also used as a library or study room – also as a room for disputations and communal rest.<sup>23</sup> There were mathematical *musaea* at the Olomouc college and at the Clementinum in Prague, in which mathematical instruments and aids were stored.<sup>24</sup> The *musaea* thus served as study rooms, or smaller libraries, in which the monastery's collections (art, science and others), scientific instruments, and globes could be kept at the same time. Unlike the representative library halls, used on special occasions, this was a less cere-

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<sup>22</sup> An exception is the library of the Benedictine Archabbey of St. Peter in Salzburg, consisting of seven rooms, the first of which – intended for the librarian – was equipped with a stove. Adolf HAHNL, *Conservando cresco. Die Bibliotheksräume von St. Peter in Salzburg*. In Johannes Graf von Moy (ed.), *Barock in Salzburg. Festschrift für Hans Sedlmayr* (Salzburg – München 1977) 9–56. These stoves were most likely iconographically unique stoves, the so-called *Spottofen* from the collections of the Salzburg Museum. See Christa SVOBODA, “*Bibliotheca vulcano consecrata*”: Ein Spottofen auf die kirchlichen Irrlehren. Aus der Schausammlung des Salzburger Museums Carolino Augusteum. In: *Weltkunst* 59 (1989) 2149–2151.

<sup>23</sup> Lenka ČEŠKOVÁ, “*Collegii Societatis Jesu conceptus, et ideae*”. Plánování, výstavba a funkce jezuitských kolejí v Opavě a v Jihlavě ve druhé polovině 17. a na počátku 18. století [The Planning, Construction and Function of Jesuit Colleges in Opava and Jihlava in the Second Half of the 17<sup>th</sup> and at the Beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century]. Master's thesis FF MU (Brno 2005) *passim*, esp. 31 and 118; ORLITA, Olomoucká univerzitní knihovna (see footnote 20) 31.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*; Petra NEVÍMOVÁ, *Výstavba a výzdoba Klementina v letech 1556–1773* [Construction and Decoration of the Clementinum, 1556–1773]. Dissertation thesis at the Faculty of Arts, Charles University (Praha 2001); Petra OULÍKOVÁ, *Clementinum* (Praha 2019).

monial space used in the normal running of the monastery, in study, and the teaching of novices;<sup>25</sup> whether these rooms had artistic decoration is unknown. It is possible that the vault of the musaeum of the Augustinian monastery in Brno was decorated with a fresco of a now unknown theme by Johann Georg Etagens (1691–1757); in the case of the Louka museum, a cycle of painted circular medallions with portraits of artists and scholars is thought possible, of which only a portrait of the Italian painter and architect Pietro da Cortona has been preserved in the south Moravian Museum in Znojmo.<sup>26</sup>

The practical functioning of the library halls is closely related to the furniture, to which the same care was given during the furnishing of the libraries as to the painted decoration.<sup>27</sup> It was part of the essential functional equipment of the library, but at the same time it was often involved in the iconographic programme of its decoration through statuettes or paintings placed on the upper surface of the library shelves or as paintings on the doors of cabinets. The first variant can be found, for example, in the main hall of the Minorite Library in Brno, where Fertl's portraits of scholars alternate on the library cabinets with sculptures of putti personifying science, art, and the virtues, or in the library hall of the Benedictine monastery in Prague Břevnov, where pictures of Benedictine scholars on library cabinets are edged with putti with inscription cartouches indicating the thematic areas of the book collection.<sup>28</sup> These

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<sup>25</sup> GARBERTSON, *Eighteenth-Century Monastic Libraries* (see footnote 3) 45.

<sup>26</sup> ŠEFERISOVÁ LOUDOVÁ, *Ve jménu* (see footnote 2) 315–316, 320–321.

<sup>27</sup> For furniture in library halls, see for example, Eva-Maria HANE BUTT-BENZ, *Die Kunst des Lesens. Lesemöbel und Leseverhalten vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Frankfurt am Main 1985) 109–112; Ulrike KRAUTHEIM, *Christoph Jamnitzers „Neuw Grotteßken Buch“ und die Emporenschnitzereien der Klosterbibliothek in Waldsassen. Ein Beitrag zur Ikonologie barocker Klosterbibliotheken*. In: *Das Münster* 40 (1987) 126–131; Edgar BAUMGARTL, *Stiftsbibliothek Waldsassen. Cisterciensische Geistigkeit am Beginn der Aufklärung* (München – Zürich 1989) 38–80.

<sup>28</sup> ŠEFERISOVÁ LOUDOVÁ, *Ve jménu* (see footnote 2) 164–175. Martin MÁDL, *Praha – Břevnov, konvent. Katalog nástěnných maleb [Prague Břevnov, Convent: Catalogue of Ceiling Paintings]*. In: Martin Mádl – Radka



portrait cycles of renowned learned men were part of the library décor: the Jesuit Claude Clément (Claudius Clemens, 1594–1642) included them, in 1628, in his ideal decorative programme for a universal library, in his theoretical work on the arrangement and equipment of libraries *Musei sive bibliothecae tam privatae quam publicae extractio, instructio, cura, usus*. Portraits of scholars linked a particular library with the tradition of education and encouraged its visitors to follow the exemplary life of consecrated knowledge that the depicted men embodied.<sup>29</sup> In the ideological programme, the library's portraits also followed up on the message of the main ceiling image, which embodied, as mentioned at the beginning, in various iconographic variants, the Divine Wisdom and Knowledge Springing from God which scholars sought in their works and which they sought to spread through their books. The second manner of decorating the furniture, paintings on the doors of the cabinets, is represented by the furniture of the smaller library rooms in the former Franciscan monastery in Dačice and the Franciscan monastery in Moravská Třebová. In Dačice, the figures of Christ and the order's scholars with explanatory inscriptions are painted on canvas door panels at the top, with a flower vase at the bottom. In Moravská Třebová, the doors of the cabinets are filled with painted emblems, which are otherwise rarely used in Moravia.<sup>30</sup> Although the paintings in both libraries are rather artistically undemanding, they represent a remarkable

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Heisslerová – Michaela Šeferisová Loudová – Štěpán Vácha et al., *Benediktini I. Barokní nástěnná malba v českých zemích* [The Benedictines: Baroque Ceiling Painting in the Czech Lands] (Praha 2016), vol. 1, 257. One variant of this solution is the still anonymous set of paintings on library cabinets in the Theological Hall of the Cistercian monastery in Vyšší Brod (the furniture is dated 1757). The paintings, which alternate with sculptures of angels and personifications of the sciences, represent the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary, St. Joseph, Western church teachers and other saints. LEHMANN, *Die Bibliotheksräume* (see footnote 3) 449.

<sup>29</sup> André MASSON, *The Pictorial Catalogue. Mural Decoration in Libraries* (Oxford 1981); GARBERSON, *Eighteenth-Century Monastic Libraries* (see footnote 3) 106–107 and 121–122.

<sup>30</sup> ŠEFERISOVÁ LOUDOVÁ, *Ve jménu* (see footnote 2) 124–126.

reflection of Clément's work, which requires, for the decoration of the ideal library, both the aforementioned cycle of portraits of learned men and emblems to represent divine wisdom and human wisdom and can be applied as the thematic designation of the individual bookshelves.<sup>31</sup> In this context, a note on the treatment of the books themselves is also appropriate – there are most often bound into identical bindings, but are also modified in other ways, because uniformly treated spines of book volumes played a not insignificant part in the overall aesthetic tone of the furniture and the interior. To cover all of these, let us mention the books in white and black bindings kept in the library hall of the former lyceum in Eger, Hungary, the spines of which create geometric shapes in high shelves covering the entire walls.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> The library cabinets from the Augustinian-Hermit monastery in Brno appear to be unique, characterised by both high artistic quality and remarkable iconography, *inter alia* including the, in this context, unique use of male personifications of the four world empires. It is not known what significance these figures had in the overall iconographic programme of the library hall, because the fresco, on the theme of which no reports have been preserved, has disappeared and the furniture removed to a new location; on the furniture, see Zuzana MACUROVÁ, *Kapitoly z mecenátu Matouše Pertschera, představeného brněnského augustiniánského kláštera* [Chapters from the Patronage of Matouš Pertscher, Head of the Brno Augustinian Monastery] (1740–1777). Master's thesis FF MU (Brno 2009) 28–34; Dominik MATUŠ, *Knihovna a sakristie augustiniánů v Brně, dílo klášterního truhláře Bernarda Stöttnera* [Augustinian Library and Sacristy in Brno, Work of the Monastery Carpenter Bernard Stöttner]. Bachelor's diploma thesis FF MU (Brno 2018).

<sup>32</sup> The basic work on this issue in the Czech Republic is the book by Mirjam BOHATCOVÁ et al., *Česká kniha v proměnách staletí* [The Czech Book over the Centuries] (Praha 1990). See also Anežka FIALOVÁ – Michaela LOSENICKÁ, *Bibliografie českého knihařství* [Bibliography of Czech Bookbinding] (Brno 1998); Petr VORŤ, *Encyklopedie knihy. Starší knihtisk a obory příbuzné* [Encyclopaedia of the Book: Early Bookprinting and Related Fields] (Praha 2006). For example, a brief overview of the various ways of treating book spines in the southern German environment is given by Johannes MAY, *Die Bibliothek des Benediktinerklosters Wiblingen* (Ulm 2002) 77. Where possible, the aesthetic effect of book spines (now mostly mixed book collections of varying provenances) is also taken into account in the reconstruction of library halls today.

Finally, let us ask ourselves whether there was a relationship between the book collection and the artistic decoration of the furniture, or with the ceiling painting on the vault of the library. It is obvious that during the initial furnishing of a newly built library hall, the books were stored in cabinets and shelves in accordance with the thematic markings on the inscription cartouches or labels. However, with the growing number of books, book volumes were handled and repeated relocation of the books caused the labelling to no longer apply, and the original furniture was eventually unable to accommodate all of the book additions. How such a situation was resolved is shown using the example of the older Strahov library – the Theological Hall. This partly preserves the original furniture, which was created in 1627, for the first early modern monastery library and, which in 1632, was embellished with his paintings by David Altmann of Eydenburg (d. 1656). The painter's depictions of the personifications of the scientific disciplines on the carved cartouches with which the cabinets were completed at the top, were accompanied by inscriptions, which, together with the paintings, served as a guide to the book collection. These shelves were later transferred to a new library, built in 1672, on the site of the Theological Hall and, after 1721, were supplemented and adapted to the changed spatial conditions after the hall was expanded into its current form. This new arrangement of the book collection led to an updating of the inscriptions on the cabinets, which thus ceased to agree with Altmann's personifications, and were therefore painted over. Their uncovering only took place in connection with the modern restoration of the furniture, as a result of which the paintings are now presented together with inscriptions that do not match the depicted personifications.<sup>33</sup> However, the preservation of older equipment and its adaptation for new premises were by no means

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See Walter LIPP – Harald GIESS, *Die Staatliche Bibliothek (Provinzialbibliothek) Amberg und ihre Erbe aus den oberpfälzischen Klosterbibliotheken* (Amberg 1992) 73.

<sup>33</sup> Jan PAŘEZ, *Několik úvah o počátcích obnovené klášterní knihovny na Strahově a jejím interiéru v raném novověku* [Some Reflections on the Beginnings of the Restored Monastery Library in Strahov and its Interior in the Early

exceptional. Evidence of such a practice can be found, for example, in the library of the Premonstratensian canonry in Nová Říše, which used furniture from the abolished Jesuit college in Telč, whose library was bought by the abbot of Nová Říše in 1776. Cabinets adapted to the new space (probably in 1778) were, in 1801, equipped with additional shelves with extensions in the Classicist style which represent the individual scientific disciplines. In the extensions, the early modern symbols for science and art were combined with other objects so as to capture the newly emerging scientific disciplines, which were gradually separating from the traditional disciplines; this development was also reflected in the book collections of the Nová Říše canonry.<sup>34</sup> On the contrary, looking for a relationship between the placement of books and polychrome statues embodying science, art, but also virtues in the main hall of the Minorite Library in Brno seems problematic, and, although the statues have inscriptions on pedestals, they probably cannot be considered as landmarks in the book collection.

In addition to statuettes and cartouches provided with inscriptions, portraits of learned men were to be used as a guide to the library; in the church environment these were images of scholars from the order. This manner of thematically designating book collections had been known since antiquity; Claude Clément reflected it in his work, for which he compiled a list of 180 portraits that corresponded to the twenty-four thematic departments of the ideal library.<sup>35</sup> Even in this case, however, it is difficult to determine whether and how such a system worked in practice, as the original distribution of books was gradually disrupted, especially in connection with the mass relocation of books at the time of the abolition of monasteries resulting from the Josephine reforms.

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Modern Period], In: *Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis* 50, 1 (2010 [issued 2011]) 111–121.

<sup>34</sup> ŠEFERISOVÁ LOUDOVÁ, *Ve jménu* (see footnote 2) 282–290.

<sup>35</sup> For example, the portraits of Peter of Lombardy and Thomas Aquinas were chosen for scholastic theology, the portraits of Plato, Aristotle, and Duns Scotus for scholastic philosophy, the portraits of Herodotus and Livy for secular history; see MASSON, *The Pictorial Catalogue* (see footnote 28) 7.

The library of the Benedictine monastery in Admont remains the only known example that proves that the location of the book collection considered the fresco decoration of the library. In the monumental library hall, decorated with murals by Bartolomeo Altomonte in 1774 and 1776, the central space in the vault depicts prophets, evangelists, and church teachers, who are also present in their role as authors of book volumes placed in cabinets below them, where various editions of the Bible, commentaries on it, and writings of the Church Fathers are stored.<sup>36</sup>

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### **Baroque Monastery Libraries: Between Iconography and Function**

**Michaela Šeferisová Loudová**

The first part of the article is dealing with iconographic programmes of Baroque monastery libraries and possibilities of their reconstruction and interpretation. Research to date has focused on the search for common features that are characteristic of the iconographic programmes implemented in library halls – the so-called library décor, a set of themes, suitable in line with the period theory of décor, for the decoration of library halls. Several years of research into Baroque monastic libraries, preserved in Bohemia and Moravia, have confirmed the functioning of library décor in the country as well; but, at the same time, have showed that an inexhaustible number of other, sometimes completely unique, motifs appear within it. One of the ways to grasp this feature of the uniqueness of a particular iconographic programme and systematically incorporate it into research on Baroque libraries is to try to interpret the decoration of a particular library hall in the context of the entire building in which the library is located (a reconstruction of the iconology of the monastery, i.e. a reconstruction of the ideological concept of the decoration of the whole building complex). The second part of the article is focused on the practical functioning of the library halls in the

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<sup>36</sup> See Johann TOMASCHEK, *Benediktinerstift Admont. Stiftsbibliothek* (Ried im Innkreis 1997) 30.

everyday life of the monastic community. The function of libraries is closely related to the furniture, to which the same care was given during the furnishing of the libraries as to the painted decoration and, at the same time, it was often involved in the iconographic programme of the libraries. Finally, a question relating to a potential relationship between the book collection and the artistic decoration of the furniture, or with the ceiling painting on the vault of the library, is asked.

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**Die Klosterbibliotheken der Barockzeit: Zwischen  
Ikonographie und Funktion**  
Michaela Šeferisová Loudová

Der erste Teil des Beitrags ist den ikonographischen Programmen der Klosterbibliotheken der Barockzeit und den Fragen ihrer Rekonstruktion und Interpretation gewidmet. Die bisherige Forschung fokussierte die Suche auf gemeinsame Merkmale, die für die in den Lesesälen realisierten ikonographischen Programme charakteristisch sind und die das sog. Bibliotheksdecorum bilden, eine Motivsammlung gemäß der zeitgenössischen Decorumtheorie des für die Ausschmückung der Lesesäle geeigneten Dekors. Die langjährige Forschung zu den Klosterbibliotheken der Barockzeit auf dem Gebiet Böhmens und Mährens bestätigte die Existenz des Bibliotheksdecorums auch bei uns. Sie zeigte dann gleichzeitig, dass in seinem Rahmen eine umfangreiche Menge von weiteren, manchmal einzigartigen Motiven zu finden ist. Einer der Wege, wie man diesen Zug der Einzigartigkeit eines konkreten ikonographischen Programms auffassen und systematisch in die Erforschung der Bibliotheken der Barockzeit eingliedern kann, stellt der Versuch einer Interpretation der Ausschmückung des konkreten Saales im Kontext des ganzen Objekts, in dem sich die Bibliothek befindet, dar, d.h. eine Rekonstruktion der Klosterikonologie. Die Ergebnisse einer solchen Herangehensweise zeigen, dass der Lesesaal als Ort wahrgenommen wurde, wo ein hohes Niveau der im Kloster gepflegten Bildung und die Reife der Klosterkommunität auf intellektuellem Gebiet präsentiert wurden. Der zweite Teil des Beitrags ist auf Fragen nach der prakti-

schen Funktion der Bibliothekslesesälen im Alltagsleben der Kloster  
Kommunität gerichtet. Mit der Funktion der Bibliotheken hängt auch  
das Mobiliar eng zusammen, dem bei der Ausstattung der Bibliotheken  
genauso große Sorgfalt wie der malerischen Ausschmückung gewidmet  
wurde, denn es war ein Bestandteil des ikonographischen Programms.  
Abschließend wird der Frage der möglichen Beziehung des Buchbe-  
standes zur künstlerischen Ausschmückung des Mobiliars bzw. zum  
Deckengemälde im Gewölbe der Bibliothek Beachtung geschenkt.

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### **Barokní klášterní knihovny: mezi ikonografií a funkcí** **Michaela Šeferisová Loudová**

První část příspěvku je věnována ikonografickým programům barok-  
ních klášterních knihoven a otázkám jejich rekonstrukce a interpretace.  
Dosavadní bádání se zaměřovalo na hledání společných znaků, které  
jsou pro ikonografické programy realizované v knihovních sálech cha-  
rakteristické a vytvářejí tzv. knihovní dekorum, soubor námětů, podle  
dobové teorie dekora vhodných pro výzdobu knihovních sálů. Několika-  
letý výzkum barokních klášterních knihoven zachovaných na území  
Čech a Moravy potvrdil fungování knihovního dekora i u nás, současně  
však ukázal, že se v jeho rámci objevuje nepřeborné množství dalších,  
někdy zcela unikátních motivů. Jednou z cest, jak tento rys jedineč-  
nosti konkrétního ikonografického programu uchopit a systematicky jej  
zapojit do výzkumu barokních biblioték, je pokusit se o interpretaci výz-  
doby příslušného knihovního sálu v kontextu celého objektu, v němž se  
knihovna nachází, tj. o rekonstrukci ikonologie kláštera. Výsledky tako-  
vého postupu ukazují, že knihovní sál byl vnímán jako místo, kde byla  
prezentována vysoká úroveň vzdělanosti pěstované v klášteře a vyspělost  
klášterní komunity v intelektuální oblasti. Druhá část příspěvku je zamě-  
řena na otázky praktického fungování knihovních sálů v každodenním  
životě klášterní komunity. S funkcí knihoven úzce souvisí mobiliář, jemuž  
byla při zařizování knihoven věnována stejná péče jako malířské výzdobě,  
neboť byl zároveň často zapojen i do ikonografického programu. Závěrem  
je zkoumána otázka možného vztahu knižního fondu k umělecké výz-  
době mobiliáře, případně k nástrojnmu obrazu na klenbě knihovny.



# The Publishing Activity of the Restored Convent of the Knights of Malta in Prague until the End of the Eighteenth Century

PAVEL TRNKA

## Historical Introduction

In the Middle Ages, the Hospitaller commandery in the Lesser Town of Prague was the most important of the Order's houses of the Bohemian priory, which included Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Austria.<sup>1</sup> However, this came to an end at the start of the Hussite wars. The Prague Hospitallers took refuge in Strakonice, where they gradually merged with the local convent. In the 1440s, only one regular returned to Prague.<sup>2</sup> Although he had the title of prior, in effect, he only looked

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<sup>1</sup> A brief history of the Prague convent until the 18<sup>th</sup> century was outlined by František EKERT, *Posvátná místa král. hl. města Prahy* [Sacred Places of the Royal Capital of Prague] (Praha 1883), vol. 1, 261–265 and Josef HAMRŠMÍD, *Matka Boží pod řetězem. Inquisice r. 1373 a visitace r. 1613* [Mother of God beneath the Chain. Inquisition in 1373 and Visitation in 1613]. In: *Sborník Historického kroužku 24* (1923) 1–12. An overview of the whole history of the convent was provided by Pavel TRNKA, *Pražský konvent johanitů a datace udělení práva pontifikálií jeho převorům v řádové historiografii* [Prague Convent of Saint John Order and the Date of Bestowing Pontificals to its Priors in the Order Historiography]. In: *Paginae historiae. Sborník Národního archivu v Praze 27*, 1 (2019) 70–82.

<sup>2</sup> Miroslav SVOBODA, *Majetek johanitského řádu v Čechách ve 12.–16. století* [The Property of the Order of St. John in Bohemia in the 12<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> Centuries], PhD thesis, Masaryk University (Brno 2006) 253.

after the parish administration and supervised the remaining subjects of the former convent. This situation lasted until the first decades of the eighteenth century, when the priestly branch of the Order in the Grand Priory of Bohemia practically ceased to exist.<sup>3</sup>

The change came with Prior František Taufer of Rovin (1709–1745), who had a new convent building built next to the Church of Our Lady beneath the Chain between 1728 and 1731. The convent was restored in 1732 with the admission of two novices. The number of regulars gradually increased until the 1750s, when it stabilised at a number of thirty.<sup>4</sup> The Prague Order's house was the only priestly convent of the Order of Malta in the Grand Priory of Bohemia. In 1752, Prior Taufer also founded a convent library that contained a thousand volumes, which was to serve the regulars especially in their preparation for spiritual administration.<sup>5</sup> Most of the members of the convent held the posts of pastor or chaplain of parish churches in Bohemia and Austria. Taufer's successor František Špinka of Helfenthal (1745–1761) was also of noble origin, but the priors that followed were not, namely František Kilian (1762–1763), Jan Bernard (1763–1769), and Jan Mayer (1769–1807).<sup>6</sup> However, the financial options of the convent were somewhat limited. Initially, it only owned an enclave in the Lesser Town of Prague and a part of the village Motol. In 1747, the remaining part of the village was purchased, and twenty years later the village of Březiněves was returned

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<sup>3</sup> TRNKA, Pražský konvent (see footnote 1) 73–75.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 76–77.

<sup>5</sup> Pavel TRNKA, Budování knihovny obnoveného konventu Panny Marie pod řetězem v Praze [Building of the Library of the Restored Convent of Our Lady beneath the Chain in Prague]. In: Bibliotheca Antiqua 2019. Sborník z 28. konference 13.–14. listopadu 2019. Olomouc (Olomouc – Praha 2019) 17–18. Online at [https://www.vkol.cz/data/soubory/hf/bibliotheca-antiqua-2019/BA2019\\_Trnka.pdf](https://www.vkol.cz/data/soubory/hf/bibliotheca-antiqua-2019/BA2019_Trnka.pdf).

<sup>6</sup> Národní archiv [National Archives, NA], Maltézští rytíři – české velkopřevorství, Praha [Knights of Malta – Grand Priory of Bohemia, Prague, ŘM], inv. no. 15, box 42, Ferdinand WARTER, Geschichtlicher Traktat über den Orden des heil. Johannes von Jerusalem, dessen Regel und Statuten, pp. 203–204.

to the convent.<sup>7</sup> The limited funds resulted in the slow expansion of the library, the acquisitions of which were based mainly on acquiring books from deceased members of the convent<sup>8</sup> and on its not very extensive publishing activity, which will be detailed below.

## Identification and Typology of Prints Published by Convent

It is not easy to identify groups of prints created with a significant contribution from the convent. As the publisher is usually not mentioned, it is necessary to use various auxiliary indications. The most obvious is a note on the title page that the work was intended for the needs (*ad usum*) of the convent. However, this only applies to directories and one edition of *officia propria sanctorum*. With some prints, it is necessary to rely on the content in combination with the place of printing, which is the case with two librettos and one religious song. A clue may also be provided by the name of a convent member who was the author of a sermon, or the translator of a legend of the Order. The content in connection with the number of preserved volumes in the convent library can also provide clues, as is the case with another edition of *officia propria sanctorum*.

Printed works of priests of the Order of Malta can be freely associated with this group, but their content is not directly related to the convent. All these prints are referred to as Bohemical *melitensia*, i.e. works relating in some way (content or author) to the Order of Malta.<sup>9</sup>

Another problem with the study of the prints of the Prague convent is their poor preservation. There are several factors that contributed to this. Apart from the small number of copies, these prints were mainly of fleeting and narrowly focused content, often of a consumable charac-

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<sup>7</sup> TRNKA, Pražský konvent (see footnote 1) 74, 75 a 77.

<sup>8</sup> TRNKA, Budování (see footnote 5) 19.

<sup>9</sup> The bibliography of this group of prints for the 18<sup>th</sup> century was compiled by Bohumír LIFKA, *Johanitská bohemia XVIII. století. Studie k dějinám Řádu maltézských rytířů v Českém velkopřevorství* [Bohemia of the Knights Hospitaller of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century. A Study on History of the Order of Malta in the Grand Priory of Bohemia] (Praha 1935).

ter and for a relatively narrow group of users. It is likely that the small number of pages of individual prints also played a role.

These prints can be divided into two main categories, depending on whom they were intended for: internal prints (liturgical books) and prints for the general public. In terms of content, it is possible to identify directories, *officia propria sanctorum*, librettos, legends of the Order, religious songs and sermons.

## Liturgical Books

Provenance research of the former convent library, which is now part of the Maltéžská knihovna collection deposited in the Library of the National Archives in Prague in Chodovec as the property of the Grand Priory of Bohemia of the Order of Malta, and analysis of old library catalogues has revealed a very interesting finding: members of the convent in Prague most likely did not have any of the Order's printed liturgical books of foreign origin until the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>10</sup> This applied to old breviaries and missals from the late fifteenth century to the 1550s that were printed in Mainz, Speyer, Strasbourg, Lyon, and Zaragoza. The same situation was with the later *officia propria sanctorum* from Cologne (1659), Strasbourg (1739) and Malta (1758, 1759, and 1785). Directories that were published in Malta in the eighteenth century, which are very rare today, were probably not available either.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> The research mainly addressed the following catalogues: Knihovna Národního archivu [Library of the National Archives, KNA], Maltéžská knihovna [Maltese Library, Knih.Malt.], R 114, Bibliotheks-Catalog des ritterl. Malteser Convents in Prag 1871, pp. 77–78; KNA, Knih.Malt., R 116, Seznam knih. 1. díl, pp. 84–85.

<sup>11</sup> An overview of the Order's liturgical books is provided by Ferdinand de HELLWALD, *Bibliographie méthodique de l'Ordre souverain de St. Jean de Jérusalem* (Roma 1885) 265–266 and more recently by Cristina DONDI, *The Liturgical Policies of the Hospitallers between the Invention of Printing and the Council of Trent. The Evidence of the Early Printed Breviaries and Missals*. In: Victor Mallia-Milanes (ed.), *The Military Orders* (London – New York 2016), vol. 3, 64 and 71.

The Order's liturgical books that were printed outside Prague, which are now in the Maltéžská knihovna collection, mostly came from the *melitensia* collection of the conventual chaplain of the Order of Malta, Franz Paul of Smitmer. It was acquired by the Prague convent sometime after his death in 1796.<sup>12</sup> The Order's clerics of the Grand Priory of Bohemia commonly used universal liturgical books. The specifics of the Order's liturgy could be individually recorded in handwriting in empty spaces in the book or on inserted leaves. Some missals even contain seven pages of manuscript appendices relating to the Order's feasts, which are bound at the end of the printed text.<sup>13</sup> The following feasts are most often added: of St. Publius, the martyr and first Bishop of Malta (21 January), of St. Angelo, priest, martyr and Carmelite (5 May), of St. Pantaleon, martyr and protector of the Order (27 July) and, from 1761, of St. Zachary, father of St. John the Baptist (5 November). Similar handwritten additions relating exclusively to the Order's feasts have not been found in breviaries. An urgent need forced the Prague convent to convert only two types of liturgical books into printed form: directories and *officia propria sanctorum*.

The printing of the liturgical calendars of the Order represents the most extensive publishing activity of the Prague convent. Due attention has been paid to these prints elsewhere, so only basic information about them will be given here.<sup>14</sup> The publishing of the calendars had begun under František Taufer, the restorer of the convent, by 1742 at the latest.

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<sup>12</sup> TRNKA, Budování (see footnote 5) 19.

<sup>13</sup> E.g. KNA, Knih.Malt., Malt 1974a, Missale Romanum, ex decreto sacrosancti concilii Tridentini restitutum, ... (Augsburg 1774).

<sup>14</sup> Pavel TRNKA, Tištěné direktáře konventu Panny Marie pod řetězem. Příspěvek k bohemikálním melitensím 18. století [The Printed Directories of the Convent of Our Lady beneath the Chain. A Contribution to the Bohemical Melitensia of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century]. In: Bibliotheca Antiqua 2018. Sborník z 27. konference 28.–29. listopadu 2018. Olomouc (Olomouc – Praha 2018) 35–47. Online at <https://www.vkol.cz/data/soubory/hf/bibliotheca-antiqua-2018/Trnka2018.pdf>. The article also contains bibliographic records of individual directories not included in LIFKA, Johanitská bohemica (see footnote 9) 19–20, 22–23, 24, and 27.

His successors continued this activity until at least 1785. The directory, which was called *Ordo recitandi divinum officium missasque celebrandi juxta ritum breviarii missalisque Romani ad usum ecclesiae prioralis et fratrum Sacri equestris ac exempti ordinis s. Joannis Hierosolymitani, in antiquissimo conventu ad B. V. M. sub catena Micro-Pragae ad pedem pontis professorum ...*, was published annually, but the series has not been preserved in its entirety. Of the forty-four years anticipated, thirty have been preserved.<sup>15</sup> In addition to the calendar itself, the volumes from 1756–1771 and 1778–1785 also contained a list of the members of the Prague convent, whose records consisted of their names, functions and the dates of making famous promises. The most decorative part of the print was the title page, dominated by the prior emblem. In the oldest and only directory preserved from the time of Prior Taufer, the place intended for an engraving is empty. In contrast, the title pages from 1746–1761 are decorated with the personal emblem of Prior František Špinka. In the later prints, the general emblem of the Prague priors has been used, which occurs in three versions – one engraved and two woodcuts. During the period of the publication of the directories, a number Prague printers were used. In 1742, it was Jan Norbert Fický and in the period 1746–1749 František Karel Hladký, both were factors of the archbishop's printing office. In the years 1750–1751 the Jesuit printing office at the college of St. Clement was used, and in 1756–1764 and 1766–1768 it was Jan Karel Hraba. In subsequent years the following printers featured: František Augustin Höchenberger in 1769–1771, Jan Adam Hagen, factor of the Jesuit printing office, in 1772, Jan Tomáš Höchenberger in 1774 and Jan Karel Hraba again in 1783–1785. In some years, however, the printer was not recorded on the title page. Ranging from sixty-eight to one hundred and four pages, the directories were the most extensive convent prints.

After its constitution, the convent struggled during daily prayer with the absence of texts for the Order's feasts. This problem was solved,

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<sup>15</sup> Directories are documented for years 1743, 1747, 1748, 1750–1752, 1757, 1758, 1762–1767, 1769–1775, 1777–1781, and 1783–1786.

at least in part, by Prior Taufer by publishing a small thirty-two-page print of a quarto format height of nineteen centimetres called *Officia propria sanctorum, pro ordine s. Joannis Hierosolymitani; Item Ordo recitandi officia hebdomadaria*, but without a title page. The connection to the Prague convent can be deduced from the relatively high degree of unique preservation in its library. In addition to the four copies, which are mostly part of binder's volumes oriented to the *officia propria*, there is a unique set of twenty-seven prints in the form in which they arrived from the printing office – in unfolded and uncut sheets.<sup>16</sup> The title can only be dated by the dated prints with which it is located in the binder's volumes.<sup>17</sup> These date to 1741, 1744, and probably 1739. It is possible to establish the upper time limit by the absence of the feast of St. Zachary as 1761, when this feast was first introduced in the Order of Malta.<sup>18</sup> What is probably the first Prague edition of the Order's *officia propria sanctorum* contains, at the beginning, the necessary information about the liturgy to St. John the Baptist, patron of the Order, to the Corpus Christi, the Holy Rood and the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. Attention is then paid to certain selected feasts: Translation of the Hand of St. John the Baptist (5 December), St. Publius, and St. Angelo. This small print then closes with the divine office of Christ's crown of thorns. In comparison with other editions of the *officia propria sanctorum* of the Order of Malta of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, this is the shortest.

Another expanded, edition, which most likely came later, is more in the form of a book. It has a simple title page, on the back of which is an overview of the contained offices. The title is as follows and provides interesting information: *Officia propria sanctorum Ex concessione Sacrae Sedis Apostolicae Pro universo Ordine Sancti Joannis Hierosolymitani, Reimpressa ad*

<sup>16</sup> KNA, Knih.Malt., R 1 adl. 6, Malt 258 adl. 1, Malt 540, Malt 711, Malt 2246/1.–27. ex.

<sup>17</sup> KNA, Knih.Malt., R 1 adl. 7 (1744), Malt 258 (1741), Malt 711 adl. 2 (1739?), and adl. 5 (1744).

<sup>18</sup> Die V. Novembris in festo s. Zachariae confes. patris s. Joannis Baptistae ([s.l.n.d.]) [4].



*usum Ecclesiae Prioralis, & Fratrum ejusquidem Sacri Equestris ac Exempti Ordinis in antiquissimo Conventu ad B. V. M. Sub Catena Micro-Pragae ad pedem Pontis Professorum.*<sup>19</sup> This clearly shows that the print was intended for the convent of Our Lady beneath the Chain. With the permission of the papal throne the text was reprinted, but it is not clear what the edition was. Owing to the great rarity of the Order's *officia propria sanctorum*, it is not possible to make the necessary comparisons. Ferdinand de Hellwald mentions in his bibliography that it was an overprint of the Strasbourg edition of 1739.<sup>20</sup> However, a comparison of the two texts has shown that the Strasbourg edition contains a wider range of feasts and also differs in respect of certain explanatory notes. It can therefore be stated with certainty that the Prague edition was not printed according to the Strasbourg edition. Containing seventy-eight pages of octavo format, it is closest to the Maltese edition of 1759.<sup>21</sup> It is useful to compare the contents of two of the Prague editions. The later one does not contain introductory information, but it has more feasts: St. Pantaleon the martyr, the Decollation of St. John the Baptist (29 August) including the following week, and a commemoration of the Our Lady of the Pillar (12 October). The text, with the same feasts as in the earlier edition, is identical. This is another supporting argument that the thirty-two-page edition was also printed in Prague. The well-known printer Jan Karel Hraba, who appeared on the title pages of several directories of the convent, is named as the printer of the seventy-eight-page edition. The dating of this title is uncertain. Franz Paul of Smitmer does not mention it in his printed bibliography from

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<sup>19</sup> This edition has been preserved in only three copies (KNA, Knih.Malt., Malt 126; KNA, Knihovna Frà Horkého [Knih.Horký], J 897 adl. 2; Knihovna Národního muzea [National Museum Library, KNM], ZA KN St L 117), and one fragment originally inserted into the directory of the convent for 1783 (KNA, Knih.Malt., Malt 2231/24).

<sup>20</sup> *Officia propria sanctorum Recitanda a Religiosis utriusque sexus Ordinis militaris sancti Ioannis Jerosolymitani* (Strasbourg 1739); HELLWALD, *Bibliographie* (see footnote 11) 266.

<sup>21</sup> *Officia propria sanctorum recitanda a religiosis utriusque sexus Ordinis Militaris Sancti Joanni Jerosolymitani* (Malta 1759).

1781, as it was not stated in the liturgical book itself.<sup>22</sup> This is no different from Hellwald's bibliography.<sup>23</sup> Bohumír Lifka tried to date it, setting the year 1739 as the lower limit of the printing (the year of the Strasbourg edition) and 1768 as the upper limit (the year stated on Smitmer's ex-libris pasted into one of the surviving volumes).<sup>24</sup> Based on the content context, the time frame can be further narrowed down. With regard to the absence of the feast of St. Zachary, the upper limit can be set to 1761. The lower limit can be associated with the constitution of the convent, which, coincidentally, was also in the late 1730s. The period of the cooperation between the convent and the printer Jan Karel Hřaba can also help. On the basis of dated titles, the first phase was between the years of 1754 and 1768. It can therefore be stated that this edition could have been printed under Prior František Špinka between 1754 and 1761. This assumption can be verified on the basis of Smitmer's still under-appreciated manuscript bibliography, which, unlike the printed version, contains a number of notes and was also kept until 1794, and according to which this title was printed around 1755.<sup>25</sup> In this case, Smitmer's work is a credible source, as he spent some time at the Prague convent and also owned most of the currently known *officia propria sanctorum*.<sup>26</sup>

The supplement to the previously mentioned two liturgical books is a double sheet in octavo format called *Die V. Novembris in festo s. Zachariae confes. patris s. Joannis Baptistae*. In addition to its own office, it includes a transcript of the decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rite to the Order of Malta of 31 January 1761, which refers to that feast. It was probably printed in that year or shortly after. However, it cannot be

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<sup>22</sup> Francesco Paulo de SMITMER, *Catalogo della biblioteca del Sagro militar ordine di S. Giovanni Gerosolimitano oggi detto di Malta* ([s.l.] 1781) 175.

<sup>23</sup> HELLWALD, *Bibliographie* (see footnote 11) 266.

<sup>24</sup> LIFKA, *Johanitská bohémica* (see footnote 9) 18.

<sup>25</sup> KNA, *Knih.Malt.*, R 38, [Francesco Paulo de SMITMER, *Catalogo della biblioteca Maltese*]. Parte 3, Liturgia, Classe 1 & 2, no. 28.

<sup>26</sup> NA, ŘM, inv. no. 1233, box 460, *Liber Memorabilium Restaurati Conventus Ordinis San. Joan. Hierosolymitani fra. Capellanorum olim hic Celeberrimi*, f. 140r. SMITMER, *Catalogo* (see footnote 22) 175–176.

proved that it was published by the Prague convent. To date, only one copy has been found in its library, which was pasted into the fourth volume of *Officia propria in usum cleri provinciae Pragenae* printed in 1865.<sup>27</sup>

## Librettos

The first known prints intended for the public are from 1754 and 1756. They were created in connection with the holding of two late Baroque oratorios, which were held on White Saturday in the Church of Our Lady beneath the Chain. The five-sheet quarto format libretto contains either a Latin or German text of the oratorios, preceded by a list of the voices and an outline of the plot. Their decoration was relatively austere and was limited to the opening headpiece and end vignette.

The first performance, which was performed at the Holy Sepulchre, had two parts. Its plot was set in the 1340s on the island of Rhodes, which, according to legend was plagued by a dragon that was killed by the Knight of St. John Deodat de Gozon. The author of the text drew inspiration from the second volume of Giacomo Bosio's history of the Order.<sup>28</sup> According to the Latin version, the music was composed by a German composer from Bohemia, František Václav Habermann (1706–1783), who also worked as the choir director of Our Lady beneath the Chain.<sup>29</sup> The title page of the German print indicates that it was printed in Prague by Jan Karel Hraba, who is mentioned several times.<sup>30</sup> In contrast, the Latin version lacks any

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<sup>27</sup> KNA, Knih.Malt., Malt2 2758.

<sup>28</sup> Giacomo BOSIO, *Dell'Istoria della Sacra Religione et Ill.ma Militia di San Giovanni Giersolimitano* (Roma 1594), vol. 2, 45–46.

<sup>29</sup> Bohumír ŠTĚDRŮŇ – Zdenko NOVÁČEK – Gracian ČERNUŠÁK (eds.), *Československý hudební slovník osob a institucí* [Czechoslovak Music Dictionary of Persons and Institutions], A–L (Praha 1963), vol. 1, 387–388.

<sup>30</sup> *Deodatus à Gozzone Aus dem Hochbefreyten Ritterlichen Orden S. Joannis Hierosolymitani. Ein glücklicher, und siegreicher Überwinder des abscheulichen, und giftigen Rhodischen Drachen Ein Sinnbild Christi unsers Erlösers, (Welcher am Stammen des H. Creutzes den giftigen höllischen Drachen heldenmüthig bestritten, und glorreich besieget) Vermög jenen Worten des*

printing details.<sup>31</sup> However, it can be assumed that the printer was the same.

The exodus of Israelites led by Moses from the desert to the Promised Land served as a theme for the later oratorio. This time, only the Latin version informs about the author of the music,<sup>32</sup> which was the Ger-

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Psalmisten: Du wirst über Nattern, und Basilischken wandeln, und wirst Löwen und Drachen zertreten Entworfen, Dem Glorreich auferstandenen Erlöser, Als ein Siegs-Zeichen aufgeführt In der Hoch-befreyten Priorats Kirchen, des Hoch-gedachten Ritterlichen Ordens St. Johann. Hierosol. bey unser Lieben Frauen unter der Ketten in der Kleineren Residentz-Stadt Prag am Fuß der Brucken Bey Dem Grab des Heylands Vor Dessen Glorreicher Auferstehung am Char-Sambstag Im Jahr Christi M DCC LIV. nach Mittags umb 4. Uhr in einem Sing-Spiel fůrgestellet (Praha [1754]). Bibliografie cizojazyčných bohemik, BCBT14102. <https://clavius.lib.cas.cz/katalog/l.dll?cll~P=365644> (consulted online on 21 May 2020). One copy listed in the bibliography can be supplemented by two more: KNA, Knih.Malt., Malt 2198 adl. 1 and Malt 2208.

<sup>31</sup> Deo-datus à Gozzone Sacri Incltyi Militaris ac Equestris Ordinis, Sancti Joannis Hierosolymitani Pestiferi, ac monstrosi Draconis Rhodensis Interfecor Symbolum: Christi Servatoris nostri pestilentem Aaverni Draconem & succenturiatam eidem Hydram, in palaestra SS. Crucis Debellantis. Secundum illud Psalmistae: Super Aspidem, [et] Basiliscum ambulabis, [et] conculcabis Leonem [et] Draconem. Adumbratum Ad instruendum resurgenti Servatori Triumphum & Gratitude Epinicion. In Exempta Priorali Ecclesia Sac. Incl. ac Eques. Ord. S. Joannis Hierosolymitani ad B. V. Mariam sub Catena Micro-Pragae, ad pedem Pontis. Sub ipso, sepulchri Dominici, apparatu, & secuto desuper Resurrectionis Theandricae ritu. Sabatho Sancto. Annô Aerae Christianae M. D. C. C. LIV horâ quarta pomeridianâ. Pii Auditoribus Melo-Dramate adornatum. Musices Compositore Domino Francisco Habermann, Ejusdem Ecclesiae Regente Chori ([s.l. 1754]). There are four copies available so far: KNA, Knih.Malt., Malt 2207, Malt 2297 adl. 13, Malt 2485 and Strahovská knihovna, HK VIII 5/15.

<sup>32</sup> Moyses populum electum ex deserto in terram promissionis lacte, et melle fluentem deducens, Christus Servator dilectum genus humanum ex hoc exilio in supernae beatitudinis patriam reducens, concentu musico propositus, in exempta priorali ecclesia sacri, incltyi, ac equestris ordinis S. Joannis Hierosolimitani ad B. V. Mariam sub catena ad pedem pontis Micro-Pragae Sabatho Sancto. Anno M. DCC. LVI. hora quinta pomeridiana (Praha [1756]). Bibliografie cizojazyčných bohemik, BCBT06170. <https://clavius.lib.cas.cz/katalog/l.dll?cll~P=379048> (consulted online on 21 May 2020).

man-Italian composer Johann Adolph Haase (1699–1783).<sup>33</sup> It can also be learned from this version that it was created in Kateřina Labounová's printing office in Prague under the factor Arnošt Jakub Haselmann. The same workshop probably also printed a German version.<sup>34</sup> The connection of these four prints to the Prague convent can be deduced from where both oratorios took place (the convent church). In the case of the earlier libretto, the theme was drawn from the Order's historiography, from a book that was available in the convent library at the time.<sup>35</sup> The place of printing is also important, and, in one case, also the printer, Hraba, with whom the convent cooperated in publishing directories. It is likely that these oratorios were organised directly by priests of the Order of Malta.

## A Legend of the Order

There are no preserved traces of the publishing activity of the Prague convent from the 1760s and the first half of the 1770s, except for directories. It was only in the second half of the 1770s that a small forty-three-page print in octavo format appeared, entitled *Ismeria ...*.<sup>36</sup> As in

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<sup>33</sup> Johann Adolf Hasse (Composer). In: Bach Cantatas Website. <https://www.bach-cantatas.com/Lib/Hasse-Johann-Adolf.htm> (consulted online on 17 April 2020).

<sup>34</sup> Moyses Ein Führer des Israelitischen Volcks aus der Wüsten in das Gelobte Land. Christus Ein Führer des Menschlichen Geschlechts Aus diesen Thal der Zähren in das Him[m]lische Jerusalem. Unter Anmüthigen Music-Klang vorgestellt In der Hoch-Befreyten Priorats-Kirchen, des Hoch-Löbl. Ritterlichen Ordens St. Johann. Hieros. bey Unser Lieben Frauen unter der Ketten in der kleinern Residentz Stadt Prag am Fuß der Brucken. Am Vorabend der Glorreichen Auferstehung Christi Im Jahr M DCC LVI. Nachmittag um 5. Uhr ([s.l. 1756]). Only one copy is known of: KNA, Knih.Malt., Malt 2209.

<sup>35</sup> KNA, Knih.Malt., Malt 2463/2. All three volumes of the second edition of Bosio's history from 1621–1634 were purchased in 1743 for the needs of the convent by Prior František Taufer, as evidenced by an inscription on the front lifted pastedown of the first part (KNA, Knih.Malt., Malt 2463/1).

<sup>36</sup> Giacomo Bosio, *Ismeria eine Prinzeßin und Tochter des Sultan von Aegypten wird bey Gelegenheit dreyer in ägyptische Gefangenschaft gerathenen Hos-*

previous cases, it was not extensively decorated. Its content was dedicated to a legend of the Order concerning the conversion of Princess Ismeria. Her father, an Egyptian sultan, sent her to three captured French Hospitallers in order to convert them to Islam. However, the knights won her affection using a wooden statue of the Madonna brought by an angel, and they all managed to escape with her help. According to his own print, the model was supposed to be a kind of Latin edition of the first volume of the already mentioned history of the Order by Bosio.<sup>37</sup> In reality, however, it was the first volume of the second edition of Bosio's history in Italian.<sup>38</sup> In his manuscript bibliography of *melitensia*, Franz Paul of Smitmer mentions Karl Kűffner (1734–1783) as a translator into German<sup>39</sup> who entered the Prague convent of the Order of Malta in 1755. He remained there until 1776, when he was sent to Volfartice in northern Bohemia to administer the local parish church.<sup>40</sup>

Two very similar editions of this print can be identified, which differ in their title pages. Both were printed in Prague by Jan Tomáš Höchenberger and both are undated. The difference lies in the distance between some of the lines and especially in the illustration. In the supposedly earlier edition, there is a copperplate on the title page that was made by one of the Salzer brothers with a scene from the legend, in which the imprisoned Hospitallers present a statuette of Our Lady to Princess Ismeria. The whole image is dominated by a cartouche with a Maltese cross situated in the upper part of the engraving.<sup>41</sup> The engraver was perhaps the younger Karel Salzer, who had already

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pitalariern (anjezt genannt) Maltheser-Rittern wunderbarlicher Weiße zum christlichen Glauben bekehret (Praha [n.d.]).

<sup>37</sup> "Ex Jac. Bos. Hist. Eq. Ord. S. Joan. Hieros. Part. I. pag. 128. & seq." Ibid., 43.

<sup>38</sup> Giacomo Bosio, *Dell'Istoria della Sacra Religione et Ill.ma Militia di S. Gio Giersol.no. Parte Prima* (Roma 1621) 128–138.

<sup>39</sup> KNA, Knih.Malt., R 35, [Francesco Paulo de SMITMER, *Catalogo della bibliotheca Maltese*]. Parte 1, *Istoria*, Classe 17, last sheet.

<sup>40</sup> KNA, Knih.Malt., R 99, *Liber munera indicans, quibus et ubi Sacerdotes equestris Ordinis Joannitarum fungebantur*, p. 12.

<sup>41</sup> One copy was found: KNA, Knih.Malt., Malt 2145.

cooperated on prints of the sermons of a member of the Prague convent from 1776 and 1777.<sup>42</sup>

The second edition is decorated with a woodcut with the emblem of the Order of Malta – a heraldry cross in a cartouche with trophies on the sides.<sup>43</sup> Undoubtedly, the same process block was used as in the directories for the Prague convent from 1774 to 1780, from the upper part of which the crown, crosier and mitre were removed. In a somewhat violent manner, the general emblem of the Prague priors was transformed into the emblem of the Order. It is clear that the process block belonged to the convent, as it appeared in directories printed by various printers. Therefore, there is no doubt that the publisher of both versions was the convent. Both cases can only be dated to a period of years. The first time it was done, Bohumír Lifka attempted to do so on the basis of the supposed activity of the printer, according to which the edition with the engraving was made between 1770 and 1783.<sup>44</sup> However, he did not know about the second edition. His dating can be narrowed down to the years between 1773, when Höchenberger is mentioned on the title pages in a form close to these editions, and 1781, when Smitmer's printed bibliography containing an engraved edition was published.<sup>45</sup> According to the surviving ex-libris, he himself owned it.<sup>46</sup> The Bibliography of Foreign-Language *Bohemica* does not distinguish between the two editions

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<sup>42</sup> Johann RAYMUND, Rede auf die Feyerlichkeit des allerheiligsten Namens Jesus, vorgetragen am zweyten Sonntage nach der Erscheinung Christi 1776. in der Kirche bey unsrer lieben Frauen unter der Kette in der k. k. kleineren Stadt Prag, ... (Praha [1776]) and IDEM, Rede Auf die feyerliche Uebertragung des Gnadenreichen Kindes Jesus Bey den W. W. E. E. Vätern des heil. barfüßser Karmelitenordens in der k. k. kleinern Stadt Prag. Als dieses Den 26ten des Christmonathes 1776. Auf einen neu erbauten prächtigen Altar erhoben wurde. ... (Praha 1777).

<sup>43</sup> Only two copies have been documented to date: Knihovna Památníku národního písemnictví, S X f 42 and Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ur 8533.

<sup>44</sup> LIFKA, Johanitská bohemica (see footnote 9) 26.

<sup>45</sup> SMITMER, Catalogo (see footnote 22) 112.

<sup>46</sup> KNA, Knih.Malt., Malt 2145.



and lists both under the description of the later one, which it also dates, according to the printer, to the years 1773–1792.<sup>47</sup> Even in this case, it is possible to narrow down the range to the years between 1780, when the process block was probably last used before its modification,<sup>48</sup> and 1790, when the factor Antonín Josef Zíma was already in Höchenberger's printing office.<sup>49</sup> Both editions were therefore printed under Prior Mayer.

## Sermons

Under the same superior, between 1776 and 1788, six small prints were made, each containing one sermon by the well-known Prague preacher Jan Raymund (1737–1808), who was also a member of the convent.<sup>50</sup> These were spoken on various topics in the Prague churches administered by the Order of Malta, i.e. Our Lady beneath the Chain and, from 1784, Our Lady Victorious. They were printed mostly by the

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<sup>47</sup> Bibliografie cizojazyčných bohemik [Bibliography of Foreign-Language Bohemica], BCBT06711. <https://clavius.lib.cas.cz/katalog/l.dll?cll~P=378162> (consulted online on 01 May 2020).

<sup>48</sup> *Ordo Recitandi Divinum Officium Missasque Celebrandi juxta Ritum Breviarii Missalisque Romani ad Usus Ecclesiae Prioralis & Fratrum Sacri Equest. Exempti Ordinis S. Joannis Hierosolimitani in antiquissimo Conventu ad B. V. M. sub Catena Micro-Pragae ad pedem pontis professorum. Jussu Reverendissimi Perillustris ac Amplissimi D. D. Fra. Joannis Nepom. Mayer, Praelati Sacri Equestris ac Exempti Ordinis S. Joannis Hierosolimitani Professi, Incltyi Magni Prioratus in Bohemia Vicarii in Spiritualibus Generalis, nec non dictae Ecclesiae & Conventus Prioris Infulati. Pro Anno MDCCLXXXI. primo post Bissextili editus ([s.l.] 1780).*

<sup>49</sup> Petr VOIT, *Encyklopedie knihy. Starší knihtisk a příbuzné obory mezi polovinou 15. a počátkem 19. století* [Book Encyclopedia. Older printing press and related fields between the 15th and the beginning of the 19th century] (Praha 2006) 366–367. Online at [http://www.encyklopedieknihy.cz/index.php?title=Franti%C5%A1ek\\_Augustin\\_H%C3%B6chenberger&oldid=16358](http://www.encyklopedieknihy.cz/index.php?title=Franti%C5%A1ek_Augustin_H%C3%B6chenberger&oldid=16358).

<sup>50</sup> The life, library and work of this person are the subject of interest of a study by Pavel TRŇKA, *Život, dílo a knihovna pražského kazatele Jana Raymunda* [The Life, Work and Library of the Prague Preacher Jan Raymund]. In: *Knihy a dějiny* 26, 1–2 (2019) 107–130. Online at <https://kramerius.lib.cas.cz/uuid/uuid:9e4d99dc-d79c-4f31-8c0b-0149e9ab2c69>. The article also contains a bibliography of Raymund's manuscript and printed works.

Prague printers commonly used by the convent of the Order of Malta: Jan Tomáš Höchenberger (1776),<sup>51</sup> František Augustin Höchenberger (probably 1782–1783),<sup>52</sup> and Jan Karel Hraba (1782, 1784, and 1785).<sup>53</sup> The last of these sermons from 1788 was printed in the archbishop's printing office by Jan Josef Diesbach.<sup>54</sup> It is most likely that the publication of these thin and easy to decorate prints was at least supported by the Prague convent. The simple title vignette of the earliest print was made by the already well-known engraver Karel Salzer. There are one or two copies of both earlier sermons, four of the third, and as many as eleven of the last one.<sup>55</sup>

## Religious Song

A double sheet containing a German song on the main feast of the Order of St. John the Baptist also has an obvious connection with the convent of Our Lady beneath the Chain. It was printed by the already

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<sup>51</sup> RAYMUND, Rede auf die Feyerlichkeit (see footnote 42).

<sup>52</sup> Johann RAYMUND, Predigt Von den besondern Vortheilen des gemeinschaftlichen Almosens. Bey Gelegenheit der mit hoher Genehmhaltung eines hochlöbl. Landesgubernii gemachten Armenversorgungsanstalten. Vorgetragen am Sonntage Sexagesimä, ... (Praha [n.d.]).

<sup>53</sup> Johann RAYMUND, Predigt von der Mäßigung der allzugroßen Furcht des Todes. Vorgetragen in der k. kleinern Stadt Prag, in der Kirche bey unsrer lieben Frau unter der Kette, am funfzehnten Sonntage nach Pfingsten, im Jahre 1782. ... (Praha [1782]); IDEM, Predigt von den Hauptpflichten eines Seelsorgers, und seiner Pfarrkinder. Vorgetragen in der kön. kleineren Stadt Prag in der Pfarrkirche bey Maria de Victoria am ersten Sonntage im Advente im Jahre 1784 ... (Praha [1784]) and IDEM, Predigt von der Wichtigkeit der Absicht der allein bestehenden Brüderschaft der thätigen Liebe des Nächsten, und von der Art und Weise diese Absicht zu erreichen. Vorgetragen in der kön. kleinern Stadt Prag, in der Pfarrkirche bey Maria de Victoria, am Einführungsfeste dieser Brüderschaft, im Jahre 1785, ... (Praha [1785]).

<sup>54</sup> Johann RAYMUND, Predigt über das was wir bey dem itzt angekündigten Kriege wider die Ottomannische Pforte zu denken, und zu thun haben. Vorgetragen in der kön. kleinern Stadt Prag, in der Pfarrkirche bey Maria de Victoria am dritten Fasten-Sonntage, im Jahre 1788. ... (Praha [1788]).

<sup>55</sup> TRNKA, Život (see footnote 50) 123, 125, and 126.

mentioned Lesser Town printer Antonín Josef Zíma in 1796.<sup>56</sup> It is certain that more similar prints were created, but due to their temporary nature, they mostly disappeared.

## Prints Relating to the Convent

It is also necessary to mention the prints that have a certain relationship to the Prague convent, although its contribution to their creation is uncertain. In the first place, it concerns the graduate thesis of František Šupich of Ostroměř on canon law, which was defended at Charles-Ferdinand University in January 1753.<sup>57</sup> It was printed by the factor Michal Jan for the widow Kateřina Labounová in Carolinum. The author dedicated it to the Grand Master of the Order, the Grand Prior of Bohemia and other Knights of Malta, who were his patrons. The content of this print is also related to the Order of Malta and the Grand Priory of Bohemia respectively, whose privileges granted by the rulers are listed. In February 1753, Šupich himself entered the novitiate of the convent of Our Lady beneath the Chain and a year later made famous promises.<sup>58</sup> The prior of the convent, František Špinka, became the patron of Jan Klinger, a student of Charles-Ferdinand University, who, thanks to his financial help, was able to publish his university theses in 1746 in the form of a graphic sheet with a copperplate of the flight of the Holy Family to Egypt. At the top of the image is Špinka's personal emblem.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> *Lied am Feste des Heiligen Johannes des Täufers zu singen* (Praha 1796). Only three copies have been documented: KNA, Knih.Horký, SJ 12.

<sup>57</sup> Franciscus Joannes Nep. SCHUPPICH DE OSTROMIRZ, *Dissertatio juridico-canonico civilis, & prolegomenalis de constitutionibus in genere, & in specie de principum constitutionibus, ...* (Praha 1753). *Bibliografie cizojazyčných bohemik*, BCBT03276. <https://clavius.lib.cas.cz/katalog/l.dll?cl~P=384018> (consulted online on 21 May 2020). The copies listed in the bibliography can be supplemented by one more: KNA, Knih.Malt., Malt 2198 adl. 4.

<sup>58</sup> KNA, Knih.Malt., R 99, *Liber munera indicans, quibus et ubi Sacerdotes equestris Ordinis Joannitarum fungebantur*, p. 11.

<sup>59</sup> *Theses ex Universa Philosophia quas ... propugnandas Suscepit Eruditus Dominus Ioannes Klinger Bohemus Kecztranensis ex Sem. S. Wenceslai AA*

Close to the priests of the Order of Malta is also the print *Radost Mysle*, ..., which is the only one in Czech.<sup>60</sup> It is dedicated to the pilgrimage church of St. John the Baptist above Radomyšl. The eighty-page print was made in 1747 by the already well-known Jan Karel Hraba. In addition to a brief history of the place of pilgrimage, it contains a list of local miracles and prayers. Although they were an eremitic order, the Ivanites were looking after the church at that time. It was founded by the parish priest of Radomyšl and Hospitaller Mikuláš Křížek in the second half of the sixteenth century on the site of the original chapel. In addition, the church was located in a parish administered by priests of the Order of Malta and on the dominion of the Grand Prior of Bohemia. In the 1730s, this place of pilgrimage was rebuilt by Grand Prior Gundakar Poppo of Dietrichstein.<sup>61</sup> The publication of this print was undoubtedly to support the Saint John's pilgrimages.

For the sake of completeness, it is necessary to mention the rest of the printed work of Jan Raymund. These are three separately published sermons from 1775, 1777, and 1780 presented outside the churches of the Order of Malta. Two of them were printed by the previously men-

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LL, et Philosophiae Baccalaureus, Metaphysicae, et Ethico-historiae Auditor. Anno MDCCXLVI Mense die horis meridie[m] consvetis ([s.l.] 1746). Anna FECHTNEROVÁ, Katalog grafických listů univerzitních tezí uložených ve Státní knihovně ČSR v Praze [A Catalogue of Graphic Sheets of University Theses Stored in the State Library of the Czech Socialist Republic in Prague] (Praha 1984), vol. 3, 543.

<sup>60</sup> *Radost Mysle, Putujících do Chrámu Páně Swatého Jana Křtitele Nad Městečkem Radomyssli, w Králowstwju Českém, w Kragi Prachynském: K spasytedlnému Českého Národu potěssenj na Swětlo wydana Roku 1747 (Wytisštěná w Praze 1747)*. Knihopis, K14723. [https://aleph.nkp.cz/F/?func=direct&doc\\_number=000014803&local\\_base=KPS](https://aleph.nkp.cz/F/?func=direct&doc_number=000014803&local_base=KPS) (consulted online on 21 May 2020).

<sup>61</sup> The history of the church and the print is discussed in more detail in Bohumír LIŤKA, *Radomyšl. Dějiny jihočeského městečka a jeho okolí [Radomyšl. History of a South Bohemian Town and its Vicinity]* (Radomyšl 1993) 123–124, 189–194, and 210.

tioned Jan Tomáš Höchenberger and Jan Karel Hraba.<sup>62</sup> The other was financed by Jan Michal Sám, <sup>63</sup> who published a two-volume collection of Raymund's sermons in 1781 and 1782.<sup>64</sup> Raymund's only Latin work was the compilation *Solitudo sacra a dies tres ...*, which was printed in 1789 by Jan Josef Diesbach.<sup>65</sup> The author himself translated it into German and in the same year it was printed again by Diesbach.<sup>66</sup> The German version was republished after only two years.<sup>67</sup> So far, only one copy of the print has been traced to this and to the sermon delivered in 1775 at the Minims in the Old Town of Prague.<sup>68</sup> Other titles are preserved in relatively large numbers.<sup>69</sup>

### Title Pages of Parish Registers

A marginal but no less interesting topic of this paper is the printed title pages of parish registers kept at churches administered by priests of the Order of Malta. Of the thirteen Order parishes of the Grand

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<sup>62</sup> Johann RAYMUND, Rede auf die Feyerlichkeit der heiligen Schutzengeln, vorgetragen den 3ten Tag des Herbstmonates 1775. in der Kirche der W. W. E. E. P. P. Paulanern in der kais. königl. Altstadt Prag ... (Praha [1775]) and RAYMUND, Rede Auf die feyerliche Uebertragung (see footnote 42).

<sup>63</sup> Johann RAYMUND, Rede auf die Feyerlichkeit des fünfzigjährigen Jubelfestes der Kirche des Heiligen Johann von Nepomuck auf der königl. Neustadt Prag in Skalka genannt. ... (Praha [1780]).

<sup>64</sup> Johann RAYMUND, Fra Johann Raymund, ..., Lob- Geheimniß- Sitten- und Gelegenheitspredigten, die in verschiedenen Jahren, und auf verschiedenen Kanzeln vorgetragen worden sind. Erster – Zweyter Band (Praha 1781–1782).

<sup>65</sup> Johann RAYMUND, *Solitudo sacra ad dies tres, animae salutis utiliter impendendos in particulari ad bonam mortem praeparatione, ...* (Praha 1789).

<sup>66</sup> Johann RAYMUND, Heilige Einsamkeit Drey Tage hindurch dem Seelenheile nützlich zu widmen, vermittelt einer besondern Vorbereitung zu einem guten Tode. ... (Praha 1789).

<sup>67</sup> Johann RAYMUND, Heilige Einsamkeit Drey Tage hindurch dem Seelenheile nützlich zu widmen, vermittelt einer besondern Vorbereitung zu einem guten Tode. ... (Praha 1791).

<sup>68</sup> Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena, 8 Theol.XXXVIII,129 and KNA, Knih.Malt., R 28/2 adl. 1.

<sup>69</sup> TRNKA, Život (see footnote 50) 122–124, 126, and 127.

Priory of Bohemia of the last quarter of the eighteenth century, printed title pages are documented for only three of them. They were always in three versions according to the type of register and it was always a one-off event. The oldest title pages are from Horažďovice from 1778.<sup>70</sup> The mostly majuscular text, bordered by a simple frame, contains the type of register, the church with its patronage and patron, the year of the beginning of the volume, the name of the parish priest František Jáchym Chmelíček, and his affiliation to the Order and the Prague convent. However, the printer is not listed. The remaining six title pages were printed in Prague in 1784 by the well-known František Augustin Höchenberger.<sup>71</sup> It was a reaction to the imperial patent from February of that year concerning the forms of registers.<sup>72</sup> All these title pages had a uniform shape and were decorated with a small vignette. There is a

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<sup>70</sup> Státní oblastní archiv v Plzni [State Regional Archives in Plzeň], Sběrka matrik západních Čech [Collection of Registers of Western Bohemia], Roman Catholic Church, parish Horažďovice, inv. no. 532 (1687), signature Horažďovice 08, birth register 1778–1784, title page. Online at [http://www.portafontium.eu/iipimage/30061929/horazdovice-08\\_0020-x](http://www.portafontium.eu/iipimage/30061929/horazdovice-08_0020-x); inv. no. 533 (1688), signature Horažďovice 09, marriage register 1778–1784, title page. Online at [http://www.portafontium.eu/iipimage/30061930/horazdovice-09\\_0020-x](http://www.portafontium.eu/iipimage/30061930/horazdovice-09_0020-x) and inv. no. 534, signature Horažďovice 10, death register 1778–1784, title page. Online at [http://www.portafontium.eu/iipimage/30061931/horazdovice-10\\_0020-x](http://www.portafontium.eu/iipimage/30061931/horazdovice-10_0020-x).

<sup>71</sup> Státní oblastní archiv v Třeboni [State Regional Archives in Třeboň, SOA v Třeboni], Sběrka matrik Jihočeského kraje [Collection of Registers of the South Bohemian Region, SMJK], Roman Catholic Church, parish Radomyšl, inv. no. 4641, book 5, birth register 1784–1805, title page. Online at <https://digi.ceskearchivy.cz/6863/4>; inv. no. 4651, book 15, marriage register 1784–1805, title page. Online at <https://digi.ceskearchivy.cz/6873/4> and inv. no. 4657, book 21, death register 1784–1805, title page. Online at <https://digi.ceskearchivy.cz/6879/4>. SOA v Třeboni, SMJK, Roman Catholic Church, parish Radobytec, inv. no. 4618, book 4, birth register 1794–1806, title page. Online at <https://digi.ceskearchivy.cz/6839/4>; inv. no. 4626, book 12, marriage register 1787–1805, title page. Online at <https://digi.ceskearchivy.cz/6847/2> and inv. no. 4631, book 17, death register 1795–1808, title page. Online at <https://digi.ceskearchivy.cz/6852/4>.

<sup>72</sup> Eduard MAUR, Vývoj matričního zápisu v Čechách [Development of the Record in Parish Registers in Bohemia]. In: Historická demografie 6 (1972) 47.

new reference to the imperial patent and the exact date of establishment of the register. They were intended for the South Bohemian parishes of Radomyšl and Radobyčce led by Jindřich Lachenmayer and František Wiederkomb respectively. However, all three title pages for Radobyčce were used later. The first adorned the marriage register established in 1787. The others applied even under Wiederkomb's successor Václav Jermář (1794 birth register and 1795 death register).

While in 1778 it was a unique act, in 1784 it is possible to observe an effort within the convent to enforce uniform title pages of registers in at least some parishes of the Order. However, unification did not take place and these attempts were not repeated later.

## Conclusion

Overall, the publishing activities of the Prague convent of priests of the Order of Malta in the eighteenth century were by no means extensive. For all prints associated with the convent, it is possible to define several common characteristics. They were smaller prints with unpretentious decoration. Given the fleeting content of most titles, it is possible to characterise them as of a consumer nature. The limited circle of potentially interested persons for these prints was certainly reflected in the number of copies produced. The contemporary consequence of these factors is the generally very poor preservation of convent prints. These were printed exclusively by Prague printers, with Jan Karel Hraba in first place. Some of Jan Raymund's works, which have been preserved in several copies, do not conform to the characteristics outlined above. However, these are mostly larger prints that had another publisher.

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### **The Publishing Activity of the Restored Convent of the Knights of Malta in Prague until the End of the 18th Century** Pavel Trnka

Shortly after the restoration of the religious community in the first half of the 1730s, the convent began to print directories. It was the only title published regularly each year for more than forty years. The first *officia*



*propria sanctorum* was also created. The golden age of convent prints overlaps with the activity of the second prior of the restored convent, František Špinka, and includes the second half of the 1740s and the 1750s. In addition to this production, there were other various types (directories, again *officia propria sanctorum*, librettos and most likely also a book about the pilgrimage church), and financial support for prints of the work of university students is also documented. The period of the 1760s was marked by a slowdown in publishing. In the 1770s and 1780s, the printed work of Jan Raymund, a member of the convent, dominated. In addition, two editions of the Order's legend of Princess Ismeria were made. At the same time, however, the printing of directories stopped. The printed title pages of parish registers were a mere episode in the printing activities of the convent and its members, and, moreover, these were not typical prints. In the last decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the publishing activities of the convent were apparently limited to occasional small prints.

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### **Die Verlegertätigkeit des erneuerten Konvents des Malteserordens in Prag bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts** Pavel Trnka

Kurz nach der Erneuerung der Ordenskommunität in der ersten Hälfte der Dreißiger Jahre des 18. Jahrhunderts wurden die ersten Direktorien gedruckt. Es handelte sich um einen einzigen Titel, der regelmäßig jedes Jahr auf Dauer von mehr als vierzig Jahren herausgegeben wurde. Es entstanden auch die ersten *officia propria sanctorum*. Das goldene Zeitalter der Konventdrucke überlappt sich mit dem Wirken des zweiten Priors des erneuerten Konvents, František Špinka, und umfasst die zweite Hälfte der Vierziger- und Fünfzigerjahre des 18. Jahrhunderts. Außer der eigenen Produktion, die gattungsmäßig abwechslungsreicher ist (Direktorien, wieder *officia propria sanctorum*, Libretti und wahrscheinlich auch das Buch über die Wallfahrtskirche), kann man auch die finanzielle Förderung der Drucke der Universitätsstudenten nachweisen. Die Zeit der Sechzigerjahre stand im Zeichen eines Nach-

lassens in der Verlegertätigkeit. In den Siebziger- und Achtzigerjahren dominiert das gedruckte Werk des Konventsmitglieds Jan Raymund. Daneben entstanden zwei Ausgaben der Ordenslegende über die Prinzessin Ismeria. Gleichzeitig wurde der Druck von Direktorien gestoppt. Die gedruckten Titelblätter der Pfarrmatrikeln stellten im Rahmen der Verlegeraktivitäten des Konvents oder ihrer Mitglieder eine Episode dar, darüber hinaus handelte es sich nicht um typische Drucke. Im letzten Jahrzehnt des 18. Jahrhunderts beschränkten sich die Verlegeraktivitäten nur auf gelegentliche kleine Drucke.

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### **Vydavatelská činnost obnoveného konventu maltézských rytířů v Praze do konce 18. století** **Pavel Trnka**

Nedlouho po obnově řeholní komunity v první polovině 30. let 18. století začaly být tisknuty direktáře. Jednalo se o jediný titul, vydávaný pravidelně každý rok po dobu více jak čtyřicet let. Vznikla také první *officia propria sanctorum*. Zlatá doba konventních tisků se překrývá s působením druhého převora obnoveného konventu Františka Špinky a zahrnuje druhou polovinu 40. let a 50. léta 18. století. Kromě vlastní produkce, která je druhově pestřejší (direktáře, opět *officia propria sanctorum*, libreta a pravděpodobně i kniha o poutním kostele), lze doložit i finanční podporu tisků univerzitních studentů. Období 60. let bylo ve znamení útlumu ve vydávání. V 70. a 80. letech dominuje tištěné dílo člena konventu Jana Raymunda. Vedle toho vznikla i dvě vydání řádové legendy o princezně Ismerii. Zároveň však ustalo tištění direktářů. Tištěné titulní listy farních matrik představovaly v rámci tiskařských aktivit konventu či jeho členů pouhou epizodu, a navíc se nejednalo o typické tisky. V posledním desetiletí 18. století se vydavatelské aktivity konventu zřejmě omezily pouze na příležitostné drobné tisky.

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