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From the Editor

The Polish National Library brought out the first volume of *Polish Libraries Today* in 1991. Since then, the magazine has evolved in a variety of ways. In the previous issue we highlighted some of the most memorable and unique treasures from the collections of the National Library, and added a colour insert to enhance what until then had been a purely black-and-white layout. Additionally, a new graphic design was selected for the title page. In this issue we went a step further, with a full-colour presentation of the wonderful books, maps and prints from the collections of Polish libraries that have originated in other countries. Also, wishing to give the publication a more modern character, we have decided to issue it in two versions, on paper and in digital form.

We hope that this volume of *Polish Libraries Today*, with its broad scope of articles by scholars and librarians, will provide our readers with new information on Poland's 'foreign collections'. Many of these collections, and the works found in them, have not received much attention beyond the borders of our country. They are, however, an enduring legacy of the strong links between Poland's cultural heritage and the cultural traditions

of other European nations. They reveal the regional and ethnic dimension, and historical complexity of these relationships. For the last ten years, the National Library has striven to re-examine these links, and to stimulate reflection on the inherent diversity of Polish culture. In response to this trend, apart from academic research, the current issue features a section outlining some of the National Library's 'international' exhibitions, both those displayed in other countries, and those that, like the series 'Our Neighbours – A New Perspective', helped viewers in Poland comprehend their outlook on other cultures. Finally, we conclude this issue by reviewing a series of books that deal with rare and valuable collections of non-Polish provenance, with themes ranging from a medieval French illuminated Psalter to Jewish ephemera from the period between the two World Wars.

As *Polish Libraries Today* keeps changing, our goal remains the same, and that is to share with our readers a sense of the beauty and rich intercultural heritage of Polish library collections. We hope that we have been able to achieve this, and that this issue will open a new perspective on this aspect of libraries in our country.

Joanna Pasztaleniec-Jarzyńska



The Genesis and Description of a Miniature Dutch Prayer Book from the National Library in Warsaw

Abstract This small illuminated prayer book was created around 1440 in the *scriptorium* of the St. Agnes Convent in Delft. The author focuses on the miniatures executed *en grisaille*, discussing their themes, composition and significance. After comparing the codex with a book of hours from the Belgian Royal Library in Brussels, she ends by giving a short iconographic description of the most artistically refined works in this seldom-employed technique.

Fashioned in the 15th century, this small Dutch prayer book, or *Gebedenboek*, shelfmark Rps I 3779, comes from the Załuski collections. In 1938 it was analysed by Stanisława Sawicka who presented its description, formal analysis and dating. She considered that the codex could have originated in the 1440s in the region of Utrecht, and drew attention to the fact that the manuscript had been executed *en grisaille*, a method applied at the time by French and Dutch artists.¹

Over the past thirty years, a number of studies have taken place on the illuminatory craft of the northern Dutch artists, enabling us to better understand the origins of the prayer book. In particular, great attention has been given to its miniature figures and as well as to other similar works held in the Belgian Royal Library in Brussels.

The Załuski prayer book comprises a calendar (unadorned), the Hours of the Holy Cross, The Hours of Our Lady, penitential prayers, litanies, prayers to various saints, and prayers for various occasions. Certain parts of the manuscripts are gilded with large golden initials, covering at least three margins. Gilded margins and small initials, typical of the Northern Dutch style, also distinguish the canonical hours, drawn with a quill and painted with matted colours of blue, red and green together with moderate touches of gold and white. The layout of the pages was fashioned in accordance with the *en grisaille* technique, involving full page miniatures that had no ornamental margins whatsoever, whereas the shades of grey coupled with the shape and vividness of certain images accentuated the discreet encrusting. The presented scenes were void of descriptive

detail, the artist choosing instead to focus upon the small number of figures.

This formal asceticism has significance within the context of the whole prayer book itself. The selection of the texts and their decoration are typical, whereas the figural compositions distinguish one form from another. They were expressive paintings which brought joy to those praying, just like so many books of hours – particularly the French books of hours, in that they were specifically intended to enhance the religious experience.

The first eight illustrations present the Passion of Christ. Here the artist focused upon the bloodied body of our Lord, the evilness of his tormentors, the suffering of Mary, the pain of Christ's female companions and St. John. The realism served to recreate not the richness of the earthly scenery, but rather to picture the specifically religious aspect of the images. This diverged from the artistic tendencies present in Dutch panel paintings in the first half of the 15th century and found its reflection in the illuminatory works of the northern regions of the country in the second half of the century.

The significance of the illustrations in the prayer book is clear. Christ was made manifest upon this earth so as to experience great suffering. Evil people tortured Him, and His tormentors are portrayed with deformed faces. In opposition to this we have the delicate face of Pontius Pilate's wife during Christ's hearing by the Roman procurator, the focused, serious faces of Mary, the faithful maidens and St. John – all of whom embody man's ability to feel Christ's suffering. In the prayer book, particular attention is given to the face of Our

Lady, together with the sensibility of the scene, strengthened by the expressive draping of the vestments and coupled with the positioning of Christ's head, which, in spite of his half-closed eyes, seems to be looking at the person viewing the painting.

The themes of other miniatures in the prayer book are both clear and suggestive. The message is directed to the owner of the book through its iconography and formal stylisation. The Hours of



Christ before Pilate, *Gebedenboek* from the National Library, f. 14 v^o

the Blessed Virgin precede that of the Annunciation, in which the artist involves the entire Trinity in the Divine Conception. Simultaneously it shows the suggestive spiritual link of Mary and the archangel – characteristic is the expression of Mary's face and the gesture of her hand pointing to the text in a book. Placed in the foreground is a vase with a lily, symbolising the innocence of the Virgin Mary. The characters are given correct proportions, are beautifully modelled and draped in decorative swathing robes.

The penitential prayers are accompanied by numerous illustrations. In the 15th century, the

northern Netherlands established its own iconographic tradition. Among a number of chosen themes to be found was also that of the Final Judgement – the division of those damned and those saved, or of the resurrection of the dead. In our prayer book, the latter is featured. At the feet of Christ as Judge, three figures emerge from the earth. On the right hand side – a maid with her arms crossed has a clear hope of being saved; on the left, a man with his head bowed has a mournful look – he is clearly under threat of eternal damnation.

In the centre along the axis of the composition, there is placed a figure with his back to us – he is waiting for his sentence. Here the artist is always looking for simplicity of expression and clarity. In the context of penitential prayers, it is a call to contemplate eternal life. However despite the wealth of iconography associated with prayers for the dead, here we find only scenes depicting praying monks over a dead body. These figures constitute the very attitude of liturgical prayer, with accentuated gold encrustation, thus making them stand out from the rest of the composition.

The tormented Christ is the Judge of all men – this is a truth repeated many times in the prayer book. The necessity of suffering, penance, prayer is the central message of this prayer book, and the way in which the ascetic technique *en grisaille* is applied is uniquely essential to this idea.

The prayer book of the National Library displays a lot of similarities to the manuscript preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique in Brussels (shelfmark 21696). The dimensions of both codices are similar, whereas their iconography is of the same period, wherein the same technique of *en grisaille* was applied.² Despite the fact that the Brussels prayer book begins with the Hours of Our Lady and the Assumption, most of the illustrations are given over to the Passion. They appear in an almost identical order to that of the Warsaw prayer book: Christ's capture, Christ before Pilate, Jesus being nailed to the cross, the crucifixion, Jesus being laid in the tomb. Besides this, there is a scene of Jesus being flogged. And instead of the *Pietà*, we are given the Stations of the Cross. The introduction of Christ the Judge, who raises the dead to life, is placed among the prayers for the dead.

In this monastery a scriptorium could have been founded around 1430. It has been established that figural miniatures executed using *en grisaille* were the work of two artists, as Pierre

Cockshaw rightly suggests, that of master and pupil. The only work ascribed to the pupil is that of *Vir Dolorum*, the figure of Our Lady surrounded by saints.³ The creator of the whole narrative series, described as the Delft master of *en grisaille*, also executed the Warsaw miniature prayer book with variants on the composition, technique and size of the Dutch miniature. For example, the compositional system is rejected (i.e. in the scene



Christ before Pilate from the National Library's *Gebedenboek*, f. 14 v^o

of Christ before Pilate, the head of Pontius Pilate's wife is presented differently; as too is the face of St. John in the scene of the crucifixion). The most interesting aspect of all of this is the colouristic variety. In the National Library's prayer book the miniaturist employed only variations of grey and small encrustations of gold, which accentuated important elements of the composition, and also red (the blood of Christ), strengthening the essential suggestiveness of the cycle. In the Brussels hours a bright blue sky is applied to the horizon, thus endowing the scene with a greater sense of space.



Christ before Pilate, *Livre d'Heures* from the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, f. 39 v^o

Both manuscripts are dated to around 1440 on the basis of the formal characteristics of the figural presentation. This thesis is also somewhat supported by the exhibition of Dutch miniatures in the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique in 1971, which displayed a codex that included a French translation of the *Mirrors of Human Salvation*, which was fashioned for Philip the Good, the prince of Burgundy in 1449, a fact confirmed by the inscription in his inventory from 1467.⁴

The manuscript is written on paper and gilded, with numerous drawings by different artists. Typically these are straightforward drawings. In the presentation of the Passion scenes: the Crucifixion, the Stations of the Cross, as well as the scene of Christ before Pilate, we see the same schemas, and at times even the same vestments (e.g. the Roman soldier, the servants) as in the manuscripts under discussion. This form of comparative analysis allows us to be more precise as to the dating of the Warsaw and Brussels manuscripts. They belong to a larger group of prayer books created around 1440. Four of them were displayed at an exhibition on Dutch illuminated



The Last Judgement: from the National Library's *Gebedenboek*, f. 77 v° (left), and the *Livre d'Heures* from the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, f. 93 v° (right)



A miniature of the Annunciation and the initial *O* with an ornamental floral border from the *Gebedenboek* ff. 30 v° and 31 r°

manuscripts in Utrecht at the end of 1989; in the exhibition catalogue twelve existing manuscripts of this kind were identified.⁵

Manuscripts that featured gilding as applied by the technique *en grisaille* appeared at the time not only in northern Holland. In other centres it was applied to luxurious decoration and also popular codices. In France this technique was widely applied in the 14th century, with a high level of artistry being achieved in Paris (a fact confirmed by the exhibition 'Miniatures en grisaille' at the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, 1986).

In an epoch that saw great development in artistic narrative, the fashioning of figural miniatures using the technique *en grisaille* seems to have been entirely appropriate. More opulent than drawing, it created the possibility of portraying figures more vividly, placing them in a space emphasised by many details. As a technique it was also used as a means of completing a number of illustrations quickly. For example, in the illustrated Bible that was fashioned for King John the Good (1350-1364), a team of illuminators fashioned more than five thousand miniatures using a technique approximating *en grisaille*, with spare use of coloured drawings (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. Fr. 167).

In Delft the technique *en grisaille* was applied to the exposition of religious matter.⁶ For readers of books of hours these presentations were to aid contemplation, and with our two books under discussion, the Passion of Christ was a clear focal point. The application of so many shades of grey in the creation of these images (with a tiny addition of gold and a delicate light blue) helped to focus the viewer's attention on what was happening in the picture, thus also enabling them to experience the moment for themselves. The unity of content and form allows us to

think that the Augustinian monks from the monastery of St. Agnes were purposeful in both their choice of illuminator⁷ and the method of illustrating the prayer books, seeking, it seems, to enhance the effect on one's imagination. It was possible to find on occasion among the books presented at the exhibition in Utrecht examples of a fusion of miniatures by the Delft Master *en grisaille* with simple floral patterns along the margins. However, this work is lessened, often unnecessarily, by the expressive manner in which the figures were presented.

The prayer book from the Warsaw National Library collection, created in the monastery of St. Agnes of Delft around 1440, is an example of the application of the technique *en grisaille* in the shaping of religious imagery. Their message was directed primarily to the owner of the book and designed to strengthen the ties between man and God.

This was also the ultimate aim of tablatore artists, who created these works for the elite of the time, particularly for those of the Burgundy court. The prayer book of Delft is but a modest example of this tendency, though intended more for burghers than aristocrats.

Also later in the second half of the 15th century, miniature books of hours were made, fashioned somewhat in the *en grisaille* technique, whose application added to the strength of the work's expressiveness. This confirms that this technique, which began in the 1440s, continued up until the execution of the famous *The Black Hours* – written and encrusted with silver on black-stained parchment (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. 1856).⁸ This piece, in a similar fashion to the simple prayer books from the monastery of the Augustinian monks at Delft, was meant to serve individual contemplation and all that it entailed concerning the religious truths of sin, suffering and penance.⁹

Notes:

1. Stanisława Sawicka 'Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Varsovie, du Château Royal et des Bibliothèques: des Zamoyski à Varsovie, du Séminaire de Plock et du Chapitre de Gniezno', *Bulletin de la Société Française de Reproductions de Manuscrits à Peintures* 19 (1939), pp. 117-125. Prayer Book – parchment, 203 leaves 14.8 × 10.5 cm, 17th century binding, after conservation work, leather cover (a number of pages missing; inscription of Bishop Załuski).

2. *Livres d'Heures*, parchment, 151 leaves 15.5 × 10.5 cm, 22 miniatures *en grisaille* executed in Delft c. 1440; Camille Gaspar, Frederik Lyna, *Les principaux manuscrits*

à peintures de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique vol. 2, Paris, 1945, pp. 116-119; Pierre Cockshaw *Miniatures en grisaille*, Brussels, 1986, p. 17; *The Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting*, ed. J.H. Marrow, H.L.M. Defoer, A.S. Kortweg, W.C.M. Wüsterfeld, Stuttgart, 1990, pp. 189-190, illus. 94.

3. Marrow et al., op. cit., p. 189.

4. *Miroir de la Salvation Humaine* trans. by Johan Miélot, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels, Ms. 9249-50, paper, 112 leaves, 41 × 28.4 cm; Gaspar, Lyna, op. cit., vol. 3, pt. 1, 1989, pp.245-255.

5. Marrow et al., op. cit., p. 185-191. Cf. L. M. J. Delaisse, *A Century of Dutch Manuscript Illumination*, Los Angeles, 1968, pp. 30-31, illus. 51.

6. In this scriptorium other codices were gilded using another technique. Cf. Marrow et al., op. cit., pp. 163-164.

7. There has been much discussion among scholars as to the nature of employment offered to the lay miniaturist for him to fashion the figural miniatures using the *en grisaille* technique. However, no sources exist that would enlighten us on the matter.

8. These were made in the Netherlands in the 1560s (Cockshaw op. cit., p. 17; Dagmar Thoss, 'Der Meister des

"Schwarzen Gebetbuchs" ein Holländischer Buchmaler' in *Masters and Miniatures* ed. by Koert van der Horst and Johann Christian Klamt, Dornspijk, 1991, pp. 149-159).

9. *Das Schwarze Gebetsbuch: Codex 1856 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien* ed. by Ulrike Jenni and Dagmar Thoss, Frankfurt, 1982. The stylisation of Passion images is most expressive, achieving at times an almost drastic quality.

Translated by *Barry Keane*

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Foreign Collections in Polish Libraries

Katarzyna Płonka-Balus

The *Traité de la forme et devis d'un tournoi* of King René d'Anjou from the Princes Czartoryski Library in Cracow

Abstract This treatise, an elegant guide to the art of staging a jousting match, presents the historian with an invaluable source of information regarding the customs associated with late-medieval chivalric culture. The author analyses one of the five surviving copies of this work with regard to its contents (the elements of a *tournoi*), the circumstances of its origin, and the iconography from the atelier of Barthélemy d'Eyck.

The recent celebrations to mark the bi-centenary of the Cracow Museum and the Library of the Princes Czartoryski, whose history began in 1801 with the inauguration of the Temple of Sybil – the first museum pavilion erected in the Puławy park – has presented the Czartoryski Museum with the opportunity of exhibiting a significant part of its collection of illuminated manuscripts. A number of these manuscripts went on display in 1809 in both the Temple of Sybil and in the so-called Gothic House, and were treated by princess Izabela Czartoryska (the founder of the Museum) as museum pieces, representing as they did tangible traces of the past, together with memorabilia of famous Polish and European personages. The remaining manuscripts belonging to the library collection '(...) were purchased in 1818 by princes Adam Kazimierz and Jerzy Czartoryski. These manuscripts also included many thousands of volumes of printed sheets, manuscripts and archive pieces, which, though small in number, constituted an extremely valuable group of books. The 1818 acquisition included the part of the library that Tadeusz Czacki had amassed in his family's Poryck estate in Wołyń. (...) Prince Władysław Czartoryski, the grandson of princess Izabela, was responsible for the third part of the illuminated manuscripts in the Czartoryski collection, having spent a great deal of time scouring the European antique market, ably aided and advised by Polish collectors. The illuminated manuscripts that became part of the Library collection have all kept their special character as masterpieces of the art of illumination'.¹

There are some outstanding works in this collection. Originally the first manuscripts of the Czar-

toryski collection were 'parcels and gifts' from family members, aristocratic friends, Napoleonic generals, as well as Polish and European intellectuals. One of the most valuable volumes given to princess Izabela and preserved today in the Czartoryski library, the *Traité de la forme et devis d'un tournoi* (Ms. Czart. 3090 IV) had been exhibited in the Gothic House in Puławy, and recorded in its oldest catalogue under no. 1231.²

The history of this beautiful manuscript is predominantly linked to two important French historical personages. In the 15th century the codex belonged to Jean d'Armagnac, prince of Nemours. At the end of the century it turned up in the possession of Pierre de Beaujeu, prince of Bourbon (son-in-law to the King of France, Louis XI), and later found itself in the possession of the princes of Conti. At the beginning of the 19th century it was presented to Puławy by the French publisher, writer and archaeologist, Marie Charles Joseph de Pougens (1755-1833), the descendant of the last owners of the manuscript, a fact confirmed by an inscription written by the princess: *Ce manuscrit est la maison Gothique; il a été envoyé par M. Pougeant, membre de l'Institut Paris. Isabelle Czartoryska.*³

Traité de la forme et devis d'un tournoi [A Treatise on the Form and Organisation of Tournaments] by René d'Anjou (1409-1480), Duke of Lorraine, titular King of Jerusalem and Sicily, otherwise known as *Le Livre des tournois* [The Tournament Book], was written around 1460. It is one of a larger group of works penned by this feudal lord. The Good King René is also known as the author of the idyll, *Regnault et Jeanneton*, an allegorical religious treatise, *Le Mortifiement*

de vaine plaisance (1455), and above all, as author of the *Livre du Coeur d'Amour Épris* (at the end of the 1460s), maintained in the dream convention of an allegorical tale about the deeds of the Besotted Heart (Coeur), which constitutes an ideological continuation of Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung's *Roman de la Rose*, popular since the 13th century.

The majority of the works by René d'Anjou were published as luxurious illuminated editions, among which the most beautiful one is the manuscript of *Coeur d'Amour Épris*, executed for the same author by his court painter, identified as Barthélemy d'Eyck, a *valet de chambre*, who served in the court of Anjou in the years 1447-1470.⁴ From among King René's oeuvre, *Le Livre des tournois* occupies a special place, thanks to the preservation of five copies made in the 15th century and that of one fashioned in the 16th century.

The work was dedicated to the prince's brother Charles d'Anjou, the count of Maine (*A tres-hault et puissant prince Montresch., tresame et seul frere germain, charles danju Conte du maine de Montaigu et de guyse*⁵), and inspired by earlier works on chivalry. It is similar to the compilation gathered in c. 1459 by Antoine de la Salle⁶, who was temporarily linked to the court of Anjou. This work is proof of René's great erudition (mentioned in the text⁷), and is also an expression of the author's personal experiences – he was the winner of a tournament in Saumur in 1446 and was the organiser of the memorable Pas de Bergère (immortalised in the illustrated codex *Le Pas d'arme de la bergère de Tasrascon*, 1449).⁸

Using his knowledge of the customs in countries with the oldest tradition of jousting, such as in the lands on the Rhine, Flanders and Brabant, and above all, in the kingdom of France, René d'Anjou codified in his book the principle rules of a ceremonial tournament, making recourse to an imaginary tournament between the knights of Brittany and Bourbon. Following the example of the liturgical *ordo* as well as pre-tournament activities, the tournament itself is placed in a highly formalised system dressed up in the ostentatious style of the Middle Ages. Like a colourful frieze, an ideal history unfurls where narrative is intertwined with a factual description of arms and armour, ending in an analysis of the remuneration of minstrels and trumpeters, coupled with guidance on how to deal with them, beginning with the decision to undertake a tournament (the privilege of

princes, barons, or knight bannerettes) all the way through the complicated preparations, the duels, and ultimately the prize giving.

All copies of *Le Livre des tournois* are beautifully illustrated and treat both the tournament as well as the various details concerning arms and armour. This ornamentation raises the value of the work whilst also preserving for posterity a unique window into the customs, dress, and chivalric culture of the Middle Ages, not to mention the elite world of 15th century France.

The manuscript *Le Livre des tournois* in the Czartoryski collection (Ms. Czart. 4090 IV) is one of the five replicas of the original codex, a paper manuscript in the collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (ms fr. 2695), and faithfully copies both the text and the illustrations of the original.⁹ The Cracovian codex was written on parchment in 15th century italics in one column in the French language.¹⁰ Its current dimensions (295 × 220 mm) are slightly different from the original ones, which proves that the leaves were trimmed during one of the bindings of the manuscript.¹¹

Aside from 5 protective sheets, Ms. Czart. 3090 IV consists of 55 parchment leaves, which have preserved the original Roman folio. In order to mark the division of the text, the titles of the given chapters were written in rubric, which was also used for depicting scenes accompanied by illustrations. Calligraphic initials embellish the manuscripts, attended by small initials of gold and azure with the body of the initials filled in with white *rincaux*. Initial A (f. I) is an exception: the letter is placed on a gold polished background, inside of which there are heraldic *fleurs de lys* and depicts the prince of Bourbon's coat of arms – introduced secondarily perhaps because the next owner of the codex was Pierre de Beaujeu of Bourbon. The painting decoration of the manuscript comprises 16 full pages and double page drawings executed with a quill, and is coloured in with a gouache and water colours. Their themes are derived from the text and treat the subject matter in a literal or – as some may say – demonstrative way. The true treatise begins on f. II, and the program of its decoration is presented below.

F. II: *...la facon [...] comment le duc de bretagne baille l'espee au Roy darmes*. In a room with a wooden ceiling we find a group of people

surrounding the person on the throne under the canopy of the prince of Brittany, to whom René d'Anjou gave the role of challenger of the tournament – *apellant*. The most important figure aside from the ruler is the person dressed in the colours of the *roy d'armes* – the King of Arms, fulfilling an important role in the running of the tournament. Now he is accepting the unsheathed sword from the hands of the prince, which will then be passed onto the challenged knight. The King of Arms is accompanied by two kneeling *poursuivants*; and behind them and beside the two courtiers stands the *sergent d'armes* holding a mace. In accordance with the text, the illustrator pays as close attention to the coats of arms of the prince as to the appearance of his throne. Unlike the remaining chivalric emblems presented in the manuscript, these have been illustrated with particular attention to detail.

F. III v^o: *...comment le Roy d'armes presente lespee au duc de Bourbon*. The King of Arms together with his *poursuivants* and the *sergent d'armes* standing behind him kneel before the prince of Bourbon, who is sitting among his courtiers on the throne that is draped in brocaded *fleur de lys*, under the canopy decorated with gilded coats of arms. Following on with the script, Bourbon accepts the sword, and thus the role of the challenged – *defendants*.



The Prince of Bourbon selects the referees for the tournament, *Traité de la forme et devis d'un tournoi* f. V r^o

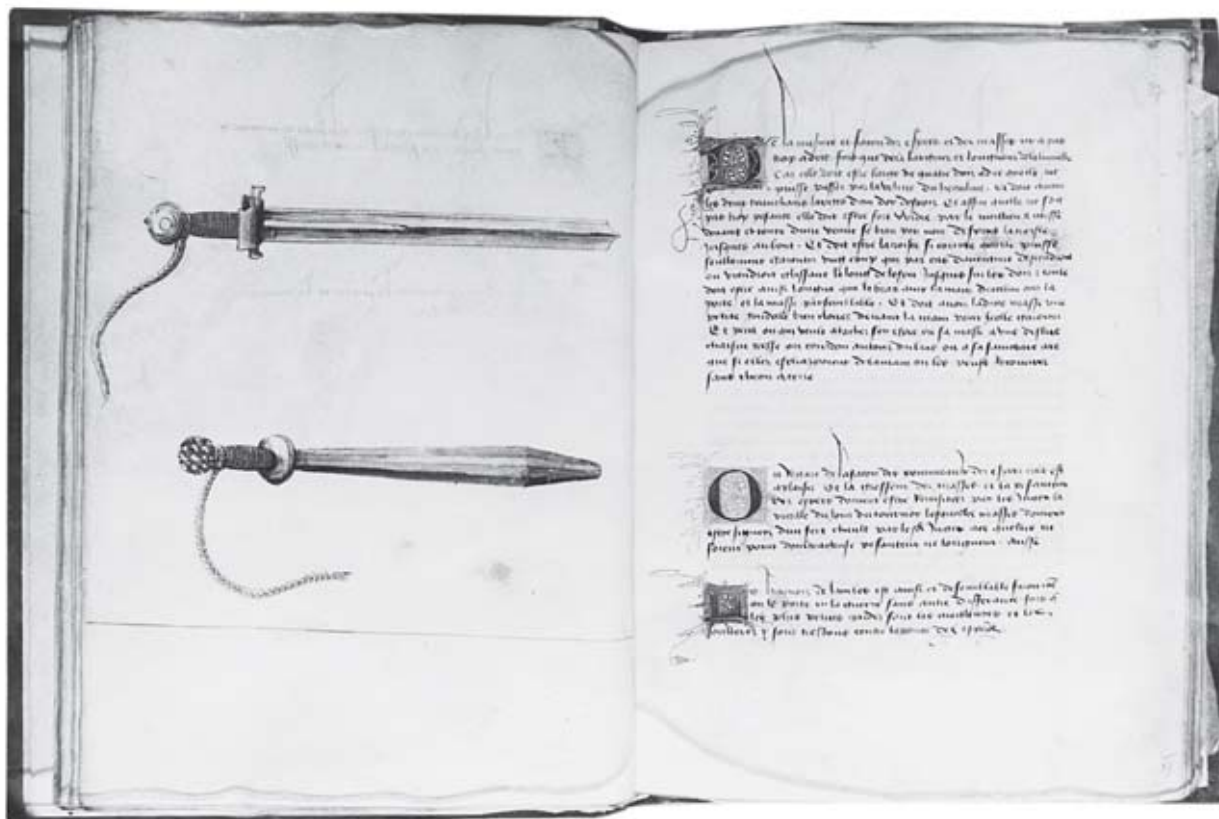
F. V r^o: *...comment le Roy d'armes monstre audit duc de Bourbon de huit blasons de chevaliers et escuiers*. In this scene, the *defendants* familiarises himself with a scroll showing eight coats of arms, knights and their squires, given to him by those newcomers. Of these the prince of Bourbon chooses two *chevaliers* and two *écuyers* to be the tournament referees (*juges diseurs*).

F. VI v^o: *...comment le roy d'armes monstre aux quatre Juges diseurs les seingeurs apellant et deffendant et leur presente les lettre dedits seingeurs ayant le drap dor sue lespaule et le parchemin paint desdits deux chief*. The King of Arms is dressed in the required garments of two ells of gold silk or velvet attached to his left shoulder, into which a parchment is fitted with portraits of the two princes, drawn on horseback in full kit as '*chiefs*' *du tournois*. The miniature depicts the moment when both princes present letters to the referees of the tournament. The next thing that remains to be established is the time and place of the tournament itself, and so the King of Arms informs the two main parties, the ruling monarch and the invited guests.

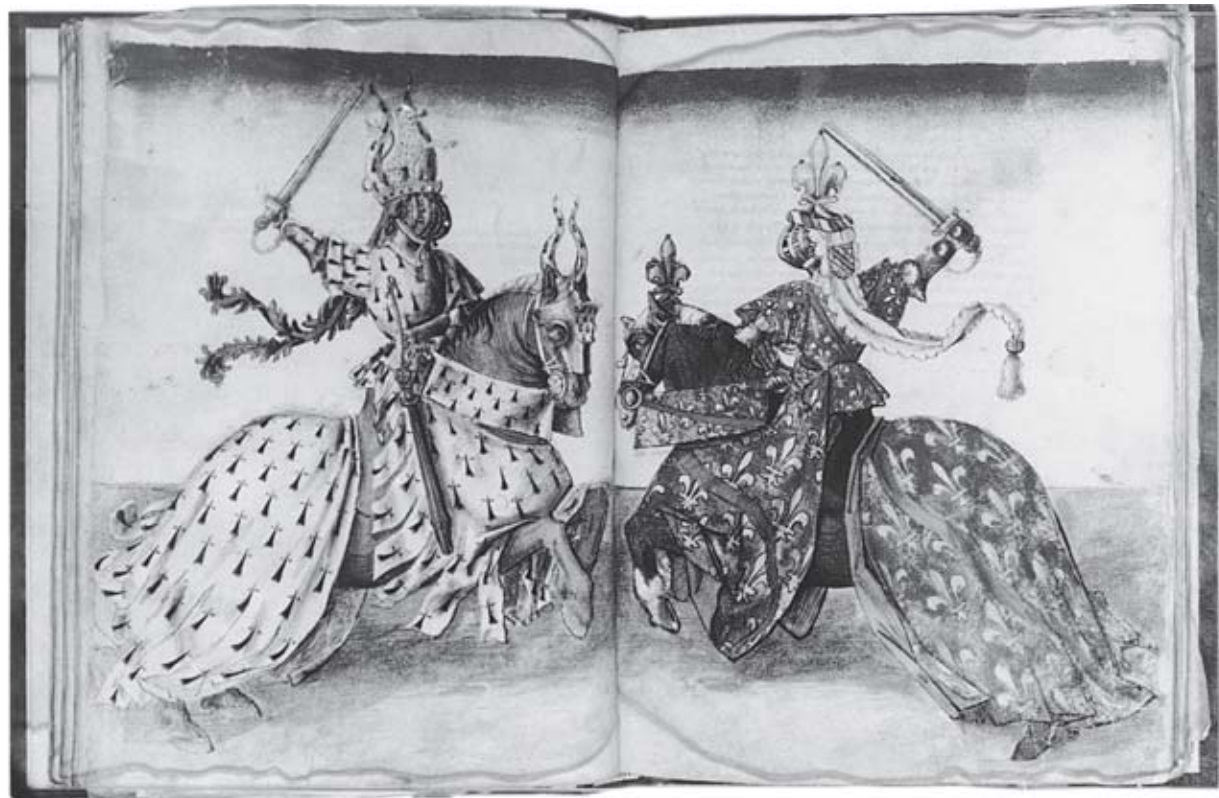
F. VIII v^o: *...comment le Roy d'armes aiant drap dor sur lepaule et le deux chiefs paings sur le parchemin et aux quatre coings les quatre escussions desdits Juges pains*. *Et crie le tournoy et comment les poursuivants baillent les escusion des armes desdit Juges atous ceulx qui en veullent prendre*. The drawing presents two groups of men facing one another. And one of them on the left of the spectator dominates the figure of the King of Arms, dressed as described above, in the company of two *poursuivants*. They are handing out parchments with the coats of arms of the referees painted on them, so that those interested in taking part in the tournament can attach them to their hats, which some of the knights standing opposite have already done.

Ff. X-XXI r^o: Contains descriptions and drawings of parts of the armaments of the knight and the horse, focusing on those characteristics that offer the best defence during battle and which permit their owners to take part in the tournament. Here we also find out about the custom of marking the weapon with the coats of the arms of the tournament referees; only with this armour could the participants enter into battle.

Ff. XXI v^o-XXII r^o: *...comment les deux ducs de Brataigne et de bourbon son acheval*,



The types of weaponry to be used during the tournament. *Traité de la forme et devis d'un tournoi* ff. XIV^o-XV^r



The challenger and the challenged knight. *Traité de la forme et devis d'un tournoi* ff. XXI^o-XXII^r

armoyez ainsi qu'ils sont au tournoy. Here we have a two-paged miniature that presents the challenger and the challenged. They are both on horseback in full kit, facing one another in the combat position with raised swords. The stylised miniature stems from the images known from mediaeval armorials such as the *Armorial of the Golden Fleece*, in which we find, among others, a likeness of the king of Poland maintained in a similar fashion.

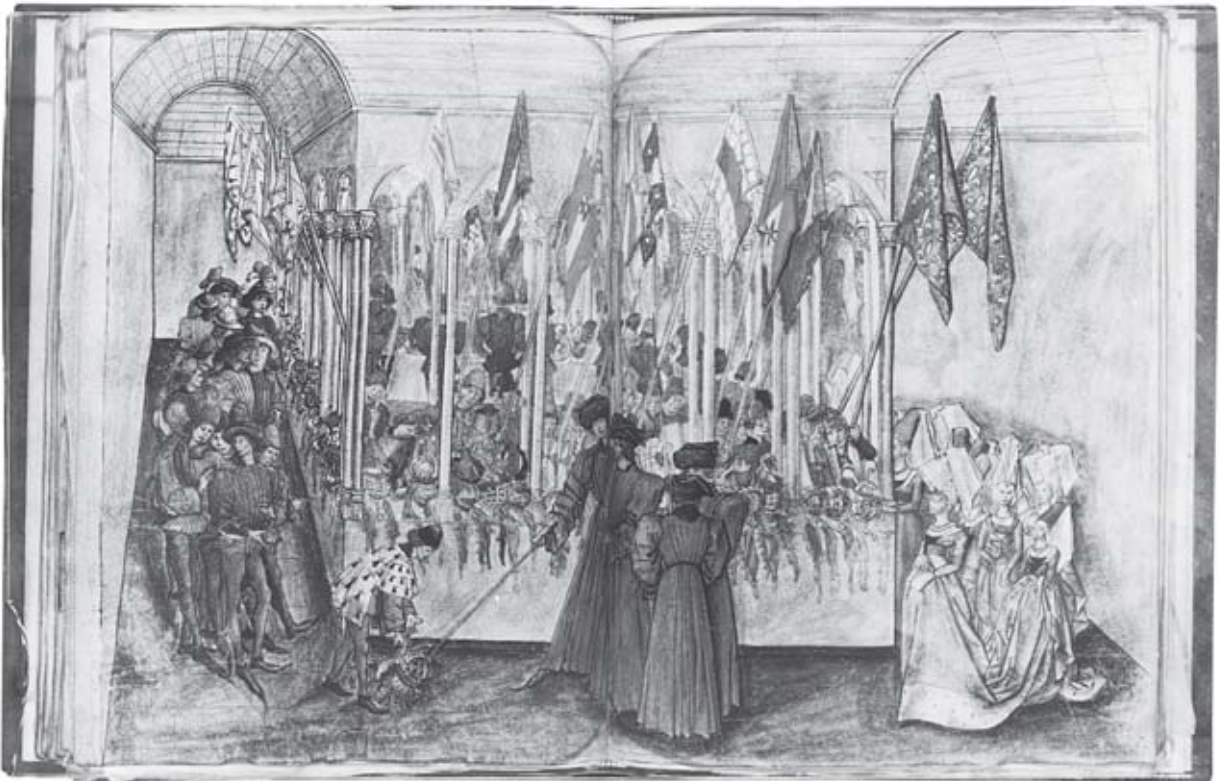
Ff. XXIII v°-XXIV r°: *...La facon des lices et des chauffaulx.* A two-paged drawing depicting the look of tiltyards, together with loggia for referees and damsels, raised onto the tournament square and maintaining the required dimensions and safe construction. The insignias of the tournament referees are placed in all four corners.

Ff. XXV v°-XXVI r°: *...histoire de l'entree de lun des seigneurs chiefs au lieu du tournoy.* The prince of Brittany on horseback, going past a stalwart tree, approaches the gates of the city visible in the left extreme of the miniature. In front of him is a group of heralds and a page who has just entered onto the drawbridge. In the background there is a wide landscape with a castle.

Ff. XXVII v°-XXVIII r°: *...histoire commant les seigneurs chiefs font de leurs blasons fenestres.* During the tournament the city street changes its character. The miniature depicts in both a conventional and demonstrative way homes on both sides of the street, decorated with flags of the knights taking part in the tournament, as well as the emblems of both *chiefs du tournois*.

Ff. XXIX v°-XXX r°: *Histoire de l'entree des Juges.* The cortege of tournament judges all dressed in red *houpellandes* and black chapecons, led by the King of Arms and the heralds head towards the gates of the city, passing hills and the characteristic solitary tree. In the background we see a subtly painted landscape with a monastery and a castle.

F. XXXI: *...histoire d'un hayrault qui en brasse les quatre bannieres de quatre Juges diseurs.* This drawing depicts the image of the King of Arms, on painted wood holding four insignias with the coats of arms of the referees. It is an example of a picture that would have been found above the entrance to their lodgings during the time of the tournament.



The verification of the contestants' emblems. *Traité de la forme et devis d'un tournoi* ff. XXXIV v°-XXXV r°

Ff. XXXIII v°-XXXIV r°: *...histoire comant ils portent benniere timbres delapellant ou cloistre pour les arranger*. A two-sided miniature presents the way in which the emblems and arms of the knight are transported to the monastery – the temporary lodgings of the tournament referees – in order to mark them and place them for verification. The head of the cavalcade, moving through the hilly setting, is just approaching the gates of the cloister.

Ff. XXXIV-XXXV r°: Verification of knightly emblems. The ceremony takes place in gallery of the Gothic cloister. Around the *viridarium*, under the arcades supported by columns, on a specially built wooden parapet displayed are the helmets of the tournament participants, decorated with coat of arms jewels. Standing in the *viridarium*, the heralds are holding their flags. The referees and guests, including the damsels, are looking at the emblems, associating them with the name of the knight being read out. If those gathered assume that he has committed a shameful act, his helmet is knocked off the parapet, in the way the miniature depicts. Proof of guilt means that the knight is excluded from the tournament.

Ff. XXXVIII v°-XXXIX r°: *...Histoire de la facon de la venue de seigneur appellant et du seigneur defendant pour veoir sur le Rengs pour faire de seremens*. The taking of the tournament oath takes place in the courtyard in the presence of both the tournament referees and the damsels gathered on the boxes. The scene is dynamic: a colourful crowd gathers inside the cloister. The Bretons, having taken the oath, prepare to leave the courtyard. To the right one can see a cavalcade of knights in the colours of the prince of Bourbon, with the flag flapping in the wind.

Ff. XLVI v°-XLVII r°: *Hystoire commant les seigneurs appellant et le seigneur assembleront au tournoy*. Four referees and damsels are sitting in the stands. The knights are standing in the lists on both sides of the rope. The *chevalier d'honneur*, chosen at the previous night's feast, with a lance with a kerchief, is getting ready to hand over the emblem. When the armed servants cut the ropes with the axes the battle commences. Only the referees can bring it to a halt, when they announce a winner. (Indeed it sometimes happened that the fight was stopped by the referees when the proceedings got out of hand.)

Ff. XLVIII v°-LXIX r°: *Hystoire commant les tournoyers se vont batant par troppeaulx*.

The fight in the lists is nearing an end. Some of the knights of both *chefs de tourne* are leaving the lists in the appropriate order. The composition of the miniature is so dynamic and suggestive it seems we can hear the trumpeters trumpeting the retreat.

F. L v°: *Histoire commant la dame avec le chevalier ou escuier donneur et le juges donnet le pris*. The prize ceremony during the evening entertainment marks the culmination of the jousting tournament; that is why the miniature presents the interior of a brightly-lit hall with a wooden ceiling. The central figure is the damsel chosen to hand out the award, gracefully wearing a garment typical of the 1460s: a gown hemmed with fur, a low-cut neck, a lavish necklace and a butterfly coif. The kerchief used previously to cover the award by the *chevalier d'honneur* has been unveiled. At the signal given by the King of Arms, the damsel with her suite approaches the winner of the tournament. He is to be handed the trophy of a diamond jewel for the adornment of his hand. The evening is concluded with dancing, followed perhaps by the announcement of the pursuits for the following day. This described miniature concludes the program of *Le Livre des tournois*.



The prize ceremony. *Traité de la forme et devis d'un tournoi*, f. L v°

The character of the miniatures closely corresponds to the text, and that is why the feature fragments relating to the course of the tournament are accompanied by pictures of a narrative character, whereas the descriptions of the armoury are accompanied by detailed illustrations. The choice of themes indicates the purpose of the codex: both the text and the illustrations are addressed to the male elite of France – as the group of people with a practical interest in jousting and competent on the subject of chivalric pursuits. In vain one may search through the manuscript for pictures of evening feasting with dancing and theatre performances – often in the form of a masquerade. Instead, a large part of the work, over ten thousand drawings, has been dedicated to the detailed presentation of the correct armour and lists. Its faithfulness to technical detail has led researchers to believe that the author of the miniatures in the oldest codex (repeated faithfully in 15th century copies) was himself both author and illustrator of the text.¹² This hypothesis has some currency in that King René was attributed with not only a literary but also artistic talent. We may conjecture, however, that René would have acted as designer and expert consultant to his court artists.

It may prove useful at this point to look at the work of the illustrator of the Cracovian manuscript, which faithfully repeats the features of the original, made as it was on commission and under the guidance of King René. It is a parchment codex and is kept in the Bibliothèque nationale as ms fr. 2695. The creator of the decorations of the original is thought to have been Barthélemy d'Eyck of Flanders, who resided in France, and has been correctly identified with *Maître du Coeur d'Amour épris*.¹³ His presence in the service of King René in the years 1447-1470 is noted by court archival documents. These documents cast light on his personal life and professional career as the illustrator and printer of tableaux pictures. Admired by his employer, Barthélemy is regarded as having been the author of all illustrative work for René, yet his most accomplished work is the manuscript *Coeur d'Amour épris* in Vienna.¹⁴ The artist's expressive style has been researched by history of art scholars, and in Poland Krystyna Secomska wrote a perceptive analysis on the topic.¹⁵ The subjects of these illustrations – men of relatively squat proportions, with massively built bodies, and dressed in fashionable garments, seem like robust actors moving around the stage, cons-

cious of the part they're playing. Their movements are unconstrained and natural and their gestures are expressive. The composition is not burdened with needless detail and is both clear and concise. Despite the painter's origins, his style is much different from that of the Flemish masters. In place of anecdote and rich detail, we get precision and simplicity of composition. The backgrounds are rather uni-planar; the artistic effect is achieved through the exploitation of colour and light, thus allowing the artist to accentuate shape. In the case of the drawing to *Le Livre des tournois*, a similar effect is achieved by differentiating the width of the quill strokes, together with a skilful colour-tone wash. Both landscapes and figural scenes are maintained in a defined poetic, and although highly stylised, they do not fail to be both natural and suggestive, revealing the eye of the artist.

Is it possible to find similar stylistic traits of Barthélemy d'Eyck in the Czartoryski Library's *Livre des tournois*? Well, at first glance we can see that the decoration of this manuscript is very close to the master's style. François Avril, the author of the monograph on the codex preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale notes that the Czartoryski manuscript stands out from among the other copies of *Le Livre des tournois*, dating it between 1465-1470, and locates the artist among the court painters of King René.¹⁶ This is confirmed not only by a fidelity to iconographic decoration and its general look in terms of miniature codices, but, above all, a clear intent to preserve the individual stylistic traits of the artist, going beyond the normal duties of a copyist. It is this technical flair of the Cracovian illuminator that comes to the fore, evident in his drawings executed in black and brown ink over-painted with gouache and watercolours. They are preserved in a more pastel colour than the original, in which shades of rose red and deep green dominate together with a deep blue, as well as a wide spectrum of browns and greys. Like the original, figural scenes are copied in the tiniest of details. Applied also is a characteristic reverse perspective, with regard to the proportions of the foreground and background characters, taking over the composition of the primary source. Illustrated events are placed in an amorphous and invisible space, although the author of the Cracovian illustrations attempts to embody these by means of spacious interiors, and above all by filling in the backgrounds of the miniatures set in the open air with subtle water colour

landscapes painted directly onto parchment in blue shaded tones. These characteristics set the painter of the Cracovian manuscript apart, but at the same time they do not constitute enough elements that are attributable to him. This leads us to believe that Ms. Czart 3090 IV is a workshop replica executed in the court of René d'Anjou, perhaps in Provence, in the years 1465-1470, and under the eye of the courtly painter Barthélemy d'Eyck.¹⁷

Both the content and the illumination of the codex, together with the number of copies and the names of their owners, allow us to assume that the *Traité de la forme et devis d'un tournois* of René d'Anjou was an elite book, and consequently a valuable item for both collectors and scholars over the centuries. From the moment that it found its way to the Puławy museum under the auspices of princess Izabela, it was given pride of place and its chivalric subject matter extensively explored. Little has changed since then, in that

the manuscript is a work that continues to fascinate people from all over the world. Undoubtedly it will continue to do so for countless generations to come. The manuscript catalogue of the Gothic House says this too, however implicitly. 'Matters of chivalry are a constant *leitmotif* throughout its pages, they reappear in the guise of all types of museum items ranging from the minute to the magnificent and unique. Among them are priceless illuminated books like René d'Anjou's tournament instructions'.¹⁸ The revival of the medieval chivalric spirit, inspired by princess Izabela ('The knighthood of yore elevated our spirits, made the world more fair')¹⁹ belongs to the past, and the same is true of the chivalric ethos. And yet, she wrote, 'tournaments, chases, jousts, banners and emblems (...) continue to nourish our imagination'.²⁰ Truly, medieval culture has left to posterity a manuscript that can only be considered as a brilliant and exhilarating work of art.

Notes:

1. Barbara Miodońska, Wstęp [Introduction] in *Puławska kolekcja rękopisów iluminowanych księżnej Izabeli Czartoryskiej* [The Puławy Collection of Illuminated Manuscripts Belonging to Princess Izabela Czartoryska], Cracow, 2001, pp. 9-10.

2. Recorded in its oldest catalogue under no. 1231. *Poczet pamiątek zachowanych w Domu Gotyckim w Puławach*, [List of the Souvenirs Preserved at the Gothic House in Puławy], Warsaw, 1828, pp. 98-99.

3. Ms. Czart. 3090 IV, second protective leaf verso.

4. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ÖNB cod. 2597, *Die Illuinierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, ed. by Otto Pächt, Dagmar Thoss, vol. I, Vienna, 1974, pp. 37-48; Cf François Avril, N. Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France 1440-1520*, Paris, 1993, pp. 225-226.

5. Text accords with inscription on fol. I Ms. Czart. 3090 IV.

6. Avril, Reynaud, op. cit. Catalogue item no. 127, pp. 235.

7. Ms. Czart. 3090 I, f. I: [...] *suivent des explications sur la forme a donner a un tournois, en s'appuyant sur les coutumes de l'Allemagne, du Pays Rhenan, de La Flandre et du Brabant ainsi que sur celles de la France...*

8. B.N., ms. fr 1974, Avril, Reynaud, op. cit., catalogue item no. 124, pp. 231-232.

9. François Avril, "Le livre des tournois du Roi René" de la *Bibliothèque nationale* (ms. fr. 2695), Paris, 1986, p. 7; Avril, Reynaud, op. cit., no. 127, pp. 235-236.

10. The principal catalogue remains M. Jarosławiecka-Gąsiorowska, 'Les principaux manuscrits à peinture du Musée des Princes Czartoryski a Cracovie', *Bulletin de la Société de Reproductions de Manuscrits à Peintures* 18 (1934),

pp. 81-86; cf. by the same author, *Trzy francuskie rękopisy iluminowane w Zbiorach Czartoryskich* [Three Illuminated French Manuscripts in the Czartoryski Collection], Cracow, 1953. A bibliography up to 2001 has been compiled by Katarzyna Płonka-Bałus, 'René d'Anjou, Traité de la forme et devis d'un tournois' in *Puławska kolekcja...*, no. 7, pp.30-31. 11. The current binding was made in 1970 in the Cracow workshop of Stanisław Wilczek.

12. Otto Pächt, 'René d'Anjou et Van Eyck', *Cahier de l'Association internationale des études françaises* 8 (1956), pp. 41-47; J. Porcher, *L'Enluminure française*, Paris, 1959, pp. 75-76.

13. Pierre Durrieu, 'Notes sur quelques manuscrits français ou d'origine française conservés dans des bibliothèques d'Allemagne', in *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 53 (1982), pp. 115-143.

14. Pächt, Thoss, op. cit., pp. 37-48, Taf. III, Abb. 57-73, fig. 7-16; Avril, Reynaud, op.cit.

15. Krystyna Secomska, *Mistrzowie i księżeta. Malarstwo francuskie XV i XVI* [Masters and Princes. French Painting in the 15th and 16th c.], Warsaw, 1989, pp. 89-92.

16. François Avril, *Le livre des tournois du Roi René de la Bibliothèque nationale* (ms. fr. 2696), Paris, 1986, pp. 80.

17. Ibid.

18. Zdzisław Żygulski jun., *Dzieje zbiorów puławskich (Świątynia Sybilli i Dom Gotycki)*, [The History of the Puławy Collection (the Temple of Sybil and the Gothic House)] vol. VII, Cracow, 1962, p. 186.

19. Alina Aleksandrowicz, *Izabela Czartoryska. Polskość i europejskość*, [Izabela Czartoryska. Polish and European Identity] Lublin, 1998, pp. 239-259 (244-245).

20. Izabela Czartoryska, *Katalog pamiątek złożonych w Domu Gotyckim w Puławach* [Catalogue of Memorabilia from the Gothic House in Puławy], Ms. Czart. 2917 II, vol. III, p. 111; Cf. Aleksandrowicz, op. cit., p. 240.

Translated by Barry Keane

Foreign Collections in Polish Libraries

Halina Tchórzewska-Kabata A Thirteenth Century Christ Cycle of the Potocki Master. An Attempt at its Reconstruction

Abstract Here the author relates the rather surprising research results arising from the Warsaw National Library's editorial project on the Potocki Psalter, a 13th century French manuscript the library has in its collection. As a result of work on *The Illuminations of the Potocki Psalter from the Wilanów Collection*,¹ the four miniatures whose whereabouts had been unknown since 1931, and which had been cut out of the manuscript before the 18th century, were found in England and identified.

This mediaeval Psalter (BN rps I 8003), written on parchment and illuminated by the best Parisian artist of the mid-13th century, is one of the most valuable French manuscripts to be found in any Polish library collection. It is at the same time one of the oldest medieval codices in the post-war collection of Warsaw National Library. To a great extent the value of the manuscript rests on the rich painting decoration, and especially the four full-page miniatures, the work of the Potocki master, a great painter associated with the Parisian society of artists in the first half of the 13th century.

Preserved within the manuscript, miniatures of the Psalter (the Entrance into Jerusalem, the Arrest, the Flagellation, the Women at the Tomb) constitute just a fragment of the whole Christ cycle from the Annunciation to the Women at the Tomb, originally created for this manuscript. Leaves featuring the remaining scenes were cut out from the Psalter in unknown circumstances and at an unknown time, but certainly before the end of the 18th century. In addition, the final part of the manuscript is missing, constituting one third of the manuscript's size.

The history of the codex during the first five centuries, the names of its owners and the circumstances which led to the dispersal of several of its miniatures and the disappearance of the final part of the Psalter, remain unknown. The first concrete facts stem from the end of the 18th century, when in France, most likely in Paris, Stanisław Kostka Potocki, a Polish envoy and later a minister of Faiths and Public Enlightenment in the Polish Kingdom, (who was also a refined collector of art and books) purchased the already

depleted manuscript. Following Potocki's return to Poland the Psalter was included in the family collection – gathered in the once royal palace in Wilanów near Warsaw. In its new binding it served over the course of more than hundred years of the partitions, together with the entire Potocki collection, as a focal point for Polish academics and lovers of art, who saw a chance for the nation's survival in the development of art and science. In 1932 part of the Wilanów collection was passed on to the recently established (1928) National Library in Warsaw by Adam Branicki – received formally by the President of Poland Ignacy Mościcki – with the remainder of the collection, including the Psalter manuscript, being purchased by the library the following year. As a part of the collection the 13th century Psalter soon became the subject for academic research.² A few years later, at the beginning of the Second World War, together with the most valuable pieces of the collection, it was evacuated to Canada, thanks to which it was spared the fate of many other national treasures, which were systematically plundered and destroyed throughout the war. It returned to the National Library in 1959 and in 1995 underwent conservation work.

The Potocki Psalter, more often referred to as the Wilanów Psalter, is lovingly preserved in the National Library. However, for the past fifty years the manuscript has been of little interest to researchers. It featured recently among a hundred other National Library pieces in the album: *More Precious Than Gold. Treasures of the National Library*.³ Aside from this, it failed to attract the attention of contemporary Polish

experts on codices, palaeographers and historians of art. For the most part it featured in foreign academic works in the broader context of mediaeval manuscripts. Its valuable illustrations first became the subject of research by the American scholar Robert Branner,⁴ who in his work, published in 1971, identified five other illustrations deriving from the original manuscript that were the work of the same artist – the author of the full page miniatures of the Potocki manuscript. The unknown artist of these illustration was given the eponym the Potocki Master.⁵ One of the works of the Master, according to Branner, was the Crucifixion, preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.⁶ The fate of the other miniatures identified as those belonging to the Psalter: the Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation in the Temple, The Flight into Egypt and The Baptism, remained unknown until 1931, when their owner, Lord Hastings, put them up for sale at Sotheby's auction house.⁷ Purchased by an anonymous bibliophile, they disappeared for many years, and it was only thanks to the photographs and descriptions placed in the auction catalogue that it was later possible to identify them as works of the Potocki Master from the original embellished cycle. Sadly, the work of Robert Branner was interrupted by his early death, and the whereabouts of the four miniatures remained unknown. Indeed, until 2003 they were believed to have been lost. Their eventual, and surprising, discovery can therefore only be put down to fortunate happenstance.

The year 2002 marked the seventieth anniversary of Adam Branicki's endowment, with the planned commemorations relating to the entire Wilanów collection, including that part of the collection which the library had purchased. As a consequence of these commemorations, the National Library, at the suggestion of the author of this text, undertook to present in published form the painting decorations of the Psalter of Wilanów. The purpose of the planned publication was also to fill in the gaps with regard to the current state of research by calling for publication materials. Above all, there would be an emphasis on systemising and presenting the data and information on the current state of its preservation together and the iconographic program of the manuscript. These issues were subsequently treated in such works as: 'The Potocki Psalter. The Illuminations of the National Library's Manuscript (rps I 8003) from the Wilanów

Collection' by Katarzyna Płonka-Bałus (Princes Czartoryski Library) as well as 'Research Results and Effects of Conservation Treatment'⁸ penned by Maria Woźniak (National Library).

In the publication treating the iconography of the Psalter, the fundamental issue was the editorial presentation of its decorations, featuring four full-page illustrations of the Potocki Master, as well as six figural initials depicting scenes from the life of king David, the author of which remains unknown. Understanding the decorative value of the Psalter as well as the artistic achievement of Potocki Master, I was convinced that it would be extremely important to supplement the iconographic material which we have at our disposal in the library, at least with black and white reproductions of the remaining miniatures identified by Robert Branner as those originating from the Christ cycle of the Psalter, from the scene of the Adoration of the Magi to the Women at the Tomb. Here there was nothing that touched upon the Annunciation and Nativity, except for a belief that such illustrations must have existed in this Psalter and many others.

As I mentioned earlier, based on the current level of knowledge it was known from the very beginning that the Crucifixion was preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, whereas the place of preservation of the other four miniatures had remained unknown since 1931. For this reason, in preparing this publication we intended to make use of the existing reproductions of these miniatures as featured in Sotheby's auction catalogue. In this way, and in accordance with editorial assumptions, we set out to complete the preserved painting decoration of the Psalter and to present a full set of miniatures by the Potocki Master created especially for the manuscript. Unfortunately, several attempts made by us to get permission to reproduce the photos from the Sotheby catalogue were unsuccessful – for reasons outside of our control. At the time it seemed that the substance and editorial concept of the publication would have to be downsized substantially and that we would have to abstain from recreating the spectacular Christ cycle of the Potocki Master as preserved its current shape and form.

At a certain point, however, things took a dramatic turn. In the course of looking to appropriate reproductions for our book, we made an unexpected discovery. Thanks to suggestions from our

British Library colleagues, we were directed to Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, where, as it soon turned out, four parchment leaves presenting the scenes corresponding thematically to the miniatures cut out from the Wilanów Psalter had been kept since 1946. In 1976 they had been displayed at the exhibition 'Medieval and Early Renaissance Treasures in the North West'⁹ in Manchester. In the exhibition catalogue it was pointed out that they possessed stylistic traits of the Hours of Pierpont Morgan Library in New York; they were not identified with the manuscript being kept in the Warsaw National Library.¹⁰ From the provenance notes available in Blackburn museum, it transpired that they were the miniatures from Lord Hastings' collection, which after the London auction had disappeared for a long period of time. It is now known that perhaps after 1931 they came into the possession of Edward Hart, a collector who bought them without letting his family know about the purchase, although their whereabouts after this time still remain a mystery. Their belonging to the Potocki Psalter was a fact confirmed by analysis carried out by a Polish art historian.¹¹

And so our discovery meant that we had managed to stumble upon the four missing illustrations of *The Illuminations of the Potocki*



The Entrance into Jerusalem from the Potocki Psalter f. 33 r°



The Arrest of Christ and Initial *B* (King David playing the harp), the Potocki Psalter, f. 8 v° and 9 r°



The Flagellation, f. 101 v^o, and a leaf with the initial *E*, f. 156 r^o

Psalter. In the Blackburn Museum they had not been associated with any known artist, but now their origins were fully known. This was obviously a great source of satisfaction for both those at the Blackburn museum and us at Warsaw National Library. Another happy result of this fortunate coincidence was that we were able to make excellent coloured reproductions from the museums of Blackburn and Boston and present them in both the book and its accompanying CD-ROM. In both book and CD-ROM the chronological order of miniatures is kept. We see the full colour and splendour of the Christ cycle, combining the works of the Potocki cycle together with five miniatures cut out at some time in the past and kept in foreign collections. The leaf with the scene of the Crucifixion is to be found in Boston, whereas the Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation in the Temple, the Flight into Egypt, the Baptism are to be found in Blackburn. Both book and CD-ROM have been prepared in Polish and English and entitled: *Psalterz Potockich z kolekcji wilanowskiej. The Potocki Psalter from the Wilanów Collection*.¹² Aside from materials arising out of

the publication of the book, we also placed the full preserved text of the National Library's Potocki Psalter, which comprises 170 electronic facsimiles of beautifully decorated manuscript leaves. Now readers – and especially research workers associated with the museums in Boston and Blackburn – can appreciate not only the texts in both publications, but also the scenes preserved from the Christ cycle of the Potocki Master together with the text of the manuscript. And so, following a journey of almost 800 years, the Potocki Psalter has finally appeared in its almost complete form.

I do hope, however, that things do not end here. Following the formulations of Katarzyna Płonka-Bałus (in the article published in this book and CD-ROM) we should assume the probable disappearance of two full-page miniatures featuring scenes from Christ's childhood as well as two full-page figural initials from a long-lost final part of the codex. However, the fortunate train of events encountered during our research into the Potocki Psalter gives us a certain hope that in the future, perhaps thanks to our book and CD-ROM (perhaps even thanks to this

article) we may find the two lost miniatures of the Assumption and Nativity from the Christ cycle preserved at Warsaw National Library. We may even find those two lost figural initials from the missing final part of the Psalter manuscript.

The book *Iluminacje Psalterza Potockich. The Illuminations of the Potocki Psalter*, with its

Notes:

1. *Iluminacje Psalterza Potockich. The Illuminations of the Potocki Psalter*, ed. by Halina Tchórzewska-Kabata, Warsaw, 2004.
2. Zofia Ameisenowa 'Francuskie rękopisy iluminowane z Wilanowa w Bibliotece Narodowej' ['French Illuminated Manuscripts from Wilanów at the National Library'], *Przegląd Biblioteczny* 7 (1933), pp. 57-76; Stanisława Sawicka 'Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque nationale de Varsovie, du Château Royal et des Bibliothèques des Zamoyski à Varsovie...', *Bulletin de la Société Française de Reproductions de Manuscrits à Peintures* 19 (1938), pp. 38-44, pl. IVa i IVb; and 'Psałterz' in *Sztuka francuska w zbiorach polskich 1230-1830* [French Art in Polish Collections 1230-1830], [exhibition catalogue, Poznań National Museum], Poznań, 1973, no. 134, pp. 68-69.
3. *More Precious than Gold. The Treasures of the National Library in Warsaw*, ed. by Halina Tchórzewska-Kabata, Maciej Dąbrowski, Warsaw, National Library, 2000, pp. 44-45.
4. Robert Branner 'Rediscovering a Parisian Paintshop of the Thirteenth Century', *Boston Museum Bulletin* 69 (1971), no. 358, pp. 165-172.

accompanying CD-ROM featuring a full reproduction of the Potocki Psalter is a great achievement on many levels. We can only hope that it will find its way to researchers throughout the world, who appreciate the beauty and value of such mediaeval manuscripts... and who may also know something about the whereabouts of those missing leaves.

5. Katarzyna Płonka-Balus "'Psałterz wilanowski'", *Warsztat Mistrza Potockich, Perspektywy badawcze* ['The Wilanów Psalter' from the Workshop of the Potocki Master. Research Perspectives], *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej* 35 (2003), pp. 211-220.
6. The Crucifixion, The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, nos. 57, 707.
7. Sotheby and Co., auction catalogue, London, July 20 1931, lot 6, pl. IV-V.
8. *Iluminacje Psalterza Potockich...*, op. cit., pp. 97-111, 113-121.
9. *Medieval and Early Renaissance. Treasures in the North-West* [exhibition catalogue], Whitworth Art Gallery, University of Manchester, Whitworth Park 1976, cat. no. 11, pl. I.
10. Seventy years ago, the Polish researcher, Stanisława Sawicka, treated the stylistic similarities between the Wilanów Psalter and the Hours of the Pierpont Morgan Library, see fn. 2.
11. Katarzyna Płonka-Balus 'The Illuminations...' in *Iluminacje Psalterza Potockich. The Illuminations of the Potocki Psalter*, ed. by Halina Tchórzewska-Kabata, Warsaw, 2004, pp. 25, 29, 33, 37, 97-111.
12. *Psałterz Potockich z kolekcji wilanowskiej. The Potocki Psalter from the Wilanów Collection*, CD-ROM, eds. Halina Tchórzewska-Kabata, Wojciech Buksowicz, Warsaw, 2004.

Translated by Barry Keane

In April 2005, when this volume of *Polish Libraries Today* was almost ready for print – a full year after we had issued the dual book and CD-ROM publication about the Potocki Psalter and several months after this article had been written – I received information about the existence of yet another miniature from the Christ cycle of the Potocki Master. And just like then, our source was Mr. Peter Kidd, the Curator of Medieval and Illuminated Manuscripts of the British Library. The path he kindly showed to us led to the Cleveland Museum of Art. Mr. Stephen N. Fliegel, the Museum's Curator of Medieval Art, to whom I turned for verification, confirmed that the Cleveland collection indeed contains a miniature of the Deposition, identified as originating from the Potocki Psalter and purchased in 1985. The photograph of the Deposition scene, which Mr. Fliegel agreed to send to us, helped dispel any remaining doubts. The style of the artist is identical, and so are the depiction of the figures and the color-scheme; the scene is enclosed in the characteristic ornamentative frame. The dimensions of the Deposition miniature correspond to the ones of the Warsaw miniatures. Its identity has been confirmed by Ms. Katarzyna Płonka-Balus, Ph.D. Now, knowing of the existence of yet another miniature, and admiring its artistic beauty, we hope to hear that it is not the last of the illuminated works by the Potocki Master that have been preserved in other countries.

H. T.-K.

Foreign Collections in Polish Libraries

Piotr Tylus

The Jagiellonian Library's Collection of French Manuscripts

Abstract The Cracow collection of manuscripts from the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin contains a number of highly valuable medieval manuscripts. Here, from among the Old French collection, the author identifies and studies the composition, among other works, of a unique compilation of religious texts from the region of Metz.

The collection of manuscripts from the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, kept in the Jagiellonian Library, contains not only handwritten materials by Beethoven, Mozart and Bach, but comprises also a collection of mediaeval manuscripts in the French vernacular. It is a reasonably small collection, just twenty-four examples, but it is a significant number when you consider that the Jagiellonian Library has hitherto had only two such French manuscripts in its possession, coupled with an 18th century forgery. A number of manuscripts in the Berlin collection are truly unique and what follows here is a presentation of these.

The text with the shelfmark of Gall. Fol. 130 (27.7 cm × 19.7 cm) is a 15th century prose reworking (*mise en prose*) from a 13th century epic poem (*chanson de geste*) penned by the well-known poet Adenet le Roi and entitled *Berte as grans piés*,¹ which recounts the tempestuous history of Bertha Large-Foot, the mother of Charlemagne. Written on parchment leaf in a non-mediaeval binding, and without any embellishment, the manuscript in itself is nothing out of the ordinary. Its uniqueness lies in the fact that it is the only extant text transmitting the earlier work. Based on a Picardian manuscript (there is a slight trace of the dialect), it was written in the 1460s or 1470s in the court of the king of France for Jeanne de la Berruyere, the wife of Etienne Bernard, who was the king's *maître d'hôtel*. Most probably the manuscript found its way to the Royal Library in Berlin (Königliche Bibliothek) at the beginning of the 19th century.

The second treasure is the manuscript Gall. Fol. 211 (28.3 cm × 20.7 cm) featuring a French translation of the work *De dictis et factis regis*

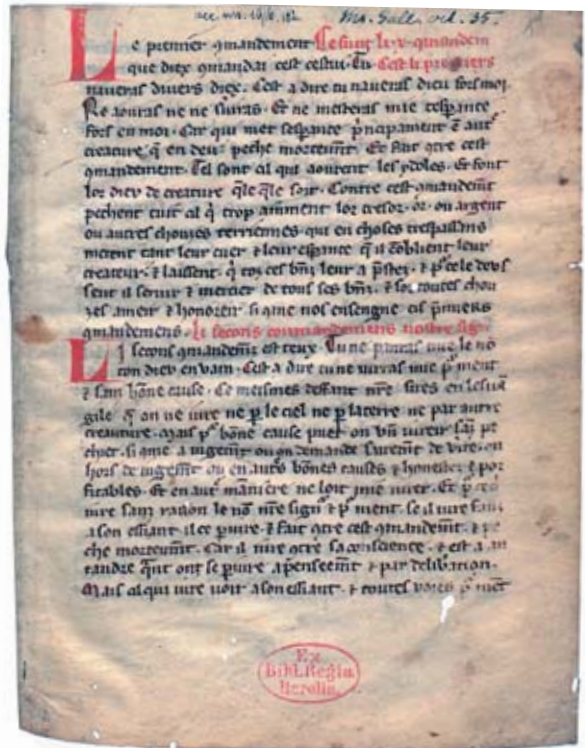
Alphonsi (1455), whose author was Antoni Panormitanus (called either Palermo or Beccadelli), and including a commentary written a year later by Enea Silvio Piccolomini – the future Pope Pius II.² In the years 1469-1476 Jean l'Orfèvre, from the court of the duchy of Burgundy, undertook a translation of this text. The existence of this text only came to light in the 1980s, thanks to its identification by Sylvie Lefèvre.³ This sole copy, kept in Cracow, appeared at the end of the 15th century in the duchy of Burgundy. The first owner is likely to have been Charles de Croy, prince of Chimay and renowned bibliophile.⁴ We know for certain that the manuscript turned up in the collection of the counts Von Starhemberg in the 17th century. This family later sold the manuscript to the Royal Library in Berlin in the 19th century. Despite it being a parchment manuscript, it is still extremely valuable for other reasons beyond the textual: it has richly adorned filigree work at the beginning of each book, and it has also kept its original binding, a very ornate combination of leather and gold.

The manuscript Gall. oct. 35 (16.5 cm × 12.5 cm) includes the work entitled *Somme le Roi*, penned by Br. Laurent du Bois, a Dominican friar from Orléans, and dates to 1279. The manuscript was executed either at the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century in eastern France, perhaps in Lorraine (traits of the Lorraine dialect are clear). On the surface it offers nothing out of the ordinary. It is written on parchment leaf and is both poorly and scantily adorned, just one of the many copies of the original work. The manuscript does possess, however, considerable textual value, especially given the fact that it belongs to

a small group of the oldest copies of *Somme le Roi* produced not long after the first publication of the work and including the classical version most widely disseminated. With the lettering 'Jhesus Maria Franciscus Clara', it is clear that the manuscript was in the possession of the Franciscan order by the 15th century (and perhaps even earlier). It found its way to Berlin at the beginning of the 20th century.

The parchment manuscript Gall. Fol. 129 (33 cm × 23.5 cm) holding the text of *Miroir du Monde*, is also worthy of mention. It is not, however, the widely known *Miroir du Monde*, used in the 13th century by the previously mentioned brother Laurent in his *Somme Le Roi*. Here we are looking at a compilation of historical texts, from the creation to the birth of Christ.⁵ This text has yet to receive a critical edition and is known only thanks to four handwritten manuscripts (Paris, BnF fr. 328, BnF fr. 684, BnF fr. 9686, Oxford, Bodl. Libr. Douce 336-337), as well as a 15th century edition, entitled *Mireur historial* (Lyon, 1479). The manuscript Gall. Fol. 129 dates from the 15th century and boasts high quality workmanship. Prior to the text there is a miniature portraying the six phases of creation. Here, the chapters and paragraphs begin with initialled letters encrusted with large portions of gold. Before the manuscript reached the Royal Library in Berlin at the beginning of the 19th century it had been in the collections of Bernard Doll Hagensis and Baron Guillaume de Crassier.

Among this group of unique manuscripts there are also fragments to be found. Most interesting is the fragment of parchment leaf (Gall. Fol. 217) which used to constitute the cover of a later manuscript. The leaf was clipped to the size of the cover and is therefore incomplete. We only have the leaf's bottom fragment (current dimensions 17.5 cm × 27.5 cm). We are not looking here at a lavishly gilded manuscript, as the two preserved filigree initials beginning the paragraphs are made in quite a humble fashion. At the same time, it must have been a large manuscript at some earlier stage, as the text is laid out in three columns (the width of the leaf is 275 mm).⁶ The writing is neat, although it has been badly degraded, especially at the back of the leaf, that happens to have been the external part of the cover. Going by the writing, it seems that we are dealing with a manuscript created in the first half of the



A manuscript page with the text of *Somme le Roi* Gall. Fol. 35, f. 1 r°

13th century. It is the fragment of a text entitled, *Estoire del saint Graal* [The History of the Holy Grail], constituting the first part of a wider body of prose, described as *Lancelot-Graal*, a piece which is, to a large extent, both religious and mystical in character. The fragment of the leaf constitutes three episodes from the first part of the piece on the conversion of the Sarras Kingdom:⁷ the conversion of Sarracinthe, the death of her brother, and the death of her mother. The author of the text is unknown and needs to be differentiated from the authors of the remaining part of the body of work.⁸ We may estimate that this piece was written some time in the third decade of the 13th century.⁹

Preserved in fragment form, the leaf, therefore, constitutes a part of the manuscript, revealing itself to be one of the oldest versions of the text, which is very interesting from the textual perspective. However, the unique character of the leaf stems from something else. As we know, old French texts, even those produced in the 12th and 13th century, are extant mainly thanks to later 14th and 15th century copies. French 13th century manuscripts, especially those from the first half of the century, are fairly rare, making it a text of even greater



A fragment of the text of *Lancelot du Lac* Gall. Fol. 189 f. 2^r



Manuscript leaf with a historiated initial depicting a middle-aged man praying Gall. Fol. 182 f. 1^r

significance not only for those studying manuscript traditions, but also for historians of the French vernacular. This manuscript found its way to Berlin at the beginning of the 20th century.

The following two manuscript fragments are equally important, and for the very same reasons. The first of these, with the call number Gall. Fol. 188 (24 cm × 17 cm), is made up of two parchment leaves, deriving from a manuscript made in north-eastern France (there are clear traces of Picardian dialect) in the second half of the 13th century. The work remained incomplete, however, as the initials outlined in it were never finished, the scribe must have earmarked places for them but left them empty. The text of the manuscript is either the fragment of *Tristan en prose* [Tristan in Prose] or *Folie Lancelot* [The Madness of Lancelot]. It is hard to say which of these texts it is, because firstly, old French tales borrowed various episodes from one another and secondly, the episode in the fragment is found in both of the above-mentioned works.¹⁰

The next manuscript fragment, with the call number Gall. Fol. 189, is made up of two parchment leaves (32.5 cm × 23 cm) and the fragment of a third leaf (7.5 cm × 23 cm). It comes from a manuscript made in north-eastern France (as indicated by its dialect), and in the same period as the previous manuscript discussed here. This manuscript, however, must have been very valuable as its initials (*lettres champiées*) are lavishly gilded. It includes a small scrap of text from a well-known French tale, written in prose and entitled *Lancelot du Lac*.¹¹

The last of these manuscripts is Gall. Fol. 182, which is by far the most interesting from the textual perspective. It is a fragment made up of four parchment leaves of a fairly large format: 32 cm × 23.5 cm. The text is placed in two columns, and the columns are numbered with a red ink, probably by the copyist or rubricator. The final column is numbered 515 – the preserved leaves originate, therefore, from manuscripts of a given dimension. The first two leaves come one after another in the correct order, whereas the third and fourth come from a later part of the manuscript. What is more, it must have been a richly gilded manuscript; it has preserved three beautifully gilded initials, called *lettres historiées* in French terminology, with figural representations. The first (f. 1^r b) presents a middle-aged

man sitting on his bed in the middle of prayers (initial *C*): the second (f. 2^o b) – St. Clement, the first bishop of Metz, with a crosier and in a bishop's robes, accompanied probably by a dragon, whom he seems to have tamed (initial *A*): on the third (f. 4^o v) we see the moment of the Eucharist during mass. The priest raises the Host, and behind him is a serving monk and a number of worshippers (initial *L*). Embellishment (*listels*) accompanies the space between the columns as well as both parts of the top and bottom margins. The embellishment is beautifully executed in gold. In addition to these, there are small drawings depicting an archer, a lion and fantastical creatures, although these are not as lavishly gilded as the capitals together with the miniatures. On the basis of both the writing and the iconography we may say that the manuscript was completed in the third quarter of the 14th century in the region of Metz, placing the work in the time of St. Clement (columns 405-407, f. 2^o b-2^o v b). The location of the manuscript is also supported by the depiction of the life of St. Clement.

This manuscript comprised a compilation of various religious texts. Such collections, written in vernacular prose, were made for the use of the laity. Taking into account the lavish character of this work, our manuscript was completed, as likely as not, on commission for some noble personage, in the scriptorium, where a team of artisans, scribes, miniaturists, rubricators, etc. co-operated on the completion of the text. It could have been a monastic *scriptorium*, due to the nature of the text of the preserved fragment, although *scriptoria* for laymen also began their activities in France quite early on. Who was the author of the compilation? We should bear in mind that it need not have been the author of any of the aforementioned texts¹² but rather the author overseeing the selection of texts taken from other books. In spite of much searching, we have been unable to identify who the author was. It need not have been someone well-known, although it was probably a learned monk from one of the Lotharingian monasteries, living in the second half of the 14th century. The collection, being his own work, would not have existed in numerous copies, unlike the given pieces, which would have gone to make up the collection. It could have been a single manuscript written on commission, which after a long period of usage simply fell apart. Perhaps these are simply the four surviving leaves and the rest of the



Manuscript leaf with a historiated initial showing St. Clement, bishop of Metz. Gall. Fol. 182 f. 2^o



Manuscript leaf with a historiated initial depicting a priest celebrating the Mass. Gall. Fol. 182 f. 4^o v.



Gall. Fol. 182 with the text of *Argument de Nostre Signour contre lez bugres mescreans*, f. 1 v^o

manuscript has been lost forever, although it is always possible that other leaves may be found accidentally in some other collections. On the other hand, this compilation may have actually existed at one time in a greater number of copies.

It is much more important to identify texts found in the manuscript.¹³ Two fragments are to be found on the lives of saints, as well as various texts of an either moralising or theological character.

The first preserved manuscript leaf begins with three end lines (f. 1 r^o a) of a text on sin. I have managed to find this explicit piece in the Bibliothèque nationale Paris (BnF fr. 17115, 13th century) in a text entitled *Du péché. Histoire de frere Jourdain et du possédé. De la charité. Du péché mortel. Les trois temps de saint Grégoire. Humilité et orgueil* [On sin. A history of brother Jourdain and demonical possession. On charity. On mortal sin. The three periods of Saint Gregory. Humility and Pride].

The next text (f. 1 r^o a), given over to the seven deadly sins and those other sins deriving from them, is the fragment of a mediaeval French encyclopaedic work by the Italian author Brunetto Latini (*Livre dou Tresor*).

The next short text (f. 1 r^o a b) about the freedom of the soul (*De la franchise de l'arme*)

I have traced to the hand-written manuscript BnF fr. 17115. It belongs to the rather well-known work entitled *Livre des enfants d'israel* [The Book of the Children of Israel], which is comprised of two parts: *Agnelet rôti* [The Sacrificial Lamb] as well as *Issue d'Egypte* [The Flight from Egypt].

Later, there is another short text (f. 1 r^o b-v^o b), recounting the five ways to be humble: *Dez .v. poins pour estre humble*, but in this case we have been unable to trace its source.

The next fragment (f. 1 r^o b-v^o b) derives from the then well-known work of Philip de Noarre, *Quatre âges de l'homme* [The Four Phases of a Man's Life] with one part dedicated to middle age (between the years of forty and sixty) and includes advice for living the day to the best of one's ability. Further on (ff. 1 v^o b-2 r^o b) we find a text entitled *Argument de Nostre Signour contre lez bugres mescreans* [The Argument about Our Lord against Heretic Miscreants], which we have been unable to identify. Ostensibly, it is a tract on faith, written to instil faith in those who had lost it, by attempting to prove that Jesus is God. We may or may not consider this treatise as having been some kind response to heretical belief current in the region of Metz in the 13th or 14th century.

Later we have a short text (f. 2 r^o b), treating on the five ways to lament, and entitled *Lez .v. menieres de larmes* which I localised in *Livre des enfants d'Israël*.

Further on we see the beginning of the life of Saint Clement, (almost three columns, f. 2 r^o b-v^o b), which is severed at the end of column 407. In the Middle Ages, from the 8th to the 13th century, there developed three versions on the life of the saint. This text relates the third version whilst sharing traits with the other two. This text can also be found in Paris in the Arsenal Library, in the manuscript Arsenal 3684. According to Surdel,¹⁴ the author of this version on the life of Saint Clement drew mainly on Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*, but also on the whole hagiographic tradition of the saint.

The next fragment (f. 3 r^o a-v^o b) begins *in medias res* together with column 484. The author of the text treats firstly of the elements of the soul and then of the body. The fragment finishes at column 487, whose end constitutes the beginning of the text dealing with heavenly joy. All of this belongs to the work entitled *Huit peines des damnés. Douaire de l'âme et du corps. Nombre des joies célestiennes* [Eight Punishments for the Damned. Attributes

of the Soul and the Body. The Number of Heavenly Joys], which is included in the BnF fr. 17115.

The final part of the life of S. Sylvester (more than three columns, f. 4 r^oa-v^ob) is a continuation of our fragment. It is a version of the life of the saint taken from the *Golden Legend* of the Blessed Jacob de Voragine, a Latin work that enjoyed enormous popularity in the Middle Ages and which was translated into many other vernacular languages. What we have here is an old French version of this piece. However, the order of the episodes does not tally precisely with the *Golden Legend*, which goes from the episode with the bull to the episode with the dragon. However, in our fragment, between the episodes there appear the resolutions of Constantine, containing among other things the privileges for Christians, about which we hear earlier in the *Golden Legend* in the life of St. Sylvester.

The manuscript ends with the beginning of *The Legend of the Most Holy Sacrament* (mid-column, f. 4v^ob) which I have traced to an earlier-mentioned manuscript with the signature of Arsenal 3684,

Notes:

1. I have recently overseen the publication of the first published edition of the 15th century version: *Histoire de la Reine Berthe et du Roy Pepin, mise en prose d'une chanson de geste*, TLF, n^o 536, Genève, 2001.

2. The text was executed in 1455 and the commentary completed a year later.

3. The text is still to be published. Sylvie Lefèvre is currently preparing a critical edition.

4. We are informed about this in a provenance note written and signed in his own hand.

5. An attempt at establishing all the sources used by the author of the compilation would be an interesting and fruitful endeavour, although this matter is best kept for a wider thesis.

6. Such a laying out of the text was not an everyday practice. Léopold Delisle considers it typical for large format manuscripts, made in northern France in the 14th century (cf. *Mélanges de paléographie et de bibliographie*, Paris, 1880, p. 220), yet we are not dealing with a group of manuscripts mentioned by Delisle due to the date of the manuscript: the above manuscript is much earlier.

7. The edition of the fragment under my authorship was announced in *Cultura Neolatina* 63 (2003), fasc. 1-2, pp. 73-81.

8. Cf. Introduction to the edition of *Estoire del saint Graal*, ed. by Jean-Paul Ponceau, *Les Classiques Français du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1997, vol. I, p. XI.

9. *Ibid.*, p. XIV.

10. This fragment together with a philological critical analysis was published in the book commemorating Prof. Anna

where there is a fairly extensive text, taking up more than 15 columns, and bearing the title *La legende du sacrament de l'autel*. It is, in fact, a theological tract dealing with the Eucharist, where the author cites the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, such as St. Hilary of Poitiers, St. Ambrose of Milan, St. Augustine, Isidor of Seville, Peter Lombard. It explains the significance of the Eucharist, relating how it was instituted and treats of its spiritual benefits.¹⁵

The unique character of this manuscript does not lie in the various texts but in their layout. It is also highly probable that it is the only extant manuscript of its kind, imparting uniquely a spiritual and intellectual testament of the age and place from which it derives. Given the fact that little or no research was carried out on the Berlin collection from 1945 to the end of the 1970s, it now offers the opportunity of some pioneering research for scholars of Romance languages. Happily for us, the collection is currently in Polish hands and our small team of researchers has a great deal of enlightening work to look forward to.¹⁶

Drzewicka: *Jeux de la variante dans l'art et la littérature du Moyen Age. Mélanges offerts à Anna Drzewicka*, published by Antoni Bartosz, Katarzyna Dybeł and Piotr Tylus, Cracow, 1997, pp. 103-114.

11. *Gall. Fol. 189* was published by Alexandre Micha in *Romania* 104 (1983), pp. 371-377.

12. We shall say more about these and other authors below.

13. I refer those interested to the publication of fragment, which, together with a precise critical analysis, will appear in the collected conference papers of the International Mediaeval Conference in 2002, *Bribes du Moyen Age* at the Jagiellonian university, dedicated largely to such manuscript fragments. In the commentary to the edition, specific references to relevant texts are to be found, which help us to determine whether our texts correlate with either the publication or manuscripts in which they are preserved.

14. Alain Surdel, *L'Hagiographie française du XV^e siècle: études sur le légendier en prose du manuscrit n^o 3684 de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal de Paris*, Université de Nancy II, Thèse 3^e cycle, Nancy, 1974, p. 561 [typescript].

15. Cf. Surdel, p. 242.

16. I would like to express my thanks to the scholars at IRHT in Paris both for their valuable advice and for providing me with access to the philological tools that allowed me to identify a number of the texts. Part of the research conducted on the manuscripts presented here was only made possible thanks to the financial support granted to me by the Academic Research Committee in 2000-2001, as well as the financial assistance from the Foundation for Polish Science in 2003.

Translated by Barry Keane

Foreign Collections in Polish Libraries

Jan Pirożyński

Early Imprints from the Gutenberg Press in the Jagiellonian Library

Abstract Here the author presents the so-called 'Cracow imprints', early specimens of the work of Johannes Gutenberg and his circle, which have been preserved at the Jagiellonian Library. Current research on those items is presented, along with a number of hypotheses as to the date and circumstances of their origin.

Johannes Gutenberg (c. 1400-1468) is undoubtedly one of the most renowned and esteemed figures in history, and his invention – printing with movable types – was regarded almost from the moment of its first appearance as a marvellous and divine gift for humankind. Such was the praise bestowed upon it by figures such as Erasmus and Martin Luther, and later by Francis Bacon as well as many others.¹

In 2000, the 600th anniversary of the birth of the inventor of printing was officially celebrated, especially in Germany, and saw the publication of many books on the subject. Gutenberg's legacy was the theme of many conferences and exhibitions, the largest of which was held in Mainz.²

Regrettably, in Poland this anniversary was mostly overlooked, with the exception of a single event organised in Pelplin in September 2000. On this occasion, a letter of intention was signed recommending the publication in facsimile form of Poland's sole paper copy of the *42-line Bible* preserved in the Library of Pelplin's Clerical Seminary. In addition to this, in the first months of 2001 the Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) in Gdańsk presented an exhibition entitled 'He Unchained the Book. Gutenberg and his Work'.³

Towards the end of 2002, the publishing house of the Diocese of Pelplin [Wydawnictwo Diecezji Pelplińskiej 'Bernardinum'], issued a facsimile of volume I of the *Bible*, followed by the publication of volume II in the spring of 2003. On May 19, 2003, the very first copy of the reprint of the *Bible*, bearing the number 1, was presented to Pope John Paul II. This fine edition consists of 198 numbered copies, issued on special paper with

watermarks modelled on those on the leaves of the original *Bible* (produced in paper mills in Strasbourg and the Piedmont), and a cover imitating that found on the Pelplin copy (made in the 15th century by the famed Lübeck bookbinder, Heinrich Coster). An academic commentary was published in 2004.

The magnificent *42-line Bible*, believed to have been printed in the years 1452-1454/5,⁴ is by far the best-known work from the entire circle of Gutenberg and his associates. This, however, should not turn our attention away from other valuable items associated with Gutenberg that have been preserved in Poland. It's important to note here that Poland's largest collection of incunabula at the Jagiellonian Library, numbering 3665 in all, is home to more priceless objects from the circle of Gutenberg. Research on those items has contributed greatly towards solving some of the riddles surrounding the early days of printing. The issues in question are closely connected to the so-called Mainz proof imprints.

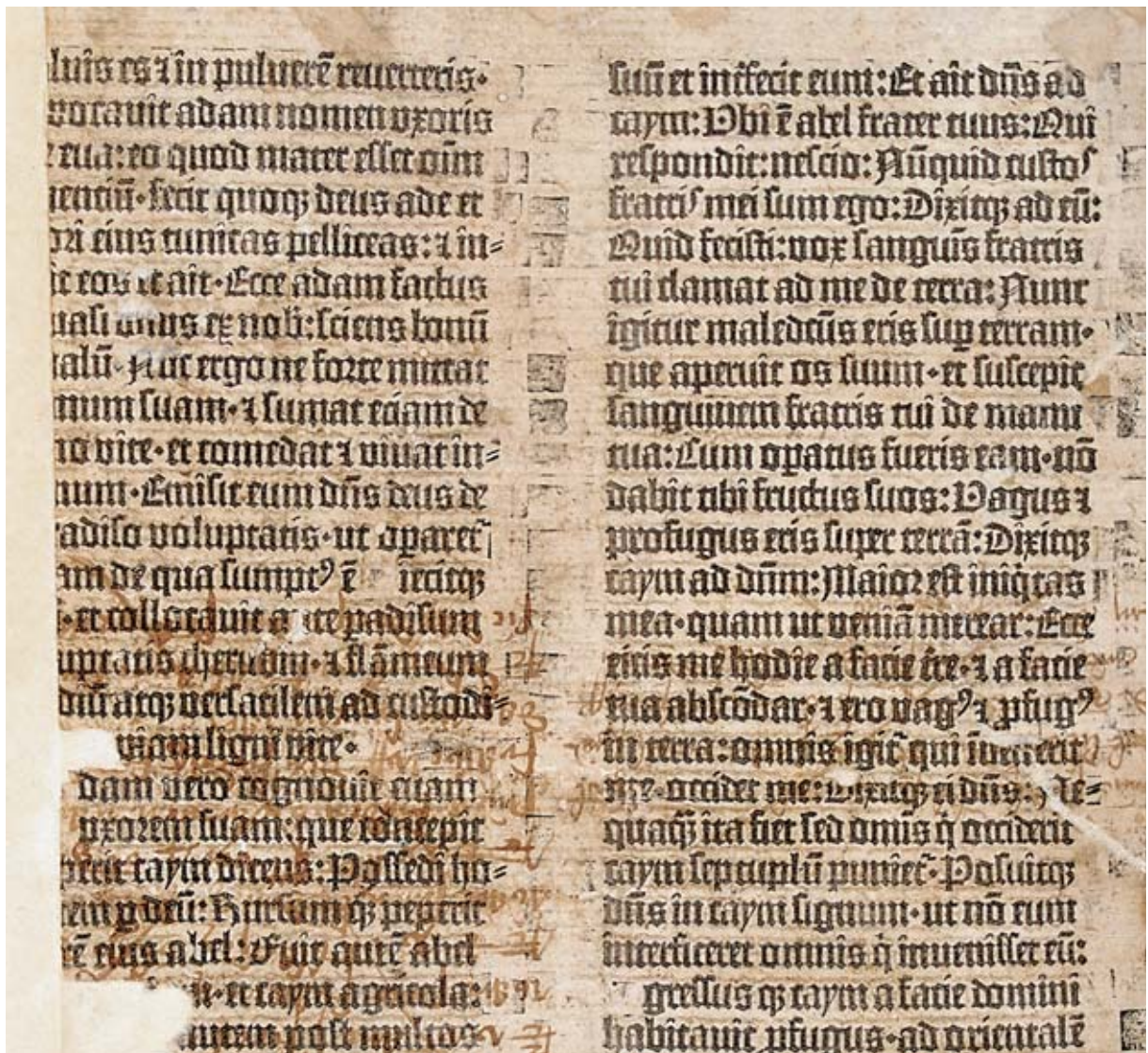
It seems obvious that Gutenberg did not commence his printing activities by publishing the *42-line Bible*, a work of was many as 643 leaves. Instead, considerably smaller works preceded it. In the opinion of most scholars, the oldest printing type used by Gutenberg is the so-called 'Donatus and Kalender' fount, which owes its name to the fact that it appears in numerous editions of a Latin textbook, the *Ars Minor* of Aelius Donatus, and in calendars, later surfacing, in perfected form, in the *36-line Bible*, which was probably published in Bamberg in the period 1459-1460. This fount was a Gothic *textura* modelled on the calligraphic script known from medieval liturgical manuscripts.

This particular script was employed for printing the above-mentioned Mainz proof imprints, which are stored at the Jagiellonian Library under shelf-mark Inc. 2267.

At the end of the 19th century these fragments were pasted down, along with several others, from binder's waste used to reinforce the cover of a book whose title, regrettably, can no longer be determined. Władysław Wisłocki (1841-1900), the author of the catalogue *Incunabula typographica Bibliothecae Universitatis Jagiellonicae Cracoviensis* (Cracoviae 1900), erroneously described them as fragments of three editions of Donatus' grammar textbook. It was only in 1948 that the noted German incunabulist Carl Wehmer (1903-1978) announced the results of his research on this in-

cunabulum⁵ which, as it turned out, is an artificial combination of ten leaves. Leaf 1. is a fragment of the so-called *Astronomical Calendar for 1448*, which was considered for quite some time to be one of Gutenberg's oldest printed works; leaf 2. contains a text of the *Bible*, which left the press while the printing of the *36-line Bible* was being prepared, whilst leaves 3.-5. form part of a previously unknown edition of Donatus's *Ars minor*. The remaining leaves (6.-10.) consist of other fragments of Donatus's grammar, which, however, bear no relation to Gutenberg's workshop.

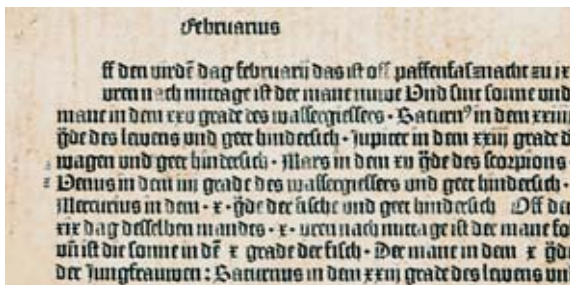
The *Astronomical Calendar for 1448* has been known since 1901 thanks to two fragments of clean proof on parchment, discovered by Gottfried Zedler (1860-1945) at the Landesbibliothek



Proof imprint made while preparing the printing of the *36-line Bible* (Mainz, c. 1458)
Jagiellonian Library, Inc. 2267 II



The 27-line edition of Donatus's *Ars minor*
Mainz, c. 1458. Jagiellonian Library, Inc. 2267 III
Proof impression of f. 13 r° (?)



Fragment of a proof impression of the so-called
Astronomical Calendar (Mainz, 1457/58)
Jagiellonian Library, Inc. 2267 I

in Wiesbaden. Zedler concluded that the fragments dated from 1447, and this opinion persisted among researchers for a considerable period of time, determining the chronology – later shown to be false – which they adopted for Gutenberg's first printed materials. Things had to wait for Wehmer, who demonstrated, after studying the proof imprint preserved in Cracow, that the *Astronomical Calendar for 1448* is actually the *Table of Planets for Astrologers* (*Planetentafel für laien Astrologen*), published c. 1457/58, or in other words, a full 10 years later than Zedler had thought. The *Table of Planets*, calculated for approximately 30 years and designed for wall hanging, served the people of those times, fervent

believers in the all-pervasive influence of the stars on human life, as a source of priceless astrological knowledge.

Leaf 2. of incunabulum 2267, containing, as already mentioned, a fragment of the text of the Bible, and constituting a proof imprint on the same paper (dated at approximately the same time as the so-called *Astronomical Calendar*), links the preparatory stages of the printing of the *36-line Bible* and Gutenberg's Mainz workshop. In the past some scholars also regarded this Bible as the work of Gutenberg, who moved for the time of its printing (c. 1459/1460, though not later than 1461) to Bamberg. Today, it is usually taken for granted that the inventor of print, after preliminary preparations in Mainz, made the characters in his possession available to printers in Bamberg, where the actual printing could have been done by his co-workers and apprentices, especially Heinrich Keffer.⁶

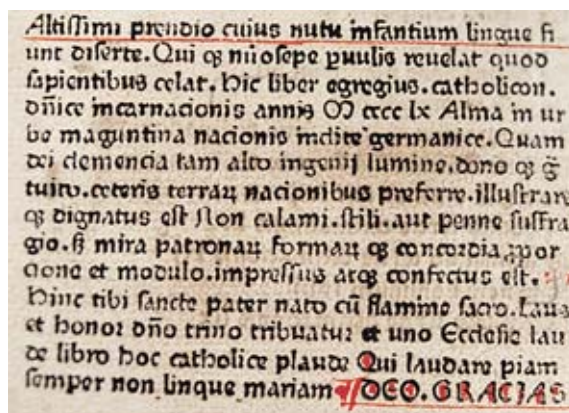
The 27-line edition of Donatus's grammar, fragments of which make up leaves 3.-5. of the incunabulum discussed here, is one of the many editions of *Ars Minor* to have come out from Gutenberg's press (26-, 27-, 28- and 30-line editions printed using the 'Donatus and Kalender' type, and 25- and 33-line ones, printed using the type of the *42-line Bible*).

Interestingly enough, the paper used to produce the Mainz proof imprints comes from the ledger of a Mainz mercer, which dates from the end of the 14th century. This ledger was used as waste paper, allowing the printer to economise on clean paper, which was still relatively expensive at that time.

Incunabulum 2267 was later repeatedly discussed by Anna Lewicka-Kamińska (1906-1979), who worked for many years as the distinguished Head of the Department of Early Printed Books of the Jagiellonian Library⁷. It was she who discovered and described another early specimen from Mainz, most probably from Gutenberg's workshop – a part of Donatus's grammar in the 33-line edition, printed using the type of the *42-line Bible* in its original form. This fragment on parchment (Inc. 3602) is composed of two slips, which were used to reinforce the cover of a manuscript from the Jagiellonian Library (shelfmark 1944, written in Cracow in the years 1467-1473). Anna Lewicka-Kamińska initially dated this item at 1458-1466, and could not say for certain

whether it came from the press of Gutenberg or Fust and Schöffer.⁸ She later altered her opinion, though, stating that this edition should be dated prior to 1454/1455, and that its printer was Gutenberg.⁹ Nonetheless, taking into consideration the primary, oldest type face of the *42-line Bible* used to print the fragment discussed here, I believe that the time of its printing can be moved even further back in time, i.e. to circa 1452, when work was started on the setting and printing of the Bible text. This, however, is a controversial matter, and one can even come across views to the effect that the 33-line editions of Donatus printed using this type (the same, in fact, goes for 26-line ones) can be neither accurately dated, nor ascribed with certitude to a particular workshop.¹⁰ This is due to our lack of information as to who had access to the type of the *42-line Bible* following the lawsuit in which Gutenberg unsuccessfully sought to defend himself against charges brought by his business partner, Johannes Fust.

There is yet another incunabulum in the Jagiellonian Library, which belongs to the group of printed books from the circle of Gutenberg and his associates (Inc. 1011). It is the famous *Catholicon* of Johannes Balbus, a voluminous Latin encyclopaedic dictionary written at the end of the 13th century and intended, among other things, as an aid for studying the Bible. According to the text printed in its colophon, which moreover contains an extensive and often quoted eulogy on the art of typography, it came off the press in Mainz in 1460. The *Catholicon* has been a contentious topic over the past number of decades, the dispute revolving around the identity of the printer of this work, the technique employed, and the date of its publication. The currently prevailing opinion is that the printer was Gutenberg. The other problems, however, are still the subject of a hot debate. The individual copies of the *Catholicon*, bearing the date 1460, were either printed on parchment, or separately on three different types of paper with watermarks: an ox head, the letter C, a tower and crown. New research has shown that these three types of paper were not available simultaneously, but respectively in the years 1455-1460, 1469 and 1472. Consequently, scholars have arrived at the conclusion that the copies of the *Catholicon* on parchment and on paper with an ox head were printed by Gutenberg in 1460, and the remaining copies were done in two separate editions by Peter Schöffer, who after



Colophon of the *Catholicon* of Johannes Balbus with an encomium on the art of printing. Edition on paper with filigree depicting a tower and crown Mainz, 1472(?), Jagiellonian Library, Inc. 1011

Gutenberg's death (1468) purchased his typographic materials, and made a double reprint. The results of research carried out by Paul Needham, an American incunabulist, and Martin Boghardt, a renowned German expert on old printing technology, show, however, that this was not simply a case of reprinting, because all copies of the *Catholicon* were done using an identical setting. From this Paul Needham has inferred that the Mainz *Catholicon* was not printed using movable types, but from thin strips, 'two line slugs' produced by the printer from the typeset by means of some stereotype technique.¹¹ The British incunabulist Lotte Hellinga takes a different view. According to Hellinga, the *Catholicon* was printed using movable types around 1469 (which would place it after Gutenberg's death) by an association of printers on three or six parallel presses, and the setting was transferred from one printing workshop to the next.¹²

The copy of the *Catholicon* stored in the Jagiellonian Library was printed on paper watermarked with a tower and crown. In spite of having the date of 1460, in all probability it was only printed in 1472, but in any case, its provenance – in my view – can be traced back to the Gutenberg workshop.

*

The printed works presented here are priceless objects, and date from the very beginnings of the history of typography. The Jagiellonian Library is proud to have them in its possession, and is aware that such imprints together with its other treasures can only enhance its already considerable reputation in the world.

Notes:

1. Cf. e.g. Hans Widmann, 'Gutenberg im Urteil der Nachwelt' in *Der Gegenwärtige Stand der Gutenberg-Forschung*, published by the author, Stuttgart, 1972, pp. 251-272.
2. *Gutenberg, Aventur und Kunst, Von Geheimunternehmen zur ersten Medienrevolution*, Mainz, 2000.
3. The catalogue was edited by Lidia Pszczółkowska, *Libri Gedanenses* 17/18 (1998-2000), pp. 195-234.
4. The vast size of the literature regarding the dating of the *42-line Bible* prevents us from making here full reference to it. A breakthrough in research on this topic has been the discovery of a letter from Enea Silvio Piccolomini to Cardinal Juan de Carvajal, dated March 12, 1455, which leads to the conclusion that the finished, individual sections of the Bible were shown in Frankfurt in September 1454. E. Meuthen, 'Ein neues frühes Quellenzeugnis (zu Oktober 1454?) für den ältesten Bibeldruck: Enea Silvio Piccolomini am 12. März 1455 aus Wiener Neustadt an Kardinal Juan de Carvajal', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 57 (1982), pp. 108-118.
5. Carl Wehmer, *Mainzer Probedrucke in der Type des sogenannten astronomischen Kalenders für 1448. Ein Beitrag zur Gutenbergforschung*, München, 1948.
6. Albert Kapr, *Johannes Gutenberg. Persönlichkeit und Leistung*, Leipzig, 1988, pp. 220-224.
7. Anna Lewicka-Kamińska, 'Inkunabuł Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej nr 2267 źródłem przewrotu w dotychczasowych badaniach nad Gutenbergiem' [Jagiellonian Library's incunable no. 2267 as radically new evidence in Gutenberg studies], *Przegląd Biblioteczny* 20 (1952), pp. 222-232; co-author with H. Friedberg et al., *Inkunabuly Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej* [Incunabula from the Jagiellonian Library], Cracow, 1962, pp. XXII-XXIV.
8. Lewicka-Kamińska, Friedberg, op. cit., p. 118, no. 2290*.
9. Anna Lewicka-Kamińska, 'Nowo odnaleziony w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej fragment Donata w czcionce Biblii 42-wierszowej' [A fragment of Donatus in the fount of the *42-line Bible*, recently discovered at the Jagiellonian Library], *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej* 17 (1965), no. 2, pp. 5-8, fig. 1.
10. C. Schneider, 'Der Erstdrucker: Johannes Gutenberg' in *Gutenberg, Aventur und Kunst*, ed. by P. Krawietz, Mainz, 2000, p. 345.
11. Alfred Świerk, 'Moguncki *Catholicon* (GW 3182) jako problem badawczy' [The Mainz *Catholicon* (GW 3182) as a Research Problem], *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, 1994 (44), p. 65.
12. Lotte Hellinga, 'Analytical Bibliography and the Study of Early Printed Books with Case Study of the Mainz *Catholicon*', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 64 (1989), pp. 47-96. Hellinga frequently spoke out on the topic afterwards.

Translated by Marcin Polkowski

Foreign Collections in Polish Libraries

Maria Brynda

The National Library's *La Sforziada* An Incunable with Illuminations by Giovanni Pietro Birago

Abstract The author reviews the history of *La Sforziada*, a rare incunable on parchment illuminated by the talented Lombardian artist Giovanni Pietro Birago. The book's lavish artistry and exquisite workmanship, intended to bolster the propagandist efforts of Ludovico Sforza in his struggle to consolidate power over the city of Milan, make this work one of the finest in the collection of the National Library.



The National Library's collections contain one of the four surviving illuminated copies of the 1490 edition of Giovanni Simonetta's *Comentarii rerum gestarum Francisci Sfortiae*, known in Italian as *La Sforziada*.¹ The work preserved in Warsaw, printed on parchment, is the only copy signed by the miniaturist.

The text, in praise of the military and political exploits of the founder of the Milanese ducal dynasty, Francesco Sforza (1401-1466), was written in the 1470s. Within less than twenty years it was brought out by Antonio Zarotto's printing house three times: in 1483 and 1486 in Latin, and in 1490 in Italian (*in lingua fiorentina*). Presiding over the making of all of these editions and promoting them was Prince Lodovico Sforza, called il Moro (1452-1508), who as regent for his underage nephew, Prince Gian Galeazzo, was the *de facto* ruler of Milan. Prince Lodovico, an adroit renaissance statesman, strove to gain legitimacy for the young dynasty (the founder of which, Francesco Sforza, had been a *condottiere*



Examples of illuminated initials from *La Sforziada*

of the previous ducal dynasty of Milan, the Viscontis), and for himself, a usurper with no claim to the highest office in Duchy.

Some of the copies of *La Sforziada* were printed on parchment and illuminated in a way adapted to the propagandist needs of Prince Ludovico. Only one leaf (the seventh) is especially illuminated in all the surviving 1490 parchment copies intended for the dukes of the Sforza family. In view of their artistic level, the illuminations of *La Sforziada* are regarded as magnificent treasures of 15th century Lombardic art. They were done by Giovanni Pietro Birago, a prominent miniaturist linked to the Milan court. Despite a common scheme, each of the decorated pages is a separate, integral, deeply symbolic work. The miniatures allowed the identification of individual volumes, which were addressed to Lodovico il Moro (a copy now at the British Library in London), Gian Galeazzo (Bibliothèque nationale de France), Lodovico's son-in-law and would-be successor, the commander of the army of Milan, Galeazzo Sanseverino (National Library in Warsaw) and the ducal library in Pavia (a fragment in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence).

The volume in the National Library formerly belonged to the Zamość Estate Library. Its actual history has not been entirely explained. The book, as a dynastic tribute to the Sforzas,

was traditionally associated with Bona Sforza, the consort of Polish king Zygmunt I the Old, and the daughter of Gian Galeazzo, the unfortunate and ultimately powerless ruler of Milan. Possibly it was she who brought *La Sforziada* to Poland, and it was later inherited by her son, Zygmunt II August. Later, with parts of his book collection, it passed into the hands of Chancellor Jan Zamoyski.

Leaf seven, the frontispiece, is adorned with a border with two broader margins (the right and bottom ones) and two narrower ones (the left and upper) and with a portrait of Francisco Sforza in the initial field of the text. The bottom margin presents an allegorical figurative miniature in which the artist concealed actual Milanese courtiers in the form of putti. The central figure of the Moor symbolizes Lodovico il Moro. The decorations of the other three margins are also full of allusions. Allegorical heraldic emblems have been placed among Renaissance ornamentation consisting of vases, chandeliers, horns of plenty, precious stones and symbolic figures. At the bottom of the right margin of the page is a vase and on its rim the signature: *P[RE]SB[YTE]R IO[ANNES] PETR[U]S BIRAGUS FE[CIT]*. This fact, discovered by Bogdan Horodyski in 1954, has helped to identify the artist, a outstanding miniature painter of the court of Lombardy, previously known as Pseudo Antonio

da Monza or the Master of the Prayer Book of Bona of Sabaudia.² The value of the signature is all the greater since it helped to determine the authorship not only of the illuminations in

all four copies of *La Sforziada*, but also of several other works by this artist kept in the world's museums that had been previously considered anonymous.

Translated by *Janina Dorosz*

Notes:

1 Ioannes Simonetta, *Commentarii rerum gestarum Francisci Sfortiae*. Ital.: *La Sforziada*. Trad. Christophorus Landinus. Milano, Antonius Zarottus, 1490. 2^o. HC 14756; IBP 5044.

2 Bogdan Horodyski, 'Miniaturzysta Sforzów' [The Miniature Painter of the Sforzas], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 1 (1954), pp. 195-214. Later on, information on *La Sforziada* appeared, among others, in *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts. Treasures from the British Library*, ed. by T. Kren, New York, 1983, pp. 107-112; Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Biblioteka ostatniego Jagiellona: pomnik kultury renesansowej* [The Library of the Last Jagiellonian King: A Monument of Renaissance Culture], Wrocław, 1988, cat. no. 805; M.L. Evans, 'New Light on the "Sforziada" Frontispieces of

Giovanni Pietro Birago', *British Library Journal* 13 (1987), pp. 232-247; P.L. Mulas, 'Auctore filio. Il programma iconografico dei frontespizi miniati dei Commentarii di Giovanni Simonetta', *Bulletin du Bibliophile* 1 (1996), pp. 9-34; M.L. Evans, 'Birago, Giovanni Pietro' in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. by J. Turner, New York, 1996, vol. 4, pp. 76-77; Maria Brynda, 'La Sforziada... ze zbiorów BOZ' [La Sforziada from the Collection of the Zamość Estate Library], *Biuletyn informacyjny Biblioteki Narodowej* 150 (1999), p. 18; *Nad złoto droższe: Skarby Biblioteki Narodowej / More Precious than Gold: Treasures of the Polish National Library*, ed. by H. Tchórzewska-Kabata and M. Dąbrowski, Warsaw, 2000, pp. 76-77; Maria Brynda, 'La Sforziada' in *Wawel 1000-2000. Wystawa Jubileuszowa* [Wawel 1000-2000. Jubilee Exhibition], catalogue ed. by M. Piwocka and D. Nowacki, Cracow, 2000, pp. 91-92.

The Lvov Manuscript of Danilo II's
*Životi kralyeva i arhiepiskopa
srpskih*

Abstract A major achievement of early Serb literature, the *Životi...* are known from several copies. Here we look at a 16th century copy made in Lvov, and now in the possession of the National Library in Warsaw. After presenting the circumstances surrounding the creation of the work and outlining the book's history, the author provides its introductory catalog description.

The *Životi kralyeva i arhiepiskopa srpskih* [The Lives of Serb Kings and Archbishops]¹, compiled by the Serbian archbishop Danilo II, and later expanded by an anonymous pupil, are one of the oldest and most magnificent examples of Serbian literature. In addition, the *Životi* constitute a very valuable source for studying the political and ecclesiastical history of medieval Serbia.

Our knowledge relating to the author of the *Životi* is quite extensive. Danilo II was born around the year 1270 into a family of noblemen. In his position of ihumen at the Serb monastery of Chilandar on Mount Athos (1306-1311), he successfully fought against Catalan mercenaries. He returned to his homeland in 1311, and though later he frequently sojourned at the Holy Mountain, his future would be linked to the lives of the successive kings from the Nemanic dynasty: Stefan Uroš II Milutin, Stefan Uroš III Dečanski and Stefan Dušan (the future czar). Danilo II performed important political and diplomatic functions – above all at the court of Uroš III. In 1323 he was engaged on a diplomatic mission to Bulgaria and Constantinople. The first bishop of Banja (1311-1315), and later Hum (1317-1323), he was finally elevated, on September 14, 1323, to the dignity of archbishop of Serbia, an office he fulfilled until his death (December 18, 1337).

Danilo II is known as the author of liturgical songs concerning, for instance, his predecessors in the archbishopric (*Služba arhiepiskopu Arseniyu* and *Služba arhiepiskopu Yevstatiyu*).² In the history of literature, however, he is known principally as the author of biographies of Serb kings and archbishops. Each of these he wrote over the course of many years, depending on the

current political situation: two branches of the Nemanic family were engaged in a struggle for the throne, and the biographies were intended to serve the goals of the party supported by the archbishop. Danilo's first life was about the dethroned king Stefan Dragutin. It was composed just after the latter's death in 1316, and soon followed by the biography of queen Yelena, which was written in conjunction with the institution of her cult (1317). The lives written by Danilo all came to form the collection entitled *Životi kralyeva i arhiepiskopa srpskih*. Eventually, this work also comprised the lives of kings Stefan Uroš I (1243-1276) and Stefan Dragutin (1276-1282, d. 1316), Stefan Uroš II Milutin (1282-1321) and queen Yelena, and archbishops Arseniy I (d. 1266), Sava II, Danilo I, Yanitsiy I, Yevstatiy I (1279-1286), Yakov (1286-1292), Yevstatiy II, Sava III and Nikodim. Between 1337 and 1340³ an anonymous pupil of Danilo II's added the life of king Stefan Uroš III Dečanski (1321-1331), and presented the first years of the reign (which lasted until c. 1340) of king (later czar) Stefan Dušan Uroš IV (1331-1355), appending short notes about Danilo II and the first three Serb patriarchs: Yanitsiy (1346-1354, became archbishop in 1338), Sava and Yefrem.⁴

The *Životi* are a valuable source for scholars, especially for historians, literary scholars and linguists. No wonder then that Serb learning, which revived in the 19th century, rapidly developed an interest in Danilo II and his writings. The *Životi* were published in 1866 by the well-known philologist Đura Daničić⁵ (1825-1822), who based his work on the three then available copies. Two of these were from the 18th century, from Sremski

Karlovcí,⁶ while the third one was created in the 16th century and belonged to the University Library in Lvov (now L'viv in the Ukraine). A copy of the Lvov manuscript, made in the years 1838-1839 at the request of the Czech slavist Pavel Josef Šafařík (1795-1861) and corrected by the slavist Yakov Głowacki, has been preserved, although until recently the manuscript itself was believed to have been lost in the upheavals of World War II.⁷

We are now aware of the existence of eight more copies of the *Životi* texts. The Russian National Library in Petersburg is in possession of a manuscript (in the so-called Gilferding collection, shelfmark 55) dating from 1526. It contains Danilo's text and is written on 180 leaves. The entire codex numbers 234 leaves, and ends with the biography of queen Yelena. This manuscript was composed in the Sopocani monastery and discovered by the slavist Alexander F. Gilferding (1831-1872) in the Dovolja monastery in Herzegovina. The manuscript from the National Library in Belgrade (call no. 21, no. 378 in the printed catalogue) from the late 15th or early 16th century, containing the lives of Stefan Uroš I, Stefan Dragutin and Yelena, was burned in 1941 during the bombing of Belgrade. A codex (shelfmark 267 [544]) from the late 16th century, containing the biographies of Stefan Dragutin and Yelena, is preserved at the Vasil Kolarov State Library in Sofia. A full text of the *Životi* from 1552/1553 was kept at the Serb monastery Chilandar on Mount Athos – it is now considered lost. The same Chilandar monastery, however, is home to a 16th century copy of the life of queen Yelena (codex no. 482). The Zagreb University Library contains a manuscript from 1751-1760 with the lives of Serb archbishops – the so-called *Studenitski Zbornik Žitija* (shelfmark P 4186, 1).⁸ The second half of the 20th century saw the discovery of a copy of the *Životi* from 1567,⁹ as well as of a small fragment (12 leaves) from the 16th century.¹⁰ As can be seen, only a few copies of the *Životi kralyeva i arhiepiskopa srpskih* have survived until the present day, and for this reason the loss of the Lvov manuscript, the oldest extant text of this work, had been such a hard blow, particularly for Serb scholarship. Happily, however, the story does not end there. In 1977 the Department of Manuscripts of the Polish National Library came into possession of the so-called 'secured collections'. In the course of research into the collection, it turned out that



Title page of *Životi kralyeva i arhiepiskopa srpskih* by Danilo II

the set of Cyrillic manuscripts also contained a copy of Danilo's *Životi* from c. 1550. This was in fact the missing copy from Lvov. Its introductory catalogue description can be found below.

Akc.10 780. Church Slavonic, Polish, mid-16th c., 31×20.5 cm, VI+356 p. (181 leaves). Contemporary binding, boards and leather.

Danilo II, Serb archbishop: *Životi kralyeva i arhiepiskopa srpskih*

A copy of a 14th century work containing the lives of kings: Stefan Uroš I (1243-1276) and Stefan Dragutin (1276-1282, died in 1316), queen Yelena and king Stefan Uroš II Milutin (1282-1321), and Serb archbishops, starting with Arseniy I and ending with Nikodim. Between 1337 and 1340 a student (anonymous) of Danilo II added to his work the lives of Stefan Uroš III Dečanski (1321-1331) and a description of the beginning of the reign (until c. 1340) of czar Stefan Dušan (1331-1355), as well as short notes on Danilo II and the first three Serb patriarchs.

1. “ЖИТИЈЕ И ЖИЗНЬ ПОВѢСТИ ВЪООУГОДНИ ДѢВАНІИ ХОЛЮВИВЫ КРАЛЪ СРЪВСКІЕ И ПОМЪРСКІЕ ЗЕМЛЪ” – introduction, pp. 1-2.

2. The life of king Stefan Uroš I, pp. 3-16.

3. “МЪЦА МАРТА ВЪІ ДНЬ ЖИТИЈЕ ВЪООУГОДНО ВЪГОЧЪНВАГО КРАЛЪ СТЕФАНА [Dragutin] СРЪВСКАГЪ А МОНАХЪ ФЕВКЪТИСТА”, pp. 17-52.

4. “Мѣца февруарѣа Нѣ днѣ житїе вѣоѡгодно и жизнь непорочнаа вѣлѣочївїе и хрѣтолюбивїе гѣже наше вѣлженїе монахїе Слени”, pp. 53-102.

5. “Мѣца вѣтѣврїа КѢ днѣ житїе и жизнь вѣлѣочїваго и хрѣтолюбиваго и сѣторѡнаго и крѣпкаго и самодрѣжавнаго съ Бѣмѣ Гѣна краля Стефана Уроша [II Milutin] прѣвнѣка сѣго Сїмешна Неманїе и внѣкъ прѣвовѣнчанаго кралѣ Стефана сѣмѣ великаго Стефана Оуроша [I]”. pp. 103-169.

6. “Оурошь третїи [Dečanski]”, pp. 171-230.

7. “Стефанъ кра Урошь Дѣ”, pp. 231-248.

8. “Сѣканїе о житїи прѣвсцѣеннѣ архїеппѣ сръвскїе и поморскїе земле прѣваго дѣчителїа имѣ и наставника архїеппѣа Хѣва сѣла Савы и понїкъ елицїи прѣдѣрѣжаше прѣвстоль егѡ (...)” – introduction to the lives of Serb archbishops, pp. 249-251.

9. The life of archbishop Arseniy I, pp. 251-294.

10. “Сава Вѣ архїеппѣ сръвскїи”, pp. 294-296.

11. The life of archbishop Danilo I, pp. 296.

12. The life of archbishop Yanitsiy I, pp. 296-314.

13. “Мѣца геноуарїа Дѣ днѣ паметь сѣго Сустатїа архїеппѣа сръвскаго”, pp. 315-343.

14. “Іакова патрїарха слово”, pp. 343-345.

15. “Вторы Сустатїе архїеппѣ”, pp. 345-346.

16. “Гѣ Сава архїеппѣ”, pp. 346-347.

17. “Никодимѣ архїеппѣ”, pp. 347-348.

18. “О прѣставлїнїе архїеппѣа Данїла”, pp. 348-349.

19. “О прѣставлїнїи Дѣго патрїарха сръвскїи Іванїкїа”, pp. 349-350.

20. “О прѣставлїнїи Вѣго патрїарха сръвскїи кѣ Савоу”, pp. 350-354.

21. “В поставлїнїе третїаго патрїарха кѣ Сфрема съ вѣвенїемѣ патрїарха црогѣскаго и съ сѣворѡ ѣ”, pp. 354-356.

Single type of handwriting (on p. 248 perhaps a different hand), Cyrillic alphabet – half-uncial. Serb editorship with Moldavian influences.

Watermarks: three variants of an anchor in a circle with a six-pointed star on the top: a/ (e.g. p. 13) resembling Laucevicius 1428 from 1524-1525, Lichačev 1713 from 1544, and 3427 from 1561 – b/ (e.g. p. 95) resembling Lichačev 624 from 1578 – c/ (e.g. p. 57) resembling Badecki 77 from 1578-1607.

Page 1: Headpiece (vignette) – ornamental interlace with plant motifs in the Balkan style, executed in watercolors (several colors) with

a small brush and quill pen. Titles, major and minor rubricated initials (in the case of initials and minor initials, sometimes done in watercolors).

The last ten to twenty leaves have been cut out. Paper treated with wax.

Moldavian binding: boards covered in leather, blind-stamped on a frame layout using a pallet and single stamps with a small rosette motif. Traces of small clasps. Front paste-down of a later date (19th century?). On the front protective leaf many trial brushstrokes in Church Slavic and Polish, and the note **Сїа книга сѣтвори еѡ Юрашко оурїка** and three times the date ‘1712’. – On the endpaper, a primitive drawing depicting St. George and the note: **Сѣ (?) лѣ вѣ толѣ колїса и водїла сїа книга зовемїи сѣворнїи и кѣпи^а еи пѣ Юрѣко писѣ за Сѣ (...?) жѣтїи в лѣто ЗПІІ (...?)**. Underneath, two small inscriptions in Polish (one from the 16th century and a later one).

Page 248 bears the note: “(...)Сѣ ѣ рѣ вѣжїи Глїгорїе Юрѣко оурїка коупїи сїж книга рекомаа лѣтописецѣ в сръвскїи кралѣ и в архїеппѣ како кто свое житїе проводи и коупїи еж вѣ по Іѡ вѣ гра Хотїи и дѣ за неж КІІ злѣ како да ми вѣдѣ памѣ вѣ днѣ вѣлѣочїва гѣна і вѣ Петра воѣвѣ [Moldavian *hospodar* Peter V] в лѣто ЗПІІ ноѣ Кѣ”. Below, in a different hand: “И дадѣ еи сѣтому монахїи вѣ Сѣчевнїи [Suczawica, a town in the former district of Radowiec] нѣ ѣ хрѣ вѣскренїе Гѣ Бѣ и Спѣа нашѣ Ісѣ Хѣ (...) в лѣтѣ ЗЧС (?)”. Lvov University Library (Bookplate: “Zbiór rękopisów Nr 198 III”; Lvov University Library stamp on pp. 1 and 356). Secured Collection, 1977.

A letter in Latin (pp. I-IV) is attached (using a string bearing a Lvov University Library lacquer seal) to the front protective leaf. Written by Teofil Hołdaiewicz, vice-director of the Greek-Catholic Seminary for the Priesthood in Lvov, and dated November 17, 1798, it is addressed to Robert Curalt, custodian of the Lvov University Library, and contains information about the contents of the book, as well as brief notes on the Serb monarchs. The same letter also contains later handwritten annotations concerning the codex: on p. III a comment by Modest Michał Hryniewicz, a Basilian and professor of the University of Lvov, dated March 6, 1821, stating that the manuscript was probably used by Jan Rajić, author of *Istorija raznih slavenskih narodov, naipače Bolgara, Horvata i Serbov*, Vienna

1794-1795; on p. II information in pencil about a different copy of Danilo II's work, to be found in Suczawica; on p. IV the note: 'Drukował [Đura] Daničić w Zagrzebiu 1866' ['Printed by [Đura] Daničić in Zagreb 1866' – under the title *Životi*

kraljeva i arhiepiskopa srpskih napisao arhiepiskop Danilo i drugi, p. XV, 386] (CXXII.C.2)', and below, in a different handwriting – 'Używał rękopis niniejszy' [he used this manuscript].

Notes:

1. A short note about the manuscript was published by the author in *Zbornik Matice Srpske za slavistiku* 36 (1989), pp. 109-112.
2. Both works were published by the metropolitan Mihailo, *Srbijak*, Belgrade, 1861.
3. Stanislaus Hafner, *Serbisches Mittelalter. Altserbische Herrscherbiographien*, vol. 2, *Danilo II und sein Schüler: Die Königsbiographien*, Graz, 1976, p. 35.
4. It has proven impossible to establish the dates with regard to all the mentioned Serb archbishops and patriarchs.
5. Đura Daničić *Životi kraljeva i arhiepiskopa srpskih. Napisao arhiepiskop Danilo i drugi*, Zagreb 1866, p. XV, 386. Cf. I. R. Mircea 'Les vies des rois et archevêques serbes et leur circulation en Moldavie. Une copie inconnue de 1567', *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 4 (1966), no. 3-4, pp. 399-412; Hafner, op. cit., pp. 10-11 and pp. 45-49; *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, Zagreb, 1956, vol.2, pp. 662-663.
6. Currently in the Patriarchal Library in Belgrade, call no. Patr. 45 and Patr. 51 (cf. Hafner, op. cit., pp. 36-38). Copies

of these manuscripts (from 1831 and 1829) are stored in the Pavel Josef Šafařík bequest (Národní Museum, Prague, call no. IX A 6, cod. A [Š], VII, 132 fol. and IX A 6, cod. B [Š], 212 fol.). Cf. Hafner, op. cit., pp. 36-38; J. Vašica, J. Vajs *Soupis staroslovanských rukopisů Národního Musea v Praze*, Prague, 1957, pp.1-5.

7. Národní Museum, Prague, call no. IX A 6, cod. C [Š]. Cf. J. Vašica, J. Vajs op. cit. pp. 6-7; the authors identify Głowacki (index, p. 487) as Yakov Głowacki (Gołowacki, Hołowacki 1814-1888), a slavist and Galician-Ukrainian activist. It is hard to tell whether this is a conjecture, or whether Vašica and Vajs established it on the basis of source material. It is worth noting, however, that Šafařík had contacts with the slavist Michał Stanisław Głowacki (1804-1846). *Polski słownik biograficzny* [Polish Bibliographic Dictionary], vol. 8, Warszawa, 1959-1960, pp. 125-127.

8. Hafner, op. cit., pp. 35-41.

9. Mircea, op. cit., pp. 399-412.

10. Dimitrije Bogdanović, *Inventar ćirilskih rukopisa u Jugoslaviji (XI-XVII veka)*, Belgrade, 1982, p. 31 (no. 232).

Translated by Marcin Polkowski

Foreign Collections in Polish Libraries

Wanda M. Rudzińska The Brussels Album from the Print Room of Warsaw University Library

Abstract The Brussels Album (Zb. Król. Wol. 755), a cherished possession of Warsaw University Library, is a rare example of a 16th c. illustrated account depicting courtly wedding festivities. The author gives an image-by-image description of the series of illustrations, and deals with issues of its authorship and history.

The Print Room of Warsaw University Library was founded in 1818 and is the oldest public collection of graphic art in Poland. From both an artistic and historical perspective it occupies a unique position in Polish collectorship.¹ It is actually made up of a number of historical collections compiled between around 1750 and 1830s during a golden era for collectorship in Europe: the royal collection of the last Polish monarch, Stanisław August Poniatowski (purchased from his heirs for Warsaw University in 1818 and comprising prints, artistic and architectural drawings, as well as volumes with prints and albums), the Stanisław Kostka Potocki Collection, purchases of the old university from 1818-1831, the collection of the Warsaw Society of Friends of Sciences as well as the Dereczyn collection of the Sapieha family.

The history of the Print Room closely parallels Poland's troubled history over the past two hundred years. Following the failure of the November Uprising in 1831, the tsarist powers began the piecemeal confiscation of Polish artistic collections. And in 1832 the whole of the Print Room was transported to Russia and placed in the Saint Petersburg Academy of Fine Arts, at what was a great cost to Polish culture and science. The collection remained in Saint Petersburg for 91 years and was not handed back until 1921, when after the Polish-Soviet War the Commission for Repossession arranged its return to Warsaw.

In the years 1924-1939 the Print Room increased in size thanks to purchases, donations and the addition of items which entered the University Library after 1832. The most important of these were the Tilman van Gameren Archive

(architectural drawings from the 17th century), the collection of Dominik Witke-Jeżewski (architectural drawings from the 18th and 19th century), the collection of Dr. Izydor Krzemicki (*chiaroscuro* woodcuts from the 16th-18th century) as well as the collection of Henryk Grohman (Western European and Polish graphic art from the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century). Other important purchases comprised master drawings and albums with drawings, as well as modern Polish prints. Sadly the outbreak of World War II would spell disaster for the collection, with over 60,000 prints and drawings being lost.² What is more, the entire reference library, photographic archive, inventory and catalogues were also lost.

The years 1948-2003 saw some sort of recovery in that the Print Room purchased or received 9,500 items, mostly prints. The main focus of the works gathered there, however, remains the collection of King Stanisław August Poniatowski.

A true treasure from Royal Collection to be found in the Print Room is the so-called Brussels Album, which includes 13 painted miniatures on parchment that deal with the wedding ceremony of Alessandro Farnese (1545-1592) and Maria of Portugal (1538-1577). It is a rare example from the 16th century that relates a contemporary event.³ In accordance with the wishes of Alessandro's uncle, Philip II, king of Spain, the wedding was staged as an important political, dynastic and religious event, with considerable artistic implications. The wedding celebrations lasted from May 13, 1565 to January 14, 1566 and took place in both Portugal and the Netherlands. Understandably, the

most opulent celebrations took place in Brussels at the court of Alessandro's mother, Margaret of Austria, who acted as governor of the Netherlands on behalf of her brother Philip II. The oldest families from all of the provinces of the Netherlands attended the celebrations in Brussels, although they would use this opportunity to unify their opposition against Spanish rule.

Many hand-written and printed documents relating to these wedding celebrations have been preserved, with the most detailed and official version being related by Francesco De Marchi.⁴ His account was entitled *Narratione* and published in Bologna in 1566. De Marchi was a military architect in the services of Margaret, and held the rank of captain. To a great extent De Marchi's account concurs with the only iconographic documentation of the wedding – the miniatures in the Brussels Album, although understandably there is some divergence, for example when it comes to numbers of those present at the celebrations.

The expert finish on the miniatures, the application of parchment as a base, the use of gold in the decoration of the sheets, including the frontispiece, the marking of the opening and closing of the cycle with sheets featuring coats of arms and the allegorical figures of Victory and Peace, all point to the official character of the miniatures and the importance attached to them. The commission for such a series of miniatures must indeed have come from the court of Margaret. The character of the celebrations, which incorporated both Netherlandish and Italian traditions, coupled with mythological and allegorically themed scenes, must have demanded of the artist that he combine the local traditions with experience gained in Italy.

The manner in which the characters are presented, the poses of the elongated silhouettes, the characteristic facial features, and in particular the manner of rendering the horses in the foreground of the entrance scenes (sheets three and ten of the album) seem to correspond to the works of Frans Floris.⁵ Especially close to his style are the allegorical figures of Victory and Peace, accompanying the heraldic cartouches (sheets 2 and 13 of the Album) and the lion masks in the scene of the foot tourney (sheet 9 of the Album) are very similar to those of Floris's sketchbook preserved in Basel (Bibliothek Öffentlicher Kunstsammlungen, MS U.iv.6 – U.iv.29).

In turn, the cartouche with the text on the title sheet (sheet 1. of the Album) is decorated with scroll-work and grotesque ornamentation, which is stylistically close to the designs of Frans's brother, Cornelis Floris, a fact confirmed by a comparison of the Warsaw frontispiece with the title sheet of his *Ontwerpen voor kanen en schalen* from 1548, as well as the grotesque elements of *Cartouches met citaten van Griekse wijsgeren* from 1554, published by Hieronymus Cock.⁶

Having painted her portrait, Frans Floris was almost certainly known to Margaret of Austria.⁷ Floris also participated in the making of the decorations for the triumphal entrance of both emperor Charles V and prince Philip II into Antwerp during their visit to the Netherlands in 1549.

Floris organized his studio along the lines of what he had seen in Italy and employed a considerable number of assistants.⁸ The characteristic artistic elements of his art – large eyes, flat noses, ironic grimaces, rather oddly-shaped feet placed one in front of the other and large open-palmed hands – were adopted by many of his pupils, and it is only reasonable to assume that the artists or artist belonged to this circle. What is more, taking into account a number of stylistic differences in the execution of certain miniatures of the Album (title sheet, sheets with the coats of arms and sheets with narrative scenes) and the unique character of its commission, we can further assume that the artists that partook in the enterprise were overseen by brothers Cornelis and Frans Floris.

The first information on the Brussels album was published in 1916 by Berenštam,⁹ who in his article focused on the album's historical aspect. This approach was later followed by Liebrecht, Bertini, De Jonge, Smolar-Meynart and Goedleven.¹⁰ Wider research on the album was carried out by Sawicka.¹¹ The album was published in its entirety in 1997 by Bertini,¹² who was also the first to assign authorship to the circle of Frans Floris.

In recent years chosen miniatures from the Brussels Album have been displayed at exhibitions devoted to courtly ceremony and the art patronage of the Habsburg dynasty.¹³ In 2006 the title sheet and miniature presenting the entry of tournament participants into the Grand-Place (sheets 1 and 10) will be shown in Warsaw's

National Museum at the exhibition *Rubens and Rembrandt, their Predecessors and Successors. Flemish and Dutch Drawings from the 16th to the 18th Century in Polish Collections*, which will underscore not only the historical context of the Brussels Album, but also its high artistic value.

Like its provenance, the circumstances as to how the Brussels Album wound up in the collection of Stanisław August Poniatowski are unknown. It is also hard to answer the question as to whether the miniatures were pasted to the album at the time of its arrival in Warsaw, or whether it happened earlier. Taking into account the kind of paper from which the album was made as well as the method of binding, we can only say that it took place in the 18th century. It is certain, however, that the miniatures were pasted into the album because of their poor condition, something detectable by traces of deterioration

and repair. The placement of the miniatures in the album meant that the cycle could be kept together, although ultimately the decision to paste the miniatures threatened their preservation over time. The thick set of the glue, for example, would lead to a deformation of both the pages as well as the parchments. As a consequence, the paint on the illustrations started to crust and peel. The only way of saving the miniatures was to remove them from the album and to mount them individually in *passé-partout*. Restoration work was carried out successfully in 1997 under the supervision of Dr. Halina Rosa.¹⁴ It was made possible thanks to the efforts of professor Giuseppe Bertini of the University of Parma, as well as the financial assistance of the Rotary Club Parma Est.¹⁵ The miniatures have regained their artistic lustre, and happily their current condition gives no cause for concern.

The Brussels Album, sheet no. 1

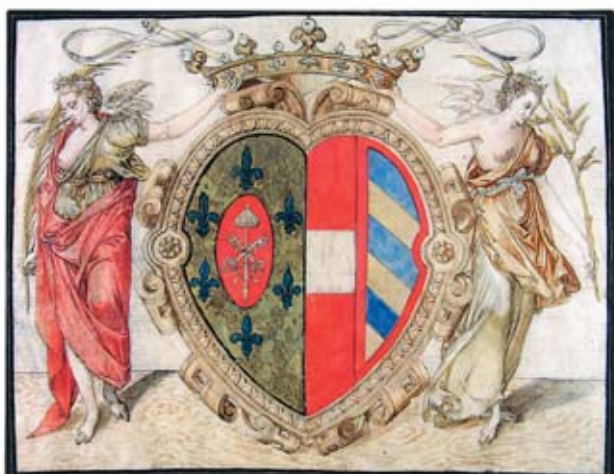
The title page of the album has the form of a rectangular cartouche, decorated with scrollwork and grotesque ornamentation, and containing the introductory text, with a gilded initial *P*, written in pen and ink.

Pourtraictz au vif des Entrees, Festins, Joustes et Combatz matrimoniaux / celebrees en la Ville de Bruçelles l an nostre Seigneur Mille cinq cens LXV / comenchees l'un Ziesme Jour de Novembre en presence de plusieurs Euesgues, / Prelatz, Abbez, Ducs, Prinçes, Comtes, Barons, Seigneurs et Gentilzhommes / entre Treshaut Trespuys-sant et Tresexcellent Prince Monseigr ALEXAN / DRE De Farneses filz unig du Treshaut Trespuys-sant et Tresexcellent Prin / çè Monseigr OCTAVIAN De Farneses Duc de Parme, de Plaisance Mar / quis De Navare Gonfalon-nier de L'esgliz, Chevallier de L'ordre et de / Madame MARGARITE D'Austriçe Duchesse de Parme, de Plaisance Marquize / De Navare Gouvernante pour le Roy son frere de ses Pais de Pardeça; et entre / Treshaute, Trespuys-sante et Tresexcellente Princesse Donna MARIE De Portugal / fille de Treshaut Trespuys-sant et Tresexcel-lent Prinçè Dom DVART Enfant / De Portugal; Et de Treshaute, Trespuys-sante et Tresexcellente Princesse Donna / YSABELLA ausi Enfante dudict Portugal



Pen, brown iron-gall ink, washed in brown, red and yellow water-colour, pulverized gold, goatskin parchment grounded with white chalky-glu undercoat; 300 × 388 mm; frame in brush and black ink, with a golden stripe, in the middle part of the top frame the number '1' painted in white.

The Brussels Album, sheet no. 2



Coats of arms of Ottavio Farnese and Margaret of Austria

Cartouche in the shape of a heart with the coat of arms of the parents of the groom, encrusted with scroll-work, with a princely crown supported by the allegorical figures of Victory (with a palm branch) and Peace (with an olive branch).

Pen, brown iron-gall ink, washed in brown, red, yellow and blue water-colour, pulverized gold and silver, goatskin parchment grounded with white chalky-glu undercoat; 299×384 mm; frame in brush and black ink, with a golden stripe, in the middle part of the top frame the number '2' painted in white.

The Brussels Album, sheet no. 3



The triumphal entry of Mary of Portugal into Brussels

On 11 November, 1565 Maria of Portugal entered Brussels in a carriage designed by Francesco De Marchi, who also drove the carriage. The procession was accompanied by the cavalry of the order of the Golden Fleece, as well as infantry battalions. Barrels with smoking tar, placed on poles, illuminated the procession.

Pen, brown iron-gall ink, washed in brown, red, yellow and blue water-colour, pulverized gold and silver, goatskin parchment grounded with white chalky-glu undercoat; 296×388 mm; frame in brush and black, with a golden stripe, in the middle part of the top frame the number '3' painted in white.



On a separate sheet of paper, 48×135 mm (mounted in the same *pas-se-partout*, below the miniature), pen entry in a thin black frame: *Lentree en la Ville de Bruçelles de Madame Donna Maria de Portugal Dame des Nopces & la congratulation de la ioyeuse arriuee faitte par Messieurs de la Ville, ensemble le conuoy de ceulx des Sermentz, etc*

The Brussels Album, sheet no. 4



Meeting of Mary of Portugal and Margaret of Austria in the Grand Chamber of the Royal Palace in Brussels



This meeting took place just before the wedding ceremony in the presence of Ottavio and Alessandro Farnese, as well as noble guests and the court. Two hunting dogs draw our attention – princess Margaret was a passionate huntress.

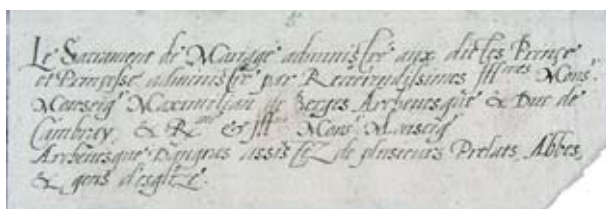
Pen, brown iron-gall ink, washed in brown, red, yellow and blue water-colour, pulverized gold and silver, goatskin parchment grounded with white chalky-glu undercoat; 300×384 mm; frame in brush and black ink, with a golden stripe, in the middle part of the top frame the number '4' painted in white.

On a separate sheet of paper, 48×139 mm (mounted in the same *passe-partout*, below the miniature), pen entry in a thin black frame: *Representation du premier congres en la grand Sale entre la devantidicte Dame des Nopces et de madame la Ducesse mere de Monseig. le Syre des Nopces etc. duquel lieu peu apres la fust conduycte par Madame la Ducesse et mondict Seig.r le Prince Syre des Nopces accompagné de plusieurs Prinçes, Ducs, Comtes, Barons et Seigneurs, en la Chapelle devant le Gran Auteil illeques*

The Brussels Album, sheet no. 5



The sacrament of marriage in the chapel of the Royal Palace in Brussels.



This is the wedding ceremony of Maria of Portugal and Alessandro Farnese, which, in accordance with Dutch custom, takes place publicly in the Royal Chapel. The sacrament of marriage was celebrated by Maximilien de Berghes, the bishop of Cambrai, before the alabaster altar made for Maria of Hungary in 1541 by sculptor Jean Mone (currently in St. Michael's Cathedral in Brussels).

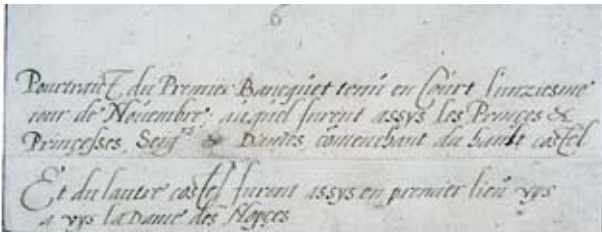
Pen, brown iron-gall ink, washed in brown, red, yellow and blue water-colour, pulverized gold and silver, goatskin parchment grounded with white chalky-glu undercoat; 299×388 mm; frame in brush and black ink, with a golden stripe, in the middle part of the top frame the number '5' painted in white.

On a separate sheet of paper, 48×137 mm (mounted in the same *passe-partout*, below the miniature), pen entry in a thin black frame: *Le Sacrament de Mariage administré aux dictes Prinçe et Prinçesse administré par Reverendissimes Ill.mes Mons.r Monseig.r Maximilian de Berges Archevesque et Duc de Cambrai et R.me et Ill.me Mons.r Monseig. Archevesque Dangras assistez de plusieurs Prelats, Abbes, et gens d'esglize*

The Brussels Album, sheet no. 6



First banquet in the Grand Gallery of the Royal Palace in Brussels



Right after the ceremony a banquet was held that lasted for three hours, which the young married couple partook of, sitting under a canopy with their coats of arms.

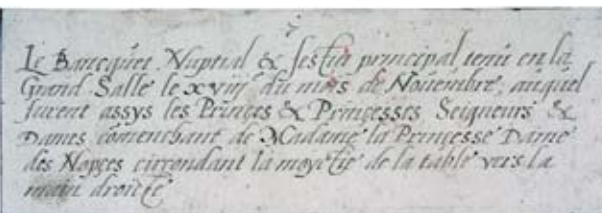
Pen, brown iron-gall ink, washed in brown, red, yellow and blue water-colour, pulverized gold and silver, goatskin parchment grounded with white chalky-glu undercoat; 302×391 mm; frame in brush and black ink, with a golden stripe, in the middle part of the top frame the number '6' painted in white.

On a separate sheet of paper, 58×138 mm (mounted in the same *passé-partout*, below the miniature), pen entry in a thin black frame: *Pourtraict du Premier Banquet tenu en Court l'unziesme iour de Novembre auquel furent assys les Prinçes et Prinçesses, Seig.rs et Dames commençant du hault costel et du lautre costel furent assys en premier lieu vvs a vvs la Dame des Nopçes*

The Brussels Album, sheet no. 7



Main wedding feast in the Grand Hall of the Royal Palace in Brussels



On 18 November there took place the main wedding banquet, which for the previous two weeks had been prepared by more than one hundred cooks and pastry chefs. The young couple, Margaret of Austria, as well as the Spanish Ambassador, Diego Guzman de Silva, sat under the canopy in places of honour. Musicians and singers played for the pleasure of the guests. Attention is drawn to a sideboard filled with opulent tableware, which is placed on the left side of the hall, under a canopy with the coats of arms of the groom.

Pen, brown iron-gall ink, washed in brown, red, yellow and blue water-colour, pulverized gold and silver, goatskin parchment grounded with white chalky-glu undercoat; 300×388 mm; frame in brush and black ink, with a golden stripe, in the middle part of the top frame the number '7' painted in white.

On a separate sheet of paper, 47×138 mm (mounted in the same *passé-partout*, below the miniature), pen entry in a thin black frame: *Le Bancquet Nuptial et festin principal tenu en la Grand Salle le XVIII du mois de Novembre, auquel furent assys Prinçes et Prinçesses, Seigneurs et Dames commençant de Madame la Prinçesse Dame des Nopçes circonçant la moyctie de la table vers la main droicte*

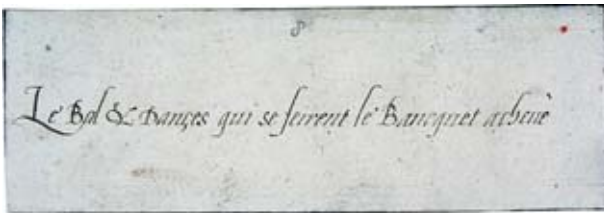
The Brussels Album, sheet no. 8



Ball in the Grand Hall of the Royal Palace in Brussels.

At the end of the wedding feast, the tables were cleared and a dance took place, accompanied by five Italian violinists.

Pen, brown iron-gall ink, washed in brown, red, yellow and blue water-colour, pulverized gold and silver, goatskin parchment grounded with white chalky-glu undercoat; 295×380 mm; frame in brush and black ink, with a golden stripe, in the middle part of the top frame the number '8' painted in white.



On a separate sheet of paper, 48×137 mm (mounted in the same *passee-partout*, below the miniature), pen entry in a thin black frame: *Le Bal et Dançes qui se firent le Banquet achevé*

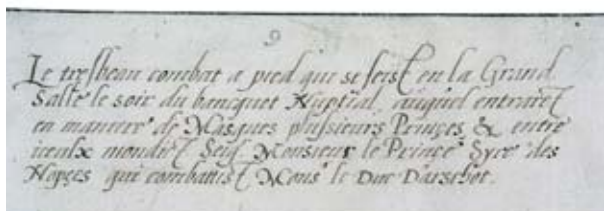
The Brussels Album, sheet no. 9



A Costume Tournament in the Grand Hall of the Royal Palace in Brussels

Following the wedding banquet and the dancing, a tournament took place wherein Knights dressed up as amazons, wild people and lions. The Prince of Orange led the 'amazons', Alessandro Farnese led the 'wild men', whereas count Egmont led the 'lions'.

Pen, brown iron-gall ink, washed in brown, red, yellow and blue water-colour, pulverized gold and silver, goatskin parchment grounded with white chalky-glu undercoat; 297×382 mm; frame in brush and black ink, with a golden stripe, in the middle part of the top frame the number '9' painted in white.

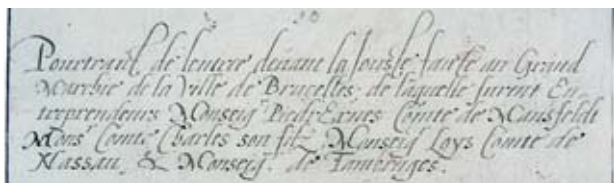


On a separate sheet of paper, 46×138 mm (mounted in the same *passee-partout*, below the miniature), pen entry in a thin black frame: *Le tres beau combat a pied qui se feist en la Grand Salle le soir du banquet nuptial auquel entrèrent en maniere de Masques plusieurs Princes et entre iceulx mondict Seig.r Monsieur le Prince Syre des Nopces qui combattist Mons.r le Duc D'Arschot*

The Brussels Album, sheet no. 10



The entry of tournament participants in to the Grand-Place in Brussels



In the scene attention is drawn to two wagons, one representing Venus, the other the Sun and Moon. The symbolism of the wagons is taken from mythology, astronomy, alchemy and philosophy. The Venus wagon is pulled by three horses, whose colours symbolise three elements (the white horses – air and water, the black horse – earth); the red horse trappings symbolise the fire of love, and therefore the fourth element. Princesses Maria and Margaret together with their companions, observe the proceedings from the central window of the hall as well as the gallery of the Town Hall.

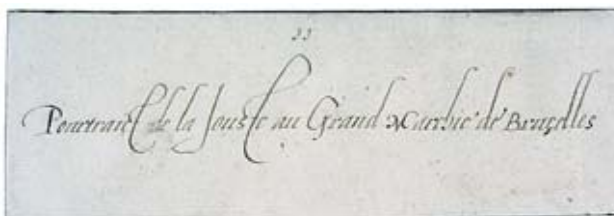
Pen, brown iron-gall ink, washed in brown, red, yellow and blue water-colour, pulverized gold and silver, goatskin parchment grounded with white chalky-glu undercoat; 299×382 mm; frame in brush and black ink, with a golden stripe, in the middle part of the top frame the number '10' painted in white.

On a separate sheet of paper, 46×138 mm (mounted in the same *passé-partout*, below the miniature), pen entry in a thin black frame: *Pourtraict de l'entree devant la Jouste faicte au Grand / Marchie de la Ville de Bruçelles, de laquelle furent En / trepreneurs Monseig.r Piedr Ernes Comte de Mansfeldt / Mons.r Comte Charles son filz, Monseig.r Loys Comte de Nassau, & Monseig.r de Tambruges.*

The Brussels Album, sheet no. 11



Tournament on the Grand-Place in Brussels



On 4 December, 1565 in the tournament events thirty three knights took part, who were challenged by Count Pierre-Ernest de Mansfelt, the organiser of the tournament. Among the victors were Count Boussu, Charles de Mansfelt, Georges de Ligne as well as Philippe de Lannoy. The jousts were watched by the public gathered in large numbers in before the Town Hall.

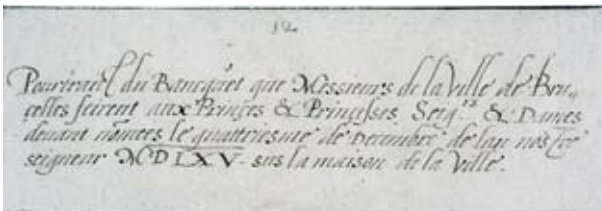
Pen, brown iron-gall ink, washed in brown, red, yellow and blue water-colour, pulverized gold and silver, goatskin parchment grounded with white chalky-glu undercoat; 299×379 mm; frame in brush and black ink, with a golden stripe, in the middle part of the top frame the number '11' painted in white.

On a separate sheet of paper, 46×138 mm (mounted in the same *passé-partout*, below the miniature), pen entry in a thin black frame: *Pourtraict de la Jouste au Grand Marchie de Bruçelles*

The Brussels Album, sheet no. 12



The banquet in the Town Hall in Brussels

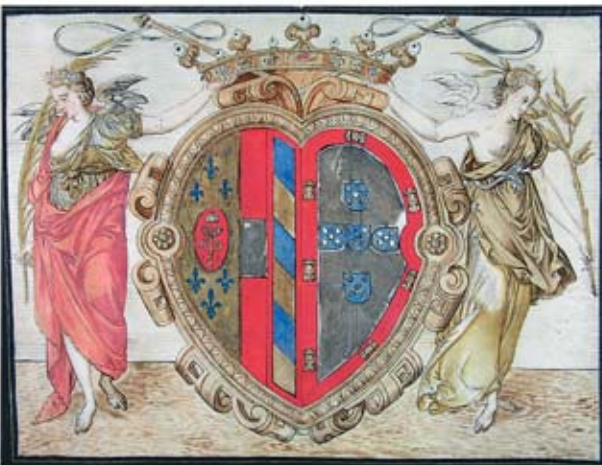


In accordance with tradition, following the tournament, a banquet was hosted by the city mayor. Under the canopy and in an honorary place sat the bride, the Spanish ambassador, Margaret of Austria, and the wife of Count de Mansfelt. During the banquet prizes were given to the winners of the tournament. Dancing also took place.

Pen, brown iron-gall ink, washed in brown, red, yellow and blue water-colour, pulverized gold and silver, goatskin parchment grounded with white chalky-glu undercoat; 302×391 mm; frame in brush and black ink, with a golden stripe, in the middle part of the top frame the number '12' painted in white.

On a separate sheet of paper, 47×139 mm (mounted in the same *passe-partout*, below the miniature), pen entry in a thin black frame: *Poutraict du Bancquet que Messieurs de la Ville de Bruçelles feirent aux Prinçes et Prinçesses Seig.rs et Dames devant nommees le quattresime de decembre de l'an nostre Seigneur MDLXV sus la maison de la Ville.*

The Brussels Album, sheet no. 13



Coats of arms of Alessandro Farnese and Maria of Portugal

A cartouche in the shape of a heart with the coat of arms of the newly-weds, encrusted with a swirling ornamentation, with the princely crown placed on the top, supported by the allegorical figures of Victory (with a palm branch) and Peace (with an olive branch).

Pen, brown iron-gall ink, washed in brown, red, yellow and blue water-colour, pulverized gold and silver, goatskin parchment grounded with white chalky-glu undercoat; 297×389 mm; frame in brush and black ink, with a golden stripe, in the middle part of the top frame the number '13' painted in white.

Notes:

1. The collection of the Print Room is treated in e.g. Zygmunt Batowski, *Zbiór graficzny w Uniwersytecie Warszawskim* [Print Collection at Warsaw University], Warsaw, 1928; Elżbieta Budzińska, 'Gabinet Rycin' [The Print Room] in *Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie w latach 1945-1980* [Warsaw University Library from 1945 to 1980], ed. A. Mężyński, A. Bednarz, Warsaw, 1998, pp. 253-268; Teresa Kossecka, *Gabinet Rycin króla Stanisława Augusta* [The Print Room of King Stanisław August], Warsaw [1999]; Jolanta Talbierska, 'Gabinet Rycin Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie 1818-1832' ['The Print Room of the University Library in Warsaw 1818-1832'], in *Ars et educatio. Kultura artystyczna Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego* [Ars et educatio. Artistic Culture of Warsaw University], ed. by J. Miziołek, Warsaw, 2003, pp. 399-415; Wanda M. Rudzińska, 'Gabinet Rycin Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie 1832-2002' ['The Print Room of Warsaw University Library 1832-2002'] in Miziołek, op. cit., pp. 417-430.
2. Cf. Stanisława Sawicka, 'Gabinet Rycin Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie w latach 1939-1949' [The Print Room of Warsaw University Library 1939-1949], *Biuletyn Historii i Sztuki* 11 (1949), no. 3/3, p. 392; Stanisława Sawicka and Teresa Sulerzyska, *Straty w rysunkach z Gabinetu Rycin Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej 1939-1945* [Losses in the Collection of Drawings from the Print Room of Warsaw University Library 1939-1945], Warsaw, 1962; Wanda Sokołowska, *Dzieje Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie 1939-1945* [The History of Warsaw University Library 1939-1945], Warsaw, 1959, pp. 28-29, 72-78, 111; *Walka o dobra kultury. Warszawa 1939-1945* [The Struggle for Cultural Heritage. Warsaw 1939-1945], ed. by S. Lorentz, vol. 1-2, Warsaw, 1970.
3. Two earlier Netherlandish miniatures portray a ceremony in Binche, organised by Maria of Hungary on the occasion of the visit of prince Philip and emperor Charles V to Antwerp in 1549. Occasional architecture related to that event as well as the funerary procession for Charles V in Brussels in 1558 was also recorded in prints. Cf. Giuseppe Bertini, *Le nozze di Alessandro Farnese. Feste alle corti di Lisboa e Bruxelles*, Milan, 1997, p. 17, fn. 28, 29, 30.
4. Francesco De Marchi, *Narratione particolare delle gran feste e trionfi fatti in Portogallo et in Flandra nello sposalitio dell' Illustrissimo et Eccellentissimo Signore, il Signor Alessandro Farnese, Principe di Parma e Piacenza, e la Serenissima Donna Maria di Portogallo*, Bologne, 1566.
5. Compare the print of Cornelis Cort after Frans Floris *Pluto on his Chariot* (F.W.H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts c. 1450-1700*, Amsterdam, 1949, vol. 5, no. 189; *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 52. *Netherlandish artists. Cornelis Cort*, ed. by W.L. Strauss and T. Shimura, New York, 1986, no. 189).
6. Cf. F.W.H. Hollstein, op. cit., vol. 4, nr. 309-336, 337-341; vol. 6, nos. 9-13, 14-41; A. Huysmans, J. Van Damme, C. Van de Velde, Ch. Van Mulders, *Cornelis Floris 1514-1575. Beeldhouwer, architect, ontwerper*, Brussels, 1996, il. 119, 144-149.
7. Cf. Bertini, op. cit., p. 18, fn. 32.
8. Cf. Carl Van de Velde, *Frans Floris (1519/20-1570). Leven en Werken*, Brussels 1975.
9. F. Berenštam, 'Brakosocetanie kniazia Aleksieya Farnese s princessoi Mariei Portugal'skoi', *Russkiy bibliofil* 8 (1916), pp. 5-16, esp. 1-5.
10. H. Liebrecht, 'Un mariage princier à Bruxelles en 1565', *Le Soir illustré*, 299, [Brussels], November 1933; Giuseppe Bertini, *Parma, Lisbona, Bruxelles in Portugal et Flandres. Vision de l'Europe (1550-1680)*, Brussels, 1991, pp. 76-83, il. p. 76 (pl. 4), 88-89 (sheets 3, 10, 11, 12); K. De Jonge, 'Rencontres portugaises. L'art de la fête au Portugal et aux Pays-Bas méridionaux au XVIe et au début du XVIIe siècle' in *Portugal et Flandres. Vision de l'Europe (1550-1680)*, Brussels, 1991, pp. 84-101; A. Smolar-Meynart, 'Des origine à Charles Quint' in *Le Palais de Bruxelles. Huit siècles d'art et d'histoire*, Brussels, 1991, pp. 15-90, il. p. 55 (sheet 6), p. 60 (sheet 5), p. 78 (sheet 9), 79 (sheets 7 and 8); Edgard Goedleven, *La Grand-Place de Bruxelles. Au coeur de cinq siècles d'histoire*, Brussels, 1993.
11. Prof. Stanisława Sawicka of Warsaw University, keeper of the Print Room in the years 1929-1965, worked on the Album with the intention of publishing it. Cf. Kossecka (1999), op. cit., p. 150.
12. Giuseppe Bertini, *Le nozze di Alessandro Farnese. Feste alle corti di Lisboa e Bruxelles*, Milan, 1997.
13. See Felipe II. *Un monarca y su época. Un príncipe del Renacimiento* [exhibition catalogue] 13 October, 1998 – 10 January, 1999, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, 1998, nos. 263 a, 263 b, 263 c, pp. 646-648 (sheets 9, 10, 11); *La fiesta en la Europa de Carlos V* [exhibition catalogue] 19 September – 26 November 2000, Real Alcázar, Seville, 2000, nos. 53-55, pp. 342-344 (sheets 9, 10, 11); *Die öffentliche Tafel. Tafelzeremoniell in Europa 1300-1900* [exhibition catalogue], 29 November, 2002 – 11 March, 2003, Kronprinzenpaleis Berlin, Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin 2002, nos. 18, 19, p. 135 (sheets 7 and 12); *Teatro y fiesta del siglo de oro en tierras europeas de los Austrias* [exhibition catalogue] 11 April – 22 June, 2003, Real Alcazar, Seville; 30 July – 6 October, 2003, Royal Palace, Warsaw, [Madrid], 2003, no. 64, p. 167 (sheet 3).
14. Cf. Halina Rosa, *Album Brukselski z kolekcji króla Stanisława Poniatowskiego. Dokumentacja konserwatorska* [The Brussels Album from the Collection of King Stanisław August Poniatowski. Documented Conservation], Toruń, 1997 [manuscript in the Print Room of Warsaw University Library].
15. Cf. Wanda M. Rudzińska, [Introduction], in Bertini, op. cit., pp. [7-9].

Translated by Barry Keane

Edward Monings's Account of a Visit to Hessen and the Forgery of the 'Shakespeare Library'

Abstract The author investigates the provenance of a 16th century account by an English envoy visiting the Hessian court, and provides a survey of its later journeys, during which it belonged to a collection of books and forged documents known as the 'Shakespeare Library'.

Warsaw University Library has, among the works in its collection, a relatively rare account entitled *The Landgrave of Hessen his princelie receuing of her Maiesties Ambassador* (Imprinted at London: by Robert Robinson, 1596. [4], 27, [1] p.; 4o. Shelfmark Sd. 604.1727). What makes this book interesting are the circumstances of its origin and its later history.¹ However, though mentioned in the catalogue of books printed in England, Ireland, etc., edited by A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, the copy examined here is not listed in the ESTC (which shows other surviving copies).²

The narrative is a description of a journey undertaken by a group of envoys sent by Queen Elizabeth I of England (1533-1603) to the court of Maurice (1572-1632), landgrave of Hessen-Kassel (a highly-educated ruler with Calvinist sympathies called 'the Learned' in recognition of his patronage of scholars and artists). The author of the narrative, whose signature can be seen under the dedicatory epistle preceding the main work, was Edward Monings (Monyns, Monins, Monynge, d. 1602). Not much is known about his life, except that he was knighted on April 20, 1595 by Sir William Russell, a representative of the English government in Ireland, and *The Landgrave of Hessen his princelie receuing...* is one of the few documents that can be attributed to him. One fact not open to doubt is Monings's actual participation in the visit to Hessen, as the words of the dedication attest: 'I have presumed... to put out and present your Ho. the relation of our entertainment in Germanie'. In what character he took part in the diplomatic mission, however, remains unclear. The narrative is dedicated to Mary, du-

chess of Warwick. This is an error, however, one of several in the book, because the actual addressee was Anne (1548-1603), the daughter of Sir Francis Russell, the second earl of Bedford, the sister of Margaret, duchess of Cumberland (1560-1616) and the wife of Sir Ambrose Dudley, the earl of Warwick (1528?-1590).³

Monings's narrative, brisk in style and filled with details of courtly ceremonies, costumes and lavish and costly banquets organised to welcome the envoys in the cities that entertained them, amply shows his abilities as both a writer and keen observer. Meticulous descriptions of each stage of the journey, together with the names of the illustrious personages that hosted the ambassadors of the English queen, make it a work of indisputable historical value. The journey lasted from June 30 to September of 1596, while the reception at the court of landgrave Maurice in Kassel and the related celebrations took place in the middle of August. One of the reasons for the trip was the baptism of Elizabeth, the landgrave's daughter, who had been born on April 7, 1596. The little girl had the honour of having for her godmother the queen of England, who was represented on this particular occasion by Henry Clinton (1542-1616) second earl of Lincoln, the son of the gifted diplomat Edward Clinton (first earl of Lincoln, 1512-1585). This was Henry Clinton's only ambassadorial nomination. Monings does not mention him directly, and merely gives the name of his father, Edward.

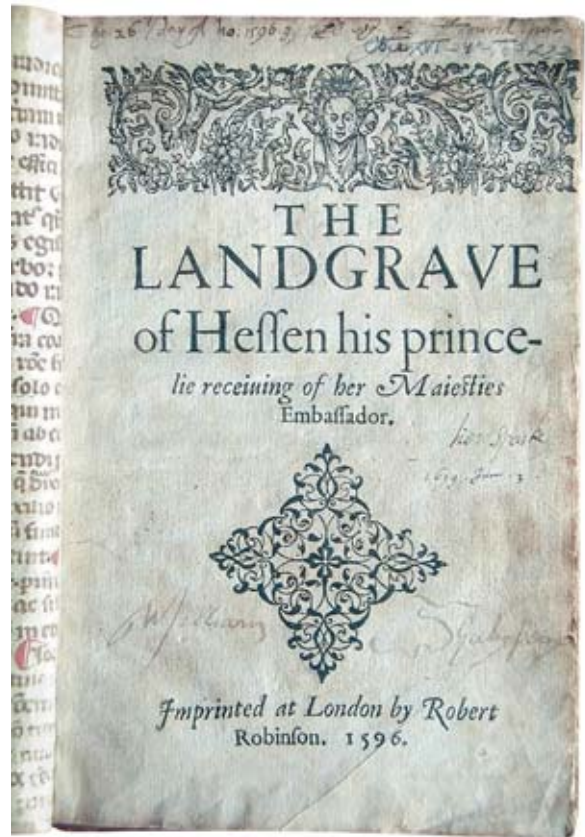
The visit was not purely a courtly pageant. Rather, it was also aimed at enhancing the ties between the pro-Calvinist court of Duke Maurice and England, the latter then going through a period

of ecclesiastical reform. However, the circumstances in which the account was created, and the very short interval between the time the envoys returned to England and the printing of the book, seem to argue against linking it directly with the conjectured political objectives of the visit.

After a short stay on the continent, journeying through the Netherlands, the ambassadors returned to England on October 7, 1596. On October 26 the book had already been registered in accordance with the laws of the time at the Company of Stationers Office (the London guild of printers and booksellers) with master Hartwell, its censor⁴. Robert Robinson, a London printing-house owner active in the years 1583-1597, entered it into the Company's records.⁵ Robinson was notorious for illegally reprinting books, and on a number of occasions received fines for printing errors. The book, printed on poor-quality paper, was soon available to readers, as one can judge by the first ownership note, which is dated November 26.

The history of the Warsaw copy is still an exceptionally thorny issue, and continues to baffle researchers. Looking at the cover, what immediately catches our attention is the gold-tooled title on the spine: 'The Landgrave of Hessen 1596 with Shakespeare's Mss. Notes'. Apart from this, several ownership notes are scattered over the title page and the final portions of the text; the book also contains lengthy marginalia.

The earliest ownership note, placed at the top of the title page, bears the date: 'The 26 Day of Nov[ember] 1596 39: [...] Pe[ter?] Hanwood pret' (...the rest is illegible). Unfortunately, the author of the note, who was probably the first owner of the book, has not been identified (a potential clue as to his origin might come from a Shropshire village of that name). Underneath it, we encounter the next note: 'Tho[mas] Sparke 1619. June. 3'. A number of arguments might speak in favour of identifying the author of this inscription with the puritan doctor of theology Thomas Sparke (Sparkes, 1548-1616), a noted preacher and religious writer, and the chaplain of the bishop of Lincoln. Among other things, Sparke composed the funeral sermon for Sir Francis Russell⁶, whose daughter Anne was the dedicee of Monings's account. Sparke, however, died in 1616, which disproves this interesting conjecture. The remaining likely candidate is his elder son, also called Thomas.⁷



Title page of *The Landgrave of Hessen...* by Edward Monings with forged signature of William Shakespeare

The later fate of the copy is obscure and equally hard to trace. The next property mark indicates that the book appeared in the Duchy of Hessen. It is quite probable, since the ties between the Hessian court and England were still rather strong. One of the series of Hessian envoys or a member of the family of Hessen-Kassel could have acquired the volume in question or received it as a gift. Indeed, the top recto pastedown bears the imprint of a slightly damaged stamp, bluish-grey in colour, or rather of its mirror image, in the shape of a monogram with the entwined letters 'E L' under a crown. A monogram of this type was used by Ernst Ludwig Landgraf von Hessen-Darmstadt (1667-1739 – after 1627 Hessen-Kassel was made part of Hessen-Darmstadt). It might have occurred that during the rebinding of the book the protective paper, on which the seal had been placed, was removed, but not before some traces of it had been transferred to the end-paper. The accidentally reproduced monogram was then pasted over, as the visible traces of glue on the end-paper suggest. It might have also been

the case that a sheet of paper freshly stamped with the design was simply inserted into the book, thus forming the image. The riddle of the seal cannot be solved because of a lack of adequate comparative material. The seal of the Warsaw copy is the only bookmark of the Landgrave known to-date. The answer may still be found, but research into the provenance of books is one of the most laborious stages of examining an early printed book, and most libraries are unwilling to engage frequently in such studies. The monogram has the same shape as the coat of arms in the finial of the main gate leading to the castle in Darmstadt, which now houses the Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek.⁸ This library, founded in the 14th century and considerably enlarged by Landgrave Georg I (1547-1596), was systematically expanded by the subsequent rulers of Hessen.⁹

The ownership notes that follow indicate unequivocally that the book returned to England at the end of the 18th century and that its later history was linked to the so-called Shakespeare Library forgery. A slightly faded, though still legible inscription which reads 'William Shakespeare' can be found above the imprint on the title page; a second signature, 'Wm Shakespear', is displayed in the closing part of the text. The duct of the writing, closely resembling the very few preserved autographs of Shakespeare, initially prompted speculation that the collections of the Warsaw University Library might indeed contain a book from the personal library of one of the greatest poets and playwrights of all time. No other book or document from his private archive remains extant, and such a finding, if authentic, would have been truly sensational. After the handwriting style had been analysed, the marginal glosses deciphered and the item inspected closer in collaboration with specialists from the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, the conclusion was reached that the author of the notes was not William Shakespeare, but William Henry Ireland (1777-1835).¹⁰

William Henry (some bibliographies also give the name Samuel) was an illegitimate child. He grew up in the home of his father Samuel (d. 1800), who in addition to being a well-known engraver, collector and writer, was also a Shakespeare-enthusiast (he too had a significant impact on the history of the book). In 1794, after spending some years in France, William Henry found a job in a solicitor's office. Brought up as a half-orphan

and ridiculed as a failure since childhood, he tried all possible means to find favour with his father, sharing his interest in collecting and accompanying him on expeditions in search of Shakespearean memorabilia to places like Stratford-on-Avon. Towards the end of the 18th century the figure of the great playwright rose greatly in importance thanks to works by the literary critic and lexicographer Samuel Johnson (1709-1784) and the critic and scholar Edmund Malone (1741-1812). One of the peculiar fashions of the time consisted in seeking out any documents that might have a bearing on the life of the venerated playwright and poet. However, William Henry, chose a different path and embarked upon the life of a forger. He composed a series of letters, documents, poems, and even plays, to which he attached Shakespeare's signature, having found an excellent source of laid paper and parchment at the solicitor's office where he was employed. There he also had easy access to historical seals and a large collection of wills, which he used to imitate old writing. He singed and clipped the edges of the paper to give his fabrications an air of authenticity. To supplement these, he gathered a collection of nearly 80 books, to which he added Shakespeare's signature and numerous marginal comments on subjects connected with the contents of those works. To top it all off, he prepared an inventory list of books from the Bard's alleged library.¹¹ Pressed by his father to reveal the source of his findings, William Henry related the story of a wealthy gentleman (whom he identified by the initials M.H.) who had been in the possession of these treasures, and got a friend to support his version by acting out the part of the mysterious donor.

The 'Shakespeare library' exhibition organised by Samuel Ireland in the years 1795-1796 aroused great interest. Many scholars believed the documents to be genuine. Meanwhile, the collection continued to grow. A play, *Vortigen and Rowenna*, was added, and Ireland senior proceeded to prepare his Shakespearean documents for publication in a volume entitled *Miscellaneous Papers and Legal Instruments under the hand and seal of William Shakespeare, including the tragedy of King Lear, and a small fragment of Hamlet, from the original MSS. in the possession of Samuel Ireland*, London, 1796. Edmund Malone, to whom Samuel Ireland refused to grant access to the documents, soon

questioned the finding in a book entitled *An Inquiry into the Authenticity of Certain Miscellaneous Papers and Legal Documents published 24 Dec. MDCCXCV and attributed to Shakespeare, Queen Elizabeth, and Henry, Earl of Southampton*, London, 1796. Surrounded by scandal, William Henry acknowledged the forgery and fled London. The details of his activities are described in the autobiographical *Confessions of William Henry Ireland containing the Particulars of his Fabrication of the Shakespeare Manuscripts together with Anecdotes and Opinions of many Distinguished Persons in the Literary and Theatrical World*, London, 1805. In later years he tried his hand at various jobs, opening a circulating library in Kennington in 1798, and, in 1802, coming into the employ of Elizabeth, the later *Landgräfin* of Hessen-Homburg. He published about a dozen narrative poems, plays and novels.

After the death of Samuel Ireland, the 'Shakespeare Library', as it was called, was auctioned off in 1801 at Leigh & Sotheby's to an unknown buyer. In the auction catalogue, the list of books from the collection entitled *Shakespearean Library with Manuscript Notes* occupies entries 510 to 587, with Monings's work under number 542.¹²

Before being put up for auction, the book was freshly bound by an unknown binder. The poor quality of the work clearly shows that this was done in haste. The block of the book was cut out of the previous binding and re-sewn without maintaining the division into individual sections. The marginal notes were trimmed off slightly in the process. Cardboard, later covered with brown calfskin was used as a reinforcing material. A strip of supple goatskin was additionally placed lengthwise on the spine; it was dyed green, and on it the title of the work was stamped in gilded letters: *The Landgrave of Hessen 1596 with Shakespeare's Mss. Notes*. The binding of the book is decorated with gilt lacework in the form of a narrow frame with a minute, pearl-edge motif interwoven with a vegetal one with a floral ornament. Rolls with similar decorative designs were used by English bookbinders in the closing years of the 18th century.¹³ Additional protective leaves were made of parchment containing a 15th century handwritten text that might have been taken over from the previous binding. Two pencilled notes can be found on the verso pasteboard: *Monings* and

Extremely rare. They were probably added by the bookseller.

The auction catalogue unfortunately does not give the names of the purchasers of the books offered for sale. What we do know is that in the 19th century a considerable part of the former 'Shakespeare library' belonged to the playwright William Thomas Moncrieff (1794-1857), who presented his entire collection to the Birmingham Shakespeare Memorial Library, where it was lost in a fire in 1879.¹⁴ Out of the 77 items recorded in the auction catalogue, we now know of only two surviving books, which have been preserved at the London University College Ogden Library.

Presumably at the beginning of the 20th century Monings's work arrived again in Germany, where once more it can be traced to the Hessian court. On the upper verso covering one can find two ornamental bookmarks pasted one over the other, the text of which, placed under a crown, reads: *Ernst Ludwig Bibliothek*. A shelf-number, 1012, is written in ink on the pasted-over bookmark. This indicates that the book belonged to the private book collection (Kabinettsbibliothek) of the last duke of Hessen-Darmstadt, Ernst Ludwig (1868-1937) – a bibliophile and the founder of the Ernst Ludwig Presse publishing house.¹⁵ Ernst Ludwig sold his book collection of approximately 40,000 volumes to the government of the State of Hessen in 1921. It is difficult to say for certain whether it was at this time that Monings's account became part of the still-extant Landesbibliothek as the book is not recorded in the surviving printed and card catalogues. According to information obtained from the Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, the only Ernst Ludwig bookmark preserved at that library does indeed come from the duke's private collection. The volumes from the Hessen Archducal Library that have been hitherto described in the Provenance Catalogue of the Cabinet of Early Printed Books in the Warsaw University Library as a rule bear stamps such as: *Grossherzogliche Kabinettsbibliothek*, *Grossherzoglich-Hessische Kabinetts-Bibliothek*, or the initials *HSB*. The Warsaw University Library copy of Monings's work does not feature such stamps.

In September 1944 the castle and the library in Darmstadt were hit during an allied bombing raid. Half of the book holdings (760,000 volumes in all) perished in the blaze. Some of the most precious collections had been removed earlier and

concealed in neighbouring villages. A part of these was scattered owing to military operations. In February 1946 the University Library received 84 crates with almost 12,000 books (included in that number were 3795 early printed books) that had belonged to that magnificent library.¹⁶ Unfortunately, the documents preserved in the Warsaw University Library archives do not provide enough

Notes:

1. This paper summarizes in part the results of the research carried out in the years 2001-2004 and published in the Polish periodical *Przegląd Humanistyczny*: Anna Cetera, Marianna Czapnik, Małgorzata Grzegorzewska, 'Szekspirowski Apokryf' [Shakespearean Apocrypha], *Przegląd Humanistyczny* 1 (2003), pp. 71-87; Anna Cetera, Małgorzata Grzegorzewska, 'Falszerstwo prawie doskonałe (Marginalia Williama Irlandia w książce Edwarda Moningsa "The Landgrave of Hessen...") [1596] w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie' [A Nearly Perfect Forgery (The Marginalia of William Ireland in William Monings's 'The Landgrave of Hessen...')], *Przegląd Humanistyczny* 4 (2004), pp. 133-143. At this point the author would also like to acknowledge her gratitude to dr Meija Jansson, director of the Yale Center for Parliamentary History, for her generous assistance.
2. A.W. Pollard, G.R. Redgrave, *A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England... 1475-1640*. 2nd ed., London 1976, Vol. 2, no. 18013; ESTC (ESTCS 112808): British Library; Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California; Oxford University Merton College (fragments). Also: Universitätsbibliothek Kassel; microfilms: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich; Ann Arbor, Michigan, USA; The University of Birmingham Library, UK.
3. Leslie Stephen, Sidney Lee, *The Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 1921-1922, vol. VI, p. 98.
4. *A Transcript of the Register of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640*, ed. by Edward Arber, London, 1875-1877, vol. 3, p.15.
5. Henry R. Plomer et al., *Dictionaries of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland 1557-1775*, London, 1977, cols. 230-231.

evidence for us to be able to identify Monings's work as one of these arrivals. One cannot rule out, however, that this might have been the case. There is no register of books from that library (the first records date from 1949), and for all we know *The Landgrave of Hessen his princelie receuing...* could have arrived with this or other fragments of dispersed collections.

6. *A Sermon preached on the buriall of (...) the Earle of Bedford...*, London, 1585.
7. In the years 1604-1608 one Thomas Sparke was a student at New College, Oxford University. Cf. Joseph Foster, *Alumni oxonienses*, Oxford, 1888, vol. 4, p. 1394.
8. Query from February 6 and April 3, 2001 to Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek in Darmstadt.
9. *Handbuch der Historischen Buchbestände in Deutschland* ed. by Bernhard Fabian, Darmstadt, 1992-1998, vol. 5 (Hessen), pp. 59-60.
10. Stephen, Lee, op. cit., vol. X, pp. 468-473.
11. The list is now in the Ogden Library of London University College.
12. *A catalogue of the books, paintings... and various curiosities the property of the late Samuel Ireland Esq. Of Norfolk Street, Strand... also contains the whole of the Shakespearian papers of Lear, Hamlet, Vortigern, etc. which will be sold by auction by Leigh, Sotheby and Son Booksellers... on Thursday, May 7, 1801*, Covent Garden, Printed by Barker and Son, 1801.
13. Cf. Roger Devauchelle, *La reliure: recherches historiques, techniques et biographiques sur la reliure française*, Paris, 1995, p. 155.
14. Stephen, Lee, op. cit., p. 472.
15. *Handbuch...*, op. cit., p. 62.
16. BUW Archives: Secured Collections, 57 XII. Cf. also Marzena Zacharska, *Handbuch Deutscher Historischer Buchbestände in Europa*. vol. 6. (Polen), Hildesheim, 1999 pp. 61-71, Maria Cubrzyńska-Leonarczyk, 'Germanika w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie' [Germanica in the collections of the University Library in Warsaw] in *Z Badań Nad Polskimi Księgozbiórami Historycznymi* [From Research on Polish Historical Book Collections], Warsaw, 1975-, 18 (1997), pp. 147-173.

Translated by Marcin Polkowski

The Jenkinson Map of Russia (1562) A Research Summary

Abstract Following its sensational discovery in 1987, Jenkinson's map of Russia has been eagerly studied by scholars of early map-making. Here the author gives a thorough and detailed summary of the state of research on this hitherto unknown item, comparing it to other earlier 16th century Russian maps by Wied and Herberstein, and later versions by Ortelius and de Jode.

Introduction

In 1987 Wrocław University Library purchased a map, which, following a brief analysis was instantly recognized as a lost work of Anthony Jenkinson. Since the end of the 19th century, Jenkinson's map had generated a lot of interest among scholars and researchers throughout the whole world. And so it was hardly surprising that the presentation of its discovery to the world by the author of this article at the 13th International Cartographic Conference in Amsterdam in 1989¹ created something of a storm.² This was, after all, a unique map, which was thought to have perished or disappeared soon after its creation. Moreover, its discovery brought verification to a hundred years of research on the Jenkinson map, the original of which researchers had been able to reconstruct only on the basis of the copies by Abraham Ortelius (1st edition from 20 May 1570) as well as that of Gerard de Jode (1578).³

The first important publication on the renditions of Jenkinson's map mentioned above was the two-volume work of E.D. Morgan and C.H. Coote.⁴ Margaret B.G. Morton gave over a whole book to Jenkinson.⁵ Numerous articles have also treated the map, including the authors J. Keuning,⁶ Leo Bagrow,⁷ Peter Sager,⁸ W. Oakeshott,⁹ Samuel. H. Baron,¹⁰ A.B. Retish.¹¹ Renditions of the Jenkinson map were further examined by renowned scholars on the history of Russian cartography, such as V.A. Kordt,¹² Heinrich von Michow,¹³ Leo Bagrow¹⁴ and Boris A. Rybakov.¹⁵

Peter Meurer was one of the first scholars to react with interest to the discovery of the original Jenkinson map, a fact disclosed in a letter to the

author of this article. At the time he had been in the process of writing a book on Ortelius.¹⁶ At the same time, the renowned researcher on Russian cartography and Jenkinson scholar, Samuel H. Baron, on finding out about the discovery of the map, wrote of the event in a footnote to an article under preparation¹⁷, although not entirely believing in the authenticity of the discovery. Later, he verified the discovery, having received a reproduction of the map from the author of this article.¹⁸ The discovery of the Jenkinson map was also heralded at the time in a book penned by R.W. Karrow.¹⁹ Here we find the mapmakers' biographies, which Ortelius placed in his famous atlas *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570). In completing the bibliography as to research on the Jenkinson map, we must make mention of the doctoral dissertation by Bea Vuylsteke (typed), which the author of this article came across in the collection of the Plantin-Moretus Museum in Antwerp.²⁰ The paper given by the author of this article during the Amsterdam conference led to further research on the map, which was presented at the international forums in Zurich in September 1994 and in Vienna in September 1995.

Before Jenkinson's map came into the possession of the Cartographical Department at Wrocław University Library, it had been owned by a teacher of history at one of Wrocław's high schools: she had received it as a present from one of her pupils. Supposedly, the pupil had found the map in a cellar after the war. For many years the teacher used the map in her history lessons as a didactic aid. Before it came into the possession of Wrocław University Library, however, the teacher had already shown the map to two distinguished

libraries, though they failed to recognise the map's value. After Wrocław University Library had actually purchased the map, it was given into the hands of the Library's Conservation Division due to its poor condition. Both fortunately and unfortunately, no ownership marks were discovered on the map. Nor indeed did they find any trace of the map in the printed catalogues or on the files of the former City Library. Therefore, it was impossible to trace back the provenance of the map before it did eventually come to light.

Comparing the Original Map with the Renditions of Ortelius (1570) and de Jode (1578)²¹

At first glance there is no doubt as to the high quality of this 16th century map, when comparing the original to the renditions: above all the size of Jenkinson's map (101.7 cm × 81.7 cm), including a 6 cm frame; in contrast to the size of the map by Ortelius (44 cm × 35.3 cm) and by de Jode

(26.3 cm × 32.6 cm). The average scale of the map, calculated also on the basis of many distance measurements on the different fragments, as well as the scale in Russian, English and Spanish miles, varies from 1:5 million to 1:7 million. The occurrence of such a big disparity in scale on the same map is typical for such old maps. This is because, when drawing the maps, the authors made use of the maps drawn in different scales, often uncritically combining their contents.

On our map there are no longitudinal and latitudinal lines. Only the degrees of latitude were marked on the vertical frames of the map – every 5° in number and every 1° in line (without numerical markings). Therefore, comparing Jenkinson's map with both its renditions and the maps by other 16th century cartographers dealing with the territory in question, the author of this article resorted not to the commonly used distortion grid, but to a net of triangles. The latter was formed by joining the so-called resistance points (these being, in the case of Jenkinson's map, the major cities). The comparison of these nets proved the variance of



The northwest part of Anthony Jenkinson's Map of Russia with the title cartouche in the top left-hand corner

Jenkinson's map and its renditions in relation to the maps mentioned above, upon which he was supposed to have based his map. What is more, the Jenkinson map proved to be the most accurate when compared to contemporary maps made in the same projection.

When evaluating the mathematical side of Jenkinson's map, some latitudes were also compared with entries in the cartographer's travel diary. These differences varied from a few minutes up to one hour. The explorer achieved particular success in his outlining of the values for the town Vologhda, as here he only missed out by one minute.

Although all three maps were printed from copper plate, only the original Jenkinson map was additionally coloured by hand. Compared to its renditions, it also stands out with its previously mentioned 6 cm Renaissance 'metalwork' frame.

All three maps were oriented to the north. They differ, however, in the content of the cartouches, the number of boxed texts, and the decorations. The placing of the title cartouche in the Ortelius rendition is different from that of Jenkinson, in that the latter placed it in the bottom-left hand corner. Like Jenkinson, de Jode placed the title cartouche in the top-left hand corner. Ortelius, though, provided the title cartouche in the place for the dedication in the original. Unlike de Jode, Ortelius gave the name of the sponsor (Henry Sidney) as in the title of the original. In both the Ortelius and de Jode renditions, two important pieces of information on the co-authors are missing, and these are that of the engraver, Nicolaus Reinoldus, and the publisher and author of the dedication, Clement Adams.

Aside from the format, the most astonishing thing about the Jenkinson map, that makes it stand out from the other two renditions, is its opulent decorativeness – encompassing numerous genre and battle scenes, as well as 27 boxed pieces of text (excluding the title and dedication, and treating the texts placed beside the Caspian Sea as two pieces). Most of the text pieces are framed and they differ in the number and length of the lines. In Ortelius' rendition there are only nine pieces of text, whereas de Jode provided only one, informing about Livonia (Inflanty, Livland) belonging to Russia.

A subject for speculation, aside from the differences in decoration and format of both the ori-

ginal and the renditions, was also that as to which of the cartographers, Ortelius or de Jode, presented the territorial range in line with the original map. It was assumed that Ortelius had added the right half of the map in order to fit it into the format of his atlas. Today we do know, however, that it was he who faithfully copied the original map. The original encompasses in the latitudinal direction the area from the Finnish Bay to Tashkent and Kirghisia, including the city of Kashgar in the southeast, and in the longitudinal direction, the area from the White Sea to Persia. The city to the far south is today's Tabris ('Tenbres'), and the mountains – Hindukush ('montes paraponisi'). In the north we have the city of 'Wordhouse' (now Vardö) and a fragment of Nova Zembla. Ortelius' map is a faithful copy of the territorial range of the original map, whereas de Jode decreased it by around 60%, leaving the fragment of the map which is the richest in both its geographical content and names – that is just a bit more than the north-west quarter of the original.

Dating and Authorship of the Map

Dating

The discovery of the Jenkinson map enabled researchers to confirm the date as quoted by Ortelius, but it did not eliminate the doubts relating to its reliability. For scholars of Ortelius, confirmation of the date came as little of a surprise, as it was his custom to transfer the original date accurately to all the renditions he created using the maps of other cartographers – as in the case of the map of Silesia by Helwig in 1561, for example. Criticism of Ortelius for not updating Jenkinson's map also proved baseless. As a principle, Ortelius remained faithful to originals, reliably and consistently giving the names of the authors of the maps he copied – even though he had the right to sign them with his own name. Since he was simplifying and generalizing their content, he was in effect creating new and original maps. The date 1562 on his map, and now also on Jenkinson's original map, raised doubts for other reasons, namely the chronology of certain events and the lack of mention of the map both in Jenkinson's diary and in the accounts of other contemporary travellers.

It is also important to mention here the dates of certain journeys, given the fact that they themselves

were the cause of certain doubts. Jenkinson set out on his first journey from London on 12 May, 1557, he was in Moscow on 6 December, 1557, from where he left on 23 April, 1558 arriving at Bukhara on 23 December, 1558. He was back in Moscow on 2 September 1559, where he remained in the court of Ivan the Terrible until 17 February, 1560. On his return journey to London he stopped over in Colmogro (Cholmogori today) on 9 May, 1560, near the lower part of the river Dvina. On the next journey he set out from England on 14 May, 1561, arriving in Moscow on 20 August of the same year and remaining there until 27 April, 1562. Then he set out for Persia: he remained at the court of Saphid the Great in Kasvin (Qasvin) from 2 November, 1562 to 20 March, 1563. On the way back Jenkinson reached Astrakhan on 30 May, 1563, arriving in Moscow on 20 April and London on 28 September, 1564. In the years 1566/1567 as well as 1571/1572 Jenkinson completed two more journeys to Russia. After these two journeys he intended to spend the rest of his life amongst the peace and tranquillity of his own home.

Having gone through the various dates, it seems that Jenkinson could have indeed completed his map not only during his six-month stay in England, between the first and second voyage, but also during his various lengthy sojourns at the courts of Ivan the Terrible or Saphid the Great. Peter Sager²² supports the first variant, although his argument that after the first journey to Persia Jenkinson already knew about the lines of latitude and the shape of the Caspian Sea is highly improbable. We know, after all, that the shape of the Caspian Sea was wrongly mapped until the end of the 18th century, despite the fact that Italian sailors in the Middle Ages approximated the area on their maps rather closely. However, 16th century cartographers simply knew nothing of these earlier achievements.²³

It seems, though, that thanks to research carried out amongst the manuscripts of the Cambridge University Library, the author of this article may have arrived at the correct date of the map. The solution arose from the family coat of arms of the sponsor of the map, Henry Sidney, rediscovered in a coat of arms manuscript.²⁴ From among the three coats of arms presented, one was identical to that shown on Jenkinson's map. This coat of arms was given to Sidney in 1556 (this date is

present on the ribbon under the coat of arms). Having established in this manner the earliest possible date for the map, it is also possible to establish the latest possible date. We know, for example, that the first copy of the Jenkinson map appeared in May 1570, with the first edition of Ortelius' atlas. Recognising that Ortelius must have needed time to prepare his map, we can safely assume that the date for this is one year earlier. It is known, however, that between 1566-1567 Jenkinson was on his next voyage to Russia, and so following his return, he must have had time to create the map – perhaps only finishing it off and making corrections, which suggest a date of 1562, which was shown on the original. And so its publication could either have taken place at the end of 1567 or in 1568. Samuel H. Baron comes to a similar conclusion, having analysed the journeys of three 16th century travellers: William Borough, Thomas Southam and John Sparke. He makes note of their influence on Jenkinson's map, dating the map on the basis of its predecessors to the years 1567/1568.²⁵

A small map in the possession of the Moscow archives (CGADA) seemed to suggest an earlier dating for Jenkinson's map. This map was pointed out to me by A.K. Zaitsev, head of the Cartography Department of the Historical Museum in Moscow. Here we have a map identical to Ortelius' rendition, found in the work of Samuel Herberstein (1557), into which it was pasted before the title page.²⁶ Clearly, regarding this information as the basis for any dating of Jenkinson's map would change our view of the map altogether (even the question of its authorship). In the Russian revised edition of Herberstein's work much is made of the uniqueness of the 1557 edition.²⁷ For this reason, the author decided to ascertain whether the map from the outset constitutes a part of Herberstein's work, and in particular its 1557 edition.

The first step was to check the number of editions of Herberstein's work – in particular those of 1557. For this the author looked in the Department of Printed Books in Wrocław University Library, as well as the Ossoliński Library in Wrocław, and the Czartoryski Library in Cracow. The results of these efforts went to prove this map did not exist in any edition of Herberstein's work. That being said, it was found in a book by Antonio Possevino (1587),²⁸ which

was in this case co-bound with Herberstein's 1557 work.²⁹ And so a collector, as described above, must have pasted the map into a copy of Herberstein's atlas unaware of its origins. This is hardly surprising, given that its contents suited both works. It is less likely that in the other copy of those two co-bound works the title page to Possevino's atlas was missing, which would have led subsequent owners to believe that the map belonged to the work of Herberstein. Another possible conclusion to be drawn from these searches is that the map, described by Possevino as 'novissima', is indeed a rare item. Among the four editions of the work of Possevino to be found in Wrocław University Library, the map is attached to only one of them, the one with a smaller format.

The map described by us, originating from the copy held at the Wrocław University Library, like other maps held in the Moscow archive, has another title to that of the Jenkinson map and its renditions. The title, *Moscoviae, Russiae regionis, novissima descriptio*, is also placed on the map differently, that is on the top frame of the map. The title is similar to the van Deutecum map, to be found in the Daškov Collection, from where it gets its name. It differs from the original and the two renditions in details – primarily the territorial range (it doesn't stretch as far east and west), tiny changes in the toponomastics, and its decorative elements. The Possevino map, clearly overstated as 'novissima', would hence be considered the third rendition of the Jenkinson map, although directly, but rather via the Ortelius rendition.

Authorship

The most important aspect of the discovery of Jenkinson's map was the fact that two unknown co-creators of the map came to light, whose names appear only on the original. These are the engraver, Nicolaus Reinoldus and the publisher, Clement Adams. Both of these men are known from other cartographic endeavours. As it happened, the British Library had kept the original letter from Reinoldus to Ortelius, published earlier in the correspondences of the latter,³⁰ in which Reinoldus informs Ortelius of having sent him twenty-five copies of the map of the Muscovite province: in other words, the original Jenkinson map. Unfortunately, this letter belongs to one of few from this correspondence that are not dated. It is a great pity, because its date would have allowed us to resolve the problem. What is more, the names mentioned

in the letter of Reginaldus Wolfius (d. 1573) – London printer to the crown, and the painter Johannes de Schille (1521-1586) are of interest to researchers. And so accordingly, the engraver, Nicolaus Reinoldus, having received payment for the twenty-five copies from Wolfius, sends them on his behalf to Ortelius, asking the renowned cartographer to accept one copy as a present, and to forward the remaining ones together with a letter to Johannes de Schille. At the end Reinoldus asks Ortelius to purchase two maps of Europe by Mercator with the money returned by De Schille. This letter seems to suggest that Wolfius and De Schille may have had a significant role in the creation of the map.

Before the discovery of the Jenkinson map, researchers also had some doubts as to its author. Leo Bagrow for example, a famous historian of cartography, at a certain point doubted totally the existence of an original master copy,³¹ accrediting at the same time the authorship of the map to Ortelius. However, it is worth repeating the opinion that Ortelius was a cartographer who could be depended upon. In accordance with the truth he placed Jenkinson's name as the author of the map, whilst not mentioning the names of the other two creators figuring on the original. This should not raise any eyebrows, because once he became the author of the revised copy, and Hogenberg took the place of the engraver Reinoldus, it would not have made sense to place the names of the publisher and engraver of the master copy on his revised map.

Other arguments against the authorship of Jenkinson concern his lack of formal training in the field of cartography. He was, first of all, a well-known trader, traveller and diplomat. Other arguments were provided by the title of the map (translated as: 'A new and excellent description of Russia, Moscow and Tartary under the authorship of the Englishman Anthony Jenkinson, published by Clement Adams, and engraved in copper by the Londoner Nicolaus Reinoldus'). The biographies of the latter two men mentioned in the title, Adams and Reinoldus, offered evidence that they had exceeded Jenkinson in terms of professional qualifications in the area of cartography. On the other hand, however, his personal account (and in particular his diary),³² as well as the work by Morgan and Coote³³ indicates that, independent of his activity as a trader, traveller and diplomat,

Jenkinson was regarded also as a geographer and a man of learning. Moreover, from his travel journals, we learn that he also measured the distances with a log, as he mainly travelled by river, and established the latitude using an astrolabe.

Almost all cartographers contemporary with Jenkinson ascribe the map to him, and the opinions of Ortelius and de Jode speak for themselves. The brothers Johannes and Lucas van Deutecum also quote Jenkinson in the title of their map, whose right half is almost an exact replica of the Jenkinson map. To date no evidence has arisen which would definitively bring his authorship into question.

The Jenkinson Map in Relation to Other Contemporary Maps of Russia.

Another issue to be resolved is the question of Jenkinson's sources. Morgan and Coote were the first to express an opinion on the subject.³⁴ They stated that the northern part of the map was based on the Borough brothers' map, preserved in a manuscript in the British Library. In turn, the western part was based on the Wied map, whereas the eastern and southern parts of the map were the sole work of Jenkinson. This opinion was espoused by Michow,³⁵ who pointed to the similarity of the eastern part of the map to that of Herberstein's. Before we make any comparative analysis, however, we must first accept that all cartographers, before proceeding with a map, have the right, if not obligation, to make reference to other previously made maps ('base maps'). When comparing the map with other maps of the time, we can see straight away that the Jenkinson map, described as *nova*, was indeed highly innovative in many of its aspects and details.

The Wied/Lacki Map

Comparison of Jenkinson's map to that of the first edition of Wied's map from 1542-1555 shows that Wied's differs in terms of its scale, orientation and territorial range. In fact, the scale of Wied's map is at least three times greater, not only from the perspective of the distances between towns, but also the enormous dimensions given over to the Volga's delta. And whilst Jenkinson's orientation is northward, Wied's goes eastward, although in certain fragments of the map, in particular the location of the Volga, the map has a clear southward tendency – as seen by the shortening of the

distances from north to south, which effectively brings closer the lower bank of the river Ob to the Caspian Sea, whilst placing these two geographical features more to the east. The two maps also diverge in their representation of the river Volga. On Wied's map from the estuary mouth of the river it flows to the right, and its shape is more of a mirror reflection of the actual banks seen on Jenkinson's map. When it comes to the north-western fragment of the map, in other words the Bay of Finland, it is possible to observe both similarities and differences of the two maps in terms of mistakes made. We find similarities when following the course of the river incorrectly called Volga on Jenkinson's map, which seems to be a combination of today's rivers Newa and Svir, through which the lakes Ourshack and Vladiskoy can be found, whereas Oressok and Ladoszkoian are to be found on Wied's (on the 1570 edition there are already the names Onega and Ladoga). In the opinion of Keuning,³⁶ the first unidentified lake arises from the division of Ladoga Lake. In contrast to Jenkinson's map, Lake Onega exists on Wied's map. On Jenkinson's map the extension of the river called Volga is a river flowing east, which joins Lake Albus with Lake Ladoga. Today the two rivers, Svir and Wyziegra, join these two lakes, flowing through Lake Onega. From the other side of Lake Ladoga the river flows southwards and, similarly to Wied's map, flows into Lake Ilmen. But on neither map does it have a name, and so it seems that Jenkinson considered this to be a further part of his 'Volga'. In actual fact today this river is called Volkhov. The difference, however, depends on the fact that in Wied's map, on the other side of the lake, there is no river, whereas with Jenkinson it is a further part of the Onega river, which flows at first through the anonymous lake, which is in fact known today by the name of Lača. This then turns sharply northwards around Kargopol and at the end runs into Onega Bay, though once again mistakenly, as it is not the eastern side but the western one. With Wied, on the other side of Lake Ladoga there is a river stemming from it that joins it with Lake Onega, so theoretically this should be today's Svir River.

Just as interesting as the water network is the outline of the mountains, which in line with 16th century cartographic convention was presented on the maps in the form of hillocks. They also appear more frequently as the Jenkinson map

covers more territory. The hillock ranges, only slightly differentiated in size, are shaded generally from east to west from the shores of the White Sea (today it is Maanselka on the border of Russia and Finland), to the west from the lower course of the Ob (Urals), between Kitaia Lacus and the central course of the Volga River, running interchangeably into longitudinal and latitudinal ranges (Urals?), to the east of Kitaia Lacus (Altai?) – also hillocks, although bigger and distinctly different from the other hillocks on the map in the variety of shapes, between the lower course of the Volga River and the Azov Sea (the Caucasus, although stretching too far to the north) as well as a range of hillocks on the bottom part of the map sticking out above the bottom frame – Hindukush ('montes paraponisi' on the map). Wied presented these mountains in a different fashion on his map. On his map they are placed east of the Solovetsky Islands, between the coast and the Pinega River, close to the eastern shore of the White Sea, which is completely wrong, and also in a place where the Caucasus lie (due to the previously mentioned different orientation, it is the top right hand corner of the map) more to the south than the Jenkinson map – therefore in that respect the Wied map is more precise.

The Borough Map

An undated map (according to Samuel H. Baron – 1567/1568),³⁷ which Jenkinson was supposed to have used as a primary source with regard to the area of the White Sea. Just like Jenkinson's map it was made in the northern orientation and in a slightly larger scale. Though in the shoreline it does show similarities, it differs in the toponomastics, both in the spelling of the same names as well as in their number.

The Herberstein/Hirschvogel Map – 1st edition of 1546

This is the third of the important maps most frequently compared to Jenkinson's map. It is of northern orientation, where the cartographer presented the territory in question in yet a different manner. With Herberstein, similarly to Jenkinson, there are only lakes Ladoga and Albus, and instead of the lake 'Ourschock' we have a city of the same name, only with a different spelling: 'Oreschack'. At first glance it is worth drawing our attention to the size of Lake Ladoga, which in comparison to those featured in the other aforementioned maps is most accurate. There is also

the river Neva ('Neua'), which does not appear in any of the other maps under that name, and like today we see how a small part of the river joins Lake Ladoga with the Bay of Finland. Further on is the river Volchov running correctly close to the southern bank of Lake Ladoga. However it is easy to notice the fact that Lake Onega is missing and that the Albus Lake is placed too far to the north. When it comes to the mountains on Herberstein's map only the Ural and the Caucasus are marked with hillocks shaded from the west. Just like in Jenkinson's map the Caucasus are too far to the north, yet with a highlighted peak called the Circus Petrigorsky.

The presented examples of the differences between the maps of Wied, Herberstein and Jenkinson prove that neither of the maps were sources for Jenkinson's map, and that to a certain extent Jenkinson's map is innovative both in the way it presents the geographical elements as well in the level of faithfulness in relation to its actual scope. What is more, it surpasses these two maps in its use of latitudinal degrees on the frame of the map. Additionally, it surpasses the Herberstein map in the manner in which it shifts information about China from northeast to the southeast, indicating the distance from China in the time zone, although the Chinese Lake is still in the north.

The comparison carried out here relates only to the first large-scale maps of Russia. It is known, however, that the history of other pre-Jenkinson maps, which presented the territory in question either in outline or fragmentary form, is quite interesting. From among the most important ones we should discuss the maps of Ptolemy, Waldseemüller, Gerasimov-Agnese and Münster. The Gestaldi map needs to be treated in a different manner because of its cartographic art, its use of a trapezium network, as well as its thoroughness in terms of both its content and names.

There is also quite a substantial group of maps whose authors paid scant attention to the territory in question, in that they only presented either the northern, western or southern part of the territory presented on the Jenkinson's map: to take as examples, the map of the Scandinavian peninsula by Olaus Magnus, of Europe by Mercator, of Eastern Europe by Cusanus, and also of Poland by Wapowski and Grodecki. One should also not overlook apparently insignificant maps of small format and territorial range i.e. the map of Maciej

of Miechów. I am going to pay more attention to all of these maps, classified as secondary as compared to the maps of Wied, Borough and Herberstein, in the main commentary to the facsimile edition of the Jenkinson map. All of these maps were discussed in the primary works devoted to the earliest Russian cartography, by the pen of Veniamin A. Korot, ³⁸ Heinrich von Michov, ³⁹ Leo Bagrow, ⁴⁰ and Boris A. Rybakov. ⁴¹ These works, however, do not contain or mention another map important for the history of Russia – the newly found copy of the unknown second edition of the Paulus Jovius map of 1525. This can be found in Moscow's Russian National Archive, having been purchased for the archive in Sotheby's in 1993. Boris A. Rybakov and Vadim F. Starkov discussed this map for the first time. ⁴² It clearly differs from the map known as the Gerasimov-Agnese map. It is drawn in a northern orientation and covers the area from Permian in the north to Armenia and Transylvania in the south, Grodno and Riga in the west and Kazan in the east. Its dimensions are (after Starkov) 36.5×35 cm. In the top right-hand corner in the cartouche there is the date 1525, however there is no information about the author. The richest fragment of the map, in terms of geographical content, between the Volga and the Finnish Bay, shows clear departures from the Jenkinson map, both in the drawing of the rivers as well as the naming of geographical places. The clear drawing of the Caucasus and the Carpathian Mountains stand out, although they are still presented in the form of hillocks. Similar to the Jenkinson map, the map of Paulus Jovius shows the non-existent 'Volock' lake. It is called 'Palus magna' here. Aside from the three rivers known from other maps, another river Neva ('Neua'), flows into that lake, but it most certainly placed too close to the Petchora spring.

An Analysis of the Questionable Elements of the Map

The above comparison to the pre-Jenkinson cartographic works, showing to a greater or lesser degree the territory of the Jenkinson map, was to show how and to what extent these works influenced the Jenkinson map. However, aside from the actual content, which was the subject of comparison, the apparently fanciful elements of the map content constitute a separate issue. A few

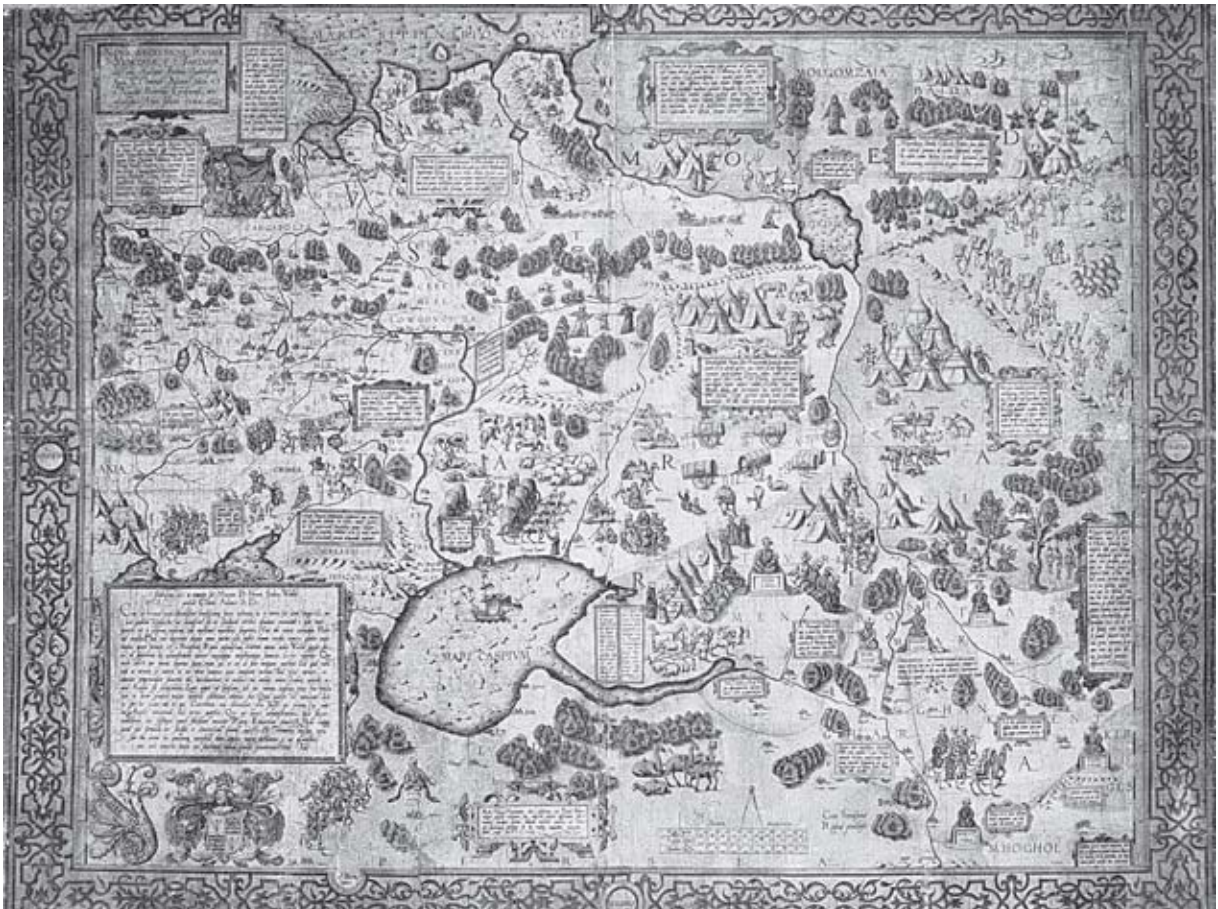
of these elements have become the subject of discussion through scholarly publications – and these issues are: the Northern Volga running into the Bay of Finland; the non-existent 'volock' lake on the Jenkinson map, together with rivers running into it, Volga, Dnieper and Dvina; and also the course of the Ougus River (also called Oxus) running into the Caspian Sea, and identified with Amudaria; onwards, the Chinese Lake ('Kitaia Lacus' on Jenkinson's map) with its the source of the Ob on one side, and the mouth of the Sur with the tributary of the Amov flowing in a southern direction on the other side of the lake on the same map.

The northern Volga flowing into the Bay of Finland

If we accept that Jenkinson presented Ladoga and Onega lakes in order, wherein they are called on his map 'Ourshock' and 'Vladiskoy', then his Volga would be the rivers of today's Neva and Svir. If we follow its course to Novgorod, where close by it flows into the Ilmen Lake (Ihua in Jenkinson's map), the 'northern Volga' would be today's Volchov River, joining today's Lake Ladoga to Ilmen.

Lake 'Volock'

S. H. Baron ⁴³ has proposed that the error concerning this lake as the source of the three mentioned rivers arose from the fact that their sources are placed close to one another and date from Münster, and even Gerasimov (1525). On the other hand, Baron tries to explain the mystery of the lake by translating the word 'volock' that in Russian means 'transfer (by river)', which foreigners, and such were the cartographers of early maps of Russia, could have mistaken for a lake. However, a more probable concept that a lake of that name may be identified with the Fronovo Lake mentioned by Paulus Jovius, which is cited by Baron in his article on Herberstein. ⁴⁴ There it is described as being at 10 miles distance from the Dnieper spring and as a lake with rivers flowing outwards from it. It seems that a quite acceptable explanation can be found under the entry 'Wolochs, Volock' in a geographical lexicon by Bruzen La Martinier, *Historisch-Politisch-Geographischer Atlas* (1744-1750), ⁴⁵ where we can read (author's translation): 'a town in Russia, see Wolocz, and there: a small town in Russia in the Rzeva province, on the border of the Duchy of Moscow, Rzeva, to the South, close to the Fronovo Lake, on the rim of the Volkonsky forest (Volkonskiles)'.



N'ova absolutaque Russiae, Moscoviae et Tartariae descriptio. The Jenkinson Map of Russia, Wrocław University Library

This description correlates to the placing of this lake on the Wied map, although carefully the author left it unnamed, whereas Herberstein placed the Fronovo lake at the spring of the Dvina river as 'Dwina Lacq'. Another explanation for this error can be found in a work on the cartographic history of Lithuania by S. Alexandrowicz.⁴⁶ The researcher seeks the roots of the error in the fourteenth-century Polish chronicler Jan Długosz's *Chorografia*, quoting his *Annales seu cronicae*, lib. I (p. 99). There Długosz writes about a huge lake or a bog lying 30 miles from Smolensk in the direction of Novgorod, and from which the Dvina, Volga and Dnieper Rivers take their springs. This information, in turn, assisted Bernard Wapowski in placing this lake on the non-extant map of the Northern Sarmatia, from which it was then copied onto the Wied map and then repeated by Jenkinson. According to the Wapowski, the name of the lake stems from the town of Vyzhny Volochek. And again on the newly discovered copy of the second version of Paulus Jovius' map of 1525,⁴⁷

the lake has the name of 'Palus magna' and from where as in Jenkinson's map the rivers Volga, Dnieper and Dvina flow, and additionally the river Neva.

The Chinese Lake

From the beginning of research on Jenkinson's map, the right hand side of the map gave rise to much discussion and speculation. This part of the map, despite being very poor in geographical content, is almost wholly erroneous. One of the incorrect elements presented is the Chinese Lake with the lower course of the river flowing into it on the one side, and the Sur River with the Amov inflow on the other side. At first glance, the absence of the Aral Lake can be observed. At the same time, it's impossible not to notice the similarity of its shape to that of the Chinese Lake lying further north, ('Kitaia Lacus'), into which the rivers Sur and Amov flow, which are automatically associated with Syr-daria and Amu-daria. The identification of Lake Aral with the Chinese Lake on Jenkinson's map seems altogether logical. Let's have a look however at the research of Russian

scholars whose opinions differ from one another. The publication on Herberstein's work by Khoroshkevitch (cf. fn. 26) postulates four different hypotheses, as each of the researchers identified the Kitaia Lacus of the Jenkinson map with a different lake: Zaisan (A. F. Middendorf), Ursa, i.e. 'Ubsa Nur' or 'Uvs nuur' (G. Genning, M. P. Alekseev), Aral (Heinrich von Michow, L. S. Berg, K. M. Ber), Teletske (A. Ch. Lerberg, D. N. Anucin). Als Starkov⁴⁸ refers to these concepts writing about Gerasimov's involvement in the creation of these hypotheses. Also important is the information by A. K. Zaitsev, who considers that the Teletske lake is the correct solution and may be explained in the following way: the lake constitutes the extension of the river Ob, or actually its tributary Biya, which in its adjoining of the river Kotunia creates the river Ob. This information is confirmed by an entry in the *Historisch-Politisch-Geographischer Atlas* of Bruzen La Martiniere, Bd. 1 (1744), Bd. 4 (1746), and supplemented with information from Shchekatov's geographical dictionary, where under an entry on the lake we read that it is also called Altin or Altai and that it lies within the Tomsk province.

With so many concepts to choose from, we have to consider each and every one of them. Let's first look at the geographical placement of these lakes. They are all gathered in a decidedly mountainous region close to the Altai Mountains. This corresponds to the location presented on the Jenkinson map where east of Kitaia Lacus, high mountain ranges can be found. The Teletskoye Lake lies along the course of the Ob-Biya River, whereas the Zaisan Lake lies along the course of the Irtish — another estuary of the Ob River. Only the Ursa Lake has no connection to the Ob River. The last one, although it is the least probable, is the closest in shape to Kitaia Lacus, as the other two lakes have the shape of elongated lakes. Contrary to the theory of the three lakes (Teletskoye, Ursa, Zaisan) speaks the fact that they lie far to the east of the territory presented on the Jenkinson map, at a distance of over 1,500 kilometres from the Aral Lake. Yet the entry in the *Historisch-Politisch-Geographischer Atlas* seems to point most strongly to the Teletskoye Lake, where it is clearly identified with the Chinese Lake.⁴⁹ However, logically speaking we know that both Jenkinson and Herberstein did not venture so far into Asia, due to the high mountains, as well as

the bellicose tribes living in the territory east of Bukhara, as mentioned in the Jenkinson's travel diary. There also remains the possibility of Jenkinson having copied the lake blindly after Gerasimov, which Starkov writes about.⁵⁰

Returning to the initial version of the Aral Lake, as mentioned before, it is similar in shape to Kitaia Lacus, but not only that: also the names of the rivers the Amov and the Sur bring to mind the Amu-daria and Syr-daria. It is highly unlikely that Jenkinson, having travelled between the Caspian Sea and Tashkent and Bukhara, never came across as big a lake as the Aral. Moreover, at that time only the lower course of the Ob River was known, discovered prior to the creation of the Jenkinson map thanks to the explorations of the Borough brothers. It is highly probable, therefore, that Jenkinson, not knowing the middle course of the Ob river, combined the information obtained during his journey with the information provided by the Borough brothers, making the same mistake as Wied in his map, and as a consequence, eliminating the territory unknown to map. However, one should ask the question as to why in the previously mentioned lexicon under the entry 'Aral', there is only a short description; and what's more, relating to the place of the town of that name. The lake is mentioned briefly in passing, which is surprising when we take into account its size (it is also named as a sea). Another argument to speak for associating the Chinese Lake with the Aral Lake is the unpublished, though commissioned study of J. Bartmańska, who having analysed the fauna on Jenkinson's map, states that such breeds of animals as camels, tarpan horses, and sheep featured in the map at a geographical latitude of 60°-67°, should, in fact, be found at the geographical latitude of 45°-52°, whereas the geographical latitude of the Aral Lake is closer to 45°. What's more, the Kyzyl-kum desert is to be found here, and not the high mountains as featured east of Kitaia Lacus in Jenkinson's map. The geographical latitude of the three remaining lakes (Teletskoye, Ursa, Zaisan) varies from 48° to 52°. Whereas the presence of sheep and horses in mountainous or flat terrain as shown on the Jenkinson map can support both the former and the latter theory.

The course of the river Amu-daria, and the question of its estuary into the Caspian Sea

A subject that was discussed most often in the earliest was that for the course of the Amu-daria

and its questionable estuary onto the Caspian Sea. The same applies to the Jenkinson map. Here the river is called Ougus, i.e. Oxus.⁵¹ Flowing into the Caspian Sea it creates both a wide and long estuary mouth, which is duly usually identified with the Kara-Bogaz Bay. In Vladimir D. Alenichin's small brochure,⁵² discovered in the Lenin Library in Moscow, in the first few words the author writes that the Jenkinson map is one of the few sources, from which we can learn that in the past Amu-daria flowed into the Caspian Sea, like in the maps of Ptolemy. Alenichin, citing the work of his predecessors asks himself the question as to what travel path Jenkinson took, when, as he writes in his diary, he came to the 'Priasna' water, i.e. fresh water, coming to the conclusion that at some point Jenkinson must have mistaken the points of the compass,⁵³ seeing as he came to fresh water it could neither have been the Aral Lake nor the Caspian Sea. One can only conclude, therefore, that it was the Sarykamyskie Lake – a great lake located between the Caspian Sea and the Aral Lake, particularly since Jenkinson journeyed from Mangushlak through Ust'-Urt'. He also writes of another possibility, mentioning that in 1878 another arm of the river in the direction of the Caspian Sea was formed, and it may even have reached the sea. Whereas in the previously mentioned *Historisch-Politisch-Geographischer Atlas* we read (author's translation):

'Amou or Amu is the river in Asia, which by contemporary geographers is called Abiamu, that is, the river Amu. In the Persian language "Ab" means river and water. The Arabs call it Gibon, or to be more precise, Balkh, the river Balkh, as it runs through a city of that name. Older people used to call it Oxus and Bactus. It springs from the Imaus Mountains, and the course of the river runs from the east to the west. In truth it meanders when approaching Khovarezm, seeming to flow backwards towards its springs, yet all the while turning back, again from the East to the West, and flowing into the Caspian Sea'.

There are also other sources, which deserve being mentioned. The oldest among them is a book by Carl G.F. Menn, where in chapter I, entitled

Notes:

1. Krystyna Szykuła, 'The Newly-Found Jenkinson's Map of Russia of 1562' in *13th International Conference on the History of Cartography, Amsterdam and the Hague. June 26 to July 1, 1989. Abstracts*, Amsterdam, 1989, pp. 109-111.

'Alexandri expeditionibus Oxanis Commentario Geographica', the author lists as one of his topics: 'Oxi fluminis vetustae navigationis in mare Caspium documenta'. He also writes that the Oxus flows into the Caspian Sea through Scythia.⁵⁴ Vasili V. Barthold, interpreting Jenkinson's map, writes that the south branch flows into an elongated bay of the Caspian, i.e. Sary-Kamysh,⁵⁵ and that until the 10th century the Amu-daria actually flowed into the Caspian. The Russian archaeologist Sergei P. Tolstov recalls Jenkinson's diary, and concludes that Jenkinson's words do not correspond to what is stated on the map.⁵⁶ Jenkinson writes that the water for irrigating this land comes from channels excavated from the Oxus (Amu-daria, Daria-lyk), which means that much of it got absorbed or evaporated on the way, and the river no longer flows into the Caspian like it used to. For this reason, we can conjecture that Jenkinson took the image of the river on the map from Ptolemy. The full history of the old course of the Amu-daria can be found in Tolstov, together with the source bibliography.⁵⁷

Conclusions for Further Research

In my final remarks concerning all the issues and various conclusions discussed in this article, it is necessary to state that much information still lies in the realm of theory and plausibility. This has to be put down to the fact that there is a lack of documentary evidence in relation to the authorship and dating of the map, as well as its content. There always remains the hope that one more copy of the remaining 24 maps will be found. It was unfortunate, for example, that an article published in *Imago Mundi*⁵⁸ in 1948 informing of the existence of the one preserved copy of Jenkinson's map in the People's Library of Leningrad proved to be false. As experience teaches us, many more unexpected discoveries may be waiting round the corner. For the moment, however, we must be satisfied with the existence of only one copy of Jenkinson's map in the world, and also be happy that it saw the light of day at all.

2. Valerie G. Scott, 'Map of Russia Revealed at Conference', *The Map Collector* 48 (1989), pp. 109-111.

3. Jenkinson's original map: *Nova absolutaque Russiae, Moscoviae et Tartariae, descriptio. Authore' Antonio Jenkinsono Anglo, Clemente Adamo edita, et a Nicolao Reinoldo; Londinensi aeri insculpta. Anno salutis, 1562*. Copies:

Abraham Ortelius, *Russiae, Moscoviae et Tartariae descriptio. Auctore Antonio Ienkensono Anglo, edita Londini Anno. 1562 et dedicata illustris: D. Henrico Sydneo Walliae praesidi*. Gerard De Jode: *Moscoviae Maximi amplissimi que Ducatus Chorographica descriptio Authore Anthonio Iankinsono Anglo*. Cf. confirmation of this in Leo Bagrow, R.A. Skelton, *History of Cartography*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1964, p. 172.

4. Edward Delmar Morgan, Charles Henry Coote, *Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia by Anthony Jenkinson and Other Englishmen*, London, 1886.

5. Margaret B.G. Morton, *The Jenkinson Story*, Glasgow, 1962.

6. J. Keuning, 'Map of Russia', *Imago Mundi* 13 (1956), pp. 172-175.

7. Leo Bagrow, 'At the Source of the Cartography of Russia', *Imago Mundi* 16 (1962), 33-48.

8. Peter Sager, 'Zu Anthony Jenkinson's Karte von Russia (1562)', *Nordost-Archiv* 7, (1974) 32, pp. 1-7.

9. W. Oakeshott, 'A Tudor Explorer and his Map of Russia', *The Times Literary Supplement*, June 22, 1984, p. 238.

10. Samuel H. Baron, 'William Borough and the Jenkinson Map of Russia (1562)', *Cartographica* 26, 2 (1989), pp. 72-85.

11. A.B. Retish, 'A Foreign Perception of Russia. An Analysis of Anthony Jenkinson's Map of Russia, Muscovy and Tartaria', *The Portolan* 33 (1995), pp. 1-10.

12. Veniamin Aleksandrovich Korot, 'Karta Rossii A. Dzhienkinsona 1562', in *Materialy po istorii russkoy kartografii. Vyp. I. Karty vsej Rossii i juzhnykh' oblastey do poloviny XVII veka*, ed. by S. V. Kulzhenko, Kiev, 1899, pp. 10-11.

13. Heinrich von Michow 'Karte des Anton Jenkinson von 1562' in *Das erste Jahrhundert russischer Kartographie 1525-1631 und die Originalkarte des Anton Wied von 1542. Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg* 21 (1906), pp. 1-61.

14. Leo Bagrow, 'Anthony Jenkinson' in *A. Ortelius Catalogus Cartographorum. Vol. 1, Ergänzungsheft 199 zu Petermanns Mitteilungen*, Gotha, 1928, pp. 120-121.

15. Boris A. Rybakov, 'Drevneishie russkie karty Moskovii', *Nauka i zhizn'* 4 (1974), pp. 33-38.

16. Peter H. Meurer, *Fontes Cartographici Orteliani. Das 'Theatrum Orbis Terrarum' von Abraham Ortelius und seine Kartenquellen*, Weinheim, 1994, pp. 175-176.

17. Baron (1989), op. cit.

18. Samuel H. Baron, 'The Lost Jenkinson Map of Russia. Recovered, Redated and Retitled'. *Terrae Incognitae* 25 (1993), pp. 53-66.

19. R.W. Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and their Maps. Bio-bibliographies of the Cartographers of Abraham Ortelius, 1570. Based on Leo Bagrow's A. Ortelii Catalogus Cartographorum*, Chicago, 1993.

20. Bea Vuylsteke, *Het Theatrum orbis terrarum van Abraham Ortelius (1595). Een studie van decoratieve elementen en de gehistorieerde voorstellingen* [unpublished Ph.D. thesis], Leuven, 1984.

21. Krystyna Szykuła, 'Odnaleziona mapa Rosji Jenkinsona. Pierwsza próba analizy mapy' ['The Recovered Jenkinson Map of Russia. A First Attempt at Analysis'], *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, 1678. Bibliothecalia Wratislaviensis* 2 (1995), pp. 7-31.

22. Sager, op. cit.

23. Leo Bagrow, 'Italians on the Caspian', *Imago Mundi* 13 (1965), pp. 2-10.

24. *A Book of Heraldry*, 1566, (manuscript) Manuscript Department, Cambridge University Library (call no.K k.1.26.).

25. With the aid of other theories, Baron (1989) came to the same conclusion, discussing in his article the journeys as well as their outcome, of three 16th century travelers: William Borough, Thomas Southam and John Sparke. Baron notices their influence on Jenkinson's map, dating it on the basis of the toponomastic analysis to 1567/1568.

26. See commentary in Samuel Gerbershtein, *Zapiski o Moskovii*, ed. by A. L. Choroshkevich, Moscow, 1988 p. 370.

27. Ibid.

28. *Moscovia Antoni Possevini Societatis Iesu*, Antverpiae 1587; call no. BUWr. 373 999 bound together with 373 998.

29. *Moscovia Sigismundi Liberi Baronis in Herberstein Neiperg et Gutenhag*, 1557; call no. BUWr. 373 998, bound together with 373999.

30. John Henry Hessels, *Abrahami Ortelii (geographi Antverpiensis) et virorum eruditorum ad eundem et ad Jacobum Colium Ortelianum (Abrahami Ortelii sororis filium) epistulae. Cum aliquot aliis epistulis et tractatibus quibusdam ab utroque collectis (1524-1628). Ex autographis mandante ecclesia Londino-Batava, Cantabrigiae Typis Academiae*, vol. 1, [Cambridge], 1887, list nr. 43. Cf. also Peter Barber, 'Additional information on the Jenkinson map', *The Map Collector* 48 (1989), p. 39.

31. Leo Bagrow, *A history of cartography of Russia up to 1600*, ed. by H.W. Castner, Walker Press, Wolfe Island, Ontario, 1975, p. 102.

32. Known thanks to Richard Hakluyt, 1589 [Repr. 1965], *The principall navigations voiajes and discoveries of the english nation. Imprinted at London 1589*. A photolithographic facsimile with an introduction by D. B. Quinn and R. A. Skelton, University Press, Cambridge.

33. Morgan, Coote, op. cit.

34. Ibid.

35. Von Michow, op. cit.

36. Keuning, op. cit.

37. Baron (1993), op. cit.

38. Korot, op. cit.

39. Von Michow, op. cit.

40. Leo Bagrow, 'At the Source of the Cartography of Russia', *Imago Mundi* 16 (1962), pp. 33-48.

41. Boris Alexandrovich Rybakov, 'Chertezh Moskovskikh zemel' 1497 goda (karta A. Dzhienkinsona 1562 goda)', in *Russkie karty Moskovii XV / nachala XVI veka*, Moscow, 1974; Boris A. Rybakov, 'Drevneishie russkie karty Moskovii', *Nauka i zhizn'* 4 (1974), pp. 33-38.

42. Vadim Fedorovich Starkov, 'Opisanie karty 1525 goda', *Otechestvennye Archivy* 4 (1994), pp. 8-15.

43. Baron (1993), op. cit., p. 58, fn. 10.

44. Samuel H. Baron, 'Herberstein and the English "Discovery" of Moscow', *Terrae Incognitae* 18 (1986), pp. 43-54.

45. *Historisch-Politisch-Geographischer Atlas der ganzen Welt; Oder grosses und vollständiges geographisch-und kritisches Lexicon, (...) Aus des berühmten Königl. spanischen Geographi Mr. Bruzen la Martiniere (...) ins*

Deutsche übersetzt, Johann Samuel Heinsius, Leipzig, 1744-1750.

46. Stanisław Aleksandrowicz, *Rozwój kartografii Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego od XV do połowy XVIII wieku* [The Development of the Cartography of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the 15th to the Half of the 18th Century] Poznań, 1989, p. 57, fn. 25.

47. Gerbershtein, op. cit., fn. 546, 547.

48. Starkov, op. cit.

49. Under the *Kitaia lacus* we read that 'that is the Latin name given to the lake in the Altin kingdom' after which we read that 'Altin is the name given by some people to the lake which is found in the east of the kingdom, of the same name, which is formed from the Oba'.

50. Starkov, op. cit.

51. The name Oxus is an Arab version of Ougus. Jenkinson used the former in his travel journal and the latter on his map.

52. Vladimir Dimitrievich Alenichin, *Neskol'ko zamiechanií o puteshestvii Dzhenkinsona v Khivu v 1559 godu*, S. Petersburg, 1879.

53. Ibid. p. 8.

54. Carl G.F. Menn, *Melematum historicum praemiis regiis ornatorum specimen duplex*, Bonnae, 1839, p.5.

55. Vasili Vladimirovich Barthold, *Nachrichten über den Aral-See und den unteren Lauf des Amu-darja von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum XVII. Jahrhundert* [transl. from Russian], Leipzig, 1910.

56. Sergei Pavlovich Tolstov, *Śladami cywilizacji Chorezmu* [Investigating the Civilisation of Khoresm] [transl. from Russian], Warsaw, 1953, p. 62.

57. Sergei Pavlovich Tolstov, *Po drevnim del'tam Oksa i Yaksarta*, Moscow, 1962, pp. 261-267.

58. Leo Bagrow, 'A Page from the History of the Distribution of Maps', *Imago Mundi* 5 (1965), p. 62.

Translated by Barry Keane

Note from the Editor: The unabbreviated (Polish) version of this article with the illustrative material, on which the research was based, appeared in *Czasopismo Geograficzne* 71, 1 (2000), pp. 67-97.

Foreign Collections in Polish Libraries

Ewelina Bykuć

Geographicae tabvlae in charta pergamena.

Antonius Millo's Nautical Atlas

Abstract In this article the author treats the history, artistic merits, technical features and composition of a rare Renaissance atlas which has recently undergone extensive conservation treatment. The atlas, a fine example of the work of Antonius Millo, is deposited at the National Library in Warsaw.

Antonius Millo's¹ nautical atlas, dating from 1583, is one of the most valuable works in the cartographic collections of the National Library in Warsaw. The work is composed of eight maps on parchment (41×65 cm), sandwiched between cardboard and pasted with glue. It is kept in a parchment cover (44×33 cm) fastened with silk cords. On the spine, in antiqua font, is the Latin

title *Geographicae tabvlae in charta pergamena*, or 'geographical atlas on parchment'. Each hand-drawn and ink-lettered chart is decorated with multicoloured, gilded and silvered wind roses, flags, heraldic emblems, ships, and silhouetted cityscapes.

The maker, Antonius Millo, whose signature we find in the corner of map VIII, was a representative of the Italian school of cartography. He was active in the mapmaking trade between 1557 and 1590. An admiral, probably of Greek origin, born on Milos,² he was also referred to in connection with the Cretan town of Candia³ (which, incidentally, was also the name given to the island). The small inscription in ink does not reveal where the atlas was made. The panorama of Venice on map III, though (unique on the pages of the work), provides many plausible arguments for assuming that it was indeed created there.

The years of Millo's activity in Venice can be typically determined by assigning dates to the maps bearing his signature: this gives the decade between 1580 and 1590. The name 'Antonio da Millo', however, appears in the archival records of the Greek community in Venice as early as 1537. The cartographer was probably an associate of the workshop of Diego Homem.⁴ That the style of this cartographer, one of the most outstanding Portuguese mapmakers of the 16th century, influenced Millo can be seen by looking at the work of the latter, and especially at his depictions of flags and wind roses. Millo's maps are also markedly similar to those of Giovanni Francesco Camocio, a Venetian map publisher and cartographer.⁵ Millo's manuscript atlases primarily present the Mediterranean and its islands, although



Map I from the Millo Atlas – Western Europe and the Atlantic coast of North Africa

we are also given an image of the Atlantic and Caribbean. The maps also feature written descriptions; their purpose was to help the users find their way among the items of information contained in the atlas.

The most prolific marine atlas-making period in Millo's life were the 1580s: one of his nautical atlases, dating from 1580-1590, is kept at the Biblioteca del Civici Museo Correr in Venice (the city where it was made); another one, from 1586, belongs to the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin.⁶ It was during this period that Millo created the National Library's *Geographicae tabulae in charta pergamena*. In relation to this particular work, though, we cannot say for sure who placed the order for it, or what was to have been its function. The charts, made of fine materials, prove that their aesthetic appearance was quite an important matter for the cartographer. Taking into account that in the second half of the 16th century many charts were not only made to be used as tools of the seafaring trade but also for wealthy patrons, the refined artistic execution of Millo's work could imply it was intended for some well-off buyer. The type of damage to the atlas, however, which is likely to have occurred during a sea voyage, suggests the charts might have been used in accordance with their primary function. On the other hand, though, deformations caused by moisture could have occurred – as is probable in the case of an object on parchment backing, which is very sensitive material⁷ – at any point in the long and rather obscure history of this delightful work.

Despite a detailed investigation, it has proven impossible to find any clues as to the whereabouts and history of the atlas after 1583. The only information we have, which is sparse at best, comes from the item itself. The oldest provenance note is the almost illegible inventory marking 'GE 4 [?]' on the lower part of the spine, just below the title. The binding, however, could have been made separately and then added on to the item at a later date, which means the original owner of the atlas was not necessarily the one who had it bound and placed the abovementioned mark on the spine. The next provenance note in ink is 'DE. 14' in the upper left-hand corner of the pastedown. Whoever made it also wrote the year in which the atlas was created – '1583' – beside the title on the spine. The identity of this person is a mystery too,

and so is that of the collection, whose markings defined the atlas in such a way.

Our first concrete point of reference as we go about reconstructing the unknown history of Millo's atlas is that it belonged to the collections of the Library of the Zamość Estate [Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamojskiej], which had its roots in the 16th century, and which became a national institution two centuries later. The preserved manuscript records of this library⁸ do not, however, mention anything that might help us establish the provenance of the atlas. If the library catalogues of the Zamoyski holdings⁹ did actually contain a note referring to how the item was acquired, the records were in all likelihood lost during World War II in the fire of the Zamość Estate Library archives (which in any case did not reach further back than the 1830s¹⁰). The most probable version is that the atlas was added to the Estate's holdings in the 19th century by Stanisław Kostka Zamoyski (1775-1856).

The war years are just as obscure as those before the atlas surfaced in the Zamość Estate Library collections. We only know that it returned safely from its wartime odyssey, in all probability from Görbitzsch,¹¹ a town in Saxony which was the place that received works of art removed from Warsaw after the fall of the 1944 Uprising as part of 'akcja pruszkowska' ['Action Plan Pruszków'],¹² the Wehrmacht's evacuation and deportation plan for the inhabitants of the defeated city. At the beginning of 1946, senator Jan Zamoyski (1912-2002), handed over the still extant Zamość Estate Library collections to the National Library as a deposit in perpetuity,¹³ on condition that they be preserved as a distinct entity. The atlas, marked 'BOZ-3'¹⁴ (left corner of the pastedown) was first placed in the manuscript collections of the National Library¹⁵ (with the inscription 'Zakład Rękopisów BN' and three round black stamps of the Library – on the binding and inside the book block). On August 17th 1979 the atlas became part of the National Library's cartographic collections (the note 'Rej. 630/79' on the last page). A paper sticker was attached to the pastedown, bearing the name of the author, the year in which the atlas was made, the shelf mark of the owners and the number 'O.2399'. This number can also be found on a plastic sticker on the binding. Marked in such a way, the atlas is currently kept in the vault of the National Library.



Map VI – Dalmatia, Ancona, Arezzo and Apulia



Map VII – The Atlantic and the Caribbean



Map VIII – Africa and South-West Asia

The history of Millo's work, its twentieth-century predicaments and the several hundred years of history that preceded it, were not neutral factors for the condition in which it was preserved. Thus, in 2001 the National Library decided to start a programme of conservation. The task was assigned to the Department for the Conservation of Library Collections, and was part of a Master's thesis written at the Chair for the Conservation and Restoration of Early Printed Works and Prints of the Department of Conservation and Restoration at the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw.

The item was very poorly preserved, which was due mostly to its technical and technological complexity, as the various materials from which it had been made reacted in different ways to external factors. Some deformation was caused by moisture. The structurally heterogeneous parchment became wavy and shrank, detaching itself from the splitting and warped cardboard. The block of the atlas didn't close tightly. On the sides of the charts one could see large, dark streaks, the corners were gone, the parchment torn, and some pigment, silver and gold was missing. The parchment of the binding had a rippled surface, it

was stained with glue and incomplete at the corners of the cover; the endpapers were yellowed and soiled. At the edges, only a bit of ribbon was left.

The high value of the item meant that the conservators had to opt for a policy of the least interference with the substance of the atlas, and therefore limit the work to a bare minimum. The basic assumption of the restoration activities was that the actions of straightening and stabilising the map's parchment and binding had to be the first priority. Just as importantly, the maps had to be assembled in such a way as to allow for reattaching them without having to paste them individually to the cardboard. Such a method would eliminate the risk of having the maps revert to their original condition. The maps had to be assembled in such a way as to both give the parchment flexibility and guarantee its stability within the constraints of the cardboard – in other words to let it settle back to the dimensions it had before shrinkage or expansion (typical deformations in the case of parchment). The correctness of the method and its functional assumptions were first tested on a model made from the same materials as those used in assembling the actual item.¹⁶



The Millo Atlas before and after conservation

Conservation treatment consisted of separating the parchment leaves of individual maps and binding from the cardboard sheets, removing the remains of adhesive and the surface smudges, and then, after filling in the missing portions, doubling them on Japanese paper of a larger format than the parchment, leaving a margin, and pressing. The original cardboard sheets, owing to their poor condition, were replaced by new ones, which were pasted over with acid-free paper and joined in pairs using strips of bookbinder's canvas. Each chart, folded in half and closed, was sandwiched between two cardboard sheets, and the wider margins of the doubling paper were folded back and pasted to the outside edges of the cardboard. The pairs of cardboard sheets with the maps installed inside were folded together and joined, making a block out of the leaves. Strips of

Japanese paper were pasted on the edges of the leaves for additional protection and reinforcement, giving them a uniform colour. A cardboard spine and covers were pasted to the binding parchment. Parchment edges were pasted, and so was binder's canvas inside the spine, silk ribbons, and pastedowns. The conservation work ended in May 2002. Each action is accurately documented photographically and described in a written report.¹⁷

The principal interest of the Millo Atlas at the National Library lies in its history and manufacturing technology. But there are other reasons as well. Millo's charts are nautical charts, and therefore belong to one of the most important categories of cartographic works. Nautical charts were first used in the Middle Ages,¹⁸ and their appearance is connected with the invention of the compass by the Normans (or Arabs) somewhere around the

10th century. This device gave its name to the charts, which, used on sailing vessels, are sometimes called compass charts.¹⁹ Medieval marine charts are an interesting phenomenon as their accuracy is much greater than anything that came before them. For this reason they constitute an important stage in the development of cartography.²⁰

The Millo Atlas is a collection of portolans²¹ – maps subordinated to the requirements of navigation, characteristically giving a highly precise picture of coastal areas and the shape of the shoreline,²² with designations for harbours, bays, potential hazards, and the political status of a given area. Just as importantly, such charts provided designations for features visible from on board, which made it possible to establish the position of the vessel. Instead of latitudes and longitudes, navigational charts had a grid made of compass rose lines (rhumb lines) that fanned out radially from the central point on the chart to sixteen wind roses grouped around the central rose. Formed like this, the grid was the basis for plotting the coastline. The distances were calculated using the relevant linear scale.

The charts in *Geographicae tabulae in charta pergamena* illustrate the part of the world that includes the coast of Western Europe, the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, Central America and Asia. They are pointed north; the only exception is map VI, which is pointed in a north-easterly direction. Each of Millo's portolans is enclosed in a frame – green, red or blue. Circumscribed by the frame are continents, islands and their surrounding oceans, together with characteristic features and place names in Latin; also, linear scales can be found close to the edge of each chart. By far the most vivid element on each chart, by reason of size, tint and shape, are the compass roses. Exceptionally rich in colour and lavishly ornamented with gold and silver, they greatly enhance the artistic value of Millo's work. Basically, though, their aim was to aid in construing and determining geographic directions, which are additionally described on some of the maps using letter symbols inscribed into the circular hub of the wind rose or placed beyond it. Rhumb lines were usually marked in black or gold.²³ Because the ink on the parchment has faded, they are now brown in colour. The grid of the two last charts, another linear feature, is plotted using the Mercator cylindrical conformal projection.

The continents on Millo's maps are separated from the oceans with a boldly traced coastline, which takes the form of large or small arcs to represent bays and capes, or it is broken and reaches further inland, denoting estuaries. The names of coastal towns, ports, capes and bays are placed – in a way characteristic of portolans – on the part which represents land, and at a straight angle to the shoreline. The names of major seaports are drawn in red ink, and the remaining ones in black.²⁴ They are always meant to be read from the sea, facing land. The areas further inland are decorated with many-coloured gilded and silvered emblems of states, and wreathed decorative scrolls with the names of countries and continents. Flags with emblems inform of the political status of each area.

The waters close to the shore, as depicted on the maps, are also rich in useful instructions for mariners. In keeping with a specific convention, those sections of the coastline provide descriptions of places hazardous for seafarers. They feature shallow waters and sandbanks, drawn using dotted lines, and reefs and underwater rocks marked with small crosses.²⁵ Such areas often take the form of dotted geometric shapes. The lines representing rivers sometimes morph into areas of blue in the shape of irregular ovals, which denote larger bodies of water in the hinterland. The numerous mountain ranges are drawn as 'haystacks', individually or grouped in rows to designate highland regions. These elements, like the



Panorama of Venice from Map III
(Apennine Peninsula, Greece and North Africa)

architectural depictions of the cities, are presented three-dimensionally. The artist used silver and coloured paint to separate light and dark areas. The larger and more important cities are depicted with silhouettes, which show their most characteristic architecture, or the symbolic outlines of buildings. Map III, covering Italy, depicts the city that the author singled out for more extensive presentation. It is Venice, a fragment of the panorama of which rests on a blue 'platform' that, narrowing downwards, might symbolise the waters receding into the sea or lagoon. The drawing gives a view of Piazza San Marco from the sea. In the foreground on the left is the Mint and St. Mark's Library, on the right the Palace of the Doges. Between them, on a green background, are two brightly-coloured columns with figures of the town's patrons, St. Theodore and St. Mark (with the latter symbolically shown as a winged lion). The two columns had been the traditional gate of Venice, a town that only until the 18th century had to be accessed from the sea. In the background, on the left, one can see the Campanile, next the Clock Tower with an arcaded passageway, and the face of the clock. Atop the tower is a bell, on both sides of which two figures are standing. These are the bronze sculptures known for their dusky hue as the Moors. On the right are the domes of St. Mark's Basilica, with the outlines of unidentified churches in the background.

This depiction of Venice, is without parallel as compared to the economical images of the age's other leading Italian centres of cartography (Genoa, Ancona, Naples). It is not only proof of the role of that city in the life of the author, but also an expression of the fierce competition between individual towns. Cartographers from other cities did the same. For example, the the cityscapes of Genoa and Venice were juxtaposed on a portolan from 1489, made by the Genoan Albino di Canepa. In this case too, the size and the manner of depiction of these two cities clearly postulates differences in status. Of course, the town to come out victorious from this contest of images is Genoa.

Antonio Millo's atlas conveys the impression that its maker spared no effort in trying to achieve the highest degree of compositional correctness and harmony. Some of the portolans feature, for instance, a number of purely decorative elements that do not contribute much in terms of information

content but refine the artistic aspect of the work. These are the ship silhouettes. All in all, five ships grace the atlas: four sailing vessels with more than one mast and a galley – a sailing vessel with oars, one mast, a latin sail and a stern castle.

The signature of the cartographer is placed in the lower left-hand corner of map VIII: his full name and surname, the letter 'F' (*fecit* – 'he made') and the year in which the item was created, in Roman numerals.

The rich decorations on the charts in Antonius Millo's nautical atlas are highly precise in execution, as characterised by a striving to achieve the most meticulous rendering of the details of decorative elements. This gives the whole a very coherent and orderly, but rather impromptu character, proof of the high artistic value of the work and the confident hand of its maker. Among manuscript examples of the art of cartography, the Millo Nautical Atlas is a specimen of the highest order.

A list of works by Antonius Millo in the world's libraries:

Biblioteca del Civici Museo Correr, Venice

- Isolario (Portolano 46), c. 1550, 76 maps with manuscript index at the back, cardboard covers,
- Nautical Atlas, 1580-1590, Venice, 8 maps (6 portolans, 2 topographical maps) on parchment backing.

Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin

- Nautical Atlas, 1586, Venice, 14 two-sided maps on parchment backing, coloured, gilded and silvered.

Staatsbibliothek, Ulm

- Nautical Atlas, 1574, 16 maps, parchment on cardboard, coloured and gilded, cardboard covers, author's signature in lower left corner of map III.

British Library, London

- Isolario, 1586, 68 uncoloured maps,
- Isolario, 1591, 71 maps,
- Portolan, 1582, large parchment roll (Add. MS. 27470),
- *Isolario di Antonio Millo nel quale si contiene tutte le isole del mar Mediterraneo...*, 1587, ink on paper. At the end instructions for finding a specific island, list in alphabetical order. (Cotton MS. Julius E.II., Add. MS 10365).

National Library, Warsaw

– Nautical Atlas *Geographicae tabulae in charta pergamena*, 1583, Venice, 8 portolans on parchment backing, coloured, gilded and silvered, pasted on cardboard, parchment binding (BN O.2399).

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna

– Portolan, 16th c., parchment, coloured and gilded. Location of item unknown (might be in a private collection)

– Isolario, 1580, showing 90 islands (Cyprus, Sicily, Crete etc.), sold on auction in England.

Notes:

1. Antonius Millo is also known as Misso; Daniela Kosacka, *Zbiory kartograficzne w Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej*, *Informator* [Cartographic Collections in the People's Republic of Poland], Warsaw, 1972, p.143

2. The author obtained most of the information about Millo by participating in an e-mail forum on maps and atlases hosted by the Faculty of Geographical Sciences of the University of Utrecht. Apart from that, most of the available information on Millo in books and periodicals is rather sparse, and comes in the form of notes stating his significance for Venetian cartography, and identifying him as the author of five manuscript nautical atlases from 1557-1590, two *isolaria* and a manual, an introduction to the art of seafaring from 1590. Cf. Leo Bagrow, R. A. Skelton, *Meister der Kartographie*, Berlin, 1963. Also cf. Raymond Lister, *How to identify old maps and globes*, London, 1965; Józef Szaflarski, *Zarys kartografii* [An Outline of Cartography], Warsaw, 1965, pp. 73-74; P. Matković, 'Alte handschriftliche Schifferkarten in den Bibliotheken zu Venedig', *Acta Cartographica* 16 (1973), p. 99; W. Ruge, 'Älteres kartographisches Material in deutschen Bibliotheken. Erster und zweiter Reisebericht', *Acta Cartographica* 17 (1973), pp. 9-10, 21-24; *Tooley's dictionary of mapmakers*, comp. by R. V. Tooley, Tring, Herts., 1979; Ingrid Kretschmer, Johannes Dörflinger, Fritz Wawrik, *Lexikon zur Geschichte der Kartographie...*, vol. 2, Vienna, 1986, pp. 504-505; Barbara Smoleńska, Krystyna Muszyńska, *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Narodowej, Seria III: Zbiory BOZ* [Catalogue of Manuscripts from the National Library. 3rd Series: Collections of the Zamość Estate Library] vol. II, Warsaw, 1991, p. 31; *Nad złoto droższe. Skarby Biblioteki Narodowej* [More Precious than Gold. Treasures of the National Library] ed. H. Tchórzewska-Kabata, M. Dąbrowski, Warsaw, 2000, p. 118; G. Tolia, 'Un ammiraglio greco al servizio di Venezia. Antonio Millo e il suo isolario' in *Navigare e descrivere. Isolari e portolani del Museo Correr di Venezia XV-XVIII secolo, a cura di Camillo Tonini e Piero Lucchi*, Venice, 2000, pp. 62-63.

3. The Newberry Library, British Library and Marciana Library have copies of Millo's manuscript works signed 'Armiraglio di Candia'.

4. The cartographer Diego Homem is known for 24 works from 1557-1576; Kretschmer, op. cit., vol. 2, 1986, p. 318.

5. At the time when he was active, Venice flourished as a centre of engraving and map-printing; Kretschmer, op. cit., p. 929.

6. A list of extant works by Antonius Millo is given at the end of the article.

7. Parchment is highly receptive to all kinds of weather changes, and very demanding when it comes to ensuring the right conditions for storage.

8. Available as microfilms in the National Library in Warsaw. The following manuscripts have been examined: ms. BOZ 1544, BOZ 1567, BOZ 1582, BOZ 1654, BOZ 1565.

9. Research carried out by Hieronim Wilder in 1905 proves that the atlases and etchings in the collections of the Zamość Estate Library had not been catalogued. This information, though, cannot be referred back to Millo's atlas, which was classified as a manuscript, and thus cannot be treated otherwise; Hieronim Wilder, *Polskie archiwa, biblioteki, muzea, zbiory i zbieracze* [Polish Archives, Libraries, Museums, Collections and Collectors], Warsaw, 1905, pp. 23-24.

10. Ignacy Lojola Rychter, *Obraz ogólny Biblioteki Ordynacji Zamoyskiej* [A General View of the Zamość Estate Library], National Library ms. BOZ 1567; Tomasz Makowski, 'Biblioteka Jana Zamoyskiego, kanclerza i hetmana wielkiego koronnego. Założenia projektu badawczego' [The Library of Jan Zamoyski, Chancellor and Grand Hetman of the Crown. Outline of a Research Project], *Biuletyn Informacyjny Biblioteki Narodowej* 149 (1999), p. 6.

11. Danuta Kamolowa *Zbiory rękopisów w bibliotekach i muzeach w Polsce – przewodnik* [Collections of Manuscripts in Polish Museums and Libraries], Warszawa, 1988, p. 251.

12. Marian Łodyński, 'Pruszkowska akcja zabezpieczenia warszawskich zbiorów bibliotecznych (1944-1945)' [The Pruszków Plan for Protecting Warsaw's Library Collections] in *Walka o dobra kultury – Warszawa 1939-1945*, vol. II, Warsaw 1970, pp. 277-281.

13. 'By pamięć przetrwała...' [For the Memory to Be Kept Alive...] Interview with Jan Zamoyski, *Biuletyn Informacyjny Biblioteki Narodowej* 2 (1999), p. 30.

14. Possibly made by Bogdan Horodyski, custodian at the National Library, director (1956-1962) and deputy director (1962-1965). Based on oral information from staff of the National Library's Department of Manuscripts.

15. From the inventory ledger of BOZ collections stored at the National Library Department of Manuscripts.

16. The Atlas was restored and the restoration documented by the author of this article under the guidance of Wojciech Chrościcki (head of the Chair for the Conservation and Restoration of Early Printed Books and Prints at the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw) and Maria Woźniak (head of the National Library Department for the Conservation of Library Collections).

17. The three copies of the documentation are stored at the National Library in Warsaw, the Department for the

Conservation and Restoration of Works of Art of the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw, and in the possession of the author of the documentation.

18. The oldest preserved nautical chart from c. 1300 is the Portolan from Pisa (*Carte Pisane*) now at the National Museum in Paris. Mieczysław Sirko, *Zarys historii kartografii* [An Outline of the History of Cartography], Lublin, 1999, pp. 52-53.

19. There is no one answer as to who invented the compass. Historical sources point to the Normans; *Ibid.*

20. Szaflarski, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

21. A proto-form of the portolans were Greek *periples* – descriptions of single voyages from one port to another. They typically had a description of the coastline and harbours, and provided the distances between them; Sirko, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53.

22. Sirko, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-57.

23. Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, p. 618.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 620.

25. *Ibid.*

Translated by *Marcin Polkowski*

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Foreign Collections in Polish Libraries

Małgorzata Tomaszewska

A Topographical Map of the Region of Versailles

Abstract The map described in this article is a fine piece from the cartographic collection of the National Library. One of just four extant copies, this luxurious edition in the form of an album has considerable value, both artistically, and as a specimen of the mapmaking skills of its authors.

The Cartographic Department of the National Library is in the possession of a beautiful map of the Versailles region, dated 1807. Its full title reads:

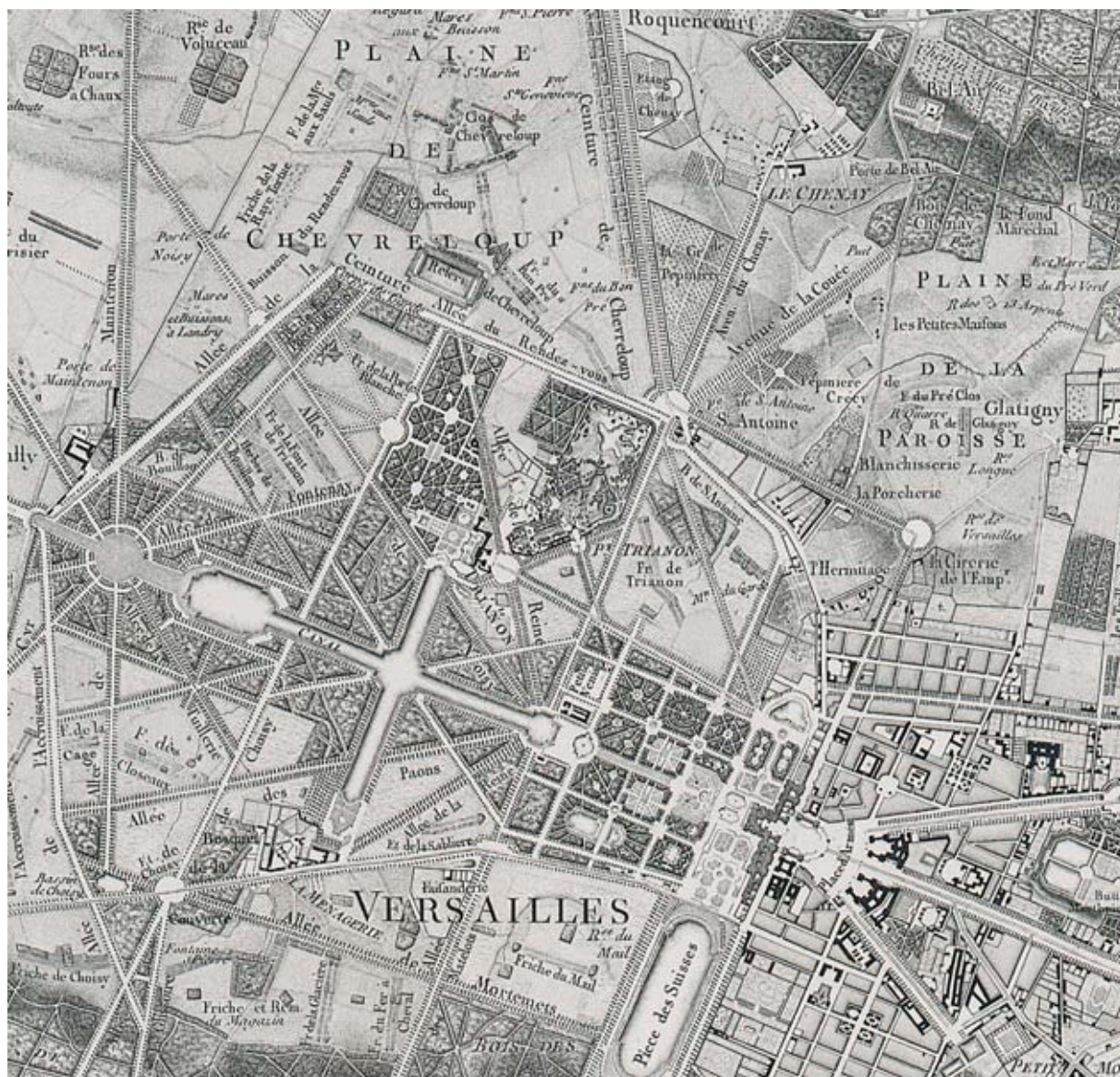
Carte topographique des environs de Versailles, dite des chasses impériales, levée et dressée de 1764 à 1773 par les ingénieurs géographes des camps et armées commandés par feu M. Berthier colonel leur chef, terminée en 1807, par ordre de Napoléon empereur des Français, roi d'Italie et protecteur de la Confédération du Rhin, pendant le ministère de S. A. S. M. Le maréchal Alexandre Berthier, prince de Neuchâtel, grand veneur, grand aigle de la légion d'honneur, etc., sous la direction du général de division Sanson, au Dépôt général de la guerre.

The map in question was worked on and drawn in the years 1764-1773 by engineer geographers under the leadership of colonel Jean Baptiste Berthier (1721-1804), the father of the Napoleonic marshal of France – Louis Alexandre Berthier. The authors based their map on the earlier works of other cartographers, which related to royal hunting venues in the region of Versailles and Paris. These were the works of Jacques Dubois from the year 1723, entitled: *La carte topographique de la Capitainerie royale d'Halatte*, as well as other 18th century maps of the Paris region by Gaspar Bailbieu and Cassini (1756), and also the works of Nicolais Matis: *Carte topographique de la forest de Compiègne et ses environs...* and *Carte topographique de Capitainerie de Cobeil dite de Villeroy et ses environs...* (1746). The engraving and printing of the map was carried out in stages and was completed in 1807.

This wonderful cartographic work of Jean Baptiste Berthier does not possess a legend. However, the very precise drawing enables readers to distinguish every detail of this opulent map. The content consists of the sculpture of the earth's surface, presented with transverse hachures, which precisely reflect the orographic elements. The rich flora is shown on the map with various signatures, enabling one to distinguish between fields, vineyards, meadows and forests. Presented also in exact outlines are the buildings, residencies and the park grounds. The hydrography and the road network are also presented with the same thoroughness, with differentiations made between the various categories of roads.

This map of the Versailles region was made in copperplate engraving, in a scale of 1:28,000. It consists of 12 sheets with measurements of 77×41cm and an index. Each sheet consists of a title and number placed over the top frame, whereas under the bottom frame there are the names of the engravers and draughtsmen who worked on the map. These were the famous French engravers of this period: J. B. Bouclet, Antoine Boudet, Jean Baptiste Delahaye, François Doudan, Giraldon, Hérault, L. D. Lale and P. F. Tardieu.

The map was published in the form of an atlas, which contains a titular page, index and twelve map sheets. Each sheet is separated with Japanese paper. The cover of the atlas is made of red maroquin. The top and bottom covers are decorated with a gilded linear border with the motif of a laurel leaf. The spine is sewn with ten cords, and decorated interchangeably with the gilded motif of a globe and a trophy. At the bottom of the spine there is the inscription REL[iure]. P. LEFEBVRE. The front-papers in green are made of moiré tafeta. The edges of the sheet are gilded.



Jean Baptiste Berthier, *Carte topographique des environs de Versailles* from the National Library's cartographic collection

The volume is considered to be highly valuable for both its geographic-cartographic correctness and the quality of its drawing and engraving. And there is also its luxurious cover, which suggests that it was designated for special recipients. Berthier's map is seldom seen in the collections of other libraries. It is not noted by either the

Library of Congress of Washington or by the British Library of London. Except for the copy of the map in the National Library of Warsaw, a further two copies are in the possession of Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris [BNF CPL GeBB 207; BNF CPL GeDD 3441], and another in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin [J 17420].¹

Notes:

¹ The bibliography on the subject of Berthier's map includes G. Marcel, 'A propos de la carte de chasses',

Acta Cartographica 17 (1973); Tomasz Dziekoński, *Życie marszałków francuzkich z czasów Napoleona* [The Lives of French Marshalls from the Age of Napoleon], Warsaw, 1841, pp. 1-5.

Translated by Barry Keane

Foreign Collections In Poland: A Historical Overview

Zdzisław Pietrzyk Book Collections from the Former Preussische Staatsbibliothek in the Jagiellonian Library

Abstract Parts of the Berlin library of the Preussische Staatsbibliothek came into Polish hands after World War II. Preserved at the Jagiellonian University Library and accessible to scholars since the 1970s, they are now increasingly the focus of research, as the issue of their status and provenance is being addressed more directly. Here the author examines the history of the collection once it had found its way to Poland, and describes its composition.

The bombardment of Berlin by the Allied forces, which gained in strength in 1941, forced the German authorities to begin evacuating valuable book collections, including those from the Preussische Staatsbibliothek. Manuscripts, old prints and autographs of the great musical composers were hidden in safe places. The evacuation of collections began in 1941 and was completed in spring 1944. In total around three million volumes were evacuated from Berlin. These collections were sent to 29 destinations in the territory of the Reich. 505 boxes in total reached the Fürstenstein castle (Książ) near Wałbrzych. In 1943 the castle was being prepared as Hitler's headquarters, which, of course, presented a potential danger to the valuable deposits. Therefore, it was thought best to evacuate the collection to secluded Grüssau (Krzyszów) not far from Kamienna Góra. The boxes from the Berlin library were laid in the attic of the beautiful baroque monastery of the Cistercian Brothers. Russian troops, which marched through Krzyszów in 1945, did not find the collection, but it was found the same year by a group of Polish scholars and librarians. A year later, the collection was moved to Cracow, and was placed in both the monastery of the Missionary Brothers and in the Dominican monastery. Later, due to restoration work (some of the boxes containing books and manuscripts were damaged), the collection was moved to the Jagiellonian Library building. This move took place in October 1947. The unpacking of the boxes in the Jagiellonian Library building started on 1 November of that year, and the contents of the boxes underwent checking until

February 1948. This part of the Berlin collection was preserved by the Jagiellonian Library – which performed the function of the repository of preserved collections – and the Representation of the Ministry of Education for Preserved Collections, which had been using the offices of the Jagiellonian Library at the same time. That the collection from the former Public Library of Prussia found its way to Cracow, where it remains today, is a fact which Poland has never openly admitted to.

The collection, evacuated from Berlin, was divided into two categories. The first category comprised manuscripts, musical manuscripts, autographs, incunables, orientalia, *rara* and 'Kunst-drücke'. The second category included the following prints: Judaica (Eu, Ev, Ew, Ex, Yes, Ezra), Kriegs-Sammlung (K-S), linguistic (Zr, Zo, Zt, Zz), Italian (Rm, Rr, Rl, Rs), Periodicals (Ae, Ad), Slavonic (Ud, Ue, Uf, Ui, Ue), atlases (Y, B, S, H). For some unknown reason, out of the 505 boxes, only 490 reached the Jagiellonian Library. What is more, not all the boxes included the listed inventory, whereas some of the manuscripts were damp and damaged. The collection of autographs, as well as Greek and Oriental manuscripts, suffered the most damage.

Aside from special collections, periodicals and new books without dustsheets arrived from Silesia to the Jagiellonian Library. These volumes have never been catalogued in Poland.

In 1957 the director of the Jagiellonian Library, Jan Baumgart, received an order from the Ministry of Third Level Education to prepare the Berlin collection for its return to Germany. Microfilms

were then purchased so as to copy the most important and the most valuable pieces. Soon after, however, the decision to return the collection was withdrawn. A few years later it was finally decided to return a large number of periodicals to Germany. Several wagons full of periodicals were returned to Berlin, to the building of the former Preussische Staatsbibliothek, where the DDR authorities established the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek. The most important pieces, however, remained in the Jagiellonian Library. In the meantime, a number of renowned Polish lawyers prepared expertise advice in the canons of the international law. The lawyers all unanimously announced that the collections found in Krzeszów constituted, in fact, the property of the Polish State. Despite all this, though, the Berlin collection was still kept a secret.

In mid 1970's, work began on incorporating the 'Berlinka' into the Jagiellonian Library collections. Soon this decision was rescinded, however, and the issue of the collection's fate was put off until a later date. The next step made by the authorities with regard to the Berlin collection was totally unpredicted, and one can only assume that political games were playing their part here. The then first secretary of the Communist Party, Edward Gierek, during his visit to Berlin on 29 May, 1977, offered manuscripts of the 9th Symphony by Ludwig van Beethoven and the 3rd Piano Concerto by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, as well as the manuscripts of *The Enchanted Flute*, *C-Moll Mass* and the *Jupiter Symphony* 'on behalf of the Polish nation' to East Germany.

In July 1977, the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin presented the Jagiellonian Library with copies of catalogues, indexes of titles and call numbers of the library materials, which during the Second World War had been sent to Krzeszów. These catalogues incorporated manuscripts, autographs and legacies, manuscripts and musical prints, oriental collections, rare prints published after 1501 and incunables.

In 1979 the collection was cautiously allowed to be viewed by those scholars who possessed special ministry permission. 'Normal times' for using the Berlin collections came when prof. Józef Andrzej Gierowski became the rector of the University and Jan Pirożyński became the director of the Jagiellonian Library. As of mid-1981, 'Berlinka' was made available to almost all inte-

rested scholars, both in the reading rooms of the Jagiellonian Library as well as in the form of microfilm copies.

The collections preserved in the Jagiellonian Library contain a large representation of worldwide cultural heritage. The first collection to have been made available to researchers is called *Libri picturati* and it is one of the most valuable masterpieces of manuscript graphic works on the subject of the history and material culture of Brazil. At first, these priceless volumes were made accessible to all researchers, but soon, however, having the condition of the books in mind, access restrictions were introduced. *Libri picturati* contain among other things four volumes of oil and watercolour paintings presenting the effects of the military and exploratory expedition of prince Johann Moritz von Nassau to Brazil. Since 1668 they had belonged to the collection of elector Friedrich Wilhelm. Apart from those four spectacular albums the collection comprises others that present the fauna and flora of Brazil with photographic precision.

In the last few years, the Jagiellonian Library, with the help of subsidies from the Ministry of Culture, has undertaken preservation work on *Libri picturati*. Before the preservation work began the Jagiellonian Library had carried out research in order to check the chemical components of the paper, paints and materials used for the making of these works. After consultation with the most renowned Polish conservators, preservation work on one of the volumes began. As this process is very time-consuming and costly, it has not been completed yet.

An album of several volumes, consisting of copies of the Brazilian part of *Libri picturati*, was published in Brazil, at the same time as the *Libri picturati* from the Berlin collection was being kept in Cracow. That collection is being researched by a group of international scholars, including botanists and historians of art. Moreover, in 2002 the Jagiellonian Library held an exhibition entitled *Dutch Golden Age in Learning About and Describing the World*, where several pieces from *Libri picturati* were shown.

The collection that has created the largest interest amongst researchers was that of musical pieces, and in particular the autographs of the great masters. Musical collections – both of prints and preserved manuscripts – consist of 9,128 volumes

in total. This collection consists of 8,658 volumes of musical prints from 16th and 17th century, as well as 524 musical manuscripts. The musical prints include the publications of works by Italian, German, French and Polish composers. Among these there are very valuable volumes published in Venice, Rome and Florence, where the opera pieces by the composers of the local Camerata were published. Manuscripts constitute the second part of the musical collection, including a fragment of the spectacular collection of the greatest masters collected in 19th century. Around 100 volumes are musical manuscripts from the Middle Ages. 400 pieces are autographs of such masters as Dietrich Buxtehude, Johannes Sebastian Bach and his sons, Georg Telemann, Josef Haydn, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Ludwig van Beethoven, Luigi Cherubini, Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Franz Schubert, Robert Schumann, Giacomo Meyerbeer, Nicolo Paganini, Carl Loewe, Johannes Brahms, Ferruccio Busoni and others.

The content of the musical sheets collection from the former Preussische Staatsbibliothek preserved in the Jagiellonian Library is widely known, as the catalogue (prepared by Aleksandra Patalas) was published in 1999 by the Institute of Music of the Jagiellonian University with the co-operation of Jagiellonian Library employees. For the past five years, together with Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin/Preussischer Kulturbesitz, the Jagiellonian Library has been working on the publication of the autographs of the largest masters on microfilm (for the Saur publishing house). The co-operation on the publication of works of Bach and his sons as well as Telemann has been completed. The work on copying of Beethoven's manuscripts and the preparation of Mozart's works for publication is in progress.

The year 1997 was proclaimed the Year of Beethoven in honour of the 170th anniversary of the great composer's death, and in keeping with this, the Easter Festival of Beethoven was instituted in Cracow. From that time onwards the festival has been accompanied by an exhibition of the treasures of worldwide culture, and the autographs of the great masters, as well as the musical manuscripts by the famous composers preserved in the Jagiellonian Library. As a rule the Library only grants access to the collection for research purposes. This means that visitors to the Library have no access to these pieces. That is why for

many music lovers attending the exhibition (so far this exhibition has been held eight times) this is the only opportunity to see those priceless manuscripts and selected musical prints. It is worth pointing out that the first exhibition dedicated to Beethoven was organized in co-operation with German counterparts and that other manuscripts by the great composer were brought from Berlin.

A fragment of the manuscript collection from the former Preussische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin is kept in the Manuscripts Section. These are bound codices, a genealogical collection, six legacies and two collections of autographs. In the Public Library of Prussia the bound codices have been catalogued according to language.

French manuscripts include 230 volumes coming from the 13th to the 19th century. They encompass Old French literary manuscripts, descriptions of 18th and 19th century journeys, materials for the Napoleonic wars and the history of the church during the Reformation, as well as cookery books. In co-operation with the Manuscripts Department of Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, this year the work on the cataloguing of the Old French manuscripts will be completed. The catalogue will cover 76 manuscripts, 26 of which are preserved in the Jagiellonian Library. The author of the Cracow part of the catalogue is the employee of the Romance Languages Institute of the Jagiellonian University, Piotr Tylus, Ph.D. Among the manuscripts discussed by Tylus, there is one extremely valuable mediaeval manuscript, which represents the Toulouse dialect from the first half of the 14th century. Tylus has worked on the compilation of laws of the city of Liège from the years 1345-1348, which up till the time of Tylus' research had only been known from mentions made in various works on the history of the city. The majority of the works under discussion constitute valuable sources for the history of the Old French literature. The catalogue was instigated at the incentive of the manager of the Manuscripts Department of the Berlin Library, Eef Overgaauw, Ph.D., whereas the Jagiellonian Library is overseeing the organizational aspects. It will represent a valuable piece for the researchers working on Old French literature, and it will also establish new directions for research.

Italian manuscripts incorporate 136 volumes from the period of the mid-14th century to the

19th century. They include, among other things, Old Italian literature, the chronicles of the cities of Bologna and Venice, genealogical sources on Venetian families, political pieces by e.g. Paolo Sarpi and the history of Lombardy in the first half of 19th century.

The Spanish manuscripts total 116 volumes. There are pieces in the Catalanian language, works by Spanish and Catalanian classicists, as well as works on the events from the period of the Napoleonic wars and from the Spanish colonies in South America, and Chile in particular. Among the Spanish works, there are also excerpts from the archives of Salamanca, Madrid and the Escorial.

The collection of Greek manuscripts consists of 138 volumes. Unfortunately several of those were preserved in very poor condition. It is this damaged part of the collection that has reached the Jagiellonian Library; the books were soaking wet and the box in which they were kept was shattered. These are extremely valuable manuscripts from 9th to 16th century. They comprise liturgical and theological books, sermons, the lives of the saints, hymn books with Byzantine notation, *Carmina Sacra*, letters of the Fathers of the Church, e.g. St. Gregory of Nazianzus, the acts of the Greek and Ecumenic Church synods and letters of medieval Greek authors. Greek medical manuscripts include, among others, the works by Galen, philosophical works by Aristotle, and copies of the works of Thucydides, Xenophont and Plotinus.

Latin manuscripts amount to 67 volumes dating from the 9th to the 16th century. Among others they include liturgical books (New Testament books, hymn books, psalters, breviaries, hours), letters by the Fathers of the Church, i.e. St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Basil, St. John Chrysostom, and medical manuscripts, including the texts from the Salerno school. What's more, among the Latin manuscripts, there are also astronomical and legal texts, works by ancient writers such as Cicero, Virgil, Statius, Boethius, and by humanists, e.g. Poggio Bracciolini. These manuscripts do not have a separate contemporary catalogue, but their content is known thanks to the work of Wolfgang Mide.

German manuscripts total 78 volumes, the oldest of which date back to the 10th century. They include medieval masterpieces of the German language. Very valuable manuscripts, often used

by the researchers of the German language, are the manuscripts of medieval literature, with such texts as: *Nibelungenlied*, *Weltchronik* by Rudolf von Ems, *Marienleben* by Brother Philippe, *Tristan and Gawein* by Einhard von Oberge, *Wigelois* and *Athis und Porphilias* by Wolfram von Eschenbach. Extremely valuable examples of German literature are the autographs of Martin Luther, the letters of Johann Wolfgang Goethe and the diary of Rainer Maria Rilke.



Illuminated miniature of Jacob's Dream from Priestester Wernher's *Driu liet von der maget* Ms. Bero. Oct. 109, f. 6^r

Slavonic manuscripts encompass a collection of books in the following languages: Old Church Slavonic, Russian, Croatian, Bulgarian, Polabian, Lusatian and Polish. This collection was and is used by the researchers of the Jagiellonian University. Professor Aleksander Naumow prepared a catalogue of the Old Church Slavonic manuscripts in Poland, including the manuscripts preserved in the Jagiellonian Library. Waclaw Twardzik, Ph.D. provided descriptive entries for the Croatian manuscripts. Professor Krzysztof Fałowski took charge of the Russian manuscripts, publishing a number of them. Among the *Slavica* there are also manuscripts in the Polish language.

Some of them have been already published or have been used for academic research. The Diary of the Great Chancellor of Lithuania in 17th century, Krzysztof Zygmunt Pac, from his travels in the Netherlands in 1641 has been published, as well as *Rejestry gospód na dwór Króla Jegomości* [The Registers of Inns for His Majesty's court] in the times of Władysław IV and Jan Kazimierz for Cracow and Vilnius. Among these manuscripts there are other materials that come from the offices of Krzysztof Zygmunt Pac. One can also find literary texts there, such as Jan Andrzej Morsztyn's *Torquata Tassa Amyntas Comedia Pastorska* [Torquato Tasso's Amyntas, A Pastoral Comedy].

Albums – *alba amicorum* – are a collection of 89 volumes from the 16th up to the 20th century. A vast majority of the albums are of German provenance. But the albums include entries of Polish students studying abroad, as, for example, the brothers Waclaw and Rafał Leszczyński (1594), Mikołaj Ostroróg (1582), Stanisław Buczyński (1589), Salomon Rysiński (Panterus, 1589) Marcin Ruar (1610) and many others.

In terms of content the collection of the genealogical material is extremely valuable, and in particular the König genealogy. In the 187 volumes of this genealogy there are excerpts of documents, genealogical tables and rare prints relating to three thousand noble families from the region of Germany, as well as from Greater Poland, Pomerania, Prussia and Silesia, and among these there are genealogies of Polish noble families: the Bażyńskis, the Czapskis, the Działyńskis. The genealogical collection is very often researched, with readers having access to it in the library, and with copies of the given genealogical materials on the noble families being made available.

From among smaller collections, there are Portuguese manuscripts (3 volumes) and 15 volumes of American manuscripts in the Manuscripts Department. A part of these are facsimile publications of such rare specimens as the Dresden Codex, the Perez Maya Tzentel Codex, and the Nuttall Codex. Ten of the manuscripts are original manuscripts brought back to Europe in the period when America was first being colonised.

Of lesser interest to the researchers is the collection of Latin manuscripts totalling 62 volumes. They include material for linguistic research, as well legal and literary texts.

There are also the individual bequests of the following personages: Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz (1750-1792), Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859), Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835) – these are the so-called 'Collectanea linguistica' including valuable material on the history of linguistics, and also for research on exotic languages. There is also a collection of documents left by Gustav Freytag (1816-1895), a historian, writer and professor of the Wrocław University, and August Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben (1798-1874). The latter was a scholar of Germanic languages and professor of the Wrocław University, as well as the author of *Deutschlandlied*, the German anthem, which is absent from the collection as it was lent out from the Prussian Library before the World War II.

The next bequest includes the papers of Georg Schweinfurt (1836-1925), a researcher on Africa. Among his papers we can find valuable correspondence, journals and materials for research on Africa and German colonialism.

In nearly 500 boxes two collections of autographs have been preserved. The collection of Karl August Varnhagen von Ense (1785-1858) is material on the literary and political life of Germany and Europe at the end of the 18th century and the first half of 19th century. Varnhagen was a diplomat, writer, literary critic, and together with his wife, Rahel Lewin (1771-1833), a collector of autographs and memorabilia of their contemporary writers, people of culture and politics. They kept in close contact with Berlin's political and literary circles. This collection provides biographical and historical material on the history of Prussia in the first half of 19th century, as well as on the emancipation of Jews in the Prussia of that time. In the Varnhagen collection there are autographs (letters, diaries, notes, literary pieces of over 9,000 people, as well prints and press cutting iconography). Aside from the August and Rahel Varnhagen papers, there are three separate collections within the collection: the Archive of prince L.H. Pückler von Muskau (1785-1881), the papers of Ludmila Assing (1821-1880) and correspondence of J.H.S. Formey (1711-1791), the president of the Royal Academy of Science in Berlin. This collection has been made public thanks to the catalogue published by Ludwig Stern more than 90 years ago.

The collection of autographs (Autographen-Sammlung) is a very valuable collection of

miscellaneous autographs – letters, literary manuscripts, and fragments of scientific dissertations, album entries. Representatives of science, culture, literature, politics, royal and princely courts of all European nations from the end of 15th century until 1939 feature in this collection. The autograph collection incorporates among others the correspondence of Formey, the Grimm brothers, Hegel, Herder, Schelling and Jean-Paul Richter. There are also autographs of Luther, Melancton, Calvin, and renowned representatives of the Catholic Church.

From the former Preussische Staatsbibliothek scholars have been looking mostly at the Varnhagen and the autograph collections. In the last 20 years researchers from various countries have published works on the letters of Rahel Varnhagen, Jean-Paul Richter, J.H.S. Formey, as well as many other materials from the legacies of Lenz and Wolfgang von Humboldt. 1,028 people have accessed the manuscripts from the former Preussische Staatsbibliothek in the 22-year history (1981-2003) of the Manuscripts Department of the

Jagiellonian Library. Over 2,017 persons asked for queries and clarifications. The Manuscripts Department also processed 2,679 requests for microfilms and other types of copies of the Berlin collection.

The parts of the Berliner Staatsbibliothek in the Jagiellonian Library include over 12 000 volumes of early printed books. One of the most valuable fragments of the collection are incunables, with the unique subsection encompassing prints of the Leipzig printer Mauritius Barndis of 1488. Another interesting collection includes the 194 volumes of the so-called *Aldines*. These are prints printed in the Venetian printing house of Aldo Manutius and his benefactors. In this collection there are also prints published in Italian, Parisian, Lyon printing houses, where printing artistry of the Manutius's was copied. The largest collection is the collection of 16th-18th century prints of German literature of that time. Among these we can find the works of Hans Sachs, Sebastian Brandt, Ulrich van Hutten, Andreas Gryphius, as well as Johann Wolfgang Goethe, Gotthold E. Lessing, and



The Staatsbibliothek collection in the Jagiellonian Library also contains the *Stammbuch* of Kryspin Gericius from the Autographen-Sammlung, with entries by Zdenko a Rupp and Andrzej Leszczyński

Friedrich Schiller. Miscellaneous pieces constitute a large percentage of the collection, written mainly in the 17th century to commemorate weddings, deaths and births. They are the more valuable as a vast majority of them relate to the cities of the Polish Commonwealth of that time, that is Gdańsk, Toruń, and Elbląg.

Among the old prints there is a large collection of leaflet prints totalling around 5,000 entries, dating mainly from the years 1629-1790. Many of these texts relate to the Thirty Years War, 'the Swedish Deluge', and the Saxon period in Polish history – there is a planned project to catalogue these prints. An interesting collection is also a collection of travel accounts from the 16th-18th century. Several hundred of old prints are Judaic prints – these were compiled by professor Jerzy Pilarczyk of Jagiellonian University. A catalogue of these prints is to be published shortly. Yet another interesting collection is that of the so-called 'learned periodicals', which started to be published on a larger scale in the second half of the 17th century.

Cartographic collections from the former Preussische Staatsbibliothek to have reached the Jagiellonian Library are extremely rare and amount to 37 volumes.

Oriental prints and manuscripts constitute a separate collection. This collection encompasses both prints and manuscripts from China, Korea, Arabia and Syria. This collection is fairly rarely used by readers. Recently the Jagiellonian Library suggested publishing a catalogue of Arabic manuscripts from the former Public Library of Prussia currently in its possession, as well as those preserved by other libraries, archives and museums in Poland. This project was presented to the representatives of the Ministry of Science of Saudi Arabia, as well as to the Royal Library of Riyadh.

The Jagiellonian Library also preserves 50,000 of the so-called newer prints, that is, prints published after 1800. Over 90 per cent of that collection has already been catalogued. We hope that the catalogue for this collection will be completed in 2004 and made available to the readers.

In closing, we should emphasise that for the last couple of years the Jagiellonian Library and Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin have been co-operating together in various fields of research, such as publishing and conservation programs, and soon the academic exchange program between these two libraries will be re-introduced.

Translated by *Barry Keane*

Foreign Collections In Poland: A Historical Overview

Beata Gryzio

Incunabula from the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences

Abstract In this article the author outlines the history of the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences. She delineates the composition of the Gdańsk collection, describing the individual bequests that enriched it over the ages and contributed to its identity as a library. Additionally, she describes the incunabula that have not yet been examined in the library's catalogue of incunabulae, and presents their history and features.

The Gdańsk Library (now known as Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk – the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences) is one of the oldest and most opulent libraries in Poland. It was founded in 1596 during the Polish Renaissance by the municipal council of Gdańsk as *Biblioteca Senatus Gedanensis* – motivated by the bequest of more than 1,000 manuscripts from the Italian humanist and scholar, Giovanni Bernardo Bonifacio, the marquis of Orin, who had gifted the city of this collection in return for sanctuary in the last few years of his life. The library's collection subsequently grew thanks to gifts and donations of collections from private patrons, such as Mrongovius, Uphagen, Lengnich, Knophius, Kerckmann and Breyn. As guardian of the library, the municipal council also engaged in the acquisition of manuscripts. From the beginning, the library was intended for public use, serving in particular the scholarly efforts of both professors and students of the Academic Gymnasium of Gdańsk.

The library comprises of mediaeval manuscripts and incunabula as well as manuscripts and prints from the Renaissance and later periods. It also boasts an excellent 19th century collection of cartography and illustrations, numismatics and book plates, as well as photographs and documents relating to 19th century life. Historical, legal, philological, philosophical and theological works were all collected, as well as works on the natural world and the history of science. Particular attention was also given to all titles relating to Gdańsk, Pomerania, Prussia and the Baltic Sea region. And so, the impressive variety and value of the collections

gathered in the Gdańsk Library gave it both a scientific and academic character. This first period of splendour and rapid development lasted until Prussian times, when the name of the library was changed to *Danziger Stadtbibliothek*, the Municipal Library of Gdańsk. At the beginning of the 20th century, city officials decided to build a new edifice to suit the municipal and public character of the library. This new building was opened in 1905 at 15 in what is now Wałowa Street in Gdańsk. At the time, the library collection was estimated at 125,000 volumes.

For the next few decades the Municipal Library, in its modern building and with a modern catalogue system, served the inhabitants of the Free City of Gdańsk. However, it did not always offer equal access to its collections. This period in the library history saw printed catalogues of manuscripts being prepared, together with a unified alphabetic and systematic catalogue for the entire collection, with separate listing of periodicals, and a catalogue of sketches relating to Gdańsk. It was during this time that work on the cataloguing of incunabula began.

The post-war history of the Library noted yet another change. In 1945 the library directorship was taken by Dr Marian Pelczar, who was appointed to that role by the Polish authorities, and who in June 1946, ceremonially reopened the library.

Currently the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences carries out documentation and bibliographic work in relation to its own collection. It also publishes catalogues of its most valuable manuscripts, including incunabula, as well as its

own library periodical *Libri Gedanenses*. What is more, the library organises and hosts exhibitions, as well as academic and school conferences. The library focuses in particular, however, on safeguarding its cultural inheritance through archiving and digitising the most valuable parts of its collection, as well as carrying out conservation work.

At the end of 2003 the library had in its possession over 700,000 volumes, 150,000 of which were part of its special collections department. The most valuable collection to be found here is that of the eighth largest set of incunabula in Poland, amounting to 833 items (663 entries).¹ Helena Jędrzejowska and Maria Pelczarowa have edited these books, 770 titles in all, in the *Katalog inkunabułów Biblioteki Miejskiej w Gdańsku* [Catalogue of Incunabula of the Municipal Library of Gdańsk], parts 1-2.² The remaining 56 incunabula, which came to Gdansk Library after 1970 through post-war retrievals and purchases have already been catalogued and are being prepared for publication.

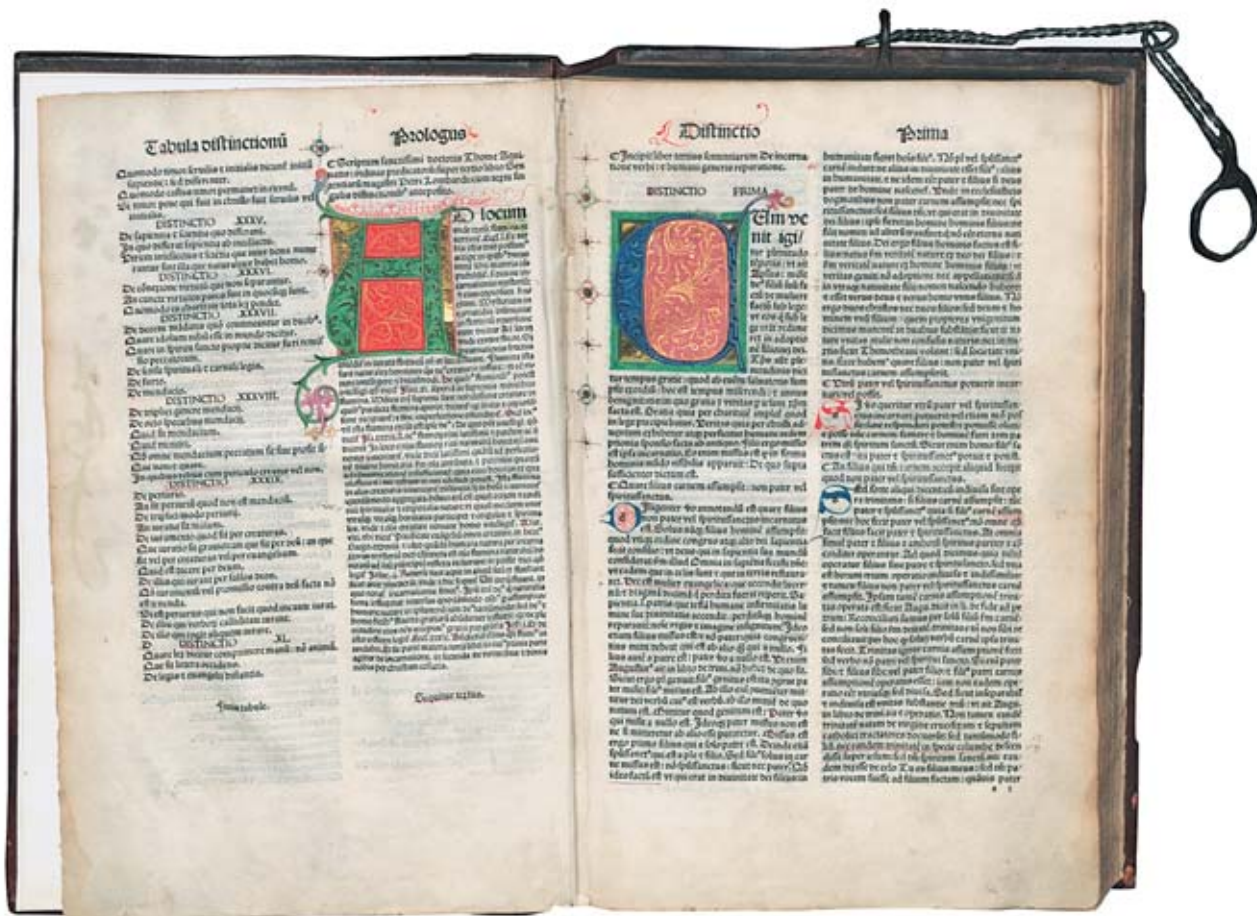
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The incunabula from the Gdańsk Library come from 188 European workshops, primarily from Germany and Italy. France, Switzerland and the Netherlands are represented in smaller numbers. Only single copies represent English (Oxford) and Swedish (Gripsholm) typography. It is obvious, therefore, that the Gdańsk Library possesses priceless works which have been executed by the most renowned exponents of 15th century printing – Husner, Flach, Prüss, Grüninger – these were the most representative names from amongst the 15th century Gdańsk printed books. There is also quite a substantial group of works from the printing shop of Koberger. From among the Venetian printers there are Manutius, Locatellus, and de Tortis, whereas the Roman books were the work of names such as Schurener, Planck, Bulle, Servius and Lauer, books from Basel by Amerbach and Kessler, and Dutch works by Paffraet, among others.

Almost half of these texts concern theological subjects in one form or other. We have here



The Bible in German, Nürnberg, Anton Koberger, [17 II] 1483



Thomas de Aquino s., *Super tertio Sententiarum*, Venezia, Herm. Lichtenstein, 26 IV 1490



Thomas de Aquino s., *Super tertio Sententiarum*, stamped leather binding from the first Gdańsk workshop, 15th c.



Petrus Lombardus, *Sententiarum libri IV* stamped leather binding from the third Gdańsk workshop, 15th/16th c.

countless Latin and German language biblical texts, opulently illustrated and decorated, as well as biblical commentaries, sermons or theoretical discourses, those of Thomas Aquinas, Albert the Great or Jean Gerson, or the *Sententiarum libri IV* of Peter Lombard. The remaining three branches of mediaeval learning, philosophy, medicine and law are also represented in the Gdańsk incunabula collection. Law is covered primarily by the *corpus iuris civilis* as well as the Gratian manuscript, given over to church law. There are also many texts relating to philosophy, which at the time incorporated a numerous fields of enquiry; and so not only metaphysics, but also, in accordance with the intentions of Aristotle, subjects such as mathematics and physics. Aside from works by the same philosopher, coupled with countless commentaries, we also find a treatise along the lines of *Compendium mathematicum* by Nicolo Orbellis. Medicine, the fourth branch of mediaeval study, was not overlooked by collectors either, and is to be found among the prints. The works of Galena and Avicenna are of course canonical works, and so it is hardly surprising that they are to be found in Gdansk Library's collection. Alongside these are Arnoldus de Villa Nova's *Speculum medicinae*, or Valescus de Taranta's *Cheirurgicum*, which enjoyed much popularity in the 16th century.

In the Gdańsk collection there are also precious publications on logic such as *Summulae logicales*⁴ by Pope John XXI (Petrus Hispanus), as well as historical texts, like the famous beautifully illustrated chronicle by Schedel (in Latin and German versions)⁵ or Werner Rolewinck's *Fasciculus temporum*.⁶ The works of Petrarch, Boccaccio, Poggio Bracciolini and Philelphus complete this picture of universality.

Polonica are also to be found among the Gdańsk incunabula. From the typographic perspective we should mention here the incunabula of two workshops – from Gdańsk that of Konrad Baumgart and from Wrocław that of Kaspar Elyan. The first one is of special importance to Gdańsk due to the fact that the book dates to 1498, and, in actual fact, a small part of it is the oldest example of printing for the city. It is the *Ars minor* of Donatus Aelius⁷, a popular grammar handbook at the time.

From the Wrocław printing press of Elyan that reached the Gdańsk library, there is the *Confessionale* penned by Antoninus Florentinus⁸ and

published around 1475, as well as the *Confessionale* of Thomas Aquinas⁹, the print of which is dated to the same period. The remaining Polish works are breviaries, missals designated for various Polish diocese, for example, the *Missale Warmiense*¹⁰, published in 1497 by Dumbach in Strasbourg as well as the *Missale Gnesnense et Cracoviense*¹¹, printed in the workshop of Peter Schöffler in 1492.

The provenance of the Gdańsk incunabula is also an interesting issue. As with the majority of collections of this type, the Gdańsk collection began with the gathering of objects from church, monastic and private collections. We have already mentioned the bequest of Bernardo Bonifacio. In turn, the Franciscan order was forced to relinquish a large number of prints to the municipal council in 1556. The library, however, was set up mainly for the needs of the Protestant school and for this reason these prints were considered to be of little value. Consequently, they were neglected and fell into partial disarray. However, what remains of the collection does still bear identifiable features, and can therefore be traced back to Franciscan collection.

From among other monasteries, whose library collections were absorbed by the collection of the today's Gdańsk Library, one should mention Cistercians of Oliwa. Their collection, amounting to tens of items, first came into the possession of bibliophile Adolf Mundt, and eventually found their way to the Gdańsk Library in 1900. Five incunabula in the Gdańsk collection come from the Carmelite convent, four from the convent of St. Bridget, and one was the property of the prior of the Gdańsk Dominican order. The Gdańsk collection also holds the oldest prints from monasteries outside of the city: e.g. the Cistercians of Peplin, the Carthusians of Kartuzy, the Bernardines of Żalew, or the Benedictines of Żarnowiec.

A number of the Gdańsk incunabula belonged at one time to three of Gdańsk's churches, the Church of St. Peter and Paul's, the Church of Our Blessed Lady and St John's Church. The collection from the Church of St. Peter and Paul's was added to the collection of Danziger Stadtbibliothek in 1872, which included books of the church's parish priests – Walter of Chojnica and Segher, as well as prints that had earlier belonged to the clergy of the Church of Our Blessed Lady – Lehman and Westfal.

The collection of the Church of Our Blessed Lady, built up by the parish priest, father Andreas Slommow (later to be placed under the care of Kalow and Schwichtenberg), was deposited in the Gdańsk Library in 1912. Within this collection were the books of curates Bilow, Lehmann, Pankraz Klemme, and the pastor, Karl Beniamin Lengnich.

From among the private patrons, it is important to mention Adolf Mundt, a pastor and great lover of books, who gave to the library a large collection of incunabula, bought mostly at auctions with their auction mark remaining, indicating not only the passion of the collector but also his expertise when it came to heritage books. A certain quantity of the incunabula from the Gdańsk collection came from the private library of Johan Uphagen, an advocate, historian and collector of books, who bequeathed 12,000 volumes to the municipal library in 1879. Many other incunabula from the Gdańsk collection came from private collectors, both within Poland and Europe.

A separate issue when describing 15th century prints from the Gdańsk library is the question of the bindings. The pioneer in this area of research was Otto Günter, from 1896 the director of the Gdańsk Library.¹² Later observations confirmed his theory that the Gdańsk bindings share a number of common features, which allow for the distinguishing of three groups, each of which originated from one of the printing presses operating in the Gdańsk area. The type of cylinders used for gilding, laying out patterns, and the gradual improvement in the ornamentation, also indicate the period during which the printing presses produced these works. This was probably in the 1460s (the so-called first workshop), the 1480s (the second workshop), the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th (the third workshop). Of course this theory is not watertight, as there are bindings which cannot be linked to any of the three workshops, whereas on some of them there is a mixture of ornamentation from different workshops. The covers from the Gdańsk collection of incunabula have generally been preserved in good condition. Individual incunabula may differ, however, since before the war they were given completely new cardboard covers.

As mentioned above, the incunabula collection of the Gdańsk library was Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences gradually enriched after the catalogue had been prepared. Therefore we

should speak some more about those 15th century prints which were added to the collection later, and which, as mentioned earlier, will soon have their own separate catalogue.

From among 56 incunabula in question, 49 are new entries, and are therefore not mentioned in part I or II of the catalogue of Helena Jędrzejowska and Maria Pelczarowa. Seven items have been noted, however, such as *Missale dominorum Teutonicorum*. Nurnberg Georg Stuchs 1499.¹³ The library came into possession of four copies of the missal with both a different provenance and different individual characteristics.



Digestum infortiatum cum glossa ordinaria Accursi et summaris Hieronymi Clarii. Venezia, Baptista de Tortis, 4 XI 1495

From among the catalogued 15th century prints, those representing workshops from German towns are the largest in number (22 prints), and amongst these the Nürnberg workshop of Koberger is the most popular. Italian incunabula, 17 copies in total, come from Venice (9), Rome (5) Perugia (2) and Bologna (1). Basel has been represented by eight prints from three different printing houses. Six prints come from Strasburg; two of the 15th century prints come from the Louvain workshop

and one from Vienna. All this shows that the incunabula collection of the Gdańsk Library is primarily focused on the German-speaking areas of Europe.

When taking into consideration the thematic structure of prints, the legal works constitute a large part of the collection (17 prints): collections of decrees with commentaries as well as juridical dictionaries. For example, Gratian's decrees, the decrees of Pope Gregory IX, or the commentaries of famous judges such as Bartolomaeus Cepolla of Padua or Baldus of Perugia.

Aside from these, the remaining prints can be put under the umbrella of theological and devotional literature. Thus we can find here works of the following theologians: Thomas Aquinas or Jean Gerson, as well as collections of sermons, two Bibles (one German and one Latin), a Psalter, a breviary and missals.

The Library is also in the possession of philosophical works on logic, i.e. *Summule logicales* by Petrus Hispanus of Spain, medical works, to take Hippocrates' work on insomnia¹⁴ as an example, geographical works and literary pieces: *Satires* by Juvenal,¹⁵ or the famous *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine.¹⁶

The timeframe for the printing of the volumes from the collection under discussion can be dated between 1467 and 1501. These dates can be found on the following prints:

- Rabanus Maurus, *De sermonum proprietate, sive Opus de universo, Strasburg A. Rusch 1467* (this volume is at the same time the oldest print in the Gdańsk collection).¹⁷
- Paulus Wann, *Sermones de praeservatione hominis a peccato, seu Quadragesimale, Munchen, Io. Schobsser [c. 1501]*.¹⁸

Here we should add that two of the prints from amongst the 56 prints to be catalogued have been identified as 16th century prints. These are:

- Baldus de Perusio, *Opus aureum utriusque iuris ... super feudis, cum additionibus Andreae Barbacia, Lyon 1502*.
- Bartholomaeus Socinus, Marianus Socinus, *Consilia Delphica Responsa cum tabula Francisci Pepi, Tridinum 1508*.

In the catalogued group of incunabula under discussion there are no typographical *Polonica*. There are, however, four prints related to Poland:

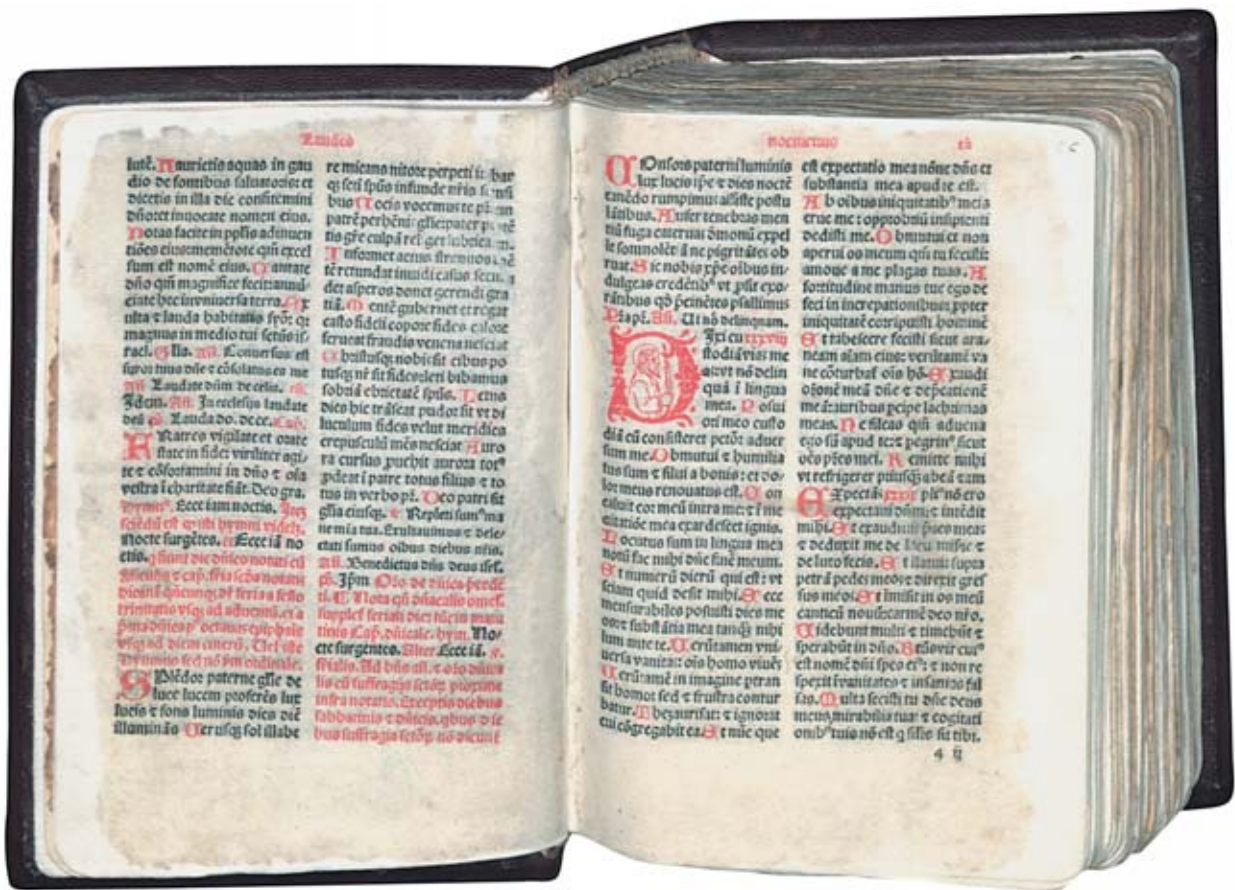
- *De sacramentis* by a Warsaw canon, Mikołaj from Błonie, published in Strasburg by Flach in 1499.

- *Missale Gnesnense et Cracoviense*, the so-called B variant. It is a missal published in 1492 by Schöffler in Mainz as the so-called *missale ubique deserviens*. A part of its print-run was intended above all for the Cracow-Gniezno diocese. Those copies received a new, pasted-in colophon. It is of interest that in spite of this change, a 15th century reader of the missal added a handwritten inscription at the top edge, reading *Missale ubique deserviens*.
- *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis*, by Peregryn from Opole, a Dominican, published in Strasburg by Pruess in 1493.¹⁹
- *Breviarium Plocense*. It is the only copy of this breviary preserved in Poland. The *Central Catalogue of Incunabula* mentions it in volume II as belonging to Gdańsk Library. At the same time it is known that before World War II another copy of this breviary was preserved in the National Library in Warsaw. The Gdańsk copy contains a stonemason's mark of the Church of St. Mary in Gdańsk, which allows for the tracing of its provenance – it has also come to be seen as something of cultural compensation for losses incurred during the war. *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* notes one other copy of this breviary in European libraries.

We should also add that four of the incunabula mentioned here are the only examples of such prints in Poland, these are legal documents:

- Bartholomaeus Cepolla, *Cautellae, [Perugia, Petr. de Colonia et Io. de Bambergae c. 1473/4]*.²⁰
- Alexander Tartagnus de Imola, *Consilia, Bologna, Franc. Plato de Benedictis 1490*.²¹
- Ioannes Christoph. Porchus, *Lectura super libro I-III Institutionum, Venezia, Benalius 1498*.²²
- Ioannes Runcinus Faber, *Commentarius in Institutiones, Venezia, Stagninus 1499*.²³

All such examples of catalogued prints differ from each other in their individual traits: content, covers, as well as their aesthetic ornamentation in the form of initials, etchings, and rubrics. What is more, the existence of any hand-written notes or marginal glosses made in the space of the given volumes was noted in the catalogue, citing content where necessary. And so, for example, we may find texts of private prayers written on the margins of missals, or occasional prayers, e.g. for



Breviarium Plocense, Venezia, Io. Hamman, 31 VII 1498

a pregnant woman. There are also more extensive notes, made generally on the front-paper of the print, i.e. concerning provenance, as in the case of the Gniezno-Cracow missal.

This group of incunabula amounts to nothing unique when it comes to the aesthetic ornamentation of the print. Modest, rather simple initials are maintained in the convention of a red and deep blue design. Coloured woodcuts can only be found in one of the incunabula.

All of this suggests the very practical nature of books themselves. Pragmatism, treating the book as a utilitarian object, can be seen in solid and simple covers, which have fulfilled their function brilliantly through the centuries. Most of the preserved covers come from the 15th century and a number of them from the 16th. On one of the covers of the Gdansk collection is an exception to the bookbinding production typical of the time. It is a cut cover, a so-called *Lederschmitte*, which protects the print of the Plock breviary. It presents a motif of a floral runner as well as an imaginary animal reminding us of a snake with a crown in

a dotted background. Its origins are unknown, though in Poland cut covers were produced in Silesia.

One of the 16th century covers also provides an interesting example of ornamentation; it is the cover to the print of the German chronicle of Schedel. The gilding imprint technique on the bottom edge of the top cover features a hunt scene, where beside two men with spears there runs a woman with a child and a dog. Worthy of mention are also those covers from a Gdansk workshop that used to belong to Walter of Chojnica, encrusted in his characteristic armorial binding stamp presenting the head of a black man in an oval frame.

Also on a book that was once the property of the Mayor of Gdansk, Johann Speimann, there is a gilded armorial binding stamp, impressive in relation to the quarto format of the print, which is imprinted again on the original, carelessly executed cover imprint.

Some 15th century prints that used to belong to the Gdansk churches and religious people also constitute a part of the collection. Yet, tracing

ownership often proves impossible. The city's laity, such as clerks, scholars, and burghers, were the owners of prints. We can also point out three institutions, the Duisburg Academy, established by a Catholic prince from the von Cleve family, which however did not start functioning until 1655 – but was a Calvinist Academy at the time; Collegium Moguntinum – a Jesuit gymnasium of academic standing, as well as the Kwidzyń Gymnasium.

The largest collection of the same provenance is the collection of prints that come from the collection of St John's church. The beginnings of that library collection may have been a gift from a part of the private collection of Nicholas Swichtenberg, who in the years 1474-1509 was parish priest. In the second half of the 17th century a library fund was established from the testament of Zacharias Zappio, and in 1689 a fund act was signed. In 1945 a Lutheran district handed over this collection in perpetuity to the Gdańsk Library. It is known that with the evacuation only a few of the incunabula from that collection were saved, and out of these only five copies were included in the collection given in perpetuity to the library. As the authors of the Gdańsk incunabula catalogue state, only a few of the 16 incunabula belonging St John's church collection have been preserved and catalogued.

Currently a further 23 copies of incunabula have been found, which can be identified as those

coming from the Zappio-Johannitan collection. Some of them bear the bookplate of that library. Others can be classified to that collection on the basis of preserved catalogues from that library, in which the 15th century prints that have come to the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences are listed. Of course, as the descriptions for catalogue of St John's Church are quite imprecise, not to mention the circumstances by which they came to be part of the collection, we may only presume that these are the same volumes.

Presented here has been a short summary of the work undertaken on the cataloguing of the collection of 15th century prints. Sadly, it provides only a basic idea of the typographical and contextual richness of the material involved. The Gdańsk collection is nothing exceptional when compared to other collections of a similar character. Today there are fewer and fewer incunabula that have not been catalogued. Undoubtedly, though, this collection is not only a treasure-trove of the earliest achievements of printing, but it also supplies us with a link to the historical events that influenced the establishment and development of printing. It is the historical value of this collection that gives it an individual and unique character. And so it is not only a museum collection, but also a collection that is waiting to give up its secrets to scholarship.

Notes:

1. Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, Maria Bohonos, Eliza Szandorowska, *Incunabula quae in bibliothecis Poloniae asservantur*, vol. I, Wrocław, 1970, p. XXIX.
2. Helena Jędrzejowska, Maria Pelczarowa, *Katalog inkunabulów Biblioteki Miejskiej w Gdańsku* [Catalogue of Incunables of the Municipal Library of Gdańsk], Gdańsk, 1954 (vol. I); *Katalog inkunabulów Biblioteki Gdańskiej Polskiej Akademii Nauk* [Catalogue of Incunables of the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences], Gdańsk, 1967 (vol. II).
3. IBP 4336, HC* 10190; IBP 4342, HC* 10195; IBP 4343, H* 10196; IBP 4338, HC*3540.
4. IBP 5896.
5. IBP 4941, HC* 14508; IBP 4944, H* 14511; IBP 4943, H*14510.
6. IBP 4788, H*6925; IBP 4790, HC*6929; IBP 4794, HC*6932; IBP 4797, HC* 6936; IBP 4799, HC*6915; IBP 4800, HC* 6916; IBP 4803, HC* 6940.
7. IBP 1967.
8. IBP 394, GW 2093.
9. IBP 5236.
10. IBP 3784, C 4266.
11. IBP 3775, C 4131.
12. Otto Günther, 'Einleitung' in *Katalog der Danziger Stadtbibliothek*, vol. 5, Gdańsk, 1921.
13. IBP 3800, C 4124=4242.
14. IBP 2820, HR 8671(II 190)=HC* 3779.
15. IBP 3318, HC*9704.
16. IBP 2978, C 6399; IBP 2980; IBP 2991, R 1109; IBP 2996, C 6430; IBP 2999, C 6444; IBP 3006, CR 6458; IBP 3008, C 6466; IBP 3009, C 6468; IBP 3013, HC* 9968; IBP 3015, H 9992.
17. IBP 4657, HC* 13669.
18. IBP 5524, HC* 16148.
19. IBP 4242, HC* 12585.
20. IBP 5834, GW 6474.
21. IBP 5962, H 15263+ HR 15268.
22. IBP 5936, HR 13294 (III156).
23. IBP 5861, GW 9633.

Translated by Barry Keane

Foreign Collections In Poland: A Historical Overview

Mirosława Zygmunt

Persica: A Brief History of Polish-Persian Relations through Documents from the National Library

Abstract The author describes the vicissitudes of Polish-Persian contacts as recorded in documents from the National Library in Warsaw. Among the works discussed are travel accounts, memoirs, translations of literary works, studies on the language and culture of Persia and Iran, and early prints.

From the 10th century onwards, Polish merchants, travellers and adventurers joined Jewish caravans and Arab traders moving across Poland, and eventually reached the Near- and Middle East, Mongolian territories, China and India. As pilgrims or crusaders they travelled in Palestine, Syria and Egypt. Poland was also a corridor for eastward-bound missionaries and envoys of the Holy See.

In the 14th century the world of Islam fell under the domination of Ottoman Turks, who after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 emerged as a military power capable of posing a serious threat to Christian Europe.

Accession to the Persian throne by the Safavid Dynasty in 1502 and the establishment of Shiite Islam as a state religion raised hopes in European countries that Persia might be induced to participate in a joint campaign against Sunnite Turkey – here the search for a safe land route to the Far East was not a negligible factor. The new shah, Abbas I The Great, who extended the system of defence against robbers preying on the caravan trade routes, allowed thousands of Armenians (the victims of religious persecution) to settle in Persia, a move which led to the establishment of Catholic missionaries.

The journeys were also westbound: the mid-15th century chronicle of Jan Długosz, for example, mentions the first envoys of the Persian shah Uzum Hassan to Poland. The legation then continued on to Venice, which was engaged at the time in the formation of an anti-Turkish coalition.

The crusades, along with the comings and goings of merchants, diplomats and missionaries, enhanced the interest of Europeans in the langua-

ges, philosophy and literature of the East. As Barbara Majewska states, ‘The 12th century was (...) a turning point to some extent, giving rise to thematic divisions in the types of writing and literature associated with the Muslim East: scientific literature (natural sciences and philosophy); political and religious texts with a polemical intent; travellers’ accounts (peregrinations and legations), as well as historiography and descriptions of the political events of the time; literary works about the struggle between the Muslim and the Christian world; translations and adaptations of oriental, chiefly popular, fiction; and literary prose and poetry, in which oriental motifs, stories and forms are used’.¹ Eastern learning began to reach Poland in the 13th century, chiefly through Latin translations; and through literary works from the 15th century onwards, also mostly by means of Western-European adaptations. And obviously, information about the East (both Persian and Turkish-Tartar) could also be gleaned from the accounts of Polish travellers and diplomatic envoys.

The collection of documents concerning Persia held at the National Library largely represents the nature and quality of Polish relations with the East from the Middle Ages to the present day. The collection covers Persian works, in translation and in the original, accounts by Western and – in particular – Polish travellers (though only a few of the latter have survived).

The travel account is *Relacya (...) obywatela warszawskiego od Zygmunta III, króla polskiego, do sprawowania rzeczy wysłanego w Persyi w roku 1602...* [Account (...) by a Warsaw Citizen Sent by Sigismund III, the Polish King,

to Handle Matters in Persia in 1602...] by Sefer Muratowicz, an Armenian merchant and supplier to the royal court. As Jan Reychman writes, 'He did not officially set out as a diplomatic envoy, but his mission, camouflaged as a regular business trip, was designed to explore the possibility of strengthening diplomatic ties with Iran – not only by Poland, but also by the Roman curia. His task, directly related to examining the situation in Iran and studying its military power, was part of a larger diplomatic project aimed at inducing Iran to participate in an anti-Turkish coalition'.²

After a voyage that took him through Wallachia, Erzerum, Kashan and Isfahan, Muratowicz finally arrived at the court of Shah Abbas I, who presented him with a declaration of friendship addressed to the Polish monarch. The commercial aims of the journey were not forgotten, however, and so Muratowicz acquired for the royal court in Poland carpets embroidered with gold and silk (ordered in Kashan), precious stones, weapons and tents. His *Relacya...* survived until our times only as an extract recorded in the 18th century and added to *Otia Domestica*, a work by Kazimierz Ignacy Niesiołowski published in 1743.³ The National Library's collection contains an edition of the *Relacya...* which was republished in 1777 by Józef E. Minasowicz from a manuscript donated (before 1757) by Niesiołowski to another Polish traveller – a Jesuit, Tadeusz Krusiński (shelfmarks BN. XVIII.1.828 adl.; BN XVIII.1.6989; (1777)).

A copy of the latter edition was also kept at the library of King Stanisław August Poniatowski. It can be currently found at the Ukraine National Library in Kiev (shelfmark XXXIII.K.8 Reg. X, 810a).

A more recent part of the National Library collection, on the other hand, contains an edition of the *Relacya...* of 1807⁴ and a contemporary one, dated 1980.⁵ In the introduction to the later edition, Adam Walaszek provides the following commentary to Muratowicz's account: 'The text is not only worth recalling as the first account of a trip to Persia by a Polish memoirist. It also represents a significant source of information on customs in the capital of the land of the lion' and on the artistic weaving industry.⁶

Upon his return from Isfahan, King Sigismund III Vasa conferred on Muratowicz the title of 'servitor ac negotiator', excluding him from the jurisdiction of ordinary courts. In addition, Muratowicz

was made the exclusive purveyor of oriental goods to the royal court.

Muratowicz's expedition was the first of a series of political-diplomatic missions to and from Persia. In 1605, after the end of the Turkish-Persian war, the Polish capital hosted a legation headed by Mehdi Kuli ben Turkman, the aim of which was to bring together Persia, Poland and other European countries in an anti-Turkish alliance. In 1609, another group of envoys, this time headed by an Englishman, Robert Sherley, appeared before the Polish parliament (the Sejm) in Warsaw and in Cracow. Plans for joint action against the Turks are referred to in a poem by Wawrzyniec Chlebowski *Trąba pobudki ziemie perskey do wszystkich narodów chrześciańskich przeciw Mochametanom* [!] [Reveille Trumpet in the Persian Land to All Christian Nations Rising Against the Muslims], Cracow, 1608, available at the National Library in microfilm.

Due to ongoing peace negotiations with Turkey in Istanbul, Sigismund III Vasa did not assume the role proposed by the Persians. In spite of this, he continued to receive Persian delegations and envoys on their way to the West of Europe. The letters brought to the Polish king have been partially preserved in the Central Archives of Historical Records (AGAD) in Warsaw.

The first half of the 17th century, with its recurrent plans for establishing an anti-Turkish league, witnessed the attempts of several subsequent Polish kings to develop closer ties with Persia. In 1639, at the behest of King Ladislas IV Vasa, Teofil Szemberg, a German-born artillery general in the service of Poland, went to Isfahan with the aim of 're-establishing an old friendship and ensuring the Shah's care over Catholic missions in Persia'.⁷

Between 1641-1644 a Persian named Mirza Musa beg travelled with a mission from Shah Abbas II to the Polish king, and in 1647 Ladislas IV sent a Polish nobleman, Michał Ilnicz, on a diplomatic mission to Isfahan. For the most part, Polish diplomatic efforts did not bring the expected results, but they did contribute, however, to invigorating trade relations and to securing the activities of missionaries.

The first group of missionaries to include Poles was from the order of the Barefooted Carmelites, who were sent to Persia in 1604 by Pope Clement VIII. As can be inferred from

the documents held at the Jesuit archives in Rome (Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu), between 1627 and 1723, 114 Polish Jesuits expressed their desire to take part in missions to Persia. In 1646, with the financial assistance of Louise Marie, the wife of king Ladislas IV, the first missionary post was established by French Jesuits at Isfahan. One year later the Persian shah granted Polish Jesuits – who for the next century and a half would operate under the patronage of the Polish royal household – leave to extend their care to the entire Christian population in Persia, particularly the Armenians.

The relations between both countries intensified towards the end of the reign of king John II Casimir Vasa (1648-1668) and under king Michael Korybut Wiśniowiecki (1669-1673). Bohdan Grudziecki, a Georgian in service to Poland, made frequent diplomatic trips to Persia, on which he obtained, among other things, guarantees upholding earlier privileges for missionaries. Grudziecki remained in Polish diplomatic service during the reign of king John III Sobieski (1674-1692), and was responsible for informing shah Suleiman about the victory of the Christian forces at Vienna (1683).

The plans to create a Holy League against Turkey involved Poland having to develop deeper relations with Persia. The next envoy of the king of Poland to Persia in July 1685 – in the capacity of extraordinary and plenipotentiary legate – was an Armenian, Konstanty de Siri Zgórski. The story of a part of this trip is recorded by Philippe Avril, a French Jesuit. Avril was travelling overland to China, and joined Count de Siri's retinue after the Russian tsar had refused to grant him permission to pass through Siberia. As a plenipotentiary of Louis XIV, Avril managed to secure for the Polish envoy the full power to act as plenipotentiary of the French monarch, the Roman curia, the Emperor of Germany, and the Doge of Venice. Avril's memoirs were published in Poland only in 1791 in a translation by Rev. Remigiusz Ładowski, dedicated to Stanisław Jabłonowski and entitled *Podróż do różnych krajów Europy i Azji przez misyonarzy S.J. w roku 1690 odprawiona końcem odkrycia nowej drogi do Chin...* [A Journey Made to Various Countries of Europe and Asia by the Missionaries of S.J. Made in 1690, its Aim Being the Discovery of a New Road to China...], Warszawa 1791. This account, available at the National Library (shelfmarks BN XVIII.1.4097, BN XVIII.1.6774), provides the

following assessment of the Polish king's envoy: 'Though Count de Siri was not above acting from motives of personal profit whilst serving as the royal envoy, his efforts in upholding the interests of Religion and of His Highness in addition to his own are, I must admit, entirely to his credit'.⁸

As the delegation, headed by Count de Siri failed to encourage 'the inert shah Suleiman'⁹ to join the anti-Turkish coalition, in 1690 the position of ambassador to the shah's court fell to Ignacy Zapolski, a Jesuit and an expert in the politics of the region. Together with father Jan Gostkowski, Zapolski began work on establishing a permanent Polish missionary outpost in Persia. These goals were accomplished in 1691, when in recognition of their diplomatic activity king John III Sobieski ordered the founding of an outpost for Polish and French missionaries at Shemakha near Baku. In 1700, Zapolski received credentials from king Augustus II as a diplomat-in-residence of the Polish Commonwealth; at the same time the king turned the city of Gandja – where Zapolski with the consent of shah Hussein had set up a new missionary station – into the permanent residence of the Polish legation.

In the following years, due to the ongoing Northern War, a shortage of funds, the increasing weakness of the Polish diplomatic service and a less immediate threat from Turkey in the wake of the Karłowice peace treaty (1699), 'the entire responsibility for maintaining waning Polish-Iranian relations'¹⁰ was taken over by Jesuit missionaries.

The Polish representative to Persia between 1715-1720 was a Jesuit, Ignacy Wiczorkowski, whereas the person with the greatest abilities in the area of bilateral relations at that time was Tadeusz Juda Krusiński, a Jesuit fluent in nine Oriental languages and gifted with 'practical medical knowledge, which was one of the chief sources of income for missionary outposts'.¹¹ Krusiński spent nearly 25 years in Persia, serving the Polish Commonwealth and fulfilling on behalf of the Holy See the function of 'procurator of the bishop of Isfahan, whose aim was to defend the Catholic mission in Persia at the court of the shah'.¹²

Krusiński served the Persian court as a *dragoman* (translator) of official documents referring to relations of Persia with European countries. His considerable knowledge of political relations in

the Near East and of Polish-Persian relations bore fruit in the form of works which, according to one Polish scholar, 'have maintained their value until today, and had been a major source of information about the history of Iran for a long period of time'.¹³

On returning in 1726 to Rome, Krusiński wrote *Relation de mutationibus Regni Persarum*, a work presenting the final years of the dynasty of the Saphanides, the conquest of Persia by Afghans and the first years of their rule (1711-1725). The *Relation...*, published for the first time in Paris in 1728, was reissued under various titles in a number of European countries over the next several years, and even 'became the subject of numerous alterations and plagiarisms'.¹⁴ Back in Poland, Krusiński published the extensive *Prodromus ad Tragicam vertentis belli Persici Historiam seu Legationis a Fulgida Porta ad Sophorum Regem Szah Sultan Hussein A. 1729 expeditae...* (Leopoli, 1734; shelfmark BN XVIII.2.1462, W.11872), containing a translation from a Turkish report by Durri Effendi (an envoy of sultan Achmed III to the Persian shah Hussein in 1720) and supplemented by authorial glosses, an essay on Polish-Persian legations and a plan for a new work – an expanded version of the *Relatio...* The latter was published together with *Prodromus* under the title of *Tragicas vertentis bellis Persici historia per repetitas clades ab anno 1711 ad annum 1728vum* (Leopoli 1740; shelfmark BN XVIII.3.1246, XVII.3.2312).

Both these works, present in the collections of the National Library, come complete with a microfilm of another work by Krusiński, published from a manuscript entitled *Pragmatographia de legitimo usu ambrosyi tureckiey to iest Opisanie sposobu nalezytego zażywania kawy tureckiey* [Pragmatographia de legitimo usu of Turkish Ambrosia that is a Description of the Right Way to Use Turkish Coffee...] (Warszawa 1769). The microfilm was made from a copy held at the Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Kórnik.

In 1748 Krusiński donated his collection of oriental manuscripts to the Załuski Library. Two of these, *Tragica belli Aghuanico-Persici historia*¹⁵ and *Pragmatographia*¹⁶ were found among the group of items restored to Poland by Russia in the 1920s; none of them, however, survived the Second World War.

Krusiński returned to Poland in 1728. In later years the Polish missionary outpost fell into decline and Catholicism in Persia under the rule of shah Nadir (1736-47) was on the verge of extinction, yet the official Polish-Persian contacts actually came to an end when Poland was partitioned and ceased to exist as a sovereign state (1795).

Although relations with the East definitely had an impact on the cultural attitudes of the Polish nobility in the 17th and 18th century, '(...) Polish Orientalism manifested itself, basically in the same way as in the West, through customs, attire, decorative elements, military accessories, and even architecture'.¹⁷ Goods imported from Persia were such a tremendous success that special factories known as *persjarnie* starting turning out their replicas. Scholars, however, unanimously agree that 'the establishment of closer ties between Poland and Persia did not coincide with a surge of interest in a presumed ally',¹⁸ and 'the knowledge of the Persian language among Poles was unfortunately very small and nowhere near the knowledge of Turkish'.¹⁹ The latter incidentally explains the presence of so many foreigners among Polish diplomats. For this reason, the first attempts at lexicography and translation are all the more noteworthy.

The National Library possesses three works by Franciszek Mesgnien-Meniński (1620-1698), a Frenchman by birth and a resident of many years in Poland and in Turkey (also in an official capacity). Of these works, two are dictionaries of Turkish, which also comprise elements of Persian and Arabic: *Complementum thesauri linguarum orientalium, seu onomasticum latino-turcico-arabico-persicum...* (Vindobonae, 1687; BN XVII.4.1187) and the monumental *Thesaurus linguarum orientalium, turcicae, arabicae, persicae...* (Vindobonne, 1680; shelfmark BN XVII.4.1179 I-II), the third is a grammar book, *Institutiones linguae turcicae, cum rudimentis parallelis linguarum arabicae et persicae...* (Vindobonae, 1756; shelfmark BN XVIII.2.4005 I-II).

The first attempt to translate Persian literature into Polish was probably made between 1620 and 1640 by Samuel Otwinowski, an orientalist, and a translator at the crown chancellery. The work he chose was one the greatest masterpieces of Persian literature, *Gulistan* [The Rose Garden] by Saadi from Syrah, a Persian poet of the 13th century. The source for Otwinowski's translation

was probably Turkish. A copy of the autograph of the translation was discovered (around 1842) by the Polish novelist Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, and published as the fourth volume of the Krasieński Estate Library as *Perska księga na polski język przełożona od Jmci Pana Samuela Otwinowskiego, Sekretarza J. Kr. Mci nazwana Gulistan to jest Ogród Różany* [A Persian Book translated into Polish language by the Honourable Samuel Otwinowski, His Majesty's Secretary, Named Gulistan that is the Rose Garden], Warsaw, 1879. This edition is currently in the collection of the National Library.

Three years earlier, in 1876, the Kórnik Library published a contemporary translation of *Gulistan* by Wojciech Kazimirski-Bibersztejn, an orientalist (awarded the Persian Order of the Sun), lexicographer and the author of many works on topics related to Persia. His rendering, entitled *Gulistan to jest Ogród Różany S'adege z Szyrazu* [Gulistan that is the Rose Garden by S'adi of Syraz], is regarded by most scholars as artistically inferior to Otwinowski's translation. The National Library holds a copy of Kazimirski's translation in a beautiful binding.

Saadi's 13th century masterpiece was also translated in the mid-17th century into French, Latin and German. The National Library collection also contains a German translation by Adam Olearius (Olschläger), decorated with lithographs and entitled *Persianischer Rosenthal. In welchem viel lustige Historien... Vor 400 Jahren... in Persischer Sprach beschrieben...* (Schlesswig 1654; shelfmark BN XVII.4.10555; BN XVII.4.9613 adl.). Olschläger, a German traveller and cartographer, took part in 1633-35 and 1635-39 in two missions sent to Russia and Persia by the Duke of Holstein and Schlesswig. He published his observations from those trips in *Vermehrte Neue Beschreibung der Muscovitischen und Persischen Reyse...*, a richly illustrated 1656 edition which is held at the National Library (shelfmark BN XVII.4.3283).

A 17th century Polish reader looking to increase his or her knowledge of other countries could draw on an Italian work popular at that time, Jan Boter Benesius's *Relazioni universali*, which became a bestseller in the Polish edition. The *Relazioni...* were published in Cracow in 1609 and 1613 under the title of *Relatiae powszechnie abo nowiny pospolite...* [Universal Accounts or General

News...], and in 1659 as *Theatrum swiata wszytkiego* [The Theatre of the Whole World]. The Department of Early Printed Books of the National Library has a complete set of all editions of Benesius's work. In each of them 20 pages are devoted to a description of Persia and its individual provinces.

This gap in the knowledge on the countries of the East was also filled, though hardly to a significant degree, by a booklet penned by Mikołaj Wolski, *Mowa... Zawierająca Uwagi nad Pierwiastkowemi Dzieiami Swiata, nad dawnym Egypcem, nad Assyryą, Medami y Persami* [A Speech... Containing Remarks on Elementary World History, on Ancient Egypt, Assyria, the Medians and Persians] (Vilnius, 1784), which provided succinct information on several rulers of the East (shelfmark BN XVIII.1.312).

Two works by Persian authors were of considerable importance for the growth of learning in Europe, also in Poland, from the 12th century onwards. The first was Abu Ali Ibn Sina, known as Avicenna – the author, apart from works on natural sciences and philosophy, of 'The Canon of Medicine', which was the fundamental source of medical knowledge at universities, also in Poland, from the 14th until the end of the 18th century. Its first Latin translation, *Canon medicinae libri V*, was published in print in Milan in 1473. Of the many editions of works by Avicenna and published in Europe since that time, the National Library collection holds three of his works: two incunabula *De anima* [The Book of Healing] – Pavia 1485 (shelfmark BN Inc.F.1331 adl.) and *Metaphysica* – Venezia 1495 (shelfmark BN Inc.F.1037), as well as *Liber secundus de Canone Canonis* – Breslavia 1609 (shelfmark BN XVII.4.2899 adl.).

The works of the other Persian philosopher and physician, Razi, known in Europe as Rhazes or Alrazes, were also known among Polish academic circles. In the 15th century one of his most famous works, *Kitab al Mansuri*, was translated into Latin as *Liber Almansoris*. In the National Library collection one may find *Liber nonus ad Almansorem, cum expositione Sillani de Nigris...* (Venezia 1497; shelfmark BN Inc.F.1081) and *Liber nonus ad Almansorem, cum Practica Ioannis Arculani...* (Venezia 1497; shelfmark BN Inc.F.1457), together with *Secunda pars...* (Venetiis 1509; BN XVII.F.2817).

Despite the existence of such works, most of the foreign *Persica* in the National Library collection dating from the 16th to 18th century are classified, similarly to Polish ones, as travel accounts with oriental themes. Among these, a work worth mentioning is *Journal du voyage... en Perse et aux Indes Orientales...* (Londres 1686; shelfmark BN XVII.4.8292), published in Polish in *Podróże po Persji, Armenji, Mezopotamji, Chaldei, Kurdystanie, Arabji etc.* [Journeys in Persia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, Kurdistan, Arabia etc.], Vilnius, 1853.

In the 19th century the most outstanding scholars in the field of Iranian studies in Poland were Wojciech Kazimirski, Aleksander Chodźko, August Żaba, Aleksander Wereszczyński and Jan Witkiewicz.²⁰

A renowned figure in the history of Iran was General Izydor Borowski – emir (1821) and vizier, commander of the Iranian troops fighting against the Afghans and the emirates of Arabia. Borowski, who reorganised the Persian army according to the French model, lost his life in the struggle for Herat in 1838.

After the Polish November Uprising of 1831, over 500 Poles enlisted in the Iranian army. They were mostly refugees, fleeing exile or the Russian army, and they were speedily dismissed following Russian diplomatic pressure. Some of them immigrated to other countries, while others stayed, thus forming the beginnings of a Polish community. This group of expatriates included physicians, engineers, and military men.

At the height of the Anglo-Russian contest for dominance over the strategic gateways to Afghanistan and the Indian Subcontinent, a number of Poles found their professional calling in the Russian diplomatic service. One of them was Aleksander Chodźko, a member of a secret patriotic student society at Vilnius University, and a friend of the poet Adam Mickiewicz, who worked for the Russian consular service from 1831 to 1841, and conducted ethnographic and linguistic research while travelling extensively to Persia. In 1841 Chodźko left for Paris, where he engaged in scholarly work. Out of the vast range of his works, devoted among other things to Persian fiction and the Persian and Kurdish language, the National Library collection contains a *Grammaire persanne, ou principes de l'iranien moderne...* (Paris, 1851) and *Theatre persan...* (Paris, 1878).

Jan Witkiewicz, an erstwhile exile and later diplomatic agent in the Russian service, was regarded, despite his young age, as an outstanding explorer of Persia and Afghanistan. He was also a proficient linguist, with knowledge of several oriental languages. Between 1837-1839 he journeyed through Persia and Afghanistan, collecting data on the territories he visited, drawing maps and making topographic sketches. Witkiewicz was received by the shah on two occasions, and decorated for his work with the Order of the Sun. In 1839 he died in unexplained circumstances in St. Petersburg; all of his notes were lost.

The views of yet another Westerner on Persia are expounded in a book by Władysław Jabłonowski, *Szkice sanitarne z Persyi* [Persian Sanitation Blueprints], Cracow, 1887. Its author – a doctor and a participant in the January Uprising (1863) – went to Turkey in 1866, where he worked as an army medic until 1881. After the plague and cholera epidemics in Persia and Iraq, he was nominated as a delegate of the International Sanitary Commission in the East. His ethnographic, botanical and archaeological work resulted in many articles appearing in the Polish press. His *Pamiętniki z lat 1851-1894* [Memoirs from the Years 1851-1894] were published in an abbreviated version in 1967.²¹

Following in the footsteps of a 19th century reader, a contemporary visitor to the National Library can see Persia through the eyes of Maurycy Kotzebue, the author of *Podróż do Persyi w orszaku poselstwa rosyjskiego w roku 1817 pod naczelnictwem generała Jermołowa* [A Journey to Persia in 1817 with the Russian Legation Headed by General Jermolov, Vilnius, 1821], or duke Aleksei Soltikov (*Podróż do Persyi* [A Journey to Persia, Warsaw, 1852], and *Podróż nowa przez Kaukaz do Persyi* [A New Journey Through the Caucasus to Persia], Warsaw, 1856).

Worth noting are also the extensive *Historia literatury perskiej* [History of Persian Literature] by Julian Adolf Świącicki, published as volume 5 of the *Historia literatury powszechnej* [History of Universal Literature], Warsaw, 1914, and Paweł Hulka-Laskowski's *Twórca religii Iranu Zaratustra i jego nauka* [The Founder of the Religion of Iran, Zarathustra, and His Teachings], Warsaw, 1914 and *Biszen i Menisze. Ustęp z Firdusiego poematu: Szach-Namech* [Bishen and

Menishe. Excerpt from a Poem by Firdausi: Shah-Namekh], Warsaw, 1855. Two other volumes deserving of mention are Karol Załuski's *O języku perskim i tegoż piśmiennictwie* [The Persian Language and its Literature], Cracow, 1883, and *Historya starożytnej Persyi* [The History of Ancient Persia] published by Ferdynand Justi and translated by Bronisław Grabowski (Warsaw, 1880) in the series *Panteon Wiedzy Ludzkiej* [Pantheon of Human Knowledge].

An interesting picture of life in Persia towards the end of the 19th century is provided in a two-volume book *Podróż Polki do Persyi* [A Polish Woman's Journey to Persia] by Maria Rakowska-Ratuld, a writer and translator. For two years, starting from 1894, she stayed in Persia with her husband, Władysław Ratuld, an oculist who came to Tehran at the invitation of the shah in order to organise medical training and combat the spread of eye inflammation epidemics. Dr. Ratuld would revisit Persia once more, in 1907.²²

After Poland regained independence in 1918 '(...) it founded its relations with Iran on the principles of loyalty and good will, offering its co-operation in the field of economic betterment, industrial resources and technical expertise'.²³ The first Consul General of the Republic of Poland in Iran, Stanisław Podgórski, was an engineer specialising in the construction of roads and railways. He was also a former chairman of a Russian company that owned the exclusive rights to organise insured transports in Iran. The Soviet occupation of Azerbaijan, however, prevented him from reaching his post in Teheran. The Poles in Iran – refugees from Russia – were thus initially under the care of the English and later French outposts in Iran. Polish-Iranian trade negotiations, which only got off the ground in 1925 after Stanisław Hempel assumed the function of extraordinary and plenipotentiary envoy of the Republic of Poland to Teheran, 'led to the signing, on March 19th, 1927, of a treaty of friendship, based on principles of complete equality and a trade convention based on the most privileged nation clause in matters of customs and settlement'.²⁴ For Persia it was the second treaty signed with a European country after Russia.

The depth of the knowledge of Polish diplomatic officials on the subject of Iranian affairs and economic opportunities is attested by an extensive report on Persia, drawn up in 1928 for



Illuminated leaf from the *Bahār-i dāniš* of Ināyat Allāh Kanbū, f. 4

the Polish Foreign Affairs Ministry by Wiktor Szczepan Pol, the consul at the Legation Office in Teheran. This item is also present in the National Library collection.²⁵

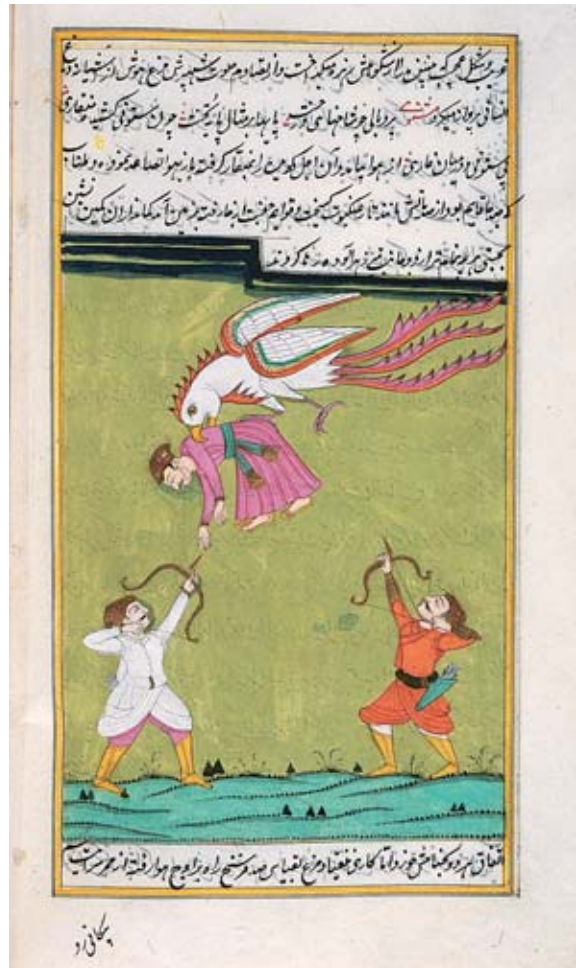
Between 1918-1938, the Polish community in Iran numbered about 120 people, chiefly engineers, pharmacists, physicians, military officers. The group also included oil workers, who arrived from Borysław at the turn of the century and were employed by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. After Poland and Iran entered into diplomatic relations, an Association of Poles in Persia was founded 'to gather the community's intelligentsia and provide assistance to countrymen in need'.²⁶

A distinctive period in Polish-Iranian relations, though by contrast relatively well documented, was the Second World War. Throngs of Polish exiles passed through Iran as they headed for Polish army units, which were part of the Allied forces

converging in the Middle East. A Polish Society of Iranian Studies was established in Teheran; a weekly, *Polak w Iranie* [Poles in Iran], and a periodical, *Studia Irańskie* [Iranian Studies], were published, and so too were books about Iran. A sizeable portion of those publications is now included in the National Library collection and was put on display in 2001 at an exhibition, 'From Buzuluk to Bologne. Publishing Activities along the Route of the Polish Army in the East...'

After 1918 oriental studies blossomed in Poland. Chairs and institutes were established at universities. In 1932 an Institute of Oriental Studies was founded at the University of Warsaw. A Committee for Oriental Studies was active at the Polish Academy of Achievement. In 1933 a Polish Oriental Studies Society was set up. After the Second World War, in 1952, a Committee of Oriental Studies was formed at the Polish Academy of Sciences, and soon followed by a Department of Oriental Studies (1953). The following periodicals were published: *Polski Biuletyn Orientalistyczny* [Polish Oriental Studies Bulletin], Warsaw, 1937-1938; *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* [Oriental Studies Yearbook], Cracow, 1914-1918, Lvov, 1918-1937; *Wschód-Orient* [East-Orient], Warsaw, 1930-1938; *Folia Orientalia* (Cracow, 1959-), *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* [Oriental Studies Review], Warsaw, 1953-. Vigorous academic work meant that both congresses and conferences were organised, and works by contemporary Polish scholars of Oriental studies, such as Ananiasz Zajączkowski, Tadeusz Kowalski and Franciszek Machalski found their way into libraries.

Of the various items in the National Library, related to Persian topics, it is necessary to mention the etchings in the pictorial collections department. These are often depictions of persons (including portraits of Persian shahs Abbas I the Great, Abbas II and Cyrus executed using various techniques), and views of cities (eg. Isfahan, Teheran). The latter can be found in the cartographic collections in *Verschiedene Prospective der Vornemsten Städten in Persien* (Johann Baptist Homann, Nürnberg, after 1715, a hand-coloured etching; BN ZZK inw. 9560). Among other items, two maps should be pointed out: *Imperii Persici in omnes suas provincias...* (J.B. Homann, Nürnberg after 1715, a hand-coloured copperplate; shelfmark BN ZZK inw. 6961) and



Illuminated leaf from the *Bāhar-i dāniš* of Ināyat Allāh Kanbū, f. 68.

Nova Imperii Persici delineatio juxta recentiss. et accuratiss. Observat. Adriani Relandi... (Georg Mathias Seutter, Augsburg, first half of the 18th century, a hand-coloured copperplate aquatint; shelfmark BN ZZK inw. 4288).

Particularly noteworthy are the Persian manuscripts held at the National Library. They include, among others, a 1685 Persian translation of the *Koran* (shelfmark Akc. 14675) numbering 303 leaves, and a work by the Persian poet and mystic Jalaluddin Rumi, *Masnavi-i ma'navi* (shelfmark Akc. 15910) in a manuscript from c. 1492-1493 (439 leaves). Rumi's biography is incorporated in a manuscript by Derviš Mahmud *Tergeme-i ševakib*, which is a Turkish translation from Persian (shelfmark BOZ 162). It has come down from the Zamość Estate Library, and contains a bookplate and a hand-written note by Stanisław Zamoyski. It shares its provenance with a 1784 illuminated manuscript

featuring a love story about Gahadar Sultan and Bahravar Banu, the *Bahār-i dāniš* of Ināyat Allāh Kanbū (shelfmark BOZ 182). The manuscript contains 90 miniatures by the Indian school and marginal notes by Zamoyski and the British orientalist Sir William Ouseley (the latter dated 1803)²⁷.

There is no shortage of *Persica* in the music collections – for example *Pieśni miłosne Hafiza*, [The Love Songs of Hafiz] Op. 26 by Karol Szymanowski, *In a Persian Market* by Albert N. Katelby, *W marszu. Zbiór pieśni żołnierskich. Śpiewnik dla żołnierza armii polskiej na wschodzie* [On the March. A Collection of Soldiers' Songs. A Songbook for a Soldier of the Polish

Army in the East], Palestine 1944, and *3 pieśni do słów arabskich z X wieku* [3 songs to 10th century Arabic Lyrics] by Grażyna Bacewicz, to list just a few.

Although the earliest Polish contacts with the East were predominantly of a political nature, which often made them a by-product of relations with Turkey, the historical records in the National Library collection – manuscripts, studies, maps, illustrations and sheet music, provide interesting source material for research on the reception of the culture of the East in Poland and the accomplishments of Polish research in this area, seen against the background of European oriental studies.

Notes:

1. Barbara Majewska, *Wschód w kulturze i piśmiennictwie* [The Orient in Culture and Writing] in *Słownik literatury staropolskiej* [A Dictionary of Old Polish Literature], Wrocław, 1998, p. 1036.
2. Jan Reychman, 'Związki Iranu z Polską' [Polish-Iranian Relations], *Kultura i Społeczeństwo* 4 (1971), p. 82. See also T. Mańkowski, *Wyprawa po kobierce do Persji w roku 1601* [An Expedition for Tapestries to Persia in 1602], Cracow, 1951.
3. Karol Estreicher, *Bibliografia Polska* [Polish Bibliography], vol. 23, p. 131. The edition in question can be found at the University Library in Warsaw and the City of Warsaw Public Library.
4. Safer Muratowicz, *Relacya... Obywatela warszawskiego, od Zygmunta III., Króla polskiego, dla sprawowania rzeczy, wystanego do Persyi w roku 1602. Rzecz z starego rękopisma wybrana, przedrukowana* [Account (...) of a Warsaw Citizen Sent from Sigismund III, the Polish King, to Handle Matters in Persia in 1602... Chosen from an Old Manuscript, Reprinted], Warsaw, 1807.
5. *Relacyja Sefera Muratowicza Ormianina, posłanego JMci do Persyi, z którą wróciwszy się stamtąd. Podał na piśmie w te słowa. Anno circiter 1588* [Narrative by Sefer Muratowicz, an Armenian, His Majesty's Envoy to Persia. Upon Returning he Gave these Words in Writing] in *Trzy relacje z polskich podróży na Wschód muzułmański w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku* [Three Accounts of Polish Voyages to the Islamic Orient in the First Half of the 17th c.], ed. by Adam Walaszek, Cracow, 1980.
6. *Ibid*, p. 29.
7. Reychman, op. cit., p. 83. On his way back to Poland, Szemberg lost his life in a fight with highwaymen.
8. Philippe Avril, SI, *Podróż do różnych krajów Europy i Azji przez misjonarzy S. J. w roku 1690 odprawiona końcem odkrycia nowej drogi do Chin... Zamyka w sobie wiele ciekawych uwag fizycznych, geograficznych i historycznych, z opisaniem Tartaryi W.* [A Journey to Various Countries of Europe and Asia by S. J. Missionaries, Made in

1690, its Aim being the Discovery of a New Road to China... Contains Many Interesting Physical, Geographical and Historical Remarks, with a Description of Tartary], Warsaw, 1791, p. 241.

9. Ananiasz Zajączkowski, 'Persja-Iran' in Józef Hieronim Retinger, *Polacy w cywilizacjach świata* [Poles in the Civilisations of the World], Gdańsk, 1991, p. 183.

10. Reychman, op. cit., p. 86. For more on missions in Persia cf. S. Załęski, *Missye w Persyi w XVII i XVIII wieku pod protektoratem Polski. Szkic historyczny* [Missions to Persia in the 17th and 18th c. under Polish Protectorate], Kraków, 1882; S. Brzeziński, *Misjonarze i dyplomaci polscy w Persji w XVII i XVIII wieku* [Polish Missionaries and Diplomats in Persia in the 17th and 18th c.], Potulice, 1935.

11. *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [Polish Biographical Dictionary], Warsaw, 1970, vol. 15, p. 426.

12. *Ibid*. Cf. F. Zieliński, 'Xiadz Krusiński. Wiadomości historyczne' [Father Krusiński. Historical Information], *Biblioteka Warszawska* 4 (1841), pp. 375-397; A. Muchliński, 'Materiały do dziejów Kościoła polskiego z języków wschodnich' [Materials for the History of the Church in Poland in the Languages of the East], *Pamiętnik Religijno-Moralny* 8 (1861), f. 8, pp. 134-151, f. 9, pp. 289-302.

13. Reychman, op. cit., p. 87.

14. *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, op. cit., vol. 15, p. 427.

15. Shelfmark Lat. Q IV.34. This might have been a manuscript fragment of a work published ca. 1729, *Historia revolutionis Monarchiae Persicae Constantinopoli pro M. Vezyrjo conscripta...*, on a copy of which, held at the Załuski Library, the author added such a title by hand; cf. Estreicher, op. cit., vol. 20, p. 304. Cf. Brzeziński, op. cit., p. 53.

16. Shelfmark Pol. O XVII.1.

17. Jan Reychman, 'Orientalizm' in *Słownik literatury polskiego oświecenia* [Dictionary of the Literature of Polish Enlightenment], Wrocław, 1996, p. 365.

18. Bohdan Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu w dawnej Polsce do XVIII wieku* [What Old Poland Knew about the Orient up to the 18th Century], Łódź, 1950, p. 207.

19. Zajączkowski, op. cit., p. 184.
20. For more information cf. Janusz Reychman, 'Próby organizacji orientalistyki polskiej w dobie Mickiewicza' [Attempts to Organise Polish Oriental Studies during the Life of Mickiewicz], *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* 3 (1954).
21. W. Jabłonowski, *Pamiętniki z lat 1851-1894. Wybór* [Diaries from 1851-1894. A Selection] ed. by J.Fijałek, Wrocław, 1967.
22. *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, op. cit., vol. 30, pp. 511, 641.
23. *Dziesięciolecie Polski Odrodzonej* [A Decade of Poland Reborn], ed. by Marian Dąbrowski, Cracow, 1933, p. 244.
24. Zajączkowski, op. cit., p. 187.
25. Wiktor Szczepan Pol, *Persja*, Warsaw, 1928.
26. *Dziesięciolecie...*, op. cit., p. 838.
27. Cf. *Katalog rękopisów orientalnych ze zbiorów polskich* [Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts from Polish Collections], vol. 5, pt. 2: *Katalog rękopisów tureckich i perskich* [Catalogue of Turkish and Persian Manuscripts] ed. by T. Majda, Warsaw, 1967, pp. 130-131.

Translated by *Katarzyna Diehl*

On Display: Foreign Collections from the National Library

Maria Wrede

‘Thesauri Poloniae’ at the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum

Abstract In this article, the author looks at the National Library’s exhibitions, starting with various events organized in the past, which concentrated on major cultural anniversaries, and goes on to examine exhibitions that have been held in other countries, and which prominently featured some of the Library’s most cherished possessions. She concludes by giving an overview of the exhibition at Vienna’s Kunsthistorisches Museum, where selected Polish cultural treasures from the National Library were presented from an interdisciplinary point of view.

Books, with their artistic beauty, research value and not inconsiderable charm, are uniquely adapted for display. This is true particularly of manuscripts, maps, printed music, and social ephemera. When one adds the intellectual and historical significance of both individual works and entire collections, it is easy to understand why library holdings are an indispensable element of any interdisciplinary display event.

‘Thesauri Poloniae. Sammelkunst und Sammelwesen im Alten Polen’, an exhibition hosted by the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum (December 3, 2002 – February 28, 2003), was jointly organised by two institutions from Warsaw: the Royal Castle and the National Museum. The Polish National Library was represented through manuscripts, an incunable and early printed books, which had been loaned from its collections.

The National Library participated as (co-)organiser in all sorts of exhibitions, but the best known among them belonged to the series ‘The Treasures of the National Library’, which was inaugurated in 1933 and carried on after World War II. These exhibitions presented the most important and valuable pieces of Polish and European writing, and usually coincided with key anniversaries. They gave visitors an opportunity to view in the original the earliest documents to be found in the Polish language, as well as sources connected with Polish culture – items usually only known by description and/or from photographs. The need to maintain a high level of security and provide adequate conservatorial maintenance meant that such displays of library *cimelia* were seldom held, and then only for short periods of

time. The more ubiquitous points in the National Library’s repertoire of exhibitions, by contrast, were exhibitions devoted to various categories of collections. The first events of this type took place in 1934, showcasing the Library’s theatrical materials and cartographic collections.

In the post-war years the number of exhibitions increased rapidly. Also the thematic range expanded. In addition to displaying its own holdings, the National Library, alone or in cooperation with other Polish and foreign libraries created numerous special exhibitions thematically related to cultural and literary anniversaries. Most recently, the Library commemorated the 250th anniversary of the founding of the Załuski Library. Other events were connected with the bicentennial of the Kościuszko Uprising, the 80th anniversary of Poland’s independence after World War I, the 50th anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising, the Mickiewicz Year and the International Year of Chopin.

Recently, the National Library has hosted exhibitions presenting the collections and activities of the national libraries of Germany, Hungary, Russia and Estonia. A stream of valuable exhibits continues to arrive from abroad, enriching the existing collections and encouraging the curators to organise new exhibitions of rare items that are not generally put on display. Here are complete book collections gathered by the Polish émigré community and displayed at the National Library in Warsaw, where they formed a part of exhibitions dedicated to the Polish Museum in Rapperswil (Switzerland), the Libella Bookshop and Polish Library in Paris,



The *Revelationes sanctae Birgittae* (1375-1395) were exhibited in the Kungliga biblioteket in Stockholm

the Poets and Painters Press and Polish Library in London, and the Józef Piłsudski Institute in New York.

The activities of the National Library are not restricted to events at home. It both participates in and organises diverse forms of exhibitions at other venues, or indeed, in other countries. A brief list of the books from the National Library, which were shown at those events, is enough to provide an impression of their scale and diversity. The items displayed included *Libro d'Oro. Officium Beatae Virginis Mariae*: this fine Italian manuscript book of hours, featuring illuminations made in Ferrara and dating from the turn of the 15th and 16th c. (shelfmark rps akc.12 399), was shown at the exhibition *La miniatura a Ferrara dal tempo di Cosmè Tura al primo Cinquecento (The Art of Illumination in Ferrara from the Age of Cosmè Tura to the early 16th Century)* in Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara, March 1 – May 31, 1998. The *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine (shelfmark rps BOZ 11), adorned with exquisite miniatures from the workshop of Paduan artists and dating from the end of the 15th c. was displayed from March 20 to June 20, 1999 in Padua's Palazzo del Monte at the exhibition *La miniatura a Padova*

dal Medioevo al Settecento (The Art of Illumination in Padova from the Middle Ages to the 18th Century). A skilfully illuminated manuscript from the 15th c., containing depictions of Turkish costumes (shelfmark rps 165 [Album of Turkish Costumes]) travelled to Istanbul for the exhibition *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman* held at Topkapi Saray Muzesi (June 6 – September 6, 2000). A manuscript with the earliest, 13th c. Zamość Codex copy of *Cronicae et annales polonica* of Gallus Anonimus (shelfmark rps BOZ 28), visited Mannheim's Reiss-Museum to take part in the 27th Exhibition of the Council of Europe, *Europas Mitte um 1000* (October 7, 2001 – January 27, 2002). Another finely-illuminated manuscript, this time from the latter half of the 14th c., containing the earliest account of the visions of the patron saint of Sweden, the *Revelationes sanctae Birgittae* (shelfmark rps II 3310), was presented at the exhibition *Santa Birgitta of Sweden* in Stockholm's Kungliga biblioteket (June 2 – August 30, 2003). Finally, one must mention the 'Thesauri Poloniae...' exhibition, organized as part of the 'Polish Year' in Austria.



A leaf from the Italian manuscript *Libro d'Oro. Officium Sanctissime Crucis*, f. 140 r°

The main aim of 'Thesauri Poloniae' was to promote Polish cultural heritage by turning the spotlight on the position of Polish culture within a European context. The five hundred or so years of art collectorship in Poland were presented in five main sections and illustrated with over 180 items, from the late Middle Ages to the Age of Enlightenment:

I. 'The Church as a Treasury for Art'. Polish ecclesiastical institutions not only collected splendidly ornamented liturgical objects, but also paintings, sculptures and books. Inspiring the creation of many of these objects, the Church also safeguarded them, thus helping to preserve them for later generations. One of the items displayed in this section was an early mediaeval Polish liturgical text, *Sanctamentarium Tinicense* (shelfmark rps BOZ 8).

II. 'The Courts of the Polish Kings'. Royal courts ordered the most exquisite works of art, granted patronage to artists of the highest renown, and supervised collections of the most precious paintings, sculptures, tapestries and carpets, tableware and arms. This part of the exhibition in-

cluded, among other objects, *La Sforziada*, a lavishly ornamented incunabulum (Giovanni Simoneta, *Commentarii rerum gestarum Francisci Sfortiae* published by Antonius Zarotus, Milan, 1490. Inc. F.1378), and fine book-covers from the library of Sigismund Augustus (Claudius Ptolomaeus, *Omnia quae extant opera*, Basel, 1541).

III. 'The Splendour of the Magnates'. The riches of the high nobility often rivalled and sometimes even outshone those of the monarchy.

IV. 'Towns as Cultural Centres: Cracow and Gdańsk'. These cities were some of the foremost European centres of cultural activity. The most magnificent piece in this section was Hans Memling's altar triptych (on loan from Gdańsk).

V. 'Collectors of the Enlightenment'. These learned gentlemen brought a new dimension to the discipline of art collecting. Each one of them started out with a concept, a 'design', and then methodically expanded his collection of paintings, drawings etchings or libraries, such as the sumptuous royal library of King Stanislaus Augustus. Books in 'regal covers', offer evidence of the monarch's passion for collecting and are among the contributions of the National Library (their present owner) to the exhibition. (*Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, vol. VIII, H-IT, Paris, Briasson, 1765; Józef Rogaliński, *Doświadczenie skutków rzeczy...*, [The Experience of Results...] Vol. 1, Poznań, 1765; *Kalendarzyk polityczny na rok przestępny 1792* [A Political Calendar for the Leap-Year 1792], Warsaw, 1791).

The 'Thesauri Poloniae' exhibition, like other events organised in the past, also served a broader role, in that it helped make Polish culture more accessible to both Polish and non-Polish people. By revealing the link with the overall context of cultural history in other European countries, familiar and recognisable cultural patterns were allowed to come to light. Thanks to 'Thesauri Poloniae', visitors with little or no prior knowledge of Polish culture were able to enter its rich world undaunted, learn to recognise similarities and judge them on their own merits. These features, apart from a purely antiquarian interest, mean that 'Thesauri Poloniae' occupies a place of its own in the long tradition of exhibitions showcasing books from the National Library.

Translated by *Marcin Polkowski*

On Display: Foreign Collections from the National Library

Marcin Polkowski

‘Our Neighbours – A New Perspective’. Other Cultures at the National Library

Abstract The National Library’s series of ‘international’ exhibitions covers the reception, in Poland, of its neighbouring countries and their cultures. This article, drawing on catalogues, exhibition materials and the Library’s own publications, shows how such exhibitions were organized for Russia, the Ukraine, Scandinavian countries and Japan.

The National Library, in its educational role, participates in activities aimed at raising public awareness of libraries and the written word. To help achieve this aim, it often hosts various types of exhibitions. It can draw on a collection of manuscripts, old books, engravings, maps, and documents, which are a vast resource for organising a wide variety of events, not just intended for specialists, but also for a wider audience, consisting of book lovers and all those actively involved, in one way or another, in cultural life.

So far, the series ‘Our Neighbours – A New Perspective’ has covered the cultures of Lithuania, Belarus, the Ukraine, Scandinavia, Slovakia, Japan, and Russia. Arranged as two groups, ‘close neighbours’ and ‘distant neighbours’, these exhibitions offered a sample of Polish attitudes connected with the reception of other cultures.

The organisers and authors of ‘Our Neighbours – A New Perspective’ aimed to give exhibition-goers a broad perspective on various types of enriching elements at work in Polish culture. They presented aspects of reception and dialogue, the adoption and transformation of various forms and models, and finally attempted to understand and reconcile both negative and positive perceptions – with the ultimate aim of arriving at a balanced and truthful idea of national identity. The most obvious aim of these series, the promotion of cultural diversity, was complemented by a second function: that of confronting audiences with how the Polish outlook on those cultures has changed over time. An emphasis on shifts in patterns of reception and interaction between cultures allowed viewers to consider not only *what* was

being reflected upon, but also *how* it was being reflected upon. The outcome was thus a meditation on the assimilation of cultural models in Poland, and on the nature of historical cross-cultural relations.

In this article we would like to summarise the high points of some of the exhibitions from this series that we found to be the most thought-provoking and conducive to a discussion on the complexities of cultural interaction – not just in Poland but elsewhere also.

Poland – Russia: Between Rejection and Fascination

Outlining the concept of their exhibition, the organisers of ‘Between Rejection and Fascination’ / ‘Pomiędzy odrzuceniem a fascynacją’ (October – December 2003) described it as ‘an attempt to portray the whole wealth and diversity of Polish-Russian cultural contacts from the earliest moments to the present day’. Though owing to the manner of presentation, these contacts had to be shown primarily from a Polish perspective, the organisers also made an effort to depart from that scenario. Convinced that ‘regardless of the historical and political vicissitudes of those two countries, culture was and remains a profound bond that helps us to know and understand each other’, they tried to reveal an underlying paradox. In their words, ‘although historical and political events do influence culture, strained political relations between countries do not have to result in a lack of interest in the culture of the other country’. Finally, the Poland – Russia exhibition

‘sought to reacquaint visitors with several well-known areas and events from the rich history of Polish-Russian cultural contacts, as well as to present less obvious or less widely known matters’ (in the guide *Między odrzuceniem a fascynacją*, [Between Rejection and Fascination], Biblioteka Narodowa, 2003).

‘Poland – Russia: A History of Cultural Contacts’ was chronologically divided into several sections: *The Beginnings* (Polish-Ruthenian contacts documented in medieval chronicles), *Wars and Diplomacy* (Polish-Muscovite conflicts in the 16th and 17th centuries, documented through the diaries and memoirs of Polish authors), *The First Literary Translations – Beginnings of Slavic and Russian Studies in Poland* (from the second half of the 18th century to the early years of the 19th century), *Polish-Russian Cultural Contacts during the Partition of Poland* (the 19th century), *Polish-Soviet Cultural Relations between 1914 and 1939*, *The Second World War*, *After the War...* and *Modern Times*.

Polish-Ruthenian and, subsequently, Polish-Russian contacts stretch back over a millennium,

to times predating the formation of states, when nations had barely started to coalesce among the various Slavic tribes inhabiting the lands east of the Elbe. The first written documents that have come down to us telling the story of these relations are the *Polish Chronicle* of Gallus Anonimus, and the Ruthenian *Povest vremennykh let* [Tale of Bygone Years], both composed around 1113. The Ruthenian culture and literature of the Middle Ages quickly spread beyond the borders of the Kievan State. Ruthenian books arrived in Poland in the dowries of the Ruthenian princesses who were married to princes from Poland’s Piast dynasty or were brought along by their courtiers and retainers. One of these books was the *Anastasia Evangeliary*, a 12th century codex presented at the exhibition, and which is now at the National Library.

In the 16th century Poles became more and more interested in Muscovy, in its geography, history and customs. This is echoed e.g. in Maciej Miechowita’s *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis Asiana et Europeana*, an early geographic and ethnographic picture of Muscovy published in



The silver binding *Quattuor Evangelia* (the Evangelistary of Anastasia) from the National Library was displayed at the Poland-Russia exhibition

Cracow in 1517, and Bernard Wapowski’s *Tabulae Sarmatiae* (Cracow, 1526), which maps the western reaches of the Grand Duchy of Moscow.

The 16th and 17th century were filled with Polish-Muscovite conflicts. Campaigns were usually followed by flurries of diplomatic activity. Direct participants wrote memoirs and envoys compiled reports (e.g. Stanisław Żółkiewski, *Początek i progres wojny moskiewskiej* [The Beginnings and Course of the Muscovy War]). These documents, (displayed in the form of originals, facsimiles or reprints) provided some of the first comprehensive characterisations of Muscovy and its customs. From them one can infer that even tragic events such as war could not stand in the way of a certain mutual admiration.

Eighteenth-century exhibits included a 1792 edition of Jean Potocki’s *Suite des recherches sur la Sarmatie*, in which this bilingual Polish aristocrat, explorer and novelist engaged in philological and ethnological studies – a pursuit then in vogue among Polish cultural elites. A survey of literary contacts in the 19th century, when parts of Poland were under Russian occupation, would not be complete without the towering figures of two Romantic writers, Pushkin and Mickiewicz. Their poetic debate on individual freedom and the yoke of empire was presented through facsimiles of manuscripts, and a volume of the Polish poet’s College de France lectures on Slavic culture. This part of the exhibition ended with a glimpse of the Siberian experiences of Polish political deportees, scientists and adventurers, and a review of Polish societies, salons and university life in Saint Petersburg.

The inter-war period, following the 1919-1920 war with Soviet Russia, was largely shown through images of a consistently increasing interest in various aspects of Russian/Soviet modernism. Not only futurist painting (represented by a Russian of Polish extraction, Casimir Malevich), but also Soviet cinematography (notably Sergiei Eisenstein), design, architecture and photography captured the imagination of many representatives of the Polish avant-garde. A sample of novels translated in this period (about 40 from 1933 to 1936 alone) gives us an idea of the scale of those contacts, despite diplomatic tensions and stark ideological differences between the two states.

The post-war section (1945-1989) of the exhibition tracks the reception of Russian culture, from early heavy-handed pro-Soviet propaganda and

the later, politically milder mainstream, to the chronologically parallel activities of dissident centres and underground publishers. The exhibits – publications, film, theatre, music and the visual arts – show in all their diversity and bias the degree of interest in Russia and Russians evinced by Poles throughout the whole ideological spectrum.

The sheer scope of cultural contacts between Poland and Russia in recent years still defies summary. But all in all – from popular literature and the press to academia – the materials gathered by the organisers suggest great eagerness on their part to explore and understand Russian culture in a world free of constraints. And this is true for both sides. Apart from at its home venue, the Poland-Russia exhibition visited Moscow and Saint Petersburg, and was shown, respectively, at the Alexander Pushkin Museum and the National Library of Russia.

Ukraine – Poland: Towards Dialogue

The ‘Ukraine – Poland’ exhibition (‘W stronę dialogu’ September 21 – November 10, 2000) painted a picture of the Polish understanding of both the Ukraine and Polish-Ukrainian relations. Given that one of its major themes was the power of stereotypes to shape and damage relations between countries and ethnic groups, the organisers sought to invalidate them from the very outset. Such was the subject of the introductory part of this exhibition, entitled ‘Cień i róża Ukrainy’ [Ukraine – Thorn and Rose], after an essay by the Polish literary critic Maria Janion. It consisted of a critical review of representations of Ukrainian ethnicity in Polish literature. For generations of Poles, literary images of the Ukraine were both an alluring mythological ‘landscape’ and a major point of reference. The Ukraine, according to the organisers, was interpreted as a place of conflicting opposites, where attraction competed with negation, and love for the land co-existed with love for an idealized image. Memories, it seemed, were intertwined with landscapes, and emotional life became often imbued with a fatalistic sense of impending doom. This sensibility and its related imagery eventually gained such ascendancy that the Ukraine in Polish eyes came to be critically described (by Maria Janion, quoting Jan Błoński) as a ‘Polish hell’, in contrast to the ‘Polish Eden’ located in a hardly less mythologized Lithuania.

The Ukraine – Poland exhibition was arranged chronologically and divided into four sections: I. *The Sources* (Literature up to the end of World War II), II. *In Times of Hardship* (1945-1989), III. *The Challenges of Freedom* (Literature from the years 1990-2000), and IV. *Underway* (Cooperation, ethnic minority issues, etc.). Each section was further subdivided according to the titles of individual display cases.

Section I. *The Sources* introduced the visitor to the history of Polish-Ukrainian relations through manuscripts and old prints connected with topics related with the Ukraine or attesting to centuries of cultural and political interaction.

Section II. *In Times of Hardship* highlighted topics such as: *Historians and old Ukraine; Recent Ukrainian history; 'The Ukrainian question' in Poland (1918-1939); 'The Ukrainian question': from assaults to dialogue; the role of Kultura and associates for Polish-Ukrainian reconciliation; Beyond censorship; Varia*. A dominant feature of this period is the work of the journal *Kultura*. This Paris-based *émigré* magazine, edited by the late Jerzy Giedroyc, served as a focal point for an energetic community of liberal Polish writers in exile. The years after the Second World War saw a resurgence among groups of Polish and Ukrainian exiles of attempts at political rapprochement along the political lines pioneered by Petlura and Piłsudski in the early 1920s. Polish *Kultura* writers and columnists Juliusz Mieroszewski, Józef Łobodowski, Jerzy Stempowski and Andrzej Vincenz, were joined by Ukrainians, Ivan Koshelivec, Jurij Lavrinenko, Boris Levitski, Bohdan Osadchuk, or Roman Shporluk. Their work for *Kultura* is also seen by Ukrainians today as having effectively furthered mutual understanding. This fact was emphatically confirmed at two conferences on the subject organized in Kiev in 1997 and 2000.

Section III, *The Challenges of Freedom*, dealt with: *Ukrainian History: monographs and articles; the role of Kultura and its associates for Polish-Ukrainian reconciliation – continued, Huculszczyzna and Lemkowszczyzna; diaries and memoirs; Partnership and reconciliation; Poland-Ukraine: mutual relations; the Polish-Ukrainian cultural borderland; conversations: conferences, meetings, discussions; troubled neighbourly relations; The*

Polish-Ukrainian war; the Polish-Ukrainian pact; In the bane of stereotypes; Ukraine in the Polish press; Denominations and churches; Together in one state. Ukrainians in Poland (1918-1939); Special issues of magazines on Ukrainian subjects; Varia.

Entitled *Underway*, Section IV documented positive examples of creative cooperation between various social and academic groups. Items were presented in three categories: *Poles in the Ukraine; Ukrainians in Poland; Joint initiatives and cooperation*. Apart from this, the display included recordings by Ukrainian folk bands, and their Polish counterparts playing Ukrainian music.

Doubts and hesitation are sometimes inevitable, but anyone who reads the guest-book will find convincing proof that the organisers hit the mark with regard to the needs and expectations of those attending the exhibition. In the words of the Ukrainian ambassador and poet, Dmytro Pavlychko: 'What I've seen here today touched and astonished me – this is our history, shared with Poland, a very difficult one indeed, but suggesting most importantly that there is a way out from bad times to good – towards Ukrainian-Polish reconciliation in a democratic Europe. I'd like to thank the National Library for this exhibition, for these treasures of our culture and spirit. I wish I could read all of this. It would be like learning anew how to live within the fullness of my humanity'.

Poland – Scandinavia: Neighbours across the Baltic

The 'Neighbours across the Baltic' exhibition (Sąsiedztwo przez Bałtyk, May 15 – June 30, 2001), a review of the Scandinavian presence in Polish culture, showcased the influence of our northern neighbours in areas as diverse as architecture, sports, design and language. Posters, pictures and theatre programs illustrated the importance of Scandinavian drama for Poland, and due emphasis was also placed on the reception of Scandinavian filmmaking. The dominant theme of the exhibition, though, was conveyed through books and articles: starting with the first mentions in medieval chronicles, through 19th century travel accounts and memoirs, and ending with the most recent historical works. The exhibition also included such rarities as the great Book of Revelations of



The front and back binding of the Book of Revelations of St. Bridget with armorial stamps of the Vasas

St. Bridget of Sweden (an incunable from 1492 with an armorial binding stamp of the house of Vasa on the cover).

The history of Polish-Scandinavian interaction, with the Baltic as both bridge and dividing line, dates back at least a millennium to the beginnings of Polish statehood. Many Poles like to recall that Świętosława, the sister of the Polish king, Bolesław the Brave, is a well-known historical figure in Scandinavia. As Sigrid, queen of Sweden, and later of Denmark, she was the mother of one of Denmark's most powerful kings, Canute the Great. Another instance of these dual historical identities was Bogusław, duke of Słupsk. Known to Danes as Erik af Pommern, king of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, he retired after the termination of his reign to his family's Darłowo in northern Poland.

The 17th century – marked by the ties of the Polish royalty to the Vasa family – was a time when there was much transit between the two countries, and Sweden served as a gateway to the rest of Scandinavia. It was also a time that saw an accumulation of negative perceptions on both sides. Whereas the Polish elite, despite political allegiance to the reigning dynasty, tended to

consider the Swedes boorish and uncultured, on the northern shores of the Baltic Poland was largely viewed through the mores of that selfsame Polish gentry – seen by the Swedes as raucous, self-indulgent and quarrelsome. The growing differences were underscored even further by attitudes about religion.

During the ‘Swedish Wars’ of the 17th century Poland was ravaged and plundered. Yet in spite of this, personal relations with Sweden and other parts of Scandinavia continued – attested for instance by the picturesque description of Denmark and the Danes in Jan Chryzostom Pasek's *Diaries*, one of the great Polish prose works of the age.

Perceptions evolved north and south of the Baltic. Political, economic and cultural change meant that the 17th and 18th century saw a marked decline of sympathy for Poles and Polish society in Sweden, but then again, in the time that followed, Scandinavian culture became an attractive topic for the Polish intelligentsia on the wave of interest in things Germanic generated by Romantic philosophy and literature. The historian Joachim Lelewel translated Old-Icelandic sagas,

renditions of Norwegian, Swedish and Danish folk songs made their first appearance, and the beauty of the Finnish epic *Kalevala* was adapted for general readers. The first half of the 19th century also brought the first Polish-language translations of the fairy-tales of Hans Christian Andersen.

New inspirations arrived with Symbolism at the end of the 19th century: the writer and poet Stanisław Przybyszewski introduced Polish readers and theatre-goers to Strindberg and Ibsen, and paved the way for the reception of Munch (whose art in turn influenced the symbolist Wojciech Weiss), and other Norwegian artists. In later years, Poland's view of Scandinavia was formed by concepts in the areas of education, the emancipation of women and social care. Many solutions were eagerly studied, and some, such as the folk universities of Nicolai Frederik Sewerin Grundtvig, were applied, albeit in modified form.

A century later and Poland is still continuing to absorb Scandinavian culture, particularly in the fields of drama and film (Ingmar Bergman, and most recently Lars von Trier). The Polish art world has also been evolving rapidly towards an interest in industrial arts, interior design and lastly, the values embodied in Scandinavian consumer products. These interests were echoed in the decision of the exhibition's organizers to display modern Scandinavian literature in 'rooms' arranged using Swedish furniture.

With wave cut-outs of various sizes, used as backgrounds for both travel descriptions and magazine clippings from recent years, the artistic shape of the exhibition was inspired by the idea of the Baltic as both a hub and a point of departure, whereby the sea was viewed not as a factor of division, but of unity – not least by the many cross-Baltic cultural institutions presented at the exhibition. 'Neighbours across the Baltic' also hosted a conference attended by the Directors of the National Libraries of Iceland, Norway, Poland, and Sweden, and included a concert of songs by Scandinavian composers.

Japan – Poland: Closer to Each Other

'Japan – Poland: Closer to Each Other' / 'Japonia – Polska. Coraz bliżej siebie', an exhibition presenting the cultural relations between these two

countries, opened at the National Library on September 5, 2002. Organized under the patronage of film director Andrzej Wajda, it linked two other events taking place at the same time: 'Japan in Cracow', on the activities of 'Manggha' (the Cracow Center for Japanese Art and Technology), and 'Origami as a Bridge between Cultures' (created by the students of Klementyna Hoffmannowa High School in Warsaw).

The items displayed at the 'Japan – Poland: Closer to Each Other' exhibition came from the collections of the National Library, National Museum, and Japanese Embassy in Warsaw. The exhibits of the National Library comprised 17th and 18th century printed books published in Poland, Germany and the Netherlands. Sumptuously illustrated with engravings, these books conveyed to the audience an impression of Japan as it must have then appeared to Europeans.

The exhibition was divided in two parts. First, the traditional culture of Japan was shown: the world's oldest ceramics, objects from lacquer and metal, kimonos, examples of Japanese calligraphy, painting and sculpture, the world's oldest wooden buildings, and gardens. And obviously, the list of traditional arts and customs could not be complete without *ikebana*, bonsai trees and the tea ceremony. The second part of the exhibition narrated the history of political and cultural contacts between Poland and Japan. Among the key documents illustrating the relations after World War II were pictures of the visit made to Japan in 1981 by Pope John Paul II and a delegation of Solidarity union activists. Photos of the state visit of Japanese Emperor Akihito and Empress Michiko to Poland in 2002 were also shown. Other exhibits included examples of literature in translation: Polish in Japanese and Japanese in Polish, set in a portrait gallery of Polish and Japanese translators.

From the Editor: The article is based in part on the following publications and articles: *Między odrzuceniem a fascynacją*, Biblioteka Narodowa, 2003; Hanna Łaskarzewska, 'Ukraina-Polska. W stronę dialogu', *Biuletyn Informacyjny Biblioteki Narodowej* 154 (2000), p. 17; Bogusława Sochańska, 'Śsiedztwo przez Bałtyk. Dania, Finlandia, Islandia, Norwegia, Szwecja', *Biuletyn Informacyjny Biblioteki Narodowej* 157 (2001); 'Japonia-Polska coraz bliżej siebie', *Biuletyn Informacyjny Biblioteki Narodowej* 162 (2002).

Reviews

Illuminations of the Potocki Psalter from the Wilanów Collection

Halina Tchórzewska-Kabata (Ed.) *Illuminacje Psalterza Potockich z kolekcji wilanowskiej*, Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw, 2004; *Psalterz Potockich z kolekcji wilanowskiej. The Potocki Psalter from the Wilanów Collection* CD-ROM (concept and realization by Halina Tchórzewska-Kabata and Wojciech Buksowicz), Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw, 2004.

For the most part, mediaeval illuminated manuscripts remain unknown to art lovers. No matter whether they are held in national, church or private collections, only specialists are granted access to them, and then only under the most stringent of conditions. Even when on display in exhibitions, contact is fairly limited in that the manuscripts are placed behind glass and are opened at a page decided upon by the exhibition's curator. It is of course perfectly understandable that such measures are taken to protect these priceless objects, it does mean, however, that the whole gamut of mediaeval artistry is left in the hands of mediaeval art scholars, beyond the consciousness of a wider public. It is only to be expected that such limited access will continue in the future, particularly given the destruction of mediaeval murals throughout Europe, even in countries with strong mediaeval traditions like France and England. More and more, manuscripts are providing us with the only windows we have to that time in history.

The best way of overcoming these problems is the systematic publication of chosen manuscripts from various collections, often accompanied by research articles or introductions. These books are not always luxury but rather facsimile editions, intended for libraries and a narrow group of wealthy lovers of old books. For a long time now there have also been academic books that give scholarly overviews of these manuscripts, providing their history and system of decoration, together with commentaries to a select number of reproduced miniatures. These books are generally the result of cooperation between manuscript experts, historians and history of art scholars,

wherein they are collectively able to impart to readers a wide range of detailed knowledge on both individual works and the general process that went into creating such beautiful objects, revealing in turn the artistic culture and the creative spirit of that era. A number of manuscripts have been the subject of numerous such editions – this year, for example, we will see the next edition to *Très Riches Heures* of prince Jean de Berry, one of the most beautiful prayer books of the late Middle Ages. This publication has appeared under the auspices of the Musée Condé in Chantille, where the manuscript is preserved. It is divided into two parts. The first part provides an entire reproduction of the manuscript on CD-ROM, where various options give you the possibility of viewing all the sheets of hours and of zooming in close so as to be able to study their intricate artistry. With the accompanying book there is a whole presentation on miniature painting in France at the end of the 15th century, together with an analysis of selected miniatures from this ostentatiously illustrated manuscript.

It is only fitting that the National Library has opted to become a part of this worthy tradition and publish a book with accompanying CD-ROM on a 13th French psalter, which was at one time in the possession of Stanisław Kostka Potocki and bought by the National Library for its collection in 1933. Indeed, the history of this work is almost as fascinating as the manuscript itself, and it reveals much to readers about its formal aspects, historical reconstruction, as well as the issues concerning the conservation of mediaeval illuminated manuscripts belonging to Polish collections.

This small codex (15.5 cm × 10.5 cm) is devoid of either any mediaeval signs of ownership

or a colophon. And so, it is not certain for whom and in what circumstances it was executed. For certain, Stanisław Kostka Potocki bought the prayer book at the end of the 18th century. Around this time, however, the prayer book lost a number of its miniature illustrations featuring scenes from the life of Christ. During a rebinding in the 19th century other miniatures were pasted into the prayer book, so that, as a result, the codex lost the order of its biblical narrative. Left in the manuscript were four full-page miniatures from the life of Christ, as well as figural initials presenting King David. In the early 20th century fortunate happenstance meant that five of the missing illustrations turned up on the antiques market. These illustrations were only first recognized as part of the prayer book in the 1970s thanks to the work of the American scholar Robert Branner. Today these illustrations can be found in two collections – in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston as well as in the Museum and Art Gallery in Blackburn.

Thanks to the efforts of the National Library, permission was obtained to publish these illustrations in a colour reproduction of the prayer book. These illustrations were added to the cycle in accordance with the probable original narrative order, in which scenes from the life of Christ were placed as a distinct whole, between the calendar and the psalm texts.

The Cracovian researcher, Katarzyna Płonka-Bałus, penned the first part of the book and here she carefully considers the form of the prayer book in a concise and expert discussion of the history of miniature painting in France, starting with the early Gothic era at the beginning of the 13th century. Following this, she provides us with a detailed and enlightening analysis of the manuscript's decoration, confirming in the process Branner's theory as to links with the Parisian artistic circles in the first half of the 13th century. She does not fail to make mention also of the findings of Polish researchers, Zofia Ameisenowa and Stanisława Sawicka, who were the first to attempt to place the Wilanów manuscript among miniature traditions of the late French Gothic era. Here Katarzyna Płonka-Bałus underscores the general character of solutions – both iconographic and formal – featured in the prayer book, which reveals much of the expert craftwork carried out in a superior workshop between 1235 and 1250 and executed by an artist whom Branner has named the Potocki

Master. An extended commentary accompanies the reproductions of certain miniatures. Here the researcher combined an analysis of the overall composition together with an individual illustration, thanks to which each of the scenes obtains its own micro-monograph, thus bringing its merits to light.

The book could have done, however, with a more precise explanation as to why the Christ cycle constitutes the most important decorative element of the Old Testament Book of Psalms. Here the author writes of the practice of merging scenes from the life of Christ with prayer book manuscripts, conceding at the same time that the Christ cycle possesses only a superficial independence of the manuscript's contents. Comparing the work to the Bible in illustration is so general that it does not quite hit the mark; particularly when the Bible in this sense could be any Childhood or Passion scene from the life of Christ, not necessarily included in the illuminated manuscript, but rather with the entire groups of scenes from the *Bibles moralisées*. The prayer book is comparable only in the similarity of its themes resulting from certain tendencies in iconography at the time. The permanent presence of Christ cycles in prayer books of the time underscores the relationship between the Old and New Testament, demonstrating the historical steps toward Salvation. The theology of the Redemption is Christ-centric by its very nature, but in the 13th century the trend accentuating the fact that Christ was God incarnate and God made man gained in strength. From this belief stemmed a series of representations illustrating the various stages of the Saviour's life on earth. This gradually replaced a strict theophanic vision of Christ in all his majesty. Thus looking at and experiencing scenes from the Childhood and Passion of Christ accorded with the function of the prayer books, which had been – until the proliferation of the books of hours – the most common aid for private prayer used by both those of the cloth and the laity.

The book could also have devoted more time to discussing the genesis of the representations of David included in the figural initials. Prior to the fashioning of the Potocki prayer book, iconography of the psalmist-king had featured for several centuries, in which, depending on the requirement, the accent focused on his role as ruler, musician, or prophet, or indeed as penitential sinner.

Finally, a valuable chapter is that written by Maria Woźniak, which relates the conservation of the manuscript together with a presentation of laboratory research carried out on the manuscript, coupled with an outline of components before and after the conservation process.

This book is a bilingual Polish-English publication, which means that it may have an appeal beyond the circles of researchers and lovers of manuscripts. Here it is also worth mentioning the high editorial quality of the book. The only doubts I have with regard the book itself, though, are the blown up miniature reproductions accompanying the English texts. Publishers commonly use such enlargements today, although we may wonder as to the purpose of such endeavours. The charm of a miniature painting lies in its delicacy and precision of finish. The enlarging of fragments of miniatures may permit the minute observation of figures and objects in the paintings, but ultimately this deprives miniatures of their true elegance. The placements of such enlargements are only suitable

when they serve to explain the painter's technique or the conservation process. What we have here is quarter fragments of the entire miniatures whereby in the Adoration of the Magi, for example the corner of the picture cuts off the face of one of the Magi, and similarly for St. Joseph in the Offering in the Temple.

On the accompanying CD-ROM *Psalterz Potockich z kolekcji wilanowskiej. The Potocki Psalter from the Wilanów Collection*, there is a complete copy of the Potocki prayer book, and the expert pen of Agnieszka Jabłonka enhances and complements the accompanying commentaries. Due to the usefulness of such book-electronic editions, we may only expect that such publications will become the norm in the near future. In this respect, we may hope that other mediaeval manuscripts in Polish collections receive such treatment. The National Library, for example, preserves other manuscripts whose publication would greatly deepen our knowledge of these great testaments to the mediaeval spirit.

Katarzyna Zalewska-Lorkiewicz

Translated by *Barry Keane*

Reviews

Catalogue of Early Printed Books in the Cyrillic Alphabet in the Collection of the National Library

Zofia Żurawińska, Zoja Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew (Eds.), *Katalog druków cyrylickich XV-XVIII wieku w zbiorach Biblioteki Narodowej* [Catalogue of Early Printed Books in the Cyrillic Alphabet from the 15th to the 18th c. in the Collection of the National Library], Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw, 2004.

The recent publication of a catalogue of the older printed works in the Cyrillic alphabet from the holdings of the National Library is definitely a groundbreaking event. The Warsaw collection is Poland's largest and most valuable collection of printed *Cyrillica*, and the concise introduction to the *Catalogue*, written by the driving force behind the project, Zofia Żurawińska, provides an excellent overview of its contents.

The *Catalogue* is made up of 389 bibliographic entries for 514 printed works in 493 volumes. This figure includes 22 prints that are bound along with the manuscripts. The entries are given in chronological order, and alphabetically for each given year, with only the *minei* being listed in the order of the liturgical year. The entries for the items are presented in a unified format, which should be seen as a step forward. In Poland the terminology used to describe Cyrillic collections varies from publication to publication, so in this respect the *Catalogue* sets a new standard. The use of Biblical headings to organise the information is another useful innovation, along with the transcripts of the original title pages.

What is most important, scholars can find in the *Catalogue* a new topic for research, as a number of printed works had not been listed in the older biographies. Examples include the prayer book published in Vilnius on February 9, 1702 (catalogue no. 191, illus. 43 and 44), the Psalter, published in Lvov after December 26, 1708 (cat. no. 206), the Psalter published in Kiev in 1729, and the *Chasovnik* (Vilnius, after 1797), probably a copy of a Moscow edition of 1640 (cat. no. 378). The *Homiliary* of St. John Chrisostom, listed in biographies as a Poczajów edition reprinted in

Supraśl, has been relocated to the Kartaszew printing press in Klince (cat. no. 382). The *Penitential Canon* of St. Andrew of Crete (cat. no. 40, illus. 32-33) has been identified tentatively as a Mohylan Kiev work from 1626-1632 on the supposition that it formed part of a larger whole. Nikon's *Pandekts*, previously believed to have originated in Ostróg in 1640, are in fact an unfinished print from Vilnius, issued c. 1592 and bound together with manuscript BN Akc. 2739.

This is another important development – a large number of fragments of printed works attached to manuscripts have been included in the *Catalogue*. We owe this almost entirely to Andrzej Kaszlej, an erudite scholar with a wide knowledge of the Cyrillic manuscript collections at the National Library. Finally, we also have a study of the larger manuscript fragments in the printed codices (the list omits cat. no. 388).

In what has been a long and laborious process, the size of the collection has been verified in terms of volume. The authors have also rectified a few foliation / pagination errors. The *Catalogue* provides information as to the number of lines on each page and the height of 10 lines of text. This will be of help to scholars attempting to identify the fragments, since many collections of Cyrillic printed works in Poland have yet to be catalogued.

The *Catalogue* provides us with easy-to-use indexes of authors and titles, printers, provenance, persons and geographical names, a subject index of manuscript notes, a list of longer manuscript passages, and a list of Orthodox churches by their patron saints. Another feature is a concordance of shelf-marks: from the Library of the

Greek-Orthodox Chapter in Przemyśl (the source of the largest part of the collection – 21 items) and the National Library. The 61 illustrations present the typographic and decorative side of the works.

In the introduction, Zofia Żurawińska describes the larger sub-units with shared provenance, summarises the content of the books, and refers to the most interesting editions. The National Library, one can note in passing, has two incunables printed by Szwajpolt Fiol and parts of the *Ruthenian Bible* of Franciszek Skoryna (cat. no. 3-4), the *Apostle* of Ivan Fiodorow from Lvov (cat. no. 5-6), the Vilnius Mamonicz Psalter (cat. no. 7), the *Ostróg Bible*, translations of the *Poslania* of patriarch Jeremiah II Tranos, the *Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania* and many other rare, fascinating editions (e.g. the *Lectionary* issued by Paweł Domżiw Lutkowicz in Uherce in 1620 – cat. no. 33). What is worrying here is that the National Library does not have in its collection an edition like e.g. the *Homiliary (Ewangelia pouczająca, or Gospel of Admonishment)* from Zabłudów (1569). Currently, the collection carries 320 titles, which must be a fraction of the entire typographic production, since Zoja Jaroszewicz-Perejasławcew writes that 379 items were printed

in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania alone. The National Library has 50 titles from Muscovy (one item was published in St. Petersburg – an academic edition of *letopisy* in Old Russian and Russian), 12 from areas other than Ruthenia (Cracow – 2, Vienna – 3, Prague – 2, and Bucharest, Halle, Jassy, Rome and Venice one each), 6 – whose place of publication is unknown. Chronologically, the *Catalogue* covers 2 works from the 15th c., 23 from the 16th c., 162 from the 17th c. and 202 from the 18th c.

Thanks to a splendid team effort at its Department of Early Books, the National Library can now present its *Catalogue*, created in the research tradition of prof. Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa and Maria Błońska. The authors deserve the highest praise for their competence, precision, and courage to venture beyond ordinary concepts. For researchers, the *Catalogue* is a powerful new tool, which they can use to study the history of Cyrillic books in Poland. The *Catalogue* points to new goals, and sets the standard for others. From the very outset, it found a place in the scholarly canon of books on the subject, greatly contributing to developments in both library and Slavic studies. At the same time, it invites other researchers to meet its challenge.

Aleksander Naumow

Translated by *Marcin Polkowski*

Reviews

Johannes Gutenberg and the Beginnings of the Age of Print

Jan Pirożyński *Johannes Gutenberg i początki ery druku* [Johannes Gutenberg and the Beginnings of the Age of Print], Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warsaw, 2002.

The author, Jan Pirożyński (1936-2004), was a historian, bibliophile, and a member of the Gutenberg-Gesellschaft in Mainz. In his professional life, he was Professor of History and Book Studies at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow. He was also, for many years, Director of Cracow's Jagiellonian Library. He was well known not only in Poland, but also in other European countries, especially Germany and Austria, where he lectured and where his books were published. He participated in international research projects, such as *Germania Slavica* at the University of Leipzig. His last major work, in terms of authorship and editing, was the *Commentary to the Facsimile of the Pelplin Bible of Johannes Gutenberg*, which he wrote together with Professor Janusz Tondel from Nicholas Copernicus University in Toruń and Tadeusz Serocki from Pelplin.

Jan Pirożyński was probably the most accomplished Polish Gutenberg scholar. His task when writing *Johannes Gutenberg and the Beginnings of the Age of Print* involved not just compiling scattered information but performing an additional critical assessment. Much had been written about Gutenberg, the bulk of it in Germany, thus the need to separate fact from fiction entailed for Jan Pirożyński having to look at the whole available bibliography on the subject. All the while, he had to keep in mind that even academic publications on this subject are laden with errors or misconceptions.

Jan Pirożyński did his reading thoroughly, and he does not endorse the bizarre ideas of negligent authors. He does examine, however, a number of academic controversies, and provides his own personal opinion. Some of the views held by scho-

lars in the past were the product of emotion (e.g. nationalism or local patriotic sentiment), and these Jan Pirożyński rejects. He also rejects views that have not been confirmed on scientific grounds. Since recently, historians have access to sophisticated research methods from physics and chemistry. The results are usually unequivocal, and have helped to verify many traditional opinions. The results of this research have been incorporated to good purpose in Jan Pirożyński's book, and the result is a truly well researched historical work.

Jan Pirożyński's book is not only about Gutenberg. It is much richer, in that although the life and activity of the Mainz printer are the central subject, the book also deals with the genesis and development of European typography. The chapters on the beginnings of the era of print could have had as their motto the words of Robert Escarpit: 'the situation was such that printing was bound to be discovered, invented or imported'. Jan Pirożyński proves that the Europe of the 15th century was technically and intellectually prepared for the kind of radical revolution that the invention of printing presented. He describes the repertoire of the early printing houses and the changes in the editorial form of incunabulae. He also discusses the importance of printing for spreading the ideas of humanism and the Reformation. Indeed, the various types of books that evolved during the Renaissance came to play an important social role during the next several centuries, up to the 'digital revolution' of the present day. However, the motif in the book, which is most likely to interest specialists and stimulate academic discussion, is Jan Pirożyński's detailed analysis of the dating of prints related to the Gutenberg workshop.

These included, of course, the famous specimens from the Jagiellonian Library, designated by shelfmark Inc. 2267 [From the Editor: Jan Pirożyński wrote about these incunabula in an article on pp. 30-34 of this issue of *Polish Libraries Today*].

Finally, in the last part of his book, Jan Pirożyński brings together the past and the present. The chapter 'The Invention of Print Initiates a Revolution and a Long-term Media Evolution' is an interesting polemic with the views of Marshall McLuhan, Elizabeth L. Eisenstein and Michael Giesecke on the effects and future of prin-

ting as a medium for reproducing information. Here Jan Pirożyński criticises the facile generalisations used by McLuhan and his followers, who have announced the end of the civilisation of the printed word. His conclusion, as he looks at the future of books, newspapers and magazines, is moderately optimistic. Such an assessment from an experienced historian and bibliophile gives us, printing professionals, the hope that the work of publishers, book scholars, librarians and printers, still has a future in today's world of flashy, intrusive media images.

Andrzej Tomaszewski

Translated by *Marcin Polkowski*

Reviews

The Castle Library of Prince Albrecht of Prussia in Königsberg

Janusz Tondel *Biblioteka Zamkowa (1529-1568) księcia Albrechta pruskiego w Królewcu* [The Castle Library of Prince Albrecht of Prussia in Königsberg], Rozprawy, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń, 1992.

The year 1994 saw the 450th anniversary of the founding of Königsberg (now Kaliningrad) University, and it was an occasion marked by a renewed interest on the part of Polish, German and Russian scholars in the town upon the Pregola river. From among the numerous publications appearing at this time, a book by Janusz Tondel really came to the fore, although the fact that the book was published at this time was more a matter of happy coincidence as opposed to any direct intention on the part of the author.

For many years Janusz Tondel had been carrying out research on the Königsberg Library during the time of the Prussian Duchy, publishing a string of articles in Polish and German journals as well as a number of important critical studies (*Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej* and *Roczniki Biblioteczne*); German journals *Nordost Archiv*, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, *Preussenland* etc.; of book publications the following are worth mentioning: *Katalog poloników z Kammerbibliothek i Nova Bibliotheca księcia Albrechta Pruskiego zachowanych w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Toruniu* [The Polonica Catalogue of Kammerbibliothek and the New Library of Prince Albrecht of Prussia preserved in the Toruń University Library Collection], Toruń, 1991, as well as the German treatise *Eruditio et Prudentia. Die Schlossbibliothek Herzog Albrechts von Preussen. Bestandskatalog 1540-1548*, Wolfenbüttele Schriften zur Geschichte des Buchwesens, Herzog August Bibliothek, 1998.

In 1994 Tondel oversaw the publication of an album of the famous Silver Library of prince Albrecht. Whereas previous to this publication,

Tondel's post-doctoral work on the Castle Library confirmed his position in the eyes of many as the foremost authority on manuscripts and libraries of the Prussian Duchy from the 16th century. His monograph on the Castle Library, which also treated the beginnings of the university library, was only made possible by the fact that 46,000 volumes of Królewiec (Königsberg) and Elbląg manuscripts turned up in the collection of Toruń University Library in 1945, which included a number of priceless catalogues of Königsberg library 16th century manuscripts. For a number of decades the existence of these collections was kept secret and at many stages Tondel must have thought that his work would never see the light of day. Happily things turned out differently, and now Tondel's monograph on the Prince Albrecht Castle Library, alongside works like that of Alodia Kawecka Gryczowa on the Zygmunt August Library, or Jan Pirożyński on the manuscript collection of Zofia Jagiellonka, has become an authoritative work, presenting as it does the Castle Library in the wider cultural backdrop of the Prussian Duchy. The research methods are also modern when compared with the work of his predecessor, E. Kuhnert, *Geschichte der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek zu Königsberg. Von ihrer Begründung bis zum Jahre 1810* (Leipzig, 1926).

Following the Index of Abbreviations and the foreword, these chapters are to be found in the book: I. Cultural Activities of Prince Albrecht; II. Prince Albrecht as a Founder and Keeper of the 'New Library'; III. Librarians; IV. Supply Sources for the Nova Bibliotheca 'New Library'; V. Critical Analysis; VI. Manuscript Collection; VII. Polonica; VIII. Accessibility; IX. The 'New

Library' in the Light of the other Collections of the Prussian Duchy, as well as the opinion of contemporary critics; summaries in German; illustrations.

*

The Castle Library (New Library) was founded in 1529, and was the largest and most important of three libraries (Castle, Chamber, University) founded by Prince Albrecht of Prussia. Its institution was marked by the purchase of 69 books by both the prince's counsel and the court humanist, Crotus Rubeanus. Following his departure from the court in 1530 the Dutch refugee Felix Rex Polyphemus took over the running of the library and remained in the position for almost twenty years, until his death in 1549. His contribution to the functioning of the library, particularly its cataloguing, cannot be overestimated. He oversaw 17 volumes of indexes, of which only 4 are still extant – to be found in Toruń University Library. (These are a priceless source of reference and Janusz Tondel's exploitation of them was key to the success of his publication). From among the following librarians the involvement of the cartographer Konrad Zell, working between 1557-1564 was clearly one of the most important.

During his custodianship of the New Library, two thirds of the present number of books were collected. At the end of the 1540s, the Castle Library was able to boast 1400 prints and 600 manuscripts, whereas in 1568 the Chamber Library of Prince Albrecht (Kammerbibliothek) held almost a thousand titles.

In 1583 the Castle Library incorporated the Chamber Library, and the famous Silver Library of Prince Albrecht in 1611. Finally, in 1827 the collections of the Castle and University Libraries were combined. Of the 40,000 volumes, 33,000 volumes came from the castle library. On its importance, J. Tondel says the following '(...) The Castle Library of the Prussian Duchy, which has the characteristics of a court library, also fulfilled to a considerable degree the function of a public library, which places it among an elite number of reforming libraries belonging to that category, in that they were the predecessors of contemporary public libraries' (p. 184).

In spite of a few shortcomings to this book, which I pointed out as an external reviewer of the published work, submitted as a post-doctoral thesis, it only remains to reiterate that Janusz Tondel's work is a very interesting critical analysis and will inspire further research in this field.

Janusz Mattek

Translated by *Barry Keane*

Reviews

Jewish Ephemera in the Second Republic of Poland in the Collection of the National Library

Barbara Łętocha, Aleksander Messer and Alina Cała, *Żydowskie druki ulotne w II Rzeczypospolitej w zbiorach Biblioteki Narodowej* [Jewish Ephemera in the Second Republic of Poland in the Collection of the National Library], vol. 1, Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw, 2004.

This book is a catalogue of part of the collections preserved in the Department of Social Documents. To be found here are various materials published by Jewish organisations and associations. The book focuses, however, on materials from the inter-war period that were published in the territory of what would be modern-day Poland, comprising mostly announcements, but also circulars, proclamations and advertisements.

The catalogue possesses painstakingly written entries for 423 documents, and in many cases the actual print run of the document is given.

The gathered materials are presented in four parts. The first two cover fliers relating to the political life of Polish Jews, the third, Jewish cultural, charitable and sporting activities. The fourth part deals with Zionist material concerning Palestine. Excellent indices with headings for surnames, organisations, places and publishing houses are also provided.

Due to the fact that the vast majority of these leaflets were written in Yiddish, the authors of the catalogue provide a Polish transliteration, whereas descriptions are given in both Polish and English. In the main, the authors have done an excellent job, but there are a number of oversights to be noted, as with the incorrect dating of document no. 6 as 1928 (albeit with a question mark). The list of candidates for the Jewish People's Party was numbered 20 in 1922, whereas in 1928 that number was allocated to an entirely different party.

An integral part of the catalogue and a valuable contribution to the whole enterprise are

the photographic prints of more than a quarter of the documents to be found in the second part of the book. However, the selection of photographs can seem at times to have been chosen somewhat randomly, with a number of key documents (e.g. nos. 41, 143) recommended for study in the Introduction being overlooked. We must remember, after all, that facsimiles are supposed to aid historians not only as a visual presentation of the collection but above all as source material.

Though they at one time may have seemed to be poor source material, today leaflets offer us a wealthy picture of Jewish activity political, societal, charitable and cultural spheres in the inter-war years, and are valuable complements to newspapers, books of remembrance, memoirs and administrative sources. A part of these documents provide us with illustrations of events that are well known to historians – bitter political fights among Jewish parties, or the engagement of Jewish society in preparations for the defence of the country in the days before the Nazi invasion. Indeed, many proclamations offer precise information on events, which were hitherto either unknown to historians or were poorly documented.

This catalogue is a continuation of the 1999 *Social Documents of Polish Jews (1918-1939) in the Collection of the National Library*. Here we were provided with a thousand documents – proclamations, leaflets for special occasions, statutes and reports by various Jewish organisations. However, a number of the photographs presented only a fragment of the document, thus making

it impossible to read the rest of the text. In comparison to the first publication, the present one is better constructed, particularly in terms of its subject-matter approach to the materials. And what is more, it contains summaries of the documents in the English language.

The historical importance of these documents has only been noted in the past number decades. Throughout the inter-war years, only the National Library gathered them in a systematic way. Tragically, that collection, together with many other special collections, was lost in the conflagration of the

1944 Warsaw Uprising. Beginning with the National Library after the war and extending out to municipal libraries, departments were established, which gathered both contemporary documents as well as those belonging to earlier periods. It must be said, though, that historians are failing to make use of these documents, the reason being that such ephemera are, as a rule, not registered in bibliographies. Accessible catalogues should make the task of the historian a great deal easier. Finally, we can only express the hope that the authors of this volume continue with their arduous but valuable work.

Jolanta Żyndul

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On the cover (left to right): the buildings of the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow, the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Wrocław University Library, the National Library in Warsaw, and a detail of Ms. Gall. Fol. 182, f. 2 r^o from the Jagiellonian Library.

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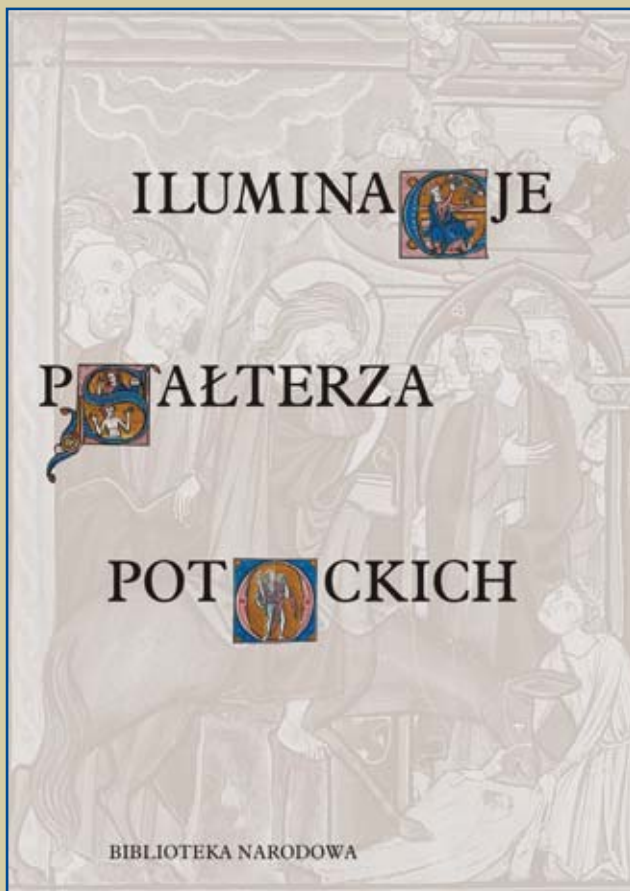


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Iluminacje Psalterza Potockich z kolekcji wilanowskiej [The Illuminations of the Potocki Psalter from the Wilanów Collection], ed. H. Tchórzewska-Kabata Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw, 2003.

This album tells the story of a fine and precious example of the 13th c. French art of book illuminating: the pictorial decorations of the *Potocki Psalter*. The focal point of the album are the works of the Potocki Master – nine full-page miniatures, four of which have been preserved in this manuscript in the National Library. The cycle from the Potocki Psalter, depicting scenes from the life of Christ, is now recreated for the first time as a unity of all surviving parts, and features the four miniatures that have been tracked down and identified in collections in Britain and the United States. Six figural initials showing scenes from the life of King David complete the rich illustrations. A fitting complement to the images are the comprehensive, in-depth texts by Katarzyna Płonka-Bałus and Maria Woźniak. The album is also available in digital form. Apart from the materials included in the book, the CD-ROM provides a full facsimile of the *Potocki Psalter*. Both publications – traditional and digital – are bilingual (English and Polish).



Barbara Łętocha, Aleksander Messer and Alina Cała *Żydowskie druki ulotne w II Rzeczypospolitej w zbiorach Biblioteki Narodowej* [Jewish Ephemera in the Second Republic of Poland in the Collection of the National Library], vol. 1 Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw, 2004.

This catalogue presents ephemera, occasional prints, leaflets, posters and broadsides, issued in Poland by Jewish institutions and organisations in the period from 1918 to 1939. The documents reveal the social, political and economic diversity of Polish Jews in various aspects of public life. The catalogue gives standard bibliographic entries, with transcriptions and summaries in Polish and English. The contents of the catalogue are arranged thematically and chronologically, provided with an index, and illustrated with 110 facsimile reproductions of selected ephemera. The fact that many of the documents featured in this catalogue do not appear in standard bibliographies makes it a useful and flexible historical reference work.

(Both publications are reviewed in this volume)