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BOOK IN CONTEXT

ed. Outi Merisalo

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Preface

Book history as a scholarly discipline reaches back to the *Handschriftenkunde* (later called *codicologie*, *codicology*, etc. in different languages) that developed in the nineteenth century. Such figures as Wilhelm Wattenbach (1819-1897), Ludwig Traube (1861-1907) and Léopold Delisle (1826-1910) firmly established that the most efficient method for investigating written documents of the past is an all-round approach combining the information obtained from the text transmitted, the writing used, the material characteristics of the documents and relevant indications in catalogues and inventories of libraries, archives, auctioneers etc. Every manuscript and document is studied in its historical context. Ever since, this global approach has been dominant in manuscript studies. In the study of the printed book, a similar approach has become increasingly popular in the last few decades. Somewhat surprisingly, manuscript scholars and students of the printed book often seem to operate in different spheres, completely ignoring each other. It was to bring together specialists of both fields that the Finnish Book Historical Society (*Suomen kirjahistoriallinen seura ry – Bokhistoriska sällskapet i Finland rf*) decided to celebrate its first ten years of activity by organizing a colloquium entitled *Book in context. The production and distribution of the European book in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age (500-1800)* (1-2 November 2007). The event was generously financed by the Academy of Finland, with support from the Department of Languages of the University of Jyväskylä, the University of Helsinki and the Cercle Franco-Finlandais de Helsinki. I wish to express my gratitude to all the speakers and the some eighty members of the public who attended the discussions. I am also very grateful to the board members of the Book Historical Society, especially Tuija Laine and Minna Ahokas, for their help in organizing the colloquium, and to Sini Sovijärvi and Minna Varila of the Cercle Franco-Finlandais, who were instrumental in the smooth running of the event.

As it turned out, the colloquium was also the kick-off event for the first large-scale book historical project funded in Finland, *Books in transition. The role of the book in the dissemination of new ideas at an individual level in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (BIT, Academy of Finland project no. 121785, 2008-2011), based on the same cross-fertilization between manuscript and printed book studies (for details and publications, see <http://staff.jyu.fi/Members/merisalo/books>). Many of the participants of the 2007 colloquium were brought together at a colloquium organized by the BIT project at the Finnish Institute (Villa Lante al Gianicolo) in Rome on 10-12 December 2009, entitled *Dal libro manoscritto al libro stampato* [see Merisalo, Outi & Caterina Tristano (eds.) & Lorenzo Amato & Francesca Cenni & Leonardo Magionami (red.) 2010, *Dal libro manoscritto al libro*

stampato. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Roma 10-12 dicembre 2009, Spoleto (CISAM Incontri di studio 8)]. The *BIT* project was followed by more book history through the project *Transmission of Knowledge in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Tralmar, Academy of Finland and University of Jyväskylä no. 267518, 2013-2017), exploring what the public was really reading in late medieval manuscripts and early prints over several genres and types of volumes (for details, see <https://staff.jyu.fi/Members/merisalo/Transmission>). A collective volume highlighting the results of this exploration and bearing the same title as the project, will be published by Brepols in 2019 (*Bibliologia* 53). A new project entitled *Late Medieval and Early Modern Libraries as Knowledge Repositories, Guardians of Tradition and Catalysts of Change* (Lamemoli, Academy of Finland and University of Jyväskylä no. 307635, 2017-2021), examining six important but underexplored libraries (see <https://staff.jyu.fi/Members/merisalo/lamemoli>), will continue Finnish book historical research in an international context.

The programme of the 2007 colloquium featured altogether ten papers on European book history between 1200 and 1800. Of these papers, five are published here in a revised and updated form. I have the pleasure of thanking Elizabeth Peterson and Thomas Hoffmann for their competent English and German language revision. I am grateful to the editorial board, especially to general editor Peter Zeeberg and his very competent and efficient successor, Camilla Horster, for accepting to publish the volume in *Renaissanceforum*.

Wolfenbüttel, 13 June 2019

Outi Merisalo, editor of *Renaissanceforum* 15

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LIBRAIRIE ET POLITIQUE DU LIVRE SOUS CHARLES V



Par Marie-Hélène Tesnière

The nearly 1000-volume library established by Charles V, King of France, in the Falconry tower of the Louvre in the second half of the fourteenth century is a monument of European library history. Its role in the dissemination of culture among the aristocratic elites of Late Mediaeval France cannot be overestimated. As far as book history is concerned, Charles' remarkable library is largely terra incognita. This article aims at describing the rationale and the growth of the collection in the light of manuscripts and archival documents.

Mythe de fondation et naissance d'une librairie royale: l'année 1372

La Librairie de Charles V¹ nous est connue par un inventaire qui est loin d'avoir encore livré ses secrets. Il s'agit du récolement réalisé par maître Jean Blanchet, à la demande du duc de Bourgogne, Philippe le Hardi, le 6 novembre 1380 – Charles V est mort le 16 septembre – de l'inventaire de 1373. Il débute ainsi:

Cy après en ce pappier sont escrips les livres de tres souverain et tres excellent prince Charles, le quint de ce nom, par la grace de Dieu, roy de France, estans en son chastel du Louvre, en troiz chambres l'une sur l'autre, l'an de grace .MCCCLXXIII., enregistrés de son commandement, par moy Gilet Malet, son varlet de chambre. Les livres contenus cy après en ce livre ont esté inventoriés par maistre Jehan Blanchet, secretaire du roy, du commandement de monseigneur de Bourgogne, le .VI^e. de novembre mil.CCC.III^{XX}., et tous y ont estez trouvez exceptez ceulz qui sont signez et escrips sur les marges avoir estez bailliez par le roy, dont Diex ait l'ame. Et ce fait, ledit maistre Jehan a prise la clef des dictes .III. chambres et portee au roy avecques un roule que il a fait de la coppie des diz livrez.²

Vingt-cinq ans plus tard, en 1404, la bibliothèque est décrite par Christine de Pizan, dans son *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roi Charles V*:

Nous dirons encore de la sagece du roy Charles, la grant amour qu'il avoit à l'estude et à science ; et qu'il soit ainsi bien le demonstroit par

¹ Sur la librairie du Louvre, voir Delisle 1907; Avril 1968; Tesnière 2001, 225–233 (Paris et son patrimoine) ; Potin 1999, 25–36 ; Potin 2000, 36–42 et Potin 2001, 1–8.

² Cf. BNF, fr. 2700, f. II.

la belle assemblee de notables livres et belle librairie, qu'il avoit de tous les plus notables volumes, qui par souverains auteurs aient esté compilés, soit de sainte Escripiture, de theologie, de philosophie et de toutes sciences, [volumes] moult bien escrips et richement aournés, et tout temps les meilleurs escripvains que on peut trouver, occupez pour lui en tel ouvrage [...].³

Autour de ces deux pôles se constitua le mythe de fondation d'une librairie royale, née en quelque sorte *ex nihilo*, prestigieuse du temps de Charles V, "pillée" par les frères du roi après sa mort, et lamentablement vendue à l'ennemi pour une bouchée de pain, en 1424.

La réalité des faits matériels connus est pauvre. Un extrait de compte de Pierre Culdoë, entre mai 1367 et juillet 1368 signalant des travaux préparatoires au déménagement des livres du Palais de la Cité à la Tour de la Fauconnerie (pose de lambris au 1^{er} étage, installation de lutrins aux second et troisième étages) laisse penser que la bibliothèque du roi fut installée au Louvre en 1369.⁴ Mais de ce qu'elle renfermait alors nous ne savons rien. Tout au plus imaginons-nous, depuis les travaux de Jean Guérout, qu'elle se trouvait au Palais de la Cité, dans la tour carrée qui terminait le Logis du roi à l'extrémité sud-ouest.⁵

De l'étude littéraire des prologues des traductions dédiées au roi, l'on peut toutefois déduire que la Librairie de Charles V naquit réellement en 1372. Dans la traduction des *Voies de Dieu* de sainte Élisabeth, la bibliothèque apparaît, sous le double patronage de saint Jérôme et Ptolémée, comme une mémoire du savoir.⁶ Dans la traduction du *De Proprietatibus rerum* de Barthélémy l'Anglais, elle est présentée, sous le patronage du roi Salomon, comme une émanation de la *sapientia* royale, un gage de bon gouvernement.⁷

³ Christine de Pizan 1940b, 42–46.

⁴ Delisle 1907a, 7 et 367–368.

⁵ Guérout 1950, 99–102 et Guérout 1994, 229–253.

⁶ "[...] Et est chose couvenable et aussi comme necessaire tant aus petis comme aus grans d'avoir livres pluseurs et de pluseurs translations, pour ce que le latin n'est pas si entendible ne si commun que le langage maternel, et par especial appartient aux princes terriens a en avoir pluseurs, pour ce que leur doctrine puet et doit profiter a tous ; et sur tous les autres, a vous qui estes le souverain roy terrien, appartient a en avoir de toutes manieres et a en faire translater pour votre peuple gouverner et introduire en science et en bonnes meurs par exemple de bonne et ordenee vie ; laquele puet estre sceue par la lecture d'iceus [...]", édité d'après le ms. BNF, fr. 1792, f. 1v–2.

⁷ "[...] Cest desir de sapience, prince tres debonnaire, ait (*sic pour a*) Dieu fichié, planté et enraciné en vostre cuer tres fermement des vostre jennesce, si comme il apert manifestement en la grant multitude de livres de diverses sciences que vous assemblez chascun jour par vostre fervent diligence, esquelz livres vous puisiez la parfonde eue de sapience au seau de vostre vif entendement pour l'espandre aux conseilz et aux jugemens et au proffit du pueple que Dieu vous a mis a gouverner [...]", édité d'après le ms. BNF, fr. 16993, f. 2.

Dans le *Rational des divins offices* de Guillaume Durand, elle inscrit le royaume dans la continuité “dynastique” des monarchies, elle est en ce sens déjà une bibliothèque d’État.⁸ La peinture de la page frontispice de la traduction du *Policrate* de Jean de Salisbury est la mise en images de ce manifeste politique : la roue à livres, c’est bien le savoir encyclopédique ; la main de Dieu qui bénit le souverain, la perfection de sagesse ; les gants du roi oint, la continuité de la monarchie.⁹

C’est tout naturellement un an plus tard, en 1373, que Charles V demande à Gilles Malet de rédiger l’inventaire de la Librairie. Celui-ci, récolé en 1380, décrit étage par étage les livres : 268 dans la pièce du premier étage, 259 dans celle du second étage, 370 dans la pièce du troisième étage. Pour chaque manuscrit, l’inventaire mentionne l’auteur, le titre, éventuellement la langue, le nombre de colonnes, la présence d’illustrations, la reliure, les marques de possesseur. On a là une notice minimaliste de manuscrit, sans équivalent ailleurs. Car ni le catalogue de la *parva libraria* du collège de Sorbonne, en 1338, ni la bibliothèque pontificale à Peniscola ne fournissent de description matérielle aussi détaillée des volumes qu’ils inventorient. Les inventaires suivants, datés de 1411 et 1413, dus à un éminent humaniste Jean Lebègue, sont encore plus précis, puisqu’ils apportent l’élément indispensable à l’identification actuelle des manuscrits : les incipit du second et du dernier feuillets .

Une lecture rapide de l’inventaire de 1380 permet de dégager rapidement les grandes lignes de l’organisation de cette bibliothèque princière, exceptionnelle tout à la fois par le nombre des volumes – près de 917 – et par l’importance accordée aux textes en français. Dans la pièce du premier étage, lambrissée de bois précieux importé de Lithuanie, se trouvaient conservés les livres de sagesse et de gouvernement, c’était à proprement parler, la bibliothèque du prince : d’abord les belles bibles historiques et les textes enseignant l’histoire de l’humanité (*Histoires universelles*, *Miroir(s) historial(s)*, *Faits des Romains*, *Gestes* de Pépin et Charlemagne et Godefroy de Bouillon) ; puis les livres nécessaires au bon gouvernement du royaume (grands textes juridiques, miroirs des princes, textes astrologiques, *Regimes*

⁸ “[...] Car il est escript, *Sapientia VI, capitulum 26 : Rex sapiens stabilimentum populi* : “Le roy sage est establissement et seurté du pueple”. Et pour ce trouvons nous en pluseurs escriptures que non mie tant seulement le roy Salemon enqueroit a savoir de toutes choses sagement, mais trouvons que les roys qui ont tenu les nobles monarchies des grans empires et nobles royaumes ont enquis et encerchié sagement de toutes choses, et lisoient et enqueroient les livres et les escriptures diverses, si comme il appert des Rommains et empereurs paiens, / de Phtolomee et les Egiptiens,/ du grant Caan et les Tartariens,/ de Salemon et les juifs sachans,/ de Alixandre et les Grejoys puissans,/ du noble Charlemaine et les chretiens vaillans [...]”, édité d’après le manuscrit BNF, fr. 437, f. 1v.

⁹ Tesnière 2005, 273–285.

de santé) ; enfin les traductions d'œuvres latines en français que le roi fit faire surtout à partir de 1372. La pièce du second étage, appelée "chambre du milieu" renfermait les textes de dévotion en français, les romans de la Table ronde, les *Romans de la rose*, les recueils de chanson et de poésies ; c'était une bibliothèque de recueillement et de divertissement, en quelque sorte une bibliothèque de princesse. Enfin la pièce du 3^{ème} étage était, à n'en pas douter, avec ses livres en latin (encyclopédies, astrologie, patristique) une bibliothèque de clerc.

Sur l'organisation matérielle de la Librairie, on ne sait pratiquement rien. Tout au plus peut-on raisonnablement imaginer que le fonds ancien de la bibliothèque s'est accru au moins en partie par l'apport successif de petites bibliothèques particulières.

Le programme politique autour du livre

Alors que l'on a beaucoup étudié les composantes intellectuelles de la construction de la Librairie de Charles V, et en particulier le développement des traductions en langue française, on a négligé les éléments liés à la matérialité du livre et à son rôle comme instrument de pouvoir.¹⁰

On n'a en particulier pas remarqué jusqu'à maintenant que la réalisation de la Librairie de Charles V s'inscrivait dans une véritable politique pour le livre, comme on le dirait aujourd'hui. A peine installé sur le trône, Charles V prend en effet des mesures en faveur des artisans du livre : dès 1368–1369, il accorde aux libraires, écrivains, enlumineurs, relieurs et parcheminiers du livre travaillant avec l'Université les mêmes privilèges d'exemption de guet, de garde de la ville et des taxes prélevées sur le blé et le vin qu'aux maîtres et étudiants de celle-ci : preuve qu'il est conscient du rôle des libraires dans la diffusion du savoir. Alors que les chartes sont rédigées et copiées à la Chancellerie, qui se trouve située dans une petite sainte chapelle miniature à côté de la grande Sainte-Chapelle, il n'y a pas d'atelier royal pour la copie des livres destinés au souverain. Toutefois, Charles V semble avoir institué une sorte de charge d'écrivain-libraire du roi pour coordonner la production de livres à son usage. C'est en réunissant les données très parcellaires que l'on a sur chacun des quatre "écrivains du roi", Henri de Trévou, Raoulet d'Orléans, Henri Luillier et Jean Lavenant, que l'on peut imaginer en quoi consistait cette fonction.

De fait le seul à porter réellement le titre d'écrivain du roi est Jean Lavenant. Dans un document de la Chambre des comptes daté de 1364 – copié au XVIII^e siècle – , il est noté que "Jean Lavenant scriptor librorum regis"

¹⁰ Monfrin 1964, 217–246, en particulier 227–232 ; Lusignan 1987, 129–171 ; Lusignan 1989, 303–315.

reçoit un salaire de 4 sous par jour. Son nom n'apparaît pas dans les manuscrits. Mais le remarquable article de Patrick De Winter dans *Speculum* l'a définitivement identifié avec le copiste des *Grandes Heures* de Philippe le Hardi (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 3–1954 + Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale 11035–37+ Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale 10392) et de trois autres manuscrits dévotion où l'on retrouve son élégante écriture gothique. Par comparaison, on peut également lui attribuer la copie du *Livre du sacre de Charles V* (Londres, BL, Cotton Tiberius B. VIII/2), des derniers feuillets des *Grandes Chroniques de France* (BNF, fr. 2813).¹¹

Henri Luillier, qui tenait boutique rue Neuve Notre-Dame, en face de la cathédrale, est nommément cité dans un mandement de Charles V, daté de 1371, comme “Henry l’Uillier nostre escripvain” et identifié dans un acte de 1373, comme “libraire du roi”. C’est lui qui est chargé de faire relier deux exemplaires des recueils pour le roi contenant un *Jeu d’échecs* et *Livre d’information des princes*, tous deux entièrement copiés par Henri de Trévou ; ces manuscrits sont conservés aujourd’hui à la Bibliothèque municipale de Besançon (ms. 434) et à la BNF (fr. 1728).¹² On n’a à notre connaissance pas identifié son écriture.

Bien qu’ils ne soient pas expressément désignés comme “écrivains du roi”, les plus connus des écrivains de Charles V sont les calligraphes Raoulet d’Orléans et Henri de Trévou.¹³ La liberté qu’ils prennent d’inscrire leurs noms dans les colophons des manuscrits destinés au roi montre qu’ils ont sa confiance. Raoulet d’Orléans, à qui on attribue une quinzaine de manuscrits sous le règne de Charles V, en signe et date près d’une dizaine.¹⁴ Il est, semble-t-il, l’auteur des poésies en l’honneur de la Vierge qui y sont copiées : celle de la seconde partie de la petite Bible historique de Charles V (BNF, fr. 5707) portant en acrostiche “Charles, ainsné, fils du roy de France, duc de Normandie et dalphin de Viennoys” ou encore celle qu’il semble avoir composée pour la Bible offerte par Jean de Vaudetar au roi (La Haye, Museum Meermannno-Westreenianum 10. B 23). On y apprend à cette occasion qu’il a déjà copié trois Bibles et demie, et l’on comprend qu’il joue également un rôle de coordinateur entre copistes, enlumineurs et relieur, tant il se plaint des allées et venues qu’il fit dans Paris par tous les temps pour achever ce splendide travail.¹⁵

¹¹ De Winter 1982, 786–842. Fianu 1991, *passim*; Rouse & Rouse 2000a, 261–283 et 2000b, *passim*.

¹² Delisle 1868, 36 et Delisle 1881, 139.

¹³ Oeser 1996, 395–418.

¹⁴ A la liste des manuscrits dans Rouse & Rouse 2000b, 121–122, ajouter Lebigue, Garel & Courvoisier 2001, 9–18.

¹⁵ Boeren 1979, 52–54.

Raoulet d'Orléans est souvent associé à un autre calligraphe, Henri de Trévou, dont les copies sont nombreuses et pas encore toutes répertoriées.¹⁶ Ensemble ils copient le *Policratique* de Jean de Salisbury (BNF, fr. 24287), signé à la fin par Raoulet d'Orléans, les *Grandes Chroniques de France* (BNF, fr. 2813), le *Miroir historial* en particulier (BNF, NAF 15944). Henri de Trévou a lui aussi l'entière confiance du roi. C'est lui qui copie la version révisée des *Grandes Chroniques de France*. C'est son prénom que le chancelier de France, sans doute Pierre d'Orgemont, a inscrit en marge des *Chroniques de France* dédiées à Philippe III le Hardi (Paris, BSG, 782), l'invitant à corriger ou supprimer ici un chapitre pour laisser là de la place pour une miniature de telle taille. Mais c'est à la belle écriture perlée de Raoulet qu'est confiée la charge de recopier le texte sur les feuillets qui doivent être illustrés de peintures nouvelles.¹⁷

On ne saurait évoquer les écrivains-libraires du roi sans leur associer les enlumineurs qui illustrent les manuscrits royaux, même s'il n'apparaît pas qu'ils portent le titre d'enlumineur du roi. Plusieurs ont été récemment étudiés. Le maître du *Policratique*, appelé ainsi d'après le manuscrit de la traduction du *Policratique* de Jean de Salisbury par Denis Foulechat, daté de 1372 (BNF, fr. 24287) a été soigneusement analysé par François Avril.¹⁸ Le maître du livre du sacre a été magistralement mis en lumière par Carra Ferguson O'Meara.¹⁹ Le maître de la Bible de Jean de Sy, appelé ainsi d'après le seul volume subsistant de la traduction de la Bible commandée par Jean le Bon à Jean de Sy (BNF, fr. 15397) n'a pas encore trouvé son "chercheur".

A l'évidence tous ces écrivains et ces artistes collaborent ensemble fréquemment au sein d'un même manuscrit. Ceci n'a rien d'exceptionnel. Ils vivent dans un espace relativement restreint dans et autour de l'Île de la Cité, et ont chacun, semble-t-il, leur spécificité: Raoulet d'Orléans sait calibrer son écriture pour des mises-en-page délicates; le maître du *Livre du sacre* de Charles V est à l'aise dans l'illustration du cérémonial royal. La question serait plutôt de saisir à quel degré ils ont participé à l'élaboration de la politique éditoriale de Charles V.

En effet, dans le même temps que Charles V édifiait la Librairie du Louvre, il menait à bien une véritable politique éditoriale visant à affirmer et magnifier son autorité de roi, et ceci dans trois directions: d'abord, la traduction de d'œuvres latines d'autorité en français, ensuite, l'élaboration de cycles

¹⁶ A la liste des manuscrits dans Rouse & Rouse 2000b, 51–52, ajouter le *Livre du Ciel et du monde*, traduit par Nicole Oresme (BNF, fr. 1082) et une *Bible Historiale* (Harvard, Houghton Library, 555).

¹⁷ Hedeman 1991, 95–133.

¹⁸ Avril 2001, 265–282 et 27 fig.

¹⁹ O'Meara 2001.

iconographiques destinés à accompagner ces nouvelles traductions, enfin, ce qui est moins connu, la réédition d'œuvres déjà publiées en français avec correction du texte et nouvelle mise en images ; de ce dernier aspect les deux exemples les plus évidents sont les exemplaires des *Grandes Chroniques de France* et des *Décades* de Tite-Live de Charles V (BNF, fr. 2813 et BSG, 777).²⁰

Il est difficile de connaître réellement quels étaient les acteurs de cette politique éditoriale. Contrairement à ce que l'on pourrait penser, ce ne sont pas seulement les conseillers-clercs du roi, les Jean Golein, Nicole Oresme ou Raoul de Presles, mais également, selon toute vraisemblance, les enlumineurs et les écrivains du roi. Étudiant minutieusement l'adéquation du texte et des miniatures du *Livre du sacre* de Charles V, Carra Ferguson O'Meara a mis en lumière l'étroite collaboration entre le rédacteur du texte et son enlumineur. Non seulement l'illustration unifie un texte fait de compilations, mais elle commente concrètement et donne à voir la dimension symbolique du rituel et de la liturgie du sacre. Ceci fait du maître du *Livre du sacre* un spécialiste de la symbolique du protocole et du rituel de la royauté – cela est si vrai que c'est à lui qu'est confiée la peinture des funérailles de Jeanne de Bourbon dans les *Grandes Chroniques de France* de Charles V.²¹ D'une manière assez semblable, Claire Sherman Richter a mis en relief dans les traductions de Nicole Oresme, non seulement l'intérêt pour la mise en images de concepts nouveaux, mais également l'élaboration en étroite collaboration avec Raoulet d'Orléans d'une mise en page complexe mettant en regard miniatures et texte.

A travers le livre, la cour est bien, sous Charles V, le lieu où se construit l'image de la monarchie, le foyer d'où rayonne désormais la culture.

La diffusion d'un modèle culturel

La destinée de la Librairie de Charles V fut pour le moins étrange. Ce qui restait des livres de Charles V (843 volumes) fut vendu pour une bouchée de pain en 1424 au duc de Bedford, et avec cet argent – 1200 livres – on construisit le mausolée de Charles VI et d'Isabeau de Bavière.²² La bibliothèque fut dispersée.... Et pourtant, par un jeu de copies successives des bibliothèques princières aux bibliothèques aristocratiques, les textes de référence en français qu'elle seule renfermait servirent de base à la constitution de bien des bibliothèques nobiliaires de la seconde moitié du XVe siècle, on pense en particulier à celle d'un Jacques d'Armagnac.²³

²⁰ Tesnière 2010 ; Tesnière 2007, 149–164.

²¹ BNF, fr. 2813, f. 480v.

²² Delisle 1907a, 138.

²³ Voir Blackman 1994.

Est-ce là vraiment là ce qu'avait imaginé Charles V ? Sans doute pas. On ne sait s'il était facile pour d'autres que les conseillers-clercs de Charles V d'avoir accès aux richesses de la tour de la Fauconnerie. Si Charles V semble avoir, au dire de Christine de Pizan, volontiers montré ses trésors aux heures "de recreation", en revanche, il les a peu prêtés.²⁴ La seule mention un peu célèbre dans l'inventaire de la Librairie est le prêt d'une Apocalypse anglaise illustrée du milieu du XIII^e siècle (BNF, fr. 403) au duc d'Anjou "pour fere fere son beau tappis", la célèbre tapisserie de l'Apocalypse d'Angers.²⁵ Dans l'esprit du roi, la bibliothèque devait être transmise à son successeur, le dauphin ; car seul le savoir des princes peut prémunir le royaume de la tyrannie, affirme le *Songe du Vergier*.²⁶ De fait Charles VI, qui n'avait pas encore tout à fait douze ans, reçut bien de Jean Blanchet, le 6 novembre 1380, en même temps que les clefs des trois chambres de la Librairie le rouleau de parchemin contenant l'inventaire de la bibliothèque (BNF, Baluze 397). Mais il fut bien incapable de poursuivre l'œuvre culturelle de son père.

Yann Potin a montré que c'est à juste titre que Louis d'Anjou, investi du titre de régent, avait emprunté les plus remarquables manuscrits de la bibliothèque du Louvre. Mais on peut aller plus loin en disant que Louis d'Anjou avait, à n'en pas douter, l'intention de continuer l'œuvre culturelle de son frère, cette œuvre de sagesse, désormais pensée comme une prérogative royale. Comment expliquer autrement qu'il emprunte les cahiers non terminés de la traduction de la Bible par Jean de Sy ou la traduction laissée inachevée des *Faits mémorables* de Valère Maxime par Simon de Hesdin.²⁷ Ce sont pratiquement les mêmes ouvrages qui constituent le programme de lecture que Philippe de Mézières assigne, par la voix de la reine Verité, au jeune prince, dans le *Songe du Vieil Pèlerin* (entre 1386 et 1389). Ce sont pratiquement les mêmes ouvrages dont Christine de Pizan nous dit que le roi les affectionnait particulièrement.²⁸ Ce sont pratiquement les mêmes ouvrages, mis à part le *Policratique* de Jean de Salisbury en français qui servirent de base aux bibliothèques aristocratiques du XV^e siècles.²⁹

A partir de 1390, le relais dans la diffusion des textes de la Librairie est pris par Louis d'Orléans, le second fils de Charles V, qui semble vouloir reproduire le modèle paternel de bâtisseur d'édifices et de bibliothèques. Il

²⁴ Christine de Pizan 1940a, 46

²⁵ Cité dans l'inventaire de la Librairie de 1380, cf. BNF, fr. 2700, f. 31v, n°800 et Avril 1968, 159, n°213.

²⁶ Schnerb-Lièvre 1982, 222–223 et 228 : "Et est biau tresor a un Roy avoir grant multitude de livres".

²⁷ Cf. BNF, fr. 2700, n° A 241 et A 268.

²⁸ Christine de Pizan 1940a, 42–46 : "Cy dit comment le roy Charles amoit livres[...]". Voir aussi et Krynen 1981, 97–106.

²⁹ Philippe de Mézières 1969, 220–224.

prend à son service Gilles Malet, le garde de la Librairie de Charles V, pour organiser sa propre bibliothèque qu'il installe en 1397 dans son Hôtel de La Poterne ; il fait travailler les mêmes artisans du livre, à commencer par le célèbre Raoulet d'Orléans. Il poursuit la traduction de la Bible de Jean de Sy... pour ne citer que les réalisations les plus connues.

Une étude des traditions manuscrites de tous ces ouvrages éclairerait sans doute le circuit de transmission des textes de la Librairie royale dans les cercles qui entourent le pouvoir et les modalités de la diffusion de son modèle culturel. En ce qui nous concerne, nous avons mis en œuvre un programme de recherche autour de la Librairie de Charles V et de Charles VI, dont le but est, en premier lieu, d'en éditer les inventaires, d'en identifier les œuvres et les possesseurs et d'en localiser les manuscrits existants.³⁰

³⁰ Il s'agit d'une programme de recherche lancé par la BNF auquel sont associés deux chercheurs de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Françoise Fery-Hue et Monique Peyrafort, et qui participe également au projet BIBLIFRAM retenu par l'Agence Nationale de la Recherche en 2008.

Manuscrits et documents d'archives

Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale
434

Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale
11035–37
10392

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum
3–1954

Harvard, Mass., Houghton Library
555

La Haye, Museum Meermannno-Westreenianum
10. B 23

Londres, British Library
Cotton Tiberius B. VIII/2

Paris

Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF)

Baluze 397

fr. 403

fr. 437

fr. 1082

fr. 1728

fr. 1792

fr. 2700

fr. 2813

fr. 5707

fr. 15397

fr. 16993

fr. 24287

NAF 15944

Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève (BSG)

777

782

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HEINRICH RANTZAU (1526–1598): patron of the arts and bibliophile



By Peter Zeeberg

The Holsatian nobleman Heinrich Rantzau (1526–1598) was a keen bibliophile. In addition to assembling a large library, he took active part in book-production himself both indirectly as a patron of writers and directly as a writer and publisher. Firstly the paper presents an overview of Rantzau's production by means of the copies available in Finland and Estonia. Secondly it focuses on the distribution of his books as gifts. In this connection two hitherto unnoticed copies are discussed: one in the National Library of Finland with a hand-written dedication from Rantzau, the other in the University Library in Tartu, Estonia, with his personal binding and signature.

During the sixteenth century it became clear that the printed book as a medium – a mass-medium even – afforded quite new possibilities. It is well known that Luther and other reformers made skilled use of the new medium for polemics and for the quick distribution of new thoughts. Another example from the same period is Erasmus' *Colloquia Familiaria* – originally a simple school book, but through a long row of editions, each time enlarged with new dialogues, it gradually turned into something more like a journal commenting on questions of current interest.

Here I shall present a figure from the following generation – a man who actually studied with Luther as a young man and presumably learned a lot about the new medium from the milieu in Wittenberg, but who used it in his own way and for his own purposes.

Heinrich Rantzau (1526–1598) was a powerful nobleman and a major statesman within the realm of the Danish king (see Fig. 1). He was governor in Schleswig-Holstein on behalf of three successive Danish kings during most of the second half of the sixteenth century, and an important player in Danish foreign politics.¹

But he was active in many other fields as well: as an avid collector of art, books, estates and castles, as a patron of arts, especially a patron of writers – and as a writer himself. It is the last part – the books that he either financed or wrote – that we are concerned with here. The background for this is a bibliography of these books which I published in 2004, and which has

¹ On Heinrich Rantzau's life see Lohmeier 2000b, Skovgaard 1940, Steinmetz 1991.

subsequently become available on the internet.² But here I shall focus on the part of the material which is available in the National Library in Helsinki, the University Library in Tartu, and the Academic Library at the University of Tallinn.³

Heinrich Rantzau was born in the age of reformation as the eldest son of Johan Rantzau, the general who won the Danish civil war in 1536, thereby putting king Christian III on the throne and securing the Danish Reformation. Heinrich was educated to become a statesman: seven years at Wittenberg university followed by five years at the imperial court. And the humanist education he received in Wittenberg made a lasting impression on him. The arts became not only a hobby, but an integral part of his life as a statesman.

Rantzau's literary activities started at the death of his father 1565 when he published a collection of Latin *elogia* to him, partly written by himself. And over the following 30 years this evolved into a large production of books and prints. My bibliography numbers 264 items, including his own writings as well as books by others which were financed by him and/or dedicated to him. A few of these are only known to us from secondary sources, e.g. from mention in Rantzau's correspondence. But most of them have been preserved in large numbers in libraries all over Europe.

For my bibliography I have mainly used the libraries in Copenhagen, Kiel, Lund, Prague, Rostock and Wolfenbüttel. But let us here take a look at the material that can be found in Finland and Estonia. This material gives a good impression of the various types of books we are dealing with.

First we have a number of books which (or parts of which) are dedicated to Rantzau (numbers in square brackets refer to my bibliography):

David Chytraeus, *Chronicon Saxoniae*, Rostock 1590 [23] (*Helsinki NL*)

David Chytraeus, *Chronicon Saxoniae*, Leipzig 1593 [25] (*Tartu UL*)

David Chytraeus, *Newe Sachssen Chronica*, Leipzig 1597 [29] (*Tartu UL*)

Johannes Glandorpius, *Onomasticon historiae Romanae*, Frankfurt am Main 1589 [83] (*Tartu UL*)

² Zeeberg 2004. Since 2010 the entire bibliography has since been incorporated in the Database of Nordic Neo-Latin Literature (www.uib.no/neolatin), but in a different form: the bibliographical descriptions of title pages, quires etc. are less detailed, while the contents of the books are described in more detail, and a complete set of incipits of Latin poetry has been added. On Rantzau's literary activities see also Lohmeier 1978, Lohmeier 2000a, Oestmann 2004, Zeeberg 2003. On Rantzau as a patron of art see Steinmetz 1991.

³ This work has only been possible through the help of one colleague in each country: Sirkka Havu from the National Library of Finland and Kristi Viiding from Tartu University, who looked through the books for me and supplied transcriptions and photos of relevant bindings and handwritten notes. I am highly thankful to both of them.

- Janus Gruterus, *Suspicionum libri IX*, Wittenberg 1591 [86] (*Helsinki NL*)
Hieronymus Henninges, *Theatrum Genealogicum*, Magdeburg 1598 [94]
(*Tallinn AL*)
Albert Meier, *Methodus describendi regiones, urbes et arces [...]*, Helmstedt
1587 [144] (*Tartu UL*)
Gerardus Mercator, *Atlas*, Duisburg 1595 [147] (*Helsinki NL*)
Nikolaus Reusner, *Opera*, Jena 1593 [244–245] (*Helsinki NL*)
Josephus Scaliger, *De emendatione temporum*, Frankfurt am Main 1593 [254]
(*Helsinki NL, Tartu UL*)
Johannes Wernerus Hannoveranus, *Therapeutica*, Frankfurt am Main 1596
[264] (*Tartu UL*)

Several of these writers were long-time clients of his. Chytraeus was one of his closest collaborators. Through him Rantzau had access to humanists and writers all over Northern Europe, not least in the Baltic area. Others, e.g. Wernerus, are just single dedications from a writer in need of a willing dedicatee. The book by Scaliger was dedicated to Rantzau by the printer, Wechel, who worked for Rantzau several times.

Other books were written and published in some kind of collaboration with Rantzau. Here we find a number of titles which reflect his official position by treating contemporary Danish history or topography in a flattering manner – as instructed by Rantzau:

- Caspar Ens, *Rerum Danicarum Friderico II terra marique gestarum historia*,
Frankfurt am Main 1593 [61] (*Helsinki NL*)
Georgius Braunius, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* [part 4], Cologne 1588 [13]
(*Helsinki NL*)
Georgius Braunius, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* [part 5], Cologne 1598 [14]
(*Helsinki NL*)
Johannes Lauterbach, *Epigrammata de rebus gestis Friderici II*, Frankfurt am
Main 1592 [108] (*Helsinki NL*)

Among these Braunius' work about the cities of Europe is a special case. For several decades he and Rantzau held close contact. Rantzau financed Braunius' work and supplied him with information on the lands of the Danish king – on the basis of which Braunius gave these parts of Europe a highly

flattering and very detailed treatment. Too detailed to Braunius' mind, as it appears, but Rantzau was the one who paid!⁴

Like Chytraeus, Braunius was a central knot in the network of learned correspondents that Rantzau built for himself. Through him Rantzau came in contact not only with humanists in the Netherlands and great parts of Germany, but also with the Catholic world and even with central people within the Roman curia. This network was an important element in his literary activities, both for the production of the books and for their distribution (as we shall see in a moment). But at the same time it was vital to him in his official capacity of a politician and diplomat, as a source of political information for the king of Denmark.

Parallel to these books about the king and his countries, we have a series of books about Rantzau's own possessions:

Nathan Chytraeus, *Variorum in Europa itinerum deliciae*, [s. 1.] 1599 [32]
(Helsinki NL)

Georgius Crusius, *Descriptio Bredenbergae*, Strassburg 1573 [46] (Helsinki NL)

Peter Lindeberg, *Hypotyposis arcium, palatiorum ...*, Hamburg 1591 [125]
(Helsinki NL)

Peter Lindeberg, *Hypotyposis arcium, palatiorum ...*, Frankfurt am Main 1592
[126] (Helsinki NL)

Erpold Lindenbrog (ed.), *M. Adami historia ecclesiastica*, Leiden 1595 [130]
(Helsinki NL)

Albert Lomeier, *Ranzovii descriptio*, Eisleben 1595 [136] (Helsinki NL)

Reiner Reineccius, *Chronicon Alberti, Abbatis Stadensis*, Helmstedt 1587
[237] (Talinn AL)

In Chytraeus we find an exhaustive edition of the inscriptions at Rantzau's many castles and other buildings. Crusius and Lomeier give descriptions of two of these castles: his main residence Breitenburg and the family seat Rantzau, respectively. Lindenbrog's and Reineccius' books are editions of medieval chronicles from manuscripts in Rantzau's library. And in the *Hypotyposis* – by one of Rantzau's most prolific literary collaborators, Peter Lindeberg from Rostock – we find an accumulated description of all his possessions: castles, palaces, books, pyramids, obelisks, stones, mills, fountains, monuments and epitaphs.

⁴ Letter from Braunius to Rantzau, 6 September 1593. Printed in Frobenius [1595], 289–290 [70]. Cf. Zeeberg 1998.

Apart from the actual descriptions of places and monuments, the *Hypotyposis* is an anthology of Latin poetry in praise of Rantzau, his family, his possessions etc., written by a large number of Latin poets, including Rantzau himself. The same is the case with the following:

Andreas Angelus, *Holsteinische Chronica*, Wittenberg 1596 [3] (Helsinki NL)

Georg Ludwig Frobenius, *Epistolae consolatoriae*, Frankfurt am Main (1595) [70] (Helsinki NL)

Hieronimus Henninges, *Genealogiae aliquot familiarum nobilium in Saxonia*, Hamburg 1590 [93] (Helsinki NL)

Genealogia Ranzoviana, Helmstedt 1587 [82] (Tallinn AL)

The *Genealogia Ranzoviana* is Rantzau's own genealogy of his family, written by himself or his assistants, and published in at least six different editions between 1585 and 1587. Both Angelus and Henninges are genealogical works with special emphasis on the Rantzau family. Frobenius' book is a collection of letters of consolation received by Rantzau at the deaths of a number of relatives (his parents, his brother, several of his sons etc., and at the death of King Frederick II in 1588.

Finally we have Rantzau's own books:

Heinrich Rantzau [pseud.: Chr. Cilicius Cimber], *Belli Dithmarsici descriptio*, Strassburg 1574 [168] (Helsinki NL, Tartu UL)

Heinrich Rantzau, *Tractatus astrologicus*, Frankfurt am Main 1623 (Helsinki NL)⁵

Jonas von Elvervelt, *De Holsatia*, Hamburg 1592 [60] (Helsinki NL)

Peter Lindeberg, *Historica rerum in Europa gestarum narratio*, Hamburg 1591 [122] (Helsinki NL)

These four cover Rantzau's main interests – apart from himself and his family – namely history, topography and astrology. The first of these is a historical description of his father's last military feat: the conquest of Ditmarschen in 1559.⁶ The second one is a collection of texts by Rantzau and (mostly) others on astrological topics. Elvervelt's book consists of poetry about Schleswig-Holstein, supplied with prose descriptions by Rantzau. The last book, again by Lindeberg, is not by Rantzau himself, but a sort of commentary to one of

⁵ This is a later reprint of a book that was printed several times during Rantzau's own time: Frankfurt am Main 1593 [230], [Wittenberg] 1594 [231 + 232].

⁶ A modern edition with German translation is available in Rantzau 2009.

Rantzau's own texts, demonstrating that Rantzau's predictions about the year 1588 had been right.

What all these books have in common is Rantzau's presence. Whether they were written and printed on his initiative, as a large number of them were, or just dedicated to him by a client in need of a fee, no reader can miss the fact that Rantzau was involved. Thus this material is interesting as an important source material to patronage and aristocratic self-representation. But to this we should add his correspondence with his clients, which has been preserved to a large degree. We have hundreds of letters between Rantzau and writers, editors, printers etc., which make it possible to take a look behind the scenes.⁷

Let us look at a random example, from the early period: One of Rantzau's earliest publications is a small book on the conservation of health, *De conservanda valetudine*, which was first printed in Leipzig in 1576 [181, later eds.: 182–193]. This was the first book that was published in his own name. His earlier books had either been printed under a pseudonym or under the name of a secretary.

The book was written by Rantzau, but edited by his secretary, Dethlevus Sylvius or Dethlef Wolders.⁸ In his dedication to two of Rantzau's sons, Sylvius claims that he had found the manuscript in the library of Rantzau's at castle Breitenburg and had it printed – without Rantzau's knowledge. That, of course, is hard to believe. This reflects the general aversion against literary pursuits among the nobility. Rantzau did not want to appear too active in the field, as that was not considered becoming in a nobleman. Sylvius does much to explain, and even excuse the fact that a nobleman is dealing with the arts and publishing a book. And he stresses that he himself has decided to have the book printed, although the author himself had not wished to do so.⁹

The correspondence tells another story: In 1575 a certain Antonius Caucius, or Kautz, wrote a letter to Rantzau from Leipzig.¹⁰ He seems to have been private teacher or *praeceptor* to some of Rantzau's sons, for in the letter he mentions that the headmaster of the university, Vitus Winshemius, has invited Rantzau's sons to dinner. Then he turns to what he calls Rantzau's "libellus medicus" (small book on medicine), namely the *De conservanda*

⁷ The principal collections of Rantzau letters are: Three volumes of original letters in Vienna, ÖNB Cod. Vindob. 9737 I-n, one volume of copies in Kiel, UBK S. H. 388, one in Schleswig, LSH Abt. 127.21 Handschriften Nr. 293 (previously in the Rantzau family archive at Schloß Breitenburg), and one in Göttingen, SUB prid. 8, Bd. IX, 2. T. To these should be added the printed collection: Frobenius 1593a, 1593b, and [1595].

⁸ On Sylvius/Wolders see Zeeberg 2004, 59–60.

⁹ For a similar case see Zeeberg 1998, 593 and Zeeberg 2004, 13–14. Cf. Lohmeier 1978b, Zeeberg 2007, 3.

¹⁰ On Caucius/Kautz see Zeeberg 2004, 53–55. Letter, dated 20 March, in Schleswig, LSH, Abt. 127.21 Handschriften Nr. 293, f. 75.

valetudine. Caucius says that he has shown the manuscript to a famous doctor, Simonius, who praised it highly, but also suggested some alterations. Then he asks Rantzau for precise instructions as to the publication: He needs to know the number of copies that Rantzau wants to have printed. He also suggests a shorter title – namely the title that the book actually had when it was printed. Apparently as an answer to a question from Rantzau he affirms that Sylvius’ part in the work is sufficiently shown through the dedication. He also suggests that the Rantzau arms should be printed on page 2 with a Latin epigram on its symbolism by another of Rantzau’s clients, the Hamburg poet Henning Conradinus. That – says Caucius – is how other princes and noblemen do it. And finally he writes that he has made some alterations in a poem that was included in the manuscript. That has been a bit difficult, because, as he says: “non enim sum poeta” (I am no poet).

The letter shows how Rantzau used his employees and other contacts: According to the book, it was his secretary who took the initiative to print the work. But the letter shows that actually Rantzau himself was fully in charge. He, not Sylvius, has sent the manuscript to Caucius and asked him to prepare it for print and have it printed. Caucius’ remark that Sylvius’ part in the work was sufficiently shown through the dedication presumably shows that Rantzau was still hesitating about publishing a book in his own name.

That changed in the years that followed, when book-production clearly became an obsession for him, and an activity in which he himself took an active part. Ten years later, in 1585, we find a letter, very similar to the one from Caucius, from another client: Andreas Schato, who was at this time publishing several books for Rantzau, among them an edition of a Greek text – the *Eisagogica* by Paulus Alexandrinus – from a manuscript in Rantzau’s library. The printing had been delayed, and the letter shows that Rantzau was impatiently pressing Schato to return some woodcut plates for his portrait, his arms etc. Now he needed them for other books elsewhere.

There is no reason to believe that the books were not the results of a sincere interest in literature, history, etc. on Rantzau’s part – and, indeed, in promoting and supporting writers of many kinds. As he himself phrased it: “Musas namque colo, musarum cultores amo” (I worship the muses, and I love the worshippers of the muses).¹¹

But the aspect of self-promotion and self-representation is equally important. Over the years such paraphernalia as portraits, coats of arms, and laudatory poetry became ever more dominating features. And in many cases, as we have seen, praise of Rantzau and/or his family became the main topic

¹¹ Letter to Johannes Heurnius, Segeberg 18 August 1591, Schleswig, LSH Abt. 127.21 Handschriften Nr. 293, f. 862.

of the books. Rantzau's book-production developed into a highly conscious project of self-representation.

Again this is evident from the content of the books themselves, but to get the full picture we must include other material, first of all his letters. As we have seen, Rantzau established a wide-spread network of correspondents among intellectuals. These contacts were essential to his official work as a statesman and diplomat by supplying him with information from abroad – or with further contacts when needed. But basically they were his literary clients, who took part in this book-production as writers, as editors, as contacts to printers etc. And not least: they took part in the distribution of the books.

The self-representation aspect of his books makes real sense only if the books did actually reach the public. And the importance of that is often reflected in the letters. For example, in 1588 Justus Lipsius wrote to Rantzau about some books which Rantzau had tried – in vain – to get printed by Plantin in Antwerp and offered to have them printed by Raphelengius in Leiden instead, adding that they may just as well be distributed to all of Europe from there.¹² Or as another of his contacts wrote concerning the printing of one of his books:

[...] vnd das ehr [*i.e. the printer*] etzliche uberdruckt, kunte der herr stadthalter meines erachtens, auch wol leiden, so werden die exemplaria fern spargieret, vnd were dem hern stadthalter eine ehre.¹³

and to my mind, you, Governor, might well accept that he [*i.e. the printer*] prints too many copies. In this way the copies will be widely distributed, and you will win glory.

But the diffuse distribution through normal sale did not suffice for Rantzau. To have the right effect the books must reach the right people. The letters show how Rantzau bought a number of copies of each book – 50, 100 or more – and had them distributed as gifts to important persons all over Europe. In the letters we can see how Rantzau's contacts in various parts of Northern Europe sent copies of his books to important persons, not least rulers and politicians, in their respective areas. That is the case with among others David Chytraeus in Rostock, Georg Rollenhagen in Magdeburg, Paulus Melissus in Heidelberg, Justus Lipsius in Leiden, and Georg Braunius in Cologne. All of these scholars had widespread networks of their own. In this way Rantzau

¹² Letter from Justus Lipsius, November 1588, Schleswig, LSH Abt. 127.21 Handschriften Nr. 293, f. 570.

¹³ Post scriptum attached to a letter from Petrus Albinus, 11 May 1587, Vienna, ÖNB lat. 9737 n., f. 178 sqq., but presumably rather belonging to a now lost letter from Peter Lindeberg.

could reach the right target group without knowing the persons beforehand himself.

But of course he also sent books directly to friends and contacts, and in many cases this is mentioned in his correspondence. In my bibliography I have made a list of these recipients, and this has been supplied from other material, namely the actual gift-copies of his books, which can be found in libraries all over Europe. By including both extant books with hand-written dedications and references in letters to or from Rantzau I have made a list of 85 recipients of books as presents from Rantzau.¹⁴

This list is not the result of an organized search for gift copies. It only represents what I have accidentally come across during my work on the bibliography. Therefore it is not surprising that the material from Helsinki and Tartu have supplied two hitherto unnoticed specimens.

At the National Library in Helsinki we find a copy of Hieronymus Henninges, *Genealogiae aliquot familiarum nobilium in Saxonia*, Hamburg 1590.¹⁵ As already mentioned, this is a genealogical work. It first appeared in 1587 (without place of print) as a slim volume of genealogies of noble families from the northern German region, including the Rantzaus. This second edition, though, was made on Rantzau's initiative and for his purposes – indeed, it seems that it was made without the original author's knowledge altogether.¹⁶ Here the original short chapter on the Rantzaus had swelled into an extensive, richly illustrated anthology of poetry about Heinrich Rantzau and his family.

On the first guard-leaf of the Helsinki copy we find the following hand-written dedication in German (see Fig. 2):

Dem Edlen vnd Ernuesten J[...] G[...]t
hat der auch Edler, Gestrenger vnd Ernuester
her Heinrich Ranzouw Zum Breitenburg, Kon[iglicher]
May[estät] zu dennemarcken, In den Furstenthumben
Schleßwich, Holstein vnd der Dithmarschen Stadt
halter, diß buch verehret A[nn]o. 1590
Seins Alters 65.

Heinrich Rantzow V(icarius) R(egius)
Anno D(omi)nj 1590
Ætatis 65.

¹⁴ Zeeberg 2004, 261–273. The Royal Library in Copenhagen alone has 23 copies of Ranzoviana with handwritten dedications.

¹⁵ National Library, Helsinki, shelf-mark H MD.701.I.15, Zeeberg 2004 no. 93.

¹⁶ Zeeberg 2003, 542–543.

This book was presented to the noble and honourable by the likewise noble, brave and honourable Herr Heinrich Rantzau of Breitenburg, governor on behalf of his majesty the king of Denmark in the principalities of Schleswig, Holstein and Dithmarschen, in the year 1590, his own 65th year. Heinrich Rantzau, viceroy, A.D. 1590, 65 years of age.

The main text is written by a scribe. The signature (i.e. the last three lines), which, unlike the main text, is in Latin, is in Rantzau's own hand. This is the standard formula in most of Rantzau's hand-written dedications. The only thing that varies is the language of the text written by the scribe: German is used for noblemen and others who cannot be expected to read Latin, while Latin is used for learned people.¹⁷ The signature, however, is generally in Latin as the formulae involved here will have been understandable to everybody. It was evidently important to Rantzau to present himself as a learned man, no matter whom he was addressing. And that, of course, was exactly what he signaled by presenting a book in the first place.

In this case the recipient is evidently a nobleman, but unfortunately the name has been erased with a broad smear of ink. The first name seems to have begun with a *J*, and the third (?) letter might well be an *h*. *Johann* is the most likely suggestion. The surname seems to have begun with a *G* and ended with a *t*. If so, this is not one of the already known recipients of Rantzau's books. Whoever the recipient was, he got the book in the year of publication, which seems to be quite characteristic.

The other book is in the University Library in Tartu, Estonia.¹⁸ It is a composite volume, including two of Rantzau's central titles within one binding. These are his own pseudonymous *Belli Dithmarsici descriptio*, Strassburg 1574 [168], published under the name of Chr. Cilicius Cimber, and: Albert Meier, *Methodus describendi regiones, urbes et arces* [...], Helmstedt 1587 [144].

The binding is original, a white parchment binding with the following text in black on the front (see Fig. 3):

HINRICVS | RANZOVI(vs) | REGIS DAN|IE VICARI(vs) | ANNO
D(o)M(ini) | 1587 | ANNVM AG|ENS AETATS [!] | 62.

¹⁷ A similar example, also in German, dedicated to count Wolff Ernst von Stollberg, is reproduced in Zeeberg 2004, 32.

¹⁸ Shelf-mark R XIIIb 1932:836. The book came to the library in 1932 as a gift from the local boys' grammar school (Poeglaste humanitaargümnaasium). Apart from that the provenance is unknown, but according to the staff at the libraries department for rare books and manuscripts a local manor house library is a possibility.

Heinrich Rantzau, viceroy to the King of Denmark, in the year 1587, 62 years of age.

On the back is the coat of arms of the Rantzau family. These coats of arms, which were used as super ex libris on the books in his private library, are known in several versions. This is the rare round version with the text “*HINRIC* *RANZAW* *STATHOLDER*”.¹⁹

On the guard-leaf, facing the title page, is Heinrich Rantzau’s signature in his own hand: “Hinricus Ranzovius V(icarius) R(egius)” (see Fig. 4).

Rantzau used these bindings both for gift copies like the one we have just seen, and for the books in his own library at Breitenburg. In many cases the gift copies have the dedication directly on the cover: the name of the recipient on the front, and the name of the donor and the year on the back, all in Latin.²⁰ The books from his library normally have his or both his and his wife’s coats of arms as super ex libris, in some cases also his name, and age as on the Tartu volume. In addition to this the books from the library normally have a handwritten owner’s mark on the flyleaf, in the form of a Latin hexameter: “Hic liber Henrici est equitis cognomine Ranzow” (this book belongs to Heinrich, knight, by the surname of Rantzau). The library was looted by Wallenstein in 1624. Large parts of it were taken to Prague, where they are now in the National Library. Others were sold and can be found all over Europe.²¹

Isak Collijn described a volume very similar to the one at Tartu: in a similar binding, but without the hexameter. As he had found the exact same binding including the same two titles in two copies, one in Prague and one in Uppsala, he concluded that they must have been gifts.²² That is not at all implausible considering what we have already heard: that Rantzau in many cases distributed his books by sending them to his contacts in other parts of Germany and asking them to find recipients for them. These may therefore be gift copies meant for distribution to people that Rantzau did not know. And the same may well be the case with the Tartu volume.

On the other hand it seems a bit strange that Rantzau would send out a 13-year-old book for this kind of distribution, even if combined with a brand new one. Collijn’s volumes combined two recent publications, one from 1587 and one from 1588. We do know of gift volumes that include both new and old

¹⁹ A complete catalogue of these ex-libris can be found in Collijn 1941. The round version is treated on p. 3.

²⁰ One example is depicted in Zeeberg 2004, 30–31.

²¹ On the library at Breitenburg and the characteristics of its books see Collijn 1933, Collijn 1939, Collijn 1940, Collijn 1941.

²² Collijn 1941, 3.

books, but they were all presented to named recipients, whom Rantzau knew personally.²³

We cannot be completely sure whether the Tartu volume was meant as a gift or belonged to Rantzau's personal library. But in any case both it and the Helsinki volume testify to Heinrich Rantzau's great love of books and his awareness of the possibilities that the medium afforded.

²³ Zeeberg 2004, 265 (duke John Adolf of Gottorf), 269 (Henrik Ramel), 271 (Heinrich Sudermann).

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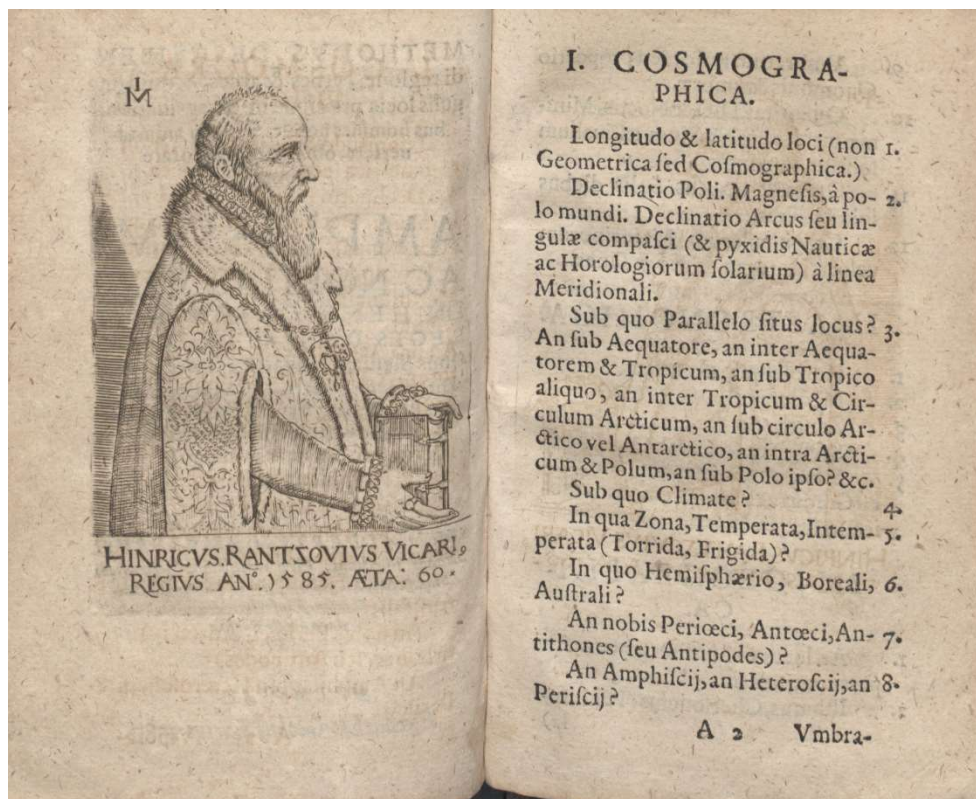


Fig. 1

Copper plate portrait of Rantzau from Albert Meier's *Methodus describendi regiones, urbes et arces* [...], Helmstedt 1587. The University Library, Tartu, shelf-mark R XIIIb 1932:836.

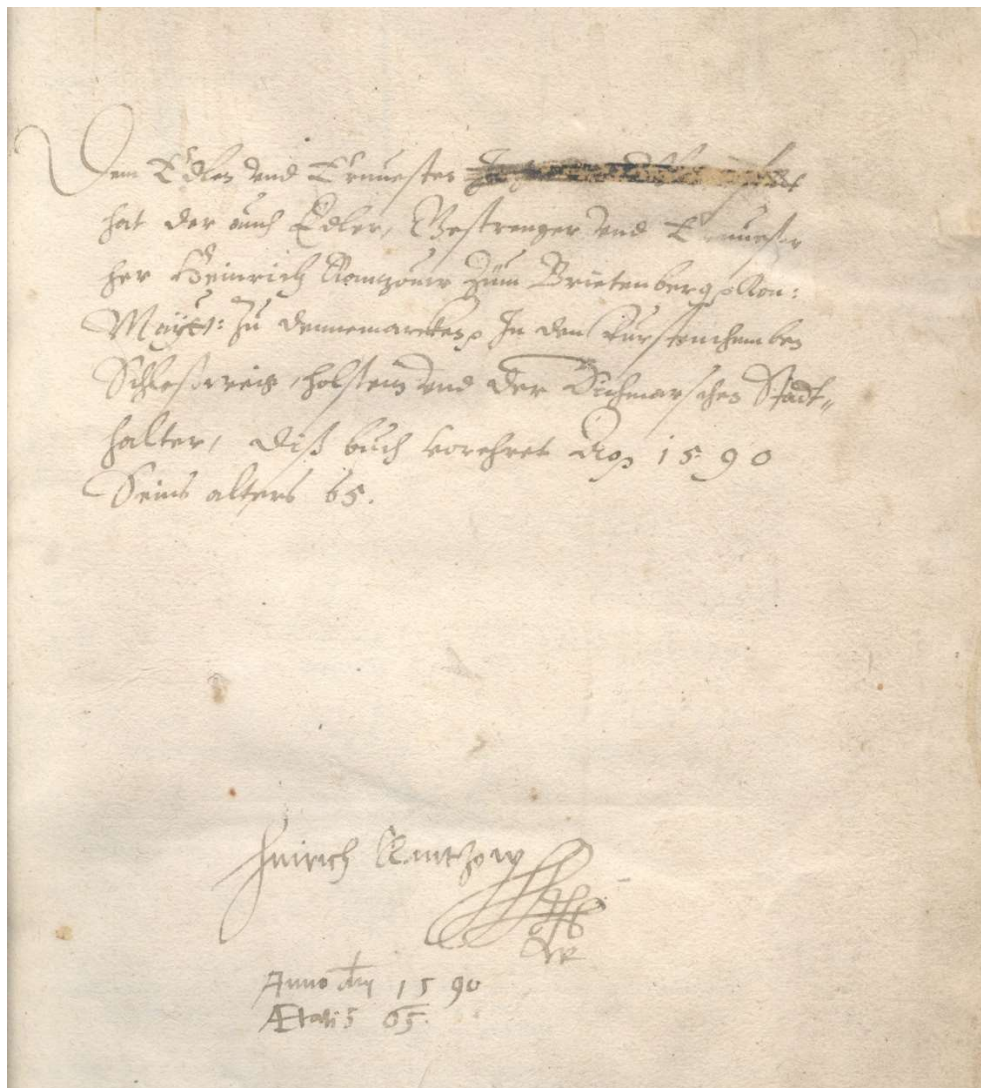


Fig. 2

Dedication in the Helsinki volume of Hieronymus Henninges, *Genealogiae aliquot familiarum nobilium in Saxonia*, Hamburg 1590. National Library, Helsinki, shelf-mark H MD.701.I.15.

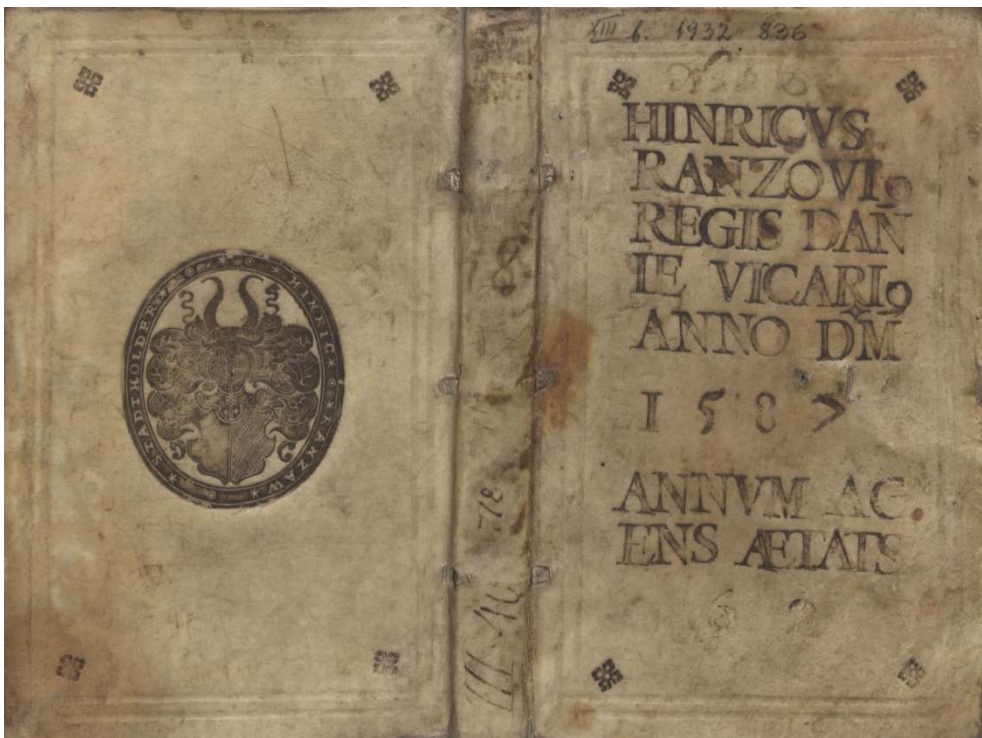


Fig. 3

Binding of the Tartu composite volume of Rantzau's *Belli Dithmarsici descriptio*, Strassburg 1574 and Albert Meier's *Methodus describendi regiones, urbes et arces* [...], Helmstedt 1587. The University Library, Tartu, shelf-mark R XIIIb 1932:836.



Fig. 4

Flyleaf and title page of the Tartu composite volume of Rantzau's *Belli Dithmarsici descriptio*, Strassburg 1574 and Albert Meier's *Methodus describendi regiones, urbes et arces* [...], Helmsted 1587. The University Library, Tartu, shelf-mark R XIIIb 1932:836.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRINTING IN PRESENT-DAY FINLAND AND ESTONIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY



By Tiiu Reimo

This article aims at giving a comparative overview of the early stage of printing in the areas of present-day Finland and Estonia. The overview is based on the analysis of scholarly literature and on book data registered in retrospective bibliographies. In the development of printing in Finland and Estonia, many similar features are observable: the foundation of printing shops took place approximately at the same time, and printing shops were established by the same institutions, i.e. universities and gymnasia. The output of the printing houses cannot be fully reconstructed as much printed matter has perished. The analysis of the surviving print production shows likeness in typology of academic publications as well as of books in vernacular languages.

Introduction

For centuries, books have been the main medium in communicating knowledge and fostering intellectual development. Books from the past preserve cultural memory and are therefore also important for the future. The history of books and printing has been of interest to many scholars both in Finland and Estonia. The large amount of scholarly literature in this field reflects the importance assigned to the printed word in the development of national cultures. Thus, it is not a coincidence that the history of vernacular (Estonian- and Finnish-language) book culture should have been one of the preoccupations of scholars involved in the National Awakening movements on both sides of the Gulf of Finland in the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

The dawn of the printing age in present-day Finland and Estonia is connected to the period when both constituted a part of the Swedish realm and the role of vernacular books in print production was insignificant. The establishment of printing offices had a great impact on social life. They made broader distribution of information possible, providing schools with required textbooks and inspiring local scholars to write and publish books.

This article aims at comparing the early stages of printing in the Grand Duchy of Finland (including the Karelian Isthmus), in the provinces of Estonia and Northern Livonia (modern Estonia) with the emphasis on developments in the latter. The two – Estonia and Livonia – were new provinces in the seventeenth-century kingdom of Sweden. The study is based on the analysis of scholarly literature and data on books, registered in retrospective bibliographies.

Historical background

The successful wars (with Russia 1610–1617; with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth 1600–1629, 1655–1660; with Denmark 1643–1645, 1657–1658, 1658–1660) raised Sweden to the position of the leading power in the Baltic Sea area.

Finland, including the Karelian Isthmus, had been a part of the Swedish realm since the Middle Ages. The northern part of modern Estonia – Harjumaa (German *Harrien*), Virumaa (German *Wierland*) and Järvamaa (German *Jerwen*) – came under the control of the Swedish crown in 1561 through treaties (*per pacta*). The truce of Altmark in 1629 secured Livonia (the southern part of present-day Estonia, together with present-day Northern Latvia), for the Swedish crown. This territory had been conquered in the war between Sweden and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In 1645 the largest island, Saaremaa (German and Swedish *Ösel*), was incorporated into the Swedish realm.¹ Although the Baltic nobility and town magistrates maintained former privileges and opposed the enforcement of Swedish general laws, the role of the Swedish government increased and several administrative and economic measures of reorganization (court practice, taxation, customs duties, a postal service, compulsory conveyance etc.) were carried out.

The population of the new provinces consisted of different social layers (noblemen, merchants, *literati*, artisans, and peasants) and linguistic groups (Estonians, Germans, Swedes, Finns, and Russians). The palette of the locally spoken languages was diverse. German was the official language used in administration and court. It was the language of the nobility and town citizens, clergy, *literati* and merchants who had also some knowledge of the Estonian language. The Estonian language was divided into two main groups of dialects – North Estonian and South Estonian. Both dialects are also represented among the earliest vernacular books – reading primers, catechisms, hymnals and prayer-books. In addition, there were numerous Swedish villages on the islands and Western coast of the Baltic Sea, villages

¹ Anonymous 2002, 11, 282.

of Russian Old Believers on the shores of Peipus Lake and smaller groups of Finns on the Northern Coast. The linguistic diversity was reflected in church and school organization. Education in town schools was given in Latin and German, until the Swedish Church Law of 1686 eventually led to the opening of primary schools for peasant children where teaching took place in vernacular languages.

The largest towns had separate German, Estonian and Swedish congregations, in smaller towns and in rural regions Estonians and Germans (or Swedes, Estonians and Germans) belonged to the same congregation and the Lutheran pastors were obliged to master the languages spoken in the parish.

To administer the new territories, educated and loyal officials were needed which the existing school system was not able to ensure. For this purpose, higher-level schools – *gymnasia* – were established in Tartu (German *Dorpat*) and Turku (Swedish *Åbo*) in 1630, as well as in Riga and Tallinn (German *Reval*) in 1631. The foundation of universities in Livonia and in the Grand Duchy of Finland – the *Academia Gustaviana* of Tartu in 1632 and the *Academia Aboensis* of Turku in 1640 – provided a strong impulse for the development of written culture, of course prevalently in Latin and in German, the vernaculars playing a very small role in the educational system at this point.

Printing shops and printers in the Grand Duchy of Finland, in Estonia and Northern Livonia in the seventeenth century

The first printing shops in the region were established by the universities and for the universities: the printing shop of the *Academia Gustaviana* in Tartu was opened in 1632; the printing shop of the *Academia Aboensis* ten years later, 1642. The printing shops were owned by the universities, which provided printing machinery. Printers were given free accommodation and fixed annual salaries, in Turku to the amount of 100 silver thalers,² and in Tartu 100 copper thalers (33 1/3 state thalers or 50 silver thalers).³ Both shops were obliged to print academic publications of the university: works by professors, student's disputations, academic speeches, programs, syllabi, invitations etc. The *Academia Aboensis* printing shop was allowed to print also books by authors outside the university⁴ and its production is therefore more diverse compared to Tartu.

² Häkli 1988, 99.

³ Jaanson 2000, 23, 26.

⁴ Jaanson 2000, 24.

Grand Duchy of Finland	Years of activity	Estonia and Northern Livonia (present-day Estonia)	Years of activity
Printing shop of the <i>Academia Aboensis</i> in Turku	1642–1713, 1727–1827	Printing shop of the <i>Academia Gustaviana / Academia Gustavo-Carolina</i> in Tartu and Pärnu (German <i>Pernau</i>)	1632–1656, 1690–1710
Printing shop of Bishop Johannes Gezelius in Turku	1669–1713, 1715–1827	Tallinn city and <i>gymnasium</i> printing shop	1633/34– 1828
<i>Gymnasium</i> printing shop in Viipuri (Swedish <i>Viborg</i> , German <i>Wiborg</i> , Russian <i>Vyborg</i>)	1688–1710	Narva printing shop	1695–1705

Table 1

Printing shops in the seventeenth century

In Tallinn and Viipuri, the printing shops were established by *gymnasia* (the second most important institution of higher education after the university); they also catered for town magistrates and the needs of the province. The privileges related to printing shops and printers depended on the will of higher officials as well as on state and town laws.

The preliminaries for establishing the printing shop in Tallinn were started by the town magistrate as early as 1631 and resulted in a contract with the Stockholm printer Christoph Reusner in September 1633.⁵ The privileges of the town printer consisted of a fixed annual salary (50 state thalers), tax advantages and exemption from civic duties. The printer had free rooms for his family and for a printing shop.⁶ After carrying out his official duties (i.e. printing of magistrate laws, regulations and orders, *gymnasium* and official publications), a printer was free to take orders from private individuals and institutions, and to publish books for his own profit. The printing equipment was the printer's personal property, to be passed on to his heirs.⁷

⁵ Robert 1995, 35.

⁶ Robert 1995, 35.

⁷ Robert 1991, 7.

The Viipuri *gymnasium* printing shop was established by Bishop Peter Bång (1633–1696; tenure 1681–1696), much of it on his own funding at the beginning.⁸ The Viipuri printers also catered for Eastern Finland and Viipuri County, and printed official announcements, ecclesiastical texts and occasional publications.

The Narva printing shop was established on the initiative of the local magistrate, with funds provided by Johann Köhler, a printer established at Riga. Charles XI, King of Sweden, authorized the printing shop with *ett simpelt privilegium* on 22 July 1695; the specific terms of the contract, such as free accommodation and tax advantages, were left for the magistrate to decide.⁹

A printing shop similar to the one run by Bishop Johannes Gezelius The Elder (1615–1690; tenure 1664–1690) in Turku was established by the Superintendent of Livonia, Johann Fischer (1633–1705; tenure 1674–1699), in Riga in 1675.¹⁰ Both Gezelius and Fischer were intent on printing religious books and textbooks in vernacular languages, i.e. in Finnish, Latvian and Estonian.

The printers active in the Grand Duchy of Finland were mainly of Imperial German or mainland Swedish origin, whereas those working in Estonia and Northern Livonia were of Imperial German or Baltic German stock. Table 2 gives an overview of the printers and printing shop owners documented for these regions in the seventeenth century.¹¹

The printing shop owners listed here were skilled printers, except for Jacob Becker, the first manager of the *Academia Gustaviana* printing shop, who had been post-master in Riga.¹² Many printers had worked or spent their journeyman years in mainland Sweden: Reusner in Stockholm, Wald in Uppsala and Västerås;¹³ Christoph Brendeken had been a journeyman in Keyser's printing shop in Stockholm.¹⁴ The opposite was true for Johan Winter from Örebro, who had spent his journeyman years in Tartu, and was appointed printer at Gezelius's Turku printing shop.¹⁵

⁸ Perälä 2000b, 41.

⁹ Küng 2005, 130–131.

¹⁰ Anonymous 1978, 40.

¹¹ Perälä 2000a, 27–29; Robert 1991, 26.

¹² Jaanson 2000, 24.

¹³ Häkli 1988, 100.

¹⁴ Jaanson 2000, 32.

¹⁵ Jaanson 2000, 31; Laasonen 1988, 105.

BOOK IN CONTEXT

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Tiiu Reimo: The development of printing in present-day Finland and Estonia

Grand Duchy of Finland	Printers	Estonia and Northern Livonia	Printers
<i>Academia Aboensis</i> printing shop	Peder Erikson Wald: 1642–1653 (Wald’s widow): 1653–1654 Peter Hansson: 1654–1679 (Hansson’s widow): 1679–1680 Johan Larsson Wall: 1680–1710	<i>Academia Gustaviana</i> / <i>Academia Gustavo-Carolina</i> printing shop	Jacob Becker / Jacobus Pistorius: 1632–1635 – inspectors and Michael Törlitz: 1636–1642/44 Johann Vogel: 1642/44–1656 Johann Brendeken: 1690–1710
Printing shop of Bishop Gezelius	Johan Winter: 1669–1705	Tallinn city and <i>gymnasium</i> printing shop	Christoph Reusner: 1633–1637 (Reusner’s widow): 1637–1638 Heinrich Westphal: 1638–1653 (Westphal’s widow): 1653–1654 Adolph Simon: 1654–1675 (Simon’s widow): 1675–1676 Christoph Brendeken: 1676–1710
Viipuri printing shop	Daniel Medelplan: 1689–1693 Matthias Syngman: 1693/94–1697 (Syngman’s widow): 1697–1704 Unknown owner (Johan Limatius?): 1705 Thomas Abbor: 1708/09–1710	Narva printing shop	Johann Köhler: 1695–1705

Table 2

Printers and printing shop owners in the seventeenth century

The beginnings of printing in both the Grand Duchy of Finland and in Estonia were connected with the Reusner family. Christoph (Christoffer) Reusner, born in Neustadt, Mecklenburg, in 1575, was active as printer in Rostock from 1597 until 1612. He was married to Anna Ferber, the daughter of the Rostock printer Augustin Ferber Sr. In 1608 Reusner was invited to become the Royal printer in Stockholm; he worked in Stockholm as a printer, bookbinder and bookseller from 1612 until 1634.¹⁶ After signing a contract with the Tallinn magistrate in September 1633, he established his printing shop in spring 1634 in Tallinn.¹⁷ The original negotiations on the establishment of a printing shop in Turku in 1617 involved Reusner's son Johann (b. 1598),¹⁸ who turned down the offer, and later established himself in Rostock (1632–1639) and Königsberg (1639–1666; now Russian *Kaliningrad*), where in addition to the printing shop he also opened a type foundry.¹⁹

At the *Academia Aboensis* and in Tallinn, the printing shop was a hereditary property. After the death of a master-printer (owner of the printing shop), the shop passed on to printer's widow, who after her year of mourning married a journeyman printer or a manager. In Turku, Wald's widow Ingeborg Pedersdotter married the printing shop manager Peter Hansson, who survived her. Hansson's second wife and later widow Elisabeth Thuron subsequently married Johan Larsson Wall, who succeeded to Hansson at the head of the printing shop.²⁰ In Tallinn, the journeyman Heinrich Westphal married Reusner's widow and took over the shop in 1638.²¹ After Westphal's death his widow married the journeyman Adolph Simon. Simon's second wife, Christine Wichart, survived him and eventually married Christoph Brendeken.²² The Narva printer Johann Köhler was married to Simon's daughter Marie Elisabeth.²³ This connection turned out to be of great importance when the Tallinn magistrate was looking for a new printer in 1716.²⁴ In the case of the *Academia Gustaviana* printing shop in Tartu, the printing shop was owned and the staff employed by the university; the activity of the shop was inspected by two Senate-appointed officials chosen among the university professors.²⁵

¹⁶ Benzing 1982, 395.

¹⁷ Robert 1995, 31–32, 35

¹⁸ Häkli 1988b, 99.

¹⁹ Benzing 1982, 261.r.

²⁰ Perälä 2000a, 27–28.

²¹ Klöker 2005 2, 184, no. 165.

²² Robert 1991, 7–9.

²³ Puksoo 1939, 6.

²⁴ Reimo 2001, 52.

²⁵ Jaanson 2000, 23.

The printing shops were quite small, the staff traditionally consisting of a master-printer, one or two journeymen printers, generally specializing as compositors or pressmen, and one or two apprentices. Usually the work was done on only one printing press. The stock of type fonts was rather small: according to Häkli, the Turku printing shop had at the beginning of its activities such a small amount of type that it was possible to set only half a sheet at a time.²⁶ Type and decorative materials were purchased from different foundries, in the case of the Turku printing shops, mainly from mainland Sweden and the Empire, and in the case of the Estonian and Livonian printing shops, from the Empire. It is very likely that both new and used type were bought. According to Perälä, the first type for the *Academia Aboensis* printing shop was obtained from Peter von Selow in Stockholm.²⁷ The printing shop of Bishop Gezelius used type and decorative materials originating in both mainland Sweden and the Empire. Perälä further suggests that in the beginning Gezelius would have borrowed decorative type from the Academy printing shop.²⁸ The type for the *Academia Gustaviana* printing shop in Tartu was purchased in Stettin, Pomerania, in the summer of 1631.²⁹ Later, several documents indicate Lübeck as an important provider. Johann Brendeken had the worn-out type of the *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* printing shop re-cast there in 1690.³⁰ The type for the Narva printing shop and the decorative materials for the printing shop in Viipuri may also have come from Lübeck.³¹

The protocols of the Senate of the *Academia Gustaviana* document the daily work load of a pressman as varying between 1000 and 1200 sheets per day; a compositor had to manage

Eine forme Cicero, Eine gemeine forme Mittel oder Antiqua, 1 ½ form Tertia, 2 formen Parangon undt Text.³²

Printing shop owners also tried to obtain publishing and book trade privileges. In Stockholm, Christoph Reusner acquired in 1614 a publishing privilege prohibiting re-printing of his output by other printers and allowing him to establish a bookshop to sell his production.³³ In 1637 Reusner applied for the right to publish ABC books (i.e. reading primers) and other textbooks, and to sell imported almanacs and calendars in Tallinn. He died, however, before

²⁶ Häkli 1988b, 100.

²⁷ Perälä 2000a, 46.

²⁸ Perälä 2000b, 31.

²⁹ Jaanson 2000, 18.

³⁰ Jaanson 2000, 32.

³¹ Küng 2005, 135–136; Perälä 2000b, 43.

³² Jaanson 2000, 27.r.

³³ Reimo 2000, 190.

obtaining the authorization.³⁴ The third Tallinn printer, Adolph Simon, managed to secure a publishing privilege in 1672. In conformity to such privileges, it forbade other printers to re-publish his output:

[...] daß alle die Bücher und Schriften, welche von Ihme, seinen Kindern oder Erben, falls Sie die Kunst fortsetzen und gebrauchen, zum ersten neu aufgeleget, oder aufs neue wiederumb übersehen und verbessert, es sey in welcherley Sprache es auch seyn könne, und in Druck ausgehen werden, kein ander hier im Reiche weder nachzudrucken noch feil zu haben erlaubt seyn soll [...].³⁵

The same year, Simon printed a list of his publications, which included 26 books in German, Swedish and Estonian, mainly primers, catechisms, hymnals and prayer books³⁶. The first such lists regarding the Grand Duchy of Finland were printed by Gezelius in 1683 and 1688.³⁷

The activity of the printing shops was set back by the Great Northern War 1700–1721. The equipment and the staff of the Academy printing shop and Gezelius's printing shop were evacuated from Turku to mainland Sweden in the summer of 1713,³⁸ and the equipment of the *Academia Gustavo Carolina* printing shop, active between 1699 and 1710 in Pärnu (German *Pernau*), was removed, together with other university facilities, to Stockholm in 1710. Stored in the capital until 1726, it was then donated to the *Academia Aboensis*.³⁹ Both printing shops of Turku resumed their activities after the Northern War. In 1715 Gezelius's printing shop had been sold to the Merckell family, who also acquired the Academy printing shop in 1750. The head of the family enterprise, Jacob Merckell (? – 1763), then merged the two enterprises.⁴⁰

The Viipuri and Narva printing shops perished in the war. The former was plundered during the capture of Narva in 1704. Köhler applied to the magistrate for help to rebuild it. Though the new Governor General, Alexander Menshikov, first agreed to support the printer, Köhler was soon forced to move his business to Moscow.⁴¹ The Viipuri printing shop was destroyed during the capture of the town in 1710.⁴² Only the Tallinn city and *gymnasium* printing shop stayed in business during the war. It was to remain

³⁴ Robert 1995, 36.

³⁵ Reimo 2000, 191.

³⁶ Anonymous 1978, 39.

³⁷ Laasonen 1998, 105.

³⁸ Perälä 2000a, 27.

³⁹ Jaanson 2000, 36.

⁴⁰ Häkli 1988b, 103.

⁴¹ Küng 2005, 144.

⁴² Perälä 2000a, 27.

the only printing shop in the territory of modern Estonia until the establishment of a second one at Põltsamaa (German *Oberpahlen*) in 1766.⁴³

The output of the printing houses

It is impossible to establish the volume of the books produced by the early printing shops because much of the printed matter has not survived. Analyses and comparisons are based on surviving items and information available on titles that have perished.

The Finnish national bibliography 1488–1700 lists 4463 works 1) in Finnish or 2) printed in the Grand Duchy of Finland or 3) written by authors originating in that region.⁴⁴ Considering works printed in the territory of the Grand Duchy, the number is considerably smaller, i.e. 3574 items printed in Turku and 58 in Viipuri. Of the Turku publications, 950 were produced by the Gezelius printing shop.⁴⁵

Estimating the output of the printing shops established in Estonia and Northern Livonia is not easy. At the moment, the retrospective national bibliography covers only the Estonian-language publications. According to the bibliography, up to the end of the Swedish era, i.e. 1710, 48 Estonian-language books were printed in Tallinn.⁴⁶ No Estonian-language books are known to have been printed in Tartu and Narva. The retrospective bibliography of publications in other languages printed in the territory of modern Estonia is not yet complete. The bibliography of the *Academia Gustaviana / Academia Gustavo-Carolina* printing shop lists 1389 publications from the years 1632–1710.⁴⁷ The output of the Narva printing shop is estimated at about 40.⁴⁸ At the end of 2018, the work version of the retrospective national bibliography of foreign language books listed 1040 publications printed in Tallinn before 1711.⁴⁹ According to Kyra Robert, specialist of the history of printing in Tallinn, the printers also produced some 2200 issues of the newspaper *Revalsche Post-Zeitung*, of which only 145 have survived.⁵⁰

A typological analysis of the output of these seventeenth-century printing shops shows several common features, in particular as regards university printers. Fig. 1 presents the yearly production of Turku and Tartu printing

⁴³ Anonymous 1978, 68.

⁴⁴ Laine & Nyqvist 1996a.

⁴⁵ Laine & Nyqvist 1996b, 616–621.

⁴⁶ Annus 2000, 66–148.

⁴⁷ Jaanson 2000.

⁴⁸ Küng 2005.

⁴⁹ Data from the Centre of the national retrospective bibliography of the Tallinn University Academic Library.

⁵⁰ Robert 1995, 49.

shops until 1656.⁵¹ The figures are based on the number of surviving publications. The yearly output numbers show considerable divergence.

In 1656 Tartu was besieged and captured by the Russian army, after which the activities of the *Academia Gustaviana* were suspended, the professors and students fleeing to Tallinn. The printing shop, together with the library and the university archives, were left in Tartu. Pro-Chancellor Johannes Gezelius had the printing equipment brought to the Church of the Virgin Mary in 1661 where they stayed until 1690.⁵²

The professors failed to resume teaching in Tallinn. The university was only reopened in 1690, under the name *Academia Gustavo-Carolina*, and moved to Pärnu in 1699. War, either current or imminent, was not conducive to boosting either teaching or printing. A comparison of the surviving yearly output of the printing shops in the 1690s (see Fig. 2) clearly reflects the situation: while Tartu produced circa 29.54 publications per year, the output of Turku was 43.8 publications.

The university publications may be divided into three main categories:

- 1) disputations, i.e. written (usually published) essays titled *disputatio*, *dissertatio*, *specimen*, *exercitatio*, *thesis* etc., on which *viva voce* debates took place at the university
- 2) academic speeches,
- 3) official and regulatory publications, such as invitations to public presentations and inaugurations, syllabi and programs.

The main difference between the output of the *Academia Gustaviana* / *Gustavo-Carolina* and the *Academy Aboensis* lies in the number of disputations. The figure for Turku is about three times as high as that for Tartu. It reflects the difficulties in organizing teaching in Tartu in the unstable political situation – after the first successful decades the university stayed closed for 34 years and lost its professoriate and students, while *Academia Aboensis* could carry on teaching. Table 3 presents the number of main types of university publications by categories.⁵³

Academic publications were predominantly in Latin, sometimes in Greek or Hebrew. To the above-mentioned categories should be added works by professors, textbooks and publications of occasional poetry – different kinds of poems or little prose texts to congratulate friends and co-students, and expressions of condolences on the death of a colleague or friend. In the

⁵¹ The chart is based on the data given by Jaanson 2000, 40 and the printers' index of the Finnish national bibliography.

⁵² Jaanson 2000, 31.

⁵³ Jaanson 2000, 40 ; Laine & Nyqvist 1996b, 616–621.

academy printing shop in Tartu and Pärnu, for example, 22 books, 15 textbooks, 21 sermons and 306 occasional publications were printed.⁵⁴

Type of publication	<i>Academia Gustaviana / Gustavo-Carolina</i> (1632–1656; 1690–1710)	<i>Academia Aboensis</i> (1642–1700)
Dissertations / disputations	595	1,767
Disputations in book form ⁵⁵	6	42
Academic speeches	232	218
Invitations, programs etc.	143	99

Table 3

Academy publications in Tartu and Turku

Academy professors were the first authors whose books were printed in Tartu. Johannes Gezelius The Elder (1615–1690), professor of Hebrew and Greek, later professor of theology at *Academia Gustaviana* in 1641–1649, published four textbooks. His *Grammatica Graeca* (1647) gained great popularity, was re-edited 16 times and was used as a textbook in Sweden and Finland as late as the nineteenth century. He was also the author of a Greek and Latin lexicon (*Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*, 1649) and the editor of Martin Trost’s grammar of Hebrew (*Grammaticae Trostianae epitome*, 1647), Jan Amos Comenius’ textbook of Greek (*J.A. Comenij Janua linguarum reserata aurea*, 1648) and poems of Greek authors (*Poemata Pythagorae, Phocylidis et Theognidis*, 1646).⁵⁶ Friedrich Menius (1593/94 – 1659), professor of history, initiated research on local history and laws, publishing the *Historischer Prodromus des Lieffländischen Rechtens und Regiments* in 1633.⁵⁷ The number of educated men in Tartu grew constantly and at the end of the 17th century a bio-bibliographical list of local men of letters titled *Dorpatum in Livonia literatum, anno M.DC.XCVIII exhibitum*, was put together and published by the rector of the Tartu trivial-school, Daniel Eberhard (? – 1710).⁵⁸

Finnish and Estonian-language publications are rare in the print production of the academy print shop. In Tartu, only a Latin-language grammar of South

⁵⁴ Jaanson 2000, 38.

⁵⁵ Collection of several disputations on a certain topic, printed as one book.

⁵⁶ Jaanson 2000, 50–51.

⁵⁷ Jaanson 2000, 50.

⁵⁸ Jaanson 2000, 52.

Estonian language, *Observationes grammaticae circa linguam Esthonicam*, written by the pastor Johannes Gutsclaff, was printed in 1648.⁵⁹ The output of the *Academia Aboensis* printing shop covered non-university publications, including partly or entirely Finnish-language publications, in significant bigger quantity, especially before Bishop Gezelius opened his printing shop. The partly or entirely Finnish-language publications included the *Manuale Finnicum* of 1646, the Turku chapter circular of 1656, the church manuals of 1647 and 1669, two sermons, the passion of Christ according to the four Gospels by Abrahamus Abrahami Ikalensis, published in 1659,⁶⁰ and other religious books and booklets.

The texts in the North Estonian dialect were mainly printed in Tallinn, whereas Riga catered for those in South Estonian. The Finnish and Estonian-language volumes are typologically similar: primers, catechisms and other religious works (Gospels, hymnals, prayer-books etc.). Due to the absence of printing shops in the Grand Duchy, Estonia and Livonia, the first vernacular books were printed outside present-day Finland and Estonia – the Finnish-language books were printed in Stockholm and the Estonian-language books in the German-language parts of the Empire. Contrary to what happened for Finnish-language books, the first ecclesiastical ones in Estonian were bilingual, with title pages and prefaces in German as well as either parallel texts or at least chapter titles in that language. This may be explained by the ministers' poor proficiency in the Estonian language. Bilingual books were characteristic of Estonian book production until 1686, when a New Testament in South Estonian (Tartu dialect) was printed in Riga without any texts or paratexts in other languages.⁶¹

An interesting phenomenon in seventeenth-century vernacular book production is the religious handbook, consisting of several parts. In Finland, the first surviving Finnish-language books on Lutheran dogma were published in 1620–1630. The first handbook – *Manuale Finnicum* – came out 1646.⁶² According to Knuutila and Laine, it was modeled on the Swedish handbook, consisting of a hymnal, catechism, prayer book and extracts from Gospels and Epistles.⁶³ For Estonians, Heinrich Stahl, the most productive author of seventeenth-century religious literature, compiled a bilingual handbook entitled *Hand- vnd Hauszbuch für das Fürstenthumb Esthen in*

⁵⁹ Jaanson 2000, 290, no. 592.

⁶⁰ Laine & Nyqvist 1996a, 466, no. 2539; 744, no. 4126; 405, nos. 2185, 2186; 49, nos. 4, 5, 6.

⁶¹ Annus 2000, 102–105.

⁶² *Manuale finnicum, se on: muutamat tarwittawat ia aina käsillä pidettävät suomenkieliset kirjat, nyt consistoriumin suosioist ia suomast ahkerasti cadzotutu.*; Laine & Nyqvist 1996a, 466, no. 2539.

⁶³ Laine 1997, 140–141.

Liffland in North Estonian. Its first part, a catechism, was printed in Riga in 1632, and the following parts – a hymnal, extracts from the Gospels and the Epistles as well as a prayer-book – appeared in Tallinn in 1637–1638. Joachim Rossihnius produced a version of the handbook in South Estonian consisting of the catechism and the section with the Gospels and the Epistles. It was printed in Riga in 1632.⁶⁴

A similar handbook in Latvian was first printed in Königsberg in 1586–1587. Similarly to the first partly Estonian-language books, its title page was in German. The third edition of this handbook – *Lettisches Vademecum* – was edited by the scholar Georg Mancelius and printed in Riga in 1632.⁶⁵

In the Grand Duchy of Finland, Estonia and Livonia, the handbook was not only an important instrument for ministers but also a reading primer for common people. A commercial success made it possible for master-printers of Stockholm (Meurer and Keyser) and Tallinn (Simon and Brendeken) to finance the printing on their own. Until the end of the Swedish era, altogether six full editions of the handbook in North Estonian (1654–1656, 1673–1674, 1688–1689, 1693, 1694–1695 and 1700–1702) and two in South Estonian (1690–1691 and 1698) were brought out.⁶⁶ The Finnish-language handbook saw ten editions in the same period.⁶⁷ Unlike the Finnish-language handbook, the Estonian-language one never included a church calendar.

The first grammars of the Estonian and Finnish languages were also printed in the first part of the seventeenth century. The first grammar of Estonian, the *Anführung zu der Esthnischen Sprach*, was published by Heinrich Stahl at his own expense in 1637,⁶⁸ whereas the first grammar of Finnish, the *Linguae Finnicae Brevis Institutio*, was compiled by Aeschillus Olai Petraeus and printed in Turku in 1649.

Calendars and almanacs were among the first secular publications for the local inhabitants. The first calendars for the Grand Duchy were printed in Stockholm; for the provinces of Estonia and Livonia in the German-language parts of the Empire. Calendars were not in vernacular languages, but in Swedish and German. Later on calendars became staple products of the local printing shops. The seventeenth-century calendars are known by the names of their compilers. Those by the astronomer and natural philosopher Sigfrid Aronus Forsius (c. 1560–1624), one of the most famous calendar authors, were published in Stockholm and were popular all over the Grand Duchy of Finland, Estonia and Livonia. In Turku, seventeenth-century calendar authors

⁶⁴ *Annus* 2000, 63–70, nos. 11–12, 13–16.

⁶⁵ Šiško 1999, 40, nos. 3–5; Krēsliņš 1992, 132.

⁶⁶ *Annus* 2000, nos. 24–27, 34–39, 51–54, 56–59, 63–68, 72–75, 79–82, 86–91.

⁶⁷ Laine & Nyqvist 1996a, 465–472, nos. 2538–2547.

⁶⁸ *Annus* 2000, no. 17.

include the clergyman and scholar Simon Svenonis Kexlerus (1602–1669), professor of philosophy and physics Andreas Thuronius (1632–1665), the scholars and clergymen Johannes Henricus Flachsenius (1636–1708) and Laurentius Gabrielis Tammelinius (1669–1733).⁶⁹

In Tallinn, the German-language calendars were first authored by Lambertus Kemmerling (ca 1559–1603), the pastor in Kadrina (German *St. Katharinen*), Narva and Tallinn. His first known calendar and predictions for 1585, titled *Almanach* and *Prognosticon*, were printed in Rostock and dedicated to Johan III, the king of Sweden.⁷⁰ Probably he produced new calendars each year, but only few unique copies are nowadays known. His last calendar and predictions for 1602 were printed in Magdeburg.⁷¹ Kemmerlings work was carried on by Gebhard Himsel (Himselius) (1603–1676), professor of mathematics at Tallinn *gymnasium*, city doctor (*Stadtphysicus*) and fortification engineer.⁷² His first known calendar was printed in Berlin in 1635.⁷³ The exact date of his first Tallinn-printed calendar is not known, but the first surviving one was published in 1645.

In the regions considered, the output of the local printers mainly comprised publications of official (laws, orders, announcements) and practical nature (textbooks, religious literature, calendars and occasional publications). As to scholarly works of well-known European authors, they were mostly imported, which confirms the existence of an active book trade.

Book design

The design of seventeenth-century books features three main aspects: typefaces, typographical decoration and illustration. The most important scholarly publication on the book design of the Baltic Sea region is the typographical atlas of Finland by Perälä.⁷⁴ The author presents an analysis of typefaces, initials, symbols, ornaments and vignettes used by printers active in the Grand Duchy of Finland between 1642 and 1827. This imposing work is particularly useful to scholars working on anonymous, undated and non localized publications possibly originating in the Baltic Sea region. Some years later Perälä published also her research on masters of woodcut technique in Finland.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ Laine & Nyqvist 1996, nos. 1117–1118, 1197–1198, 2128–2130, 3722–3723.

⁷⁰ Borchling & Claussen, no. 2314.

⁷¹ Treumann 1977, 32–34.

⁷² Treumann 1968, 114–115.

⁷³ *Alter und Newer SchreibCalender* [...]; *Gross Prognosticon Astrologico-Physicum* [...], see Klöcker 2005, 2, no. 592, 1–2.

⁷⁴ Perälä 2000a, 2000b.

⁷⁵ Perälä, 2005.

Unfortunately, there is no such solid material on typographical material used by the seventeenth century printing shops in Estonia. Only in autumn 2016 the Centre of retrospective national bibliography at the Tallinn University Academic Library started to scan the decorative elements of the 17th and 18th century print production. The so far gathered material enables comparison with publications from the same period in neighboring countries and give evidence of widely spread common esthetical understandings and symbols. Occasional comparisons prove that same kind of typefaces and vignettes were used in the Grand Duchy and the territory of present-day Estonia. According to Perälä, the same typographical decoration appears in volumes printed in Tallinn and in Tartu in the first half of the seventeenth century and in the output of the Viipuri printing house at the end of the century.⁷⁶ Perälä has also found ornaments used in Tartu in 1632 and in volumes printed by Gezelius and the Academy of Turku printing shop later in the century.⁷⁷

In general, book design in the Baltic Sea region followed the trends of European book production: the main format was in-quarto; the title page was filled with text, with different typefaces used to offset the most important parts. The illustrations usually consisted of an engraved title page or frontispiece. Decoration was printed by means of wooden blocks or cast compositions of decorative elements. Occasional publications were adorned with rich ornaments and vignettes. Unlike the Western Europe, title page texts were rarely printed in black and red ink.

Latin texts were printed in *antiqua*, whereas for Finnish and Estonian, Gothic typefaces, mainly *Fraktur* and *Schwabacher*, were used. Printing shops would also buy second-hand type and initials, ornaments and vignettes from other printers.

At present there is very little research on early modern book design in the countries around the Baltic Sea, despite the fact that books as material objects call for this kind of study. Book design will hopefully attract more scholarly attention in the future, especially as regards common artistic taste and connections between printing shops. A study of book design may yield important information completing that retrieved from archival documents.

Conclusion

An overview of the early stages of printing in modern Finland and Estonia reveals many common features between the regions. It is understandable, as

⁷⁶Perälä 2000b, 43.

⁷⁷Perälä 2000a, 133, no.2; II, 267, no. 5; Jaanson 2000, 176, nos. 6, 7.

the printing and publishing enterprises operated within the same legal, ethical and practice standards throughout the Swedish Empire.

The first printing shops were established in the same period and by the same institutions, i.e. universities and *gymnasia*, with similar ownership and publishing privileges. Most printers came either from mainland Sweden or the German-language parts of the Empire; the master-printers were skilled laborers and had gained work experience from different printing shops. The 'local' book printing established the basis for formation of new authors and literary activities. The development of the educational system brought up the need for textbooks and the strengthening of church organization and catechization fostered publishing books in vernacular languages.

Due to the fact that much printed matter has perished, it is impossible to give an exact re-construction of the output of the printing houses. Conclusions based on surviving publications must be cautious. The typological analysis of the print production proves great similarity. University and *gymnasia* publications (disputations and dissertations, works by professors, invitations, speeches, course programs etc.) were mainly in Latin language. The *Academia Gustaviana / Academia Gustavo-Carolina* printing shop produced no books in the Estonian language, and the *Academia Aboensis* printing shop printed but few in Finnish. The vernacular output, where it existed, mainly consisted of primers, catechisms and religious literature. Unlike Finnish-language books, the first printed volumes containing Estonian were bilingual (German-Estonian). In Tallinn and Narva, the majority of the print production was in German, primers and catechisms were also printed in Swedish and Finnish. Typographical elements of the book design show the use of similar decorative elements. The contacts between printing shops in the region seem to be more intensive than indicated by archival documents.

Book culture has always been closely connected with the political, economic and social development of the society. In order to better understand the role of the political power in book production and distribution, to find out institutional and personal contacts between authors, publishers and book sellers and to examine book ownership and changes in reading interests in the Baltic Sea area in the period of the Swedish rule further research collaboration will be essential.

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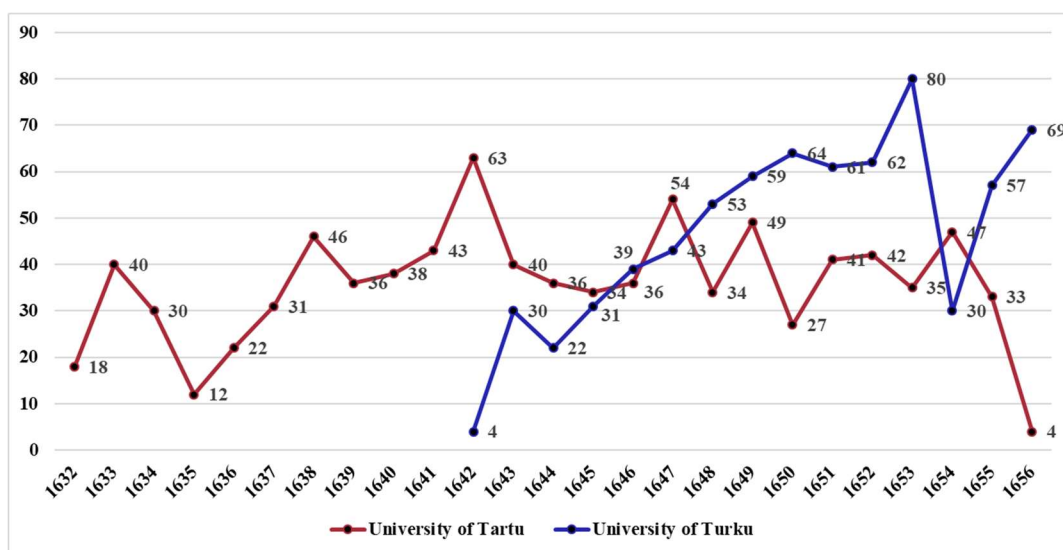


Fig. 1

Print production of *Academia Gustaviana* (1632–1656) and the *Academia Aboensis* (1642–1656) printing shops

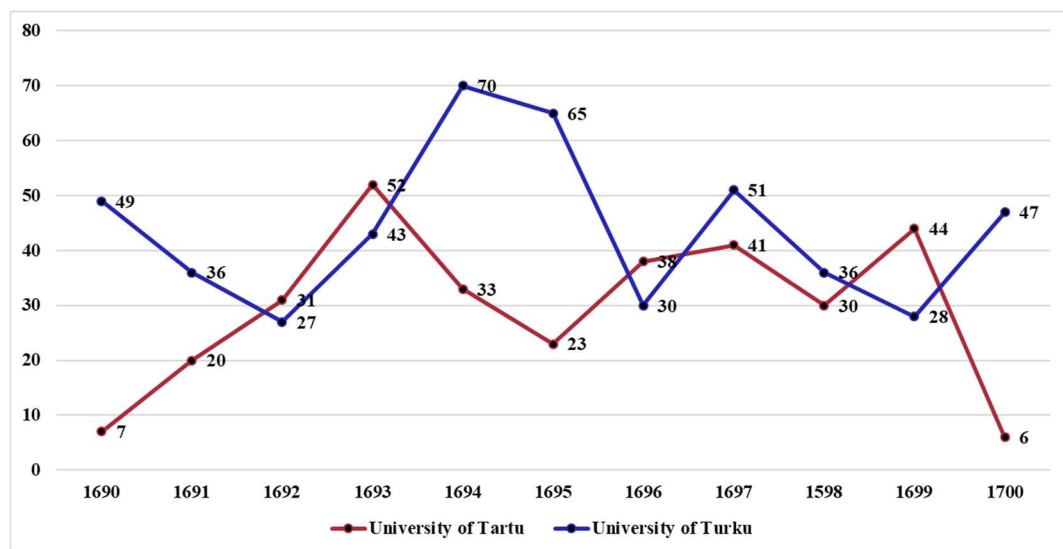
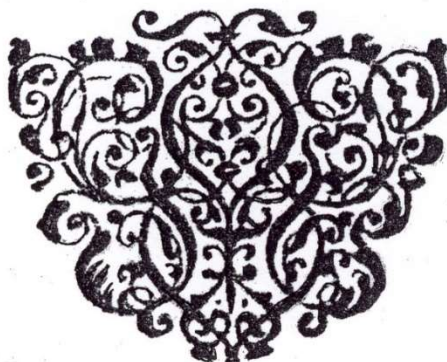


Fig. 2

Print production of *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* and the *Academia Aboensis* printing shops 1690–1700



2

Fig. 3

Tail-piece vignette used by the *Academia Aboensis* and the *Academia Gustaviana* printing shops.⁷⁸



Fig. 4

Title-vignette of the same style used by the Tallinn printing shop in the middle of the 17th century.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Perälä 2000a, 133, no. 2; Jaanson 2000, 130.

⁷⁹ Annus 2000, 80, 84, nos 24, 27.



Fig. 5

A border ornament typefaces, often used in the decoration of title-pages and as head-pieces in Turku, Tartu, Tallinn and Viipuri. Variations occur in position of flowers (up, down or on its side) and in number of rows in head-pieces.⁸⁰

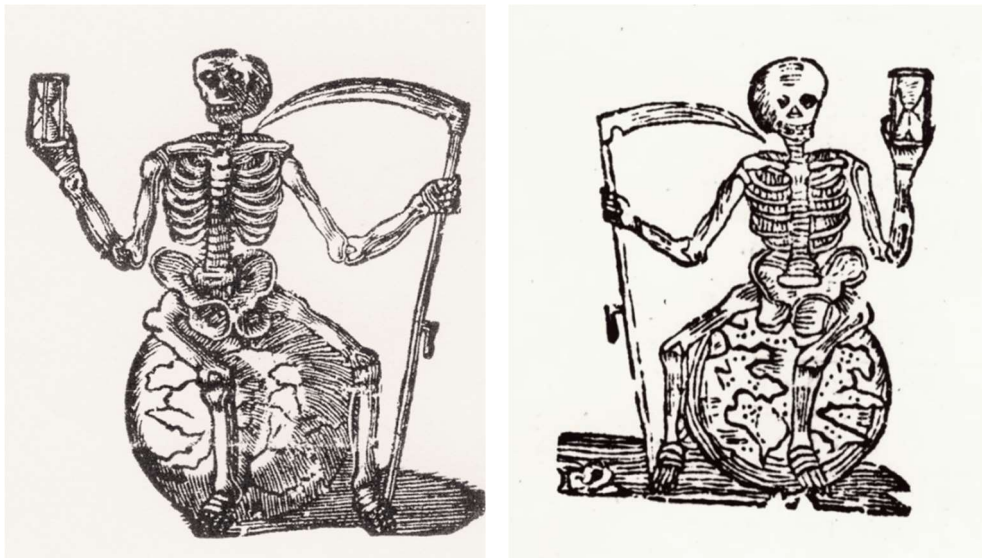


Fig. 6

Woodcut vignettes for funerary publications: left, Gezelius (c. 1678–[1695]); right, Tallinn [1686].⁸¹

⁸⁰ Perälä 2000a, 429, no. 1; Annus 2000, 122, no. 66, 67; Jaanson 2000, 118.

⁸¹ Perälä 2000b, 129, no. 2; Alttöa & Valmet 1973, 67.

THE ROLE OF CLERGYMEN FROM FINLAND AND MAINLAND SWEDEN IN DEVELOPING BOOK CULTURE IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EARLY EIGHTEENTH- CENTURY ESTONIA



By Liivi Aarma

The present article aims at throwing light on publishing in the area of present-day Estonia and the role of clergymen originating from Sweden and Finland in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The authors of the first books printed in Estonia were of German, Swedish and Finnish origin. German and Baltic-German clergy have been researched in greater detail than parish ministers of Swedish and Finnish origin. The article will focus on the latter, placing them in the context of general literary culture in the area of present-day Estonia.

Introduction

The contacts of the region of present-day Estonia with Scandinavia, especially the region of present-day Finland and Sweden, may be traced back to at least the Mesolithic age, i.e. c. 11,000 years ago.¹ The conversion to Christianity of Scandinavia from the tenth century and the Baltic region from the beginning of the thirteenth century onwards naturally strengthened these bonds. In the Middle Ages, the territory of present-day Estonia (part of Old Livonia² encompassing Northern Latvia as well) was dominated in turn by the Danish Crown, the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order and the Hanseatic League. From the middle of the sixteenth century until the beginning of the early eighteenth century the territory was ruled over by the Swedish Crown. Russia annexed it in 1710.³

¹ See e.g. Kriiska 2010.

² The area conquered by the Teutonic Knights in the thirteenth century was later titled Old Livonia (1347–1561). This area, corresponding to present-day Estonia and Latvia, was then divided into two provinces, that of Livonia (Southern Estonia and Northern Latvia) and that of Estonia (Northern Estonia).

³ See e.g. Kala 2009a, 2009b, 2009c, 2009d.

While migrations between Sweden, Finland and present-day Estonia have been well researched⁴, less work has been done on intellectual and religious contacts.⁵ It is to reduce this gap that the present study will examine the clergymen originating in mainland Sweden and the territory of the Swedish Grand Duchy of Finland who were active in developing Estonian as a literary language in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

The sources for this discussion of devotional, theological and ecclesiastical literature are published university registers and diplomas. This material also gives information on students' extracurricular activities.⁶ Furthermore, valuable information may be found in the Estonian, Finnish and Swedish national bibliographies,⁷ as well as catalogues of libraries having belonged to the clergy in these three regions of the Swedish realm.⁸

The beginnings of printing in Estonian

Until the middle of the sixteenth century, the Christianised Old Livonia theoretically belonged to the Holy German Empire, though the Emperor did not exercise any real political power over the region. The highest religious authority was the Archbishop of Riga, appointed by the Pope. The Archbishop ruled over the Saaremaa (German *Ösel*), Läänemaa (German *Wiek*) and Tartu (German *Dorpat*) dioceses. The bishop of Tallinn (German *Reval*) was a suffragan of the Archbishop of Lund in Scania.⁹

As in other territories converted to Protestantism, Estonian-language printing coincides with the Reformation. According to the German historian W. Jannasch, the earliest Estonian-language printed volumes, unfortunately lost, may be dated to 1525. He discovered this information in an entry, dated 8 November 1525, in the palaeographically difficult diary of Johannes Brandes, dean of Lübeck Cathedral Chapter.¹⁰ In his detailed description of the long struggle for power between Catholics and Protestants in Old Livonia, Brandes mentions a barrel containing Estonian, Latvian and Livonian books awaiting shipment to Riga via Travemünde. The books were

⁴ Palli 1995, 2–8; Orav 1994, 104–111; Vasar 1931, 549–567, 639–652; Loit 1982, 193–198; Püvi 1982, 215–222, 230–231; Hyrenius 1922, 1–321; Gustafsson 1912.

⁵ Piirimäe 1982, 94–194, 155–172; Tering 1984, 17–37; Jaanson 2000; Cederberg 1937, 110–149; Cederberg 1939, 8–13; Suolahti 1950, XXI, 73–79.

⁶ For the *Academia Gustaviana* of Tartu, see Tering 1984, 1–528; for the *Academia Aboensis* of Turku (Swedish *Åbo*), see Lagus 1891, Lagus 1895 and Lagus 1906 as well as Kotivuori 2005.

⁷ Annus 2000, 57–684; Laine & Nyqvist 1996a, 1–803; Laine & Nyqvist 1996b, 1–621; Collijn 1942–1944, 1–1080.

⁸ E.g. Tallinn City Archives, f. 230 (Tallinn Magistrate) list 1, B.t 17.

⁹ Zetterberg 2009, 60, 61.

¹⁰ Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, Archiv des Domkapitels Lübeck, D II 6, C I – Actus capitulares.

confiscated by Catholics at the *Guldene Horn* inn at Lübeck.¹¹ By such measures the Catholic Church tried to prevent Reformation from spreading further in Livonia, where the towns and nobility¹² had expressed their support for it on 19 July 1524.¹³

One of the basic tenets of Reformation being divine service and the Bible in the vernacular (in this case German, Latvian and Estonian) for the benefit of the faithful, schools were established in towns and villages. Thus, the first printed books in Estonian would be Lutheran liturgical works and textbooks for schools. According to Brandes, the barrel that had been confiscated contained Lutheran books in German (*in vulgari theutonico*) and *missae*, i.e. Mass texts, in the Estonian, Latvian and Livonian languages. The Mass texts were set aside as nobody could read them. They were not sent to their destination, however, as it was feared that they might be dangerous to people poorly educated in religious matters:

[...] arrestari in deme Guldene Horne vas plenum libris lutterianis, eciam missis in vulgari Livonico, Lettico ac Estonico, ne illut defferret ad navim, ne inficiat populum adhuc rudem in fide christiana (Prande 1993, 252).

As no titles are mentioned, the contents and material characteristics of these volumes may only be guessed at. Many an Estonian scholar has attempted to explain the word *missis*.¹⁴ Ablative of pl. *missae* ‘Masses’, the volumes referred to are obviously connected to prefacial liturgy consisting of such texts as *Kyrie Eleison*, *Gloria*, *Credo*, *Sanctus*, *Benedictus* and *Agnus Dei*.¹⁵ The 1525 reformers of Tallinn used this word for the German word *Gesänge* (‘songs’).¹⁶ It may thus be hypothetised that the book(s) published in 1525 contained Lutheran hymns in three languages, and most probably the *Pater Noster*, *Credo* and the *Ave Maria* as well, considering that the latter three texts

¹¹ Jannasch 1958, 252. See also Johansen 1959, 523–553.

¹² Zetterberg 2009, 67: The diet in Livonia was the convention of the master of the order with his subalterns (bailiffs and commanders of order castles, clerks), high clergy and representatives of Tallinn, Tartu and Riga. Political, economic and clerical issues were discussed at these conventions that became regular in the 1420s–30s.

¹³ Russwurm 1874, 7, 8: Demgemäss haben sich drei Städte vereinigt und verbunden, in allen rechtmässigen Sachen einander beizustehen, namentlich aber das heilige Ewangelium mit Leib und Gut aufrecht zu erhalten und nicht zu verlassen. Als hierauf die Ritterschaften eintraten, wiederholte der Bürgermeister Riga noch einmal, dass die Städte das heilige Ewangelium nach Inhalt des alten und neuen Testaments nicht verlassen wollen; Sild 1924, 52; Wittram 1956, 47.

¹⁴ Miller 1978, Kivimäe 2000, 21–25.

¹⁵ Anonymous 1992, 613–615.

¹⁶ Tallinn City Archive, f.230 (Tallinn Magistrate), list 1, B.q. 1,2.

have survived in the archives in Estonian-language manuscript copies dating from the same period.¹⁷

In 1535 Simon Wandradt and Johannes Koell published a *Catechism* in Estonian and Low German, printed by Hans Lufft in Wittenberg. For unknown reasons, this *Catechism* was banned according to the 1537 minutes of the City Council of Tallinn. The minutes record a court case between bookseller Gisebert Schepeler, who claimed damages for his losses, and the authors of the *Catechism*, which is described as being full of errors. The only remains of the *Catechism* are eleven pages found inside a sixteenth-century book cover in 1929. The pages show marginal corrections of different origins. It may be this print that Johannes Bugenhagen refers to when stating that the people of Livonia deserved *a better book than this booklet*. A translation of Luther's *Catechism* into Estonian was published by Franz Witte in Lübeck in 1554.¹⁸

The author Friedebert Tuglas (1886–1971) once poetically compared the beginnings of the Estonian-language book culture with a little brook that in time was to become a mighty river.¹⁹ More Estonian-language publications were to follow later in the sixteenth century, and the last quarter of the seventeenth century was a period of intense development and use of Estonian in ecclesiastical contexts, with the publication of a series of religious works, textbooks and a translation of the Bible in the South Estonian dialect.

Finnish and Swedish congregations in Estonia in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century

Sweden conquered the whole of present-day North Estonian territory in 1561 and the Province of Livonia in 1621. Settlers from mainland Sweden and Finland had been living on the northern coast and islands of Estonia for centuries. After the annexation of Old Livonia the immigration increased.²⁰ There were Finns living both in towns, mainly Tallinn and Narva, and the countryside. According to Vasar, rural Finns formed about 12% of peasants in Harjumaa (German *Harrien*), 15–18% in Virumaa (German *Wirland*), 10% in Järvemaa (German *Jerwen*) and 3–4% in Läänemaa (German *Wiek*) in present-day Northern Estonia in 1637–1640, whereas in present-day Southern Estonia they made up only 4.5% of the total population. There the largest

¹⁷ Tallinn City Archive, f.230 (Tallinn Magistrate), list 1, B.m. 23 p. 142.

¹⁸ Weiss & Johansen 1956.

¹⁹ Tuglas 2001, 287.

²⁰ Lists of soldiers and officials originating in Finland (500–600 men, a considerable number for the time) are included in the 1570s–1580s reports of the bailiwick (Swedish *fögderi*, German *Vogtei*) in Tallinn, see Stockholm, RA, KA, arch. fond 365.

community, 191 peasant families, lived in Põltsamaa.²¹ Mixed marriages were frequent between prevalently Estonian women and Finnish-origin men, with the children considering themselves Estonians. The origins of the Finnish settlers were mainly in the South and South-East of the Grand Duchy of Finland: Uusimaa (Swedish *Nyland*), the city of Viipuri (Swedish *Viborg*, German *Wiborg*) on the Karelian isthmus, other parts of Karelia and Ingria.

Immigrants also came from other regions controlled by the Swedish crown, i.e. the Finno-Ugric Vepsians and Votes, mainly of low social extraction.²²

From the beginning of the Swedish rule, Finnish-Swedish congregations with preachers of Finnish-Swedish origins were established all over the region.

Tallinn had been divided into three parishes in pre-Reformation times, i.e. St Mary's in the Upper Town (Estonian *Toompea*), St Olaf's and St Nicholas' in the Lower Town. During and after the Reformation, parish boundaries started to lose importance to a new division according to ethnic origins, as services would be held in the particular vernacular of each congregation. While the origins and development of the Estonian-language congregation has been thoroughly studied,²³ the fact that two Swedish-language pulpits were established in two German-language churches (St Nicholas' and St Olaf's) almost simultaneously to the Estonian-language pulpit has not attracted equal attention. In 1550 both St Olaf's and St Nicholas' paid a salary to a Swedish and an Estonian (called *Undeutsch* in German) preacher.²⁴

Swedish-language preachers at St Michael's church predate the oath of allegiance to Sweden given by Tallinn in 1561. Olaus Andreae Suecus, of Swedish descent, is documented as having preached at St Michael's as early as 1557. He reported on the Russian threat to Swedish authorities in Stockholm in April-March, 1558, and through his diplomatical activities contributed to Tallinn opting for Sweden. He was also the Swedish minister of Tallinn Cathedral. At his death in 1563, he was buried in the episcopal vault of the Cathedral.²⁵ The Swedish congregation of St Michael's went on to flourish in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with ministers mostly from mainland Sweden.

The Finnish population of the Lower Town belonged to the Estonian Holy Ghost congregation. From the early seventeenth until the first decades of the

²¹ Vasar, 1931, 564.

²² Vasar, 1931, 642–651.

²³ Johansen 1973, 352.

²⁴ Tallinn City Archive, f.230 (Tallinn Magistrate), l. 1 B.l. 4, p. 203.

²⁵ Aarma 2007, 261.

eighteenth century altogether seventeen preachers, of which fourteen from mainland Sweden, served the congregation.

Since the annexation of Old Livonia by Sweden, there was also a congregation in the Upper Town for Swedish and Finnish soldiers and officials. The preachers were Swedish, the divine services being organised in the hall of Toompea castle. As there are no records of either Swedish- and Finnish-language preachers or services in these languages for the Upper Town, it is reasonable to infer that the congregation only came to being after 1561. During the period under observation 36 preachers, basically of mainland Swedish origin, served the Toompea congregation.

In 1670, an Estonian- and Finnish-language congregation was established in a new wooden church on Tõnismägi (St Anthony's Hill). A suburb of Toompea, Tõnismägi was called after the mediaeval chapel of St Anthony. The chapel had been demolished by 1570, perhaps destroyed in the Livonian War (1558–1583). About a century later, a new wooden chapel was erected eastwards of modern Hariduse Street. The Finnish-Estonian church named *Kaarli kirik* (Finnish *Kaarlenkirkko*) after King Charles XI of Sweden, was consecrated on the fourth Advent Sunday in 1670. The two congregations were officially separated in 1696. In 1710 the church was burnt down and the congregations were taken to the Holy Ghost Church of the Lower Town. In the period between 1670 and 1710, 26 preachers, 24 of them from Finland and two from mainland Sweden, served in this church.²⁶

Another church dedicated to St Michael was established for the garrison and the citizens in Narva, the second-largest town of present-day North Estonia, in 1582. The congregation attended Swedish-language services in the garrison chapel before the completion of a new imposing church in 1642. The Finnish congregation used the Estonian church of Pikk Street from 1583 onwards. In 1704 this church was burnt down by Russian troops. Finally, in 1727 a new church was consecrated for the new re-united Estonian-Finnish-Swedish congregation. 41 preachers, most of them of mainland Swedish origin were active in the Swedish congregation in 1582–1739. The Finnish congregation was served by altogether 20 preachers, 17 of which came from Finland and three from mainland Sweden.²⁷

There were Finnish- and Swedish-language congregations in three towns of North Livonia (present-day South Estonia), i.e. Tartu, Pärnu and Kuressaare on the island of Saaremaa. After the establishment of the Academia Gustaviana in 1632, Tartu became one of the centres of the Swedish- and Finnish-language community. St Mary's congregation had 11

²⁶ Aarma 2005, 33–34.

²⁷ Aarma 2005, 113–118.

preachers in 1630–1699, eight of them from Finland and three from mainland Sweden.²⁸

The church of St John in Pärnu that existed from 1650 until 1710 had but four known preachers, two of them from Finland and two from mainland Sweden.²⁹

There was a bilingual Finnish-Swedish congregation between 1645 and 1710 using the church of St Lawrence in Kuressaare, the capital of Saaremaa, the largest island of present-day Estonia. Six preachers have been recorded; three of them came from mainland Sweden, the other three from Finland.³⁰

In addition to the already mentioned Swedish- and Finnish-language preachers there were still others in other parts of present-day Estonia, especially in Western and Northern Estonia with Swedish and Finnish-language settlers. The Swedish Noarootsi (Swedish *Nuckö*) was served by five Swedish and Finnish-language ministers out of seven, Risti in Harju-Madise by eleven out of fourteen. In Hiiumaa at Käina, four out of twelve, at Pühalepa three out of eleven and at Reigi four out of seven were of Swedish or Finnish origin, whereas the figure for Vormsi is ten out of a total of twelve ministers. Last but not least, between 1564 and 1710 altogether twelve ministers served Paide. Some of these multilingual ministers worked for Estonian congregations as well, e.g. at Vaivara in Virumaa, with eight pastors of Finnish or mainland Swedish origin.³¹

Survey of the clergy of Finnish or mainland Swedish origin serving in the territory of present-day Estonia and their literary output

In the period studied here the contingent of ministers of either Finnish or mainland Swedish origin formed a large part of all the clergy in the territory of present-day Estonia. Altogether 579 clergymen serving in those parts between 1625 and 1710 are recorded. 103 of them were born in mainland Sweden and 67 in Finland, 193 had come from the German-language part of the Empire, 183 were born in the territory of present-day Estonia and 13 in that of present-day Latvia. The two last groups contained German, Swedish and Finnish-language individuals. There are thirteen people for whose origin or language there are no data.³² Generally, the number of ministers of Finnish and Swedish origin was more or less equal. Altogether eighty served in bilingual Finnish and Swedish-language congregations, whereas about ninety worked in other congregations. All of them may be considered potential

²⁸ Ottow & Lenz 1977, 104–105.

²⁹ Ottow & Lenz 1977, 127–128.

³⁰ Ottow & Lenz 1977, 138.

³¹ Aarma 2005, 62, 64, 101, 132, 133, 150, 163, 165, 167, 176.

³² Calculated according to Aarma 2007 ja Ottow & Lenz 1977.

authors and publishers of texts. While from 1630 onwards almost all clergymen of Finnish or mainland Swedish origin were university graduates, some of their predecessors had finished Latin³³ or Cathedral schools only. Since the opening of the *Academia Gustaviana* at Tartu in 1632, many clergymen were graduates of the Faculty of theology. All in all, 185 Finnish and 510 mainland Swedish individuals studied at this Faculty in 1632–1710. Several had attended universities in mainland Sweden (Uppsala University) or Finland (since 1642, *Academia Aboensis* at Turku) before coming to Tartu. Eighty graduates of the *Academia Gustaviana* later worked as ministers in the territory of present-day Estonia.³⁴ By the time of graduation they had written dissertations, speeches as well as MA or PhD theses published in print. The clergymen from mainland Sweden or Finland would write Estonian-language ecclesiastical texts. For example, after the pastoral visit of Johannes Rudbeckius, Bishop of Västerås, to Estonia, a committee was established to examine the state of the Estonian Church. In that context, the Swedish government promised to sponsor the publication of religious texts, i.e. handbooks for home and church, in North and South Estonian dialects.³⁵

Many of the Finnish and mainland Swedish clergymen residing in Tallinn were exceptionally active intellectuals – as many as 45 pastors are known for their theological or ecclesiastical literary output between 1561 and 1710. There were many remarkable ministers of Finnish origin serving on Toompea. We might start the list with Christian, son of Michael Agricola, the Reformer of Finland and creator of literary Finnish. He was consecrated bishop of Northern Estonia in 1584. Though he died two years later, his term was fruitful, with ecclesiastical visitations to Narva, Rakvere and Paide, consolidating the administration of his diocese and writing several texts, not printed but surviving in manuscript form.³⁶

The next in line is Sigfridus Aronus Forsius, a well-known scholar, astronomer, astrologist and man of letters born in Helsinki in c. 1550. He was also headmaster of Tallinn Cathedral School. Recent research both in Finland and Sweden has shed light on different aspects of his work.³⁷ There is, however, but little information on his Tallinn and Narva periods. As the headmaster of the Cathedral school and minister of the Cathedral congregation Forsius had learnt Estonian as early as 1592–1595 during his

³³ Piirimäe 1992, 34: the Latin school, i.e. a *studium particulare*, was a trivial school giving instruction in Latin. The graduates continued their studies at continental universities to become ministers.

³⁴ Tering 1984, 100–103.

³⁵ Stockholm, RA Liv II: 621 Rudbeckius' visitationsresa till Estland.

³⁶ Tarkiainen 2007; Aarma 2007, 9–10.

³⁷ Forsius 1996; Kiiskinen 2005.

first stay in Tallinn. He left that city for Narva in 1596.³⁸ He took a remarkable interest to the local people of the Lower Town, praised the local booktrade and bought several books.³⁹ Until 1599 he worked in Narva, establishing a Swedish-language school there. Upon his arrival in Estonia, he started to compile calendars. During his stay in Narva, this led to a major conflict with another well-known author of calendars, Lambert Kemmerling, minister of Narva German congregation. In his later calendars Forsius frequently wrote about events that occurred during his stay in Tallinn.⁴⁰

In the early seventeenth-century, another Forsius, a clergyman called Sigfrid Aschillus Aronus Forsius Junior served first Tallinn Cathedral congregation and later the congregation at Vormsi. Forsius Junior's grandson from his daughter's marriage to Johannes Jurgh, pastor of Harju-Madise congregation was Heinrich Jurgh/Jürgky, who was active as bookbinder and bookseller in Tallinn in the second half of the seventeenth century.⁴¹

Another family originating in mainland Sweden, the Forselii, were also important in seventeenth-century Estonia and Livonia. The clergyman Johann Haquinus Forselius served Tallinn Cathedral for several years and quickly learned the Estonian language. A relative of his, another Johann Haquinus Forselius (b. Umeå, 1607) arrived from Helsinki in 1634 to take up the positions of headmaster of Tallinn Cathedral School and minister of the congregation of Virgin Mary.⁴² He wrote two dissertations defended and published at Uppsala University. Forselius as a sender of dedications was mentioned. His dedications were published in four editions by the press of the *Academia Gustaviana* in 1637, 1641, 1646 and 1654.⁴³ He was one of the first clergymen to revise the Estonian translation of the New Testament in 1645–1650. From 1645 until his death in 1684 he served the Swedish congregation at Risti church of Harju-Madise. He gathered information about the religious beliefs of the Estonians and his data were published in German by Johann Wolfgang Boecler in 1688.⁴⁴

Bengt Gottfried Forselius (1660–1688), the son of Johann Haquinus Forselius, developed a new orthography for Estonian. The new spelling started to spread in the last quarter of the seventeenth century when B.G. Forselius became headmaster of Tartu Teachers' Training Seminary in 1684.

³⁸ Stockholm, RA, Riksregistraturen 16. XI 1596: "Hr. Sigfrid Canuti skulle blifva brukat till scholemästare uti Narva efter han ähr både lärd uti Bokliga konsten, såsom och kunnig på estnische målet [...]"

³⁹ Kiiskinen 2007, p. 30, 31.

⁴⁰ Aarma 1997, 38–40, 44.

⁴¹ Tallinn City Archive, f.230 (Tallinn Magistrate), list 1, B.f.30; Aarma 2007, 139.

⁴² Aarma 1997, 45–46.

⁴³ Jaanson 2000, 203 (D151), 232 (D305), 272 (D503), 334 (D837).

⁴⁴ Boecler 1685, see Annus 2000.

This school, established by Superintendent General Johann Fischer in 1675, admitted young Estonian men of peasant origin.⁴⁵ According to Forselius, spelling should follow pronunciation, i.e. in modern terms every grapheme should correspond to one phoneme.⁴⁶ Forselius and his nephew Johann Hornung (1660–1715), author of an Estonian grammar in the new orthography, also wrote the first Estonian primer for the students of the seminary. Its explicit purpose was to improve peasant children's reading skills.⁴⁷

We should also mention Johann Georg Forselius from Finland, minister of the Finnish congregation of Tallinn from 1659 (maybe 1657) until 1665.⁴⁸ He witnessed growing tensions between the Finnish-Swedish congregation of the Lower Town and the Finnish-Estonian congregation of the Upper Town. The City Consistory had received a complaint from the clergy of the Lower Town about the Finns of that congregation preferring the minister of Toompea congregation for baptisms, wedding ceremonies and burials. The Finns were fond of the pastor of the Finnish congregation, praising his clear diction in the vulgar tongue. This situation might have contributed to the establishment of the new Kaarli church (cf. above p. 60). Lower Town Finns mostly belonged to the congregation of the Holy Ghost Church, with no minister of their own. Their role in the Lower Town only became evident with the construction of Kaarli church. There are, indeed, records about the Lower Town Finns wishing to arrange the above-mentioned rituals in the Upper Town. The clergy of the Lower Town was very much opposed to this practice as it deprived them of additional income. The quarrel that had started at the time of the minister Johann Georg Forselius carried on into the period of his successor, Heinrich Elosinus (1675–1685).⁴⁹

With the expansion of Tõnismägi, a suburb of Toompea, the local Estonian congregation started to grow as well. Consequently, it was divided into two congregations in 1696. The minister of the Finnish congregation was Nicolaus Indraeus, at the service of the congregation since 1685. He was to stay on until his death in 1707. Since 1692 Kaarli church had been served by Tallinn-born Heinrich Derling, already called the Estonian pastor. When in 1696 he was appointed minister of Rapla congregation, his successor was Johann Zimmermann from Kuressaare. At that point a new parsonage was built for the Estonian congregation. Zimmermann and his wife were arrested by Russians in 1704 but soon released.

⁴⁵ Aarma 2001, 401–404.

⁴⁶ Aarma 1993, 31–47.

⁴⁷ Aarma 1996, 399–406.

⁴⁸ Luther 2002, 137–146.

⁴⁹ Aarma 2003, N 3.

At the end of 1707 the Finnish congregation seems to have been served by two ministers, Johann Levanus, appointed for a widow's year (the year consequent to the death of an incumbent, the widow of whom was given a year to find new lodgings), and Eduard Nybeck (Nybäck), born in Nyen, Ingria (site of St Petersburg, founded on Swedish soil in 1704). Nybeck had been invited to Tallinn by the Consistory in 1707. Since the Northern War had dramatically increased the number of Finnish soldiers and garrisons posted in the city, two Finnish pastors were needed. Eduard Nybeck fled the Russians to Finland in 1710, and then to Sweden in 1714. He was employed as minister of Resmo-Mörbylånga in Öland in 1716 and was appointed provost on 20 June 1722. He went on to become a member of the Swedish Diet in 1726. He died in Stockholm on 22 January 1727 and was buried in St. Clare's.⁵⁰

Johann Levanus, for his part, left Tallinn for Kirbla, Läänemaa County, early in 1710. This move probably saved him from the terrible plague that devastated Tallinn in the second half of the year. Although even Kaarli church perished in 1710, many parishioners survived both the plague and the war. A new minister, Tallinn-born Samuel Striecker, was appointed their minister in 1715. However, he left for Harju-Madise as early as 1717. In 1738 Peter Johann Fass was appointed minister the Estonian Cathedral congregation as well as chaplain of the reformatory-prison. He already left the following year for Rakvere. In the eighteenth century the Finnish-Swedish congregation was incorporated into the Cathedral congregation, whereas the Estonian congregation joined the Holy Ghost Church.⁵¹

Andreas Mennander, father of Carl Fredrik Mennander (1712–1786), bishop of Turku and later archbishop of Uppsala, was first appointed chaplain of the Swedish Cathedral congregation, then became rector of Tallinn Cathedral School and dean of the Swedish congregation (1696), and finally minister of Vigala rural congregation in 1707. In 1710 he fled the Russians to Finland, to become minister of Ilmola congregation (1711–1713 and 1716–1719). Later he was appointed minister of the Finnish congregation in Stockholm. He ended his career as minister of Ilmajoki congregation in Ostrobothnia, Finland (1724–1737). He was married to Margareta Elisabet Ruuth, daughter of Södermanland-born Abraham Ruuth (1640–1693), minister of the Swedish Cathedral congregation at Tallinn.⁵² Andreas' younger brother Johannes Mennander was an army chaplain posted in Estonia

⁵⁰ Aarma 2007, 60, 61, 168, 199.

⁵¹ Aarma 2007, 65.

⁵² Aarma 2007, 182, 183, 226, 227.

and adjunct of the Swedish Cathedral congregation; he, too, fled to Finland in 1710.⁵³

The literary output of ministers of Finnish and mainland Swedish origin is documented in the Finnish, Swedish and Estonian national bibliographies. Thus, for example, the Estonian retrospective national bibliography records Martin Gilläus,⁵⁴ minister of Toompea Finnish congregation, an outstanding specialist in the Estonian language. Together with Reiner Brockmann and Johann Forselius he revised the Estonian Bible translation in the 1640s. Gilläus' literary talent is evident in the beautiful use of metre and rhyme in his Estonian hymn translations. A case in point is his version of Luther's *Vom Himmel hoch*. In the 1680s Nicolaus Congelius (also known as Longelius) contributed to the North Estonian dialect edition of the Bible translation. Congelius, who had moved from Turku to Estonia in 1671 to become minister of Vaivara congregation, died in Narva before September 1690.⁵⁵ The Estonian national bibliography also mentions Nicolaus Bagge, Erich Simonis Buess, Andreas Lundius and Laurentius Melander (Mollerus) among the first translators of hymns into Estonian.⁵⁶ Of clergymen of Finnish and mainland Swedish origin we should mention Erich Johannis Falck who served in Narva and published two poems in Latin and four in Swedish,⁵⁷ as well as Gustav Johann Laurentius, son to Joachim Laurentij, of Sweden, headmaster of Paide town school. G.J. Laurentius, an eminent specialist of Estonian, translated and revised the 1699 Church handbook⁵⁸ and composed a well-known Estonian funeral hymn, *Heh selle / kumb siht hedda seest* ('Blessed the one who is saved') in 1686.⁵⁹ The Swede Gabriel Herlin also contributed to the Church handbook.⁶⁰ Last but not least, one should mention Olaus Bergius, who wrote Latin and Swedish poems and sermons, as well as his son Nicolaus Bergius, whose literary output covered texts in Estonian and Russian publications and the New Testament in the North Estonian dialect.⁶¹

The Finnish national bibliography records a number of clergymen who served in Estonia, e.g. Bergius, Forsius, Forselius, Mommerus and Rothovius. Most of them published also in the territory of present-day Estonia, as Ene-Lille Jaanson⁶² showed in her comparative study of the output of the

⁵³ Aarma 2007, 183.

⁵⁴ Salu 1965, 133–142; Masing 1999, 91–99; Annus 2000, N 26, 37, 38.

⁵⁵ Tafenau 2006, 276, 277; Aarma 2007, 48

⁵⁶ Annus 2000, N 14.

⁵⁷ Annus 2000, N 22; Jaanson 2000, A60, D188, A320, D 452, D519.

⁵⁸ Aarma 2007, 164, 165; Annus 2000, N 83.

⁵⁹ Alttõa, Valmet 1973, 63–68.

⁶⁰ Aarma 2007, 114; Annus 2000, N 83.

⁶¹ Aarma 2007, 25, 26.

⁶² Jaanson 2000.

Academia Gustaviana at Tartu and the Finnish national bibliography. The list of works published by the *Academia Gustaviana* during the Swedish period contains the names of Ericus Johannis Albogius (contribution to 9 publications), Henricus Bartholinus (6), Gamaliel Bergius (14), Olaus Nicolai Bergius (9), Ericus Buure (6), Olaus Duncanus (2), Magnus Lallaerus (14), Andreas Lundius (one), Laurentius Mellerus/Melander/Mollerus, (9), Georg Preuss (11), Petrus Momerus (2), Benedict Rothovius (4) and others.

Conclusion

To sum up: the literary output of the clergymen from Finland and mainland Sweden active in the territory of present-day Estonia in the seventeenth century was by any standards considerable. On the one hand, they all had a university education, which meant that they had experience in composing different types of texts, and on the other hand, they were keen on producing and printing ecclesiastical texts in Estonian. In this, they were far from being alone, as it was the local clergy and ministers originating in different parts of the Empire that dominated the process of developing Estonian as a written language. However, as regards bringing the Estonian literary language closer to the spoken language and contributing to the Bible translation, the role of seventeenth-century ministers of Finnish and mainland Swedish origins cannot be overestimated.

Manuscripts and archival documents**Tallinn City Archive**

f. 230 (Tallinn Magistrate), list 1, B.f. 30; B.l. 4; B.q. 1, 2; B.t 17.

Stockholm, Riksarkivet (RA)

Liv II-621 – Rudbeckius' visitationsresa till Estland

Kammararkivet, Baltiska kameralia. Fond 365: Fogderäkenskaperna i Reval.

Riksregistraturet 1596.

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GEFÄHRLICHE BÜCHER, GEFÄHRLICHE GATTUNGEN, GEFÄHRLICHE VORLAGEN:



die Geburt der Satire in Livland*

Von Kristi Viiding

In this contribution, the first humanist Latin satire from Livonia, printed anonymously in Riga in 1598–1599 and so far never mentioned in bibliographies and literary histories, is attributed to Livonian lawyer and humanist David Hilchen on the basis of prosopographical, historical, legal and book historical data. The addressee of this poetical attack is identified as physician Georg Herbers. The considerable impact of the satire on contemporary life in Riga demonstrates that not only heretic, political or immoral content, but also offensive use of Classical mythology could cause prints to be taken out of circulation and attacks initiated against their authors in Early modern times.

Einleitung

In der Frühen Neuzeit wurde die europäische Buchgeschichte von zwei gegensätzlichen Tendenzen geprägt. Einerseits gewährleisteten die Bücher die Verbreitung und Speicherung neuer Kenntnisse, andererseits boten sie als Medium oft den Grund zu persönlichen und öffentlichen Angriffen sowie verschiedenen Sanktionen, die von der Zensur einzelner Passagen über das völlige Verbot eines Werkes durch einen Index Librorum Prohibitorum bis hin zur strafrechtlichen Verfolgung des Autors reichen konnte, die auch die Todesstrafe bedeuten konnte. Strafverfahren wegen Verfassens, Besitz oder Lektüre häretischer, unmoralischer oder theologisch, politisch bzw. kulturell fragwürdiger Bücher waren verbreitet und die Einzelbeispiele sind auch sehr

* Es handelt sich um die leicht umgearbeitete Version meines estnischen Aufsatzes “Riia kui põrgu. Satiirizant varauusaegsel Liivimaal,” *Kroonikast epitaafini. Eesti- ja Liivimaa varauusaegsest haridus- ja kultuurielust. Eesti Rahvusrühivi toimetised. Acta et Commentationes Archivi Nationalis Estoniae* 1 (32). Ed. Katre Kaju. 2017, 87–117. Der Aufsatz entstand im Rahmen des Forschungsprojektes “Masterpieces of Humanism in Livonia: David Hilchen’s epistolography as a source of language, literary, juridical and educational history”, der vom Estonian Research Council (PUT-1030, 2016–2019) unterstützt wird. Für nützliche Bemerkungen sowie Sprachkorrektur bin ich Thomas Hoffmann (Tallinn) dankbar.

gut erforscht,¹ doch bislang kaum anhand der Kriterien Region – Sprache (Latein *versus* die Volkssprachen) – Gattung systematisch behandelt worden.

Für Poeten entstanden kritische Situationen vor allem durch Dichtungen in solchen Genres, die schon gattungsgemäß anstößige Elemente enthalten. So machte der schonungslose Ton sowie die Behandlung akuter gesellschaftlicher bzw. persönlicher Probleme satirische Kurzepigramme und Satiren zu potentiell (lebens)gefährlichen Gattungen.

Im Folgenden präsentiere ich die erste, in Livland um 1598–1599 verfasste lateinische Satire *Catharini Santonellae Horti Musarum in Monte Helicone custodis, contra Cerberum in Elysiis vallibus excubitorem Heliconi oblatrantem Satyra* (*Satire des Catharinus Santonella, des Hüters des musischen Gartens auf dem Berg Helikon, gegen den bellenden Kerberus, der Wache des elysischen Tals*), die im Anschluss an einen Gerichtsprozess, in welchem sie 1600–1601 in der Anklage dem Autor gegenüber benutzt wurde, bekannt wurde, um danach als Beweis in Form eines Exemplars in den Gerichtsakten aufbewahrt und vergessen zu werden.² Dieses Gedicht, das in einem unauffälligen dünnen Quartheft ohne Publikationsjahr und -ort und unter einem Pseudonym aufbewahrt wird, stellt in der Geschichte der verbotenen Bücher einen eher seltenen Fall dar, da die Gefährlichkeit des Buches nicht vom häretischen, politischen oder amoralischen Inhalt, sondern von der beleidigenden Verwendungsart der antiken Mythologie – *vexavit satyris* (er quälte mit Satiren) im *Synopsis criminum* – herrührte. Außerdem wird in dieser Fallstudie gezeigt, wie aufschlussreich das Kombinieren der prosopographischen, historischen, rezeptions-, rechts- und buchgeschichtlichen Kontextualisierung als Methode sein kann.

Der geschichtlich-prosopographische Kontext der Satire

Die zwei letzten Dekaden des 16. Jahrhunderts waren im livländischen Riga eine ereignisreiche Zeit. Die politisch-religiöse Szene wurde vom Einzug des polnischen Königs Stefan Bathory im April 1582 und von der Ankunft der ersten Jesuiten in Livland geprägt. Im Oktober 1584 entstand zwischen dem Rigaer Rat und der Bürgerschaft wegen des Übergangs zum Gregorianischen

¹ Für einige Beispiele aus dem Ostseeraum vgl. z.B. Åhlén 1986, Åhlén & Åhlén 2003, Burius 1984; Aarma 1995 u.a.

² Das erste Exemplar ist in Riga LVVA, 673-1-344b *Ander teil der Acten In Sachen belangende Einem Erbarn Radt der Stadt Rigae und Doct(orem) Jacobum Godemannum Syndicum an einen Wegen und wieder David Hilken ...*, 170–177; das zweite Exemplar in Poznań PAN Biblioteka Kórnicka (Cim.Qu.3073) ist ohne Besitzer- und Benutzungsspuren, weshalb die Provenienz dieses Exemplars unbekannt bleibt. Die Satire ist weder in den Bibliographien der Rigaer Druckerei (Buchholtz 1890, Šiško 2013), des Gelegenheitsschrifttums (Handbuch 2004) noch in den bisherigen Behandlungen über das Leben und Schriften des Verfassers genannt worden (Ramm-Helmsing 1936; Gottzmann & Hörner 2007).

Kalender ein heftiger Streit. Während der sogenannten Kalenderunruhen wurden einige führende Personen auf der Seite des Rates – Gotthard Welling und Johannes Taustius – hingerichtet, ihre Unterstützer im Rat, nämlich der Ratssekretär Otto von Kanne (Cannius), Bürgermeister Nicolaus Eck(e) (Eckius) und Caspar von Berg hingegen ins Exil geschickt. Der im August 1589 unterschriebene Severini-Vertrag gewährleistete der Stadt jedoch die weitere Verwendung des Julianischen Kalenders und den Fortbestand der früher erteilten Stadtprivilegien der polnischen Macht gegenüber, regulierte aber auch das Verhältnis des Rats zu den Gilden, wobei der finanzielle Einfluss der Gilden reduziert wurde.³

Mit dieser für die Stadt günstigen Lösung der Kalenderunruhen, mit Hilfe der Truppe des livländischen Adligen Jürgen (Georg) von Fa(h)rensbach und der Abfassung des Severini-Vertrages begann die Karriere des 1561 in Riga geborenen David Hilchen, der 1580–1584/1585 an den deutschen Universitäten Ingolstadt, Tübingen und Heidelberg Rechtswissenschaft studierte hatte und 1585 zum Rigaer Stadtsekretär ernannt wurde. In den Jahren 1585 bis 1600 reformierte Hilchen zunächst gründlich das Rigaer Kirchen- und Bildungswesen: Er gründete die erste Druckerei Livlands und verfasste die neue Konsistorial- und Schulordnung, womit das Programm der Kathedralschule seit 1594 völlig nach humanistischen Prinzipien umgestaltet wurde und damit der Jesuitenschule eine erhebliche Konkurrenz machte. Die soziale und administrative Seite des Stadtlebens wurde von Hilchen mit der Waisengerichtsordnung und der Kanzleiordnung verbessert.⁴

Im Jahre 1595 wurde Hilchen Sekretär des Polnischen Königs in Livland und Notar des Wendener (heute Cēsis in Lettland) Landgerichts. Damit verkörperte Hilchen – neben der Vertretung der Stadt Riga und Livland in Sejm – auch die polnische Königsmacht in Livland, was mit seinen anderen Positionen teilweise zu Konflikten führte.

Im März 1597 hielt Hilchen vor den polnischen Ständen *Die Rede des anflehenden Livlands...*⁵ für die Rechte des livländischen Adels, in welcher er die polnische Königsmacht beschuldigte, die livländischen Privilegien zu ignorieren, und sie aufforderte, den Livländern das Recht auf Ämterbesetzung im Heimatland wieder zuzuerkennen und den Privatbesitz der Einheimischen im Lande wieder zu erlauben. Folglich wurde Hilchen Ende 1597 zum Mitglied der Revisionskommission des polnischen Königs Sigismund III. ernannt, und Hilchen seinerseits ernannte den Doktor der

³ Der Name des Severini-Vertrags beruht auf dem Namen des heiligen Severin, da der Vertrag an seinem Namenstag unterschrieben wurde. Für die Edition des Vertrages vgl. Rigischer Stadtverdrach 1806.

⁴ Die Kanzleiordnung ist ediert und kommentiert von Mahling 2011.

⁵ Hilchen 1597.

Rechtswissenschaften Jacob Go(e)demann (1563–1628) aus dem pommerschen Kolberg zum Rigaer Vizesyndikus.⁶

Seit Herbst 1598 reiste Hilchen als Mitglied der königlichen Kommission in Livland herum, um die Landgüter zu revidieren, und verfasste innerhalb eines halben Jahres den Entwurf des livländischen Landrechtes.⁷ Im September 1599 verließ die Kommission Livland. Hilchens Versuch, die Ämterbesetzungs- und Eigentumsfragen in Livland zugunsten der Einheimischen zu verändern, war kein Erfolg beschieden, da nun den Livländern nur einzelne Ämter von kleinerer Bedeutung erlaubt wurden. Die Kosten des Rats und der Adligen für den Empfang und Unterhalt der Kommissionsmitglieder waren dagegen enttäuschend hoch gewesen, so dass sich Hilchen im ganzen Livland viele Feinde gemacht hatte.⁸

Der prosopographisch-literaturhistorische Kontext: die Darstellung David Hilchens in der zeitgenössischen Literatur als standhafter Patriot versus als gieriger und arroganter Egoist

David Hilchens Persönlichkeit und Taten wurden um die Wende des 16./17. Jahrhunderts in der regionalen Literatur mehrfach behandelt. Wie andere gesellschaftlich einflussreiche und aktive Persönlichkeiten hat er sowohl Chronisten⁹ als auch Verfasser von Gelegenheitsschriften inspiriert.¹⁰ Hilchen wurde zum Helden und Antihelden der regionalen Literatur mehrerer Gattungen, sowohl in der gedruckten als auch in der handschriftlichen Literatur. Besonders oft wurde er in der Dichtung dargestellt.

Völlig enkomiastisch sind z.B. die Gedichte des kaiserlich gekrönten Poeten Salomon Frenzel von Friedenthal, der auf Hilchens Einladung im Jahre 1599 Rigaer Domschulinspektor wurde.¹¹ Hilchens heroische Tüchtigkeit (*virtus*), sein Unternehmergeist, seine Vaterlandsliebe und seine Standhaftigkeit (*constantia*) halfen ihm Frenzels Meinung nach, dem bösen Neid (*invidia, livor*) und der Verleumdung (*calumnia*) der Zeitgenossen zu widerstehen. Frenzel lobte Hilchens Standhaftigkeit auch in seinem 12-zeiligen Epigramm *Epigramma Ad Generosum D[omi]n[um] David Hilchen* (*Epigramm an den edlen Herr David Hilchen*); er interpretierte die drei Lanzen auf Hilchens Wappen als Symbole gegen drei Feinde, die er Neid,

⁶ Die Einladung ist von Hilchen am 6. April 1598 im Brief an Balthasar Schnell beschrieben (Riga LVVA, 673-1-344b, fol. 47).

⁷ Ediert und kommentiert Hoffmann 2007.

⁸ Ramm-Helmsing 1936, 55–61.

⁹ Die doppelzüngige Tätigkeit Hilchens zwischen der Stadt Riga, dem livländischen Adel und polnischer Königsmacht ist beschrieben von Fabricius 2010, 262–269.

¹⁰ Frenzelius a Fridenthal 1599, Verse 98–157. Über die Beziehungen zwischen Frenzel und Hilchen vgl. Viiding 2014 und Viiding 2019.

¹¹ Vgl. Viiding 2014, 211.

Verleumdung und Wildheit nennt (*livor, calumnia, bellua*).¹² Die Hilchen betreffenden Ereignisse vom Frühjahr 1599 wurden auch vom anderen in Riga ansässigen kaiserlich gekrönten Poeten Daniel Hermann besungen. Im Begrüßungsgedicht der personifizierten Dūna (lettischer Flussname Daugava) betonte er Hilchens Standhaftigkeit in der Verleumdungsaktion gegen ihn (Verse 56–70):

- Nam quid amara lues, lateque calumnia iniquo
Dente petens claros homines obscura, quid, inquam,
Obstrepit? et magnis nequicquam obsibilat ausis?
Virtutem Livor comitatur: Sole sereno
60 Umbra velut corpus: Sol occidit, occidit umbra.
Ergo Hylchen quamvis morsu rodaris acerbo
Obliquae invidiae, et stimulis pungaris iniquis:
Non frangere animo tamen, at tela omnia contra
Sta praesenti animo, atque adversas despice voces.
65 Qualis enim hic Livor? quae dira tenaxque mali mens?
Hunc premere invidia, cui virtus vivida cura est?
Quicque tot implicitas, magno conamine causas
Explicuit bene? Qui Patriam in discrimine rerum
Expositam, et saevi concussam turbine venti
70 Rursus in antiquam pacemque statumque redegit?

(56–60) Denn worüber, frage ich, murmelt die bittere Krankheit und die verborgene Verleumdung, die überall den berühmten Menschen feindlich beißend folgt und vergeblich auf die großen Taten zischt? Der Neid folgt der Tugend – so wie der Schatten im hellen Licht dem Körper folgt, verschwindet er nach dem Sonnenuntergang.

(61–64) Obwohl dich, Hilchen, der Neid der anderen scharf beißt und die feindlichen Stacheln stechen, bleibst du standhaft. Widerstehe standhaft allen Waffen und verachte die feindlichen Wörter.

(65–70) Denn welcher Neid, welche wilde und eigensinnige Bosheit kann mit Hass denjenigen unterdrücken, der immer für die Tugend Sorge trägt, der so viele schwierige Fälle energisch und gut gelöst hat? Der das in Konflikte geratene und mit dem bösen Sturm und Wind gepeitschte Vaterland wieder zur früheren friedlichen Ruhe gebracht hat?¹³

¹² *Epigramma Ad Generosum D[omi]n[um] David Hilchen Notarium Terr[estris] Vend[ensis] S[anctae] R[egiae] Majestatis Secretarium*, in Hilchen 1803, 51 (Erstausgabe Zamość, 1609). Vgl. die Darstellung des Wappens Hilchens: https://lv.wikipedia.org/wiki/D%C4%81vids_Hilhens#/media/File:POL_COA_Hilchen.svg.

¹³ Hermann 1599. Das einzige bisher bekannte Exemplar dieser Druckschrift befindet sich in denselben Gerichtsakten von Hilchen: LVVA, 673-1-344b, fol. 178–183. Auch diese Druckschrift ist in den sonstigen Bibliographien der Rigaer Drucken und

Viel detaillierter sind jedoch die Beschreibungen, die Hilchen als Antihelden darstellen. Die Schmähschriften sind meistens nicht als Druck veröffentlicht worden, doch spiegelt sich die Schärfe der Angriffe z.B. in einem handschriftlichen, unter dem Pseudonym *Ravaelus Argentaviensis*¹⁴ verfassten Epigramm, das im Lettischen Historischen Staatsarchiv in Hilchens Gerichtsakten in zwei Exemplaren aufbewahrt ist. Offensichtlich ist dieses Epigramm schon nach Hilchens Verhaftung im Januar 1600, der Anklage wegen Hochverrats und seiner Flucht aus Riga gedichtet worden. Die ersten acht Verse vermitteln allerdings eine Erinnerung an Hilchen als Antihelden aus den schwierigen 1590er Jahren. Das Gedicht in elegischen Distichen und die Unterschrift in der Sapphischen Strophe sind als eine in der ich-Form stilisierte Inschrift verfasst, die in Riga auf einem fiktiven, von Hilchen errichteten goldenen Tor zu lesen gewesen sei:

Inscriptio Portae aureae filij infernalis siue Hellenkindij
Quod volui, potui, potui quod, feci, ita factis
Dicere nemo mihi, quid facis? ausus erat.
Quod potui, rapui, rapuissem, si potuissem
Plus, DEVS haud voluit me rapere vlterius.
5 Regis ego instar eram Rigae, sed me ipsa superbo
Deposuit solio, nec DEVS ipse tulit.
Nam tandem ipse DEVS fortunam euertit et ipsum
Me quoque nil facere et nil quoque posse, facit,
Nunc viuo invisus terraeque, DEOque hominique,
10 Heu mea quid prosunt impia facta mihi.
Frausque dolusque, superbia, auaritia, ambitioque
Hinc pia iusticiae discite castra sequi.
Cunctorum in me vno vitiorum immensa vorago est
Deprecor, o ueniae, sit, precor, vsque locus.

Areae quisquis praeis huius amplam
Auream portam, meliora disce
Et time Christum et cole iuste tum nec
Quenque verere.

Rauaelus Argentauiensis
Poeta Caesareus D.C.Scripsit.

Gelegenheitsschriften unbekannt (Buchholtz 1890, Zanders 1998, Handbuch 2014, Šiško 2013).

¹⁴ Wer sich hinter diesem Pseudonym verbirgt, ist bis jetzt unklar.

Die Inschrift auf dem goldenen Tor des Höllensohnes oder Hellenkindes¹⁵

(1–4) Was ich wollte, habe ich gekonnt; was ich konnte, habe ich gemacht. So wagte niemand über meine Taten zu sagen: “Was machst du?” Was ich konnte, habe ich gestohlen, und ich hätte noch mehr gestohlen, wenn ich gekonnt hätte. Doch wollte Gott nicht, dass ich weiter stehle.

(5–8) Ich war fast ein König von Riga. Jedoch hat sie (=Riga) selbst mich entthront, und sogar Gott hat mich nicht wieder zurück gehoben. Denn schließlich veränderte Gott mein Schicksal, so dass ich selbst nichts mehr machen kann und zu keinen Taten fähig bin.

(9–12) Nun hassen mich die Welt, Gott und die Leute. Ach, welchen Nutzen haben mir meine Schandtaten gebracht! Verbrechen, Betrug, Hochmut, Habsucht und Ehrgeiz, lernt der frommen Gerechtigkeit zu folgen!

(13–14) Ich alleine bin die Riesenschlucht aller Laster. Ich bitte um Entschuldigung und bitte um die Möglichkeit zur Verzeihung.

(15–18) Wer immer du zu diesem mächtigen goldenen Tor dieses Platzes trittst, lerne besseres, fürchte und verehere Christus, dann wirst du vor niemandem Angst haben.

Gedichtet von Ravaelus Argentaviensis,

kaiserlich gekrönter Poet D.C.

Das im Titel des Epigramms verwendete Wort Hellenkind (latinisiert *Filius infernalis*) war kein *ad hoc* geformtes *nomen loquens*, sondern ein bewusst gebildeter pejorativer Spitzname anstatt seines erhabenen Humanistennamen Heliconius. Dieser Humanistename wurde Hilchen vom deutschen Humanisten, Professor der Universität Rostock und Helmstedt und Hilchens langjährigerem Korrespondenten Johannes Caselius schon 1577 nahegelegt.¹⁶ Der Name ist aus Hilchens Familiennamen etymologisierend gebildet: Dem Deminutiv *Hilchen* aus dem deutschen Wort *Hille* (‘kleiner Berg’,

¹⁵ Die beide Kopien des Epigrammes befinden sich im Lettischen Historischen Staatsarchiv Riga: *Hilcheniana oder Acta in Kriminalisachen des Sindikus Godemannus und Eines W. E. Rates wider den Sindikus David Hilchen, dessen wider die Stadt gehabte aufrührische, kalumiese (sic!) und höchst gefährliche Händel betreffend* 1601ff. (Riga LVVA, 673-1-344a, fol. 553 (I Kopie) und fol. 554 (die zweite Kopie mit der anderen Handschrift).

¹⁶ Die früheste Verwendung ist im Brief von Johannes Caselius an Hilchen vom 11. Januar 1577 bekannt; hier werden beide Brüder, Johannes und David, als Heliconius angedet (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 846 Helmst. Iohannis Caselii epistolae ad amicos de anno 1577, fol. 17–18).

‘Hügelchen’) wurde die Bedeutung des erhabenen Berges aus der antiken Mythologie, dem Helikon als Wohnort von Apollon und Musen, verliehen. Hilchen hat den Namen schon in den 1570er Jahren in Gebrauch genommen, z.B. bei der Immatrikulation an der Universität Ingolstadt und in seinen Briefen.¹⁷ Die andere Quelle für den pejorativen Spitznamen ist das deutsche Wort *Hölle*. Wer und wann den pejorativen Spitznamen zum ersten Mal verwendete, ist unbekannt. Wegen der klanglichen Ähnlichkeit und des inhaltlichen Kontrasts wurden sowohl Heliconius als auch Hellenkind intensiv als Spitzname genutzt.

Von Hilchens Lastern sind im Epigramm zwei erwähnt: Am Anfang (Vers 1–4) werden seine Geldgier und seine Diebstähle, in den zwei nächsten Versen (5–6) seine Machtgier getadelt. Den Hintergrund des Giermotivs ist einerseits der ständige Zuwachs an Hilchens privaten Reichtümern in Riga und in der Umgebung, andererseits die Anweisung, dass die Rigaer Gildenbrüder und Kaufmannschaft in schwierigen Zeiten ihr Eigentum dem Rat zur Verfügung stellen müssten.¹⁸ Besonders scharf ist der Vorwurf wegen Machtgier, dass Hilchen sich für den König der Stadt gehalten habe – denn im Jahre 1589 hatte Hilchen selbst den als Hauptorganisator der Rigaer Kalenderunruhen hingerichteten Martin Gise mit diesem Titel verhöhnt.¹⁹

Um die Lasterhaftigkeit Hilchens besser zu vergegenwärtigen, wurde neben den Spottepigrammen auch die nach der ramistischen Analyse- und Präsentationsmethode strukturierten Prosaschemata verwendet. So ist z.B. eine handschriftliche Synopsis aller Laster Hilchens erhalten geblieben,²⁰ in

¹⁷ Immatrikuliert in Matrikel Ingolstadt 1937, S. 1079, 28. Mai 1580.

¹⁸ Ein Beispiel von Hilchens Maßnahmen während der Rigaer Kalenderunruhen ist im undatierten Brief des damaligen Rigaer Pastors Paul Oderborn an Hilchen aufbewahrt (LVVA, 673-1-344a, Bl. 48): “Haec ideo scribo, quia nuperrime cum D[omino] Gisio de pace in Repub[lica] constituenda longissimum sermonem habui, et uideo illum paratum esse, dicebat mihi, quod ciues statim omnes Reipub[licae] fundus et bona senatui tradituri sint, quibus sine redditis rationibus in aeternum vtantur, fruuntur, si modo ampliss[imus] Senatus deserto Ekio et Cann[i]o ex animo pacem cum ciuibus facere uelit” (“Genauso schreibe ich, dass ich vor kurzem mit Herrn Giese gründlich über den Frieden in der Stadt gesprochen habe und er scheint dazu bereit zu sein. Gises Meinung nach seien alle Bürger bereit, dem Rat ihre Grundstücke und ihr Vermögen zu überstellen, die sie ohne dem Rat eine Rechenschaft abzulegen ewig als Niessbrauch nutzen würden, wenn der Rat ohne Rücksicht auf die Meinungen Ecks und Kannes mit den Bürgern Frieden schließen wollte”).

¹⁹ *Vnd zwar der Gise selbst (wie hohmütigk er auch in dieser Stadt /als ein vermeinter Rigischer Künig herein getretten/ vnd gepranget) hat dennoch zu letzt/.... öffentlich bekindt/ dass/....* (Hilchen, 1589, fol. A4–A4v). Vor den polnischen Gesandten hat Hilchen diese Rede auf Latein gehalten, die Übersetzung ins Deutsche wurde in demselben Jahr für die Rigaer Bürger gemacht und gedruckt (vgl die Bemerkung *Aus Lateinischer Sprache/ (wie es geredet) ins Deutsche vorsetzt*). Gises Vergleich mit dem König ist nur in der deutschen Übersetzung vorhanden.

²⁰ LVVA, 673-1-344b, fol. 245–253.

welcher alle seine Missetaten auf mehreren Seiten in zwölf Kategorien hierarchisiert sind: Zunächst seine Fehler gegen die Gottesfurcht und das Pflichtgefühl sowohl im inneren Familienkreis als auch unter der Rigaer Geistlichkeit, zweitens die Tyrannei, drittens der Hochverrat, viertens die Ungerechtigkeit den anderen Ratsmitgliedern gegenüber und entsprechende persönlichen Beleidigungen, fünftens die Verwendung der Stadtkasse, um die eigene Autorität und Großzügigkeit am polnischen Königshof zu zeigen, sechstens die Hinrichtung, zum siebten Mord, achtens die öffentliche Gewalt gegen Mitbürger, neuntens Diebstähle, zehntens korrumpierte Diener, elftens Betrug und Falschaussagen und zwölftens das Überschreiten seiner Amtsrechte. In der ersten und umfangreichsten Kategorie der Anklagen, und zwar in der Subkategorie der Fehler den nächsten Angehörigen (*affines*) gegenüber, steht: *Herberum vexavit Satyriis, Maledictis, Arresto, Deprec[ati]one, Carcere* (er hat Herbers mit Satiren, Verleumdungen, mit Arrest, mit Verwünschungen und mit dem Karzer gequält).²¹ Es ist der einzige Vorwurf, der sich teilweise auf Literatur, Bildung und Kultur in Riga bezieht. Er deutet seinerseits darauf hin, dass der Autor der ersten in Livland gedruckten Satire David Hilchen ist.

Die Protagonisten der Satire: Der Musensohn Heliconius und der krummnasige Kerberos

Die aus 140 Hexametern bestehende Satire unterscheidet sich völlig von der übrigen Lob- und Spottliteratur über Hilchen, da sowohl das beschriebene Milieu, die Gestalten als auch die Ereignisse mit den Mitteln der antiken Mythologie völlig poetisiert sind und dem Leser nur ein einziger Bezugspunkt zu Riga als Handlungsort gegeben wird – es ist nämlich der Hauptgestalt Kerberos verboten, im Fluss Düna zu schwimmen (Vers 20).²²

Die Protagonisten der Satire werden schon auf der Titelseite vorgestellt. Der positive Held namens Catharinus Santonella ist der Wächter des musischen Gartens auf dem Berg Helikon, sein Gegner der aus dem elysischen Tal zum Helikon hinaufbellende Hund Kerberos. Die Veranstaltungsorte sind räumlich hierarchisch: Der Musengarten auf dem höchsten Berg Helikon *versus* das ElySION, das im Unterschied zur antiken Vorstellung als Feld hier als Tal dargestellt wird. Die räumliche Hierarchie betont den Unterschied zwischen der gesellschaftlichen Position der Gestalter. Den Berg Helikon und den musischen Garten konnte der zeitgenössische Rigenser nur mit David Hilchen assoziieren. Seit 1593 war Hilchen mit dem Rigaer Bürgermeister und Burggraf Nicolaus Eck

²¹ Das Wort *affinis* weist auf die Verwandtschaft zwischen Hilchen und Herbers hin. Die Familie Herbers war mit der Familie Kalb, woher Hilchens Mutter stammte, verwandt.

²² Der Flussname *Duna* ist in der Satire in der Majuskelschrift hervorgehoben.

zusammen Scholarch der Stadt und gestaltete in dieser Position die Domschule 1594 zum humanistischen Gymnasium um. Der Name *Catharinus Santonella* kommt unter den Rigaer Bürgern und Einwohnern nicht vor. Es ist – wie oft in der neulateinischen Literatur – ein fiktives *nomen loquens*.²³ Die Etymologie des Vornamens *Catharinus* deutet auf Reinheit und Unschuld hin; der Familienname *Santonella* ist die Deminutivform aus dem italienischen Wort *santone* (der heilige Mann). “Der unschuldige heilige Mann” Catharinus kann auch einen familienkundlichen Hinweis enthalten, da Hilchens Frau Catharina hieß. Damit ist der Autor sowie eine Hauptfigur der Satire mit David Hilchen identisch – d.h. mit einem Mann mit unbeflecktem Renommee, der die Bildung und die Künste unterstützt.

Ebenso wird der zweite Protagonist der Satire anhand der antiken Mythologie stilisiert – der Höllenhund Kerberos, der den Helikon heraufbellt. Sowohl der Grund des Bellens als auch die Person hinter Kerberos’ Namen bleiben auf der Titelseite noch verborgen. Erst in den Versen 34–41 gibt es einen Hinweis auf den Höllenhund, der, aus dem Orkos (der Hölle) stammend, im Lande der bitteren Pflanze (*herbae rus acerbae*) eine Pflanze gegessen und sich danach erbrochen habe und nun auch Riga als zivilisierten Ort mit seinem Erbrechen zu verschmutzen suche. Das Wortspiel *Herbae-rus* und *Cerberus* verrät eindeutig, dass eben jener in der Synopsis von Hilchens Fehlern benannte Herbers gemeint ist. Ein ergänzendes Detail zur Identifizierung ist in den Versen 31–33 hinzugefügt: In der Vergangenheit habe Heliconius Kerberos geholfen, was dieser nun aber undankbar vergessen habe. Anhand dieses Details ist aus dem Kreis Herbers und Herbert (*Herberus*) heißender Personen in Riga die einzige zur Identifikation passende Person Georg Herbers. Er war Rigaer Herkunft, hatte 1585–1593 an den Universitäten Rostock und Wittenberg studiert und 1590–1594 vom Rigaer Rat ein Stipendium erhalten,²⁴ auf dessen Vergessen Hilchen offensichtlich hinweist. 1593 wurde Herbers *doctor medicinae* und 1599 ist er in Riga als Stadtarzt erwähnt.²⁵ Alle weitere Hinweise auf Georg Herbers fehlen sowohl in den zeitgenössischen Rigaer Quellen als auch in der modernen Forschungsliteratur, so dass die in der Synopsis erwähnte Inhaftierung das Ende der Karriere oder sogar den Tod Herbers bedeuten kann.

Trotz der Möglichkeit der eindeutigen Identifizierung der Hauptfiguren bleiben sie im Laufe des Werkes nicht unverändert. Hilchen beginnt wohl in

²³ Zu Hilchens Interesse für den Spiel mit den Namen vgl. seine Sammlung der Anagrammgedichte mit den Anagrammen anhand der Namen des polnischen Königs und seiner Angehörigen vgl. Hilchen 1595.

²⁴ Tering 2018, Nr 2465.

²⁵ Brennsohn 1905, 199, 447.

der Ich-Form – doch zuerst als Poet, der seinen Freund und Musensohn Heliconius unterstützt (Verse 7–8). Im Vers 123 wandelt er sich ohne einleitende und erklärende Formeln zu Heliconius selbst und begründet seine Taten und sein Benehmen in der direkten Rede. Ebenso ambivalent ist der andere Protagonist, der als Du angesprochen wird: Dominierend ist er mit Kerberos identisch, aber sowohl in den einleitenden Kurzepigrammen als auch in den Versen 114–116 ist er stattdessen *Nasutus* genannt. In der antiken Gattungstradition ist *Nasutus* einerseits wegen seiner großen Nase, andererseits wegen seines Scharfsinnes bekannt.²⁶ Im hiesigen Kontext hat *nasutus* aber eine weitere Bedeutung – nämlich derjenige, der eine krumme Nase hat, wie im zweiten Epigramm beschrieben ist: “Vnca mea haec dicet Nasutus carmina, verum est: / Namque etiam ipsius Nasus aduncus erat” (“*Nasutus* hält meine Gedichte für krumm, es ist wahr – ist doch seine eigene Nase krumm”).

Da in der Satire zweimal (Vers 10–11 und 24) auf die krumme Nase Kerberos’ hingewiesen wird, sind Kerberos und *Nasutus* hier zu einer einzigen Figur verschmolzen und die Eigenart des entsprechenden Körperteils kann auf das Charakteristikum des Prototyps hinweisen. Wichtig ist vor allem, dass die krumme Nase eine adäquate Bewertung und Rezeption in der Literatur verhindere.

Die Struktur der Satire

Die Satire besteht aus einem umrahmenden Teil (Verse 1–18, 92–102 und 133–140), der aus dem Blickwinkel des kämpferischen Poeten verfasst ist, und aus zwei eingeschobenen Teilen (Verse 19–91 und 103–132), die auf die kontrastierende Behandlung von zwei Hauptfiguren fokussiert sind.

Die Einleitung thematisiert die frühere Dichtung des fiktiven Poeten (Heliconius) in anderen Gattungen, den Oden und Elegien, sowie das Bedürfnis einer neuen kämpferischen Gattung. Der Poet droht, er werde unter den Satyren und Panen (im Plural!) Jamben schreiben. Er will damit allerdings keine metrische Veränderung seiner Poesie ankündigen, als vielmehr die Ingebrauchnahme der Jamben als eine Spottgattung signalisieren. In der Mitte der Satire (Verse 92–102) kommt der Poet zu seiner Haupttätigkeit zurück und verspricht, der ersten Satire noch weitere hinzufügen, und zudem Kollegen aus verschiedenen Orten und verschiedener Gattungen (Lyriker, Jambographen) zu Hilfe rufen, wenn Kerberos seinen Angriff nicht beende. Am Ende der Satire (Vers 133–138) betont der Poet nochmals, dass sein Ruhm die Leistung aller anderen Poeten ebensoviel

²⁶ *Nasutus* in der Bedeutung ‘mit der großen Nase’: Lucilius, *Saturae* 242, Horatius, *Sermones* 1.2.93; in der Bedeutung ‘scharfsinnig, spöttisch’: Phaedrus, *Fabulae* 4.7.1; Martial, *Epigrammata* 2.54.5 und 13.37.2; Seneca, *Suasoriae* 7.12.

überragen wird wie Helikon die anderen Berge überragt. Genauso kündigt der Poet den Rückgriff auf alle anderen Musen, d.h. der Literatur- und Kunstgattungen an, falls noch jemand den berühmten Poeten Heliconius anzugreifen plane.

Im ersten eingeschobenen Block wird zuerst Kerberos geschildert (Verse 19–34) und danach ein dreiteiliger Vergleich zwischen Kerberos und Heliconius angestellt (Verse 35–85). Zwei Hauptfiguren werden nach ihrer Herkunft, ihrem Patriotismus und ihrem gesellschaftlichen Einfluss analysiert. Mit Vers 86 beginnen die Bedrohungen – zuerst im Namen des Poeten, ab Vers 123 schon im Namen des beleidigten Heliconius selbst. Der pointierte Doppelvers am Ende der Satire verallgemeinert die Bedrohung auf alle anderen verleumderischen Zeitgenossen: “Qui sapit, absistet Musarum offendere montem: / Non etenim montem, sed Musas laedet hic omnes” (“Der Kluge verzichtet auf die Beleidigung des musischen Berges, denn mit der Beleidigung des Berges beleidigt er auch alle Musen”).

Die antike Mythologie als Beleidigungs- und Bedrohungsmittel

Um die zentrale Idee der Satire – den Ausdruck eines Ärgernisses wegen einer Verleumdung – ohne direkte Beschimpfung und Schmäherei zu gewährleisten und den Adressaten sowie andere zukünftige Verleumder dennoch über mögliche Strafen für potentielle Beleidigungen zu unterrichten, werden in der Satire antike Mythen durchgehend allegorisch verwendet. Dabei werden für den negativen Helden Kerberos Details aus vielen antiken Mythen zu einer kompletten und lebendigen Figur ausgearbeitet, während für den positiven Helden Heliconius wiederholend nur die Allegorie des Musensohnes verwendet wird und seine anderen Charakterzüge nur in der Interaktion mit Kerberos hervortreten.

Die erste Hauptstrategie in der Verwendung der antiken Mythologie ist, dass Hilchen die Gestalt von Kerberos nicht aus einer einzigen antiken Quelle schöpft, sondern Details von mehreren teilweise sehr gelehrten griechischen und römischen Autoren verschmolzen hat. Vieles bezieht sich auf den Beruf und die anthropomorphe Natur des angegriffenen Kerberos-Herbers. Statt dem in der Literatur und Kunst oft zwei- oder dreiköpfigen Höllenhund hat der livländische Kerberos nur einen Kopf (wie in der Horazode) und eine einzige Zunge (wie in Ovids *Metamorphosen*).²⁷ Die anthropomorphe Natur des livländischen Kerberos ist auch im Finger, womit er sein Mund schließen sollte, zu erkennen (Vers 16). Die persönliche Eigenart des Prototypes und die lateinische Wortetymologie sind offensichtlich auch im Hinweis auf die Blässe des Gesichtes zusammengeschmolzen, denn Kerberos-Herbers sei in

²⁷ Vgl. Horaz, *Odae* 3.11.17–20; Ovid, *Metamorphosen* 4.500–501.

seinem Wohnort in der Unterwelt, im Schatten des blassen Neides (*livor*, *invidia*), blass geworden (Verse 28–31).²⁸

Mit seinem menschlichen Aussehen hat Kerberos allerdings keine menschlichen Sitten bekommen, eher im Gegenteil: Gerade die humane Natur von Kerberos inspiriert den Satirendichter, sein Angriffsobjekt zu demütigen. Mit der Positionierung des bellenden und beißenden Kerberos in die Unterwelt, im Styx und Orkos (Vers 22, 27 etc), weist Hilchen auf seinen niedrigeren sozialen Status hin.²⁹ Daneben verletzt Hilchen seinen Adressaten auch mit der Hilfe der gelehrten etymologisch-literarischen Dichotomie: Von der griechischen (Pseudo)-Etymologie, die Kerberos aus *creoboros* ('der Fleischverschlingende')³⁰ herleitet, und andererseits von im römischen Nationalepos geschilderten Kerberos, der auf einem Haufen halbzerkauter Knochen sitzt,³¹ hat Hilchen die verächtlichere Variante ausgewählt. Das heißt, Hilchen wirft dem livländischen Kerberos kein Fleisch, sondern entfleischte Knochen zum Fraße vor – wie auch den eigenen Hunden, die während der Mahlzeit unter dem Tisch um Brosamen betteln. Die Knochen symbolisieren in seiner Allegorie die Satire, der Fleisch aber seine eigene Tugend (Verse 88–91).

Auch der zweite Hinweis auf den Namen des verachteten Georg Herbers setzte beim Leser die Kenntnis der antiken Mythologie voraus. Der Wortspiel *Herberus – herbae rus acerbae* (Verse 37–41) ist ein Zeichen der Gelehrsamkeit: Der bei Ovid erwähnten Mythenvariante folgend, spuckte Kerberos nach der Ankunft aus der Unterwelt Speichel aus, aus welchem die giftige Pflanze Eisenhut hervorsproß (*aconitum*).³² Der livländische Kerberos hatte diese Pflanze im Ausland gefressen, um sie in Livland auszuspucken und zu verbreiten. Der medizinische Verwendungsbereich des Eisenhutes bestätigt nochmals das Arztamt des Prototypen Herbers. Da die Pflanze aber auch Atemstillstand, Krämpfe und in größeren Mengen auch den Tod verursachte,³³ ist ihr Gebrauch hier auch als ein Versuch des Kerberos zu interpretieren, seine Gegner zum Schweigen zu zwingen.

²⁸ Eitrem 1921, vgl. auch Ps.-Aristoteles *De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus* 170.

²⁹ David Hilchen nobilitierte 1591; Familie Herbers war bürgerlicher Herkunft.

³⁰ Diese Etymologie ist dank dem spätantiken Vergilkommentator Servius zu *Aeneis* 6.395 bekannt und wird z.B. vom Mythograph Fulgentius in *Mitologiarum libri tres* 1.6. wiederholt: "Cerberus uero dicitur quasi creoboros, hoc est carnem uorans" ("Kerberos wird *creoboros* d.h. Fleischverschlingend genannt").

³¹ Vgl. Vergil, *Aeneis* 8.296–297.

³² Vgl. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 7.406jj.

³³ Eitrem 1921, 282. Der Eisenhut wuchs zusammen mit der Brennessel im Garten jedes ordentlichen frühneuzeitlichen Arztes – so ist es dargestellt im Lobgedicht des anderen Rigaer Arztes und Naturforschers Basilius Plinius 1595 (hier benutzt die Ausgabe Basilius Plinius 1927) Verse 1575–1576: "Quis lectis adeo decoratus floribus hortus / Vrticam qui non aut aconita ferat?"

Die zweite Hauptstrategie in der Verwendung der antiken Mythologie zu intensiver Beleidigung ist die Kontamination der Gestalt von Kerberos durch Laster vieler anderer mythologischer (negativer) Gestalten – entweder assoziativ oder kontrastiv, und manchmal sogar durch die Ersetzung ursprünglich positiver mit antithetischen lasterhaften Charakterzügen. Am demütigsten ist es offensichtlich, dass der livländische Kerberos nicht über einen versteinernenden Blick verfügte – der ein Kennzeichen des antiken Kerberos war –,³⁴ sondern blind wie ein Maulwurf ist, ohne Augen wie Cacus oder von petrifizierten Augen wie Niobe gekennzeichnet (Verse 63–65). Ist die Blindheit des Maulwurfs eine allgemein bekannte Tatsache, setzten die Beispiele über Cacus und Niobe wieder tiefere Mythologiekennnisse voraus.³⁵ Außerdem ist diese Beleidigung als Kontrast zu Apollon gemeint, der das Augenlicht und den hellen Geist des Heliconius aufbewahrt, damit Heliconius sich um das Vaterland kümmern könne (Verse 59–62) und befähigt bleibt, neuen Wahnsinn, der zukünftige Kalenderunruhen verursachen könnte, zu vermeiden.³⁶ Der zusammenfassende Vergleich der physischen und mentalen Blindheit belehrt, dass beide die Strafe für *hybris* und Missetaten sind, wie einst bei Niobe und Cacus.³⁷

Für die Kontamination durch Laster wird auch eine weitere literarische Technik, die assoziative Mythenanhäufung, benutzt. Ein Beispiel davon bildet neben dem Eisenhut die Kumulation weiterer antiker Pflanzenmythen, in denen die unethische Verwendung der magischen Kraft von Pflanzen thematisiert wird (Verse 38–41). Kerberos wird als unangenehmer Hund und Schwein genannt, der “ein solches Land sucht, wo vielleicht blühende Nardenähren zu finden sind” (“*canis asper et herba, / Rus, sus, tale petis, quod forsā Cerbere Nardi / Spicae habet florem*”). Dabei entsteht die wörtliche

³⁴ Zu den versteinernenden Augen Kerberos’ vgl. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.65 ff. Zu den feurigen und blitzenden Augen sind erst in späteren Jahrhunderten die Papyrosfragmente von Euphorion gefunden worden, vgl. Euphorion, *Select Papyri* III, Frgm. 121 (1).

³⁵ Der Titan Cacus wohnte auf dem Gebiet des zukünftigen Roms und beschäftigte sich mit dem Erschrecken der Menschen und mit dem Stehlen. Als Herakles ihn umbringen wollte und seine Höhle angriff, habe Cacus aus seiner Nase den Rauch und Dunst ausgeschleudert, um Herakles zu blenden. Herakles hat seinerseits Cacus so gequetscht, dass die Augen von Cacus aus den Augenhöhlen ausfielen (Vergil, *Aeneis* 8.259–261). Niobe wurde vom großen Schmerz versteinert, nachdem Apollon und Artemis alle ihre Kinder getötet haben. Auf dem Berg Sipylus gesetzt, konnte die versteinerte Niobe ihr Weinen nicht aufhören. (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 6.146–312).

³⁶ Die Rigaer Kalenderunruhen von 1584–1589 sind in der Satire mit der Catilinarischen Verschwörung in republikanischen Rom verglichen. Implizit wird Hilchen damit als der römische Redner und Staatsmann Marcus Tullius Cicero identifiziert. Die Rolle der Familie Herbers in den Kalenderunruhen ist bis jetzt nicht erforscht.

³⁷ Das ständige Wiederholen des Blindheitsmotivs kann zugleich ein Hinweis auf das schlechte Augenlicht des Georg Herbers sein.

Assoziation mit der Horazischen Epistel 1.2.26 (“canis immundus vel ... sus”) und dadurch mit der ganzen Szene zwischen Odysseus und Circe. Kerberos-Herbers begehrt, Circes Zaubergetränk aus verschiedenen Pflanzen zu genießen, um sein Leben wie ein Schwein in Genüssen zu verbringen und diese Genusskonzeption auch in Riga zu verbreiten. Heliconius dagegen ist implizit wie Odysseus, der

wiederum, was Tugend vermög’ und männliche Weisheit, / stellet uns ... dar .../ Der, da er Troja gestürzt, allwachsam vieler Geschlechter / Städt’ umher und Sitten ersah und weit durch die Meerflut, Heimkehr suchend sich selbst und den Seinigen, viel der Bedrängnis / Tapfer bestand, nie untergetaucht von der Woge des Schicksals.³⁸

Drei weiteren mythologischen Figuren, die aus der antiken Mythenvielfalt in die Gestalt Kerberos’ integriert sind, müssen den Adressaten und Arzt Herbers beruflich erniedrigen und quälen, da er statt Doktor als Patient – und zwar als Patient mit einer psychischen Abweichung – betrachtet wurde: Narkissos, der seiner Selbstbewunderung zum Opfer fiel (Verse 70–73), der sozial inkompatible Ajax, der im Wahnsinn sein Heer vernichtete (Verse 78–79), und der autistische Kyklop Polyphemos (Verse 105–106). Alle drei sind in ihrer *hybris* dem Höllenhund ähnlich. Im Unterschied zu der früher erwähnten Niobe, Cacus und dem Maulwurf, die von den höheren Kräften, Göttern und Helden gestraft wurden, bestrafen und foltern Narkissos, Ajax und Polyphemos sich selbst in tragischer Weise.

Äußerst ironisch ist auch die nächste Empfehlung zur Selbstkasteiung – nämlich zum Selbsturteil im Gericht. Kerberos-Herbers wird mit dem weisen und ausgewogenen Unterweltsrichter Rhadamantys verglichen, d.h. eigentlich mit einer mittelalterlichen Mythenvariante über ihn. Dementsprechend wurde die Beurteilung der Laster zwischen den drei Richtern Minos, Aiakos und Rhadamantys aufgeteilt, wobei Minos die sinnlichen Laster, Aiakos die Missetaten und Rhadamantys diejenige Laster bestrafte, die mit der Stimme und Sprache, u.a. mit Verleumdungen verbunden waren.³⁹ Mit der Empfehlung, dass Kerberos wie Rhadamantys als Richter in der Unterwelt die “andersartige Lehre (d.h. seine eigenen Verleumdungen gegen Hilchen) beenden müsse” (Vers 68–69), bestätigt der Verfasser implizit, dass die Beleidigungen gegen ihn verbal und nicht physisch, jedoch voller Gelehrsamkeit waren.

Die bedrohlichste Kontamination anhand antiker Mythologie befindet sich als Kulmination im Endteil der Satire in den Versen 117–122. Sollte der Leser

³⁸ Horaz, *Epistulae* 1.2.17–22, übersetzt von Johann Heinrich Voß (<http://gutenberg.spiegel.de/buch/briefe-5537/1>).

³⁹ Brumble 1998, 222–223.

bei den früheren Allegorien die Fatalität der Strafe selbst aufgrund seiner Mythologiekenntnisse lediglich errahnen, ist im letzten Beispiel die Todesdrohung, die Heliconius als Hauptgott Jupiter den ungehorsamen Giganten Otos und Ephialtes gegenüber ankündigt, unmissverständlich und explizit. Die genannten Titanen wurden zum Tode verurteilt, als sie den Berg Olympos zu erobern versuchten und dazu die drei Berge Thessaliens – Olympos, Ossa und Pelion – aufeinander stellten.⁴⁰ Nachdem Jupiters Bote Mercurius sie vergeblich gemahnt hatte und die Titanen nicht von ihrem Ziel abließen, kippte Jupiter (nach einer anderen Mythenversion Apollon) die Berge auf die Titanen.⁴¹

Zusammenfassend sollten die Beispiele über die physische, intellektuelle und emotionelle Blindheit, den Ungehorsam und den Wahnsinn den Adressaten und gleichsam auch andere gelehrte Leser überzeugen, dass Kerberos-Herbers sowohl die Standhaftigkeit (*constantia*) als auch die Kenntnisse in der Staatswissenschaft (*prudentia civilis*) fehlen, die ihm erlauben würden, sich dem Dienst in der Stadt und Staat zu widmen.

Die dritte Strategie der Anwendung der antiken Mythologie ist die selektive Auslassung und das explizite Unterschlagen von Mythendetails, jedoch mit der Absicht, dass das Publikum die daraus folgenden Konnotationen beim Lesen erkennen wird. Vor allem werden die Vorgeschichten (*aitia*) und die Schlussteile der Mythen nicht erzählt. Eine der signifikantesten ist unter den Auslassungen die Geschichte, wie Kerberos aus der Unterwelt gerettet wurde, denn hatte ihn doch der Held Herakles während seiner letzten Tat in die Welt emporgebracht. Hier ist die Reue Hilchens zu spüren: Hätte er vor Jahren als Rigaer Scholarch Herbers' Studien nicht unterstützt, wäre der livländische Kerberos ungebildet geblieben und nie zu Hilchens Kritiker geworden. Zweitens hat Hilchen auf die Mythenvariante aus Hesiods *Theogonia* (Vers 769) verzichtet, in der Kerberos am Tor der Unterwelt alle friedlichen Ankömmlinge freundlich begrüßte und nur diejenigen angriff, die ihre Sterblichkeit und das Leben in der Unterwelt nicht akzeptieren wollten. Außerdem enthält die Mythensammlung über Kerberos auch zwei wirksame Strategien zur Beruhigung des Höllenhundes: Nämlich durch den Gesang des Orpheus oder mit Honigkuchen, d.h. durch Verführung entweder mit emotionellem oder physischem Genuss.⁴² Diese aus der antiken Mythologie bekannten friedlichen Lösungsmuster waren auch Hilchen bestimmt bekannt, wurden von ihm aber nicht verwendet.

⁴⁰ Der Wortspiel mit dem Bergnamen Ossa und dem Wort *ossa* ('Knochen') ist bemerkenswert: vgl. Verse 118 *Ossan ...imponentes ... Ossae* und 90 *ossa ossibus addam*.

⁴¹ Dieses Sujet wird länger behandelt von Pindar, *Pythian* 4.88–92 und Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.151–162; vorbeigehend erwähnt aber von mehreren antiken Autoren.

⁴² Eitrem 1921.

Die Verwendung dieser auslassenden Strategie kulminiert in ironischen und bedrohlichen Vorhersagen über den Held Heliconius selbst. Der Vergleich zwischen Kerberos und dem Kyklopen Polyphemos (Verse 103–113) gab dem gelehrten Leser einen Hinweis, dass das einzige Auge des Polyphemos gerade der vielbereiste Held Odysseus (hier mit Heliconius identifiziert) ausgestochen hatte. Allerdings ist aus dem homerischen Epos bekannt, dass Odysseus selbst nicht unbestraft blieb, sondern für seine *hybris* von Polyphemos verwünscht wurde und danach am Meer dem Sturm, den Poseidon, der Vater des Kyklopen, ihm geschickt hatte, kaum entkam. Heliconius-Hilchen überlebte im Januar 1600, kurz nach der Publikation der Satire, knapp den politischen Sturm in Riga und benutzte in seinen späteren Briefen über seine Verhaftung und den Gerichtsprozess öfters das Wort *Schiffbruch* (*nafragium*).⁴³

Zusammenfassung

Die häufige und vielfältige Verwendung der antiken Mythen in der ersten livländischen Satire signalisiert, dass der Verfasser offensichtlich eine *loci-communes* Sammlung, sei es gedruckt oder handschriftlich, benutzt hat.⁴⁴ Von den Mythen sind sowohl die von den humanistischen Schulautoren Homer, Ovid, Vergil, Horaz, Martial usw. bekannten als auch einige solche vertreten, die eher zur antiquarischen Antikenrezeption gehörten. Für die Literaturgeschichte war die erste humanistische Satire Livlands auf jeden Fall innovativ, da sie neben der Ingebrauchnahme der neuen Gattung auch einen neuen lokalen Mythos über die Stadt Riga als Hölle entwickelte. Obwohl die Stadt selbst zwar nie *Hölle* genannt wird, deutet die Menge der allegorischen Höllengestalten, die zu den Einwohnern Rigas gehörten, darauf hin: David Hilchen als Sohn der Hölle bzw. des Teufels (Hellenkind) und Georg Herbers als Höllenhund Kerberos.

Die Verwendung der antiken Mythen hatte hier das Ziel der Satire völlig erfüllt — Hilchen konnte seinen Gegner in gelehrter Weise, ohne direkte persönliche Beleidigung und so auch ohne empfindliche gerichtliche Folgen verspotten und bedrohen und kombiniert mit anderen Maßnahmen schnell als seinen Feind beseitigen. Einen Hinweis darauf gibt die Tatsache, dass Georg Herbers seit 1599 aus den Rigaer Quellen völlig verschwand, sowie die

⁴³ Z.B. in seinen Briefen an den Erzbischof von Lemberg (Lwów) Jan Dymitr Solikowski (10.12.1601), an den königlichen Schatzmeister Jan Firley im Namen von Georg von Fa(h)rensbach (30.4.1602) und an den polnischen königlichen Kanzler Stanislaw Fogelfeder (Vogelfeder) (4.9.1602).

⁴⁴ David Hilchen hat in Est- und Livland die erste kurze Instruktion gedruckt, wie die private *loci-communes* Sammlung zu verfassen sei (Hilchen 1592, fol. B3p–B4). Über die Florilegien in der regionalen Literatur und Bildung vgl. Viiding 2012, Kaur & Viiding 2012 und Sarasti-Wilenius 2012.

Tatsache, dass weder in apologetischen Druckschriften Hilchens aus den Jahren 1600–1609⁴⁵ noch während zweier Gerichtsprozesse gegen Hilchen (einer von der Stadt Riga, der andere von Jacob Go(ed)demann initiiert) die Satire mehr als Beweis behandelt wurde – oder gar im Gerichtsurteil benannt worden wäre.⁴⁶ Die Satire erfüllte zwar ihren gesellschaftlichen Zweck, aber Hilchens literarisches Ziel, in den gebildeten Zirkeln Rigas eine neue Gattung zu etablieren und sich selbst literarischen Ruhm als Satirendichter zu gewinnen, wurde aufgrund der Beseitigung der Druckschrift nicht erreicht.

⁴⁵ Hilchen 1604; Hilchen 1605.

⁴⁶ Alle Gerichtsakten sind in Riga im Lettischen Historischen Staatsarchiv aufbewahrt: Riga LVVA 673-1-344a, 673-1-344b, 673-1-344c, 673-1-344d und 673-1-344e.

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CATHARINI
SANTONELLAE
HORTI MUSARUM IN MON-
te Helicone custodis contra Cerberum
in Elysijis vallibus excubitorem
Heliconi oblatran-
tem
SATYRA

Ad Nasutum.

Asperior Satyra tibi sum, Nasute, quid ergo?
Commodus hic Satyra est semper ubique stylus.

Aliud.

Vnca mea haec dicet Nasutus carmina, verum est:
Namque etiam ipsius Nasus aduncus erat.

CATHARINI SANTONELLAE SATYRA.

Qui leues Elegos atque asperitate carentes
Vel consueui Odas uel amabile fundere carmen
Flare tuba heroa, didicique heroica gesta:
Nunc tibi, Cerbere atrox, naturam praeter, acerbum
5 Carminis en scribo genus: en me suscitatur ira,
Acrior ut surgam, contra teque, omnia tollam
Arma, quibus charus mihi defendatur amicus
Musarum proles, clarusque Heliconis alumnus.
Nam quae te Furia, aut quod te Cacodaemonis astrum
10 Impulit? ut linguam petulantem, et culmina adunci
Sic gereres nasi, ut misceres fasque nefasque
Ventosa in lingua? Spueresque ex ore uenenum
Contra illum, quem mons Helicon miratur, amantque
Doctae Heliconiades? Quod si tibi tanta Cupido
15 Ore venenato in medium uomere et dare uerba,
Nec poteris digito petulans compescere labrum:
Accipito haec rursus, quae Panas inter agrestes
Et Satyros lusi hamatus stipatus iambis.
Cerbere, nare decet stygias te saeue per undas,
20 Nare per irriguum DVNAE tibi non licet amnem:

- Sis procul a nobis Furiarum carcere clausus,
Foetor ubi toto dominari fertur in Orco
Cede procul, nec nos propiori accedito gressu:
Nam quia sunt Nasi tibi pressa cacumina adunci,
25 Saepe tibi expressus manat de naribus humor,
Qui circumstantes foetore affligit acerbo.
Et quoniam Invidia in Stygiis regnare latebris
Creditur, inuidiae et natus perhiberis in umbra,
Liuida ubi macies regnat, squallorque, situsque,
30 Inde tuo in uultu forma est quoque, liuida semper,
Cur petis hunc telis, a quo quondam aera petebas?
Cum te pauperies lacerumque in corpore tegmen
Subsidium miserae iussisset quaerere vitae.
Hocne tuum officium est? Haec gratia, Cerbere, de te?
35 Fama est, Orcaeo cum esses¹ nutritus in antro,
Ex illo egressus sub apertas aetheris auras,
Flore quod es pastus uario: Herbae Rus sed acerbae
Inter rura alia elegisti: hinc plurima acerba,
Quae glutisti, iterum reuomis, canis asper et herba,
40 Rus, sus, tale petis, quod forsitan Cerbere Nardi
Spicae habeat florem: hoc velles ciuilitate uti.
Ast innata semel mala mens ceu non solet unquam
Esse bona, haud aliter qui natus Cerberus olim es,
Herbae Rus semper depasces Cerbere acerbae
45 Atque inciuitatis disces ciuilia nunquam?
Cerberus ergo mane, et latrantia guttura pande.
Sed quia nec patria te dignum dicis amata,
Patria nec dignam se fert, ut te ferat unquam,
Desine cum lacerare et rodere dente canino
50 Cerbere, quem patria haud indignum existimat esse,
Cuius consiliis nitatur et ingenii ui.
Ne quid at indictum furiata mente relinquo,
Cerberus, ais causam multorum hunc esse malorum,
Tunc ubi patria erat Catilinae obiecta furori.
55 Patria ait contra: Hunc magnos sedasse tumultus
Et rapuisse suos Lernaee ex faucibus Hydrae,
Quam tu Cerbere adhuc forsitan regnare cupisses,
Multiplici huic capiti ut comitem te iungere posses.
Objicis inde oculos quod ab aere munit hic acri

¹ *Orcaeo cum esses* correxi metri causa] *Orcaeo esses cum*

- 60 Illos nempe oculos, quos sanos servet Apollo,
Vt queat hisce diu patriae indagare salutem:
Pro uitio sic uirtutem obijcis indefessam.¹
O stupide, ut Niobes² saxum, o sine lumine Talpa,
Lumina tu varie distorta attollis in altum,
- 65 Omniaque, ut Cacus densa caligine reples.
Nilque potes caeca, male Cerbere, cernere mente,
Quod te dedeceat, deceat pariterque proteruum,
Iudicio alterius doctrinae linque profectum;
Tuque mane Iudex medio Radamantius Orco:
- 70 Atque tibi soli placeas, Narcissus ut ille,
Qui dum se pura fontis speculatus in unda est
Ipse sui stulto periit deceptus amore.
Te quid at aequiparas Heliconis, Cerbere, alumno:
Quantum alios Helicon mons montes anteit omnes,
- 75 Te superat clarus tantum hic Heliconis alumnus,
Nec me animus fallit, uel te quoque teste probaro,
Nulla quod amissa est Patrono causa sub isto.
Ajax tu contra ueluti temerarius arma
Pro grege saepe tuo geris, his succumbis et armis.
- 80 Mittitur ille alter uarias Legatus in oras:
Imo etiam Regis nunc nomine mittitur idem,
Atque suum munus feliciter expedit, at tu
Cerberus es stygiasque manes depressus ad undas,
Cumque tibi fas sit superas euadere in auras,
- 85 Omnibus allatras, qui te supra altius extant.
Quod si tantus amor menti, si tanta libido est,
Cerbere, rodendo dentes hebetare caninos:
En tibi, saeue canis, lectis ex ossibus unum,
Quale suae matri offerret non ulla catella,
- 90 Post epulas dabo saepe meas: ossa ossibus addam,
Ossa canes rodant: uirtutem rodere cessent.
Nunc primam hanc Satyram tibi,³ mordax Cerbere, mitto.
Si sapis, absistes lacerare Heliconis alumnum:
Ex Helicone orti ne plures forsani alumni
- 95 Te contra insurgant, et uersus uersibus addant
Omnes armati, cordato pectore et omnes,
Archilochus dictis rabiosus et acer Iambus,

¹ versus graecus, sine caesura

² *Niobes* correxi] *Niobos* editio

³ *tibi* correxi] *ubi* editio

- Et plures alii Lyrici, regionibus orti
Diuersis, diuersa canent te, Cerbere, contra.
- 100 Ergo uide, atque in te propius descendere disce,
Nec contra hunc latra, cui magnae patria curae est,
Quemque suum veluti defendet patria patrem.
Quod si nulla mea curas monita ista Camoenae,
Atque superba geris tumido praecordia uultu,
- 105 Non secus atque ingens uasto Polyphemus in antro
Heu miser ut stabis? cum te contra omnia ubique
Arma parabuntur magnam minitania pugnam:
Nempe aries longus, quo quondam est usa uetustas,
Tormentum et grande euertendis moenibus aptum,
- 110 Missilia, et tela et quicquid belli exigit usus.
Sicque tuus tandem admoto cadet ariete crebro¹
Nasus, et euicto procumbent cardine nares,
Tantae molis erit nasum subuertere aduncum.
Quae tibi nunc scripsi, Nasute, haec omnia credant
- 115 Scripta sibi illi omnes, qui pugnant contra Heliconem
Musarum montem, clarosque Heliconis alumnos.
Non secus ac fama est, caelum oppugnasse Gigantes
Ossan Olympo olim imponentes, Peleon Ossae:
Mercurius summo quos nuncius ab Ioue missus
- 120 Cum frustra monuisset, et illi absistere coepto
Mente recusassent dura, alto numine laeso
Occubuere omnes sub montibus interruptis.²
Quotquot adhuc habui hostes omnes ordine vici,³
Quando lacessito mihi iusta incanduit ira,
- 125 Neruosumque dedit magna indignatio uersum.
Vici omnes nullo uerboso munere linguae
Iudice quae coram ob fuluum saepe intonat aurum,
Inque potestatem alterius conducta recedit:
Conscia mens recti atque animus sibi in omnibus aequus
- 130 Plurima dissimulat, patitur: patientia tandem
Fit furor, atque animo vires calamumque ministrat,
Vindicet ut falsos fucato pectore fucos:
En mihi erit tanto quouis de gloria maior
Versificatore indoctum qui fertur alumnum

¹ *a-rie-te* trisyllabe, *i* consonans; *cadet ariete crebro* : cf. Vergilius Aeneis 2.492 *labat ariete crebro*

² versus graecus

³ versus sine caesura

- 135 Ex Helicone ortum, quanto est praeclarior hic mons:
Atque ego sum montis quanto obseruantior huius,
Aequior ut causa est Musarum, ita quaelibet ultro
Afferet auxilium mihi: uerbis telaque subdet.
 Qui sapit, absistet Musarum offendere montem:
- 140 Non etenim montem, sed Musas laedet hic omnes.

