

ON THE IMPORTANCE OF BASEL PRINTS FOR THE CZECH LANDS

KAMIL BOLDAN

This contribution evaluates the importance of Basel-made prints for the Czech Lands based mainly on quantitative data. It also traces the representation of Basel prints produced from the end of the 15th until early 17th century in large historical collections in the Czech Republic and analyses their relative proportion in the libraries of intellectual elites. In the second part, the author tries to determine the proportion of Basel prints in the reconstructed core of the Carolinum library, which survives in collections of the current National Library of the Czech Republic.

Keywords: incunabula – book printing in Basel – the 16th century – Basel university – book trade – Carolinum library

DOI: 10.14712/23365730.2023.32

Czech printers of incunables responded to the significant import of Latin incunables by focusing on publications in Czech. Printers had maintained this national character for some time, and until mid-sixteenth century vernacular production was prevalent in both Bohemia and Moravia. Of the 4,400 titles printed in the Czech Lands in the course of the sixteenth century, full 70 percent were produced in its last quarter, at which time one can also see a notable increase in the number of Latin prints. Most of these, however, were slim occasional booklets, university theses, and handbooks for schools. At that time, Prague became the main residence of Emperor Rudolf II and an important cultural centre.¹ Still, unlike in Vienna or Krakow, where printers already in the first half of the sixteenth century offered a wide range of specialized Latin literature, the little-frequented Prague university did not represent a strong enough potential market for such production² and most Latin books in Bohemia were imported.

¹ For more detail, see Anežka BAĎUROVÁ – Mirjam BOHATCOVÁ – Josef HEJNIC, *Frekvence tištěné literatury 16. století v Čechách a na Moravě* [The frequency of printed literature in 16th-century Bohemia and Moravia], *Folia historica Bohemica* (hereinafter FHB) 11, 1987, pp. 321–334; Mirjam BOHATCOVÁ, *Das Verhältnis der tschechischen und fremdsprachigen Drucke in Böhmen und Mähren vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zum Jahre 1621*, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 63, 1988, esp. pp. 108–111. For more on Czech and Moravian book printing in the 16th and early 17th century, see EADEM, *The Book and the Reformation in Bohemia and Moravia*, in: Jean-François Gilmont (ed.), *The Reformation and the Book*, Aldershot 1998, pp. 385–409; EADEM, *Knižní a publicistická tvorba 1550–1650* [Book printing and journalism, 1550–1650], in: Eliška Fučíková (ed.), *Rudolf II. a Praha. Císařský dvůr a residenční město jako kulturní a duchovní centrum střední Evropy*, Praha 1997, pp. 332–339. For more on the period before mid-16th century, cf. also a more recent critical study Petr VOIT, *Český knihtisk mezi pozdní gotikou a renesancí* [Czech book printing between Late Gothic and Renaissance], I–II, Praha 2013, 2017.

² Jan PRŮŽYŇSKÝ – Anežka BAĎUROVÁ, *Krakau und Prag als Zentren des Buchdrucks im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert. Versuch eines Vergleichs*, in: Marina Dmitrieva – Karen Lambrecht (Hgg.), *Krakau, Prag und Wien. Funktionen von Metropolen im frühmodernen Staat*, Stuttgart 2000, pp. 626–628.

Basel became an important centre of printing already in the fifteenth century. Voluminous Latin treatises printed in large editions and aimed at international scholars were the main export article of the town. The well-educated staff of Basel printshops, recruited mainly from amongst graduates of the local university, was capable of publishing even the most demanding texts. Large parts of Basel production consisted of collected editions supplemented with critical apparatus. Alongside the Bible, local printing policy relied on the publication of Greek, Roman, and Humanist literature, patristics, but also natural and exact sciences. German titles, on the other hand, were not so strongly represented. In the course of the sixteenth century, over 8,000 titles were published in Basel. With a large head start over Geneva and Zurich, where a large part of production consisted of works of Swiss theologians, Basel was thus the most important centre of printing in Switzerland. Within the German-speaking parts of Europe, Basel was in terms of print production ahead of Strasbourg and Nuremberg, on about the same level with Cologne and Leipzig, with only Wittenberg ahead of it. So far, scholars have managed to bibliographically document approximately 8,300 works printed in Basel in the sixteenth century, which is almost double of what was produced in Bohemia during the same period. Over half of the prints produced in Basel were, meanwhile, the work of less than a dozen printers whose names were famous among contemporary scholars. Alongside Johann Froben and his son Hieronymus, the ‘golden age’ of Basel printing is connected with the names of Andreas Cratander, Heinrich Petri, Nicolaus Episcopius, Johannes Oporinus, Johannes Herwagen, Michael Isingrin, or Pietro Perna.

Updated information about the number of prints produced in Basel has been published by Urs Leu.³ The long-term growth in production, apparent especially since the second decade of the sixteenth century, was briefly interrupted at a time of radicalisation and the town’s endorsement of Reformation in the late 1520s and early 1530s. Eventually, though, the local relatively tolerant and open atmosphere allowed for the continued publication of authors of various denominations, including the works of religions non-conformists and refugees. The printshops of Basel attracted European scholars and the town became an important centre of humanism and science more thanks to them than because of the local university. Important scientific works published here were intended for scholars all over Europe. The town was also the centre of Greek and Hebrew printing.

³ See Urs B. LEU, *Die Bedeutung Basels als Druckort im 16. Jahrhundert*, in: Christine Christ-von Wedel – Sven Grosse – Berndt Hamm (Hgg.), *Basel als Zentrum des geistigen Austauschs in der frühen Reformationszeit*, Tübingen 2014, pp. 53–78, esp. a graphic depiction of trends in the production on pp. 57 and 58; IDEM, *The Book and Reading Culture in Basel and Zurich During the Sixteenth Century*, in: Malcolm Walsby – Graeme Kemp (eds.), *The Book Triumphant. Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Leiden – Boston 2011, pp. 293–319, esp. graphs on p. 298. Of older studies on Basel printing activities, cf., e.g., Peter BIETENHOLZ, *Der italienische Humanismus und die Blütezeit des Buchdrucks in Basel*, Basel – Stuttgart 1959; IDEM, *Der Basler Buchdruck und die Reformation*, Szeged 1998; Martin STEINMANN, *Der Basler Buchdruck im 16. Jahrhundert*, *Librarium* 53, 2010, pp. 79–98; Frank HIERONYMUS, *En Basileia pólei tēs Germanias. Griechischer Geist aus Basler Pressen*, Basel 1992; IDEM, *Oberrheinische Buchillustration, II, Basler Buchillustration 1500–1545*, Basel 1984. On the early history of Basel printing, see Pierre L. Van der HAEGEN, *Der frühe Basler Buchdruck*, Basel 2001. The history of Basel printing is summarised in Petr VOIT, *Encyklopedie knihy. Starší knižní tisk a příbuzné obory mezi polovinou 15. a počátkem 19. století* [The encyclopaedia of books. Older book printing and related activities between mid-15th and early 19th century], Praha 2006, p. 93, especially entries on the leading printers. On the cultural significance of Basel, see esp. Hans Rudolph GUGGISBERG, *Basel in the Sixteenth Century. Aspects of the City Republic Before, During, and After the Reformation*, 2nd ed., Eugene 2010.

In the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the ‘golden age’ of Basel printing ended and local production decreased. In contrast to previous annual maxima of over one hundred titles, in the last decade of the century only less than fifty titles appear per annum. The decrease would be even more radical if, instead of the number of titles published, we followed the number of folios that left the printshops. In the area of scholarly literature, Basel is overtaken especially by Antwerp and Amsterdam. Locally, the cause is to be found in the enforcement of Calvinistic orthodoxy, which did not favour humanism. This led to a general restriction on diversity in terms of both authors and subjects that could be published, and consequently to provincialisation. The core of Basel production shifted towards theology and in the seventeenth century, local printers focused on relatively slim university theses and disputations. Globally, this development took place within the context of increasing confessionalisation and attendant fragmentation of the previously more or less homogeneous market with Latin prints. But be it as it may, by the seventeenth century, Basel printing activities were thus clearly in decline and, in comparison to the sixteenth-century production, the town as a whole produced only half of the titles.

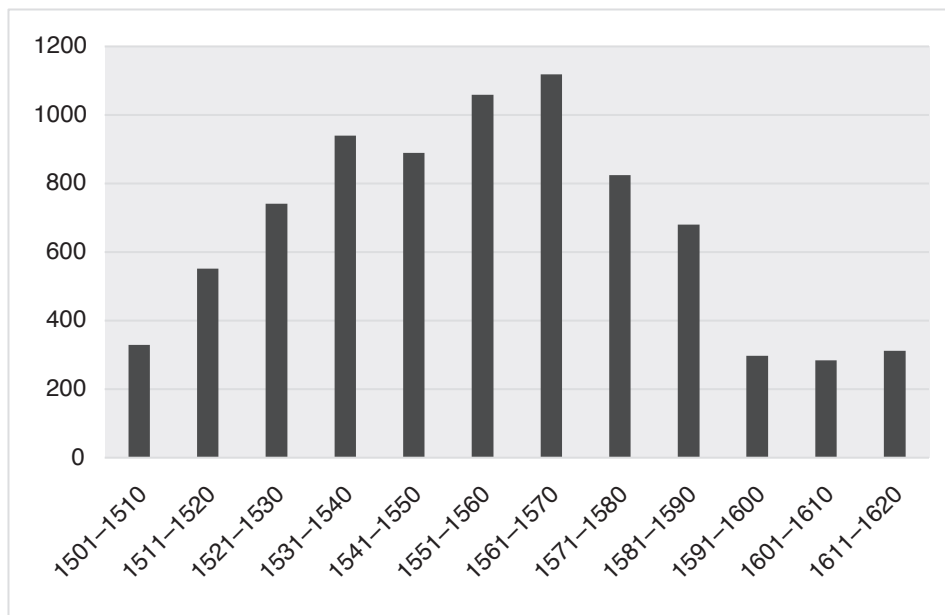
Thanks to a sophisticated market network, Basel prints easily found their way also to countries of Central Europe.⁴ In Bohemia, trade in foreign prints was concentrated mainly in Prague, whereby markets in Leipzig also played an important role; Moravia, on the other hand, was oriented mainly on nearby centres of book trade in Vienna and Wrocław.⁵ The handful of studies which deal with book markets in the Czech Lands prior to the Battle of White Mountain (1620) tend to overlook the provenience of imported prints, although surviving prints can, due to paucity of sources of archival nature, represent a key source of information. The fact that a smaller proportion of these prints made their way to our lands only later is unlikely to significantly detract from the informative value of such an analysis. Among imported incunables, Basel editions with over 6% hold a sixth position. On the other hand, if we take into account the numerous cases where multiple copies of the same book appear in the lists and catalogues, the proportion of Basel production in domestic collections of incunables increases to 10–13%.⁶ In the fifteenth century, meanwhile, Basel

⁴ Cf., e.g., Detlef HABERLAND, *Der Druckort Basel und Ostmitteleuropa – Spuren geistiger Verbindungen*, in: Viliam Čičaj – Jan-Andrea Bernhard (Hgg.), *Orbis Helveticorum. Das Schweizer Buch und seine mitteleuropäische Welt*, Bratislava 2011, pp. 11–22.

⁵ Zdeněk ŠIMEČEK – Jiří TRÁVNÍČEK, *Knihy kupovati. Dějiny knižního trhu v českých zemích* [Buying books. History of the book market in the Czech Lands], Praha 2014, esp. pp. 55–59. Further cf. Petra VEČEROVÁ, *Několik obecných poznámek k distribuci knih a knižnímu obchodu v předbělohorské Praze* [Some general remarks on the distribution of books and book trade in Prague before the Battle of White Mountain], in: Alena Čiśařova Smitkova et al. (eds.), *Libri magistri muti sunt. Pocta Jaroslave Kařparove*, Praha 2013, esp. p. 52.

⁶ Cf. Jiřı LOUDA, *Soupis prvotisku Universitni knihovny v Olomouci a jejı poboky v Kromeřıži* [A list of incunables in the University Library in Olomouc and its branch in Kromeřıž], Praha 1956; Vladislav DOKOUPIL, *Soupis prvotisku z fondu Universitni knihovny v Brne* [The list of incunables in collections of the University Library in Brno], Praha 1970; Mırko RIEDL, *Katalog prvotisku jihoeskych knihoven* [A catalogue of incunables in the libraries of southern Bohemia], Praha 1974; Eva KLAUSNEROVA, *Prvotisky Statni vedecke knihovny v Plzni* [Incunables in the State Scientific Library in Pilsen], Plzen 1990; Josef HEJNIC, *Soupis prvotisku Zapadoeskeho muzea v Plzni* [A list of incunables in the Museum of West Bohemia in Pilsen], Plzen 2000; Jitka ŠIMAKOVA – Jaroslav VRCHOTKA – Jitka ŠIMAKOVA et al., *Katalog prvotisku Knihovny Narodního muzea v Praze a zameckych a hradnich knihoven v ˇeske republice* [A catalogue of incunables in the Library of the National Museum in Prague and libraries of castles and chateaux in the Czech Republic], Praha 2001; Petr VOIT, *Katalog prvotisku Strahovske knihovny v Praze* [Catalogue of incunables of the Strahov Library in Prague], Praha 2015; Mıroslav MYŠAK, *Kromeřıžska zamecka knihovna, I, Prvotisky* [Library of the Kromeřıž Chateau, Vol. I: Incunables], Olomouc 2017. In the case of the collection of incunables in the National Library of the Czech Republic

published about 3% of the total production of prints.⁷ The importance of Basel printing industry for Bohemia and Moravia in the 16th and early 17th centuries is shown in the following graph.



Graph 1: Basel prints in Czech and Moravian libraries, 1501–1620

This shows the total number of Basel-made prints in the largest historical collections in Bohemia and Moravia.⁸ We can see that a long-term increasing trend ends in the 1560s and the following five decades are a period of notable decrease. Although Basel university became an increasingly frequent destination of students from the Czech Lands since the

(henceforth NL CR), it is just under 10%. Descriptions of the incunables are accessible in the STT database at [online] <<https://aleph.nkp.cz>>.

⁷ Based on a union catalogue of incunables prepared by Emma Urbánková but unpublished, see Kamil BOLDAN, *Flora, Emma a Katinka. Příspěvek k dějinám inkunabulistiky* [Flora, Emma, and Katinka. A contribution to the history of incunables], *Knihy a dějiny* 26, 2019, pp. 44–48.

⁸ I have used the databases of the NL CR, Library of the National Museum, Strahov Library, Study and Research Library of the Pilsen Region, Research Library of South Bohemia, Moravian Library, and Olomouc Research Library. For the library of Museum of West Bohemia in Pilsen, I am using the catalogues compiled by Josef HEJNIC et al., *Soupis tisků 16. století Západočeského muzea v Plzni* [A list of 16th-century prints in the Museum of West Bohemia in Pilsen], Plzeň 2013, and Lenka BENDOVÁ, *Soupis tisků 17. století Západočeského muzea v Plzni* [A list of 17th-century prints in the Museum of West Bohemia in Pilsen], Plzeň 2019. For collections of chateau libraries, I use the union catalogue of Pavel HÁJEK et al., *Tisky 16. století v zámeckých knihovnách České republiky* [Sixteenth-century prints in the libraries of chateaux in the Czech Republic], I–III, Praha – České Budějovice 2015, and internal instruments of the department of chateau libraries of the library of the National Museum in Prague.

1570s,⁹ even the libraries they created there and then took with them back to their homeland did not significantly affect this overall decline.¹⁰

Especially in the first two thirds of the sixteenth century, Basel was one of the most frequent places of origin of prints in the libraries of intellectual elites, and Basel prints played a key role in the development of humanist studies in Central Europe. Libraries of Czech scholars held mainly imported prints, and those which originated in Basel were for a long time predominant. An investigation of titles published by Johann Froben, the most famous Basel printer, during the second period of his activity – when his ambitious publishing plan since the mid-1510s was co-determined by the eminent humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam and the important editor Beatus Rhenanus, a period which ended with Froben's death in 1527 – shows that his prints at first found their way more easily not to the Utraquist but to the Catholic parts of Bohemia and Moravia. This was because in part thanks to the presence of numerous graduates of foreign universities, these regions were more open to humanism as such.¹¹ In later times, it seems that locally dominant confession did not have a significant impact on the import of Basel prints.

Research into the reception of Basel prints is complicated by the fact that a large part of contemporary inventories of libraries does not include information about the place where the item was printed.¹² The catalogue of the largest aristocratic library, which was assembled at their residence in Český Krumlov by the south Bohemian noble family of Rosenbergs, is in this respect an exception. In 1601/02, the library was moved to Třeboň. Its catalogue, completed by Václav Břežan in 1608, lists approximately 10,000 titles, 9% of which are works printed in Basel.¹³ Hermann Bulder, Rosenberg's physician, astronomer, and a native of Osnabruck, had in his library by the time of his death in 1612 about 11% of Basel prints. Although he generally tended to purchase current literature on medicine or natural science, many of his Basel prints are of an older date, from the 'golden age' of Basel printing.¹⁴

⁹ Josef HEJNIC, *Basel und der Renaissancehumanismus in Böhmen und Mähren*, in: Basileae Rauracorum. Referate eines informellen ostwestlichen Kolloquiums, Basel 1991, p. 75. A new overview of Czech and Moravian students at the Basel university until 1630 is currently being prepared by Martin Holý.

¹⁰ More recent acquisitions are represented clearly most plentifully in some chateau libraries.

¹¹ Cf. Kamil BOLDAN, *Basilejská univerzita, tiskař Johannes Frobenius a recepce jeho tisků v českých zemích* [Basel university, printer Johannes Frobenius, and reception of his prints in the Czech Lands], *Knihy a dějiny* 29/1–2, 2022, pp. 80–114.

¹² Inventories until the first third of the 16th century are described in Ivan HLAVÁČEK, *Středověké soupisy knih a knihoven v českých zemích* [Medieval lists of books and libraries in the Czech Lands], Praha 1966, but for the later period, such an overview is missing. Cf. Ivan HLAVÁČEK, *Z českých knihoven na počátku 17. století (K vnitřní struktuře rožmberské knihovny)* [From Bohemian libraries in early 17th century (On the internal structure of the Rosenberg library)], *Vědecké informace – Supplement 1/1970 (K Soupisu cizojazyčných bohemik z let 1501–1800)*, p. 83; IDEM, *Zur Stratifikation und zur inhaltlichen Zusammensetzung der böhmisch-mährischen Bibliotheken des 16. Jahrhunderts*, in: Werner Arnold (Hg.), *Bibliotheken und Bücher im Zeitalter der Renaissance*, Wiesbaden 1997, pp. 9–30; Lenka VESELÁ, *Rytíř a intelektuál: Hieronymus Beck von Leopoldsdorfu (1525–1596) a jeho knihovna* [A knight and an intellectual: Hieronymus Beck von Leopoldsdorfu], Praha 2016, pp. 16–20. For more on probate inventories in municipal libraries, see esp. Jiří PEŠEK, *Knihy a knihovny v kšaftech a inventářích pozůstalosti Nového Města pražského v letech 1576–1620* [Books and libraries in the last wills and probate inventories in the New Town of Prague, 1576–1620], *FHB 2*, 1980, pp. 247–282.

¹³ For more detail, cf. Lenka VESELÁ, *Knihy na dvoře Rožmberků* [Books in the Rosenberg court], Praha 2005, with information on the catalogue at pp. 102–118 and an inserted CD with its edition. Lenka Veselá draws attention (p. 126) to the fact that Swiss production formed some 14% of the total, but since the end of the 16th century, this proportion significantly declined.

¹⁴ State Regional Archive in Třeboň, collection CR – z Rožmberka, sign. 20a. For more on the catalogue, cf. L. VESELÁ, *Knihy*, pp. 231–235.

Jakub Konrad Pretorius of Perlenberg, physician and a representative of Lutheran reformation in the mainly German-speaking Brno, owned by the time of his death in 1620 about 1,500 tomes. He acquired the core of his library during his studies in Frankfurt (M) and Padua, but majority of books in his library was acquired later, during the four decades of his work and life in Brno. Basel prints constitute about 16% of the total.¹⁵

Interesting information can be gleaned from some personal or institutional libraries which were not later dispersed but survived at least in the form of significant remnants. Among the nearly 300 fifteenth- and sixteenth-century prints that belonged to the parish library in České Budějovice (Budweis), which grew thanks to bequests from local clergy, Basel prints are most numerous and account for about 17% of the total.¹⁶ A truly unique historical collection is the school library from Jáchymov (Joachimsthal), which was a chain library accessible even to the broader public. Joachimsthal was the most important of German-speaking mining towns in the Ore Mountains and it soon endorsed Lutheranism. Mining specialists as well as educated persons from other professions were coming here from neighbouring Saxony but also from elsewhere. The Latin school was the town's intellectual centre. Majority of volumes were acquired for its library between the 1540s and 1560s, especially thanks to Johann Mathesius, Luther's student, who lived and worked in Joachimsthal from 1532 until his death in 1565, first as a schoolmaster and later as a priest. He was in charge of adding to the library.¹⁷ Prosperous burghers donated often significant sums towards the purchase of books. The books, however, were not purchased in Prague but mostly in Leipzig, which was culturally closer. However, with a decline in silver mining and the town as such, contributions trickled out and in the 1620s, the local school was closed. Almost three hundred volumes were then moved to the attic of the townhall, where they remained for the next two and a half centuries (almost 250 volumes had survived). Most books in this fonds are humanistic, theological, philological, and historiographic titles as well as writings on natural sciences. They are mostly in Latin but because older students studied also Greek, we find in this collection also some Greek items. Prints from Basel form a surprising 30% of the total.¹⁸ Over one-third of them come from Froben's printshop (including a 1518 edition of Thomas More's *Utopia*).¹⁹

¹⁵ Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket – Sveriges nationalbibliotek, MS U 374. This share was determined based mainly on an alphabetical catalogue from 1616, which systematically and clearly lists information about printing, but ends with the letter 'M'. Together with another two catalogues of Pretorius's library, it is in a digital form accessible in the information platform Swedish Booty of Books from Bohemia and Moravia, 1646–1648, [online] <<https://knizni-korist.cz/en>>.

¹⁶ František MATOUŠ, *Předbřeznové České Budějovice a České museum* [Pre-March Budweis and the Czech Museum], *Sborník Národního muzea v Praze*, řada A, 22, 1968, pp. 177–205.

¹⁷ For more on Mathesius, more recently Petr HLAVÁČEK, *Johannes Mathesius. Opomíjený příběh z dějin wittenberské reformace* [Johannes Mathesius. A neglected story from the history of Wittenberg Reformation], Praha 2019, which includes an extensive list of older literature.

¹⁸ Lagging significantly behind were then prints from Venice, Leipzig, and Nuremberg. A list of items in this library has been published in Heribert STURM, *Die Bücherei der Lateinschule zu St. Joachimsthal*, Komotau 1929 (2nd ed., Stuttgart 1964). More recently, this library has been investigated in Ivan HLAVÁČEK, *Český kontext jáchymovské knihovny v 16. století* [The Czech context of Jáchymov library in the 16th century], *Sborník Národního muzea*, series A, 40, 1986, pp. 43–53, and Petr MAŠEK – Eva KOCHOVÁ, *Expozice knihovny latinské školy Jáchymov / Exposition der Bibliothek der lateinischen Schule Jáchymov*, Jáchymov 2020. As noted by Josef HEJNÍČ, *Die St. Joachimsthaler Lateinschulbibliothek nach dem Jahre 1620*, in: Peter Thiergen – Ludger Udolph (Hgg.), *Res slavica. Festschrift für Hans Rothe zum 65. Geburtstag*, Paderborn etc. 1994, pp. 529–535, some protestant titles were after the Battle of White Mountain confiscated by Jesuits, and they are currently kept in the Prague Clementinum.

¹⁹ VD16 M-6299 (Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts (VD16), [online] <<https://www.gateway-bayern.de>>).

One of the most interesting aristocratic libraries of the Rudolfinian Era was the library of Ferdinand Hoffmann of Grünbüchl, who was the president of the court chamber. He was deeply interested in learning and by the time of his death in 1607 accumulated some 4,000 volumes. With a hint to his predicate, this originally Styrian noble tended to have his books bound in green-dyed parchment. He had acquired some books already before he settled in Moravia in the 1580s, but that was just a core to which he busily added. He kept his library at his residence in Janovice u Rýmařova. Later, the book collection passed on to the Dietrichsteins and in the 1680s, it was moved to their chateau in Mikulov in southern Moravia. Unfortunately, after the First World War, the Mikulov library was to a large extent scattered by sales at auctions.²⁰ Remaining at the chateau is thus just a fragment of Hoffmann's library, in which Basel prints account for 12%.²¹ A smaller part of his library was acquired by the Jesuit Order and is now kept in the Scientific Library in Olomouc.²² Every tenth of the 350 mainly protestant titles comes from Basel and for instance within Hoffmann's collection of Bibles, Basel editions are clearly predominant.²³

Of sixteenth-century professorial libraries, one that survived relatively intact is the library of Master Havel Gelastus, who belonged to the conservative Old Utraquist denomination and was an impassioned opponent of Lutheranism. Gelastus served, among others, as a priest in the Church of St. Michael in the Old Town of Prague. In 1577, he bequeathed his books to the Latin school in his native Vodňany in southern Bohemia. Of the 85 prints in the collection, one-quarter were printed in Basel, including some interesting books on natural science.²⁴ The inventory of largely Latin books on natural science and medicine, which belonged to Jan Cink, an apothecary in Louny, does list next to about 50 titles also their place of publication, but Basel is represented only twice.²⁵ Inventories of burghers' libraries are rather numerous but usually do not include typographical provenience. Basel prints

²⁰ For further information, see Miroslav TRANTÍREK, *Dějiny mikulovské zámecké knihovny* [History of the Mikulov library], Mikulov 1963, pp. 13–19; Luboš ANTONÍN, *Dietrichsteinská knihovna na zámku Mikulov* [The Dietrichstein library in Mikulov], *Sborník Národního muzea v Praze*, series C, 39–40, 1994–1995, pp. 1–6.

²¹ A list of app. 120 surviving prints was published in Zdena WIENDLOVÁ – Petr MAŠEK, *Soupis knih z knihovny Ferdinanda Hoffmana z Grünpichlu ve fondu zámecké knihovny Mikulov* [A list of books from the library of Ferdinand Hoffman of Grünpichl in the collection of Mikulov chateau library], *Sborník Národního muzea v Praze*, series C, 39–40, 1994–1995, pp. 78–110. Further cf. P. HÁJEK et al., *Tisky 16. století* (with a list of prints from Mikulov as a supplement on the inserted CD).

²² In the collection of the Olomouc Research Library, scholars managed to identify app. 210 volumes, which contain almost 350 prints; for more detail, see Jiří GLONEK – Rostislav KRUŠINSKÝ, *Jazyk a řeč knižních vazeb z hlediska majitele. Sbírka Ferdinanda Hoffmana z Grünbühelu ve Vědecké knihovně v Olomouci* [The language and speech of the binding from the owner's perspective. The collection of Ferdinand Hoffman of Grünbühel in the Olomouc Research Library], in: Jitka Radimská (ed.), *Jazyk a řeč knihy. K výzkumu zámeckých, měšťanských a církevních knihoven, České Budějovice 2009*, pp. 481–500 (Editio Universitatis Bohemiae meridionalis. Opera Romanica 11).

²³ Basel was significantly in the lead with 19 Bible prints, followed by Lyon with 11 Bibles. In the Rosenberg Bible collection, among foreign places of origin Basel with 12 prints was again in the lead, while Nuremberg and Lyon with 11 Bibles each shared the second and third place. Czech and German Bibles were much more numerous in the Rosenberg than in Hoffmann's library. For further detail, see Jindřich MAREK – Lenka VESELÁ, *Sběratelský artefakt, nebo projev konfesionality? Bible v knihovnách české renesanční šlechty* [Collectible artifact or a demonstration of religious denomination? Bibles in the libraries of Bohemian Renaissance nobility], *FHB* 35, 2020, pp. 13, 17.

²⁴ A list of surviving items has been compiled and published in Karel PLETZER, *Knihovna M. Havla Gelasta Vodňanského* [The library of Master Havel Gelastus Vodňanský], Vodňany 1987.

²⁵ Adolf KAMIŠ, *Knihovny lounských měšťanů z 16. a zač. 17. století* [Libraries of Louny burghers in the 16th and early 17th century], *Listy filologické* 85, 1962, pp. 304–306.

were, as attested by one of its catalogues compiled after the Battle of the White Mountain, rather significantly represented in the library of the Union of Brethren in Ivančice–Kralice.²⁶ High representation of Basel prints in the Czech Lands corresponds also to the findings of Slovak, Polish, or Hungarian bibliologists.²⁷

Naturally, one would also wish to know what the situation looked like at the Prague university, which was since the time of the Hussite revolution limited in effect just to the faculty of arts and membership was confessionally restricted. The university was attended mainly by students from Utraquist burgher families. Its financial situation was unsatisfactory and, as a result, the university was able to support only around ten professors. For a long time, it resisted attempts to reform it in a humanist spirit and changes in this direction started to take place only after mid-sixteenth century. The number of lectures in natural sciences, medicine, history, or law gradually increased and that was naturally reflected also in the libraries of the individual professors, which were thanks to book print able to grow at a much faster rate.²⁸ Unfortunately, with the exception of the abovementioned Gelasius's library, none of these personal libraries had been so far physically reconstructed to any meaningful extent. Better understanding of the composition of college libraries is markedly limited by the fact that for the sixteenth century, not even their inventories survive: there is only one, dated to 1603, but it is not characteristic of the college as a whole.²⁹

One can, however, analyse a sample to assess the representation of Basel prints in the Carolinum library. The university was based on a system of colleges of students and masters.³⁰ The first college was founded by Emperor Charles IV in 1366 and came to be known by his name, i. e., as the Carolinum. After the Hussite period, this was also the only master college that was left. After the Battle of White Mountain, this is where almost all of the teaching took place. The college had representative spaces, places for disputations, lecture halls, accommodation for masters, but it also housed the seat of Utraquist consistory and,

²⁶ So-called 'Brzeg inventory', published in Mirjam BOHATCOVÁ, *Bratrská knihovna kralická* [Library of the Brethren in Kralice], *Slavia* 39, 1970, pp. 604–606, lists imprints non-systematically, thus not allowing for determination of representation of Basel prints with any degree of precision.

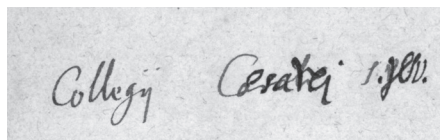
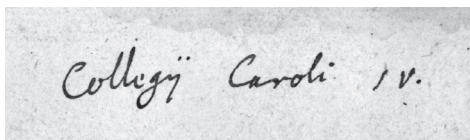
²⁷ See contributions in anthology Viliam ČIČAJ – Jan-Andrea BERNHARD (Hgg.), *Orbis Helveticorum. Das Schweizer Buch und seine mitteleuropäische Welt*, Bratislava 2011.

²⁸ For more detail, see, e.g., Michal SVATOŠ, *Humanismus an der Universität Prag im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, in: Hans-Bernd Harder – Hans Rothe (Eds.), *Studien zum Humanismus in den böhmischen Ländern*, Köln – Wien 1988, esp. pp. 200–205; IDEM, *Pokusy o reformu a zánik karolinské akademie* [Attempts at a reform and the downfall of the Caroline academy], in: Idem (ed.), *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy, I, 1347/48–1622*, Praha 1995, pp. 269–289; Lucie STORCHOVÁ, *Bohemian School Humanism and Its Editorial Practices (ca. 1550–1610)*, Turnhout 2014 (Europa humanistica 16. Bohemia and Moravia II), on the literary system of the university, see pp. 44–55.

²⁹ Inventory of books of the All-Saints College lists almost 330 volumes, but for the most part, it does not differentiate between manuscripts and printed books, nor does it list the imprints. For more detail, see Ivan HLAVÁČEK, *Knihovna koleje Všeoh svatých v r. 1603 na základě svého soupisu (Příspěvek k dějinám knihoven pražské univerzity v 16. století)* [Library of the College of All Saints in 1603 based on its inventory (Contribution to the history of libraries of the Prague university in the 16th century)], in: *Traditio et cultus. Miscellanea historica Bohemica Miloslaw Vlka archiepiscopo Pragensi ab eius collegis amicisque ad annum sexagesimum dedicata*, Praha 1993, pp. 119–127.

³⁰ Newly Mlada HOLÁ, *Studentské koleje pražské univerzity v pozdním středověku a raném novověku. Dějiny – správa – úřední písemnosti (do roku 1622)* [Student colleges of the Prague university in the Late Medieval Period and Early Modern Era. History – administration – official documents (prior to 1622)], Praha 2017; Mlada HOLÁ – Martin HOLÝ, *Karlova kolej jako místo výuky* [The Charles College as a place of learning], in: Mlada Holá – Martin Holý a kol., *Profesoři pražské utrakvistické univerzity v pozdním středověku a raném novověku (1457/1458–1622)*, Praha 2022, pp. 174–189.

since 1560s, a bookshop.³¹ College libraries did keep thousands of manuscripts from the times of greater glory of the Prague university, but modern printed volumes were added only to a limited extent, mainly thanks to donations from individual professors.³² Librarian administration of college libraries was insufficient and some were in a poor shape. In about 1590, the library of the Carolinum was reorganised.³³ It is most likely that a new catalogue was compiled at this occasion, but it did not survive. Books were on their frontispieces inscribed with notes about ownership and relevant signatures including the library to which they belonged. After suppression of the uprising of the Estates, the university was in 1622 temporarily taken over by the Jesuit Order, which thus also acquired the old university libraries.³⁴ Items that had been kept in the Carolinum library were thus incorporated into the library in the Clementinum, a Jesuit college whose construction in the Old Town of Prague, near the Charles Bridge, had started in 1556. The Jesuits for the most part did not erase the notes on the title pages which said ‘Collegii Caroli IV.’ (or, in an abbreviated form, ‘Col. Caroli IV.’). Usually, they just skilfully rewrote them to ‘Collegii Caesarei Soc. Jesu’ (‘Col. Caesarei S. Jesu’ or ‘Col. Caesarei S. J.’).



Ownership note of the Carolinum library: the original form from app. 1590 and the altered form after rewriting by Clementinum-based Jesuits shortly after 1622 (National Library of the Czech Republic, sign. 7 B 24, 5 B 77/II)

³¹ For more on trade, see, e.g., J. TRÁVNÍČEK – Z. ŠIMEČEK, *Knihy kupovati*, p. 65.

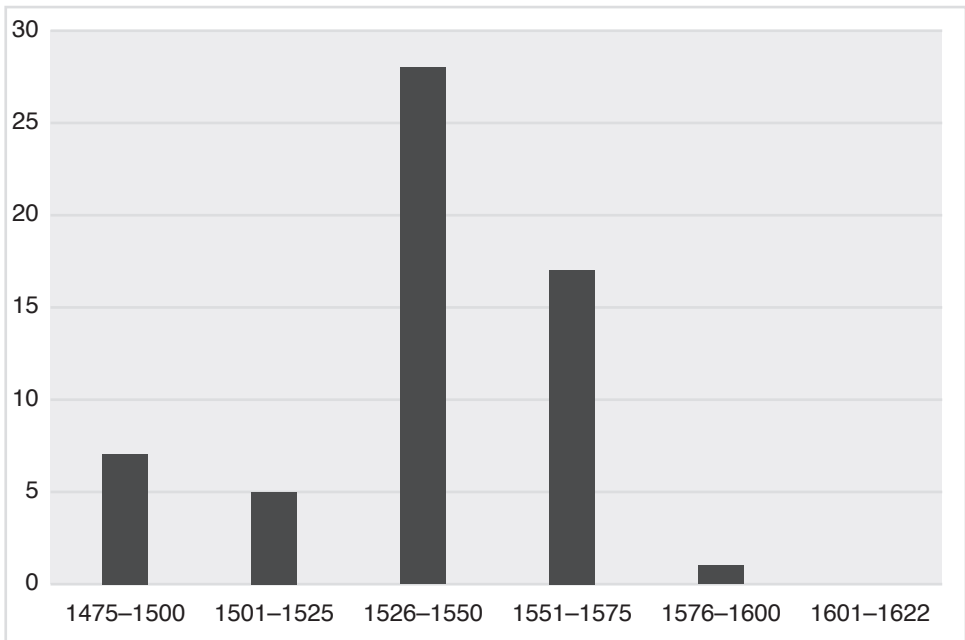
³² On college libraries, see for instance the now outdated work Zdeněk V. TOBOLKA, *Národní a univerzitní knihovna v Praze. Její vznik a vývoj*, I, *Počátky knihovny až do r. 1777* [National and university library in Prague. Its origins and development, Vol. I. Early history of the library up to 1777], Praha 1959, pp. 17–30. More recently, Jiří PEŠEK, *Knihy, knihovny, knižtisk a předbělohorská univerzita* [Books, libraries, book print, and university before the Battle of White Mountain], in: Michal Svatoš (ed.), *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy*, I, 1347/48–1622, Praha 1995, pp. 241–243; Ivan HLAVÁČEK, *Zum universitären Mäzenatentum des Spätmittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit (Am Beispiel der Prager Universität)*, AUC-HUCP 49/2, 2009, pp. 179–180; IDEM, *Magisterbibliotheken an der Prager Universität im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, AUC-HUCP 60/1, 2020, pp. 143–158; Ivan HLAVÁČEK – Martin HOLÝ, *Knihovny pražských mistrů* [Libraries of the Prague masters], in: M. Holá – M. Holý et al., *Profesoři pražské utrakvistické univerzity*, pp. 174–189. More thorough research into the history of college libraries during the period after the rise of printing is notably lacking. For more on professors’ libraries, cf. Bohumil LIFKA, *Knížní vazby a vlastnické knižní značky profesorů pražské univerzity (1554–1617)* [Book bindings and ownership marks of professors at the Prague university, 1554–1617], *Historická knižní vazba* 1963, pp. 42–57; Jiří PEŠEK, *Vom Professor zum Stadtschreiber: M. Jacobus Codicillus († 1576) und seine Bibliothek*, AUC-HUCP 60/1, 2020, pp. 159–167.

³³ On the reorganisation of the Carolinum library, see Zikmund WINTER, *O životě na vysokých školách pražských knihy dvoje. Kulturní obraz XV. a XVI. století* [Two books on the life at Prague universities, 1554–1617], Praha 1899, p. 380; Z. V. TOBOLKA, *Národní a univerzitní knihovna*, p. 24.

³⁴ E.g., Z. V. TOBOLKA, *Národní a univerzitní knihovna*, p. 39; M. HOLÁ, *Studentské koleje*, p. 182.

In many cases, though, they did not do even this. In some volumes, the notes indicating ownership of the Carolinum had been overlooked and therefore remained.³⁵ After the dissolution of the Jesuit Order, the Baroque library of the Clementinum became the foundation of the newly founded Public and University Library, predecessor of the current National Library. Unfortunately, because in the late eighteenth century the Clementinum received collections from many of the then dissolved monasteries, numerous multiple copies had been removed from the library. I can only guess that about one-quarter of volumes which originally formed the Carolinum library are nowadays part of the historical fonds of the National Library.³⁶

All in all, 41 volumes were found,³⁷ 18 of which had originally belonged to personal, often professorial libraries, while the rest may have been bought directly for the Carolinum



Graph 2: Basel prints in library of the Carolinum

³⁵ NL CR, sign. 5 B 78, 5 G 11, 6 J 91, 7 B 24, 7 F 30, 8 A 52, 8 H 84, 8 J 38, 14 J 187, 18 A 92, 18 J 81 (in some instances, these are sammelbands where ownership mark was changed on the title page of the first item but some further ownership inscriptions on title pages of further fascicles, i. e., adligats, were overlooked).

³⁶ It is to be hoped that, in connection with the investigation of the provenience of old prints in the NL CR, it will be possible to undertake its more comprehensive reconstruction and conduct a search for at least some of the prints that were removed in late 18th century: Majority of such duplicates were acquired by the Premonstratensians for their library in Strahov. It seems, meanwhile, that in other college libraries new acquisitions from the time before 1620 were not inscribed with ownership notes.

³⁷ NL CR, sign. 1 L 26, 5 B 77/Vol. I–IV, 5 B 78, 5 G 11, 5 H 80, 5 J 93, 5 K 71, 6 G 166/Vol. I–III, 6 J 91, 7 A 17, 7 B 24, 7 F 30, 7 H 6, 7 H 33, 8 A 52, 8 B 20, 8 B 66, 8 G 20, 8 H 84, 8 J 38, 8 K 35, 10 F 13, 10 G 97, 14 C 1, 14 J 187, 14 K 104, 15 A 5, 18 A 9, 18 A 92, 18 J 81, 18 K 15, 20 A 19/Vol. I–II, 28 F 49, 37 H 80, 41 E 3, 42 B 22, 42 C 18, 42 E 1, 44 E 35, 44 F 12, 65 C 1221.

library. Unlike the former, they usually do not feature notes on the margins. Many of them are sammelbands: They contain a total of 57 books that had been printed in Basel.

We can see in Graph 2 that a clear majority of these books were printed in the second and third quarter of the sixteenth century. Lack of more recent prints could be in part due to the fact that notes regarding ownership were not systematically written into books added to the library after 1590. Most plentifully represented of Basel printers is Johann Oporinus. Among other things, he had printed Vesalius's work on human anatomy, which laid the foundations to modern anatomy and represents a turning point in the history of medical illustrations.³⁸ A copy of the work of Girolamo Cardano, printed in 1585 by the Basil printer Sebastian Henricpetri, was donated to the library in 1605 by Master Jan Campanus Vodňanský (Johannes Vodnianus Campanus).³⁹ Of interest in this collection are also various books on medicine, astronomy, and natural science, such as a textbook by Michael Neander, a native of Joachimsthal, *Elementa sphaericae doctrinae*, or some tractates by Paracelsus, which the Basel-based alchemist Gerhard Dorn translated for printer Pietro Perna.⁴⁰ From prints by Johann Amerbach, the most famous of fifteenth-century Basel-based printers, let us name at least the first edition of Reuchlin's well-known tractate on kabbalah, *De verbo mirifico*, donated to the Carolinum library by Professor Jakob Codicillus of Tulechov, scribe and later vice-chancellor of the New Town of Prague.⁴¹ Of Johann Froben's prints, we find here for instance Erasmus's Latin translation of Plutarch's works introduced by a beautiful title frame by Ambrosius Holbein.⁴²

Such prints mediated to Prague professors scholarly work of their Basel-based colleagues. Let us name at least six examples. The oldest is a tractate by St. Gregory of Nazianzus *De moderandis disputationibus* translated by the outstanding reform theologians and Greek scholar Johann Oekolampad, which was published in 1521 by Andreas Cratander with a title frame by Hans Holbein the Younger.⁴³ The other example is a commentary by Alban Thorer on the writings of Greek physician Alexander of Tralles from 1541.⁴⁴ Also deserving of special mention is a Latin edition of Galen's work, in eight volumes, published in 1542 by 'officina Frobeniana', which was edited by the physician Hieronymus

³⁸ Andreas VESALIUS, *De humani corporis fabrica*, Basel, Johann Oporinus, 1543 (NL CR, sign. 18 A 9; VD16 V-10).

³⁹ Girolamo CARDANO, *Opera quaedam lectu digna*, Basel, Sebastian Henricpetri, 1585 (NL CR, sign. 37 H 80; VD16 C-887, 899, 909, 914, 929). On the reverse side of the front endpaper, we find a hand-written note by Campanus: 'Clarissimis et doctissimis dominis magistris collegii Carolini incolis, novam bibliothecam in sua domo fideliter instruentibus, [...] librum hunc dono dat Joh. Campanus Vodn[ianus], dicti collegii pro tempore praepositus. Actum 24. Maii anno 1605.'

⁴⁰ Michael NEANDER, *Elementa sphaericae doctrinae seu De primo motu*, Basel, Johann Oporinus, 1561; PARACELSUS: *Pyrophilia vexationumque liber*, etc., transl. Gerhard Dorn, Basel, Pietro Perna, 1568 (NL CR, sign. 14 J 187 adl. 3, 18 J 81 adl. 3; VD16 N-337, P-597).

⁴¹ Johannes REUCHLIN, *De verbo mirifico*, [Basel], Johann Amerbach, [after 21 April 1494] (NL CR 42 B 22; ISTC ir00154000; (The Incunabula Short Title Catalogue, [online] <<https://data.cerl.org/istc/>>). Until late 19th or early 20th century, the first part of sammelband sign. 6 B 84; on the introductory folio in the original fascicle inscribed a date, 1516, and a note stating: 'M. Jacobus Codicillus a Tulechova'. For more on the library of Jacob Codicillus based on a surviving inventory, see J. PEŠEK, *Vom Professor zum Stadtschreiber*.

⁴² PLUTARCH, *Opuscula*, transl. Erasmus Rotterodamus, Basel, Johann Froben, 1521 (NL CR, sign. 5 G 11; VD16 P-3718).

⁴³ Gregorius NAZIANZENSIS, *Sermo de moderandis disputationibus*, transl. Johannes Oekolampadius, Basel, Andreas Cratander, 1521 (NL CR, sign. 5 G 11 adl. 3; VD16 G-3062). Cratander and his friend and collaborator Oekolampadius had significantly contributed to the fame of Basel as a centre of publication of Greek works, both in the original language and in Latin translation.

⁴⁴ Alexander TRALLIANUS, *Opera*, comm. Alban Thorer, Basel, Heinrich Petri, 1541 (NL CR, sign. 7 B 24; VD16 A-1785).

Gemusaesus.⁴⁵ Three years younger is Oporin's edition of a commentary on Aristotle's *Politics* by the theologian Martin Borrhaus.⁴⁶ The fifth example is a more recent Herwagen's edition of a collection of sources on the discovery of the New World, which had been compiled by Johann Huttich, a Strasburg humanist, and supplemented by an introduction by Simon Grynaeus, a professor of theology. It includes a map of the world by another Basel professor, Sebastian Münster.⁴⁷ Finally, the sixth and most recent example is a commentary of Basel-based mathematician Christian Wurtsisen on Peurbach's *Theoricae novae planetarum*.⁴⁸ Although so far, we have not been able to determine the precise proportion of Basel editions in the surviving part of the Carolinum library, the Basel prints that had been found show that the younger stratum may have been richer than has been so far supposed and that it grew not only thanks to donations by members of the college.

Grant support

Research leading to this publication was supported by a grant provided by Czech Science Foundation (GA ČR), No. 21-00227S, entitled *University of Basel and the Czech lands (1460–1630)*, carried out at the Institute of History of the Czech Academy of Sciences.

KAMIL BOLDAN

K významu basilejského knihtisku pro české země

RESUMÉ

Příspěvek hodnotí význam basilejského knihtisku pro české země především na základě kvantitativních údajů. Sleduje zastoupení basilejských tisků z období od konce 15. do počátku 17. století ve velkých historických fondech České republiky a analyzuje jejich podíl v knihovnách intelektuálních elit. Ve druhé části určuje podíl basilejských tisků ve zrekonstruovaném jádru karolinské knihovny (původně největší koleje pražské univerzity), které se dochovalo ve fondu dnešní Národní knihovny ČR.

PhDr. Kamil Boldan

National Library of the Czech Republic, Prague

Institute of History, Czech Academy of Sciences

kamil.boldan@nkp.cz

⁴⁵ GALEN, *Opera*, I–VIII, ed. Hieronymus Gemusaesus, Basel, Hieronymus Froben – Nikolaus Episcopus, 1542 (NL CR, sign. 5 B 77/I–IV; VD16 G-127).

⁴⁶ Martin BORRHAUS, *In Aristotelis Politicorum libros octo annotationes*, Basel, Johann Oporinus, 1545 (NL CR, sign. 5 J 93 adl. 1; VD16 B-6736).

⁴⁷ Simon GRYNÆUS – Johann HUTTICH (eds.), *Novus orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum una cum tabula cosmographica*, Basel, Johannes Herwagen, 1555 (NL CR, sign. 65 C 1221; VD16 G-3829). Herwagen's first edition dates to 1532.

⁴⁸ Georg PEUERBACH, *Theoricae novae planetarum*, etc., comm. Christian Wurtsisen, Basel, Heinrich Petri, 1573 (NL CR, sign. 14 K 104; VD16 P-2065).