

**IDYLLIUM PATRIA
UPPER LUSATIA THROUGH THE EYES OF A LATE
HUMANIST AUTHOR¹**

JAN ZDICHYNEC

The Dictionary of Latin Writers (Slovník latinských spisovatelů), which Eva Kutáková² was a co-author and co-editor of in the first and second edition, provides the basic information about many Latin writers of the Early Modern Period of importance in connection with Europe and Bohemia in particular. And yet Caspar Peucer (1525–1602), who created his works in the spirit of Latin Humanism and who, moreover, fostered numerous contacts with Bohemian surroundings, is not mentioned in it. Peucer, a professor of Wittenberg's university, was an all-around intellectual who devoted himself primarily to medicine, mathematics and astronomy, but also worked as a theologian and politician. He was born in the Upper Lusatian town of Bautzen, meaning he was the subject of the Bohemian king, under whose rule Upper Lusatia belonged to up until 1635. From the Bohemian milieu he was in regular contact with the members of the Unity of the Brethren, particularly with his contemporary, Jan Blahoslav (1523–1571), who studied in Wittenberg at the same time as Peucer.³ He even exchanged letters with the scientist and doctor, Tadeáš Hájek of Hájek (1525–1600), Pietro Andrea Gregorio Matthioli (1500–1577), Vavřinec Špán (1530–1575) and also communicated with the scholars in Upper Hungary (present-day Slovakia) and in Transylvania. Peucer was extremely literarily prolific and in his age thanks to his works and troubled lot in life, very well known. Also nowadays, his character and work are frequently researched mainly by the German specialists of various disciplines of the Humanities. Czech literary scholars and historians, however, up to now, have basically left it out.⁴

The following rather informative essay, which is understood as the starting point of a further author's research, briefly gives a summary based on the existing literature of Peucer's biography and work. Afterwards, his poem *Idyllium Patria* is analysed. This relatively extensive poetic work is able to be perceived as an important expression of the period's humanist (and Lutheran) patriotic image of Upper Lusatia, an expression of

¹ This essay originated in the framework of the ESF Project and GAČR COR/10/E008 Cuius Regio. An analysis of the cohesive and disruptive forces destining the attachment of various groups of persons to and the cohesion within regions as a historical phenomenon. Translated by Zachary Barnes.

² Kutáková – Vidmanová (2004).

³ See Benz (1949); Bartoš (1923); Kolb (1976); Teichmann (2004). Several letters, which he exchanged with Jan Blahoslav, are printed by Gindely (1859: 287–290).

⁴ The work presented here is only mentioned by Frinta (1955: 26).

regional awareness, but perhaps also as a reflection of the image, which the Humanists wanted to broaden in the educated world of that time about Upper Lusatia.

My text is rather historically aimed. It originated in connection with systematical studies of the Upper Lusatian Early Modern Period historiography, with respect to the research about the Crown lands in the histories of the Bohemian state.⁵ I do have to leave out here the literary and linguistic side of the work, which would surely also deserve the attention of philologists and literary scientists and which I mention are rather based on the secondary literature.

First, let's summarize the basic facts as to the personage of Caspar Peucer and his work.⁶ Peucer was born into a family of well-respected and affluent burghers, of the master craftsman, Gregorius Peucer (or Peucker, 1497–1560) in Bautzen on the Epiphany, January 6, 1525.⁷ Gregorius acted, apart from other things, as *Stadtviertelmeister*, meaning he was entrusted with specific tasks within the concrete city quarters as the intermediary between the town council and burghers. The Bautzen elite – as elite in every Early Modern Period town – were interconnected by several family and relational ties, which implies the fact that Peucer was related to Gregorius Mättig (1585–1650), the important humanist and intellectual, who was one of the directors of Upper Lusatia representing the Estate of towns during the Estates Uprising in 1618–1620.⁸

Bautzen belonged in these times, along with the entire margraviate of Upper Lusatia, of which it was a capital, to the Bohemian king. A royal representative – the Upper Lusatian vice-governor (*Landvogt*) – was seated here as well as the collegiate chapter, the most important Roman Catholic institution in the land. Nevertheless, from the year 1522, despite the interdictions of Louis the Jagiellonian and Ferdinand I. occasionally a sermon in the spirit of Luther was preached in the local collegiate and parish church of St. Peter.⁹ Caspar was undoubtedly brought up in the Lutheran way, as it is stressed, among other places, in his poem, *Idyllium Patria*. He belongs to the first generation of intellectuals, who were, in a sense, raised by Protestantism. But they mature in this period, when still the religious borders were in no way decidedly kept. This holds true for Bautzen, too, where a Catholic minority has remained up to this day and where Catholics and Protestants simultaneously share St. Peter's Church.¹⁰

Peucer once admitted that he grew up in direct contact with the Sorbian language (his mother was a Lusatian Sorb) – we have here early and undeniable rare proof of the “Sorbian” origin of an educated humanist (similarly as with Jan Bocacius, 1569–1621, of Lower Lusatian origin, who later acted, primarily, in Slovakia). In a letter to Jan Blaho-

⁵ Thematically nearest to issues given in this essay are collected papers Bobková – Zdichynec (2011).

⁶ I will start off here particularly from: Otto (1800–1803: II, 785–790). I have edited and corrected the biographical information with data contained in the essays of the collection Hasse – Wartenberg – Wieckowski (2004) and with the catalog Koch (2002).

⁷ The first note of his name comes as *Caspar Beutzer, Budissinensis* (at the Wittenburg university Register from 1543). The most frequent is the latinized form *Peucer*, his relatives were often marked as *Peucker*.

⁸ Cf. Koch (2002: *passim*); Koch (2004: 175–187).

⁹ For the town of Bautzen in the Early Modern Era cf. Von Budissin nach Bautzen (2002); for the Reformation there see Tischer (1917).

¹⁰ About the simultaneous church in Bautzen wrote Vötig (1911); regarding the religious situation in both Lusatias in general Bobková – Březina – Zdichynec (2008: 115–122).

slav from June 19, 1566, Peucer writes that his mother language was the “Heneta lingua”, “the Wendish/Sorbian language”, which at that time, as it is presented, he had already somewhat forgotten.¹¹ Later, Peucer’s knowledge of one Slavic language surely made the intensive spiritual exchange easier specifically with the scientists in Bohemia.

Caspar Peucer started to study at a Protestant grammar school (Gymnasium) in his hometown in the time when the school was booming,¹² first flourishing under the Joachim Knemiander administration (he originated from the Upper Lusatian town of Lauban, present-day Lubań in Poland), one of the pupils of Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560). Then, Peucer was sent to the Lower Silesian town of Goldberg (present-day Złotoryja in Poland), to the Latin school of Valentin Friedland (1490–1556), named “Trotzendorf”,¹³ who was another student of Melanchthon and an important pedagogical reformer.¹⁴ Obviously, young Peucer could profit from contact with outstanding individuals of the rapidly developing Lutheran education. The school in Goldberg outlasted the whole generation of students from Upper and Lower Silesia, and even from the Lusatias, Bohemia and Moravia. A few examples are to be cited: Hynek Brtnický von Wallenstein, and even Albrecht von Wallenstein, who actively learned German here,¹⁵ studied there, then the later councilor of the Silesian chamber (of the office which administrated the finances of the Bohemian king of Silesia), Friedrich Tschirnhaus, but also the aforementioned humanist, Jan Blahoslav, who was primarily a linguist and translator.¹⁶ Peucer and Trotzendorf created a relationship with each other, which he references later not only in his *orationes*, but also in his *Idyllium*.¹⁷

Thereafter, Trotzendorf recommended the talented Peucer to Saxon Wittenberg, the metropolis of Lutherans, where just the main disputes of the Reformation took place; Caspar enrolled there in 1540. In Wittenberg, many Upper Lusatians, later teachers, priests and jurists who were greatly influenced by Luther and Melanchthon’s work, studied¹⁸ – they often came to study in Wittenberg starting from the foundation of this university (1502), named in the humanist tradition *Leucorea*.¹⁹ But Wittenberg was also a well known and favourite aspiration of students from Bohemia (e.g. Adam and Václav Budovec of Budov, Jan of Žerotín, Michal and Albrecht Slavata of Chlum, Karel of Wallenstein and Hostinné, Zikmund Smiřický of Smiřice and others) and acceptable (before the expulsion of the Crypto-Calvinists from the University in the mid-1570s) also for the members of the Unity of the Brethren: so, 1543–1545, Jan Blahoslav was attested there, again as in Goldberg, at the same time as Peucer.²⁰

¹¹ Kühne (1983).

¹² Regarding schools in Bautzen more Borott (1857: 21); Richter-Laugwitz (2002: 198). The first reference of the school run here by Lutherans is from 1532.

¹³ According to his birthplace, Troitschendorf near Görlitz (present-day Trojca, Poland).

¹⁴ For the personality and work of Trotzendorf see Andreae (1931: 98–107); Bauch (1921); Sturm (1888).

¹⁵ Cf. Holý (2006: 412–425, especially 420–422).

¹⁶ For Blahoslav’s study in Goldberg vide Ríčan (1957: 178, 220).

¹⁷ Peucer (1719: 56sq., verses 489–494), where Peucer talks about Trotzendorf like about *celeber Rector Magister*.

¹⁸ For the research trips and intellectual bonds of Upper Lusatia at that time, and for the role of The University of Wittenberg in them see Kersken (2007).

¹⁹ From Greek, it means exactly “White Mountain”, according to one of the etymologies of the name “Wittenberg”.

²⁰ Holý (2005); Menčík (1897).

Caspar Peucer created for himself a fabulous scientific career in Wittenberg: in 1545, he gained a Master's title (*magister*), and in 1554 was appointed as professor of Philosophy and Mathematics. In 1560 he became a doctor and professor of Medicine. His academic career was topped off by being named the rector of the Leucorea. As a social declaration of his growth it is possible to understand his marriage to the youngest daughter of Philipp Melanchthon, Magdalena, in 1550.

In 1570, Peucer became the personal doctor to the Elector of Saxony, Augustus (1553–1586), who commenced, after the Schmalkaldic War, the growth of the Albertin branch of the Wettin lineage; he strengthened the Saxon domain politically and administratively and stabilized also the Protestant faith in the spirit of Lutheran orthodoxy.²¹ Peucer belonged to the most influential of Augustus's advisors. Nevertheless, at the end, the connection with Melanchthon, or more exactly, with his spiritual legacy and his conception of Lutheranism, became fatal for him. For Peucer acted as the head of the Philippistic, moderate direction of Protestantism, which is aimed at the reconciliation between the enemy camps of evangelicals, which among the followers of the Lutheran Orthodoxy, who were strengthened in the 1560's, aroused suspicion from the connection with Calvinism.²² Peucer was accused of the Calvinistic plot and immediately lost favor in the eyes of the Elector. On April 1, 1574, he was captured in Wittenberg, his works were put through systematic research and he himself had to account for his politics and religious tendencies before the Dresden Consistory, which charged him with Calvinism and from this that he tried to take his teaching to Saxony. Even the Saxon Diet acted in Peucer's persecution; through his initial denials he was at last found guilty by his own letters and writings.

Thus started Peucer's twelve-year imprisonment, which, at the beginning, was at the Rochlitz Castle (where at first he could even stay with his wife), while later he was kept mainly at the Pleißenburg in Leipzig. Here, at least according to the declaration in the title of this print, Peucer wrote out his poem, *Idyllium*. His step-brothers, Gregor (who was the rector of the town school in Torgau and later the town scribe in Cottbus in Lower Lusatia) and Johannes (a Bautzen town councillor, merchant and local „Stadtbaumeister“) and his step-mother, Barbara, signed with other relatives and Bautzen burghers a petition for the release of Peucer from jail and vouched for him.²³ The reversal was not brought about until 1586 and is usually associated with the death of the first wife of Elector Augustus, Anna, and with the Elector's next marriage to the daughter of the prince of Anhalt, Agnes Hedwig; even she interceded on behalf of Peucer, so that he was released in the end against the pledge and he became a councilor and personal doctor of the Anhalt princess in Dessau, where he died on September 25, 1602.

The focal point of Peucer's activity resided in the natural sciences: arithmetic, astrology (even having had correspondence with important scientists as Tycho de Brahe or Tadeáš Hájek) and primarily in medicine. Peucer, however, asserted himself also in the field of theology, where he published writings defending the Calvinistic teachings, history or in the journalism of that time. The newest survey of the works, where Peucer enters as

²¹ Regarding him and his reign Bruning (2004).

²² Koch (1986); Bruning (2002).

²³ See Koch (2004).

an author, co-author or publisher of, contains 251 entries; of course, a lot of his writings were published repeatedly and in various versions.²⁴

Peucer dealt often with measurements and weights and numismatics and published different textbooks, primarily on arithmetic and history. He repeatedly prepared speeches and writings from the Wittenberg rectors and professors for the publication. From the astronomical essays, we should mention the work about the planets where he partially used Copernicus' theory, but was rather sceptical in its introducing into education and did not accept his sun-centered theory.²⁵ What is interesting from his medical writings is the interpretation of Hippocrates' Aphorisms or tracts about concrete illnesses.²⁶ One of his texts could be described as a psychological study,²⁷ he also wrote defenses on medicine, which were very popular in his time. Peucer cooperated as well on publishing the works, letters and speeches of Philipp Melanchthon,²⁸ describing his last moments in Latin and German.

From the historically focused work, it is necessary to mention primarily Peucer's participation in the work on so called Carion's Chronicle, which influenced the historical awareness of many generations of the Early Modern Period intellectuals. The mathematician and astrologist (at this time, it was typical for many humanists to have multiple-disciplines), Johannes Negelin, who named himself in the humanist Latinized way, *Carion*, in 1531, gave Melanchthon a rough draft of the world histories. Melanchthon broadened Carion's historical frame, rearranged and specified the given material, and so he in fact created a completely new chronicle, which he published, nevertheless, under the name of Carion. Melanchthon was revising it up till the end of his life, Peucer having taken it up in 1562 at the wish of the Senate of the Wittenberg university. He brought Carion's Chronicle from the time of Charlemagne to his current-day. During Peucer's life the chronicle had already come out in German as well as in Latin, but in 1579, it came out in French, as well.²⁹

Peucer, like every humanist of his day, devoted himself to the classics: he published Melanchthon's Latin-translation of Pindar's songs³⁰ or of fragments of the Theognis

²⁴ An overview of his work vide Hamel – Roebel (2004). A list, on one hand, includes even the later publications including the newer edition of *Idyllium* from 1719, on the other hand, however, it contains inaccuracies (it wrongly presents the second publication of the poem from 1603, vide infra).

²⁵ Let's at least mention *Hypotheses astronomicae, seu theoriae planetarum. Ex Ptolemaei et aliorum veterum doctrina ad observationes Nicolai Copernici, et canones motuum ab eo conditos accomodatae*, Wittenberg 1571. For Peucer's astronomy see Weichenhan (2004). I cite the largest part of the works of Peucer according to the list of Hamel – Roebel (2004), in which the reader could also find the more exact bibliographic information, which would make this essay too large.

²⁶ I.e. *Propositiones de hydropo. De arthritide. De pleuritide*, Wittenberg 1563 (no. 73 of the list of Hamel – Roebel 2004); *Themata de Asthmate*, Wittenberg 1572 (no. 129); *Oratio continens commonefactionem de peste, quae latè vagatur per Europam*, Wittenberg 1565 (no. 88); *Oratio de sympathia cordis et cerebri in magnis doloribus animi*, Wittenberg 1566 (no. 94).

²⁷ Peucer (1590).

²⁸ E.g. *Omnium operum Philippi Melanthonis pars prima – pars quarta*, Wittenberg 1562–1564 (no. 63 of the list of Hamel – Roebel 2004); *Epistolae selectiores aliquot Philippi Melanthonis*, Wittenberg 1565 (no. 86).

²⁹ Vide Neddermeyer (1997). The French edition was published as *Chronique et histoire universelle ... dressée premièrement par Jean Carion, puis augmentée ... par Philippe Melanthon et Gaspar Peucer*, Paris 1579 (no. 150 of the list of Hamel – Roebel 2004).

³⁰ *Pindari Thebani Lyricorum veterum Principis, Olympia, Pythia, Isthmia. Per Philippum Melanthonem Latinitate donata, nunquam primum in lucem edita*, Basel 1558, 1563 (no. 39 and 72 of the list of Hamel – Roebel 2004).

elegy.³¹ He continued the work of Melanchthon even in translations of the speeches of the Ancient Greek speakers.³² With other humanists, including again Melanchthon, Peucer also published commentaries on Tacitus' *Germania*,³³ with Christoph Preyß having written out the biography of Marcus T. Cicero.³⁴

From the occasional writings, it is possible to mention Peucer's elegy and epithalamium written out for the honor of the marriage of the most important Protestant theologian, David Chytreus (1553), publishing the speech about Erasmus of Rotterdam and about Valentin Trotzendorf and the edition of various prophecies of that period with commentary, which of course interested even the Lutheran scholars. Peucer published the celebrating speech about the Anhalt prince, Bernhard, and the history of the princely lineage in Anhalt, descendants of the House of Ascania. He contributed to the religious controversy with the series of "Crypto-Calvinistic writings" and tracts about the argument in the interpretation of the Eucharist. He defends Christianity against Islam with "the true message" about converting the pagan Mauritanian king from "Mohammedism" (Peucer names it *Mahometischer grewel*) to the Christian faith and otherwise he followed the developments in the Far East, or more exactly in his time, the current Ottoman threat. He also published – again in correspondence with the trends of that period – a description of the Holy Land.

An unbelievable shot and reach at Peucer's work supports even the various places of publication where apart from the most frequent, Wittenberg, or his native Bautzen, even faraway Basel or Strasbourg occurs. Peucer collaborated with the most famous printers of the time (Johannes Crato and son heirs; J. Staedel). His works are catalogued in various European libraries from the municipal library in Bautzen to Bibliothèque nationale de Paris or various libraries in Switzerland.³⁵

In 1594 – after almost 40 years of careers in writing and publishing, which started when he was twenty one and where his works even appeared in verse speech – Peucer publishes a poem devoted to his homeland, Lusatia, which, according to his words, had been written while in prison. According to his Upper Lusatian biographer at the beginning of the 19th century, while writing *Idyllium*, Peucer lacked paper, ink and a pen, as well; instead of ink he used dye, which he made from a mixture of burnt bread crust and beer. He made a quill out of a fan, which he had used to keep the spiders and dust off of himself.³⁶ It is necessary to perceive this romantic testimony as a certain stylization. In addition above that, it has already been supported that Peucer had been revising his poem even after his release from prison. We must mention also that his writings came out, of

³¹ *Theognidis Megarensis sententiae cum versione latina, ita ut verbum verbo conferri possit, addita earundem explicatione, a Philippo Melanthono*, Wittenberg 1561 (no. 61 of the list of Hamel – Roebel 2004).

³² *Orationes ex historia Thucydidis, et insigniores aliquod Demostenis et aliorum oratorum graecorum, conversae in latinum sermonem à Philippo Melanthono*, Wittenberg 1562 (no. 66 of the list of Hamel – Roebel 2004).

³³ *Commentarii et annotationes doctissimae in Cornelij Taciti Germaniam. Philippi Melanthonis. Caspari Peuceri. Henrici Glareani. Bilibaldi Bircameri*, Augsburg 1579 (no. 151 of the list of Hamel – Roebel 2004).

³⁴ *M. T. Ciceronis vita, et studiorum, rerumque gestarum historia, ex eius ipsius libris, testimonijsque potissimum observata, atque conscripta*, Basel 1555 (no. 28 of the list of Hamel – Roebel 2004).

³⁵ See also Verzeichnis (1983–1995); Verzeichnis 17. Jahrhunderts.

³⁶ Otto (1800–1803: II, 790).

course except for in the Elector's Saxony, even during the time of his imprisonment. The tradition of Peucer's time locked up in prison, nevertheless, soon developed after his death thanks to his posthumously published *Testament*³⁷ and other biographical works, including the letters where Peucer laid out his profession of faith.³⁸

Let's make some observations towards the context of Peucer's historical works.³⁹ A generation younger, but much earlier deceased Görlitz-born, Christophorus Manlius (1546–1575) wrote out sometime in the 1570's the Latin-written history of Upper and Lower Lusatia from the beginning to his current-day, later published as the *Commentarii rerum Lusaticarum*: it is considered as the first history of both margraviates, which is clearly structured and well founded in sources.⁴⁰ Manlius was – as he admits himself – a student of Peucer's in Wittenberg; Peucer supports him in his historic interests; Manlius, on the other hand, drew upon Peucer's historical works (above all *Historia Carionis*). Manlius also cultivated several contacts with the Bohemian environment, how it supports also his different occasional Latin poetry proving the ties to the Bohemian humanists and nobility. Manlius died in Prague and, according to tradition, he was buried in the Corpus Christi Chapel at Charles Square.⁴¹ Although Manlius' work did not come out in print until in 1719 – jointly with the second publication of Peucer's *Idyllium* in the first volume of *Scriptores rerum Lusaticarum*,⁴² it was already well-known in Upper Lusatia at the turning point of the 16th and 17th centuries, where it was known from many manuscripts; also the German translation was done. This fact is supported by references and quotations in the town chronicles of that time, including the most famous, being the Görlitz Chronicles of Bartholomew Scultetus (1540–1614).

Although for the present it was not a possibility to undertake a more precise comparison of the image of the Lusatian past in a piece of work by Peucer and Manlius and although these works are already, by their scale, very different, it is necessary to realize that twenty years before Peucer's poetic summary, an extensive hand-written Latin historical work came about from which Peucer could draw from, and, on the other hand, that Manlius was directly influenced by Peucer as a teacher. Moreover, a description of the oldest beginnings of the Upper Lusatian region, with an emphasis on the original presence of the Germanic tribes according to Tacitus's *Germania*, is very similar between both authors. One fact has to be stressed: Peucer's poem was printed, unlike the work of Manlius, during the life of the author; the place of both works at the very beginning of *Scriptores rerum Lusaticarum* clearly shows an exceptional position of both works in older Upper-Lusatian historiography.

A Latin poem with a historical theme is not exceptional in the humanist context, nor in Upper-Lusatian connections. Such texts did not only serve for keeping and maintaining the memory of things, but probably even had a didactic meaning. In the town chronicles of that period from Upper Lusatia, the short Latin or German verses were

³⁷ Peucer (1603a), Peucer (1603b).

³⁸ Peucer (1605). Many letters of Peucer (above all to Melanchthon) are published in *Corpus Reformatorum* (1834–1860).

³⁹ For the historiography of Upper Lusatia see Bahlcke (2001).

⁴⁰ Haupt (1842); Harder (1994).

⁴¹ He and his Bohemian bonds vide Wohlgemuthová (2011); further cf. Hejnic – Martínek (1969: 254sq.).

⁴² Manlius (1719: 99–468, here 456).

circulating, summarizing the most important events of the town's histories or the most important features of the towns itself. An example can be a short poem by Joachim Meister, presented in a hand-written German translation of Manlius' commentaries, which came about sometime in the 1590's, describing Upper Lusatia as a fertile and rich region (but lacking cereals and wine), situated among pine forests of Silesia, mountains of Bohemia, Meissen and its important capital as decorated with many towers and Brandenburg, scaring by its winds and marshes. Meister stresses natural conditions above all and draws his imagery to models from antiquity. Some traits are already similar to the description of the region in Peucer's poem:⁴³

*Est regio, latis vicina Bohæmia terris
Tangit Lusatiam, veteres dixere coloni.
[...] Prætexunt latus umbrosi pineta Silesi
Proxima (qua Calaber dominator fulminis Auster
Imbre ferit:) loca monticolæ coluere Bohemi,
Divitiis gens clara, feraci[b]us inclyta terris,
Seu Cereris dotes seu Bacchi vina requiras.
Hesperios mittit Zephyros, aurasque tepentes
Misnia, turritum tollens caput alta, Metallo
Vincta pedes, variasque gerens in corpore merces.
Sed qua Mænalia Boreas ruit horrifera Arcto
V[n]da paludosis contingit Marchia terris.*

In general, for the humanists in their descriptions of their region and homeland, it is typical to connect the geographical and historical moments using classical topics; we have many similar descriptions from this time, but focusing more on one town than on the whole region.

A literary characteristic of Peucer's patriotic poem, even in the continuity of his antique examples, is given recently by Rainer Kößling.⁴⁴ Based on his text, I will summarize the contents of the poem and will start primarily from the publication of Peucer's text from 1719, which is more available, but concerning the original publication, which was printed by the important Bautzen printer, Michael Wolrab, in 1594.⁴⁵ Both publications differ only in orthographical details; an edition from 1719 has been provided with several

⁴³ Manuscript is entitled *Commentariorum rerum Lusaticarum libri VI quibus accessit septimus de Lusatys literarum armorumve gloria claris collectore Christophoro Manlio. Scripsit Christianus Schaefferus Gorl. Lus.*, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, sign. Mil. II/173 (1708), p. 7–8; also printed in: Manlius (1719: 108).

⁴⁴ Kößling (2004).

⁴⁵ I.e. for one, the already cited publication Peucer (1719: 54–72; further cited only *Idyllium*); the first publication is Kaspar Peucer, *Idyllium: patria, quod repetit historiam ejus regionis, quae olim dicta Provincia Nissana, et Nicaea, nunc Hexapolis et Lusatia superior vocatur [...] in carcere scriptum, et dedicatum amplissimis ordinibus eius Regionis, in monumentum ac mnemosynon gratitudinis aeterna erga Deum et Patriam, cum gratia et privilegio Budissinae excudebat Michaël Wolrab, Anno. 1594.* This publication appears mostly under the year of 1603, for the later book distributor Nicolaus Zisper adapted the year of publication. The context of occurrence of this Peucer's poem e.g. in the Wrocław library is interesting, here, in a collection of prints n. 511183 are contained for one, the history of Augsburg from 1594, for another, the history of Apollonius of Tyre. In 2003 *Idyllium* came out also with a mirror German translation (Peucer 2001). The passages of the poem were published also in the publication Bašnje humanistow (2004: 14–23). A review of the publication and translation of chosen passages vide Čermák (2009).

historical notes. Kößling's text was inspirational for me, primarily on a level of literary science and history; it appears, however, that the author is not too acquainted with the Upper Lusatian historical reality and draws sometimes his information about it – somewhat amusingly – just from the *Idyllium*. The merit of my text could be seen perhaps just in certain historiographical and historical corrections of his analysis.

In the *Idyllium*, Peucer starts off from his historical knowledge and own experience filled with feelings, which he harbours towards his homeland. The fact that the text was written in the universal language of intellectuals of that time, Latin, does not mean it was definitely in conflict with his patriotism: for Peucer turns back to the wider humanistic audience. What is more, his strong relationship to the interpretation of the Gospel according to Martin Luther is shown throughout the whole poem: he connects in his work also many typical traits of late German humanism.

The indication of genres is also interesting: *Idyllium*, originally a “picture”, indicates the bucolic genre originally connected with Theocritus. The content of the word “idyll” later broadened to the praising poetic work (panegyric) of lesser extent. Peucer's aim is “idyllic”, too: He wants to paint the ideal picture of his homeland: Upper Lusatia and the town of Bautzen, as it concerns its natural image, but also the social and spiritual circumstances.

Peucer repeatedly stresses that his work was written in prison: i.e. at the beginning of his work, he defends himself against eventual critics in an epigram, which dedicates the whole work to the Upper Lusatian Estates: Whoever does not like his simple Muse, should realize what the surroundings of the rise of his work were:

*Si sterilis Musa minus cui forte placebit:
Haec qua condiderit sorte locoque putet.*⁴⁶

A prison, exile, in classical tradition, is clearly connected to the poetic metre of the elegiac couplet, which Peucer chooses for this poem, too (apart from the hexameter, which had been more typical for this sort of historical poem). He perhaps does it like this as in the allusion of Ovidius and his *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto*: the love for his homeland and longing for freedom is heard to the same extent from the work of Ovidius and Peucer.⁴⁷ However, in Peucer's stylization, it is possible to read also the reference to Boethius, wrongfully charged of political conspiracies, who in prison wrote his famous literary dialogue, *Consolatio Philosophiae*. Peucer, as it is necessary to be reminded of, contrary to both of these classical writers, finally was released from prison.

For the historian even the title of the poem is interesting: Peucer indicates here Upper Lusatia as a former “*provincia Nissana*” (or even *Nicaea*, in which is again seen the apparent effort to make parallels with the ancient places of designation, based on sound similarities) or the later “Hexapolis”, the Lusatian League of Six Towns. The author also names the region according to the river, which isn't completely common in the Lusatian tradition and does not have the support in historical sources, although the river was important for the demarcation of the region. Vice versa, the stress of the meaning of towns for the region is frequent, which is reflected even by its name. Up to Peucer's time the name Upper Lusatia was decidedly and unequivocally used.

⁴⁶ *Idyllium*, v. 7.

⁴⁷ Kößling (2004: 302).

The poem alone comprises 1018 verses and is opened up by the allusion to the well-known patriotic ode of Horatius.⁴⁸ It is apparent that Peucer is going to praise his homeland and stress the blessing and strength, which he can draw from the relation to his country. The love to his motherland is an essential value for him. *Patria* is perceived in the classical spirit in the entirety of the area where the author was born, including the healthy climate, fertile soil, clean air, ancient and legitimate laws of traditions and morality. It is not always completely apparent to what extent Peucer distinguishes between his homeland being the land of Upper Lusatia and that being the town of Bautzen. The primary thing seems to be an attachment and memory to his hometown and gratitude to it: in this homeland he gained examples and knowledge, the model of his ancestors had been impressed upon his memory, as he stresses in the first verses of his poem:

*Mirus amor Patriæ, sic omnibus insitus, omnes
Detinet, immemores nec sinit esse sui.
Natalique solo, patriis & legibus ævo
Virtutum in primo semina quisque trahunt.
[...] Quam patrio solvam debita digna solo.*⁴⁹

Then, Peucer intends to talk just about the changing and troubled histories of his homeland.

To the demarcation of the space in the introduction of the poem: Peucer's "Town" (Bautzen) lies in the Sorbian parts, in the Lusatian land, which is on the border between the Germanic *Teutoni* and *Heneti* and had created a wall against the Sarmatians and Scythians:

*Urbs est in Sorabis, priscis qua Vandalus annis
claruit indomitus Marte, Quirine tuo [...]*⁵⁰

According to Peucer, *Germanus* had defeated *Sorabi* just in Lusatia. This mixing of the Germanic and Slavic element within the Lusatian land is typical for Peucer's interpretation and in the poem it can be heard several times; it has to be emphasized that Peucer is less hostile against the Slavs – and also better informed – than his contemporary David Chytraeus.⁵¹

A description of the geographical position of Upper Lusatia and the description of the tribes, who controlled the land in various periods, follows.⁵² Primarily the river delineations are impressive (of such rivers of importance as the Elbe, Oder or Spree), in clear continuity to ancient prototypes. Attention was attracted especially to the Spree flowing through Peucer's native Bautzen:

*Hic ubi præruptam gelido Sprea præterit amne,
Arcem, cui limes nomen habere dedit.
[...] At prolapsa pigro tandem miscetur Havelo
[...] Invidus absorpsit qui mox ubi nomen & undas,
[...] Albidos in flavas præcipitatur aquas.*⁵³

⁴⁸ *Idyllium*, v. 1: *Laudabunt alii*, cf. Horatius, *Carmina* 1, 7, 1. According to Kößling (2004: 306).

⁴⁹ *Idyllium*, v. 1–30: i.e.: v. 5 and further.

⁵⁰ *Idyllium*, v. 16.

⁵¹ About him, compare Hrabová (2006: 227–229).

⁵² *Idyllium*, v. 31–130.

⁵³ So it is not possible to forget about Ausonius' *Moselle*. *Idyllium*, v. 19sq. Here Peucer also etymologizes and derives the name of the Spree from the ancient Suebi. He personifies the river Havel in an un-

He speaks also about the smaller and the lesser-known rivers as the Bober or Queiß (Polish Kwisa). Their exalted description is a bit ridiculous if we think of the real proportions of these streams:

*Miscentur juncti rapidus Bober, ante suasque
Huic Saganum infudit qui prope Quissus aquas.
Imbre illum subito torrentis more ruentem
Pontibus adversa vi Leoberga times.*⁵⁴

The town, Bautzen, was getting unusual and detailed praises already at the beginning of the poem and repeatedly even later: the town is blessed by nature with a series of advantages, including the pleasant climate; therefore, townsmen are strong and have good healthy skin:

*Rupibus, occasum qua spectat, inhæret acutis:
Plana patet, rapidis Sol ubi prodit equis.
Cælo qua propter patula undiq[ue] liberiore
Perflatur, spirat montibus eq[ue] gelu.
[...] Aëris hîc puri documenta, colore venusta
Corpora sunt, vegeto robore firma diu.
Indigenæ prorsus quæ sunt expertia labis,
Sontica vis cælo nulla, nec ulla solo est.*⁵⁵

Citizens living here, furthermore, have a sense of togetherness; they are moderate and peaceful:

*Ingeniis rectus, mansvetus moribus, omnis
Candidus est populus, plenus & officio [...]*

There was no threat of crime, because no dangerous power was presenting itself by land or by air. The author stresses also the cultural maturity of the town (including the schools and the fostered Muses), a cultivated lifestyle of the residents and its just administration.⁵⁶ The town is also clean and the edifices here are built in an orderly way. Everyone listens to the authorities; that is why the town is governed with a strong set of rules; the municipal council and townsmen trust each other. The surrounding land is fertile, commerce here blossoms; sensual temptation does not pose a threat here, because the excessive adorning of garments and jewellery is forbidden by “citizens”. The Bautzen community is according to Peucer, ideal. The biggest advantage is of course that it supported the Reformation early on:

*Hoc maior tamen es, si nescis, munere summum
Divini quod adhuc pignus amoris habes,
Quod te Evangelij mature voce vocatam
Duxit ad electi Christus ovile gregi [...]*⁵⁷

friendly way, like a river, which flows through the Slavic (i.e. pagan) territories and devours the waters from the Lusatias.

⁵⁴ *Idyllium*, v. 216sq.

⁵⁵ *Idyllium*, v. 65sq.

⁵⁶ *Idyllium*, v. 130–184.

⁵⁷ *Idyllium*, v. 465.

Peucer further devotes attention to the ancient Slavic fortified settlement, Protschenberg, which – according to the author – was not constructed on an appropriate place and was destroyed in a war against the Franks. Its counterpart is the Bautzen castle, Ortenburg, founded by the Franks, whose location is much better suited (and is described again in a classicizing spirit):

*Construxitq[ue] ultra vallem meliore profundam
[...] Solis ad exortum subter labente Suevo;
Qua nulli accessus difficilesve patent.
Molis at exustæ monumentum insigne prioris
Ad ripam gelidi fluminis Hesperiam.
Eminet in summo proclivum vertice dorsum.*⁵⁸

This castle is perceived as a defensive embankment against neighbouring tribes, and played an important role in the fights for Upper Lusatia among the Franks, Bohemians, and Poles.⁵⁹ Yet, Bohemians founded the town of Bautzen. On that place Peucer is reminded of the old legend, appearing among others, even in the Bohemian Chronicle of Václav Hájek of Libočany and very popular among the chroniclers of Bautzen, etymologizing the name *Budyssin* from the Czech words “bude syn” (“it will be a son”):

*Vrbemq[ue] adstruxit, gravida de conjuge adimplens
Votum; si soboles mascula nata foret.
[...] Hinc urbi à voto tractum post nomen inhæsit,
Quod rogat, ut fætum det DEVS esse marem.*⁶⁰

In this context, many other examples of important humanistic descriptions of the towns could be mentioned, also connecting a geographical and historical level of the explanation, mixing classical rhetoric and myths with ancient legends of regional origin; in the Bohemian milieu, we find more examples of descriptions of towns.⁶¹ A comparison should be done also with the poems from the Silesian poetry of the time, which focus also on the whole region.⁶²

What is also remarkable is the further attention of Peucer’s interpretation of the enumeration of the important noble families residing in this area: those mentioned are the Gersdorf’s, Haugwitz’s, Nostitz’s, Metzrad’s, and Donín’s.⁶³ Because the picture of Upper Lusatia was formed mainly by the intellectuals connected to the towns, towns otherwise unquestionably dominated in the depictions of the region. But Peucer has respect for the nobility and its antiquity, but also for its courageousness during struggles and wars. He presents even the town and small towns in possession of the important lineages and

⁵⁸ *Idyllium*, v. 98sq.

⁵⁹ *Idyllium*, v. 103sq. and v. 185–240.

⁶⁰ *Idyllium*, v. 110. It is interesting, that the etymology is not understandable in the Latin version!

⁶¹ From Bohemian context, we can mention Bohuslav Hasištejnský and his *Ecloga sive Idyllion Budae* or ode on Carlsbad, Tomáš Mitis’ *Idyllion de thermis Teplicensibus* (see Eichler 1836), but also prosaic description of Prague by Bartolomaeus Martinides, *Descriptio amplissimae atq[ue] ornatissimae Regiae Urbis Pragensis, metropolis totius Boëmiae*, Pragae, Daniel Sedesanus 1615, which emphasises also the “good climate” of Prague, as well as its natural location and his famous compatriots (I worked with the Czech translation of Martínková 1975: 209–222).

⁶² Franciscus Faber, *Sabothvs sive Silesia*, Basileae, Conradvs Vvaldkirch 1592.

⁶³ *Idyllium*, v. 291–352.

sometimes tries to explain their titles in a peculiar way. It is also interesting that he does not forget the Upper-Lusatian nobility had Sorbian and German ancestors:

*Qui de Teutonica, Sorabaque propagine mixta
In genus exorta pace coivit idem [...]*⁶⁴

He further talks about the government of the Roman Emperors and their personalities; the influence of the Bohemian rulers and of the Empire blend within Upper Lusatia and the territorial allegiance of the margraviate frequently changes. Nevertheless, Peucer perceives Upper Lusatia undoubtedly as a part of the Holy Roman Empire, and uses repeatedly interesting formulation of “the Romulid government” above Lusatia or “the Romulid border” in connection directly to the founder of Rome.⁶⁵ A big role is credited to the brave Charlemagne, but also to other Roman Emperors and to the members of the Saxon (Ottonian) dynasty, and Frederick Barbarossa. The Roman Emperors in the poem are unambiguously praised, as keepers of the peace, builders of castles, who strengthened the borders and brought prosperity to the land. In this part, the geographical horizon of the poem was widened above the border of Upper Lusatia: Peucer includes e.g. in details the building of the castle in Brandenburg. What is strange is that in this connection, the role that the Holy Empire had during the expansion of Christianity in the region is only briefly mentioned, not even regarding missionary work. (In the later interpretations of Upper Lusatian histories, Saint Constantine and Methodius often enter as apostles of the local Slavs, but the question is not unequivocally solved.)

On that place the lyrical subject enters into the poem. A note follows that the author saw the light of the world when the evangelical truth started to be preached in the Lusatias: Peucer’s birth is clearly joined in the general context of the development of Protestantism:

*Cælj urbs luce sui hæc me natum excepit & aura:
Hæc aluit, studijs erudijtq[ue] bonis.
Tempore quo pulsa errorum caligine, toto
Fermè Euangelij fulsit in orbe jubar [...]*⁶⁶

The interpretation of the coat of arms of Bautzen follows (which was the same as that of Upper Lusatia); the heraldic symbols of the town are golden city walls on a blue background. The wall clearly symbolizes, according to Peucer’s conception, a barrier against the Sarmatians, the blue background represents help coming from heaven, which it is possible to be expected from Christ against the godless people:

*Aureus exornat sed cur insignia murus
Vrbs tua? & his cælj cærulus unde color?
Nempe quod hoc muro repressit limite in ipso
Olim Sauromatas Teutonis ora feros.
Et regni cælestis opes sibi, vindice CHRISTO,
A populo, qui tunc impius, asseruit.*

⁶⁴ *Idyllium*, v. 304.

⁶⁵ *Idyllium*, v. 241–274.

⁶⁶ *Idyllium*, v. 275–278.

*Tuq[ue] acie stares quòd prima fidus & acer
 Custos, aut fortis miles ut excubitor.
 Murus ut invictus cum fines texeris ergò
 Virtutis merito fers monumenta tuæ.
 Et quæ cum tota tibi sunt communia gente,
 Vsu Metropolis nunc tua ut arma geris.⁶⁷*

Then, the poet returns again to the discussion about the Slavic tribes, those living in the broad areas up to Lower Saxony, Brandenburg, and Silesia; we observe that his knowledge about them corresponds with the ideas of his time, above all, with D. Chytreus and A. Krantz.⁶⁸ It would deserve a more detailed research about the location of a concrete tribe on the cart according to Peucer, yet now we have to stress that he is less hostile to them than the opinion of the time, which was apparently mostly developed by the German intellectuals.

Peucer then again described in a detailed way the important rivers of the vast region of East Central Europe and the big towns lying on them. In connection with the Oder he thoroughly depicts even the Lower-Silesian capital, Wrocław, the second biggest town in the lands of the Bohemian Crown at that time. In its architecture and level of education, Wrocław is praised almost as strong as his native and beloved Bautzen (In fact, Wrocław was much more important than Bautzen, but the space and attention dedicated to it in this poem is comparable precisely only just with the role of Bautzen). The mentioning of the castle by Charles IV in the town is also interesting:

*Totaque structuris splendida magnificis.
 Consiliis, opibus, sacrarum & in agmine sancto
 Musarum hospitio, justitiaque vigens.
 Amplificata domi muro tibi, Carole Quarte [...] ⁶⁹*

Peucer mentions even other Silesian towns, like Głogów/Glogau or Krosno/Crossen; we can see, that his general knowledge is not noticeably limited to the acclaimed and beloved Upper Lusatia. Peucer is reminded of Silesia in his poem relatively often. Silesians were hiding – in the spirit of the humanist tradition – under the made up name Elysus...⁷⁰ We must repeat and accentuate, that he studied in Goldberg, Lower Silesia.

Attention is devoted also to the beginning of the Lusatian League of Six Towns (Hexapolis). Peucer gives history of the towns, sometimes erroneously, fully in the Humanist spirit and: if the locality had a German name according to him, it meant that it was founded by German colonists. What is amusing is the etymology of the name of the small town of Wittichenau (Kulow) from Saxon Widukind – in fact it originated from the Slav “Vítek” – or Ruhland from the famous Frankish Roland;⁷¹ we can suppose that some Roland founded the town, but surely not the legendary nephew of Charlemagne. In every case the towns and small towns are crucial for Peucer’s perception of the area.

⁶⁷ *Idyllium*, v. 279–290.

⁶⁸ See only Chytreus (1555); Chytreus (1586); Krantz (1520), the works, which were well known also among the Upper-Lusatians historiographies.

⁶⁹ *Idyllium*, v. 210sq.

⁷⁰ As for example at the work of Curaeus (1571). To this book also cf. Kozák (2011).

⁷¹ *Idyllium*, v. 89–92.

He mentions even two towns lying on the Nise, Zittau and Görlitz, and mentions their basic places of interest and historical events. In this part of the poem the author literally lets himself get carried away by the flow of the rivers, which then leads him in his mind to Goldberg where he can remember his teacher, Trotzendorf; the geographical and historical interpretation is again interrupted by the subjective reminiscence of the author.

In the Middle Ages the transition under the rule of the Bohemian king is repeatedly reminded as a happy event,⁷² but Peucer mentions also a succession of the Meissen Margraves, who had governed Upper Lusatia. From his poetic explanation, a complex geopolitical position of Upper Lusatia is clear: The Bohemians (in Peucer's language, *Zechiadae*) and Poles (*Polechitae*) fought over it – the view of them of course isn't so negative, as is often in the Silesian historiography of this time (e. g. in the work of Joachim Curaeus). Nevertheless, law and order were brought here by the Roman Emperors, who are thoroughly mentioned, with respect to the Meissen (Wettins) or Brandenburg (Ascanians) margraves, who are described also in their complicated dynastic bonds. Peucer, however, even holds the Bohemian princes and kings in the highest regard (although he is slightly confused as it concerns the Přemyslids of the 13th century), and especially the brave King John the Blind from the line of the Luxembourgs. Charles IV is another important ruler in Peucer's conception, who gave a series of laws to Upper Lusatia.

Peucer also criticizes the division of Upper Lusatia into two parts at the beginning of the 14th century (the eastern part of the land was held temporarily by Henry I of Jawor), respectively the creation of the Gorlitz duchy for the youngest son of Charles IV, Jan, where again part of the Upper Lusatian land had been separated from its core, but fortunately – for Peucer – only for a short while. Here perhaps the age-old competition between Bautzen (as the main administrative center of the land) and Görlitz (as the wealthiest city of the region) is felt, which is inscribed in the historiography of Upper Lusatia from the Early Modern Era.

The fights between the Hussites and Turks are mentioned in one breath – both being enemies to Christianity, and Upper Lusatia (above all the Lusatian League of Six Towns) had, on the contrary, maintained faithful to the Bohemian Crown and to the Church.⁷³ And still an interesting note is about the first monasteries of the region, which are clearly condemned as not useful enough and a hotbed for blind faith, or more exactly superstition (especially the St. Marienstern Abbey, albeit Peucer does not question its importance in the life of land stressing that it is a monastery of great wealth):

*Coenobijs geminis hac primis in regione
Regnum est orsa suum caeca superstitio.
Vrbanum prius est, sed egens; campestre Mariae
Notum sub stellae nomine, dives agro.*⁷⁴

Yet Peucer mentions even the emergence of the Bautzen chapter and Franciscan monasteries in all the towns of the Hexapolis.

⁷² Just so, he even mentions the – according to Peucer voluntarily – connection of Silesia to the Bohemian crown.

⁷³ *Idyllium*, v. 719–860.

⁷⁴ *Idyllium*, v. 355.

Peucer in his interpretation arrives up to his current-day; he mentions with certain distance the Bohemian King Ferdinand I of Habsburg, the Roman Catholic ruler, who was comprehensibly foreign to the poet as a Lutheran, but who was also the originator of the Pönfall, being hard and through the eyes of the Lusatians serving unjust punishments to the Upper Lusatian towns after the first uprising of the Estates in 1547.⁷⁵ Much kinder to him was Maximilian II (who in fact, as is known, sympathized with Lutherans), for which Upper Lusatia “returned” to the favor of the Habsburg kings. After he shows reference to the vice-governors of Upper Lusatia (they were chosen exclusively from the nobility, quite often from the Bohemian Kingdom) and still mentions, chronologically slightly inorganically, the craftsmen revolt, which took place in Bautzen during the reign of Wenceslas IV and which actually, if we read between the lines, disturbed the perfect harmony between the town council and townsmen, which otherwise reigns in Bautzen.

In the epilogue, Peucer again returns to Bautzen, his homeland, which was always a sure comfort to him throughout his difficult fate. The poem then closes as a forceful prayer for his land, for her welfare and safety, yet even for the Holy Empire, from which the dangers of the Scythians, Tatars, Turks and other tribes should be averted, where disharmony and combat should be removed.⁷⁶ For that matter, war and peace are present throughout as a leitmotif of the whole poem.

Peucer’s poem has three main themes: it praises the prominent players of the region – the old noble lineages and citizens (serfs do not play an active role for the educated humanist); it celebrates his hometown (often in the spirit of the cultivated genre *descriptio urbis*, which in Peucer’s time Conrad Celtis or Hessus especially developed) and at least Christianity in the Lutheran conception. Human history is for Peucer – and still so – an opus of providence and it becomes real through deeds, victories, and the overthrows of rulers and dynasties, which are the main bearers of the exposition.

In closing it is possible to note that in Peucer’s poem we have at our disposition the first and apparently most impressive poetic depiction of the history of Upper Lusatia, which was appreciated by many Early Modern Period authors. It was known even by Benjamin Leuber, who prepared the ideological program of the decoration of the stucco ceiling at Ortenburg in Bautzen, in 1662.⁷⁷ Peucer was appreciated even by Konrad Samuel Schurtzfleisch in his dissertation about Lusatia (at the beginning of the 18th century) and his *Idyllium* was repeatedly quoted even by the Early Modern Period chroniclers of individual Upper Lusatian towns.

It is clear that Peucer deals with the history freely enough, instrumentalizing it typically according to his ideas of the educated humanist and Lutheran. Peucer provided – despite the fluctuating literary quality of his poem – a tempting and positive portrayal of the region where he was born, which surely had an effect outside of Upper Lusatia, yet even in the region itself. This image is, however, to a considerable measure “idyllic”, because he draws a reality, which is very much based on the ancient examples. The depiction of reality through these examples of antiquity, afterall, was not exceptional in the time.

⁷⁵ Regarding Pönfall, with quotations of the previous historiography especially Bobková (1999).

⁷⁶ *Idyllium*, v. 945–1018.

⁷⁷ Regarding him vide Wenzel (2011).

This essay perhaps opens questions more than replies to answers. Some ways of further research could be drawn here: it should be important, to study Peucer's possible sources of the information on Bohemian history, which is possible to be done on the basis of partly preserved lists of his library: it contained many books connected to the Bohemian milieu, beginning with *Biblia Bohemica*.⁷⁸ Also the comparison of Peucer's and Manlius's conception of Upper-Lusatian history should be done, above all in the context of this delicate and complex position between the Germanic and Slavic area. *Idyllium* could also be studied more as a literary work, in the context of the Bohemian humanistic poetry of the time.

REFERENCES

- Andreae, F. (ed.), 1931. *Schlesische Lebensbilder hrsg. von der Historischen Kommission für Schlesien 4: Schlesien des 16. bis 19. Jahrhunderts*. Breslau, Korn.
- Bahlcke, J., 2001. Die Oberlausitz. Historischer Raum, Landesbewußtsein und Geschichtsschreibung vom Mittelalter bis zum 20. Jahrhundert. In: J. Bahlcke (ed.), *Geschichte der Oberlausitz. Herrschaft, Gesellschaft und Kultur vom Mittelalter bis zum Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Leipzig, Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 8–48.
- Bartoš, F. M., 1923. Srbský přítel Blahoslavův (Kašpar Peucer) [A Sorbian Friend of Blahoslav (Kašpar Peucer)]. *Kalich* 8, 62–64.
- Basnje humanistow, 2004. *Basnje humanistow* [The poems of humanists] [Serbska poezija 50]. Budyšin, Ludowe nakladnistwo Domowina.
- Bauch, G., 1921. *Valentin Trotzendorf und die Goldberger Schule* [Monumenta Germaniae Pädagogica 57]. Berlin, Weidmann.
- Benz, E., 1949. Caspar Peucers slavische Beziehungen (Über das Verhältnis der Böhmischen Brüder zur Wittenberger Reformation). In: E. Benz, *Wittenberg und Byzanz*. Marburg, Elwert-Gräfe & Unzer, 129–140.
- Bobková, L., 1999. Pönfall neboli Šestiměstí v protihabsburském odboji roku 1547 [Pönfall or the Lusatian League of Six Towns in the anti-Hapsburg revolt of 1547]. In: P. Vorel (ed.), *Stavovský odboj roku 1547. Sborník příspěvků z konference konané v Pardubicích ve dnech 29. a 30. září 1997* [The Estates Revolt of 1547. The collection of contributions from the conference in Pardubice on September 29–30, 1997]. Pardubice/Praha, Východočeské muzeum, 41–64.
- Bobková, L., Březina, L., Zdichynec, J., 2008. *Horní a Dolní Lužice* [Upper and Lower Lusatia]. Praha, Libri.
- Bobková, L., Zdichynec, J. (eds.), 2011. *Geschichte. Erinnerung. Selbstidentifikation. Die schriftliche Kultur in den Ländern der Böhmisches Krone im 14.–18. Jahrhundert* [Die Kronländer in der Geschichte des böhmischen Staates V.]. Prag, Casablanca.
- Borott, E., 1857. *Geschichte des Schulwesens der Lausitz: ein Beitrag zur Specialgeschichte der Oberlausitz*. Löbau, Carl Dümmler.
- Bruning, J., 2002. Die Nähe zur Macht. Peucer und der kursächsische Hof. In: Koch (2002: 106–112).
- Bruning, J., 2004. August 1553–1586. In: F.-L. Kroll (ed.), *Die Herrscher Sachsens. Markgrafen, Kurfürsten, Könige 1089–1918*. München, C. H. Beck, 110–125.
- Chytreus, D., 1555. *Oratio continens historiam Henrici Leonis Ducis Saxoniae, Bavariae recitata Rostockii a Davido Chytreo*. Wittebergae, Iohannes Crato.
- Chytreus, D., 1586. *Vandaliae et Saxoniae Alberti Cranzii continuatio ab anno Christi 1500, ubi ille desiit*. Wittebergae, Iohannes Crato.
- Corpus Reformatorum, 1834–1860: *Corpus Reformatorum 1–28. Philipp Melancthon: Opera ... omnia*, ed. Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider – Heinrich Ernst Bindseil. Halis Saxonum/Brunsvigae, C. A. Schwetschke.
- Curaeus, J., 1571. *Gentis Silesiae Annales*. Wittebergae, Crato.

⁷⁸ For the notice I thank Marta Vaculínová.

- Čermák, R., 2009. Básně humanistů [Poems of Humanists]. *Česko-lužický věstník* 19, no. 5, 1–2.
- Eichler, A. Ch., 1836. *Teplitz vor 300 Jahren oder der böhmische Dichter Thomas Mitis und seine Idylle über Teplitz*. Prag, Gerzabek.
- Frinta, A., 1955. *Lužičtí Srbové a jejich písemnictví* [Sorbs and their literature]. Praha, Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd.
- Gindely, A., 1859. *Quellen zur Geschichte der böhmischen Brüder vornehmlich ihren Zusammenhang mit Deutschland betreffend* [Fontes rerum Austriacarum. Zweite Abtheilung. Diplomataria et acta. XIX. Band]. Wien, Kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei.
- Hamel, J., Roebel, M., 2004. Bibliographie der gedruckten Werke Caspar Peucers. In: Hasse, Wartenberg, Wieckowski (2004: 327–368).
- Harder, H.-B., 1994. Bemerkungen zur Lusatia des Christoph Manlius aus Görlitz. In: P. Thiergen, L. Udolph (eds.), *Res Slavica, Festschrift für Hans Rothe zum 65. Geburtstag*. München, Ferdinand Schöningh, 519–528.
- Hasse, H.-P., Wartenberg, G., Wieckowski, A. (eds.), 2004. *Caspar Peucer (1525–1602). Wissenschaft, Glaube und Politik im konfessionellen Zeitalter*. Leipzig, Evangelische Verlagsanstalt.
- Haupt, E. F., 1842. Etwas über Christoph Manlius †1575 und Christian Weise †1708. *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin* 20, 369–374.
- Hejnic, J., Martínek, J., 1969. *Rukověť humanistického básnictví III* [The Directory of Humanist Poetry I–V]. Praha, Academia.
- Holý, M., 2005. Výchova a vzdělání české a moravské šlechty v 16. a v první třetině 17. století [Upbringing and Education of the Bohemian and Moravian Nobility in the 16th and the first third of 17th century]. *Folia historica Bohemica* 21, 111–210.
- Holý, M., 2006. Význam vedlejších zemí České koruny pro vzdělání české a moravské šlechty v předbělohorské době [The importance of the neighboring lands of Bohemian crown for educating the Bohemian and Moravian nobility in the period before the Battle of White Mountain]. In: L. Březina, J. Konvičná, J. Zdichynec (eds.), *Ve znamení země Koruny české. Sborník k šedesátým narozeninám profesorky Lenky Bobkové*. Praha, Casablanca, 412–425.
- Hrabová, L., 2006. *Stopy zapomenutého lidu* [Traces of forgotten nation]. České Budějovice, Vedita.
- Kersken, N., 2007. Intellektuelle Raumbeziehungen der Oberlausitz in der Frühen Neuzeit. In: J. Bahlcke (ed.), *Die Oberlausitz im frühneuzeitlichen Mitteleuropa. Beziehungen – Strukturen – Prozesse* [Quellen und Forschungen zur sächsischen Geschichte 30]. Leipzig/Stuttgart, Verlag der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 256–288.
- Koch, E., 1986. Der kursächsische Philippismus und seine Krise in den 1560er und 1570er Jahren. In: H. Schilling (ed.), *Die reformierte Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland – das Problem der „Zweiten Reformation“*. Wissenschaftliches Symposium des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte [= Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 195]. Gütersloh, Mohn, 60–77.
- Koch, U. (ed.), 2002. *Zwischen Katheder, Thron und Kerker: Leben und Werk des Humanisten Caspar Peucer 1525–1602. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Stadtmuseum Bautzen. 25. September bis 31. Dezember 2002*. Bautzen, Stadtmuseum Bautzen.
- Koch, U., 2004. Die Familie Peucker und Caspar Peucers Beziehungen nach Bautzen. In: Hasse, Wartenberg, Wieckowski (2004: 175–187).
- Kößling, R., 2004. „Idyllium Patria“. Caspar Peucers Lobgedicht auf die Oberlausitz. In: Hasse, Wartenberg, Wieckowski (2004: 299–318).
- Kolb, R., 1976. *Caspar Peucer's library. Portrait of a Wittenberg Professor of the mid-sixteenth century* [Sixteenth century bibliography 5]. St. Louis, Center for Reformation Research.
- Kozák, P., 2011. „Dem Vaterland ist man Danckbarkeit schuldig!“ Joachim Cureus (1532–1573) und der „Sinn“ der schlesischen Geschichte. In: Bobková, Zdichynec (2011: 416–430).
- Krantz, A., 1520. *Saxonia*. Coloniae, Soter.
- Kühne, H., 1983. Kaspar Peucker. Leben und Werk eines großen Gelehrten der Wittenberger Universität im 16. Jahrhundert. *Lëtöpis* 30, 151–161.
- Kučáková, E., Vidmanová, A. (eds.), 2004. *Slovník latinských spisovatelů* [The Dictionary of Latin Writers]. Praha, Leda.
- Manlius, Ch., 1719. *Commentariorum rerum Lusaticarum libri septem*. In: Ch. G. Hoffmann (ed.), *Scriptores rerum Lusaticarum antiqui et recentiores. Tomus I*. Lipsiae/Budissae, Richter, 99–468.

- Martínková, D., 1975. *Poselství ducha. Latinská próza českých humanistů* [The message of spirit. Latin prose of czech humanists]. Praha, Odeon.
- Menčík, F., 1897. Studenti z Čech a Moravy ve Witemberku od r. 1502 až do 1602 [Students from Bohemia and Moravia in Wittenberg from 1502 up to 1602]. *Časopis Musea Království českého* 71, 250–268.
- Neddermeyer, U., 1997. Kaspar Peucer (1525–1602): Melanchthons Universalgeschichtsschreibung. In: H. Scheible (ed.), *Melanchthon in seinen Schülern* [Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 73]. Wiesbaden, Harrasowitz, 69–101.
- Otto, G. F., 1800–1803. *Lexikon der seit dem funfzehenden Jahrhunderte verstorbenen und jetztlebenden Oberlausizischen Schriftsteller und Kuenstler*, I-III and supplementa. Goerlitz, C. G. Anton, 1800–1803. Nachdruck 2000 Neustadt an der Aisch, Kunstreproduktionen Neustadt an der Aisch, Antiquariat Ostritz.
- Peucer, C., 1590. *Commentatio de essentia, natura et ortu animi hominis*. In: R. Goclenius (ed.), *Psychologia: hoc est de hominis perfectione, animo et imprimis ortu hujus*. Marpurgi, Paul Egenolph, 164–190.
- Peucer, C., 1594. *Idyllium: patria, quod repetit historiam ejus regionis, quae olim dicta Provincia Nissana, et Nicaea, nunc Hexapolis et Lusatia superior vocatur*. Budissinae, Michaël Wolrab.
- Peucer, C., 1603a. *Testament D. Caspar Peucers Von Ihme selbs In seinem Gefengnuß, in mangelung noturfftiges Papirs, uff eintzehle Zettelein, so mit unterschiedenen Buchstaben, wie sie uff einander folgen, bezeichnen sind, Lateinisch verfasst*. Zerbst, s. n.
- Peucer, C., 1603b. *Testamentum latinum ... in carcere ab ipsomet, distinctis quidem, sed tamen per literas combinatis chartulis, in defectu plenioris chartae, scriptum*. Servestae, s. n.
- Peucer, C., 1605. *Historia carcerum, et liberationis divinae, opera et studio Christophori Pezelii*. Tiguri, s. n.
- Peucer, C., 1719. *Idyllium. Patria*. In: Ch. G. Hoffmann (ed.), *Scriptores rerum Lusaticarum antiqui et recentiores. Tomus I. Lipsiae/Budissae*, Richter.
- Peucer, C., 2001. *Idyllium Patria*. Auf der Grundlage einer Übersetzung von Werner Fraustadt übertragen von Rainer Kößling. Erläuterungen von Rainer Kößling und Matthias Wilhelm. *Stadtmuseum Bautzen. Jahresschrift* 7, 7–114.
- Richter-Laugwitz, G., 2002. Das Schulwesen von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. In: Von Budissin nach Bautzen (2002: 198–221).
- Řičan, R., 1957. *Dějiny Jednoty bratrské* [The History of the Unity of the Brethren]. Praha, Ústřední církevní nakladatelství.
- Sturm, L., 1888. *Valentin Trotzendorf und die Lateinische Schule zu Goldberg. Festschrift zur Feier des 400jährigen Geburtstages Trotzendorfs, geboren den 14. Februar 1490*. Goldberg, Obst.
- Teichmann, D., 2004. Caspar Peucer und die Beziehungen der Wittenberger Reformatoren zu den Böhmisches Brüdern. In: Hasse, Wartenberg, Wieckowski (2004: 273–282).
- Tischer, W., 1917. Die Reformation in Stadt und Kirchenkreis Bautzen. In: H. F. Rosenkranz (ed.), *Die Einführung der Reformation in der sächsischen Oberlausitz nach Diözesen geordnet*. Leipzig, Strauch, 28–42.
- Verzeichnis, 1983–1995. *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts*, hrsg. von der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München in Verb. mit der Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel. 1. Abt.: *Verfasser, Körperschaften, Anonyma*. 1–22. Stuttgart, Hiersemann (on-line version: http://www.gateway-bayern.de/index_vd16.html [1. 4. 2012]).
- Verzeichnis 17. Jahrhunderts. *Das Verzeichnis der in dem deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts*. <http://www.vd17.de> [15. 1. 2012].
- Vötig, R., 1911. *Die simultankirchlichen Beziehungen zwischen Katholiken und Protestanten zu St. Peter in Bautzen* [Inaugural-Dissertation. Universität Leipzig]. Leipzig, Robert Noske.
- Von Budissin nach Bautzen, 2002. *Von Budissin nach Bautzen. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Bautzen*. Bautzen, Lusatia Verlag.
- Weichenhan, M., 2004. Caspar Peucers Astronomie zwischen christlichen Humanismus und Nicolaus Copernicus. In: Hasse, Wartenberg, Wieckowski (2004: 91–110).
- Wenzel, K., 2011. Geschichtswerk und Erinnerungsort. Die Stuckdecke im kurfürstlichen Kammergemach der Ortenburg zu Bautze. In: Bobková, Zdichynec (2011: 297–317).
- Wohlgemuthová, J., 2011. Persönlichkeit und Werk von Christophorus Manlius und deren bohemikale Bindungen. In: Bobková, Zdichynec (2011: 403–415).

IDYLLIUM PATRIA. OBERLAUSITZ MIT DEN AUGEN EINES SPÄTHUMANISTISCHEN AUTHORS

Zusammenfassung

Zuerst beschäftigt sich die Studie – vor allem auf der Basis der Forschungsliteratur – mit Person und Werk Caspar Peucers (1525–1602), eines oberlausitzischen Humanisten mit vielseitigen Interessen (Medizin, Mathematik, Theologie, Geschichte), der auch zahlreiche Kontakte zu zeitgenössischen böhmischen Gelehrten (Jan Blahoslav, Tadeáš Hájek z Hájku) pflegte. Dann wird Peucers umfangreiches lateinisches Gedicht *Idyllium Patria* analysiert, das erste der Region der Oberlausitz und ihrer Geschichte gewidmete Werk, das gedruckt wurde und in den folgenden Jahrzehnten auch breit rezipiert wurde. Die Studie untersucht die Quellen dieses Werks und analysiert, wie Peucer – ein Humanist mit ausgezeichneter klassischer Bildung, Lutheraner und starker Patriot – ein Bild des Landes und seiner Hauptstadt Bautzen konstruiert.

IDYLLIUM PATRIA. HORNÍ LUŽICE OČIMA POZDNĚ HUMANISTICKÉHO AUTORA

Shrnutí

Studie v první řadě připomíná, především na základě sekundární literatury, osobnost a dílo Kašpara Peucera (1525–1602), hornolužického humanisty všestranných zájmů (lékařství, matematika, teologie, historie), jenž pěstoval také četné kontakty k českému soudobému prostředí (Jan Blahoslav, Tadeáš Hájek z Hájku). Poté analyzuje autor Peucerovu rozsáhlou latinskou báseň *Idyllium Patria*. Je to první dílo věnované regionu Horní Lužice a jeho historii, které bylo vydané tiskem a v pozdějších desetiletích hojně recipováno. Studie se zamýšlí nad zdroji této práce a sleduje, jak Peucer – klasicky vzdělaný humanista protestantského vyznání s velmi silným patriotickým cítěním – konstruuje obraz země i jejího hlavního města Budyšina.