

An exceptionally important source for the history of the Bohemian Lands in the early modern age is the library of Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol, which was probably first established at Prague Castle or Křivoklát Castle. The latter was held from 1560 by Ladislaus of Šternberk, who was the chamberlain of Archduke Ferdinand and the godfather of his four sons. It was there that for six years the Archduke was able to meet with his secret wife Philippine Welser. Jan Augusta (➤ Fig. 1) – an important figure of the Unity of the Brethren – was imprisoned there from 1548 to 1564. His stay at Křivoklát (Pürglitz) Castle helps explain the presence of some of the writings of the Unity of the Brethren in the library of Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol. Based on the study of Augusta's work written in prison, we will try to clarify several still unclear entries from the inventory of Ferdinand's estate of 1596.¹

We know with certainty that while at Křivoklát, Augusta wrote at least three manuscripts, which later found their way to the Ambras library, and which are now kept at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna under the shelf marks 7452, 7457, and 7457. This involves the *Registrum piesní* (Register of Songs, 1558; ➤ Fig. 2),² *Písň bratra Jana Augusty* (Songs of Brother Jan Augusta, 1562; ➤ Fig. 3)³ and the theological treatise *Smysl a úmysl Kristův jeho vlastní svátosti Večeře jeho* (The Christ's Own Meaning and Intent of the Sacrament of Lord's Supper), also dated 1562 (➤ Fig. 4).⁴

The oldest *Registrum piesní* is a small paper codex with 55 folios measuring 155 × 105 mm. A parchment page from a fourteenth-century Latin manuscript was used for the binding. The composition of the book is entirely irregular, and the text contains a number of erasures, but the result is continuous. The title page bears the shelf mark of the collection it originally belonged to: "Ms. Ambras 403". A second manuscript with the title *Písň bratra Jana Augusty, kteréž dělal u vězení* (Songs of Brother Jan Augusta Written in Prison) contains 149 fo-

¹ Due to the generality of the relevant records, however, a wide range of possible titles must be considered, which is not limited to the time of Archduke's activity in Bohemia. The suggestions presented in this study respond to the questions of Archduke's link to the book production of the Unity of the Brethren, which have recently been published in the cited literature.

² Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 7452, <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13951670>; see also Karl SCHWARZENBERG: *Katalog der kroatischen, polnischen und tschechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*. Vienna 1972, p. 293, <http://bilder.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/hs/kataloge/HSK0756.htm>. The edition of the source is published by Eliška BAŤOVÁ: *Písň bratra Jana Augusty. Druhá tvář bratrské hymnografie*, Prague 2018, forthcoming.

³ Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 7457, <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13954680>; see also K. SCHWARZENBERG: *Katalog der kroatischen, polnischen und tschechischen Handschriften* (≪ note 2), pp. 293-294.

⁴ Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 7458, <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13953881>; see also K. SCHWARZENBERG: *Katalog der kroatischen, polnischen und tschechischen Handschriften* (≪ note 2), p. 294.

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“Volumina octo chartacea Bohemica lingua conscripta”: A Closer Look at the Writings of the Unity of the Brethren in the Library of Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol

Abstract:

The library of Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol was probably first established at Prague Castle or Křivoklát (Pürglitz) Castle. Jan Augusta was imprisoned there from 1548 to 1564. His stay at Křivoklát Castle helps explain the presence of some of the writings of the Unity of the Brethren in the library of Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol. Based on the study of Augusta's work written in prison, we will try to clarify several still unclear entries from the inventory of Ferdinand's estate of 1596. Due to the generality of the relevant records, however, a wide range of possible titles must be considered, which is not limited to the time of Archduke's activity in Bohemia. The suggestions presented in this study respond to the questions of Archduke's link to the book production of the Unity of the Brethren, which have recently been published in the literature.

Key words: Ferdinand II of Tyrol; history of libraries; Křivoklát (Pürglitz) Castle; Unity of the Brethren; Augusta, Jan; *Registrum piesní* (Register of Songs, 1558); *Písň bratra Jana Augusty* (Songs of Brother Jan Augusta, 1562); *Smysl a úmysl Kristův jeho vlastní svátosti Večeře jeho* (The Christ's Own Meaning and Intent of the Sacrament of Lord's Supper, 1562); Österreichische Nationalbibliothek; Ambras Library

Number of characters / words: 20 292 / 3 068

Number of images: 4

Secondary language(s): Old Czech, Latin

The paper was prepared with the support of the Czech Science Foundation (project no. 15-14727S) and was also presented at the international conference “Archduke Ferdinand II of Austria (1529-1595) and his Cultural Patronage between Prague and Innsbruck” (Prague, 21-23 February 2018).

lios of nearly identical dimensions (155 × 110 mm). Unlike the *Registrum piesní*, its regular composition, the absence of erasures, and the character of the lettering indicate that this had been a copy prepared for binding and definitive completion. The binding is also made of a fragment of a parchment manuscript. *Bohemicae Cantilenae Pikhardia* was added to the heading later in a hand from the sixteenth century, and the spine bears the shelf mark “404”. Preserved in the binding is a fragment of the draft of Augusta’s letter to Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol requesting his release.⁵ Apart from the present shelf mark, the title page contains the original shelf mark, “Ms. Ambras 404”. This is probably in the hand of the same scribe, but in this case the ductus is calmer and neater. The third manuscript in question is also a fair copy, which in this case is even bound in wooden boards covered with leather decorated with embossing. It has in common with the two hymnographic works the old shelf mark “Ms. Ambras 402” and the still unresolved question of the hand of the scribe: while Schwarzenberg’s catalogue identifies Jakub Bílek as the scribe,⁶ Joseph Theodor Müller and the literature dependent on him, building on the work of Michael Denis, speak of the hand being that of Jan Augusta himself.⁷

The answer to the question of how these books got to Vienna is related to the problem of identifying the scribe of all three manuscripts. In connection with the unsuccessful negotiations over Jan Augusta’s release, for which Jan Augusta was transferred to Prague on 9 April 1563, we have a report from Augusta’s fellow prisoner Jakub Bílek about the confiscation of all of the books that he had had with him in the White Tower. To the question of the hetman Mikuláš Žďárský⁸ (“What are these letters and books you are writing?”), Augusta supposedly replied that he had brought only printed books from Křivoklát (the *Zürich Bible*⁹ and *Roh’s Cantional*¹⁰), then in Prague he had been given a songbook – this was probably the *Kancionál český: písně roční* (Bohemian Cantional: Songs for the Year), printed in Olomouc in 1559.¹¹ Bílek’s further account, however, indicates that a set of a larger number of books had been completely searched, confiscated, and then brought “to the prince’s room”.¹² Might the manuscript *Písně* and the Eucharistic treatise *Smysl a úmysl Kristův jeho vlastní svátosti Večeře jeho* have been among them, as Joseph Theodor Müller deduced? And what happened to the manuscript of *Registrum piesní*?

The creation of the *Registrum piesní* dates to a time when Augusta’s treatises were addressed to the Unity of the Brethren, and the fair copies of them were made by Jakub Bílek. However, the form of the manuscript with its completely irregular composition and the several phases of its creation are not indicative of the making of a fair copy. It is therefore likely that this is an autograph, of which a copy made by Bílek may actually have been sent to the Brethren, while Augusta kept the working version to use for his later hymnological works. In the case of the writings from 1562, in view of the manner of their preservation, it is also

⁵ Václav Bolemír NEBESKÝ: “Písně bratra Jana Augusty, kteréž dělal ve vězení”, *Časopis Českého muzeum* 19 (1845), pp. 595–604, here p. 601, <http://www.digitalniknihovna.cz/nm/uuid/uuid:c1298020-8348-11de-a2f1-000d606f5dc6>; K. SCHWARZENBERG: *Katalog der kroatischen, polnischen und tschechischen Handschriften* (↵ note 2), p. 293.

⁶ K. SCHWARZENBERG: *Katalog der kroatischen, polnischen und tschechischen Handschriften* (↵ note 2), p. 294.

⁷ Michael DENIS: *Codices manuscripti theologici Bibliothecae Palatinae Vindobonensis Latini aliarumque occidentis linguarum*, vol. 2, Vienna 1800, col. 1449, <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:vbv:12-bsb10798651-9>; Joseph Theodor MÜLLER: *Geschichte der Böhmisches Brüder*, vol. 2, Herrnhut 1931, p. 337; František BEDNÁŘ (ed.): *Jakub Bílek: Jan Augusta v letech samoty 1548–1564*, Prague 1942, p. 26.

⁸ František PALACKÝ: *Dílo*, vol. 1, Prague 1941, p. 382.

⁹ *Biblia sacrosancta Testamenti Veteris et Novi e sacra Hebraeorum lingua Graecorumque fontibus*, Tiguri 1543, <http://dlibra.bibliotekaelblaska.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=1366&from=publication>.

¹⁰ *Písně chval božských*, Prague 1541; see *Databáze Knihopis*, no. K12856, https://aleph.nkp.cz/F/?func=direct&doc_number=000012911&local_base=KPS.

¹¹ *Kancionál český: písně roční, kteréž se zpívají při všech slavnostech celého roku*, Olomouc 1559; see *Databáze Knihopis*, no. K03718, https://aleph.nkp.cz/F/?func=direct&doc_number=000006042&local_base=KPS.

¹² Brno, Moravský zemský archiv, ms. inv. no. 184, shelf mark Cerr II, no. 65, f. 80r: “Že jest tam mezi knihami tvými nalezen nějaký list k nějakému příteli dobrému a nejmenuje se, komu.” (“Among the books, a letter was found there, written to some good friend who is not named.”) Cf. Mirek ČEJKA (ed.): *Historie pravdivá Jana Augusty a Jakuba Bílka*, *Středokluky* 2018, p. 212; see also Čejka’s online edition *Historia pravdivá o některých zvláštních věcech a divných Božích skutcích v světě, obzvláště pak při Jednotě bratrské stalých*, <https://mirekcejka.files.wordpress.com/2011/05/historia-pravdivc3a1pdf.pdf>, p. 58.

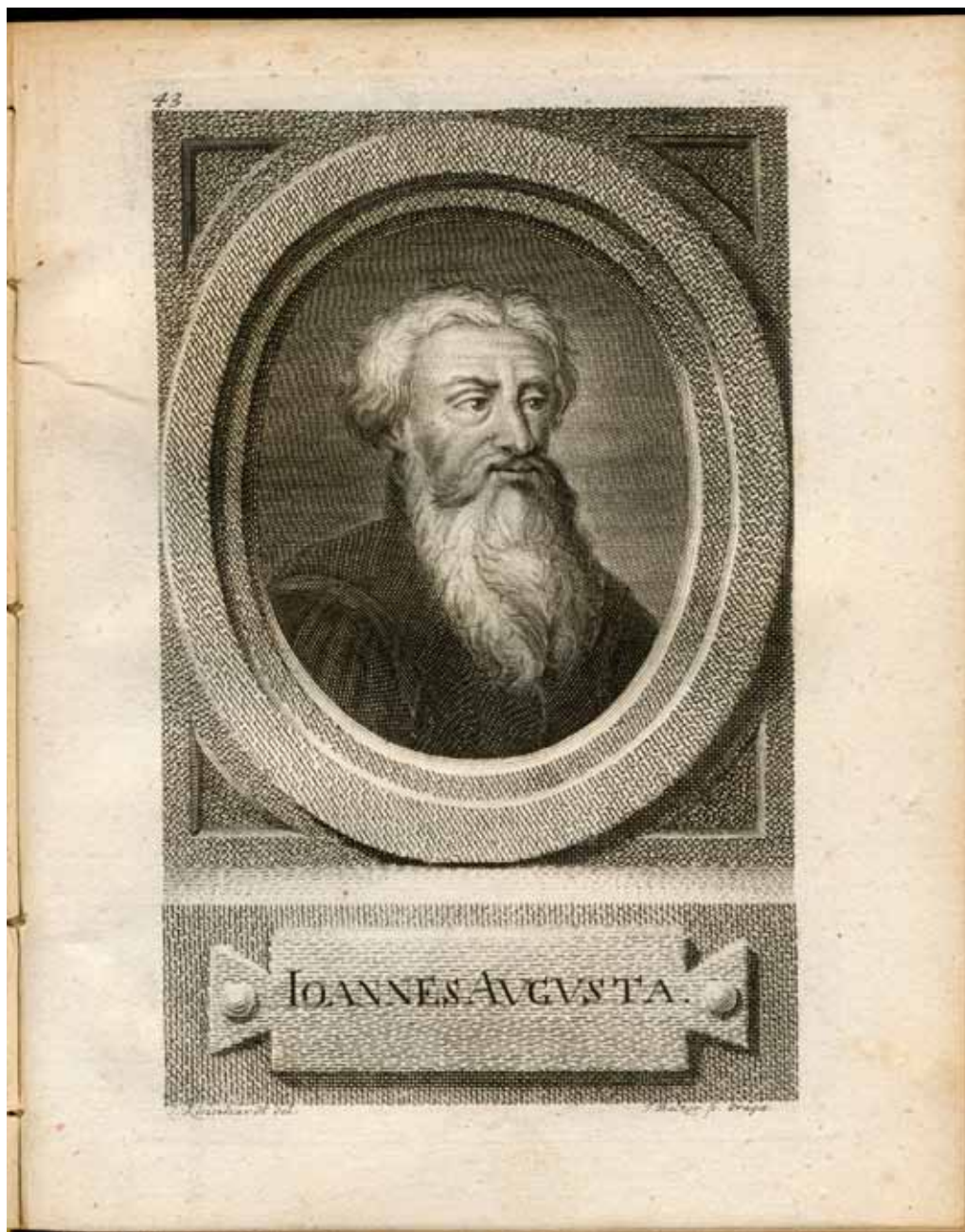


Fig. 1:
 Johann Kleinhardt /
 Johann Balzer:
Ioannes Augusta,
 in: *87 Abbildungen
 Böhmischer und
 Mährischer Gelehrten
 und Künstler, in Kupfer
 gestochen und verlegt
 von Johann Balzer*,
 Prag: mit von
 Schönfeldischen
 Schriften, s. a., no. 43

more probable that these are Augusta’s autographs. If they had, in fact, passed through Bílek’s hands, in all probability either they would have been made public deliberately, or they would have been left with his estate, which was moved on 23 April 1564 “on carts [...] to Prague and from there among the Brethren”.¹³ By all indications, however, they remained unknown to the Brethren.¹⁴ The second life of the prison manuscripts began, to the contrary, with their assignment to the library of the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, which can be better explained by the aforementioned taking of the confiscated writings “to the prince’s room”.

That they belonged to the library of Archduke Ferdinand is documented by the old shelf marks 402, 403, and 404 with the attached provenience “Ms. Ambras”. This designation was given to manuscripts from the collection inherited from Ferdinand of Tyrol by a librarian and historiographer to Emperor Leopold I named Peter Lambeck, who was put in charge of the

¹³ *Ibid.*, f. 82v: “[...] a na kárách jest odstěhoval své věci upřimo do Prahy a odtud potom dále až mezi bratři.” Cf. M. ČEJKA (ed.): *Historie pravdivá* (← note 12), p. 217 (online: p. 60).

¹⁴ In the case of the manuscript *Písně*, it is obvious that the book was not used for singing, and the newly written songs were not added to any of the newer Brethren songbooks. Characteristically, the inventory of the later Brethren library in Kralice contains none of Augusta’s writings from the time of his imprisonment. See Mirjam BOHATCOVÁ: “Bratrská knihovna kralická”, *Slavia* 39 (1970), pp. 594-606.

transfer of the most important parts of the collection to the Court Library in Vienna in 1665.¹⁵ Until then, after Ferdinand's death in 1595, the collection had remained in its original condition, which was recorded during the inventory of his estate in 1596.¹⁶ Lambeck placed the annotated list of transferred manuscripts categorised by their new shelf marks in the second volume of his extensive work titled *Commentariorum de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi liber secundus*, dated 1669.¹⁷ Under shelf marks 397 through 404, the following collective comment appears: "Volumina octo chartacea Bohemica lingua conscripta, & ad Historiam Regni Bohemiae pertinentia."¹⁸ Of course, the fact that during the writing of both inventories, most of the foreign-language books were included under these general characteristics¹⁹ was not reflected only in the lists themselves, but also in the still unsuccessful attempts of scholars to identify the entries in question from 1596 and 1669 with books that are now preserved at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna.²⁰

After a comparison of all of the existing catalogues listing the Viennese specimen in question, it is possible to attempt to identify Augusta's writings among the items of the estate inventory of 1596.²¹ The identification of the manuscript *Pisně* with the entry "Carmina quaedam sacra, in 8, scripta"²² is the most likely. That entry is assigned to the section "Cosmographici, [...], alteriusque generis libri". It was to this section that works of poetry were assigned alongside the "Classis Theologica".²³ From the entire inventory, the cited item is the only one that corresponds to Augusta's songbook. Identifying the other two manuscripts is more complicated, but here, too, the inventory offers a choice from among only a few unidentified items. This involves three entries that read identically (albeit with slight variations of spelling) "Ain behemisch Büechl, in 8", one of which is found in the theology section, while two are in the aforementioned section "Cosmographici, [...] alteriusque generis libri". In view of the fact that the treatise *Smysl a úmysl Kristův jeho vlastní svátosti Večeře jeho* was bound together with a Latin theological text in the same hand, the manuscript might be correctly assigned to the section "Classis Theologica,"²⁴ then of the remaining items, an entry in the immediate vicinity of the songs we have identified would probably have been based on the *Registrum písní*.²⁵

Hypothetically, other entries in the inventory of the estate can be connected with Jan Augusta's presence at Křivoklát, for which the meaning of their inclusion in the collection has not yet been explained, and which may have come to Ferdinand in the same way. The conceivable possibilities include the unspecified "Ain behamischer Cathechismus, in 8"²⁶ or the

¹⁵ Alfred AUER: *Vznik, rozvoj a rozptýlení knihovny arcivévodý Ferdinanda II. Tyrolského*, in: Ivo PURŠ – Hedvika KUCHAROVÁ (eds.): *Knihovna arcivévodý Ferdinanda II. Tyrolského. Texty*, Prague 2015, pp. 41-54, here pp. 42-43.

¹⁶ Preserved in two specimens: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 8228, <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13953785>, and Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunstkammer, ms. inv. no. 6652.

¹⁷ Peter LAMBECK: *Commentariorum de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi liber secundus*, Vienna 1669, <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/bb-4f-850-2b/start.htm>.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 979.

¹⁹ Stanislav PETR – Alena RICHTEROVÁ: *Rukopisy v knihovně a v kunstkomoře*, in: I. PURŠ – H. KUCHAROVÁ (eds.): *Knihovna arcivévodý Ferdinanda II. Tyrolského. Texty* (↪ note 15), pp. 75-104, here p. 76.

²⁰ In the case of manuscripts 402 through 404, no concordance was found between the Lambeck shelf marks and the present ones of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in the table of concordances compiled by Eva Irblich and Andreas Fingernagel, which was published in the catalogue Alfred AUER – Eva IRBLICH: *Natur und Kunst. Handschriften und Alben aus der Ambraser Sammlung Erzherzog Ferdinands II. (1529-1595)*, Vienna 1995, pp. 25-28. This concordance was then used as the basis for identification of manuscripts from the inventory of estates during the processing of the library catalogue by the team of authors under the leadership of Ivo Purš. For this reason, we do not find Augusta's manuscripts here, either. Cf. S. PETR – A. RICHTEROVÁ: *Rukopisy v knihovně a v kunstkomoře* (↪ note 19), pp. 78-79.

²¹ I worked with the edition prepared by the team of authors led by Ivo Purš; see below.

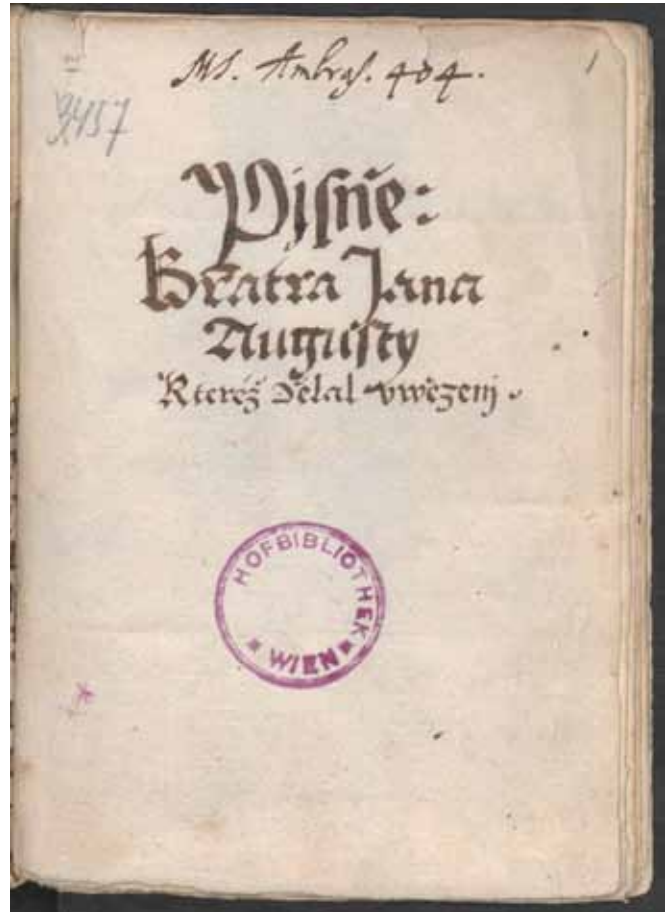
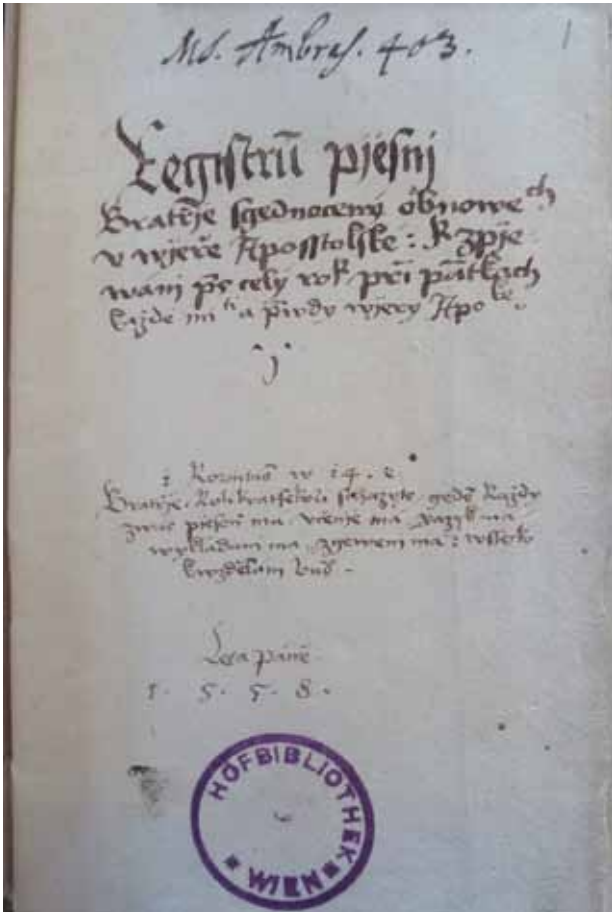
²² Ivo PURŠ – Hedvika KUCHAROVÁ (eds.): *Knihovna arcivévodý Ferdinanda II. Tyrolského. Katalog*, Prague 2015, p. 546, cat. 5Co, no. 1084.

²³ Marta VACULÍNOVÁ – Martin BAŽIL: *Básnická díla*, in: I. PURŠ – H. KUCHAROVÁ (eds.): *Knihovna arcivévodý Ferdinanda II. Tyrolského. Texty* (↪ note 15), pp. 287-327, here p. 287.

²⁴ I. PURŠ – H. KUCHAROVÁ (eds.): *Knihovna arcivévodý Ferdinanda II. Tyrolského. Katalog* (↪ note 22), p. 49, cat. 1Theo, no. 234.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 547, cat. 5Co, no. 1089.

²⁶ E.g. *Katechismus neb obecné naučení pro obecný a sprostný lid*, [Litomyšl] 1531; see *Databáze Knihopis*, no. K03829, https://aleph.nkp.cz/F/?func=direct&doc_number=000006151&local_base=KPS. Unlike

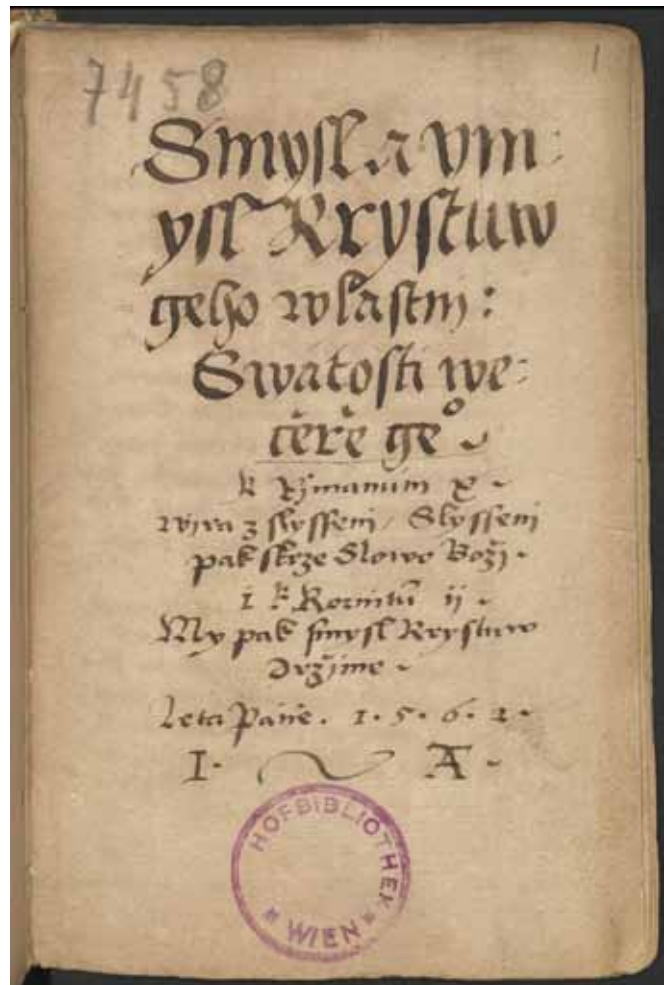


▲
Fig 2:

Jan Augusta: *Registrum piesnj*, title page
(Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 7452,
<http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13951670>, f. 1^r)

▲▲
Fig 3:

Jan Augusta: *Pisně bratra Jana Augusty, kterěz dělal u vězení*, title page
(Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 7457,
<http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13954680>, f. 1^r)



▶
Fig 4:

Jan Augusta: *Smysl a úmysl Kristův jeho vlastní svátosti Večere jeho*, title page
(Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 7458,
<http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13953881>, f. 1^r)

likewise unspecified “Confessio fidei Bohemica”,²⁷ which may refer to one of the confessions of the Brethren, but could also refer to a treatise by Luke of Prague titled *Kniežka tato jest o gruntu viery* (Book on the Foundation of the Faith),²⁸ which we know was confiscated from Augusta in Křivoklát in 1553.²⁹ In view of Augusta’s ongoing contacts with the clergy and the rituals of the church, it is possible to explain the presence of a printed defence of the Catholic sacraments and liturgical orders by the Pilsen Franciscan Jan of Chyše titled *Enchiridion, to jest Skrovné a krátce složené knížky a ukázaní míst artykuluov obecních o svátostech a jiných všech církve svaté pořádcích* (Enchiridion, i.e. Modest and Brief Books and Showing of the Places of General Articles on the Sacraments and All Other Orders of the Holy Church),³⁰ which was published in Prague in 1555 and is perhaps concealed behind the catalogue entry “Ain behemisch Enchiridion, in rot und weiß Tafet, in 8”.³¹ According to known reports, Augusta was similarly active in reading the Latin *Confessio catholicae fidei christiana*,³² which the Archduke lent Augusta from his personal library during Lent of 1561.³³

Although all of the listed identifications remain hypothetical, it is obvious that studying Augusta’s literary activities at Křivoklát calls for a deeper understanding of the relationships in the milieu of Ferdinand’s court, and in particular with the circle of friends of Ladislaus of Šternberk. It is in the circles of nobility sympathetic to the prisoners that one must seek the addressee of the prisoner’s last works. Perhaps, this shall be confirmed by future research.

the editors of the catalogue, I regard the Brethren provenience to be very questionable. Cf. Hedvika KUCHAROVÁ: “Classis theologica. Teologická literatura”, in: I. PURŠ – H. KUCHAROVÁ (eds.): *Knihovna arcivévodů Ferdinanda II. Tyrolského. Texty* (↪ note 15), pp. 105-129, here p. 129; *Katalog* (↪ note 22), p. 16, cat. 1Theo, no. 22.

²⁷ E.g. *Počet z viery a z učenie křesťanského králi Jeho Milosti v Vídni podaný*, Litomyšl 1536. Cf. H. KUCHAROVÁ: “Classis theologica. Teologická literatura” (↪ note 26), p. 129; I. PURŠ – H. KUCHAROVÁ (eds.): *Knihovna arcivévodů Ferdinanda II. Tyrolského. Katalog* (↪ note 22), p. 83, cat. 1Theo, no. 452.

²⁸ LUKÁŠ PRAŽSKÝ: *Kniežka tato jest o gruntu viery obecné křesťanské s jistými duovody proti odporným antikristovým*, [Litomyšl] 1525 [recte 1534?]; see *Databáze Knihopis*, no. K05022, https://aleph.nkp.cz/F/?func=direct&doc_number=000007231&local_base=KPS. For impressum and dating of the treatise, see Petr VOIT: *Český knihtisk mezi pozdní gotikou a renesancí. 2: Tiskaři pro víru i tiskaři pro obrození národa 1498-1547*, Prague 2017, p. 319, 457, 472.

²⁹ Brno, Moravský zemský archiv, ms. inv. no. 184, shelf mark Cerr II, no. 65, f. 34^v-35^r. See M. ČEJKA (ed.): *Historia pravdivá* (↪ note 12), p. 26.

³⁰ *Enchiridion, to jest Skrovné a krátce složené knížky a ukázaní míst artykuluov obecních o svátostech a jiných všech církve svaté pořádcích*, Prague 1555; see *Databáze Knihopis*, no. K03474, https://aleph.nkp.cz/F/?func=direct&doc_number=000005830&local_base=KPS.

³¹ I. PURŠ – H. KUCHAROVÁ (eds.): *Knihovna arcivévodů Ferdinanda II. Tyrolského. Katalog* (↪ note 22), p. 107, no. 1Theo, 622.

³² Cf. identification *ibid.*, p. 84, cat. 1Theo, no. 462.

³³ Brno, Moravský zemský archiv, ms. inv. no. 184, shelf mark Cerr II, no. 65, f. 47^r: “[...] takť k tomu arcikníže naklonil, že své vlastní confessi velmi pěkně připravené do černého axamitu půjčil a tam do žaláře odeslal, aby sobě v ní čítal a tak jejich věcem světleji vyzrozuměl, nežli z řečí kaplanových. [...] To bylo a již se dalo v postě leta 1561.” See M. ČEJKA (ed.): *Historie pravdivá* (↪ note 12), p. 129 (online: p. 35).