

The Reception of the Printed Image in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

Multiplied and Modified

Edited by Grażyna Jurkowlaniec and Magdalena Herman

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Introduction

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Grażyna Jurkowlaniec and Magdalena Herman

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Introduction

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On 26 November 1544, the episcopal court in Cracow heard the case of a carver, or rather a woodcutter, named Johannes (*Ioannes szniczer*), who was accused of possessing and reading heretical books authored by Martin Luther. The bishop sent inquisitors to the defendant's house where, indeed, they found several suspicious volumes. However, Johannes argued quite cunningly that most of the books belonged not to him, but to a certain saddler. An exception, Johannes admitted, was a book he kept not for reading, but as a source of apt images "painted" therein by an *Olbricht Direr*, as it was noted.¹ Bearing in mind how imprecise early modern sources are, these images should not be understood as paintings, i.e., miniatures, but instead as graphic impressions, most likely woodcuts. *Olbricht Direr* certainly stands for Albrecht Dürer, but this name should not be taken literally either. Johannes plausibly wished to strengthen his point by mentioning a name that was famous throughout Europe. Apparently, it was not familiar to the scribe, but might have rung a bell with the inquisitors. However, whether he truly believed that the book included Dürer's works or not, Johannes is more likely to have owned a copy of Luther's writings illustrated by Lucas Cranach the Elder, monogrammist MS or Hans Brosamer.

Whatever work and edition Johannes kept in his house, it was an exemplar of Luther's books that the owner viewed as a collection of pictorial models. These, in turn, might be used to produce further works such as paintings, sculptures and, above all, printing matrices. The latter subsequently would be used to produce woodcuts or engravings, which—be it single-sheet impressions or illustrations in books—would be material objects too. As such, some of these might be variously modified, e.g., coloured, trimmed or pasted onto other objects. The matrices, in turn, likely would be reused several times, which might involve migrations, shifts in ownership or various retouches, often traceable only through comparisons with several almost-identical impressions, consistently regarded as material objects.

Johannes is referred to as a *szniczer* (*Schnitzer* in German), which usually is translated as "carver," but might have been understood as "woodcutter" (*Formschneider* in German) here. His story either mentions or implies not only things but also various human actors. The explicit protagonists are the accused and the envoys of the episcopal court. In retrospect, Luther and Dürer also are mentioned, deemed to be the authors of prohibited writings and illustrations, respectively. The implicit and unnamed supporting actors are the publisher and printer who produced the incriminating book. Finally and most importantly, the story also implies what must have been the inquisitors' main concern: prospective users and beholders, as well as further printers or

publishers, who would produce subsequent books that are likely to include woodcuts impressed from multiple matrices, thereby disseminating “Dürer’s” designs—but above all, the public’s interest in either the writings or the illustrations. There are two principal categories of human actors, then: producers and recipients. They play various roles, while they unanimously regard printed illustrations not only as things but also, or even above all, as representations.

Johannes must have been one of innumerable craftsmen who used prints as models in daily practice. Apparently, he was also aware of the reproductive value of prints that multiply and disseminate compositions, notably designs by famous masters, which then can be translated into other works of art using different techniques. Many prospective owners or beholders of paintings, sculptures or graphic illustrations might remain uninterested in these images’ material qualities while focussing primarily on what they represent.

Thus, printed images were, on one hand, material objects produced, owned or variously transformed by humans, but on the other hand, they were immaterial representations, conceived and variously received by humans as well. Certainly, such a complex relationship among things, people and images is not an exclusive feature of the pre-modern period’s print cultures. However, the rise of printmaking challenged some established rules in the arts and visual realms. Three short insights may exemplify this and thus introduce the studies presented in this volume. The first insight’s point of departure comprises material objects related to Lucas Cranach the Elder’s early *Crucifixion*; the second insight offers a human perspective, starting with Christophe Plantin’s working practices; and the third insight is a short story that emphasises the ambiguities surrounding what printed images represent, as epitomised by early modern depictions of wisent, a species now related to the North American bison, but often confused with the Eastern European aurochs.

Things

Graphic art usually is classified among the paper arts by contemporary museum curators, while printing still is occasionally called the “black art” by press scholars. However, woodcuts and engravings were impressed on various materials and very often coloured and sometimes even gilded. Particularly in the field of book production, the worlds of illuminated manuscripts and woodcut-illustrated prints coexisted for a long time, entering into various relations with each other. This phenomenon is well-researched in relation to books concerning individual piety. Private prayer books became more and more widespread beginning in the late Middle Ages, which led to a certain standardisation. However, the owners simultaneously adapted the books to their needs and expectations, whether religious or purely aesthetic. Various objects—drawings, pilgrim badges and even Eucharistic hosts, as well as prints—were glued or sewn into the books, sometimes preserved until now, sometimes recognisable only from the traces they left in the objects in which they were included.² However, individualisation of a serial product, be it a repetitively hand-painted design or an engraving in a standardised manuscript or a printed book—typical of devotional images or prayer books—also may be observed in liturgical codes.

The liturgical year is marked by the order of Sundays and holidays, as well as the respective prayers or readings, together with the iconographic tradition, usually determining the choice of topics for possible illustrations for a given section. In the missal,

the canon is perhaps the most conventionalised place with respect to iconography of decoration, considering that since the High Middle Ages, the *Te igitur* prayer usually was preceded by a full-page *Crucifixion* scene, as exemplified by the early fifteenth-century Missal of the Church of St. Servatius in Maastricht (Plate 1). The *Crucifixion* also can be found in printed missals in which, at the turn of the sixteenth century, the quire with the canon occasionally was impressed separately on parchment and woodcuts and initials often were coloured.³ Most of the woodcuts that precede the *Te igitur* prayer are of mediocre quality, but exceptional works also exist, such as Lucas Cranach the Elder's two early *Crucifixions*.⁴ The one catalogued by Hollstein as no. 28 usually is dated to about 1500 and known from several impressions, produced at different times and variously customised.⁵ A few of these are preserved in their original contexts, allowing us to address such issues as woodblock dating, its subsequent uses, various features of particular impressions and specific copies of books published in the same place and time.

The woodcut on the sheet inserted in the *Missale Cracoviense*, preserved in the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow (Inc. 2850, fol. 180v), was impressed on parchment and coloured with opaque paints, also resembling a miniature (Plate 2).⁶ The neighbouring page with the *Te igitur* prayer also has painted decorations in the margins and in the initial, which also is gilded. This code represents an edition of the Cracow Missal, which, unfortunately, does not contain explicit information about the date and place of publication. On the title page, one can read that the order was placed by the Archbishop of Gniezno and Bishop of Cracow, Cardinal Frederick the Jagiellon, and realised by the Nuremberg printer Georg Stuchs for Jan Haller, a Cracow citizen. Haller, who was from Franconia, lived in Cracow in the early 1480s and was an active publisher and bookseller starting in the late fifteenth century, having operated his own printing house starting in 1505. The place and date of printing for the missal in question has been debated among scholars actively, but the book most likely was produced in Nuremberg between 1493 and 1500.⁷

However, the place and time of the book's publication and the production of the woodblock might not have been identical, given that Cranach's *Crucifixion* was impressed on a separate parchment sheet and only subsequently pasted into the missal. Interestingly, copies representing other variants of the *Missale Cracoviense*, printed by Stuchs for Haller c. 1500, feature another woodcut before the *Te igitur* prayer, occasionally also coloured, but rather insignificant with respect to artistic value.⁸ The question arises, then, of whether Stuchs had two blocks at his disposal—which would not be unusual—or was Cranach's *Crucifixion* in the *Missale* Inc. 2850 impressed from a matrix preserved in Cracow? This is particularly pertinent considering the thesis that Cranach stayed in Cracow between 1498 and 1502, put forth by Fedja Anzelewsky on the basis of, among other aspects, Cranach's two other early woodcut *Crucifixions*.⁹ Even if one regards Anzelewsky's reasoning as conjecture, one must admit that the *Missale* Inc. 2850 can be traced to Cracow at least since 1504, when a local canon, Marcin Bełza, bought it from a Polish nobleman.

Therefore, the woodcut on fol. 180v of the *Missale* Inc. 2850 not only is one of Cranach's earliest prints but also plausibly his first work recorded in Cracow. It is also meaningful that further impressions of Cranach's *Crucifixion* H 28 cannot be found in Stuchs's later missals, but in books produced in Cracow. The first example is the *Missale Vratislaviense*, printed by Kasper Hochfeder for Jan Haller and Sebastian Hyber in Cracow in 1505, or to be more precise, one of three variants of this

missal distinguished by scholars, represented by a copy preserved in the Czartoryski Library in Cracow (1233 III Cim.).¹⁰ Haller, who launched his own printing shop in late summer 1505, proved also to be the last confirmed user of the Cranach's *Crucifixion* block. It was impressed in the *Missale Gnesnense* that Haller printed in Cracow in 1506.

The woodcut before the canon in an unpreserved copy of Haller's *Missale Gnesnense* in the Seminary Library in Poznań is known now only from an archival black-and-white photo (Figure 0.1).¹¹ One can note that this impression was not coloured, while the matrix must have been transformed, mainly by removing background lines. However, it could not have been an act of barbarism, but of minimising the damage, if, for example, some delicate lines had been broken off, and the owner of the block had decided to unify the background by removing all of them. The 1506 Missal of Gniezno is slightly larger than the c. 1500 Missal of Cracow, thereby leaving a considerable margin around the woodcut. The space was not filled by a painted decoration, but by an ornamental frame impressed from a separate block, with the Holy Face presented by angels and medallions, with the evangelists' symbols.

The border is late Gothic in style and plausibly was made in Cracow. Its shape and dimensions prove that it was designed with the intention of complementing Cranach's *Crucifixion*. Of course, with time, it also could frame another *Crucifixion* or other scenes impressed from woodblocks matching its format and size, or smaller ones, but it has not been confirmed that it ever did.¹² The iconography, particularly the *Holy Face presented by angels* in the bottom margin, predestined this bordure to frame a *Crucifixion* before the canon, as a similar juxtaposition also may be observed in earlier manuscript missals, as shown earlier (Plate 1). Technical aspects are of interest as well, in that whereas the lower section of the framing with the *Holy Face* represents a typical black-line woodcut, the three remaining stripes with floral ornaments and medallions, including the evangelists' symbols, feature a more sophisticated white-line woodcut.

Thus, never ultimately parted, the roads of painting and graphic art gradually diverged, as the comparison of these two particular impressions from the same block—one included in the Inc. 2850 copy of *Missale Cracoviense*, c. 1500, and the other in the *Missale Gnesnense* of 1506—demonstrates. The former woodcut was impressed on parchment and remains hardly visible under the layer of paint; it also almost was turned into a miniature. The latter, although the elimination of background lines, for whatever reasons, infringed on its original mastery, remained a purely graphic work. Impressed most plausibly on paper, uncoloured and inserted in the bordure and executed using two variants of the woodcut technique, it certainly may be regarded as an example of “the paper arts” and a product of the “black art” of print.

These and other related issues are developed in the contributions collected in Part I of the present volume. In the opening essay, Suzanne Karr Schmidt explores negative evidence of interactive prints. By looking closely for signs of absence, she elaborates on the survival of fragile originals and the functions that they might have served when they were complete. She explores three case studies: *Vera Icon*, once pasted on the pastedown of a manuscript; a woodcut paper astrolabe (both lost in World War II); and a deficient *Memento Mori* flap engraving. Studying objects that were



Figure 0.1 *Crucifixion*, woodcut in *Missale Gnesnense* (Cracow: Jan Haller, 1506). Unpreserved, formerly Poznań, Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego.

Photo: Piekarski, ed., *Polonia typographica*, vol. 2, pl. 47.

designed to be manipulated and which are now lost or incomplete often challenges her to examine them on the basis of the flawed means of reproduction. By doing so, Karr Schmidt shows how to interpret the visual pieces of evidence of printed things that have perished.

From Karr Schmidt's lost things, Loretta Vandi examines uncut playing-card sheets discovered in a 1532 notary book that only by chance escaped destruction. They are now held in the collection of the Arcidiocesi of Urbino-Urbania-Sant'Angelo in Vado (Marche) because their interactive function never was realised and they served as wastepaper in a binder's workshop. Vandi approaches the theme of card making and the origins of tarots and minchiate from a broad cultural context, with an emphasis on Florentine sources. A detailed examination of the Urbino cards and an iconographical analysis and comparison with uncut Rosenwald card sheets held in the National Gallery of Washington, DC, inform her conclusions about both sets' origins.

In turn, James Wehn touches on various aspects of creating, multiplying and modifying Israhel van Meckenem's prints. However, this contribution's starting point is how Hartmann Schedel received ornamental patterns, as he had his manuscripts adorned with cut and coloured prints combined to conjure an imaginative response to the original designs. Wehn discusses the theory and practice of using models in designing new works, steering him toward the search for connections between artworks and

a frequent inability to determine original designs. In his essay, Wehn consequently employs the metaphor of prints as plants that visually or materially may be harvested and used in a process of creative reproduction, either by the owner or artist, who further modifies and disseminates designs.

The section continues with two case studies that elaborate on Wehn's remarks on design's modification, which results in the creation of new artistic quality. Maureen Warren discusses the output of the Parisian atelier of Gilles and Germain Hardouyn, which specialised in producing books of hours (*Horae*) with woodcuts and metalcuts hand-painted to imitate illuminated manuscripts. Warren makes a clear distinction between "painted prints" and "print-assisted paintings," and she shows that woodcuts and metalcuts in Hardouyn *Horae* were not painted prints, but underdrawings that expedited production of a pioneering type of miniatures that became the Hardouyn house's speciality. By comparing examples of the same illustration depicting the *Death of Virgin*, she elaborates on significant modifications introduced by the application of opaque paint to the original metalcut composition. The analysis of various versions of over-painted print raises the question of underdrawings' role in Renaissance painting ateliers.

Olenka Horbatsch discusses another example of prayer book production and reception—a Dutch vernacular manuscript, c. 1530, with hand-painted engravings, now in the collection of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. The Rijksmuseum prayer book was conceived as a coherent volume with consistently coloured prints pasted onto blank versos facing corresponding text. In her essay, Horbatsch argues that this print-manuscript hybrid is a new type of devotional object for a local audience that she situates in the vicinity of Antwerp. By analysing the selection of contemporary engravers such as Lucas van Leyden and Frans Crabbe, along with carefully applied colours and gold, she conveys how religious prints were modified and employed for devotional and aesthetic purposes.

People

Prints' devotional and aesthetic functions contribute to their universality and invite us to study the relationships among people involved in the processes of production, dissemination and reception of printed images in different milieux and cultural contexts. Two groups of human actors are particularly prominent. On one hand are people who contributed to the complex process of production—e.g. inventors, woodcutters and, above all, owners of the woodblocks or copperplates, i.e., printers and publishers. On the other hand are the recipients in several senses: beholders, readers, original owners and subsequent collectors.

According to Christophe Plantin's accounts, in 1573, Anton van Leest cut oval and round blocks to create several medallions, including ones depicting evangelists, King David and Lazarus. Given that the documents do not specify for which book Leest's medallions were intended, Plantin originally might have envisaged multiple and varied uses of the blocks.¹³ Indeed, in 1574, he used them twice in different ways, combining medallion borders on a few sheets of the *Missale Romanum* in folio and impressing two of them in the text columns of the *Missale Romanum* in octavo. Soon afterward, he also used them in smaller formats as almost full-page illustrations, including the 1575 *Officium* in 24^o and its subsequent editions. The thematic scope of Leest's blocks after Peeter

van der Borcht's drawings—New Testament scenes, evangelists, praying King David, the tree of Jesse—was wide and thus suitable for various publications.¹⁴ Borcht's designs were used again for Plantin in the medallion engravings, with the woodcuts' floral frames transformed into fleuron-style ornaments in the corners, few composition details changed and new scenes from the New Testament and depictions of saints added to the original set.¹⁵ Thus, Plantin and his successors could pick and choose from the stock of medallion matrices and re-use the same illustrations easily, with the last recorded use of the woodcuts found as late as 1715.¹⁶ In the same way, a book once published by the *Officina Plantiniana* was a repository of images for other publishing houses.

The prints by artists working for Plantin spread across Europe due to his books' reach. Copies of medallion woodcuts can be found in the publishing house of Nikolaus Heinrich in Munich.¹⁷ They also inspired, along with Dürer's works, a woodcut by Alexander Mair used by Wilhelm Eder and Andreas Angermaier in Ingolstadt.¹⁸ A copy of King David was used in Passau by Matheus Nenninger.¹⁹ Engraved and woodcut medallions became models for illustrations of the Parisian *Officium* published by Toussaint du Bray.²⁰ Among the milieux that eagerly used Plantinian medallions, both woodcut and copper-engraved, Cracow certainly has occupied an important place since the end of the sixteenth century.

One of the most influential families of Cracow printers, the Siebeneichers, had at their disposal a title woodcut cut from one block composed of ten oval compositions, including mirrored copies of Plantin's *Annunciation*, *Adoration of the Child* and—with some modifications—the evangelists. This block was used in 1584 as a title page for a collection of sermons.²¹ However, it was the output from the printing shop of Andrzej Piotrkowczyk I, another leading Cracow printer in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, that included illustrations in the form of small medallions with floral decorations in the corners as one of the main local types of illustrations in religious books. Woodcutters working for Piotrkowczyk copied many of Plantin's medallion woodcuts and engravings and added other scenes to the set.²² Therefore, Piotrkowczyk had a substantial stock of blocks in his publishing house with religious themes with unified formats, shapes and decorations. However, he did not adopt the copper-engraving technique, which had not yet been used on a large scale in book printing in Cracow. He probably made this choice for various reasons, including the difficulty in finding an engraver, the high cost of such a commission and the need to use another printing press adjusted to print intaglio techniques. Despite this, Piotrkowczyk used medallions in a way that resembled Plantin's practice—either as components of title pages' borders in *The Saints' Lives* or postils published in folio,²³ or as independent illustrations in prayer books, most often in octavo and in duodecimo.²⁴ The Piotrkowczyks used medallion woodblocks extensively throughout the entire period of the publishing house's existence, which forced Andrzej Piotrkowczyk I and his son and heir, Andrzej Piotrkowczyk II, to create duplicates. Old and new blocks were in use simultaneously, so copying the blocks in the printing house must have been, apart from their wear, due to the high demand for these designs.

Not only Andrzej I and Andrzej II but also the latter's wife, Anna Teresa, and their children kept using the medallion woodcuts. Andrzej I's second son, the brother of Andrzej II—Piotr Piotrkowczyk—borrowed six medallions to print them in a prayer book.²⁵ Yet another Cracow printer, Wojciech Kobyliński, probably used them (*Pentecost*, *Assumption of Mary*) in several editions, among others, of *A Way of Reciting the Psalter*

(*Sposób mówienia psalterzyka*), although he very likely owned his own copies of a few medallions. Subsequently, Marcin Horteryn, who married the wife of the late Wojciech Kobyliński and came into possession of his workshop and bookshop, also borrowed the matrices (*Pentecost, Assumption of Mary, Last Supper*) from Andrzej I Piotrkowczyk—and after 1620, from his son. Other printers who copied or used Piotrkowczyk's woodcuts or had their own versions that followed the medallions' pattern include Antoni Wosiński, Mikołaj Lob, Franciszek Cezary, Maciej Jędrzejowczyk, Wojciech Górecki, Walerian Piątkowski and Jakub Siebeneicher and his heirs (Figure 0.4).²⁶

For example, Walerian Piątkowski used thirteen medallion woodblocks known from earlier and later use in the Piotrkowczyk family's printshop to illustrate the *Delightful Garden of Divine Love* (*Ogród rozkoszny miłości Bożej*), published in 1650 (Figures 0.2 and 0.3).²⁷ The whole book was illustrated with twenty-two woodcuts, including a title border, a city view, two coats of arms, two printer's signets, two depictions of plants (used as a decoration), thirteen Piotrkowczyk medallions, *Flagellation* and *Agony in the Garden*. The woodblock depicting *Agony in the Garden* previously was used by Franciszek Cezary. Did Piątkowski borrow, receive as a gift or buy this woodblock? No clear answer can be provided yet. However, another illustration in this book, the *Flagellation*, also proves particularly interesting as an example of a rather complicated manner of circulating a woodcut. The research up to now has shown that the block had not been used in the Piotrkowczyks' publications before, whereas it fits their medallion set in terms of both size and border design, following the pattern of Plantin's medallions. The apple-like fruits in the corners and triple oval frame present in the *Flagellation* are also present in medallions used by Kobyliński, Horteryn and Cezary. So, what was the woodcut's origin?

In Cracow, at least two woodblocks depicting this very scene existed, used in works printed by the aforementioned Wojciech Kobyliński and Marcin Horteryn, and almost certainly belonging to their stocks (Figure 0.2). Horteryn was a printer and bookseller. While his bookshop's fate after his death (c. 1633–35) is known, it remains unclear what happened to the printing house. Horteryn's last known printed book is from 1630. The posthumous bookshop inventory, dated 1635, listing various movables and the will of Horteryn's widow Anna (†1637) do not mention the press, nor typographical resources. Were they already sold by that time? After Horteryn's death, numerous printers applied to the widow for unpaid charges for their books that Horteryn had in his bookshop stock. Even though Anna Horteryn included unsold copies of books printed by the Piotrkowczyk family in her husband's posthumous inventory, Andrzej Piotrkowczyk II did not take any action against her. This is quite surprising because he used to account for his debtors meticulously.²⁸ On this basis, Renata Żurkowa assumes that Andrzej Piotrkowczyk II bought the printing house from Horteryn and that part of this transaction entailed settling accounts for the books.²⁹ If this holds true, it would explain how the *Flagellation* woodcut appeared in Piątkowski's *Delightful Garden of Divine Love* (Figure 0.2c). The stock of Andrzej II, probably including the *Flagellation*, was inherited by his wife Anna, who lent the *Flagellation* woodcut, along with other medallions, to Piątkowski in 1650.³⁰ The woodblock, like many other medallions, still exists in the Museum of Jagiellonian University as part of the former university press, whose core was created by donations from Stanisław Teodor Piotrkowczyk, heir to the Piotrkowczyk family, and Marcin Waleszczyński, owner of Franciszek Cezary's printing shop.³¹

While the networks of producers, owners and users of the woodblocks are complex, but often traceable, the assumed and recorded recipients are much more difficult



Figure 0.2 *Flagellation*, woodcuts in a) *Sposób mówienia psalterzyka* (Cracow: Wojciech Kobyliński, 1613), fol. 10v. Kórnik, Polska Akademia Nauk Biblioteka Kórnicka, 126722; b) Stanisław of Radymno, *Fasciculus Litaniarum* (Cracow: Marcin Horteryn 1622), 139. Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 36031; c) Adrian Wieszczycki, *Ogród rozkoszny miłości Bożej* (Cracow: Walerian Piątkowski, 1650), fol. B4r. Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 285484.

Photo: Magdalena Herman.

to investigate. Medallions were used in books that varied with respect to genres and dimensions, but particularly were used frequently in prayer books, often in Polish, which attracted a wide audience. Because of their popularity, which resulted in severe wear in volumes and the loss of entire editions, it is sometimes difficult to determine with total certainty the ownership of the woodblocks and who actually used them. Also, books with preserved provenance or owners' marks cannot always be traced to identifiable places or people. For instance, a prayer book now housed in Kórnik (PAN BK, 126719)—*The Path of Christian Perfection (Droga doskonałości chrześcijańskiej)*, published in Kalisz in 1665—bears eighteenth-century ownership marks of the Cracow Order of the Visitation of Holy Mary. On the verso of the book's title page, someone pasted a woodcut medallion depicting the Crucifixion, impressed from one of the four almost-identical blocks used in Cracow at that time (Figure 0.3). Unfortunately, nothing more is known about when this could have been pasted or by whom.

Since so many printers used similar illustration types, customers who purchased a ready-made volume or combined several prayer books, often issued by different publishers, into one binding received collections of common or related graphic material.³² Readers sometimes themselves attempted to unify the books by colouring woodcuts, like that of another volume preserved in Kórnik. One of the exemplar's owners or readers had enough time or patience to add only a few colours to selected illustrations (Figure 0.4).³³ As the inscriptions on free sheets indicate, the book belonged to Konstancja Kęszycka and to the library of an unspecified abbess. Manuscript fragments from the Polish translation of *The Imitation of Christ*, supplemented with the prayer summons "pray for the needs of the monastery" on the front pastedown, also clearly



Figure 0.3 *Crucifixion* after Peeter van der Borcht and Anton van Leest. Upper row: Piotrkowczyk's block No. 1, woodcuts a) in Marcin Laterna, *Harfa duchowna* (Cracow: Andrzej Piotrkowczyk I, 1592), 265. Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Cim.O.269; b) pasted into *Drogi doskonałości chrześcijańskiej* (Kalisz: Collegium Societatis Iesu, 1665). Kórnik, Polska Akademia Nauk Biblioteka Kórnicka 126719 (scanned from microfilm: Mf 7798); c) in Marcin Laterna, *Harfa duchowna* (Cracow: Andrzej Piotrkowczyk I, 1611), 384. Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, XVII.1175. Lower row: d) Piotrkowczyk's block No. 2 used in Adrian Wieszczycki, *Modus recidandi rosarii* (Cracow: Antoni Wosiński, 1629). Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 285484; e) Piotrkowczyk's block No. 3 used in Adrian Wieszczycki, *Ogród rozkoszny miłości Bożej* (Cracow: Walerian Piątkowski, 1650), fol. C1v. Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 285484; f) probably Lob's or Piotrkowczyk's block No. 4 used in unidentified prayer book, fol. K4r. Kórnik, Polska Akademia Nauk Biblioteka Kórnicka, Cim.O.611.

Photos: Magdalena Herman (a, d, e); Kórnik, Polska Akademia Nauk Biblioteka Kórnicka – Grzegorz Matz (b, f); Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich – Andrzej Solnica (c).

testify to the volume's provenance in the monastery. Thus, its first recorded owner would have been Konstancja Kęszycka, the Benedictine nun from the Poznań monastery who made her profession in June 1667 and who died in August 1709 during the raging plague in Poznań.³⁴ Afterward, the prayer book may have been placed in the library of the Poznań Benedictine abbess, as was the case with other books given to the Poznań monastery by Anna Patrusówna (†1611).³⁵ Both Kęszycka's and Patrusówna's volumes bear similar eighteenth-century inscriptions, probably written with the same hand: *Z bibliotyki P. Xieni* ("From the library of abbess"). Thus, the person who attempted to colour Kęszycka's prayer book was either its original, unknown owner; the subsequent owner, Konstancja Kęszycka; or an anonymous Benedictine nun who had access to the volumes in the abbess's library in Poznań.

The Kórnik prayer book's fate has been traced to bibliophiles and book collectors who pasted their bookplates into the book, including Leon Dembowski (1789–1878)—a politician, regionalist and master of rituals at one of the Polish Freemasonry Lodges—and social activist Władysław Stachowski (1887–1974). For them, the copy was probably a rare example of a collectible of Cracow and Poznań origin in good condition, rather than a prayer book that they wanted to use in their devotional practices. This brings us back to diverse human actors' prominent role in the histories of things—e.g., prints, woodblocks and illustrated books—as well as images-representations. Only after finding and gathering the pieces of this delightfully complicated jigsaw puzzle, often by chance, can one proceed to solve it, still risking that the resulting image will be incomplete or hopefully diversified, depending on the elements used. In any case, producers, readers, viewers, owners and collectors aim to bind the puzzle together.

Two opening essays in Part II deal with aspects of alterations performed by readers-viewers of printed books. Giuseppe Capriotti analyses the reception of woodcuts regarded as erotic that illustrate Latin and Italian editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and *Trasformationi* by Lodovico Dolce. Capriotti examines five copies now held by Italian and Spanish libraries. From the very beginning, the illustrations in *Metamorphoses* were censored, either by local authorities or a reader's hand. Volumes analysed by author were subject to alterations written and drawn in ink, aimed at censoring illustrations or making them (more) obscene. Remarks on the types of modifications led to conclusions on those images' role and general identification of their viewers.

Karolina Mroziewicz also traces the signs of reception of illustrations in printed books, but this time in a cultural and political context. She examines various copies of the second edition of *Chronica Polonorum* by Maciej of Miechów to search for marginalia, notes, drawings and colouring. Adding to these other written sources, such as inventories, she provides further details on Polish nobility and foreign readers' response to the book and its visual content. She also discusses the afterlife of the *Chronica* series of rulers whose remarkable popularity elucidates cultural, social and political contexts on the consumption of images.

The next two chapters broaden the perspective by adding other actors: a printer-publisher and an author of prints. Although Femke Speelberg provides a minute analysis of several plates from Thomas Gemini's small booklet of moresque designs, published in London in 1548, her main interest is Gemini himself. By gathering pieces of Gemini's biography previously studied in the fields of anatomy, cartography, print



Figure 0.4 *Saint John the Baptist* after Peeter van der Borcht and Paulus van Wtewael, hand-coloured woodcut in Marcin Laterna, *Harfa Duchowna* (Cracow: Andrzej Piotrkowczyk I, 1612), 575. Kórnik, Polska Akademia Nauk Biblioteka Kórnicka, 126721 adl.

Photo: Kórnik, Polska Akademia Nauk Biblioteka Kórnicka.

history and cosmography, she proves that *Morysse and Damashin Renewed and Encreased* [sic] occupied a vital role within his *oeuvre*, as well as in his attempts to obtain and preserve his employment under Tudor monarchs. She argues that the model for Gemini's moresque designs—Jacques I Androuet du Cerceau's *Mauresques*

de petit format—corresponded well with the decoration of astrolabes that seem to have been Gemini’s *métier*. Thus, her contribution provides insight into rather overlooked motivations for copying prints in the early modern era.

The contribution that concludes this part brings us back to the matter of broader reception and takes up the subject of communication between the printed image and the viewer. Alexandra Kocsis analyses communicative strategies’ religious prints published in Rome by Antonio Lafreri. She focuses on prints of renowned images by artists such as Raphael and Michelangelo that were subjects of artistic and devotional contemplation. Many of them had complementary texts that intensified or stimulated viewer-readers’ response to the depicted subject. Kocsis analyses the inscriptions by asking whose voices are engaged in this conversation and how it is carried out. She concludes with newly discovered links between the works of Antonio Lafreri and Petrus Canisius that shed light on prints’ function in the Counter-Reformation’s religious culture.

Images

The role that prints play in communication is perhaps the most vital question in the discussion regarding “the printing press as an agent of change.”³⁶ Reproductive techniques facilitated dissemination of texts, but also images, or rather, impressions regarded as carriers of images, which not only provided artists with pictorial models but also enabled scholars to get some insight into phenomena that were inaccessible to them. As a consequence, the reception of one particular image varied depending on expectations, as well as a specific beholder’s background. Subsequently, the same image still may have been used as a point of departure for subsequent images. This kind of multiplication also involved various modifications, intentional or not, that sometimes resulted in an original design, but occasionally in an utter misconception or ambiguity. This may be demonstrated by the confusion, still observed in the language, concerning wisent, bison and aurochs. The *Merriam-Webster Dictionary of English* defines *wisent* as “a European bison (*Bison bonasus*) . . . sometimes considered conspecific with the North American buffalo (*B. bison*) . . . called also aurochs,” yet defines *aurochs* as “an extinct large long-horned wild ox (*Bos primigenitus*) of Europe that is the ancestor of domestic cattle.” Where does this ambiguity come from? Roughly speaking, it stems from the early modern scholarship, and it seems that the confusion reached its peak between the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries, when Conrad Gessner’s and Jan Jonston’s treatises on quadrupeds were published in 1551 and c. 1652, respectively.

Early modern zoologists described wisent and aurochs as two separate species, as did Gessner in volume one of his *History of the Animals*, which focussed on live-bearing, four-footed animals.³⁷ He never had seen either animal in nature and initially had no illustration for the chapter “On Wisent” (*De Bisonte*), while he explicitly mentioned a source for the woodcut placed in the chapter “On Aurochs” (*De Uro*): Anton Wied’s map of Muscovy.³⁸ Wied’s map, which included a small scene that depicted an aurochs hunt, is now thought to have been created between 1537 and 1540, but the earliest engraved impressions bear the date 1555. Thus, Gessner must have had access to an earlier, possibly drawn version of the map, or at least the part that included the aurochs-hunting scene, featuring a man hidden behind a tree while piercing aurochs with a spear (Figure 0.5). Also, Jonston’s *Description of the Nature of Four-Footed Beasts* includes two chapters: “On Aurochs” and “On Wisent.” The publication is

illustrated extensively, but the engravings, prepared by the workshop of Matthäus Merian the Elder's heirs and inserted as separate plates, neither accurately follow the argument nor are referred to in the text. One of the animals is clearly, although indirectly, modelled on the woodcut representing Gessner's aurochs, but it is unexpectedly inscribed as "Wisent" (*Bison-Wilder Ochs-Wisent*) (Figure 0.6).³⁹ What else may be found in Gessner's and Jonston's works and, more importantly, what happened between the dates when these two treatises were published comprise a long and complex story that must be reduced to a few essential moments and figures here.

Both in early modern times and the present day, scholars often publish various *addenda et corrigenda* that prove necessary in the course of research. This also was true of Gessner, who owed much additional knowledge about wisent and aurochs, as well as two images believed to be *ad vivum*, to Sigismund von Herberstein. The famous Carniolan diplomat was renowned for his travels to Muscovy, as well as his interest in aurochs and wisent, particularly during the early 1540s.⁴⁰ Herberstein had informants in Poland who provided him with representations of wisent and aurochs. He must have shared these images because before they were published in the third edition of his *Rerum Moscovitarum Commentarii* in 1556,⁴¹ the designs had been used as models for two woodcuts in Gessner's *Icones animalium quadrupedum* in 1553. Subsequently, in 1554, Gessner published an *Appendix to the History of the Animals*, with the newly acquired images of wisent and aurochs (cf. Figure 0.7), as well as of additional Bovidae species, including one called "white Scottish bison."⁴²



Figure 0.5 *Aurochs*, woodcut in Conrad Gessner, *Historiae Animalium Liber I de Quadrupedibus viviparis* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1551), 157. Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, SD XVI.E.1429 I.

Photo: POLONA (public domain).



Figure 0.6 Wisent, fragment of Pl. XVI, engraving in Jan Jonston, *Historiae Naturalis De Quadrupedibus Libri XVI* (Frankfurt/M: heirs of Matthäus Merian [1652?]). Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, SD XVII.4.2278.

Photo: POLONA (public domain).

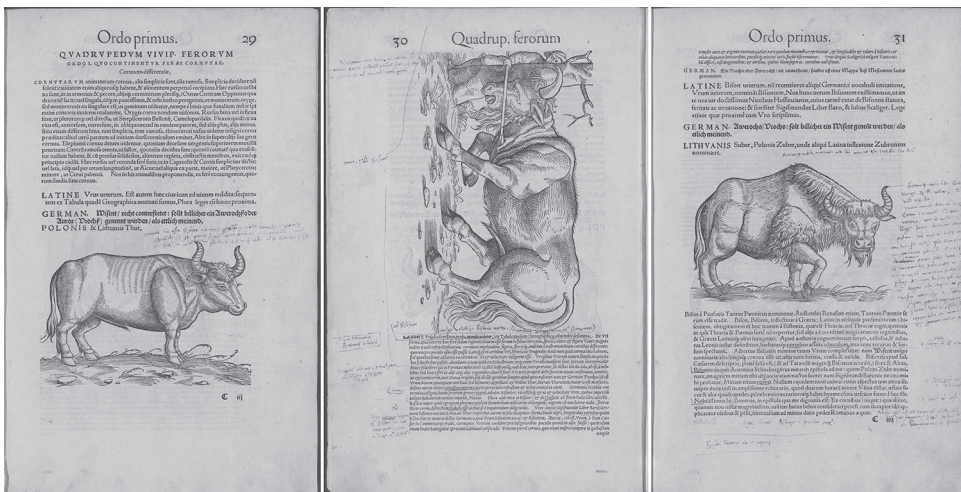


Figure 0.7 Chapters on aurochs and wisent in Gessner's personal copy of Conrad Gessner, *Icones animalium quadrupedum* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1560), 29–31, Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, NNN 44 | F.

Photo: <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-1668>.

Contemporary scholars dealing with various editions of a publication by the same author typically assume that the last version published during the author's life should be cited as the ultimate, most reliable—or at least most representative—of the author's intent. When one applies this to Gessner, who died in 1565, one should consider the second edition of *Icones* of 1560 as his last publication that deals with various Bovidae. The entries on aurochs and on wisent adjoin each other, which helps explain the differences between the two species.⁴³ The reasoning is substantiated by three woodcuts: two based on designs believed to represent aurochs and wisent *ad vivum* and the aforementioned hunting scene (Figure 0.7). A copy of this edition including the author's handwritten notes (Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, NNN 44 | F) demonstrates that Gessner initially had some doubts regarding the latter image: “not good, as it seems to me” (*non proba, ut mihi videtur*), the printed text reads.

Meanwhile, mid-sixteenth-century travellers reported discovering a species of cattle that inhabited America.⁴⁴ Gessner owned two copies of André Thevet's account on the New World, published in 1558, and explicitly referred to this author in the 1560 edition of the *Icones*.⁴⁵ Although he paid attention to Thevet's description and depiction of a horned, humped wild bull inhabiting Florida, Gessner did not decide to depict this animal in the *Icones*, maybe because, as can be inferred from his handwritten notes, he was not sure whether the woodcut represented catoblepas, a legendary creature described by ancient and medieval authors, or a gibbous bull (Figure 0.8). Another book that made Gessner reconsider the issue of wild Bovidae was Mikołaj Hussowski's *Carmen de Bisonte*, a copy of which was sent to him from Cracow in October 1559. Only after reading Hussowski's poem, Gessner must have realised that the hunting scene actually represents wisent and not aurochs. Therefore, in his personal copy of the 1560 edition of *Icones* he crossed out “as it seems to me” and noted that the remark on the illustration from Wied's map should be referred to as wisent.⁴⁶ However, Gessner's handwritten notes remained unpublished and unacknowledged in subsequent editions, translations and travesties of his works.

The champion of the next generation of scholars, Ulisse Aldrovandi, relied extensively on Gessner's published works. Printed only posthumously in Bologna in 1621, Aldrovandi's treatise on quadrupeds included woodcuts impressed from the blocks that the author had commissioned himself.⁴⁷ Although it has been documented that he acquired original designs representing aurochs and wisent from Poland, he decided to copy Gessner's woodcuts, including wisent, aurochs, white Scottish bison and the hunting scene that referred to aurochs.⁴⁸ Aldrovandi also mentioned humped *quiuira boves*, as recorded by Lopez de Gómara, and considered the “bull of Florida,” or *Butro*, with a reference to Ambroise Paré. The latter described this animal as a great bull having “one-foot-long horns, a hump like a camel, long hair and a lion's tail.”⁴⁹ Aldrovandi had copied Paré's woodcut, perhaps unaware that it was, in turn, a slavish copy of Thevet's design. Aldrovandi might also not have realised that the image bears a rather vague similarity to the American bison. However, he was unable to verify that he also accepted this image as reliable, just as Gessner relied on the accuracy of the images of wisent and aurochs acquired by Herberstein.

The same set of designs can be found in two subsequent editions of Aldrovandi's treatise, first in Bologna in 1642 as woodcuts impressed from the same matrices, then in Frankfurt in 1647, in one of the engraved plates (Figure 0.9).⁵⁰ Illustrating scholarly works with separate, full-sheet engravings provided with individual



Figure 0.8 Bull of Florida, woodcut in Gessner's personal copy of André Thevet, *Les singularitez de la France antarctique*. . . (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1558), fol. 144v. Basel, Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Hx VI 30.

Photo: https://www.ub.unibas.ch/digi/a100/diverse_projekte/pre2009pdf/BAU_1/BAU_1_003500973.pdf, public domain.

captions, instead of woodcuts inserted in the column of text, was a rather novel approach. Adopted by the Frankfurt publisher of Aldrovandi's book, it might have informed the Frankfurt printers of Jonston's treatise—Matthäus Merian's heirs—whose workshop also prepared the plates for the illustrations. Jonston's text barely mentions the “North American bulls,” calling them dewlapped, gibbous animals,⁵¹ while it elaborates on, among other things, aurochs and wisent in specific chapters, collecting various authors' brief, but not always consistent, accounts.⁵² Such an incoherent narrative, combined with independent engravings—reprinted or copied in subsequent editions and translations of Jonston's work—resulted in an accumulation of ambiguities. The identification of the aforementioned *Wisent* in Jonston's work is perplexing when confronted with Gessner's and Aldrovandi's publications, while it is intriguingly, even if coincidentally, consistent with Gessner's unpublished handwritten remarks (Figure 0.6). Thus, insecure identities, interchangeable names and vague appearances by the three animals—the wisent, aurochs and North American bison—remained both a zoological and linguistic puzzle in the print era, when multiplied images contributed to both near solutions and ultimate global confusion.



Figure 0.9 Pl. IV, engraving in Ulisse Aldrovandi, *Quadrupedum omnium bisulcorum Historia* (Frankfurt/M: David Johann Zunner and Peter Haubold, 1647), 144. Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, St. Dr. Zool. 539(a)III.

Photo: Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska.

Admittedly, the wisent, aurochs and bison story is rather unique in its perplexity. However, multiplication of images, either by impressing them from one matrix—often reused many times—or by copying the original designs through various techniques, is vital to research on both the production and reception of printed images. Relationships among designs are sometimes simple and easy to explain, but sometimes these relationships are complex in many ways and cross genres, iconographic formulas, functions, artistic media, religions and geographic regions.

Joanna Sikorska investigates the complexities concerning the reception of Albrecht Dürer's engraving *Saint George* (c. 1502–1503) and analyses it in relation to other

works by the Nuremberg master in iconographical and historical contexts. In tracing the reception of this motif, she focuses on the tomb of Ambroży Pampowski in Środa Wielkopolska. Pampowski was an important dignitary on the Jagiellonian court who paid great attention to commemoration, and one of its traditions was putting up his own tombstone during his lifetime. The reasons for selecting Dürer's print as the model became clear when Pampowski's involvement in political actions in the Polish kingdom—and more generally, Christian Europe—as well as the local cult of Saint George, are taken into consideration.

A different pattern of reception of Dürer's prints is discussed by Małgorzata Łazicka. In her essay, she examines—in terms of iconography, style and technique—the modifications to the established images of Fortune and Misfortune introduced by Sebald Beham. Despite the earlier note, her research material far exceeds Dürer's *oeuvre*. By describing a long tradition of depicting the personifications of human fate, she extracts the elements of tradition and innovation in Beham's etching *Fortune* (1520) and a pair of engravings, *Fortuna* and *Infortunium* (1541).

With the essay by Júlia Tátrai, we shift to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The engraved set of *Four Elements* by Hendrick Goltzius (1586) probably was intended to target an erudite audience of collectors, but its popularity spread to English faience, French furniture and German stove tiles, among other areas. However, the set's European reputation was a result of the earlier employment of Goltzius figures for Willem Blaeu's *Map of the World*. Tátrai analyses how the images of elements were adopted in diverse genres, functions, materials and techniques.

In turn, András Handl's main concern is how one image, namely the *Adoration of God's Lamb* by Joos van Winghe and Johann Sadeler, was adopted by various media and Christian confessions. This pictorial motet (*beeldmotet*), with music written by Andries Pévernage, was disseminated widely and cross-confessionally in books, also by means of reuse and modifications of printing matrices, and in large-scale paintings. Handl examines the reception of Sadeler's engraving and observes how it was modified to best serve the copy's intended purpose.

The concluding essay by Jean Michel Massing broadens the European perspective on the reception of images and focuses on early knowledge of European prints in Africa, the Americas and Asia, particularly on Jerome Nadal's *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* and the role that the Jesuits played in the process of dissemination. Massing examines the globalisation of European imagery through the medium of print culture and demonstrates how and why various designs were used far away from their places of origin. The question remains as to how the understanding of similar patterns differed depending on region or level of literacy—a question posed by the author as a challenge to global art history.

Notes

- 1 *unum ex eis esse Martini Lutheri, quem se servare, dixit, non propter lecturam, sed propter imagines in eis pictas per quendam Olbricht Direr, quae artificio suo, quod exercet, sunt multum commodae, caeters vero libros dixit, esse quiusdam frenificis*—Ptašnik, *Cracovia impressorum*, 211.
- 2 Most recent contribution: Rudy, *Image, Knife and Gluepot*.
- 3 Heitz, *Christus am Kreuz*.
- 4 Hollstein, *German*, vol. 6, nos. 28 and 29.
- 5 Schade, *Die Malerfamilie*, 14 and note 30; Heiser, *Das Frühwerk*, 94–95.
- 6 Ameisenowa, *Rękopisy i pierwodruki*, cat. 190, fig. 220.
- 7 Kawecka-Gryczowa, ed., *Drukarze*, 45–47.

- 8 Cracow, BJ, Inc. 2849; Ameisenowa, *Rękopisy i pierwodruki*, cat. 191; cf. *Missale Strigoniense* of 1490 cited by Schramm, *Der Bilderschmuck*, 9 and 20, fig. 613.
- 9 Hollstein, *German*, vol. 3, nos. 25 and 26; Anzelewsky, “Studien,” 133–34.
- 10 Kawecka-Gryczowa et al., eds., *Polonia typographica*, pl. 19bis; Lewicka-Kamińska, “Na marginesie,” 146. Before he came to Cracow, Hochfeder had been active in Nuremberg (and in Metz); he also had another *Crucifixion* block in his workshop, used in two variants of the same edition of the *Missale Vratislaviense*. This block is thought to be cut by Konrad Baumgarten after the anonymous *Crucifixion* used by Stuchs; see Piekarski, ed., *Polonia typographica*, pl. 55; Karłowska-Kamzowa, “Wrocławskie drzeworyty,” 10, fig. 5.
- 11 Piekarski, ed., *Polonia typographica*, vol. 2, pl. 47; Chojecka, “Łukasz Cranach,” 23–25. None of the three copies mentioned by Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, 432 seems to be extant now; a copy is preserved in Lublin, Biblioteka Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego im. Jana Pawła II, XVI.1879.
- 12 Instead, he commissioned another woodcut, rather a free travesty than a copy of Cranach’s design, known from one unpreserved copy of the *Missale Cracoviense* of 1509, from the Ossoliński collection in Lwów/Lviv; Piekarski, ed., *Polonia typographica*, vol. 2, pl. 60; Chojecka, “Łukasz Cranach,” 26, fig. 4.
- 13 Bowen, “Unknown examples,” 13–15.
- 14 Mielke and Mielke, *Peeter van der Borcht*, nos. 522–37, 539–42, 588, 594, 638, 793–96, A 39.
- 15 *Ibidem*, nos. 810–25, 603–4, 613, 652, 654, 657, 664, 666–60, 676, 719–20, 1392–653; Bowen and Imhof, *Christopher Plantin*, 251–55.
- 16 Bowen, “Unknown examples,” 13; Imhof, *The Illustration of Books*, cat. 10, 36, 59.
- 17 Full-page illustrations were also copied, *Missale Romanum* (Munich: Nikolaus Heinrich, 1614 and 1620).
- 18 *Missale Romanum* (Ingolstadt: Wilhelm Eder, 1610, 1612 and 1629); *Missale Ratisbonense* (Ingolstadt: Wilhelm Eder, 1611 and 1624); Hollstein, *German*, vol. 23, no. 151.
- 19 *Actus Sacerdotalis Sive Brevis Eorum Informatio* (Passau: Matheus Nenninger, 1587); David Meder, *Ein Andächtigs Christenlichs Gebett wider den Türcken* (Passau: Matheus Nenninger, 1595); *Litaniae et preces recitandae* (Passau: Matheus Nenninger, 1695).
- 20 *Officium Beatae Mariae Virginis* (Paris: Toussaint du Bray, 1607).
- 21 Jakub Wujek, *Postilla catholica* (Cracow: Siebeneichers, 1584). It was reused in 1649 by Franciszek Cezary as a title page of sermons *Unwithering Wreath of Most Pure Virgin Mary (Wieniec niewiednieięcy Przczystey P. Mariey)* by Szymon Starowolski.
- 22 Treiderowa, “Ze studiów,” 11–13; Krzak-Weiss, *W ogrodzie*, 180–86; Komorowska, “The Counter-Reforming,” 341–44. The precise sources for added scenes are unknown, but many are rooted in compositions already popular in Cracow and in woodcuts by Lieven de Witte (particularity passion scenes) or their copies. For de Witte woodcuts, cf. Veldman, Schaik, *Verbeelde boodschap*; Hollstein, *Duch and Flemish*, vol. 53, 233–80. Many thanks to Magdalena Komorowska who shared her research prior to the publication of her essay. Special thanks are also owed for the support offered during the queries conducted so far to librarians of Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN and Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich.
- 23 Piotr Skarga, *Żywoty świętych* (Cracow: Andrzej Piotrkowczyk I, 1585, 1592–1593 and 1601); *idem*, *Kazania na niedziele i święta* (Cracow: Andrzej Piotrkowczyk I, 1595, 1597 and 1602); *idem*, *Kazania o siedmi sakramentach* (Cracow: Andrzej Piotrkowczyk I, 1600); Jakub Wujek, *Postilla Katholicka Mnieysza* (Cracow: Andrzej Piotrkowczyk I, 1590, 1596, 1605).
- 24 As epitomised by the *Harfa Duchowna (Spiritual Harp)* by Marcin Laterna, a popular prayer book, which had nearly twenty editions since 1585, cf. Komorowska, “The Counter-Reforming,” 328–50.
- 25 *Bractwo żołnierskie S. Michała Archaniola* and *Officium Pro Confraternitate Militari: Sub Nomine & Patrocinio S. Michaelis Archangeli* (Cracow: Piotr Piotrkowczyk, 1610).
- 26 Two blocks used by Mikołaj Lob, *Virgin Mary and Child* and *Crucifixion*, are also present in an unidentified prayer book (Kórnik, PAN BK, Cim.O.611). According to Komorowska, “The Counter-Reforming,” 331, it was “probably printed by Andrzej Piotrkowczyk.” However, further comparative analysis on text, illustrations and typeset used in this prayer book should be undertaken.

- 27 Adrian Wieszczycki, *Ogród rozkoszny miłości Bożej* (Cracow: Walerian Piątkowski, 1650).
- 28 Pirożyński, ed., *Drukarze*, pt. 2.1, 246.
- 29 Żurkowa, “Działałność,” 187–88. Pirożyński, *Drukarze*, pt. 2.2, 549 claims that it was Krzysztof Schedel. The hypothesis that Piotrkowczyk bought Horteryn’s stock is particularly interesting because there are two other medallions used by Kobyliński and Horteryn (*Pentecost* and another version of the *Assumption of Mary*) which were later, in 1642, used by Andrzej Piotrkowczyk II when he printed them in the *Harfa Duchowna*. Before we find their earlier use by the printing house of the Piotrkowczyk family, it cannot be excluded that they originally belonged to Kobyliński and Horteryn’s stock.
- 30 The nature of this transaction is not known, but it can be assumed that they were lent to Piątkowski because at least one of them, *Assumption of Mary*, was given back to the stock and then used by Anna Teresa Piotrkowczyk in 1653 in the *Office of Virgin Mary*.
- 31 Muczowski, *Zbiór odcisków*, no. 600; Socha, *Typografia*, 35–38.
- 32 The inventories of bookbinders mention volumes containing prayer books, which, as can be deduced from the titles, were dominated by medallion illustrations, Torój, *Inwentarze*, 76–77. As the preserved copies show, they did not always have to be publications originating from a single publishing house, Warsaw, Biblioteka *Publiczna* m.st. Warszawy, XVII.1.311 ADL.- XVII/1.315 ADL.
- 33 Marcin Laterna, *Harfa Duchowna* (Cracow: Andrzej Piotrkowczyk I, 1612); *Sposób mówienia psalterzyka* (Cracow: Wojciech Kobyliński, 1613); *Koronka P. Błogosławionej Mariey*, s.l. [Cracow] s.a. Kórnik, PAN BK, 126721–23.
- 34 Borkowska, Karkucińska and Wiesiołowski, eds *Kroniki*, 259; 307; Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic*, 87.
- 35 Kórnik, PAN BK, Cim.O.162 and Kórnik, PAN BK, 11328.
- 36 Eisenstein, *The Printing Press*.
- 37 Conrad Gessner, *Historiae Animalium Lib. I de Quadrupedibus viviparis* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1551), 143–45 and 157–59.
- 38 Ibidem, 1097; Nehring, “Einige Bemerkungen,” 87–89.
- 39 Jan Jonston, *Historiae Naturalis De Quadrupedibus Libri* (Frankfurt/M: heirs of Matthäus Merian, 1652), 56–57, cf. pl. XVI.
- 40 Nehring, *Über Herberstein und Hirsfogel*, 87–97; Janicki and Ososiński, eds., *Epistulae*, 41–43.
- 41 Sigismund von Herberstein, *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii* (Basel: Johann Oporinus, 1556), 111–112.
- 42 Conrad Gessner, *Icones animalium quadrupedum* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1553), 20, 60 and 63; idem, *Appendix historiae quadrupedum uiuiparorum & ouiparorum* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1554), 2 and 4.
- 43 Conrad Gessner, *Icones animalium quadrupedum* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1560), 29–31.
- 44 Alvar Nunez Cabeza De Vaca’s *Relación*, An Annotated Translation by Martin A. Favata and José B. Fernández (Houston, TX: Arte Publico Press, 1993), 72–73 (first published 1542).
- 45 André Thevet, *Les singularitez de la France antarctique . . .* (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1558), fol. 147v, copy in Basel, UBB, Hx VI 30; the other Gessner’s copy is lost, Leu, Keller and Weidmann, *Conrad Gessner’s Private Library*, cat. 361 and 362.
- 46 Cf. Choptiany, “Konrad Gesner.”
- 47 Simoni, “La natura incisa,” 129–44; idem, “Dal disegno al libro,” 59–70.
- 48 Fantuzzi, *Memorie*, 257–60; cf. Barycz, “Profesor krakowski,” 44–49.
- 49 Ulisse Aldrovandi, *Quadrupedum omnium bisulcorum historia* (Bologna: Sebastiano Bonomi, 1621), 53 and 357 (cf. 348, 349, 355); Francisco Lopez de Gómara, *Hispania victrix: Primera y segunda parte de la historia general de las Indias . . .* (Medina del Campo: Guillermo de Millis, 1553), fol. CXVII; Ambroise Paré, *Discours . . . asçavoir, de la mumie . . .* (Paris: Gabriel Buon, 1582), fol. 26; idem, *Opera* (Paris, 1582), 792–93.
- 50 Ulisse Aldrovandi, *Quadrupedum omnium bisulcorum Historia* (Frankfurt/M: David Johann Zunner and Peter Haubold, 1647), 144.
- 51 Jonston, *Historiae Naturalis De Quadrupedibus Libri*, 53.
- 52 Cf. Margócsy, “Certain Fakes,” 190–225.

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