



A Book as a Gift for Ferdinand I of Habsburg.

An Unknown Bohemical Manuscript from the Collections of the Austrian National Library in Vienna*

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This paper deals with an unknown Bohemical illuminated manuscript from the Austrian National Library in Vienna, which dates back to 1557 and which was dedicated to Ferdinand I of Habsburg (Cod. 11704). The illuminations of the manuscript were commissioned in Prague and they could be connected with a Prague Old Town guild painter Fabián Puléř. The commission of the painting completes the existing image of the relation between the court cultural circle, Catholic representatives of the Church and the Prague community of guild painters in the mid-16th century.

KEYWORDS:

Fabián Puléř (ca 1520 Ústí nad Labem — after 15 December 1562); Johannes Cavalerius (1524 — 23 March 1580); Ferdinand I of Habsburg (1503–1564); Austrian National Library in Vienna; illuminated manuscripts; prayer books; Turkish threat

The history of the Austrian National Library in Vienna has been associated with a great many Bohemical manuscripts since their medieval beginnings. The Gospel Book of Jan of Opava from 1368, the oldest documented manuscript in the Imperial Court Library, the Bible of Wenceslaus IV, and numerous illuminated music manuscripts (e.g. Kutná Hora and Čáslav music manuscripts) belong to these codices. This situation arises from the close link between Austrian and Bohemian political and cultural history. Unfortunately, we lack primary sources for the history of the Imperial Court Library in the epoch after the death of Maximilian I (1459–1519) before 1575, when Hugo Blotius (1534–1608) was appointed the first official librarian.¹ For

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1 On the history of the Vienna Imperial Court Library during the reign of Ferdinand I, see Ignaz Franz von MOSEL, *Geschichte der kaiserl. königl. Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, Wien 1835, pp. 23–28; Ottokar SMITAL, *Die Hofbibliothek*, in: Heinrich Zimmermann — Anton Handlirsch — Ottokar Smital (edd.), *Die beiden Hofmuseen und die Hofbibliothek. Der Werdegang der Sammlungen, ihre Eigenart und Bedeutung*, Wien — Leipzig 1920, pp. 49–110; Alphons LHOTSKY, *Festschrift des Kunsthistorischen Museums zur Feier des fünfzigjährigen Bestandes 2/1. Die Geschichte der Sammlungen von den Anfängen bis zum Tode Kaiser Karls VI. 1740*, Wien 1945, pp. 143–144; Hermann MENHARDT (ed.), *Das älteste Handschriftenverzeichnis der Wiener Hofbibliothek von Hugo Blotius 1576. Kritische Ausgabe der Handschrift Series nova 4451 vom Jahre 1597 mit vier Anhängen* (Denkschriften der phi-

this, the individual acquisitions for the book collection associated with Ferdinand I of Habsburg are worse documented in comparison with the Ambras library of his son Ferdinand of Tyrol. We know that a collection of manuscripts from the heritage of the court preacher and learned theologian Johann Fabri (1478–1541) became part of the Imperial Court Library in Vienna at that time. The library from the bequest of the humanist Kaspar von Niedbruck (1525–1557), Ferdinand's diplomat, was also purchased. The diplomat Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq (1522–1592), who was employed as ambassador to the Emperor in Constantinople, mediated acquisitions of other manuscripts. Other manuscripts can be identified on the basis of their personal dedications to Ferdinand I. Bohemian aristocrat Jan Zajíc of Házmburk (1496–1553) dedicated a manuscript with the copies of the portraits of Bohemian rulers from the Prague Castle, which had burnt down during a devastating fire in 1541, to Ferdinand I of Habsburg. Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol later asked his father for this manuscript in connection with the renovation of the portrait gallery of the rulers at the Prague Castle.² Also dedicated to Ferdinand I was a Syriac Gospel Book written in 1554 in Vienna by Moses of Mardaia³ and a tiny prayer book incorporated by librarian Hugo Blotius into Turcica.⁴ On the grounds of the illuminations, the last mentioned can be newly identified as an unknown Bohemical manuscript.

losophisch-historischen Klasse 76), Wien 1957, pp. 86, 113; IDEM, *Verzeichnis der altdeutschen literarischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für deutsche Sprache und Literatur 13), Berlin 1960, pp. 3–8; Joseph STUMMVOLL (ed.), *Geschichte der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek I: Die Hofbibliothek (1368–1922)*, Museion. Veröffentlichungen der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek N.F. 2.3.1 [hereinafter Museion], Wien 1968, pp. 61–77, 104.

- 2 Kamil BOLDAN, *Knihovna Jana Zajíce z Házmburka (1496–1553)* [The Library of Jan Zajíc of Házmburk], in: Jitka Radimská (ed.), *K výzkumu zámeckých, měšťanských a církevních knihoven. Čtenář a jeho knihovna (Opera romanica 4)*, České Budějovice 2003, pp. 41–101, here p. 47, 87–88, Cat. No. 17.
- 3 I. F. von MOSEL, *Geschichte*, p. 23; J. STUMMVOLL, *Geschichte*, p. 70.
- 4 The prayer book of Johannes Cavalerius, Vienna, Austrian National Library [Österreichische Nationalbibliothek], Cod. 11704 (the old signature of Petrus Lambeck Theol. 777; the old signature of Hugo Blotius T 5070). The illuminated prayer book is briefly mentioned in the catalogues of the Austrian National Library, Vienna. Michael DENIS, *Codices manuscripti theologici Bibliothecae palatinae Vindobonensis latini aliarumque occidentis linguarum 1/III*, Wien 1793, pp. 3157–3158, Cat. No. DCCCCXVIII (the painter's initials were mistakenly identified as FD); Josef MANTUANI, *Tabulae codicum manuscriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum VII*, Wien 1875, p. 31; Franz UNTERKIRCHER, *Inventar der illuminierten Handschriften, Inkunabeln und Frühdrucke der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek I: Die abendländischen Handschriften*, Museion N.F. 2.2.1, Wien 1957, p. 150 (the year incorrectly identified as 1537); H. MENHARDT (ed.), *Das älteste Handschriftenverzeichnis*, pp. 101, 117, 128; Rudolf NECK (ed.), *Österreich und die Osmanen. Gemeinsame Ausstellung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek und des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs. Prunksaal der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek 31. Mai bis 30. Oktober 1983*, Wien 1983, p. 7, Cat. No. 11.



This tiny prayer book, which was dedicated to Emperor Ferdinand I of Habsburg, has remained a part of the collection of the Vienna Austrian National Library up to the present. A Latin dedication to Emperor Ferdinand I is placed in the inscription tablet of the introductory illumination with the representative coat of arms of Ferdinand I of Habsburg.⁵ The introductory Latin text sums up the content of the manuscript and recalls the personal motivations and the author's merit in the choice of the biblical texts for the individual prayers. Individually compiled prayers cite and paraphrase Old Testament verses and the Church Fathers and in text parentheses accentuate anti-Turkish themes (*oratio contra Turcam*).⁶ The prayer book was intended for the private prayers of the ruler. The contents of the prayer book could reflect the current political events since preparations against the feared attack of the Turks were in motion at that time and Ferdinand I played an important role in that matter.⁷ Similar prayers for the protection of the Empire against the attack of the Turks are also included in another prayer book of Ferdinand I.⁸ Some other famous manuscripts with Turkish themes were dedicated to Ferdinand I. Among them was a smaller paper manuscript with coloured illustrations which convey various news

5 In the dedication and preface Ferdinand I of Habsburg is titled Emperor, although officially he was elected on 8 March 1558 at Frankfurt am Main, while the illuminations are dated around 1557 and the heraldic embellishment still reflects the royal Roman variation of the coat of arms: at the crowned shield, encircled with the chain of the Order of Golden Fleece, there is the single-headed eagle with the Bohemian-Hungarian shield divided into quarters with arms of the House of Habsburg. Such titling of Ferdinand I in a private manuscript could have been caused by the fact that Ferdinand I became the only ruler of the Holy Roman Empire after the abdication of Charles V in 1556, although the electors confirmed him as the Emperor as late as 1558. On the Royal and Imperial variations of the Ferdinand's I coat of arms, see Helena BRAEUEROVÁ, *Císařský typ velké pečeti Ferdinanda I. z české kanceláře z roku 1562* [The Imperial Type of the Great Seal of Ferdinand I from the Bohemian Office of 1562] in: *Z archivních depozitářů. Pavle Burdové k 70. narozeninám*, Praha 1998, pp. 20–24; Petr VOREL, *Císařská titulatura na mincích Ferdinanda I. Habsburského* [The Imperial Titling on Coins of Ferdinand I of Habsburg], *Muzejní a vlastivědná práce. Časopis Společnosti přátel starožitností* 41/111, 2003, No. 3, pp. 148–156; Lubomír NEMEŠKAL — Petr VOREL, *Dějiny jáchymovské mincovny a katalog ražeb I: 1519/1520–1619* [The History of the Jáchymov Mint and Catalogue of Coinage I: 1519/1520–1619], Pardubice 2010, pp. 193–215.

6 The contents of the manuscript merit detailed research.

7 On the relationships between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empire, see Jaroslav PÁNEK, *Turecké nebezpečí a předbělohorská česká společnost* [The Turkish Threat and Bohemian Society before the Battle of White Mountain], *Studia Comeniana et historica* 11, 1981, No. 23, pp. 53–72; R. NECK (ed.), *Österreich*; Matthias PFAFFENBICHLER, *Die Türkenkriege während der Regierungszeit Ferdinands I.*, in: Norbert Koppensteiner — Ingrid Riegler (edd.), *Ferdinand I. Herrscher zwischen Blutgericht und Türkenkriegen*, Wiener Neustadt 2003, pp. 34–41.

8 Otto MAZAL — Franz UNTERKIRCHER, *Katalog der abendländischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek "Series nova" (Neuerwerbungen) II*, Museion N.F. 4.2.1, Wien 1963, pp. 288–291.



and prophecies about the Ottoman Empire.⁹ Similar collections of “prayers against the Turks” represented relatively favourite and plentifully published prints of European printing offices in the 16th century. The motif of the prayers of the Old Testament patriarchs and prophets as a spiritual fighting of enemies which the author mentions in the introductory text in the examples of Moses, Joshua, Ezekiel, and Elijah became the subject of the illuminations in the prayer book. The composition depicts the Old Testament battle of the Israelites against the Amalekites (Ex 17,8–16) since the Moses’ prayer guaranteed Israel victory over the enemies. The Old Testament battle is updated in keeping with the themes of the prayers against the Turks as the fight of the Christians against the Turks.¹⁰

This illumination is dated 1557 in the left lower side. Initials FP are appended to the date which enables us to determine exactly the origin of the prayer book. Not only with regard to the characteristic signature FP but also the specific iconography of the Old Testament theme, the architectural structure with the heraldic decoration and stylistic and formal analysis we can ascertain the author of the illumination quite precisely. We identify the Prague painter Fabián Puléř (ca 1520 Ústí nad Labem — after 15 December 1562). Fabián Puléř, a native of Ústí nad Labem, received the municipal privilege of the Prague Old Town in 1550 (27 October 1550) and soon he joined the Old Town Painters’ Guild (25 November 1550).¹¹ He was active in Prague’s Old Town until his death after 15 December 1562. Puléř’s illuminations were commissioned both by Catholics and by Utraquists. Puléř has only been known as the author of illuminations in the music manuscripts and contractually documented altar retables. Puléř is identified as the illuminator of some representative music manuscripts intended for literary brotherhoods. With one exception of the St Vitus Gradual, the costs of which was paid by the St Vitus canons, there were Utraquist music manuscripts for the Čáslav (1557), Žlutice (1557–1558), Kaňk (1559), Prague Old Town (Valentine) (1559), Teplice (1560) and Louny literary brotherhoods (1561–1563).

An identically updated Old Testament battle is documented in Bohemia for the first time in Puléř’s illuminations. The theme is found in the Žlutice Gradual and the Louny Gradual among illuminations at the incipit of chants of Kyrie. In connection with the categorisation of the decoration of the prayer book, we can suppose that this very illumination was the initial link between the Puléř’s series depicting the Old Testament battle and the anti-Turkish update. Chronologically it is closely associated with the Žlutice Gradual (1557–1558).

9 R. NECK (ed.), *Österreich*, p. 6, Cat. No. 9.

10 On the iconography of the Old Testament battle of the Israelites against the Amalekites in illuminated music manuscripts, see Martina ŠÁROVCOVÁ, *Aktualizace tureckého nebezpečí v iluminovaných hudebních rukopisech 16. století* [The Update of the Turkish Threat in Illuminated Music Manuscripts of the 16th Century], *Historie — Otázky — Problémy* 6, 2014, No. 2, pp. 72–84.

11 On Puléř most recently EADEM, *Cantate Domino canticum novum. Iluminované hudební rukopisy české reformace* [Illuminated Music Manuscripts of the Bohemian Reformation], in: Kateřina Horníčková — Michal Šroněk (edd.), *Umění české reformace (1380–1620)*, Praha 2010, pp. 420–421, 451–454, 466–467.



FIG. 1: Fabián Puléř, The prayer book of Johannes Cavalerius, The battle of the Israelites against the Amalekites, 1557. From: R. NECK (ed.), Österreich.

In the introductory text (preface) of the illuminated prayer book the *minimus cliens* Johannes Cavalerius is presented to Ferdinand I of Habsburg (fol. 2^r).¹² The priest Johannes Cavalerius (1524 – 23 March 1580) is widely known in the context of his activity at the court of Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol.¹³ Cavalerius came from South

¹² With regard to the humanistic Antiqua of the prayer book, the counterpart of which is Cavalerius's Latin and Italian correspondence and contract, we assume the manuscript to be his autograph. We also identify Cavalerius as the author of the selection of individual Latin prayers.

¹³ He is referred to in the sources as *Cavalerii*, *Cavallirius*, *Cavalleri*, *Cavallieri*, *Cavalleris*, *de Cavalleri*, *de Cavalleri*, *de Cavaleriis* and *Kawallarius*. Even though Cavalerius is often referred to as the celebrant of the secret wedding of Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol with Filipina Welser, his personality has not yet been sufficiently reflected in the literature. A minor biographical profile, albeit with a few inaccuracies, was dedicated to him by Joseph HIRN, *Erzherzog Ferdinand II. von Tirol. Geschichte seiner Regierung und seiner Länder I-II*, Innsbruck 1885–1888, here II, pp. 368–369. His contacts with the Prague milieu have not been reconstructed so far.



Tyrol, from the area of Trentino (Villa Lagarina) where other members of his family are documented. His nephew was Giovanni Battista de Cavaleriis (ca 1525–1601), a famous engraver, publisher and draughtsman.¹⁴ He was active after 1559 in Rome. Giovanni Battista de Cavaleriis is the author of the well-known graphic collections of the portraits of the Emperors and Popes and views of ancient ruins and statues in public and private collections in Rome, which were periodically published in small editions. Together with Cardinal and Bishop of Constance and Brixen Andrew of Austria (1558–1600), the son of Archduke Ferdinand, he helped with the acquisition of the collection of portraits of Popes for the Ambras gallery.¹⁵ The next member of the family, Antonio de Cavaleriis (died 1581), worked in the service of Cardinal Andrew of Austria as his court chaplain.¹⁶

Johannes Cavalerius can be documented as court chaplain from 1551 when the court of Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol was constituted.¹⁷ He worked as chaplain and confessor of Ferdinand of Tyrol until 1580, when he died. The correspondence shows that he also participated in preparations and arrangements of festivities for the Archduke (the Archduke's entry into Innsbruck).¹⁸ He is well known in connection with the secret marriage of Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol and Filipina Welser in January 1557 and the christening of their children.¹⁹ In connection with his activities at the court

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- 14 Remo STENICO — Italo FRANCESCHINI (edd.), *Giangrisostomo Tovazzi O.F.M.: Biblioteca Tirolese, o sia Memorie istoriche degli scrittori della contea del Tirolo*, Trento 2006, pp. 394–395, No. 568; Ruth OLITSKY RUBENSTEIN, *Cavalieri, Giovanni Battista de'*, in: Jane Turner (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art 6*, New York 1996, p. 102; Bruno PASSAMANI, *Cavalieri Giovanni Battista*, in: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani 22*, Roma 1979, pp. 673–675; Paola PIZZAMANNO, *Giovanni Battista Cavaleri. Un incisore trentino nella Roma dei Papi del Cinquecento. Villa Lagarina 1525 — Roma 1601*, Rovereto 2001.
- 15 Friedrich KENNER, *Die Porträtsammlung des Erzherzogs Ferdinand von Tirol*, Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses 14, 1896, pp. 37–186, here p. 102.
- 16 R. STENICO — I. FRANCESCHINI (edd.), *Giangrisostomo Tovazzi*, p. 394. On the activity of Antonio de Cavaleriis in the area of southern Tyrol, see Simone WEBER, *Sacerdoti italiani nell'Alto Adige*, *Archivio per l'Alto Adige 7*, 1912, pp. 5–39, here p. 9, 20–21.
- 17 Hirn estimated the beginning of Cavalerius court services as chaplain and confessor of Ferdinand of Tyrol to be the year 1554. J. HIRN, *Erzherzog Ferdinand II.*, here II, p. 368. Time can be narrowed down on the basis of data from the accounts book of Leonard Giennger from 1551. Petr VOREL, *Místodržitelství dvůr arciknížete Ferdinanda Habsburského v Praze roku 1551 ve světle účetní dokumentace* [The Governor's Court of Archduke Ferdinand of Habsburg in Prague in 1551 in the Light of the Accounting Documentation], *Folia Historica Bohemica 21*, 2005, pp. 7–66, here p. 24.
- 18 Alfred AUER (ed.), *Wir sind Helden. Habsburgische Feste in der Renaissance. Eine Ausstellung des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien, Schloß Ambras, Innsbruck, 10. Juni — 31. Oktober 2005. Zum Gedenken an Elisabeth Speicher*, Wien 2005, pp. 30, 31, Cat. No. 1.9, 1.10.
- 19 The marriage must have been kept secret for a long time due to an unequal social status of the married couple. In connection with the appointment of their first-born son Andrew of Austria to the position of cardinal in 1576, it was necessary to prove his legitimate ancestry and Cavalerius was commissioned to arrange validity of the secret marriage by Pope



of the Archduke he often stayed in Bohemia in the 1550s and 1560s (Prague, Březnice, Křivoklát). Based on the testimony of the Brethren priest Jacob Bílek we know that Cavalerius was involved in the process as confessor of Ferdinand of Tyrol with the bishop of the Unity of Brethren Jan Augusta. Augusta was, together with his pupil Jacob Bílek, imprisoned at this time at Křivoklát Castle, where he and Cavalerius discussed doctrinal matters (1561).²⁰ At the beginning of the 1560s Cavalerius is mentioned in the sources in connection with the stay of a Greek theologian and a persecuted heretic and anti-Trinitarian Jacobus Palaeologus in Prague (ca 1520–1585).²¹ There are documented contacts with the circle of representatives of the Catholic Church in Prague. Cavalerius was associated with some of the prelates of the Prague Chapter of St Vitus and the members of the Vyšehrad Chapter of Saint Peter and Paul, who had a personal connection with it: with the provost of the St Vitus Chapter, the administrator of the Prague Archdiocese, the tutor of Archduke Charles and the confessor of Queen Anna Jagiello Heinrich Scribonius of Horšovský Týn (ca 1510/1520–1586) and the dean of Vyšehrad Chapter of Saint Peter and Paul, the St Vitus canon, and later on, the provost of the Prague St Vitus Chapter Petrus de Linda (died 1592).²² His appointment as provost of Vyšehrad documented his close relation to Prague social background (documented 1557–1566).²³ Cavalerius, together with the dean of Vyšehrad Petrus de

Gregory XIII. Johann Grafen MAILÁTH, *Geschichte des österreichischen Kaiserstaates II*, Hamburg 1837, p. 200; J. HIRN, *Erzherzog Ferdinand II.*, here II, pp. 316, 321, 322–323.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 325. František BEDNÁŘ (ed.), *Jakub Bílek: Jan Augusta v letech samoty 1548–1564* [Jan Augusta in the Years of Solitude 1548–1564], Praha 1942, pp. 151, 168, 175, 179, 180 (cited as priest Jan).

²¹ Cavalerius is mentioned in the document of 22 March 1562. Růžena DOSTÁLOVÁ, *K jedné chybně zařazené archiválii (Vložka v listu J. Scribonia A. Brusovi z 22. března 1562 v SÚA Praha)* [One Erroneously Classified Record (Insert in a Letter from J. Scribonius to A. Brus of 22 March 1562 in the National Archive in Prague)], in: Josef Češka (ed.), *Classica atque mediaevalia Jaroslao Ludvíkovský octogenario oblata*, Brno 1975, pp. 253–256, here pp. 253–254.

²² National Archive [Národní archiv, hereinafter NA], Prague, Archive of the Prague Archdiocese I [hereinafter APA], cartons 690, 691, letters from Heinrich Scribonius to Anton Brus of Mohelnice, 28 February 1562; 9 July 1563. Sincere thanks to Dr. Nicholas Richard for his kind notice. R. DOSTÁLOVÁ, *K jedné chybně zařazené archiválii*, p. 253. On the personal connection between the Prague St Vitus and Vyšehrad Chapters, see Věra BROŽOVÁ (ed.), *Vyšehrad. Historické podoby*, Praha 2000, p. 56. On Scribonius, see Anton Ludwig FRIND, *Die Kirchengeschichte Böhmens IV: Die Administratorenzeit*, Prag 1878, pp. 178–181; Antonín PODLAHA, *Series praepositorum, decanorum, archidiaconorum aliorumque praelatorum et canonicorum s. metropolitanae ecclesiae Pragensis a primordiis usque ad praesentia tempora* (Editiones archivii et bibliothecae s.f. metropolitani capituli Pragensis 10), Praha 1912, pp. 120–122; Antonín TRUHLÁŘ — Karel HRDINA — Josef HEJNIC — Jan MARTÍNEK (edd.), *Rukověť humanistického básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě od konce 15. do začátku 17. století V, S–Ž* [Handbook of Humanistic Poetry in Bohemia and Moravia from the End of the 15th to the Beginning of the 17th Century], Praha 1982, pp. 34–36.

²³ NA, Prague, Archiv kolegiální kapituly vyšehradské [Archive of Collegiate Chapter in Vyšehrad, hereinafter KVŠ], carton 127, Inv. No. 603, the list of Vyšehrad provosts by dean Wenceslaus of Růžová, [fol. 5^v], No. 34; Johann Florian HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Gloria et ma-*

Linda, founded a brewery in Vyšehrad which soured the atmosphere of the tense relationship with the citizens of Vyšehrad.²⁴ Cavalerius' network of contacts with the Bohemian environment illustrates a request of 7 April 1566, in which he asks Prague Archbishop Anton Brus of Mohelnice to give Petr Pěšín the vacant post of provost in Stará Boleslav.²⁵ One can assume that Cavalerius was also present among the large Italian minority that was linked to the Prague Klementinum.²⁶ After the end of the 1550s he obtained several prebends in South Tyrol (Bozen, Neumetz, Eppan, Trento) with the support of the Archduke.²⁷ Cavalerius is also remembered as the Bautzen



- jestas sacro-sanctae, regiae, exemptae et nullius diaecesis Wissehradensis ecclesiae ss. apostolorum Petri et Pauli*, Pragae 1700, p. 552; Joseph Petr Wenceslaus DITTRICH, *Series praepositorum sacrosanctae pervetustae regiae collegiatae ecclesiae sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli in castro Wischehrad ad Pragam Regni Bohemiae metropolim cum succincta ejusdem ecclesiae et capituli historia*, Pragae 1802, p. 62, No. 34; Vojtěch RUFFER, *Historie Wyssehradská, neb, Wyprawowánj o hradu, o kapitole a městu Hory Wyssehradu u Prahy w králowstwj Českém* [The History of Vyšehrad or the Story of the Castle, Chapter and Town of Vyšehrad near Prague in the Kingdom of Bohemia], Praha 1861, p. 249; A. L. FRIND, *Die Kirchengeschichte*, p. 161; J. HIRN, *Erzherzog Ferdinand II., here II*, pp. 368–369; Josef JANÁČEK, *Vyprávění o Vyšehradu* [The Story of Vyšehrad], Praha 1964, pp. 201–203.
- 24 NA, Prague, KVš, Inv. No. 414, sign. XII 14, the contract of John Žďárský of Žďár, Ctibor Služský of Chlum and Tuchoměřice and Stephan Voškobrňský of Voškobrň with Johannes Cavalerius and Petrus de Linda for the drawing of beer, 5 February 1564; Inv. No. 415, sign. XII 15, contract for the construction of a brewery, 12 February 1564; carton 87, Inv. No. 479, the comparison of Johannes Cavalerius and Petrus de Linda about the jurisdiction, 16 May 1565. V. RUFFER, *Historie*, pp. 249–251; J. JANÁČEK, *Vyprávění*, pp. 201–202; František KAŠIČKA — Bořivoj NECHVÁTAL, *Vyšehrad pohledem věků* [Vyšehrad from the Perspective of the Ages], Praha 1985, p. 49; V. BROŽOVÁ, *Vyšehrad*, p. 57. See also NA, Prague, KVš, carton 277, Inv. No. 822, the diplomatarium of Eduard Šitler.
- 25 NA, Prague, APA, Inv. No. C 103/I A 5, carton 2002a, chapter No. 93. Petr Pěšín known as Molitor was appointed the provost of Stará Boleslav in 1566, 30 May. Justin Václav PRÁŠEK, *Brandejs nad Labem. Město, panství i okres III* [Brandejs nad Labem, Town, Domain and District], Brandýs nad Labem 1913, pp. 366–367; IDEM, *Ze starých akt kapituly Boleslavské* [From Old Acts of the Boleslav Chapter], Květy 34, 1912, pp. 45–49, here p. 45–48.
- 26 In Prague, Cavalerius is even corroborated by a letter of 28 August 1564 to his friend, Trento canon and a native of Mantua, Lucio Romolo Pincio (1504–1574). The letter was published as part of a George Melantrich of Aventin print with the letter of Emperor's preacher, confessor and Dominican monk Matthew Zittardus (1522–1566) to Pope Pius IV about the last days of life of Ferdinand I. Cavalerius contributed to the printed edition of the letters. Matthias ZITTARDUS, *De morte piissimi et christianissimi imperatoris Ferdinandi primi literarum exemplum* [...], Praha 1564. See Johann Georg SCHELHORN, *Amoenitates historiae ecclesiasticae et literariae... I*, Frankfurt am Main — Leipzig 1737, pp. 679–692; Benedetto BONELLI, *Monumenta Ecclesiae Tridentinae* [...] III/2: *Notizie istorico-critiche intorno al B. M. Adelpreto Vescovo, e comprotettore della chiesa di Trenti*, Trento 1765, p. 337, No. XII; Remo STENICO (ed.), *P. Giangrisostomo Tovazzi: Variarum inscriptionum Tridentinae*, Trento 1994, p. 250, No. 293; R. STENICO — I. FRANCESCHINI (edd.), *Giangrisostomo Tovazzi*, p. 205, No. 250.
- 27 J. HIRN, *Erzherzog Ferdinand II., here II*, p. 368; S. WEBER, *Sacerdoti*, pp. 9, 20–22.



canon.²⁸ After 1567, when the court of Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol moved to Innsbruck, he mostly stayed in the region of Trentino (Eppan) where he visited parish churches.²⁹ He received the title of provost of Trento in the 1570s.³⁰ Thanks to Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol Cavalerius was ennobled (20 July 1574).³¹ Probably at this time he financed a commission of a simple stone baptismal font which bears the coat of arms of the de Cavaleriis family and which is still preserved in the interior of St Apollinaire Church in Trento. This charming church also became the place of his eternal rest.³²

As mentioned before, Johannes Cavalerius stayed within the circle of Prague prelates of St Vitus Chapter and Vyšehrad Chapter of Saint Peter and Paul in the 1550s and 1560s and he was in close contact with some of them. Thus it is not surprising that Cavalerius asked Fabián Pulěř to make illuminations for the prayer book. In fact, Pulěř got a representative commission as early as 1551 to paint a St Vitus Gradual and St Vitus *Liber invitatorius*.³³ Both music manuscripts were made in the workshop of the scribe Jan Táborský of Klokotská Hora (1500–1572). St Vitus canons and prelates contributed to both manuscripts as is documented not only in the memorial text in the Gradual, but also by the portraits and coats of arms of some canons. These included the provost of the Prague St Vitus Chapter Heinrich Scribonius of Horšovský Týn, dean Valentinus

28 NA, Prague, APA, Inv. No. C 103/I A 5, carton 2002a, chapter No. 93; B. BONELLI, *Monumenta III/2*, p. 337, No. XII.

29 J. HIRN, *Erzherzog Ferdinand II.*, here I, p. 195, II, p. 368; Jürgen BÜCKING, *Frühabsolutismus und Kirchenreform in Tirol (1565–1665). Ein Beitrag zum Ringen zwischen Staat und Kirche in der frühen Neuzeit*, Wiesbaden 1972, p. 84.

30 B. BONELLI, *Monumenta III/2*, p. 337, No. XII; J. HIRN, *Erzherzog Ferdinand II.*, here II, p. 384.

31 Hugo von GOLDEGG, *Die Tiroler Wappenbücher im Adelsarchive des k. k. Ministerium des Innern zu Wien*, Zeitschrift des Ferdinandeums für Tiroler und Vorarlberg 19, 1875, pp. 31–178, here p. 67, No. 106; Gianmaria TABARELLI DE FATIS — Luciano BORRELLI, *Stemmi e notizie di famiglie trentine* (Studi trentini di scienze storiche 83), Trento 2004, p. 81.

32 B. BONELLI, *Monumenta III/2*, p. 337, No. XII; R. STENICO — I. FRANCESCHINI (edd.), *Giangrisostomo Tovazzi*, pp. 204–205, No. 250. See also Niccolo RASMO, *Sant'Apollinare e le origini romane di Trento*, Trento 1966, p. 74; Gian Pietro BROGIOLO — Enrico CAVADA — Monica IBSEN — Nicoletta PISU — Matteo RAPANÀ (edd.), *Apsat 10. Chiese Trentine dalle origini al 1250 I*, Mantova 2013, Cat. No. 1.1.14, p. 152. Bonelli and Tovazzi O.F.M. are the only ones who give the specific date of death of Cavalerius and a Latin text of the tomb stone “Hic jacet / Joannes de Cavaleriis / Praepositus Tridentinus / Obiit XXIII. Martii / Anno MDLXXX aetatis suas LVI”. Based on these facts it is possible to determine the year of birth of Cavalerius (1524) unknown in other sources.

33 St Vitus Gradual, Prague, The Archive of the Prague Castle [Archiv Pražského hradu], Archive of the Metropolitan Chapter by St Vitus, sign. P X; *Liber invitatorius*, Prague, The City of Prague Museum [Muzeum hlavního města Prahy], sign. R 178. Jan Erazim VOCEL, *Miniatury české XVI. století* [Bohemian Miniatures of the 16th Century], Památky archaeologické a místopisné 3, 1859, pp. 241–257, here pp. 247–249; Antonín PODLAHA, *Soupis památek historických a uměleckých v Království českém od pravěku do počátku XIX. století. Královské hlavní město Praha. Hradčany 2. Knihovna kapitulní v Praze* [List of Historical and Artistic Monuments in the Kingdom of Bohemia from Antiquity to the Beginning of the 19th Century, Royal Capital Praha, Hradčany 2, Chapter Library in Prague], Praha 1903, pp. 235–245, No. 122.

Misenus (died 1557), doctor of theology and canon John of Puchov, and humanist and Vyšehrad provost Bohuslav Hodějovský of Hodějov (1525–1553). The memorial text not only reminds of the great fire in 1541 when the St Vitus furniture and some of the music manuscripts were burnt, but it unusually dates the origin of the manuscript back to the reign of Pope Julius III, Emperor Charles V, and King of Bohemia Ferdinand I. We presume that Heinrich Scribonius or another canon could mediate contacts between the Italian Johannes Cavalerius working in Prague and the Prague Old Town painter Fabián Puléř. We can ascribe other representative commissions of Fabián Puléř such as the Žlutice and the Teplice Graduals to this unnoticed cultural circle. Prominent representatives of the Kingdom of Bohemia linked to the Prague royal court of Ferdinand I bore some of their expense. Among them were the Highest Scribe of the Kingdom of Bohemia and the President of the Bohemian Chamber, Volf of Vřesovice on Doubravská Hora, Teplice and Krupka (1532–1569), or the members of the princely family of Plauen that had possessed estates in western Bohemia: Heinrich V of Plauen (1533–1568), his wife Catherine of Brandenburg and Margaret of Salm, widow of High Chancellor Heinrich IV of Plauen (1510–1554). Their coats of arms are presented in the title pages of the aforementioned choral books. Such heraldic decoration of title pages in the music manuscripts reflects possessive relationships with particular towns: the princely family of Plauen possessed Žlutice at that time and Volf of Vřesovice was the owner of Teplice. From this perspective we can see the intricate net of relations and so far unnoticed links among persons from the wide circle of the sovereign's court, the court of Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, and Fabián Puléř, who was the most distinguished figure among the Prague Old Town guild painters in the 1550s.³⁴

In conclusion we can consider the motivations for the book given by the Italian Giovanni de Cavaleriis to Ferdinand I of Habsburg. The illuminated manuscript which was painted in 1557 can be thought of as Cavalerius' gift and token of gratitude for his appointment as provost of Vyšehrad of Saint Peter and Paul. In fact, Johannes Cavalerius was appointed to this post by Ferdinand I in 1557.³⁵ This relationship or commitment is indicated by the attribute *minimus cliens* as Cavalerius introduced himself in the dedication in relation to Emperor Ferdinand I.³⁶ It is essential to interpret a donation of

³⁴ Similar links to the royal court in relation to Prague University are identified by Jaroslava HAUSENBLASOVÁ, *Ferdinand I. a pražský humanistický okruh. Několik poznámek k problematice panovnického mecenátu kolem poloviny 16. století* [Ferdinand I and the Prague Humanist Circle. Several remarks on the ruler's patronage around the middle of the 16th century], *Acta Universitatis Carolinae. Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis. Příspěvky k dějinám Univerzity Karlovy. Sborník k životnímu jubileu PhDr. Michala Svatoše, CSc.*, 47, 2007, No. 1–2, pp. 89–97.

³⁵ A. L. FRIND, *Die Kirchengeschichte*, p. 161.

³⁶ Bonelli reminds of close ties of Cavalerius to Ferdinand I. B. BONELLI, *Monumenta III/2*, p. 337, No. XII. Thanks to the support of the ruler, Cavalerius was also supposed to get a prebend in Neumetz (1562). J. HIRN, *Erzherzog Ferdinand II.*, here II, p. 368. On the close ties between Ferdinand I and the Vyšehrad provosts, see J. F. HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Prodromus*, p. 346; V. RUFFER, *Historie*, p. 240; A. L. FRIND, *Die Kirchengeschichte*, p. 160. On the designation *cliens* in printed dedications expressing gratitude for the support or the intention to get it, see Jan MARTÍNEK, *Humanisté a mecenáši* [Humanists and Patrons], *Listy*



such a manuscript in its symbolic level as a means of communication which confirmed the commitment between the donor and the receiver.³⁷ The manuscript was given to Ferdinand I of Habsburg on an unknown occasion and after that it was placed in the Imperial Court Library deposited in Minoritenkirche in Vienna. In 1576 the Prayer book of Johannes Cavalerius was documented in the oldest inventory of the Imperial Court Library of Hugo Blotius among the Turcica.³⁸

RÉSUMÉ:

The history of the Austrian National Library in Vienna has been associated with a great many Bohemical manuscripts since their medieval beginnings. This situation arises from the close link between Austrian and Bohemian political and cultural history. Unfortunately, we lack primary sources for the history of the Imperial Court Library in the epoch after the death of Maximilian I until 1575, when Hugo Blotius was appointed the first official librarian. Individual acquisitions for the book collection connected with Ferdinand I of Habsburg are less well reconstructed in comparison with the Ambras library of his son Ferdinand of Tyrol. Other manuscripts could be identified on the basis of their personal dedications to Ferdinand I. Among those manuscripts is a tiny illuminated prayer book incorporated by librarian Hugo Blotius into Turcica (Cod. 11704). On the basis of the illuminations this prayer book can be newly identified as an unknown Bohemical manuscript. The decoration is dated and signed. It may be connected with the Prague Old Town guild painter Fabián Puléř (died after 15 December 1562), who has been known as the author of illuminated music manuscripts and contractually documented altar retables. The manuscript was written by Italian Johannes Cavalerius (1524–1580), chaplain and confessor of Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, who dedicated the illuminated prayer book to Emperor Ferdinand I. There are documented contacts between Cavalerius and the Prague Catholic church representatives: he was quite close to the St Vitus and Vyšehrad prelates. We presume that the manuscript illuminated in 1557 may have been meant as a gift expressing Cavalerius' gratitude for being appointed provost of Vyšehrad Chapter of Saint Peter and Paul. In fact, Cavalerius was appointed in 1557. The commission of such a specific manuscript completes the existing image of the relations in the court cultural circle, Catholic representatives of the Church, and the Prague community of guild painters from around the mid-16th century.

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filologické 110, 1987, pp. 25–31, here p. 26.

37 On the book as a gift, see Lenka VESELÁ, *Knihy na dvoře Rožmberků* [Books at the Rosenberg Court], Praha 2005, pp. 58–71; Lucie STORCHOVÁ, *Paupertate styloque connecti. Utváření humanistické učenecké komunity v českých zemích* [Formation of the Scholarly Humanist Community in the Czech Lands], Praha 2011, pp. 130–131; Marta VACULÍNOVÁ, *Knih jako dar. Humanistický básník Pavel z Jizbice (1581–1607) a jeho knihovna* [The Book as a Gift. The Humanist Poet Pavel of Jizbice and his Library], *Miscellanea oddělení rukopisů a starých tisků* 21, 2011, pp. 7–25.

38 In the alphabetical author catalogue the manuscript is catalogued as “Turca — Contra Turcam preces a veteri Testamento collectae, in 8^o [in] membrana scripta”. H. MENHARDT (ed.), *Das älteste Handschriftenverzeichnis*, p. 101.