



אשר הרים לנו ייבא אהרן וכו'

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דורה

הנקרא איסור והתיר

(אמנות)

אשר חיבר הרב רבינו זצמק מדורא אל תהי הסנהדות של עוהרר איסורין אל נשאר הסנהות ועליו ועליו הכיבוד הארוך טוב טעם ולימוד דעת מראה אופני הפלפול והחודד חזיר ומכיר עמי חכמים בחורושו וזקושו ופרוקיו על כל דין ודין סביבו וגם מקדו הסכס השלם מופת הדור בנביא דהסוריה כרכא דבילא ביה דיש מתיבתא וריש גלותא מוהרר בתן בר שמשון אל שפירא הוא הכותן ורע לוורע ולחס לאוכל לחמה של תורה וקרא שמו בישראל אב' וא שפירא כי הוא שפר לוי בדיקוס יבואו בו : מזורף לזה חידוש לבו חידוש רב אבנו מעט אבל כל דין ודין פסק הלכה ומכנהו של עדיה ת פולין ורואי וליטא אשכנז פיהם ויעשרהין ראש זה חרש הוא לא כמצאנו מקדם וכוסף על זה הסיר כל עון ועכשול הטענות אשר כוננו כראשונים כלם מלא קטשונים : אם כהנהגות אשר סביבו אם בדברי המאמר עב' זם חסיד יתיר וחליף פרוץ מרובה על העומד את הכל עשה יפה מווקק שבעתים עד בלתי השאיר בו שום פגול הנה בעשיון רב ע' החכם הכולל מה' ר' דוד דרשאן ז' לכן אסורו אבשי שלומיכם החלבו חנושים לקראת הספר הזה להוציא ביד כל איש ואיש בשבתו בכימו ובלכתו בדרך למען דעת כל עמי הארץ דבר ו' : אל בא אחי תרענו לחוס עיניכם על מעט בקב כחכם הנשם דמי שווין הלא מצער הוא לא כי בערך רוב תועלתו ומוכרו לא ייערכו.

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דרשם פה ק' לזכרון הכירה אשר תחת ממשלת קלונימוס המלך בעברדיוקום ירום הודו ותקאט מלכותו

על ידי קלונימוס בן מהרר מרדכי יפה זל ה'ה



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ORNAMENTATION OF PRAGUE HEBREW BOOKS DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE 16TH CENTURY AS A PART OF BOHEMIAN BOOK DESIGN¹

Petr Voit

Czech historians have tended to overlook domestic non-Czech book printing during the Jagiellonian era, considering it representative of a foreign enclave among the era's Utraquist, Catholic and Brethren print shops focused on the production of texts in the Czech language. This is partly because of Lieben's otherwise groundbreaking depiction of Prague's Hebrew printing industry, which looked at its subject in isolation from other Prague book production.² Older historians did not abandon their national-linguistic approach even after foreign researchers had noticed that the visual side of Jewish and Christian book production showed certain interrelationships.³ This observation was based on the identification of woodblocks by Prague printer Pavel Severin in several Hebrew publications. The advanced architectural border containing the coats of arms of the two Lutheran publishers of Chelčický's postil can thus be found in three instances in the *Mahzor* of 1525 [List no. 8].⁴ The title page woodblock⁵

and one of the page frames⁶ from Severin's *Czech Bible* even made their way into the *Pentateuch* of 1530 [16]. Hayyim Shahor took the border with the coats of arms with him to the Polish town of Olešnica, but the woodblocks that had been created for the *Czech Bible* were returned to Severin and he used them again for his Bible's second edition in 1537. The recent identification of the Lutheran Ondřej Ungnad's ornamental coat of arms in the Hebrew account of the lives of David Reubeni and Solomon Molcho⁷ shows that not even Severin's 130-year-old woodblock could escape being resuscitated,⁸ especially since the heraldic figures of dogs appearing on the woodblock could be associated with the "wild beast" from Molcho's vision. However, the publishers did not find it worth their effort to better adapt the woodblock's narrative potential to its new context by removing the Czech text on the two inscription bands.

Waldemar Deluga recently expanded on our earlier knowledge regarding Hayyim Shahor's and Gershom Kohen's contacts with Pavel Severin, hypothesizing that Hebrew typography shows similar linkages to Church Slavonic books printed in Prague by the Belarusian doctor, translator, and publisher Francysk Heorhij Skoryna.⁹ Since no foreign researchers have had the opportunity to familiarize themselves – whether generally or more intimately –

with the Bohemian terrain, many important interrelationships have been merely hinted at or, more commonly, been overlooked altogether. Even the most comprehensive account of Prague's Hebrew book culture to date (by Bedřich Nosek) did not explicitly set out to engage in a comparative study.¹⁰

In this paper, we attempt to make further progress and, by engaging in an in-depth investigation, show that the occasional borrowing of printing material – a subject that even Nosek ignored – was not a fundamental feature of domestic book culture in the first half of the 16th century. A more important factor to pay attention to is Prague's role as a multicultural center that after the mid-1510's provided the printing trade with more

opportunities than before. In 1507, the conservative Utraquist Mikuláš Konáček and his associate Jan Wolff gained prominence. The shopkeeper Severin's workshop, which he had previously rented out exclusively to the Utraquist Printer of the Prague Bible, apparently began to have alternating tenants. During the interval that the Printer of the Prague Bible was not working, other publishers could ply their trade: Jewish publishers [1–8] after 1512, Jan Moravus in 1513, and later (1517–1519) the Belarusian Skoryna. After Severin's death, the workshop was inherited by his son, the radical Utraquist Pavel Severin of Kapí Hora, who took over the shop in 1520. One question that will probably remain unanswered is whether Jewish printers rented the workshop again at a later date. Starting in 1526, there is a three-year gap in Severin's production that could theoretically have been used to frantically print five editions of Hebrew prayers and hymns, including the *Haggadah* [9–13]. After April 1527, Hebrew publishing activities slowed significantly until July 1529 [14], since Severin formed his workshop and began work on the first edition of his *Czech Bible*, which was published in May 1529.

A more important phenomenon than the journey of three or four

⁵ [*Bible česká*, 1st edition]. Prague: Pavel Severin z Kapí Hory, 5 May 1529 (Knihopis 1098), fol. 1a1: title border with the coat of arms of POT dated "1527", topped with a helmet and a mitre held by two Bohemian lions and surrounded by richly flowing mantling emerging from clouds on which two demi-figures of crowned angels hold gently flowing drapery with a small frame for the title text. Framed by a compact white-line woodcut border decorated with vine shoots and, above, putti playing on a kettledrum and six trombones, on the left, putti and cherubs playing on wind and percussion instruments, on the right, putti carrying the instruments of Christ's Passion and, below, cherubs and putti drawing a carriage with Christ as a king (?) and carrying New Testament symbols in procession: the Evangelium, the Lamb, a cage with a dove and a cross; 275x172 mm in a double frame.

⁶ [*Czech Bible*, 1st edition]. Prague: Pavel Severin z Kapí Hory, 5 May 1529 (Knihopis 1098), fol. 94a and KK1b page frame: at the top an ornamental band with shield in the center; lying along the sides are two putti, the one on the right holding a skull (22 x 208 mm in a frame); at the bottom are three socles with lions' heads, in between them putti playing musical instruments (29 x 208 mm, framed).

⁷ *Hayyat kanah*. [Prague: s.t.n., 1670–1679], fol. 8b (Steinschneider 6959j7; Vinograd 483).

⁸ Franck, Sebastian – Schwarzenberg, Johann von: *O ukrutném a hanebném hřichu opilství. Instrukcí*. Prague: Pavel Severin z Kapí Hory, June 1537 – 1 February 1538 (Knihopis 2576), fol.

⁹ A1b and A1b: coat of arms of Ondřej Ungnad of Sunek topped with a band containing the short motto "GEDNOTA" and a longer band inscribed with "WONDRZEY VNGNAD SWOBODNI PAN ZSVNEKV ANA HLBOKY" (132 x 107 mm, framed). Reprinted in Corvinus, Anton: *Rozjímání o umučení Krista Pána*. Prague: Pavel Severin z Kapí Hory, 14 February 1541 (Knihopis 1625), fol. A1b.

¹⁰ Deluga 1997: 16 and Deluga 2000: 10–11.

¹¹ Nosek 1974: 13–41.

¹ This paper originated as part of the R&D project "Society, Culture and Communication in Czech History" at the Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague (2012–2016). I would like to thank Olga Sixtová, whose bibliographic knowledge is used here, for her valuable advice and for securing photographic documentation of Hebraica (the numbers that follow Hebrew editions refer to the List given above, 100–120).

² Lieben 1927: 88–106.

³ Wengrov 1967: 111–116. Newly also Deluga 2000: 9 and Deluga 2001: 30.

⁴ Chelčický, Petr: *Kniha výkladuov spasitělných*. Prague: Pavel Severin z Kapí Hory, 30 May 1522 (Knihopis 3300), fol. A1a and S6b: architectural title border, in the tympanum above two fantastic animals with long entwined necks, in the corners scrollwork, along the sides acanthus columns with tasselled cords, below between three small columns two shields with the coats of arms of the Myška of Žlunice family (a small boat) and Perknovský family (a wing) (239 x 152 mm, framed).

woodblocks would appear to be the fact that the unprecedented increase in and coexistence of several printing shops resulted in a natural demand for woodcutting workshops. This demand was further increased because publishers no longer ordered only illustration cycles for their publications, but in line with ongoing changes in artistic style began to apply book ornament as well. The previous practice adopted by the Printer of the Prague Bible – which from 1488 to 1505 relied on cooperation with Augsburg, Nuremberg and Strasbourg – was no longer possible. We thus observe the development of a previously unknown feature of the era's book art industry: the distribution of all artists' work into multi-year stages and among several printing houses simultaneously. This situation rules out the possibility that the new wave of local book art was the result of several Prague printers ordering repeated commissions from the same foreign workshops. Although we do not have any written records of local book artists during the Jagiellonian era, we may assume that most of them were trained in Germany and traveled from place to place in search of work. Except for one isolated case, the surrogate names we give to unknown artists for easier identification (all of them for the first time) refer to woodcutters. We cannot say with certainty whether and to what extent they also worked as artists engaged in sketching the designs for the woodblocks.

Our detailed survey shows that all of Prague's printing houses, although they had only limited capacity, encountered an unexpectedly forthcoming attitude among visual artists living in Prague. Since their engagement usually lasted for several years, we can reliably follow their professional growth and their relationship to the patrons who commissioned their work. Like book illuminators during the Hussite and post-Hussite eras, book artists of the early 16th century worked on commissions regardless of the denominational or ethnic background of their employers. Cooperation between Christians and Jews is well known also from Germany and, as we will show later, was possible even in the case of Skoryna and the Jewish Town of Prague.¹¹

The only exception is the late-Gothic Master of the New

Testament, probably the oldest illustrator associated with Prague. He was an exclusive figuralist and, as far as we know, the only book artist in Jagiellonian Prague not to work on Hebrew books. In our opinion, his first work was the New Testament cycle published by the Utraquist

Master of the Brick Background (1510). The first works by the Master of Skoryna's Ornament (1514), Master IP (1514), and the Master of Broad Hatching (1525) appear in Jewish commissions. The Master of Fine Hatching was discovered by Skoryna (1517), and the Master of Kohen's Haggadah was encouraged to work in publishing by Severin (1525). These artists' work can be observed for a surprisingly long time. The following artists spent the longest period of time working for printers – logically, with some intermissions: Master IP (21 years), the Master of Burleigh's Border (20), the Master of Fine Hatching (18), the Master of Broad Hatching (17), and the Master of Skoryna's Ornament (12). Based on today's state of knowledge, the Master of Kohen's Haggadah was active for nine years, and the Master of the Brick Background worked for six years. However, not even the higher concentration of Prague printers was enough to sustain seven artistic workshops in one city. For example, there are no traces of the Master of Fine Hatching during 1525–1535, and it is quite possible that he temporarily left the city. During shorter pauses when there were no commissions, the individual artists may have engaged in creating their own art, none of which has survived, or perhaps they resigned themselves to cutting gingerbread and confectionary forms.

Master IP and the Master of Fine Hatching worked for Utraquist and Jewish printers and Skoryna. The Master of Fine Hatching and the universal Master of Skoryna's Ornament even associated themselves with Brethren printers in Litomyšl (Pavel Olivetský) and Mladá Boleslav (Jiřík Štyrsa). The Master of Burleigh's Border, the Master of Kohen's Haggadah, and the Master of Broad Hatching worked for Konáček, Severin, and Hebrew printers. The Master of the Brick Background worked with Konáček and Jewish printers as well. The need to work with several book artists at once is documented not only by Skoryna's *Biblia Russka*, but also by the *Haggadah* of 1526, whose publishers hired the Master of Kohen's Haggadah, the Master of Skoryna's Ornament, as well as the Master of Burleigh's Border. Since these commissions came from diverse ethnic-linguistic environments, we must assume that, more than at any other time, the artists were dependent on receiving detailed information regarding the publishers' particular ideas and suggestions.

The year 1527, when Pavel Severin founded the country's first artistic workshop dedicated entirely to meeting the needs of his printing house, marks a certain turning point in the history of book design.¹² At this time, we lose track of several artists, and until 1534–1535 only Master IP, the Master of Fine Hatching, the Master of Kohen's Haggadah and the Master of Skoryna's Ornament leave any visible traces. After the early phase of Bohemian book illustration (1507–1527), the local scene is transformed during the following years (1527–1535). Severin's workshop is just barely capable of meeting Pavel and Jan Severin's editorial plans, and there is no time left (and perhaps not much willingness, either) for cooperating with the publishers of Hebrew books. The influx of Nuremberg book art, which was imported by the printers Jan Had (since 1535/36) and later by Jan Günther (1544), naturally bypassed the Jewish printers. Not even the remarkable Master MC, who ap-

¹¹ Burnett 2006: 523–525.

¹² Shamyakin 1990: 291–292 (repro). W. Deluga incorrectly presumes that Skoryna reprinted the original woodblock from the 1497/98 edition of the *New Testament* (see Deluga 1996: 24; Deluga 2000: 9 and Deluga 2001: 31).

¹³ Voit 2012 (forthcoming).

¹⁴ Voit 2006: 130–134 (border), 538–541 (ornamental band) and 737–738 (frame).

Printer of the Prague Bible in his 1497/98 *New Testament*. From then until 1520, after which we find no more of his works, the Master worked for the Utraquist Mikuláš Konáček and possibly also for Skoryna, for whom he prepared a nearly perfect copy (with some minor differences) of a visual depiction of the genealogy of Christ (*Psaltyr*, 1517, fol. 1b), fashioned after the original 1497/98 woodblock.¹² After 1507, seven other artists worked in Prague at the same time as the Master of the New Testament. The typographically conservative Konáček instigated the late-Gothic book art of the Master of Burleigh's Border (1507) and the

peared in 1552 in connection with printer Jan Kosořský, worked for the city's Jewish printers. As a result, until 1566 (when the peculiar Master of Elongated Figures began decorating them), Hebrew books were decorated by reusing older woodblocks. As opposed to the work of Konáč and Severin, most Hebrew books were not illustrated. This was partly because of the fact that most of the published literature was religious in nature. Since, however, narrative illustration did make its way into some titles (*Zemirot*, 1514, and *Haggadah*, 1526), we cannot ignore the possibility that the limited number of illustrations was the result of limited financing. Martin Luther's early publications and those of Pavel Olivetský and Jiřík Štyrsa – who worked for the Unity of the Brethren – followed the rule that the reader's attention should not be distracted from the text by the inclusion of illustrations. Thus the universally applied non-textual element for both Hebrew as well as Brethren publications became book ornament: ornamental bands, frames and borders that played an illustrative role as well.²⁴ If we ignore individualized examples of such ornament (symbols, printer's devices, and heraldic signs), the remaining visual motifs were based on general ornamental traditions from antiquity and the Old Testament. Architectural elements (columns, pillars, and tympanums) defined the space for vegetative, zoomorphic and figurative creations, often inspired by late-medieval illumination. Book ornament was reproduced *en masse* using what is known as white-line woodcut. This alternative to classical woodcutting, featuring a black drawing on white background, had been popular in Italy as early as the 1470's, and made its way into Germany and Switzerland shortly thereafter. The white-line woodcut arrived in Bohemia with some delay, however, and its emergence is associated with the beginning of Prague Hebrew book printing in 1512. Local typographers kept it in use all the longer. By "ornamental band", we refer to the oblong decoration that had been in use, with various stylistic alterations, since the Late Antiquity. This element appeared in printed books after the 1460's with the emergence of Mannerism. In the oldest incunabula, ornamental bands show a significant influence by Gothic drolleries. The fact that the acanthus or hop leaf motifs are rendered in contours indicates the possibility of subsequent coloring. The bands were adapted to the new requirements by being shortened and inelegantly altered (adjusted if too short or too long), which dimin-



02 Seder Zemirot u-Birkat ha-Mazon. Prague, 1514. JMP, sg. 64.981, fol. [25a], benediction over the wine.

ished their original stylistic purity. The title or page frame was created by assembling four segments. Originally, the design formed a compositional whole and at least the two vertical parts (columns acting as supporting architectural elements) would remain symmetric. However, its greater popularity came as a result of its flexibility, which enabled the combination of anthropomorphic, vegetative, or zoomorphic ornaments within the ornamental bands – another reason why the frame rarely managed to create an illusion of depth. By comparison, the border was characterized by a unified composition, since it was reproduced using a compact woodblock whose center part could be either lowered or completely removed in order to set the text. Initially, the purpose of the border was to optically emphasize dedications and forewords. After the introduction of a separate title page, the border established itself on the title page as well. Despite the continuous increase in the narrative potential of the Renaissance border's visual elements, the relationship between the picture and text typical for illustration remained very loose. This approach allowed the use of the same borders in works of different

genres. In terms of morphology, we distinguish between two types of borders. The older type, which is found in Italy in the late 1470's, was right-angled and copied the rectangular shape of the page. The border's rapid stylistic development led to the emergence of another type with a non-rectangular composition that "floats" in the free space of the title page. It was probably introduced to Bohemia in 1543 by the printer Ondřej Kubeš when he used an old woodblock from his colleague Friedrich Peypus of Nuremberg.²⁵ In Hebrew typography, this border first appears in Isserles's *Torat ha-Olah* of 1569 [32]. It is the first Bohemian example of a title border by the Master of Elongated Figures containing a realistic portrait: a front view of printer Mordecai Kohen, portrayed on a rollwork shield at the bottom of the border.²⁶ In addition to ornamental bands, frames and borders for the title page and other important pages, Hebrew books are also distinguished by the small frames for opening words (probably intended for subsequent coloring). These do not occur in Christian book printing. The oldest available example from Prague – a 1514 work by the Master of Burleigh's Border – was definitely inspired by Italian frames that were placed around text illustrations in the early 16th century.²⁷

It is indeed worth noting that this is the first and last time that Italian influences – which the Master of Burleigh's Border spread without any greater artistic skills and which the Master of Skoryna's Ornament introduced purposefully and professionally – arrive in Bohemia ahead of trends from Germany. In 1514, both artists were on essentially the same starting line as Urs Graf, who in the early the 1520's began to adopt and develop early-Renaissance Italian ornament in Basel.²⁸ However, the Bohemian adaptations were generally

lower in quality because many local artists took the same free approach to ornamental bands and borders as they did to illustrations, without paying detailed attention to symmetry – one of the fundamental principles of vegetative and architectural ornament. Nevertheless, each was determined, according to his own possibilities, to adopt the early-Renaissance motifs and compositions much earlier than their colleagues in other areas of book production. The new artistic style did not begin to penetrate into Bohemia until the 1520's. Under the influence of German humanistic publications, it made its way into printing thanks to the composers at and owners of Utraquist printing houses – and, thanks to Polish impulses, by bookbinders.²⁹ Around the same time in 1514, the Master of Burleigh's Border and the Master of Skoryna's Ornament began to incorporate the patrons' devices into their commissions, giving us reason to presume that either they or the



03 Pius II – Papa: *Kronika česká*. Prague: Mikuláš Konáč z Hodiškova, 1510. Strahov Library, Prague, DRV IV, fol. o8b.

people ordering their work (Mikuláš Konáč and the group centered around Gershom Kohen) were closely related.

The **Master of Burleigh's Border (1507–1527)** is named after the woodblock that Mikuláš Konáč ordered in 1514 for the title page of Burleigh's anthology *Životové a mravná naučení mudrcuo* (The Lives and Moral Teachings of the Sages).²⁰ The woodblock is one of only a few (if not the only) examples of a staff border in Bohemia. It was used quite rarely even in Germany (I have so far identified only one similar ornament – in Augsburg, 1520).²¹ The cradle of this motif was Italy; roughly around the same time that Konáč ordered his border, Italian influences made themselves felt during preparations of the Hebrew *Pentateuch* (1514). We thus cannot overlook the fact that two of Prague's cultural environments sought to enrich book art using modern style elements.

Of course, we have no biographical data on the Master of Burleigh's Border, and it is not even certain that he originally came from Bohemia. He was trained in Germany. He was a block-cutter who reproduced early Renaissance ornament using a hard, late-Gothic woodcut style similar to Cologne's steel cuts from the 1480's. On the previously mentioned Konáč woodblock, this approach can be seen in the rough hatching of kneeling, shield-bearing angels, as well as by their stiff gestures. The woodcut's lines are relatively distinct and thin out characteristically at the ends. We encounter the same style of ornamental bands on Czech-language single-page almanacs that were printed in Nuremberg starting around the year 1505.²² During his relatively long career, the Master worked for several local printing houses, creating ornamental bands, frames, borders, initials and figurative as well as heraldic woodblocks. His last work was the border for the Hebrew *Siddur* (1527). A year later, Konáč closed his printing business for political

²⁵ Bindus de Senis: *Biblii zlatá*. Prague: Ondřej Kubeš ze Žipů, 3 April 1543 (Knihopis 14740), fol. A1a: border with two cherubs playing musical instruments on the sides of an astragal target; panoplies with one dead bird on the left and two on the right, placed along the vertical arabesque pillars (175 x 120 mm). See Luther 1909–1913: tab. 116c.

²⁶ Nosek 1974: 26 mentions only a portrait of a bearded man in a beret.

²⁷ Isphording – Amim 1988: 73–74.

²⁸ Wolff 1913: 16–24 and Kiessling 1929: 25–26 and fig. 21–27.

²⁹ Nuska 1962: 469–494 and Nuska 1963: 70–71.

²⁰ Burleigh, Walter: *Životové a mravná naučení mudrcuo*. Prague: Mikuláš Konáč z Hodiškova, 1514 (Knihopis 1371), fol. A1a: at the top an inscription band reading "N[icolaus] I[n] LACV"; along the sides ornamental staffs (the right one topped by a bird with spread wings); below two cherubs holding a coat of arms with the letters "N[icolaus] I[m]pressor]" (107 x 76 mm in a double frame).

²¹ *Testamenta duodecim patriarcharum*. Augsburg: Johann Miller 1520 (VD16 T 574), fol. A1a (although not mentioned in Luther 1909–1913).

²² [*Minuce na rok 1506?* Nuremberg: Hieronymus Hölzel, 1505?] (not mentioned in Knihopis; unique fragment held by National Library in Prague, shelf mark 54 S 387) and Etzlaub, Erhard: [*Minuce na rok 1517* (Léta od narození Syna Božieho Spasitele našeho Ježíše Krista tisício pětistého xvij)]. (Nuremberg: Adam Dyon, 1516) (Knihopis 2383 ČD). Both of these parallels are closer to the Master of Burleigh's border than the examples published in Deluga 2000: 41–42, fig. 6–7.

reasons. We may thus hypothesize that, even though he had other engagements, the Master was his chief artist. The coat of arms of the Prague Old Town, printed by Konáč in 1507, can be considered to be the Master's first documented work.²³ Konáč was in possession of a second, artistically somewhat better version in 1510 when publishing Pius II's *Kronika česká* (Bohemian Chronicle).²⁴ Several years later, the Master made a simplified version of the imperial coat of arms for Konáč,²⁵ which was printed in the Bohemian edition of Cuspinian's report.²⁶ But Konáč ordered many additional works from the Master. The Burleigh's anthology, for instance, was accompanied by 41 portrait woodblocks, most of which were white-line woodcuts. From the rough execution of the figures, we may guess that figurative work was not the Master's domain; his last figurative work was apparently in 1514. We are convinced of his authorship of the cycle

based on the frequent use of white vegetation or zoomorphic elements, which were used in a desperate attempt at embellishing the black background of demi-figures.

To the Master of Burleigh's Border we may also ascribe, without too much difficulty, half the repertoire of initials that Konáč used in his publications during 1516–1528. In all likelihood, however, Konáč was not the first to introduce the Master of Burleigh's Border to working with initials. In our view, the Master created two sets of simple small initials for Litomyšl-based printer Pavel Olivetský as early as 1507 and 1508.²⁷ Konáč's unique, bizarrely illustrated letters, which had their premiere in 1516 and 1526, show a clear connection to the initials used by the Basel-based printer Michael Furter.²⁸ Two other brilliant – and by contemporary domestic standards, extensive – sets by the Master were first used in 1522 in the so-called *Kancionál*

²³ Petrarca, Francesco: *Sedm žalmuov kajících*. Prague: Mikuláš Konáč z Hodíškova – Johannes Wolff, 11 January 1507 (Knihopis 7051), fol. *4b symbol of POT, on the bottom left is an M referring to the owner of the woodblock (70 × 91 mm, framed).

²⁴ Pope PIUS II: *Česká kronika*. Transl. Mikuláš Konáč z Hodíškova. Prague: Mikuláš Konáč z Hodíškova 1510 (Knihopis 13884), fol. O8b: Coat of arms of the Old Town of Prague (87 × 71 mm, framed).

²⁵ Cuspinian, Johannes: *Wo und wie Ro. Kay. Maieatat und die Kunig von Hungern, Poln und Peham zuaamen kumen und zu Wienn eingeritten aendt*. [Wien: Johann Singriener d. Ä. 1515] (VD16 C 6485), fol. A1a.

²⁶ Cuspinian, Johannes: *Sjezd císařské Velebnoati v Vidni*. Prague: Mikuláš Konáč z Hodíškova, 1515 (Knihopis 1666), fol. A1a: imperial coat of arms, with the coats of arms of four lands in the corners: Bohemia, Hungary, Poland and Lusatia (87 × 62 mm, framed). Reprinted in: [Artikule] *Sněm obecní králem Jeho Miloati položený*. Prague: Mikuláš Konáč z Hodíškova, after 21 December 1522 (Knihopis 272 ČD), fol. A1a. B. Malotín registers this coat of arms only from a later printing (Malotín 1993: 469).

²⁷ [Listy Tomáše z Přelouče alias bratra Šimona a Tomáše Lipenského]. Litomyšl: Pavel Olivetský z Olivetu, 1507? (Knihopis 16343) This is the first use of a set of contour letters with a black line and white vegetative ornament on a black background in a double frame measuring c.14 × 13 mm; Prokop z Jindřichova Hradce: [Spis, proč lidé kvíře moci nuceni býti nemají]. Litomyšl: Pavel Olivetský z Olivetu, (1508) (Knihopis AD). This is the first use of a set of contour initials with a black line on a black background in a double frame measuring 10 × 10 mm; see also Lukáš Pražský: *Odpověď bratří na spis [Martina z Počátek], kterýž učiněn jest i vytiskován v Praze proti bratřím*. [Litomyšl: Pavel Olivetský z Olivetu, after 5 November (1514)] (Knihopis 5027 ČD). This is the first use of contour initial letter B with a black line and white vegetative ornament on a black background in a double frame measuring 18 × 18 mm.

²⁸ Jennings 1908: 32 and Wolff 1913: 12 (repro).



04, *Siddur*. Prague: Isaiah ben Asher ha-Levi [Horowitz], Jekuthiel ben Isaac Dan, Mordecai ben Eliezer, Meir ben David, Shemariah ben David, Solomon ben Samuel ha-Levi, 1512. The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Opp. 4° 1188, fol. [75a].

Miřinského (The Hymnal of Miřinský).²⁹ They survived for several decades and ended their lifespan in the 1540's while in use by the printer Jan Chocenský.³⁰ These contour letters

²⁹ [Písně staré, gruntovní a velmi utěšené. Takřečený kancionál Miřinského]. Prague: Mikuláš Konáč z Hodíškova, 19 July 1522 (Knihopis 5617).

³⁰ Erasmus, Desiderius: [Spis ustanovení v církvi. Prague: Jan Chocenský, after 4 May 1542] (Knihopis 2367 CD) and Černý, Jan: Lékařské a velmi užitečné opatrování proti neduhům morním. Prague: Jan Chocenský, 1542 (Knihopis 1771 CD and 3473). We did not find any other occurrences of Konáč's initials with Chocenský.

³¹ Butsch 1878: 63 and tab. 11b.

³² Černý, Jan: Spis o nemocech morních. Prague: [Pavel Severin z Kapi Hory], 10 October 1530 (Knihopis 1770), fol. A1a.

³³ Pentateuch. Olešnica: Hayyim ben David Shahor, 1530 (BHB 201617), end of parashah Va-yehi; incipit border with a tympanum at the top, two cornucopia at the bottom, and a masaron in the middle.

³⁴ Voit 2012 (forthcoming).

letters with an opulent white floral and zoomorphic decoration on a black background were probably a simplified copy of the early Renaissance alphabets used by Octavian Scot or Johann Tacuino de Tridino.³¹ Their harder and more massive bodies provides a pleasant contrast with their more fragile decorative features.

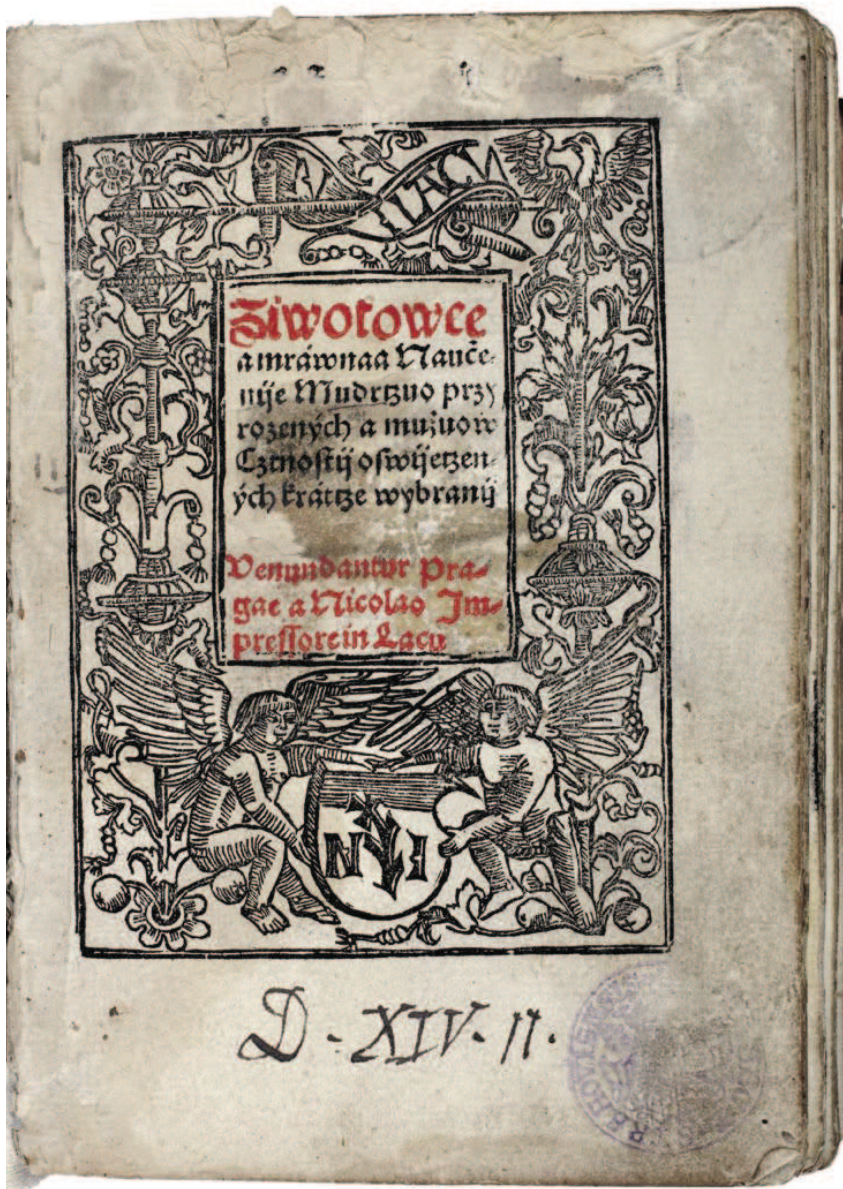
The Jewish consortium of publishers and printers began working with the Master of Burleigh's Border as early as during the production of the 1512 edition of the *Siddur* [1]. The commission resulted in the creation of four kinds of stylistically uniform ornaments that resonated quite well



06 Walter Burleigh: *Životové* [...]. Strahov Library, Prague, DR IV 23, fol. 71b.

with the style of Hebrew type. The first two were two slightly different vegetative bands showing birds with spread wings, made using the white-line woodcut technique. Here, too, the distinct lines characteristically thin out towards the ends like on old metalcut. We should point out that the exactly same cutting style can be seen on the title frame by the Utraquist Pavel Severin³² and on the incipit border that the Jewish printer Hayyim Shahor took with him to the Silesian town of Olešnica.³³ To the best of our knowledge, Severin and Shahor published the woodblocks in 1530, but they could also have been the Master's earlier creations. The same carving style can be found in the vegetative ornamentation of incipit letters in the *Siddur* and in the initials that appear a little later in the fragment of an edition of the *Selihot*. Except for several bold attempts on Bohemian incunabula almanacs and juvenilia by Pavel Olivetský in Litomyšl, these initials are some of the oldest in the history of pre-1515 Bohemian book design.³⁴

In order to give the *Siddur* a compelling conclusion, the consortium commissioned a full-page device of the publishers and printers. Its central motif – a double-crowned Shield of David – expressed the publishers' religious affiliation. We consider this woodblock, whose edges are filled with personal symbols and names



05 Walter Burleigh: *Životové a mravná naučení mudrcuo*. Prague: Mikuláš Konáč z Hodíškova, 1514. Strahov Library, Prague, DR IV 23, fol. A1a.

on inscription bands, to be the first and oldest record of a printers' device – at least within the scope of Prague book printing. By comparison, the Old Town coat of arms printed at the end of the *Siddur* is already the third version used by the Master of Burleigh's Border that we know of today. It offers no artistic innovations over the older ones. The stiff mantling only confirms that the late Gothic approach has not changed since the time of the Printer of Prague Bible (1505).³⁵ We may thus consider the possibility that the coat of arms could have been created by the Printer of the Prague Bible at an earlier date and that it was used in the *Siddur* as an expression of gratitude towards the Old Town council for the possibility to carry on the printing trade. A year later, the woodblock fell into the hands of the Utraquist Jan Moravus,³⁶ leading us to hypothesize that Moravus had close relations to the Jewish consortium: The 1512 Hebrew prayer book and the 1513 Utraquist Creed may have originated in the same Old Town workshop that the shopkeeper Severin leased out on a short-term basis during the period of reduced activities of the Printer of the Prague Bible (1512–1519).³⁷

The Master of Burleigh's Border remained in contact with Jewish clients later as well. Using his characteristic white-line woodcut technique, he created ornamental bands with foliage and fanciful birds for the four-piece text frames in the *Zemiroth* (1514) [3], and the *Pentateuch* (1514–1518) [4]. These were later used in variable compositions in the *Pentateuch* (1530) [16], and the 1533–1534 edition of the *Mahzor* [18], with the addition of two single-piece text frames. Standing along the sides of the first are Adam and Eve; the second shows two putti. Again, however, these are evidently the Master's older works. Thanks to his work, the visual component of the 1526 *Haggadah* [12], is enriched by the use of a new set of woodcut letters with plant and animal themes. Their style is similar to Konáč's commissions since the year 1516. Some letters from the *Haggadah* were later used in the *Selihot* of 1529 [14], and, after some modifications, in the *Pentateuch* of 1530, and the *Haggadah*, c. 1530–1540 [17].

In addition to these minor works, the Master also broke through as the creator of the borders for the *Yotzerot* (1526) [11], and the *Siddur* (1527) [13]. These differ significantly in quality. With the older border the average illustrator already struggled with the elementary symmetry of two pairs of ornamental strings, and the hurried cutting work led the Master to produce an imperfect line. The quality



07 Seder Zemiroth u-Birkat ha-Mazon. Prague, 1514. JMP, sg. 64.981, fol. [1a].

was further worsened by the problematic reproduction on parchment. Nevertheless, the stylization of the wine leaves in the upper part of the border in *Yotzerot* shows a relationship to the supplementary ornament of staffs on Konáč's older border in Burleigh's anthology, and in its characteristic cutting style the Gersonite printer's device with four black-and-white foliage plaquettes proclaims its affiliation with the younger *Siddur* (1527). In fact, its border – used twice in the publication – shows obvious artistic ambitions and it is much more elegant. The white-line woodcut once again creates a visual rigidity. Surprising is the unusually diverse and asymmetric content of the vegetative columns on the left and right parts. In the top center is a vase with a symmetrically composed bouquet of flowers. Kneeling on the bottom are shield-bearing cherubs, drawn in a more advanced manner than in the identical motif found in Konáč's border for Burleigh's text (1514). In places, the border of the *Siddur* is penetrated by a jagged trifoliate ornament very similar to

³⁵ *Tento traktát jest o mládenci [...] slove Pán rady*. Prague: [Printer of the Prague Bible], 24 September 1505 (Knihopis 6829 ČD), fol. C8b. Coat of arms of POT (170 × 115 mm, framed).

³⁶ [Konfese] *O vieře svaté, kterouž Čechové a Moravané drží*. Prague: Jan Moravus, 22 December 1513 (Knihopis 16873 ČD), fol. C3b. For more on the printer, see Boldan 2005: 137–149.

³⁷ Thanks to Moravus's textura, acquired in 1513 by the Printer of the Prague Bible, J. Vobr broached the idea of a closer level of collaboration between the two craftsmen than was previously thought possible (Vobr 1993: 215).



08 *Siddur*. Prague: Solomon ben Samuel ha-Levi with his son Jacob, 1527. National Library of Israel, R8° 91 A 579, fol. [79a].

the stylized infill of the tips of the outlined Shield of David from the 1512 printer's device. These similarities further confirm our theory that they were created by the same artist. While we have no difficulties in identifying the author of the ornamentation in the *siddur*, the bad condition of the parchment folio prevents us from declaring with certainty that the Master of Burleigh's Border is the author of the artistic elements in the *Siddur* (1515) [5]. At the bottom of the relatively casually carved full-page border, which was also adopted for the 1519 edition [6], there is a crowned shield with a *Magen David* carried by two unusually plump little angels. Their dynamic poses are created using only an outline without any hatching, which may indicate subsequent coloring was considered already when the wood-

block was commissioned. During the time that the Master of Burleigh's Border received commissions from Konáč (1507–1526) and for Hebrew books (1512–1527), Francysk Heorhij Skoryna expressed an interest in employing him as well. Sometime during 1516–1517 (i.e., at the same time as Konáč), he began with commissions of initials for a Church Slavonic translation of the Bible.³⁸ These artistically expressive and distinctly carved white letters on a black background had a delicate but not too elaborate plant or animal ornament. The hypothesis that Skoryna was in contact with the Master



09 *Akafist Živonosnomu grobu Gospodnju*. Vilnius: Francisk Heorhij Skoryna, c.1522, fol. 1a. Nemirovskij 1999 (Repro).

³⁸ Shamyakin 1990: 344–347 (repro).
³⁹ *Akafist Živonosnomu grobu Gospodnju*. Vilnius: Francysk Heorhij Skoryna, c.1522 (Nemirovskij 1999: 43), fol. 1a. W. Deluga places the origin of the ornamental band either in Nuremberg (due to the similarity with Schedel's *Chronicle*), or into the context of Bohemian book art (Deluga 1997: 19).
⁴⁰ Etzlaub, Erhard: [*Minuce na rok 1517 (Léta od narozenie Syna Božieho Spasitele našeho Ježíše Krista tisícého pětistého xvij)*]. (Nuremberg: Adam Dyon, 1516) (Knihopis 2383 ČD).
⁴¹ *List od papeže Lva*. [Litomyšl: Pavel Olivetský z Olivetu, after 6 March 1521] (Knihopis 4771); Lukáš Pražský: *Odpověď bratří na spis Martina Lutera*. [Litomyšl: Pavel Olivetský z Olivetu], 16 September 1523 (Knihopis 5026); Lukáš Pražský: *Odpověď na spis Kalencuo*. [Litomyšl: Pavel Olivetský z Olivetu, 23 July 1523 (Knihopis 5028); Hánek, Martin: *Spis o potřebných věcech křesťanských*. [Prague: Pavel Olivetský z Olivetu], after 2 May 1524 (Knihopis 15607).

Chronicle.⁴² Compared to the portraits of philosophers created by the Master of Burleigh's Border in 1514, this cycle of rulers differs significantly in its composition – the figures of the rulers are depicted in throne poses within interiors of the philosophers by a rear brick wall, while the demi-figures of the philosophers in Burleigh's anthology emerge from an unidentifiable space filled, at most, with a white ornament of the same type as the one that the Master of Burleigh's Border used on decorative ornamental bands. From the two title woodblocks, we can tell that Konáč continued with his commissions until 1516. Although these commissions were commercially important, the quality of craftsmanship is poor. Nevertheless, the artist who drew the secular rulers had an excellent understanding of the content of the published works.⁴³

We also encounter the artistic approach typical for the *Bohemian Chronicle* – i.e., enclosing the interior within a brick wall – in the 1514 edition of the *Zemiroth* [3]. The illustration scheme emphasizing the secular environment and everyday themes is similar to the Master of Kohen's Haggadah, who will be discussed later. The Master of the Brick Background had to base his four narrative illustrations on information provided from his Jewish clients. This is confirmed by the wine cup held by a seated man. By comparison, two versions of a hunt – the first showing hares caught by their heads in a net and the second showing hares leaping over the net – are already found in medieval Hebrew manuscripts. According to some interpretations, the motif of the



11 Pius II – papa: *Česká kronika*. Prague: Mikuláš Konáč z Hodíškova, 1510. Strahov Library, Prague, DR IV 10, fol. B6b.

hare hunt (*yakenhaz* in yiddish) may have served, through the letters Y K N H Z, as a mnemonic device for remembering certain ritual acts.⁴⁴

The **Master of Skoryna's Ornament (1514–1526)** is one of the most significant phenomena of Bohemian book art prior to the publishing of the *Czech Bible* (1529). We encounter his first traces during the same period when, inspired by Mikuláš Konáč, the Master of Burleigh's Border was creating one of the first local borders. Unlike his rival, who took his time shedding the late Gothic style, the Master of Skoryna's Ornament adopted

the artistic style of the Renaissance from the beginning. In our view, the frame from the Hebrew *Pentateuch*, 1514–1518 [4], can be considered one of the Master's juvenilia. This architectural frame originated as a white-line woodcut in 1514, at a time when the richly subsidized production was not yet threatened. Following his clients' instructions, the Master thus could make two woodcut versions differing in the iconographic contents of the nearly square upper panels. In the first version (A1), the identical frame (state A) contains a panel showing two angels holding the Gersonite printer's device; in the second (B1), it is complemented by a woodblock of a Gothic rib vault and the emblems of Prague Jewish

⁴² Pius II – Papa: *Česká kronika*. Transl. Mikuláš Konáč z Hodíškova. Prague: Mikuláš Konáč z Hodíškova, 1510 (Knihopis 13884). Portrait cycle; four woodblocks (fols. A6b, A7b, A8a, B1a) were cut by a less skilled assistant. The inscriptions on some of the protagonists' cloaks are difficult to read (fols. C6a "ZAI", fol. C7a "MIN NAS", fol. C8a "IGL IM" and fol. D2a "SMD SNI"). Any relationship with the symbols of Antiquity is impossible, however, because the enthroned figures are depicted with the attributes of Christian rulers (they wear ducal hats and hold scepters and orbs with crosses).

⁴³ Boccaccio, Giovanni: *Pamphila mládence ctného z Centinovelle rozprávka*. Prague: Mikuláš Konáč z Hodíškova, 16 May 1514 (Knihopis AD), fol. A1a: a dying man in bed, a suffering woman seated beside him (78 × 62 mm, framed); *Snář*. Prague: Mikuláš Konáč z Hodíškova, 1516 (Knihopis 15543 ČD), fol. A1: a woman and a man sleeping in bed (approx. 63 × 45 mm, framed, framed with the caption "Snově těm prospívají, ktož k [nim opatrnost mievají]").

⁴⁴ Lieben 1927: 102. More recently, and with doubts, see Metzger 1973: 98–103.

Town and Old Town. The first version opened the Book of Genesis; the second version, the Book of Exodus. Already during this printing, the woodblock of the frame cracked horizontally in the middle of the side columns.

As some of the details of the frame and the square panels unmistakably testify, the design was drawn by Master IP: His cycle used by Konáč in *Zrcadlo múdrosti* (The Mirror of Wisdom, 1516) contains counterparts to the physiognomy of the two cherubs climbing a garland, the ornaments under the garlands, the small lions along the sides, and even the angle of the wings of the shield-bearing angels.⁴⁵ Since



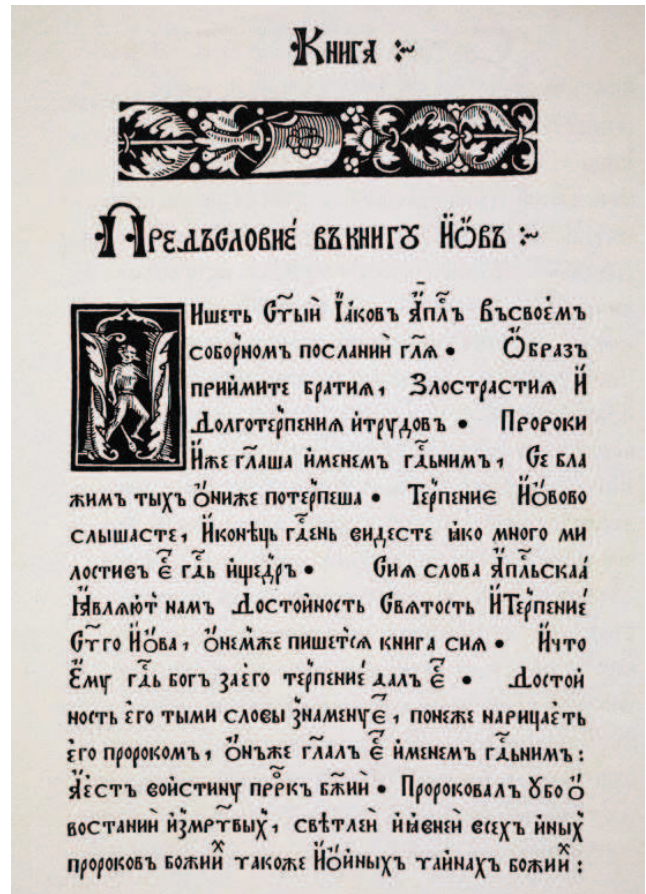
10 *Seder Zemiroth u-Birkat ha-Mazon*. Prague: Gershom ben Solomon ha-Kohen, Meir ben Jacob ha-Levi Epstein, Hayyim ben David Shahor, Meir ben David, 1514. JMP, sg. 64.981, fol. [27a].

the exceptionally advanced typography of the *Pentateuch* shows Soncinian influences or was the direct result of cooperation with an Italian compositor, it is also possible that Master IP was drawing on foreign influences. We can nevertheless rule out German influence here, since book artists working for German printers did not begin to introduce the main element of the supporting structure – two bulging columns hung with flowing tassels – until the year 1520 (Matthes Maler of Erfurt and Friedrich Peypus of Nuremberg).⁴⁶

Waldemar Deluga sees a similarity between the angels holding the Gersonite printer's device from the *Pentateuch* frame and the angels in an illustration from Skoryna's *Biblia Ruska* (*Kniga Ischod*, 1519, fol. 45b).⁴⁷ However, Skoryna's illustrator was clearly more artistically confident and mature than both authors of the *Pentateuch* frame. The same differences can be seen in the cutting work for the frame and in *Zrcadlo múdrosti*: The Master of Skoryna's Ornament incorporated the illustrator's more advanced artistry, while the cutter of the cycle of fables was unable to completely break free from the somewhat stiff old style. We may presume that the monogram M in the Gersonite printer's device, placed under a pair of hands giving a blessing, is the signature of the Master of Skoryna's Ornament, but we cannot unequivocally rule out the possibility that this letter refers to one of the printers. Similarly, Deluga assigned the monogram to the frame's author but in doing so succumbed to the false impression that it was identical to the monogram MZ found on Skoryna's phenomenal portrait from the *Biblia Ruska*, which we will refer to later. We do not consider Deluga's hypothesis to be sufficiently credible.⁴⁸ In our opinion, the only thing that appears to be certain is that both works – the frame from the *Pentateuch* and the portrait from the *Bible* – were drawn by the same person, Master IP.

During the first half of 1515 work on the *Pentateuch* came to a halt. Work recommenced in the summer of 1517, when the producers' financial situation had improved, and the book was successfully completed in January 1518. By then, however, the Master of Skoryna's Ornament was already employed full-time by Francysk Heorhij Skoryna. Wishing to maintain the entire edition's artistic uniformity, the printers or publishers of the *Pentateuch* had to accede to a provisional solution and had to make do with what they had for the opening of the next three Old Testament books (Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy). Leviticus thus opens with a basic version of the cracked frame (state A), i.e., framing three sides of the page, without the upper square panel. The Book of Numbers opens with the same version, except that the side columns were covered over to make room for the incipit. In the Book of Deuteronomy, the compelling center panel with the emblems of the Prague Jewish Town and Prague Old Town was sacrificed in favor of the incipit. A significant portion of the original version (B1) was erased and only the Gothic rib vaulting (B2) remained on the woodblock.

The use of interesting variations of the woodblocks cut in 1514 did not end with the *Pentateuch*. The architectural frame came in handy in the *Mahzor*, 1522 [7]. By then, however, the frame's previous damage had caused it to break



13 *Kniga Iova*. Prague: Francisk Heorhij Skoryna, 1517, fol. 1b. Nemirovskij 1998 (Repro).

apart, and the side columns were symmetrically shortened in the place of the crack (state B). The central area could have been filled in using the woodblock with angels and the Gersonite printer's device, but because this would have disrupted the proportionality of the composition, the partially erased woodblock with the arch from the Book of Deuteronomy (B2) was used instead. The old set of woodblocks served for the second edition of the *Pentateuch*, 1530 [16]. The previous reluctance to radically alter the old woodblock from the *Mahzor* fell by the wayside, and so the upper part of the scene with the arch, garland and the tips of the cherubs' wings was sacrificed in order to maintain the proportions between the reduced frame and the remaining panel with the angels. In removing these parts, the woodblock was conveniently reduced in size, and so for Genesis and Exodus only the Gersonite printer's device remained, supported by the two mutilated angels (A2). The opening pages of the books of Numbers and Deuteronomy were decorated in the same manner as in the previous edition of the *Pentateuch*. However, during 1530 the woodblocks apparently reached the end of their lifetime, and so the *Mahzor*, 1549–1550 [25], had to be decorated using an older ornament. The book nevertheless concludes with the reduced

⁴⁶ Pseudo-Cyrillus (Bonihannes de Messana): *Zrcadlo múdrosti*. Prague: Mikuláš Konáč z Hodiškova, 1516 (Knihopis 1717 ČD), fol. A6a (lion cub), G3a (figure), G5a, H1a, J2a etc. (ornament), H6a and N7a (wings).

⁴⁷ Luther 1909-1913: tab. 66, 66a, 113.

⁴⁸ Deluga 2000: 10–11. See Shamyakin 1990: 337 (repro).

⁴⁹ Deluga 2000: 10–11 and Deluga 2001: 30 raise doubts as to the identity of the monograms M and MZ in favor of the hypothesis that there is a connection with the woodcut of St. Wenceslaus in the 1499 *Olomouc Psalter*. The author of the woodcut was the Swiss illustrator and painter Hans Fries (HF), who never worked in Bohemia. See Hlobil 1999: 531–537 and Villiger 2001: 230–232.



14 Ornamental bands used in Skoryna's *Biblia Ruska*, 1517–1519. Shamyakin 1990 (Repro).

woodblock showing the angels and the Gersonite printer's device (A2) used separately.

After the frames for the first Hebrew *Pentateuch* had been created and production had come to a halt, the Master of Skoryna's Ornament was, probably starting in 1515, contracted to work for the Belarusian Skoryna. As we documented above, the new artistic style had first made an impact on Prague's book art slightly earlier (1514), though only minimally, on title pages. Having previously spent time in Padua and Krakow, Skoryna arrived in Prague armed with a familiarity with the full range of early Renaissance typography. Working in a rented printing press in Prague, during 1517–1519 he succeeded in publishing 22 books of the Old Testament under the common name of the *Biblia Ruska*. As a result, Prague was – for a short period, anyway – home to three mutually influencing and perhaps also artistically competing areas of book printing: Utraquist, Jewish and Church Slavonic. We do know of relations between Skoryna and the Jewish Town. During the first phase (1517–1518) Skoryna's translations used the Latinized form of Hebrew expressions. But from 20 December 1518 (when he published the Book of Joshua as part of his *Biblia Ruska*) until the end of 1519, he used phonetic transcriptions of Ashkenazic pronunciation. From this, we may infer that, probably after the publishing of the Hebrew *Pentateuch* and no later than late 1518, he found a suitable and willing advisor in the Prague ghetto.⁴⁹

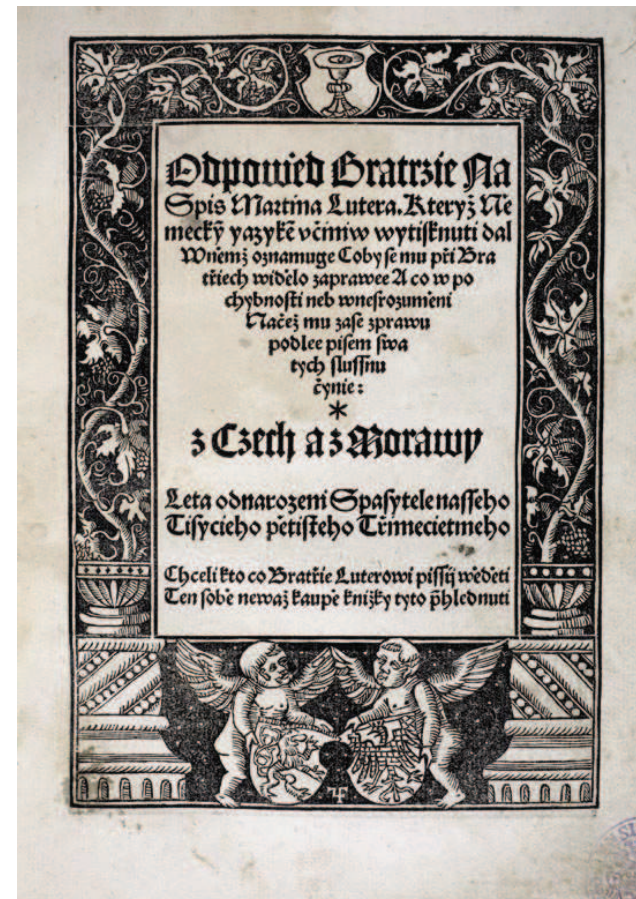
Apparently working on the basis of his clients' instructions or using Italian incunabula and paleotypes as models, the Master of Skoryna's Ornament used white-line woodcut to create several dozen short narrow ornamental bands for the *Biblia Ruska*, many of which Skoryna continued to use after moving to Vilnius.⁵⁰ The bands were not decorated with the continuous foliage commonly used in wall almanacs from the early 16th century. They evolved into friezes whose central motif – a vase, bouquet, mascarón or ornamental plate – now unfolded in mirror image to the sides, whose orna-

⁴⁹ Shupa 1994: 69–71.

⁵⁰ Shamyakin 1990: 278 (repro).



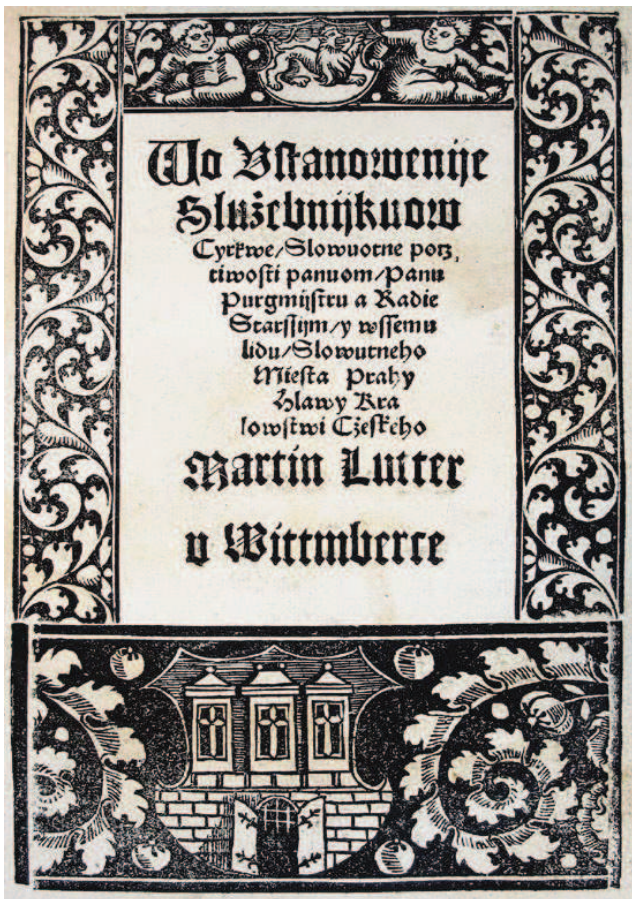
15 Lukáš Pražský: *Spis tento o pokání*. Mladá Boleslav: Jiřík Štyrsa, 20 April 1523. Strahov Library, Prague, DR III 16/3, fol. A1a.



16 Lukáš Pražský: *Odpověď bratří na spis Martina Lutera [...]*. [Litomyšl: Pavel Olivetský z Olivetu], 16 September 1523. Strahov Library, Prague, BEVI 102/2, fol. A1a.



17 *Kniga Bytie*. Prague: Francisk Heorhij Skoryna, 1519, fol. 1a. Shamyakin 1990 (Repro).



18 Martin Luther: *Vo ustanowenije služebnikuow církve*. [Prague: Pavel Severin z Kapi Hory], 22 December 1523. Moravian Land Archives, Brno, G 21, III. 369/1, fol. A1a.

mentation consisted of a vegetative S-shaped stem with leaves or dynamically shaped bodies of dolphins. In eleven books of the Bible, this new frieze – previously not used in Bohemia – took on an aesthetic function. Since it filled not only the page headings but was also used in a suitable manner to organize the text, it was raised to a visual and rhythmic tool of Skoryna's typographical program.

The highlight of the decoration in Skoryna's *Bible* is a four-piece frame of the main title (*Kniga Bytie*, 1519, fol. 1a).⁵¹ Along with Konáč's 1521 herons, commissions for Pavel Severin in 1522–1523, and the contrasting black-and-white border from the Hebrew *Haggadah* (1526), the frame's well-elaborated design, which is filled with vertically or horizontally organized lobed-leaf foliage, makes it one of the best imitations of foreign Renaissance ornamentation found in domestic book art of the Jagiellonian era. The small white targets, which were also used in the ornamental bands on the frames from the *Biblia Ruska*, are also present on Oldřich Velenaký's⁵² title-page ornamental band from 1521 and in the Prague *Haggadah*. The Master also repeated the typical tooting of the finely hatched leaves on Severin's title ornament.⁵³ All these woodcuts clearly demonstrate how, between 1514 and 1526, the Master improved his ability to imitate foreign models.

Following the novice border for the *Pentateuch* (1514) and the inspirational years under Skoryna's guidance (1517–1519), sometime before the first half of 1521 the Master of Skoryna's Ornament produced a border for Konáč's translation of *Srdečné knížky*, whose exceptionally high level of artistry compares only to the title frame of the *Biblia Ruska* (1519) and the border for the *Haggadah* (1526).⁵⁴ Konáč's wide border, made using white-line woodcut, depicts a puffed-up and hissing eagle owl being attacked by several herons. This bird motif was not directly related to the medieval text of *Srdečné knížky* and may have been based on an illustration by Dürer from around 1515.⁵⁵ It is complemented by dynamically interwoven hop tendrils, which had originally led to speculations of a link to the work of Augsburg-based artist Daniel Hopfer the Elder.⁵⁶ If, however, we place Konáč's woodblock within the broader context of domestic book art in the 1520's, it can be clearly attributed to the workshop of the Master of Skoryna's Ornament. The Master's virtuosity eventually culminated in the creation of an opening border for the *Haggadah* (1526) [12], whose high quality of workmanship leads us to wonder whether the woodblock with goat heads, flower bowls and foliage may have originated in Italy for one of Hieronymus Soncino's printing presses.⁵⁷

⁵¹ Shamyakin 1990: 533–534 (repro).

⁵² Lukáš Pražský: *Spis dosti činici otáže protivnikuow jednoty bratrské*. Bělá/B., Oldřich Velenaký z Mnichova, 21 February 1521 (Knihopis 5037 ČD), fol. A1a: title-page ornamental band with a bulbous vase, tear-drop shaped face, two asymmetric acanthus leaves along the aida, and white dots (36 × 84 mm in a double frame).

⁵³ Chelčický, Petr: *Kníha výkladuov spásitelných*. Prague: Pavel Severin z Kapi Hory, 30 May 1522 (Knihopis 3300), fol. A1a and S6b: architectural border, in the tympanum above two fantastic animals with long entwined necks, in the corner acrollwork, along the aida acanthus column with twisted cord, below between three small columns two shields with the coat of arms of the Myška (Přemyšlenaký) line of Žlunice with a small boat, and the Perknovaký line with a wing, 239 × 152 mm in a small frame. Luther, Martin: *Vo ustanowenije služebnikuow církve*. [Prague: Pavel Severin z Kapi Hory], 22 December 1523 (Knihopis 5125 ČD), fol. A1a (title frame 155 × 102 mm); above: Bohemian lion on a shield held by two putti (18 × 66 mm, framed); bottom: coat of arms of POT among four pomegranates and acanthus swirls (45 × 102 mm, without the aligning bold lines 41 × 96 mm); left and right: acanthus foliage on the left, mirror image on the right (107 × 18 mm).

⁵⁴ Gerard van Vliedervoven: *Srdečné knížky o čtyřech posledních budících věcech*. [Jakub de Gruytrode] Zrcádlo sedmi dnu hřešné duše. [Prague: Mikuláš Konáč z Hodiškova], after 8 May 1521 (Knihopis 4144 ČD), fol. A1a, A1a: border with an eagle owl fighting off attacking herons (180 × 140 mm, framed).

⁵⁵ Tib 1981: 478–479 (1001.414).

⁵⁶ Voit 2006: 481.

⁵⁷ Isphording – Arnim 1988: 63–64. For more on the Renaissance art of Hieronymus Soncino, cf. Marx 1936: 484–492.



19 Mahzor Helek ha-Sheni. Prague: Meir ben David – Hayyim ben David Shahor, 1525. Courtesy of Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, RB1757: 4a2, fol. [1b], border with the coats of arms of the Myška of Žlunice and Perknovský families. First used in Petr Chelčický: *Sif vity*. [Prague: Pavel Severin z Kapí Hory], after 31 October 1521.

אֵר

לארבע עשר
בדקין את
החמץ ולא

בדקין לאור הנמה ולא לאור ה
הלבנה ולא לאור האכסחה. אלא
בגד של שקוה. ובדקין בתרין
ובסדקין ובכל המקומות שרדפו
להשתמש בו שם. ולא יתחיל
שום מלאכה עד שיבדוקו אפילו
בתלמוד הגרה. וקודם שיתחיל
לכרוק מברך



אַתָּה יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶךְ

בְּרִיךְ

הָעוֹלָם אֲשֶׁר קִדְּשׁ

קִדְּשֵׁנוּ בְּמִצְוֹתָיו וְצִוָּנוּ עַל בְּיַעֲוֹר הַ

חָמֵץ:

ולא ידבר בין הברכה לתחילת הברכה כלל. והוא
הברכה שמוצה החמץ בתיבה או יתלנו באחד מקום
שאין עכבר שולט בו שם יכטלה ואמר

חֲמִירָא וְחַמְיָא דְאַיְבָא

מַלְ

בְּרִשׁוֹתֵי דִי לֹא חֲמִיתִיה

וְדִי לֹא בְּיַעֲרִיתִיה לְבִטֵּל וְלִהְיוּ בִּי

בְּעִפְרָא דְאַרְעָא

Be that as it may, the distinctive figurative illustrations of the Master of Kohen's Haggadah thus received an interesting counterpoint missing from later editions of the Passover cycle (*Haggadah*, c.1530–1540, Mahzor, 1533–1534 and *Mahzor*, 1549–1550).

After the Master's main employer, Skoryna, had left Prague, he received no new commissions from Jewish

printers: The publishers of Hebrew books had begun to be satisfied with reusing previously commissioned designs (it was not until 1525 that they expanded their repertoire through the use of older woodblocks from Pavel Severin and established professional ties with the Master of Broad Hatching). As a result, in early 1520 the Master of Skoryna's Ornament forged ties with Pavel Olivetský, followed in 1522 by Jiřík Štyrsa and representatives from Brethren book printing circles. He also continued working with white-line woodcut in making title and page frames, borders and apparently also initial woodblocks.⁵⁸ Olivetský, who first appeared as an independent printer in Litomyšl as early as c.1504/06, succeeded in radically modernizing the visual nature of his books, which had previously featured little more than title woodcuts. Štyrsa, who had been operating a workshop in Mladá Boleslav since the summer of 1521, merely adopted his Litomyšl colleague's new artistic approach (he only employed the Master marginally during 1522 and 1523).⁵⁹ The brief period of Master's employment was not necessarily the result of his being overworked, and was more likely due to Štyrsa's lack of finances. Since there are no traces of the Master's activities in Prague following Skoryna's departure (except for Konáč's border and the two previously mentioned commissions for Pavel Severin from 1522 and 1523), we may speculate that in 1520 or 1521 he changed his residences and moved from Prague to Litomyšl. In fact, a record number of eleven title frames and borders have been preserved from his six-year engagement in Litomyšl. Such extensive cooperation between a book artist and employer definitely required that their contact be of a more lasting nature. Some of the ornamental volutes and foliage from the Litomyšl ornaments are based on older ornamental bands

⁵⁸ Lukáš Pražský: *Výklad na modlitbu Páně*. [Litomyšl], Pavel Olivetský z Olivetu, after 19 February 1520 (Knihopis 5057), fol. A2a: wine branches with grapes growing from the center flower bowl, topped off left and right with trumpeting men; in the center woodcut word "Przedmluva" (145 × 109 mm in a double frame). Lukáš Pražský: *Dialog, to jest Rozmlúvanie Ducha s duší, jenž slove Příprava k smrti*. [Litomyšl], Pavel Olivetský z Olivetu, 1520 (Knihopis 5020), fol. A2a: single-page frame with Christ as Judge sitting on a rainbow among the masses; along the sides are two balustrades topped off with trumpeting angels; in the center is the woodcut word "Przedmluva" ["Foreword"] (145 × 108 mm in a double frame). The first border was reprinted in the confession *Počer z viery a z učenie křesťanského králi Jeho Milosti v Vidni podaný*. [Litomyšl], Alexandr Ujezdecký], 1535 – 13 January 1536 (Knihopis 1599 ČD), fol. A2a. We leave out other instances of the collaboration between Pavel Olivetský and the Master of Skoryna's Ornament.

⁵⁹ Lukáš Pražský: *O puovodu cirkve svatě*. [Mladá Boleslav, Jiřík Štyrsa], 1522 (Knihopis 5030), fol. A1a: title border with stems and blossoms. Štyrsa's device below, placed between two larger blossoms (138 × 102 mm in a double frame). Lukáš Pražský: *Spis tento o pokání*. Mladá Boleslav: Jiřík Štyrsa, 20 April 1523 (Knihopis 5052), fol. A1a: architectural "floating" title border, at the top two angels holding fantastic dolphins, between them small plate dated "1523"; above the upper corners of the plate, initials "G" and "S" and a small printer's device; in the cornice below the plate, motto "VERITAS ODIVM PARIT"; at the bottom between the socles of the pillars, motto "VERITAS VINCIT" (156 × 111 mm in a double frame). The first border was reprinted in Lukáš Pražský: *Spis tento o puovodu i o pravdě kněžství trojeho*. Mladá Boleslav, Jiřík Štyrsa, 18 June 1522 (Knihopis 5050), fol. a1a. A positive of the second border was copied using classical woodcut for Lukáš Pražský: *V těchto položeny jsou knihách po pořádku správy při službách úřadu kněžského v jednotě bratrské*. Mladá Boleslav, Jiřík Štyrsa, 11 November 1527 (Knihopis 5059), fol. A1a. However, the copier overlooked Štyrsa's small printer's device and the initials GS.

⁶⁰ Luther, Martin: *O svobodě křesťanské*. [Litomyšl], Pavel Olivetský z Olivetu], 1521 (Knihopis 5113), fol. A1a: bottom piece of the frame bearing the symbol for Jupiter (Pavel Olivetský's device) flanked by two rosettes and an acanthus opening in mirror image (18 × 97 mm in a double frame).

⁶¹ Luther, Martin: *Spis Martina Lutera z řeči německé v českú přeložený, v němž ukazuje, co se mu při bratřích zdá za pravě a co za pochýbné*. [Litomyšl], Pavel Olivetský z Olivetu, before 16 September 1523 (Knihopis 5120); Lukáš Pražský: *Odpověď bratřie na spis Martina Lutera [...]*. [Litomyšl], Pavel Olivetský z Olivetu], 16 September 1523 (Knihopis 5026); Hánek, Martin: *Spis o potřebných věcech křesťanských*. [Prague: Pavel Olivetský z Olivetu], after 2 May 1524 (Knihopis 15607).



21 Pseudo-Cyrrillus: *Zrcadlo múdrosti*. Prague: Mikuláš Konáč z Hodíškova, 1516. National Library of the Czech Republic, 65 F 1835 (adl 2), fol. X8b.

(friezes) from Skoryna's *Bible* (1517–1519).⁶⁰ In addition, we can easily associate Olivetský's jagged, triple-pointed and finely hatched leaves with the vegetative background for the swarm of herons on the border of *Srdečné knížky* (1521).⁶¹ In addition to the S-shaped stems, one half of the Litomyšl ornament also included the kind of stylized bulging supporting columns that the Master had already used for the 1514–1518 *Pentateuch*. Another previously used motif is that of two shield-bearing cherubs. However, the stiffness of the poses and gestures reveals that the Master of Skoryna's Ornament, no longer able to rely on Master IP's drawings, definitely did not excel in figurative art. The fluctuating quality of the Master's individual works may indicate that a weaker assistant was cooperating with Olivetský's printing press as well, but a more likely possibility is that the level of thoroughness was influenced by how much time there was to work on the commission. The last Litomyšl work was published in 1526 when, we believe, the Master was engaged by the Kohen brothers for their planned edition of the *Haggadah*. After this, we have no more traces of the Master of Skoryna's Ornament. One extremely interesting fact, however, is that two of the Master's previously unused long vegetative ornamental bands depicting a cherub's head and a mascarón of an old man were later used in books that reprinted his excellent *Haggadah* border depicting goat heads, flower bowls and

⁶² Tobolka 1927: 10 after Chytil 1906: 46, 276, 277 (Jan Polák) and 66 (Petr Illuminator).

⁶³ Pseudo-Cyryllus (Bonihannea de Meaana): *Zrcadlo múdrosti*. Prague: Mikuláš Konáček z Hodíškova 1516 (Knihopis 1717 ČD), fable cycle with at least 82 illustrations in 84 occurrences; fol. A1a: bearded man with a book reflecting his face like a mirror in a landscape; blank inscriptive band at the top (88 × 60 mm, framed); fol. X8b: standing man, cane in hand; at the right, Konáček's coat of arms with crooked printer's ink ball and initials NF [Nicolaus Finitor] at the top; at the bottom left monogram IP (70 × 65 mm, framed). The illustration for Anton Sorgo's 1490 German edition from Augsburg (HC 4047) had the same narrative but not artistic goals, and only the motifs depicted link it to the Konáček cycle.

⁶⁴ *Tento traktát jest o mládení [...] Slove Pán rady*. Prague: [Printer of the Prague Bible], 1505 (Knihopis 6829 ČD).

⁶⁵ Pius II – papa: *O Štěstí i divný i užitečný sen*. Prague: Mikuláš Konáček z Hodíškova, 1516 (Knihopis 13887), fol. A1a: angel presenting two shields to a standing man, the left with crooked printer's tampon and the right with the Bohemian lion (95 × 69 mm, framed, A1a).

⁶⁶ Hua, Jan: *Dvanácti článků vřy křesťanské obecné výkladové*. Prague: Mikuláš Konáček z Hodíškova, 1520 (Knihopis 3266 ČD), fol. a6b Chriat at the foot of the cross catches blood in a chalice; beside him is Jan Hua, with a halo and the initials MH, showing a miniature Konáček the path to Chriat; at the bottom center the date "1520" (98 × 120 mm, framed).

⁶⁷ Royt 2002: 199 and Horničková 2007: 213–221.

⁶⁸ Shamyakin 1990: 302–303 (repro).

⁶⁹ Ahievich 1999: 147–165.

foliage (*Mahzor*, 1533–1534, and *Mahzor*, 1549–1550). Because the Master left no traces in domestic book art during the long interval from 1526 to 1534, we are forced to consider the possibility that these ornamental bands originated during his cooperation with Olivetsky.

We first encounter the universally trained **Master IP (1514–1535)** as the creator of a design for the decorative frame found in the previously mentioned Hebrew *Pentateuch* of 1514–1518. However, the monogram IP consisting of two intertwined letters is not found until 1516, on Mikuláš Konáček's device in Pseudo-Cyryl's *Zrcadlo múdrosti*. Nagler's compendium does not register these letters, but Zdeněk Václav Tobolka made an attempt at interpreting them, attributing the monogram on the printer's device to Jan Polák, the Prague-based creator of several coats of arms and shields from 1515, or to Petr the Illuminator whose work from the years 1507–1525 we know nothing more about. Both attributions, however, are nothing more than guesses.⁶²

Zrcadlo múdrosti includes an extensive fable cycle consisting of at

least 82 woodblocks approximately 48 × 60 mm in size. The cycle visually emphasizes the text, in particular the protagonists from the animal kingdom, but does not have any higher artistic ambition.⁶³ After the *New Testament* (1497/98), it is only the second set of illustrations of domestic origin to originate for a Bohemian book. It cannot compare to the well-elaborated Straabourg illustrations from the 1505 treatise *Pán rady*.⁶⁴ The only viably more thorough work in *Zrcadlo múdrosti* are the allegorical title woodcut and Konáček's cloaking printer's device with unusual floral scenery that would appear to refer to the ornamentation on the portraits made by the Master of Burleigh's Border at the same time.

More importantly, two fable illustrations (fols. L6b and M5a) are accompanied by a monogram that is not found anywhere else in Nagler's compendium. We read it as VA. Since the flower assemblage found in various illustrations (fols. F5a, F6a, etc.) and the printer's device point towards their being made by the same artist, we consider Master IP to be the illustrator and VA the cutter. This duo also created the title woodblock to Konáček's 1516 treatise *O štěstí* (On Happiness),⁶⁵ which has several counterparts (fols. H6a and N7a) in *Zrcadlo múdrosti*. Our identification of Master IP as the drawer is further aided by the thematic agreement between the cycle from *Zrcadlo múdrosti* and the frame from the Hebrew *Pentateuch* cut by the Master of Skoryna's Ornament. Based on the new version of Konáček's printer's device from the year 1520, we may conclude that, like Konáček, Master IP had close relations to the Old Town's

Ultraquist circles. The printer's device depicts Jan Hus in the role of intercessor, advocating on the printer's behalf to the Suffering Chriat, from whose aide blood pours into a chalice.⁶⁶ This is an extremely unusual theme in Bohemian book art and was probably based on the panel painting in Old Town's Church of Our Lady before Týn.⁶⁷

In 1517, the Belarusian Skoryna took full advantage of the breadth of genre and theme found in the Master's art and that point towards his affiliation with a well-trained workshop. That year, he commissioned Master IP to produce his portrait, which he included twice in the *Biblia Ruska* (*Kniga Isusa Sirachova*, 1517, fol. 82a and *Knigi Carstv*, 1518, fol. 242a).⁶⁸ With perhaps the exception of the printer's device with a portrait of Mainz-based printer Peter Schöffer the Younger, this is the first time that a European book included the portrait of its creator. The realistically portrayed Skoryna is seated at a writing desk in a study, among books, a globe, medical flask, with allegorical objects (a bee, a lamp) placed meaningfully aside.⁶⁹ The text on the two panels cannot be used to determine the illustrator and the cutter. The use of two small lions as shield bearers, however, unmistakably leads us to the frame of the Hebrew *Pentateuch* (1514–1518), and the manner in which Skoryna's face is drawn shows a relationship to Konáček's 1516 printer's device. This means that if the drawings were made by



²² *Kniga Carstv*. Prague: Franciak Heorhij Skoryna, 1518, fol. 242a. Shamyakin 1990 (Repro).

התחלתי חלק מהזוהר השני

זוהר השני חלק מהזוהר



מקדונו של משה הנביא

חמשת אלפים פרט לייצורה

גרשם בר שלמה הבהן זל



24 *Kniga Vtoroj Zakon*. Prague: Francisk Heorhij Skoryna, 1519, fol. 1a. Shamyakin 1990 (Repro).

Master IP, then the monogram MZ attached to the portrait (though not until the second printing) must belong to the cutter. As indicated by similarities with the style of Pavel Severin's oldest woodblocks, the final version of Skoryna's portrait was created by the cutter, whom we prefer to call by the surrogate name Master of Fine Hatching.

A few years later, Master IP was approached by Pavel Severin as well – at the time in the early stages of his professional career. Severin was looking to reduce his demands

on the Master of Fine Hatching and engaged Master IP to design the title border for Luther's *Kázání* (*Sermon*, 1520) and on preliminary works for Chelčický's *Síť víry* (*The Net of Faith*, 1521). Although the inexperienced cutter completely degraded the imaginative border (whose motif was based directly on the text of Luther's speech),⁷⁰ the Memento Mori with the publishers' – i.e. the Perknovský family's – coat of arms has similar features as Konáč's 1516 printer's device and even contains the same flower assemblage.⁷¹ The figure of Death forebodingly looming over an open grave also resonates well with Konáč's slightly younger image of the same allegorical figure riding a bull.⁷² Both woodblocks (Severin's as well as Konáč's) are noteworthy for their subject matter only. Compared to two works by the Mas-

ter of Fine Hatching teeming with figures that hold a crucial place in Chelčický's *Net of Faith*, they are stiff and artistically insignificant works.

The closing of Konáč's workshop in 1528 probably affected Master IP just as it did the Master of Burleigh's Border. He did not work on the first edition of Severin's *Bible*, which was being prepared in 1527–1529.

Later, however (in 1529) he was again engaged by Jewish patrons in order to sketch the illustrations for the Hebrew *Selihot* [14]. This small-scale edition of penitential prayers thus gained the coat of arms of the Prague Old Town with two Bohemian lions and mantling along the sides, which was reused shortly thereafter in the 1529 *Mahzor* [15] and the 1530 *Pentateuch* [16]. Unlike the older versions by the Master of Burleigh's Border, this simplified copy of one of the motifs from the title page of Severin's *Bible* is already executed in the Renaissance style. Subsequent works by the Master were also of an occasional character, the last of

which (as far we know) dates from 1535.⁷³ At that time, Master IP began working with painting, ceased to work, or died because no later works of his are known.

The **Master of Fine Hatching (1517–1535)**, a remarkably maturing figurative artist with an advanced style, also had a marginal influence on local Jewish book culture.⁷⁴ Three monograms appear on the illustrations that we attribute to him. The 1519 portrait of the Belarusian translator and publisher Skoryna contains the symbol MZ,⁷⁵ and the 1523 picture of a seated scholar is labeled with the initial H.⁷⁶ A border created that same year bears the interlaced monogram IE.⁷⁷ If the seated scholar is not Jan Hus and the initial is not meant to identify him, then we may conclude that H is the draughtsman's symbol. Since, as stated previously, Skoryna's portrait was undoubtedly drawn by Master IP, this is a logical possibility.

The monogramist IE was an artist of an entirely different nature, with a great sense for the symmetry of forms. All works, including Skoryna's portrait marked with MZ, share the same detailed shading, which the Master's surrogate name represents better than the vague and perhaps even inaccurately read monogram MZ.

If, purely speculatively, we attribute the simplified copy of one of Dürer's woodcuts from the *Apocalypse* to the Master, we may assume that he originally worked in Nuremberg

⁷⁰ Luther, Martin: *Kázání na Desatero přikázání Boží*. Prague: [Pavel Severin z Kapí Hory], 9 September 1520 (Knihopis 5110 ČD), fol. a1a: title border, at the top Moses with the Tablets of the Law; along the sides Adam and Eve and Saul/Paul on the road to Damascus hit by the light of Christ (180 × 125 mm in a double frame).

⁷¹ Chelčický, Petr: *Síť víry*. [Prague: Pavel Severin z Kapí Hory], after 31 October 1521 (Knihopis 3303), fol. A1a: title border as in *Sermons*; fol. S53a: Memento Mori with the Perknovský coat of arms.

⁷² Konáč z Hodiškova, Mikuláš: *Pieseň tato pro ukročení hněvu Božího [...] Ktož by byl v pokušení*. [Prague: Mikuláš Konáč z Hodiškova, 1522–1528] (Knihopis 4277 ČD = 3887 = 13469). The front side of this broadside shows Death riding a bull.

⁷³ Chocenský, Jan: *O krvi pouštěni*. Prague: [Pavel Severin z Kapí Hory], 13 December 1532 (Knihopis 3469), fol. A1a: an astronomer seated in his study with a globe and other instruments; at the top left, sun shining through a window (87 × 68 mm, framed); almanac figures on fol. A4b, B3b, D1a; Schmaltzing, Georg: *Žaltář v způsobu modliteb složený*. Transl. Jan Petřík z Benešova. [Prague: Pavel Severin z Kapí Hory], 20 January 1536 (Knihopis 17554), fol. A3a: David with a lute kneeling before the Lord in the

clouds; at the bottom right dated "1535" (68 × 49 mm, framed).

⁷⁴ Voit 2012 (forthcoming).

⁷⁵ Shamyakin 1990: 302–303 (repro).

⁷⁶ Lukáš Pražský: *Odpověď bratří na spis Martina Lutera, [...] v němž oznamuje, co by se mu při bratřích vidělo za pravé a co v pochybnosti neb v nesrozumění*. [Litomyšl: Pavel Olivetský z Olivetu], 16 September 1523 (Knihopis 5026), fol. A1b: seated man holding a book in his hand (Hus?); opposite him a man listening (Lukáš Pražský?); densely hatched interior with columns with acanthus ornament; on the capital of the pillar monogram H (135 × 107 mm in a double frame).

⁷⁷ Lukáš Pražský: *Spis tento otázek trojích*. Mladá Boleslav: Jiřík Štyrsa, 5. November 1523 (Knihopis 5046 ČD), fol. A1a: architectural title border with Samson and a lion under an arch between two giant flower bowls; on the sides, acanthus pillars and devils holding garlands with angels and a skull in the middle; signed above the top arch with intertwined letters EI (151 × 106 mm, framed).

and left for Bohemia sometime after meeting Mikuláš Klaudyán (who commissioned the copy for the Brethren's 1511 *Apology*) through Hieronymus Höltzel.⁷⁸ We nevertheless consider it indisputable that the Master's juvenilia were created in relation to preparations for Skoryna's *Bible* (1517–1519), for which he cut not only the publisher's por-

trait but also several of the Old Testament illustrations. When Skoryna left Prague, the Master found himself with a long-term engagement for Pavel Severin (1520–1527). There is a clear continuity of formal elements in Skoryna's biblical images⁷⁹ and his Reformation book art,⁸⁰ in particular the figures' design and the manner in which the physiognomy of the faces, especially the eyes, was cut. In 1520, the Master accommodated the new wave of Lutheranism, becoming the only artist we know of to have created domestic satirical illustrations before 1580, when Jiří Melantrich published Rvačovský's *Masopust* (*Mardi Gras*), whose excellent visual qualities were the work of an unknown cutter working on the basis of drawings by Ambrož Ledecký.

Like the Master of Skoryna's Ornament, the Master of Fine Hatching was also enticed by commissions from outside of Prague, for the Brethren printers Pavel Olivetský (1520–1524)⁸¹ and Jiřík Štyrsa (1523–1524).⁸² The figurative illustrations created for Litomyšl hardly kept the satirical tone, but the manner in which the figures are cut remained unchanged. By comparison, the austere and reserved Štyrsa ordered only two impressive borders, both based on German drawings, which congenially enhanced the delicate and precise typography from Mladá Boleslav. As will be demonstrated shortly, the execution of the borders corresponds to the decorative style from the Master's later period.

This later period takes place after a ten-year pause for which we know nothing of the Master's activities. During this time, he made contact with the local Jewish publishers. The design for the page border for the 1535 *Selihot* [19] can be indisputably attributed to the monogramist IE, who also successfully drafted both of Štyrsa's borders. A similarly restrained composition, some of whose motifs are not only similar to Štyrsa (the upper arch with Moses



25 Martin Luther: *Kázání na Desatero přikázání Boží*. Prague: [Pavel Severin z Kapi Hory], 9 November 1520. Strahov Library, Prague, DR IV 12/5, fol. a1b.



26 Lukáš Pražský: *Spis o spravedlivosti (Spis o lásce)*. Mladá Boleslav, Jiřík Štyrsa, 19 April 1524. National Library of the Czech Republic, Prague, 54 E 718, fol. A1a.

⁷⁸ Tib 1981: 340, 341 (1001.271). Simplified copy of Dürer, made for Lukáš Pražský: *Apologia Sacrae scripturae*. Nuremberg: H. Höltzel, 16 December 1511 (VD16 A 3139), fol. A1a: Apocalypse – a sun-drenched woman. Later reprinted in the book *Počťet z viery a z učenie křesťanského králi Jeho Milosti v Vídní podaný*. [Litomyšl: Alexandr Oujezdecký], 1535 – 13 January 1536 (Knihopis 1599), fol. A1b.

⁷⁹ Shamyakin 1990: 337, 338, 341, 426 etc. (repro).

⁸⁰ Luther, Martin: *Kázání na Desatero přikázání Boží*. Prague: [Pavel Severin z Kapi Hory], 9 October 1520 (Knihopis 5 110 ČD), fol. a1: five men conversing at a table (among them Luther?), with four listeners in the window (146/148 × 110/113 mm, framed). The woodblock was also used for Mýška (Přemyslský) of Žlunice, Jan: *List*. [Prague: Pavel Severin z Kapi Hory], 12 June 1521 (Knihopis 14490 ČD), fol. A1b, and Chelčický, Petr: *Sít víry*. [Prague: Pavel Severin z Kapi Hory, (after 31 October 1521)] (Knihopis 3303), fol. A4b. The depiction of the figures and the cutting of the facial physiognomy in Skoryna's *Bible*, especially the eyes, also corresponds with Luther, Martin: *Doktor Martin Luther [...] knihy jest spálil*. Prague: [Pavel Severin], 1521 (Knihopis 5119 ČD), fol. B1a: Luther with four men burning books in a bonfire (106 × 106 mm, framed) and Luther, Martin: *Výklad o Antikristu*. Prague: [Pavel Severin], 22 March 1522 (Knihopis 5127 ČD), fol. a1a: Pope sitting with a bull in his hand, surrounded by church dignitaries; among them Luther pointing at the Pope (119 × 109 mm, framed). We leave out further instances of the use of Master's woodblocks by Pavel Severin.

⁸¹ Lukáš Pražský: *Výklad na modlitbu Páně*. [Litomyšl: Pavel Olivetský z Olivetu, after 19 February 1520 (Knihopis 5057), fol. A1b: Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane; Lukáš Pražský: *Dilog, to jest Rozmlúvanie Ducha s duší, jenž slove Příprava k smrti*. [Litomyšl: Pavel Olivetský z Olivetu, 1520 (Knihopis 5020), fol. A1b: dying man in bed, surrounded by standing figures and angels (above), dead man on a bier, surrounded by standing figures (below); *List od papeže Lva*. [Litomyšl: Pavel Olivetský z Olivetu, after 6 March (1521)] (Knihopis 4771), fol. a1a: Pope, with clergy in the background and the Devil above, hands a letter to a messenger. We leave out other instances of the use of the Master's woodblocks by Pavel Olivetský.

⁸² Lukáš Pražský: *Spis tento otázek trojich*. Mladá Boleslav: Jiřík Štyrsa, 5 November 1523 (Knihopis 5046 ČD), fol. A1a: architectural title border with Samson and a lion under an arch between two giant flower bowls; on the sides acanthus pillars and devils holding garlands, with angels and a skull in the middle; above the top arch intertwined letters IE (151 × 106 mm, framed); Lukáš Pražský: *Spis o spravedlivosti (Spis o lásce)*. Mladá Boleslav: Jiřík Štyrsa, 19 April 1524 (Knihopis 5048 ČD), fol. A1a: title border with two angels carrying a set of thin staffs; above the lower arched portal the Holy Spirit; bottom left and right: biblical figures, e.g., Moses with the Decalogue, horizontally hatched background (150 × 107 mm, framed).

and the vase motif along the sides) but are also reminiscent of Venetian ornament from the late 15th and early 16th centuries, also appeared in the Hebrew penitential prayers *Selihot*.⁸³ Although Štyrsa's borders and the *Selihot* are separated by a span of ten years, the woodblock made for Jewish patrons was most certainly not created during the Mladá Boleslav period: It would be difficult to explain why the border would not be used until the edition of the *Selihot*. The upper arch rests on two pilasters at whose base are two cherubs holding shields with the Levite pitcher (on the right) and the Shield of David (on the left). These visual elements unmistakably show a close cooperation with the printers – the successors of Gershom Kohen. At the same time, however, we must remember that the artist who created the *Selihot* border copied, with almost no changes, the motif of Bohemian lions holding the emblem of the Old Town that he had previously used for the title page of Severin's 1529 *Bible* (the framing part was provided by the Master of Skoryna's Ornament). The same motif had appeared in Jewish books on a previous occasion as well: The title woodblock from the 1529 *Bible* was used in 1530 for the Hebrew *Pentateuch*. The *Selihot* border proved quite successful: Due to the shortage of other decorative elements, it was used on at least four other occasions – the final time, as far as we know, in the 1556 *Siddur* [28].

The **Master of Kohen's Haggadah (1525–1534)** appears during the 1520's as a relatively isolated phenomenon within the history of Bohemian illustration. For the entire period of his documented activities, this cutter had no higher artistic goals, nor did he apparently make any extreme financial demands. We make this conclusion on the basis of his cycle of small genre woodcuts for the oldest surviving domestic book calendar, which was ordered – surely at a low price – by Pavel Severin in late 1525. The only surviving part of the commercial edition of Šúd's 1526 almanac is the misarranged version of the calendar's first sheet containing the title page and the months January through July.⁸⁴ Under the red header, each month features a small woodcut c. 23 × 55/ 57 mm in size that visually encapsulates, with a naive immediacy, the overall atmosphere and the housework or fieldwork to be done during the season (i.e., January contains the round symbol of Aquarius and is presented as the month of good home-cooked meals and general well-being). By comparison, a rich artistic program was worked out



27 *Yotzerot*. Prague: Sons of Gershom ben Solomon ha-Kohen, 1536, fol. [1a]. The border was used for the first time in the *Selihot*, 1535. The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Opp. 4° 1163, fol. [192a].

for the 1526 *Haggadah* [12] that included ornament, illustrations and woodcut letters. The excellent border with goat heads was produced by the Master of Skoryna's Ornament, based either on one of his own earlier works of more likely on one from Italy. The letters were cut by the Master of Burleigh's Border in his characteristic manner. The remaining artistic elements were created by the author of the signs of the Zodiac in Šúd's calendar, based on the clients' instructions. Since he was familiar with the tendency to miniaturize the image and suppress the background, he had no difficulty meeting the Jewish clients' demands. The connection between the two commissions – Severin's and Kohen's – is confirmed among other things by the similar depiction of faces, especially eyes and noses. The participation of three artistically somewhat distinct artists gave this *Haggadah* a surprisingly dynamic visual element, which went on to influence many later foreign editions.⁸⁵

⁸³ Butsch 1878: 62–63 and tab. 7 and 9.

⁸⁴ Šúd ze Semanina, Mikuláš: *Almanach klétu Páně MCCCCXXVI*. [Prague: Pavel Severin z Kapí Hory, 1525] (Knihopis 16015), fol. A2b–A8b.

⁸⁵ L. Goldachmidt noticed this affiliation but did not cloer investigate the circumstance under which the illustrations in the Prague edition were created (Goldachmidt 1940: 15–17).

ואחר כך יקח המצוה השלישית התחתונה ובצענה
 לשנים ויתן עליה לאטונה ויאכל ביהר בלא ברכה
 אלא כך אמר בן עשה הלל בזמן שבית המקדש
 קיים היה בורך מצה ומרור ביהר ויאכל כמה שנ
 מצות על מרורים יאכלהו

ואלו יקח שהצא
 בהן ידו ויבכות חת
 חרות המבא עולשי
 היתבי מרודוק
 מצוה בחודת אלו

השמש לא יאכל
 האפיקומן כשהוא
 מהלך בבית דבצא
 כאלו איכל בב
 מקומות

ובתנין שיסוד בת
 בעצמו כד שיסוד
 כל ד כוסות אמנם
 אין לרש אם בירד
 אלו לאורה



ואחר כך אוכלין ושותין כל צרכהן ולאחר הסעודה
 יקח המצוה המונחת תחת המיפה לאפיקומן ויקח
 ממינו ויאכל בהסיבת שמאל ויתן גם כן לכלם וא
 ואחר כך ירחצו את ידיהם ואין מברכים
 על גטילת ידים ומוזג בוס שלישי



הב אמר רב הלל
 משמיה רגמרא
 ניסך איניש מצה
 ומרור בהדי הדדי
 ולכול מצה רסביר
 לן מצה בזמן הזה
 דאורייתא ומרור
 דרבנן דילמא אתי

לברכת המוזון ולאחר
 ברכת המוזון מוזג בוס
 רביעי לכלם ומתחיל

ואומר
 בקול
 דם

מרור דרבנן ומבטל להו מצה ד
 דאורייתא פרק ערבי כסחים
 על מצות מרורים יאכלהו מ
 מצות הם מתוק ומרור הוא מר

וכן כתבראובן מרדכי עכל
 ומצוה לחקר אחר ברכת המוזן והבי
 איתא במדרש לשהן ארדת חרים

עכ מצה רמו למרת רחמים ומחזר למדת הדין וזהו דהדי צח וארום וכן אמר
 רד המלך קה חזנות לילה מקום להודות לך על משפטי צדקך אמר משפטי זהו דין
 צדק זה מלת רחמים וכן מצינו ובמגילת דת אל תקראנה לי נעמי שהיא מרת
 הרחמים קראן לי מרה מרת הדין שהוא מר כי המר שדי לי מאר כלומר מאר זכר
 לי ב מרת הדין ולפיכך אמרת שדי המר לי מאר כי בשם שדי כריה ורביה שנאם
 א שדי כריה ורבי ורמב"ל לישן תמור כדו הלוקה אותה מרה של שדי במרה ארתה



שֶׁבֶד

חַמְתִּי עַל הַיּוֹם

אֲשֶׁר לֹא יָדַעְתִּי וְעַל

הַמַּמְלִיכוֹת אֲשֶׁר

בְּשֶׁמֶר לֹא

קָרָאנוּ



שֶׁבֶד עֲלֵיהֶם וְעִמָּד וְחָרוֹז
אֶפְרַיִם וְיִשָּׁשׁוּר וְיִקְרָהוּ בָּהֶם
וְתִשְׁמְרֵם מִתַּחַת שְׁמַיִם

Like the 1514–1518 *Pentateuch*, the *Haggadah*, filled with images of the Passover ritual, forms an integral part of Central European book culture through two figurative borders. Based on several identical motifs – e.g., the crowns of King Solomon and David on a border showing David and Goliath (fol. 3b), depicted as pharaonic adornments in a horizontal miniature (fol. 11b) – and their identical drawing style – e.g., Judith’s profile on a border showing Adam and Eve (fol. 25a) that complements the face of a bearded Messiah in the vertical miniature located on the same folio – we attribute both full-page compositions to the same pair of artists who successfully produced the simple figurative miniatures in the *Haggadah*.

⁸⁶ Freimann 1918: 31–32 and Wengrov 1967: 88–94. Of a contrary opinion are Habermann 1956: 484; Roth 1961: 10–11; Roth 1965: 37–39; Deluga 2000: 10–11 and Deluga 2001: 30.

⁸⁷ *Pentateuch, Megillot, Haftart*. Ichenhausen: Hayyim ben David Shohor, Joseph ben Yakar, Isaac ben Hayyim, 1544–1545 (BHB 304481), fol. 2a: reversed copy of the original 1526 border with anachronously stamped background; at the top, vase with foliage; along the sides: Adam and Eve (above) and Samson and Judith (below); at the bottom two seated wild men (the one on the right with a cane) holding a shield with the emblem of POT; the letter *shin* is missing. The original woodblock of the border by the Master of Kohen’s *Haggadah* remained in Prague and was twice reprinted in the 1549–1550 *Mahzor* [25]. The letter *shin* remained on the woodblock. In the German book art, the Late Gothic punching was stopped being used in the early 1520’s. For more, see Luther 1909–1913: tab. 63 and 99.

⁸⁸ Petrarca, Francesco: *Sedm žalmuov kajících*. Prague: Mikuláš Konáč z Hodíškova – Johannes Wolff, 11 January 1507 (Knihopis 7051), fol. *4b: emblem of POT; at the bottom left letter M referring to the owner of the woodblock (70 × 91 mm, framed); Žatecký, Václav: *Léta od porodu nepoškvrněné Panny Marie tisícého pětistého sedmáctého*. [Prague: The Printer of Il Žateckého minuce, 1516] (Knihopis 17591), at the bottom of the broadside foliage emerging from a central heraldic shield with the Gothic initial M (44 × 288 mm in a double frame). K. Boldan considers the letter M on the almanac to be the device of the otherwise unknown printer Mikuláš (Boldan 2002: 133–148). I. P. Shamyakin points to the emblem of the shining Sun covered by a crescent Moon that accompanies several of the illustrations in the *Biblia Ruska* and yet does not

simple figurative miniatures in the *Haggadah*. It was not common for the authors of the text illustrations to also do book ornament. As a result, both borders – especially in view of the contemporaneous works of the specialized Master of Skoryna’s Ornament – are characterized by an excessive illustrative extravagance, and lack the discipline and assuredness of the expert symmetry found in the ornamental elements created by the Master of Kohen’s *Haggadah*. This nevertheless did not prevent their reuse, for economic reasons, in the 1529 *Mahzor* [15] and the *Haggadah* of c.1530–1540 [17]. The latter work also made use of the vertical and horizontal miniatures from the previous edition. The border showing David and Goliath was also used in a 1551 Prague edition of the *Selihot* [26]. Although the thematic content of the borders from the *Haggadah* 1526 is not new, it is not common in previous Hebrew manuscripts and prints. The design is based on Christian iconography from the Old Testament, and may have been selected as a compromise between the artist’s capabilities and the client’s expectations. Composed into the border



31 Mikuláš Šúd ze Semanina: *Almanach k létu Páně MCCCCXXVI*. [Prague: Pavel Severin z Kapí Hory, 1525], fol. Azb. Castle Library, Český Krumlov, 76 A 15762.

showing Goliath and David is the Gersonite printer’s device indicating the *Haggadah*’s printers, the brothers Gershom Kohen and Gronem Kohen. Through the Bohemian lion on the shield being carried by two wild men, the second Old Testament border showing among others Adam and Eve, the publishers confirm their connection to the Kingdom of Bohemia. Floating between the hands of the left-hand shield bearer is the Hebrew letter *shin*, which we also encounter on Moses’ cloak on two miniatures from the *Haggadah* (fols. 13b, 21a). The letter’s significance is unclear. Since the beginning of the 20th century, it has been believed to be the monogram of Kohen’s son-in-law Hayyim Shahor – in this view, he was not only a printer but also an illustrator.⁸⁶ However, this theory fails to explain why the copy of the border with Adam and Eve from 1526 used by Shahor in the 1544–1545 *Pentateuch* is so inartistic compared to the original from the *Haggadah* if he could have made a copy of the same quality.⁸⁷ If we magnify the



30 *Haggadah shel Pesah*. Prague: Gershom ben Solomon ha-Kohen with his brother Gronem, 1526. Det Kongelige Bibliotek, København, postink-hebk-97, ekspl. 2, fol. [21a].

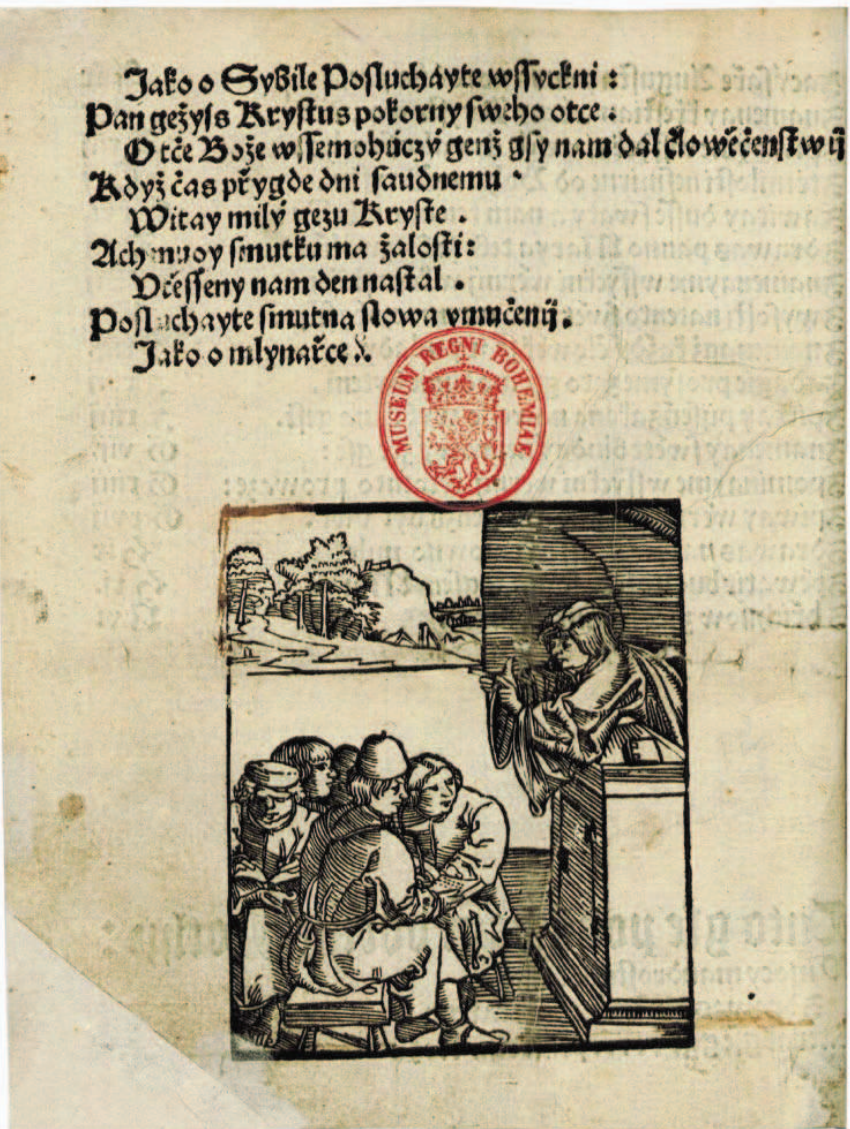
work, the difference in the cutting technique of the *shin* and the surrounding woodcut indicates that the letter was added to the woodblocks at a later time, most likely in order to express a relationship – that of the owner or of the publishers – to the woodblock. Other local and foreign printers acted similarly, including Mikuláš Konáč, Skoryna, and the anonymous Printer of Žatecký's 1517 Almanac.⁸⁸

The text of the *Haggadah* is accompanied by 35 horizontal or vertical miniatures. This approach using two alternating illustrative formats was successfully established in Bohemia in the 1495 *Pasionál* (Passional). The *Haggadah* contains seven horizontal miniatures. With the exception of the hare-hunt (fol. 3a), which was a version of a woodblock first created in 1514, the illustrations relate to only one place in the text. Wedged in among the mass of Israelites being led out of Egypt by Moses (fol. 21a) is the image of a cardinal, which can perhaps be explained as a subtle satire on the artist's part, showing his detachment from the commission. The remaining 28 miniatures are sketched vertically. Their woodcuts are executed with varying degrees of care. We cannot overlook the fact that some of these – especially the Messiah on a donkey (25a) and two standing beardless figures (29b) – all too strikingly resemble the work of the Master of the 1497/98 New

Testament, although we have no evidence that he ever worked for Hebrew publishers. The narrative character of the cycle's vertical pictures is suppressed in favor of a certain level of standardization so that the simple figurative woodblocks could be placed on the outer or inner margin of the page within many varying contexts (they were used 51 times). This publishing method involving the nearly effortless repetition of a book's visual elements while saving on costs can already be found in Schedel's *Nuremberg Chronicle*, printed in 1493.

After his work on the *Haggadah*, there is a temporary gap in the Master's other known book work. We do admit the possibility that, each year, he may have cut the calendar cycles for Šůd's subsequent almanacs, although these have not been preserved. The Master does not reappear until the first half of the 1530's, again working for Pavel Severin – and not just as an illustrator,⁸⁹ but perhaps also through a stiff imitation of Lufft's German title border.⁹⁰ A particularly distinctive work from this later phase is a miniature pub interior cut in 1534, although the only surviving copy is from a later edition of Hošťálek's 1537 moral-ethical treatise.

The eight talking, sleeping or merely drunkenly dozing drinkers once again confirm that the Master was inclined towards creating genre scenes rare in the book illustration of the period. After this, he received no further large or prestigious commissions, because Pavel Severin primarily employed the members of his own workshop. Severin's workshop functioned during the years 1527–1541.⁹¹ His many years of experience producing artistically and conceptually concise work contributed greatly to advancing the synthesis of ornament and illustration. The final three years, which saw the creation, in quick succession, of four titles with a larger than usual pictorial component, represent the absolute pinnacle of pre-



32 [Pisně staré, gruntovní a velmi utěšené. Takřečený Kancionál Miřinského]. Prague: Pavel Severin z Kapí Hory, 4 November 1531. National Museum Library, Prague, 27 B 2, fol. *8b.

justify the view that their author was Skoryna himself (Shamyakin 1990: 500–501).

⁸⁹ [Pisně staré, gruntovní a velmi utěšené. Takřečený Kancionál Miřinského]. Prague: Pavel Severin z Kapí Hory, 4 November 1531 (Knihopis 5618), fol. *8b: teacher behind a podium, leaning forward towards a group of seated students; view of the countryside at the top left (70 × 85 mm, framed) and Hošťálek z Javoříce, Jan: *Život člověka jednoho*. Prague: [Jan Severin ml.], 1537 (Knihopis 3192), fol. A1: interior of a pub with eight drinkers; view of the countryside in the background; in the foreground, inscribed into the front face of the table the date "1534" (69 × 65 mm, framed).

⁹⁰ Luther 1909–1913: tab. 35. Imitation, see *Žaltář*. Prague: Pavel Severin z Kapí Hory, 1 July 1530 (not registered in Knihopis, Wrocław: BU, sign. 300301 unicum), fol. A1a: title border with a pointed tympanum, two putti along the top sides, two cherubs as shield-bearers in the center bottom (104 × 75 mm, framed) – reprinted in Schmaltzing, Georg: *Žaltář v způsobu modliteb složený*. [Prague: Pavel Severin z Kapí Hory], 20 January 1536 (Knihopis 17554), fol. A1a.

⁹¹ Voit 2012 (forthcoming).



אָרֶז

אֲמוֹנֵי אֶצְלוֹ שְׁכַנְי אֲדָם הִקְנִי יֵם קַנְי
בְּנִיז בְּעַרְבוֹ בִּי עִז צַרְבוֹ בְּשַׁעֲשׁוּעֵי
בְּרָפוֹ רֵאשִׁית דְּרָבוֹ גִּשְׁתִּי לֶרֶגְלוֹ
בְּרֵתִי בְּצִלוֹ גַּעְגּוּעֵי עָלוֹ קֶדֶם מִפְּעָלוֹ
דְּתוֹתֵי עַל רֹדֵי לְהוֹעִילִם דַּעַת
הַנְּעִלִם מֵאִז מִעוֹלָם הַגִּיגִי לְאֶרֶשׁ
הַמִּזְקָק לְפָרוֹשׁ הַנְּפִלָא לְדָרוֹשׁ נִסְבְּתִי
מִדָּאשׁ וְאַחִיחַ בְּעַרְזִי וְשַׁעֲשׁוּעֵי יִירֵז
וְקֹדֶם מִצִּי בְּמִרְזִי מִקֹּדֶם מִי אֶרֶז וְזוֹהַר
גְּבַלְלֵתִי זְכוּיֹת גְּבַלְלֵתִי זֹאת גְּתַחֲלֵלְתִי
בְּאִיז תְּחוֹמוֹת חוֹלְלֵתִי חֶקֶר עוֹנוֹת חֵלֶל
זְמוֹנוֹת חֶק בִּי עֲנִינוֹת בְּאִיז מְעִינוֹת



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Johannes Jylavice, C. C. Indignus

White Mountain book illustration.⁹² When we talk of Severin's workshop, we include the interrelated work of three artists – Master EWA, Master ME, and the Master of Broad Hatching. While the work of the first two named book artists does not appear in Hebrew publications, the **Master of Broad Hatching (1525-1542)** in fact began his career in the Jewish Town, creating two column borders for the 1525 *Mahzor* [8] and two others for the 1526 *Yotzerot* [10]. These works show visible traces of German, quite probably Nuremberg design from the 1520's – though executed in an as of yet uncertain hand lacking in experience and symmetric discipline. The standard composition includes the emblems of the Prague Old Town and Jewish Town. The relaxed and playful depiction of the cherubs and the fanciful male demi-figures wearing hats and with scrolling foliage instead of legs are the first indication of the secularizing tendencies of Severin's workshop. Even more surprising within the Bohemian context is the second border for the *Yotzerot*, in which a bearded male figure peeks out with curiosity from the space between the grouped columns. Unlike in Germany,

this is the only, though hardly original, use of illusionism in Bohemian book art.⁹³

We can also see the influence of German Renaissance ornament on one of the three borders from the 1529 *Mahzor* [15]. The border is filled with putti sitting, standing, and climbing among branches. This swarm of dynamic little figures with musical instruments, snakes or birds has just one goal – to reach the bath in the upper part of the composition, already overflowing with bathing children. This bizarre scene is accompanied by melancholic putti leaning against a skull; at the same time the lower, semantically more important part, depicts two mermaids with voluptuous bosoms holding the coat of arms of the Prague Old Town. The motif of half-naked female shield-bearers is an ancient one, and is found

⁹² Kuthen ze Šprinsberka, Martin: *Kronika o založení Země české*. Prague: [Pavel Severin z Kapí Hory], 17 January 1539 (Knihopis 4628); Tovačovský z Cimburka, Ctibor: *Hádání Pravdy a Lži*. Prague: Jan Severin the Younger, 11 December 1539 (Knihopis 1711 ČD); Giovio, Paolo: *Kniha o věcech a způsobích národu tureckého*. Transl. Ambrož and Sixt of Ottersdorf. Prague: Pavel Severin z Kapí Hory, 2 February 1540 (Knihopis 3631); Hájek z Libočan, Václav: *Kronika česká*. Prague: Jan Severin the Younger – Ondřej Kubeš z Žipů, 19 October 1541 (Knihopis 2867).

⁹³ Luther 1909–1913: tab. 109 (Michael Blum in Leipzig, 1526) and tab. 123 (Jobst Gutknecht in Nuremberg, 1525–1532).

⁹⁴ Teter – Fram 2006: 45–46.

⁹⁵ Schreyll 1990: vol. 1, 137, vol. 2, fig. 821. See Voit 2012 (forthcoming).

in earlier publications such as the *Pentateuch* of 1514–1518, as well as in later works such as Hebrew books published in Krakow in the 1540's.⁹⁴ By comparison, the putti in the branches and in the bath very closely reflect the type of ornament that Pavel Severin, influenced by the artistic style of Hans Schäußelein,⁹⁵ innovatively used in the first edition of his *Bible*. Its border had been created at an earlier date (1527), but was not seen publicly until May 1529. Severin's penchant to lighten biblical text through the use of lay ornament was not a foreign concept to the publishers of the Hebrew *Mahzor*, and so at some point before October 1529, they commissioned the Master of Broad Hatching to produce an adaptation of the motif from the title page of Severin's *Bible*. The success of this adaptation is confirmed by its reuse in the 1530 *Pentateuch* [16] and the 1535 *Selihot* [19].

Another unique work within the Bohemian context is the bizarre content of the one-piece text frame for the 1530 *Pentateuch*. Here, the Master of Broad Hatching apparently was inspired by 15th-century book painting; working with colorful drolleries, he drew a bursting pomegranate and two seated animals: a bear and a monkey with puffed-out cheeks blowing into wind instruments. This comic theme was well matched to the border with the swarm of children in the branches, which the publishers of the *Pentateuch* reused



35 *Yotzerot mi-Kol ha-Shanah*. Prague: Meir ben David – Hayyim ben David Shahor, 1526. The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Opp. 4° 1288, fol. [1b].

from the previous year's *Mahzor*. The distinctiveness of this bizarre scene was increased by its unintentional contrast with the other vegetative frames created for the *Pentateuch* by the late-Gothic Master of Burleigh's Border. In 1528, Mikuláš Konáček used a thematically interesting but artistically undisciplined border⁹⁶ resembling a playful border for Jan Severin printed in 1539.⁹⁷ We believe that this latter ornament originated for an unknown older commission no later than 1527, and that Severin merely re-used it. This hypothesis is based on the fact that Severin's workshop was founded in 1527 and that in his work at the workshop the Master of Broad Hatching preferred figurative art. He had no more contact with Jewish patrons after 1530, and was fully engaged with commissions from Pavel and Jan Severin, for whom he portrayed various scenes from burgher life: a kitchen, a spice shop, conversing men and women.⁹⁸ He thus continued in the footsteps of the recent secularizing work by the Master of Kohen's *Haggadah*. Gradually, however, he lost all inventiveness; lacking any more significant artistic release, he at times even produced almost sloppy lines and large areas filled with broad parallel hatching. In 1539 he was invited to cooperate on the illustrations for Tovačovský's *Hádání* (Disputation). It is here, alongside the more spirited work by Master EWA, that his penchant for decorative hatching at the expense of more challenging details is most visible.



37 *Kuchařství*. Prague: Pavel Severin z Kapí Hory, 13 February 1535. National Museum Library, Prague, 28 G 60, fol. A1a.



36 Frame for the incipit from the *Pentateuch*, Prague, 1530. JMP, sg. 2.361, fol. [117b].

⁹⁶ Joannes de Capua: *Pravidlo lidského života*. Prague: Mikuláš Konáček z Hodiškova, 20 February 1528 (Knihopis 1124 ČD), fol. 1a: title border and perhaps also the following copies of cycle woodcuts.

⁹⁷ Luther, Martin: *Vejklad na žalm stý XXVII*. Prague: [Jan Severin the Younger], 1 May 1539 (Knihopis AD), fol. A1a: title border with winged cherub's head on a festoon at the top center; along the sides an abundant vegetative ornament topped off on the left and right with cherubs' heads; the bottom filled with five frolicking angels, all on a horizontally hatched background (115 × 75 mm, framed).

⁹⁸ Michael de Wišlica: *Pranostika krakovská o vyznamenání komety*. [Prague: (Pavel Severin) z Kapí Hory, 1533] (Knihopis 5552), fol. A1a: two seated putti holding a comet; at the left above the cloud appears the date "1553" (70 × 70 mm, framed); *Kuchařství*. Prague: Pavel Severin z Kapí Hory, 13 February 1535 (Knihopis 4610 ČD), fol. A1a: kitchen interior with a fireplace; at the left two assistants; on the right, two cooks (80 × 68 mm, framed); Erasmus, Desiderius: *Rozmlouvání velmi utěšené a kratochvilné* [Prague: Jan Severin the Younger], 1538 (Knihopis 2362 ČD), fol. A1a: two women conversing; at the top left an inscription reading "Johanna"; at the top right, "Reina" = Regina (75 × 63 mm, framed); *Kuchařka*. [Prague], Jan Severin the Younger, 3 June 1542 (Knihopis 4611 ČD), fol. A1a: kitchen interior with three figures; at the bottom right the date "1542" (94 × 83 mm [cropped], in a small frame).