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ADAM  
VON GRUTTSCHREIBER'S  
*ALBUM AMICORUM*:  
AN UNKNOWN SOURCE  
FOR THE HISTORY  
OF CULTURE IN SILESIA  
IN THE LATTER HALF OF THE 16<sup>th</sup>  
AND EARLY 17<sup>th</sup> CENTURIES

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## ABSTRACT

This article discusses the *album amicorum* of Adam von Gruttschreiber (1553–1619), which is part of the collections of the former Prussian State Library in Berlin and is now in the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow. Until 2016, it was considered lost in the war, and therefore, until recently, it could not be used in research on modern books of friendship. The article aims to introduce this very interesting object to scientific discourse. At the beginning, its owner is presented: a Silesian nobleman, courtier of the Dukes of Legnica and Brzeg, the lord of Michałów near Brzeg – and the remains of his architectural and sculptural patronage in his hometown of Michałów, which, according to the author of the article, was supposed to commemorate the founder himself and his family members. The album of friendship he kept was part of these commemorative undertakings. The article presents the main issues concerning the content of the album.

First, the unusual, illustrated print chosen by Adam von Gruttschreiber (*Neue Liuische Figuren*) is discussed, then the structure, chronology and meaning of the entries, and finally the main iconographic themes of the graphics and illumination decorating the entries. Based on these analyses, it can be concluded that Gruttschreiber's album is an extremely rich source on the culture of the Silesian nobility in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, providing a lot of valuable information that will certainly be used in further research into the history of culture and art.

**KEYWORDS:** Adam von Gruttschreiber, Michałów, Michelau, Fürstentum Brieg, Duchy of Brzeg, Silesia, Stammbuch, album amicorum, book of friendship

Among other friendship books held in the former Prussian State Library in Berlin in the collection of the Jagiellonian Library is an *album amicorum* that belonged to Adam von Gruttschreiber (1553–1619), a Silesian nobleman and courtier of the Dukes of Brzeg (*Brieg*), the Lord of Michałów (*Michelau*) near Brzeg.<sup>1</sup> It had been considered lost after the Second World War, but in 2016 it was found in the Cracow Dominican Monastery together with a series of other works, thereafter transferred to the Jagiellonian Library. As it was unavailable for study until recently, it has not, to date, been analysed let alone integrated into scholarship on early modern friendship books, which developed in the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup> It had not attracted significant scholarly attention even

- 1 Jagiellonian Library in Cracow, Manuscript Department, MS Berol. Alba amicorum 1 (below BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1). I wish to express my gratitude to the Prof. Zdzisław Pietrzyk, Director of the Jagiellonian Library, for drawing my attention to the analyzed album, and for his valuable advice and comments on this paper.
- 2 See W. Klose, "Stammbücher – eine kulturhistorische Betrachtung", *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft*, Bd. 16 (1982), pp. 41–67; W.W. Schnabel, *Das Stammbuch. Konstitution und Geschichte einer textsortenbezogenen Sammelform bis ins erste Drittel des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen 2003; M. Ryantova, *Památníky aneb štambuchy, to jest alba amicorum. Kulturně historický fenomén raného novověku*, České Budějovice 2007 (Monographia historica, sv. 8); A. Michalska, "Nowe perspektywy w badaniach nad nowożytnymi albumami przyjaźni" [New Perspectives in Research on Modern Friendship Books], *Prace Kulturoznawcze*, vol. 22, 2018, No. 4, pp. 29–41.

before the start of WWII.<sup>3</sup> This paper aims to present an outline of the book's content and point to various research directions opened up by its analysis. Adam von Gruttschreiber used the *Neuwe Liuische Figuren* as his friendship book, an illustrated history of Rome by Livy known as *Ab Urbe Condita* and translated into German in 1573. He collected almost 470 entries within its pages, the majority decorated with coats of arms or figurative representations of high artistic quality. The number of entries and illustrations make this friendship album the most extensive among preserved Silesian *alba amicorum* from the period.<sup>4</sup> It is also worthy of greater attention given its owner and his accomplished artistic patronage.

### BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION ON ADAM VON GRUTTSCHREIBER

In order to understand the specificity of the friendship book, let us take a closer look at its owner. Born in 1553, Adam von Gruttschreiber was a son of Hans von Gruttschreiber (1525-1587) and Emerentia von Baruth und Breisewitz.<sup>5</sup> His father's family were

3 A.M. Hildebrandt, "Eintragungen brandenburgischer Fürsten und Fürstinnen in Stammbüchern des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts", *Hohenzollernjahrbuch*, Bd. 7, 1903, pp. 166, 179; E. Wolbe, "Ein Stammbuch vor dreihundert Jahren", *Antiquitäten-Rundschau*, Jg. 12, 1914, pp. 481-483; W. Klose, *Corpus Alborum Amicorum – CAAC. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Stammbücher des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart 1988 (Hiersemanns Bibliographische Handbücher, Bd. 8), p. 96.

4 See E. Volger, "Über die Sammlung von Stammbüchern (77 Stück) in der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau", *Schlesiens Vorzeit in Bild und Schrift*, Bd. 3, 44. Bericht, 1880, pp. 445-475; K. Masner, "Die schlesischen Stammbücher und ihre künstlerische Ausschmückung", *Jahrbuch des Schlesischen Museums für Kunstgewerbe und Altertümer* 4, 1907, pp. 137-170; E. Białek, "Die Stammbuchsammlung in der Universitätsbibliothek Wrocław", *Germanica Wratislaviensia*, Bd. 68, 1985, pp. 133-146; A. Borys, "Album amicorum Johanna Reimanna (1544-1597). Najstarszy znany sztambuch w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu" [*Album Amicorum of Johann Reimann (1544-1597). The Oldest Known Friendship Book in the Collection of the University Library in Wrocław*], *Śląska Republika Uczonych*, vol. 5, 2012, pp. 109-129.

5 Information on Gruttschreiber family is traced from the following sources: Jagiellonian Library, *MS Berol. Collectio genealogica Koenigiana*, Bd. 49, *Ad genealogiam derer von Gruttschreiber*; J. Sinapius, *Schlesischer Curiositäten erste Vorstellung [...]*, Leipzig 1720, pp. 417-422; Idem, *Des Schlesischen Adels Anderer Theil, Oder Fortsetzung Schlesischer Curiositäten [...]*, Leipzig-Breslau 1728, pp. 654-655; Genealogiophilus [C.F. von Gruttschreiber], *Genealogische Nachlese von einigen Gräfflichen, Freyherrlichen und Adelichen Geschlechts-Linien in Schlesien, und besonders in dem Oels- Bernstädtischen*

descendants of Legnica (*Liegnitz*) burghers, ennobled in the 15<sup>th</sup> century after which they purchased an estate near Wrocław (*Breslau*). His mother's family came from nobility settled in the Duchy of Oleśnica (*Fürstentum Oels*).<sup>6</sup> Hans von Gruttschreiber initially owned the village of Wilków Średzki (*Wilkau-Zopkendorf*), where a new family line descended. In 1557, he purchased the estate of the village of Michałów (*Michelau*) in the Duchy of Brzeg (*Fürstentum Brieg*), and later an estate in Ptakowice (*Taschenberg*). Three von Kitlitz brothers – Hans, Erasmus, and Sigismund – had been previous owners of those estates.<sup>7</sup> Hans von Gruttschreiber may have only retained a title attached to his ownership of the upper village (*Ober Michelau*), since its lower part (*Nieder Michelau*) belonged to members of the Pogorzela (von Pogrell) family until the 1590s.<sup>8</sup> In 1563, Hans, together with his elder brother Wenzel Jr, (1515–1570), owner of estates in Marszowice (*Marschwitz*), Stabłowice (*Stabelwitz*) and Kuźniki (*Schmiedefeld*) near Wrocław, received a document confirming their noble rank in the Hereditary Lands of the House of Habsburg (*erbländisch-österreichische Adelsbestätigung*).<sup>9</sup> Two years later, Hans sold his Szymanowice (*Schimbach/Schönbach*) estate in the Duchy of Wrocław (*Fürstentum Breslau*), and left to live perma-

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*Fürstenthume*, Tl. 2, Oels 1765, plate XVIII, *Die von Gruttschreiber, aus dem Hause Czopkendorf*; K. Wutke, G. Türk, "Die Mitglieder des Geschlechtes Gruttschreiber in älterer Zeit", *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Schlesiens*, Bd. 75, 1941, pp. 17–27.

- 6 J. Sinapius, *Schlesischer Curiositäten...*, pp. 242–243; Idem, *Des Schlesischen Adels...*, pp. 513–514.
- 7 The first two brothers were affiliated with the court of George II, Duke of Brzeg. Hans was a court councillor (1549–1550), while Erasmus entered the office of the Governor (*Landeshauptmann*) of Brzeg and Olawa (1559), see *Urkunden der Stadt Brieg. Urkundliche und chronikalische Nachrichten über die Stadt Brieg, die dortigen Klöster, die Stadt- und Stiftsgüter bis zum Jahre 1550*, hrsg. von C. Grünhagen, Breslau 1870 (*Codex Diplomaticus Silesiae*, Bd. 9), pp. 209–210, 214, 215, Nos. 1543, 1575, 1582.
- 8 In 1562, Prezel von Pogrell, Marshall of George II of Brzeg also owned estates at Michałów. From 1586–1591, additional estates were owned by Christoph, land senior of the Duchy of Brzeg, and by Georg von Pogrell, court forester and purser in Brzeg, see J. Sinapius, *Schlesischer Curiositäten...*, p. 707; Idem, *Des Schlesischen Adels...*, pp. 868–869.
- 9 K.F. von Frank, *Standeserhebungen und Gnadenakte für das Deutsche Reich und die österreichischen Erblande bis 1806 sowie kaiserlich österreichische bis 1823*, Bd. 2, Senftenegg 1970, p. 136.

nently at another estate. Further information on his life remains unknown except for his death at the age of 62 in 1587.

At this point, it is worth mentioning the unique legal and confessional situation at Michałów. Interestingly, the church's patronage remained under the jurisdiction of the Abbots of the Cistercian Monastery in Kamieniec Ząbkowicki (*Kamenz*). However, since Lutheranism was the accepted religious tradition for the Duchy of Brzeg, an area greatly prone to conflicts between the Pogrells and the Gruttschreibers, the Abbots had to assign Lutheran ministers.<sup>10</sup> The ministers were to practice in compliance with the doctrine defined by the Duke of Brzeg for the territory of his rule.<sup>11</sup> Evidence of this political dependence is testified by the 'onions and garlic rent' (*Zwiebel- und Knoblochzins*) paid to the Kamieniec Abbots'.<sup>12</sup>

Regrettably, nothing is known about the youth and education of Adam von Gruttschreiber. He may have followed a similar path as that experienced and described in the *Memorialbuch* by Hans von Schweinichen (1552-1616), a long-standing courtier of the Dukes of Legnica and his senior by nine years.<sup>13</sup> The latter began his education at a village school in his native Mierczyce (*Mertschütz*), where

10 W. Ribbeck, *Die Herzöge von Brieg und die geistlichen Patronatsherren*, 'Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte', Bd. 22, 1901, H. 1, pp. 90-94; Engel, *Zur Geschichte des Dorfes Michelau insbesondere der katholischen Kirchengemeinde*, Brieg 1930, pp. 11-14.

11 M. Weber, *Die Kirchenordnungen für Brieg (1592) und Liegnitz (1594)*, in: *Dziedzictwo reformacji...* [Heritage of Reformation...], pp. 143-148; G. Wąs, *Reformacja i władza. Reformy chrześcijaństwa w nurcie reformacji a spory o władzę na Śląsku w XVI i pierwszym dwudziestolecu XVII wieku* [Reformation and Power. Reforms of Christianity in Reformation versus Dispute over Power in Silesia in the 16<sup>th</sup> and Two First Decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century] Kraków 2017, pp. 97-145.

12 The names of four ministers at Michałów from the time of Hans and Adam von Gruttschreiber are known. Georg Hempel was minister in 1565. He was succeeded by Johann Lang (1568-1573), who was followed by Ambrosius Rosaeus and remained minister until his death in 1605. Educated at Wittenberg University, he was most likely the son of Hieronim Rosaeus (1501-1575), minister in Legnica and later in Strzelin. Following Ambrosius Rosaeus's death, the position was taken over by his son Samuel. The latter died before Gruttschreiber in 1619, who, prior to his own death, was involved in a dispute with the Kamieniec Abbot over the parish assignment. W. Ribbeck, op. cit., pp. 90-94; Engel, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

13 *Denkwürdigkeiten des Hans von Schweinichen*, hrsg. von H. Oesterley, Breslau 1878. On H. von Schweinichen see H. Wunder, "Schweinichen Hans von", *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Bd. 24, Berlin 2010, pp. 51-52.

he learnt the basics of reading and writing. He assisted his father in farm work at the same time. Two years later, he arrived at the Legnica court, where he pursued further education alongside the young Duke Frederick IV. Supervised by the ducal tutor, he learned about Christianity, and received language training in German and Latin. Following, he left for a humanistic education at Złotoryja Gymnasium. During this time, he accompanied his father to many ceremonies and travels hosted by the court of Henry XI of Legnica.<sup>14</sup> As he admitted, he did not fully benefit from higher education since he was more strongly tempted by life at court.<sup>15</sup> Taking into account the references to ancient culture visible in Gruttschreiber's friendship book, an assumption can be made that its owner attended the Wrocław or Złotoryja Gymnasium and devoted himself to his studies with more passion than Schweinichen.<sup>16</sup> An analysis of his album and his artistic patronage, discussed below, suggests that the two main goals of a humanistic education – the classical *humanitas* and Christian *pietas*, which allowed him to follow consciously a path of virtue, not fortune – were close to his heart.<sup>17</sup> It is also likely that he was educated in one of the first classes of the Brzeg Gymnasium, which opened in 1569.<sup>18</sup> We know that his elder cousin Hans (1548–1605) attended the Wrocław Gymnasium, after which he set off on an educational tour of Wittenberg and Padua. Upon his return, he began to administer his family estates and participate in their political life, serving as the plenipotentiary of

14 *Denkwürdigkeiten...*, pp. 14–24.

15 *Weil aber allbereit in meinem Haupte das Hofwesen, bei welchem ich zuvor gewesen, steckte, hatte ich nur mehr Lust zu Reiterei, als zu Büchern, und war mein Herz mehr dazu geneiget, als zu fleißigem Studiren. [...] Wollt mir wünschen, daß ich nicht meinem, sondern meines Herrn Vatern und Präceptoren Köpfen gefolget und im Studiren fortgefahren, es sollte mir sehr ersprießlichen sein gewesen, muß aber gedenken, daß es Gott nicht hat wollen haben, und also sein Will und Vorsehung nicht gewesen*, ibidem, pp. 21, 23.

16 J. Budzyński, *Paideia humanistyczna, czyli wychowanie do kultury. Studium z dziejów klasycznej edukacji w gimnazjach XVI–XVIII wieku (na przykładzie Śląska)* [Humanist Paideia, Namely Education for Culture. Study in the History of Classical Education in Gymnasia in the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> Century (on the Example of Silesia)], Częstochowa 2003, pp. 121–145.

17 Ibidem, pp. 317–332.

18 Ibidem, pp. 145–153.

the knighthood (*Landesbestallte*) of the Duchy of Wrocław and as a tax collector (*verordneter Steuereinnehmer*).<sup>19</sup>

In the case of Adam von Gruttschreiber, no circumstantial evidence exists that sheds light on his further education. His personal data is not found in the public registers of the universities in Frankfurt an der Oder, Wittenberg, Leipzig, Jena, or Heidelberg, the universities most frequented by Silesian noblemen in the period.<sup>20</sup> Nor is his name present in the registers of Italian universities.<sup>21</sup> Thus, if he travelled across Silesia and outside its borders, the purpose of his voyages was more likely related to court service rather than education. It is also possible that he helped his father administer the family estate or began his career at court in Brzeg. Judging by the entries in his friendship book, it can be ascertained that he was in Dessau, the capital of the Duchy of Anhalt, in 1578. He returned to Silesia in the following year, later traveling to Upper Hungary. He may have enrolled to serve in the Habsburg Army from 1580–1582, a possibility suggested by numerous entries by the Imperial Army's officers and representations of military figures in his *album amicorum*.<sup>22</sup> He returned to Silesia in 1582. At that time, despite a truce between the Emperor and the Sultan, Upper Hungary did not rank as a peaceful and safe region. Additionally, much unrest escalated over the course of his trip among the Emperor's troops owing to a long-overdue payment.<sup>23</sup>

19 L. Felber, *Geistlich Passport Oder Richtige Kundschaft der Kinder Gottes, Welche sie mit ihnen auß dieser Welt ins Ewige leben nehmen Erkleret [...]* bey der Begräbnüß Deß Edlen [...] Herrn Hansen Grüttschreibern von Zopkendorff auff Stabelwitz [...], Olsse 1606.

20 He also did not appear in university records in Heidelberg, Rostock, or Marburg, which were less frequently visited by Silesians.

21 C. Zonta, *Schlesische Studenten an italienischen Universitäten. Eine prosopographische Studie zur frühneuzeitlichen Bildungsgeschichte*, Köln-Weimar-Wien 2004 (Neue Forschungen zur Schlesischen Geschichte, Bd. 10).

22 See *Theatrum vitae et mortis...*, pp. 98–99.

23 See G. Pálffy, *The Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy in the Sixteenth Century*, transl. by T.J. and H.D. DeKornfeld, Colorado-New Jersey-New York 2009 (East European Monographs, vol. 735; CHSP Hungarian Studies Series, vol. 18), pp. 89–118; István Kenyeres, *Die Kriegsausgaben der Habsburgermonarchie von der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts bis zum ersten Drittel des 17. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Kriegführung und Staatsfinanzen. Die Habsburgermonarchie und das Heilige Römische Reich vom*

Moreover, it is known that Adam von Gruttschreiber, together with his brother Friedrich, was one of many stewards (*Truchsess*) who waited on the ducal tables during the wedding reception of John George of Brzeg and Anna of Württemberg, held at the Brzeg Castle on 16 September 1582.<sup>24</sup> Three years later, together with Friedrich von Kittlitz, he was a cupbearer (*Mundschenk*) for Anna Maria of Anhalt, wife of Joachim Frederick of Brzeg, during the wedding of Charles II of Oleśnica and Elisabeth of Brzeg held at the same castle on 30 October 1585.<sup>25</sup> Interestingly, neither he nor his father or brothers were mentioned among the more important participants at the funeral of George II, Duke of Brzeg, held on 9 June 1586.<sup>26</sup> In 1591, he was already land and court judge (*Landhofrichter*) of the Duchy of Brzeg, as well as one of the signatories of the agreement related to estate payments of the duke's overdue debts.

Based on an analysis of the correspondence of Barbara, Duchess of Brandenburg, who ruled at Brzeg Castle from 1586–1595, Carl Adolf Schimmelpfennig assessed that her relations with Gruttschreiber were not positive. Her strife was apparently caused by the Lord of Michałów himself, who was often in conflict with his neighbours and was very severe with his serfs. In May 1593, he held his step-daughter's wedding reception at Michałów, which featured music and dances, despite occurring during the mourning period (*Trauerjahr*) following the death of Duke John George of Brzeg,<sup>27</sup> a situation that angered the Duchess but did not result in further punishment.<sup>28</sup> He also attended the procession of the widowed Anna of Württemberg for her wedding to Frederick IV of Legnica in late

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*Dreißigjährigen Krieg bis zum Ende des habsburgischen Kaisertums 1740*, hrsg. von P. Rauscher, Münster 2010 (Geschichte in der Epoche Karls V., Bd. 10), pp. 41–80.

24 *Merkbuch des Hans von Schweinichen*, hrsg. von K. Wutke, Berlin 1895, p. 15.

25 *Ibidem*, p. 32.

26 See *ibidem*, pp. 163–180.

27 He died on 6 July 1582 and was buried 23 days later, *ibidem.*, p. 236.

28 C.A. Schimmelpfennig, "Herzogin Barbara von Liegnitz-Brieg, geborne Markgräfin von Brandenburg, ihr Hofhalt und ihre Regierung von 1586–1595", *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthum Schlesiens*, Bd. 14, H. 2, 1879, pp. 393–396.



October 1594.<sup>29</sup> Due to a scarcity of archival information, it be assumed that Gruttschreiber spent the 1580s and the first half of the next decade living as a landlord. Additionally, as a former soldier, he may have fulfilled some tasks for the Habsburg administration.

Eventually, Adam von Gruttschreiber entered the Brzeg court, where he served as a councillor and land and court judge of the Duchy for many years. These positions may have been granted due to his good relations with Duke Joachim Frederick and his children's regents (Maria Anna of Anhalt, Charles II of Oleśnica), as well with the young Duke John Christian. The Lord of Michałów was most likely a very resourceful man and an effective administrator, which enabled him to accumulate substantial wealth and to commission works of art and architecture to commemorate his and his family's legacy.

Adam von Gruttschreiber's greatest achievement involved securing the endowment of a document from Duke John Christian that awarded town privileges to Upper Michałów, dated 26 June 1615. On that occasion, the Brzeg printing house of Caspar Sigfried published a ceremonial print dedicated to the Gruttschreibers of the Stabłowice and Michałów lines, which featured a sermon by Rev. Samuel Rosaeus, congratulatory poems, and inscriptions from Michałów's town gates.<sup>30</sup> Rosaeus prepared an erudite sermon that referred to Psalm 122, in which he compared Michałów to biblical Jerusalem. He also made reference to the concept of the state as formulated by Martin Luther, which outlined the state's three main functions: to preach the Word of God to the congregation (*Lehrambt*), to enact justice (*Wehrambt*), and to ensure the validity of laws and privileges as they applied to all residents (*Nehrambt*).<sup>31</sup> In his address, Rosaeus quoted ancient authors including St. Au-

29 *Merkbuch...*, p. 143.

30 S. Rosaeus, *Evangelische Lehr und Ehren-Predigt Bey der Inauguratio[n], der Newen Stadt Michelaw am Neyßwasser, im Brigischen Fürstenthumb, und Land Schlesien, gelegen, In vorsamblung vieler vornehmer ansehnlicher Personen, den sechsten Sontag nach Trinitatis Anno 1615 gehalten*, Brieg 1615.

31 See T. Scott, *The Early Reformation in Germany. Between Secular Impact and Radical Vision*, Farnham 2013, *passim*.

gustine of Hippo, Silius Italicus, Sallust, and Antisthenes, as well as Johann Stigel (1515-1562), a Neo-Latinist poet and a learned humanist. Gruttschreiber was also congratulated by intellectuals from Brzeg and Wrocław,<sup>32</sup> such as Jacob Schickfuß,<sup>33</sup> Christoph Rössler,<sup>34</sup> Johann Neumond (Neomenius),<sup>35</sup> Johann Gebhardt von Göppelsberg,<sup>36</sup> Melchior Lauban,<sup>37</sup> Samuel Latochius,<sup>38</sup> Andreas Birner,<sup>39</sup> Johann Scultetus,<sup>40</sup> and Caspar Siegfried.<sup>41</sup> The print's conclusion features the description of the three gates of Michałów, which includes a list of the numerous inscriptions in German and Latin that adorned it. Crucially, the Gruttschreibers' coat of arms – a jumping silver dog wearing a collar turned leftwards on a two-partite escutcheon – became the town's emblem.<sup>42</sup>

Adam von Gruttschreiber married four times. His first wife was Anna von Gregersdorf, widow of Hans Abraham von Warkotsch und Nobschütz, the Lord of Kojęcín (*Baumgarten*), the councillor and chamberlain of the Dukes of Legnica-Brzeg.<sup>43</sup> She passed away

32 Engel, op. cit., p. 17.

33 (1574-1637) doctor of both laws (1612), rector of the Brzeg Gymnasium (1603-1613), councillor of John Christian, Duke of Brzeg, and later imperial councillor, author of the German translation and continuation of *Annales gentis Silesiae* by Joachim Curäus (1571).

34 (1568-1633) medical doctor, court doctor, councillor of the Dukes of Brzeg,

35 (1571-1639) a Calvinist, superintendent of the Duchy of Brzeg and court preacher of John Christian, Duke of Brzeg.

36 (1577-1622) secretary of the Dukes of Brzeg.

37 (1567-1633) scientist, poet, rector of the Brzeg Gymnasium (1613-1633), colleague of John Christian, Duke of Brzeg.

38 (1560-po 1617) Latin poet, minister at Zwanowice (*Schwanowitz*), teacher at the Brzeg Gymnasium, rector of the Byczyna school.

39 (d. 1640) Brzeg city councillor.

40 (1558-1618) preacher at the Church of St. Elisabeth in Wrocław and professor of the Bible at the Elisabethan Gymnasium (1583), parish priest of the Church of St. Mary Magdalene (1589), Gymnasium rector, inspector of churches and schools in Wrocław (1610-1618).

41 Printer active in Brzeg from 1611-1640.

42 H. von Saurma-Jeltsch, *Wappenbuch der Schlesiischen Städte und Städtel*, Berlin 1870, pp. 194-195.

43 She married Gruttschreiber after 1586, a date when her first husband was still alive and participated in the funeral of John II, Duke of Brzeg, *Merkbuch...*, p. 180; J. Sinapius, *Schlesischer Curiositäten...*, p. 1022.

on 22 October 1603 at the age of 44. After some time, Gruttschreiber married Catharine Strzela von Oberwitz und Groß-Stein. The couple did not share a happy life together for long. Catherine, died in childbirth at age 28, and so did the baby on 24 March 1606. A similarly sad fate met his third wife Catharine, daughter of Adam Posadowski von Postelwitz, the Lord of Wołczyn (*Constadt*). She died after her first childbirth on 10 December 1607 at merely 22 years old. Their son Hans Adam (1607–1655) did survive. Adam von Gruttschreiber's last wife, Rosina (d. 1640), was the daughter of Barthel von Nimitz, a nobleman from the Niemcza district (*Weichbild Nimptsch*) in the Duchy of Brzeg and the Lord of Wilkowo Wielkie (*Wilckau*) and Chwałęcín (*Quantzendorf*). Their son Hans Heinrich (1615–1657) was born in 1615. Adam von Gruttschreiber died on 22 April 1619 at the age of 66.

Finally, it is worth mentioning Lord of Michałów's siblings. He had three brothers: Friedrich (1553–1589), Heinrich (1559–1601), and Ulrich (d. after 1625). The first among them inherited the Ptakowice estate from their father. He married Eve, daughter of Adam Posadowski von Postelwitz, and they had a son, Hans Friedrich (1584–1618). A tournament shield featuring Friedrich's coat of arms and motto used to be kept in the Brzeg Arsenal.<sup>44</sup> Heinrich von Gruttschreiber's estate was located in the village of Rosenau. He married Magdalena von Gellhorn und Ossig.<sup>45</sup> Ulrich, the youngest of the brothers, was a courtier for the Dukes of Brzeg. He owned an estate in the village of Zielęcice (*Grüningen*) near Brzeg. He married Eva Dyhrn von Schönau und der Gimmel.<sup>46</sup> Adam von Gruttschreiber also had two sisters. Emerentiana (d. 1590) was married to Adam von Reibnitz und Rathen.<sup>47</sup> Eve (d. 1628) was the wife of Heinrich Buchta von Buchtitz, the Lord of Gałaczzyce (*Hohengierßdorf*), Lubcza (*Leubusch*), and Ziltzendorf (*Zülzendorf*), councillor of Wrocław

44 J. Sinapius, *Schlesischer Curiositäten...*, p. 419, 725; idem, *Des Schlesischen Adels...*, p. 400.

45 J. Sinapius, *Schlesischer Curiositäten...*, p. 420.

46 Ibidem.

47 J. Sinapius, *Schlesischer Curiositäten...*, p. 754; Idem, *Des Schlesischen Adels...*, p. 910.

Bishop Johann von Sitsch, and Nysa court judge (*bischöflicher Hofrichter in Neisse*).<sup>48</sup>

#### ADAM VON GRUTTSCHREIBER'S PATRONAGE

Adam von Gruttschreiber was involved in numerous patronage activities at Michałów, which left tangible traces still visible today.<sup>49</sup> He continued projects inherited from his father Hans, he founded a new baptismal font for the local church, and was planning to raise a new residence.<sup>50</sup> In the last years of his life, the Lord of Michałów funded the completion of the construction of the palace, whose elevation featured *sgraffito* decoration.<sup>51</sup> However, the church was the main focus of his patronage. He funded the raising of a brick tower, also covered with *sgraffito*, on which a clock mechanism was placed. A new triforium structure was built in the church's nave, a pipe organ was introduced, and new pews were

- 48 J. Sinapius, *Schlesischer Curiositäten...*, pp. 302, 419; B.W. Scholz, *Das geistliche Fürstentum Neisse. Eine ländliche Elite unter der Herrschaft des Bischofs (1300-1650)*, Köln-Weimar-Wien 2011 (Forschungen und Quellen zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte Ostdeutschlands, Bd. 42), pp. 143-144, 271, 353, 397.
- 49 H. Luchs, "Zur Kunsttopographie Schlesiens", *Schlesiens Vorzeit in Bild und Schrift*, Bd. 2, 1875, H. 1-2, p. 36; E. Wernicke, *Zur Schlesischen Kunsttopographie*, Ibidem, H. 5, s. 110-111; *Verzeichnis der Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Schlesien*, Bd. 2, *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Landkreise des Reg.-Bezirks Breslau*, bearb. von H. Lutsch, Breslau 1889, pp. 352-353; *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce* [Catalogue of Art Monuments in Poland], vol. 7, *Województwo Opolskie* [Opole Voivodeship], fascicle 1, *Powiat Brzeski* [Brzeg County], comps. T. Chrzanowski, M. Kornecki, M. Zlat, Warszawa 1960, pp. 66-69; *Zabytki Sztuki w Polsce. Śląsk* [Art Monuments in Poland. Silesia], eds. S. Brzezicki, C. Nielsen, comps. E. Badstübner, G. Grajewski, D. Popp, Warszawa 2006, pp. 557-558.
- 50 On the topic of the font in the Michałów Church see *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce...*, p. 68; T. Chrzanowski, *Rzeźba lat 1560-1650 na Śląsku Opolskim* [Sculpture in Opolian Silesia in 1560-1650], Warszawa 1974, pp. 49-51, 92; J. Harasimowicz, *Treści i funkcje ideowe sztuki śląskiej Reformacji, 1520-1650* [Content and Ideological Functions of Silesian Reformation Art 1520-1650], Wrocław 1986 (AUWr No 819, *Historia Sztuki* 2), pp. 116-117, 126. The wooden cover of the font disappeared after WWII.
- 51 It was assumed that the Palace was raised in 1615-18, M. Jagiełło-Kołaczyk, *Sgraffita na Śląsku, 1540-1650* [Sgraffiti in Silesia. 1540-1650], Wrocław 2003, p. 388; *Zabytki Sztuki w Polsce. Śląsk...*, p. 558. An inscription with the year 1611 was found in its cellar. The palace was remodelled on a number of occasions and lost its form as it appeared during the life of Adam von Gruttschreiber.

placed inside. Gruttschreiber also founded a library in the church.<sup>52</sup> A pulpit was placed on the northern side of the chancel arch; (fig. 1)<sup>53</sup> of unique composition and good craftsmanship, imitating the pulpit in the Church of St. Mary Magdalene in Wrocław (1579–1583)<sup>54</sup> and the Church of St. Nicholas in Brzeg (ca. 1593).<sup>55</sup> Four epitaphs are inscribed in the church's chancel, which, based on the compositional and stylistic features, can be dated to the last quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> and the first quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Regrettably, two on the northern wall were partially hacked off in order to raise a wooden gallery in the chancel, which was dismantled after the 1950s. One



FIG. 1. Michałów, Church of St. Joseph the Worker (previously of St. Michael), pulpit, ca. 1600 (before 1615). Photo Adam Szczepaniec

52 S. Rosaeus, Op.cit., k. [E iv v.-F i r.].

53 On the topic of the pulpit see J. Pokora, *Sztuka w służbie reformacji. Śląskie ambony 1550-1650* [Art in the Service of Reformation. Silesian Pulpits 1550–1650], Warszawa 1982, pp. 32, 37, 46, 55, 57, 59, 200–203; J. Harasimowicz, *Treści i funkcje ideowe...*, pp. 83, 84, 87, 92.

54 Ibidem, pp. 266–273.

55 Ibidem, pp. 151–154.

of the epitaphs is on an altar that features scenes of the Crucifixion, Christ in Limbo, and the Road to Emmaus, whereas the second is a fragment of a bas-relief featuring a standing woman in a dress with her hands folded at the height of her belly. Only the epitaph opposite the pulpit next to the font has been preserved in a good state, although it is missing several personifications and its inscriptions have been painted over (fig. 2). It is a vertical altar epitaph with a central scene depicting a Christian knight fighting Satan, Sin, and the World. On the basis of the partially preserved inscription, the noblewoman commemorated by the epitaph may be identified<sup>56</sup> as Eva von Gruttschreiber (d. 1628), wife of Heinrich



FIG. 2. Church of St. Joseph the Worker (previously of St. Michael), epitaph on the southern side of the chancel arch, next to the font, 4<sup>th</sup> quarter 16<sup>th</sup> c.–1<sup>st</sup> quarter 17<sup>th</sup> c. Photo Adam Szczepaniec

56 On the set of epitaphs see T. Chrzanowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 71, 77, 89; J. Harasimowicz, *Treści i funkcje ideowe...*, pp. 34, 35, 43; *idem*, *Mors janua vitae. Śląskie epitafia i nagrobki wieku reformacji* [Mors Janua Vitae. Silesian Epitaphs and Tombs in the Age of Reformation], Wrocław 1992 (AUWr No 1098, Historia Sztuki 3), pp. 86, 90–91, 118, 144.





FIG. 3. Michałów, inscription-and-heraldic plaque in the gate leading to the Church of St. Joseph the Worker (previously of St. Michael), 1615. Photo Adam Szczepaniec

von Buchta.<sup>57</sup> It is highly likely that the remaining epitaphs commemorated Adam von Gruttschreiber and one of his brothers. The removal of the white paint may uncover the inscriptions, allowing further identification of the dedicatees.

Two rectangular heraldic plaques preserved in Michałów into the present day and related to Adam von Gruttschreiber are worth mentioning. The first is placed on the gate above the entrance to the church plot (fig. 3).<sup>58</sup> It depicts the town emblem in an oval escutcheon placed in a cartouche and decorated with strapwork, supported by two winged putti in narrow loincloths. The emblem is surrounded by the inscription:

· INSIGNIA CIVITATIS MICHELAVIENSIS · 1615.

The second plaque is located on the wall surrounding the plot of the presbytery, namely the former palace (fig. 4). Its bottom edge,

57 Only the upper part of the bas relief was hacked off. Meanwhile, the inscription that surrounds the plaque may have been preserved in its entirety, with a part possible under plaster. The preserved visible inscription fragment reads: [...] REN TVGENTREICH FRAV EVA BVCHTIN GEBORNE GRVDTSCHREIBERIN V. TZOPTGENDORF.

58 Engel, *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 20.



FIG. 4. Michałów, inscription-and-heraldic plaque in the wall surrounding the presbytery (former palace), 1611. Photo Adam Szczepaniec

currently covered with plaster, was visible before 1611.<sup>59</sup> In the middle of the plaque is a pair of coats of arms in an oval frame decorated with strapwork and supported by a pair of griffins. An elongated rectangular escutcheon with an inscription in strapwork framing is located below. The coats of arms were supported by the captions: AD GR(et) ROS NIMITZIN, enabling us to claim with certainty that the coat of arms on the left belongs to Adam von Gruttschreiber, while that on the right to his fourth wife Rosina von Nimitz. The following maxim was placed around the oval frame:

VIGILANDO AGENDO BENE - CONSVLENDO PROSPERE  
OMNIA - CEDUNT.

This quote derives from *De Catilinae Coniuratione* by Sallust, referring to the words supposedly spoken by Cato the Elder on the values needed to achieve success. The following inscription surrounds the coat of arms:

LABOR GLORIAE - PARENS

59 H. Luchs, op. cit., p. 36; Engel, op. cit., p. 21.



This can be translated as: “Work yields fame”. The maxim is an encouragement to live an active life in order to secure one’s legacy. At the bottom of the plaque, the following inscription can be read inside strapwork framing:

STRENVVS ET NOBILISS[IMVS] VIR D[OMI]N[VS] ADAM(VS)  
A GRVDTSCHEIBER DE ZOPFKENDORF POSSESSOR HV[IVS]  
FVND[I] ILLVST[RIVM] LIGIO BRIG[ENSIUM] PRINCIP[I]V[M]  
CONS[ILIARIVS] ET DVCAT(US) HVI(VS) IVDIX PROVINC[IALIS]  
INCITAMENT[VM] POSTERIS AD AEDIFICIAND[VM] RELINQUENS FF.

The plaque commemorates Adam von Gruttschreiber as Michałów’s owner, councillor to the Dukes of Legnica and Brzeg, land and court judge of the Duchy of Brzeg, as well as his wife Rosina von Nimitz. At the same time, it encourages future generations to live actively and to build. It is likely that the plaque was originally placed on the church or the palace.

Even if assessed briefly, the extent and quality of Adam von Gruttschreiber’s patronage activities exemplify his status as an ambitious patron who did not spare any means on structures meant to commemorate himself and his family. He raised a new palace, he remodelled and refurnished the church, and he founded the family’s mausoleum in the church’s chancel. The new pulpit imitated popular solutions in Silesian pulpits in Brzeg and Wrocław. The epitaphs, possibly constructed in his lifetime, present stimulating compositional solutions and rare iconographies. He employed skilled artists in the execution of these works and it is even possible that he contributed to shaping the design of the works he commissioned. From a political perspective, Adam von Gruttschreiber’s major success was his acquisition of town privileges for Michałów. Now, having presented the biography of the nobleman and his patronage, let us move on to an analysis of his friendship book.

#### GRUTTSCHREIBER’S *ALBUM AMICORUM*: INTRODUCTION

A friendship book, called an *album amicorum* or *philoteca*, among other terms, was a book in which owners collected entries by in-

dividuals they knew and met. It is supposed that the habit of collecting entries in an album stems from the circles of Wittenberg students, including Martin Luther and Philip Melanchthon. The oldest of such albums dates to the 1540s, though a custom dating from at least the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century among the gentry and nobility requested visitors to record those who had hosted them in visitor books (*Gästebücher*). The custom was also highly influenced by heraldic culture of the time. Without detailing the creation and development of the friendship book as a genre, we can assuredly state that the taste for such books spread among the nobility and burghers both within and outside of the countries of the German Reich.<sup>60</sup>

Adam von Gruttschreiber's choice for his friendship book was a copy of *Neuwe Liuische Figuren, Darinnen die gantze Roemische Historien, kuenstlich begriffen vnd angezeigt. Geordnet vnd gestellt*, published in Frankfurt am Main in 1573. It is an octant in an album format, composed of a series of 108 woodcuts that chronologically presents events from the history of ancient Rome described by Titus Livius in *Ab Urbe Condita*. The work was a German translation of *Icones Livianae: Praecipuas Romanorum Historias Magno Artificio Ad Vivum Expressas Oculis Repraesentantes, Succinctis Versibus Illustratae*, published in the same city a year prior. Both versions were published by Georg Rab and Weigand Han Heirs. The prints were executed by the Nuremberg workshop of Jost Amman (1539–1591) after drawings by Johann Melchior Bocksperger (1525–1587). The illustrations visually dominate, occupying the majority of the pages. Interestingly, the German version of Livy's work contains five more prints than its Latin counterpart. Each illustration is accompanied by a title and a brief rhymed commentary in German. The author of the Latin commentaries was Philip Lonitzer (d. 1599), while Heinrich Peter Rebenstock (1541–1595), a minister in Eschersheim, au-

60 W. Taegert, *Edler Schatz holden Erinnerns. Bilder in Stammbüchern der Staatsbibliothek Bamberg aus vier Jahrhunderten*, Bamberg 1995, pp. 30–36; W.W. Schnabel, op. cit., pp. 206–562; M. Ryantova, op. cit., pp. 120–159.

thored the German ones. Importantly, the same team of artists and printers had collaborated with Sigmund Feyerabend on the publications of the *Neuwe Biblische Figuren deß Alten vnd Neuwen Testaments*, published for the first time in 1564 and frequently reprinted (1565, 1569, 1571, 1579).

I have come across only two other cases of this latter publication used as a friendship book. The owner of the first remains unidentified. The book formed part of the Schönfeld Collection (*Schönfeldsches Adelsarchiv*) in Vienna. Like the rest of the Collection, it was put up for auction in 1840; its location is since unknown.<sup>61</sup> The owner of the second copy of the *Neuwe Liuische Figuren* used as a friendship book was Homme van Harinxma thoe Slooten (d. 1604), a nobleman of Frisia who used it as an *album amicorum* in 1581–1598. It is currently held at the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in the Hague.<sup>62</sup> A copy of *Icones Livianae* used as a friendship book was once owned by the Leipzig theologian Johann Friedrich Burscher (1732–1805). It, too, was auctioned off, in addition to the remaining part of his library, in October 1806 by an unknown new owner. The original owner of the *album amicorum* also remains unknown.<sup>63</sup>

The use of illustrated works as friendship books was a popular and widespread phenomenon in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> and through the early 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>64</sup> Books such as emblematic, reli-

61 M. Kuppitsch, *Verzeichnis einer sehr werthvollen Bücher- und Manuscripten-Sammlung von Büchern und Manuscripten, welche unter dem Namen: Ritter von Schönfelds heraldisch-genealogisches Adelsarchiv bekannt [...] welche am 9 November 1840 öffentlich versteigert werden*, Wien 1840, p. 77, *Manuscripte in quarto*, No. 19; *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nro. 297, 23 October 1840, Beilage, p. 2367, No. [4010–12]. On the Schönfeld collection see “Das Schönfeld’sche Adelsarchiv”, *Archiv für Geographie, Historie, Staats- und Kriegskunde*, Jg. 14, 1823, pp. 88–90; R. von Granichstädten-Czerva, “Über das Schönfeld’sche «Adelsarchiv» in Wien”, *Adler. Zeitschrift für Genealogie und Heraldik*, Bd. 3, 1953/55, pp. 289–299.

62 Y. Kuiper, K. Thomassen, *Banden van vriendschap. De collectie alba amicorum Van Harinxma thoe Slooten*, Leeuwarden 2001, pp. 73–76, 125.

63 “Bücherauction in Leipzig”, *Intelligenzblatt der Allgemeinen Literatur-Zeitung*, Num. 139, Mittwochs den 1ten October 1806, column 1112. On J.F. Burscher see C. Brockhaus, “Burscher Johann Friedrich”, *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Bd. 3, Leipzig 1876, pp. 630–632.

64 L. Kurras, *Zu gutem Gedenken. Kulturhistorische Miniaturen aus Stammbüchern des Germanischen Nationalmuseums. 1570–1770*, München–Nürnberg 1987, p. 10.

gious, and morality texts or costume albums (*Trachtenbücher*) were often used for this purpose.<sup>65</sup> Interestingly, publications illustrated by Jost Amman and his workshop were eagerly adopted as friendship books. The artist knew how to respond to the aesthetic tastes of a broad public and, with time, he began to shape them. This is best testified by the fact that Amman's prints were copied by friendship-book painters.<sup>66</sup> Despite a fruitful collaboration with the Nuremberg publisher and bookseller Sigismund Feyerabend (1528-1590), he never achieved financial success.<sup>67</sup> The following works were also used as friendship books: *Neue Biblische Figuren* (1564), *Kunst und Lehrbüchlein* (1578), *Stamm- und Wappenbuch* (1579), *Stamm oder Gesellenbuch* (1579), which was produced in at least two editions over several years.<sup>68</sup> For Silesian owners of friendship books, works by their fellow citizen Nicolaus Reusner (1545-1602) were especially popular.<sup>69</sup>

In Gruttschreiber's friendship book, the pages of *Neuwe Liuische Figuren* are interfoliated with two or four leaves filled with entries; some dozen leaves were added at the end of the album for the same purpose some.<sup>70</sup> The friendship book contains over 460 entries, though more must have existed originally since numerous traces of cut or torn pages are evident in the album. The original binding of the *album amicorum* has not been preserved, with the current one - a canvas, whole binding, tinted green on the covers and black on the spine - dating to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The covers are decorated with embossed borders and symmetrical foliate

65 M. Rosenheim, "The Album Amicorum", *Archaeologia, or, Mjiscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity*, vol. 62, Iss. 1, 1910, pp. 253-257.

66 I. O'Dell, "Jost Amman and the 'Album Amicorum' Drawings after Prints in Autograph Albums", *Print Quarterly*, vol. 9, 1992, No. 1, pp. 31-36.

67 J. Chipps Smith, *Nuremberg. A Renaissance City, 1500-1618*, [exhibition catalogue], Austin 1983, pp. 275-283.

68 M. Rosenheim, op. cit., pp. 253-255; W.W. Schnabel, op. cit., pp. 479-480; M. Ryantova, op. cit., pp. 160-182.

69 K. Masner, "Die schlesischen Stammbücher und ihre künstlerische Ausschmückung", *Jahrbuch des Schlesischen Museums für Kunstgewerbe und Altertümer* 4, 1907, p. 142.

70 See M. Rosenheim, op. cit., p. 253.

ornament. The spine is segmented by three broad, raised ribs and gilded grooves. The embossed golden inscription reads: “Stambuch Adam Gruttschreibers”. The title page of the publication features the handwritten sentence: “Adam Gruttschreiber von Zockendorf zu Michelaw Fürstl. Lignitz. und Briegscher Rath, Erhält alle in diesem Stambuch befindliche Einschreibungen”.<sup>71</sup>

#### STRUCTURE AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE ENTRIES IN GRUTTSCHREIBER'S FRIENDSHIP BOOK

The oldest entries in the album under discussion are dated to 1578, which implies that Gruttschreiber started collecting them at the age of 24 or 25. Meanwhile, the last entry dates to 1619, which means that he kept filling the book with entries for over 40 years of his life. The greatest number of autographs were inscribed from 1578-1582. In later years, the number of entries generally diminished to several a year. In some years, no autograph was added.<sup>72</sup> By contrast, the years 1586, 1597, 1602, 1608-1609 stand out as ones when the Lord of Michałów gained some dozen entries every year. The majority of them bear an inscription of at least the year; a very small number of entries are undated. Some of the latter feature painted representations that can instead be dated based on similarities with ornamental features in the dated entries.

Gruttschreiber attempted to collect entries in an order that reflected a social hierarchy. Thus, following custom, the initial leaves (*Respektsblätter*) of the *album amicorum* were filled with the autographs of dukes, counts, and barons.<sup>73</sup> Later pages were dedicated to representatives of nobility, including several autographs by Wrocław burghers or barons. The majority of the entries are structured in the way that reflects early nobility albums, featuring

71 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1. The friendship book did not have numbered pages or leaves at the time of this present study, so no precise entry location could be provided.

72 They are the following years: 1591-1592, 1594, 1600, 1603-1604, 1612-1614, 1616, 1618.

73 See K. Masner, op. cit., p. 139.

the year, motto or maxim, coat of arms, the Christian and family name of the author, and confirmation that the autograph was written by the author's own hand (*manu propria, meiner Hand*). In several cases, Gruttschreiber's friends wrote down a dedication with a precise date and location. The predominant languages that feature in the album are German and Latin, though several entries were written in Italian and French, and single ones in Czech and Spanish. Different years are separated by letters or other symbols (e.g., a star, a comet, a beer mug, a glass, a three-leaf clover, a circle, a heart, either pierced diagonally with an arrow or a pair of crossed arrows, as well as a saw). The letters refer to the names of the owner's wives', while the symbols can be interpreted as referring to concepts of friendship, love, Fortune, or happiness. Some of the entries are not only adorned with coats of arms, but also with additional representations, maxims, poems, or dialogues in German or Latin. Some of the album's leaves are dedicated to a single autograph with a place for a coat of arms signed by the relatives of the original author. Other leaves contain several autographs with no designated space for heraldic inscriptions. For the majority of the autographs, the lack of precise dates (day and month) and places where the entries were written, as well information on the people the owner had met, do not enable us to identify Gruttschreiber's friends with certainty nor to recreate his voyages. Interestingly, the international "Repertorium Alborum Amicorum" database, a catalogue of friendship books and their content, does not contain an entry by Adam von Gruttschreiber. It is, nevertheless, not impossible that it will one day be identified and publicized.

Nonetheless, the chronology of the entries allows one to trace the general course of Adam von Gruttschreiber's travels.<sup>74</sup> We know for certain that he was in Dessau in late May and early June 1578, con-

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74 On the use of friendship books to reconstruct voyages see Z. Pietrzyk, "Sztambuchy jako źródło do peregrynacji studenckich na przykładzie Polaków studiujących w Strasburgu" [Friendship Books as a Source for Students' Peregrinations with the Example of Poles Studying in Strasbourg], *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, XLIII, 1999, pp. 139-150.

firmed by the entries of Christoph von Hoim<sup>75</sup> and Bernhard von Hanfstengl.<sup>76</sup> They were highly ranked courtiers of Joachim Ernst, Duke of Anhalt (1561–1586).<sup>77</sup> The same year features the entries by the duke's sons, John George and Christian, and many of his courtiers.<sup>78</sup> It remains unclear why Gruttschreiber arrived in the Duchy of Anhalt and how long he stayed there. Entries by the Dukes of Brzeg, John George and Joachim Frederick, and his wife Anne Marie, daughter of Joachim Ernst, as well as of some of his courtiers, can be dated to the same year.<sup>79</sup> Gruttschreiber also received an autograph from Joachim von Hohenzollern (1554–1587) from the Swabia Catholic line of the family who that year had converted to Lutheranism.<sup>80</sup> We know that in the summer and autumn, the younger Dukes of Brzeg spent time there to advance Duke George II's efforts to obtain the cathedral parish for Joachim Frederick.<sup>81</sup> Additionally, this was the year when Gruttschreiber became acquainted with Sigismund von Kurzbach (1548–1579), the Baron of Milicz and Żmigród (*Freiherr von Militsch und Trachenberg*) who short-

75 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, 1-5 E 78 Justus fide sua viuet. Christophorus ab Hoim scribebat Dessauij pridie Visitationis Mariae Anno M·D·LXXVIII [= 30 May 1578].

76 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, *Nobilitate genere & virtute praestanti Adamo a Gruttschreiber familiarissimo Suo scribebat Bernhardt Hanfstengel Anhaltinus die Junij 6· Anno 78 in arce Dessaiensi.*

77 On the topic of his court and courtiers see J.Ch. Beckmann, *Historie Des Fürstenthums Anhalt* [...], Zerbst 1710, passim; L. Würdig, *Chronik der Stadt Dessau. Von den frühesten Zeiten bis Ende 1875*, Dessau 1876, pp. 116–139.

78 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, m.in. Joachim von Drauschwitz Sr, Hans von Knoche, Hans Statius, Friedrich von Lachau, Heinrich von Stammer.

79 Ibidem., e.g., Sigmund von Reideburg, Hans von Schreibersdorf.

80 Ibidem., 1. 15 A. 78 / *Wie Gern Ich wissen wolte, wenn Ich in der welt trauen solte. / Joachim Graff zu Hohen Zollern etc des Hay Röm Reichs Ertz Cammer manupp.* See J. Schultze, R. Seigel, G. Schuhmann, "Hohenzollern", *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Bd. 9, Berlin 1972, p. 499.

81 K. Wutke, "Die Bewerbung der Brieger Herzöge um die Domprobstei und den erzbischöflichen Stuhl von Magdeburg. II.", *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Schlesiens* Bd. 32, 1898, pp. 133–134. In late October or early November 1578, H. von Schweinichen accompanied Henry XI, Duke of Legnica, on a tour of the countries of the German Reich. He wrote down in his "Diary" that he had met Joachim Frederick, Duke of Brzeg near Magdeburg, along with John George, Elector of Brandenburg, and Joachim George, administrator of the Archbishopric of Magdeburg, *Denkwürdigkeiten...*, pp. 196–197.

ly thereafter in 1578–1579 achieved fame as a victorious commander of the Habsburg troops in the Netherlands.<sup>82</sup> Gruttschreiber may have travelled to Anhalt in the court entourage of one of the Dukes of Brzeg, a possibility suggested by the entries of noblemen from the Duchies of Brzeg, Wrocław,<sup>83</sup> Głogów,<sup>84</sup> and of Brandenburg,<sup>85</sup> which seem to delineate his route to Anhalt.

Gruttschreiber may have remained in the area of the Duchy of Anhalt until the beginning of the following year, after which he returned to Silesia, as suggested by several entries by Anhalt courtiers.<sup>86</sup> The Lord of Michałów also met Count Jost II von Barby-Mühlingen (1544–1609). Representatives of Silesian gentry, such as courtiers of George II of Brzeg<sup>87</sup> and noblemen of the Duchy of Wrocław, dominate entries from 1579.<sup>88</sup> Even so, it is likely that he left for Upper Hungary during that year, as testified by the entry of Jan Bakonyi, an imperial customs officer (*Dreissiger*) in Bardejov (*Ro: Khay: Mtt Dreysiger Zu Bartfeldtt*).<sup>89</sup> The Lord of Michałów also met several noblemen from Austrian countries, including Count Johann Friedrich von Sarnthein (Tirol), Casimir von Rainer, Lord of Erb and Teichstätt (Upper Austria), and Count Andreas Wagen von Wagensberg (Carinthia), though it is difficult to ascertain the exact circumstances or locations of their encounters. They may have been officers in the military service of the Emperor's Army.

82 J. Sinapius, *Schlesischer Curiositäten...*, p. 204.

83 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, np. Georg von Knobelsdorf, the Lord of Mozów (*Mose*).

84 Ibidem, e.g., Heinrich von Kottwitz of Borowin (*Hertau*) in Białoleka (*Wießholz*); two unidentified noblemen from the von Kittlitz family of Świdnica (*Schweidenitz*) near Zielona Góra.

85 Ibidem, e.g., Caspar von Warnstedt Jr, the Lord of Ganz in Prignitz; Peter von Lagow, Chamber Secretary of John George, Elector of Brandenburg (*Churf: Brand: Cammer: Secretarius*); Liborius von Schlieben.

86 Ibidem, e.g., Friedrich von Dobenecker, Joachim von Esebeck.

87 Ibidem, e.g., Augustin von Göben Jr, Marshal of the Court; Balthasar von Filtz, Burgrave of Brzeg; Heinrich von Rastelwitz, Equerry.

88 Ibidem, e.g., David von Gruttschreiber of Stabłowice, Heinrich von Bedau, the Lord of Ramułtowiec (*Romolkwitz*), Heinrich von Schenck of Marszowice.

89 *Dreissiger* was a customs officer in the Kingdom of Hungary responsible for collecting payments for the Thirtieth Office (*Dreissigstamt*).



Gruttschreiber travelled to Košice after mid-May 1580, where he made the acquaintance of Georg Ilsung von Tratzberg (1510–1580), an Augsburg patrician, soldier, and banker for the Austrian Habsburgs.<sup>90</sup> That year, he obtained many entries from officers in the Imperial Army stationed in Upper Hungary; particular mention should be made of Count Ferdinand von Nogarol<sup>91</sup>, Baron Hans von Rüber zu Pixendorf,<sup>92</sup> Jacob von der Breiten-Landenberg,<sup>93</sup> Claudius von Roussel,<sup>94</sup> and Samuel von Rothuet.<sup>95</sup> The friendship book also features a number of entries by noblemen from the Austrian countries from that year, and it was most likely that some were soldiers. Some Silesian noblemen also left their autographs.<sup>96</sup> This affiliation may be interpreted in two ways: he either returned to Silesia for a brief period of time or he met his countrymen in Upper Hungary. It is highly likely that some of them were also imperial soldiers. The same situation can be observed for the entries from the following year. To commemorate their friendship, Gruttschreiber received an entry by Count Vincislao di Porcia and Brugnara from Friuli in the Republic of Venice. The Lord of Michałów also met Margrave Ernst Friedrich von Baden-Durlach, as well as the counts Friedrich von Herberstein, Ulrich II von Hardegg, and Maximilian von Salm-Neuburg. It is known for certain that Gruttschreiber was in Vienna in late May 1581, where he met Christoph von Waldau. That date also features an entry by Michael Pernauer von Perney, the imperial military paymaster (*Feldkriegszahlmeister*). His office

90 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, *Auff grimer haitt / schuech ich mein weidt / Geörg Ilsung von Tratzperg, der zeit zu Casau, denn 20 May Anno 80.*

91 (c. 1540–1590) nobleman from Tirol, commander of the Sathmar Fortress (currently Satu Mare in Romania) and of the imperial troops beyond the Tisza (from 1578), Field Marshal of the Imperial Army in Upper Hungary (1580–1585).

92 (1529–1584) commander of the Imperial Army in Upper Hungary (1568–1584).

93 Swiss nobleman, lieutenant-colonel of the Sathmar Fortress (*Oberster Luttenampt zw SagMar*).

94 Colonel at the Szendrő Fortress (*Obrister zu Sendreö*).

95 Standard-bearer at the Szendrő Fortress (*Fanndrich zu Sendreö*).

96 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, e.g., Adam Lestwitz Wandritsch genandt, Hans von Nimptsch und Peterwitz, Balthasar von Dombnig und Nippern. In the case of the latter, the more precise entry date is known (2 December 1580).

was located in Košice and he operated out of Upper Hungary, so it can be surmised the noblemen met there.<sup>97</sup>

Gruttschreiber returned to Košice by the second half of January 1582 where he met Paul Jacob von Starhemberg<sup>98</sup> and Sigmund Ludwig von Polheim-Wartenburg.<sup>99</sup> Two months later, he was already in Oleśnica, where he received an entry from Abraham von Hörnig.<sup>100</sup> It can be deduced that between the end of January and mid-March he returned to Silesia where, during the following years, the Lord of Michałów crossed Joachim Ernst, Duke of Anhalt; on that occasion the Duke wrote down his autograph in the album. The remaining entries from that year were authored by representatives of the Silesian gentry. For the next two years Gruttschreiber almost exclusively received autographs from noblemen settled in different parts of his native country, including several entries by foreign individuals. In 1596, Dukes George Gustav von Pfalz-Veldenz and Joachim Charles von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel wrote entries in his book. Two years later, Gruttschreiber met the Moravian magnate Viktorin of Žerotín (1570–1611). In 1605, the young Duke of Württemberg John Fredrick (1582–1628) arrived in Silesia on his educational tour of Europe. While the exact date and place of his visit remain unknown, he wrote an entry in Gruttschreiber's album, having become acquainted with him, as did his four companions, Martin Ludwig von Remchingen, Ludwig Friedrich von Anweil, Heinrich Teufl von Birkensee, and Hans von Waldenfels.<sup>101</sup>

97 Nobleman from Tirol; he held the office in 1585, 1589, 1593; F.K. Wissgrill, "Schauplatz niederösterreichischen landsässigen Adels vom Herren- und Ritterstande vom XI. bis zum Ende des XVIII. Jahrhunderts", *Jahrbuch des Heraldisch-Genalogischen Vereines Adler*, Jg. 1, 1874, p. 147.

98 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, 1: 5: 8: 2: / G. G. M. G. / Paul Jacob Herr von Starhemberg geschriben zu Cascha dem 20 Januari.

99 Ibidem, 1: 5: M 8: 2: / G W R S / Sigmundt Ludwig Herr zu Polheim geschriben In Caschau.

100 Ibidem, 1 5 [beer mug] 8 2 / Stiell vndtt vorschwiegen, ewig Ohn Ende / Abraham Hörnigck von der Liess vnd Strelitz / Den 24 Marttzi geschriben zor olssen.

101 Fürstlich Württembergisch Dienerbuch vom IX. bis zum XIX. Jahrhundert, hrsg. von E.E. von Georgii-Georgenau, Stuttgart 1877, passim.

1586 was one of the years featuring an observable increase in the number of entries in the Lord of Michałów's friendship book, entries that recorded meetings with representatives of Silesian nobility. The next comparable increase occurred eleven years later. In 1597, Charles II, Duke of Oleśnica, and several of his courtiers wrote entries in Gruttschreiber *album amicorum*.<sup>102</sup> In the autumn of that year Gruttschreiber went to Radzików (*Rudelsdorf*) near Niemcza where, on 27 October, he obtained entries by Adam and Caspar von Senitz. Two years later, only three entries of particular interest were written in his book, including one by Heinrich von Kurzbach Jr (1555-1618), the Baron of Milicz, an imperial councillor, the highest moneyer of the Kingdom of Bohemia, and cousin of the above-mentioned Sigismund.<sup>103</sup> The Lord of Michałów also made the acquaintance of Joachim von Maltzan Jr (1559-1625), the Baron of Milicz and an imperial councillor. When in Nysa in late September, Gruttschreiber met Nicolaus Prauss (d. 1604), graduate of Rome's *Collegium Germanicum*, a doctor of theology, the canon of Nysa, Wrocław, and Głogów, and a parish priest of the Church of St. James in Nysa.<sup>104</sup> In late July 1600, the Lord of Michałów was in Cieplice (*Warmbrunn*) where he met Hans Schwab von Buch. He may have travelled for medical purposes, since Cieplice was a well-known and popular spa town. In the course of that year and the subsequent one, Gruttschreiber collected some dozen entries by Silesian noblemen.

In August 1605, the Lord of Michałów met Zacharias Michael, Nysa country bailiff (*Landvogt des Neisser Landes*) as well as an official of the Wrocław bishop Johann von Sitsch (1600-1608). Both gentlemen may have met in the capital of the Episcopal principality. In early February 1606, the Lord of Michałów visited Nysa

102 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1. Christoph von Frankenberg und Ludwigsdorf, Duke's equerry, Friedrich von Nassengriff, horse courtier, see J. Sinapius, *Schlesischer Curiositäten...*, pp. 365, 662.

103 J. Sinapius, *Schlesischer Curiositäten...*, p. 204.

104 G. Zimmermann, *Das Breslauer Domkapitel im Zeitalter der Reformation und Gegenreformation (1500-1600). Verfassungsgeschichtliche Entwicklung und persönliche Zusammensetzung*, Weimar 1937 (*Historisch-Diplomatische Forschungen*, Bd. 2), pp. 432-433; C. Zonta, op. cit., p. 348, no.1045.

again. There he met four noblemen, Friedrich and Sigmund von Bock, Dahm von Sebottendorf, and Hans Georg von Steubnitz. A year later, he met Joachim Alexander Posadowski von Postelwitz, his relative by marriage, who wrote an entry in his album on 12 February 1607. Three months later, he travelled to Mrozów (*Nipporn*) near Środa Śląska (*Neumarkt*) where, on 19 May, commemorative autographs were written in his book by Balthasar Randegger von Ranndegk, Friedrich Wilhelm von Rottwitz, as well as Hans Jacob and Daniel von Kunheim.

From 1608-1609, Adam von Gruttschreiber received the greatest number of entries in his album since the first five years of its use.<sup>105</sup> Unfortunately, it is impossible to decide what accelerated his collection of autographs from this period. In 1608, he received entries by two sons of Charles II of Oleśnica, Henry Wenceslaus and Charles Frederick, and by George Rudolph, son of the late Joachim Frederick. The latter was staying in Oleśnica at that time and was brought up at its court under the guardianship of Charles II. From the entry of Friedrich von Tschammer, we know that Gruttschreiber stayed in Wrocław at an unknown time. The Lord of Michałów's trips at the end of the year are relatively well documented. On 24 October, Gruttschreiber received an autograph from Hans von Mettich (1576-1621), a nobleman from the Duchy of Głogów (*Fürstentum Glogau*), the Lord of Duża Wólka (*Groß Schwein*). Shortly afterward, he made the acquaintance of Georg von Senitz. In 1609, the Lord of Michałów met two Johns Georgs Hohenzollern, the first the Margrave of Brandenburg and Duke of Krnov (1577-1624) and the second Count of Hohenzollern and the Lord of Königsberg-Kynau (1580-1622). Furthermore, he met Peter II of Švamberk, a Bohemian magnate, as well as Cyriak von Waltenhofen, a nobleman from Tirol and Governor of Merano. Entries by representatives of Silesian gentry also dominate in that year, notably those by Baron Friedrich von Tschirnhaus und Bolckenhain, the Lord of Międzyzlesie (*Mittelwalde*), and Councillor of the Silesian Chamber (*Schlesische Kammer*),

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105 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1.

Georg von Seidlitz und Mirschelwitz, administrator of estates of the Wrocław Poor Clares, and Hojer von Gartz und Ritzau, and imperial councillor and Governor of the Free State Country of Syców. Dedications bear a more precise date in the entries of the final two individuals (12 May and 24 October respectively).

Only seven entries among those recorded during Adam Gruttschreiber's last decade are dated.<sup>106</sup> Three were written by other Silesian noblemen: Bernhard von Kaldenborn (1610), Christoph von Bischofsheim und Eisenberg (1611), and Wenzel Stwolinski (1617). Two others are of particular interest. The first certifies Cosmus von Simmern (1581–1650) visited Gruttschreiber at Michałów, who came from the family of the Kołobrzeg (*Kolberg*) patricians and was staying in Silesia at the time as Silesian financial procurator and performed many diplomatic tasks together with the above-mentioned Baron Joachim von Maltzan.<sup>107</sup> He wrote his autograph in the friendship book with the date: 3 October 1610 (*Ao 1610 Son-nabends nach Michaelis*). Almost a full year later, Simmern was ennobled by the Holy Roman Emperor Matthias I. In 1617, in order to commemorate the encounter with Gruttschreiber and their established acquaintance, John Hohenzollern (1597–1627), son of John George, Elector of Brandenburg, wrote an entry in his friendship book. The last autograph written in the *album amicorum* was by Hans von Kreischelwitz in the same year of Adam von Gruttschreiber's death (1619).

As mentioned, some album entries do not feature any date. However, they can be dated based on the stylistic features of the coats of arms that accompany them, or by otherwise tracing the biographies of individual entrants. These allow the date of entries by Duke George II of Brzeg and Henry III of Oleśnica to be dated to 1578–1579. Łukasz Górnicki (1527–1603), an exceptional Polish

106 One from 1615 was most likely written by a nobleman whose first name and surname are illegible, which is why I did not take it into consideration.

107 R. Hanncke, "Cosmus von Simmern's Lebenslauf", *Baltische Studien*, Bd. 39, 1889, pp. 1–42; Z. Boras, "Cosmus von Simmer dyplomata i historyk z I połowy XVII stulecia" [Cosmus von Simmer, a Diplomat and Historian from the First Half of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century], *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski*, 1978, Fascicle 2, pp. 49–66.

writer, poet, and translator,<sup>108</sup> also wrote an entry in Gruttschreiber's friendship book bearing no date and no coat of arms. The same page features entries by Franciscus Tiberius Romanus, Augustus von Briesen, and Jean Petit d'Aubigni, who Gruttschreiber had met before 1603. Regrettably, the remaining three figures are unidentified. Perhaps the figure of Franciscus Tiberius Romanus corresponds to an Italian bearing the same personal data, who matriculated at Wittenberg University on 20 October 1610. Having arrived from Prague, he began to study for free after he had publicly denounced the Pope and Catholicism on numerous occasions. He eventually fled Wittenberg and, as it turns out, did not refute Catholicism.<sup>109</sup> The lack of certain dating is applicable to the majority of the entries by Polish nobility, such as the Count Jan Tarnowski, Jak Kierzyński, Marcin and Abraham Kalinowski, Marcin Gostyński, Stanisław Bagiński, or Stanisław Rakowski.

Based on the characteristics outlined above, it can be assessed that Gruttschreiber's friendship book represents a nobleman's *album amicorum*, which became popular as of the 1570s.<sup>110</sup> Apparently, the general definition of the album as one assembled by noblemen is in this particular case fully justified, since it covers the entirety of the personal and professional life of its owner. Adam von Gruttschreiber was in his lifetime a soldier, a land owner, and a courtier. His noble status remained unchanged, one that he embraced fully by imparting its values, such as love for virtue or longing for fame, and whose manifestations can be viewed in the discussed work, and especially in its mottos, maxims, and illuminations.<sup>111</sup>

In his album, Gruttschreiber collected autographs of rulers, magnates, and noblemen from various territories of the Holy Roman

108 R. Pollak, "Górnicki Łukasz (1527-1603)", *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 8, 1959-1960, pp. 427-428.

109 *Album Academiae Vitebergensis. Jüngere Reihe*, Tl. 1, 1602-1660, bearb. von B. Weissenborn, Magdeburg 1934 (Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachsen und des Freistaates Anhalt. Neue Reihe, Bd. 14-15), pp. 105, 111.

110 M. Rosenheim, op. cit., pp. 253-254.

111 On the topic of virtue see J. Woodall, "In Pursuit of Virtue", *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, vol. 54, 2003, pp. 6-25.

Empire. The greatest number of entries were representatives of Silesian nobility, relatives, individuals related by marriage, neighbors and acquaintances. Notable among his relatives are his two brothers Friedrich and Heinrich, nephew Hans Friedrich, and cousin David. The individuals related by marriage include relatives of his wives, members of the von Gregersdorf, von Strzela und Oberwitz, Posadowski von Postelwitz, and von Nimitz und Wilkau families, as well as the husband of his sister Emerentiana Heinrich von Buchta. The group of neighbours, namely noblemen who possessed estates near Michałów in the Duchy of Brzeg or Nysa, include Caspar von Bischofsheim of Lipowa (*Leippe*), Georg Borseck von Neapolsky und Zachrastien of Jankowice Wielkie (*Groß Jenkwitz*), the aforementioned Heinrich von Buchta of Gałaczycze, Lubcza, and *Ziltzendorf*, Hans von Pückler Sr of Szydłowiec Śląski (*Schedlau*), and Friedrich von Sitsch of Jagielnica (*Polnisch Jägel*). In general, it can be stated that the predominant entries in Gruttschreiber's friendship book were provided by noblemen from the Duchies of Brzeg, Nysa, Wrocław, and Opole. The Lord of Michałów mixed with courtiers of Dukes of Brzeg and of Charles II of Oleśnica, as well as with imperial officials, as testified by friendships documented by his album.

Apart from the representation of Silesian nobility, the gentry of the Northern and Eastern countries of the German Reich and the Austrian countries are represented in high numbers in the album. Courtiers of Joachim Ernst of Anhalt are predominant among the first group. A much smaller group comprised the courtiers of John Frederick of Württemberg. The noblemen from various parts of the kingdoms of the Austrian Habsburgs who Gruttschreiber met were most likely his commanders and comrades-in-arms, stationed for military service in Upper Hungary. To this end, it is worth mentioning that the greatest number of soldiers in the Imperial Army were enrolled in this area. The friendship book also features some dozen entries by Polish noblemen. Of particular importance is the book owner's friendship with Łukasz Górnicki, standing as an interesting testimony to Polish-Silesian relations at the court of Brzeg. Additionally, Adam von Gruttschreiber met single nobles

from Moravia,<sup>112</sup> Hungary,<sup>113</sup> but also France<sup>114</sup> and Italy.<sup>115</sup> The owner of the friendship book was interested in the life of the people he befriended. This is evident, for example, in the notes he added to some entries, such as a cross with the motto “May the Lord have mercy on your soul” (*Gnade Gott, der Seele*).<sup>116</sup> Furthermore, he made sure that entries by relatives were placed on the same album leaf.

Gruttschreiber did not only collect entries by noblemen, but also by several wealthy Wrocław burghers, including autographs by Andreas Büttner, Stenzel Nunhardt, Sebald Sauermann, Hieronim von Hörnig, and of Jacob Arnold.<sup>117</sup> Interestingly, though a Lutheran, the Lord of Michałów often made the acquaintance of Catholics, notably the Canon Nicolaus Prauss. Christoph von Brauchitsch was a Catholic nobleman, as is unquestionably clear from the maxim in his entry (1581).<sup>118</sup> Catholics may also be identified among the soldiers from Austrian countries who he met in Upper Hungary. Furthermore, the lay administrators of church estates, Georg von Seidlitz und Mirschelwitz<sup>119</sup> and Caspar von Rappisch,<sup>120</sup> were most likely Catholic.

The collection of autographs amassed by Gruttschreiber reflects his wide circle of acquaintances. He mainly befriended rulers,

112 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1. Aforementioned Viktorin of Žerotín (1598).

113 Ibidem, aforementioned Jan Bakonyi, customs officer (*Dreissiger*) of Bardejov (1579).

114 Ibidem, Gilbert de Saint Hillaire (1580) and unidentified “Bernhardinus Baro Gallus Bituricensis(?)” (1578).

115 Ibidem, aforementioned Count Vincislao di Porcia e Brugnara (1580).

116 Ibidem, e.g., by the entries of Baron Sigismund von Kurzbach (1578), Hans von Knoche (1578), or Lieutenant Caspar Gastel von Dyssen (1580).

117 O. Pusch, *Die Breslauer Rats- und Stadtgeschlechter in der Zeit von 1241 bis 1741*, Bd. 1-5, Dortmund 1981-1991.

118 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1. Above the “halved man” depicting “half a halberdier” and “half a monk” the caption reads: *In vtrumque paratus oraz Bey Got vnd der alten katolischen gebott Wagen Ich leib leben Ehr vndt Goitt*.

119 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, 1: 6 AB: O 9 / HG: A: W: / George v: Seidlitz, Vndt Mirschelwitz Zue Zuegkwiz, vndt Brislawicz. Schaffer des F. Gestifts St. Clare im Breslaw. Act. 12 May Ao ut supra. He was administrator of the estate of the Poor Clares in Wrocław.

120 Ibidem, A A G. S. D V: / Casphar Von Rappisch Hauptman zu Preichau. Governor (*Hauptmann*) of the Przychowa estate belonging to the Wrocław Bishops (*bischöflicher Halt Preichau*).



magnates, and noblemen from different areas. This elite demographic emphasizes the album's status as a nobleman's friendship book. Interestingly, the Lord of Michałów's album is of a non-denominational character, as its owner also befriended Catholics. In this respect, a primary research challenge involves the thorough identification of the individuals who provided entries in the album, since the information contained in the entries does not allow one unequivocally to identify their authors. Necessary biographical information may be provided by other friendship books, court and administration files, as well as sermons and epitaphs.

#### GRUTTSCHREIBER'S FRIENDSHIP BOOK AS A COLLECTION OF ENTRIES, DRAWINGS, AND PRINTS

Having briefly presented the individuals who wrote entries in Gruttschreiber's friendship book to commemorate their acquaintance, let us discuss the content of the entries. Following the distinction forwarded by R. and R. Keil, the entries in the *album amicorum* can be divided into two major types: mottos (*Wahlsprüche*) and maxims (*Denksprüche*).<sup>121</sup> The first are connected to the custom of adopting a life motto at the start of adulthood, one which originated in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century among the higher nobility before spreading among their lower nobility. People would write their life motto in friendship books, often in the form of initials.<sup>122</sup> The dominant language of the mottos in the discussed album is German, followed by Latin. Interestingly, single mottos were also entered in other languages, namely Italian,<sup>123</sup> French,<sup>124</sup> and Spanish.<sup>125</sup> The majority of the entries in Gruttschreiber's friendship book contain the same motto. On these grounds, it can be assessed that the no-

121 R. Keil, R. Keil, op. cit., pp. 22-41.

122 L. Kurras, op. cit., pp. 8-16.

123 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, e.g., *Chi semina virtu, raccoglie fama* (entries by Friedrich von Bock from 1606 and 1609).

124 Ibidem, e.g., *Pour paruenir jandure pres landurer me dure* (entry by Gilbert de Saint Hillaire from 1580).

125 Ibidem, e.g., *Antes muerto que mutado* (entry by Cyriak von Waltenhofen from 1609).

ble custom of choosing a life motto was widespread in the latter half of the 16<sup>th</sup> and in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. Although mottos were quite personal, many of them were selected more formulaically than others. Their canon was shaped by choices made by rulers, from which most mottos derived.<sup>126</sup> In the discussed album, quotes from the Holy Scripture mingle with initial sequences whose precedence is hard to determine, suggesting more personalized choices made by their authors. Among the frequently repeated mottoes, the following can be traced:

A. B. C. D. E. F. = Allein Bei Christo Die Ewige Freude.

A. M. G. H. = Alles Mit Gottes Hilfe.

A. M. H. Z. G. = Alle Meine Hoffnung Zu Gott.

G. G. G. = Gott Gibt/Gebe Gnade.

G. G. M. G. = Gott Gibt Mir Gnade.

G. I. M. T. = Gott Ist Mein Trost.

G. W. G. = Gottes Will Geschehe.

I. W. G. W. = Ich Wags, Gott Walts.

M. G. W. G. F. = Mir Genügt, Wie Gott Fügt.

T. S. W. = Trau Schau Wem = V. S. W. = Vertrau, Schau Wem. = F. V.

C. = Fide, Vide Cui.

W. G. W. = Wie Gott Will.

Distinct from mottos, maxims referred more directly to the relationship between the friendship book's owner and the author of the entry. They mainly comprised quotes from ancient authors, the Bible, or widely acknowledged moralizing or didactic phrases. To this end, maxims were sometimes applied as mottos. In his study on *alba amicora*, Karl Masner stated that quotes from ancient authors were not as interesting as individual statements that sharing their author's philosophical views: "In them we find people full of trust in the Lord and mistrustful of the world and their neighbours."<sup>127</sup> Maxims do not frequently appear in Gruttschreib-

126 See e.g., M. Löbe, *Wahlsprüche, Devisen und Sinnsprüche deutscher Fürstengeschlechter des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1883; B. Ragotzky, "Sinnsprüche aus Stammbüchern von 1550-1650", *Vierteljahrsschrift für Wappen-, Siegel- und Familienkunde*, Bd. 27, 1899, pp. 388-429; A.M. Hildebrandt, op. cit., *Hohenzollern-Jahrbuch*, Bd. 7, 1903, pp. 165-179.

127 K. Masner, op. cit., p. 139.

er's albums. When they do, they usually consist of brief rhymed quotes of wisdom in German, similar to those contained in collections of proverbs such as *Der Teutschen Weissheit* by Friedrich Peters (Hamburg 1606) and *Teutsche Sprach und Weißheit* by Georg Henisch (Augustae Vindelicorum 1616), though these texts date later than the respective entries. The quotes in Gruttschreiber's album may have been aphorisms (*parömie*) popular among German-speaking nobility. Some noblemen who had toured Italy quoted Italian aphorisms. The discussed *album amicorum* also features quotes from the Bible, ancient authors, and the reformers Martin Luther and Philip Melanchthon. Some examples follow:

Gutt verloren, nichts verloren,  
Mutt verloren, halb verloren,  
Ehre verloren, Alles verloren.<sup>128</sup>

Aspettar è non uenir  
Star nell letto è non dormir  
Seruir è non aggradir  
Sono tre cose da morir<sup>129</sup>

Milita bonam militiam retinens fidem et bonam conscientiam<sup>130</sup>

Inuidia uirtute parta gloria est<sup>131</sup>

Vespera iam uenitt nobiscum Christo manet:  
Extiugæ lucem nec patiare tuam.<sup>132</sup>

Some individuals wrote two entries in the book. For example, two entries were written in 1580 by Otto Burgrave von Dohna. The first, apart from featuring the year and personal information, also contained a motto, while the second included his coat of arms.

128 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, entry by Christoph von Bischofsheim und Eisenberg (1611). See F. Peters, *Der Teutschen Weissheit* [...], Hamburg 1606, k. H h iii r.

129 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, entry by Friedrich von Popschütz (1589).

130 Ibidem, quote from the First Epistle of Paul to Timothy, 1, 18-19; entry by Hans Georg Baron von Ungnad und Sonneck (1578).

131 Ibidem, quote from Cicero's *Oratio in Catilinam Prima in Senatu Habita*; entry by Christoph von Bischofsheim und Eisenberg (1611).

132 Ibidem, distich by Philip Melanchthon (1551); entry by Johann Christoph von Schaffgotsch, the Lord of Grodztwo (*Kreppelhof*) (1578).

A second example involves entries by Leutold von der Sahle, a nobleman from Lower Lusatia and a courtier of Henry XI, Duke of Legnica. He wrote his first autograph in 1578 and a second nine years later. Both contain the same motto, though the first is decorated with a coat of arms, while the second is placed on a page featuring a number of autographs by other individuals. A similar case occurred for entries by Friedrich von Bock, with his autographs separated by two years (1606, 1609).

In his friendship book, Adam von Gruttschreiber collected prints in addition to autographs adorned with illuminations. On the page preceding the title page, a coloured woodcut of the Emperor in pontifical vestments and coronation insignia is inserted. The next print in the album is a woodcut of John George, Elector of Brandenburg (1571–1598) by Friedrich Frantz, cropped to fit the size of the album leaf. Another print features a woodcut of a woman in a voluminous costume wearing a hat with a dog urinating into a beer mug nearby. Inscribed below is a *terza rima* poem in German.<sup>133</sup> Previously, the print featured a movable leaf depicting a long mantle. The next three prints are anonymous copperplate portraits of the main participants of the Dutch Revolt against the Spanish in the 1560s and 70s, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba (1507–1582), William, Prince of Orange and Count of Nassau (1533–1584), Lamoral, Prince of Gavere and Count of Egmond (1522–1568), as well as Philippe de Montmorency-Nivelle, Count of Horn (d. 1568). It is difficult to establish firm associations between the portraits and autographs on the adjacent leaves. It seems justifiable to regard these prints as demonstrative of Gruttschreiber's interest in the turbulent contemporary political developments in the Netherlands, another point favouring his possible role as a soldier. The last of the prints pasted into the album is a copperplate by Dominicus Custos depicting Helena Antonia from Liège, a bearded lady-in-waiting of Maria of Austria, and her daughter Constance of Austria.

133 Ibidem, *Gantz lieblich thut mein Leyren klingen, / Inn die Ich maisterlich kan singen, / So thut mein hund auch wacker springen.*

## PAINTERLY DECORATION OF THE FRIENDSHIP BOOK AND PROBLEMS WITH ITS ATTRIBUTION

The entries in Gruttschreiber's *album amicorum* boast rich painterly decoration composed both of heraldic and figural representations. The artists responsible for illuminations in books of friendship are miniaturists called *Briefmaler* or *Illuminierer*.<sup>134</sup> According to Masner, from the 1570s until the end of the following century, friendship book painting was dominated by heraldic commissions.<sup>135</sup> Painted illustrations in Gruttschreiber's album do not feature any signatures. Judging by their artistry, it may be assumed that these representations were executed by miniaturists from Brzeg or Wrocław. The current state of scholarship Silesian friendship-book painting does not allow for more precise hypotheses to be advanced to this end.<sup>136</sup>

Representations of coats of arms executed by various painters may be divided into several groups by analysing their compositional and stylistic features. This proposed categorization should be verified and supplemented by further research. The first group was most likely executed in 1579. It encompasses the coats of arms in entries collected from the beginning of the book of friendship to Gruttschreiber's departure to Upper Hungary. They are large in format, covering the majority of the page. Their author was a skilled painter, repeating patterns in the shape of escutcheons, helmets, and mantling. His preferred heraldic ornament was a frontally presented barred helmet, which he rendered in soft lines and saturated colours. (fig. 5).

The next group comprises the coats of arms of the individuals Gruttschreiber met from 1580–1582. Their artist must be regarded as the best among the painters employed to illuminate the album (fig. 6). Not only did he execute representations of coats of arms,

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134 M. Rosenheim, op. cit., p. 259.

135 K. Masner, op. cit., p. 138.

136 Ibidem, pp. 144–151. On painters then active then in Brzeg and Wrocław see A. Schulz, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Schlesischen Maler (1500–1800)*, Breslau 1882, passim.



FIG. 5. BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, Adam von Gruttschreiber's album amicorum, coat of arms in the entry by Joachim Frederic, Duke of Brzeg (1578)



FIG. 6. BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, Adam von Gruttschreiber's album amicorum, coat of arms in the entry by Count Ulrich II von Hardegg (1581)

but also the majority of the figurative scenes. When painting coats of arms, he used a delicate but distinct line, emphasizing their draftsmanship. Colours were employed for shading purposes, such as the depiction of a helmet's sheen. His figural representations demonstrate his skill and ability. A differentiation in the quality of the illuminations from that period may be accounted for with regard to the funding individuals provided to Gruttschreiber to decorate their entries, varying based on the type and size of decoration or level of craftsmanship. The painter of the above-mentioned group tried to maintain anatomical correctness in representations of people and animals. Additionally, he was dexterous at rendering the decorative character of costumes and was also familiar with portraying landscapes. However, not all the coats of arms in the autographs from 1582 were executed by that single painter. Some portraits of Silesian noblemen stand out as painted by a separate hand.<sup>137</sup> Furthermore, Gruttschreiber commissioned a different painter to execute the coats of arms of some noblemen he met from 1583-1584.<sup>138</sup> The artists of the miniatures dating from 1582 and 1583-1584 demonstrate high levels of craftsmanship and, in their pictorial approach, resemble the artist who painted the coats of arms from 1578-1579. These individuals may have belonged to a single artistic circle or workshop, based on an assessment of such stylistic similarities.

In later years, new entries were illuminated far less frequently. Single coats of arms appeared by autographs from 1585, 1588, 1589, 1596, 1597, and 1599, yet apart from the entries by Adam and Caspar von Senitz, Baron Joachim von Maltzan, and Canon Nicolaus Prauss, they do not boast advanced artistry. A slightly more talented illuminator decorated some entries from 1607 with coats of arms and a scene of the Judgement of Paris. The latter image, however,

137 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1. See entries by H. von Poser und Rorau, Hans von Kreiselwitz, Hans von Krosigk, Friedrich von Beess of Malerzowice.

138 Ibidem, see entries by Hans Georg von Reideburg, Leopold von Pogrell (1583), Ernst von Schaffgotsch, Sebald Sauermann, Hertwig von Seidlitz, Hans von Frankenberg, and Heinrich von Gruttschreiber (1584).



revealed that the artist was unable to handle narrative representations in a skilled manner.<sup>139</sup> Compared to these, a group of heraldic representations from 1608–1609 can be assessed as of a much higher quality.<sup>140</sup> They comprise small coats of arms, precise in design and featuring vibrant, saturated colours. Correspondence may be drawn between the works of this painter (fig. 7) and those by the master of Jacob Petzke's friendship album.<sup>141</sup>

The aforementioned attributions of coats of arms and other representations can be supported by the praxis of writing entries in a friendship book. Usually, a new acquaintance or friend would



FIG. 7. BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, Adam von Gruttschreiber's album amicorum, coat of arms in the entry by Hans von Mettich, Governor of the Duchy of Ziębice-Ząbkowice (1608)

- 139 Ibidem, see entries by Hans Jacob and Daniel von Kunheim, Friedrich Wilhelm von Rodtitz and Balthasar von Randegger von Ranndegk.
- 140 Ibidem, see entries by Hans von Mettich, Heinrich von Adelsbach, Friedrich von Tschammer und Lambsdorf, Georg von Seidlitz und Mirschelwitz, and Hoier von Gartz.
- 141 See *Theatrum vitae et mortis...*, pp. 94–97, 115.



first write a motto or a maxim and sign it, and then allocate some funding to have a painting made in a blank space, stating his or her instructions either orally or in a drawing.<sup>142</sup> In the 1580s and 1590s, the fee for painting one coat of arms was approximately 5 or 6 Groschen.<sup>143</sup> This process is confirmed by several entries in Gruttschreiber's friendship book. For example, the coats of arms of the von Ölsen family member (1579) and of Nicolaus von Warkotsch (1581) were not fully correct, as pointed out by annotations. Furthermore, the coats of arms of Hans von Schliewitz (1578), Albrecht von Poser (1578), and Georg von Warkotsch (1606) remained only blank drawings without colour. There is no doubt that heraldic illuminations from the discussed album illustrated changing trends in friendship-book painting. In particular, the impact of Amman's studio is evident in the composition of coats of arms, especially as regards the shape of escutcheons and style of helmets and mantling.<sup>144</sup>

#### ISSUES OF ICONOGRAPHY IN GRUTTSCHREIBER'S FRIENDSHIP BOOK

Let me now outline the iconographic features of the images in Adam von Gruttschreiber's *album amicorum*. Due to extant material and the focus of this paper, this issue cannot be analysed comprehensively. However, a general observation can be made regarding the interlacing motifs as they relation to reflections on the life of a nobleman, as well as on the illustrations, which often contain humorous elements, irony, or crudeness. In this respect, K. Masner's observation regarding mottos is again accurate.<sup>145</sup> One dominant type of motif relates to concepts of love, particularly as evoked in depictions that warn against trusting flattery and emotions. An example of this representation is noted in an image of a lady sur-

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142 M. Rosenheim, op. cit., pp. 259–260.

143 K. Masner, op. cit., pp. 141–142.

144 I. O'Dell, op. cit., pp. 31–33.

145 K. Masner, op. cit., p. 139.



FIG. 8. BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, Adam von Gruttschreiber's album amicorum, representation of a lady among knights, next to the entry by Hans Cremmer von Königshofen (1581)

rounded by three noblemen placed next to the entry by the Austrian nobleman Hans Cremmer von Königshofen (1581), and containing the following caption (fig. 8):

O Gott wie gern ich wissen wolltt,  
Wem ich itzundt vertrauen soltt,  
Dan die welt ist wunderlich vnd mehr leyblich,  
Wiewol die lib ist gemein,  
Aber die treu ist mechtig klein.

The woman seems to express hesitation over which of the court-  
ing men she should trust.<sup>146</sup> A similar message is advances by an  
image that accompanies the autograph of an unidentified no-  
bleman (1581), depicting a nude female wearing a long veil with  
a heart in her hair, standing on a snail and turning to God, who

146 W. Taegert, op. cit., p. 82.



FIG. 9. BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, Adam von Gruttschreiber's album amicorum, allegorical scene with women fishing in a pond next to the entry by Friedrich von Sitsch (1581)

blesses her. As in the illustration discussed above, the woman expresses an anxiety in distinguishing true from false love, and a moralizing desire for men to be punished by the Lord for deceitful behaviours.<sup>147</sup>

Another of the album's frequently recurring iconographic subjects concerned the power of carnal love and the erotic appal of women. Friedrich von Sitsch's entry (1581) is accompanied by a painted scene of women "fishing" using a net and trap. One of them is pictured successful in catching male's genitals. (fig. 9)<sup>148</sup> Similarly, in the entry by Friedrich von Gruttschreiber (1580) a nude female is depicted casting a line in a lake and sitting on a fish trap towards which a fish is heading. The woman seems to

147 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, *Ach gott wie schwer ist zu gedulden, / wo Trew mit vntrew wirdt vergolten, / schlag himmel vnd donner mit schmerzen, / in alle falsche betrogene hertzen.*

148 Ibidem, at the top of the miniature is a couplet reading: *Ihr Schwestern seid Wolgemut / In diesem Teich ist Fischeln gutt.*

misleadingly express a wish for the fish not to end up in the trap.<sup>149</sup> In both instances, fishing can be read as an allegory of the ensnarement of men by women. Their similar content is expressed in the depiction of a courtesan wearing a characteristic hairstyle of a pair of horns with the “sphere of fortune”, the attribute of Fortuna, resting in her right hand, on which a small nobleman stands.<sup>150</sup> In her left hand, she holds a string attached to the nobleman’s heart. In this way, the male is likened to a puppet whose destiny and emotions are manipulated by a woman. Relatedly, the leaf next to the entry by Hans von Tschesch (1581) features a pasted print showing a female dressed *all’antica*, sitting in a burrow against a rural landscape with an outline of mountains in the distance, and surrounded by four flying jesters. A rhymed commentary allows the reader to understand the jesters (*Liebesnarren*) as individuals blinded with sensual desire for women. A woodcut expressing a similar message can be found in J. Amman’s *Kunst- und Lehrbüchlein* (1578). The motif of a jester stupefied by a woman’s charms reaches back to the Middle Ages.<sup>151</sup>

Gruttschreiber’s friendship book also contains illustrations of an erotic and humoristic undertone, such as representations of women with a fox running between their legs, striking their genitals with its tail;<sup>152</sup> this motif is sometimes set in a hunting scene.<sup>153</sup> Other images depict women seated on a hedgehog (*Igelreiterin*).<sup>154</sup> These two examples belong to an extremely popular genre of pictorial emblems. Similar representations can be

149 Ibidem, *Mohne Else wehre das der Fisch nicht Inn die Reuße khere*.

150 See W. Taegert, op. cit., p. 59.

151 See C. Huey, *Hans Folz and Print Culture in Late Medieval Germany. The Creation of Popular Discourse*, London-New York 2012, pp. 30–31, 57–58.

152 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1. In the entries by Adam von Lestwitz Wandritsch genannt (1580) and G. Vögler (1581).

153 Ibidem, in the entries by Adam von Wachtel (1581) and Georg von Wiesenau (1578).

154 Ibidem, by the autographs of C. von Reibnitz (1580) and Christoph von Waldau (1581). See L. Kurras, op. cit., p. 31; see E. Tietze-Conrat, “Kupferstiche als Deutungsbehelfe für Skulpturen. II. Frau auf dem Igel”, *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst*, 1916, H. 4, p. 68.



FIG. 10. BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, Adam von Gruttschreiber's album amicorum, scene of a tryst next to the entry by Bartholomäus Gneckher (1581)

found in the sketchbook of an unknown Wrocław goldsmith from around 1600.<sup>155</sup>

The entry by Bartholomäus Gneckher (1581) is accompanied by a genre scene featuring a nobleman wearing black mantle and with a rapier placed at his feet, and a noblewoman seated under a tree, lifting her dress up to her knees. (fig. 10). As can be deduced from the dialogue, this scene represents a romantic tryst. The man asks: "Jungfraw ich wolt wissen auff aller gernst, Ob von hertzen sey schimpf oder Ernst". The woman answers: "Junger gesel, so dinckt mich in allem meine glimpf, Es sey vnden Ernst vnd oben Schympff". Next to the entry by Adam von Mosch (1580), a different scene depicts a peasant couple alongside a brief dialogue. An old woman offers her husband a sip of cold wine in return for the money from the pouch he keeps under his belly. The man, named Hans, responds that he can give her something better, which can also be found under the pouch. This humoristic scene can also be

155 *Theatrum vitae et mortis...*, p. 78, Nos. 244, 245.

read as a satire of the crude morals of simple people. Relatedly, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, a genre of literature promoting good manners was popularized, epitomized by Friedrich Dedekind's *Grobianus, Et Grobiana* (1572).<sup>156</sup> To conclude, let us mention one more scene of the interior of a nobleman's home, and accompanying the entry by an unknown individual from 1581. Its main protagonist is a cat who seizes the genitals of the master of the house as if they were a mouse, much to the horror of other household members. A couplet can be read above the head of the mouse hunter: "Katz auss, wass hastu vor ein mauss". Interestingly, this presentation may refer to a widespread period belief in the power of witches who were said to transform into cats, or to use magic to make men's genitals invisible to them.<sup>157</sup> Many similar humoristic and erotic scenes are included in the friendship book. In this context, it is worthwhile to recall later assessments of students' indecent commissions in their friendship books.<sup>158</sup>

Friendship is a frequent theme throughout illuminations from the discussed album. In compliance with period custom, cordial acquaintances were often established by drinking beer or wine. At this point, let us recall the "Diary" of Hans von Schweinichen in which the author often mentioned how "the drink made his head spin" (*gute Rauschen*). Drinking was an essential element of a nobleman's social life, central to visits, baptisms, weddings, or financial transactions.<sup>159</sup> This theme is evoked by depicting beer mugs,<sup>160</sup> glasses,<sup>161</sup> or barrels.<sup>162</sup> As can be read under the representation of

156 J. Budzyński, op. cit., p. 335.

157 W. Stephens, *Demon Lovers. Witchcraft, Sex, and the Crisis of Belief*, Chicago-London 2003, pp. 300-321.

158 L. Kurras, op. cit., p. 48.

159 E.g., *Denkwürdigkeiten...*, pp. 210, 323, 377. See R. Steig, "Goethes Mannräuschlein", *Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung*, Bd. 5, 1903/04, pp. 99-104.

160 A beer mug is mainly used as a sign to divide year into halves.

161 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, e.g., a representation of a glass next to the coat of arms of Georg von Üchtritz (1578).

162 Ibidem, a barrel out of which wine is pouring, filling a glass, with the caption reading: *Viel wunder im weinfasse*, in the entry by Adam Falck (1580).





FIG. 11. BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, Adam von Gruttschreiber's album amicorum, allegory of Friendship in the entry by Canon Nicolaus Prauss (1599)

a nobleman drinking in the entry by G. von Poser und Pangau (1580): "Trinckhs Gar Aus, So wirdt ein voller Bruder draus".

Among the images of friendship and throughout the representations in the friendship book, the figure of a standard-bearer that accompanied the entry by Canon Nicolaus Prauss (1599) (fig. 11) assumed a central importance. The standard-bearer was often considered an allegory of friendship. In the album, he is depicted wearing a black attire in accordance with the "Spanish fashion" of the time: a high beret with feathers, a ruff, a doublet with long puffed sleeves, a sash, and hose. The edge of his beret features the words *HIEMS AESTAS* embroidered in golden thread, while beneath, the words *PROCUL* and *PROPE* can be read beneath the tunic ruff; below, a small heart is depicted. The figure bears a standard rendered in the heraldic colours of Prauss's coat of arms. The two inscriptions echo a quote from Fulgentius (6<sup>th</sup> century) on the eternal duration of true friendship, written on the previous



page.<sup>163</sup> According to the ancient writer, a true friend remains faithful regardless of changing seasons, passing time, distance, even death. The theme of friendship had a long iconographic tradition. It appeared in the Gregor Reisch's *Margarita philosophica* (1503). A similar representation was used by Wolfgang Köpfel of Strasburg as his printer's mark. Such an allegory of friendship also appeared in subsequent illustrated editions of Andrea Alciati's *Emblematum liber*. It can be found in the emblems "De Viridi Iuuenis Imagine" in Laurent Haecht's *Mikrokosmos* (1579) and "Amicitia" in Denis Lebey de Batilly's *Emblematum Liber* (1596) in the period contemporary to the production of Gruttschreiber's friendship book.<sup>164</sup> What makes the discussed images stand out against similar allegories is the use of the figure of the standard-bearer as a one denoting friendship. Interestingly, a standard-bearer waving the standard was a topic eagerly tackled by printmakers from the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, such as Hans Schäufelein, Jacob Kallenberg, Jost Amman, and Hendrik Goltzius.

Another representation of the theme of true friendship may be mentioned. Next to the coat of arms in the entry by Heinrich von Polsnitz (1581), an owl sits on a branch that grows from a cut trunk, approach by other flying birds. The image is accompanied by a verse and several maxims warning a courtier against false friends. In this particular case, the owl carries an allegorical warning against stupidity and believing lies.<sup>165</sup>

163 Ibidem, *Romæ erecta fuit Iuuenis florentis imago / Vestimenta ferens uiridi depicta colore. / Nomen amicitiae referens: quæ semper eundem / Inuariata suum nouit retinere uigorum / Fronte tenebat Hyems Æstasque notantia ueros / Aduersis simul & letis in rebus amicos. / In medio hæc duo uerba procul prope pectus habebat, / Quo simul absentis notat & presentis amorem. / Quod mors, vita, stetit uestis, sub margine scripta; / Signant amicitiam nunquam succumbere morbi, / Verum perpetuum uitæ seruare tenorem. / Tempore quisque suum duro cognoscit amicum.*

164 L. Konečný, "Gregor Reisch a ikonografie na prahu novověku", *Opuscula Historiae Artium*, roč. 59, č. 1-2, 2010, pp. 78-85; S. Appuhn-Radtke, E.P. Wipfler, *Freundschaft*, [entry in:] „Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte", Bd. 10, Lf. 7, München 2011/2012, szp. 793-902.

165 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1. *Freunde in der Nott, Freunde im thott, freunde hindern Rucken, das seint drey starck brucken; Vortrau schau wem; probs darnach lobes; Frisch vber frisch ist gutt hofemanisch.* An owl was considered an allegory of sinful carnal

A separate group of illustrations contains representations connected to the life of the soldier. In the entry by Count Sigmund Ludwig von Scherffenberg, the Lord of Hohenwang in Styria (1580), a duel of a black trooper with a Hungarian cavalryman seen against the landscape of an extensive plain and mountains in the distance can be represented behind the coat of arms. It is accompanied by the maxim stating that only the Lord knows the blessed victor.<sup>166</sup>

The coat of arms on the page featuring an autograph by Lieutenant Caspar Gastel von Dyssen (1580) is accompanied by the depiction of a “halved man”: half trooper, half halberdier. Above him are written two Latin maxims and one quatrain in German, which bear the shared title “Fortune”.<sup>167</sup> The motif of the “halved man” repeats alongside an entry by a nobleman from the Hayden von Dorff family (1581). One half depicts a soldier with a rapier, while the other half is a skeleton holding an hourglass up high. The couplet above his head reads:

Wir kriegesleut leben hie mit bracht,  
Kompt schnell der Todt nimbt vns mitt macht.

The motif suggests that a soldier's life passes in din, while death comes for him quickly and violently. This iconographic motif was interpreted in a diverse way, as well. C. von Reibnitz's autograph (1581) is accompanied by a similar halved man: a nobleman with a rapier in one, and skeleton with an hourglass shown in the other half, described in a cinquain above. In this particular case, howev-

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love resulting from stupidity. On the meaning of an owl see *Theatrum vitae et mortis...*, p. 95, No. 322.

166 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1. *Ey frisch her, vnd geschwindt wer sucht / der findt, gott weis wems / gelucke kompt*. For a representation of a duel between a European and Turkish horseman in Esaias Maior's friendship book (ca 1640), *Theatrum vitae et mortis...*, pp. 99–100, No. 344. On the duel between a Turkish horseman and a trooper in the friendship book of Hanns Ludwig Pfinzing von Henfenfeld, W. Taegert, op. cit., pp. 43, 48.

167 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1. *Deus Executor Spei Meae; Omne solis Forti patria est; Wo glick vndt gunst nicht wil / Hilft Witz vnd Kunst nicht viel / Schlecht vnd Gerecht ist gutt / Landsknechtisch*.



FIG. 12. BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, Adam von Gruttschreiber's album amicorum, representation of a shooting black trooper in the entry by Hans von Nimptsch und Peterwitz (1580)

er, the “halved man” is not of a strictly military character; he calls for righteous, pious life, and reminds the reader that man’s earthly life is transient and fragile. The “halved man” was a representation whose precise meaning depended on the context to which it was applied, its basic concept to combine apparently contradictory elements.<sup>168</sup> The entry by Samuel Rothuet, a standard-bearer at Szendrő (*Sendreö*), dates to 1580. A painted standard-bearer holds a folded standard next to his coat of arms. In turn, the leaf following the autograph of Hans von Nimptsch und Peterwitz (1580) shows a black trooper on horseback shooting a wheellock pistol. The illustration is paired with a quatrain in German in which that “German rider” (*Deutscher Reiter*, *Schwarzer Reiter*) expresses a wish for his bullet to hit the enemy’s heart, God willing (fig. 12).<sup>169</sup>

168 W. Taegert, op. cit., p. 41.

169 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1. *Ein Dheutscher Reyttter bin ich genandt / Ich fure ein Rohr in meiner Handt / Mein gott gibet mir die macht / Das ich schisse dem feinde durchs hercze das kracht.*

Finally, for the entry by Canratt Stülcz, his coat of arms is accompanied by a procession scene. The procession is opened by a drummer and flautist followed by a standard-bearer, with a noblewoman in a travel outfit holding a javelin and leading a dog on a leash. Interestingly, the standard composed of repeated red, white, and yellow stripes features the cross of Burgundy (*Burgundische Andreaskreuz*) and echoes the colours of the *tercios* troops. The rhymed commentary emphasizes the role of a drummer and the act of waving the standard as performative gestures that boosted soldiers' morale and inspired them to win battles.<sup>170</sup>

Miniatures alluding to wavering Fortuna are also included in the album, though less frequently than other motifs. More often, they are present in mottos and maxims.<sup>171</sup> An emblematic allegory of fate titled "Fortune" decorates an entry by a nobleman (1581) (fig. 13).<sup>172</sup> He is shown as a nude female standing on the round head of a sea monster, holding a golden sail with both hands. This icon is a hybrid of the emblems "Fortunae Natura" and "In Homines Impios" found in L. Haecht *Mikrokosmos* (1579). From the first, the artist derived the allegory of Fate as a naked woman with a sail on a winged sphere, while the sea monster is drawn from the second.<sup>173</sup> The image is completed with a rhyme from *Stamm- und Wappenbuch* (1579) by S. Feyerabend and J. Amman. The woman, standing on the monster's head and holding a sail torn by winds, illustrates the changeability of human fate borne by external circumstances.<sup>174</sup> In order to maintain stability in the face of chang-

170 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1. *Schlag auf mein Drummelschleger gutt / laß vns habenn ein frischer Mutt / Mein feinlein wil ich schwingen / hoff es soll vns wel gelingen / Wil es den nicht klingen / So mußn wir mit vngluckh ringen.*

171 G. Kirchner, *Fortuna in Dichtung und Emblematik des Barock. Tradition und Bedeutungswandel eines Motivs*, Mainz 1969, pp. 5–40.

172 BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1. His first name was Wolf, however, the surname is illegible; the coat of arms has not as yet been identified.

173 W. Taegert, op. cit., p. 87.

174 *Theatrum vitae et mortis*..., p. 76, no. 229.



FIG. 13. BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, Adam von Gruttschreiber's album amicorum, "Fortune" emblem next to an entry by an unknown nobleman (1581)

ing circumstances, man needs to cherish cardinal and Christian virtues, which, in turn, may also yield fame.<sup>175</sup>

An appeal to lead the responsible life of a Christian knight is found in the miniature decorating the entry by Baron Joachim von Maltzan (1599) (fig. 14). Its centre features the popular maxim: "Anfang bedenckhs Endt". It paraphrases the words from the book of Wisdom of Sirach translated by Luther: "Was du thust, so bedencke das ende, So wirstu nimmer mehr vbeln thun", identical in meaning to the maxim from *Dicta Catonis*: "Quidquid agis prudenter agas, et respice finem".<sup>176</sup> The bottom right corner fea-

175 L. Kurras, op. cit., p. 104.

176 M. Knauer, »Bedenke das Ende«. Zur Funktion der Todesmahnung in druckgraphischen Bildfolgen des Dreißigjährigen Krieges, Tübingen 1997 (Studien und Texte zur Sozialgeschichte der Literatur, Bd. 58), p. 48.





FIG. 14. BJ, MS Berol. Alba amic. 1, Adam von Gruttschreiber's album amicorum, illustration of the maxim: "Anfang bedenckhs Endt" next to the entry by Baron Joachim von Maltzan (1599)

tures a young nobleman on a white horse, looking at the landscape that opens before him. To the right of the youth a couple is pictured kissing, while behind them a noble company sits at a table under a canopy. This may be a wedding scene. Above the young nobleman, a company of soldiers emerges from behind a hill. To their left, above the wedding scene, a man, having been tempted by devil, commits suicide by thrusting himself into an abyss. Further still, between gentle mountain slopes featuring ruins and a fortified city on their peaks, a blurry depiction of a clash between two ships in a bay can be observed. The entire composition may be interpreted as an expression of the nobleman torn between his love for a woman, marriage, and a stable life, and his comrades-in-arms, warfare, and a turbulent life. The depiction of suicide, in turn, may be regarded as a warning against despair and "melancholy". The image of dilemmas

faced by men or women was often tackled in various pictorial contexts throughout the album.<sup>177</sup> Ultimately, the illustrations are moralizing and didactic, entreaties to lead a virtuous and Christian life.

### CONCLUSION

Adam von Gruttschreiber's friendship book constitutes an extremely significant source related to the culture of Silesian nobility in the latter half of the 16<sup>th</sup> and in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. It provides ample material for research on various themes. First, the album as interpreted in the context of its owner's patronage activities sheds some light on the mentality and aesthetic preferences of a wealthy and ambitious Silesian nobleman. It testifies to the fact that emblems and Netherlandish prints or those from the Nuremberg studio of Jost Amman had a wide geographic impact. The entries collected by Gruttschreiber in his *album amicorum* comprise a precious source for genealogical and heraldic research into Silesian nobility as well as nobles who lived in other territories of the Holy Roman Empire, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and surroundings. Entries by monarchs can contribute to an analysis of their travels. The autographs written by officers of the Habsburg Army in Upper Hungary can prove useful for research on early modern military history. Certainly, the personal information on the courtiers, Silesian dukes, and other rulers who wrote in the album can support monographic studies on their courts. The entries confirm that Silesian nobles were able to make acquaintances across places, professions, and social classes. Furthermore, Gruttschreiber's friendship book is a precious historic document that provides ample insight on friendship-book painting in Silesia. The miniatures it contains reveal valuable information on artistry, composition, style, and iconography. Finally, the Lord of Michałów's friendship book is an intriguing memento of the life of a nobleman and of the customs the period. For these rea-

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177 See W. Taegert, op. cit., pp. 54, 64.



sons, Adam von Gruttschreiber's *album amicorum* is of worthwhile academic interest and, together with the figure of its owner and his related patronage, should be advanced to promote cultural heritage.

*Translated by Magdalena Iwińska*