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THE LITERARY ADDITIONS OF PRINTED MATTER FROM THE FIRST PRINTING HOUSE OF FLORIAN UNGLER (1510–1516) AS AN EXPRESSION OF THE RENAISSANCE AS IT FLOURISHED IN POLISH TYPOGRAPHY

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ABSTRACT

The article discusses the shape of the literary framing of prints published by Florian Ungler in Krakow in the years 1510–1516. The Bavarian publisher, in order to successfully compete with other Polish printers, significantly enriched his publications with various supplements. He used woodcut illustrations on great scale, unprecedented before in Krakow, which undoubtedly made his books visually more attractive. He also introduced new typefaces, typical of humanistic culture, especially Antique, which he used to press classical authors. While he consistently used Schwabacher and Fraktur for publications in Polish. However, the literary additions seem to be much more important: prefaces, dedication poems, epigrams addressed to the reader or to Zoil, as well as various forms that combine a visual element with a poetic one: proto-emblems and stemmata. The article provides statistical data on this issue, as well as discusses and interprets texts representative of various mentioned

above categories. Ungler made them a standard element of an Old Polish book. The article proves that they were an important tool for him to communicate with the reading community. They also gave his publications a modern, renaissance character, which allows us to perceive his enterprise as the first fully humanistic Polish printing house.

KEYWORDS: Florian Ungler, Krakow printing, Polish renaissance, preface, proto-emblems, stemmata

It is assumed that Renaissance culture took hold in the territories of the Kingdom of Poland at the turn of the 16th century, gaining particular momentum under King Sigismund the Old, especially following his marriage to the Italian Princess Bona Sforza.¹ Around that time, new aesthetic and intellectual influences clearly became evident not only in architecture and literature, but also in the shape of books printed at the foot of the Wawel Hill. The publishing output of the first Polish permanent printing houses that belonged to Kasper Hochfeder, active in Krakow in 1503–1505 when he ran his first own company, and in 1505–c. 1509 when he ran the printing house that belonged to Jan Haller, is still closer to the aesthetics of the late Middle Ages. Additionally, their repertory of texts aligned more closely to pre-Renaissance principles than those of humanism.² A similar conclusion can be formulated

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- 1 S. Łempicki, 'Renesans i humanizm w Polsce', in: *Kultura staropolska*, Warszawa 1932, pp. 212–214; J. Pelc, 'Renesans w literaturze polskiej. Początki i rozwój', in: *Problemy literatury staropolskiej. Seria pierwsza*, ed. J. Pelc, Wrocław 1972, pp. 29–37; H. B. Segel, *Renaissance culture in Poland. The rise of humanism, 1470–1543*, Ithaca-London 1989; J. Glomsky, 'Humanizm renesansowy w Krakowie a znaczenie włoskiego piśmiennictwa nowo-łacińskiego', *Terminus*, 2000, vol. 2, fascs. 1–2, pp. 27–36. A recent overview of the problem of the caesura for the humanist movement in Poland: A. Horeczy, 'Początki humanizmu w Polsce — problemy z cezurą', *Prace filologiczne. Literaturoznawstwo*, 2021, no. 11(14), pp. 31–43 — <https://doi.org/10.32798/pflit.536> [accessed: 17 February 2022].
 - 2 Hochfeder mainly published university textbooks in liberal arts and liturgical works in his printing house. The typographic features of his books and his publishing repertory are discussed in *Polonia typographica saeculi sedecimi: zbiór podobizn zasobu drukarskiego tłoczni polskich XVI stulecia*, fasc. 1, [Kasper Hochfelder], Kraków 1503–1505, comp. K. Piekarski, Warszawa 1936 — <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/publication/553143> [accessed 17 February 2022] and idem, comp. M. Błońska, 2nd

with respect to Jan Haller's workshop in the early years of his typographic and printing activity. The shape of books, their aesthetics, and the list of the published titles are characterised more in terms of late-mediaeval tendencies.³

FLORIAN UNGLER'S FIRST PRINTING HOUSE

One of the first Krakow printing houses that can be regarded as fully Renaissance in character is that of Florian Ungler, a typographer who arrived in Krakow from Bavaria, rich in experience from the German zone.⁴ It is certain that his company was already open on 25 July 1510. From that time on he published works by the first Polish humanists: Paulus Crosnensis Ruthenus, Johannes Dantiscus, John of Głogów, Andrzej Krzycki, John of Stobnica, and itinerant scholars such as Rudolf Agricola and Valentin Eck, among others. His press also printed the famous *Hortulus animae* ('Little Garden of the Soul') in 1513, often regarded as the first book written in Polish, although this precedence has been questioned.⁵

edition revised and supplemented, Wrocław 1968; *Drukarze dawnej Polski: od XV do XVIII wieku, praca zbiorowa*, vol. 1, *Małopolska*, part 1, *Wiek XV-XVI*, ed. A. Kaweczka-Gryczowa, Wrocław 1983, pp. 62-68.

- 3 *Polonia typographica saeculi sedecimi: zbiór podobizn zasobu drukarskiego tłoczni polskich XVI stulecia*, fasc. 4, *Jan Haller* Kraków, 1505-1525, comp. H. Kapełuś, Wrocław 1962; *Drukarze dawnej Polski...*, pp. 44-62. A change in this respect occurred after Florian Ungler had become Manager of the establishment in 1516. Ungler imported the printing materials he had used to Haller's printing house and transformed aspects of the books printed there.
- 4 On Florian Ungler's activity in Krakow see K. Piekarski, *Pierwsza drukarnia Florjana Unglera 1510-1516: chronologia druków i zasobu typograficznego*, Kraków 1926 —<https://kpbc.umk.pl/dlibra/publication/17339/edition/27003/content?ref=L3B1YmXPY-2F0aW9uLzE0MTEzL2VkaXRpb24vMjM0NzZM> [accessed 17 February 2022]; *Drukarze dawnej Polski...*, pp. 299-305; *Polonia typographica saeculi sedecimi: zbiór podobizn zasobu drukarskiego tłoczni polskich XVI stulecia*, fasc. 3, *Pierwsza drukarnia Floriana Unglera, 1510-1516*, comp. H. Bułhak, Wrocław 1964. The most recent study: A. Kocot, *Artyści „czarnej sztuki”*. *Typografia druków Floriana Unglera i Macieja Wirzbięty*, Kraków 2015, pp. 33-40.
- 5 K. Krzak-Weiss, 'Wątpliwości wokół Unglerowskiego wydania modlitewnika *Hortulus animae*. (Uwagi na marginesie Pierwszej książki polskiej Ludwika Bernackiego)', *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 2013, vol. 61, pp. 63-82; eadem, *W ogrodzie duszy. Studia nad wyposażeniem ilustracyjnym polskich edycji modlitewnika „Hortulus animae”*, Poznań 2014, pp. 127-131, 308; *Drukowane teksty polskie sprzed 1543 roku*, comps. K. Krzak-Weiss, K. Meller, W. Wydra, Poznań 2019, pp. 32-50.

However, despite ambitious plans and significant achievements, Ungler faced quite a serious challenge in Krakow since he had to compete with Jan Haller, who boasted greater financial advantage over him and, owing to numerous privileges, he also enjoyed stronger legal standing.⁶ The Bavarian coped effectively until 1516, when he finally was forced to acknowledge his competitor's superiority and decided to wind down his own workshop. Yet, Ungler accepted Haller's proposal to become the manager in his business. Earlier, in order to stay on the market, Ungler had established a partnership with, e.g., Wolfgang Lern⁷ (1513-1514). His financial difficulties on the market are testified by the fact that, on several occasions, he had published books financed by his main competition Jan Haller and another entrepreneurial Krakow bookseller, Marek Szarfengerg.⁸ He thus accepted commissions from other individuals.

Maybe the ease with which Ungler gave his publications Renaissance features resulted from a thoroughly thought-out strategy to fight against his strong competition. Their Renaissance characteristics would then not only have been a reflection of his individual taste and worldview, but also a means to draw customers' attention, persuading them to purchase the books he published. The Bavarian typographer certainly made sure that the books printed in his printing house differed from the output of other Krakow printers at that time. At first sight, a key difference lay in the graphic design of his publications, although various textual additions linked them more closely to Humanism: a formation focused more strongly on philology, which I will explore later in this paper. From 1510-1516, Ungler used as many as 170 wood engravings. By comparison, Hochfeder used 59 wood engravings his Kra-

6 On printing privileges and the advantages they gave Haller over his competition, see e.g., M. Juda, *Przywileje drukarskie w Polsce*, Lublin 1992 - <http://dlibra.umcs.lublin.pl/dlibra/plain-content?id=410> [accessed 17 February 2022].

7 On this printer see e.g., H. Bułhak, 'Miscellanea bibliographica. Druki krakowskie XVI w.: Wolfgang Lern, Jan Haller', *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, 1997, vol. 46, nos. 1-2, pp. 31-39.

8 *Drukarze dawnej Polski...*, pp. 252-254.

kow publications from 1503–1505. According to the opinion of Irena Jakimowicz, the Bavarian typographer was strongly influenced by publications from Strasbourg, particularly those from the printing houses of Hans Baldung Grien and Georg Reusch, with respect to the use of ornamentation and illustrations. To a certain degree, he may have also drawn upon models from the Nuremberg-published books influenced by the circle of Albrecht Dürer.⁹

However, it is not merely the volume of graphic material used that matters in this respect, but also its location within a book structure. What strikes the eye are decorative wood engraving frames, borders, used both on the title page and inside the books. Ungler only left 16 known title pages without any ornamentation. This demonstrates a quick and substantial increase in the importance of Polish book illustration, which occurred in large part thanks to this typographer. Furthermore, the printer's marks he used are interesting. While Hochfeder and Haller applied devices referring to state or municipal heraldry and house marks, the Bavarian typographer was the first in the Polish territories to individualize and personalize his company emblem. He used the depiction of St Florian (Fig. 1), who was both the patron saint of the Kingdom of Poland¹⁰ and the personal patron saint of Florian Ungler. Some researchers would be eager to discern the printer's facial features in the Saint's face.¹¹ This visual connection could be related to individualism often attributed to Renais-

9 I. Jakimowicz, *Pięć wieków grafiki polskiej*, Warszawa 1997, p. 11. On book graphic in Poland in Ungler's time see E. Chojecka, *Ilustracja polskiej książki drukowanej XVI i XVII w.*, Warszawa 1980.

10 The patrons of the Kingdom of Poland are the topic of the following study: P. Kołpak, 'Rola patronów Królestwa Polskiego w geografii sakralnej późnośredniowiecznego Krakowa', in: *Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechne*, 2014, vol. 6 (10), pp. 158–190 — [https://bazhum.muzhp.pl/media//files/Sredniowiecze_Polskie_i_Powszechne/Sredniowiecze_Polskie_i_Powszechne-r2014-t6_\(10\)/Sredniowiecze_Polskie_i_Powszechne-r2014-t6_\(10\)-s158-190/Sredniowiecze_Polskie_i_Powszechne-r2014-t6_\(10\)-s158-190.pdf](https://bazhum.muzhp.pl/media//files/Sredniowiecze_Polskie_i_Powszechne/Sredniowiecze_Polskie_i_Powszechne-r2014-t6_(10)/Sredniowiecze_Polskie_i_Powszechne-r2014-t6_(10)-s158-190/Sredniowiecze_Polskie_i_Powszechne-r2014-t6_(10)-s158-190.pdf) [accessed 30 June 2022]; and particularly the monograph: idem, *Kult świętych patronów Królestwa Polskiego w czasach Jagiellonów*, Kraków 2020.

11 See e.g., K. Piekarski, *Pierwsza drukarnia...*, p. 21. The printer's mark placed at the end: Waclaw z Krakowa, *Introductorium astrologiae compendiosum* [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, 1515, k. B6v. [the printer's mark present only in variant A of the publication].



FIG. 1. St Florian as the Ungler's printer's mark: Waclaw z Krakowa, *Introductorium astrologiae compendiosum* [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, 1515, fol. B6v. [variant A].

sance culture and the desire to emphasize the importance of one's creative output. However, there are no proofs to support the thesis that the depiction of St Florian on the printer's mark illustrates the face of the Krakow publisher, so this idea needs to be approached with reservation.

Furthermore, as the first printer in Poland, Ungler used Antiqua, a popular typeface during Renaissance often used for the Latin publications of classic authors and works by Southern and Northern European humanists. Additionally, he was also the first in Poland to adjust Schwabacher and Fraktur to printing books in the vernacular.¹²

However, the Renaissance character of printed materials produced by Ungler is not only testified by its visual features - the

12 Ibidem, pp. 18-19. More on the old typography, the typefaces, and their use: M. Juda, *Pismo drukowane w Polsce XV-XVIII wieku*, Lublin 2001, p. 55-144 (Blaskletter and post-Gothic scripts).

typeface, aesthetics of the wood engravings, text and image composition, nor by the repertory of the published titles. In the latter case, Ungler is not entirely consistent, as some examples of books closer to medieval culture can be indicated.¹³ A characteristic element of the new Renaissance era, and substantially developed in Ungler-printed works, can be found in the rich and varied textual additions that pervade the majority of his publications, even the earliest ones. I understand this practice of literary framing as including all the texts added to a published work, placed at different points of the book: on the title page, on its reverse, at the end of the volume, directly before or immediately following the main text.¹⁴ These can be minor epigrams, more extensive poems, stemmata, prefaces, dedicatory epistles, mottos, maxims, and paroemias. Such literary additions usually boast different authors and different addressees. Nonetheless, they always create a connection between the content of the published work and the circumstances under which it was published. They serve an embracing function, opening and closing the main text. Therefore, in compliance with Gérard Genette's definition, they should be regarded as paratexts.¹⁵

DEDICATIONS AND PROLOGUES

Importantly, during the first period of his Krakow activity, Ungler was not personally involved in preparing paratextual additions. They were written by his various affiliates: editors, proofreaders, and translators. The printer's role in the process was most likely that of an inventor. However, the situation may have differed in various cases. Some of the paratexts, particularly the

13 Examples of this given by A. Kocot, *Artyści „czarnej sztuki”...*, pp. 40-109.

14 The origin and meaning of this term is presented by: R. Ociecek, 'Rama utworu i rama literacko-wydawnicza książki', in: eadem, *Studia o dawnej książce*, Katowice 2002, pp. 7, 17. See also eadem, *Sławodne wizerunki. O wierszowanych listach dedykacyjnych z XVII wieku*, Katowice 1982, p. 17; eadem, 'Rama utworu', in: *Słownik literatury staropolskiej: średniowiecze, renesans, barok*, ed. T. Michałowska, 3rd edition, Wrocław 2002, p. 776. See also the opinion of S. Skwarczyńska, *Wstęp do nauki o literaturze*, Vol. 1, Warszawa 1954, pp. 452, 455.

15 G. Gérard, *Seuils*, Paris 1987. See also I. Loewe, *Gatunki paratekstowe w komunikacji medialnej*, Katowice 2007, pp. 11-39.

dedications, are sometimes very personal, almost intimate, which may suggest that the author of the work, and not so much the publisher, first thought to add them to a specific work. However, in some cases it is difficult to judge whose thought to add elements of literary framing to a book.

The abundance of the above-described paratextual additions is striking in Ungler-printed matter. Only three dedications can be found in 31 publications by Kasper Hochfeder, among which two were repeated after earlier foreign publications. It was only once that Hochfeder additionally placed a poem addressed to the reader on a title page.¹⁶ Meanwhile, Florian Ungler included dedications and various meta-literary poetic forms, most frequently epigrams *ad lectorem*, in 40 among the 80 known printed books known today released from 1510–1516.¹⁷ Dedications can be found on 20 of them, of which only two were copied from foreign publications. The remaining texts were composed exclusively for Ungler's printing establishment.

The humanistic features of these publications are most often found among the group of the authors of the prologues. The dedicatory epistles were signed by representatives of Renaissance of the following format: Johannes Dantiscus (one dedication), Rudolf Agricola (2 dedications), Johannes of Łańcut (1 dedication), Jan Solfa (1 dedication), Paulus Crosnensis (3 dedications), Valentin Eck (2 dedications), Nicolaus of Tuliszkow (1 dedication). Several lesser known individuals and foreign authors complement this group:

16 B. Mantuanus, *Contra poetas impudica scribentes carmen*, Kraków: Kasper Hochfeder, 1504.

17 See also P. Tafiłowski, 'Dedykacje w drukach krakowskich 1503-1531', *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej*, 2003, vol. 35, pp. 235-252 — https://www.academia.edu/26963586/Dedykacje_w_drukach_krakowskich_1503-1531 [accessed 17 February 2022]. Tadeusz Ulewicz conducted important research into 16th-century dedicatory epistles, who noted their high promotional potential, which was an extremely innovative quality. His interest, however, focused on texts later than the ones discussed in the present paper, particularly dedicatory epistles preceding Hieronymus Vietor's publications, see idem, 'O reklamie wydawniczej w pierwszej połowie XVI wieku, krakowskich impresorach-nakładcach oraz o polskich listach dedykacyjnych oficyny Wietora', in: idem, *Wśród impresorów krakowskich doby renesansu*, Kraków 1977, pp. 95-189.

the Hungarian Sebastian Pauschner, the German Heinrich Schreyber, the music theorist of Slovakian descent Stefan Monetarius, as well as the Italians Albert Fantini and Ricardo Bartolini (all featuring one dedication). In Ungler-printed matter, dedications are generally phrased by the authors of the text and the editors who prepared the text for publishing.

An equally interesting element of literary framing can be found in the identification of the recipients of the prologues. They are, to a great degree, secular and clerical magnates who had often assumed the role of patrons of individuals who practiced writing and science. The dedications in Ungler-printed works from the first period of his Krakow activity are addressed, among others, to Jan Lubrański, Piotr Tomicki, Jan Łaski, Franciszek Boner, Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, Stanisław Kurozwięcki. Apart from these individuals, foreign dignitaries are worth mentioning: Gabor Perenyi, chamberlain of Louis II of Hungary, Georgius III Turzo, and Christophorus de Nigromonte ac Boskowytz, Lord of Trebowa. Some feature a more personal character, such as the dedications of Sebastian Pauschner to his younger brother Georg, or that of Rudolf Agricola to two Franciscans who came from Alsace, Jakob Wirtenberger and Ottonon Vinerius (Binder). Furthermore, some prologues are addressed to reputed humanists active in Krakow, Valentin Eck and Jodocus Ludovicus Decius.

An exceptional situation occurred with the publication of *Ordo missae* by Johann Burchard (1521). That very work was printed in as many as eight variants. They differ in terms of their title pages - each version features a different coat of arms depending on which bishop this edition portion was intended to reach. However, a traditional dedication is found in one of the variants only, and it is addressed to Primate Jan Łaski. In other cases, dedicatory functions are fulfilled by the individualized heraldry that appears through the book.¹⁸

Interestingly, no prologue addressee appears twice in Ungler-printed materials. Each addressee is addressed by a single dedica-

18 This edition is discussed by A. Kocot, *Artyści „czarnej sztuki”...*, pp. 117-120.

tion. The extensive and varied group of recipients of the materials printed by the Bavarian publisher also speaks to his aspirations. By dedicating respective titles to known and respected representatives of state authorities, the Church, and the humanist movement, he sought to consolidate the prestige of his establishment. It is also clear that he did not intend to limit himself to the domestic bookselling market. He aspired to achieve influence outside the Kingdom of Poland. This is suggested by the foreign recipients of some of the dedications.

Two dedications contained in Ungler's publications were repeated after older editions, published earlier by other printers. They are addressed to respectively: Jan Turzon,¹⁹ the Bishop of Wrocław, and Arthur, Prince of Wales and Cornwall.²⁰ Only the latter addressee does not concern Polish issues in any way or any individual connected to the Kingdom of Poland. It was authored by Thomas Linacre, translator of the astronomical treatise *De Sphaera*, a text attributed to Proclus. In the modern era, this translation was reprinted many times, generally maintaining the dedication to the English prince, as was the case in Ungler's edition. The remaining dedications of interest to us from the collection are to a greater or lesser degree related to Poland.

The multitude of dedications demonstrates that Ungler had adopted the rhetorical system of Renaissance humanists. Thanks to the literary framing of printed books, relations were consolidated among scholars, writers, and secular and clerical magnates. Works were dedicated to humanist individuals, views were presented, contacts established, and ideas were exchanged.²¹ With

19 M. Falkener, *Introductorium astronomie Cracouiense elucidans Almanach*, Kraków: Florian Ungler, 1513.

20 *Procli Diadochi Sphaera Thomae Linacro Britanno interprete*, Kraków: Florian Ungler, 1512.

21 In general on Old-Polish dedicatory writing see A. Czekajewska, 'O listach dedykacyjnych w polskiej książce XVI w.', *Roczniki Biblioteczne*, 1962, vol. 6, fascs. 1-2, pp. 21-55; eadem, 'Kultura umysłowa Polski XVI w. w świetle listów dedykacyjnych', *Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki Polskiej, Seria A, Historia Nauk Społecznych*, 1965, fasc. 7, pp. 47-109.

time, more frequent and more strongly panegyric ideas were voiced, in effect ending the humanist discourse. However, they do not dominate so much in Ungler's publications. The dedications from his books predominantly take the form of epistles, referring to the format of the most popular medium in the communication of Renaissance intellectuals forming the *respublica literaria*.²² This follows the praxis of European printing establishments that implements a humanistic publishing approach.²³

The epistolary tradition provides a primary model for the salutations, according to which the author begins by sending greetings to the addressee (although the term *epistola* does not show up once).²⁴ This practice already appears in early materials printed by Ungler, such as the preface to *Introductio in Ptolomei Cosmographiam* by John of Stobnica.²⁵ (Fig. 2) The author of the dissertation uses the following phrasing to address Jan Lubrański, Poznan Bishop: *Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino Ioanni Dei gratia episcopo Posnaniensi Ioannes de Stobnicz salutem dicit* ['John of Stobnica gives regards to reverend in Christ father and lord Jan, Poznan Bishop by God's grace'].²⁶ Formulas dictating the closing dedicatory texts are derived also from letters. The phrase vale ['be well!'] is often found there, as well as in Ungler; it is a traditional farewell deriving from the ancient Roman culture, and used as an epistolary closing. An epistolary format is also reflected in the day and year the introduc-

22 On this phenomenon see e.g., F. Waquet, 'The Republic of Letters', in: *A guide to Neo-Latin literature*, ed. by V. Moul, Cambridge 2017, pp. 66-80; P. Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, transl. M. DeBevoise, Cambridge, MA 2004; S. Dalton, *Engendering the Republic of Letters. Reconnecting Public and Private Spheres*, Montreal 2003.

23 D. Verbeke, 'The dedicatory epistle in an historical perspective: a brief overview', *Gulden Passer*, 2011, vol. 89, issue 2, s. 269-274 - <https://hcommons.org/deposits/item/hc:24753/> [accessed 17 February 2022].

24 On salutation formulas in ancient letters see Cicero, *Listy do Attyka*, vol. 1, transl. K. Różycka-Tomaszok, prologue K. Stebnicka, Wrocław 2016, pp. 33-35.

25 Jan ze Stobnicy, *Introductio in Ptolomei Cosmographiam*, Kraków: Florian Ungler, 1512, k. A1r.

26 All Latin quotations are provided in a modernized version in terms of spelling and punctuation. Translations from Latin into Polish are the author's own. The English version is by the English translator of the paper.

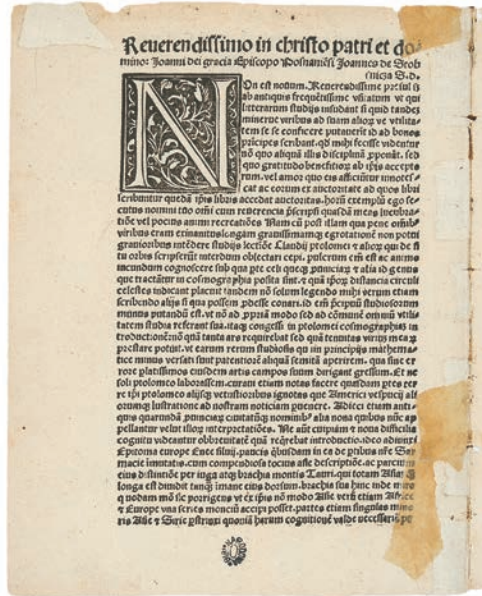


FIG. 2. The preface to Jan ze Stobnicy, *Introductio in Ptolomei Cosmographiam*, Kraków: Florian Ungler, 1512, fol. A1r.

tion was written on, just as it was done in letters.²⁷ We are often able to identify the *terminus post quem* of a publication due to this convention.

Interestingly, dedications in the form of epistles in Ungler's printed materials are often complemented with rhymed dedications. This may also be a distant derivative of the epistolary tradition: 15th- and 16th-century humanists would often include their own or other individuals' poetical works in their correspondence, usually to win the appreciation of the letter's addressee. As an example, let us examine the above-mentioned dedication of John of Stobnica to Jan Lubrański, enriched with a relatively long Sapphic stanza composed by Rudolf Agricola. The poem was titled according to the same format as the earlier prose prologue: *Ad reverendissimum*

27 On modern Latin epistolary praxis see: J. Glomski, 'Epistolary writing', in: *A guide to Neo-Latin literature*, ed. V. Moul, Cambridge 2017, pp. 255–271.

in Christo patrem et dominum, dominum Ioannem Lubranskii, benignitate divina episcopum Posnaniensem carmen sapphicum endecasyllabum Rudolphi Wasserburgensis [‘A Lay in Sapphic Hendecasyllables by Rudolf Agricola addressed to the most reverend in Christ father and master, lord Jan Lubrański, Poznan Bishop by God’s goodness’].²⁸ The care of the printer to develop an appropriate and modern framing strategy for his published works is certainly complemented by the choice to complement the preface with a substantial poem, in this case composed of 13 stanzas. The poetic format gave more freedom to express praise, as best testified to by the beginning of Agricola’s composition:

In tuas quamvis mea Musa laudes
 Torpeat, presul, teneris sub annis,
 Te tamen versu, celebrande, gestit
 Dicere Sapphus.
 Gentis, antistes, decus es potentis
 Ipse Lubranae patriaeque splendor.
 Sic tuum nomen trifidae pererrat
 Climata terrae.²⁹

[Honourable Bishop, although my immature Muse loses self-confidence facing your glory, I still want to praise you with Sapphic stanza. Dignitary, you are an adornment to the powerful Lubrański family and homeland’s pride. Your name wanders across the countries of the tri-partite world]

The ‘tri-partite world’ (*trifidae climata terrae*) most likely refers to the sky, lands, as well as the oceans and seas. Another possible interpretation of the term derives from mythology to refer to the harmony of the heavenly and earthly worlds and the underworld. Regardless of how we read this fragment, it is a hyperbole illustrating the widespread fame of the dedication’s addressee. The addressee’s status is further emphasized by the author’s self-deprecation of his own creative capacities: when faced with Lubrański’s accomplishments, he feels uncertain and shy (*topos modestiae*).

28 Jan ze Stobnicy, *Introductio...*, k. A1r.

29 Ibidem.

Such an opening sends a clear suggestion that the poem is a panegyric, and thus that the reader can expect other conventions of Renaissance praise to be employed further on. In respective stanzas Agricola praises the chosen virtues and merits of the Poznan bishop. He begins with the virtue that the bishop inherited thanks to his lineage and from his ancestors:

Inclitae virtus generosa gentis
 Sic tuae floret Pylios in annos
 Ut tripertita haec remanet virenti
 Pinus honore.³⁰

[The noble virtue of your famed family has been blossoming for long years, just like this pine tree of three arms continues green in glory]

Agricola's praise alludes to the Godziemba coat of arms that the Lubrańskis used as their seal.³¹ The emblem depicts a pine tree with three branches and five roots. The tree, which does not lose its needles in winter, graphically expresses the durability of the virtues and glory of the family of the Poznan Bishop. These qualities resist the course of time, as did the mythological Nestor, a legendary ruler of Pylos, the oldest among the Greek warriors who fought at Troy, who is referenced in the phrase *floret Pylios in annos*: 'blossoming for as many years as was the age of the ruler of Pylos'. Such an allusion harmonizes well with the tendency of panegyric authors to refer to imagery from coats of arms. They were considered symbols and allegories of the virtues upheld by lay and secular dignitaries. Heraldry allusions appeared in panegyrics, sermons,

30 Ibidem.

31 On this coat of arms and associated families: J. Pakulski, 'Godziembowie w monarchii jagiellońskiej. Desygnaty i skład rodu', in: *Genealogia. Studia nad wspólnotami krewniczymi i terytorialnymi w Polsce średniowiecznej na tle porównawczym*, eds. J. Hertl, J. Wroniszewski, Toruń 1987, pp. 47-74. The coat of arms is also mentioned by J. Długosz, *Insignia seu Clendia Regis et Regni Poloniae*, from the Kórnik Code published by Z. Celichowski, Poznań 1885, p. 27 — <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/publication/811> [accessed 17 February 2022]. The emblem's description e.g., in: K. Niesiecki, *Herbarz Polski*, vol. 4, [E-J], published by J.N. Bobrowicz, Lipsk 1839, pp. 164-167 — <https://crispa.uw.edu.pl/object/files/416445/display/PDF> [accessed 17 February 2022].

epigrams, yet their particular examples can be seen in the so-called stemmata: text-image compositions, often applied as a sophisticated complement to a traditional prose dedication.³² Thus, Ungler once again appears like an extremely modern publisher by adopting the practices of Western European Renaissance printers. These forms will be considered more closely below, since they also appeared for the first time in Ungler-printed materials in Poland.

Furthermore, the use of mythology, both Greek and Latin, also coincides with Renaissance tendencies. In the discussed poem, more mythological references can be found in Agricola's dedication, since the author did not limit himself only to recalling Nestor. When praising Lubrański's religiousness, the poet compares the bishop to the legendary King of Rome Numa Pompilius, who was said to have ordered religious life and customs in his newly established state. This figure was upheld in the Renaissance as a manifestation of piety and the close contact of secular and religious authority.³³ Jan Lubrański is presented almost as a new embodiment of the mythic ruler:

Alter in sacris Numa praedicaris
Aedibus, regem recolens tonantem,
Ut tuae genti faveat nec ullo
Deserat aevo.³⁴

[At holy places you are called the second Numa, and you incessantly pray to the thundering ruler to support your people and never to abandon them]

In accordance with the humanist tradition, the Christian God is here defined by a classical phrase referring to Jupiter (*rex tonans*).

32 On early modern Slavic coats of arms in literature and culture see W. Kroll, *Heraldische Dichtung bei den Slaven. Mit einer Bibliographie zur Rezeption der Heraldik und Emblemik bei den Slaven (16.-18. Jahrhundert)*, Wiesbaden 1986. The role of stemmata in Renaissance culture is discussed by: F. Pilarczyk, *Stemmata w drukach polskich XVI wieku*, Zielona Góra 1982; B. Czarski, *Stemmata w staropolskich ksiązkach, czyli rzecz o poezji heraldycznej*, Warszawa 2012.

33 A study dedicated to this individual is: J.B. Carter, *The Religion of Numa and Other Essays on the Religion of Ancient Rome*, Good Press 2019; See also the classic study: J.-P.C. de Florian, *Numa Pompilius, second roi de Rome*, A Londres: Chez Dulau, 1805.

34 Jan ze Stobnicy, *Introductio...*, k. A1r.

It is important to emphasize that similar poetic conclusions to dedicatory epistles fulfilled promotional functions in addition to praising their addressee. Their goal was to recommend and advertise the text contained in the book. The instruction to the addressee to read the text was in fact meant to encourage all potential buyers of the book. Interestingly, when concluding his poem, Agricola does not end it with a summatory praise that emphasizes everything said earlier. Instead, he voices an appeal to receive the study of John of Stebnica with favour:

Nunc velim vultu capias sereno
Codicem doctus modo Stobnicensis,
Quem tibi multa dicat arte factum
Rite magister.³⁵

[I would now like you, as a scholar, to look favourably at the book by John of Stobnica, which, having written it with extreme artistry, the professor dedicated to you]

Similar situations, in which a prose dedication is enriched with a rhymed dedication, distinguish Ungler-printed materials from other printed works by Krakow printing houses at the time. However, in due course other printers also applied similar practices, which quickly became widespread.

POETIC BOOKENDS OF TEXTS

Already during the first period of his publishing, activity in Krakow Florain Ungler used various poetic forms to a much broader extent than his competitors. The application of short poems placed directly on title pages is characteristic.³⁶ In total, over the period 1510–1516, he added shorter or longer metric texts in 32 publications. A vast majority of them were entirely new works, composed specifically for Ungler's establishment. Only two poems were copied after earlier publications. In the case of two other works, their

35 Ibidem, k. A1v.

36 See B. Czarski, 'The poetic design of the first Cracovian prints', *Acta Academiae Artium Vilnensis*, 2021, nos. 101–102, pp. 69–97 — <https://doi.org/10.37522/aaav.101.2021.65> [accessed 17 February 2022].

state of preservation does not allow us unequivocally to decide whether they are new works, or whether they had been used by earlier printers.

The authors of those literary additions were generally publishers cooperating with the printer. Their set roughly covers the list of authors who wrote dedications. The above-mentioned Rudolf Agricola composed the largest number of epigrams for Ungler; eight of his poems were pressed directly on title pages. Other authors active in this manner were Paulus Crosnensis and Valentin Eck: each of them wrote four epigrams added to a title page. Jan Solfa and Johannes Lupulus Bodmanensis were authors of two such poems. Johannes Dantiscus, Tomasz Bederman, Laurentius Corvinus, and Georg Werner of Paczków each authored an epigram. All of them were specified in undersigns or referenced in the titles of the texts, therefore their attribution is almost certain. However, authors were not provided in the case of four works, though it can be suspected that they were authored by publishers who also wrote prologues. If this is true, three of the supplements may be attributed to Sebastian Pauschner, Paulus Crosnensis, and Laurentius Corvinus.

The above-mentioned individuals were representatives of Renaissance culture; some of them came to Krakow from countries where humanism was more strongly rooted than in the Kingdom of Poland. As is obvious by his collaborations, Ungler was open to cooperation with that circle. He eagerly used the services of Rudolf Agricola and Valentin Eck, who supported him with their writings in various of his publishing projects, giving a Renaissance character to his publications.

In one example, Ungler placed two poems on the title page (Fig. 3). He made this choice for the release of an anthology containing various texts on the Passion, which he published in cooperation with Wolfgang Lern.³⁷ The collection contained *Iesuida seu De passione Domini* by Hierronymus de Vallibus, *Oratio matutina ad Deum*

37 *Penitentionarius de confessione* [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, W. Lern, 1514.

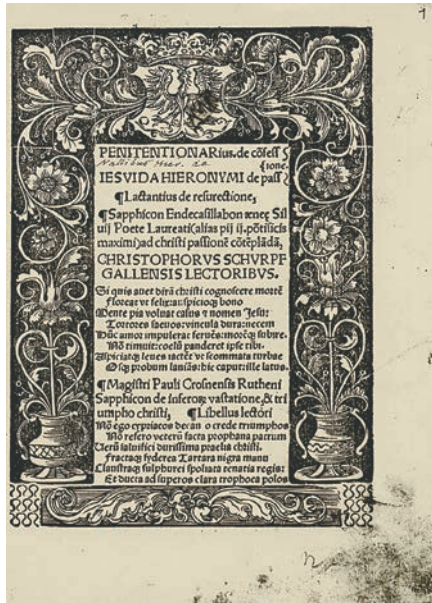


FIG. 3. Two poems on the title page of *Penitentionarius de confessione* [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, W. Lern, 1514.

omnipotentem by Pseudo-Ausonius (in the print the text was attributed to Ausonius), *Ode Saphica de passione Christi* by Pio II, *De resurrectionis Dominicæ die* by Venantius Fortunatus (erroneously attributed in print to Lactantius), and three works by Paulus Crosnensis: *Sapphicon de inferorum vastatione et triumpho Christi*, *Hymnus in diem paschalem*, *Oratio dominica in carmen translata*. The latter works had been published frequently, yet without accompanying texts by the Polish poet. They were often accompanied by an epigram authored by Christoph Schürpf from St Gallen, which was addressed to the readers (*Christophorus Schurpf Gallensis Lectoribus*). Such is the case, for example, in the Viennese publication of Hieronymus Vietor from 1510,³⁸ which may have reached the Krakow publishing market, as with many other publications by that printer.³⁹ The above-

38 *Hieronimi Patavini Carmen de Iesu Christi passione ad Petrum Donatum* [...], Wiedeń: Hieronim Wietor, 1510.

39 On the Viennese printed works of Hieronymus Vietor see: H. Bułhak, 'Wiedeńska oficyna Hieronima Wietora. Materiały do dziejów zasobu typograficznego

mentioned epigram was preserved in Ungler's Krakow edition. However, an additional poem by Paulus Crosnensis was added below the epigram. This addition may have resulted from the inclusion of three of the poet's works in the book. The new epigram on the title page takes on form of elegiac prosopopoeia in distich format, in which the book speaks to the reader (*Libellus ad lectorem*):

Non ego Cypriacos decano, crede, triumphos,
 Non refero veterum facta profana patrum,
 Verum salvifici durissima proelia Christi,
 Fractaque siderea Tartara nigra manu,
 Claustraque sulphurei spoliata tenacia regis,
 Et ducta ad superos clara tropaea polos.⁴⁰

[Believe me, I do not extol Cyprus' triumphs; nor do I praise the earthly accomplishments of our ancestors, but the hard struggles of Christ the Saviour, as well as the grim Tartarus destroyed by the heavenly hand, pillaged castles of the hellish king, and exquisite trophies raised to heaven]

Such a convention was well rooted in the epigrammatic tradition. Many poems from the *Greek Anthology* feature the prosopopoeia form. Additionally, a *topos*, for example, from Ovid, includes a conversation with a book containing other literary works by the writer (*Amores* 1, *Epigramma*: an elegy volume reveals to the reader how it was created; *Tristia* 1,1: the poet teaches his own elegies). We thus have to do with a repetition of a popular Renaissance approach. The message of the epigram, obviously referring to the content of the volume, aligns with the Christian humanism tendency to prioritize biblical content and Catholic morality before the themes of pagan antiquity.⁴¹ The book only contains religious

oraz bibliografia druków z lat 1510–1518', in: *Z badań nad dawną księżką. Studia ofiarowane prof. Alodii Kaweckiej-Gryczowej w 85-lecie urodzin*, Warszawa 1989.

40 Ibidem, k. A1r.

41 On this trend in Polish culture: M. Hanusiewicz-Lavalle, 'Czy był i czym był humanizm chrześcijański w Polsce?', in: *Humanitas i christianitas w kulturze polskiej*, ed. eadem, Warszawa 2009, pp. 53–86 — https://www.academia.edu/24818877/Czy_by%C5%82_i_czym_by%C5%82_humanizm_chrze%C5%9Bcija%C5%84ski_w_Polsce_w_Humanitas_i_christianitas_w_kulturze_polskiej_red_Miros%C5%82awa_Hanusiewicz-Lavallee_Warszawa_2009_s_53_86 [accessed 17 February 2022].

texts. Readers will not find love poems here (*Non Cypriacos decano triumphos*); nor will they find heroic-historical works (*Non refero veterum facta profana patrum*). However, Christian motifs are tackled with the use of lexis and topoi typical of humanist poetry drawing inspiration from ancient models. Hell is thus defined as ‘grim Tartarus’, the deepest cavern of Hades (*Tartara nigra*), while heaven is the conceived as the ‘highest raised pole’ (*ad superos polos*).

The discussed epigram by Paulus Crosnensis was also used on another occasion, though not accompanied by an additional poem. Ungler pressed it on the title page of a separate publication of Crosnensis’ religious songs in 1513.⁴² The printer found the text appropriate to use in both contexts so he did not see a reason to commission a new piece, since he could use the existing one. A similar approach was adopted when additional literary pieces were copied after publications by other, often foreign, printing houses.

The poems Ungler placed on his printed matter copy solutions common to Western and Southern European publications. Most frequently addressed to the reader or student, they often advertise the text in the book, encouraging its purchase. Furthermore, epigrams dedicated to a definite individual are referenced in the title. Such cases recall poetic dedications. They are only exceptional when placed on an exposed title page. As an example, let us consider the epigram, most likely a dedication titled *Ad Christophorum de Szydłowicz* [...] and addressed to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, a magistrate whose favour Ungler certainly hoped to win.⁴³ The text by Rudolf Agricola, composed of Phalaecian hendecasyllable, was placed on the title page of a popular work by Filippo Beroaldo the Elder, *Declamatio an orator sit philosopho et medico antepenendus*, printed in

42 Paweł z Krosna, *Saphicon de inferorum vastatione et triumpho Christi* [...], Kraków: Florian Ungler, 1513.

43 At the time of the text’s publication Szydłowiecki was Sandomierz Castellan and Vice-Chancellor of the Crown. For more on this individual see: M. Lubczyński, J. Pielas, ‘Szydłowiecki Krzysztof’, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 49, Warszawa-Kraków 2014, pp. 551-566; J. Kieszkowski, *Kanclerz Krzysztof Szydłowiecki: z dziejów kultury i sztuki Zygmontowskich czasów*, Poznań 1912 —<https://pbc.biaman.pl/publication/6506> [accessed 30 June 2022].

Krakow in 1514. This edition is considered lost and all related information derives from old bibliographical studies.⁴⁴

Interestingly, a relation between the Szydłowiecki family and the figure of Filippo Beroaldo the Elder may be traced, which may partially justifies the dedication. Krzysztof's brother Paweł Szydłowiecki, Custodian of the Cracow Cathedral and Sandomierz Canon,⁴⁵ was among the famous humanist's group of students, and an addressee of one of Beroaldo's epistles. On that occasion, Beroaldo also mentioned the addressee's various relatives, among them the more affluent and prominent Krzysztof.⁴⁶ Therefore, poems of this type, similar to dedicatory epistles, constitute a form of clientelism and illustrate efforts to win the favour and patronage of influential individuals.

Moreover, title pages were also areas where authors of the main text were addressed by name and with praise. On the one hand, such formal epigrams promoted the very work, but on the other hand, they served as an instrument of communication among men of letters and humanists. They ennobled scholars whose ideas and practices aligned with the Renaissance ideal that true nobility consisted in supporting values that enabled one to fully appreciate human life.⁴⁷ Thus, men of letters often felt that they had more justification to feel proud of their accomplishments than the individuals who owed their nobility to their ancestors, most often through armed exploits. We may read Jan Solfa's poem addressed

44 *Ianociana sive clarorum atque illustrium Poloniae autorum maecenatumque memoriae miscellae*, vol. 1, Varsaviae-Lipsiae 1776, p. 9. This item is recorded after Janocki: K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, vol. 12, Kraków 1891, p. 509.

45 On this individual see S.A. Sroka, 'Szydłowiecki Paweł', in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 49. Warszawa-Kraków 2014, pp. 574-576.

46 The letter e.g., in: F. Beroaldo, *Varia opuscula* [...], Bazylea: S. Gossinger, 1509, k. CXLIV.

47 See e.g., S. Baczewski, *Szlachectwo. Studium z dziejów idei w piśmiennictwie polskim. Druga połowa XVI wieku, wiek XVII*, Lublin 2009; B. Milewska-Ważbińska, 'Vera nobilitas. Etos szlachecki na podstawie herbarzy staropolskich', in: *Etos humanistyczny*, academic ed. P. Urbański, Warszawa 2010, pp. 177-193; A. Raubo, 'Z dziejów synkretyzmu filozoficznego w epoce renesansu — Jana Grotowskiego „Socrates albo o szlachectwie rozmowa...”', *Poznańskie Studia Polonistyczne. Seria Literacka*, 2011, no. 18, pp. 285-316 — <https://pressto.amu.edu.pl/index.php/pspsl/article/view/2318/2306> [accessed 17 February 2022].

to Valentin Eck (*Magistri Ioannis Solfa ad Valentinum Ekium carmen phalaetium* [Phalaecian lay of Master Jan Solfa to Valentin Eck], placed on the title page of a panegyric to another humanist Augustin Käsenbrot (Augustinus Moravus),⁴⁸ which Ungler printed jointly with Lern in 1513, in accordance with these humanist beliefs.⁴⁹

However, most of this type of epigrams are addressed directly to readers, signalled by the phrase *ad lectorem* or *lectoribus* in the title. In Ungler-printed materials, this convention is found in *Partitiones oratoriae*, published under the name of Cicero.⁵⁰ A relatively long poem is placed below the title, consisting of 26 Phalaecian hendecasyllables by Jan Solfa (*Magister Joannes Solfa ad lectores*). The text is so long that it was divided into two columns to fit on the title page (Fig. 4). The poem praises, above all, the intellectual value of the book as useful to studying youth. It defines the potential buyers of the publication, namely students of the Krakow Academy.



FIG. 4. The poem divided into two columns on the title page of M.T. Cicero, *Partitiones oratoriae* [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, 1513, fol. A1r.

- 48 On this individual see e.g.: R.G. Czaplá, 'Augustinus Moravus', in: *Deutscher Humanismus 1480–1520. Verfasserlexikon*, vol. 1, A–K, F. J. Worstbrock [Hrsg.], Berlin 2005, pp. 61–72.
- 49 V. Eck, *Panegyricus in laudem praestantissimi viri doctoris Augustini Moravi* [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, W. Lern, 1513.
- 50 M.T. Cicero, *Partitiones oratoriae* [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, 1513.

The epigram of Rudolf Agricola added to Aristotle's *Libri de anima* from 1512 exhibits similar characteristics.⁵¹ That text was also conceived as an academic textbook. Not only does the phrase *Ad lectorem* placed on its title page underline the benefits of reading the Greek philosopher, but in the final part it reveals that the present edition has been prepared with great diligence, while certain errors from previous editions that hindered the reading of the text had been removed. The text also praises Ungler's printing company.

Et quamvis lacer ante fuit mendosus et asper,
Iam tamen hic Phoebi clarior orbe nitet.
Nunc lege sub gemino procusum interprete nuper,
Hic ubi Croca suos tendit ad astra lares.⁵²

[Although the book was earlier injured, difficult, and full of errors, it now shines brighter than the Sun. Read it thus freshly published with two translations, here where Krakow houses rise to the sky]

In some cases, such poems do not only praise the author, addressee, the book, or the typographer, but also a discipline of knowledge. In Ungler's publications, for example, we find a eulogy to legal skills (Fig. 5), again voiced by Agricola for Johann Auerbach's dissertation *Processus iudicarius*.⁵³ The poem, titled *In iuridicae facultatis laudem epigramma* ['Epigram to Praise Legal Skills'], begins by enumerating other disciplines that form part of the mediaeval *artium liberalium* schooling system, and concludes by pointing to legal studies as the most worthy discipline crowning the entire educational system.

Discordes firmo foedere nectit avos,
Iustitiam servare docet, convicia pellit,
Et facit ut vitiis poena sit aequa tetrus.
Ista gubernandi ratio pariterqua magistra
Artibus est reliquis anteferenda bonis.⁵⁴

51 Arystoteles, *Libri de anima* [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, 1512.

52 Ibidem, k. A1r.

53 J. Auerbach, *Processus iudicarius* [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, [1512-1514].

54 Ibidem, k. [1]r.

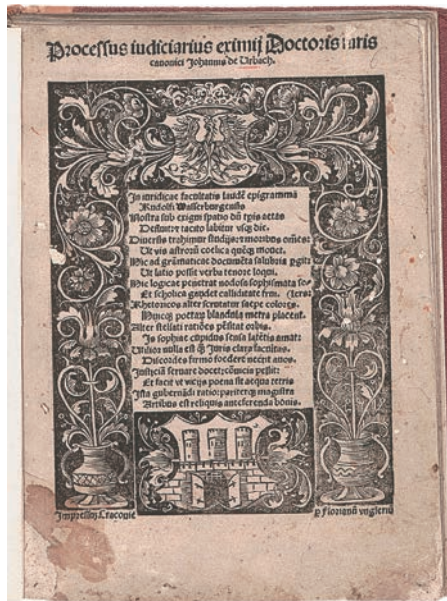


FIG. 5. The eulogy to legal skills on the title page of J. Auerbach, *Processus iudicarius* [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, [1512-1514], fol. A1r.

[It binds quarrelsome ancestors in lasting harmony, and teaches how to keep justice, it chases away conflicts, it makes horrid offences punished in a justified manner. It teaches how to rule, and it should be given precedence over other good arts]

This evaluation of legal studies is consonant with the humanist concept of science, which gives the priority to law, moral philosophy, and philology as subject originally forming *trivium*. These disciplines were defined *bonae artes* and treated as a system differing from mediaeval *artes liberales*.⁵⁵

55 See e.g.: C. Revest, 'La naissance de l'humanisme comme mouvement au tournant du XVe siècle', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 2013, vol. 68, no. 3, pp. 679–681 — https://www.academia.edu/4447573/La_naissance_de_l_humanisme_comme_mouvement_au_tournant_du_XVe_si%C3%A8cle *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 68_3_juillet_septembre_2013_p_665_696 [accessed 17 February 2022]; D. Nowakowski, 'Plutarch i jego praktyczne znaczenie: bonae litterae Erazma z Rotterdamu', *Argument. Biannual Philosophical Journal*, 2017, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 283–297 — http://cejsh.icm.edu.pl/cejsh/element/bwmeta1.element.ojs-doi-10_24917_20841043_7_2_7 [accessed 17 February 2022]. On the meaning of law

A message like that above can also be found in the epigram from the title page of *Latinum ideoma* by the Silesian humanist Laurentius Corvinus.⁵⁶ It is another piece encouraging the reader to study, in this case Latin. The content of the published work intends to help the reader master the language of the Romans in harmony with the latest methods in Renaissance philology. In practice, *Latinum ideoma* is made up of dialogues tackling various topics, focusing to a great degree on ethical matters and youth education. Its high quality was testified by its popularity: Corvinus' textbook was re-issued in 40 editions over almost 40 years.⁵⁷ According to the epigram on its title page, its readers supposed to master the Latin grammar in addition to stylistics, proper pronunciation, and metrics. These are key linguistic skills from the point of view of *studia humanitatis*. Apart from promoting an incentive to study, the poem also praises the discipline it promotes.

Another element of the Renaissance literary context prevalent in Ungler's publications is the anticipation of potential, and often highly unjustified, criticism of the author or text by an unfriendly reader. Poems of this type are commonly referred to as 'poems to Zoilus'. Written both in Latin and in vernacular languages, they boast a long and interesting tradition, dating almost to the onset of the European Renaissance and the development of the printed book.⁵⁸ Among Ungler-published books, this *topos* appears on the title page of *Modus epistolandi* by Filippo Beroaldo the Elder from

in humanist culture see also P. Świącicka, 'Prawo rzymskie w okresie Renesansu i Baroku. Humanistyczny wymiar europejskiej kultury prawnej', *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne*, 2012, vol. 64, fasc. 1, pp. 9-37 — <https://pressto.amu.edu.pl/index.php/cph/article/view/15291/15052> [accessed 17 February 2022].

- 56 W. Korwin, *Latinum ideoma* [...] *ab innumeris fere mendis, quibus antehac scatebat, penitus emptum*, Kraków: F. Ungler, 1513.
- 57 On Laurentius Corvinus and his oeuvre see first of all R.K. Zawadzki, *Wawrzyniec Korwin — życie i twórczość renesansowego humanisty (studium, tekst łaciński, komentarz i przekład)*, Częstochowa 2013.
- 58 T. Mikulski, *Ród Zoilów. Rzecz z dziejów staropolskiej krytyki literackiej*, Kraków 1933 — <https://bc.radam.pl/publication/33377> [accessed 17 February 2022]; E. Sarnowska-Temeriusz, 'Wypowiedzi do czytelnika i wiersze do zoila', in: E. Tarnowska-Temeriusz, T. Kostkiewiczowa, *Krytyka literacka w Polsce w XVI i XVII wieku oraz w epoce oświecenia*, Wrocław 1990, pp. 124-144.

1512, a manual on the correct structure of epistles.⁵⁹ Authored by Valentin Eck, the epigram does not follow the standard *Ad Zoilum* but is addressed directly to the reader (*Ad lectorem Valentinus Eckius Philyriopolitanus*). The first part of the poem contains the traditional encouragement to read the published text, while its true intention is revealed only at its ending.

Haec lege, care puer, docti praecepta Philippi:

Ordine sub pulchro texere verba docet.
Utilis atque brevis modus est ambage relicta.
Regula scribendi talis amanda venit.
Hic nil Momus habet, nil Zoilus, ilia Codro
Rumpantur. Procul hinc, livide livor, abi!⁶⁰

[Dear boy, read these remarks of the learned Filippo; he tells us how to give a beautiful order to the fabric of words. The method is useful and concise, everything has been explained clearly. Learning how to write wins much appreciation. There is nothing to do here for Momus, Zoilus, and Codrus' stomachs burst. Go away, run, jealous envy!]

The names at the end of the epigram refer to traditionally unjust critics. Zoilus, the most frequently cited individual in this context, was a Greek rhetor and historian. According to tradition, he forwarded unfavourable opinions on Homer's poems in his works, leading his name to become synonymous with scathing criticism. Momus, in turn, was an ancient deity of irony and sarcasm, often associated with unjustified criticism.⁶¹ Codrus, the last figure on the list, was a poet whom Virgil ridiculed due to his vanity. The phrase describing a 'bursting stomach' (*ilia Codro rumpantur*) derives from the *Eclogues* (7, 26), as the quotation of a classical author signalled the writer's humanist erudition. The fact that this was

59 F. Beroaldo, *Modus epistolandi* [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, 1512.

60 Ibidem, k. [1]r.

61 F. Tupper, 'The envy theme in prologues and epilogues', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 1917, vol. 16, no. 4, p. 567 — <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27700836> [accessed 17 February 2022]; R. B. Gill, 'The Renaissance conventions of envy', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 1979, vol. 9, pp. 215-230.

done on the title page of a book in turn elevates the cultural profile of the publishing house that printed the book. Eck's work should similarly be perceived as a conventional adoption of a Renaissance formation. Interestingly, however, the modern tradition of 'poems to Zoilus' was rooted in ancient poetry, reaching at least to the times of Ovid, who addressed the unjust critic addressing him by name in *Remedia amoris* (lines 365–366). This fragment unquestionably inspired later poets who faced excessive criticism, including Eck. However, similar texts were rare in Poland at the time; they cannot be found in earlier publications by Hochfeder or Haller.

It is worth noting that literary supplements in the Bavarian typographer's publications were also placed elsewhere in the book and not only on the title page. Yet they played a special role because of their placement in such a key part of a book, which is why this present paper has dedicated more attention to them. Meanwhile, Ungler placed similar poems on the reverse of the title page and at the end of the text. Thus, epigrams addressed to readers, the author, or Zoilus frequently bookended the materials he printed. Importantly, fewer poems were published at the end of the book, following the main text, than at the beginning. Only seven cases are known, out of which merely four new poems were composed for Ungler. One was published anonymously and its attribution remains uncertain, while two were copied after publications from other printing houses. The authors of those supplements are partially the same individuals as those who wrote dedications and poems for Ungler's title pages, including Valentin Eck, Paulus Crosnensis, Joachim Vadian, and Johann Wölfflin von Bodman. A poem by Vadian is especially of interest, as it does not praise any specific scholarly discipline, but rather the art of printing (Fig. 6). It was added at the end of *Epistolarum Turci Magni libellus* from 1513.⁶² Although published for the first time in the country on the Vistula, it had earlier appeared in publications by printers from German

62 *Epistolarum Turci Magni per Laudinum libellus sententiarum grauitate refertissimus, additis non nullis lectu dignis epistolis [...]*, Kraków: F. Ungler, nakł. J. Haller, 1513.

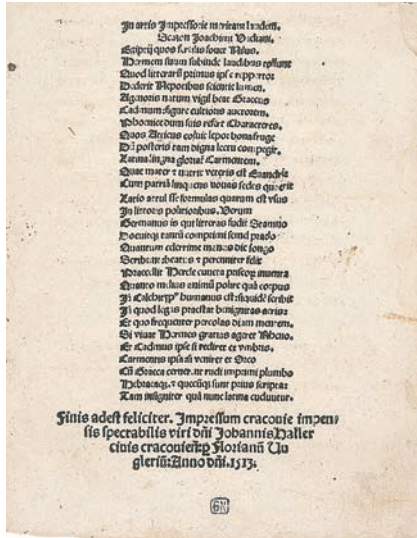


FIG. 6. The eulogy to art of printing at the end of *Epistolarum Turci Magni per Laudinum libellus sententiarum gravitate refertissimus, additis non nullis lectu dignis epistolis [...]*, Kraków: F. Ungler, impensis J. Haller, 1513, fol. J2r.

circles, including Hieronymus Vietor, who had strong connections to Krakow.⁶³

Among the works placed at the end of books, special attention should be paid to the epitaph by Johann Wölfflin von Bodman composed for Jan Sommerfeld the Elder (Fig. 7), one of Krakow's first philologists and humanists.⁶⁴ The epigram, which bids farewell to Sommerfeld, was published after *Modus epistolandi* from 1513 and repeated in the publication from 1515.⁶⁵ The following is a tribute to the local scholar:

Hic ego Ioannes quondam notissimus orbe
Deliteo cippo conditus ipse modo,

63 Is. Füßel, *Gutenberg and the impact of printing*, transl. D. Martin, London 2020, pp. 34–36.

64 On this individual see: C. Mielczarski, *Między gramatyką scholastyczną a humanistyczną. Komentarz Jana Sommerfelda Starszego do „Traktatu gramatycznego” Eberharda Hiszpańskiego (Strasburg 1499)*, Warszawa 2003.

65 J. Sommerfeld, *Modus epistolandi [...]*, Kraków: F. Ungler, 1513.

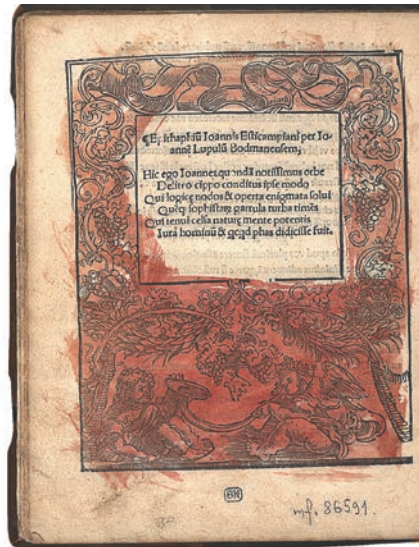


FIG. 7. The epitaph for Jan Sommerfeld the Elder at the end of J. Sommerfeld, *Modus epistolandi* [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, 1513, fol. D4v.

Qui logicae nodos et operta enigmata solvi,
 Quemque sophistarum garulla turba timens,
 Qui tenui celsa naturae mente potentis
 Iura hominum et quicquid fas didicisse fuit.⁶⁶

[Here I hide, Johannus, once famous in the world, and now deposited in the grave. I who solved knots and puzzles of logics, who made the noisy mob of sophists tremble, I who with the lofty mind could master the laws of powerful nature and people, and all that is worthy of cognition]

The poem takes the form of an address of the deceased to a passer-by visiting or simply walking past his grave. It is obviously a literary epitaph that has nothing to do with the context of the burial.⁶⁷ Pieces of this kind were very popular during the Renais-

66 Ibidem, k. D4v.

67 The phenomenon of Latin literary epitaphs in the Polish Renaissance is discussed by B. Milewska-Ważbińska, *Ars epitaphica. Z problematyki łacińskojęzycznych wierszy nagrobnych*, Warszawa 2006. On funerary poetry more generally see S. Zabłocki, *Polsko-łacińskie epicedium renesansowe na tle europejskim*, Wrocław 1968.

sance. Sometimes they were assembled into separate collection, like *De tumulis* by Giovanni Pontano⁶⁸. What is interesting in this respect is the fact that the epitaph, authored by Wölfflin von Bodman, commemorates a Polish scholar. Therefore, it is not only a tribute paid to his person, but also to the knowledge he amassed, and more generally a praise to Renaissance erudition.

Interestingly, humanistic disciplines mix with scholastic ones. in the text. The first group included law, as previously discussed, while the latter covered logic and natural philosophy. The humanist undertone of the poem is confirmed by mentions of sophists trembling at the thought of Sommerfield; to Renaissance humanists, sophists were popular antagonists of scholars in the search of true cognition. Fame resulting from learning is evoked in the poem as a typical value of Renaissance culture.

STEMMATA AND PROTO-EMBLEMS

Various verbal and visual compositions form another group of additions found in the front and back matter of Ungler's printed material. They parallel the use of wood engraving illustrations and poems inspired by humanism. It is important to stress that these proto-emblematic forms significantly precede the publication of Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum liber*, first published in 1531).⁶⁹ Similar cases, however, were not rare, and Ungler coincides with the trend visible for some time for researchers into emblems, as well as into early European printing.⁷⁰ Similar proto-emblems dating to

However, as this study is focused on more developed forms, the topic of epitaph is marginal.

- 68 G. Pontano, *Carmina, ecloghe, elegie, liriche*, a cura di J. Oeschger, Bari 1948 (Scrittori d'Italia; vol. 198).
- 69 On the first edition of Alciato's collection see B. F. Scholz, 'The 1531 Augsburg edition of Alciato's *Emblematum*. A survey of research', *Emblematica*, 1995, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 213-254.
- 70 S. Plotke, 'Pre-Alciato Emblems? Daniel Agricola's „Vita Beati” from the year 1511', in: *The international emblem from incunabula to the internet: selected proceedings of the Eighth International Conference of the Society for Emblem Studies, 28th July-1st August, 2008, Winchester College*, ed. S. McKeown, Newcastle upon Tyne 2010, pp. 69-81. See also B. Czarski, 'Old Polish stemmata and „Proto-emblems” prior to the publishing of *Emblematum Liber* by Alciatus (1531)', in: *Non-Classical genres. Theory and practice*, eds. M. Piskala, J. Krauze-Karpińska, Warszawa, pp. 163-179.

the latter half of the 15th century differ from Alciato's collection, primarily by the fact that they are, in the majority of cases, are unique, and do not create a homogenous series. This is the case with materials printed by Ungler.

In the materials produced by Ungler, we first of all find stemmata: epigrams connected to a heraldic woodcut.⁷¹ Ungler was the first Krakow printer to use such a composition.⁷² In total, five stemmata can be found in his publications from 1510-1516. Most likely, the Bavarian was inspired by the examples of combining poems with coat of arms from the German states he knew. The books featuring this type of forms reached the Polish market from various sources. One of them being the above-mentioned Vienna printing house of Hieronymus Vietor, who as of 1512 even published stemmata based on Polish emblems.⁷³ Ungler promptly picked up the idea, and he published his first stemma in 1514. One can be found on the title page of the song by Johannes Dantiscus speaking of the victory of the Polish-Lithuanian troops over Muscovy in the battle of Orsha.⁷⁴ The print shows various Jagiellonian emblems, with Valentin Eck's epigram below addressed to the reader, titled *Ekius lectori* (Fig. 8). Notably, the poem contains an important allusion to the print it accompanies.

Perlege Sarmatici victricia principis arma,
 Deque Boristhenio rapta tropaea duce,
 Perlege quam modico Moschorum milia multa
 Milite sub Stygios sint modo missa lacus.⁷⁵

71 The phenomenon definition by R. Krzywy, 'Stemmat', *Zagadnienia Rodzajów Literackich*, 2012, vol. 55, fac. 1, pp. 252-254 — <https://www.academia.edu/49124209/Stemmat> [accessed 17 February 2022].

72 On the topic of the oldest Polish stemmata see B. Czarski, 'W poszukiwaniu najstarszego polskiego stemmatu - pytania i propozycje odpowiedzi', *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, 2021, vol. 65, pp. 5-33 — <https://doi.org/10.12775/OiR-wP.2021.01> [accessed 17 February 2022].

73 Ibidem, pp. 23-29.

74 J. Dantyszek, *Carmen extemporarium de victoria insigni ex Moschis* [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, 1514. The stemma discussed: B. Czarski, *W poszukiwaniu...*, s. 16-17.

75 J. Dantyszek, *Carmen extemporarium...*, k. A1r.

tions appear more attractive, and to encourage potential buyers to take a closer look at the book. One printed text contained two stemmata, both composed by Paulus Crosnensis. The publication in question is *Heroicum de triumpho Christi* by Macario Muzio, published alongside the *Elegiacum ad divam virginem Mariam* by Paulus Crosnensis.⁷⁶ The first stemma is the Poraj emblem, which features a five-petal rose and two epigrams.⁷⁷ In this case the coat of arms was impressed at the top, while the book's title was placed between it and the poems (Fig. 9). The compositional structure of the title page was fragmented, however both epigrams clearly refer to the rose visible in the emblem. The first is titled *Epigramma magistri Pauli Crosnensis ad Rosam magnifici domini Stanislai Craepicii capitanei Wielumensis* [Epigram by Master Paulus Crosnensis on the Rose of honourable Master Stanisław Krzepicki, Wieluń Starost]. The second, a much shorter one, employs the coat of arms to address the reader (prosopopeia): *Rosa ad lectorem* ['Rose to the reader']. One more stemma by the same author was placed on the last page. Its poem recalls a heraldic figure, in this case the eagle from the emblem of the Kingdom of Poland: *Aquila Polona loquitur. Epigramma Pauli Crosnensis* ['The Polish Eagle Speaks. Epigram by Paulus Crosnensis']. Interestingly, Ungler uses the same woodcut as in the stemma by Valentin Eck added to *Carmen extemporarium* by Dantiscus. Thus, the illustration shows the Eagle of the Kingdom of Poland, Pahonia, Columns of Gediminias, as well the coat of arms of Krakow and Sceptres of the Krakow Academy. However, no references are made in the poem to the its standard heraldic symbolism. The speaking eagle instead references a black eagle known from the German imperial heraldry and an eagle as a bird of Jupiter, an important symbol in Roman culture.

Not only royal emblems and emblems of leading families can be found in stemmata from Ungler's first printing house. For example, consider the figures of *Prognosticon Vratislaviensis* [sic], a calen-

76 M. Muzio, *Heroicum de triumpho Christi* [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, 1515.

77 The composition discussed in B. Czarski, *W poszukiwaniu...*, pp. 14–15.

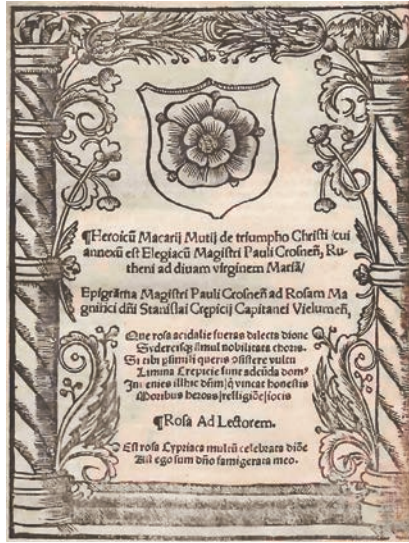


FIG. 9. Stemma at the title page of M. Muzio, *Heroicum de triumpho Christi* [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, 1515, fol. A1r.

dar published in 1516.⁷⁸ On the title page of its printed material, the Wrocław coat of arms is accompanied by an epigram by Laurentius Corvinus. The poem references the ‘W’ shape, visible on the shield held by an angel. This sign is interpreted as double ‘V’. As a result, it refers to the fact that the Silesian city and its residents boast two important characteristics related to the letter ‘v’ in Latin: *virtus* (‘valor’) and *vis* (‘strength’). Ungler’s use of a figure based on the civic coat of arms must have been connected to the fact that Ungler and Haller were planning to allocate a large part, or even the whole print run, of the calendar to the Wrocław bookselling market. For this reason, Laurentius Corvinus e from Silesia (Ruda Śląska) was involved in the project.

There are also other cases of combining word with image as a part of the publication apparatus. Most common are woodprint

78 G. Grussen, *Prognosticon Vratislaviensis ad annum Christi milesimumquingentesimum-sedecimum*[...]supputatum, Kraków: F. Ungler, nakł. J. Haller, [1515]. The stemma discussed in B. Czarski, *W poszukiwaniu...*, pp. 12–14.

illustrations, some of them symbolic, to which a rhymed text is added. However, in Ungler's case the relations between these two elements are not always close. The Bavarian typographer had begun applying such proto-emblems in his publications much earlier than stemmata. Three such examples can be found in his output.

In 1512, *Somnia Danielis* was published. A figure resembling an emblem is placed on the title page. Its layout is, however, reversed if compared to the scheme known from Alciato's *Emblematum liber*: the poem is placed first, followed by the wood engraving.⁷⁹ The latter depicts the Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar paying tribute to the Prophet Daniel, who extensively decoded the ruler's mysterious dreams. The poem found under the print was written by Agricola who cooperated with Ungler a lot. The epigram may have been composed in 1511 when the poet left Krakow for Buda. The piece follows the well-known *Ad lectorem* formula. Its content encourages the reader to read all the prophecies published in Krakow. Agricola attempts to create an aura of mystery with his poem, asking questions about the meaning of various visions, possible to intrigue a potential buyer of the book. By composing the text with an illustration of a corresponding biblical scene, the persuasive undertone of the epigram is emphasized. However, there are no other clear intersections between the literary and visual elements.

A closer connection can be found on the title page of *Passio Iesu Christi Salvatoris mundi* by Benedictus Chalidonius.⁸⁰ It features a print depicting a crucified Jesus with St Mary and St Magdalene on his sides. (Fig. 10). Below, an epigram titled *Christus ad peccatorem* ['Christ to a Sinner'] is printed.

O mihi tantorum iusto mihi causa dolorum!
 O crucis, o mortis causa cruenta mihi!
 O homo, sat fuerit tibi me semel ista tulisse,
 O cessa culpis me cruciare novis.⁸¹

79 *Somnia Danielis*, Kraków: Florian Ungler, 1512, k. A1r.

80 B. Chalidonius, *Passio Iesu Christi Salvatoris mundi*, Kraków: F. Ungler, W. Lern, 1514.

81 *Ibidem*, k. A1r.



FIG. 10. Proto-emblem at the title page of B. Chalidonius, *Passio Iesu Christi Salvatoris mundi*, Kraków: F. Ungler, W. Lern, 1514, fol. A1r.

[Oh, the reason for my great suffering, and I am righteous! Oh, the bloody reason for my crucifixion and my death! Oh, man, it suffices that you have brought that unhappiness on me once! Oh, do not crucify me because of your new sins!]

This poem is addressed to every reader, aiming to incite their guilt for his own sins. The image of the crucified leads a reader realize the importance of His sacrifice. The expression of this work also aligns with the work by Chalidonius. This, however, is not a composition designed specifically for Ungler. The Bavarian copied it after German publications. Only a new wood engraving was prepared in Krakow, its quality inferior to the illustrations found in other versions of this proto-emblem. The difference in quality is evidence when compared to the second edition from Nuremberg published in 1511 with Albrecht Dürer's wood engravings.⁸²

82 B. Chalidonius, *Passio Christi ab Alberto Durer Nurenbergensi effigata*, Nurnberge, Impressum per A. Durer, 1511 - <https://hdl.loc.gov/loc.rbc/Rosenwald.0617> [accessed 17 February 2022].

The above examples demonstrate how highly innovative Ungler was in comparison to other Krakow printers in the early 16th century. Many of the novel solutions he advanced, which he adopted from the German states, were promptly taken up by printers in Krakow. The characteristic feature of Ungler's output stems from the visual elements of his publications, such as the richness of wood engravings or new fonts. It is important to emphasize his introduction of the Antiqua typeface to Polish printing, which aligned Ungler's approach to publishing with European humanist models. The changes to the structure of the book as such, particularly in terms of the literary additions that Ungler developed more strongly than competitor printing houses, must not be neglected. These choices must have been the result of decisions made by the publisher himself. Such alterations would not have been possible if not for Ungler's collaboration with a wide range of humanist scholars, both local and foreign. Ungler demonstrated his entrepreneurial nature in this respect. He succeeded in developing affiliations with a group of interesting artists who helped him to design a modern face for the books he published. The printer may not have held sufficient skills in this respect, yet he was able to achieve his goals by cooperating with specialists, most of whom came to Krakow from neighbouring countries.

The contribution of individuals such as Rudolf Agricola, Paulus Crotius, and Valentin Eck, yielded interesting dedications that sought to strengthen relations between intellectual circles and affluent patrons. They were most frequently expressed in an epistolary format, related to the practice of vivid correspondence so important to humanists. In some cases, traditional prose introductions were also complemented by a poetical dedication composed in classical metrics: elegiac distich, but also lyrical stanzas. Thanks to the humanists who collaborated with Ungler, a variety of poems were created to accompany the texts he published. The poems encouraged reading; they also spoke about the content of the published work, its author, or the discipline the book con-

cerned. These additions boast a Renaissance fascination with ancient forms and conventions. Numerous, often erudite, references to Roman poets can be found in their texts. Mythological allusions are a standard component of these additions, which testify to the competences and tastes of the addressees of Ungler's books. When deciding to give such a literary framing to his publications, Ungler must have been convinced that they would be well received and appreciated by buyers. In alignment with a common Western practice, Ungler usually placed such literary additions on the title page, on its reverse, or at the end of the printed material. In some cases, the poems featured an illustration, most commonly a coat of arms. To this end, they functioned as an innovative complement to the traditional form of the dedication. This allowed for a closer relationship to be forged between the publisher's circle and readers.

Evidence seems to confirm that the expectations and tastes of Krakow book users were correctly identified and evaluated by the Bavarian, since competitors adopted his solutions, and his original innovations soon became a standard within Krakow publishing. The financial failure did not put an end to his career. Ungler continued as a manager, printing works of his main competition, before setting up his own printing business again. This allowed him to continue to implement his publishing ideas, contributing to a nascent humanist culture in the Kingdom of Poland.

Identifying the qualities of the above-discussed publications, the fruit of Florian Ungler's publishing activity from 1510–1516, allows us to assess his company as a fully Renaissance publishing house, highly innovative in comparison to others active in the Polish territories at the time. Interestingly, such an assessment of the books published by the Bavarian owes to the literary framing of the books he published more than to their visual aspect. Humanism, after all, found its highest accomplishment in textual productions.⁸³

83 See the study *Humanizm i filologia*, ed. A. Karpiński, Warszawa 2001 (particularly the chapters: J. Domański, 'Filologia a humanizm. Starożytne precedensy hu-

The richness of literary forms and content of the literary frame Ungler applied to his printed matter testifies to his strong and conscious connection to this Renaissance trend.

Translated by Magdalena Iwińska

manistycznej koncepcji filologii', pp. 25-67; J. S. Gruchała, 'Polska renesansowa filologia humanistyczna. Filologowie polscy czasów renesansu wobec problemów tekstu i języka', pp. 69 -99; J. Krauze-Karpińska, 'Polscy drukarze wieku XVI a filologia humanistyczna', pp. 173-232).