

The Poetic Design of the First Cracovian Prints

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———— During the first decades of its existence, the printed book slowly developed its own shape and gradually became more distinct from manuscripts. Title page was a particularly important moment in this process. This completely new element came in various forms and featured various content. In addition to the title, author's name and publishing address, it often contained various poems, contained in the form of epigram. They acted mostly as an advertisement for the publication itself. Sometimes they also contained a praise for the book's author. It would also be common for these short verses to be enriched with various graphic elements; it is worth noting that this took place even before the publishing of *Emblematum liber* by Andrea Alciato. This paper focuses specifically on the poems found on the oldest title-pages of Cracovian prints and discusses the context in which they appear as well as the functions they perform. A particular interest is put on the prints published by Florian Ungler, but the works of other printers such as Kasper Hochfeder and Jan Haller are also mentioned.

Keywords: title-page, early prints, epigram, Neo-Latin poetry, emblem, coat of arms, early Cracow prints.

At the early stage of its existence, printed book was almost a complete imitation of a manuscript form¹. Readers simply got accustomed to this format, while the first printers did not want to create a new text medium. They only wanted to speed up and facilitate the production of books in an already familiar form. Bibliographic information would therefore appeared in the *incipit* as well as the *explicit*, while the title-page did not exist at that time. This element of the book slowly began to take shape only in the sixth decade of the 15th century. At first, it was characterised by considerable diversity and lack of clear conventions. At first, the information that appeared on it was sparse and concise, and in some cases it featured the author, in other – book title. Later in the 15th century, the title-page sometimes had the printer's mark stamped on it. This was the case, *inter alia*, in Peter Schöffer's *Herbarius*, published in Mainz in 1484². In the 1480s, a significant number of books printed in Germany, France and the Netherlands already had title-pages with fairly extensive information about the works they contained. The first evidently modern title page was introduced in 1500 by the printer Wolfgang Stöckel in Leipzig [fig. 1]. Interestingly, this print was strongly associated with Cracow. The book in question is *Exercitium super omnes tractatus Parvorum logicalium Petri Hispani*³ by John from Głogów, professor at the Cracow Academy⁴. The book was commissioned by Jan Haller, Cracovian merchant, entrepreneur, and a bookstore owner, who later also developed a thriving publishing company in the capital of the Kingdom of Poland⁵. The title-page appears to be the first to contain a full set of bibliographic data: the author, the title, the place of printing, the name of the printer and impensor, the date of issue and the note of privilege. It can even be considered as a symbolic testimony to the twilight

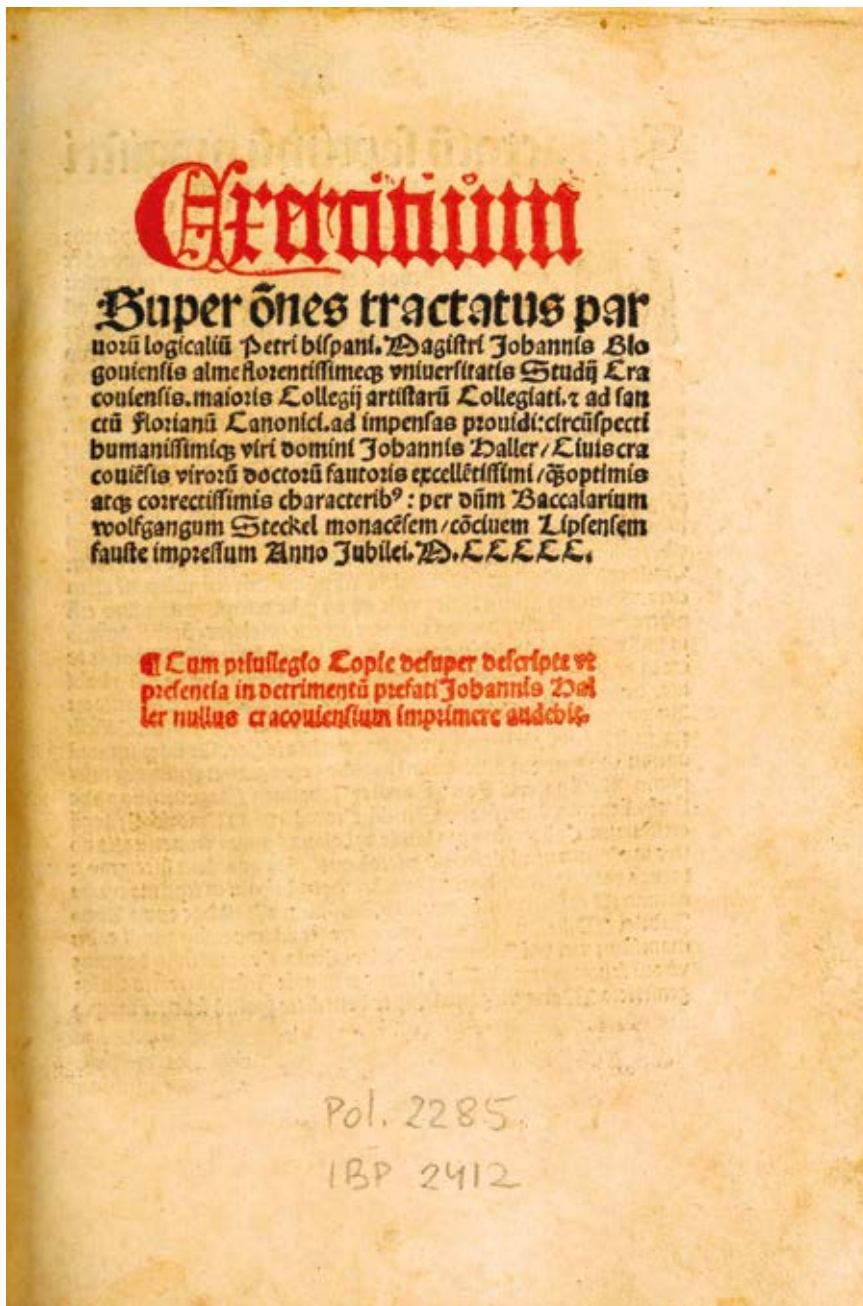
1 About incunabula, first of all, see a classical study: Konrad Haebler, *The study of incunabula*, trans. Lucy Eugenia Osborne (New York: The Grolier club, 1933). Among more recent studies see for example: *Incunabula and their readers: printing, selling and using books in the fifteenth century*, ed. Kristian Jensen (London: British Library, 2003).

2 More about this issue see: Helmut Baumann und Brigitte Baumann, "Herbarius Moguntinus", "Gart der Gesundheit", "Hortus Sanitatis", in *Wissenschaftshistorische Untersuchung der drei Prototypen botanisch-medizinischer Literatur des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann Verlag, 2010).

3 John of Glogow, *Exercitium super omnes tractatus Parvorum logicalium Petri Hispani [...]* (Leipzig: Wolfgang Stöckel pro Ioanne Haller, 1500).

4 A monograph on this author: Hieronim Szczegóła, *Jan Glogowczyk* (Katowice: Śląsk, 1967).

5 Kazimierz Piekarski, *Jan Haller: Kraków 1505–1525* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1963); Henryk Bułhak, *Hallerianum redivivum: przyczynek do bibliografii druków oficyny Jana Hallera w Krakowie (1505–1525)* (Warszawa: Agade, 2002).



1.
Title-page of John of Glogów, *Exercitium super omnes tractatus Parvorum logicalium Petri Hispani* [...], Leipzig: Wolfgang Stöckel pro Ioanne Haller, 1500, fol. A1r. (The National Library of Poland, SD Inc.Qu.177)

Antraštinis lapas, in: *Exercitium super omnes tractatus Parvorum logicalium Petri Hispani* [...] (Leipzig: Wolfgang Stöckel pro Ioanne Haller, 1500), Lenkijos nacionalinė biblioteka

of incunabula. This print appeared evenly in 1500, the year most often considered by researchers as the final year in the life of printed incunabula.

The development of title pages has already been fairly well covered by the book historians⁶. To date, the works have been focused primarily on the overall evolution of the title-page, especially the gradual emergence of its new elements. Especially noteworthy here is the monograph by Margaret M. Smith, *The Title-Page: Its Early Development 1460–1510*⁷. However, these studies are still worth expanding on, and in this article I would like to highlight a few possible research fields. It may be particularly interesting to trace the development of a title-page – at first considered merely as a blank protective card – into a medium for what is most important in the book, i.e. text. It quickly started featuring a content other than the title. At first it appeared in abbreviated form. *Inter alia*, the additional texts contained various poems, reading recommendations with the titles of works contained in the volume, mottos taken from the Holy Scriptures, classical literature and other works of paraliterary character. In the 1470s we already see examples of rather elaborate texts, especially epigrams printed directly on a title-page. Sometimes they are the only printed content found on the cover card of the book. In such cases they usually act as dedications, as in the case of *Confessionale* by St. Antoninus printed in Venice in 1474⁸.

These poems and excerpts from other works were usually of great importance – they were used as paratexts that influenced the reception of the entire book, or as a way of building an image of the publishing house. The title-page became a special component of the printed book. As its most

6 Alfred W. Pollard, *Last words on the history of the title-page, with notes on some colophons and twenty-seven fac-similes of title-pages* (London: J. C. Nimmo, 1891); Theodore Low DeVinne, *Title-pages as seen by a printer* (New York: Grolier Club, 1901); Oliver Simon, "The Title-Page", *The Fleron* 1 (1925): 93–109; Frederick S. Ferguson, "Additions to title-page borders 1485–1640", in: *The Library* 17, nr. 4 (1937), 264–271; Garold Cole, "The Historical Development of the Title Page", in: *The Journal of Library History* (1966–1972) 6, nr. 4 (1971): 303–316; Rudolph Hirsch, "The earliest development of title-pages 1470–1479", in: *The printed Word: its impact and diffusion* (London: Variorum, 1978), 1–13; Ruth Mortimer, "The dimensions of the Renaissance title-page", in: *Printing History* 3 (1981): 34–46; Jan Tschichold, "Typography and the traditional title page", in: *The form of the book: essays on the morality of good design* (London: Lund Humphries, 1991), 65–94. Worth noting is also a polish paper: Maria Juda, "Karta tytułowa staropolskiej książki drukowanej", in: *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* (2002) 46: 67–78.

7 Margaret M. Smith, *The Title-Page: Its Early Development 1460–1510* (London and New Castle: British Library Board, 2000).

8 Saint Antoninus, "Confessionale", in: *Titulus de restitutionibus* (Venezia: Giovanni da Colonia e Johann Manthen, 1476), <https://archive.org/details/ita-bnc-in1-00000521-001/page/n9/mode/2up>.

prominent and instantly noticeable element, it was turned into the carrier of various content: advertising, propaganda, and texts of moral or devotional character. As the structure of the title page was gradually entering into its mature phase, early publishers started learning how to better use the new opportunities it provided, thus achieving, among other things, skillful combinations of textual and graphic material that lead to the coherent and expressive messages. Being particularly appealing to the reader, poems not only made the title-page look more attractive, but they also announced the content of the book, carried indications for further reading, and were widely used as a form of marketing – publishing houses, printers and authors themselves use this format to impart a positive image of themselves.

In addition to the function of advertising, the title-page poems sometimes carried out the role of literary criticism. They fenced with possible critics and exaggerated the importance of author's arguments⁹. This practice got fully established in the 15th century. For example, we can take the cover card for the volume of Palladio Domizio's selected poems as a typical example¹⁰ [fig. 2]. Before even opening this volume, a critic with an unfavourable opinion preemptively receives a laconic response:

In locutuleium

In te convertas oculos, qui despicias omnes,

Et te, dum cunctis detrahis, inspicias.¹¹

[May the jabberers who despise everyone
turn their gazes onto themselves and behold
instead of belittling others.]

Similar functions could also be performed by the concise mottos or quotes from classical literature. They are used whenever they happen to accurately reflect the main points of the book. Meanwhile in other cases the poem content is characteristically panegyric. In the latter case, we usually

⁹ Tadeusz Mikulski, *Ród Zoilów. Rzecz z dziejów staropolskiej krytyki literackiej* (Kraków: Skład Główny w Kasie im. J. Mianowskiego, 1933).

¹⁰ Palladio Domizio, *Epigrammata, elegiae et genethliacum urbis Romae* (Venezia: Giovanni Battista Sessa [con i tipi di Bernardino Vitali], 1498).

¹¹ Ibid.



2.

The epigram to soil on title-page of Palladio Domizio, "Epigrammata, elegiae et genethliacum urbis Romae", Venezia: Giovanni Battista Sessa [con i tipi di Bernardino Vitali], 1498. (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, 4 Inc.c.a. 1527)

Epigrama antraštiniame lape, in: Palladio Domizio, *Epigrammata, elegiae et genethliacum urbis Romae* (Venezia: Giovanni Battista Sessa [con i tipi di Bernardino Vitali], 1498), Bavarijos valstybinė biblioteka Miunchene

deal with epigrams praise the author and focus on his moral and intellectual qualities. It is indeed an elaborate procedure to look through the ancient texts or the Holy Bible in search for a suitable extract that would perfectly convey the message on the title-page. The authority of their source further enhances the persuasive potential of the message. Also, of particular interest strictly from the formal point of view are the cases that involve the combination of text and image prior to the publication of the first emblem book (*Emblematum liber* by Andrea Alciato, published in 1531)¹².

The capital of the Kingdom of Poland was no different compared to the rest of Europe. At first, Polish printing customs were fully based on the German conventions. This is not surprising, because all the first printers active in Poland were ethnically German. This applies to both the 15th century, when Vitsula saw the appearance of the first migrant printers such as Kasper Straube¹³, and the beginning of the 16th century, which saw the establishment of the first more stable printing houses¹⁴. It was around that time when the first verse forms appeared on the title-pages of books printed in Poland. It is believed that the first permanent Polish printing house was opened by Kasper Hochfeder in 1503¹⁵. This typographer was previously active in Nuremberg and Metz and he had already cooperated there with the previously mentioned Jan Haller¹⁶. It was probably at his invitation that Hochfeder came to Cracow to open a new workshop. Most of his books were published for Haller, which well illustrates the level of cooperation between these two entrepreneurs.

Hochfeder is also the first Polish printer to put a poem on the title-page. He did it right after the establishment of the new workshop, but it is worth noting that Hochfeder did not always sought for entirely original

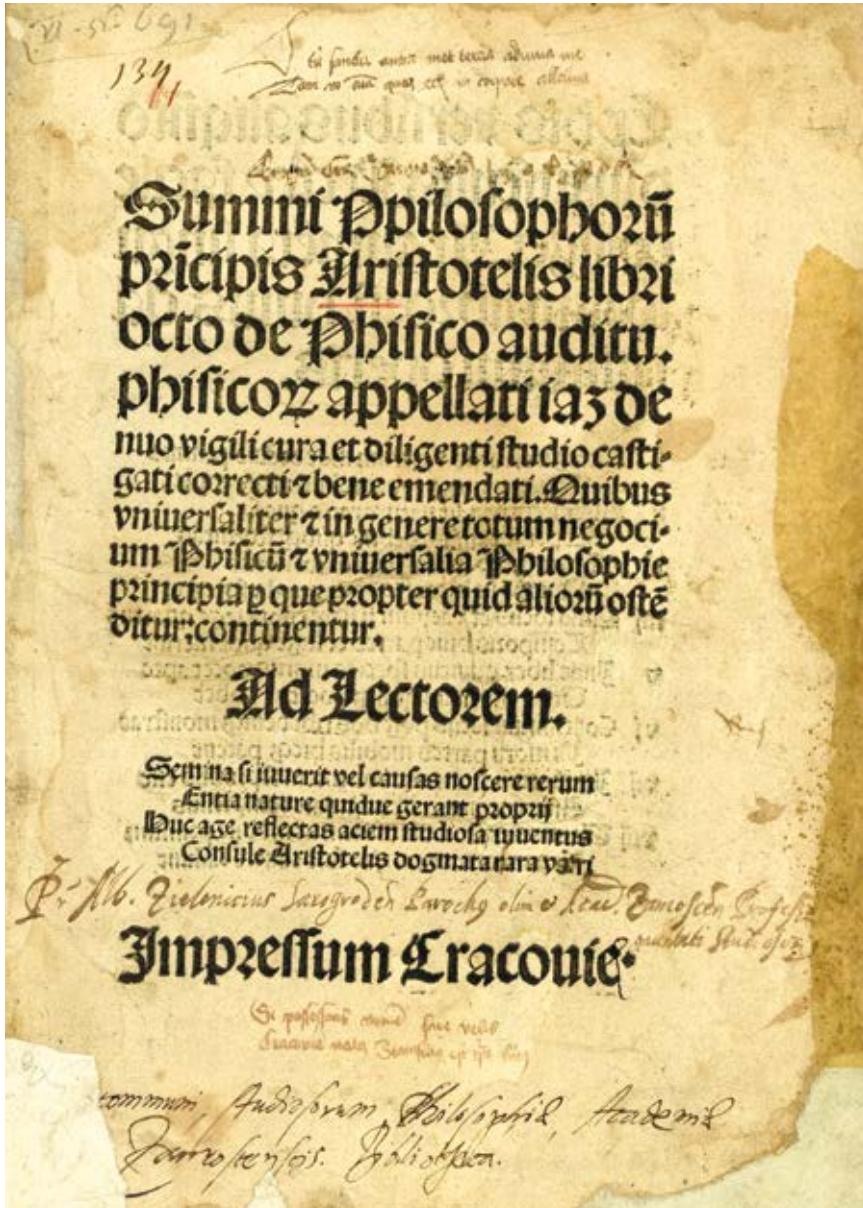
12 For more on the first edition of Alciato's "Emblematum liber" see e.g.: Bernard F. Scholz, "The 1531 Augsburg Edition of Alciato's Emblemata: A Survey of Research", in: *Emblematica* 5 (1995), 213–254.

13 Kazimierz Piekarski, „Pierwszy drukarz polski: Kasper Straube?”, *Szpargaty*, 1 t. (1934): 22–26; Bolesław Gomółka, „Zagadnienie autorstwa kalendarza astrologiczno-medycznego na rok 1474”, *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, 28 t. (1978): 23–29.

14 Jan Pirożyński, *Drukarstwo krakowskie XV-XVI wieku* [Cracow printing from the 15th to the 16th century] (Kraków: PWN, 1975).

15 Kazimierz Piekarski and Maria Błońska, *Polonia Typographica Saeculi Sedecimi. Kasper Hochfeder: Kraków 1503–1505* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1968); *Drukarze dawnej Polski*, ed. A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, 1 t. (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1983) 62–68.

16 For more on Hochfeder's activity in Nuremberg and Metz see: Emil Van der Vekene, *Kaspar Hochfeder: Ein europäischer Drucker des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts. Eine druckgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1974).



3.

The epigram “Ad lectorem” on the title-page of Aristotle, *Summi ppilosophoru[m] [!] p[ri]ncipis Aristotelis libri octo de phisico auditu* [...], Imp[ri]ssum Cracouie: [Kasper Hochfeder, 1503], fol. A1r. (The National Library of Poland, SD XVI.F:2)

Skaitytojui skirta epigrama („Ad lectorem“) antraštiniame lape, in: *Summi ppilosophoru[m] [!] p[ri]ncipis Aristotelis libri octo de phisico auditu* [...], (Imp[ri]ssum Cracouie: [Kasper Hochfeder, 1503]), Lenkijos nacionalinė biblioteka

epigrams. Sometimes it was more convenient to reuse and reprint the text that had already accompanied the title elsewhere. There are epigrams, often anonymous, which were repeatedly republished by different printers. Such a poem is found, for example, on the title-page of Aristotle's *Libri octo de phisico auditu*¹⁷ [fig. 3]. Under the expanded title and above the publishing address (*Impressum Cracoviae* – printed in Cracow) readers see the epigram *Ad lectorem* (To the reader):

Semina si iuverit vel causas noscere rerum,
 Entia naturae quidve gerant proprii,
 Huc age, reflectas aciem, studiosa iuventus,
 Consule Aristotelis dogmata rara vafri.¹⁸

[If you enjoy learning about the origins and causes of the world, as well as the properties natural beings have, then look here, young scholars, exercise your mind, and consult the fine teachings of the wise Aristotle.]

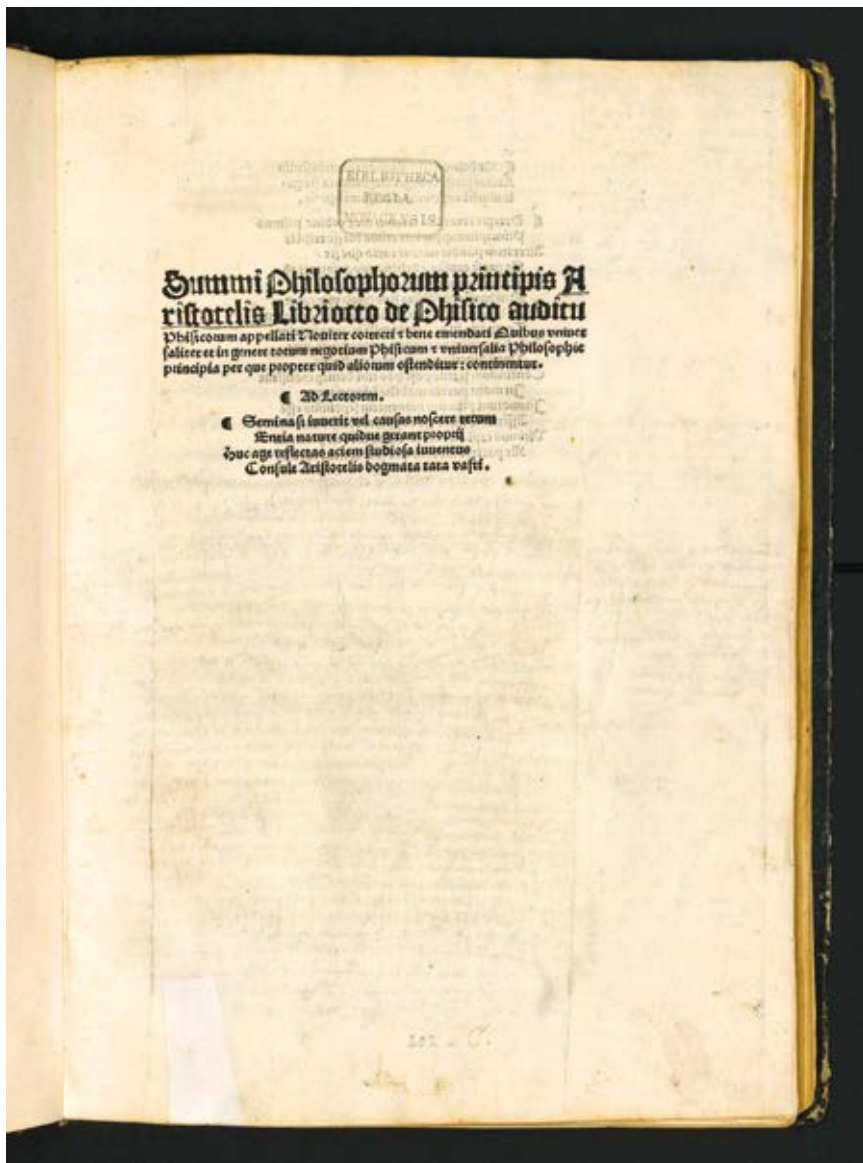
This poem is a form of encouragement for the readers. It also tells us a lot about the people for whom this publication is intended. The wording *studiosa iuventus* (learned youth) certainly refers to the students of Cracow University. First of all, it is them who were supposed to be interested in this publication. Therefore, the book should be useful during their studies. The well-read in ancient literature students who sought out this book certainly must have noticed that the poem that encouraged them to delve into the writings of Aristotle contains an allusion to Virgil's poetry. Its first verse resembles a fragment of *Georgics: felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas* (VERG., *Georg.* 2.490). This graceful epigram, as I have already mentioned, has a longer history. In the same year, for example, Martin Landsberg, who was active in Leipzig, added it to his edition of Aristotle's writings¹⁹ [fig. 4].

In the following years the Cracovian printers were increasingly eager to utilise this form of title-page diversification. They were often

¹⁷ Aristotle, *Summi ppilosophoru[m] [!] pri[n]cipis Aristotelis libri octo de phisico auditu* [...] (Impressum Cracouie: Kasper Hochfeder, 1503).

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Aristotle, *Summi Philosophorum principis Aristotelis Libri octo de Phisico auditu Phisicorum appellati* [...] (Leipzig: cura et diligentia Baccalarij Martini Landssberg [...] impressum, 1503).



4.

The epigram “Ad lectorem” on the title-page of Aristotle, *Summi Philosophorum principis Aristotelis Libri octo de Phisico auditu Phisicorum appellati* [...], [Leipzig]: (cura et diligentia Baccalarij Martini Landßberg [...] impressum, 1503), fol. A1r. (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, 2 A.gr.b. 211)

Skaitytojui skirta epigrama („Ad lectorem“) antraštiniame lape, in: *Summi Philosophorum principis Aristotelis Libri octo de Phisico auditu Phisicorum appellati* [...] ([Leipzig]: cura et diligentia Baccalarij Martini Landßberg [...] impressum), Bavarijos valstybinė biblioteka Miunchene

unsatisfied with bare texts and tried to skilfully combine it with graphic elements. In this context, it is worth looking at the books that came out of the printing house ran by Florian Ungler, who is sometimes considered the first Renaissance Polish printer²⁰. In the years 1510–1516, this typographer placed various poems on 32 title-pages, while at the time he the grand a total of 80 works. Almost half of them had verse-like literary form.

Ungler had various ways of introducing the poems on the title-pages. The first of them seems to be the simplest: the epigram was printed directly under the title of the book, thus sometimes occupying all of the remaining space. Such is the case with *Introductorium compendiosum in Tractatum spere materialis* by John of Głogów printed in 1513²¹ [fig. 5]. There is nothing else on the title-page but the full title and a poem directed to the reader (*Epigramma ad lectorem*). This solution leaves the text of a poetic work highly exposed. The reader or the person interested in buying the work do not get distracted by other elements and can therefore focus their attention solely on the message of the epigram.

A slightly different situation occurs when the content of the title-page is placed in a woodcut frame. This is the case with *Linealis calculatio cum pulchris documentis et regulis ad monetam Cracouiensem diligenter suputata* by Sebastian Pauschner which was printed in 1513 [fig. 6]. Most of the space of this title-page is filled with an impressive frame, in the centre of which there is some room for inserting the title and additional content. The reader first notices the impressive graphic decoration, and only then directs their attention to the title of the work and the poem placed below it, in this case the latter is entitled *Octostichon ad lectorem* [Eight

20 See e.g. Kazimierz Piekarski, *Pierwsza drukarnia Florjana Unglera 1510–1516: chronologia druków i zasobu typograficznego* (Kraków: Drukarnia W. L. Anczyca i Spółki, 1926); Henryk Bułhak, “Polonia typographica saeculi sedecimi: zbiór podobizn zasobu drukarskiego tłoczni polskich XVI stulecia”, 6 vol., *Druga drukarnia Floriana Unglera 1521–1536* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1966); Katarzyna Krzak-Weiss, “Przyczynek do badań nad krakowskimi ilustracjami książkowymi zdołączonymi druki Hieronima Wietora i Floriana Unglera powstałe w drugiej ćwierci XVI stulecia”, in: *Drukowane teksty polskie sprzed 1543 roku*, ed. Katarzyna Krzak-Weiss, Katarzyna Meller, Wiesław Wydra (Poznań: Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, 2019), 65–162.

21 John of Glogow, *Introductorium cofm]pendiosum in Tractatu[m] spere materialis [...] Ioannis de Sacrobusto [...] (Impressum Cracouie: impensis [...] Joannis Haller, per Florianum Vnglerium, 1513).*

22 Sebastian Pauschner, *Linealis calculatio cum pulchris documentis [et] regulis ad moneta[m] Cracouiensem diligenter suputata [...] (Impressum Cracouie: per Florianum Unglerium, 1513).*

**Introductorium Cōpendiosum in tractatū spere
materialis magistri Joannis de sacrobusto
quē abbreviauit ex almagesti
sapiētis Ptholomei clau
di phi alexādrini
ex pheladio pgeniti p ma
gistrū Joannē Glogouensem
foeliciter recollectū.**

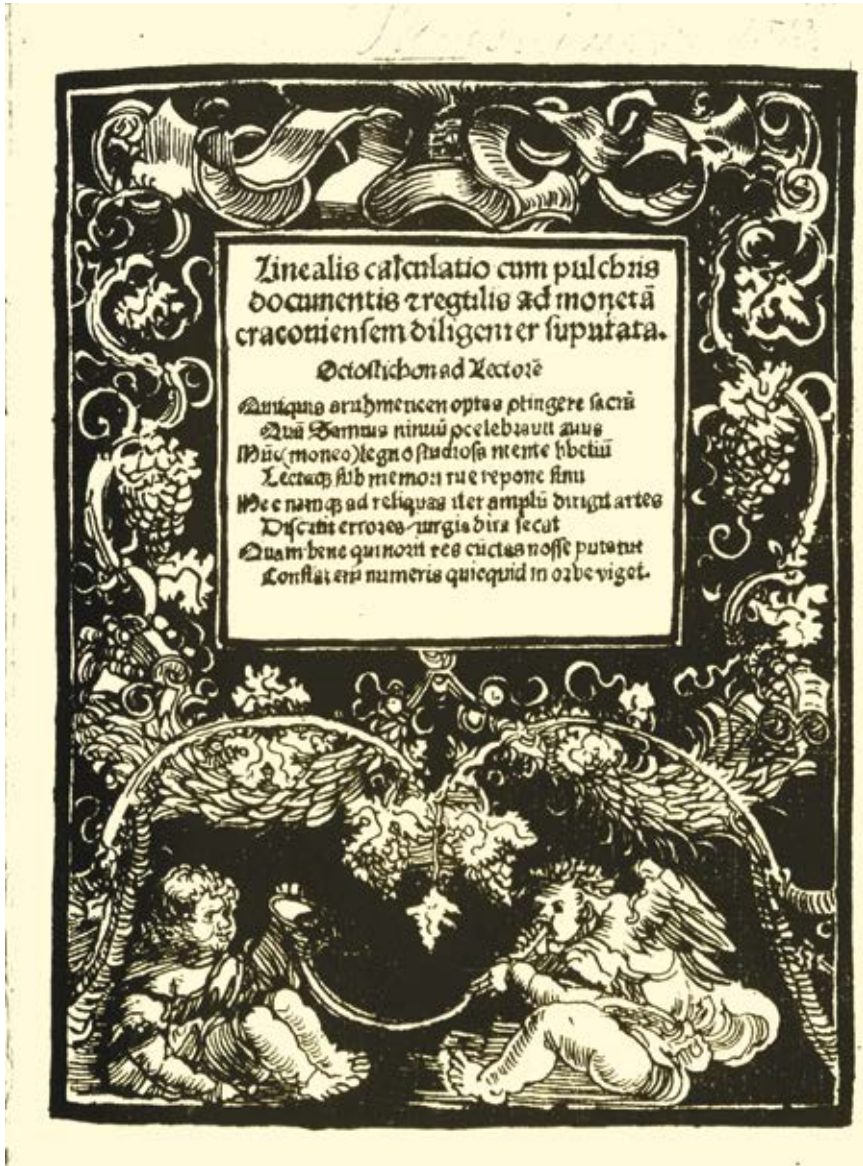
Epigramma Ad Lectorem.

**Multiplices quisquis spheræ noscere forme
Desyderas flexus: sydereosq; polos
Æthereosq; cupis casus cognoscere: z ortus
Signorū: atq; altas mente videre domos
Luce dies tacite nonnunquā tempora noctis
Æquet: vel clarij nor tenebrosa dei.
Igni omom nifid⁹ vel phoeb⁹ cur modo currū
Altius attollat: deprimat atq; modo
Vel cur splendidulus radioso lumine Titan
Noctinaga z nigris luna vehantur equis:
Deniq; semotas almae telluris z oras
Si te scire iuuat: climata multa quoq;
Errantium z varias stellarū discere causas:
Orbes: z motus cernere deinde vagos
Hunc tibi permodica merceris merce libellum
Atq; illum moneo nocte: dieq; legas**

5.

The epigram "Ad lectorem" on the title-page of John of Glogów, *Introductorium cō[m]pendiosum in Tractatu[m] spere materialis [...]* Joannis de Sacrobusto [...], Impressum Cracouie: impensis [...], Joannis Haller, per Florianum Vnglerium, 1513, fol. A1r. (The National Library of Poland, SD XVI.Qu.156)

Skaitytojui skirta epigrama („Ad lectorem“) antraštiniame lape, in: John of Glogów, *Introductorium cō[m]pendiosum in Tractatu[m] spere materialis [...]* Joannis de Sacrobusto [...], (Impressum Cracouie: impensis [...]) Joannis Haller, per Florianum Vnglerium, 1513), Lenkijos nacionalinė biblioteka



6.

The epigram on the title-page of Sebastian Pauschner, "Linealis calculatio cum pulchris documentis [et] regulis ad moneta[m] Cracoviensem diligenter suputata [...]" (Impressum Cracouie: per Florianum Unglerium, 1513), fol. A1r. (The National Library of Poland, SD XVI.Qu.94)

Epigrama antraštiniame lape, in: Sebastian Pauschner, *Linealis calculatio cum pulchris documentis [et] regulis ad moneta[m] Cracouiensem diligenter suputata [...]* (Impressum Cracouie: per Florianum Unglerium, 1513), Lenkijos nacionalinė biblioteka

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verses for the reader]. It is worth noting that in both cases cited above, the authors of the epigrams were not indicated. Situations like this are not rare. These texts often appeared anonymously or were reprinted in the same form as in the earlier editions of the work with which they were associated. What is interesting in the case of Ungler, is that he rarely repeated the previously created verses. In general, completely new poems were written for the needs of his publishing house. This task belonged mostly to editors who dealt with the preparation of specific texts for printing. In this regard, Ungler collaborated with an interesting group of people, mostly associated with the Cracow Academy. They were either the university professors or travelling humanists, who stayed in Cracow for some time and likely for the reasons of profit, with the local printer. Leading Polish humanists also belong to this group, including well-known poets such as Jan Dantyszek, Paul of Krosno and Wawrzyniec Korwin. However the poems for the title-pages of Ungler's prints were most often written by Rudolf Agricola Junior. He composed eight of them. An example taken from this group is the epigram from *Processus iudiciarius* by Johann Auerbach, published between 1512 and 1514²³ [fig. 7]. Here, the epigram was embedded in a magnificent woodcut frame, which, in addition to ornamental functions, also indicates the place of printing. Two coats of arms testify to this: the eagle of the Kingdom of Poland placed above and the emblem of Cracow visible below. The title was given at the top, above the frame with the poem.

The fact that poetic additions to the title-pages were of great importance to the publishers is evident from the situations not limited to just one work, when more epigrams were published. Ungler did so in 1514 in the issue of *Poenitentiarium de confessione* by Hieronymus de Vallibus²⁴ [fig. 8]. A poem to the reader was composed by Paul of Krosno especially for the needs of the Cracow edition. His epigram, entitled *Libellus lectori* [Book to the reader], is part of the popular poetic convention of the author's or reader's conversation with the book. This custom was known for example from the poetry of Ovid, who in *Tristia* gives advice to his elegies (*Tristia* 1,1). A similar situation takes place in *Amores* (1, *Epigramma*),

²³ Johannes Auerbach, *Processus iudiciarius eximij doctoris iuris canonici Johannis de Urbach* (Jmpressum Cracouie: per Florianum Vnglerium, [1512–1514]).

²⁴ *Penitentiarium de confessione. Iesvida a Hieronymi de Passione. Lactantius De resurrectione. Sapphicon Endecasillabon Aene[aje Siluij [...] ad Christi Passione[m] co[n]te[m]pla[n]da[m] [...]* (Jmpressum Grachouiae: per Florianum Vnglerium et Wolfgangum Lern, 1514).



7.

The epigram of Rudolf Agricola on the title-page of Johannes Auerbach, "Processus iudiciarius eximij doctoris iuris canonici Johannis de Urbach", Jmpressum Cracouie: per Florianum Vnglerium, [1512–1514], fol. A1r. (The National Library of Poland, SD XVI.Qu.6472)

Rudolfo Agricolas epigrama antraštiniame lape, in: Johannes Auerbach, *Processus iudiciarius eximij doctoris iuris canonici Johannis de Urbach* (Jmpressum Cracouie: per Florianum Vnglerium, [1512–1514]), Lenkijos nacionalinė biblioteka



8.

Two epigrams on the title-page of “Penitentiarius de cō[n]fessione. Iesvida a Hieronymi de Passione. Lactantius De resurrectione. Sapphicon Endecasillabon Aene[a]e Siluij [...] ad Christi Passione[m] cō[n]tēplādā [...]”, (Impressum Grachouiae: per Florianum Vnglerium et Wolfgangum Lern, 1514), fol. A1r: (The National Library of Poland, SD XVI.Qu.236)

Dvi epigramos antraštiniame lape, in: *Penitentiarius de cō[n]fessione. Iesvida a Hieronymi de Passione. Lactantius De resurrectione [...]* (Impressum Grachouiae: per Florianum Vnglerium et Wolfgangum Lern), Lenkijos nacionalinė biblioteka

where a collection of elegies reveals its history to the reader. Similar poetic motifs also appear in ancient epigrams²⁵ and are later repeated by modern poets. In addition to the poem written by the Cracow professor, Ungler also kept an earlier epigram, which was included in the edition of the *Carmen de Iesu Christi passione* from 1510 printed by Hieronim Wietor²⁶ who was active in Vienna at that time. The author of this second epigram is Christoph Schurpt. As a result, the title-page includes two poems for the reader, one taken from the older edition by another printer, and the other – written specifically for Ungler’s edition.

From the point of view of book construction, of particular interest are the situations in which poems form a coherent link with the visual material. As a result, compositions that can be called proto-emblems are created, because they were made long before the release of the *Emblematum libellus* by Andrea Alciato. We find several such cases in Ungler’s early publications. An interesting case is the title-page of *Somnia Danielis* [Daniel’s Dreams] from 1512²⁸. In its centre there is a fairly long epigram, and below it a woodcut illustration. It depicts the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar (also known as Nabuchodonozor) worshipping the prophet Daniel, who thoroughly explained the mysterious dreams of the ruler. The poem above was written by Rudolf Agricola Junior, who probably composed it in 1511, when he left Cracow and went to Buda²⁹. The epigram is entitled *Ad lectorem* and its content is meant to encourage the reader to look through the entire text. By evoking an aura of mystery and asking questions about the meaning of different visions, the poet probably wanted to arouse the curiosity of the potential buyer of the book. The juxtaposition of the text

25 Andreas T. Zanker, „The Metaphor of TEXT = PERSON”, in: *Greek and Latin Expressions of Meaning. The Classical Origins of a Modern Metaphor* (München: C.H.Beck, 2017) 123–145.

26 Hieronymus de Vallibus, *Hieronymi Patavini, carmen de Iesu Christi passione ad Petrum Donatum [...]* (Excusa sunt haec Viennae Austriae: ab Hieronymo Victoris Philoualle, 1510).

27 Seraina Plotke recently drew attention to the issue of the existence of compositions qualifying as emblems before 1531: Eadem, “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*, ed. S. McKeown (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010) 69–81.

28 *Somnia Danielis* (Kraków: Florian Ungler, 1512), <https://www.dbc.wroc.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=3479>.

29 The work devoted to this humanist and his ties with Cracow is: Jacqueline L. Glomski, *Patronage and Humanist Literature in the Age of the Jagiellons. Court and Career in the Writings of Rudolf Agricola Junior, Valentin Eck, and Leonard Cox* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007).



9.

An emblematic composition on the title-page of Benedictus Chalidonius, *Passio Iesu Christi Saluatoris mundi* [...], Impressum Cracouiae: per Florianum et Wolfgangum de Paffenhofen, 1514, fol. A1r. (The National Library of Poland, SD XVI.Qu.741)

Embleminė kompozicija antraštiniame lape, in: Benedictus Chalidonius, *Passio Iesu Christi Saluatoris mundi* [...]. (Impressum Cracouiae: per Florianum et Wolfgangum de Paffenhofen, 1514), Lenkijos nacionalinė biblioteka

with the corresponding biblical scene intensified the persuasive impact of the epigram. The presented composition resembles an emblem, but its arrangement is reversed – a poem is followed by the woodcut illustration. From a formal point of view, the composition on the title-page of *Passio Iesu Christi Salvatoris mundi* by Benedictus Chalidonius is more classical. Ungler published this text in 1514³⁰ [fig. 9]. The reader's attention is at first caught by the scene of the crucified Christ below which we find a tetrastich bearing the title *Christus ad peccatorem* [Christ to the sinner]. This sinner in this case is naturally the reader. There is no doubt that the relationship between the visual and textual elements is very strong here. However, this whole composition was repeated after the earlier editions. It is particularly worth recalling the Nuremberg edition of 1511, which contains woodcuts made by Albrecht Durer³¹ [fig. 10]. It is also the source of the epigram in Ungler's edition.

Stemmata too can be seen as belonging to the category of proto-emblems. This term refers to poems written on coats of arms, which were very popular first in the Kingdom of Poland from the very beginning of the 16th century and then later in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth³². The oldest Polish stemma was published in 1512³³. Florian Ungler, whom I focus on here, was also a keen user of these designs. The earliest example of this can be found on the title-page of the panegyric created by Jan Dantiscus on the occasion of the victory at Orsha in 1514 (*Carmen extemporarium de victoria insigni ex Moschis Illustrissimi principis Sigismundi*)³⁴. The heraldic illustration component presents various emblems related to the Jagiellonian dynasty and the capital city of Cracow. Here we can see “Vytis”

³⁰ Benedictus Chalidonius, *Passio Iesu Christi Salvatoris mu[n]di [...]* (Impressum Cracouiae: per Florianum et Volfgangum de Paffenhofen, 1514).

³¹ Isdem, *Passio Christi ab Alberto Durer Nurenbergensi effigiata* (Impressum Nurnberge: per Albertu[m] Durer Pictore[m], 1511).

³² Today we have three monographs dedicated to this subject: Franciszek Pilarczyk, *Stemmata w drukach polskich XVI wieku* (Zielona Góra: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej, 1982); Walter Kroll, *Heraldische Dichtung bei den Slaven: Mit einer Bibliographie zur Rezeption der Heraldik und Emblematik bei den Slaven (16.–18. Jahrhundert)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986); Bartłomiej Czarski, *Stemmaty w staropolskich ksiązkach, czyli rzecz o poezji heraldycznej* (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałac w Wilanowie, 2012).

³³ I discuss this issue in the paper: Bartłomiej Czarski, “W poszukiwaniu najstarszego polskiego stemmatu – pytania i propozycje odpowiedzi”, *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, 64 vol. (2021).

³⁴ Jan Dantyszek, *Ioannis Dantisci Carmen extemporarium de victoria insigni ex Moschis Illustrissimi principis Sigismundi* (Impressum Grachouiae: per Florianum Vnglerium, 1514), <https://dlibra.kul.pl/dlibra/publication/5172/edition/14559/content>.



10.

An emblematic composition on the title-page of Benedictus Chalidonius, *Passio Christi ab Alberto Durer Nurenbergensi effigiata*, (Impressum Nurnberge: per Albertu[m] Durer Pictore[m], 1511), fol. A1r. (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Rar: 113)

Embleminė kompozicija antraštiniame lape, in: Benedictus Chalidonius, *Passio Christi ab Alberto Durer Nurenbergensi effigiate* (Impressum Nurnberge: per Albertu[m] Durer Pictore[m], 1511), Bavarijos valstybinė biblioteka Miunchene

(an armour-clad knight on horseback holding a sword and shield; in Polish: “Pogoń”), Polish Eagle, Columns of Gediminas, Sceptres of the Cracow Academy, as well as the coat of arms of the city itself. Under the woodcut there is an epigram of Walenty Eck, a wandering humanist who cooperated with Ungler on various levels³⁵. The poem is addressed to the reader and encourages both to look at the coats of arms above and read the work of the future bishop of Warmia:

„Ekius Lectori.

Perlege Sarmatici victricia principis arma,
 Deque Boristhenio rapta trophaea duce
 Perlege quam modico Moschorum milia multa
 Milite sub Stygios sint modo missa lacus.”³⁶

[Consider the victorious weapon of the Sarmatian ruler and trophies plundered from the prince of Dnipro. Consider how a handful of soldiers were able to send thousands of Muscovites to the waters of Styx.]

Here we see the use of, the double meaning of the word “arma”, which primarily means “weapons”. Here the words are uttered by Jan Dantiscus, in the same way as Virgil celebrated the weapons of Aeneas and his companions in *Aeneid* – the first verse of Eck’s epigram is evidently reminiscent of the *prooemium* of this great ancient poem³⁷. Latin term “arma” is also commonly used to mean “coat of arms”. The reader is therefore encouraged to read the song of victory at Orsha as well as to closely inspect the Jagiellonian coat of arms.

Among other particularly noteworthy stemmata from Ungler’s prints, there is the composition preceding the obedient speech of Jan Łaski delivered before Leon X on behalf of King Sigismund the Old (*Oratio ad Pont[ificem] Max[imum] Leonem X. in obedientia suae sanctitati*

³⁵ Piekarski, *Pierwsza drukarnia*, 19–20.

³⁶ Jan Dantyszek, *Ioannis Dantisci Carmen extemporarium de victoria insigni ex Moschis Illustrissimi principis Sigismundi* (Impressum Grachouiae: per Florianum Unglerium, 1514), <https://dlibra.kul.pl/dlibra/publication/5172/edition/14559/content>.

³⁷ Also compare with the verse from Martial (XIV 183): *Perlege Maeonio cantatas carmine ranas*.

*nomine Serenissimi Sigismundi regis Poloniae [...] praestita*³⁸). On its title-page we see an intriguing composition consisting of the coat of arms of the Archbishop of Gniezno. Next to it there is a the poem by Johann Wölflin von Bodman (Johannes Lupulus Bodmanensis) – another wandering humanist, who was for some time associated with the Cracow Academy and *inter alia*, a listener of Walenty Eck, and the cooperating associate of the Ungler’s publishing company³⁹. The lyrical form of this work draws our immediate attention. Here we have a minor sapphic stanza, which is referenced in the title:

Carmen Ioannis Lupuli Bodmanensis ad reverendissimum dominum Ioannem de Lassko archipraesulem Gnesnensem et primatem Regni Poloniae sapphicum extemporaneum.

[The Sapphic Ode written impromptu by Johann Wölflin von Bodman for Venerable Lord Jan Łaski, archbishop of Gniezno and the principle of the Kingdom of Poland]

It should be noted, however, that in this poem we do not find any references to the Korab coat of arms, the family sign of Jan Łaski himself, only the direct praise for the archbishop. In the absence of any content-related relationships between the graphic and textual part, it is difficult to consider this composition as a stemma *sensu stricto*. It is rather an evidence of the growing popularity of verbal and visual forms as a solution used by printers to decorate the book and make the panegyric content look more attractive.

It was probably at the end of the year 1515 that Gandolphus Grussenius’ *Prognosticon Vratislaviensis*[!]⁴⁰ for the year 1516 appeared in Ungler’s workshop⁴¹. This author was a humanist associated with Vienna, doctor of arts and medicine, most likely personally connected with Wawrzyniec

38 Jan Łaski, *Oratio ad Leonem X in obedientia nomine Sigismundi regis Poloniae [...] habita 13 Iunii 1513* (Kraków: apud Florianum Unglerium, 1513), <http://mbc.malopolska.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=2812>.

39 Piekarski, *Pierwsza drukarnia*, 12, 29.

40 The title seems to contain a grammatical error but can also be understood as the abbreviated form of: *Prognosticon [urbis] Vratislaviensis*.

41 Gandolphus Grussenius, *Prognosticon Vratislaviensis ad annum Christi 1516* [...] (Impressum Cracouie: per Florianu[m] Vngleriu[m], in expensis [...] Joannis Haller, 1516), <https://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/publication/31284/edition/36711/content>.

Korwin, a Silesian scholar and poet based in Vistula. The publication of this print in Cracow indicates strong links between the Polish capital and Silesia. Usually this type of astrological calendars were published at the end of the year preceding the one to which it pertained. Therefore, it should be presumed that the print appeared just around December or possibly November of the year 1515. On the title-page, Ungler placed a woodcut depicting an angel holding two shields. One of them features the head of St. John, and on the other one a letter “W”. Both of these symbols are known from the emblem of Wrocław, a city where most of the aforementioned volumes were like to have been distributed in. Under the woodcut we see a poem by the already mentioned Korwin:

Laurentius Corvinus de festae urbis Vratislaviensis insignibus.

Regia Slesiaci sita Vratislavia tractu

Virtutis cultrix viribus atque potens.

Nam simul esse petunt sapiencia et ipsa potestas,

Si quidquam debet commoditate regi.

Fert igitur geminum V: caput atque insigne Ioannis,

Moenia qui forti protegit alta manu.⁴²

[Wawrzyniec Korwin on the emblems that celebrate the city of Wrocław.

Located at the Silesian route, Royal Wrocław is both a worshiper of virtues and the possessor of great strength. In the case of any proper rule, strength and wisdom try to exist together. So he holds a double „V“ and a noble head of John, who defends the high walls with his brave arm.]

According to the concept used in the epigram, the head of St. John is associated with intellect, and the letter “W” represents a combination of two letters: one “V” is for virtue (*Virtus*) and the other one is for strength (*Vis*). As we can see, reading the title cards can be a rather sophisticated pursuit.

⁴² Ibid.

Conclusions

As the examples presented above demonstrate, adding various literary forms to the title-page content was a popular technique used at the beginning of the 16th century. In this respect, Cracovian printers imitated mainly the German typographers. Although the previously used were repeatedly reprinted printers and authors made great effort to create new verses. Further research in this field should certainly concern the influence of foreign print on the situation in the Kingdom of Poland. The research should focus on whether the Polish publishing community was limited in this respect only to borrowings, or whether it added new elements specific to the local culture. The noticeable popularity of the proto-emblems in Cracow suggests an innovative approach to the convention borrowed from the West. repeatedly reprinted of originality and innovation are stemmata, which have become much more popular than other forms first in Poland, then in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The relations between the text and typography also require careful examination, not only with the typeface, but also with other elements embossed on the title-page. Such an approach requires various competences: philological, historical and bibliological. Perhaps this is the task for a specific team of researchers. Another possible research direction is the relationship between the texts from the title-pages and the main content of the book. It is certainly a phenomenon that changes over time and varies depending on the publishing house. Furthermore, comparative analysis of the situation in different printing houses is also an interesting undertaking. The above research will help to better understand the role of the title-page in the structure of the early printed book.

With time, the literary additions started to disappear from the title-pages. However they most often ended up inside the book. Poems to the reader; to the “zoil” (the term comes from a famous Greek critic ZOILOS), small piece of panegyrics, advertising and stemmata that emerged around the mid-16th century, were now being increasingly found on the back of the title-page or before the dedication. They were also often positioned at the end of the book. This does not mean that this form has completely left the

title-page. Small epigrams can be found here even until the 18th century, but they were now much less frequent compared to what we had at the end of the 15th century and at the beginning of the 16th.

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Santrauka

Poetinis antraštinių puslapių apipavidalinimas pirmuosiuose Krokuvos spaudiniuose

Bartłomiej Czarski

Reikšminiai žodžiai: antraštinis puslapis, ankstyvieji spaudiniai, epigrama, neolotyniškoji poezija, emblema, herbas, ankstyvieji Krokuvos spaudiniai.

XV a. antroje pusėje spausdintinė knyga pamažu įgavo savo formą ir ėmė labiau skirtis nuo rankraštinės knygos. Svarbus šio proceso momentas – antraštinio puslapio atsiradimas. Šis visiškai naujas knygos elementas buvo formuojamas įvairiais būdais, o jame buvo pateikiamas įvairaus pobūdžio turinys. Be knygos pavadinimo, autoriaus vardo ir leidėjo adreso, jame galima aptikti eilėraščių, kurie dažnai buvo pateikiami epigramos forma. Pagrindinė jų funkcija buvo reklamuoti leidinį, kuriame jie spausdinami. Kartais juose buvo liaupsinamas ir pats autorius. Be to, kai kuriais atvejais šie trumpi eilėraščiai būdavo iliustruojami įvairiais grafiniais elementais. Čia reiktų pabrėžti, kad tai vyko dar prieš Andreos Alciato pirmosios emblemų knygos *Emblematum libellus* išleidimą 1531 metais. Šiame straipsnyje aptariami kai kurie seniausiuose Krokuvoje spausdintų knygų antraštiniuose puslapiuose pasirodę eilėraščiai, aptariamas jų kontekstas ir funkcijos. Ypatingas dėmesys skiriamas Kaspero Hochfederio, Jano Hallerio ir Floriano Unglerio leidiniams, kurie laikomi pavyzdinėmis renesansinės kultūros apraiškomis. Antraštiniuose puslapiuose pateikiamų eilėraščių tyrimas gali padėti geriau suprasti struktūrinį šio elemento vaidmenį ankstyvosiose spausdintinėse knygose.