



AMBER IN THE HISTORY OF MEDICINE
PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

MINISTRY OF CULTURE OF KALININGRAD OBLAST
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AMBER
IN THE HISTORY OF MEDICINE

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THE BOOK COLLECTION OF DANIEL HERMANN, POET, DIPLOMAT AND CIVIL SERVANT, AS A SOURCE FOR BIOGRAPHY AND CULTURAL STUDIES

The name of the Prussian poet and diplomat Daniel Hermann (1541—1601) is well known in the tradition of the Neo-Latin literature of 16th century East Europe. His personal library in the collection of the Academic Library of the University of Latvia in Riga has been attracting constant interest. It has now become possible to partially reconstruct his segmentary book collection. The study has resulted in the identification of 32 volumes from Hermann's library with notes and dedications. His book collection is a witness to and a participant of his academic, artistic and court life.

Key words: Daniel Hermann, humanism, the Livonian War, library reconstruction, books, Riga, the Academic Library of the University of Latvia.

The body of work of the Prussian poet Daniel Hermann (1541—1601)¹ holds a rightful place in the tradition of the Neo-Latin literature of 16th century East Europe, especially in the German-speaking countries. His poem about inclusions in amber is well known (Hermann, 1583). Recently, there has been a rising tide of interest in his works in Germany (Marburg (Frisch, 2014), Munich (Schwarz, 2002²: 29—72, 282, 305)), in Poland (Gdansk (Starnawski, 1976: 201), Lublin (Lawenda, 2011: 15—56)), in Sweden (Lund (Svensson, 2012)³, Örebro (Davidsson, 1968: 35—38)), in Russia (Kaliningrad) and, of course, in Latvia (Riga).

The last 20 years of Hermann's life, so full of journeys, adventures, impressions and encounters, are connected with Riga. It was in Riga that he got

married for love, was buried, and his poetic heritage was published posthumously. The book *Poemata* (1614—1615)⁴, which came out at the printing-house of Riga's first printer Nicolaus Mollin (ca. 1550/1555—1625), is considered to be the most complete collection of Latin poems by Hermann and at the same time it is the main, often even the only, source for biographic studies of Hermann's life — his poetic autobiography. Riga town library (at present — the Academic Library of the University of Latvia, (ALUL)) received his personal book collection in the 17th century.

The world of books was of particular value for every humanist. A passion for books, for reading, for communication became a necessity, a characteristic

¹ Thirteen titles of Hermann's works are included in the data base of 16th century publications (until 1601): Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC), hosted by the University of St. Andrews (UK), <http://ustc.ac.uk/index.php>; Hermann is also in the data base CERL Thesaurus accessing the record of Europe's printed heritage, <https://thesaurus.cerl.org/record/cnp01124215>.

² About Hermann and his memory album, see S. 29—72, 305; the publication list — S. 282. The book is based on the doctoral thesis at University of Munich (1999).

³ Presentation at Colloquium Balticum XI Lundense 2012.

⁴ ALUL contains 3 examples of this edition, and one example is in the Library of University of Tartu; its digital copy is available at: <http://hdl.handle.net/10062/27571>, <http://hdl.handle.net/10062/27572>, <http://hdl.handle.net/10062/27573/>

feature of the multicultural intellectual elite of the late Renaissance. The pursuit of an education and understanding the world was the reason for distant and long academic journeys. Classical education, received at humanist gymnasiums, academies, and universities united the multiethnic community of literary figures. As Hermann's biographer and historian Theodor Schiemann (1847—1921) nicely put it, this “enabled humanists to gain a common homeland where they always spoke in Latin and read in Greek” (Schiemann, 1886: 53). The education, the command of Latin and the poetic talent were often prerequisites for a successful career.

The life of humanist Hermann flew among books of classic writers in Greek and in Latin languages. His personal library aroused steady interest on the part of researchers from as early as the late 19th century. For example, some valuable Hermann's books were exhibited at the first Cultural and Historical exhibition in Riga (Rigasche culturhistorische Ausstellung, 1883: Nr. 93, 97, 109). The special significance of this collection — both in cultural-historical, and bibliographical respect — was later mentioned by outstanding researchers: Nicolaus Busch (1864—1933) (Busch 1937: 11)⁵, Klaus Garber (Garber, 2007: 58—59), and Ojārs Zanders (Zanders, 2011). However, up to now due to the lack of the list of books, it has been extremely difficult to estimate the composition and extent of this library.

The historian and a librarian Nicolaus Busch (1864—1933) was the first to start recording possessory notes in the book collection of the Riga Town library, and he could not miss Hermann's books with their extensive notes on endsheets. It was in the 1920s that Busch pointed out that those autograph notes were a plentiful yet uninvestigated source for details of the humanists' (Busch, 1937: 11)⁶.

In the early 1990s, Klaus Garber, a prominent researcher of the history of libraries and book collections of East Europe, assessed the significance of Hermann's library, relying only on a short note by Busch and several of the books known from the Latvian Academic Library at the time: “This is definitely the most valuable book collection ever obtained by the Riga Town Library” (Garber, 2007: 58). To Garber, as for any bibliographer, it was a bitter pill to realise that the opportunity for establishing Hermann's collection, the library's physiognomy so to speak, was lost for ever. The reason for that was the fire of the Second World War that destroyed the Riga Town Library on June 29, 1941. Garber was only able to ask a rhetorical question: “Will we ever be able to learn which of those books survived through the centuries to the disaster of 1941, and whether only a couple of Hermann's books with notes has been preserved? Further work must be conducted on-site” (Garber, 2007: 58—59).

It has only now become possible to partially reconstruct his segmentary library which suffered during World War II because of the possessory note *Ex Bibliotheca Danielis Hermannii Nidb. Boruss.* and extensive complimentary dedications in Latin, characteristic of Hermann's personal books. It has been established now that 32 volumes (in the ALUL collection — 30, in the NLL — 2) have a provenance connected with Hermann's collection. The list also comprises the data about 11 non-extant books.

Hermann treasured the books with both friendly dedications, and entries in the memory album (now kept in Lund) (Hermann, *Album amicorum*; Schwarz, 2002: 29—72, 305)⁷ (Fig. 1). It should be noted that Hermann's library, along with his memory album and *Poemata*, is a most important source for studying the poet's biography. The data in

⁵ Busch's research dates back to 1925, but it was published posthumously, in 1937. See also the archive of N. Busch (extracts of deeds of gift) at the ALUL R: Busch N., 5. glab. v., nr. 7, 1, 2, 11.

⁶ Daniel Hermann hat es geliebt, die Bücher seiner reicher Bibliothek, die in den Besitz der Stadtbibliothek übergang, mit Vorsatzblättern zu versehen, die er zu handschriftlichen Aufzeichnungen benutzte. In diesen Niederschriften liegt ein reiches, noch unbearbeitetes Material für das Geistesleben dieses baltischen Humanisten.

⁷ Hermann D. Album amicorum. The album has been in Lund since 1704 in the collection of a Livonian nobleman Erich von Meck. Manuscript is available at: <http://libris.kb.se/bib/17126829> или <http://www6.ub.lu.se/pdf/Stambok%20Herman%20D.pdf>. About the album see: Schwarz, 2002: 29—72, 305.

all the three sources partially correlate, coincide and complement each other. These notes made it possible to learn about previously unknown persons from Hermann's entourage, and to clarify event dates and venues. In addition, new archive documents and rare published sources were discovered regarding his activities as an inspector and a secretary at the Polish government in Livonia.

Hermann's remarkable library also contained especially valuable editions published by well-known printers: in Basel — by Oporinus⁸ (Gregorius Nyssenens, 1567; Biblia, 1552), and in Venice — by Aldo Manuzio⁹ (Cicero, 1515). The oldest edition (though not valuable!) is the incunabulum: Horatius' works published in 1495 in Venice (Horatius, 1495)¹⁰.

The highlight of Hermann's collection is the two books printed in Paris by the eminent book publishers-humanists from the Estienne family.

The King's printer Robert Estienne (1503—1559) published the New Testament in Greek (Fig. 2, 3). For that edition, they used slender typeface (*Greco du Roi*) and vignettes designed by the punch-cutter artist Claude Garamond (1499—1561)¹¹. In 1557, Henry Estienne (1528/1531—1598), Robert Estienne's son, established a printing shop in Geneva. He also published texts in Greek, for example, a collection of aphorisms by Aristoteles and Theophrastus ([Aristoteles, Theophrastus], 1557)¹². It is assumed that Hermann inheri-

ted the said books from his brother Johann (+1568)¹³, who died at an early age in Wittenberg and who was bitterly mourned (*Hermann Exeqviae*) (Schiemann, 1886: 54—55; Schwarz, 2002: 30), and who was a researcher of the Talmud, a polyglot and a specialist in Greek studies, studying in Paris¹⁴ and in Rome. It was from his brother that Hermann received a 12 volume parallel edition of Biblical aphorisms in Hebrew, Greek and Latin (*Precationes*, 1554)¹⁵ (Fig. 4), originally purchased in Paris. This is confirmed the other books might have entered Hermann's collection in the similar way¹⁶ (Fig. 5, 6).

Hermann's library is a witness to and a participant of his *peregrinatio academica*, or *vita academica*: for 14 years (1558—1672) he attended a number of universities (Koenigsberg 1558, 1561—1562; Strasbourg 1558, 1567; Basel 1561—1562, 1569; Heidelberg 1561—1562; Ingolstadt 1566; Wittenberg 1558, 1569, 1570—1572), where he studied Latin and Greek literature, the theory of poetry, theology, and law. He received editions in both Greek and Latin with dedicatory inscriptions on front pages from both his student friends, and from teachers. Of special importance for Hermann was the time spent at Strasbourg (1558, 1567): his studies at the gymnasium, his personal knowledge of Rector Johannes Sturm whom Hermann called his teacher even decades later¹⁷, and of other eminent teachers of the gymnasium¹⁸.

⁸ Gregorius Nyssenens., 1567. ALUL R1081; Biblia, 1552. ALUL R484; Fabricius, 1560. ALUL R485; Herberstein, 1571; in convolute ALUL R4253/2.

⁹ Cicero, 1515. ALUL R13566.

¹⁰ ALUL R2528.

¹¹ Biblia, 1550. ALUL R15246.

¹² In convolute ALUL R930.

¹³ Hermann D. Exeqviae, Joanni Hermanno Nidburgensi Borusso, fratri suo, Viro clariss, in: Hermann, 1614—1615, p. 1, f. [104—109]; Joanni Hermanno, fratri suo charissimo, Monimentum, in: Ibid: [86b—87a].

¹⁴ It is assumed that D. Hermann received from his brother an entire convolute (ALUL R930) which also comprises Ignatius Antiochenus' letters in Greek published in Paris (Ignatius Antiochenus, 1558, in convolute ALUL R930, 1; Ignatius Antiochenus, 1561, in convolute ALUL R930, 2).

¹⁵ NLL, RGR, R W1, 388. The book was kept at the Riga Town Library before the War, now it is kept at the NLL.

¹⁶ For example, the price of the book (30 florins) was written in a similar hand in the other edition (Athenaeus, 1535. ALUL R6149), which entitles us to believe that the book was part of J. and D. Hermanns' library.

¹⁷ ... Eodem Praeceptore mecum usus erat, Joanne Sturmio, ita nescio quo amore mei ...

¹⁸ Hermann D. De Instituta Academia Argentinesi Oratio: publice habita Argentinae, in Templo Praedecitorum, Anno 1567, in.: Hermann, 1614—1615. P. 1, f. [7r—20r]; Hermann D. De vita literata sive scholastica. Oratio: in Academia Argentinensi publice habita, in: Ibid: [51v—62r].

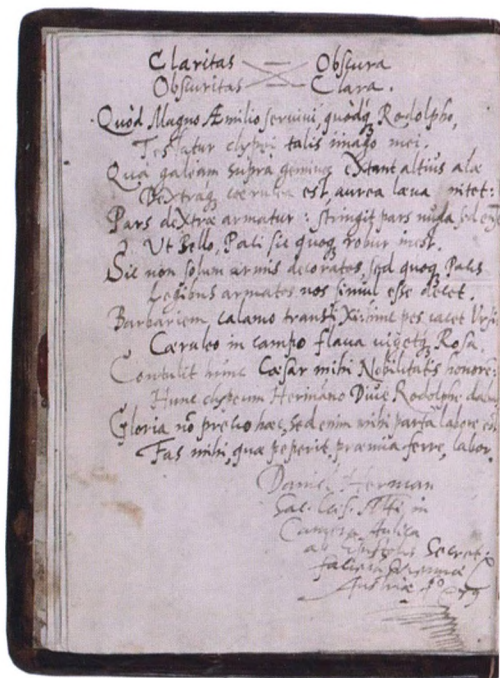


Fig. 1. Autograph of an introductory poem from Daniel Hermann album (1566)
© Lund, Universitetsbibliotek, f. 1r.

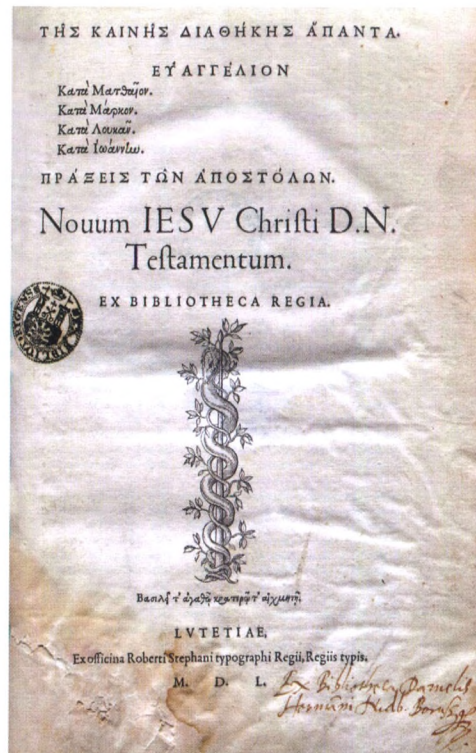


Fig. 2. Title page of *Nouum Iesu Christi D. N. Testamentum*. With Daniel Hermann owners'note: *Ex Bibliotheca Danielis Hermannii Nidd. Boruss.* © ALUL

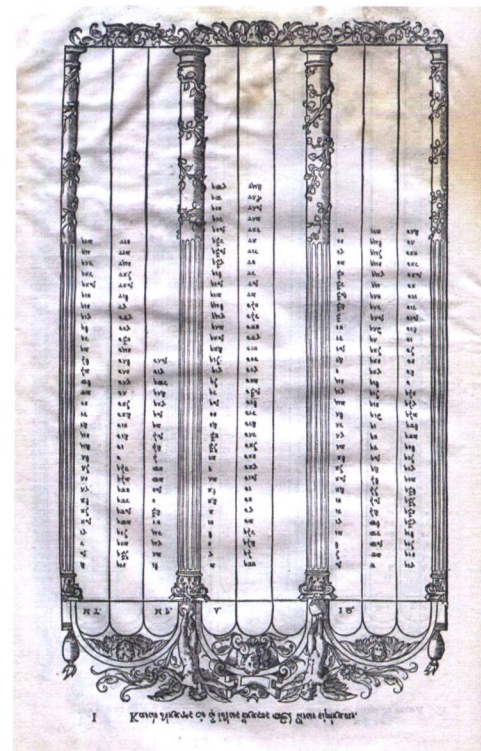


Fig. 3. Claude Garamond. Vignette. Woodcut. A leaf from *Nouum Iesu Christi D.N. Testamentum*, 1550, p. 1
© ALUL



Fig. 4. Title page of *Precationes*, 1554 with owner's notes by Johann and Daniel Hermanns
© NLL

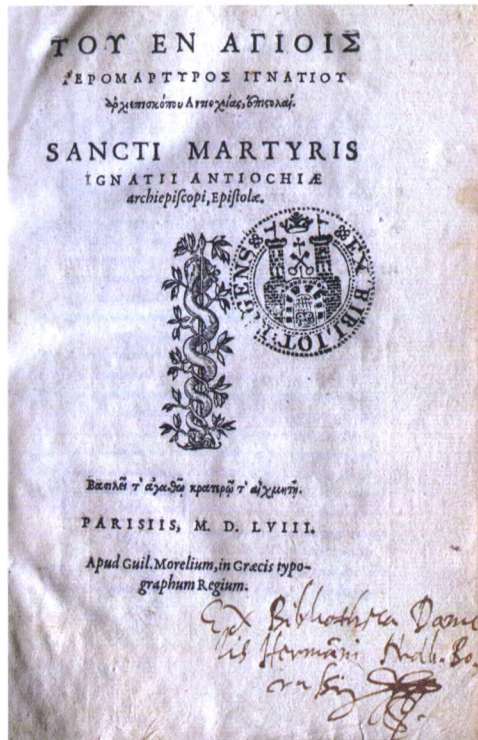


Fig. 5. Title page of Ignatius Antiochenus, 1558, with owner's note by Daniel Hermann
© ALUL



Fig. 6. French Renaissance style book cover of Ignatius Antiochenus, 1558. Light leather, lettering. (Paris?, ca. 1558?). © ALUL

As the outstanding Hungarian bibliographer István Monok (*1956) wrote, the Academy in Strasbourg was the centre of distribution of humanist and Protestant thoughts all over Europe (*humanistisch reformatorischer Transfer*) (Monok, 2015: 113—114, 2015a: 125—130). Its graduates were erudite, and tolerant both in attitude and world view, verging at times on free thinking.

It was as early as in 1538 that the founder of the Academy, Rector Johannes Sturm (1507—1589), set the following tasks: through studying classical languages to comprehend the pure sources of classical antiquity, a genuinely true philosophy by Aristotle and, eventually, to develop a veracious worldview, an understanding of nature and a genuine faith: *propositum a nobis est, sapientem atque eloquentem pietatem finem esse studiorum* (Sturm, 1538: 12r). One of Sturm's aims was also to complete an intensive study of rhetoric, or eloquence: *Quare proposita esse debet rerum cognitio, et orationis puritas ornatus* (Ibid). It can be concluded that the successful court career of Academy graduate Hermann was determined by this very education and set of principles. Owing to his poetic gift, a command of Latin speech and rhetoric, he received posts¹⁹, awards²⁰, and a title²¹ (Fig. 7).

The esteem for Sturm and his influence on Hermann were confirmed by a book that has not been

preserved to the present day — Sturm's essay on poetics²², and his quotation in Hermann's album²³.

Hermann's memory album contains 40 entries made in Strasbourg (Davidsson, 1968: 38), and in his library, two books were found that were presented to him there. A student and later a pastor and a *poeta laureatus* Konrad Ley (1548—1612)²⁴ from Crailsheim, whose entry of August 21, 1567 remained in Hermann's album²⁵ (Hermann, Album amicorum: 127v; Schwarz 2002: 40—41), presented his close friend (*amico suo intimo*) with spiritual poems by the humanist Georgius Fabricius (1516—1571) in Latin (*poeta laureatus* 1570) — a delicate, almost pocket-sized, edition by Oporinus (Fabricius, 1560)²⁶ — and wrote a sharp poetic dedication in the book (Fig. 8).

In Strasbourg in 1567, a certain Georgius Krapff²⁷ gave Hermann his own exemplar of the New Testament in Greek (Biblia, 1552)²⁸, also published by Oporinus. The old entry shows that this book earlier belonged to, at least one more person, and it was purchased in 1563 (Ibid)²⁹.

Before leaving Strasbourg in 1567, Hermann and his “dearest friend” (*amicus, quo mihi nemo omnes charior inter erat*)³⁰ from Danzig Tiedeman Giese (1543—1582)³¹, while making farewells, exchanged gifts and dedications. “An erudite young person,

¹⁹ He was a secretary and a record clerk at the courts of Emperor Rudolf II in Vienna and King of Poland Stefan Batory, a representative of the town of Danzig etc. Hermann received the position at the court of Rudolf II after publishing a Latin encomium in honour of the Emperor (Hermann, 1572. f. [6]; Hermann, 1614—1615, p. 2, f. 133r—137v).

²⁰ Hermann received a manor in Livonia as a gift from King of Poland Stefan Batory in 1585, see further.

²¹ Hermann was ennobled in 1579 in Vienna, and received his coat of arms (Hermann, Album amicorum: f. 4r).

²² Sturm J. Dionysius Halicarnassensis. 1550. This publication from Hermann's library with the date of receipt on the cover (1565) was shown at the exhibition in 1883, see Rigasche culturhistorische Ausstellung. 1883: No. 97: Sturmius, Joan. De periodis. Argentorati, 1550.

²³ Hermann, Album amicorum: f. 142v; publ.: Schwarz, 2002: 40.

²⁴ Pastor Konrad Ley is also known due to his kinship with the poet J. W. Goethe.

²⁵ Hermann, Album amicorum: f. 127v (1567.21.VIII); publ. Schwarz, 2002: 40—41.

²⁶ ALUL R485.

²⁷ A lawyer with the same name from Worms is known, Georg Krapff (1546—1614).

²⁸ ALUL R484.

²⁹ Note: Eberhardus Landtschadti 15*63 constat 10 ba.

³⁰ Hermann D. Ad Tidemannum Gisium Dantiscanum, Argentina in Galliam discendentem, Anno 1567, Idem. 1614—1615. P. 1, f. 64v — 67r, здесь f. [64r].

³¹ Tiedemann Giese later — a secretary to the Polish King (*Regis polon. Secretarius*), a diplomat; a nephew of N. Copernicus' close friend — bishop of Warmia and Chełmno Tiedemann Bartholomaeus Giese (1480—1550).

a promising poet”³² (Hermann, *album amicorum*: 140r)³³ Hermann received a valuable gift from his friend — “Poetics in seven books” (Scaliger, 1561, b) by the humanist Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484—1558)³⁴ (Fig. 9, p. 254). It was a landmark tractate in the history of philology and literature furthering the consolidation of the theory of dramatic unities, which included the definitions of different poetic and dramatic genres. In the volume bound in light leather (in the style of German Renaissance) there is another work by Scaliger — commentaries on the tractate “On dreams” by Hippocrates (Scaliger, 1561, a)³⁵.

The life journeys of Giese and Hermann were largely similar. At Strasbourg, Giese studied law resulting in his receiving Doctor’s degree of both laws (ecclesiastical and common law). Later, he became a representative of Danzig at the court of the Polish King; he participated in Stefan Batory’s march on Moscovia, and was his envoy and financial advisor in Riga, where he died in 1582 (Borawska, 1994: 55). In the poetic dedication of 1567 to Giese, Hermann predicted his prospective link with Riga³⁶.

After Strasbourg, Hermann’s journey took him to Basel University. It is probably there that he met a law student Johannes Löwenklau (1541—1594) who in 1567 presented Hermann with an edition of the treatise by the church father Saint Gregor von Nyssa (ca. 335/340 — after 394) “On dispensation of



Fig. 7. Daniel Hermanns’ arms. Vienna, 1579
(Hermann, *Album amicorum*: f. 4r)
© Lund, Universitetsbibliotek



Fig. 8. A book of verses by Georg Fabricius (1560) with a gift inscription and dedication of Konrad Ley to Daniel Hermann. © ALUL

³² Note: T. Gisius, 1567.

³³ Doctissimo Iuveni, maximes expectationes Poetae...

³⁴ ALUL R5985/1.

³⁵ ALUL R5985/2.

³⁶ “Hei mihi, num Moschis devictis hostibus olim / Regia praebebit Riga tibi tumulum?” (Hermann D. Ad Tidemannum Gisius Dantiscanum..., f. 66v.).

man” (*Nyssenus, Gregorius*; 1567)³⁷ in his own translation from Greek into Latin accompanied by an autograph³⁸ (Fig. 10, p. 254). Löwenklau was already a renowned specialist in Greece studies, and after travelling about the East and visiting Constantinople and Turkey (1584—1585) he became one of the first researchers of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, and an orientalist. Hermann’s longtime friendly relations with Löwenklau are also confirmed by the verses dedicated to him (they were written in connection with the publication of learned writings of Xenophon (*Xenophon*, 1595) of Athens in his own translation)³⁹, and also by Löwenklau’s signature in Hermann’s album in five languages (Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, and French)⁴⁰.

From 1571 till 1572, Hermann stayed in Wittenberg where he completed his studies. In Wittenberg, he managed to obtain an autograph of Philipp Melanchthon (1497—1560). He wrote in the album a quotation of Georgius Nazianzenus (ca. 329—390) in Greek and dedicated it to *ornatissimo viro Danieli Hermanni amico suo intimo & carissimo Witenbergae, 5 Non. Martii 1571*⁴¹.

It is known that Hermann’s library contained several works by Melanchthon (1542, 1566)⁴², as well as commentaries of a renowned historian and theologian, David Chytraeus (1530—1600)⁴³ to Melanch-

thon. It should be taken into account that Melanchthon — “the teacher of Germany” — was an authority not only in theology but also in natural sciences and in medicine, following the theories of Aristotle and Vesalius. He took an interest in geography collecting maps. His achievements in the establishment and development of humanist medicine are important. Issues of medicine were basically the theme of his nineteen speeches. Both Melanchthon and his students cared for anatomy (Jung, 2010: 146—147) — Hermann’s works about amber and a forced act of delivery should be assessed from this very perspective.

Hermann’s library in Wittenberg was supplemented by several more books⁴⁴. One of them (commentaries on military campaigns by Emperor Karl V in Germany (d’Avila et de Zuniga, 1550) was presented on April 17, 1571 by a certain Fabian Sebastian Rost (? — 1571), who died shortly afterwards — on May 2, 1571 (he was buried in Wittenberg Cathedral). Hermann’s note in that very book, which is the only witness to the friendship between Hermann and Rost, testifies to it. It is likely that it is Hermann who owned a valuable (as well as expensive!) volume in the format of a folio that contained a famous work on the history of Poland by Joachimus Cureus (1532—1573), a description of Moscovia by Siegmund von Herberstein (1486—1566) and commentaries on the

³⁷ ALUL R1081.

³⁸ *Suo Danieli Hermanno Borusso J. Lewenklaw m d lxxvii erta pro grade.*

³⁹ An example in Basel University Library; VD16 X 9; Hoffm. 3, 777.

⁴⁰ Hermann, *Album Amicorum*: f. 152. Löwenklau wrote short sententias there, for example, *Certa pro gradibus Nicht viel Wort.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*: f. 136.

⁴² ALUL R1070, R928. The edition of 1566 was lost in the 1990s. An old photo of the endsheet with the autograph of Hermann’s poem was preserved, ALUL Rk4226, 69.vien., nr.7.

Probably, Hermann’s collection comprised the edition of spiritual philosophy by Melanchthon (Melanchthon, 1542) ALUL R1070, in which there are numerous marginal notes in handwriting similar to Hermann’s; judging by the entry, the book in the 16th century also belonged to Hermannus Nyhemius Liuoniensis

⁴³ According to Busch, in the 1930s the Riga Town Library kept an edition with Hermann’s super ex libris (Chytraeus, 1584) with note “Daniel Hermannus felino Rigani reversus hunc librum una eum litteris Autoris accepi 24. Julij A.d.84”, see ALUL R, Busch: 5, 11.

⁴⁴ On 21/06/1572 the book was presented by the theologian Isaias Capella (Capella Isaias, Cepella Esaias), see: ALUL R, Busch 5, 7, 2 (Esaias Cepella fur Dr. Daniel Hermann Wittenberg 1572, Juni 21); the book with the prescription label Art 1863 has not been preserved. Busch’s archive also contained another book on law purchased by Hermann in Wittenberg in 1565, ALUL R, Busch 5, 7, 2 (Daniel Hermann Wittenberg 1565, Jur 440); but it is more likely that the book initially belonged to Johann Hermann.

situation in Europe by Michael Beutherus (1581—1613)⁴⁵. 2 reichstalers was paid for the volume on June 30, 1571. The title page lacks the note of provenance typical for Hermann's books, but the note about the purchase and numerous marginal notes are written in the book with handwriting very similar to that of Hermann's (Fig. 11, 12, p. 254—255). Notes in the margin and highlighted parts in the text testify to the fact that those parts that mentioned Poland and Livonia were important to the reader. If Hermann was actually the book owner, the book must have been bought and bound (in the Renaissance style) in Wittenberg, where the poet resided at that time.

Hermann's book collection was also supplemented later — during his service at the court of Rudolph II (1552—1612) in Prague and Vienna.

The position of the King's secretary was respectable and important. The predecessor of Rudolph II — Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire Maximilian I (1459—1519) had highest regard for this work: in his youth, he learned how to draw up letters, he personally checked drafted messages and signed them (Weisskunig, 1888: 70)⁴⁶. "He even worked too hard while drawing up letters, ..., he often had 9, 10, 11, or 12 secretaries at the same time, and each was assigned to draw up a special letter"⁴⁷ (Ibid). The print by Hans Burgkmair senior (1473—1531) (Ibid: 69) (Fig. 13, p. 255) shows Maximilian I, together with his secretaries, holding a letter. The experience of a secretary gained at the Viennese court was considered a significant advantage. Entries in the album, poems and books became a monument of Hermann's secular and court lifestyle (*vita aulica*) and at the

same time the evidence for the constancy of his interests among coconscious people. Among them, there were both philologists and librarians.

In Prague, the book with a dedicatory inscription⁴⁸ was presented to Hermann by the principal Neo-Latinist poet of Bohemia, writer and publisher Thomas Mitis from Lemusa (1523—1591). He prepared for publication poems by the most well-known Czech humanist, bishop Bohuslav Hasistejnský from Lobkovic (1461—1510) (Hasistejnský z Lobkovic, 1570) (Fig. 14, p. 255). Mitis was also a supervisor of the library of Lobkovic and compiled a catalogue of the famous library abundant in manuscripts and old books. Hermann also received this catalogue from the compiler (700 titles).

In Vienna, Hermann's friend was a Dutch lawyer and Professor of Eloquence of the University of Vienna Hugo Blotius (1533—1608), appointed by Emperor Maximilian II as a court librarian (from 1575). Blotius also studied at Strasbourg under the supervision of Sturm (1570—1574); that is why it is not surprising that his dedication in Hermann's album contains Sturm's quotation⁴⁹. Blotius is considered the founder of the Austrian National Library (*Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*) and is now a symbol of the library. Hermann presented poems to both librarians: an epigram — to Mitis⁵⁰ and quite an ironical verse on the occasion of the fourth wedding — to Blotius⁵¹.

It was not always possible to discern the circumstances under which Hermann obtained a certain publication. Apparently, he not only received books as presents, but he also purchased them (both new editions, and earlier published works).

⁴⁵ Convolute ALUL R4253, 1—3. In: 1. Cureus, 1571. 2. Herberstein, 1571. 3. Beutherus, 1568.

⁴⁶ Er ließ auch kainen brief nit ausgeben, es was die sach klain oder groß, er uberlaß zuvor denselben brief und underschrib alle brief mit seiner hand.

⁴⁷ Er ist auch so ubertreffenlichen gewest mit angebung der brief und mit seiner gedachtnus, das er oftmalennewn, zehen, aintlif und zwelf (f. 130 b) secretarien zu ainer zeit, jedem secretarien ainen besondern brief angeben hat.

⁴⁸ ALUL R1092.

⁴⁹ Hermann, Album Amicorum: f. 140v: Hugo Blotius Sac. Caes. Majtis Bibliothecarius amicitia veterisq̄ consuetudinis ergo, haec sua manus notam hujus librj Dno reliquit. Viennae Austriae 15 junij 1579.

⁵⁰ Hermann D. In diversoria urbis pragensis: ad Thomam Mitem Bibliopolam Pragensem, in: Hermann. 1614—1615, ps. 2, f. [176r].

⁵¹ Hermann D. Cl. V. Hugonis Blotio I. C. Caes. Maiest. Bibliothecario, Sponso: & Barbarae Oberspergerae: Thomae Sibenburgeri relictæ viduae: quartas nuptias repenti: epithalamium, in: Hermann, *Poemata*..., ps. 2, f. [153v—155r].

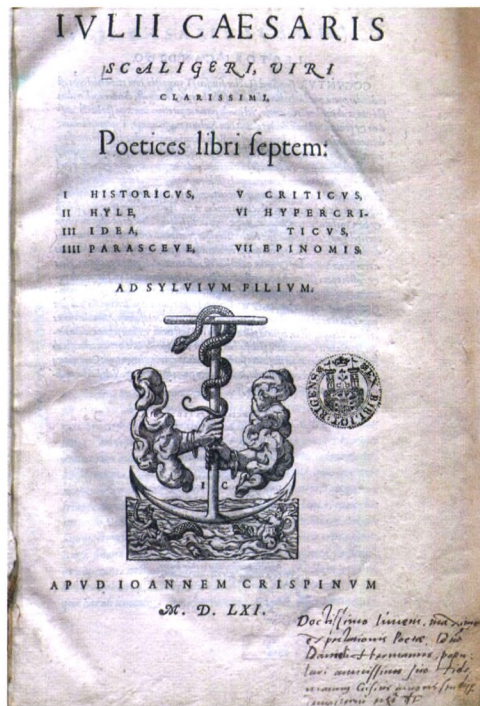


Fig. 9. Title page of Scaliger, 1561 with a gift inscription of Tiedemann Giese to Daniel Hermann. © ALUL

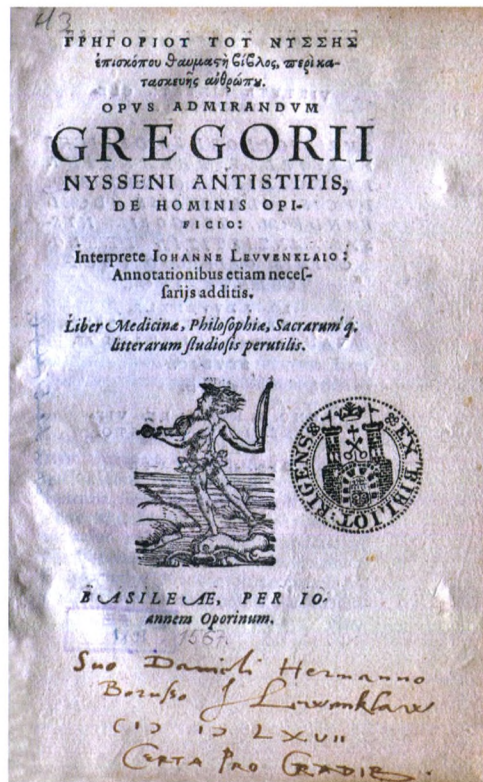


Fig. 10. Title page of Gregorius Nyssenus, 1567, with a gift inscription of Johannes Leunclavius to Daniel Hermann. © ALUL

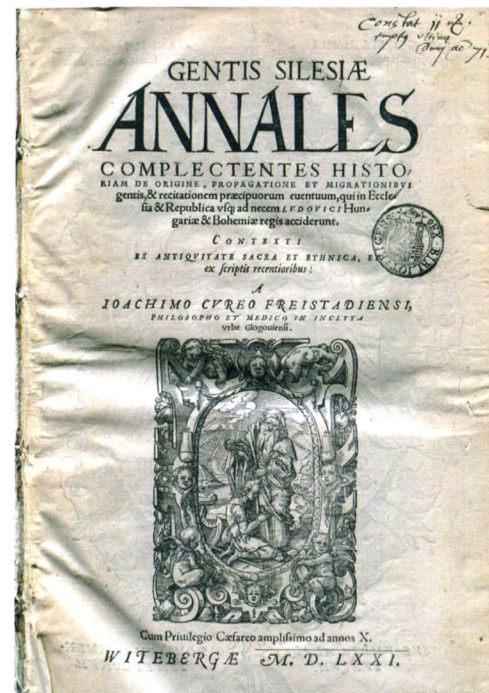


Fig. 11. Title page of Cureus, 1571 with a note about prize. © In convolute ALUL R 4253, 1

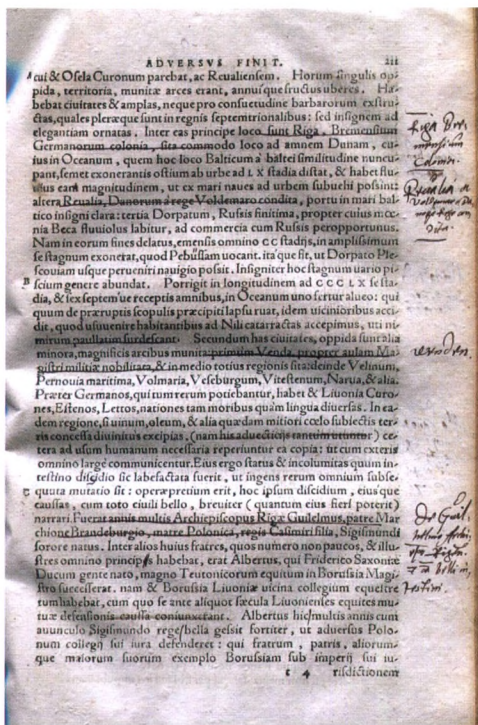


Fig. 12. A leaf from Herberstein, 1571, p. 211, with marginal notes about the history of the cities of Riga and Cēsis (Wenden)
© In convolute ALUL R 4253, 2



Die geschicklichkeit des jungen w[eiß]en k[ön]igs in angebung durch seine eyntze person in manerley sprachen w[il] seinen secretarien auf einmal.

Fig. 13. Maximilian, the Holy Roman Emperor, holding a letter, in the midst of his secretaries. Hans Burgkmair senior. Woodcut. Ca. 1514—1516 (Weisskunig, 1888, Bl. 69)

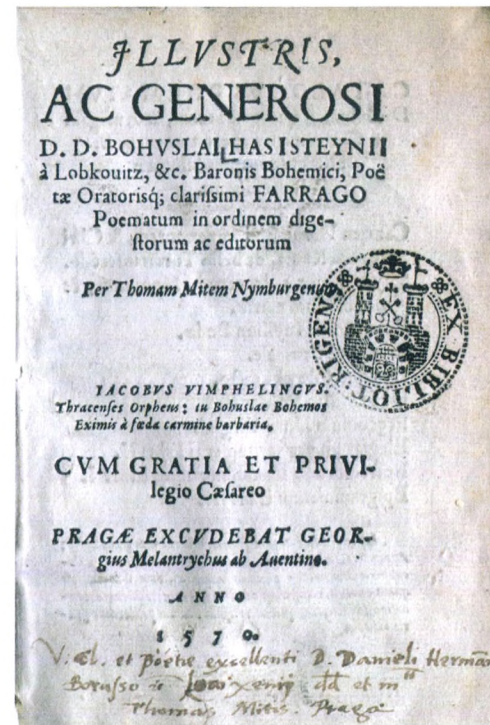


Fig. 14. Title page of a book with gift inscription of Thomas Mitis from Lemusa to Daniel Hermann (Hasistejský z Lobkovic, [1570]). © ALUL

It is worth mentioning a thick volume-convolute, made in Germany as early as 1521⁵², judging by the date on the light semi-leather cover. Hermann autographed the collection of 16 printed texts of theological and historical content, among which of greatest interest are a philosophical treatise and letters of the famous French philologist Guillaume Budé (1468—1540) (Buddaeus, 1520, a, b)⁵³, a major expert in the Greek language of the Renaissance period, the founder of the Collège de France and a library in Fontainebleau. Budé's works were published in the Parisian printing house of the renowned printer Jodocus Badius (1462—1535) as is confirmed by his stamp and a print with the view of the printing-house on the title page.

In the ALUL collection, one should focus on the books without autographs, which are theoretically also part of Hermann's collection. Going by the covers and notes, almost all these books were pre-owned by others. The foundation for such an assumption is the marginalia and notes in the books written in humanist italics, which in the nature of writing are quite similar to Hermann's unquestionable autographs (they are five in number)⁵⁴. First of all, two convolutes should be noted. At the beginning of one of them there is a publication of Greek and

Byzantine proverbs compiled by Michael Apostolios (ca 1422—1478) with an extensive poetic dedication on the endsheet to a young man Martinee who was going to take a course of studies and who would have attained the fundamentals of manners (Apostolios, 1538). The other convolute starts with a glorified work "The Prince" by Niccolò Machiavelli (1469—1527) (Machiavelli, 1560), and evidence suggests that the note about the content on the endsheet was made in Hermann's hand.

Librarian Busch also found several endsheets ripped out of books with autographs characteristic of Hermann's hand,— for example, a fragment from "The Odyssey" in Latin and in Greek has been preserved (Fig. 15, 16).

The review of the poet's library would not be complete without a brief characterization of Hermann's non-extant books. The catalogue of 1883 mentions abridged titles of the books, and Busch's notes contain only dedicatory inscriptions and old prescription labels of the Town Library. These data provide evidence only of the area of knowledge which the editions fell under (it is primarily theology)⁵⁶. The books were presented to him in Wittenberg (1565, 1572), in Ingolstadt (1566), in Vienna (1572), and in Riga (1584).

⁵² ALUL R909, super ex libris D*I*C*M / A*C*M / 1521. The convolute is comprised of 16 parts. It can also be assumed that D. Hermann received the convolute from his brother.

⁵³ ALUL R909/1; ALUL R909/2.

⁵⁴ ALUL R6149 (Athenaeus Naucratis, 1535; with the note about the price); ALUL R1070 (Melanchthon, 1542; with marginalia and an entry of the previous owner Hermannus Nyhemius Liuoniensis); ALUL R13566 (Cicero M. Tullius, 1515; with a note (Wittenberg, 1568.1.VIII) of Petrus Vincentius (1519—1581), later Professor of Eloquence and Dialectics at Wittenberg); ALUL R1065 (convolute, с обширным посвящением юноше Мартини, которому предстоит обучение и надлежит постичь основы нравов, на форзаце. In convolute: 1. Apostolios, 1538. 2. Stopius, 1569. With the author's dedication Dnō Georgio Neinero P. 3. [Golius Theophilus], 1545. 4. Vives J.L., 15365. Martini, 1555; ALUL R4253 (convolute с трудами Cureus 1571 and Herberstein 1571, see above), ALUL R934, 1—5 (convolute with super exlibris MWLF 1561 and a note about the content on the endsheet and marginal notes to № 3. . In convolute: 1. Machiavelli, 1560. 2. Bocerus, 1556. 3. Maior, 1561. 4. Paulus Simone, 1555. 5. Fusius, 1554.

⁵⁵ 12 titles. The books were destroyed in the fire on 29/06/1941. One volume with a valuable poetic autograph by Hermann was lost in the 1990s. (Melanchthon, 1566).

⁵⁶ Theology — 6 books (Theol 1818: Henricus Tilingius Ingolstadt 1566 Juni 22; Theol 1847: Daniel Hermann Emptus Viennae 1572; Theol 1853: Johannes Rosenberg an Johann Herrmann; Theol 2017: Chytraeus D., 1584. Daniel Hermannus felino Rigani reversus hunc librum una eum litteris Autoris. accipi 24. Julij A.d.84 Auf dem Buchdeckel Daniel Hermannus; Hebraischer Psalter in octavo); law — 1 (Jur 440: Daniel Hermann Wittenberg 1565); art — 1 (Art 1863: Esaias Cepella für Dr. Daniel Hermann Wittenberg 1572, Juni 21); philology — 2 (Münster, 1527, in quatro; Sturm, 1550. Auf dem Deckel 1565); see Busch Archiv.

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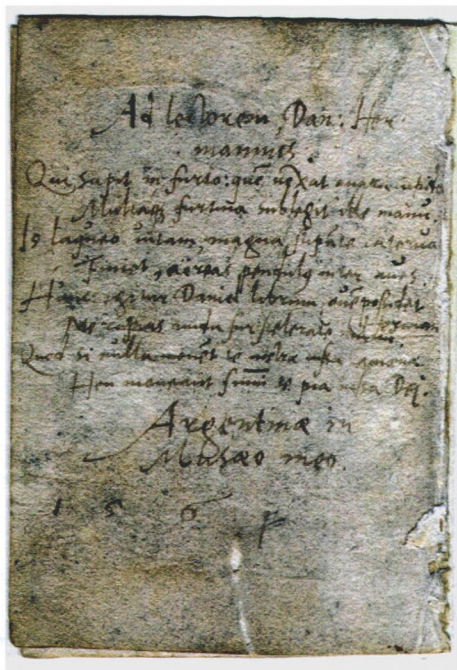
³² ALUL R909, super ex libris D*I*C*M / A*C*M / 1521. The convolute is comprised of 16 parts. It can also be assumed that D. Hermann received the convolute from his brother.

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Daniel Hermann
Humanist.
gest. 1601 in Riga.

Fig. 15. Autograph by Daniel Hermann (Strasbourg, 1567) on the inside front cover of a book from his library
© ALUL

We can assume that a coffer with books accompanied him during Stefan Batory's military campaign to Moscovia, when Hermann as a representative of Danzig, as a record clerk and one of the secretaries

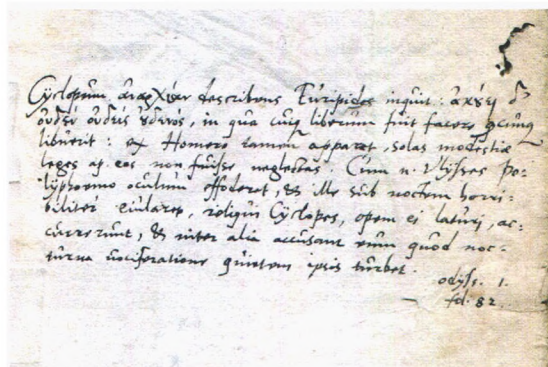


Fig. 16. Autograph by Daniel Hermann (a fragment from the "Odyssey" in Latin and Greek) on the inside front cover of a book from his library. © ALUL

to the King⁵⁷ stayed at the leaguers (siege camp) at Polotsk (Hermann, 1582; Hermann, 1614—1615: [194r—243r] and Sokol, and at Velikie Luki (1579, 1580). Hermann's participation in the Livonian war is confirmed by both his poetic works and entries in the memory album⁵⁸.

Hermann spent long months at the leaguers. Together with the troops, he experienced back-breaking marches along terrible roads, through swamps and impenetrable forests, long rains and starvation. He saw cruelty to prisoners and even cannibalism. Many people stayed in tents at the leaguer — both the military, and high-ranking magnates, and the court nobility (a Polish leaguer at Polotsk is pictured in the leaflet: *Warhaffte Contrafactur*, 1579) (Fig. 17). The Poles, Lithuanians, Hungarians, and Germans participated in the campaign. A confidential secretary to the Polish King, a diplomat, a lawyer and a historian Reinhold Heidenstein (1553—1620) in his work *De bello Moscovitico commentariorum libri sex* (1584) gave a detailed description of the Polish royal leaguer at Polotsk in 1579 (Heidenstein, 1889: 58):

⁵⁷ Hermann is mentioned in the list of officials as a secretary to Stefan Batory, based on the document of 1601. (Mikulski, Rachuba, 1994: 38, nr.28)

⁵⁸ Hermann, *Album amicorum*: f. 103b: 1579.8. VII. 12.IX. 7.X, note Matthias Budde, written in the leaguer at Polotsk: *Civitas Gedanensis, ac ... Regem Stephanum Legato ... In Castris ad Polozki. 1579*; note Anthonius Czerwitz, in *Feltlager vor Poletzko* (Hermann, *Album amicorum*: 89a); Petrus Hanf quotes: *Aut literis, aut bello clarescer* (will become famous either in literature or at war) and he writes afterwards, in *Vilnius: Vilnae eo adveniens post festum ante Polotzkam et Sokol, 1579.8.X* (Hermann, *Album amicorum*: 125a).

On the other side of the Polota, between the river and the lake there was, as we said, a royal leaguer. There were largely senators and Polish horse cavalry, and besides them — Nicholas Christopher Radziwiłł. Almost an entire middle part of the leaguer was occupied by senators' tents, and the higher each one was in rank and gentlemanhood, the closer he was to the King. Three rows of tents, placed in a circle, made up sort of two streets located equidistant from each other; also, two gateways were left to enter them; there was the same number of entrances to the leaguer guarded by sentinel posts; the outer side of the leaguer was protected by carts placed in a circle, connected with each other, in the Polish custom, with iron chains; when expecting an attack and generally in case of grave danger, the Poles in addition constructed a ditch and a bank in front of the carts, and in this way give the leaguer the appearance of an unassailable fortress.

Among the leaguer's residents, there were a lot of civil servants, translators and map-makers⁵⁹, several King's record clerks and secretaries, owing to whom the historiography of the Livonian war and the march to Moscovia is rich in written source material⁶⁰. The position and the duties of the King's record clerks during the campaigns are clarified by the evidence of Hermann's companions-in-arms. Canon Jan Piotrowski (1550—1591) was one of the secretaries of the King's chancellery during the campaign. At Pskov on July 30, 1581, he wrote the following in his diary⁶¹ (Dnevnik, 1867: 62—63) (*Dziennik wyprawy Stefana Batorego pod Psków*, 1581):

Following the divine service, they read in the presence of senators the answer to the Moscow Knyazh, written by Giese⁶² (Dnevnik, 1867: 23). Sir Chancellor will translate it into Polish himself, be-

cause we, the secretaries, will not be able to do it, and the Lithuanians will translate it from Polish into Russian, and this translation will be sent to the Moscow Knyazh; as for the original in Latin, the Chancellor wants it to be sent to Rome in order to make it known to the whole world.

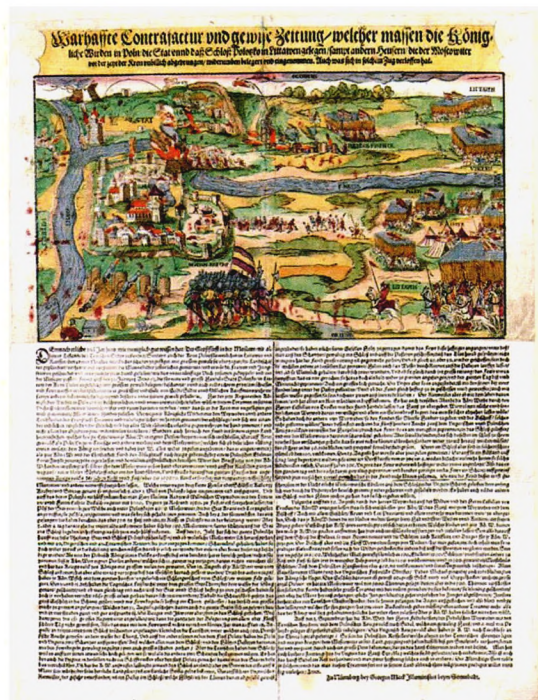


Fig. 17. A Polish leaguer at Polotsk (Warhaffe, 1579?)
© Zurich Zentralbibliothek

The subsequent entries (of August 2—3) show how labour-intensive, demanding and back-breaking the work of a secretary could have been (Dnevnik, 1867: 64):

⁵⁹ The King's cartographer and secretary was Stanisław Pacholowiecki who made a plan of the leaguer and a map of the encirclement at Polotsk 1579.11.—30.VIII (Pacholowiecki, 1580; Korkunov, 1840).

⁶⁰ See, for example, the diary of the Royal Secretary Jan Zborowski (1538—603): *The diary of conquest of castles: Velizh, Usvyat, Velikie Luki in the letters of Jan Zborowski*, chastelain of Gniezno to Pyotr Zborowski, a voivode of Krakow; <http://www.vostlit.info>.

⁶¹ Stanislaw Piotrowski was considered the author of the Diary according to some sources; according to others — it was his brother Jan Piotrowski.

⁶² Perhaps he was a familiar to Hermann as secretary to the King, Secretarius Michael Gisius, see the note: Hermann, *Album amicorum*: f. 115v (Michael Gisius: Warschau, 1579.XL27).

May God give death to the Moscow Knyazh before we get to Pskov! I cannot describe how much fuss there is about this answer to everyone; and Giese and I get most of the trouble with it. Today, we have been working on this damned letter the whole day, from sunup to sundown, and we have not finished it yet. The King is setting off on his journey tomorrow morning, and he has been hurrying us with the letter; I do not really know when it will be ready; as soon as it has been written, the Lithuanians will translate it into Russian. Can we really know how quickly they will manage to do it?

On August 3, the document was still not ready (Dnevnik, 1867: 64—65):

The King just before his departure signed a document for the position at the law court in Poznan and a subrogation to Sir Wojciech Zajączkowski, according to the wish of Your Grace. Since the Chancellor is also going, it is hard to type documents, and Pavlos is leaving as well. Besides that, the King ordered Giese and me to stay here, as well as Garaburda, so that we could finish the translation into Russian of the answer to the Moscow Knyazh, and then send it over to the courier who has been held up for this at the border. Therefore, we have to stay here for at least two days, and we can catch up with the King and the stamp only in Voronets. As soon as I catch up with the Chancellor, I will seal up both letters, and on the first occasion I will send them to Your Grace in person.

Hermann in his *Stephaneis Moschovitica* (Hermann, 1582) mentioned different “products” of a secretary’s work: letters to Grand Prince of Moscovia, letters to his ambassadors etc. Did he take part in drawing up those documents? He might have. Without doubt, Hermann as an ambassador of Danzig sent messages about the course of events to Danzig. He might have been carrying on correspondence about the supply of provisions to the Polish troops: Danzig was supposed to provide the Polish army with provisions also at the leaguer at Pskov (the way ran through Kurland and the town of Koknese). During the Moscow campaign, Hermann became acquaint-

ed with the Chancellor of Poland and the Hetman of the army Jan Zamoyski (1542—1605) and developed a rapport with his entourage. The Polish historian Tomasz Lawenda stated that it was Hermann who is considered to be the creator of the legendary image of Zamoyski represented as Mars connected with Apollo (Lawenda, 2011: 53—54).

On cessation of hostilities in Livonia, “the primary concern of the King was to go personally to Livonia and Riga in order to give appropriate arrangement to the province” (Heidenstein, 1889: 269).

Hermann arrived in Riga together with the King’s retinue. It was in Riga that he completed his new work *Stephaneis Moschovitica* and put it into print. The introductory note contained the exact date: “in the royal town of Riga, on the day of Vernal Equinox of 1582, i.e. March 20, 1582” (*Ex Civitate Regia Rigensis ipso die Aequinoctij verni Anno Christi 1582*) (Hermann, 1582: 9v). It is known that Hermann received the post of German secretary, or advisor⁶³, to the viceroy (governor) of Inflanty, Cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł (1556—1600)⁶⁴. Later, he was in the service of a renowned military leader and president of Cēsis District Jürgen von Farensbach (1551—1602).

On the order of Stefan Batory, the King’s commissioners started auditing lands and estates. Hermann was also supposed to take part in it. Reinhold Heidenstein provided insight into the situation in April 1582: “The King ... appointed his commissioners partially from his attendants, and partially from Livonian nobility so that they would inspect the entire province, make an inventory of the lands, of all the proceeds from them and obligations, and report all this to him” (Heidenstein, 1889: 270). Stefan Batory at the same time, believed it was necessary to establish four categories of demesne (Ibid):

The first category, which would mean national security, was supposed to be attached to border castles so that they could be maintained from there, by means of their own revenues, receive everything necessary for their protection and, generally, be protected; the second category is the one that would serve as

⁶³ In the position 1582—1586, see Schwarz, 2002: 30.

⁶⁴ See Hermann, 1614—1615, ps. 3, f. [192r]: “Cardinali Radziuilo Prouinciae Gubernatori, a consiliis esse jussus.”

a fund to sustain the bishop and the catholic church, and to draw up the state treasury; the third category was supposed to include such kinds of property which were given to private individuals on the basis of a certain law, or might have been given as permutation, if the interests of the republic had not assumed the restoration of their rights of inheritance; finally, the last category of the estates was intended as a gift for valour to persons who rendered decent services and especially to those who were distinguished by diligence in this war; military people were given vacant villages and elderships, and some were assigned state pensions.

The Livonian province in 1561—1629 was supervised by the Governor. A permanent administrative division into three praesidiatuses was established (Cēsis, Pärnu and Tartu) headed by Presidents vested with administrative, police and partially judicial power. Praesidiatuses, in their turn, were sub-divided into castle districts, or elderships, headed by elders (Stepanova, 2003: 40)⁶⁵. During the *Revisio terrestris* of 1582—1583, two commissioners, one — a local citizen of Livonia, and the other — a foreign commissioner⁶⁶, started taking inventory of demesnes in each praesidiatus (Mueller, 1585: f. Giv H). Secretary Hermann, as a foreign commissioner, and Frommhold von Tiesenhausen (?—?), as a Livonian representative, were appointed inspectors of Cēsis (Wenden) praesidiatus. During the *Revisio terrestris* of 1582—1583, they were obliged to visit each manor

and estate, to register documents for the property, to check their authenticity, to make lists and descriptions of estates (*Mueller*, 1585: sheet *Giv v.*)⁶⁷.

The inspectors' reports were supposed to represent to the King the state and the profits of the land of Inflanty. After the inspection, it became clear why the Polish King did not get any profit from castles and estates of Inflanty — the land was devastated by the war. It is possible that it was Hermann who compiled a detailed description of Cēsis Castle and of the entire town, where inspectors came on May 9, 1582: "Inspectors came to Cēsis (*Kiesi*)... On that same day, they inspected the town where all the buildings in a row were destroyed. The general estimate showed that only a few houses were preserved, and even those were not intact, but they were inhabitable." Hermann was also obliged later to execute the orders of the Board of Inflanty: several documents have been preserved that were compiled or copied by Hermann⁶⁹ (Fig. 18).

Hermann's merits for the crown (both during the military campaign and during the inspection) were marked by the King. It is telling that the order by Stefan Batory of April 3, 1585 of enfeoffment in Livonia (*Pranlen* (now *Prauliena*) with lands *Ensel* and *Sintel* (now *Jaunlazdona*)) states, that Hermann received the gift from the King for his literary activities: *quod nobis scriptis suis probavit atque in Livonia nobis et Reipublicae in diversis negociis operam suam navavit*⁷⁰.

⁶⁵ In 1598, the praesidiatuses were renamed voivodeships on the Polish pattern, and voivodes were appointed instead of presidents.

⁶⁶ Doctor in law Lorenz Mueller (Laurentius Müller, + 1598) was a commissioner at Parnawa praesidiatus.

⁶⁷ Zum Wendischen Daniel Herman ein Ausländer, und Fromhold von Tisenhausen. Diese haben alle gelegenheit deß gantzen Landes und jedes Priuat güter, auch Brieff und Siegel in erkündigung und augenschein neme und auffß Papir bringen müssen: Und solche verzeichnuß sein ihrer Maiestet zugeschickt, darinn sie sich als in einem Spiegel des gantzen Landes gelegenheit einkommens und zustands zuersehen gehabt.

⁶⁸ In 1583, Governor Radziwill accused the audience of this in Livonian Landtag, see Mueller 1585, f. G.

⁶⁹ For example, report of Wenden inspector Hermann about civil disorders in Riga [1588?], Historical Archive of Latvia (LVVA, 673.f., 1. apr., 1216. l., 59. lp.); The text of complaint of the Governor of the town of Wenden (Cēsis) J. Farensbach might have been drawn up and copied by Hermann. Datum Vendae 1593. 1.IV. ALUL, Ms. 1140, 42, 1.

⁷⁰ Stephanus Dei gratia etc. ... Cum ingeniosi viri, praesertim scriptores, non vulgariter de Replica merentur, quod memoriam rerum praeclare gestarum retineant eoque homines ad virtutis studium excitent, nos complexi ingenium nobilis Danielis Hermani, quod nobis scriptis suis probavit atque in Livonia nobis et Reipublicae in diversis negociis operam suam navavit, faciendum esse duximus, tu ei curiolam Pranlensem in districtu Laudunensi sitam post Valterum Halefeldtum