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# The Bohemian Broadside on St Ivan of 1688: The Exception That Proves the Rule?

Marie Škarpová

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## ABSTRACT

The goal of the paper is to present the broadside on St Ivan printed in Prague in 1688 as important evidence of the existence of vernacular illustrated broadsides in Bohemia in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. The broadsheet, which is related to the Benedictine monastery St John under the Rock, near Prague, whose church also serves as a pilgrimage site devoted to St Ivan, obviously aims at shaping the multiple identities and affiliations of the Benedictine community. It clearly belongs to a kind of print production that was costly, and it seems to have been distributed as a gift, with the obvious purpose of providing the monastery with a means for creating and strengthening social ties. In addition, the intertextual connections of the broadside to a pilgrimage book of 1691 relating to the same monastery show how fluid the contemporary boundary was between broadsides and printed booklets. The use of vernacular language and genres typical of pilgrimage books indicates that, despite its graphical and literary ambitions, the broadside of 1688 was not intended exclusively for social and intellectual elites but was designed to offer multiple levels of reception for different kinds of readers.

## KEYWORDS

Broadside; hagiography; legend; pilgrimage book; St Ivan; St John under the Rock; monastery literature; Czech literature; 17<sup>th</sup> century.

## CZECH ABSTRACT

**Bohemikální grafický jednolist o sv. Ivanu (1688): Výjimka potvrzující pravidlo?**

Tématem příspěvku je tištěný grafický jednolist se svatoivanskou tematikou, vydaný v Praze roku 1688, jehož význam spočívá mj. v tom, že je (zatím) jedním z nemnoha dokladů produkce

typograficky, výtvarně i literárně ambiciózních grafických jednolistů v Čechách druhé poloviny 17. století nejen v latině, ale též ve vernakulárním jazyce. Svatoivanský grafický jednolist z roku 1688 se přitom svým vznikem váže k benediktinskému klášteru svatého Jana pod Skalou, jehož kostel byl svatoivanským poutním místem, neboť zřejmou funkcí tohoto jednolistu bylo spoluutvářet mnohočetnou identitu svatojanské benediktinské komunity. Grafický jednolist z r. 1688 tak byl nejspíše distribuován jako dárek se zřejmým cílem vytvářet a upevňovat sociální vazby svatojanské benediktinské komunity. Použití vernakulárního jazyka a žánrů typických pro poutní knihy pak naznačuje, že navzdory svým grafickým a literárním ambicím nebyl určen výhradně společenským a intelektuálním elitám, ale byl koncipován tak, aby nabízel více úrovní recepce pro různé typy čtenářů. Jeho četné intertextové vazby k tištěné svatoivanské poutní knížce z konce 17. století v její verzi české (Sláva skrytá) i německé (Verborgene Ehr) nadto ukazují, jak prostupná zřejmě byla v té době hranice mezi grafickými jednolisty a drobnými knižními tisky.

### KLÍČOVÁ SLOVA

Grafický jednolist; hagiografie; legenda; poutní kniha; svatý Ivan; Svatý Jan pod Skalou; monastická literatura; česká literatura; 17. století.

## How to write the history of early modern printed single sheets in Bohemia<sup>1</sup>?

The early modern single-sheets that survive today indicate that they were an integral part of European print production in both Latin and vernacular languages from its beginning (COUPE 1966: 21–37; PETTEGREE 2017: 13–17). This also holds true for Bohemia, where single-sheet production is well-documented from the 1480s (BOLDAN 2017; VOIT 2008: 419). Early modern single-sheet production is generally characterised by its considerable variety, from typographically simple single-sheets, on the one hand, to costly, reputation-enhancing illustrated broadsides with literary, and/or artistic ambitions, on the other. Still, the latter kind of broadsides have only been documented in Bohemia from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, at which time they primarily served as news leaflets (MALURA 2022). Still, this type of news leaflet seems to have disappeared from Bohemian printing production during the Thirty Years' War. By contrast, broadsides with above-average typographic and engraving qualities started to be used for a new kind of thesis print in Bohemia by the 1640s. This new kind of print production, associated with universities, was the thesis

1) Bohemia is the largest historical region of the Czech Republic. In early modern times, Bohemia was a province of the state entity called the Bohemian Lands that was made up of several Central European provinces, whose number and extent fluctuated between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

broadsheet (*Thesenblatt*), which also meant that it was exclusively in Latin. The practice of the thesis broadsheet was cultivated exclusively at Catholic (typically Jesuit) universities (ZELENKOVÁ 2020).<sup>2</sup>

In terms of the volume of production, we can therefore assume that in Bohemia, especially from the 1640s onwards, there was probably a certain language specialisation in print media. On the one hand, broadsides which were ambitious in terms of their graphic and literary content were reserved for Latin (university) production. On the other, vernacular production seems to have been printed in the form of typographically simple, single-sheets such as sacred pictures, containing the minimum of text or, predominantly, in the form of cheap tiny chapbooks in a vernacular language, which were typographically, visually and literarily very simple.<sup>3</sup> To think of early modern Bohemian single-sheet production in terms of this simple dichotomy is tempting, but it is challenged by evidence that vernacular illustrated broadsides with typographic ambitions existed in Bohemia in the late 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries as well – even if that evidence is (to date) rather slight. It is this kind of broadside that the article focuses on.

Andrew Pettegree points out (PETTEGREE 2017: 4–6) that the study of printed single-sheets is still significantly impeded by their dispersion in various institutions (libraries, archives, museums, galleries, and other public and private collections), as well as their inconsistent bibliographic description (single-sheets are still not catalogued in any systematic way). Unfortunately, this also applies to single-sheet production of Bohemian provenance, including collections currently held within the Czech Republic: there is no special inventory or database<sup>4</sup> listing them, and they are only incompletely listed in general databases.<sup>5</sup> This means that heuristic work on the subject requires *de visu* archival research. Taking into account the large quantity of surviving single-sheet production, however, it is also necessary to narrow down the topic. I will therefore focus only on early modern Bohemian

2) An exceptionally large number of thesis broadsheets from the university of Prague has survived in the collection of the National Library in Prague (ZELENKOVÁ 2020). Most Prague thesis broadsheets, however, were printed in Augsburg (FECHTNEROVÁ 1984: 749–751), which was the centre of Central European production of engravings at that time. See ZELENKOVÁ 2011a: 8 for other types of illustrated broadsides published in the Bohemian Lands during the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

3) A remarkably large number of tiny chapbooks in the vernacular has survived from the Bohemian Lands, mainly from the period 1750–1850, and they typically feature song texts in the vernacular (most recently, see FUMERTON – KOSEK – HANZELKOVÁ (eds.) 2022).

4) The only exception is perhaps *Soupis vedut vzniklých do roku 1850 (List of Vedute Created Before 1850)*.

5) For the early modern period, see in particular: *Bibliografie cizojazyčných bohémik, 1500–1800 (A Bibliography of Foreign-Language Czech Prints)* [online], <http://clavius.lib.cas.cz/katalog>; *KPS – Knihopis Database* [online], [www.knihopis.cz/knihopis-eng.html](http://www.knihopis.cz/knihopis-eng.html); *Das Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienen Drucke des 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* [online], <http://vd16.de>; <http://vd17.de>; <http://vd18.de>.

broad­sides with hagiographic themes. These too, unfortunately, are only partially listed in bibliographic databases and library catalogues;<sup>6</sup> the data presented in this article must therefore be considered only provisional.

## Bohemian hagiographic broadsides

It is not surprising that there survives today such a large number of early modern hagiographic single-sheets from Bohemia, given that single-sheets with religious (including hagiographic) themes formed, from early on, such a significant part of early modern print production in the European context as a whole (COUPE 1966: 21–37; PETTEGREE 2017: 13–17).<sup>7</sup> It is for this reason that I have left aside the most studied groups of printed single-sheet production on the topic of saints: I will not focus on “sacred pictures” (*Andachtsbildchen*, or *images saintes*) or *schedae sanctorum*, which were widespread mainly in the Jesuit context (BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ – HLAVÁČKOVÁ – KUCHAROVÁ 2020: 96–97; IVÁNEK 2021: 48). I shall also leave aside two other frequent types of hagiographic single-sheets: those which served as the letter of indulgence (featuring information about the conditions for obtaining indulgences), and those which were meant to protect their bearer from various dangers (IVÁNEK 2021: 49–51). The hagiographic single-sheet production I will discuss differs from those mentioned by more inventive connections of word and image. Within their framework, I will focus on the aforementioned minor type of single-sheet production in early modern Bohemia: vernacular or bilingual Latin-vernacular broadsides, i.e., one-sided printed single-sheets of folio (or even larger) format.

To date, I have found three hagiographic broadsides of this type.<sup>8</sup> Two of them relate to the cult of St Ivan. The first, measuring 622 by 464 mm, was engraved by Balthasar von Westerhout<sup>9</sup> who was active in Prague during this period (VOIT

6) It was, therefore, necessary to see the most famous early modern single-sheet production collections in person. The graphic collection of Strahov Library was made available to me through the kindness of Hedvika Kuchařová, and the collection of devotional single-sheet production from the Library of the National Museum through that of Iva Bydžovská. Nevertheless, the existence of hagiographic broadsides in other libraries and graphic collections of the Czech Republic can be reasonably assumed (most likely at the library of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star in Prague’s Old Town, at the National Gallery, National Archive of the Czech Republic, and Archive of the City of Prague).

7) An overview of frequent religious themes – including the hagiography topics – in early modern broadsides is provided by BANGERTER-SCHMID 1986: 57–138.

8) Jan Royt also mentions a broadside from 1696 “with illustrations and descriptions of the life of St Ivan and with a list of miraculous healings at Ivan’s grave and well” (ROYT 2013: 71), but I have not been able to find it.

9) My gratitude to Petra Zelenková for identifying him; the inventor of the broadside remains unknown.

2008: 1018–1019) and printed in Prague by Jiří Laboun in 1688 (LETANYE 1688). The second, published by an unknown printer in 1795 (ŽIVOT [1795]), is a partial reprint of an engraving from 1656, which has survived affixed to some copies of the *Vita S. Ivani* of Fridrich Bridel, published in the same year (BRIDELIUS 1656). At 385 by 490 mm, the larger size of the broadside of 1795 (by comparison to the original 285 by 355 mm) suggests that a substantial expansion of the text was required for its individual print production (for further details see ŠKARPOVÁ 2023). The third representative is an undated broadside measuring 497 by 360 mm, printed ca. 1690, depicting a scene of the murder of St Wenceslas and a brief legend about him in Czech. The broadside was created by Johann Onghers and again engraved by Balthasar van Westerhout, both of whom had long been settled in Prague (LEŠOVSKÝ 2009: 91–93).<sup>10</sup> Below, however, I will focus only on the oldest broadside. At the current state of knowledge about the material, this will afford the best opportunity to discuss not only the motivations for creating hagiographic broadsides in vernacular languages and their functions, but also the question of their connection to other kinds of print production of that time.

## The broadside of 1688

A broadside called the “Letanye o sv. Ivanu poustevniku a patronu českýmu ve všelikých potřebách” (“Litany of St Ivan the Hermit and Patron Saint of Bohemia in All Kinds of Needs”) (Fig. 1) was published in 1688. This year is also conveyed by a chronogram that is part of the opening Latin invocation of St Ivan for Emperor Leopold I. However, the broadside addresses itself not only to the secular but also to the ecclesiastical authorities, or more precisely, to the Benedictine order, since it is dedicated to Thomas Sartorius,<sup>11</sup> abbot of Břevnov Monastery and Visitor General of the Bohemian and Moravian Benedictine monasteries.<sup>12</sup> The dedication is signed by Gunther Auponěšický, provost of the Benedictine monastery of Saint John under the Rock (Svatý Jan pod Skalou).

10) See also its reproduction there. The broadside has been preserved in a unique copy as a new print in the graphic collection of the National Gallery in Prague (inv. no. R 143 509).

11) For more about his life and work, see VILÍMKOVÁ – PREISS 1989: 152–153.

12) In the early modern period, the abbot of Břevnov Monastery had the title of *visitor generalis et perpetuus per Bohemiam et Moraviam*, for which he presided over the provincial chapter, inspected other Bohemian and Moravian monasteries, etc. The monasteries formed one corporation under his supremacy, called the *Corpus brzevnoviense* (VILÍMKOVÁ – PREISS 1989, 129–147).



Figure 1. The Broadside on St Ivan. *Letanye o sv. Ivanu poustevniku a patronu českým ve vselikých potřebách*, 1688, Strahov Library, HR II 22/1.

Alongside St Ivan, it is this latter Benedictine monastery in the vicinity of Prague that makes up the main theme of the broadside. Since the monastery is not well known, we will give it a brief introduction here. The origin of the monastery is considered to be the donation of the chapel of St John the Baptist to the Benedictines of the Ostrov Monastery. The chapel was built in a cave where, according to tradition, Ivan, a hermit of saintly reputation, lived in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, and it is in the same cave where he is thought to be buried. According to the testimony of written sources, the Benedictines built a hermit dwelling, a so-called *cella*, near the chapel in the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. This *cella* became the basis for the foundation of the provostship, which apparently happened in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century. One might argue, however, that the true foundation of the St John monastery was realised by the resettlement of the monastic community from the Ostrov Monastery to St John's provostship, which took place not later than during the 1540s. It was only in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century that Saint John under the Rock became a pilgrimage place connected with the cult of the hermit Ivan (documents about this cult, few as they are, actually date back further). Saint John under the Rock was one of the poorest monasteries in Bohemia at that time. The miserable existence of the Benedictine community which began with the burning of the Ostrov Monastery by the Hussites in 1420 continued until 1651, when Matouš Ferdinand Sobek became abbot. It was only under his abbotship that an overall spiritual and economic consolidation of the monastery was carried out. Sobek can also be credited with efforts to renovate the entire monastery compound: construction on completely new monastery buildings began in 1653, and on a new monastery church in 1657 (KOTRBA 1944; KOŘÁN 1987; BOHÁČ 1999).

The broadside of 1688 points unmistakably to the boom period of the monastery. Compositionally, it represents an ambitious typographic effort, skilfully drawing on advantages offered by the broadside format: namely, the combination of an elaborate composition with the possibility to embrace the sheet in a single look. At the centre of the engraving St Ivan is depicted – as conveyed by the inscription above his image – in the form of a “tree of miraculous fruits, from whose shade the glory of the brothers of St Ivan shines forth”. The complex of the monastery of Saint John under the Rock can be seen in the background. We can further identify two figures kneeling at the foot of the tree:<sup>13</sup>

13) The tree was a popular motif in illustrated broadsides (ZELENKOVÁ 2020: 38) and devotional images in general (ROYT 2011: 92–93).



St John the Baptist, as “patron of the brothers of Saint John under the Rock”,<sup>14</sup> and Prince Bořivoj, the “founder of St John”. The latter, according to legend, built the chapel of St John the Baptist in Ivan’s cave, following his death. Several additional figures are depicted in the upper part of the engraving. St Benedict is presented as the “father of the brothers of Saint John under the Rock”, i.e., founder of the Benedictine order, and St Scholastica who was the founder of the female Benedictine branch is called the “spiritual sister of the brothers of Saint John under the Rock”. The Holy Virgin, based on her miraculous image in the church of St Stephan in Prague’s New Town (a copy of which was kept in the monastery church), is presented as the “mother of the brothers of St John”. In addition to these short inscriptions incorporated directly into the visual scene, several other texts are presented as part of the broadside. They encircle the central image and are also connected to it thematically, since the texts are a litany to St Ivan and prayers to the Benedictine saints: St Benedict, St Scholastica, and Gunther of Bohemia.

Another hagiographic genre on the broadside is the legend, though it is told visually: in a sequence of seven pictorial scenes from the life of St Ivan. It is a *pictorial legend*, an old genre that was already popular in the Middle Ages (KUNZLE 1973: 5). Since every image is not fully comprehensible without knowledge of the story depicted, the broadside supplements the pictorial legend with litanies to St Ivan. Their many invocations allude to key episodes from Ivan’s life, so that they also serve as captions to the scenes of the pictorial legend.

The visual component of the broadside is thus made up of both types of images<sup>15</sup> – a narrative image and an icon – in a combination that was extremely popular in Catholic hagiographic engravings from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. It is the so-called *vita-icona* scheme,<sup>16</sup> in which a “portrait” image of the saint, situated at the centre, is “framed” by a sequence of scenes from their life and/or their posthumous miracles, arranged chronologically in a clockwise or counter-clockwise fashion. The central image of the saint, which first catches the viewer’s attention, serves as a title, presenting the main theme of the painting, on which the surrounding images elaborate. While the central image strikes the viewer first, in the same way as the title of a text, the narrative strip must be “read”

14) I am citing the inscriptions on banners that identify the figures next to which they have been placed.

15) For a definition of these two types of images as distinct modes of representation, namely “narrative” (telling a biblical or hagiographic story) and “dogmatic” (presenting a particular belief), see BARTLOVÁ 2012: 101–102.

16) This is with reference to the “Vita-Ikonen-Schema”, also called the “Bildrahmen-Schema” (GERKEN 2015: 81). Within the period from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the *vita-icon* type enjoyed great popularity in graphic production conveying hagiographic and other themes. See GERKEN 2015: 78–81.

in sequence, like a text (KUNZLE 1973: 426). We see then that the unknown creator of the broadside of 1688 skilfully exploited the advantages of both basic types of sacred images, as well as several popular hagiographic genres.

## Identity-forming and representational function of the broadside of 1688

If we compare the iconography of the broadside of 1688 with other artistic production at Benedictine monasteries of the same period, we see that it conforms entirely to the iconographic tendencies of Bohemian Benedictine monasteries in the early modern age. The iconography of this kind was central to the way these communities expressed their collective self-identity: the Marian cult, the depiction of the patriarchs of the order St Benedict and St Scholastica, further patron saints of the monastery church, and the founders and benefactors of the monastery. Depicting the founder of the monastery had other functions as well, drawing attention to the antiquity of the monastery, for example, and highlighting the founder's noble origin and/or their saintly life to emphasise the monastery's uniqueness. In early modern society, it was by such qualities that a church community's importance was measured, helping to propagate belief in the inviolability of its rights and the legitimacy of its existence (VÁCHA 2016: 49–60). The monastery of Saint John under the Rock, accordingly, presents itself on the broadside of 1688 with a reference to St Ivan and its “founder” Prince Bořivoj, as the oldest monastery in Bohemia. The unknown creator of the broadside thus makes maximum use of the symbolic capital to which the otherwise insignificant and poor monastery of Saint John under the Rock could lay claim.

We will also note that figures on the broadside were carefully selected, since their life stories include a particular founding narrative: St Benedict and St Scholastica were founders of the Benedictine order; St John the Baptist, the patron saint of the monastery, was a founder of the Christian eremitic life; Prince Bořivoj was, according to the legend, not only the founder of the monastery, but also the first Christian monarch of Bohemia; St Ivan was the first hermit and at the same time the first Christian living in Bohemia; and, finally, the Mother of God was the most important human being in the story of the salvation of all mankind since the Messiah came through her into the world. The monastic community at Saint John under the Rock is thus portrayed in close connection

with all of these “saint founders”, a relationship characterised by their patronage – but also by its intensity and endurance, impressively conveyed by terms based on blood relations (father, mother, brothers, sister). The ‘gallery’ of patron saints thus vividly projects the (multiple) identities of the monastery, as an integral part of the Benedictine order, as well as both its local particular church (*ecclesia particularis*) and the universal church (*Ecclesia Catholica*), protected by powerful patron saints in heaven. The temporal primacy of the depicted figures testifies to the prestigious status of the monastery of Saint John under the Rock by highlighting its antiquity in several ways, thus also serving as an affirmation of its right to continue in perpetuity.

The broadside of 1688 also emphasises the belonging of the monastery of Saint John under the Rock to the Bohemian province of the Benedictine Order,<sup>17</sup> which is represented by Thomas Sartorius, Visitor General of the Bohemian Benedictine monasteries, to whom the broadside is dedicated.<sup>18</sup> The Benedictine community at Saint John under the Rock was moreover indebted to Sartorius for solving the difficult situation in which it found itself in 1669 when its abbot Jan Chrysostom Belmonte died. Sartorius, in his role as Visitor General, demanded permission to call off the election of a new abbot (the monastery proceeded to be managed only by an administrator until 1675). In those times, the election of an abbot was by no means an inexpensive affair (a large sum was required for his confirmation), and the monastery was so financially exhausted by the construction of a new monastery church (realised in the years 1657–1661) that it did not have the means to proceed with the planned construction of monastery buildings (VILÍMKOVÁ – PREISS 1989: 131). It was not until the early 1670s that this construction went ahead, and it was likely only completed in 1678 (MÁDL – HEISLEROVÁ – ŠEFERISOVÁ LOUDOVÁ – VÁCHA et al. 2016: 808). In this context, the broadside of 1688 can also be understood as an ambitious effort of self-presentation by the Benedictine community at Saint John under the Rock, who, having survived a crisis, had once

17) For the triple identity of every Benedictine monk – namely, as a member of his monastery, the Benedictine order, and the province of the Benedictine order – see VÁCHA 2016: 60–67.

18) This connection is also expressed indirectly, by including a prayer to Gunther of Bohemia, the patron saint of the provost Auponěšický, whose cult had its centre in the Břevnov Monastery, and which was making a comeback at that time. Not long before the broadside was printed, Sartorius had managed to find Gunther’s remains, kept in the monastery church in Břevnov since 1045 and later looted by the Hussites. Thus, Sartorius did not hesitate to identify the human remains discovered in 1671 during the renovation of the Břevnov Monastery church, and later with the human remains found in 1684 in one of the church altars in Police nad Metují, as belonging to Gunther of Bohemia (MÁDL – HEISLEROVÁ – ŠEFERISOVÁ LOUDOVÁ – VÁCHA et al. 2016: 58, 166, 195–196).

again managed to achieve spiritual consolidation, and successfully finished the imposing reconstruction of its monastery.

## The broadside and the pilgrimage handbook

Although the broadside of 1688 seems to have been published only once, some of the texts and visual scenes that appear there can also be found in a pilgrimage handbook created in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. Bearing a title that also refers to the monastery of Saint John under the Rock, this book has survived both in Czech (*Sláva skrytá v jeskyni svatojanské... /The Glory Hidden in St John's Cave.../*) and German versions (*Die verborgene Ehr in der Höle Sancti Joannis...*).

The German version of the pilgrimage book was first published in 1691, with five more documented editions published during the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately, the Czech version of the pilgrimage book survives only in its (undated) fourth edition, printed sometime between 1716 and 1733, and in two later editions.<sup>20</sup> These 18<sup>th</sup>-century editions (both the German and the Czech) have been reduced in terms of both text and (especially) images in comparison to the edition of 1691,<sup>21</sup> the latter representing the most pictorially rich of all versions. The pictorial content includes a sequence of seven engravings showing scenes from the life of St Ivan, included in the Liturgy of the Hours for the St Ivan feast. The 1691 edition also includes seven other figures, mainly of Benedictine saints, or patron saints of the monastery of Saint John under the Rock. The 1691 edition of the pilgrimage book is also the most extensive in terms of text, and it is not limited – unlike most later editions – to St Ivan.

As mentioned above, most of the texts in the broadside of 1688 were later printed in the pilgrimage book as well, including the litanies to St Ivan (in the Czech version), and all prayers (in the German version). The sequence of seven images depicting scenes from the life of St Ivan from the 1688 broadside can also be found in the pilgrimage book of 1691. Incidentally, the genres used in the broadside (litanies, prayers, and the Liturgy of the Hours) are also typical for pilgrimage books (IVÁNEK 2021: 46).

19) In 1731, 1733, and 1740; in addition, two undated editions have survived, one published sometime between 1716 and 1731 and the other between 1759 and 1799.

20) The first of them was printed sometime between 1763 and 1790, and the other in 1797.

21) The first (non-preserved) edition of the Czech version of the pilgrimage book could have been concurrent with the first edition of the German version. It also remains a question whether it contained the same texts and images as the first German edition.

When comparing the broadside of 1688 and the pilgrimage book of 1691, it is evident that two of the pilgrimage book's engravings – the frontispiece and the image that precedes the prayer sequence – have practically the same theme as the broadside. As in the broadside, the book's frontispiece features St Ivan among the community of patron saints of the monastery of Saint John under the Rock: the Madonna, St John the Baptist, St Ivan, St Benedict, St Scholastica, and Gunther of Bohemia. The engraving that precedes the prayer sequence in the pilgrimage book is strikingly similar, with the Madonna in heaven, flanked by St John the Baptist and St Ivan, and with the monastery of Saint John under the Rock in the background. Also appearing in the scene are Gunther of Bohemia, Prince Bořivoj (alleged founder of the monastery), and his wife St Ludmila.

Thus, a feature common to both the broadside of 1688 and the pilgrimage book of 1691 is the way they deal with the client ties of Saint John under the Rock to its patron saints. Nevertheless, the dedication in the 1691 pilgrimage book similarly aimed to strengthen the monastery's relationship with another patron, one found among the most senior regional political representatives. This edition was dedicated to the highest Burgrave of the Bohemian Kingdom, Adolph Vratislav of Sternberg (1627–1703),<sup>22</sup> who was one of the most influential noblemen in Bohemia at that time.<sup>23</sup>

Finally, it cannot be forgotten that the 1691 pilgrimage book is the only edition to mention its author: Gunther Auponěšický, provost of the monastery of Saint John under the Rock, is attributed on the title page.<sup>24</sup> The thematic and generic links between the broadside of 1688 and the pilgrimage book of 1691, as well as the fact that Gunther Auponěšický's name appears in both (as the dedicator of the broadside and author of the pilgrimage book), raise the question whether Auponěšický also authored the texts of the broadside (or was even its creator).

Let us return, however, to the pilgrimage handbook. As mentioned above, all later editions of the Czech and German versions are significantly different from

22) For more about the life and political career of Adolph Vratislav of Sternberg, see JOUZOVÁ – JOUZA 2009: 193–205.

23) One may well ask, in this case, whether the 1691 book was not primarily initiated in an effort to attract powerful donors while the church was in difficulties. At the time, the church at the monastery was in need of repair on account of the fact that, due to poor-quality subsoil as well as strong groundwater and pressure, the rock walls immediately adjacent to the recently built church were cracking and the entire building was in danger of collapse. As a safety precaution, in 1692, the church was reinforced with iron clamps (MÁDL – HEISLEROVÁ – ŠEFERISOVÁ LOUDOVÁ – VÁCHA et al. 2016: 808–810).

24) Confirmation that Auponěšický was the author of the German version of the pilgrimage handbook raises the question of whether he should also be considered the author of the Czech version, especially if we can assume, given his function as Czech preacher at the monastery church of Saint John under the Rock, that Czech was his mother tongue.

the first edition of 1691, primarily in the sense that they are reduced in scope. In all 18<sup>th</sup>-century editions of the pilgrimage handbook, the images of the 1691 edition are either completely missing or have been replaced by a frontispiece.<sup>25</sup> This was common practice at the time: expensive illustrations were substituted by a single figure. Unlike the frontispiece of the 1691 edition, however, those from the 18<sup>th</sup>-century editions contain a conventional depiction of St Ivan with his attributes. All 18<sup>th</sup>-century editions are anonymous, and were most likely realised without the participation of the Benedictine community from Saint John under the Rock, but instead, were the printer's reaction to demand represented by 'ordinary' pilgrims to the grave of St Ivan (to whom the work seems primarily intended).

In terms of typography, a closer parallel to the 18<sup>th</sup>-century editions of the pilgrimage book might be found with a single-sheet of a smaller format (178 by 231 mm or 145 by 173 mm) than the ambitious broadside of 1688. The small single-sheet was published in Czech and German versions by the Průša printing family of Prague during the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (GEBETH; MOD-LITBA 1768).<sup>26</sup> It features a brief legend about St Ivan, a prayer, and a depiction of the saint.<sup>27</sup> Incidentally, an identical engraving can be found in an undated German edition of the above-mentioned pilgrimage book (published sometime between 1716 and 1733) as a frontispiece.<sup>28</sup>

## Conclusion

At the current research stage, we cannot say whether the broadside of 1688 is representative of early modern Bohemian vernacular or more precisely Latin-vernacular broadsides. Nevertheless, it is possible to formulate at least a few

25) See SLÁVA 1716–1733; DIE VERBORGENE EHR 1731; 1716–1733. However, the fact that the frontispiece appears in the preserved specimen does not mean that it was included in every copy, as it was still common practice in the 18<sup>th</sup> century to add it only to a limited number of copies, for financial reasons (VOIT 2008: 285).

26) The German single-sheet has been preserved in two undated copies, whose publishing can be dated sometime between 1747 and 1762 and between 1762 and 1789, thanks to the fact that the printings included the names of the printers. One copy of the Czech version of 1768 had been stored in Strahov Library (no. 5693); however, according to Hedvika Kuchařová, who kindly gave her assistance, this copy has gone missing.

27) This is one of the most common types of small-format single-sheets of its time. One-sided printing indicates that the single-sheets were intended to be put up in the home (on lids of chests, cupboard doors, and other places), or folded and inserted into books (IVÁNEK 2021: 48–49). It can be assumed that the Czech version of the single-sheet also contained the same or similar parts.

28) An overview of other early modern literary production on St Ivan, including texts initiated or created by members of the Benedictine community of St John under the Rock, is available in TADRA 1906; ŠKARPOVÁ 2021.

preliminary conclusions based on it. The broadside of 1688 apparently belongs to a kind of print production that was costly, and it does not seem to have been intended for sale (PETTEGREE 2017: 3–4). Rather, it was distributed as a gift, with the obvious aim of providing the Benedictine community of Saint John under the Rock with a form of self-presentation – a means for creating new social ties and strengthening old ones.

These aspects of the broadside of 1688 link it to contemporary thesis broadsheets, which similarly aimed at the self-presentation of the thesis defendant and his family or monastery community, and above all at celebrating the defendant's patron (ZELENKOVÁ 2020: 31–38). What is more, many thesis broadsheets<sup>29</sup> featured hagiographic elements, since they depict a saint chosen by the defendant as the patron of his bachelor's or master's defence. While most thesis broadsheets depict the saint in a 'portrait' manner or depict a key scene from the saint's legend, a thesis broadsheet from the Lower Austrian Benedictine monastery of Göttweiger in 1691 is strikingly different. Like the broadside of 1688, it combines the hagiographic theme with the self-presentation of the defendant's monastery. Furthermore, it also uses the *vita-icona* scheme: in addition to the central representation of the Göttweiger Pietà, it presents a sequence of scenes narrating episodes from the legend of the founder of the monastery of St Altmann and the history of the granting of papal and imperial privileges to the monastery (GRÜNWALD 2011). Another parallel to the broadside of 1688 among contemporary broadside production could be Latin broadsides giving the founding legend of a certain pilgrimage site and conveying the miracles that took place there. Such prints are documented from various European regions, dating as far back as the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>30</sup>

Yet the broadside of 1688 is not simply an interesting document, revealing the existence of Latin-vernacular broadsides in Bohemia during the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Its intertextual connections show how fluid the boundary was, in the early modern period, between broadsides with certain typographical and artistic ambitions and other types of single-sheet production (small-format single-sheets, "sacred pictures") on the one hand, and printed booklets on the

29) Judging by the two largest collections of thesis broadsheets, in Prague and Augsburg (FECHTNEROVÁ 1984: 738–754; GRAF /online/).

30) See, for example, HARMS et al. 1983: 23; HARMS et al. 1989, no. III.33. This kind of broadside is also documented from the Bohemian Lands; see the Latin broadside celebrating the Marian pilgrimage site in Křtiny (in the vicinity of Brno), created by Martin Antonín Lublinský and engraved by Philipp Kilian, printed in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century; the broadside was apparently commissioned by the Premonstratensian monastery in Zábřovice (Brno area), which administered the pilgrimage site (ZELENKOVÁ 2011b: 326–329).

other. A very similar link is also obvious between hagiography broadsides and the sequences of pictorial scenes from the life and posthumous cults of the holy founders of orders (or other order saints), or the founding legend of a pilgrimage site, which were depicted on the walls or ceilings of monastery buildings. As an almost regular part of monastery decoration (especially its ambits or its church), they become very popular in the early modern period, serving to help members of the monastery community adopt the ideal model of the order and identify themselves with their community, while at the same time presenting the monastery to guests (ČAPSKÁ 2011: 79–93). Unfortunately, these series of paintings have not always survived, as the case of the monastery of St John under the Rock shows.<sup>31</sup>

There is also another kind of ‘fluid boundary’ on the broadside of 1688 that can be observed in its linguistic aspect, since it uses both Czech and Latin.<sup>32</sup> The two languages alternate based on a simple principle: while the very short dedicatory parts of the broadside are in Latin, the devotional texts and ‘captions’ identifying the figures are in Czech. The text of the broadside in its entirety is therefore only accessible to the bilingual reader. However, the very use of vernacular language and genres typical of pilgrimage handbooks indicates that the broadside of 1688 was not intended exclusively for social elites with an intellectual and educated background, but was designed instead to offer multiple levels of reception for different kinds of readers. If, as according to Pettegree, the formation of various types of collective identities was one of the main functions of early modern single-sheet production in general (PETTEGREE 2017: 31), then the broadside of 1688 can be seen to aim, with much deliberation, at shaping the multiple identity and affiliation of the Benedictine community of Saint John under the Rock.

31) The sequence of frescoes with scenes from the life of St Ivan painted on the new vault of the monastery church in 1711 is unfortunately only very fragmentarily preserved, as most of them were removed during the repair of the vault in 1859; however, its original extent is verbally described in the manuscript *Florilegium Ivaneum* by Eugen Prudík. Similarly, the oldest sequence of twelve paintings from the life of St Ivan, which was placed in the monastery ambit, is unfortunately documented only by written reports, including a brief testimony to the sale of it after the abolition of the monastery at a public auction, which is recorded in the chronicle *Memoria Subrupensis* by Celestin Hostlovský. Thus, a sequence of eight scenes from the life of St Ivan in the monastery refectory (1729) is the only one of all the sequences of hagiographic scenes in the monastery of St John under the Rock which has survived in its entirety (MÁDL – HEISLEROVÁ – ŠEFERISOVÁ LOUDOVÁ – VÁCHA et al. 2016: 812–816).

32) To date, there have been no accounts in early modern Bohemia of the phenomenon which existed in Germany of broadsides featuring both Latin and vernacular texts printed in facing columns (HARMS et al. 1983: X).



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