



KNIHA
2021

ZBORNÍK
O PROBLÉMOCH A DEJINÁCH
KNIŽNEJ KULTÚRY

VÝSKUM DEJÍN KNIŽNEJ KULTÚRY NA SLOVENSKU
A V STREDOEURÓPSKOM PRIESTORE

SLOVENSKÁ NÁRODNÁ KNIŽNICA
MARTIN
2021

THE USE OF THE SAME ILLUSTRATIONS IN DIFFERENT BOOKS IN SIGMUND FEYERABEND'S PRINTING HOUSE IN FRANKFURT

Júlia PAPP

Abstract

In the 16th century book publishers not only used an illustration multiple times in the same book, but they also decorated different books, sometimes about completely different topics, with the same images. In the 1570s, Sigmund Feyerabend, a book publisher in Frankfurt, published several Ottoman-themed books and chronicles illustrated by Jost Amman. The reason for the peculiar eclecticism of the illustrations of the Turkish chronicles (in many pictures there are people with ancient clothes and weapons, as well as battle scenes with ancient war elephants and chariots) is that the publishing house also published in these chronicles woodcuts from the richly illustrated work of the Roman historian Titus Livius about the history of the Romans since the founding of Rome, also published by Feyerabend in 1568. Some of the illustrations can also be found in the 1576 edition of Sigmund von Herberstein's travelogue about his travels in Russia. In 1999 an Austrian book about Herberstein's life and works was published, which had two illustrations the authors believed depicted actual scenes from Herberstein's life, Herberstein's visits to the Russian Grand Duke and the Turkish Sultan, however, they had also been included in books about various topics published years earlier.

Keywords: book illustration, Jost Amman, Sigmund Feyerabend, Sigmund von Herberstein, Titus Livius, Turkish chronicles, 16th century

In this study I will present a method of using illustrations in books which was widespread in the 16th century, using the example of the publications of the printing house of Sigmund Feyerabend (1528 – 1590), [1] in Frankfurt. The book publishers not only used the same illustrations (mainly pictures of battles and sieges, as well as portraits) several times in different parts of the same book, but they also illustrated different books, sometimes about completely different topics, with the same images. Most of the illustrations in the books published by Feyerabend in the 1560s and 1570s were made by Jost Amman (1539 – 1591), who also worked as a draftsman and engraver.¹ Amman, who was

¹ S. PETERS, Jane., ed. *The Illustrated Bartsch. German Masters of the Sixteenth Century*. Volumes 20/21. (Part 1 / Part 2). New York: Abaris Books, 1985.; O'DELL, Ilse. *Jost Ammans Buchschmuck-Holzschnitte für Sigmund Feyerabend. Zur Technik der Verwendung von Bild-Holzstöcken in den Drucken von 1563 – 1599*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993.; BARTRUM, Giulia ed. *The New Hollstein German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts 1400–1700. Jost Amman*. Rotterdam: Sound & Vision, 2001 – 2003.; BHATTACHARYA, Tapan. Jost Amman. In: *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz*. Version von 28.06.2001. <https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/019080/2001-06-28/>; SAVIELLO, Alberto. *Imaginationen des Islam. Bildliche Darstellungen des Propheten Mohammed im westeuropäischen Buchdruck bis ins 19. Jahrhundert*. Berlin, München, Boston: De Gruyter, 2015, p. 130. About the illustrations of Feyerabend's publication see: MENDE, Ursula. *Westeuropäische Bildzeugnisse zu Rußland und Polen bis 1700. Ein Beitrag zur*

of Swiss descent, settled in Nuremberg in 1561, where he first worked in the workshop of Virgil Solis (1514 – 1562) as an assistant. The works of the excellent book illustrator, which included biblical and historical pictures as well as depictions of hunting, military life, cooking scenes, women's clothes, etc., were in part inspired by the works of Melchior Lorck (Lorichs) (1526/1527 – after 1583),² who made numerous drawings about Turkish themes in Constantinople in the second half of the 1550s.

The Turkish chronicles, which became increasingly popular in the second half of the 16th century, including Feyerabend's publications published in the 1570s, described the life of the sultans, as well as the establishment, society, religion and customs of the Ottoman Empire. Amman illustrated, among Feyerabend's publications, the 1577 edition (dedicated to Melchior Lorck)³ of Vasco Díaz Tanco's (? – 1560) Turkish chronicle written in German, which had several editions, as well as the *Chronicorum Turcicorum*,⁴ published in 1578, which had three volumes and was edited and partly written and translated by Philipp Lonicer (circa 1532 – 1599). However, some of the illustrations in the Turkish chronicles – and not only those with a Turkish theme – can also be found in Feyerabend's earlier publications. For example, in the *Thurnierbuch* written by Georg Ruxner, published in 1566 and also illustrated with pictures made by Amman, there is a woodcut depicting the ceremonial reception of a Turkish embassy in the imperial court (*Wie Keiser Heinrich der erst Botschafft außschicket / und sich wider die ungläubigen rüst*),⁵ [2] which later also appears among others in the description of the Battle of Varna⁶ in a Turkish chronicle

historischen Bildkunde. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philopophyschen Fakultät der Universität zu Köln. Bamberg, 1968, p. 12-13.

- ² FISCHER, Erik, Ernst Jonas BENCARD and Mikael Bøgh, RASMUSSEN. *Melchior Lorck.* 1–5. Copenhagen: The Royal Library, 2009 – 2010.
- ³ TANCO, Vasco Diaz. *Türkische Chronica. Warhafft e einigentliche und kurtze Beschreibung der Türcken Ankunfft, Regierung, Königen und Keysern, Kriegen, Schlachten, Victorien und Sigen, wider Christen und Heyden... Vormalß auß Italiänischer Sprach in unser Teutsche verdolmetscht durch... Heinrich Müller.* Frankfurt: Feyerabend, 1577. On the page after the title page: „Dem Edlen, Ehrnvesten und kunstreichen Herrn Melcior Lorichs zu Flenßburg, meinem großgünstigen lieben und vertrauweten Herrn und Freund.“ See: KUNZE, Horst. *Geschichte der Buchillustration in Deutschland. Das 16. und 17. Jahrhundert.* I–II. Frankfurt, Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1993, p. 473.; FISCHER, ref. 2, Volume 1, p. 130-131.; SMITH, Charlotte Colding. *Images of Islam, 1453–1600: Turks in Germany and Central Europe.* London, New York: Routledge, 2014, p. 153.
- ⁴ LONICER, Philipp. *Chronicorum Turcicorum. In quibus Turcorum origo, principes, imperatores, bella, praelia, caedes, victoriae, rei que militaris ratio...* Tomus primus. Frankfurt: Feyerabend, 1578.; LONICER, Philipp. *Chronicorum Turcicorum. In quibus diversorum regnorum, urbium, insularum, vastationes et occupationes a divesis autoribus exponuntur...* Tomus secundus. Frankfurt: Feyerabend, 1578.; LONICER, Philipp. *Chronicorum Turcicorum. In quibus vita, indoles, et adversus turcas res gestae Georgii Castrioti, Epirotarum Principis... Libris XIII describuntur a Marino Barletio, Scodrensi sacerdote.* Tomus tertius. Frankfurt: Feyerabend, 1578. See: KUNZE, ref. 3, p. 473.; MIKÓ Árpád and Katalin SINKÓ ed. *Történelem – kép. Szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatáról.* Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2000, p. 289-290.
- ⁵ RUXNER, Georg. „*Thurnier Buch. Von Anfang, Vrsachen, Vrsprung vnd Herkommen der Thurnier im Heyligen Römischen Reich Teutscher Nation...*“ Frankfurt, Feyerabend, 1566. Ilr. About the book see: SMITH, ref. 3, p. 154.
- ⁶ LONICER 1578, Volume II. 5., 47., 59.

written in Latin, as well as in a description of the life of Skanderbeg (? – 1468),⁷ though in the latter it has the caption *Legatio Ottomani ad inducias ab Hungaris in decennium petendas, quibus etiam Mysiam sine bello offert*. The engraving of the Holy Roman emperor with his two sons and his entourage titled *Der Römische Keiser rüstet sich sampt seinen zweyen Söhnen / und mit seinem eignen Volck* [3] in the *Thurnierbuch* also appears several times in Lonicer's chronicle.⁸ The scene in the 1566 publication depicting tournaments (*Underricht deß Thurniersgezeugk; Das Rennen und Stechen etc.*) [4] is cleverly included in the chronicle of Lonicer as an illustration of the topic of *Paulus vincit Barbarum in duello*.⁹ Leonhard Fronsperger's (circa 1520 – 1575) work, which comprehensively describes the military theories and technology of his time and also played an important role in military education, was published by Feyerabend in 1573 and had several later editions, and included Turkish-themed pictures, among others scenes of battles, which will later also appear in the chronicles.¹⁰

In 1576 and then in 1579, after several previous European editions, Feyerabend published in German the travelogue of Sigmund von Herberstein (1486 – 1566), a diplomat of four Habsburg emperors who was very popular and famous in his life. This travelogue is considered to be the first European description of Russia.¹¹ It also includes images appearing in Fronsperger's book and in the later Turkish chronicles. Herberstein's description of his journey is followed by the text of Paolo Giovio's (1483 – 1552) short "booklet" (libellus), in which the Italian humanist wrote about the geographical features of Moscow based on the data of Dmitry Gerasimov (circa 1465 – after 1535), a Russian ambassador, interpreter and philologist who had come to negotiate with Pope Clement VII (1478 – 1534) in 1525 as the ambassador of Grand Duke Vasili III (1479 – 1533) about joining the league against the Ottomans. Gerasimov, like Herberstein, visited many countries, e.g. Emperor Maximilian I's court, Sweden and Denmark. During his stay in Rome, he gave a detailed description of the geography of Russia and the northern countries to Giovio. The information was published by Giovio in 1525 in a book without illustrations.¹² In the travelogue published by Feyerabend in 1576 some of the illustrations depict scenes

⁷ LONICER 1578, Volume III, 213r. See also: 192r., 221r.

⁸ RÜXNER 1566, Vv; LONICER 1578, Volume III, 13r., 32v and 46r., 179r., 201v. etc.

⁹ RÜXNER 1566, XXIr.; LXXIIIv. etc. The picture appears several times in the book with different explanations; LONICER 1578, Volume III, 59r.

¹⁰ Leonhard FRONSPERGER, *Kriegsbuch. Aender Theyl...* Frankfurt, Feyerabend, 1573. XVr, LXXIIIr, LXXVr.; Leonhard FRONSPERGER, *Kriegsbuch. Dritter Theyl...* Frankfurt, Feyerabend, 1573. CXXXVv., CXXXIXr., CXLIr, CLXXXIIr., CLXXXIXv., CXCIr. etc. The more than 20 illustrations in the book were made by Amman. See: S. PETERS, ref. 1, 12.3 (360) – 12.16 (360) p. 214-226.; O'DELL, ref. 1, p. 23.

¹¹ HERBERSTEIN, Sigmund. *Die Moscovitische Chronica. Das ist Ein gründtliche beschreibung oder Historia / deß mechtigen vnd gewaltigen Großfürsten in der Moscauw...* Frankfurt: Feyerabend, 1576. (Reprint: 1579). Most recently with detailed literature: PAPP, Júlia. Sigmund von Herberstein kiadványainak magyar vonatkozású illusztrációi. In: *Magyar Könyvszemle*. No. 137, 2021/1. 1-38

¹² *Pauli Iovii Nouocomensis libellus de legatione Basilii magni Principis Moschouiae ad Clementem VII, Pont. Max...* Roma: ex aedibus Francisci Minitii Calvi, 1525. See: ZIMMERMAN, T. C. Price. *Paolo Giovio. The Historian and the Crisis of Sixteenth-Century Italy*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1995. 65-67.

with ambassadors. At the beginning of Giovio's text (1r) there is the first picture, which appears several times later (103r, 106r etc), in which we see a solemn reception. [5] Although Giovio's text contains a description of Russia, this illustration depicts a scene in an Ottoman setting. This is no coincidence, as the picture can be found in the third volume of Fronsperger's *Kriegsbuch*, published in 1573, as an illustration of the sultan's banquet (*Von grossen Bancket desß Soldans*).¹³ The next illustration (12v, 99v), which is related to Herberstein's text, also has an oriental theme. In this picture we see a European man in a short-length outfit elegantly bowing before a Turkish man of high rank with an ornate turban standing with his back to the viewer. [6] The next woodcut (51r, 123v) also depicts a Turkish environment: a turbaned Turkish man sitting in an ornate tent greets people in Turkish clothes while an armed Janissary watches the event next to the tent. [7] Although an Austrian book published in 1999 described the last two scenes as Herberstein's visit to Sultan Suleiman I (1494 – 1566) and Vasili III,¹⁴ the illustrations are in fact independent of the text, as we encounter them already in Fronsperger's book before the publication of the travelogue and later also in the Turkish chronicles,¹⁵ so we cannot interpret them as depictions of Herberstein's journeys. The illustration appearing in both the 1576 travelogue and the Turkish chronicles presumably also depicts an audience with the sultan.¹⁶ [8]

In one of the illustrations of the *Moscouitische Chronica* published in 1576, which does not take place in a Turkish setting, we see a king in a crown and armor sitting in an ornate chair in the tent of a military camp, to whom a kneeling man in a European outfit hands a letter (110r). [9] Since the text here says that Emperor Charles and Archduke Ferdinand sent Herberstein to the King of Poland and the Grand Duke of Moscow for peace negotiations, this image could be the closest to the information contained in the text around the picture. However, this illustration is actually also independent of the text, as it previously appeared in Fronsperger's military publication¹⁷ in 1573 and will later also appear in the Turkish chronicles. Illustrations in Herberstein's 1576 travelogue also include images unrelated to diplomacy. The description of the Turks was illustrated by an image depicting an elegant Turkish man and a Janissary standing behind him, which can also be found

¹³ FRONSPERGER, Leonhard. *Kriegsbuch*. Volume III. Frankfurt: Feyerabend, 1573. CCXIIr.

¹⁴ SENFT, Hilde und Willi. *Aufbruch ins Unbekannte. 50 österreichische Forscher und Entdecker von Herberstein bis Harrer*. Graz: L. Stocker, 1999. 17., With the inscription: *Herberstein vor Sultan Süleyman II. „dem Prächtigen“*; SENFT, ref. 14, p. 19. With the inscription: *Empfang bei Großfürst Johannes Basilius in Moskau*.

¹⁵ See for example: FRONSPERGER, Leonhard. *Kriegsbuch*. Volume II. Frankfurt: Feyerabend, 1573, XVr, LXXIIIr, LXXVr; Volume III, CLXXXIIr, CLXXXIXv., CXCIr.; TANCO 1577, 55r.; LONICER 1578, Volume I, 5r.; LONICER 1578, Volume II, 117r., LONICER 1578, Volume III, 34r, 73r, 114r, 123v, 156r, 181r, and 19v, 39v, 113r, 154v, 210v, 218r, 255v, 265r, etc. About the illustrations of Feyerabend's publication see: MENDE, ref. 1, p. 12-13.

¹⁶ HERBERSTEIN 1576, 105r; LONICER 1578, Volume I, 1r, LONICER 1578, Volume II. 2, LONICER 1578, Volume III, 19r, 127r, 167v. etc.

¹⁷ See for example: FRONSPERGER 1573, Volume II, XXXVIr, LXXVr.; Volume III, CXLr, CXLVIIv,

in Fronsperger's work published in 1573.¹⁸ Both publications also feature several battle scenes depicting the fights between Turks and Christians.¹⁹

The chronicles of Vasco Díaz Tanco in 1577 and Lonicer in 1578 followed similar editorial principles: at the beginning of both we can read about the origins of the Turks, followed by the genealogy and history of the Ottoman ruling families, with emphasis put on the military conquest of Selim I (1470 – 1520) and his son, Suleiman I. In connection with the conflicts between Ottomans and Christians, they describe not only the wars, but also the religious differences. Although the publications also describe the court of Constantinople and the life, religion and customs of the empire, most of the illustrations presented the battles, i.e. the military power and conquests of the Ottomans.²⁰ There are also pictures about the history of the earlier Turkish rulers and their enemies: one of Amman's illustrations in Vasco Díaz Tanco's publication depicts Sultan Bayezid I, imprisoned in an iron cage by the Mongolian ruler Tamerlane (Timur Lenk).²¹ [10] The sultan was indeed captured by Timur Lenk in the Battle of Ankara in 1402 and died there, but his imprisonment in an iron cage is fictional. In any case, the frightening and dramatic motif was so popular that it also appears in the 1863 lithograph of Johann Nepomuk Geiger (1805–1880).

The reason for the peculiar eclecticism of the illustrations of the Turkish chronicles published by Feyerabend (especially the third volume of Lonicer's book), i.e. that in addition to oriental, Turkish themes and motifs, many pictures depict people in ancient clothes and armor, as well as battle scenes with ancient battle elephants and chariots, is that the publishing house also included in them woodcuts from the richly illustrated works²² of the Roman historians Titus Livius (59 BC – 17) and Lucius Annaeus Florus (circa 74 – after 147) about the history of Rome beginning from the founding of the city (ab urbe condita), which was also published by Feyerabend.

Illustrations also appear in the German edition²³ of Titus Livius's work published in 1505 by Johann Schöffers's printing house in Mainz, translated by Bernhard Schöfflerlin and Luone Wittich von Gamelburg. Although the 236 woodcut illustrations in the publication show the events of the described story – one scene depicts Romulus and Remus in the basket on the river Tiber, another scene the couple who will later raise the children finding them (with the wolf standing next to them), Romulus killing Remus, the Abduction of the Sabine Women, etc. –, the scenes take place in a late 15th century setting (the buildings, the outfits of the characters, etc.).

¹⁸ HERBERSTEIN 1576, 75v, 88r; FRONSPERGER 1573, Volume III, CXXXIXv.

¹⁹ FRONSPERGER 1573, Volume III, CXXXIXr, CXLlr; HERBERSTEIN 1576, 83r, 120r, and FRONSPERGER 1573, Volume III, CXLv; HERBERSTEIN 1576, 79v.

²⁰ SMITH, ref. 3, p. 153-157.

²¹ Tanco 1577, 9v.; LONICER 1578, Volume I, 12v. See: SMITH, ref. 3, p. 157.

²² Titus LIUIUS, Vnd Lucius FLORUS. *Von Ankunfft vnd Vrsprung deß Römischen Reichs, der alten Römer herkommen, Sitten, Weyßheit ...* Frankfurt: Feyerabend, 1568. See: KUNZE, ref. 3, p. 263.

²³ SCHÖFFERLIN, Bernhard, WITTICH VON GAMELBURG, Luone. *Römische Historie vß Tito Liuiu gezogen*, Mentz: J. Schoffer, 1505. See: KUNZE, ref. 3, p. 263.

European editions of the ancient historical work were also published later, and in the 1560s Sigmund Feyerabend planned to make a new edition with illustrations by Jost Amman. The illustrations in the volume published in 1568, as described in the title (*Mit schönen Figuren geziert, deßgleichen vorhin im Druck nie außgangen*), were also made for the text of the book (though some of the woodcuts appear several times here as well), so it includes e.g. the wolf suckling Romulus and Remus and Romulus killing Remus. However, the illustrations in this volume – including the outfits, buildings and weapons – were made to resemble the ancient era much more than the images in the 1505 edition. Feyerabend published the ancient historical work for a second time in the same year. As seen in the copy decorated with colored woodcuts kept in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, the illustrations in the two volumes are mostly, but not exactly, identical.²⁴ In 1572, Philipp Lonicer published the pictures in the Livius volume in a separate Latin volume, dedicating it to Sigmund Feyerabend and explaining what the illustrations depict with poems consisting of eight lines.²⁵ Some scenes – with different explanations – are included several times here as well. The illustrations were published again in 1573 with explanatory poems written in German.²⁶

The book about the history of ancient Rome was also published by Theodosius Rihel in Strasbourg in 1574 and 1575, with new woodcut illustrations intended to resemble the ancient world, like those of Amman, placed into ornate frames with different patterns, made by Tobias Stimmer (1539 – 1584). [11] Some of the 131 images were included in the volume several times here as well.²⁷ Similar ornate frames appear on the woodcuts in which Stimmer depicted some of the paintings of Giovo's well-known portrait collection of famous men in Como, partly based on coins and medallions.²⁸

Feyerabend considered the images depicting the events in the ancient historical works of Titus Livius and Lucius Annaeus Florus (such as General Marcus Valerius Corvus defeating the Samnis [12] or Hannibal crossing the mountains with his war elephants) [13]

²⁴ Titi LIVII Patavini, *Romanæ Historiæ Principis, Libri Omnes, Quotquot Ad Nostram Ætatem Pervenervnt...* Frankfurt: Feyerabend, 1568.

²⁵ LONICER, Philipp, AMMAN, JOST. *Icones Livianæ: Præcipuas Romanorum Historias Magno Artificio Ad Vivum Expressas oculis repræsentantes...* 1572. [Impressvm Francofvrti Ad Moenvm... 1573]. See: HARJES, Imke. *Figurenbände der Renaissance. Entwicklung und Rezeption einer Buchgattung (1533–1600)*. Weimar: Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften, 2008, p. 59.

²⁶ BOCKSPERGERN, Johan. *Neuwe Liuische Figuren, darinnen die gantze Römische Historien künstlich begriffen und angezeigt... Geordnet und gestellt durch...* Frankfurt: Feyerabend, 1573. See: HARJES, ref. 25, p. 59.

²⁷ Titus LIUIUS, Vnd Lucius FLORUS. *Von Ankunfft unnd Ursprung des Römischen Reichs...* Straßburg: Rihel, 1574. See: BENDEL, Max. *Tobias Stimmer, Leben und Werke*. Zürich, Berlin: Atlantis Verlag, 1940, p. 86–89.; *Spätrenaissance am Oberrhein. Ausstellung im Kunstmuseum*. Basel: Kunstmuseum, 1984. item 57, 175–176.; KUNZE, ref. 3, p. 263.

²⁸ Pauli IOVII Novocomensis Episcopi Nucerni *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium...* Basil: Petri Perna typographi, 1575.; STIMMER, Tobias. *Eigentliche und gedenkwürdige Contrafacturen oder anbildungen wolverdienter unnd weitberümpfter Kriegshelden auss des hochwürdigen Bischoffs Pauli Jovii Elogiis oder Rhumschriften gezogen...* Basel: Peter Perna, 1577. See: BENDEL, ref., p. 89–90.; BIETENHOLZ, Peter G. *Historia and Fabula. Myths and Legends in Historical Thought from Antiquity to the Modern Age*. Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1994. 205.; GAYLARD, Susan. *Hollow man. Writing, Objects, and Public Image in Renaissance Italy*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2013. 168–169.

suitable for illustrating the life and deeds of Skanderbeg in Lonicer's chronicle.²⁹ The same picture appears in many other examples in more than one publication: the above mentioned woodcut, for example, which is included both in the *Thurnierbuch* (*Der Römische Keiser rüstet sich sampt seinen zweyen Sünden / und mit seinem eignen Volck*) [3] and the third volume of Lonicer's chronicle, in Titus Livius's historical work illustrated a scene about Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus (519 BC – 430 BC).³⁰ The earlier mentioned illustration depicting the battle of armored warriors on horses in the *Thurnierbuch* and Lonicer's chronicle [4] illustrates in the *Icones Livianae* the martial games connected to the Roman celebration of Consualia (Consuales Ludi). (*Sabinarum Naptus dum Consualia celebrantur*)³¹ It seems, therefore, that Feyerabend commissioned some of the illustrations, as we have seen in the case of the images depicting the history of Romulus and Remus, for their first use for specific passages, and later reused them in other books about different topics and the history of different eras. For other illustrations, such as some battle scenes or images depicting a greeting of ambassadors, he may have commissioned the drawing of general pictorial tropes that could be used even more universally. Some of Amman's images depicting Turkish and ancient scenes appear in the *Kunstbüchlin*, published as an art model book in 1578 and 1599, which included many of the artist's illustrations depicting all kinds of different topics, not organized in any clearly understandable system.³²

Some of the pictures in the ancient historical work and in the Turkish chronicles can also be found in the historical work (*Rerum Vngaricarum Decades*) of Antonio Bonfini (circa 1427 – circa 1502), the Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus's (1443 – 1490) court historian from Italy, which was also published by Feyerabend in German in 1581.³³ The above-mentioned illustration related to Cincinnatus in Titus Livius's work and to the Holy Roman emperor in Lonicer's Turkish chronicle [3], for example, is found in Bonfini's chronicle in the passage describing Władysław III being elected as king.³⁴ A Turkish-themed depiction in Bonfini's book previously appeared in both Fronsperger's book and Lonicer's chronicle.³⁵ In the description of the life of Stephen I of Hungary (975 – 1038) there is a woodcut depicting the death of Skanderbeg,³⁶ [14] and in the section about the struggle for the throne under Solomon, King of Hungary (1053 – 1087) appears the woodcut depicting Sultan Bayezid I, imprisoned in an iron cage by Timur

²⁹ LIUIUS 1568, [Das VII. Buch] and [Das XXI. Buch]; LONICER, AMMAN 1572, Fig. XXXV. and Fig. LIX.; LONICER 1578, Volume III, 5v, 108v, 204v, 208r, and 7r, 27r, 43v, 99v, 160r. See: S. PETERS, ref. 1, p. 3.35 (367) 364., 3.77 (367) 385. and 3.59 (367) 376.

³⁰ RÜXNER 1566, Vv; LIUIUS 1568, [Das VII. Buch]; LONICER 1578, Volume III, 13r., 32v, 46r, 179r, 201v, etc.; LONICER, AMMAN 1572, Fig. XXI. See: S. PETERS, ref. 1, p. 3.21 (367) 357.

³¹ LONICER, AMMAN 1572, Fig. IIII. See: S. PETERS, ref. 1, p. 3.4 (367) 348.

³² See: WERNER, Alfred introduction. 293 *Renaissance Woodcuts for Artists and Illustrators. Just Amman's Kunstbüchlin*. New York: Dover Publications, 1968.

³³ BONFINI, Antonio. *Ungerische Chronica. Das ist Ein gründtliche beschreibung deß aller mächtigsten und gewaltigsten Königreichs Ungern...* Frankfurt: Feyerabend., 1581.

³⁴ LIUIUS 1568, MIIV.; LONICER 1578, Volume I, 12v.; BONFINI 1581, 357r.

³⁵ LONICER 1578, Volume I, 5r.; LONICER 1578, Volume III, 19v, 39v, 113r, 154v, 210v, 218r; BONFINI 1581, 33v. The image also appears in Fronsberger's *Kriegskunst*. BARTRUM, 2001 – 2003, Volume IV, item 94.27.

³⁶ LONICER 1578, Volume III, 230r; BONFINI 1581, 94v.

Lenk.³⁷ [10] The blinding of the Hungarian King Peter Orseolo (1011 – 1059) was illustrated with a woodcut depicting the life of Skanderbeg in the second volume of the *Chronicorum Turcicorum*.³⁸ [15]

The illustrations commissioned by Feyerabend can be found not only in the books published by the printing house, but also in other publications. In the chapter of Sebastian Münster's monumental, encyclopedic cosmography made in the late 16th century describing the Ottoman Empire, the image of Suleiman I [16] and Amurates III (1546 – 1595) [17] was taken from Lonicer's *Chronicorum Turcicorum*, although the second mentioned illustration there depicts Amurates II (1404 – 1451).³⁹

At the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century, book publishers usually did not use illustrations depicting the clothes, weapons and buildings of the periods their historical publications wanted to show to the readers: the pictures most often showed these details as they were in the era of the books' publication. However, from the second half of the 16th century, more and more publishers, including Siegmund Feyerabend in Frankfurt, sought to publish illustrations that appeared more authentic in their historical works. For example, when Feyerabend commissioned illustrations for Titus Livius's history of Rome, he asked not only for pictures depicting specific scenes of the story, but he also wanted to bring the ancient world to life on the woodcuts with its weapons, clothes, chariots and Hannibal's elephants. However, the authenticity of the illustrations did not remain when, for trivivial reasons, he also occasionally published these engravings in later publications about completely different historical eras, such as the history of the Ottoman Empire, and, as was the custom of his era, sometimes they appeared more than once in the same book. Although this gives a unique eclecticism to his publications, even the images that are not closely related to the text certainly made the books more interesting and easier to understand for the readers of that period. The popularity of high quality illustrations is also shown by the fact that some of them have also been used by other publishers.

Resumé

In my presentation, I use the example of the publications of Siegmund Feyerabend (1528–1590), a book publisher in Frankfurt, to talk about a practice of the multiple use of illustrations that was widespread in the 16th century. Book publishers not only used an illustration multiple times in the same book, placing the illustration in different contexts in different parts of the text, but they also decorated different books, sometimes about completely different topics, with the same images.

In the 1570s, Feyerabend published several Ottoman-themed books and chronicles. Most of the illustrations of these publications were made by Jost Amman (1539–1591). Amman also illustrated Vasco Díaz Tanco's (?–1560) Turkish chronicle, which had several editions,

³⁷ TANGO 1577, 9v.; BONFINI 1581, 123v. See: MIKÓ – SINKÓ, ref. 4, item IV-10, 291.

³⁸ BONFINI 1581, 106r. LONICER 1578, Volume I, 2r. See: MIKÓ – SINKÓ, ref. 4, item IV-10, 291.

³⁹ MÜNSTER, Sebastian. *Cosmographie: das ist, Beschreibung Aller Länder, Herrschafften vnd fürnemesten Stetten des gantzen Erdbodens, sampt ihren Gelegenheiten, Eygenschafften, Religion, Gebräuchen, Geschichten vnd Handtirungen...* Basel: Sebastian Henricpetri, 1598. Suleiman's portrait: MÜNSTER 1598, 1297., LONICER 1578, Volume I, 34v. Amurates: MÜNSTER 1598, 1300. LONICER 1578, Volume I, 17v.

and the *Chronicorum Turcicorum* by Philipp Lonicer (? –1599), published in 1578, which had three volumes. The reason for the peculiar eclecticism of the illustrations of the Turkish chronicles published by Feyerabend – meaning that they depicted not only oriental, Turkish themes and motifs, but in many pictures there are people with ancient clothes and weapons, as well as battle scenes with ancient war elephants and chariots – is that the publishing house also published in these chronicles woodcuts from the richly illustrated work of the Roman historian Titus Livius (59–17 BC) about the history of the Romans since the founding of Rome (*Libri ab urbe condita*), also published by Feyerabend in 1568.

Some of the illustrations can also be found in the 1576 edition of Sigmund von Herberstein's (1486–1566) travelogue about his travels in Russia and in the 1581 edition of Antonio Bonfini's (1434–1502) *Chronicle of the Hungarians*, published in Frankfurt. The topicality of the research of the topic is shown by the fact that in 1999 an Austrian book about Herberstein's life and works was published, and, based on the book, several websites identified two woodcuts in Feyerabend's 1576 Herberstein publication as a depiction of his visit to the Russian Grand Duke and to the Turkish Sultan, however, they had also been included in books about various topics published years earlier.

LIST OF BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES

Primary sources

BOCKSPERGERN, Johan. *Neuwe Liuische Figuren, darinnen die gantze Römische Historien künstlich begriffen und angezeigt... Geordnet und gestellt durch...* Frankfurt: Feyerabend, 1573.

BONFINI, Antonio. *Ungerische Chronica, Das ist Ein gründtliche beschreibung deß aller mächtigsten und gewaltigsten Königreichs Ungern...* Frankfurt: Feyerabend., 1581.

FRONSPERGER, Leonhard. *Kriegßbuch*. Volume II. Frankfurt: Feyerabend, 1573.

FRONSPERGER, Leonhard. *Kriegßbuch*. Volume III. Frankfurt: Feyerabend, 1573.

HERBERSTEIN, Sigmund *Die Moscouitische Chronica. Das ist Ein gründtliche beschreibung oder Historia / deß mechtigen vnd gewaltigen Großfürsten in der Moscauw...* Frankfurt: Feyerabend, 1576.

Pauli IOVII Novocomensis Episcopi Nucerni *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium...* Basil: Petri Pernaë typographi, 1575.

Titus LIUIUS, Vnd Lucius FLORUS. *Von Ankunfft vnd Vrsprung deß Römischen Reichs, der alten Römer herkommen, Sitten, Weyßheit ...* Frankfurt: Feyerabend, 1568.

Titus LIVII Patavini, *Romanæ Historiæ Principis, Libri Omnes, Quotquot Ad Nostram Ætatem Perueniunt...* Frankfurt: Feyerabend, 1568.

- Titus LIUIUS, Vnd Lucius FLORUS. *Von Ankunfft unnd Ursprung des Römischen Reichs...* Straßburg: Rihel, 1574.
- LONICER, Philipp. *Chronicorum Turcicorum. In quibus Turcorum origo, principes, imperatores, bella, praelia, caedes, victoriae, rei que militaris ratio...* Tomus primus. Frankfurt: Feyerabend, 1578.
- LONICER, Philipp. *Chronicorum Turcicorum. In quibus diversorum regnorum, urbium, insularum, vastationes et occupationes a divesis autoribus exponuntur...* Tomus secundus. Frankfurt: Feyerabend, 1578.
- LONICER, Philipp. *Chronicorum Turcicorum. In quibus vita, indoles, et adversus turcas res gestae Georgii Castrioti, Epirotarum Principis... Libris XIII describuntur a Marino Barletio, Scodrensi sacerdote.* Tomus tertius. Frankfurt: Feyerabend, 1578.
- MÜNSTER, Sebastian. *Cosmographie: das ist, Beschreibung Aller Länder, Herrschafften und fürnemesten Stetten des gantzen Erdbodens, sampt ihren Gelegenheiten, Eygenschafften, Religion, Gebräuchen, Geschichten und Handtierungen...* Basel: Sebastian Henricpetri, 1598.
- RÜXNER, Georg. *Thurnier Buch. Von Anfang, Vrsachen, Vrsprung und Herkommen der Thurnier im Heyligen Römischen Reich Teutscher Nation...* Frankfurt, Feyerabend, 1566.
- STIMMER, Tobias. *Eigentliche und gedenkwürdige Contrafacturen oder anbildungen wolverdienter unnd weitberümpfter Kriegshelden auss des hochwürdigen Bischoffs Pauli Jovii Elogiis oder Rhumschriften gezogen...* Basel: Peter Perna, 1577.
- TANCO, Vasco Diaz. *Türkische Chronica. Warhafft einigentliche und kurtze Beschreibung der Türcken Ankunfft, Regierung, Königen und Keysern, Kriegen, Schlachten, Victorien und Sigen, wider Christen und Heyden... Vormals auß Italiänischer Sprach in unser Teutsche verdolmetscht durch...Heinrich Müller.* Frankfurt: Feyerabend, 1577.

Literature

- BARTRUM, Giulia ed. *The New Hollstein German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts 1400 – 1700.* Jost Amman. Rotterdam: Sound & Vision, 2001 – 2003.
- BENDEL, MAX. *Tobias Stimmer, Leben und Werke.* Zürich, Berlin: Atlantis Verlag, 1940.
- BIETENHOLZ, Peter G. *Historia and Fabula. Myths and Legends in Historical Thought from Antiquity to the Modern Age.* Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1994.
- GAYLARD, Susan. *Hollow man. Writing, Objects, and Public Image in Renaissance Italy.* New York: Fordham University Press, 2013.
- HARJES, Imke. *Figurenbände der Renaissance. Entwicklung und Rezeption einer Buchgattung (1533 – 1600).* Weimar: Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften, 2008.

- KUNZE, Horst. *Geschichte der Buchillustration in Deutschland. Das 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. I–II.* Frankfurt, Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1993.
- MENDE, Ursula. *Westeuropäische Bildzeugnisse zu Rußland und Polen bis 1700. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Bildkunde.* Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität zu Köln. Bamberg, 1968.
- MIKÓ Árpád, SINKÓ Katalin ed. *Történelem – kép. Szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatáról.* Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2000.
- SMITH, Charlotte Colding. *Images of Islam, 1453 – 1600: Turks in Germany and Central Europe.* London, New York: Routledge, 2014.
- SENF, Hilde und Willi. *Aufbruch ins Unbekannte. 50 österreichische Forscher und Entdecker von Herberstein bis Harrer.* Graz: L. Stocker, 1999.
- S. PETERS, Jane., ed. *The Illustrated Bartsch German Masters of the Sixteenth Century.* Volumes 20/21. (Part 1 /Part 2) New York: Abaris Books, 1985.
- ZIMMERMAN, T. C. Price. *Paolo Giovio. The Historian and the Crisis of Sixteenth-Century Italy.* New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1995.



Pict. 5 Bookillustration. In: HERBERSTEIN, Sigmund *Die Moscovitische Chronica. Das ist Ein gründliche beschreibung oder Historia / deß mechtigen vnd gewaltigen Grossfürsten in der Moscauw...* Frankfurt: Feyerabend, 1576. 1r.



Pict. 6 Bookillustration. In: HERBERSTEIN, Sigmund *Die Moscovitische Chronica. Das ist Ein gründliche beschreibung oder Historia / deß mechtigen vnd gewaltigen Grossfürsten in der Moscauw...* Frankfurt: Feyerabend, 1576. 99v.



Pict. 7 Bookillustration. In: HERBERSTEIN, Sigmund *Die Moscouitische Chronica. Das ist Ein gründliche beschreibung oder Historia / deß mechtigen vnd gewaltigen Großfürsten in der Moscauw...* Frankfurt: Feyerabend, 1576. 123v.

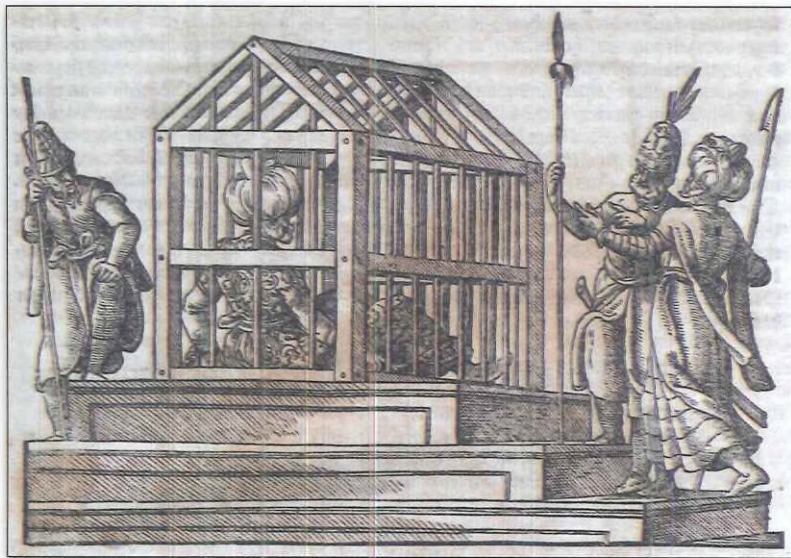


Pict. 8 Bookillustration. In: HERBERSTEIN, Sigmund *Die Moscouitische Chronica. Das ist Ein gründliche beschreibung oder Historia / deß mechtigen vnd gewaltigen Großfürsten in der Moscauw...* Frankfurt: Feyerabend, 1576. 105r.



Pict. 9 Bookillustration. In: HERBERSTEIN, Sigmund *Die Moscouitische Chronica. Das ist Ein gründliche beschreibung oder Historia / deß mechtigen vnd gewaltigen Großfürsten in der Moscauw...* Frankfurt: Feyerabend, 1576. 110r.





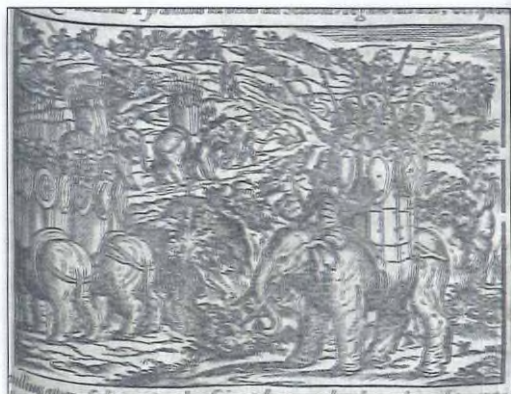
Pict. 10 Bookillustration. In: TANCO, Vasco Diaz. *Türkische Chronica...* Frankfurt: Feyerabend, 1577. 9v.



Pict. 11 Bookillustration. In: Titus LIUIUS, Vnd Lucius FLORUS. *Von Anknufft unnd Ursprung des Römischen Reichs...* Straßburg: Rihel, 1574. 5r.



Pict. 12 Bookillustration. In: Titus LIUIUS, Vnd Lucius FLORUS. *Von Anknufft und Vrsprung deß Römischen Reichs, der alten Römer herkommen, Sitten, Weysheit...* Frankfurt: Feyerabend, 1568. s. p. [Das VII. Buch]



Pict. 13 Bookillustration. In: Titus LIUIUS, Vnd Lucius FLORUS. *Von Anknufft und Vrsprung deß Römischen Reichs, der alten Römer herkommen, Sitten, Weyßheit ...* Frankfurt: Feyerabend, 1568. s. p. [Das XXI. Buch]



Pict. 14 Bookillustration. In: Philipp Lonicer: *Chronicorum Turcicorum*. III. Frankfurt, 1578. 230r.



Pict. 15 Bookillustration. In: Antonio Bonfini: Ungerische Chronica. Frankfurt, 1581. 94v.



Pict. 16 Suleiman I. Bookillustration. In: LONICER, Philipp. *Chronicorum Turcicorum. In quibus Turcorum origo, principes, imperatores, bella, praelia, caedes, victoriae, rei que militaris ratio...* Tomus primus. Frankfurt: Feyerabend, 1578. 34v.



Pict. 17 Amurates II. Bookillustration. In: LONICER, Philipp. *Chronicorum Turcicorum. In quibus Turcorum origo, principes, imperatores, bella, praelia, caedes, victoriae, rei que militaris ratio...* Tomus primus. Frankfurt: Feyerabend, 1578. 17v.

POUŽÍVANIE ROVNAKÝCH ILUSTRÁCIÍ V RÔZNYCH TLAČIACH Z PRODUKCIE FRANKFURTSKEJ TLAČIARNE SIGMUNDA FEYERABENDA

V predkladanej štúdií sa zaoberáme problematikou používania ilustrácií v tlačiach 16. storočia a to na príklade produkcie frankfurtského vydavateľa Sigmunda Feyerabenda (1528-1590). Vydavatelia kníh používali jeden štočok viackrát v tej istej knihe, pričom ilustráciu umiestnili v odlišnom kontexte do rôznych častí textu a rovnaký obrázok použili v rozdielnych tituloch a mohli to byť aj diela s inou tematikou.

V 70. rokoch 15. storočia vydal Feyerabend niekoľko kníh a kroník s osmanskou tematikou. Väčšinu ilustrácií týchto publikácií vytvoril Jost Amman (1539 – 1591). Amman tiež ilustroval tureckú kroniku Vasca Díaza Tanca (? – 1560), ktorá mala niekoľko vydaní, a *Chronicorum Turcicorum* od Filipa Lonicera (? – 1599), uverejnená v roku 1578, ktorá mala tri zväzky. Dôvod zvláštneho eklekticismu ilustrácií tureckých kroník publikovaných Feyerabendom – to znamená, že zobrazovali nielen orientálne, turecké témy a motívy, ale na mnohých obrázkoch sú ľudia so starodávnym odevom a zbraňami, ako aj bojové scény a historické vojnové povozy či slony – je to, že vydavateľstvo v týchto kronikách zverejnilo aj drevoryty z bohato ilustrovaného diela od rímskeho historika Tita Livia (59–17 pred Kr.) o dejinách Rimanov od založenia Ríma (*Libri ab urbe condita*), vydané tiež Feyerabendom v roku 1568.

Rovnaké ilustrácie môžeme nájsť aj v cestopisnej publikácii o cestách Ruskom z roku 1576 od Sigmunda von Herbersteina (1486 – 1566) a vo vydaní diela *Kronika Maďarov* od Antonia Bonfiniho (1434 – 1502), obe vydané vo Frankfurte.

Aktuálnosť výskumu témy poukazuje na skutočnosť, že v roku 1999 vyšla v Rakúsku kniha o Herbersteinovom živote a jeho diele a na jej základe viaceré weby identifikovali dva drevoryty vo Feyerabendom vydané publikácii od Herbersteina z roku 1576. Ide o zobrazenie jeho návštevy u ruského veľkovojevodu a obraz tureckého sultána, avšak ilustrácie boli v súvislosti s rozličnými témami publikované v tlačiach už skôr.

Júlia PAPP, PhD

Institute for Art History, Research Centre for the Humanities,
1097 Budapest, Tóth Kálmán utca 4.
papp.julia@abtk.hu

1981: Graduated in history and art history from the Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest

1986: Graduated in aesthetics from the Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

1997: PhD Graduation

2009: Working at the Research Centre for the Humanities of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Art History as a senior research fellow.

Autorka vyštudovala históriu a dejiny umenia na Univerzite Eötvösa Loránda v Budapešti a estetiku na Univerzite Eötvösa Loránda taktiež v Budapešti. Pracuje vo Výskumnom centre humanitných vied Maďarskej akadémie vied a v Ústave dejín umenia ako vedúci vedecký pracovník.