


Exiles from Bohemian Lands in Estonia after 1620 and Their Publishing Activities

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Abstract

Contacts between the inhabitants of the Bohemian lands and present-day Estonia in the early modern period have been relatively unexplored. In the 16th century, these were mainly individuals, such as Thomas Horner from Cheb, who lived and wrote in several places in present-day Estonia. However, the influx of exiles during the Thirty Years' War marked a change. Most of them arrived in Estonia in the 1640s, leaving their mark in the local Estonian occasional print. Thomas Procopius is one example, as he published ribbing poetic broadsheets in Tallinn. Immigrants continued to arrive long after the end of the Thirty Years' War; for example, Jiří Holík visited Tallinn several times and donated his printed horticultural works to the city council. Michael Sigismundi from Frýdlant, the author of a tribute to the Greek language and many occasional prints, was a professor and later rector of the Tallinn Gymnasium from 1677 to 1709. This article also provides information about Bohemical prints in Estonian libraries, including the first edition of a 1623 report by Friedrich Seidel, a member of Friedrich of Krekwitz's envoy to the High Porte, and a unique print of one of the last theses of the Prague Utraquist University by Andreas Aquinas.

Key words

Thirty Years' War – Bohemica – Estonia – Exiles from Bohemia – Thomas Horner – Thomas Procopius – Michael Sigismundi – Matthias of Thurn – Occasional poetry – Friedrich Seidel

Relations between the Bohemian lands and Estonia¹ in the early modern period represent a relatively unexplored chapter, likely due to the relative lack of evidence.² Rather than a broad overview, this can be seen through the lens of certain cultural, political, and literary figures.³ Although the following overview does not provide conclusions that are too general, it adds to the mosaic of personalities from the Bohemian lands who worked in Estonia in the early modern period or merely passed through it on their way to other countries, leaving testimonies in the form of occasional prints or surviving correspondence.⁴

From the 1500s to the end of the 1630s, there were rather limited contacts between City councils or institutions and the activities of individuals. This is evidenced, for example, by the letter from the Prague New Town council to the Reval City council in 1543⁵ or the petition of the Prague Lutherans from 1611.⁶ Thomas Horner from Cheb (Eger) is an exceptional case of a person who settled for a long time in 16th century Latvia and Estonia, where he wrote the preface to his *Livoniae historia* in 1551.⁷

It was only sometime after the defeat of the non-Catholic opposition in Bohemia that exiles from the Bohemian lands began to arrive in the Baltic countries. There was also a plan to resettle the exiles in the Baltics, but this was not implemented.⁸ In the beginning, exiles stayed close to home (in Saxony, Poland, etc.) because they still hoped for a possible return. Later, especially after the unsuccessful entry of Swedish troops into Bohemia in 1639, many lost hope and sought to make a living elsewhere in Europe. This search is evidenced by the surviving publishing activity of the exiles, which is also documented in Estonia.⁹

Intellectuals sought employment mainly in the two largest cities: Tallinn (Reval) and Tartu (Dorpat). In Tallinn, a Gymnasium was founded in 1631, and in Tartu a university was founded a year later, but it ceased to function after the Russian invasion in 1656 and was

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¹ By this term we mean the territory of present-day Estonia. Historically, Estonia was divided between different states during 1561–1645, namely Sweden (Northern Estonia), Denmark (islands), and Poland-Lithuania (Southern Estonia).

² In ŠVEC 2011, pp. 169–171, there is only a mention of Heinrich Matthias von Thurn; ŠVEC 1996 does not reflect mutual relations at all.

³ For example, the influence of Jan Amos Comenius’s pedagogy in the Baltics, ANDRESEN 1997, pp. 293–297, or Marie Ryantová’s recent research on author of botanical treatises Jiří Holík.

⁴ For information and references to the sources in the Tallinn City Archives (further TLA) we are gratefully obliged to Dr. Tiina Kala and Dr. Lea Kõiv.

⁵ TLA 230.1.BB 41 II, fol. 312rv. About Conrad Cardinal, son of a Tallinn burgher of the same name, who had acquired citizenship in Prague and had fallen into debt, a letter was written at his request to the Tallinn City council that one of his relatives should help him.

⁶ TLA 230.1.BB 41 I, fols. 314r–315v.

⁷ BBLD: GND 115725563 (Horner, Thomas). Horner arrived in Livonia in 1545, after his studies at the University of Königsberg, and was in the service of the Livonian Order. Meanwhile, in 1552–1555, he completed his education at the University of Frankfurt/Oder. KOCH 2015, p. 100.

⁸ ODLOŽILÍK 1939, p. 176.

⁹ Basic reference works: KLÖKER 2005; GARBER (ed.) 2004; VIIDING – ORION 2002–2003; FABIAN 2003.

re-established in 1690.¹⁰ In 1641–1649, Johann Gezelius the Elder, who was personally acquainted with Comenius and used his works in his teaching, was professor of Greek and Hebrew here.¹¹ Additionally, the seaside town of Pärnu, which was the commandery of the German knights in the 16th century, was also where Thomas Horner compiled the preface to his chronicle, and later the noble family of Thurn had their residence in this town, as we will mention below. The University of Tartu was also transferred to Pärnu for a short time between 1699–1710. The incoming exiles were non-Catholic clergymen, teachers, but also musicians, such as Georg Euphronius Zillmer from Třebíč, who was the cantor of the Cathedral School in Tallinn between 1639–1641 and later served as organist, economist, and notary of the Cathedral Consistory.¹²

Not all of them wanted to settle in the city; some were just passing through in an attempt to obtain financial assistance. For example, in 1641, three clergymen (exiles from Bohemia) approached the Tallinn City council asking for support.¹³ The letter was accepted by the city council on 21 July 1641 and signed by “ministri et exules Christi Bohemici”: Petrus Grynaeus Praelutschenus, the former dean of Mladá Boleslav;¹⁴ Johannes Landsmann (Lanzmanius) from Nový Bydžov, the former priest of Semily;¹⁵ and Wenceslaus Machaon Bohdanecenus, the former priest of Hradiště. They probably came from Zittau, where they are documented in 1641.¹⁶ With the exception of Machaon, they were not literarily active, did not stay in Tallinn, and returned to Saxony.

A graduate of the University of Prague, **Václav** (Wenceslaus) **Mitis** from Velvary, appears in Tallinn just as episodically. He received his bachelor’s degree in Prague in 1617, after which he became a burgher of the Old Town. After the Battle of White Mountain, he followed a very similar path to the above-mentioned clergymen. He went into exile in 1622, residing in Pirna. In 1634 he returned briefly to Bohemia with the Saxon army but lost all his property. After his return to Saxony, he stayed in Meissen and Dresden, and in 1640 he is recorded in Zittau.¹⁷ Three years later, before the traces of him finally disappear, we find him in Tallinn. Here, Mitis contributed a Latin poem to the collection of epithalamia of David Cunitius, professor of poetry at the Tallinn Gymnasium, who married the daughter of the Gymnasium rec-

¹⁰ ŠVEC 1996, p. 90.

¹¹ See ANDRESEN 1997.

¹² KLÖKER 2005, p. 755.

¹³ TLA. 230.1.Bq3, fol. 8rv. This letter, together with the letters of Jiří Holík mentioned below, is in the folder *Revaler Magistrat. Bittschriften von aus ihrem Amt durch politische und religiöse Verfolgung vertriebener Prediger. 1596–1692*.

¹⁴ RHB 2, pp. 241–242. He lived in exile in Saxony, but came secretly to Bohemia, the last time with General Baner during the Saxon invasion in 1639. In 1641 he was documented in Zittau. In 1642 he was caught and imprisoned in Prague, converted to Catholicism, and died in 1644.

¹⁵ RHB 3, p. 134; RHB 6, p. 187.

¹⁶ Sammlung Bergmann Online, s. v. Wenzel Machaon. After White Mountain, he was imprisoned, then exiled in Saxony, documented in 1641 in Zittau and 1655 in Pirna. Author of a Latin occasional poem (Knihopis K15605).

¹⁷ RHB 3, p. 361; Sammlung Bergmann Online, s. v. Wenzel Mitis.

tor, Vulpius, on 25 September 1643.¹⁸ His Latin gratulatory poem (15+4 elegiac couplets) is included at the beginning of the congratulation collection. He signed himself as “q[uondam] Notarius Cancellariae antiquae Urbis Pragensis, j[am] Exulis Christi Comes.” In content, it is a classic epithalamium, as was customary in the work of graduates of Prague University, but also elsewhere in Europe. The only reference to the troubled conditions of the time may perhaps be the opening distichon: “Ite procul curae, tristes procul ite querelae / perturbent nostrum nubila nulla melos.”¹⁹

At the beginning of 1642, the Czech **Václav Prokop** (Wenceslaus Procopius) was a pupil at the Tallinn Gymnasium and had contributed his verses to two occasional prints published by this institution.²⁰ In January he wrote a German poem for a collection of epicedia for the Tallinn pastor Eberhard of Rentelen.²¹ It has ten stanzas in the rhyme scheme aabccb. That same year, he composed rhymed verses for the epithalamia book of the City secretary Henricus Dahlen.²² Most of the contributions in Dahlen’s collection are written in Latin or German, but we also find a few Greek and one Estonian poem by Johann Taustus the Younger, the only pupil at Tallinn Gymnasium who wrote poetry in Estonian at the time.²³ Additionally, there were more foreign students from Thuringia, Leipzig, and Northern Germany. Václav Prokop composed one longer poem in German (B2a–B3a), inspired by Martin Opitz’s song “Jetzund kommt die Nacht herbei”, which was also sung to its tune.²⁴ It is eleven stanzas in grouped rhymes. For the second (B3b), he included a poem in his native Czech. He describes himself as *Cz. Bohaem.* or *Czeg. Bohem.*, i.e., Czecho-Bohemus, which is a rather unique designation for an inhabitant of the Bohemian lands whose native language was Czech. It probably originated by analogy to the term *Germano-* or *Teuto-Bohemus*, which was used in the 16th century by German Bohemians. This poem had six rhyme pairs in joined rhymes. The printer used the same types for the typesetting of the Czech as for the German, and because he did not know the language of the text, errors occurred in the choice of letters and in the indentation of individual words (Fig. 1).

Martin Klöker hypothesises that Václav’s father was **Tomáš Prokop** (Thomas Procopius Bohemus), who in 1649 published the ribbing broadsheets in Tallinn.²⁵ His name is not completely unknown; he published occasional prints in 1648–1649 in Stockholm and in 1653 in Gdańsk. After arriving in Tallinn, he was perhaps the first to publish a single-page *Livonia voto devoto ... salutata*.²⁶ In it, he greets and celebrates the country he visited and

¹⁸ *Nuptiis auspiciatissimis, quas vir clarissimus et praestantissimus Dn. David Cunitius, gymnasij Revaliensis poëseos professor ... et ... virgo Catharina ... celebrabant.* Tallinn, Heinrich Westphal 1643. (KLÖKER 2005, Nr. 310).

¹⁹ *Ibidem* A1b.

²⁰ KLÖKER 2005, p. 339 and 505.

²¹ *Inferiae, quibus ... Dn. M. Eberhardum a Rentelen, ecclesiae Revaliensis ad D. Nicolai pastorem ... tristi honorabant affectu gymnasii alumni.* Tallinn, Heinrich Westphal 1642. (KLÖKER 2005, Nr. 248).

²² *Hymen votivus nuptijs auspiciatissimis praestantissimi ... Dn. Henrici Dahlen, secretarii huius reipubl. dignissimi, sponsi.* Tallinn, Heinrich Westphal 1642. (KLÖKER 2005, Nr. 251).

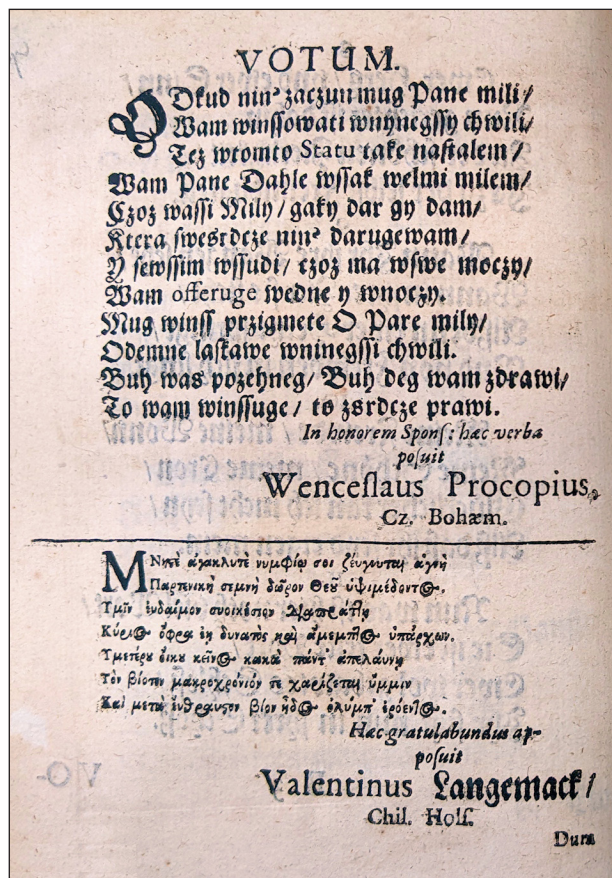
²³ *Ibidem* A3b–A4a. KLÖKER 2005, p. 346.

²⁴ On the authorship of Opitz, BORCHHARDT-BIRBAUMER 2003, p. 470. The song is registered in RISM without the author of the text, Nr. 1001012231 and others. Opitz was also dealt with by another exile, Martin Nesselius, who translated his poems into Latin (DLL III, 2022, col. 34–47).

²⁵ KLÖKER 2005, p. 396, Nr. 416 and 417.

²⁶ PROCOPPIUS, Thomas. *Livonia voto devoto carmine heroico-rhythmico comprehenso salutata.* [Tallinn, Westphal] 1649. (KLÖKER 2005, Nr. 417). USTC 6910701.

1 / Czech gratulatory poem
by Wenceslaus Procopius.
In: *Hymen votivus nuptialis ... sponsi.*
Dn. Henrici Dahlen ... sponsi.
Tallinn, Heinrich Westphal
1642, Fol. B3b.



asks for support. In order to gain interest and attention, he used a number of formal embellishments in his Latin verses. The title is followed by a chronicle of two elegiac distichs, praising peace in the face of a war that brings no good. This is followed by a wish for peace for Livonia, written in rhymed dactylic hexameter with the acrostic “Pax tibi Livonia et nunc et semper” (25 dactylic hexameters). The accompanying German Alexandrines are in a similar vein, only a little more personal. Procopius introduces himself as “ein Böhm und ein Vertriebener”, asking for advice and input. He wishes Livonia to live in peace and without tyranny with God’s help, may God help Livonia and Livonia help Procopius. More focused on the person of the author and his needs, the broadsheet *A Deo uno et trino*²⁷ consists of an opening Latin poem in which the author prays and tells of his sad fate as an exile who is slowly losing his sight. The poem, in 20 elegiac distiches, is written in *versus echoici*, where the first half of the hexameter coincides with the second half of the pentameter. In addition, the opening hexameter is leonine. This is followed by a German text in a similar vein, in which Procopius laments his poverty and blindness and pleads for support.

²⁷ PROCOPIOUS, Thomas. *A Deo uno et trino Optimo Maximo Patre*. Tallinn, Heinrich Westphal 1649. (KLÖKER 2005, Nr. 416). USTC 6910702.

Finally, two short Latin poems, each consisting of two elegiac couplets, are included; the *Annus* is half composed of Chronosticha, and here and in the second poem, “*Consolatio afflictorum*”, the author again used *versus echoici* in part.

Little is known about the later life of Procopius; his last known print, dedicated to the City councillors of Gdańsk, dates from 1653.²⁸ In it, he again mentions his blindness²⁹ and for the first time uses “Misenus” as a designation of his place of origin, so we can identify him as Thomas Procopius of Stříbro (Misa, Mies), who received his bachelor’s degree at the University of Prague on 1 September 1620 and defended his thesis on the topic *Quid causae, quod nonnulli a casco porcello et id genus aliis cibis abhorrent*.³⁰

Thomas Procopius’s Latin occasional work is proof that he received his poetic training at the University of Prague at a time when the influential poet and professor Jan Campanus was working there. One of the hallmarks of Campanus’s school of poetry was metro-rhythmic verse, combining classical metre with rhymed poetry. They thus combined echoes of traditional Czech sacred song and the medieval Latin tradition, represented especially by the Leonine hexameters.³¹ In contrast, formal ornaments such as acrostics or *versus echoici* were generally a feature of late humanism and continued to be used to a large extent in Baroque literature. The same applies to the large-scale Chronosticha, which were very popular in Bohemia in panegyric poetry (Fridrich Kropilius) and later, to an equally large extent, among Bohemian exiles (Jan Sictor).

In Bohemian poetry before 1620, occasional poetic collections on the renewal of the City council are very common, containing puns on the names of the councillors, most often cephalonomata or anagrams.³² Procopius used this type in his last-known work, in which he celebrated in verse all the newly appointed members of the City council of Gdańsk.

In 1643, **Sigismundus Pamphilianus** (Panphiliani) from Lipnice enrolled at the University of Tartu as one of the few students from Bohemia.³³ A year later, he appears as an author of Latin and German poems in four occasional prints published in Tartu.³⁴ He profiles himself as a skilled poet and scholar of Latin and Greek, and also published one poem in German. He is identified in the registry as a court teacher (*praeceptor* or *informator aulicus*). Only one Heinrich Michael Rollenberch from Mühlhausen in Thuringia matriculated on the same day as Panphiliani, leaving us to speculate which court Panphiliani belonged. Consid-

²⁸ PROCOPIUS, Thomas. *Inclutus Senatus Superior et Inferior ... urbis ... Dantisci*. Gdańsk, Georg Rhaetius – widow 1653. Exemplar in British Library, General Reference Collection, 11521.ee.12.(3). Long before that, in 1630, another Bohemian exile, Václav Clemens, published his epic poem *Gedanum* (VD17 23:243919M) at the same printing office.

²⁹ A1b: „supplicibus precibus peto coecus“.

³⁰ BERÁNEK 1988, p. 51 and 145 (Nr. 920). RHB 4, p. 247.

³¹ STORCHOVÁ (ed.) 2020, pp. 219–236; VACULÍNOVÁ 2020, pp. 231–241.

³² See MARTÍNEK 1965.

³³ TERING 1984, p. 211. Tering corrects and supplements the data published by BEISE 1857, p. 170. Panphiliani enrolled on 30 January 1643 as Sigismundus Panphiliani, Lypnicensis Moravus, and on 1 August 1643 he received money for his journey from the Tartu City council. Before that he studied in Königsberg (matriculated on 31 October 1634). Apart from Panphiliani, only two unknown students were enrolled during the Thirty Years’ War: Johannes Uthlandus, Chemnicio-Teuto-Bohemus (p. 174), 29 January 1645 and Samuel Winckler, Leutmariensis Bohemus (p. 181), 2 February 1647.

³⁴ VIIDING – ORION 2002–2003: 1643:5, 35, 52 and 65. About Panphiliani VIIDING 2002, pp. 127–128.

ering his birthplace Lipnice, we can surmise that he was connected to the court of the Counts of Thurn in Pärnu.³⁵

Heinrich Matthias Thurn (1567–1640), a Protestant nobleman, a student of the Unity of Brethren schools, and a leader of the Non-Catholic Estates Resistance in Bohemia, was born in Lipnice nad Sázavou. After his military career in the Bohemian, Danish, and Swedish armies, he left Stockholm in August 1636 for Pärnu, where his widowed daughter-in-law Magdalena of Hardek lived with her children. Her husband, who was Thurn's only son, was given the manor of Pärnu by the Swedish king in 1625, and she moved there with her two sons Christian (†1640) and Heinrich Matthias in 1633 and had a remarkable wooden church built three years later.³⁶

Thurn died in Pärnu on 28 January 1640 and was buried in the Cathedral (Dome Church) in Tallinn. The tutor of his grandchildren from 1637 to 1642 was Nicolaus Specht, a native of Tallinn and a graduate of the University of Wittenberg.³⁷ He was active in literature, writing Latin poetry and prose, and is also the author of a Latin eulogy in honour of Matthias Thurn on the occasion of his funeral and that of his grandson Christian. In it, Specht gives an extensive account of Thurn's life and achievements, but celebration outweighs historical fidelity. An example of Specht's approach to the facts can be found in his account of the actions of the Estates during the Defenestration of Prague, in which Thurn was one of the main actors: "... quos sibi obstare videbant, Guilhelmum Slatatem et Jarislaum Smisantium cum scriba Philippo Plattero de fenestra ... in subjacentem praecipitarunt aream ...".³⁸

Johann Liphart, the hofmeister of the young Thurns, who was in their service in around 1634, also came from Tallinn.³⁹ We have not found any mention of any intellectuals – exiles from Bohemia – working at the court in Pärnu. We do know that in 1628, when Thurn was still in Denmark, exiles approached him with a request for refuge (in that year, they had to convert or leave the country according to an imperial decree), and he received an offer from Gustav Adolf to settle them in Ingria in the Baltic (now partly in Russia). However, the emigrants did not want to go that far, and although Thurn briefly became Swedish governor in Ingria in May 1629, the settlement of the country failed.⁴⁰ However, we have no record of Thurn helping the exiles in Pärnu either. His daughter-in-law Magdalena of Hardek chose local scholars to educate her sons; both of them had a good education and foreign experience.

After the Thirty Years' War had long since passed, the Tallinn City council was approached by exile **Jiří Holík** (Georg Holyck), a convert and priest who had also been

³⁵ On the Thurn family, see KLÖKER 2005, pp. 471–472, 514 et passim.

³⁶ The consecration sermon was given by the court preacher Ludwig Raspe (KLÖKER 2005, Nr. 168 and p. 395–396), see KODRES 2012, pp. 333–376.

³⁷ KLÖKER 2005, pp. 194–196. In Specht's library, which has survived to this day, there was also one print published in Prague, see ROBERT 2003, p. 134.

³⁸ SPECHT, Nicolaus. *Panegyricus ... comitibus a Thurn*. Tallinn, Heinrich Westphal 1641, fol. B3b (KLÖKER 2005, Nr. 225). Other sources for Thurn's death: a German one-sheet (KLÖKER 2005, Nr. 222) and a funeral sermon by Heinrich Stahl, a pastor in Tallinn (KLÖKER 2005, Nr. 226).

³⁹ KLÖKER 2005, p. 696.

⁴⁰ POJAR 1998, p. 136; ODLOŽILÍK 1944.

gardening in exile. Holík was living in Riga at the time, and his decision to go to the Baltics may have been due to Sebastian Wirdig, a professor of medicine who had worked at the University of Tartu in the 1650s.⁴¹ In 1685, Holík went from Riga to Tallinn to present his work *Vereinigter Liff- und Aus-Ländischer Garten-Bau* to the mayor and the council, and in return he asked for financial support – either a public collection or some other way to contribute to his livelihood. He probably succeeded with his supplication (that is how the town clerk marked it on the reverse of the sheet), because two years later, he donated his next book, the *Blumen- und Küchen-Garten-Büchlein*, to the city council.⁴²

Information about Holík's travels in Estonia is also provided by his *album amicorum*, which enables us to reconstruct Holík's visits to Estonian towns⁴³ – in March 1685 he visited Tartu. From there he continued to Narva, where he received the entry by Johann Gezelius Jr, and at the end of May he arrived in Tallinn, where he was received by the local clergy, and in mid-July he visited Pärnu, where he was welcomed by members of the town and church administration. Holík's second journey to Tallinn in July 1687 passed through Vigala (Fickel), Kullamaa (Goldenbeck), and Haapsalu (Hapsal). His stay in Tallinn is not documented in the *album*, but we know that Holík visited Tallinn a third and fourth time. At the end of October of the same year, Holík travelled to Nyen and then to Tallinn. The entry from Tallinn on 16 June 1698 is the last in the album chronologically.

The only known Bohemian intellectual in exile who made a lasting impact in Estonia in the 17th century was **Michael Sigismundi** from Frýdlant (1645–1709).⁴⁴ In 1677 he began working at the Tallinn Gymnasium as a professor of Greek – a post that had been refused by Nicolaus Specht, the educator of the Thurns, several decades earlier. Later, he also taught theology and Hebrew, and from 1689 until his death he was a rector. His period of activity at the Gymnasium coincides with his publishing activity, although no prints of him are known from the previous period. However, a detailed biography of Sigismundi was published as part of a representative collection of his epicedia by the Gymnasium,⁴⁵ and we can draw from it with some caution.

Michael Sigismundi was born on 15 June 1645 in Bulovka (Bullendorf) near Frýdlant. His father Christoph was allegedly the owner of Upper and Lower Bulovka⁴⁶ and a senior judge (*iudicii senior*), and his mother was named Helena Seifert. However, the area was seized

⁴¹ RYANTOVÁ 2018, p. 100. See also RYANTOVÁ 2016, pp. 73–85. From the Estonian perspective cf. TALVE 1955.

⁴² HOLÍK, Jiří. *Vereinigter Liff- und Aus-Ländischer Garten-Bau*. Riga, J. G. Wilcken 1684; *Versprochenes Blumen- und Küchen-Garten-Büchlein*. Riga, J. G. Wilcken 1687. Both prints are preserved in the Baltica Collection of the Tallinn University Academic Library in the convolute IX-1501, without any dedication inside. Holík's recommendation letters for both books: TLA. 230.1.Bq3, fol. 27rv (30. 5. 1685) and TLA. 230.1.Bq3, fols. 32–33 (20. 7. 1687).

⁴³ We would like to thank Marie Ryantová, who is preparing a separate treatise about it, for the information about the *album amicorum*.

⁴⁴ BBLD: GND 1195851820.

⁴⁵ *Lacrumae gymnasii in obitu luctuosissimo praecellentissimi atq[ue] amplissimi domini, Dn. Michaelis Sigismundi, Friedlandia Bohemi, rectoris et inspectoris Gymnasii Regii-Revaliensis*. Tallinn, C. Brendeken 1709. Christian Eberhard Morian, *Lectori benevolo salutem*, A1b–B1a; Ludwig Christian Morian, *Abdanckungs-Rede*, H1b–H2b.

⁴⁶ In fact, one part belonged to the Frýdlant manor and the other to the Grabštejn manor, both with fiefs. Dolní Bulovka was bought in 1654 by Count Gallas.

by the Jesuits and the family was forced to flee in secret to Saxony during the night. This happened when Michael was almost ten years old, around 1654. After a year they left Saxony for Lubań in Lusatia, where Michael's uncle Christoph Seifert lived. There Sigismundi started school and a year later entered the Gymnasium in Görlitz. He studied there for three years, then for two more in Stargard in Pomerania, where he prepared for his university studies and presented two disputations in logic.

He completed his university studies at the University of Frankfurt an der Oder, where he resided for six years, before travelling to visit his parents, but in the meantime his father died. For four years he became a preceptor to the young lords von Dyhrn, sons of the administrator of the manor of Sagan, which then belonged to the Lobkowitz family. At the same time, he was court preacher to the Count of Rechenberg and in 1667 became tutor to his son. The following year, however, he had to leave his post due to the papal counter-reformation. He then travelled through various German cities, staying for a time at the University of Leipzig and Wittenberg before returning to Frankfurt, where he studied for a year. He then became hofmeister to Conrad von Arnim, the only son of Georg Wilhelm von Arnim, the provincial governor of Uckermark.⁴⁷ After two years his ministry ended and he was offered a position as a preacher, which he declined. In 1671 he went to Sweden as a military clergyman, then passed through the Low Countries, France, England, and Scotland, and in 1677 fate carried him, in the words of the author, "in Esthoniā nostrā".

At the Gymnasium Tallinn, Sigismundi was unanimously appointed as professor of Greek and delivered the inaugural speech *De linguae Graecae praestantia*.⁴⁸ In this speech, he stressed that Greek was of primary importance for theology, as well as other disciplines, such as medicine, and he noted the influence of Greek on Latin and Greek studies, and also the works of Erasmus and Reuchlin. The speech also includes a passage on teaching methods, which shows that Greek teachers in Estonia were from different schools and used different methods of teaching Greek.

In 1680, Sigismundi married Anna Elisabeth Barteling, daughter of the pastor of the Strand/Coastal Wiek (*Wikia litoralis*)⁴⁹ – and they had twelve children. He successfully held the role of professor and later rector of the Gymnasium. Following his death, he was buried in Tallinn in the Church of St. Olaf. His son, Adolph Florian,⁵⁰ also taught for many years at the Tallinn Gymnasium.

Michael Sigismundi's publishing activities in Tallinn were notably extensive, with several dozen titles appearing in the Online Catalogue Ester alone. In February 1677 he contributed to the funeral ceremony of Bishop Johann Jacob Pfeff in the cathedral, with a poem for the occasion that was set to music by the composer Valentin

⁴⁷ Here the data do not match; in fact, Georg von Arnim had two sons: Georg Abraham and Jakob Dietlof.

⁴⁸ SIGISMUNDI, Michael. *Oratio auguralis, de Graecae linguae praestantia, in regio Revaliensi gymnasio*. Tallinn, Christoph Brendeken 1677. About the speech, see PÄLL 2005, pp. 93–94; PÄLL 2010.

⁴⁹ The historical region of Läänemaa (Wiek) in northwest Estonia was divided into Maa-Lääne (Land-Wiek), Ranna-Lääne (Strand/Coastal-Wiek) and Saare-Lääne (Insular-Wiek).

⁵⁰ BBLD: 0000000114847198.

Meder from Riga.⁵¹ Most of his Latin publications are related to his role as rector of the Gymnasium, and a number of rectorial decrees (*programmata*) have been preserved.⁵² Additionally, Sigismundi contributed German verse to the Tallinn occasional prints. His importance for the Tallinn Gymnasium is confirmed by the above-mentioned collection *Lacrumae*, which, in addition to Latin and German prose, contains epicedia by professors and a separate section of elegies by students, mostly in Latin and German, as well as Old Greek, French, and Swedish.

Unknown Bohemica and prints with Bohemical provenance

We conducted research into the provenance of old prints published in Prague that are contained in the historical collections of Tartu and Tallinn. Most of them lacked Bohemical provenance or had had their provenance entries removed. Nevertheless, the University Library in Tartu we found three prints worth highlighting.

Opava-born **Friedrich Seidel** (1568–1637) is a well-known author.⁵³ The secondary literature cites the publication of his German-language account of his travels to Turkey in 1591, which he made as a member of an imperial envoy led by Friedrich of Krekwitz and which was described in the Czech travelogue by another participant, Václav Vratislav of Mitrovice. Seidel was imprisoned in Turkey, and for half a year he was bound with the pilgrim Karel Zahrádecký of Zahrádky. His account was published from a manuscript in the estate of Seidel's descendants in Görlitz in 1711. However, in the University Library in Tartu we find a print of this report, which Seidel himself published in Gdańsk in 1623.⁵⁴ He dedicated the edition, with a preface, to the royal consul and apothecary Reinhold Lubenau Sr. (1556–1631), who himself travelled to Turkey in 1587–1589 and left a report about it.⁵⁵

In his preface, Seidel writes about the burning of the Silesian town of Głubczyce (Hlubčice, Leobschütz) on 28 May 1603. After the fire he went to Prague, where he asked for compensation for his journey to Constantinople. He reached Karel Sr. of Žerotín with the support of his personal physician Matthias Timín of Ottenfeld and stayed there for three days. Žerotín asked him about his journey to Constantinople in Krekwitz's envoy. He liked Seidel's narration and encouraged him to write it down. The finished manuscript was then read by many of his friends, who advised him to have it printed. Spurred by Ortelius's claims in his *relationes* that all of Krekwitz's servants had been killed by the Turks,⁵⁶ he decided to publish the manuscript in print.

He dedicated it to Lubenau, who had been good to him in his youth, apprenticing him to the apothecary's trade when he was forty years old and discouraging him from going to

⁵¹ SCHAPER 2020, p. 175.

⁵² The decrees have a separate folder in the Tallinn City Archives called *Programmata gymnasii Revalensis*.

⁵³ ADB 33, 1891, p. 616.

⁵⁴ SEIDEL, Friedrich. *Summarischer Bericht, Was sich bey Absendung Herren Friederich von Krekwitz ... nach Constantinopel, so wol mit dem Oratore selbst, als den Seinigen, vor, in, und ... zugetragen*. Gdańsk, Georg Rhete 1623. UTL Rare Books R III 1926:1822.

⁵⁵ SAHM 1912–1930.

⁵⁶ Probably OERTEL, Hieronymus. *Chronologia oder historische Beschreibung aller Kriegsempörungen und Belägerungen*. Nürnberg, Lochner 1615, p. 194 (VD17 12:188514K) and other editions.

Constantinople. The preface is dated in Opava on St. George's Day 1623. The accompanying poem to Seidel was written by Abraham Gast,⁵⁷ a syndicus from Guben (Hlubina, Gubin) now on the German side of the border. The print also contains a copper engraving with the author's coat of arms.⁵⁸ The text of Seidel's report itself does not differ much between the two editions, except for the modernization of the language of the second edition and the addition of editor's notes containing explanatory notes and comments. The editor of the 1711 edition was Salomon Haußdorff of Lauban, pastor of Bernstadt in Upper Lusatia. It was based on a manuscript kept in the library of Johann Georg Seidel von Rosenthal, a councillor of Bautzen, his late brother-in-law. The author was likely his ancestor. Martin Hankius, the rector of the St. Elisabeth Gymnasium in Wrocław, encouraged him to edit it. At that time, they could not find any printed edition to compare the manuscript with.

Another Bohemical print is the uniquely preserved university theses *Sermo de Christo theanthropo* by **Ondřej** (Andreas) **Aquinas** from Radonice, defended in the Prague King Wenceslas College on 25 December 1621. These verse theses, written in elegiac couplets and under the direction of Jan Campanus, the author of the recommending poem,⁵⁹ were dedicated to Václav Colidius Podvinský of Doubravičany; Vojtěch Kautský Sr. of Jenštejn; Samuel Philadelphus Jeníkovický, burghers of the New Town of Prague; and Nicolaus Lilius from Ostrov. The introductory Greek and Latin poem to the work was written by the author himself. Aquinas was an interesting character. After 1622, he went into exile, residing at Zerbst, where he published a poetical work praising beer, and in 1625 and 1627 he was enrolled at the University of Groningen. Secondary literature has suggested that he made two journeys to India.⁶⁰ However, a unique print preserved in Rome⁶¹ has enabled us to clarify this information; Aquinas was a participant in two voyages to the Caribbean and South America in 1626–1629, travelling on ships of the Dutch West India Company. On his return, he wrote a Latin prose relation, including also Greek and Latin poems, as a panegyric to the company's admiral Piet Hein (†1629).

Both books mentioned above have a book signature of 1926, which indicates that they were added to the rare book collection of the University Library in 1926. At this time, most of the new old prints came from Baltic German manor libraries, which were nationalised and distributed to various public libraries after Estonia achieved independence in 1918.

⁵⁷ In the 1711 edition, it is dated 3 September 1616.

⁵⁸ Friedrich Seidel received the coat of arms in Prague, 29 May 1597 (Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, AT-OeStA/AVA Adel RAA 389.57). For more on the coat of arms and personal motto, and on Seidel himself, see SEIDEL, Friedrich. *Denkwürdige Gesandtschaft an die Ottomannische Pforte*. Görlitz, J. G. Laurentius 1711, fols.):():14a–6b.

⁵⁹ AQUINAS, Ondřej. *Sermo de Christo Theanthropo Salvatore totius generis humani*. Praha, Pavel Sessius [1621]. UTL Rare Books R III 1926:1822. On the verse theses of Campanus's students, see VACULÍNOVÁ 2023, p. 342–343.

⁶⁰ RHB 1, 99.

⁶¹ AQUINAS, Ondřej. *Panegyricus de victoriis, quas Petrus Heynus a Delfs-Haven oceani indici ad occidentem ... MDCXXVII ... cum laude reportavit*. Groningen, Johann Sass 1629. Biblioteca Nazionale centrale di Roma, sign. MISC. VAL.603.18.

The provenance of the third Bohemical book from the collections of the University Library in Tartu is very interesting. *Fundamentals of Arithmetic* by **Vavřinec Benedikt from Nudožer** (Laurentius Benedictus Nudozerinus)⁶² bears on its title page a manuscript dedication of the author to **Pavel Ješín of Bezděží** (Paulus Gessinius).⁶³ Gessinius, a prominent Bohemian humanist, was also forced into exile following White Mountain; in 1624 he is documented in Franeker in the Netherlands, and the year of his death in 1632 is known, but not the place.

Conclusion

Finally, it can be said that the inhabitants of Bohemian lands came to Estonia in the early modern period most often as exiles during the Thirty Years' War, especially in the 1640s. Most of them were just passing through on their way to further support, as evidenced by their supplications to the Tallinn City council or dedications of works (e.g., Jiří Holík) or participation in occasional publications. Some of them also published independent prints, a typical example being the ribbing broadsheets by Thomas Procopius from Stříbro, which are classic examples of exile literature spreading throughout Europe. In their Latin occasional poems, the graduates of the University of Prague do not deny the training of the Prague school of poetry and its most important representative, Jan Campanus. The later generation, however, increasingly adapted to literary production in the countries where they found refuge after leaving their homeland. This can be seen in both Latin and German occasional works, which are slowly becoming predominant. Reminiscences of home in the form of inscriptions in the native language were often traditional in exile *alba amicorum*, albeit found less often in occasional prints – an example of this in Estonia is the Czech rhymed congratulation by Václav Procopius.

Few suitable positions existed in Estonia for intellectuals from Bohemian lands to find employment. In particular, these were at the university or gymnasium, but there were plenty of local natives and German refugees available for these institutions, especially during the Thirty Years' War. In addition, the Swedish government wanted Swedish students, after their studies in the Academia Dorpatensis (Tartu), to stay in Livonia, as both pastors and officials. This was especially intensive in the last decades of the 17th century.⁶⁴ An exception among exiles from Bohemia was Michael Sigismundi, a native of Frýdlant who settled in Tallinn and worked for many years as a professor and later as rector of the city gymnasium. The noble court of the Thurns in Pärnu is connected with the Bohemian lands, but we have been unable to establish any direct connection between it and the exiles. The positions of teachers and clergymen there were held by intellectuals of local, German, and Swedish origin. Finally, we draw attention to the newly discovered Bohemica.

⁶² CCEEH 2020, pp. 167–170.

⁶³ BENEDIKT Z NUDOŽER, Vavřinec. *Elementa arithmeticae*. Praha, Jonata Bohutský 1612 (BCBT 37899). UTL, R XII 138. Dedication: "Ornatiss. D. Paulo Gessino Pragensi autor mittit." On Ješín see CCEEH 2020, pp. 458–463.

⁶⁴ TERING 2008, pp. 34–37.

As a future line of inquiry, the question of Bohemian-Moravian and Estonian relations should be extended to the 18th century, because the Herrnhuter movement initiated by Bohemian-Moravian exiles had a much deeper influence on the regional culture of the 1740s in Estonia than the individual, erudite exiles of the 17th century.⁶⁵

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⁶⁵ From the Estonian side, some researchers have done introductory work on this issue in recent decades: BEYER 2005, pp. 337–344; VÕSA 2012.

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