

ANNA HOLEŠOVÁ

ORCID: 0000-0003-2589-7363

Univerzita Hradec Králové, Filozofická fakulta, Katedra pomocných věd historických a archivnictví

BAROQUE RELIGIOUS PILGRIMAGES AND DECORATIONS OF PRINTED PILGRIMAGE GUIDES FROM THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES STORED IN THE BENEDICTINE LIBRARY IN BROUMOV*

In the 17th and 18th centuries Bohemian printing offices published pilgrimage guides. The prints were related to the important Marian pilgrimage sites, which were visited by crowds of believers in the Baroque period. A depiction of a statue or an image of St. Mary in the illustrations supported the fame of a sacred place, strengthened the faith and provided higher financial profits to the printing offices in the book market.

KEY WORDS: pilgrimage sites, Czech, Baroque, Marian piety, old prints, typography

INTRODUCTION

The topic of pilgrimages and pilgrimage sites in Bohemia and Moravia has received much attention to date.¹ The majority of publications and studies deal with pilgrimage sites of regional importance, church history or Baroque religiosity.²

* The article is the output of the project “Historiographical, Sphragistic and Administrative Aspects of Church History Research in Central Europe II” at the University of Hradec Králové for the year 2019.

¹ *Na Cestě do nebeského Jeruzaléma: poutnictví v českých zemích ve středoevropském kontextu*, ed. J. Mihola, Brno 2010; Z.R. Nešpor, *Náboženské pouti českého středověku a raného novověku*, [in:] *Mýtus a geografie. Svět, prostor a jejich chápání ve starších i novějších kulturách*, eds. J. Starý, S. Fischerová, Praha 2008, pp. 263–280; F. Odehnal, *Poutní místa Moravy a Slezska*, Rosice u Brna 2004; J. Royt, *České nebe: topografie poutních míst barokních Čech*, Praha 1993.

² For instance M. Holubová, “Svatohorské poutě ve světle barokní doby”, [in:] *Ab amicis oblatum. Josefu Vařekovi k 75. narozeninám*, eds. J. Woitsch, F. Bahenský, Praha 2002, pp. 17–36;

Another subject of interest for researchers is gracious statues and pictures or the role of church orders in the propagation of Marian piety.³ An important function in the process of pilgrimages to sacred sites is played by religious literature, therefore the interdisciplinary research focuses on prints with pilgrimage topics, books of miracles or broadside ballads.⁴ Pilgrimage guides of Bohemian provenance have been studied in detail by Jan Malura and Markéta Holubová. Malura looks into individual phases of Baroque pilgrimages and assesses the significance of this religious educational literature.⁵ In addition to the issue of censorship, books of miracles, pilgrimage guides and broadside ballads, Holubová also deals with devotional graphics and decorations of religious prints.⁶ The current specialised literature focuses more on the contents of books than on the graphic design of prints. There is no evaluation of the typographic level of Czech printers, including comparisons with foreign printing offices.

This paper aims to present new findings about the typography of printed pilgrimage guides of Bohemian and Moravian provenances from the period of the

J. Kratochvíl, *Matka Boží Tuřanská. Dějiny a zázraky Matky Boží v "Trní" na poutním místě v Tuřanech na Moravě*, Praha 1998; J. Mikulec, *Pobělohorská rekatolizace v českých zemích*, Praha 1992; Z. Kalista, *Česká barokní pout: k religiozitě českého lidu v době barokní*, Žďár nad Sázavou 2001; M.E. Ducreux, "Několik úvah o barokní zbožnosti a o rekatolizaci Čech", *Folia Historica Bohemica* 22, 2006, pp. 143–175.

³ V. Štajnochr, *Panna Maria Divotvůrkyně. Nauka o Panně Marii, mariánská ikonografie, mariánská poutní místa*, Uherské Hradiště 2000; J. Royt, "Poutní místa a milostné obrazy či sochy v diecézi královéhradecké", [in:] *Lidová zbožnost ve východních Čechách a v Kladsku: [katalog kvýstavě, Náchod 3. Července–14. září 1997, Kladsko říjen 1997–únor 1998]*, eds. V. Hrubý, J. Royt, Náchod 1997, pp. 7–23; J. Malura, *Meditace a modlitba v literatuře raného novověku*, Ostrava 2015; M. Holubová, "Jezuité a významná mariánská poutní místa v českých zemích", [in:] *Na cestě do nebeského Jeruzaléma...*, pp. 99–116.

⁴ Works dealing with religious songs and broadside ballads include: J. Ivánek, "Kramářský tisk jako publikační forma ambiciózní náboženské písně: Krátký cyklus písní k uctění sv. Františka Serafinského a sv. Antonína Paduánského z Městského muzea v Čáslavi", *Bohemica Litteraria. Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity. Řada literárněvědná bohemistická* 14, 2011, pp. 3–22; J. Ivánek, M. Szturcová, "Propagace poutních míst na Moravě kramářskou písní v I. polovině 19. století", *Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae-Historia litterarum* 63, 2018, pp. 188–195; project "Broadside ballads in the Brno historical collections (NAKI II)"; I. Bydžovská, "Mariánská poutní místa v kramářských tiscích", [in:] *Sdružení knihoven České republiky*, ed. J. Kubíček, Brno 2010, pp. 44–50; M. Holubová, "Zázračná uzdravení ve světle svatohorských knih zázraků", *Český lid* 89, 2002, pp. 217–238.

⁵ J. Malura, "Barokní poutní knihy a zbožná praxe širokých vrstev", *Český lid* 104, 2017, pp. 33–51.

⁶ M. Holubová, "Mariazell v tištěných médiích 18. a 19. století", *Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae-Historia litterarum* 63, 2018, pp. 196–206; eadem, "Tištěná poutní produkce a její čtenář konzument", [in:] *K výzkumu zámeckých, měštanských a církevních knihoven. Čtenář a jeho knihovna*, ed. J. Radimská, České Budějovice 2003, pp. 559–568.

17th and 18th centuries. The research is based on the study of nineteen prints⁷ with a pilgrimage theme, which are stored in the book collection of the Benedictine Library in Broumov.⁸ These printed *Bohemica*⁹ come from Bohemian and Moravian printers, only two prints (content *Bohemica*) are of foreign origin. The author pays attention only to foreign-language pilgrimage guides because there are none printed in the Czech language in the book collection. The research focuses primarily on the artistic arrangement and graphic design of the printed book. It follows the basic elements of the printing press, the character of printing, decorations and illustrations. It focuses on bookbinding as well as the visual and registration apparatus.

RELIGIOUS PILGRIMAGES

In the Christian world of the Early and High Middle Ages, droves of pilgrims made long and toilsome journeys in order to visit Jerusalem, Rome and Santiago de Compostela. They were driven by the desire to have contact with the sacred sites related to Christ and the apostles St. Paul and St. Jacob as well as the vision of receiving salvation.¹⁰

Since the end of the high Middle Ages, piety to saints and their remains had been spreading.¹¹ The number of pilgrimage sites across Europe had grown, including Bohemia.¹² The Marian cult was also gaining momentum. The oldest pilgrimage site in Bohemia was Stará Boleslav, the place where St. Wenceslaus had been murdered. Besides this martyr, respect was paid to regional patrons St. Prokop, St. Ludmila, and also Saint Mary on Svatá Hora in Příbram and in Bohosudov.¹³ There was a very strong Marian tradition in Moravia. According

⁷ For the reader's orientation, specific prints are referred to by a serial number (No.) The list of prints is given at the end of the article.

⁸ The Benedictine Library in Broumov is one of the most important Baroque interior libraries in Eastern Bohemia. The book collection has about 17,000 volumes, including manuscripts, incunabula, old prints and 19th century prints.

⁹ The term refers to a document which was published in the territory of the Czech Republic, was written and printed in the Czech language or foreign language, the author came from the Czech Republic or the content referred to the Czech Republic. See P. Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy: starší knihtisk a příbuzné obory mezi polovinou 15. a počátkem 19. století*, Praha 2008, pp. 128–129.

¹⁰ Z.R. Nešpor, op. cit., pp. 267–268.

¹¹ Karel IV was famous for amassing relics and contributed to the fame of Prague by establishing the archbishopric in 1344, but also by building many monasteries and churches. V. Štajnochr, op. cit., p. 40.

¹² Important European pilgrimage sites were e.g. Loreto, Altötting, Chartres, Tours, Einsiedeln, Trier, Aachen, Mariazell, Częstochowa. *Na cestě do nebeského Jeruzaléma...*, p. 7.

¹³ An overview of pilgrimage sites is given by E. Charvátová, *Svaté obrázky Čechy a Morava*, Praha 2007, pp. 41–48.

to a legend, Mary protected Moravia from Mongol raids in the mid-13th century. Pilgrimage sites Svatý Hostýn, Kotouč by Štramberk, Vranov by Brno, Tuřany-Brno, Křtiny or Žarošice rose to existence to pay homage to her.¹⁴

In the early Middle Ages a network of sacred buildings was created to influence the appearance of the Baroque landscape. The construction of pilgrimage churches, chapels and calvarias was related to the places where miracles had been performed or St. Mary had appeared. These were found most often in the mountains, hills, valleys, fields, vineyards, forests, at springs, but also in towns and near monasteries.¹⁵ The belief in the supernatural power of the Holy Mother of God or another saint was to secure, besides other things, the loyalty of the population to Catholicism. Thanks to Jesuits the veneration of St. Mary has grown, also the state Catholic religiosity *Pietas Austriaca* was developed.¹⁶ With these steps the Catholic church strengthened its position and responded to the propagation of the Reformation.¹⁷

The heyday of Marian piety and the time when the cult of saints was strengthened was the Baroque period in the 17th and 18th centuries. Special emphasis was paid to the miraculous power of the original-medieval Marian statues and gracious pictures and their copies. Their worship was to highlight the tradition of several centuries of Catholicism in the country.¹⁸ Pilgrimages, feasts, processions and opulent ceremonies in the form of the crowning of gracious and miraculous pictures and statues, together with Marian piety, became a promotional tool of the Catholic Church in the process of recatholisation.¹⁹ Pilgrimages were also a source of income for the nobility, who operated beer pubs and wine taverns in their vicinity.²⁰

The composition of visitors was miscellaneous. Representatives of all social strata were present. The most important element of the pilgrimage was their spiritual aspect. Believers would attend a mass in a pilgrimage church, pray and plead

¹⁴ J. Mihola, "Barokní poutnictví na Moravě", [in:] *Na cestě do nebeského Jeruzaléma...*, pp. 49–51.

¹⁵ See Svatý Kopeček, Vranov, Křtiny, Sloup, Tuřany, Žarošice, Brno, Jihlava or the charterhouse in Královo Pole. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

¹⁶ Jesuits arrived in Prague in 1556 from Vienna and settled in the building nowadays called the Clementinum in the Old City of Prague. They created a network of pilgrimage sites and their residencies in Bohemia and Moravia, e.g. in Stará Boleslav, in Bohosudov, in Tuřany-Brno, in Chlumka by Luže, in Římov, in Starý Hrozňatov by Sokolov, in Golčův Jeníkov and in Jičín. M. Holubová, "Jezuité...", pp. 103–110.

¹⁷ Problems in the church were discussed at the Trident Council in the years 1545–1563. As a consequence, the Catholic church administration was reformed, the Catholic teachings and populations were unified under a single faith, Protestantism was refused and a plan for recatholisation was created. More in J. Mikulec, *Pobělohorská rekatolizace...*

¹⁸ J. Royt, "Poutní místa...", p. 11.

¹⁹ *Idem, Obraz a kult v Čechách 17. a 18. století*, Praha 2011, pp. 158–219.

²⁰ J. Mihola, "Barokní poutnictví...", p. 54.

for recovery from illnesses, forgiveness of sins, obtaining indulgencies or avoiding danger in the case of a war, battle, plague or natural disaster. They yearned to get closer to God, touch a gracious statue or picture and hoped that their pleading would be heard. For common people, participation in a pilgrimage was a respite from work and a special time in the everyday routine. On the journey people would make acquaintances, talk, get to know faraway places and share spiritual experiences. They also became acquainted with Baroque culture, art and impressive church architecture.²¹

The take on Baroque religious pilgrimages changed dramatically with the arrival of the Enlightenment. The Baroque period with its religiosity became a subject of criticism. Representatives of the Enlightenment understood these pilgrimages only as a source of superstition, obscurantism and hypocrisy. The truth is that many ills and abuses accrued during the pilgrimages, caused by both pilgrims and clergymen. Believers did not concentrate on prayers enough, said the words superficially and without inner feeling. They let themselves be carried away by Baroque opulence and their thoughts, but also got away from God through impolite or immoral behaviour.²²

In the second half of the 18th century the pilgrimage traffic somewhat died down. Maria Theresa lowered the number of feasts so that vassals had more time for work. Joseph II issued a number of decrees that restricted or banned some pilgrimages and processions.²³ The revival of pilgrimages took place in the 19th century thanks to the renovation of pilgrimage sites or the execution of Marian revelations in France and Portugal.²⁴

PILGRIMAGE GUIDES AND THEIR DECORATION

The fame of pilgrimage sites was spread not only by the oral narration of so-called *foundational legends*, related to the site where a revelation or miracle took place, but also by their written records. Examples were books of miracles and commemorative books with details about miracles and statements from participating persons, which were later published in print.²⁵

²¹ M. Holubová, “Jezuité...”, pp. 112–114.

²² J. Mikulec, “Osvícenci a poutníci. Nešvary barokní poutě očima josefínských doby”, *Východočeský sborník historický* 23, 2013, pp. 253–255, 258.

²³ Joseph II issued, for instance, a ban on the placement of votive gifts and tablets on altars or the ban of trading in temples. V. Štajnochr, op. cit., p. 41.

²⁴ The most important pilgrimage sites include Lourdes in France, Rue du Bac, La Salette or Fatima in Portugal. J. Rojt, “Barokní poutě v Čechách”, [in:] *Na cestě do nebeského Jeruzaléma...*, p. 47.

²⁵ See J. Mihola, “Barokní poutnictví...”, p. 64.

In the course of the 17th and 18th centuries, Czech printing offices focused on the production of popular and educational religious literature, written by representatives of church elites.²⁶ Besides educational and catechetical purposes, they served to promote the cult related to a concrete place. An example of this was Marian atlases with overviews of globally revered depictions of Saint Mary.²⁷ Books of folk reading, including prayers, broadside ballads and minor devotional graphics, were published in large numbers. They were characterised by the lower quality of graphics and craftsmanship on low quality paper, and the price corresponded. Visitors also brought the saint's pictures *Andachtsbildchen* from pilgrimages, which were given as gifts.²⁸

The most favoured pilgrimage prints included practical guides intended for believers. They contained historical narrations about pilgrimage sites, miraculous recoveries, and instructions on how to prepare spiritually for a pilgrimage, how to behave during a religious ceremony, what acts should be taken in concrete phases, when and how one should pray and sing. They included passages of a religiously educational nature, prayers, litanies, and religious songs. The question is to what extent these prescriptions were actually observed.²⁹

The production of Bohemian pilgrimage guides with Marian topics³⁰ was dominated, during the monitored period of the 17th and 18th centuries, by the Jesuit printing office in Prague.³¹ Publications were of high linguistic and typographic quality.³² Pilgrimage guides published by the Archbishopric printing of-

²⁶ Important authors were e.g. Jesuits Bohuslav Balbín (1621–1688), Jiří Crugerius (1608–1671), Jan Tanner (1623–1694), Albrecht Chanovský (1581–1643), Melchior Gutwirt (1626–1705), Georgius Castulus (1629–1699), Ignác Popp (1697–1765), Johann Müller (1650–1723), Knights of the Cross with the Red Star Jan František Beckovský (1658–1722), Vít Ferdinand Etter (–1683), Prague general vicar Ignác Dlouhoveský (1581–1643), Franciscan Jindřich Lábe (1648–1693) or the Premostratensian Bernard Wancke (1651–1714).

²⁷ The author of the most significant Marian atlas *Atlas Marianus* was the Jesuit Wilhelm Gumpfenberg (1609–1675). The book was published in 1655 in Ingolstadt and in Munich in 1657, 1672. In 1717 it was reworked by the Cistercian from Osek Augustinus Sartorius (1663–1723) and translated into Czech in 1704 by the priest Antonín Frozín (1671–1720) under an abridged name *Obroviště Mariánského Atlanta*. J. Royt, *České nebe...*, p. 12.

²⁸ Idem, *Obraz a kult...*, pp. 330–351.

²⁹ J. Malura, "Barokní poutní knihy...", pp. 34–48.

³⁰ For the descriptions of the Bohemian pilgrimage prints analysed in this article, see the Appendix at the end of this work.

³¹ The printing office functioned in the years 1635–1773. The printers of the office were, for instance, Jiří Černocho (1665–1668), Jáchym Kamenický (1707–1716), Václav Zelenka (1677–1678). Jiří I. Laboun (–1710) who managed the printing office in the Carolinum in Prague, he took over the Jesuit printing office and published some publications. See P. Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy...*, p. 509.

³² Ibid., pp. 898–902.

face in Prague³³ and by the Czech printers Antonín Schilhart³⁴ and Karel František Rosenmüller have also been preserved in the Benedictine Library in Broumov. In Moravia such publications were printed in Brno by the Svoboda's printing office and in Olomouc by Vít Jindřich Ettel, František Antonín Hirnle and Jan Josef Kylián.³⁵ Czech publications were also printed abroad.³⁶ The interest of printers focused on important Marian pilgrimage sites,³⁷ which were frequently visited in Baroque Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. These were, for example, Bílá Hora,³⁸ Bohosudov,³⁹ Brno,⁴⁰ Dobrá Voda,⁴¹ Dub nad Moravou,⁴² Hájek,⁴³ Chlum sv. Máří,⁴⁴ Klášterní Hradisko,⁴⁵ Krásno,⁴⁶ Sepekov,⁴⁷ Svatá Hora in Příbram⁴⁸ and Tuřany-Brno.⁴⁹ The pilgrimage traffic into Polish Bardo (Varta), situated on the territory of the Kłodzko Land, which fell under the Prague archdiocese, was reflected in the book *Diva Wartensis* by the Jesuit Bohuslav Balbín (fig. 1, 2).⁵⁰

The researched prints located in the Benedictine Library in Broumov were, most often, in the octavo format. Rarely it was the quarto or the twelvemo.⁵¹ They were bound in paper, parchment or leather binding, and exceptionally equipped with metallic clasps. Pasteboard boards wrapped in cow leather were decorated by embossing with floral motifs, golden depictions of the Madonna or the inscription

³³ The printing office functioned in the years 1631–1860.

³⁴ Schilhart leased the Archbishopric printing office in the years 1726–1727. P. Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy...*, p. 890.

³⁵ Works published most often were Balbín's books, e.g. *Diva Wartensis* (1655), *Diva Montis Sancti* (1665), *Historiae Beatissimae Virginis in Sancto Monte* (1665).

³⁶ See Appendix, no 15 (Přeštice) & 17 (Vranov by Brno).

³⁷ See no. 6.

³⁸ See Appendix, no 13.

³⁹ See Appendix, no 11.

⁴⁰ See Appendix, no 16.

⁴¹ See Appendix, no 9.

⁴² See Appendix, no 18.

⁴³ See Appendix, no 10.

⁴⁴ See Appendix, no 8.

⁴⁵ See Appendix, no 19.

⁴⁶ See Appendix, no 7.

⁴⁷ See Appendix, no 14.

⁴⁸ See Appendix, no 4, 12, 2, 3.

⁴⁹ See Appendix, no 5.

⁵⁰ See Appendix, no 1. The specimen is without the title page and the first 8 pages, including the copperplate with the sign of Šimon III, the abbot of the Cistercian Monastery Kamieniec. The beginnings were linked to the revelation of Saint Mary in the half of the 13th century. Czech believers frequently visited Cistercian basilica with the miraculous statue of the Mother of God in the most important pilgrimage site of the Czech-Polish borderland. M. Kapustka, "Bardzka figura maryjna — średniowieczny wizerunek a historia konfesyjna doby baroku", [in:] *Bardo. Skarby sztuki*, ed. A. Koziel, Legnica 2011, p. 97.

⁵¹ See Appendix, no 6, 12.



Fig. 1. Copperplate frontispiece with the depiction of Immaculata, crowned by angels, the bottom part is a Latin legend related to the pilgrimage site of Sepekov, sign. B — XX. F. bb. 17

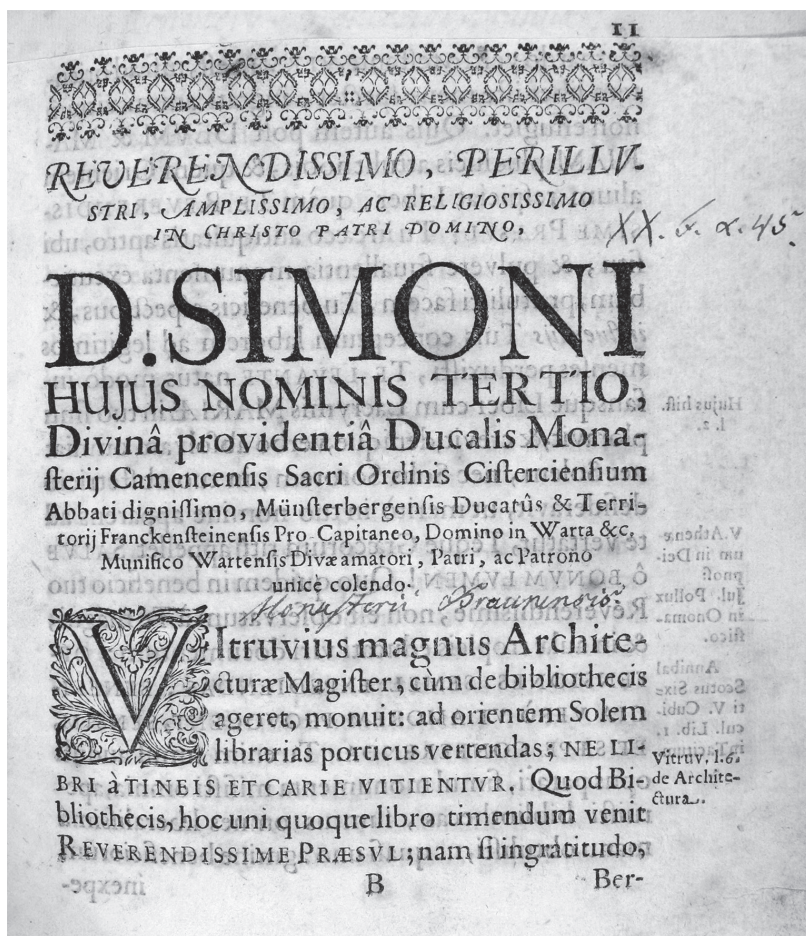


Fig. 2. Dedication to Šimon III, abbot of the Cistercian monetary in Polish Kamiennec in the work of Bohuslav Balbín *Diva Wartensis*. It includes the manuscript provenance of the Broumov Monastery *Monasterii Braunensis* with a signature.

The decoration is formed by a frieze made of typographical ornaments and the contoured initial “V” on a floral background, sign. B — XX. F. aa. 45, p. 11

MARIA.⁵² The simple look was complemented with a red, green, blue or golden edge.

The typographic rendering in the Baroque period was characterised by the uniformity of composition.⁵³ The printers used several types of cuts and sizes of

⁵² See Appendix, no 12.

⁵³ Overview of typography in individual epochs was presented by F. Muzika, *Krásné písmo ve vývoji latinky*, Praha 1958.

letters. They combined majuscule and minuscule letters in the names of chapters, subchapters and headings. The content of individual parts was marked with italics. The readers could orient themselves more easily in the book, thanks to signatures, catchwords, pagination, running headlines, marginal notes, which created visual and registration apparatus.

An important element of book printing was letters. Books were usually published in Latin and German. While Latin texts were printed in Antiqua,⁵⁴ Schwabacher and Fraktur were typical for German texts.⁵⁵ The selection of initials corresponded to the language of the work. In Latin books simple all caps were used as well as contour initials on an arabesque, acanthus or figural-floral-zoomorphic background, for example with the depiction of cornucopia, flowers, architecture in the landscape, people or animals. On the other hand, in German texts calligraphic Fraktur initials were used. Czech was used only to a limited extent, for instance in the names of places and people.

The title pages and half-titles of pilgrimage manuals do not abound in excessive decorations. The aesthetic function of the typographic title page was fulfilled by the alternation of letters (majuscule and minuscule), the combination of letter types (Antiqua, Schwabacher, Fraktur), the use of decorative initials or colours (red and black), which became outstanding in long and florid names. This meant that there was a lack of a need to fill in *horror vacui*⁵⁶ on the title page with vignettes.⁵⁷ However, signets — commonly placed in prints above the impressum or at the end of the book by the colophon — do not appear in any of the examined prints. The impressum was separated from the text by individual lines, less commonly lines made of typographic ornaments (fig. 3).⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Printed letters of Antiqua type were used for Latin texts since the beginning of the 16th century. These are rounded letters with serifs, the majuscules of which are derived from Capitals and minuscules from Carolingian minuscules. Characteristic elements include two-belly minuscule “a, g”. In Bohemia they were used especially as marking letters, gradually the type spread to whole texts. P. Voit, *Tiskové písmo Čech a Moravy první poloviny 16. století*, “Bibliotheca Strahoviensis” 1, 2011, pp. 160–162.

⁵⁵ Neogothic printing letters Schwabacher and Fraktur come from a group of Bastardas in German. Typical features of Schwabacher are wide letter picture, rounded “s”, sharp “s, f”, single-belly “a”, rounded side lines. In the 18th century Schwabacher was replaced with narrower and higher Fraktur, used as marking letters, with pointed ending of minuscules, sharp pillars of “s, f”, single-belly “a” or elephant trunks at letters. *Ibid.*, pp. 140–156. If a Latin word occurred in the text written in Schwabacher or Fraktur, it was printed in Antiqua.

⁵⁶ *Horror vacui* (fear of emptiness) in the 16th century consisted of filling in the empty places in text using decoration (vignettes, typographic ornaments, friezes or illustrations). P. Voit, *Tiskové písmo...*, pp. 371–372, 950.

⁵⁷ Appendix, no 12, vignette is present on the title page.

⁵⁸ Dating was given in Arabic or Roman numbers. The year could have the form of a chronogram. See Appendix, no 1, 19.



Fig. 3. Title sheet of the work *Historia Mariascheinensis* focused on the pilgrimage site Bohosudov. It includes the manuscript provenance of the *Monasterii Braunensis O. S. B.* with the stamp of the monastery, sign. B — XX. E. bb. 66

The graphic level of the publications also depended on the fashion trends of the period, the circle of readers, sponsors and assigning parties for the printing, as well as on the financial situation and technical equipment of the printing office. The low quality of paper or damaged woodblock would have a negative impact on the visual aspect of the text. Printers mutually lent to and borrowed from one another various sets of decorations, which were worn and torn after some time. The result was initials, vignettes and illustrations with the impression of craftsmanship.⁵⁹ These factors had no impact on the purchase power, since the pilgrimage guides were intended for an unassuming general public.⁶⁰

The decoration scale of prints included a number of elements of book decoration functioning at the artistic and practical level. The decoration left an aesthetic impression on the reader and helped him/her to find their way in the book. The placement of concrete decorative elements had its significance.⁶¹ Vignettes were located at the beginning and end of each chapter, or possibly closed individual parts of the book or filled in *horror vacui*. Friezes were placed in the headings and the names of chapters. Typographic ornaments were used variously.⁶² They could be an addition to the pagination, separate ornaments separating paragraphs or closing wholes, and grouped into more complicated compositions, lines or strips. Another type of decorations organising the text were simple straight lines, and decorative lines composed of typographic decorations. A distinctive addition to the text was a cliché.

The research shows that the mentioned elements were common for Czech printers and were applied without the view of literary genre. They can be regarded as universal book decorations, used repeatedly and in any place in the book. Thus, the printing office did not need to store new decoration sets, which was certainly suitable for its economic needs. The motifs of decorations were not only purely of a religious nature, as one would expect in pilgrimage books. Vignettes and friezes contained floral, zoomorphic, figural, and architectonic motifs. The vignettes were often decorated with mascarons in the form of angels, human faces or goats; furthermore, various types of flowers (rose, thistle), vases and baskets with flowers and fruit (cracked pomegranate), cornucopias, leaf work, acanthus twigs, animals (birds), volutes, cornices, various ornaments and typographic decorations. The vignette could have several forms, from the plait and arabesque to the cantilever. A special type was represented by a Jesuit vignette with the monogram

⁵⁹ See Appendix, no 10.

⁶⁰ P. Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy...*, p. 202.

⁶¹ Comp. F. Horák, *Česká kniha v minulosti a její výzdoba*, Praha 1948.

⁶² Typographic ornaments were composed of question marks, colons, lines, brackets, circles, stars, exclamation marks, paragraphs, crosses, acorns, etc.

IHS or with the text *Omnia ad maiorem Dei gloriam*.⁶³ The Marian vignette was formed by a burning heart and the abridged word Maria (fig. 4, 5).

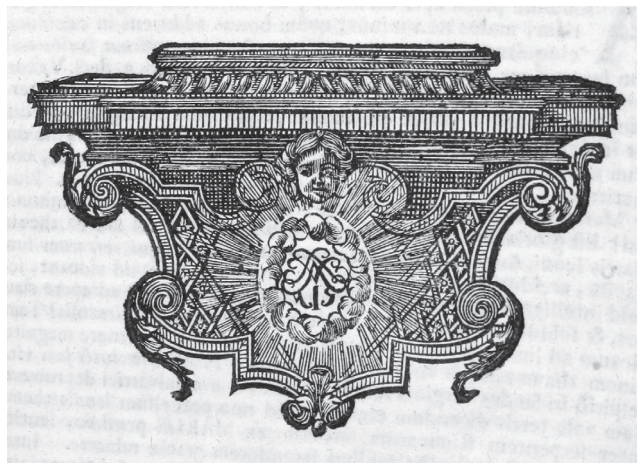


Fig. 4. Cantilever vignette with masaron and the inscription *MARIA*, sign. B — XX. G. aa. 39, D3 r



Fig. 5. Jesuit emblem with the monogram IHS, sign. B — XX. F. aa. 45, p. 304

⁶³ The abbreviation OAMDG was used by the Jesuits, in translation *All for the greater glory of God*.

Friezes were often formed from typographic decorations (fig. 6).



Fig. 6. Frieze formed by typographical ornaments, 14 × 74 mm, sign. B — XX. F. bb. 17, p. 7

They had the form of strips containing floral motifs, leaves, flowers, acorns, twigs, leaf work, vine tendrils and grapes. The illustrative function was fulfilled with friezes with the depiction of religious symbols (IHS, MARIA, God's eye) and objects.⁶⁴ The decoration included heraldic motifs, e.g. in the form of regional coats of arms.⁶⁵

The Rococo style brought in a new type of book decoration at the beginning of the 18th century. The majuscule letter at the beginning of the paragraph was supplemented on the left with a decorative rock-work cliché, which completely surrounded the initial in some cases. The Rococo playfulness with the sense for detail and its emphasis on nature enabled the rise of a great amount of variants for this decoration.⁶⁶ The cliché was often reminiscent of the letter C by its shape, formed by a rock-work, which contained a biblical motif in the form of a dove or the inscription IHS. A favourite variation was a cliché made of floral motifs depicting a tree with a wall, palm twigs or fruit with flowers (fig. 7).⁶⁷

Besides the textual component and the decoration, Baroque publications used to be enriched with pictorial elements, the primary function of which was, next to the pure aesthetics, to attract the attention of potential buyers. The creation of frontispieces, illustrations and annexes was the work of many artists. Czech illustrators and engravers cooperated with foreign colleagues coming from the centres of devotional graphics, such as Antwerp and Augsburg.⁶⁸ Copperplates embellishing Bohemian prints were created mostly in Prague, Brno and Olomouc.

⁶⁴ For instance a frieze with a cartouche that bears the inscription MARIA, putti with books, scroll and tablets of the Ten Commandments, the keys of St. Peter, tiara, cross and crown. See p. A1r, Appendix no 18.

⁶⁵ Moravian eagle with a cartouche decorated with volutes, twigs and birds. See p. [15], Appendix no 16.

⁶⁶ J. Baleka, *Výtvarné umění: výkladový slovník (malířství, sochařství, grafika)*, Praha 1997, pp. 310–311.

⁶⁷ Appendix no 12 only contains cliché.

⁶⁸ J. Royt, L. Šmídová, *Drobná devoční grafika*, Rakovník 1995, p. 7.



Fig. 7. Rococo cliché with a floral motif, typographical ornaments and a copperplate in the background depicting a pilgrim, who is accompanied by an angel to the pilgrimage church on Svatá Hora in Příbram, on the left there is a snake slithering around a tree, the scene is supplemented with rococos, signed by M. Traedl Sc. Prag, sign.

B — XX. G. aa. 44, p. 1

Important authors and co-operators at the same time included: Silesian illustrator Christian Vetter and Dutch engraver Wolfgang Kilian (1581–1662),⁶⁹ illustrator Lukáš Jirí Šicha and Matthäus Küssel (1629–1681) of Augsburg,⁷⁰ Jan Tscherning (1652–1732),⁷¹ Martin Antonín Lublinský (1636–1690),⁷² František Antonín Müller (1693–1753),⁷³ M. Trädl,⁷⁴ Augustin Petr Neuräutter (1673–1749),⁷⁵ Ignác Zeidler,⁷⁶ renowned Antonín Birckhart (1677–1748),⁷⁷ and others.⁷⁸

In the 17th and 18th centuries the book graphics often used allegories together with a copper engraving.⁷⁹ The symbolism made itself felt mostly in the frontispieces, which told the contents of the work.⁸⁰ The most common motif in the examined prints was the depiction of a statue, picture or revelation of the Virgin Mary. The marking *Vera effigies* was used, if the imitation of the original was

⁶⁹ Vetter is the author of the map of Bohemia in the shape of the rose in Balbín's work *Epitome historica rerum Bohemicarum*. He and Kilian participated in the decoration of the work *Diva Wartensis* (no 1). P. Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy...*, pp. 989–990.

⁷⁰ Lucas Georgius Ssicha (1650?) was a military engineer with a talent for drawing. He and Küssel decorated *Diva Montis Sancti* and *Diva Turzanensis*, *ibidem*, pp. 857–858. See Appendix, no 2 & 5.

⁷¹ The author of the frontispiece of the work *Mons Praemonstratus*, see Appendix, no 19.

⁷² Lublinský was a student of Karel Škréta (1610–1674). He specialised in the creation of paintings for the Olomouc diocese, graphic sheets, frontispieces, library illustrations, devotional graphic sheets, portraits, church emblem calendars and university theses. *Ibid.*, p. 548.

⁷³ The author of the frontispiece in the work of the Jesuit Castula *Peregrinvs Mariana Bohemiae Tempe Obiens*, with the depiction of a kneeling putto with the inscription: TEMPE BOEMICA, no 6.

⁷⁴ An artist living in the second half of the 18th century created a copperplate with the depiction of Svatá Hora in Příbram with a Madonna in the skies, a walking boy, accompanied by an angel, rich Rococo decoration with a snake slithering around a tree, no. 12; Petr Voit uses a frieze. *Idem*, *Encyklopedie knihy...*, p. 941.

⁷⁵ He was the author of the frontispiece with the depiction of Our Lady of Sorrows in Bohosudov, no 11.

⁷⁶ A copperplate engraver active around the middle of the 18th century in Moravia. He signed his works as Ignatius Zeidler Sc. M. Neustadt. More in P. Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy...*, p. 1033.

⁷⁷ Antonín Birkhart (1677–1748) came from the Netherlands and was active in Prague, cooperated with the illustrator Jan Hiebl, he is the author of 240 copperplates. E. Charvátová, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

⁷⁸ For instance copperplate engraver C. Luna, who is the author of the frontispiece with the Lady Mary of Victory, no. 13; Freindt in Olomouc, signed as Freindt Sc. Olomucij in the work *Pulchra ut Luna, Electa ut Sol*, no. 18; the engraver Müller was the author of the frontispiece with a Madonna, see Appendix, no 7.

⁷⁹ So-called technique of printing from depth originated in the 15th century was used to print illustrations and selected decoration, e.g. for illustrative vignettes, frontispieces, half-titles, etc. An older technique of printing from height continued to be used, especially to print composition and decoration. To combine these techniques, it was necessary to use two-phase print registration. P. Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy...*, p. 574.

⁸⁰ The frontispiece is the original illustration located before the title page. More in H. Beránková, "Typologie barokních frontispisů v bohémikálních tiscích z let 1618–1765", *Knihy a dějiny* 23, 2016, pp. 87–126.

faithful.⁸¹ From the typographical view these were many variants depicting the Virgin Mary as Madonna, Pieta, Assumpta,⁸² Thaumaturga,⁸³ Protectress of the city or pilgrimage site, Helper, Queen of Heaven, Our Lady of Sorrows, Our Lady of Victory, Our Lady of Svatá Hora, of Sepekov, of Přeštice, of Tuřany, Mother of Mercy etc.⁸⁴ The Virgin Mary was depicted on the throne in the skies, standing on a mountain with baby Jesus in her arms or as a statue in the tree.⁸⁵ Characters usually depicted at her side were angels, regional patrons, church officaries, saints or droves of ill supplicants.⁸⁶ Complicated compositions of frontispieces are finished with putti flying in the skies, carrying inscription tapes with biblical quotations and texts celebrating the Mother of God. In the bottom part under the depiction there used to be a commentary, sometimes enriched with a chronogram.

An integral part of the frontispiece was the depiction of a concrete pilgrimage site, in simplified form or as a veduta, which represents a precious source for acquainting with the historic topography of a given place.⁸⁷ The readers were attracted not only by the depiction of the landscape around the pilgrimage temple through which the procession walked, but also by the depiction of the interior (fig. 8).⁸⁸

The topics of pictorial annexes and illustrations were varied, from Marian revelations, biblical motifs, emblems⁸⁹ to the depiction of technical equipment⁹⁰ or

⁸¹ V. Štajnochr, op. cit., p. 97. See Appendix, no 2, 6, 13, 14, 19.

⁸² The Virgin Mary as an apocalyptic *Woman clothed in the Sun*. Ibid., p. 138.

⁸³ I.e. miracle worker.

⁸⁴ A detailed overview was provided by V. Štajnochr, see above.

⁸⁵ Virgin Mary in the publication *Marianischer Weissenberger Grund* is depicted in a long coat reaching the ground, on which baby Jesus is lying, in the background there are two male figures and a landscape with mountains, see Appendix, no 13.

⁸⁶ In the work *Gemma Moraviae Thaumaturga Brunensis* there is an interesting allegoric frontispiece of Brno church from Ignác Zeidler with a depiction of a sailboat that carries bishops, while women are rowing. Putti hold pearl oysters with the inscription MARIA, on the sail there is the Madonna depicted with laurel wreath, who is being crowned?? with two hands protruding out of clouds. In the skies a star shines with the inscription: SIT FELIXMAGNIWOLFFGANGI SYDERE CVRSVS, see Appendix, no 16.

⁸⁷ These are vedutas of Svatá Hora, no 2; of Tuřany-Brno (Appendix, no 5) and of Přeštice (Appendix, no 15).

⁸⁸ The work *Mons Praemonstratus* contains two copperplate annexes with the depiction of the interior of the Basilica of the Visit from Virgin Mary at Olomouc from Martin Antonín Lublinský and Jan Tscherning (Appendix, no 19).

⁸⁹ Many emblems in baroque style with biblical topics can be found in the work *Pulchra ut Luna Electa ut Sol*, Appendix, no 18. The emblems are the topic of the dissertation of K. Dolejší, "Naše zvědavé století se chce bavit novotou a nenadálou krásou." *Symboly ilustrované barokní tisky olomouckých jezuitů*, dissertation, Brno 2013.

⁹⁰ An annex depicting a pumping machine from the Příbram mines is related to the pilgrimage site of Svatá Hora in Příbram, see Appendix, no 2.



Fig. 8. Copperplate frontispiece with a depiction of the Madonna in the crown of a tree, which emits rays. Doves of people pray to the Virgin Mary, some of them are crippled or blind. In the bottom part there is the inscription *Lignum Vitae est his qui apprehenderint eam. Proverb. c. 3.*

Proverb. c. 3, sign. B — XX. F. bb. 1



Fig. 9. Copperplate frontispiece with the Madonna in front of whom kneels Prague archbishop Arnošt from Pardubice and on the right St. Ignatius, on the sides there are soaring angels dragging a curtain, in the background stands the pilgrimage church on Svatá Hora in Příbram, in the bottom part there is the inscription *DEIPARA THAVMATVRGA DE MONTE SANCTO*, sign. B — XX. G. aa. 44

of votive gifts before a statue or picture of the Virgin Mary in the form of reduced imitations of human organs or bodies. The latter, together with medical aids such as crutches, were brought by pilgrims to the Virgin Mary so that she could free them from their illnesses.⁹¹ The prints included heraldic motifs in the form of signs

⁹¹ M. Holubová, “Zázračná uzdravení...”, p. 231. The attributes of illness are present in the annex with the depiction of the Virgin Mary of Svatá Hora in the work *Diva Wartensis*, see Appendix, no 1.

of church officials, often in the role of donors.⁹² Copper engravings supplemented miniature maps with the marking of the pilgrimage site and its surroundings.⁹³

CONCLUSION

Religious pilgrimages to sacred sites formed an integral part of Baroque religiosity in the period of the 17th and 18th centuries. Pilgrimage guides were published in printing offices in the territory of Bohemia and Moravia and were to satisfy the needs of believers during the execution of religious pilgrimages. The authors of the books came from the church elite circles. In their works they discussed important local and foreign Marian pilgrimage sites frequented by believers. Besides recommendations as to how to behave during the pilgrimage, the prints also contained prayers and songs, including a narration about the history of the pilgrimage site and miracles.

The findings resulting from the research of Bohemian pilgrimage guides stored in the Benedictine Library in Broumov can also be applied to the current printed production of this religious-educational literature of the period. The examined prints do not differ in any way from the general characteristics of this type of sources.

The appearance of the book binding was simple. The guides were, most often, in the octavo format bound in paper, parchment or leather binding decorated by embossing. They were related by the simplicity and uniformity of the composition. It was based on the combination of majuscule and minuscule letters, types, cuts and sizes of letters, and also initials. The readers could orient themselves easier in the book thanks to signatures, catchwords, pagination, running headlines, marginal notes, which created a visual and registration apparatus. The language of the work was influenced by the selection of the letters, therefore the Latin texts were printed in Antiqua and German ones in Schwabacher and Fraktur. Baroque books were characterised by a typographic title sheet containing a long name, sometimes printed in red and black.

The visual aspect of individual publications was determined by the financial options of the printing offices, which were not usually on a level comparable with those abroad. As for the quantity and quality of the guides, it was the Jesuit

⁹² The sign of a donor, the bishop Jan Rudolf count Špork, no 12 or the coat of arms of Karel Eusebius from Lichtenstein (Appendix, no 17), and the coat of arms of countess Klaudiva von Harras and Souches (Appendix, no 7).

⁹³ Svatá Hora, Valdek, Tetín, Karlštejn, Prague and the Vltava river are depicted on the map *Districtus Podbrscensis*, see Appendix, no 2.

printing office in Prague that excelled. The textual component was accompanied by decorations (vignettes, friezes, typographic ornaments, clichés, lines), which helped the readers to orient themselves in the book, filled in *horror vacui* and fulfilled an aesthetic function. For prints, universal decorations were used, which was common also for other genres of literature. In the guides there were, therefore, few decorations with religious topics. The prevailing motifs were floral, zoomorphic, ornamental, architectonic, and figural in nature. The graphic level of the prints was increased by allegorical copper engraving frontispieces, illustrations and pictorial annexes with biblical themes from the workshops of European artists. The most common topics included depictions of the pilgrimage sites (*veduta*), miraculous statues and pictures of the Virgin Mary, emblems, and also heraldic signs of church officials, often in the role of donors.

APPENDIX. THE LIST OF THE ANALYSED BOHEMIAN PILGRIMAGE PRINTS

- No. 1. Balbín Bohuslav, *Diva Wartensis*, Prague: Jesuit printing office, 1655, sign. B — XX. F. aa. 45.
 No. 2. Balbín Bohuslav, *Diva Montis Sancti*, Prague: Jesuit printing office, Jiří Černocho, 1665, sign. B — XX. G. aa. 43.
 No. 3. Balbín Bohuslav, *Historiae Beatissimae Virginis In Sancto Monte*, Prague: Jesuit printing office, 1665, sign. B — XX. G. aa. 43,1, přív. 1.
 No. 4. Balbín Bohuslav, *Heiliger Berg, Oder Ausführliche Beschreibung des Wunderthätigen Bildnuß Vnser Lieben Frauen ob dem Heiligen Berg im Königreich Böhemb*, Prague: Archbishopric printing office, Pavel Postřihač, 1668, sign. B — XX. F. bb. 2.
 No. 5. Balbín Bohuslav, *Diva Turzanensis*, Olomouc: Vít Jindřich Ettel, 1658, sign. B — XX. F. bb. 20.
 No. 6. Castulus Georgius, *Peregrinvs Mariana Bohemiae Tempe obiens*, Prague: Jesuit printing office, 1665, sign. B — XX. F. bb. 26.
 No. 7. Ernst Christoph Adam, *Flos Campi = Oder Maria Die Schöne Feld-Blume*, Králův Dvůr: Josef Antonín Schilhart, 1727, sign. B — XX. F. bb. 5.
 No. 8. Etter Vít Ferdinand, *Arbor Fructifera Montis Culmensis*, Prague: Jesuit printing office, Václav Zelenka, 1678, sign. B — XX. F. bb. 1.
 No. 9. Höffle Johann Adam, *Ein Baum gepflanzet an den Wasser-Bächen*, Prague: Jesuit printing office, 1747, sign. B — XX. F. bb. 43.
 No. 10. Lábe Jindřich Jan, *Malus Inter Ligna Sylvarum*, Prague: Jesuit printing office, Jiří I. Laboun, 1689, sign. B — XX. F. bb. 23.
 No. 11. Müller Jan Kašpar, *Historia Mariascheinensis*, Prague: Jesuit printing office, Jáchym Kamenický, 1710, sign. B — XX. E. bb. 66.
 No. 12. Popp Ignác, *Historia Divae Virginis in Regni Bohemiae Monte Sancto*, Prague: Jesuit printing office, 1758, sign. B — XX. G. aa. 44.
 No. 13. Stoyber Johann Georg, *Marianischer Weissenberger Grund*, Prague: Karel František older Rosenmüller, 1721, sign. B — XX. F. bb. 9.
 No. 14. [S.n.], *Sive De Origine, Antiquitate, Gratiis, Ac Beneficiis A Saeculis, Lustrisque Illustris Munificentissimae Gratiarum Caelestium Dispensatricis Mariae, Magnae Matris In Sepekoy*, Prague: Archbishopric printing office, Bohumír Lange, 1746, sign. B — XX. F. bb. 17.

- No. 15. [S.n.], *Wunderbare und vorhero niemahlen gesehene Blühe*, Regensburg: Johann Baptist Lang, 1714, sign. B — XX. F. bb. 7.
- No. 16. [S.n.], *Gemma Moraviae Thaumaturga Brunensis*, Brno: Jakub Maximilián Svoboda, 1736, sign. B — XX. G. aa. 41.
- No. 17. Talbert François, *Vranovivm Seu Avla Virginis*, Vienna: Rickhes Matthäus, 1652, sign. B — XX. F. bb. 16.
- No. 18. Zháněl Josef Antonín, *Pulchra ut Luna, Electa ut Sol*, Olomouc: František Antonín Hirnle, 1742, sign. B — XX. G. aa. 39.
- No. 19. Wancke Bernard, *Mons Praemonstratus*, Olomouc: Jan Josef Kylián, 1679, sign. B — XX. F. bb. 4.

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ANNA HOLEŠOVÁ

BAROQUE RELIGIOUS PILGRIMAGES AND DECORATION OF PRINTED PILGRIMAGE GUIDES FROM THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES STORED IN THE BENEDICTINE LIBRARY IN BROUMOV

Summary

Pilgrimage guides belong to the most widely published types of religious literature in Bohemia and Moravia in the 17th and 18th centuries. During this period Baroque religiosity grew stronger and the Catholic Church sought to consolidate its position in the country, which inclined to the ideas of the Reformation. Religious pilgrimages, festivities and ceremonies along with the worship of saints and faith in miracles, served as promotional tools of the Catholic faith. In order to spread Marian Piety, Czech and Moravian printers published works written by the representatives of church

elites. In their works they dealt with the history of pilgrimage sites related to the Virgin Mary. The prints were published in Latin and German. In addition to the treatise about the pilgrimage sites and miraculous healings, they included prayers, songs and recommendations as to how to behave during a pilgrimage. It was not only the text component which the reader found interesting; he/she was also impressed by the graphic design of the print. The book decoration consisted of vignettes, friezes, typographic ornaments, lines or clichés, which fulfilled an aesthetic and practical function. The customers' interest was stimulated by copper engraving illustrations and Baroque allegorical frontispieces depicting a Marian statue and miracle picture or by depiction of the concrete pilgrimage site in the form of a veduta. The authors included some of the important Czech illustrators and engravers who collaborated with famous foreign artists.

KEY WORDS: pilgrimage sites, Czech, Baroque, Marian piety, old prints, typography