

LADISLAV VELEN OF ŽEROTÍN AND HIS STUDY STAY IN SWITZERLAND

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This contribution focuses on Ladislav Velen of Žerotín, member of an important Moravian family, and his stay in Basel between April 1592 and December 1593. His experiences from that time are described in Žerotín's *Itinerarium*, which he wrote in 1589–1594. After presenting some introductory information about this literary source and its writer, the author investigates contacts which Žerotín established during his studies in Basel, events he describes in the *Itinerarium*, and trips from Basel, which belong to the most detailed records in this diary. They depict his impression of the places he visited – be it military facilities, ecclesiastic buildings, workshops, or other objects – but also the surrounding landscape and unforeseen events Žerotín encountered during his travels.

Keywords: Ladislav Velen of Žerotín – Basel – study stay – travel diaries

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Ego-documents belong to important sources for history of nobility, education, travelling, cultural history and other topics, and many of such texts have already been used by historians. However, the travel diary *Itinerarium* from the years 1589 to 1594 written by the young Moravian nobleman Ladislav Velen of Žerotín (1579–1638) is one of those sources that have not been edited and have been only partly analysed so far,¹ although a biography about him was written already in 1930 by František Hrubý.²

The aim of this study is to examine the benefit of Žerotín's stay in Switzerland for him. Thus, I will concentrate on the part of the diary that covers the period of nearly two years spent by Ladislav Velen in Switzerland, especially in Basel where he studied at the university. Another topic that I will touch upon is the way the *Itinerarium* illustrates Žerotín's personality. However, first I will sum up basic information about Žerotín's youth and about his *Itinerarium*. Then I will deal with his study stay in Basel and give an overview of the contacts which Žerotín established here, and finally, I will analyse the entries of the *Itinerarium* that are related to Žerotín's *iter Helveticum*, as he labelled his journey from Basel to Zurich, and other of his excursions to nearby towns and villages.

¹ František HRUBÝ, *Ladislav Velen ze Žerotína*, Praha 1930, pp. 10–19. Cf. also Ondřej PODAVKA, *Formování náboženského přesvědčení Zdeňka Brtnického z Valdštejna a Ladislava Velena ze Žerotína*, in: *Studia Comeniana et Historica* 95–96, XLVI/2016, pp. 147–172.

² Cf. the previous note.

The early life of Ladislav Velen of Žerotín and his *Itinerarium*

Ladislav Velen was a member of a prominent Moravian non-catholic noble family from Žerotín (they were members of The Unity of Brethren), a distant relative of one of the best educated Bohemian and Moravian noblemen, Karel the Elder of Žerotín.³ Ladislav Velen's parents, Jan of Žerotín (†1582) and Kunhuta, née of Boskovice (†1590), both died prematurely leaving Ladislav Velen orphaned at quite a young age of eleven years. At the time of his mother's death, Ladislav Velen was already at his first study stay outside of his birthplace, namely in Vienna, where his mother Kunhuta sent him in June 1590⁴ (on advice of his uncle Fridrich of Žerotín) and where he studied until April 1591.⁵ After Kunhuta's death, Fridrich of Žerotín (†1598) became his guardian and decided on the destinations of his journeys and the time of his return to Moravia.⁶

After Ladislav Velen came back from Vienna, he continued with a three-year Grand Tour accompanied by his tutor Amandus Polanus of Polansdorf⁷ and preceptors Jiří Jenisch and Jan Fridrich Jordán of Klausenburg. He spent approximately half a year (from September 1591 to March 1592) at the Strasbourg Academy before moving to Basel, where he remained until December 1593; this is the part of his Grand Tour that I will describe in this study. The following months he spent in Heidelberg again (from December 1593 to April 1594) and in Regensburg (from April to June 1594).

About a year after his return to Moravia, Ladislav Velen took up his second study journey (1595–1599) to Geneva and Italy (from 1597 on) – here he is documented in Padua, Siena and Florence.⁸ However, very little information about this

³ On him cf. Peter CHLUMECKÝ, *Carl von Zierotin und seine Zeit*, Brünn² 1879; Otakar ODLOŽILÍK, *Karel Starší ze Žerotína 1564–1636*, Praha 1936; Tomáš KNOZ, *Državy Karla Staršího ze Žerotína po Bílé Hoře. Osoby, příběhy, struktury*, Brno 2001; IDEM, *Karel st. ze Žerotína. Don Quijote v labyrintu světa*, Praha 2008.

⁴ “Ego vero manebam ibi usque ad 6. Junii. Nam ex consilio Domini Friderici mea Domina Mater, pia memoriae, isto die me Viennam ablegabat.” Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV), Bibliotheca Reginae Latina (Reg.Lat.) 613, fol. 3r–v.

⁵ “Viennae cum meis usque ad 27. Aprilis mansi. Postea D[omi]ni Friderici iussu Luntenburgum reversus sum, cum in Germaniam proficiscendum mihi esset.” Ibidem, fol. 9v.

⁶ “XXII. Novembris accepi literas a Domino Friderico, in quibus jussit, ut Basilea me domum conferrem.” Ibidem, fol. 53r.

⁷ On him cf. Karel ŠITA, *Život a dílo Amada Polana z Polansdorfu*, (an unpublished dissertation, ETF UK), Praha 1951; Ernst STAHELIN, *Amandus Polanus von Polansdorf*, Basel 1955.

⁸ F. HRUBÝ, *Ladislav Velen ze Žerotína*, p. 26. In his later years, Ladislav Velen of Žerotín held several offices: He was the regional captain (Hauptmann) of Olomouc (1609–1612) and assessor at the Moravian provincial court (1612–1619), during the Estates Uprising, he became the Moravian provincial governor (Landeshauptmann) and commander of the cavalry (1619–1620), he won the battle of Dolní Věstonice, where he defeated the troops of the Austrian army under Henri de Dampierre. After the defeat of the uprising, he was sentenced to death *in absentia* and his property was confiscated (including his *Itinerarium* that was deposited to the library in the Chateau of Mikulov, which had belonged to the Dittrichsteins since 1575). During the Thirty Years' War, he participated in the fights in Silesia – he was in the service of Johann Georg of Brandenburg, a Duke of Jägerndorf, Christian IV, King of Denmark, Gustav II Adolf, King of Sweden, and Christina, Queen of Sweden (he became chief commander of the occupying army in Silesia). After the defeat of the Swedish troops, he withdrew from there to Poznań, where he died in the year 1638.

journey has been preserved, because his *Itinerarium* covers only the years from 1589⁹ to 1594.¹⁰

The *Itinerarium* contains 134 folios (in total over 160 standard pages). The number of details given for different stages of Žerotín's journey varies:¹¹ Until the late 1593, the entries appear usually only occasionally and for some periods, lasting up to several months, there is not a single entry. Only when Žerotín was on the road and changed places of stay frequently, he wrote in his *Itinerary* every day – that is the case of e.g. his travel from Moravia to Strasbourg from 10 August to 20 September 1591 or his *iter Helveticum* that I will discuss later. The *Itinerarium* becomes a real diary as late as from 9 December 1593 onwards.¹² Unfortunately, Žerotín's records from this time spent in Basel are quite scarce – there are approximately 85 entries out of 610 days that he spent there.

Žerotín did not state his name in the manuscript, but the fact that it was him who wrote the *Itinerarium* is indisputable thanks to mentions of his relatives in some entries.¹³ The manuscript of the *Itinerarium* was captured by Swedish troops by the end of the Thirty Years' War and taken to Stockholm in June 1647.¹⁴ Finally, it was taken by Queen Christina to Rome and now it is deposited in the Vatican Library.¹⁵

Žerotín's travel from Moravia to Strasbourg and his stay in Switzerland

As I have already mentioned, in 1591 (on 10 August) Ladislav Velen of Žerotín set on his *iter Germanicum*, as he called it in his *Itinerarium*,¹⁶ from Moravia via Pardubice, Prague, Nuremberg and Heidelberg to Strasbourg, where he arrived on 19 September 1591 and where he spent about half a year.¹⁷ However, Amandus Polanus did not go along with the fact that he should stay with his charge in Strasbourg, and tried to persuade Ladislav

⁹ The earliest entry is dated with 28 December 1589. This entry, as well as the number of the following ones, were united into one continuous narrative and were probably not made until the autumn of 1590, as Žerotín wrote of his mother as "*piae memoriae*" in the entry about his departure to Vienna in June 1590, although she died as late as in September 1590. Thus, he probably started keeping the *Itinerarium* after that. BAV, Reg. Lat. 613, fol. 3r–v (cf. footnote nr. 4).

¹⁰ The final entry is dated on 31 December 1594 and ends with the words: "Finis huius itinerarii." BAV, Reg. Lat. 613, fol. 134r.

¹¹ The entries from the year begin on fol. 1v, from the year 1591 on fol. 9v, from the year 1592 on fol. 25r, from the year 1593 on fol. 39r and more than half of the whole manuscript comprises the entries from the year 1594 (from fol. 64v on).

¹² *Ibidem*, fol. 54r–v.

¹³ "[...] meus Dominus Patruelis, Dominus Carolus a Zierotin [...]" *Ibidem*, fol. 6r. "[...] charissima mea Domina mater Kunegunda, ex Illustri et antiquissima Boskowitziorum familia penultima [...]" *Ibidem*, fol. 8v. "Cum mensae asstarem ad Baronem a Dona et Trevirenssem, Moguntinus quaesivit ex Administratore Saxoniae, nam essem et illo respondente esse Zierotinum Baronem." *Ibidem*, fol. 103r.

¹⁴ Before that, in the year 1646 (eight years after Žerotín's death), an inventory was taken (apparently by war commissary Johannes Busso, who prepared the books for the transport), that comprises records of 8342 captured volumes, including 126 manuscripts. Kungliga Biblioteket Stockholm-Handschriftenabt, shelfmark U 377; Žerotín's *Itinerarium* is recorded here as an item no. 89. Prokop ZÁORAL, *Stockholmský inventář mikulovské knihovny z r. 1646*, *Studie o rukopisech* 10, 1971, p. 244.

¹⁵ Bibliotheca apostolica Vaticana, Bibliotheca Reginae Latina, n. 613, <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.lat.613> (14. 8. 2023).

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, fol. 9ar.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, fol. 23r. During this time he returned to Heidelberg to attend the funeral of John Casimir, Count Palatine of Simmern (25–29 January 1592). *Ibidem*, fol. 27v–28v.

Velen's relatives that the travelling company should move to Basel.¹⁸ The reason for that was the confessional situation in the city. Ladislav Velen himself made complain about it in his *Itinerarium*: In the entry from 2 January 1592, when he had studied at the Strasbourg Academy for more than three months, he wrote that this institution is well constituted, but as for the religion, which he regarded as the most important, the locals went astray of the right path considerably as they turned away from Calvinism to Lutheranism after the death of John Calvin, Martin Bucer and Wolfgang Capito.¹⁹

Eventually, Polanus attained his goal²⁰ and on 7 March 1592 Ladislav Velen and his entourage left Strasbourg and two days later they returned to Heidelberg, where they stayed until 8 April.²¹ On 13 April they finally arrived in Basel,²² where they remained until 13 December 1593.²³ He stayed in Basel in the boarding house of Johann Jakob Grynaeus, just like the above-mentioned Karel the Elder of Žerotín did.

Karel the Elder who was often more or less involved in choosing the course and contents of the studies of his younger relatives and other nobles, especially the orphaned ones,²⁴ was another important person for the course of Ladislav Velen's studies. Especially the contacts that Karel the Elder established during his own studies and has since cultivated and deepened²⁵ proved to be significant for Ladislav Velen, as I will discuss later. In addition, Karel the Elder visited Ladislav Velen in Basel on 6–9 October 1592 while returning from France; then Karel the Elder went to Italy to visit his younger brother Jan Diviš.²⁶

A week after his arrival in Basel, on 20 April 1592, Ladislav Velen put down his name in the student registry of the University of Basel.²⁷ Unfortunately, his *Itinerarium* does not provide much information on his studies – the entries pertaining his study activities do not relate to anything but his examinations. The first such entry (out of about ten) describes an examination led by Johann Jacob Grynaeus on the Heidelberg Catechism, Cicero's letters, and a work by a Luxembourggeois historian Johannes Sleidanus.²⁸ After another examination, Ladislav Velen (along with the promoted students) was endowed by Grynaeus; on

¹⁸ Polanus wrote about it in a letter to Grynaeus from 30 October 1591. František HRUBÝ (ed.), *Étudiants tchèques aux écoles protestantes de l'Europe occidentale à la fin du 16e et au début du 17e siècle. Documents*, Brno 1970, pp. 257–258.

¹⁹ “Academiam quod attinet, est illa viris doctis bene constituta, religionem vero si spectes, quod maximum est, post Domini Calvinii, Buceri et Capitonis, qui ibi docuerunt, obitum a vera via non parum incolae recesserunt. Nam D. Pappus et caeteri concionatores audiri volunt Lutherani et Calvinii nostrorumque doctrinam quasi haereticam condemnant.” BAV, Reg.Lat. 613, fol. 26r.

²⁰ Polanus informed Grynaeus about it in a letter from 28 February 1592. F. HRUBÝ (ed.), *Étudiants*, pp. 262–263.

²¹ BAV, Reg.Lat. 613, fol. 35v. During this time, he spent a few days in Frankfurt (16–21 March 1592). *Ibidem*, fol. 32r–v.

²² *Ibidem*, fol. 36r.

²³ *Ibidem*, fol. 55v.

²⁴ This fact led T. KNOZ to characterize Karel the Elder as “a patron of studying youth”. T. KNOZ, *Karel starší ze Žerotína*, p. 52.

²⁵ E.g. with Pieter Cornelis van Brederode, Justus Lipsius, Joachim Camerarius the Younger, Johann Jacob Grynaeus, Theodore Beza and the others. Cf. T. KNOZ, *Karel starší ze Žerotína*, pp. 48–52; Martin HOLÝ, *Šlechtičtí vzdělanci z českých zemí a evropská res publica litteraria v poslední třetině 16. a v prvních desetiletích 17. století*, *Historie – Otázky – Problémy* 1/1, 2009, pp. 25–32.

²⁶ “[...] meus agnatus, Dominus Carolus a Zierotin [...], ex Gallia redux Basileam venit [...] dein in Italiam ad suum fratrem Iohannem Dionisyum profectus est.” BAV, Reg.Lat. 613, fol. 38r–v.

²⁷ “XX. Aprilis in matriculam studiosorum inscriptus fui a D. Johanne Gutt, j[ur]is c[onsulti], qui annuus rector fuit.” BAV, Reg.Lat. 613, fol. 36r.

²⁸ “XVIII. Maii primum examinatus fui in presentia D. Grynaei et Domini Beati Helii, scholae moderatoris, quid toto mense didicerim ex Heidelbergensi Catechismo, epistolis Ciceronis et Sleidano.” *Ibidem*, fol. 37r–v.

this occasion he received a book of prayers by Joachim Cureus (probably *Formulae precum*, 1573) and two coins with “hieroglyphical” inscriptions.²⁹

On the other hand, a relatively great number of the entries illustrate with whom Žerotín encountered, usually at lunch or dinner, but also on other occasions. The fact that Ladislav Velen was a member of the Žerotín family proved to be important, as one of his distant relatives was Karel the Elder of Žerotín, who had established numerous contacts with scholars and other personalities during his own studies or later and kept exchanging letters with them. This helped Ladislav Velen to establish contacts while travelling – the *Itinerarium* documents a number of meetings with persons who had known Karel the Elder, such as with former Archbishop of Cologne and Calvinist convert Gebhard Truchsess of Waldburg (1547–1601), who asked Ladislav Velen to send his regards to Karel the Elder and Fridrich of Žerotín as well as to Frederick IV, Elector Palatine.³⁰

Among the people whose acquaintance Ladislav Velen made in Basel, there are mainly professors or other scholars. As mentioned above, he stayed in the Grynaeus’ boarding house. Ladislav Velen got acquainted with Grynaeus short before he moved to Basel in early April 1592 in Heidelberg, where Grynaeus came to congratulate to Frederick IV, who had become Elector Palatinate in January that year.³¹ Afterwards, Žerotín and Grynaeus set out for a journey to Basel together.³² Grynaeus is mentioned several times, some of the relevant entries are from December 1593, shortly before Žerotín left Basel.³³ However, Žerotín kept in touch with him at least until 1596, as it is documented by his letters to Grynaeus.³⁴ Žerotín also mentioned several times in his *Itinerary* that he received a letter from Grynaeus or Theodore Beza.

In addition to these, Žerotín became acquainted also with the rector of the university of Basel Samuel Grynaeus and the Swiss botanist Gaspard Bauhin,³⁵ the grandson of Huldrych Zwingli of the same name,³⁶ or Jacob Ulfeldt, a Danish traveller who later became diplomat and chancellor of Christian IV of Denmark.³⁷

Žerotín also got to know many young noblemen. E.g. in an entry from the beginning of his stay in Basel, he mentions a small number of his peers with whom he became acquainted including three brothers of Salm Kyrburg, Johann Kasimir, Otto, Georg Friedrich, who invited him to a banquet soon after he arrived and with whom he was in touch almost every feast day thereafter.³⁸ He also met again in Basel some of those, whom he had known since his

²⁹ “X. Octobris D. Jacobus Grynaeus post examen iis, qui promoti fuerant, munuscula distribuit et mihi quoque preces Curaei una cum duobus nummis, quibus emblemata hieroglyphica infusa, donavit.” Ibidem, fol. 38v.

³⁰ “XVIII. Decembris mane Illustrissimus princeps Gebhardus, Coloniensis Elector, ad me misit suum ministrum et mihi significavit, ut ad se [...] venire, quod feci. Interrogavit me, quomodo consanguinitate domino Carolo junctus essem [...] cumque mihi mandasset, ut suo nomine Electorem Palatinum et D. Fridericum et D. Carolum Zerotinos salutarem, me dimisit.” Ibidem, fol. 60v.

³¹ Ibidem, fol. 35v.

³² Ibidem, fol. 35v–36r.

³³ Žerotín attended Grynaeus’ preaching (9 December), gave him 12 florens to distribute them among the poor people (12 December) and finally said him goodbye (13 December). Ibidem, fol. 54r–55v.

³⁴ F. HRUBÝ, *Étudiants*, passim.

³⁵ BAV, Reg.Lat. 613, fol. 51v–52r.

³⁶ Ibidem, fol. 47r.

³⁷ Ibidem, fol. 38v.

³⁸ “Nam Comites statim, postquam Basileam venissem, convivio me exceperunt, deinde fere singulis diebus feriatis convenimus.” Ibidem, fol. 37r.

previous stays in Strasbourg or Heidelberg. This is the case of e.g. Albrecht of Hanau,³⁹ who also accompanied Žerotín on his departure from Basel to Neubreisach.⁴⁰ Last but not least, Žerotín mentions the contacts he made with the burghers of Basel such as Mr. Brillecourt who visited him frequently: Žerotín wrote about him that he accidentally shot himself and let the physicians treat his wound too late, which led to his premature death.⁴¹ Žerotín was also asked to stand as a godfather; unfortunately, the baby boy, named Felix, died soon after that.⁴²

Other entries refer to events that occurred in Basel; the promotion of doctors and licentiates of law,⁴³ and the arrival and short stay in Basel of Louis Gonzaga with his thirteen-year-old son Charles (estimated to be older by Žerotín) and the bishop of Mantua, Annibale Francesco Gonzaga,⁴⁴ can be mentioned as examples. Žerotín conscientiously recorded which and how many persons were in their immediate vicinity,⁴⁵ and did not forget to add that he had been told that during the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre Gonzaga was running around the city of Paris calling for the murder of Huguenots.⁴⁶ Žerotín also recorded information about events outside Basel or Switzerland, such as the death of the Bishop of Strasbourg, Johann IV of Manderscheid-Blankenheim and the subsequent conflict, which was only resolved in 1604,⁴⁷ the wedding of Frederick IV of Palatinate with Louise Juliana of Orange-Nassau in Dillenburg,⁴⁸ or the capture of Charles-Eugene of Savoy.⁴⁹

Žerotín's *iter Helveticum* and other trips

The most detailed of Žerotín's entries from his stay in Switzerland are those that illustrate his travels outside Basel. If we do not count short trips or journeys during which Žerotín

³⁹ Ibidem, fol. 50v.

⁴⁰ Ibidem, fol. 55v.

⁴¹ "X. Junii Mons[ieu]r Brillecourt sepultus fuit, qui me saepe inuisit, sed ex imprudentia se ipsum bombardavit, ex quo vulnere coactus est mori, siquidem nimis tarde a medicis auxilium petiit." Ibidem, fol. 43v.

⁴² "XIII. Septembris dominus Wilhelmus Budeus, Halberstadiensis Saxo, qui postea doctor medicinae hic creatus est, exoravit me, ut essem susceptor ipsius filij, et hic primus instans fuit, quem ego e baptismo levavi. [...] Puerulus autem, nomine Felix, paulo post mortuus est." Ibidem, fol. 38r.

⁴³ "III. Januarii Basileae simul XV juris consulti promoti sunt, XII doctores et III licentiati, quod adhuc, quamdiu Accademia duravit, non factum fuerat." Ibidem, fol. 39r.

⁴⁴ "Ludovicus Gonzaga Dux Nivernensis [...], comitatus filio annorum quindecim et Episcopo Mantensi, Basileam venit in diversorium Ciconiae." Ibidem, fol. 50v–51r.

⁴⁵ "Rheda, qua tres hi vehebantur, praecesserunt et secuti sunt sparsim sine ullo ordine equites et muli circiter 200. Postridie deducti sunt a duobus senatoribus in templa, armamentarium et urbis areas. Praecedentes senatores pene sequebantur ministri publici bicolores, [...] princeps asello vectus, filius et Episcopus pedites, quos confusum glomeratim comitabatur Gallorum chaos. Hos in hospitio Ad ciconiam expectabant Basilienses senatores quinque, inter quos trib[unus] pleb[is] Huberus [...]" Ibidem, fol. 51r.

⁴⁶ "Leonhardus Constans, minister Ecclesiae Gallicae Basil[ien]si, testabatur, se hunc Niversium unum ex autoribus illius lamenaee Parisiensis, Empusae instar, satellitio stipatum pro urbem cursitantem vidisse et sicarios sic inclamantem audisse: 'Occidite, occidite omnes Huguenotos quoniam rex id jubet, eorum bona diripite.'" Ibidem, fol. 51r–v.

⁴⁷ "XXII. Aprilis Episcopus Argentinensis mortuus est. Postea canonici Argentinenses, qui Argentiniae resident, in suo consistorio Marchionem Johannem Georgium Brandenburgicum, Administratoris Magdeburgici filium, in Administratorem, papiste vero Principem Lotharingicum Cardinalem Metensem in Episcopum Tabernis Alsaticis elegerunt. Quapropter tandem bellum exortum est [...]" Ibidem, fol. 37r.

⁴⁸ "XII. Junii Fridericus quartus Elector nuptias cum Elisabetha Juliana, comitissa Nassovia, Principis Auriaci filia, Dillenburgi celebravit." Ibidem, fol. 43v.

⁴⁹ "XIII. Sept[embris] novo, vel IX. veteri stylo Dux Nemursius, Lugdunensium Gubernator [...] hora quinta vespertina, a subditis suis civibus Lugdunensibus in custodiam urbis ductus fuit." Ibidem, fol. 51v.

accompanied someone on their way from Basel a few kilometres to nearby towns or villages,⁵⁰ Žerotín left Basel for a period of more than one day three times: On 2 April 1593, together with other persons, he accompanied the counts of Salm to the village of Kems, where most of the entourage left them, and then proceeded with the counts to Ribeauvillé, the seat of the Rappolstein family, as Eberhard of Rappolstein's wife Anna was the sister of these three counts. Before he returned to Basel on 7 April, he visited, among others, Ottmarsheim, the mines in Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines (Markirch), Colmar, Ensisheim and Mulhouse.⁵¹ At the turn of June and July 1593, Žerotín took a short *iter Helveticum*. He headed via Brugg, Baden, Wetting and Dietikon to Zurich, where he spent two days, and then returned to Basel via Bulach, Eglisau, Schaffhausen, Waldshut-Tiengen, Bad Säckingen and Rheinfelden.⁵² Finally, at the turn of November and December 1593, he visited Rötteln castle.⁵³

If Žerotín stayed in a town for a longer time and visited any places of interest there, he dealt with them in more detail. Žerotín paid particular attention to fortifications – the description of the town of Schaffhausen belongs to more detailed ones.⁵⁴ Apart from that, Žerotín was especially interested in the armouries, such as the one in Zurich. Among the things that caught Žerotín's attention there was for example a huge cannon that a small boy could fit in and a new mechanism for elevating heavy cannons, as well as a cannon with an improved charging mechanism, and cannons captured from the Duke of Burgundy, the Austrians, and others.⁵⁵

Žerotín was also interested in local manufactures or workshops, such as the silver mines in Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines (Markirch).⁵⁶ The visit of the mines seems to have been a great experience for him. He was dressed in miner clothes and taken into a 46 cubits deep shaft. Žerotín was intrigued by the quantity of timbers used to support the shafts and by the drainage, as well as by the stalactites on the ceiling of the shafts. He eventually received a piece of metal as proof that he had been down in the mine.⁵⁷ Another great experience for him was

⁵⁰ E.g. *ibidem*, fol. 43v, 52r.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, fol. 39v–43r.

⁵² *Ibidem*, fol. 43v–50r.

⁵³ “I. Decembris arcem ascendi, ubi mihi arx et hypocausta monstrata sunt. Est pulcherrimus prospectus ex illa arce, ductus etiam sum in quoddam conclave, ubi balistas et jacula multa antiqua vidi [...]. Arx est optime sita, ita ut tempore belli non possit obsidione cingi, cum ex illa magnum damnum exercitui tormentis inferre possint.” *Ibidem*, fol. 53v–54r.

⁵⁴ “[...] ductus sum in propugnaculum urbis, in quo extruendo viginti sex annis laboratum fuit. Est autem in sublimiore loco ad moenia urbis ex saxis quadratis aedificatum et aqua fontanea bene instructum. Tria distincta sunt loca [...].” *Ibidem*, fol. 48r–v.

⁵⁵ He also supplemented this entry with a drawing: “In armamentario multas lanceas et magna tormenta vidi, inter quae unum est tam magnum, ut puer commode in illud serpere et egredi possit. Notavi *ibidem* quoque novum artificium, quo maxima tormenta, sicubi in limo haerent, unius viri opera in altum elevari possunt, perinde sicuti aurigae mitt einem heber Ihre wegen ins die höhe schrauben. Forma eius talis est: [...]. Deinde tormenta vidi ita facta, ut tormento exposo non demum oneraturus cogatur ad tormenti foramen procedere, sed cum leviter obice remoto tormenti partem posteriorem detrudit, tormentum convertit foramen ad eum ita, ut pulvere et globo replei possit.” *Ibidem*, fol. 47r–v.

⁵⁶ Cf. also the entries regarding glass factory in Upper Palatine Forest (between Přimda and Waidhaus) or textile wallpaper workshop in Frankenthal. *Ibidem*, fol. 14r, 78v–79r.

⁵⁷ “[...] qui nobis sua officia mandatu sui domini detulerunt et bonum prandium apparaverunt, pro quo nihil accipere vulerunt, deinde me Marckkirhii induerunt habitu fossorio, ut quadraginta sex ulnas per duos puteos profundos me demittere possem in fossam metallicam, in qua argentum crescit, ubi magnam molem lignorum vidi, qua mons fulciebatur, siquidem ubique perfossus erat. Est quoque in illo monte pulcherrimus aquae ductus cum duabus magnis rotis, quarum quaelibet septem ulnas alta est, quarum beneficio aqua ex monte exhauritur et postea per cuniculum educitur. [...] In cuniculo autem illo e sublimi in quibusdam locis defluit aqua, statim

a visit to the mint in Ensisheim, where he was allowed to mint a few coins.⁵⁸ The exploitation of water resources was another object of his attention, for example the pumping of water from the river of Limmat in Zurich.⁵⁹

Furthermore, Žerotín appreciated the beauty of the surrounding countryside and the beautiful view from places he visited or stayed overnight. For example, he wrote about the Habsburg castle that it had been already a ruin, but that it had been situated in a picturesque location with a beautiful plain on one side and the Aare River on the other one.⁶⁰ At the inn at the Sword in Zurich, he liked the view of the Limmat River, flowing out of Lake Zurich and dividing the city in two parts. He was so impressed by the view that he described it twice in one entry.⁶¹ The next day they sailed for almost three hours on the lake, enjoying the view especially of the snow-capped mountains.⁶² He also described the waterfalls on the Rhine River, including the sound experience.⁶³

On the other hand, we can find surprisingly few mentions of works of art, be it architecture, sculpture or painting. There are only brief mentions of the remains of ancient Roman buildings in Augst and Windisch⁶⁴ and of a statue of an ancient deity along with other figures. On the contrary, the absence of statues is more frequently mentioned. In connection with Strasbourg, he states that no statues have remained in the city, unless they have been deprived of their arms, heads and legs.⁶⁵ Moreover, he paid special attention to the churches that were “purified” of all “idols”. Having looked around the former Franciscan monastery of Königsfelden, he noted that “everything that seemed to serve idolatry was removed from this monastery”.⁶⁶ Shortly afterwards in Zurich, he looked around “two larger churches, which are quite beautiful and purified of all idols”.⁶⁷

As for the everydayness of travelling, Žerotín describes some difficulties, such as getting lost on the way from Strasbourg to Basel, which made them cross the river of Rhine twice and caused that they found the right way only after four hours.⁶⁸ On their way back from

in lapidem convertitur et clara fit sicuti albus corallus. [...] Mihi quoque aliquot frusta metallica donata sunt in testimonium, quod in fodina fuissem.” Ibidem, fol. 40v–41r.

⁵⁸ “Monetae administrator [...] me ipsum aliquot bacos et dimidios taleros conficere jussit.” Ibidem, fol. 42r.

⁵⁹ “In Limagi pontibus duobus sunt domunculae duae, in quibus singulis rota e Limago aquam haurit et in canales octo effundit, per quos accolis aqua subministratur.” Ibidem, fol. 48r. Cf. e.g. ibidem, fol. 17r.

⁶⁰ “Nunc vero est antiqua, ruinosae et vilis arx respectu aedificiorum, quae nunc habentur. Attamen in eleganti loco sita est. Nam sinistrorsum, cum ab oppido Brugg in arcem ascenditur, est pulchra planities, [...] dextrorsum vero montem magnus navigabilis fluvius nomine Arula alluit [...]” Ibidem, fol. 44r.

⁶¹ “Divertimus in diversorio Ad gladium. Amoenissimus unde patet prospectus videntibus scilicet, quomodo Limagus fluvius ex lacu sex milliaribus longo prorumpens in duas urbes, perinde ut Rhenus Basileam in majorem et minorem Tigurum dividat, ita tamen, ut pontibus duobus jungantur.” Ibidem, fol. 47r. Srov. BAV, Reg. Lat. 613, fol. 47v–48r.

⁶² “A prandio in lacu navigavimus fere tres horas, ex quo loca pulcherrima ad lacum utrinque sita, nec non montes cana nive conspersos lustravimus.” Ibidem, fol. 48r.

⁶³ “Ante Schaffusium vidi Rheni catarrhactas majores, horribiles et altos, ubi Rhenus ingenti cum fremite et fragore de rupibus altissimis, arboribus adhuc proceris conspicuis delabitur.” Ibidem, fol. 48r. Srov. BAV, ibidem, fol. 49v.

⁶⁴ Ibidem, fol. 43v–44v, 45v–46r.

⁶⁵ “[...] nullas enim amplius habent statuas, nisi quae manibus capitibus et pedibus truncatis alicubi in angulis fuerunt relictæ.” Ibidem, fol. 26r.

⁶⁶ “Ex hoc monasterio omne id remotum est, quod videbatur ad idololatram servire [...]” Ibidem, fol. 45v.

⁶⁷ “[...] nobis monstrata sunt majora duo templa, quae satis pulchra sunt et ab idolis omnibus repurgata.” Ibidem, fol. 47r.

⁶⁸ “Nam caduceator Basiliensis, qui D. Grynaeo adjunctus fuerat, non rectum iter nobis monstraverat, ita ut bis Rheni brachium transire magno cum periculo coacti fuerimus. Nam aquae fluctus jam currum elevarant, ut Deo merito agamus gratias, qui nos tum servavit. Quatuor vero horas a recta via aberravimus [...]” Ibidem, fol. 36r.

Ribeauvillé in early April 1593, they were so late that they were not allowed to enter Mulhouse and had to seek after an accommodation in a nearby village.⁶⁹ In another entry, a curious situation that occurred, when Žerotín and his entourage wanted to sell an ailing horse, is described. Not only had the above-mentioned preceptor Jiří Jenisch to sell it cheaply, he also could not put the sale of it in hands of anyone else, because the whole Basel knew of the various diseases that the horse suffered from. Moreover, no one would probably buy it here for this reason, too; thus, Jenisch had to go for that purpose to Breisgau and Alsace.⁷⁰ A small number of records concerns with Žerotín's health⁷¹ or weather and celestial phenomena.⁷²

* * *

Although the *Itinerarium* contains very little information about Žerotín's educational process (his stay in Basel being no exception in this respect), it is clear that he returned from his journey as a well-educated young man, he could speak and write in Czech, German, Latin and French, during his following stay in Italy he probably learned Italian as well. Moreover, his study journey made it possible for him to establish contacts both with scholars and noblemen. Among his contacts made in Basel, the most important and lasting one was with Grynaeus. Žerotín's letters to him that have been preserved document that they kept in touch with each other for at least several years.

Moreover, Žerotín's *Itinerarium* illustrates his personality in various aspects. Regarding Žerotín's religiosity, many entries (including the ones from the other parts of the *Itinerarium*)⁷³ prove him to be a deeply religious man; his criticism against the people of Strasbourg, his comments on the "purification" of churches and other entries document that he was considerably radical and implacable. Finally, thanks to the *Itinerarium*, we know quite much about Žerotín's interests: As we could see, he was interested especially in technologies, weapons and military affairs as well as in politics.

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⁶⁹ "[...] cum autem Mulhusium venissemus et portae clausae essent, petivimus, ut intrmitteremur, vigiles autem responsum nobis dederunt, ut paulisper expectaremus [...] et significavit nobis, ut in quendam pagum non procul isthinc distantem equitaremus, [...]. Cum autem interrogassemus quosdam rusticos, ubinam esset diversorium, nihil nobis respondere voluerunt, sed candelas extinxerunt, ne tantum ostenderent hospitium [...]" Ibidem, fol. 42v.

⁷⁰ "[...] meus praceptor Jenischius equi illius causa [...] in Brisgoiam et Alsatiā, ubi venderetur, profectus est. Alii commendari non potuit negotium, cum morbos varios, quibus equus fuit correptus, Basilienses fere omnes nossent. Male nos habuit Christophori illius mendacium, qui equum aiebat esse Turcicum et quatuor annorum, cum vulgaris esset et annorum duodecim. Vix tandem venditus fuit triginta sex florenis." Ibidem, fol. 52v–53r.

⁷¹ "[...] mihi in infimo sinistro dente genuino aphtae eruperunt, sed D. Platerus consuluit, quid faciendum esset. Ibidem, fol. 38v. „[...] ante coenam caput mihi doluit, et cum mensae assedissem, nausea quedam me corripuit [...]" Ibidem.

⁷² Ibidem, fol. 52r, 53r.

⁷³ O. PODAVKA, *Formování*, pp. 163–171.

Ladislav Velen ze Žerotína a jeho studijní pobyt ve Švýcarsku

RESUMÉ

Studie pojednává o studijním pobytu příslušníka významné moravské rodiny Ladislava Veleny ze Žerotína v Basileji (1579–1638), jenž je podchycen v Žerotínově *Itinerariu* z let 1589–1594. Přestože během 610 dnů strávených v Basileji (duben 1592 – prosinec 1593) Žerotín pořídil pouze cca 85 záznamů a zápisy se stávají každodenními teprve v době, kdy Žerotín Basilej opouštěl, osvětluje tento pramen jeho osobnost v několika různých aspektech. Dokládá jeho jazykové znalosti, umožňuje postihnout, s kým navazoval kontakt, a poznat některé jeho osobní zájmy. Zachycuje jeho vnímání navštívených míst (ať již se jednalo o vojenské objekty, církevní budovy, technické provozy – manufaktury, doly – nebo jiné objekty) a okolní krajiny. V neposlední řadě je ze záznamů v *Itinerariu* patrné Žerotínovo osobnostní založení po náboženské stránce. V tomto ohledu se tento příslušník Jednoty bratrské jeví již v tomto věku jako nesmířitelně konfesijně vyhraněný.

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