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The first woman in the process of book production in Livonia: the case of Ursula Krüger and Daniel Hermann

Kristi Viiding

Department of Classical Philology, University of Tartu, Tartu, Estonia

ABSTRACT

I present the first case from the history of early modern Livonia, when a woman participated in the editing and publication of a printed book. Ursula Krüger, wife of Prussian–Livonian humanist Daniel Hermann, illustrates the wider perspective of non-aristocratic women's activities involving book production in the geographical periphery of humanist culture, Riga, rather than in the heart of European humanism. Her story also illustrates the ability of women to collaborate as an editor, both as a learned woman who could compose Latin dedications and a businesswoman who could financially and organizationally engage in publishing books.

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*Es ist eine alte Tatsache, dass es in allen
Berufen mehr Frauen gibt,
als man gemeinhin denkt.*
(Meiner 1933, 333)

The role of women in the early period of book production, distribution, and consumption has been sporadically researched during the past 80 years. It is a highly interdisciplinary topic shared by the history of books, the history of ideas, social history, literary history, the history of reading, and gender studies. As a result, research is often divided and sometimes ignored by different disciplines. For example, in the American Encyclopedia *International Book Publishing*, the article 'Feminist Publishing' (Howe 1995, 130–37) places the beginnings of feminist presses in the 1960s with no historical retrospect, despite the fact that in the United States the topic is well researched in a voluminous monograph (Hudak 1978).¹ The role of women is also mentioned only in passing in *The Oxford Companion to the Book* in the chapter 'The European Printing Revolution': 'In sum, what distinguishes the production of printed books from that of manuscripts is the necessary collaboration of individuals, each contributing his or her own skills or assets' (Dondi 2010, 57).

What we cannot say, however, is whether printing really meant a revolution in regard to women and the book. Or was the transition from manuscripts to printing a rather dynamic process? Comparing the number of nuns from the medieval scriptoria to the few early modern women who could participate in the process

of book production and circulation (de Hemptinne 2004),² it seems even possible that in the first stage the transition to printing was for women a rather regressive process.

Even the most systemized introduction to women and books in the *Lexikon des gesamten Buchwesens*, volume III, which distinguishes the role of women in seven articles – such as *Frauen im Bibliotheksdienst*, *Frauen im Buchhandel*, *Frauen im Druckgewerbe*, *Frauen in der Bibliophilie*, *Frauenbuchladen*, *Frauenliteratur*, and *Frauenzeitschriften* – has little information about the early modern times (Corsten Pflug, and Schmidt-Künsemüller 1991, 39–44). It is mainly limited to printing (*ibid*, 39–40); nothing is mentioned about other activities surrounding the production of books, especially the editing process.

The very same situation can be found in books dedicated to social or gender studies. For example, Heide Wunder in her monograph, *Er ist die Sonn', sie ist der Mond* (1992, 129) lists a few names of widows who continued the work of their husbands in leading European printing shops. Unfortunately, no data about the exact activities of widows are analyzed. Merry Wiesner in her book *Working women in Renaissance Germany* (1986, 139) discusses, more specifically, the role of women in the book trade, including the long-distance book trade. Wiesner summarizes the research quite clearly: 'There is too little information on most of these women to make generalizations about female printers and what they were printing... They were generally not handling controversial religious or political material' (*ibid*, 139).³

For literary historians, the primary focus of research has been on the production of texts not books. In the vast literature about women writers over the past several decades, published and unpublished writings are studied together in a scrambled fashion.⁴ How often the writing process of women was consciously aimed at preparing content for (printed) books and how often women wrote texts with no clear aim to publish them, was not however systematically discussed.

In this article, I address the first time a woman participated in the process of printed book production in the Northern part of the Baltic region (Livonia). I contextualize the different texts included in the edition, the extant copies of the book, and archival records from the period under consideration. The aim of this article is to present the wider perspective of women's activities around book production and to show if, how, and why women could collaborate at the editorial level.

Historical and cultural background

After a long period under the rule of the Teutonic Order, Livonia came under Polish political control at the end of the 16th century. Inhabitants in towns were mainly German, Estonian, and Latvian. In spite of the changing political situation in the region, the last decades of the 16th and the first decade of the 17th century mark the peak of the educational and cultural life in the Livonian capital Riga. In 1588, the city council established the first printing house⁵; and in 1594, the old cathedral school started to follow the principles of a humanist gymnasium (Tiersch 1932; Hollander 1980). Between 1592 and 1608, six educational programmatic texts were published (Hilchen 1592; Orationes tres 1597; Frenclivus a Fridenthal 1599; Samson(ius) 1608).⁶ These provided the preconditions for the literacy, intellectual independence, and education of women.

There is not much evidence of this, but at least one indirect piece of information helps us to talk about the education of local women and even their initiative to

support the education of their sons. In 1594, the new inspector of the gymnasium, Johannes Rivius (1528–1596) was invited from Courland.⁷ In a speech during the inauguration ceremony, he said that the venerable matrons of Riga are not satisfied with the paternal love and dedication to the youth of the city, as the fathers have made efforts to give young men scholarships to send them to study in foreign countries, not to establish schools in Riga.⁸ This kind of dissatisfaction shown by women with the local conditions in male education is unusual in the European humanist treatises from Early Modern times.⁹ Rather, Johannes Rivius noticed a local peculiarity that he admired and expressed in his speech.¹⁰

Ursula Krüger and Daniel Hermann: the marriage with intellectual companionship

In this inviting atmosphere for humanist education, it is no wonder that a local woman was able to participate in book production at the very beginning of the 17th century. In April 1582, Ursula Krüger (Low German Kröger), the daughter of a German citizen in Riga, married the Prussian humanist and Neo-Latin poet Daniel Hermann (1539–1601).¹¹ Hermann had arrived in Krüger's hometown shortly before the Polish king Stephan Báthory on 1 March 1582, and stayed as a counselor and German secretary of Polish cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł (1556–1600). From 1586 to 1600, Hermann was in the service of Jürgen (Georg, Jerzy) von Fahrensbach (1552–1602).

Ursula Krüger was the widow of merchant Berend(t) Butte¹² and the cognate of influential aldermann Andres Coxe (von Ramm-Helmsing 1942, 22–23), and Lukas Hübner, the counselor of the Courland's Duke Gotthard.¹³ We have no information about her educational background. Her first contact with Daniel Hermann was practical in nature: as the cortege of the Polish King was numerous, many members found accommodation in the houses of citizens. Hermann, with two Prussian friends, Michael Giese and historian Reinhold Heidenstein, after some difficulties were resolved,¹⁴ was accommodated in the house of Krüger (Schiemann 1886, 69–70; Forstreuter 1981, 20).¹⁵ Hermann was a very learned man; he had studied in Königsberg, Strasburg with Johann Sturm, Basel, and Wittenberg. Six years of his life (1573–1578) were spent at the Royal Court of Habsburgs in Vienna and in Prague as the secretary for Latin correspondence. After that, he participated in the campaign of the Polish King in Russia as the Royal chronicler from 1579 to 1580. Latin poetry, of all sorts, was part of Hermann's activities since the time he began his education. These included occasional poems in different meters and stanzas as well as didactic and heroic epics. Sturm praised him in Strasburg for his talented speeches.

The relationship between Krüger and Hermann developed very quickly. Hermann wrote to Danzig acknowledging his feelings by 3 April 1582. On April 9, he sent a report to Danzig about his new citizenship in Riga.¹⁶ He described the events like a comedy, as he became very quickly the owner of a heritage and a house, where one month previously he had not even found refuge (von Ramm-Helmsing 1942, 27).

During the long marriage of Krüger and Hermann, the couple lived in Riga where she undoubtedly grew intellectually with her humanist husband. The marriage of Krüger and Hermann seems to represent an ideal marriage of humanistically educated partners, an ideal which was the model of humanist marriage in the 15th and 16th century across Europe.¹⁷ Hermann's friendly attitude to educated women is already known from his earlier poems.¹⁸ For example, in his wedding poem *Cl[arissimo] Viro*

Hugo Blotio I[uris] C[onsulti] Caesaris Maiest[at]is, Bibliothecario, Sponso, et Barbarae Oberspergerae, Thomae Sibenburgeri relictæ viduæ, quartas nuptias repetenti, Epithalamium, written to his friend, the courtly librarian (Hofbibliothekar) and professor of rhetoric at the University of Vienna, Hugo Blotius, Hermann discussed 21 different types of good women (Hermann 1614, II, F2-F2verso). Of these, the right one is a *mulier pia*; but the only positively described wife is the educated one. Hermann wrote in verses 22–23: *[Uxorem] Humanam? humanis capiuntur corda loquelis* – ‘[If I will marry] an educated woman? Her educated conversations will fascinate all senses’. The uneducated woman, *vice versa*, will be terrible for all guests (*Nunquid inhumanam? Hanc horrebit quilibet hospes*).

Ursula Krüger was also very deeply engaged in her husband’s literary world until his death in December 1601. In his literary epitaph Hermann said:

*Hic igitur vixi: conjux mihi ductaque Rigæ est
Ursula Krögero Foemina patre sata.
Moribus excultis, pietate et prædita multa,
inque meos nutus officiosa fuit.* (Schiemann 1886, 74, vv. 13–16)

(I lived here, and I married in Riga my wife Ursula, the daughter of the father Kröger. Her habits were polished; she was very pious and dedicated to my wishes). In 1606, Ursula Krüger ordered for herself and her husband a funeral monument in the Cathedral of Riga, upon which was inscribed the whole poem by Hermann in 17 elegiac distichs (Loeffler 1929, 67; Forstreuter 1981, 23).¹⁹

During the final years of his life, Hermann collected all his poems together and planned to edit them. By the end of March 1596, the manuscript of the collection must have been ready, as witnessed by the date of the earliest gratulatory poem sent by Lutheran theologian and composer of chorales Sebastian Artomedes (Brotsorg, 1544–1602) from Königsberg.²⁰ The number of poems was quite large (altogether 126, in 600 pages *in quarto*) and consisted mainly of epic characters, epigrams, and some lyric poems. It is one of the biggest collections of humanist poems from the turn of the 17th century in Europe. Hermann planned to publish these works in three volumes, which is evidenced in gratulatory poems by other famous European humanists like Paulus Melissus Schede or Martin Braschius from Rostock.²¹ Each volume was to contain some longer epics or verse orations as well as many shorter occasional poems, especially mourning poems and farewell poems. Two longer epic poems were about theological topics while all the other poems were secular.

Daniel Hermann died at the end of 1601 at the age of 62 before the publication of his poems. He had determined the addressees of the three volumes²² but had not written any dedicatory letter or preface for his book; nor had he organized matters related to the printing of the volumes.

Editing as a means to bringing her husband’s poetry to light

It was only in 1614 or 1615 that the volumes of Hermann’s oeuvre were published in Riga with a Latin preface written by his wife. The three prefaces are dedicated to the three important periods and institutions in the life of Hermann. The first volume, *[Poemata] Academica* (academic poems), is dedicated to the city council of Strasburg, where Hermann began his curriculum as a poet. The second volume, titled *[Poemata] Aulica*, courtly poems, is dedicated to baron Fabian the Elder from Dhona (1550–1621)

who was Hermann's supporter at the Royal Court in Vienna.²³ The last volume, *[Poemata] Bellica et miscellanea*, contains poems about war and other topics, and is dedicated to the city council of Riga. The length of the prefaces varies from one and a half pages to four pages. The preface to the third volume is the most sizable one as Ursula Krüger knew this period of the life of her husband from her own experience.

A first glance at the content of the three prefaces convinces us that Ursula Krüger did not use the copy-and-paste method in her compositions. The three prefaces complement each other. After a respectful acknowledgement to her husband's supporters at the stage of his life covered by the volume, each preface develops different topics. The first preface gives a short overview of Hermann's life, then moves to his friends' recommendation to edit his poems (without mentioning the names of those friends), explains the reasons to divide the poems into three volumes, and argues for the choice of city council of Strasburg as the addressee of the first volume. She concludes by writing about the death of her husband.

The second preface, the most impersonal and rhetorical one, consists of two parts: praise of baron Fabian the Elder from Dhona and dedication of the volume to him as requested in the will of her husband. The third preface describes the arrival of Hermann in Livonia, addresses his most famous poems from this period (*De partu monstroso* and *Stephaneis*), and praises the city of Riga from three different perspectives: as the hearth of all Christians and Germans in Livonia, as an indomitable city in wars, and as a welcoming place for refugees. Then she laments the death of her husband, the difficulties brought by war, and her own illness with the onset of old age, which hindered her editorial work.

Krüger's prefaces eschewed typical female topics, for example, she does not discuss the very popular subject of *Querelle des Femmes*, which was a topic in many genres during this period, to include catalogues of virtues, dialogues, sermons, and novels (Bake 2013, 23–24). If we ignore the possessive pronouns, connected mainly with her husband (*meus maritus*), and the reference in the preface to the fact that she is a widow, there is no indication that the author of it is a female. Neither her long marriage, nor Krüger's role in her husband's work, are discussed. Moreover, while she alludes to the open attitude of the Riga city to culture and erudition, as evidence in the second part of the phrase [*Magnam saepe huius Civitatis humanitatem expertus esset,*] *victus amore eius ... ab ea divelli sese passus est* the typical vocabulary of lovers, is alluded to (Hermann 1614–1615, III, *Praefatio, sine paginatione*), Krüger does not mention the very intimate reason her husband stayed in Riga. The serious health issues she faced while editing her husband's book are mentioned only briefly at the end of the third preface.²⁴ Instead, she focuses primarily on the fate of her husband, as well as her keen desire to dedicate herself to the memory of her husband (*grati animi mei significatio*).

Thus, the three prefaces are rather similar to mourning sermons and obituaries penned by learned wives of great humanists and reformers in memory of their deceased husbands. Katharina Zell, widow of the parson Matthaeus Zell from Strasburg, who died in 1548, penned one such famous sermon, which dealt with the theological doctrine and the life of her husband. The sermon was printed in the same year and was well known among learned circles (Jancke 1995, 60).

A close reading of the prefaces gives us some important evidence of the role of women in book history. The most important fact is that the dying poet consciously trusted the editing of his book to his wife, not to some experienced publisher or to his

learned friends in Riga or elsewhere.²⁵ She interprets her editorial tasks as making sure her husband's poetry survives. Since the task required the writing of a Latin preface to the collection of humanist Latin poems, this meant, among other things, that Hermann had great confidence in his wife's language skills. Indeed, Hermann's confidence in Krüger was well placed. She wrote in a contemporary and scholarly form of Latin, for which she need not have apologized. The grammatical and syntactical constructions in the texts are classical, even Ciceronian. She flawlessly constructed long sentences with many subordinate clauses, different participial and infinitive constructions, gerunds, and gerundives.²⁶ Her texts are not recordings of oral performance, but of careful grammatical study²⁷; and her style is not touched by the Lipsianismus, which flourished at the end of the 16th century in the communication of courtly society and of which the main principles were brevity and acuteness (*acutezza*). Nor did she use the style of Latin scholarly dialogs, which we might expect given the traditional education of humanists. Her Latin vocabulary is classical with some Early Modern terms, phrases, and new meanings. As a result, it does not sound old-fashioned or primitive. We encounter words like *burggrabius*, *consul*, *proconsul*, *gubernator*, *dux*, *illustritas vestra*. Thus, she is a representative of *klassizistisches Stilideal des bürgerlichen Humanismus* (Barner 1970, 357).

The word *editio*, *edere* ('edition, to edit') as used by Krüger in her editorial work indicates quite unambiguously a woman's role as the editor or publisher of the book: 'Now I thank the Good, who sustained me regardless of the fact that I am chained to the bed, that I was allowed with the edition of this work to save the memory of my husband and give a small sign of my thankful soul'.²⁸ However, the preface of the third volume remains the only place in the book to admit as much. The title page of the volumes and the colophon at the end do not contain the usual phrases such as *opera ac studio, eddidit*, etc.

Furthermore, there is evidence that the editorial activity of Krüger encompassed more than just the composition of the Latin prefaces. Herta von Ramm-Helmsing who studied the marriage contract of Krüger and Hermann in 1942, notes that Krüger published all three volumes of poems at her own expense. According to the will of her first husband, Berend Butte, she inherited considerable property, even after taking into account inherited debt (von Ramm-Helmsing 1942, 31–32, 35). Given the fact that no information is available about Krüger's relationships or tutorships after the death of her second husband Daniel Hermann, she appears to have been financially independent. As a consequence, there are no letters in the Strasburg City Archives or in Riga in the Latvian Historical State Archives written by Krüger pleading her cause or seeking financial support from these two cities, to whom the first and third volume of poems are dedicated.²⁹

Thus, although a non-aristocratic woman could participate in the process of producing book as an editor, the totality of the tasks she took on is understated in the book. In fact, much of the work she did was hidden.³⁰

An attempt at contextualization

For European book history, the case of Krüger and Hermann represents an exception on two counts. First, it was an atypical entrance of a woman into the world of book editing and publishing. Krüger was neither the widow of a printer, nor a muse for the poet (in the three volumes of poetry by Hermann there are no poems to or about Ursula Krüger), nor someone who could add her poems to the collection of her

husband (like Aemilia Jordan to the volume of Paulus Melissus Schede). Krüger seems to be a remarkable woman: a mix of a learned woman who could compose Latin dedications and of a businesswoman who could financially and organizationally complete the editing and publishing (neither in VD16, 1997; Schottenloher 1953; nor in Williams 1962, can any comparable case be found).

Second, the product of this collaboration was unusual. Traditionally a man introduced the poems of a woman with a preface in which he strongly championed the possibilities for a literary breakthrough by a woman, not *vice versa* (cf. e.g. von Baldhoven 1602, et al.).

It is quite clear, however, that the model of Krüger and Hermann did not spread in European literary practice in the early modern period. Like the other books printed and published in the Baltic cities and towns of Riga, Reval, Dorpat, and Mitau, *Poemata* by Hermann did not reach the international book market, as is evident from the catalogues of the Book Fair in Leipzig and Frankfurt (Catalogus universalis 2007). The dedicatory prefaces by a woman have no handwritten comments in the five extant copies of the book in the European libraries.³¹ Their example remained an exceptional, maybe even unnoticed practice. The next female participant in the Baltic book history, Catharina Reusner, came 20 years later in a much more traditional manner. As the widow of the first printer in Reval, Christoph Reusner, she continued the work of the printing house after her husband's death and produced 25 books throughout 1637 and 1638 (Klöker 2005, 352–53). We have no texts written by hers, no comments about herself in contemporary encyclopedic works about *literati*, and no reason to mention her as a learned woman involved in book publishing. In fact, her primary function was to fill the gap in management, not so much the handicraft side of the printing office, after her first and before her second husband Heinrich Westphal (who continued as the printer in Reval from 1639 to 1653 [Klöker 2005, 353–60]). The next learned woman author appeared even later. In 1654 and 1655, Gertrud Paffrath published her first collection of occasional poems in Riga (edition of her poems with a commentary and introduction Kaur and Viiding 2012).

In summary, the case of Krüger and Hermann shows that in the early 17th century, at least in the Lutheran part of Europe, a non-aristocratic woman could participate in the editorial process in a very complex way, by being involved in both the preparation of a book's content and the overall organization of its publication, to include the financing. In the context of European early book history, her activity was one of the first examples of this kind and was not a common phenomenon (like the continuation of the unfinished work of dead husbands or the filling of gaps in management or organization between marriages), but rather an unique and successful initiative, a skilled linking of the financial prosperity of the first husband to the literary achievements and intellectual ideals of herself and her second husband. Krüger's activity remained, however, limited to editing her husband's opus; and she never developed to become an *independent* editor or even poetess.

Notes

1. Later some studies about separate regions of the United States are published, e.g. Levenson (1994).
2. Some information about the nuns can be found in the early printing history by Meiner (1933, 336–37).

3. For Italy: Parker (1996, 509–541).
4. Two central surveys are *Early Modern Women Writing Latin* (2002), and Stevenson (2005).
5. The printer and bookseller Niclas Mollyn owned the printing house. The printing office produced 160 books between 1588 and 1625 as well as occasional papers for municipal, ecclesiastical, and scholarly use, including the first book in Latvian printed in the Baltic countries – a three volume church manual. Mollyn's work – including woodcuts and, subsequently, copper engravings – sold mostly in Riga and the Baltic countries (Warmbrunn 2010, II 1095). For the production of Riga printing house, see Buchholtz (1890), and Zanders (1998).
6. See the first systematic survey of these treatises Viiding (2013).
7. Magister Johannes Rivius (1528–1596) from Zwickau studied at Leipzig University, was the school rector in Zeitz and Halle, and was a professor in Leipzig. Later he was Hofmeister in the court of the Polish King and Couronian Duke Gotthard. After 1590, he was connected with the Cathedral School of Riga (Klöker 2009).
8. *Jam vero ista erga Urbis vestrae adolescentiam affectione paternae caritatis et propensionis, non contentae Magnificae Dominae Vestrae: id quoque a multis temporibus operam dederunt, et adhuc dant, ut exculiti juvenes ejusmodi necessaria et liberali doctrinae peritia, quae ad ea Gymnasia afferenda est, quae veteri Platoniorum et Peripateticorum instituto Academiae nominantur, suntque uberiores eruditionis et sapientiae tanquam mercatus: Stipendiorum vestrorum sumptibus instructi, ad exteros proficisceretur ...* (Orationes tres 1597, A3v).
9. From this text, it seems that we have, already by the end of the 16th century, good reason to speak about the first manifestation of the 'Baltic cult of mother'. In the present research of Baltic German literature, this cult is connected with a much later time – the 18th and 19th century. The cult is explained as the domination by women in the family in the questions of education of children, cultural predilections, and more. This great authority of Baltic mothers is explained by their economic security and independence and it has been higher in more economically prosperous times (Lukas 2006, 195–97; Kaur 2013, 148).
10. For example, the wife of syndicus David Hilchen Katharina Krumhausen, the wife of secretary of Town council Otto Kanne, and the wife of mayor Caspar zum Bergen belonged to these matrons (von Ramm-Helmsing 1942, 23–24, 35).
11. About the biography and works by D. Hermann Schiemann (1886, 51–74). Recently are published two bio-bibliographies by Redlich (1989, 140–141) and Gottzmann and Hörner (2007, II 570–572). This mainstream research literature about Hermann did not however use two treatises which are based on archival works from Riga, Danzig and Königsberg before World War II: von Ramm-Helmsing (1942, 18–36) and Forstreuter (1981). As even the birth year 1539 (instead of 1543) is not corrected in the newest bio-bibliographical handbooks, the article by Forstreuter is recommended for the reconstruction of Hermann's life.
12. Berend(t) Butte (Botthe) was a rich and influential merchant and citizen of Riga, probably the son of mayor Johann Butte. Berend(t) was buried on 14 December 1580 in St. Petri Church (Böthführ 1886, 380); Napiersky (1888, *passim*). Ursula Krüger had a daughter with him, who died before her first birthday shortly before the death of her father (von Ramm-Helmsing 1942, 27).
13. Lucas Hu(e)b(e)ner (Hovener) was secretary of the last Archbishop Wilhelm of Riga and after Wilhelm's death in 1563, became the counselor of the Duke Gotthard of Courland. Between 1563 and 1571, he married Ilse Butte, a relative, probably sister, of Ursula Krüger's first husband Berend(t) Butte (Böthführ 1886, 360, 379).
14. The house of Krüger was at first repleted with Polish noblemen and only with the help of Andreas Coye Hermann was admitted for a provisional stay during the first three days there. After that Ursula Krüger herself invited Hermann to stay (von Ramm-Helmsing 1942, 22–23).
15. It was most probably the house of Butte in Marshal Street (Marstalstrate, today Mārstaļu iela) in the Old Town of Riga. Cf. Napiersky and Leonhard 1888, p. 409 No. 1617: *Her Evert Ötting und Berendt Butte, fur sich und von wegen der anderen vormunder seligen Dominicus Becker nachgelassener kinder und erben, vorm ehrb. rade erscheinen un hh. upgetragen dem ers. Dominicus Becker dem jungeren seines seligen vateren hauss, belegen in der marstalstrassen tuschen Berendt Butten und seligen Hans Spenckhaussen husseren, glichst solches hiebevorn seinem seligen vater oben folio 108 (Nr 612) zugeschrieben steit, e.tb. Actum den 13. aprilis, a. 1576.*

16. ...hatt mir erstlich baldt das hauswesen ser gefallen, undt die fleysige mater familias Solches ist etlich tag nacheinander angestanden vndt ich hab immerdar vermerck, das die Erbar Fraw mir nit ungewogen were (letter by D. Hermann, Danzig State Archives 300, 9, 32, fol. 67–71, here quoted from von Ramm-Helmsing (1942, 26–33)).
17. For general remarks, see Stevenson (2014), for some examples with bibliography, see Parker (2004, 599–600) (Conrad Peutinger and Margarete Welser in Germany, Jean de Morel and Antoinette de Loynes in France, etc.).
18. The patterns of his friendly attitude to the learned women could not be connected with his studies in Strasburg, as Johann Sturm was silent about the education of non-aristocratic women. (Spitz and Sher Tinsley 1995, 189, 195–196).
19. The monument is sketched and described in the manuscript of Johann Christian Brotze Livonica I 99 (now in the Library of Latvian Academy of Sciences). In the 19th century the gravestone was preserved somewhere under the floor of the Cathedral of Riga (e.g. Buchholtz 1885, 51–53). After the reconstruction of the church in 1912, the stone was found and presented in the Cathedral, but it is impossible to read the Latin text on it.
20. They had studied together in Wittenberg, Artomedes in the years 1562–1567. Artomedes published many of his sermons and collections of poems in Leipzig 1590, Nürnberg 1593, Königsberg 1597. He was Poet laureate in 1567 by Nicolaus Reusner and Paulus Melissus Schede (cf. Flood 2006, I, 93–96).
21. *Apollo dictitasse Academica / narratur ipse, et ipsa Pallas Aulica, / Mars Bellica. Euge profer in lucem tria / diversa, diversoque nata tempore / Monumenta famae* (P. Melissus Schede. Danieli Hermanno Borusso, vv. 3–7). The local poets Solomo Rysinius from Riga and the young Matthias Saccus from Revel added the other two dedications.
22. *Cumque singulis singuli quaerendi essent patroni, quo beneficium in Academia vestra acceptum ad authorem suum quoddammodo rediret, hanc ACADEMICORUM suorum partem vobis imprimis, viri Nobil[issim]i et Ampliss[im]i quorum cum prudentiam in moderanda civili disciplina, tum liberalitatem in fovendis studiis liberalibus et religione saepe cum admiratione praedicare solitus est, nuncupare decreuerat* (Hermann 1614–1615, I Praefatio, sine paginatione). *Itaque alteram opusculi sui partem iam tunc adornatam augusto eiusdem nomini in debitate observantiae testificationem inscribere et dicare constituerat* (Hermann 1614–1615, II Praefatio, sine paginatione). *Mundo tamen immundo valedicturus, et animam Christo Salvatori redditurus, inter alia ut opus susceptum continuarem et huncque Stephaneidum librum amplissimo Ordini vestro in perpetuum suae erga hanc Rempub. observantiae monumentum inscriberem, mandavit* (Hermann 1614–1615, III Praefatio, sine paginatione).
23. Fabian the Elder of Dohna was the son of Prussian counselor Achatius Burggraf of Dohna. He studied in Thorn, Strasburg (imm. 1564) and Wittenberg (imm. 1569) at the same time as Hermann. In the beginning of 1570s, they traveled together in Silesia and Saxony. Later, Fabian the Elder was counselor of Johann Casimir, Christian I of Anhalt and Friedrich IV of Pfalz. He participated in the Polish–Russian war in Lithuania and Livonia (Forstreuter 1981, 12, 33) and Hermann glorified him in his epic *Stephaneis* (Book 3, 168–173), first published in 1582. Shortly before Hermann arrived in Riga, Fabian of Dohna had buried in the Cathedral the friend of Daniel Hermann, Tiedemann Giese (Forstreuter 1981, 19). Ursula Krüger should have been acquainted with Fabian of Dohna during the lifetime of Daniel Hermann.
24. *Me, quamvis lecto affixam conservavit* (Hermann 1614–1615, III Praefatio, sine paginatione).
25. *Sed cum fato, eheu, immaturo abreptus, voluntatis suae ultimae executionem mihi reliquisset, ut et opus et memoriam eius ab interitu vindicarem* (Hermann 1614–1615, I Praefatio, sine paginatione).
26. 37 subordinate clauses, 28 participia coniuncta, four accusativi cum infinitivo, one nominativus cum infinitivo, six gerunds and gerundifs.
27. Thus they contradict the current trend in the research of Latinate women, which believes that in the women's use of Latin literacy there was less of a focus on grammar, and far more on Latin as a language of communication (Stevenson 2014, 93).
28. *Nunc Deo gratias ago, qui hucusque me superstitem, quamvis lecto affixam conservavit, ut editione huius operis et mariti memoriam ab interitu vindicare et qualemcunque grati animi mei significationem edere liceat*. (Hermann 1614–1615, III Praefatio, sine paginatione).
29. The minutes of the City Council of Riga are not preserved for the period 1605–1615. In Denkelbuch (LVVA, Best. 6. Rep. 1, Akte 21) are mentioned neither Krüger, Hermann nor

Butte, as Valda Kvaskova (Latvian Historical State Archives) kindly informed me in her e-mails from 20 to 24 November 2014. In the registers of City Archives of Strasburg Daniel Hermann is not mentioned (e-mail of Laurence Perry, 10.12.2014). Cf. an interesting parallel from the printing history of female printers: Allen (1987).

30. From the modern treatises the role of Ursula Krüger as publisher of the Poemata of her husband is clearly mentioned only in Buchholtz 1890, 59 (... *gab seine Gattin Ursula Kröger, ... drei Bände seiner Dichtungen durch Mollyns Vermittlung heraus*), von Ramm-Helmsing 1942, 35, Forstreuter 1981, 10 and in recent bio-bibliographies by Redlich (1989) and Gottzmann and Hörner (2007).
31. The occurrence of the book is limited to five mainly local libraries in the Baltic States, Russia and Germany: one copy in the University Library in Tartu (without handwritten remarks, purchased only in the 1920s for the university library), in the Academic Library of Latvian University Riga (the most used copy: in the inner side of the front and back cover a handwritten *Catalogus Carminum* by a contemporary in a dense and small anonymous hand, and a list of additional poems by Hermann, not included in three volumes); in the Russian State Library Museum of Books (I could not check it), in Dresden in Saxonian State and University Library (this copy was a present by the mayor of Riga Thomas Ramm to his compatriot Paul Rennenkampf, syndicus in Worms, 1619; afterwards the book belonged to the Electoral library as the signature and stamp in the inner side of the front cover demonstrate, e-mail by Birgit Buth 18.10.2014), and in the University Library of Greifswald (an unused copy with handwritten signature by Nicola[u]s Kuchmeister in the title page, belonged since 18th century to the university library of Greifswald as *ex libris* and inventory tag 1450 affirm; e-mail by Ivo Asmus, 21.09.2014). The copy of Berlin, Secret State Archives Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation (Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz), is only a photocopy made from the copy in Greifswald University Library, as the *ex libris* and inscription *Ex Bibliotheca Academica No 1450* shows. Until 1975 the photocopy was in the archival camp (Archivlager) Göttingen (e-mail by Gudrun Hoinkis, 23.09.2014).

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Notes on contributor

Kristi Viiding (born 1972) is a Professor of Classics in the University of Tartu, Tartu, Estonia. Her main research interest is Neo-Latin literature from the Baltic Sea area. She has published the monograph *Die Dichtung neulateinischer Propemptika an der Academia Gustaviana (Dorpatensis) in den Jahren 1632–1656*, Tartu 2002, an anthology of Neo-Latin occasional poetry from 17th century Tartu, *O Dorpat, urbs addictissima musis ... Valik 17. sajandi Tartu juhuluulet*, Tallinn 2007, and many articles.

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