



# Dollhopf

600 Years in the Baking

## The Dollhopf Coat of Arms

What exactly is a “coat of arms?”

As genealogy has gained in popularity, one cannot help but notice the number of companies offering to research your family crest, or coat of arms, and then (of course) send it to you nicely framed, carved in wood, etched on metal, or holographed in plastic.

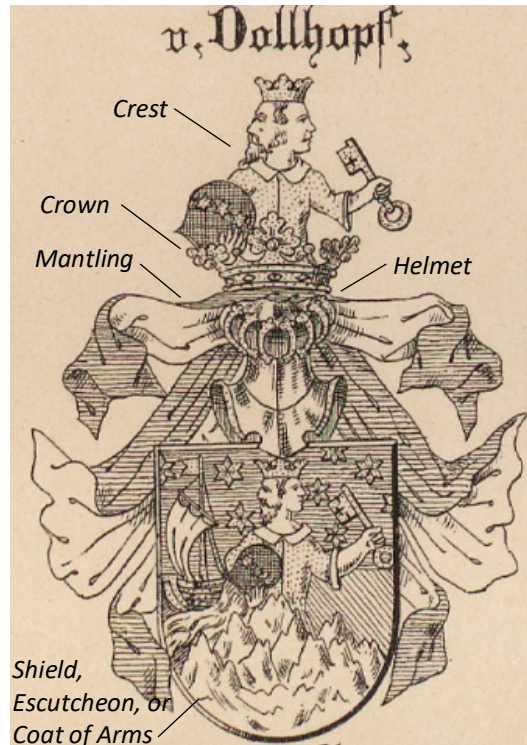
Much of this is gimmicky.

There are several misconceptions. A “coat of arms” is not a coat of arms. Nor is a “family crest” a coat of arms. What we know as a coat of arms is more accurately called a *heraldic design*; to be historically precise it is a *heraldic achievement*.<sup>1</sup> The Dollhopf heraldic achievement, seen at right and in the heading above, is the combination of a number of design “elements”. The elements of the Dollhopf achievement include a *crest*, *crown*, *helmet* or *helm*, *mantling*, and the *shield* or *escutcheon*. The “shield” is the element that is properly called the *coat of arms* – but it is only one design element of the entire achievement. There are many other possible design elements that the designer of the Dollhopf achievement could have incorporated, such as a *motto*, *supporter*, *torse*, among others. The elements he did use are labeled at right will be explained in detail later.

Another misconception: A coat of arms does not belong to all people with the same surname, or necessarily to an entire family, as coat-of-arms merchants would have you believe. Achievements were granted to *specific* individuals as a sign of nobility. The Dollhopf achievement was granted to Johannes Tolhopf<sup>2</sup> (1444-1503) by King Mathias Corvinus of Hungary. The right to use an achievement was typically, but not always, granted to that individual’s descendants, or, as in the case of Tolhopf (who was unmarried), his relatives – but not to everyone or anyone with the name Dollhopf. Technically, we have no right to display this coat of arms unless we can prove our relationship to Tolhopf, who lived half a millennium ago. More on *that* to follow.

Over time, achievements were adopted by other entities such as governments, universities, churches, guilds, businesses – all manner of organizations and institutions. They were the “corporate logos” of the Middle Ages.

Each design element of the achievement has a specific and nuanced meaning. For example, in the achievement above, the helmet (the face mask of the helmet looks like a cage with bars) is considered an “open mask” helmet. If the mask were “closed,” covering the face without the bars, it would denote a lower class of nobility.



**Dollhopf Heraldic Achievement** c.1880. The design elements are labeled. The crest and shield are composed of symbols e.g., the king figure, a key, an urn, a ship, mountains, stars, etc.), each of which has a meaning.

<sup>1</sup> Also known as an “armorial” achievement. The German word for a coat of arms is *Wappen*.

<sup>2</sup> In records his name is variously spelled Tolhopf, Tolhopff, Tolhoph, Dollhopf, Dolhopff, and Tolophus (Latin).

Historically, heraldic designs were closely regulated, more or less by social convention or custom. Sometimes royal families established firm and strict rules. These rules also extended to *blazonry* – the craft of writing a *blazon*, which is the officially sanctioned written description of the achievement. Blazonry has its own vocabulary, grammar, and syntax. The blazon for the Dollhopf achievement, in German, can be found in Appendix B. Where strong heraldic customs and traditions prevailed, the knowledge of such vocabulary and syntax was an indicator of social class – one had to have the proper education to understand the achievement.

For the moment, I will use plain English. Following is the story behind the Dollhopf achievement.

### The Battle of Breadfield

On October 13, 1479, on the plains of Transylvania in present-day Romania, a great battle was fought between the armies of King Mathias Corvinus of Hungary and Sultan Mehmed II of the Ottoman Empire. It became known as the Battle of Breadfield, or *Brotfeld* in German.

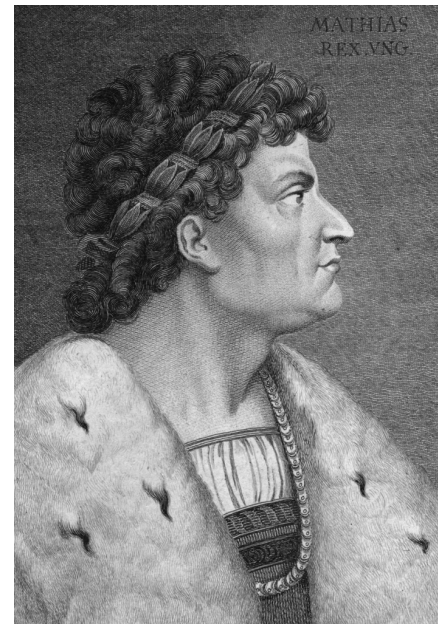
The Sultan, also known as “Mehmed the Conqueror,” had captured Constantinople, ravaged the Balkan Peninsula (Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, et al.), and now had plans to invade Central Europe. The invasion route to Central Europe ran through the kingdom of Hungary.

The Hungarians and Ottomans (aka Turks) had been warring for more than a century, since 1366. They would continue to war for another 50 years, more or less ending in 1526 when Suleiman the Magnificent defeated Louis II of Hungary at the Battle of Mohács.<sup>3</sup>

Four days before the Battle of Breadfield, the Sultan’s military commander, Bey Ali Koca,<sup>4</sup> amassed an army of 30,000 on a broad fertile plain known as the “Breadfield,” near the present-day village of Şibot, Romania, on the Mureş River. It was the largest Turkish force to venture into Hungarian territory in more than a century of conflicts. The Turks raided and pillaged nearby villages in preparation for the invasion.

Corvinus sent his general, the legendary Paul Kinizsi,<sup>5</sup> to intercept the advancing Turks. The Hungarians, however, were seriously outnumbered – Kinizsi could only muster an estimated 12 to 15,000 troops consisting of Hungarians, Serbs, Transylvanians, and assorted other ethnic groups. He was facing a Turkish invasion force more than twice his number.

Why would Corvinus attempt such a foolish maneuver?



*King Matthias Corvinus, also called Matthias I, was the King of Hungary and Croatia from 1458 to 1490, and at one time also the King of Bohemia. In 1475 he summoned Johannes Tollhopf to be his court astronomer.*

<sup>3</sup> Hungary was then partitioned and divided between the Hapsburg Royals of Austria and the Ottomans. Buda, the capital of Hungary (today’s Budapest), at that time became a province of the Ottomans. These wars lent a cultural reference to the definition of “Dollhopf.” If you have been following these blogs, you will recall that one definition of *Dollhopf*, or *Gugelhupf*, was a cake baked in the shape of the turban worn by the Turks. Such cakes supposedly were baked to celebrate victories over the Ottomans. See Blogs 3 and 15.

<sup>4</sup> A *Bey* was a Turkish chieftain or general.

<sup>5</sup> Legendary because of his enormous physical size and strength. Folklore has it that when he celebrated victory over the Turks, he cut off their heads and danced with a head in each hand and one dangling from his mouth, its hair clenched in his teeth.

Because his court astrologer predicted that victory for the Hungarians was “in the stars.”

That court astrologer was Johannes Tolhopf.

In what would be one of the largest and most significant battles of the Ottoman-Hungarian Wars, the Turks were routed. Kinizsi's outnumbered soldiers massacred a third of the Turkish army; Turkish survivors fled to the Carpathian Mountains where many more were killed by local militias. It was a great psychological victory for the Hungarians, and as a result the Turks did not attack Hungary for many years thereafter.<sup>6</sup>

On October 20, 1480, in recognition of Tolhopf's great prophecy, and for his service as court astrologer, Corvinus ennobled Tolhopf, declared him “Royal Servant,” and granted him a coat of arms. In the grant-of-arms proclamation Corvinus even gave permission to Tolhopf's “distant” relatives to use the coat of arms.

The question for us, how distant?

### Johannes Tolhopf

Johannes Tolhopf was perhaps our most famous Dollhopf ancestor – *if* he was an ancestor. Unlike our immediate and direct line of Mistelbach Dollhopfs, who were uneducated serfs, he was highly educated and wealthy. His resumé was most impressive: humanist, poet, mathematician, astronomer, astrologer, librarian, professor, founder of the University of Ingolstadt, canon of St. Peter's Cathedral in Regensburg,<sup>7</sup> and, as cited above, Royal Servant of the Court of King Mathias of Hungary.

He was a leading proponent of *humanism* in the German Renaissance, a poet who fancied himself a seer, or prophet, and a “mediator of divine wisdom.” (His words, not mine.) Humanism as a system of thought has differed through the ages. Renaissance humanism was not an ideology or philosophy, as humanism might be construed today; rather it could be defined as the avid and systematic pursuit of classical antiquity.

A humanist such as Tolhopf carefully studied the grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, history, mythology, and poetry of the ancient Greeks and Romans. Renaissance humanists adhered to the notion of *translatio studii* (“transfer of learning”) – the belief that Greece was the original font of all knowledge, then that knowledge transferred to Rome, and then transferred to 15<sup>th</sup> century France, Germany, or Italy – depending of course on your biased nationalistic point of view. Tolhopf believed that “the resurrection of classical studies will bring a new era of cultural flowering in Europe in general, and in Germany in particular.”<sup>8</sup>

The Roman scholar Cicero held that the purpose of classical learning was to speak and write well in pursuit of happiness, or “the good life.” The good life, according to Socrates, is a life of “contemplation, self-examination, and open-minded wondering.” By studying the ancient Greeks, a 15<sup>th</sup> century German humanist learned of what constituted “the good life,” and then was duty bound to persuade others to live it.<sup>9</sup> Humanists often structured their philosophical arguments, or so-called “persuasions,” in the form of letters. Tolhopf had a close circle of prominent humanist friends who wrote to each other voluminously, in Latin, not German, sometimes daily. As near as I can tell they tried to impress each other with their knowledge of antiquity through extensive use of dense symbolic mythology. Indeed, Tolhopf's letters are hard to read.

<sup>6</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle\\_of\\_Breadfield](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Breadfield)

<sup>7</sup> Tolhopf was a *domherr* of the Cathedral, translated as “canon.” Prior to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a domherr mostly referred to an aristocrat or nobleman, priest or not, who, as an official of an ecclesiastical prince (bishop), had the right to certain payments from the church, i.e. they could collect tithes from the peasants.

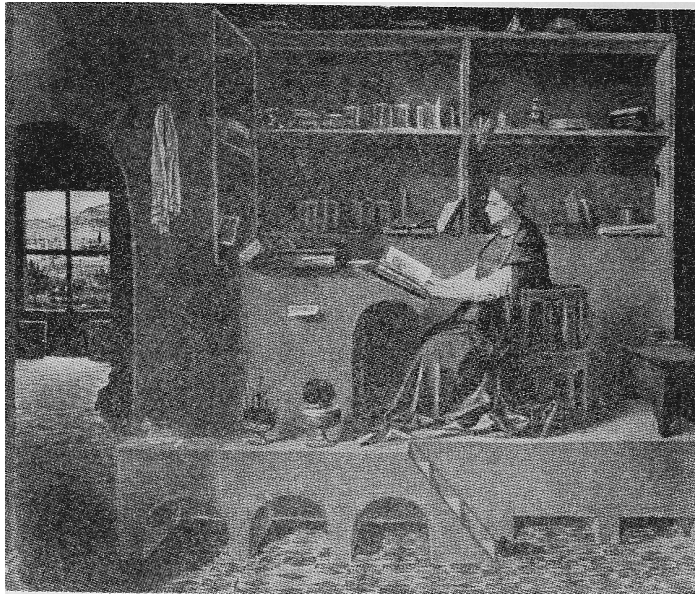
<sup>8</sup> “Born for Phoebus. Solar-astral Symbolism and Poetical Self-representation in Conrad Celtis and his Humanist Circles;” Áron Orbán, Doctoral Dissertation, Central European University, Budapest. 2017. p.118, <https://www.ceu.edu/sites/default/files/orbanaron.pdf>

<sup>9</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Humanism#Renaissance>

We are inclined today to think of humanism as anti-clerical, or secular; it was not so in the Renaissance. Indeed, Tolhopf was likely a priest,<sup>10</sup> and reveled equally in the poetry of early Christian poets such as Prudentius and Fortunatus.<sup>11</sup> I will devote an entire blog to his intriguing life and times. The focus of this blog, however, is his coat of arms or achievement, and its intricate and many layered symbolisms.

Was he a direct ancestor of ours?

Well, the immediate answer is “no” because he never married. He was probably a priest, and by the 15<sup>th</sup> century priests were not allowed to marry (they could until the 12<sup>th</sup> century). But was he a distant cousin or uncle? There is mounting evidence that he was, but this has not yet been confirmed.



*Johannes Tolhopf in his library c.1490. This contemporary sketch is from a tract of the Gesellschaft für Familienforschung in Franken (Society for Family Research in Franconia). It is uncredited. This is probably the oldest likeness of a Dollhopf.*

in Kemnath. In the Middle Ages Kemnath was a center of the iron “industry” because of its ore rich mountains and the availability of wood to fuel the iron furnaces. It is probable that Hans Tolhopf of Mistelbach was also wealthy, likely from a family of millers. How many wealthy Dollhopf families could there be in the greater Bayreuth region? Wealth was extremely hard to come by in the Middle Ages, giving credence to some sort of relationship among these Tolhopfs. Today we would call them “one-percenters” – the top one percent who control disproportionate wealth. Hans Tolhopf of Kemnath married a noble woman, a sign of extraordinary wealth because lowly serfs

Johannes was born about the year 1444 (the exact date is unknown) in Kemnath, a village 20 miles from Mistelbach. His father, Hans Tolhopf (1410-1478), was from the neighboring village of Weidenberg. There is evidence that suggests that all of the Dollhopfs in the territories of Oberfranken (the environs of Mistelbach) and neighboring Oberpfalz were descendants of the Tolhopfs from Weidenberg. Hans Tolhopf of Weidenberg, father of Johannes, was likely of the same generation as our 15<sup>th</sup> great grandfather Hans Tolhopf of Mistelbach. Our Hans acquired land in Mistelbach in 1430, so we could reasonably estimate his birth in the years 1390 to 1410. At this point it is only a guess, but they could have been cousins within two or three degrees. As far as we know, they were not father and son, or brothers. That would make Johannes our 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> cousin, 16 or 17 times removed.

This much we do know: Johannes’ father Hans was a wealthy man, owner of the iron works

<sup>10</sup> Although Tolhopf was a canon of the Cathedral, there is no direct evidence that he was a priest. A canon did not have to be a priest; it was title for officials who represented ecclesiastical princes – bishops and the like.

<sup>11</sup> Tolhopf was known to have possessed an original Prudentius manuscript and was writing a book on the Roman Christian poet. Aurelius Prudentius Clemens was born in 348 CE in Tarraconensis, a Roman province located in present day northern Spain. When Tolhopf owned the manuscript, it was already well over 1,000 years old. Tolhopf was independently wealthy and could likely afford to collect such antique documents.

typically did not marry nobility. Her surname was Bernclo von Schönreuth, her first name unknown. She and Hans had seven children:

1. **Stefan Tolhopf** (?-?), manager of the iron works in Kemnath, which he likely inherited from his father. He lived in house #10 in Kemnath. We don't have his birth and death dates, but he was probably the oldest sibling since he became owner of the iron works.
2. **NN Tolhopf Kraus** (1442-?), (NN="No Name" or unknown), female, married Hanns Kraus.
3. **Johannes Tolhopf** (1444-1503), subject of this blog, attended University of Leipzig, earned a Doctorate, founded the University of Ingolstadt, canon of the Cathedral in Regensburg, Court Astrologer to King Mathias Corvinus.
4. **Georg Tolhopf** (1448-1523), innkeeper (a prestigious position in the Middle Ages), also attended University of Leipzig in 1465, married, lived in house #141 in Kemnath.
5. **Paul Tolhopf** (1455-1533), overseer of the Shlackenhof Castle,<sup>12</sup> united the territories of the Schlackenhof Castle estate in 1500.
6. **Hans Tolhopf** (1458-1519), manager of another iron works in the village of Fortschau, near Kemnath, lived at house #28 in Kemnath.
7. **Katharina Tolhopf Lutz** (?-?), married Nicki Lutz.

The fact that at least two, or more, of their children – Johannes and Georg – attended universities, and that three of their sons became owners of iron works, is evidence of great wealth, a dynasty as it were. Universities were a new phenomenon in the German-speaking lands of the 1400's. Before 1450, there were only three – Heidelberg, Leipzig, and Rostock – each with only a handful of students and teachers. It was a rarefied and select group; only the wealthiest young men (alas no women) could afford time away from a farm or trade, and have money to pay the teachers, as was the custom, and be able to afford room and board in another city.

Johannes was on the fast track: he enrolled at the University of Leipzig<sup>13</sup> in 1465, was granted a baccalaureate degree in 1466, a master's in 1468, appointed professor in 1472, rector in 1474, and dean in 1475.<sup>14</sup> In 1476 he accepted an offer to establish a library for King Mathias Corvinus in Buda.<sup>15</sup> Corvinus recruited him because there was a serious lack of learned men in Hungary. Given his knowledge of astrology and astronomy – they were one and the same in the Middle Ages – he also assumed the role of Court Astrologer.

For the moment, our story pauses here, and we fast forward. In 1480 Johannes left Buda for Italy, and returned to Germany in 1482, where he was appointed *domherr*, or *canon*, of St. Peter's Cathedral in Regensburg. He died there on April 28, 1503. His gravestone, adorned with elements from his coat of arms, is in the crypt of the Cathedral. His accomplishments are many and varied and will be discussed at length in a later blog.

### The Tolhopf Achievement (Coat of Arms)

Johannes was a mathematician and astronomer, and a scholar of Greek and Latin; indeed, as mentioned above his surviving correspondence with leading humanists of the day were written in Latin. He reveled in the philosophy of Aristotle and Plato, in the mythology of the Greek and Roman gods, and in early Christian poetry. He fancied himself the German *vates* (Latin for "bard, prophet, or philosopher"). No doubt he had a high opinion of himself.

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<sup>12</sup> The *Shlackenhof Schloss* ("castle") was located in Kemnath. It was a "hammer mill" for hammering, of "forging," iron.

<sup>13</sup> The University of Leipzig was founded in 1409, only 56 years before Johannes enrolled. It was the second oldest university in Germany; the University of Heidelberg was founded 23 years earlier in 1386.

<sup>14</sup> He did obtain a doctorate, but we don't know the date.

<sup>15</sup> The town of Buda was the ancient capital of Hungary. At the time most inhabitants of Buda were German speaking. Inhabitants of the nearby city of Pest were mostly Hungarian speaking. It was not until 1873 that the two merged along with the town of Óbuda to form Budapest.

His letters, and two surviving books, were written using obscure mythological-astrological allusions, and at times so dense that even modern historians have difficulty interpreting his works. In part his letters were meant to be a “code” – understood only among his other equally learned friends. So it is no surprise that his self-designed coat of arms is layer upon layer of relatively obscure astrological and zodiacal symbolism.<sup>16</sup>



Contemporary woodcut of a knight, on the left, wearing a *surcoat*, on which was displayed his heraldic “coat of arms.” [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coat\\_of\\_arms#German\\_heraldry](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coat_of_arms#German_heraldry)

The original purpose of a coat of arms was to distinguish among knights on the field of battle. Heraldry came into common use in the 12<sup>th</sup> century when knights displayed these medieval “ID badges” on their flags, shields, and clothing. The term “coat of arms” is derived from a garment known as a French *surcoat* – a long sleeveless garment worn *sur*, or “over,” a coat. The heraldic design was displayed on this garment – literally, this “coat” of “arms.” Who knew that a coat of arms was sleeveless!

Over time, heraldry became inheritable by descendants of the ennobled knights, at which time the design and usage became increasingly regulated. Rules about the design, and who was entitled to wear what and when, varied widely from principality to principality, from kingdom to kingdom.

For Tolhopf, a coat of arms was a form of artful and conceited self-expression. He selected symbols for his shield that described his personality traits, professions, and interests – real or imagined. It was self-projection, a sort of medieval marketing, a Middle Ages’ corporate logo. He wrote the description of his coat-of-arms in poetical Latin – demonstrating that he was a humanist “poet” of great consequence. To give you a sense of the literary milieu of his circle, his closest friend and pen pal, Conrad Celtis, *the* leading humanist of the German Renaissance,

defined a humanist poet thus:

The duty of the poet is to fashion - by way of the oration's or poem's figurative and elegant form - characters, acts, deeds, places, peoples, lands, rivers, the course of the stars, and - in an allegorical way - the nature of things and mental-psychic dispositions; furthermore, to express with well-chosen words the things' likenesses in a harmonizing and proper metrical form....<sup>17</sup>

Tolhopf was indeed the dutiful humanist – he sought to apply all of these characteristics in his heraldic design.

At right is the Tolhopf coat of arms that I have been using in the blogs. It is not the original from 1480, but rather a restyled version that appeared in a 19<sup>th</sup> century compilation of heraldry – the *Siebmacher Wappenbuch*, or “roll of arms.” (Wappen = “shield;” buch = “book”.) The prominent feature in the design is the two-faced Janus, the Roman god of beginnings and endings, the god who could look to the past and predict the future, after whom Tolhopf fancied himself.



<sup>16</sup> I have tried to translate a few of his letters. Every other sentence contains an obscure reference to Greek or Roman mythology or astrology, requiring not only a Latin dictionary, but also an encyclopedia of classical antiquity.

<sup>17</sup> “Born for Phoebus. Solar-astral Symbolism and Poetical Self-representation in Conrad Celtis and his *Humansit Circles*,” Áron Orbán, Doctoral Dissertation, Central European University, Budapest. 2017. p.118, <https://www.ceu.edu/sites/default/files/orbanaron.pdf>

Johann Siebmacher (1561-1611), publisher of the *Wappenbuch*, was a heraldic artist and copperplate engraver from Nürnberg. Siebmacher first published his roll of arms in 1605. Over the next two centuries subsequent editors published six additional volumes of heraldry, primarily from German-speaking lands. These early volumes were collectively known as the *Alte* (“old”) *Siebmacher*. The last edition of this early series was published in 1806.

Beginning in 1854 a series of updated catalogs appeared, known as the *Neue* (“New”) *Siebmacher*. In 1880 Adolf Hildebrandt published the volume entitled *Siebmacher’s großes und allgemeines Wappenbuch* (“Siebmacher’s large and general book of arms”). In this volume we find the page at right with the Dollhopf coat of arms.<sup>18</sup>

Appendix A is an earlier rendering of the coat of arms compiled in the *Wappenbuch* of 1772. You will note it was a different design, but the two-faced Roman god is still prominent.

Although it varies in some subtle ways, this 1880 depiction is true to the original design that appeared in the Corvinus proclamation of 1480. It is almost certain that Tolhopf designed the original, given the breadth of symbolism, and because we have other evidence – he personally fashioned an almost identical woodcut version in 1496. The evolution of these designs appears on the following pages; but first, an explication of the elements of an achievement.

### Heraldic Elements

As stated at the outset, all of the elements of what we know as a coat of arms taken together is called a heraldic achievement. On the next page is an enlargement of the Tolhopf heraldic achievement shown at right.

Each element of an achievement was highly symbolic, nuanced, and regulated, and differed in meaning from country to country. English designs often varied considerably from designs of kingdoms on the continent – France, Germany, Spain, et al. Achievements evolved over time because of historical inference and changes in customs, and you will see that Tolhopf’s design indeed evolved, including the version that decorates his crypt. I can’t explain the differences in Tolhopf’s design, or why and how they evolved. Perhaps additional research into the circumstances of Tolhopf’s life will shed more light. Aside from the elements, the symbols that he used within those elements remained mostly the same. In the following diagram I label the elements and *briefly* describe what they represent. It is important to note that achievements did not necessarily incorporate all possible design elements.



<sup>18</sup> [J. Siebmacher's grosses und allgemeines Wappenbuch, IV. Band, 8. Abteilung; *Der Kärntner Adel*; Author: O. Goeschen, Ad. M. Hildebrandt; Publication: Nürnberg: Bauer & Raspe, 1880.] [https://gdz.sub.unigoettingen.de/id/PPN828641420?tify={%22pages%22:\[271\],%22panX%22:0.466,%22panY%22:0.669,%22view%22:%22info%22,%22zoom%22:0.409}](https://gdz.sub.unigoettingen.de/id/PPN828641420?tify={%22pages%22:[271],%22panX%22:0.466,%22panY%22:0.669,%22view%22:%22info%22,%22zoom%22:0.409})<sup>18</sup> [https://gdz.sub.unigoettingen.de/id/PPN828641420?tify={%22pages%22:\[271\],%22panX%22:0.466,%22panY%22:0.669,%22view%22:%22info%22,%22zoom%22:0.409}](https://gdz.sub.unigoettingen.de/id/PPN828641420?tify={%22pages%22:[271],%22panX%22:0.466,%22panY%22:0.669,%22view%22:%22info%22,%22zoom%22:0.409})

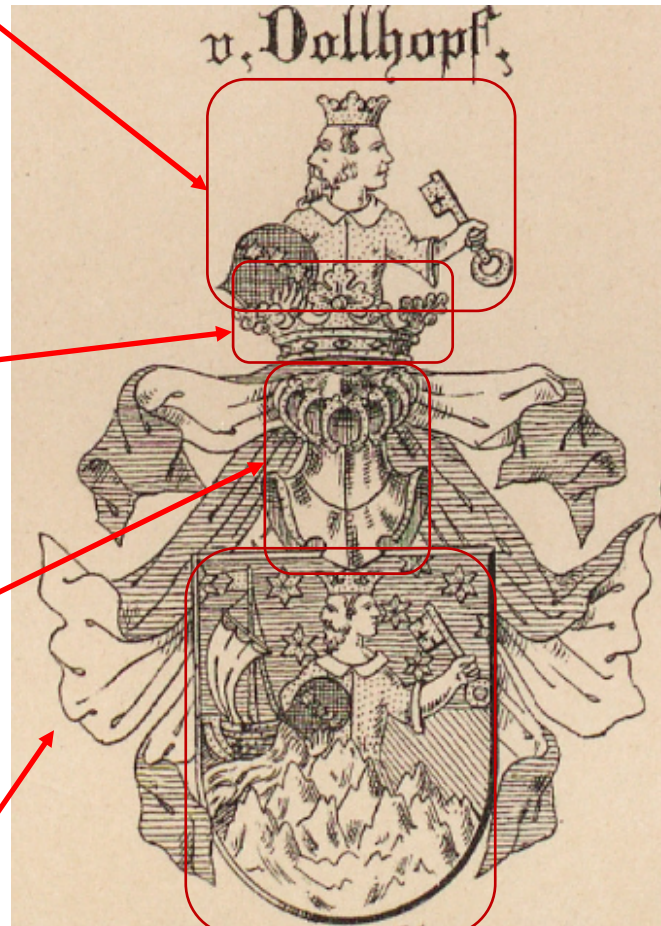
**Crest.** The crest is a decorative symbol placed on top of the helmets worn by knights in battle, as in the elaborate eagle crest worn by the knight in the photo at bottom right. Originally clergymen, such as Tolhopf, did not have crests because they did not engage in battle, although clearly this was not a strictly followed rule. By the 1800s knights in shining armor no longer existed, so crests took on more fanciful and imagined designs. This crest is replicated in the escutcheon at the bottom.

**Crown.** If a crown was included, it varied in design according to social rank, and to the kingdom of issue. The crown shown here is that of Corvinus, King of Bohemia (Corvinus also ruled Bohemia when he granted the arms to Tolhopf in 1480.) The presence of a crown could also indicate religious status, perhaps evidence that Tolhopf was a priest.

**Helm or helmet.** The style varied according to rank and social status. They were either open helmets – as is this one (it has bars and looks like a cage) – or closed, as in the diagram below. A barred helmet was a sign of nobility, the number of bars indicated relative rank; a closed helmet, seen at the far right, was used by esquires and nobles of lower rank.

**Mantling.** This is the “drapery” attached to the helmet. Originally, this was cloth worn by knights to protect the helmet against the elements and to deflect sword blows. The mantling of knights would be displayed torn and tattered indicating battle. Mantling of the clergy, because they did not fight, was intact and mostly decorative, as in this illustration.

**Escutcheon or shield,** the element actually called the **coat of arms.** Each of the symbols within the shield have layers of meanings.



Various types of helmets and the rank of nobility they signified. The “open” or caged helmet at far left signifies a higher rank than that of the “closed” helmet at far right.



Knight wearing the crest of an eagle on top of his helmet. This crest would also be illustrated on the knight’s shield.



**The Original Tolhopf Coat of Arms of 1480**

The photo below is of the “grant-of-arms” proclamation presented by King Mathias Corvinus to Johannes Tolhopf on October 20, 1480. This 540-year-old document was issued in the city of Zagreb, Croatia, then a territory of Hungary. Tolhopf was ennobled because he predicted victory for the Hungarian army in the Battle of Breadfield.

The lengthy text in this proclamation describes, in poetical allusions, the coat of arms and the reasoning behind its many design symbols. Unfortunately, the coat of arms in this photo, – the postage stamp sized illustration in the middle – is barely visible. I enlarged and enhanced it on the following page.

This proclamation states that Tolhopf’s distant relatives had permission to use this heraldry. The original document is in the National Archives of Hungary, and can be viewed at:

<https://hungaricana.hu/hu/search/results/?simple=1&query=SZO%3D%28108112%29&fDATABASE=DLDF&page=>



**Enlargement of the 1480 Coat of Arms**

This is the very small and intricate design of the coat of arms in the center of the above proclamation. It was hand drawn and colored, presumed to be Tolhopf's handiwork. The quality is still relatively poor (the document is over 500 years old!), but one can make out the prominent feature – the two-faced god Janus, which appears both in the upper half of the design (the crest) and in the lower half (the escutcheon). Janus was the Roman god of beginnings and endings.



### The Second Version: the Woodcut of 1496

At right is a copy of a woodcut print from 1496 that Tolhopf designed and likely carved himself.<sup>19</sup> It is the reverse (back side) of a two-sided woodcut. The obverse (front side) was a political “cartoon,” touting the feats of Maximilian I, who was lobbying to become the Holy Roman Emperor. (See Appendix C for the full story.) Tolhopf put his “logo” on the back to claim authorship.

Before the invention of the printing press, illustrations created using woodcuts (which could easily be reproduced by ink-block printing) served as political advertisements. They were essentially propaganda, the public relations tools of an earlier time. Tolhopf created this woodcut to ingratiate himself to Maximilian, seeking to gain favor – i.e., an income – at his court.

At the top of the woodcut is a Latin poem-like description of the design composed by Tolhopf in praise of himself. This also was propaganda and self-promotion on his part.

As can be seen in the title, Tolhopf “Latinized” his name to *Iani Tolhopfi* as was popular for those in his circle who corresponded in Latin. It was also a not-so-subtle way for educated people to flaunt their academic learnedness. (For you Latin scholars, “Iani Tolhopfi” is the genitive case of Ianus Tolophus, the Latin nominative for the German Johannes Tolhopf. There, I just flaunted.)

Tolhopf was an astrologer, and every symbol in this design is a zodiacal allusion, many-layered and nuanced. You will also note differences from the 1880 version – there is no **crown**, (indicating a lower rank or lack of royal endorsement at the time); the **helmet** is closed (also indicating lower status), and there is a **crest** of peacock feathers (which I will describe). I cannot explain these differences.



<sup>19</sup> A *woodcut* is a printing technique that originated in China in the early Middle Ages, becoming popular in Europe until the invention of metal movable type in the 1500s. Using a gouge or chisel, an artist carves an intricate image into the surface of a block of wood. The raised part of the design is covered with ink or paint and is then pressed onto paper or cloth. (The woodcut design had to be carved in reverse so that one could read it once printed onto paper.) The text on the page above is blurred, probably due to imprecise carving or multiple printings. The most famous woodcut artist of the German Renaissance was Albrecht Dürer (1451-1528) who lived in Nürnberg and was known to be a friend of Tolhopf.

**Johann Tolhopf in his Own Words**

[The following transcription, translation, and commentary of the Latin text on the above woodcut is the work of Áron Orbán, Assistant Research Fellow at the MTA-ELTE Humanism in East-Central Europe Research Group. His work on Johannes Tolhopf was part of his 2017 doctoral dissertation, “Born for Phoebus, Solar-astral Symbolism and Poetical Self-representation in Conrad Celtis and his Humanist Circles,”<sup>20</sup> submitted to the Medieval Studies Department, and the Doctoral School of History, Central European University, Budapest. His entire 300-page dissertation, in English, can be found at: <https://www.ceu.edu/sites/default/files/orbanaron.pdf>]

Here is the Latin inscription at the top of the woodcut:

**IANI TOLHOPHI GERMANI VATIS HERCULEI**

Armorum Insignia Clipeo Bicolori Coelesti Campo et Aureo Parnaso Iano  
 Bicipite Mundi Renovatore Ventre Chaonio Pontificali Lituo Urna Stell  
 Celata Deucalionis Aquis Saturnia Rate Clauae Coelica Nube Candida Inachi  
 Seni & Ganimedidis Iuvenis Faciebus Irrorantis Aquarii Corona Regia &  
 Aquila Desuper Casside Belligera Pavonis Cauda Cum Argi Oculis  
 Induviis Ventivolis Societ[is] Iasonis Adornata

Following is a line-by-line translation and interpretation of the above verse. I will again comment that many historians, including Orban, have remarked that Tolhopf’s letters and poetry were so dense and multi-layered that the meaning is often obscured. After reading this, I am sure you will agree.

**IANI TOLHOPHI GERMANI VATIS HERCULEI Armorum Insignia** (Translation: “The coat of arms of Johannes Tolhopf, the vates of the German Hercules”) As mentioned previously, Johannes Latinized his name to “Ianus Tolhopfus.” He did this for two reasons – it was the fashion among the humanists<sup>21</sup> (just call me Marcus Dollhopfus), and by Latinizing to Ianus, he identified himself with the Roman god Ianus (Janus). Also mentioned earlier, he fancied himself a *vates* – a seer or prophet – in this case a prophet of the “German Hercules,” the moniker he gave to Emperor Maximilian I because of the King’s “legendary” status. (Johannes was trying to flatter the King.)

**Clipeo Bicolori Coelesti Campo et Aureo Parnaso** (“ornamented by a two-colored shield [with the colors of] the heavenly field and the golden Parnassus”<sup>22</sup>) The shield was essentially blue and green with gold highlights. In Janus’s left hand is a gold key opening the heavenly skies. The skies are blue, and the mountains below are green. Orban’s description:

The heavens are represented by the clouds to the Janus figure’s left, so the blue of the sky was probably meant to fill out the left side of the shield, while the gold of the Parnassus would fit Deucalion’s ship to the right that landed on Mount Parnassus. According to the myth, *Campus coelestis* may refer both to the Elysian fields and the Christian heavens: the fusion of classical and Christian concepts was customary in the humanism of the period [and to Tolhopf]. The “golden” Parnassus refers to Apollo as golden Sun-god, the god of poetry and divination, which in turn alludes to Tolhopf’s multiple professions.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Johann Tolhopf was one of Celtis’ closest friends.

<sup>21</sup> Conrad Celtis was born Pickel

<sup>22</sup> Mount Parnassus is a mountain in central Greece that, according to Greek mythology, was the home of the Muses and sacred to Apollo. Apollo was the sun god and leader of the Muses. He was also the god of medicine, music, and poetry, allusions to Renaissance cultural reawakenings.

<sup>23</sup> Orban, p. 149.

***Iano Bicipite Mundi Renovatore*** (“the two-headed Janus, the renewer of the world”). Tolhopf is portraying himself as Janus, the god of beginnings and endings, the dawn and the dusk, the god that created a world out of Chaos, and who will see the end. The two-headed Janus, looking backward and forward, is one who knows the past and can predict the future. Tolhopf claimed that he could read the stars, and by predicting victory for Corvinus at the Battle of Breadfield, he crowned himself *vates*, “seer and prophet.”

Janus has two heads, because he knows the past and the future: a poet, a man of letters knows the past (history, classical culture and so on), an astrologer knows the future, and Tolhopf presented himself as both.<sup>24</sup>

***Ventre Chaonio*** (“the womb of Dodona”). Now it gets deep. According to Orban, the adjective Chaonius refers to the Hellenistic oracle of Dodona in northwestern Greece. It was said that priests and priestesses could foretell the future by interpreting the rustle of the oak leaves in the grove. The oracle was located between two mountains. In the 1496 woodcut, Janus is emerging out of two curved lines representing the mountains. In the 1880 achievement the mountains are numerous and much better illustrated, colored in green. Thus, Tolhopf, rising out of the mountains, is metaphorically emerging from the oracle “womb.” He is a child of the oracle, destined to be seer. This guy was fantastical!

***Pontificali Lituo Clave Coelica Nube Candida*** (“priest’s staff...celestial key and white cloud”). Janus holds a celestial key in his left hand, which represents 1) he is a guide to the universe – holding the key to unlocking the secrets of the heavens and the messages of the stars – and, 2) as key bearer, he is the keeper of the heavenly gates, an allusion perhaps to his priestly role as canon of the Regensburg Cathedral and as the provost of Forcheim, a village 30 miles from Mistelbach.

***Urna Stell Celata*** (“an urn with carved stars”). The urn is a reference to the overflowing urn, or vase, held by the god Aquarius as depicted in the Aquarius constellation. Aquarius, Latin for “water carrier,” was the god healer who gave water, or life, to the world. Out of his urn flowed a river, an allusion to ancient flood mythology (think Noah’s ark). This is a dual representation: Tolhopf is associating himself not only with Janus, but also with Aquarius.

***Deucalionis Aquis Saturnia Rate*** (“Deucalion’s waters, the ship of Saturn”). Deucalion was the son of Prometheus, who built a ship with his wife Pyrrha to survive the great inundation, a reference again to flood mythology. Similar to Noah, Deucalion and his wife were adrift for a number of days. Noah landed on Mount Ararat, Deucalion landed on Mount Parnassus. Mount Parnassus was home to the Muses, fountains of poetry and learning, ideals of the humanists. Tolhopf is intimating that he not only foretold the flood but survived it. Just as God wiped out the earth with the flood to start all over again, the renaissance humanists imagined that surviving the flood of the Dark Ages would lead to a renewal, a cultural reawakening for Renaissance Europe. Saturn, upon whose universal ship he was apparently sailing, was also the god of Roman renewal and reawakening.

***Inachi Seni & Ganymedis Iuvenis Faciebus*** (“the faces of the old Inachus and the young Ganymede”) In the 1496 woodcut, Janus is naked. Ganymede was often portrayed as the pre-Aquarius water carrier, the boy holding the urn in the Aquarius constellation. Ganymede was the beautiful young prince of Troy, a Greek youth who was taken to Mount Olympus by Zeus to serve as water carrier to the gods. Zeus placed him among the stars, eventually transforming him into Aquarius. (Zeus’ wife Hera was jealous of the attention her husband was paying to the attractive boy Ganymede.) Ganymede is often portrayed nude and was the symbol for sex between adult men and teenage boys. (Those frisky Greeks.) Tolhopf personifies himself here as the beautiful Ganymede. Why he chose this allusion is not clear. His closest friend, the humanist Conrad Celtis, was at least fifteen years younger than Tolhopf, and this might have been a hint to their relationship, although there is no direct evidence that they shared a bed, despite the fact that neither of them married. Tolhopf, according to his letters, showered Celtis with gifts (Celtis was always struggling financially; Tolhopf was wealthy due to the tithes he received), and they lived together for a time.

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<sup>24</sup> Orban, p. 150.

It was, however, most obvious that Tolhopf and Celtis had active sex lives. In a number of their letters from the 1490's they both complained about the effects of *morbus gallicus*, the "French disease," which we now know as syphilis. They could have been infected on trips to Italy, where the disease had recently been introduced. Whether they contracted this disease from women or each other is not known. (They did complain about a dinner party after which a number of their friends contracted syphilis.) Interestingly, they had an unexplained and strange falling out in the 1490s during which time they refused to acknowledge each other's letters. Perhaps the disease came between them? We know that the disease was common among those in their circles; shocking to us because Tolhopf was a priest, but perhaps not so shocking to them because they openly complained of it. There was no cure for syphilis at the time. Tolhopf died a few years later in 1503 in his late 50s; Celtis died only a few years after that in 1508 at the age of 49.

***Irrorantis Aquarii Corona Regia*** ("the royal crown of Aquarius that sheds dew"). This refers to the crown that the Janus figure is wearing, an allusion to the fact that Janus "ruled" – and thus was deserving of a crown – during "The Golden Age," the period of ascendancy of ancient Greek culture and mythology. According to the humanists, the Golden Age of ancient Greece was followed by the Silver, Bronze, Heroic, and finally Iron, Ages.

***et Aquila Desuper*** ("and an eagle from above") The eagle is present in the 1496 woodcut, but not in later depictions. The eagle has numerous meanings, no doubt an element meant to tie numerous symbols in the achievement together: 1) the beautiful youth Ganymede is abducted by an eagle and carried off to Mount Olympus to be with Zeus; 2) the eagle is also a symbol of the House of Hapsburg, the royal family of Corvinus who ennobled Tolhopf; and 3) the eagle is the bird of Jupiter, the god who could elevate poet-seer Tolhopf to divine spheres.<sup>25</sup> Thus Tolhopf is elevated to divineness. The eagle is the transportation, the transition, from the mortal world to the divine. The eagle is also prominently displayed on his gravestone in the crypt of the Regensburg Cathedral.

***Casside Belligera Pavonis Cauda Cum Argi Oculis*** ("ornamented by a war helmet, and a peacock's tail with the eyes of Argus.") Curiously, the mask of the helmet in the 1496 design is closed, indicating a lower class than that of the 1880 helmet, which is an open bar design. I cannot explain the difference, other than engravers from the 1800s were embellishing. Perhaps they knew something we do not.

The crest, pictorialized as the Janus figure in the 1880 version, is the tail of a peacock in the 1496 version. The peacock was the bird of Juno – the daughter of Saturn, who was, as cited above, the Roman god of cultural renewal. Cultural renewal, as the Germany humanists depicted, was the goal of the German Renaissance humanists.

In his dissertation, Orban argues that the eyes of Argus, as seen in the plumage of the peacock,<sup>26</sup> was an allusion to Argus and the ship that he built to carry the Argonauts on Jason's quest for the Golden Fleece. This is a reference to Emperor Maximilian, who was often pictured wearing the ornamental chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece, a Catholic order of knights.

I have a different theory. The saying "the eyes of Argus" means to be "followed, watched, or trailed." When looking at a peacock's plumage the eyes seem to follow you. The saying was said to describe the feeling of being subject to the strict scrutiny of one's actions to an invasive, distressing degree.<sup>27</sup> Could it be that Celtis and Tolhopf felt harassed or persecuted because of their homosexuality? Perhaps this was the double meaning of Argus. (as

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<sup>25</sup> Orban, p. 151.

<sup>26</sup> When the male peacock opens its plumage, it reveals a large pattern that resembles eyes, eyes that are meant to intimidate would be predators with their size.

<sup>27</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Argus\\_Panoptes](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Argus_Panoptes)

was noted in his letters, there were members of Tolhopf’s circle who were disdainful of his flagrant behavior, possibly betraying his sexual proclivities. I will have more evidence of this in a future blog.)

***Induviis Ventivolis Societ[is] Iasonis Adornata*** (“and the booty of Jason’s sailing company”). Jason’s booty was the Golden Fleece, a symbol of authority and kingship. At the time, Maximilian was also on a quest for “booty” – to be the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire; this was therefore an allusion to Maximilian’s quest.

In review, (and to try to make the above dense text intelligible), below are the principal zodiacal elements that Tolhopf described in his verse, as illustrated much more clearly in the shield of 1880. In choosing these elements Tolhopf was intentionally inserting a degree of ambiguity and double meaning to tease the reader. There are so many different ways to interpret the Roman and Greek myths, and allowing others the creative freedom to apply their interpretive knowledge was characteristic of the German Renaissance humanists.

Royal crown of Aquarius.  
Just as Janus ruled as king of the Golden Age of Greek culture, so Tolhopf will reign over a new age of the German Renaissance.

Janus, the two-faced god, looking to the past and to the future, renewer of the world.

Double meaning: 1) the Christian heavens, for which Tolhopf is gatekeeper, and 2) the Elysian fields of Greek mythology, the Paradise where the immortal gods eventually retired.

Ship of the god Saturn, the vessel that survived the flood (metaphorically the Dark Ages) and led to classical renewal and reawakening.

Celestial key, unlocking the secrets of the stars. In the 1496 woodcut there is also a priest’s staff, leaning against his right side, signifying he is protector of the heavens.

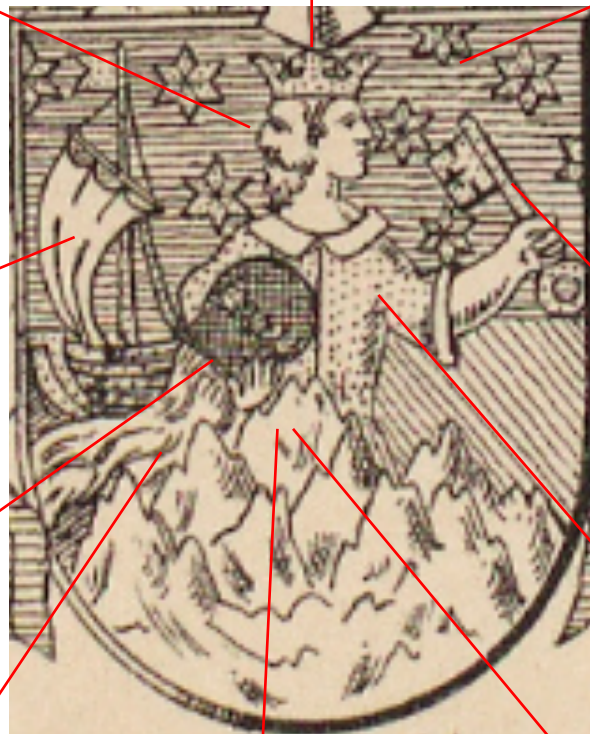
Urn, a water carrier, decorated with the stars of Aquarius, from which flowed life giving waters.

In the 1496 woodcut the Tolhopf figure is naked, an allusion to the beautiful young Ganymede. In the Victorian 1880s the artist put clothes on the figure.

Waters of Deucalion, not only life-giving waters, but also the flood that signals a new beginning.

Mount Parnassus, home of the Muses, representing poetry and learning, the goal of the humanists

Also, the mountains of the Dodona oracle, from which Tolhopf was metaphorically birthed.



Tolhopf's coat of arms is a *tour de force* of the German Renaissance. It is rich in symbolism and cultural zeitgeist. Conceived at the height of the German Reawakening by one of its leading proponents, it is a pictogram of a colorful past life, a life full of abundance, fantasy, and intrigue. As Orban described it:

...[Tolhopf's] combination of a number of mythological, astrological symbols resulted in an image of a versatile *vates* (prophet), supported by the gods, the stars and the ruler; he is the astrologer who uncovers the secrets of the heaven, furthermore, the seer-priest and the poet, the humanist contributing to a new Golden Age.

He was certainly a colorful and flamboyant figure. Historian Klaus Arnold called him a "*mystagogue*:"

"...Tolhopf was undoubtedly educated and shows this to such an extent that large parts of his texts can hardly be understood without the aid of a mythological lexicon."<sup>28</sup>

Historians generally agree that his life deserves greater examination.

I am intrigued by Johannes Tolhopf – he shared our surname, was born in Kemnath, not far from Mistelbach, and served as *Probst*, "church overseer," in Forcheim, another nearby village. Mistelbach was roughly midway between Kemnath and Forcheim, a route Tolhopf must have traveled many times. As a highly educated and extremely well-traveled man, how could he not have known of other Dollhopfs in Bayreuth, Mistelbach, and other nearby villages?<sup>29</sup> Alas, I have not yet encountered mention of other Dollhopfs in his letters,

but I still have many to go.... An educated person, he stands in contrast to our direct Dollhopf ancestors – I wish that they had left behind as many letters revealing their lives and times.

If that were even possible. I often wonder how many of our Mistelbach ancestors could read or write. It is clear in court records from the 1500s forward that our ancestors could sign their names to legal agreements, but whether they could read those documents is another matter. Even members of the same family spelled "Dollhopf" differently, perhaps a sign of ignorance, or lack of education.



**Crypt of St. Peter's Cathedral, Regensburg.** In July, 2016, our third cousin Jürgen Dollhopf arranged for a tour of the crypt. The crypt was undergoing restoration at the time. Jürgen, a colleague of the Cathedral architect in charge of the restoration, arranged for special access. In this picture we are standing over the gravestone of Johannes Tolhopf.

<sup>28</sup> K. Arnold, "*Vates Herculeus. Beiträge zur Bibliographie des Humanisten Janus Tolophus.*" in *Poesis et pictura, Studien zum Verhältnis von Text und Bild in Handschriften und Alten Drucken. Festschrift für Dieter Wuttke* ed, St. Füssel, J. Knappe (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1989).

<sup>29</sup> He traversed the region constantly, back and forth from Nürnberg, Forcheim, and Regensburg, He is known to have made numerous trips to Rome, Buda, the Netherlands, and to northern Germany.



There was a school in Mistelbach as early as the mid 1500s – a random entry in the baptismal register of 1555 identifies a godmother as the “daughter of the schoolmaster,” so there must have been a school. Not all children however would have attended school in a rural village. Children were regarded as little adults and were expected to work as soon as they were able. If they did attend school, they did so only until the age of 12 or 13, after which time it was customary to become an apprentice to learn a trade, or to labor on the farm.

There were no pressing reasons to attend school. Until the invention of the printing press in the 1440s, there was nothing to read. Not even a Bible. I doubt that our medieval ancestors were traveling great distances to the monastic libraries of the day to read handwritten manuscripts, nearly all of which were in Latin or Greek.

If those ancestors did make the 90 mile pilgrimage to the Cathedral town of Regensburg, they would have been able to read the gravestone of their (probable) cousin Johannes in the crypt of St. Peter’s. Perhaps Johannes was so famous that they did. Cathedrals were the marvels of the medieval world, and peasants flocked to them. But alas our ancestors would have needed knowledge of Latin to read his gravestone.

At right is a photo of the Tolhopf gravestone, carved in red marble. You will note that it is mostly a replication of his 1496 woodcut, with the addition of four embellishing shields in each corner. The perimeter inscription reads:

*Anno domini MCCCCIII die XXVIII mensis Aprilis obiit clarissimus vir dominus Johannes Tolhopf praepositus in vorchain ac canonicus Ratisponensis cuius anima in pacem requiescat.*

Translation: “In the year 1503 on 28 April died a very famous man, Master Johannes Tolhopf, provost of Forchheim and canon of Regensburg, may his soul rest in peace.”

Following are descriptions of the shields that I numbered in the photo:

1. Escutcheon design from the 1496 coat of arms.
2. The god Janus from the Tolhopf shield (again, the shield is the specific element appropriately called the “coat of arms”).
3. The coat of arms of Bernclo von Schonreuth, the noble family of Johann’s mother, Margarethe. The animal is a fish otter representing the family; I do not know its meaning. Tolhopf had to prove he was worthy of being ennobled by demonstrating that he had noble lineage, and that might be the reason for some of the four shields – perhaps they represented a branch of, or connection to, nobility.



4. The coat of arms of Tanndorf. I do not know why this coat of arms was included. It could be a family, or a village where Tolhopf served. The animal is possibly the head of a goose; it is not entirely clear from illustrations of the Tanndorf coat of arms if it actually is a goose or another type of bird.
5. The coat of arms of Zirkendorf. Similarly, this could be a family or the village. I do not know why it was included. Or, maybe it is a reference to his profession the symbol is a compass, representative of mathematics and celestial navigation.

In July of 2016, Dollhopfs from Nürnberg, Erlangen, Regensburg, and Connecticut(!) made a pilgrimage to Tolhopf's Cathedral crypt.

Did Dollhopfs in the 1500s do the same?

When Tollhopf died in 1503, Dietrich Tolhopf of Mistelbach, our 14<sup>th</sup> great grandfather, had just recently acquired the village mill.

Johannes lived only 90 miles away, but a world apart. Johannes was a counselor to kings; Dietrich, a miller to serfs. One had his head in books, the other his nose to the grindstone.

500 years later we wonder...were they cousins? Did they share the same grandparents or great grandparents?

Are we, the Dollhopfs of today, related?

Perhaps the answer is in the stars.

Mark R. Dollhopf  
New Haven, CT  
January 10, 2021  
(In anno corona virum.)



*Pilgrims to the Tolhopf gravestone in the crypt of St. Peter's Cathedral in Regensburg, July 20, 2016. We are dining in a courtyard next to the Cathedral. From front left clockwise, (including relationship): Anne Dollhopf (no established relationship to Mark, still researching), Erwin Vogt (Anne's husband), Helmut Dollhopf (cousin of Anne, no relationship (yet) to Mark), Gisela Dollhopf (wife of Helmut), Ursula Dollhopf Niebauer, at head of table, (third cousin of Mark), Alfred Dollhopf (third cousin of Mark), Astrid Rath Dollhopf (wife of Alfred), Eva Dollhopf (wife of Jürgen to her left), Jürgen Dollhopf (third cousin of Mark and brother of Ursula), Mark Dollhopf (me, third cousin to Alfred, Jürgen, and Ursula). We all share the same great-great-grandparents, Johann Dollhopf and Margarethe Bär. Great-great grandpa Johann died from tuberculosis in 1858 at the age of 28.*

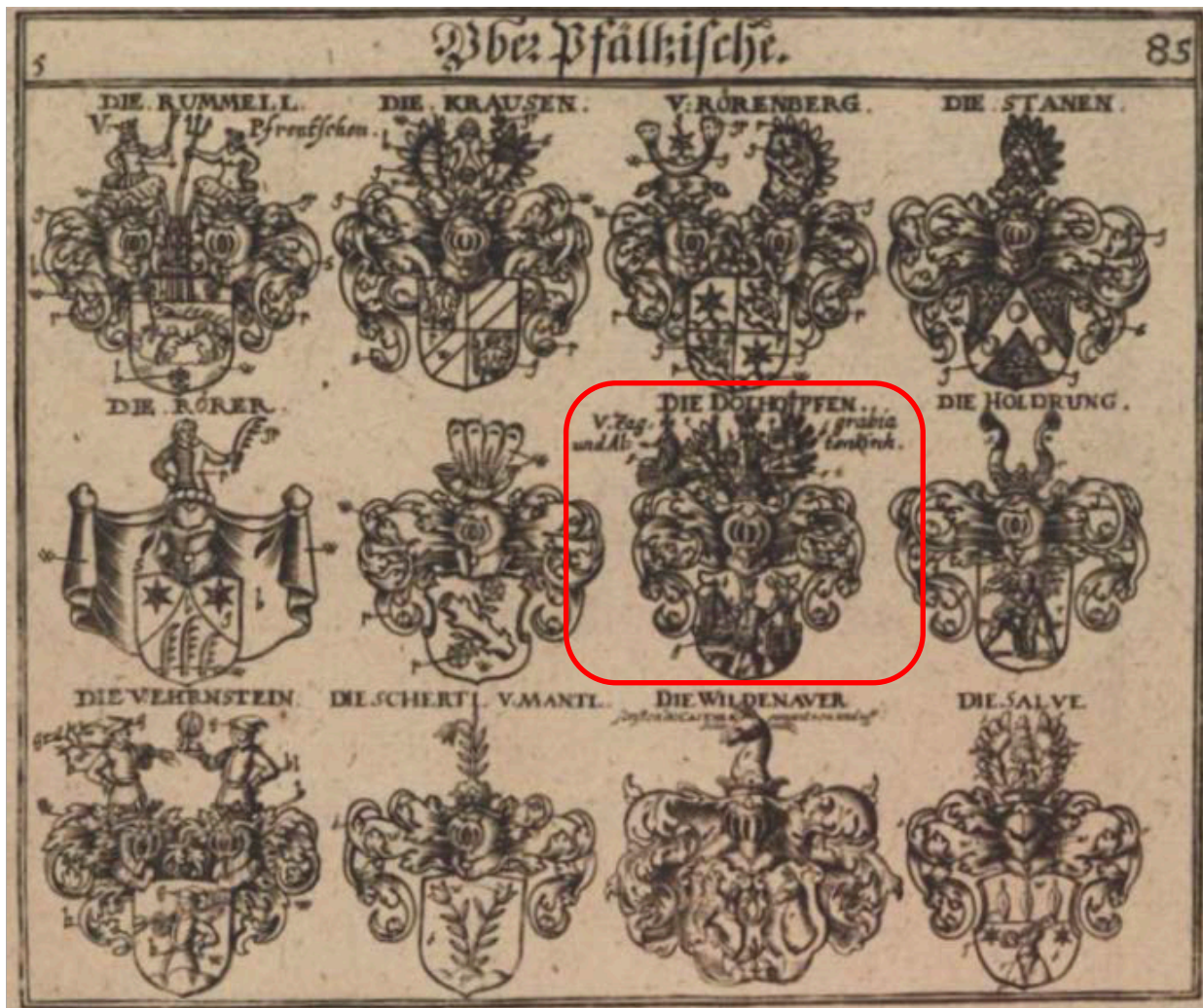
### Appendix A: Dollhopf Coat of Arms in Siebmacher's Wappenbuch of 1772

The symbols in this 1772 rendering are the same as the 1480, 1496, and 1880 versions, but the design *elements* – the manteling and crest embellishments – differ. This 1772 design is closer to the original found in the 1480 proclamation. Heraldry designers clearly exercised artistic license. There is brief explanatory text surrounding the crest in the illustration below. It reads:

V. Zag...gräbia und Al...tenKirch  
or  
Von Zagräbia und Alten Kirch

Translated: “from Zagreb (today the capitol of Croatia, then a part of Hungary and seat of a diocese) and the old church (presumably the diocesan Cathedral, indicating perhaps that the proclamation of 1480 was issued from the Cathedral)

To the immediate right of the text “V. Zag”...is an embellishment that appears to be a church, referring perhaps to the Cathedral.



**Appendix B: Blazon from 1480**

The following description of the 1480 coat of arms, called a "blazon," is from: Mikó, Árpád. "Über den Miniator der Wofenbütteler Tolhopff-Corvine." In *Corvina Augusta: die Handschriften des Königs Matthias Corvius in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel*, ed. E. Zxupán. 223-256, Budapest: OSZK, 2014.

"...darnach einen doppelten / Schilt, dessen undertheil soll sein ein geferbter Stein oder Fels dünckel grün, der Obertheil aber Himmelblau und in demselben Obertheil soll stehen der Janus mit seinen Zwyen Köpfen oder gesichtern, mit seinem anderen halben Körper oder leib sollen / gleichsam versteckt und verborgen sein in einer Stein Klufft, oder Felssigen Höle, der da für sich und hindersich sehen kan, als der fürnemblich beides von vergangenen und Zukünfftigen dingen die erfahrung habe und dauon sagen Können. In der linken / Handt soll er einen Schlissel haben gen Himmel ufgericht, das Er damit dess Himmels gestirn öffne und aufschliesse, welchs sich mit denen, die dess Himmels Lauff und Gestirn erfahrung haben, wol schicket und überein Kombt, welcher Kunsten wir dich war / einem geschickten, Kunstlichen und Hochgelehrten Doctorem und Maister erkennen und halten, wie wir dann solches [\*bey Alten kirch.] in unserm Leib selbst erfahren, mit der rechten Handt soll Er sich understützen und daran halten den Wassereimer mit sternen ausge-graben und aussgestochen, dess alten Inachi daraus dess Deucalionis wasser geflossen, und das Schiff mit welchem der Saturnus vondem Joue vertrieben, in dem Sehe über das Mehr geschiff hat, das solches nit zu gross sei, damit keine / confusion und vermischung under den andern Kleinoten geschehe. Über den Schilt aber soll sein ein Helm auf Krätzlein oder Hautbendelein, mit einer Himmel: und graublauer farb, und eine guldene Cron, mit dem bildnus dess Zwiköpflichten / Jani, allerdings wie in dem Schildt gezieret, wie dann solches auf dem Randt durch dess Mahlers Kunst fürgebildet, Klarlicher und deutlicher Zue sehen ist..."

Very loose translation....

"...then a double shield, the lower part of which shall be a thin green stone or rock, the upper part sky blue, and in the same upper part shall stand Janus with his two heads or faces, with his other half body or corpse shall be hidden and concealed, as it were, in a stone cave or rocky cavern, he can see for himself and for others, as he who has the experience of both past and future things and can speak of them. In his left hand he shall have a key to the heavens, so that he can open and unlock the heavenly star, which is well suited and agreed upon with those who have experience of the heavenly course and stars, of which arts we recognize, and hold him as a skilled, artistic and highly learned doctor and master, as we then experience such [\*at the old church] in our bodies ourselves. With the right hand he shall support himself and hold the water bucket with stars carved out and pierced, from which the water of the Deucalionis flowed, and the ship with which Saturnus was expelled from the Joue, in the sight shipped over the more, so that it is not too big, so that no confusion and mixing among the other small ones happens. Above the shield, however, there shall be a helmet on a crest or hood, with a sky and gray-blue color, and a crown of gold, with the image of the two-headed Jani, but decorated as in the shield, as then such is formed on the edge by the painter's art, clearer and more clearly to see..."

Translated with [www.DeepL.com/Translator](http://www.DeepL.com/Translator) (free version)

### Appendix C: Front Side of the 1496 Tollhopf Woodcut

The *Hercules Germanicus* (“German Hercules”) to which Tollhopf was referring in this woodcut print was Maximilian I (1459-1519), Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (lands of present day Germany) from 1508 until 1519. Tollhopf was trying to flatter the Emperor by calling him Hercules, the strong man of classical antiquity. The classical allusions in this illustration are many, but the gist – as illustrated by the battle scenes at the bottom – was that Maximilian was a superhero.

This woodcut print is essentially a political cartoon or tract, designed to advertise Maximilian’s successful exploits. At the time of this print, Maximilian was not yet Holy Roman Emperor, so this is essentially, in today’s parlance, a campaign ad.

Maximilian, who was of the royal family of the House of Hapsburg, assumed rule over Hungary after King Matthias Corvinus died in 1490. Corvinus had provided Tollhopf, as his Court Astrologer and Royal Servant, with an income. It is thought that Tollhopf created this piece of political propaganda to ingratiate himself to the Emperor in an effort to obtain an income from him, now that Corvinus had died.

Tollhopf died six years later in 1503; it is not known if he was successful in gaining patronage from the Emperor.

