VIRTUAL VISITS TO LOST LIBRARIES: RECONSTRUCTION OF AND ACCESS TO DISPERSED COLLECTIONS

CERL PAPERS · XI

Virtual visits to lost libraries:

reconstruction of and access to dispersed collections

Papers presented on 5 November 2010
at the CERL Seminar hosted by the
Royal Library of Denmark,
Copenhagen

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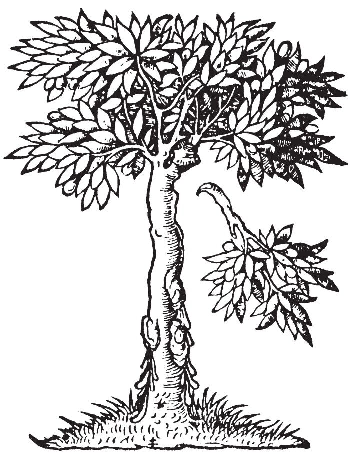

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Introduction

The eleven papers published here were given on 5 November 2010, at the annual international seminar of CERL, before more than one hundred participants from Denmark and abroad. The seminar was arranged by the Danish Royal Library (National Library of Denmark and University Library of Copenhagen) and took place in the historic Harsdorff Hall, built in the second half of the seventeenth century to serve as the 'small library room' of the Royal Library. It has been left unaltered, with its wooden gallery and Corinthian-style colonnades, since 1906 when the Royal Library moved to a new building nearby, while the old one was taken over by the National Archives.

Over a number of years, CERL has campaigned for an increased focus and collaboration in European research libraries and among scholars in general in the domain of 'provenance research'. The seminar covered a wide area of the history and 'archaeology' of collections and libraries, and displayed the variety of sophisticated methods applied in this area of historical research with the aim of reconstructing and making available to scholarship the fragmented and dispersed evidence of book collections as key elements in European cultural and intellectual history: the countries hosting the main institutions investigated during the seminar included Italy, France, Germany, Hungary, the UK, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Iceland. The seminar also underscored the necessity of international cooperation and standardisation at both scholarly and institutional levels, and the striking opportunities for such cooperation offered by the new technologies.

Ivan Boserup
Royal Library of Denmark

The Bibliotheca Palatina: a scattered library reconstructed

ELMAR MITTLER

Terentianus Maurus's comment '*Habent sua fata libelli*' is often used to describe the fate of the Bibliotheca Palatina, the former book collections from Heidelberg transported to Rome via Munich during the Thirty-Years War.[1] Pope Gregory V received the most important Calvinist library in Germany as a gift requested from the Bavarian Duke (and then Elector) Maximilian I.[2] The German, Greek and Latin manuscripts were eventually arranged in separate collections (*Pal. Germ.*, *Pal. Graec.*, *Pal. Lat.*), while the printed books were added to the general holdings (mainly, however, re-collected as Stampati Palatini).[3] It would appear, therefore, that the Bibliotheca Palatina is a well-defined collection – but a closer investigation shows a quite different picture (Fig. 1).

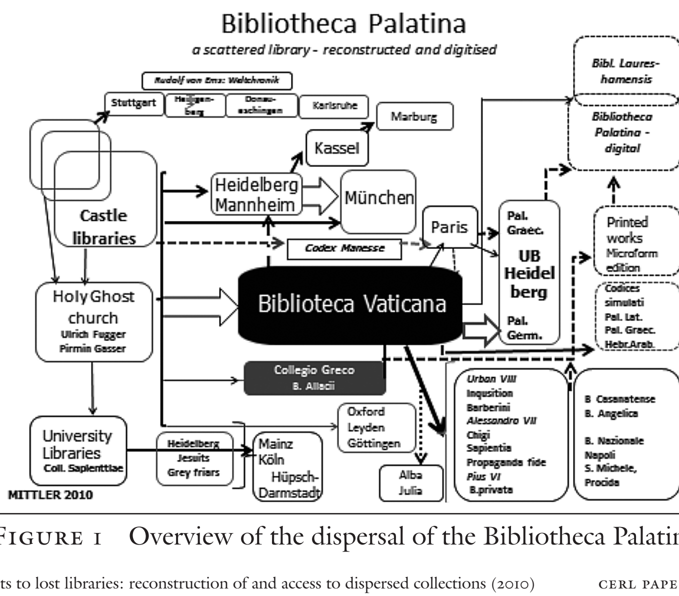

FIGURE 1 Overview of the dispersal of the Bibliotheca Palatina

Leone Allacci, a Greek scribe in the Vatican Library, wrote proudly back to Rome that he had been sent to Heidelberg to bring back one library but he had succeeded in securing three. Besides the library on the galleries of the Holy Ghost Church (sometimes referred to as the Bibliotheca Palatina or Pfälzische Landbibliothek), he had access to the Castle Library and to the libraries of the University. So it is a fact that the Bibliotheca Palatina as we know it today is a construction that resulted from the transportation to Rome of three libraries. Nevertheless, in a certain sense it was also a unity in Heidelberg: Elector Ludwig III (1410–1436) signed a first decree in 1421 to the effect that his books should be brought from the Castle to the Holy Ghost Church for the use of members of the University; this decision was renewed in 1436, and carried out after his death in 1438.[4] This was the starting point of a great and famous library, significantly enlarged on many occasions over the following two centuries.

The most important addition was due to the Elector Ottheinrich (1556–1559). This ambitious person[5] assembled a huge library, well-known on account of its bindings. They normally show his image and his *super ex-libris* device 'M(it) D(er) Z(eit)' – Latin: cum tempore. Many books from the former Castle Library are bound in bindings with his portrait, sometimes also books belonging to his predecessors. Ottheinrich stated in his last will[6] that to build and improve the library is to follow the example of emperors and kings from antiquity. In this extraordinary document he assigns a regular budget of 50 taler for the acquisition of new books at both Frankfurt Fairs, in spring and in autumn. In 1556 he gave the main part of this Castle Library to the Holy Ghost Church. It was long supposed that they would remain there only during the rebuilding of the Castle, but Wolfgang Metzger[7] has argued convincingly that it is likely that it was done on purpose, that is, in order to strengthen the Holy Ghost Library for the benefit of both the University and the Lutheran Reformation which he had introduced in the Palatinate. Ottheinrich also began to remove books from monasteries and give them to the Heidelberg collections, mainly from the former Royal Abbey of Lorsch. His successor Friedrich III, who became a Calvinist, did even more. Starting with Ottheinrich and increasingly during the Calvinist period, the rich holdings of the Holy Ghost Library were used by editors and printers of the Bible and the Church Fathers, as well as editors of Latin and Greek authors. The library thus became an important weapon in the ongoing confessional strifes of the sixteenth century. Commelinus,[8] a Genevan pupil of the famous printer Henricus Stephanus II,[9] was one of these Heidelberg scholar-printers. The Greek and Hebrew manuscripts belonging to Huldricus Fugger[10] were the most important sources for Commelinus's publications. A Calvinist, Fugger had left his home town of Augsburg in 1564. His library was moved to the Holy Ghost Church in Heidelberg in 1567. An active publishing policy made the Heidelberg collections well known all over Europe, and Jan Gruter,[11] the last librarian of the library in the Holy Ghost Church, was the most important text editor of the day, working with Friedrich Sylburg,[12] who catalogued the Greek manuscripts. In 1617, Gruter delivered duplicates of the Holy Ghost Church Library to the Collegium Sapientiae,[13] which shows how close the ties were between the libraries in Heidelberg.

Gruter had his private collection brought to the galleries of the Holy Ghost Church before he left Heidelberg, in order to protect it from looting in case the town was captured – only to see it partly removed from there to Rome by Allacci, not only for the Pope but also for himself. Frederick V of the Palatinate had accepted the Crown of Bohemia in 1619, but he lost the battle at the White Hill near Prague in November 1620, and Heidelberg was captured by Tilly on 15 September 1622. This gave the opportunity to transport the Heidelberg libraries to Rome, the starting point for the Bibliotheca Palatina as we know it.

It is of great interest to try to understand the origins of these mixed collections in the Vatican Library. But let us investigate a small mystery first. We know that Elector Ruprecht I ordered a manuscript of the World Chronicle (*Weltchronik*) by Rudolf von Ems, which had been completed in 1365 by Johannes von Speyer, but this item cannot be found in Rome. The mystery was solved by sheer luck. There is a copy of the *Weltchronik* in the former collection of Donaueschingen, which was bought by the State of Baden-Württemberg and partly given to the Badische Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe (Fürstenberg Ms 79). We can read on the rear of the front cover that this work has to be given back to 'Heiligenberg', but if one looks carefully one will see that this has been corrected from 'Heidelberg'. The manuscript was borrowed by Margarete of Savoy in Stuttgart in 1461 and was never brought back to Heidelberg.[14] The earliest item from the Castle Library in the Palatina is Cod. Pal. Germ. 24 (now in the University Library in Heidelberg) with 65 homilies by Bertolt von Regensburg, which was written for Elisabeth of Namur, the first wife of Ruprecht I, in 1370.[15] The *Weltchronik* may have been a sign of the magnificence of the Elector, but the book of homilies was certainly a reflection of the personal religious beliefs of his wife. There is significant evidence of the courtly life of Heidelberg such as the dedication image to Elector Philip the Upright in Cod. Pal. Germ. 87, the novel *Die Kinder von Limburg* by Johann von Soest,[16] but there is also evidence of humanistic interests such as the Virgil manuscript written and illuminated in Heidelberg (Cod. Pal. Lat. 1632).[17] There are also many personal relics, ranging from the Latin grammar of Frederick I (Cod. Pal. Lat. 1811)[18] to the exercises in Latin-German translation by Frederick V (Cod. Pal. Lat. 1867).[19]

Our knowledge of the provenances has been improved through the recent new cataloguing of the Palatina manuscripts, in Rome as well as in Heidelberg.[20] The holdings of and for the University form the third largest part of the Palatina manuscripts, after the collections of the Electors and of Huldrich Fugger. We find the main literature used in the four faculties, valuable evidence of the intellectual life of the University. There are *commentarii*, *miscellanea* and *collectanea*, *disputationes*, etc., partly written in the hand of professors in Heidelberg such as Erhard Knab and Matthias Widmann von Kemnath[21] (Fig. 2).

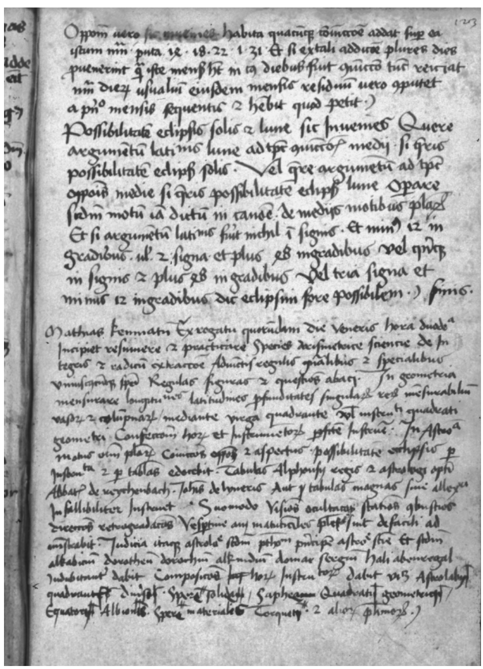

FIGURE 2 Autograph manuscript of the Heidelberg professor Matthias Widmann von Kemnath

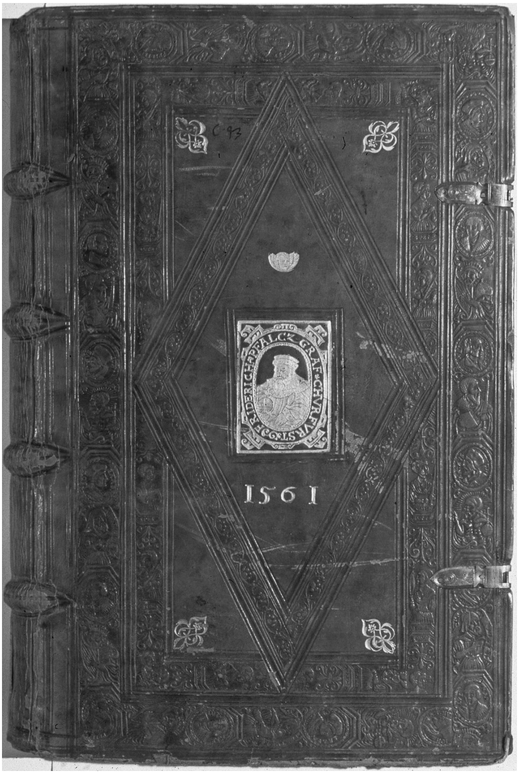

FIGURE 3 Binding made by Petrus Betz for Frederic III, 1561

The bindings of the printed books are a mirror of dynastic magnificence, of religious attitudes and of personal preferences, as Ilse Schunke showed in her detailed study of the Vatican Palatina holdings.[22] Frederick III ordered his first bindings from Petrus Betz, the bookbinder favoured by his predecessor Ottheinrich[23] (Fig. 3), but a Huguenot, Guillaume Plunion, then became 'relieur d´électeur' (Fig. 4), when Frederick had converted to Calvinism.[24] One can see the difference immediately: French paperboard bindings replace the German wooden ones; and there are coats-of-arms instead of portraits as *super ex-libris*, in conformity with the the commandment 'Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image'. The bindings of his successor Ludwig VI, a Lutheran, show his image again in the form of the 'Wittenberg cover',[25] in a wooden binding. The plentiful supply of bindings was a consequence of the instruction given to Allacci, signed by the Librarian of the Vatican, the Cardinal of Santa Susanna, that he should keep all bindings with coats-of-arms, inscriptions and information about the Electors and other Princes.[26] For this reason, the heavy wooden covers on manuscripts were removed and have been lost, but the printed works are normally in their original form, as testified by the splendid bindings for Fugger and the modest half-leather bindings of his physician, Achilles Pirmin Gasser.[27]

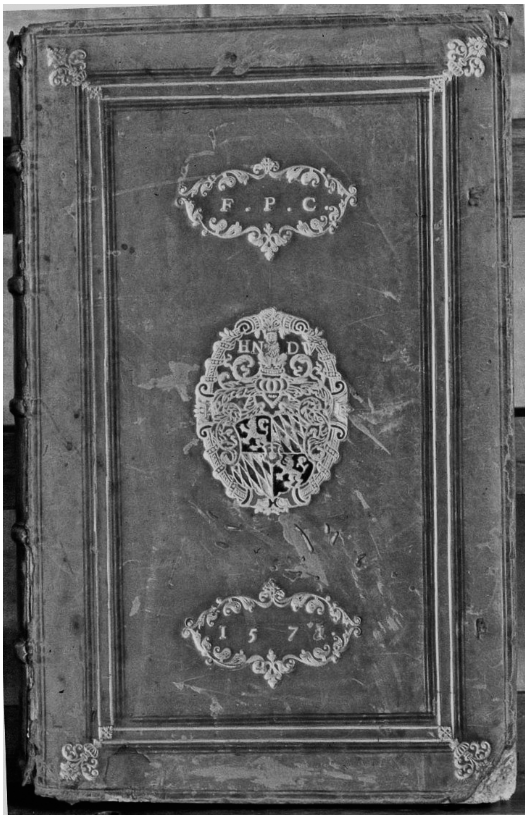

FIGURE 4 Binding made by Guillaume Plunion for Frederic III, 1571

THE PALATINA IN ROME

The transportation of the Palatina was a logistical masterpiece. It went on from February 1622 to August 1623. The contents of the 184 boxes were carefully registered. Unfortunately, the original lists have not survived, but the alphabetical index[28] with the title and the *cassa* number, which was also written on the front cover or on the first page (if the binding had been removed) of every item. These numbers are unmistakable evidence of Heidelberg provenance (Fig. 5). This evidence is crucial because the collection was dispersed within the Vatican Library and among other libraries

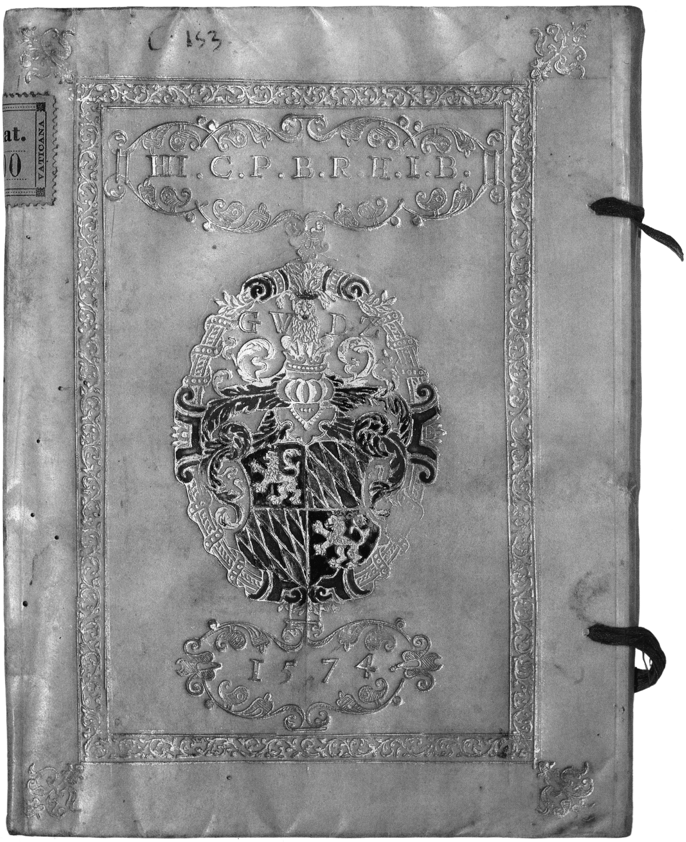

FIGURE 5 Example of *cassa* number written on the front cover of a book ('C 153')

FIGURE 6 *Ex-libris* of Maximilian of Bavaria

after its arrival in Rome. Maximilian of Bavaria tried to avoid the dispersal by having a printed *ex-libris* (Fig. 6) made for a proposed 'Bibliotheca Gregoriana',[29] but unfortunately only a small number of these *ex-libris* had been applied before the removal, and Gregory XV died before the boxes arrived in Rome. However, his successor Urban VIII built a new extension to the Vatican Library for the Palatina. So the German, Latin and Greek manuscripts[30] and some printed works in German[31] were brought into these new rooms, while some Latin[32] and the Arabic,[33] Hebrew[34] and Slavonic[35] manuscripts from the Palatina were spread throughout the manuscript collections of the Vaticana. A separate group of books consisting of heretical literature was given to the Inquisition in September 1625.[36] In April and May 1625 we still find lists of donations of duplicates set up by Carlo Barberini, the bibliophile brother of Urban VIII.[37] Many of these copies were from Heidelberg. Ilse Schunke gives a description of some of these items.[38] Analysing the documents and lists carefully, and checking the shelves of the Barberini collection, which has been part of the Vatican Library since 1902, I was able to add many items which are now included in the microfiche edition.[39] In 1665, Alexander VII gave an extensive number of Vatican Library duplicates to his nephew Cardinal Flavio Chigi;[40] this Library was bought by the Vatican in December 1922. The number of identified Palatina volumes can be further increased.[41]

It is much more difficult to detect Palatina items in the historical collections of the Biblioteca Universitaria Alessandrina in Rome. Pope Alexander VII founded the University in 1660 and donated duplicates from the Vatican Library to its library in 1666.[42] Most volumes, however, have been rebound so that so far I could detect only three volumes with their original bindings and the *cassa* number.[43] The largest collection of Palatina prints from the Vatican Library is in the Biblioteca Casanatense. The Dominicans were responsible for the Inquisition. Their library seems to have been transferred to the Casanatense, in particular the collection of heretical literature, which, as has been mentioned, Urban VIII delivered to the Officium Sanctum. The books were not part of the Library itself but were stored in the rooms of the archive of the Officium,[44] to which ordinary users did not have access. As a result, many of the bindings are in perfect condition.[45] The search for items from the Palatina in the Casanatense has not yet been completed. The provisional list of the shelf-marks of the books which have been identified through the research of P. Quilici and myself are given in the catalogue of the microfiche edition.[46] Margherita Palumbo is carrying on with this investigation. Based on the bindings it was also possible to detect some dispersed Palatina items in the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome,[47] in the abbey of S. Michele on the island of Procida,[48] and in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples.[49]

Besides the Vatican Library, the most important owner of former Palatina books was Allacci himself. He transported 12 boxes to Rome in addition to the 184 boxes for the Pope. In his last will he bequeathed them to the Collegium Graecum in Rome for the use of its students. The collection was later partly sold; some of these items are now in the Vatican Library, having arrived there by a number of different paths.[50] But there are still at least about 140 volumes from Allacci's acquisitions in Heidelberg in the Collegio Greco in Rome (Fig. 7), all included in the microfiche

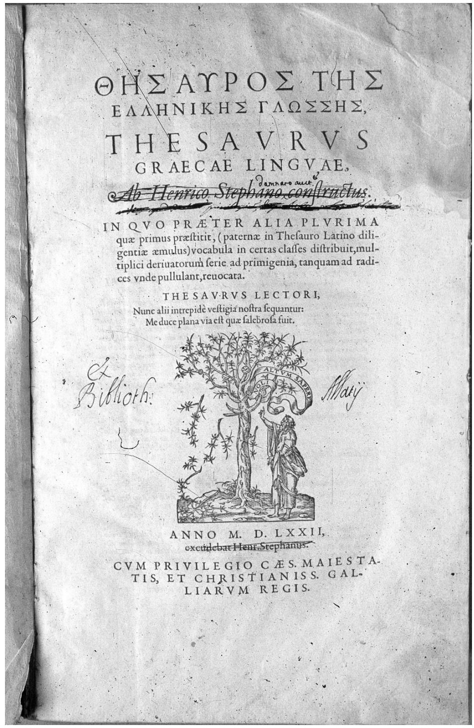
ΘΗΣΑΥΡΟΣ ΤΗΣ
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΓΛΩΣΣΗΣ.
THESAVRVS
GRAECAE LINGVAE,
~~Ab Henrico Stephano constructus.~~ damnato auct.
IN QVO PRÆTER ALIA PLVRIMA
quæ primus præstitit, (paternæ in Thesauro Latino diligentiæ æmulus) vocabula in certas classes distribuit, multiplici deriuatorum serie ad primigenia, tanquam ad radices vnde pullulant, reuocata.
THESAVRVS LECTORI,
Nunc alii intrepidè vestigia nostra sequantur:
Me duce plana via est quæ salebrosa fuit.
Ex Biblioth: Allatij
ANNO M. D. LXXII,
~~excudebat Henr. Stephanus.~~
CVM PRIVILEGIO CÆS. MAIESTATIS, ET CHRISTIANISS. GALLIARVM REGIS.

FIGURE 7 Print of Henricus Stephanus from the library of Allacius

edition.[51] It has been said again and again that Allacci took for himself the first part of the *Lorsch Gospel*, but the evidence for this does not seem to me to be reliable. After many adventures, the ivory plate of the binding came to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, while the first part of the text is in the Bibliotheca Batthyányi in Alba Julia (Romania).

The search for additional Palatina items is very much like detective work. You are lucky if you discover documents, lists or catalogues that can give some ideas about where to look, but in general the binding is the sole reliable sign of ownership. If there is co-occurrence of a Palatina binding and a *cassa* number, one can be sure to have found an item that Allacci transported to Rome. Other helpful clues are characteristic shelf marks, handwritten personal notes, or records of Fugger inventories. In some cases, a rare German title, or just Heidelberg as the printing place for an item deriving, for example, from the Bibliotheca Allacii, will make a Palatina origin likely.

Such evidence helps in the quest for more dispersed books, as for example the two items with *cassa* numbers bought by the University of Heidelberg in 1989.[52] They can be used for items in German libraries as well. Investigations in Germany started with the Ottheinrich bindings in the Stadtbibliothek of Mainz,[53] and the bindings of other Electors followed;[54] the largest collection of Palatina volumes found in Mainz is, in fact, a part of the former library of the physician Gasser, mentioned above.[55] They came via the Jesuits from Heidelberg to Mainz. The Jesuits got the library from the Collegium Sapientiae in Heidelberg, probably in 1629, in the context of the reshaping of the University as a Catholic institution.[56] They kept the collection while staying in Heidelberg, but they fled from there in 1633–1634/5, when King Gustav Adolf had the upper hand in Central Europe.[57] They brought the library to Mainz, perhaps in several steps between 1637 and 1651, probably in 1649.[58] We find Heidelberg items in the former Mainz Jesuit Library as well as in the Novitiate Library of the Upper Rhine Region. Both became part of the University Library after the suppression of the Jesuit Order, and part of the Stadtbibliothek of Mainz after the closure of the University. In February 2011 I detected about 200 unknown items from Heidelberg; two others came probably by exchange into the Martinsbibliothek of Mainz,[59] at least one item came (by unknown paths) into the Pfälzische Landesbibliothek in Speyer.[60] For similar reasons, items are found in the Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek in Cologne[61] (some of these came to Darmstadt via Baron Hübsch).[62] In this case, Grey Friars took them from Heidelberg. Another location for items from Heidelberg is the Bavarian State Library in Munich. It is certain that some items were removed when Allacci passed through Munich on his way to Rome. The Ottheinrich Bible and the Chorbuch are examples.[63] Other items were re-collected in the 'new Bibliotheca Palatina', which Elector Carl-Theodor built in Mannheim Castle in 1756. These books were transferred to Munich in 1803–04.[64]

Some rather valuable remains from the Palatina were brought from Heidelberg to Kassel a good deal earlier: the so-called 'Kassel heritage'. In his will, the last Calvinist Elector in Heidelberg, Karl II (1651–1685), gave the whole collection of the new Castle Library to Karl of Hassia-Kassel. A total of 4,500 books were brought to Kassel in 1686, including some former 'Palatina' items. In this way they escaped the destruction of Heidelberg and its Castle by the French army in 1689 and 1693, but instead they were for the most part lost during the Second World War.[65] Some

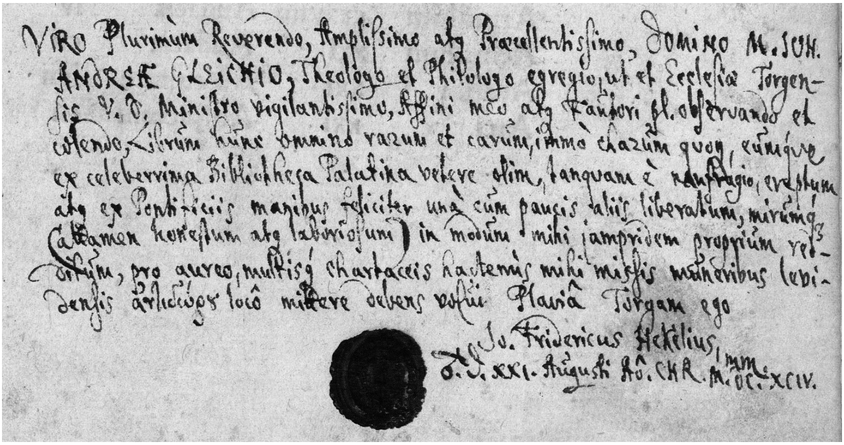
VIRO Plurimum Reverendo, Amplissimo atq Praecellentissimo, DOMINO M. JOH. ANDREÆ GELICHIO, Theologo et Philologo egregio, ut et Ecclesiae Torgensis V. D. Ministro vigilantissimo, Affini meo atq Fautori fl. observando et colendo, Librum hunc omnino rarum et carum, immo charum quoq, cumque ex celeberrima Bibliotheca Palatina vetere olim, tanquam è naufragio, ereptum atq ex Pontificiis manibus feliciter una cum paucis aliis liberatum, mirumq (attamen honestum atq laboriosum) in modum mihi jampridem proprium redditum, pro aureo, multisq chartaceis hactenus mihi missis muneribus [illegible] [illegible] loco mittere debens voluit Plavia Torgam ego
Jo. Fridericus Hekelius,
d. d. XXI. Augusti Ao. CHR. MDCXCIV.

Figure 8 Dedication of Hekelius to Gelichius

duplicates have been discovered, however, which had been transferred to the University Library in Marburg.[66] Three manuscripts are in Leiden and Oxford – borrowed by Commelinus or stolen by an English soldier. Some books have come to their present locations via strange paths.[67] Sometimes we are not able to reconstruct the way they escaped the transport to Rome, as for example a Göttingen incunable: the former owner Hekelius in Plauen dedicated it to his friend Gelichius in Torgau, in 1694, with the remark that it was part of the most famous Palatina and had happily been snatched out of the hands of the Pope[68] (Fig. 8).

There are many opportunities to find additional items from the former libraries in Heidelberg in unexpected places, but not every item was necessarily a part of the historical Bibliotheca Palatina. For example, many Ottheinrich bindings belonged to the Chamber Library. Some of these books were lost when Neuburg (Danube), Ottheinrich's residence before he became Elector, was sacked by the Emperor's troops in 1556. About 200 items were given as a legacy from Duke Wolfgang to Neuburg in 1559.[69] However, the binding by Guillaume Plunion with the arms of Friedrich III, which was bought by Heidelberg University Library, was never in the Castle Library: it was a gift to an unknown person from Johann Casimir, in order to promote Calvinist doctrine.[70] And the bindings in Amberg with the super ex libris of Ludwig VI were never in Heidelberg. They are relics of his time as Prince-Regent in the Upper Palatinate.[71]

RESTITUTION?

There were many attempts to get the Bibliotheca Palatina back to Heidelberg. After King Gustav Adolf had defeated the Catholic troops at Breitenfeld (near Leipzig) in September 1631, Ludwig Camerarius dreamed that the way was open for the return of 'die heidelbergische Bibliothec', but it came to a sudden end through the death of the King in November 1632.[72] The restitution of the Library after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 failed as well – the Pope did not sign the document. About twelve manuscripts were copied in the Vatican Library between June 1759 and 1760 during the reign of the Elector Carl Theodor.[73] The most significant success was the restitution of 847 German manuscripts in May 1816, along with the 39 Greek and Latin manuscripts which Napoleon had brought to Paris after the Peace of Tolentino in 1797. These were returned to Heidelberg in October 1815.[74] At the jubilee ceremony for the 500th anniversary of its foundation in 1886, the University of Heidelberg only received a copy of the (unfinished) catalogue of the printed books of the Palatina in the Vatican Library. The *Codex Manesse*, however, was returned from Paris in 1888.[75]

Assisted by a grant from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, the Biblioteca Vaticana gave permission to produce microfilms and paper copies of the Roman Palatina manuscripts, from 1959 onwards. This allowed the now completed cataloguing activities (mentioned above) to begin.

The Bibliotheca Palatina exhibition, from July to Novemeber 1986, at the 600th anniversary of Heidelberg University, was undoubtedly the most successful library exhibition in the history of libraries[76] (Fig. 9). It attracted more than 274,000 visitors. A long line stood in the Heidelberg Haupt Straße waiting for access to the Holy Ghost Church to see the 600 manuscripts and printed books which had been brought back for five months to the town of their origin. The catalogue was printed in 70,000 copies. An additional publication mainly dealing with the manuscripts also sold extremely well.[77] This overwhelming success was a spur for new research. Martina Backes has given a detailed picture of literary life during the fifteenth century,[78] and Gisela Studt has dealt with the process of legitimisation through history[79] at the Court of Heidelberg. The development from oral tradition to literacy, from the spoken to the written (and printed) word in the late Middle Ages (and the early modern age) at the same Court, was the subject of a research team led by Jan-Dirk Müller.[80]

FIGURE 9 Bibliotheca Palatina exhibition in the Holy Ghost Church (north wing)

These publications are examples of the strategy of 'restitution through research' which goes hand in hand with 'restitution through technology', beginning with the microfilming of the Palatina manuscripts.[81] The next step was the microfiche edition of the printed books, a huge undertaking which amounted to 21,103 microfiches and went on from 1989 to 1995.[82] The publisher, de Gruyter Saur, is now further considering a digitised edition. The project for digitisation of all the German Palatina manuscripts in Heidelberg[83] has been very successfully completed with the support of the Lautenschlager Foundation (see the paper by Karin Zimmermann). In the meantime, a digitisation workstation has been installed in the Vatican Library, which will scan the Library's Lorsch holdings and Palatina manuscripts as well. Perhaps it will become the starting point for the digitisation of other Heidelberg manuscripts. This would be the best way, finally, to solve the long-lasting discussion about the restitution of the Palatina and to help bring together the widely scattered additional holdings in one digital collection. The Palatina was called the *Optimus Germaniae litteratae thesaurus*; it could then become a treasure of the worldwide research community.

NOTES

1. There is an extensive literature on the Heidelbergian Bibliotheca Palatina. The best overview is given in: *Bibliotheca Palatina, Katalog zur Ausstellung*, ed. by Elmar Mittler, 2 vols (Heidelberg: 1986), cited as BP.
2. BP 1, pp., 458 ff.; 2, pp. 7–9.
3. BP 1, pp. 473 ff.
4. BP 1, pp. 7 f.
5. Fritz Gross, *Image der Macht. Das Bild hinter den Bildern bei Ottheinrich von der Pfalz, 1502–1559* (Petersberg: 2003), shows that he had in mind to become King of Germany.
6. BP 1, pp. 12 f.
7. Wolfgang Metzger, 'Die Bibliothek Ottheinrichs von der Pfalz und die 'Bibliotheca Palatina', in: *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft* 39 (2006), pp. 73–96.
8. BP 1, pp. 425–34.
9. He worked as 'typographus Huldrici Fuggeri' between 1557 and 1571. BP 1, pp. 385–98.
10. BP 1, pp. 368 ff.
11. BP 1, pp. 440–53.
12. BP 1, pp. 435–40.
13. BP 1, p. 420; see now Robert Zepf, *Die Bibliothek des Heidelberg Collegium Sapientiae zu Beginn des Dreißigjährigen Krieges. Eine Untersuchung an Hand des Kataloges von 1621*. Hausarbeit zur Prüfung für den Höheren Bibliotheksdienst. Fachhochschule Köln. Fachbereich Bibliotheks- und Informationswesen, 2 vols (Köln: 2000), 1, pp. 101–08.
14. This was undiscovered for a long time. See now: *Bewahrtes Kulturerbe. Unberechenbare Zinsen*, ed. by Felix Heinzer (Stuttgart and Karlsruhe: 1993), p. 94.
15. http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg24
16. http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg87
17. BP 1, pp. 195 f.; 2, pp. 143–46.
18. BP 1, pp. 192 f., 2, p. 141.
19. BP 1, p. 264, 2, p. 184.
20. *Die medizinischen Handschriften der Codices Palatini Latini in der Vatikanischen Bibliothek*, bearb. von Ludwig Schuba, hrsg. von Elmar Mittler (Wiesbaden:

1981), Kataloge der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, 1; *Die Quadriviums-Handschriften der Codices Palatini Latini in der Vatikanischen Bibliothek*, beschrieben von Ludwig Schuba (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1992), Kataloge der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, 2; *Die historischen und philosophischen Handschriften der Codices Palatini Latini in der Vatikanischen Bibliothek (Cod. Pal. Lat. 921–1078)*, bearb. von Dorothea Walz, hrsg. von Veit Probst und Karin Zimmermann (Wiesbaden: 1999), Kataloge der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, 3; *Die humanistischen Triviums- und Reformationshandschriften der Codices Palatini Latini in der Vatikanischen Bibliothek (Cod. Pal. Lat. 1461–1914)*, bearb. von Wolfgang Metzger und Veit Probst (Wiesbaden: 2002), Kataloge der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, 4. The Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft is now also supporting the cataloguing of the German manuscripts: *Die Codices Palatini germanici in der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg (Cod. Pal. germ. 1–181)*, bearb. von Karin Zimmermann unter Mitwirkung von Sonja Glauch, Matthias Miller und Armin Schlechter (Wiesbaden: 2003), Kataloge der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, 6; *Die Codices Palatini germanici in der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg (Cod. Pal. germ. 182–303)*, bearb. von Matthias Miller und Karin Zimmermann (Wiesbaden: 2005), Kataloge der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, 7; *Die Codices Palatini germanici in der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg (Cod. Pal. germ. 304–495)*, bearb. von Karin Zimmermann und Matthias Miller (Wiesbaden: 2007), Kataloge der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, 8.

21. BP 1, pp. 26 f.

22. Ilse Schunke: *Die Einbände der Palatina in der Vatikanischen Bibliothek*, 3 vols (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1962), Studi e testi 216–218, vol. 2, pp. 296–97.

23. BP 1, p. 222; 2, p. 166.

24. BP 1, pp. 225 f.; 2, pp. 167–68.

25. BP 1, pp. 244 f.; 2, p. 172.

26. BP 1, pp. 462 f.

27. BP 1, pp. 526–34; 2, pp. 324–28.

28. Cod. Pal. Lat. 1949. BP 1, p. 675.

29. BP 1, p. 471.

30. But we know that Allacci's catalogue of the Greek manuscripts (Cod. Barb. Gr. 202; Cod. Vat. Lat. 13229) integrated them into the sequence of the Vatican Greek collection, but they were later arranged in accordance with the original Heidelberg sequence known through the catalogue of Sylburg, see also BP 1, pp. 476 and 437 f.

31. See BP 1, p. 474 for details.

32. E.g. Cod. Vat. Lat. 6444, from Frankenthal. Aliza Cohen-Muslim, *A medieval scriptorium. Sancta Maria Magdalena de Frankenthal* (Wiesbaden: 1990). BP 1, pp. 213–16, recently identified as Cod. Vat. Lat. 8966 with the case number C 174.

33. Levi della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Città del Vaticano: 1939).
34. H. Cassutto, *Manoscritti Palatini ebraici della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana e la loro storia* (Città del Vaticano: 1935).
35. A. Dzurova, K Stanzev, and M. Japundzie, *Catalogo dei manosritti slavi della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Sofia: 1985).
36. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV), Arch. Bibl. 10, fol. 253–54r and 267. See also: Elmar Mittler, 'Die Mikroficheedition der Druckschriften der "Bibliotheca Palatina"', in: *Bibliotheca Palatina. Katalog und Register zur Mikroficheausgabe. Druckschriften der „Bibliotheca Palatina"*, ed. Elmar Mittler, 4 vols (München: 1999), vol. 1, XIII (cited as Mittler, *Katalog Mikrofiche-edition*).
37. BAV, Arch. Bibl. 10, 22r–24r and 26r–37r (April), and Arch. Barb., Indice, II, 291 (Mai).
38. See the list in Schunke, vol. 2, 783–89; Mittler, *Katalog Mikroficheedition*, vol. 2, pp. 202–17. Some of the bindings are described by Manfred Bachmann, 'Bucheinbände aus südwestdeutschen Werkstätten im *Fondo Barberini* der Vatikanischen Bibliothek', in: *Biblothek und Wissenschaft* 31 (1998), pp. 128–210.
39. *Bibliotheca Palatina. Druckschriften – Stampati Palatini – Printed Books*, Mikro-ficheausgabe (21.103 fiches), ed. Leonard Boyle and Elmar Mittler (1989–1995).
40. BAV, Arch. Bibl. 10. 39r–57r
41. Schunke, vol. 2, pp. 799–801; Mittler, *Katalog Mikroficheedition*, pp. 216–19.
42. BAV, Arch. Bibl. 10, 38r–65r and 68r–75.
43. See Mittler, Katalog *Mikroficheedition*, vol. 1, p. XIII.
44. Margherita Palumbo, '„In ultima vero omnes Libri prohibiti …". Zu Einstellung der Palatini im Archiv des Heiligen Offiziums', in: *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft*, 42 (2009), pp. 107–14, especially p. 113.
45. See Piccarda Quilici, *Legature antiche e di pregio, sec. XIV–XVIII. Catalogo*, 2 vols (Roma: Ministerio di Beni culturale. Biblioteca Casanatense, 1995), vol. 1, pp. 27–48 and 265–92.
46. Mittler, *Katalog Mikroficheedition*, vol. 1, p. XIV.
47. Mittler, *Katalog Mikroficheedition*, vol. 1, p. XV.
48. Mittler, *Katalog Mikroficheedition*, vol. 1, pp. XIV f.
49. Mittler, *Katalog Mikroficheedition*, vol. 1, p. XVI.
50. Details: Mittler, *Katalog Mikroficheedition*, vol. 1, pp. XIV f.
51. Mittler, *Katalog Mikroficheedition*, vol. 3, pp. 327–29.
52. Mittler, *Katalog Mikroficheedition*, vol. 1, p. XVI.
53. H. Presser, 'Unbekannte Ottheinrich-Bände in Mainz', in: *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 30 (1955), pp. 281–90; Annelen Ottermann, '4 Ottheinrichbände in der Stadt-bibliothek Mainz', in: *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 66 (1991), pp. 344–50

54. H. Presser, 'Einbände der Nachfolger Ottheinrichs in Mainz', in: *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 31 (1956), pp. 331–40.
55. K. Niebler, *Bücher aus der Bibliothek des Augsburger Humanisten Achilles Pirmin Gasser (1505–1577)*, (Köln: Bibliothekar-Lehrinstitut, 1973).
56. Robert Zepf, *Die Bibliothek des Heidelberg Collegium Sapientiae zu Beginn des Dreißigjährigen Krieges. Eine Untersuchung an Hand des Kataloges von 1621*. Hausarbeit zur Prüfung für den Höheren Bibliotheksdienst. Fachhochschule Köln. Fachbereich Bibliotheks- und Informationswesen, 2 vols (Köln: 2000), 1, pp. 130 ff.
57. Zepf, 1, p. 132.
58. Zepf, 1, pp. 133–34.
59. Franz S. Pelgen found these items with the *super ex-libris* of Ottheinrich and Friedrich III; I could not detect additional items when checking the library holdings in February 2011.
60. Armin Schlechter, *Augenweide und Schutz. Einbände des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts. Aus den Beständen der Pfälzischen Landesbibliothek Speyer* (Koblenz: 2010), pp. 58 f. (Ottheinrich binding from 1557); there is another item with a binding for Friedrich III (pp. 60 f.).
61. Paul Holtermann. 'Einige Bände von Pfälzer Kurfürsten in der Kölner Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek', in: *Archiv für Buchbinderei* 30 (1930), pp. 133–35; Günter Quarg, *Heidelbergae nunc Coloniae. Palatina-Bände der Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek Köln* (Köln: 1998).
62. Adolf Schmidt, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bibliothek des Franziskanerklosters zu den Oliven in Köln', in: *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 22 (1905), pp. 523–29.
63. BP 1: 491–93.
64. BP 1: 482 and 2: 305, shows an example with the inscription 'Churfürstlicher Pfältzischer Biblioteck wider zugestellt Anno MDCCLXXV' on the ornamental title.
65. BP 1: 489–91, describes the 'Notae Tironis' manuscript which was saved; A. Duncker, 'Die Erwerbung der Pfälzer Hofbibliothek durch den Landgrafen Karl von Hessen-Kassel i J. 1686', in: *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 2 (1855), pp. 213–25; H. Broszinski and K. Wiedemann, 'Ein alt verunzelt buchlin', in: *De captu lectoris. Wirkungen des Buches im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. W. Milde (Berlin: 1988), pp. 39–50.
66. *Beute und Erbe: Spuren ungewöhnlicher Bücherwanderungen; eine Ausstellung der Universitätsbibliothek Marburg vom 27. April bis 30 Mai 1999* [Ausstellung und Katalog: Margret Lemberg] (Marburg: Universitätsbibliothek, 1999).
67. See BP 1: 484 f. and 488.
68. 4 Auct. Lat. I, 795; Helmut Kind, *Incunabula Gottingensia. Inkunabelkatalog der Niedersächsischen Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen* (Wiesbaden: 1995), vol. 1, p. 193: Nonius [Marcellus]: *De proprietate Latini sermonis*. Parma:

[Drucker des Hieronymus, *Epistulae*], 1480, 20: 'VIRO Plurimum Reverendo, Amplissimo atque Præcellentissimo, Domino M. IOH. ANDREAE GLEICHIO, Theologo et Philologo egregio, ut et Ecclesiae Torgensis V. D. Ministro vigilantissimo, Affini meo atque Fautori plurimum observando et colendo Librum hunc omnino rarum et carum, immo charum quoque, eumque ex celeberrima Bibliotheca Palatina vetere olim, tanquam è naufragio, ereptum atque ex Pontificiis manibus feliciter unà cum paucis aliis liberatum, mirumque (attamen honestum atque laboriosum) in modum mihi jampridem proprium redditum, pro aureo, multisque chartaceis hactenus mihi missis muneribus levidensis *antidorou* locô mittere debens volui Plaviâ Torgam ego Io. Fridericus Hekelius MM'. Provenance: (Fol. 1 a, see above) 1. Bibliotheca Palatina, Heidelberg. 2. Io. Fridericus Hekelius (1694). 3. Ioh. Andreas Gleichius (1694). 4. E. G. Becker (1774). – 2) Festus, Sextus Pompeius: De verborum significatione. [1480] (Nr 362); 3) Varro, Marcus Terentius: De lingua Latina. Parma, 11. XII. 1480. (Nr 633); see also: Helmut Kind, 'Bucheintragungen im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung', in: *De captu lectoris. Wirkungen des Buches im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. W. Milde (Berlin: 1988), pp. 167–82: pp. 174–76.

69. See Karl Schottenloher, *Pfalzgraf Ottheinrich und das Buch* (Münster: 1927), pp. 17 ff.; for a newly found Ottheinrich binding, see Eckehart Döbler, 'Ein bisher unbeachteter Ottheinrich-Einband', in: Studien *zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen*, 9 (1995), pp. 32–36; about Neuburg, see: Bettina Wagner, '*Die Ottheinrich-Einbände in Neuburg an der Donau*', in: *Einbandforschung. Informationsblatt des Arbeitskreises für die Erfassung und Erschließung Historischer Bucheinbände* (AEB), Heft 11 (Oktober 2002), pp. 17–27; Reimar Hartge, 'Die unsterbliche Palatina im Spiegel eines einzelnen wiederentdeckten klassischen Ottheinrich-Einbands: Pionierstück des Buchbinders Jörg Bernhard aus dem Jahr 1550', in: Hartge, Reimar: *Buchgeschichtsphilosophische Betrachtungen* (Essen: 2009), pp. 5–14.

70. See Elmar Mittler, 'Bibliothek im Wandel', in: *Heidelberg. Geschichte und Gestalt* (Heidelberg: 1996), pp. 325–61, especially p. 343.

71. Josef Mayr, 'Ein Palatina-Band in der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg', in: *Bibliotheksforum Bayern*, 15 (1987), pp. 24–33.

72. BP 1: 472.

73. BP 1: 480 f.

74. Elmar Mittler, *Mit der Zeit. Die Kurfürsten von der Pfalz und die Bibliotheca Palatina* (Wiesbaden: 1986), p. 45; for the special case of the Anthologia Palatina see also BP 1: 485–87.

75. Elmar Mittler, 'Die Rückführung', in: *Codex Manesse. Katalog zur Ausstellung* (Heidelberg: 1988), pp. 22–63.

76. Elmar Mittler, 'Bibliotheca Palatina. Ausstellung der Universität Heidelberg in Zusammenarbeit mit der Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana 8.7. – 30.11.1986 in der Heiliggeistkirche', in: *Die Sechshundertjahrfeier der Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg*, ed. Eike Wolgast, pp. 289–93.

77. Walter Berschin, *Die Palatina in der Vaticana. Eine deutsche Bibliothek in Rom* (Stuttgart: 1992).
78. Martina Backes, *Das literarische Leben am Kurpfälzischen Hof zu Heidelberg im 15. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur Gönnerforschung des Spätmittelalters* (Tübingen: 1992).
79. Birgit Studt, *Fürstenhof und Geschichte: Legitimation durch Überlieferung* (Köln: 1992), Norm und Struktur, 2.
80. *Wisssen für den Hof. Der spätmittelalterliche Verschriftungsprozess am Beispiel Heidelberg insbesondere im 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. Jan-Dirk Müller (München: 1994), Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, 67.
81. See also: Elmar Mittler, 'Wiedergewinnung durch Wissenschaft und Technik. Die europäische Buchkultur zwischen Original und Internetportal', in: *Zur Erforschung mittelalterlicher Bibliotheken. Chancen, Entwicklungen, Perspektiven* (Frankfurt (Main): 2009), pp. 291–304.
82. Mittler. *Katalog Mikroficheedition*, vol. 1, pp. XVIII f.
83. http://palatina-digital.uni-hd.de

Bibliotheca Palatina and Bibliotheca Laureshamensis – digitised

KARIN ZIMMERMANN

BIBLIOTHECA PALATINA – DIGITISED

From May 2006 to April 2009 Heidelberg University Library digitised all its German language Palatina manuscripts,[1] in all 848 books, nearly 270,000 pages, and about 6,500 miniatures.

There had to be shot five manuscripts a week, that is, one codex each working day. The project was financed by the Manfred-Lautenschläger-Stiftung.[2] Without this sponsorship and supported only by the regular budget of the library, the project would have lasted over 20 years.

A first part of the German Palatina collection – 27 manuscripts originating from three famous fifteenth-century German workshops, in all approximately 15,000 pages – was digitised and indexed during the years 2001/2002 through a project funded by the DFG.[3] At that time the manuscripts had to be taken to the Department for Special Collections of Graz University Library[4] to be digitised. This pilot project was highly important, resulting in the establishment of an in-house digitisation centre at Heidelberg University Library in 2003. Since then, the Digitisation Team at Heidelberg University Library has worked with two so-called 'Graz book tables' equipped with high-resolution digital cameras to assure both the best protection of the fragile objects, and the highest efficiency.

A project website[5] was created with links to the online presentation of the manuscripts, to a short text about the history of the Bibliotheca Palatina, to information about the project, and to other relevant subjects (Fig. 1).

The listing of the digitised manuscripts that are indexed by their shelf mark order is sectioned into groups of one hundred manuscripts in order to allow for easy and fast navigation. The user gets a presentation of the book on the screen that is easy to browse and additionally offers convenient ways to navigate, as is usual nowadays.

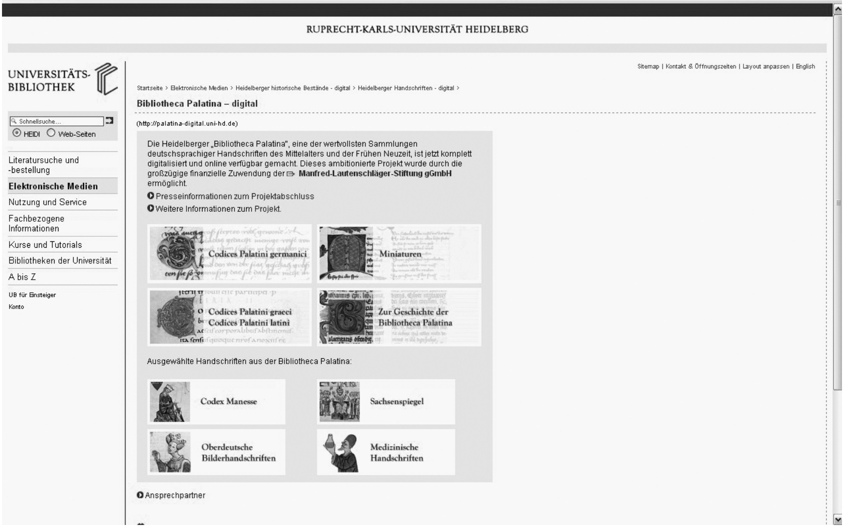

Figure 1 Heidelberg University Library. Palatina project website (http://palatina-digital.uni-hd.de)

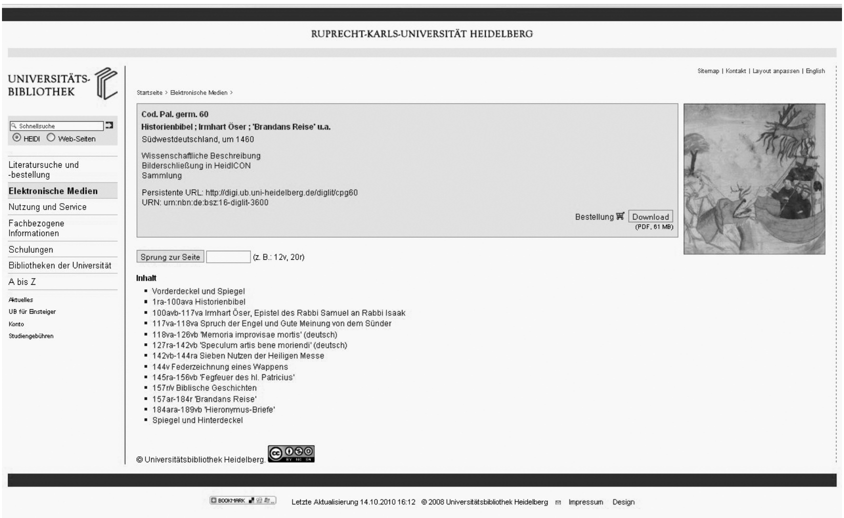

Figure 2 Heidelberg University Library. Front page of the digitised manuscript Cod. Pal. germ. 60

Each page has its own footer with the logo of the library and of the sponsor, and the permanent address (URN) of the page. There is a button for the download of the entire virtual manuscript,[6] a page preview gives an overview of the manuscript's structure, and links to codicological descriptions lead to online provided PDF-files (Fig. 2).

INDEXING OF MINIATURES – HEIDICON

Regarding the illuminated manuscripts, there is also a link to the image database HeidICON,[7] where all images are indexed and described. For the illustrations of the Palatine manuscripts, an area was allocated in the database that is accessible worldwide with a free guest account.[8] HeidICON offers complex search functions that make it possible to handle the huge number of images. Specific searches can be made by titles, iconographic topics, dates, and places of origins. The most important part of the indexing is of course the iconographic description of every single image.

WORKFLOW-MANAGEMENT PROGRAMME – D-WORK

The IT Departement of Heidelberg University Library developed a programme – called D-Work – to manage the workflow of digitisation and internet-presentation of manuscripts and prints. On the one hand the programme generates the presentations, but with its help also the long-term archiving of scans and metadata can be controlled. Furthermore, it automates and displays every single step of the workflow, so that it is always possible to control how far each process of digitisation and presentation of a manuscript or print has reached.

The metadata have to be input into a variety of data masks (e.g. the project name, in the case of digitised manuscripts the shelf mark, the layout of the presentation, bibliographical data concerning the manuscript, namely author, title, date and origin of the codex, and so on). The project number and the URN are generated automatically.

Of great importance is the possibility to generate a table of contents (TOC), whereby navigation within the digital facsimile comes into being. The scan names of every single image and the names of the 'physically existing' pages are bound together and become connected with the TOC of the manuscript. In this way, navigation is made possible within the pages of each digitised manuscript (Fig. 3).

The programme enables the administrator to change these TOCs of the digital manuscripts very easily, for example if a text has been newly identified. The connections of TOC and scans just have to be rearranged

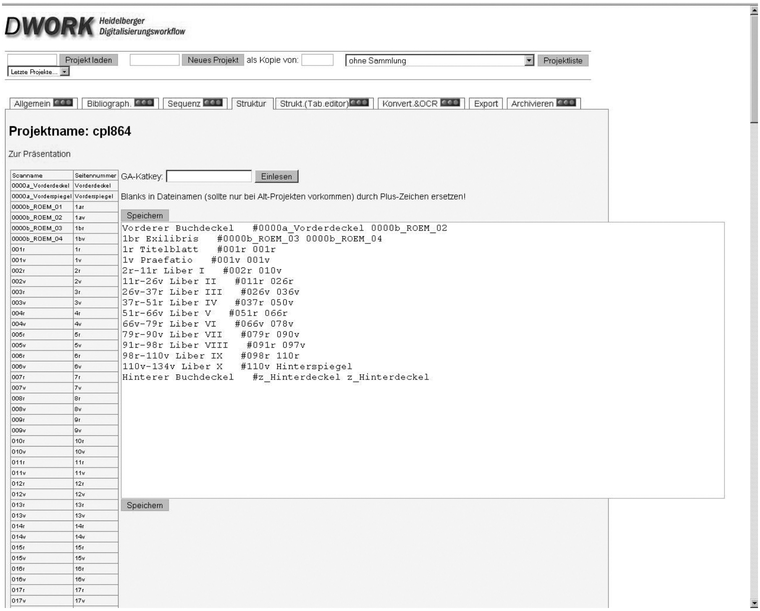

FIGURE 3 University Library Heidelberg. Workflow-management-programme D-Work. Creation of a table of contents (TOC).

and the metadata exported, and the presentation will be updated within a few minutes.

After the digitisation of the German codices an important part of the Bibliotheca Palatina is now available as digital facsimiles via the world-wide web. But many more books from this precious collection of medieval and early modern manuscripts and prints in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and other languages, are still in the Vatican library. Among them are about 130 codices originating from the Lorsch scriptorium and library, one of the most important centres of transfer of knowledge from classical antiquity.

BIBLIOTHECA LAURESHAMENSIS – DIGITISED

Lorsch Abbey was founded in 764 as a Carolingian Imperial abbey. From *c.* 794 until 1300 there was a scriptorium in Lorsch abbey. It was at its height in the ninth and the eleventh century. In four medieval catalogues written between 830 and 860, about 500 manuscripts are documented. More than 300 of these medieval codices still exist.

Since 1991 Lorsch Abbey is an UNESCO World Heritage Site. Town and Abbey are situated about 35 km north of Heidelberg in the State of Hesse. Today only the Gatehouse, also called the King's Hall, from the ninth century is preserved. All other remains have been destroyed through the centuries.

Lorsch was one of the centres in which the ancient heritage was secured, in spite of all subsequent disruptions, through transcriptions, commentaries and further editing. Especially in Lorsch an immense amount of knowledge not only from the Mediterranean regions but also from Irish and Anglo-Saxon abbeys was transferred and introduced into Carolingian and medieval culture, and circulated from there, establishing a foundation for medieval science, literature, fine arts and bibliology.

For example, one of the most important witnesses of antique texts was part of the Lorsch library, the so called Vergilius Palatinus,[9] a manuscript written in the fifth–sixth century in Italy. The 'Lorscher Evangeliar', an illuminated gospel book ('Lorsch Gospels'), was written about 810 in Lorsch and is today dispersed in four institutions, two libraries and two museums.[10] The *Historia Francorum* of Gregory of Tours is one of the few Lorsch manuscripts that are kept in Heidelberg University Library (Fig. 4).[11]

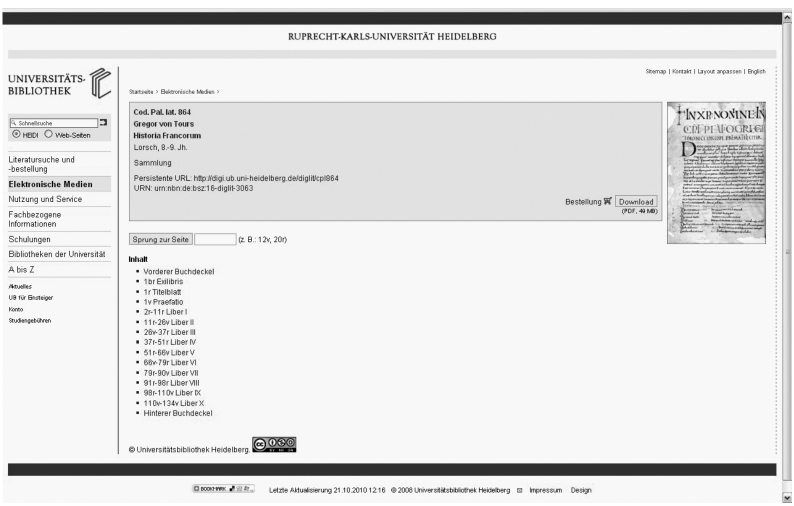

Figure 4 Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum* (Heidelberg University Library, Cod. Pal. lat. 864).

The aim of the project is to virtually reconstruct the monastic library of the Abbey.

About 300 still existing manuscripts from Lorsch library are dispersed in *c.* 70 libraries worldwide with the Vatican Library holding the largest part of them. The four-year project will make this unique collection available for further academic research in different fields. Only a few images of the Lorsch manuscripts with their great significance for medieval culture are so far available. Thus, the accessibility to these manuscripts through digital images will represent a significant progress. Furthermore, the virtual reconstruction of the library will be supplemented by manuscript descriptions, which will be searchable in a database with links to existing manuscript catalogue entries and text editions.

Project partners are Heidelberg University Library, the UNESCO-World Heritage Site Lorsch Abbey, and the Administration of castles and gardens owned by the State of Hesse (Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten Hessen).

The digitisation can be undertaken by the libraries themselves, or – if they do not have the necessary equipment – by the digitisation centre of Heidelberg University Library, in Heidelberg itself or in the library owning the manuscript(s). For the presentation on the internet we need images in jpg format with a resolution of 300 dpi and a colour depth of 24 bits. Every single image will have a persistant URL (PURL), an URN and a footer with the logos of the owning library and of the project partners. Individual agreements will be made with each institution. The copyright will of course remain with the owning library: Heidelberg University Library will only have the simple, non-exclusive right of use for the presentation on the web. The website will be hosted by Heidelberg University Library. A member of our research staff will provide manuscript descriptions and a database for research.

So far (May 2011) we have contacted one quarter of the libraries and have already received about 8,000 digital images from other institutions. On 15th November 2010 the digitisation of about 130 manuscripts at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana started with two 'Graz book tables' and with the help of several well-trained student assistants (Erasmus Grant) and a member of our Heidelberg staff.

The website and database was made available at the beginning of 2011.

NOTES

1. Codices Palatini germanici (shelf mark: Cod. Pal. germ.).
2. http://www.manfred-lautenschlaeger-stiftung.de/
3. Germany's largest research funding organisation: http://www.dfg.de/index.jsp
4. http://www.uni-graz.at/ubwww/ub-sosa.htm
5. http://palatina-digital.uni-hd.de
6. The non-commercial use of all images that are online on the websites of Heidelberg University Library is permitted under the conditions of the Creative Commons licence (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/3.0/de/).
7. http://heidicon.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/
8. http://heidicon.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/pool/palatina
9. Vatican, BAV, Cod. Pal. lat. 1631.
10. Vatican, BAV, Cod. Pal. lat. 50; Alba Iulia, Biblioteca Documenta Batthyaneum, s.n.; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Inv.-Nr. 138-1866 (ivory front cover); Vatican, Vatican Museums (ivory back cover).
11. Heidelberg University Library, Cod. Pal. lat. 864 (http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpl864).

Reconnecting the Forster Legacy: the virtual construction – and reconstruction – of a key Enlightenment collection

GRAHAM JEFCOATE AND JUTTA WEBER

In this paper we address the problem of the dispersal of a key Enlightenment collection and the opportunity provided by information and communication technologies for its mapping and virtual recombination. The collection (or rather collections) in question was brought together by Johann Reinhold Forster (1729–98) and his son Johann Adam Georg (George) Forster (1754–94) and comprised a wide range of materials including cultural objects and natural history specimens collected in the South Pacific during James Cook's second circumnavigation of the globe. Surrounding this material – and directly relevant to it – are the collections of original art works, manuscript notes, correspondence and published works created by the Forsters and the printed books published by others and accumulated by them in their lifetime. These collections, which were widely dispersed across international and institutional boundaries, are the subject of a project sponsored by the Georg-Forster Gesellschaft (Georg Forster Society) and based at the University of Kassel in Germany. The project has the immediate aim of mapping Forster materials across the globe but the ultimate ambition is the complete digitisation of all relevant material so that it is available as a corpus for evaluation and study everywhere.

In the first part of the paper, Graham Jefcoate sets out the background for the project in the Forsters' collecting activities and the dispersal of the collections; in the concluding parts Jutta Weber draws attention to the analogous scattering of Forster correspondence and describes the proposed plans and methods of the Kassel project.

FIGURE 1 Johann Reinhold Forster and Georg Forster in Tahiti, by John Francis Rigaud.

COOK'S SECOND CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF THE GLOBE AND THE CREATION OF THE FORSTERS' COLLECTIONS

In the entry for 10 June 1772 in his journal of the second journey round the world in His Majesty's sloop *Resolution*, James Cook reports: 'Everything now being nearly upon the point of finishing and having some business to settle in London I set out for that place in the evening and upon my arrival learnt that Mr. John Reinhold Forster and his son Mr. George Forster were to embark with me, gentlemen skilled in natural history and botany but more especially the former, who from the first was [*sic*] desirous of going [on] the voyage and no sooner heard that Mr. Banks had given it up then he applied to go'.[1]

Cook is referring to Joseph Banks, his companion on the first journey round the world in the *Endeavour*, and Banks's decision to resign as the *Resolution*'s naturalist, apparently in a fit of pique about Cook's refusal to allow the additional cabins necessary to accommodate Banks and his proposed entourage. Johann Reinhold Forster made no such demands and was indeed in no position to do so, being both desperate to find employment in a capacity suited to his qualifications and also, after six years' residence in England with a large family, seriously impecunious. Cook's comment on Forster's being more a 'natural historian' than a botanist is a little strange, but probably refers to Forster's only significant publication in England to this date, an account of British insects, suggesting to Cook that perhaps they knew more about bugs than plants.[2] He was not to know that Forster was the very type of Enlightenment polymath with previous experience of a research expedition and its methodology, having been commissioned by the Russian government some years before to conduct a survey of the condition of German settlers in the Volga region of southern Russia. On that expedition he had been accompanied by his eldest son, George (or Georg), then age 12 and himself the very type of *enfant savant*, who served his father as a research assistant. Now aged 17, George was to provide similar services on Cook's second circumnavigation of the globe. The fact that George had no known training in, for example, natural history drawing, was never seen by the Forsters as a serious disadvantage; George simply acquired necessary skills as they went along, becoming during the voyage one of the more accomplished natural history artists of the eighteenth century.[3]

The Forsters were the first Western travellers in the Pacific to make a systematic – or if one will *scientific* – study of the Pacific regions, their flora, fauna, natural phenomena and native peoples. This study was made evident both in the observations they recorded and the drawings George made, but also in the collections they created of natural history objects (both zoological and botanical) and cultural artefacts produced by Melanesian and Polynesian peoples. Both Forsters used the knowledge and material acquired to produce a large body of work, not all of it published in their lifetimes. George Forster in particular is now regarded as a major figure in the *Aufklärung*, the German Enlightenment, and an important precursor of figures such as Alexander von Humboldt. In popular writing, the young George has become widely known in Germany as 'the boy who went round the world with Captain Cook'.[4]

Nevertheless, Johann Reinhold Forster had been disappointed on the voyage in the opportunities he had for making observations and collecting material. Cook's second circumnavigation was primarily concerned with clearing up navigational problems and demonstrating that no great southern continent was to be discovered at the latitudes in which it was supposed to exist. If islands were sighted, Cook would often be content with establishing their correct location and would not weigh anchor or go ashore. Many months were spent in the freezing, wind-swept and largely empty southern ocean. The Forsters' activities were therefore focussed on recording marine life and also on those southern Pacific islands on which Cook chose to spend the winter months. These included New Zealand (the largest land mass visited in the Pacific), Tonga and Tahiti, but not Australia, which was not sighted by the *Resolution*. The Forsters' collections were therefore largely created in the relatively short periods spent in the island world of the South Pacific during the Antarctic winter. As Michael Dettelbach writes in his introductory essay to Reinhold Forster's *Observations made during a voyage round the world*, the Forsters had begun collecting at the Cape of Good Hope on the outward journey, but left their collections there with the intention of retrieving them on their return:

> From then on, though, whatever they collected or observed would have to be preserved with them, at least in words and picture[s], around the world. Soon enough, prospects of returning to England as another Banks dimmed. Forster made himself ill with the thought that Cook was sailing past land brimming with new plants, that three days were spent on a barren rock to determine its longitude, that months were spent crisscrossing the high latitudes of the south Pacific in search of a continent that did not exist, and that meanwhile in Banks' London townhouse museum, Solander was describing and drawing new plants and animals from the very lands he was bypassing, while Banks bankrolled sumptuous engravings of them.[5]

The material the Forsters were able to collect had to be preserved in impossibly damp and occasionally flooded conditions. Nevertheless, these were collections made and documented by trained scientists, not by an aristocratic if enthusiastic amateur botanist (Banks). One or two examples must suffice to emphasise the significance of their collecting. First, the conclusion reached by Dan H. Nicholson and F. Raymond Fosberg in their account of T*he Forsters and the botany of the second Cook expedition (1772–1775)*.[6] Cook's initial doubts about their abilities as botanists (Joseph Banks's particular enthusiasm) proved entirely unfounded. The Forsters' publication of their botanical discoveries in 1775 and 1776 included, according to Nicholson and Fosberg, '75 genera with 95 binomials. Of these binomials, 43 (almost half) are still the accepted names. [...] only five binomials have disappeared into synonymy'.[7] In other words, the significance of the Forsters' botanical work in the Pacific is still recognised today. Nicholson and Fosberg's survey of the Forsters' botanical collections shows that a large proportion of the botanical specimens they collected in the Pacific can still be traced today in natural history collections and herbaria worldwide. Similar claims can be made for the significance of their ethnographical collections. In a recent description of the so-called Cook-Forster collection at Göttingen University's Department of Ethnography, Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin and Gundolf Krüger point to the particular importance of the material: 'As a consequence of contact with European explorers, Pacific islanders immediately replaced stone blades with iron in their tools for working wood. Other introduced materials [. . .] were adopted for decorations. Yet the Göttingen artefacts are without traces of such imported material'.[8] In other words, the Forsters collected and documented ethnographical materials that provide unique information about Pacific culture before contact with Europeans.

As we have seen, the materials the Forsters brought back from the Pacific included items collected there but also documentation about them, for example notes and observations including important information about the circumstances of their acquisition. As Steven Hooper notes in his book about early western exploration of the Pacific, 'the great majority of objects acquired by Europeans in the period in question lack any detailed documentation. We have many accounts of exchanges and gifts, but seldom are specific objects identifiable'.[9] In this sense, the Forster materials are uniquely valuable and, as Hooper notes, items with Forster provenance now in Oxford and Göttingen are often identifiable, systematically described (according to best practice in the eighteenth century), and have largely been published.

Dispersal and Fragmentation: The Forster Collections and the Challenges They Present

For the purposes of the Forster Collections Project we have defined 'Forster collections' broadly in the following terms:

- Natural history specimens collected by the Forsters in the Pacific (essentially botanical and zoological preparations)
- Ethnographical items, including material items in a variety of media
- Original art works (natural history drawings by George Forster)
- Notes and observations made during the voyage of the *Resolution*

But we have spread the net more widely still to include all manuscripts and correspondence from before and after their circumnavigation and also works published by them and printed collections with Forster provenance (essentially, J. R. Forster's library, preserved in Berlin State Library). We have excluded secondary source material relating to the Forsters, writings about them but not by their own hand, and also the interesting but far-reaching issue of Forster portraiture.

Even accepting these limitations we must concede that no easily defined 'Forster collection' existed at any single point in time. In other words, there was no point at which all the materials here under review shared a physical space. If one considers the most obvious place and time, it would have been the Forsters' apartment in Percy Street immediately after their return to London in 1775. Even allowing for the fact that they were still to write and publish much relevant material in the two decades left to them (George died in 1794, Johann Reinhold in 1798), even at this point the Pacific collection was no longer 'complete'. Indeed, the process of dispersal had already begun before they landed at Plymouth, as Reinhold had dispatched specimens and notes to fellow scholars in Europe, most prominently to Linnaeus himself, from the Cape of Good Hope. More serious dispersals began relatively soon after the return to Percy Street. Over the next few years Johann Reinhold involved himself in various disputes with the British authorities, meaning that he could neither publish the results of his Pacific researches nor find any suitable employment. In order to feed his family, he found it necessary to sell specimens and other material to Joseph Banks, now in the role of a sort of patron, including, most painfully, many of George's drawings. This was a matter for bitter resentment by George, who believed Banks was buying this material in order to suppress it, thus allowing him (Banks) to claim and maintain a monopoly on all things to do with the Pacific. Banks was of course to establish himself in precisely this role in the decades that followed.[10]

Collecting or at least accumulating material during Pacific voyages was a pastime for almost all crew members, whether on Cook's voyages or on those of other British, French or Spanish expeditions. The motivation for collecting was as varied as the crew itself. Some might acquire material to retain or give away as curios to friends and family; others might have intended to sell what they acquired to collectors or dealers in curiosities and specimens. Others, such as Banks and especially the Forsters, collected material more systematically and for what we should call research purposes. Research collections could themselves be retained for personal use or offered to institutions, either for sale or as gifts. The gift of a collection or items to an institution might be intended as a contribution to the public good or to improve one's personal and academic reputation, or both. Motives for collecting could be mixed, as could the motives for retaining or dispersing the material collected.[11]

The motivation for the dispersal of the Forsters' collections can be described under two broad categories. The first could be characterised as 'sale owing to economic necessity'. The sale of materials to Banks has already been mentioned; Banks's collections were themselves dispersed over time, usually by gift to national institutions. Those of George's drawings that he had purchased were later acquired by the British Museum and are now at the Natural History Museum in London. After the Forsters' deaths, their heirs sold much of the materials remaining in their possession, including their papers and books. There is hardly a natural history collection worthy of note that does not have herbaria with Forster provenance. Johann Reinhold's library, full of annotated copies, was sold more or less complete to the Prussian government and is now in the Berlin State Library. Much of the ethnographical material remaining in Forster's possession ended up in Göttingen, and is now held by the Ethnographical Institute there.

A further factor in the dispersal of the collections was the presentation and donation of materials by the Forsters themselves in their lifetime. During the Percy Street years Johann Reinhold remained hopeful of a position in some scientific establishment in England despite his bitter disputes with British institutions, most notably the Admiralty, and members of the establishment. His achievements did not go entirely unrecognised, and he received, for example, an honorary doctorate from Oxford. It is in this context that his donation of a substantial amount of the ethnographical material to the Ashmolean Museum should be seen. This material was described in a relatively detailed manuscript catalogue and, as a coherent collection created, selected and described by the Forsters themselves, must be considered as one of the most important surviving Forster collections in any category.[12] On a much smaller scale, it is well known that George, after his move to Germany in the early 1780s, donated or gifted much ethnographical material to individuals and collections. There are stories of his producing Pacific curiosities from his pocket when invited to dinner. One is sometimes reminded of the enthusiasm for moon-rock in the late twentieth century, with George in the role of an astronaut. Some collections of items donated in this way are quite substantial, such as that at Wörlitz. Reinhold's gifts to Linnaeus, sent from the Cape to Sweden, are now housed with Linnaeus's scientific collections in the Linnaean Society in Burlington House in London.

As a corollary to physical dispersal of collections, the dispersal of *ideas* based on their Pacific researches through publication and correspondence should be mentioned. This was a characteristic feature of the German Enlightenment, in which ideas were spread through direct epistolary communication with scholars abroad and especially through translations, contributions to academic journals and reviews. George Forster, for example, made his living in later life essentially through translation and reviewing. As an analogy to the dispersal of his collection, one should also consider the inevitable dispersal of his correspondence with contemporary scholars and associates. As least twenty major caches of autograph letters have been identified in German collections alone, ranging from the Court Library at Aschaffenburg to the research library at Wolfenbüttel (a further twelve institutions have significant holdings of his father's correspondence). George Forster's correspondents included most of the major German scholarly figures of the day. Mapping these connections makes plain his involvement in the most important Enlightenment networks.

THE KASSEL FORSTER COLLECTIONS PROJECT

As we have shown, a number of major Forster collections can be identified in Oxford, London, Göttingen and Berlin, but material with Forster provenance is scattered across the globe, with accumulations in Europe (principally Britain, Germany, France and Russia), the United States and New Zealand. The material is not only dispersed geographically but also across disciplinary boundaries and administered by a myriad of institutions, each with its own curatorial traditions and practices. We would argue strongly that there is an intrinsic value in identifying this closely-related material, recombining it virtually, using methods now available through information and communication technology, and presenting it in a coherent way to as large an audience as possible.

A project based at Kassel University and sponsored by the George Forster Society has begun the task of mapping and recombining dispersed Forster collections and materials using the opportunities provided by information, communication and networking technologies. The broad aim is to bring together virtually existing knowledge and relevant information from collecting institutions and scholars. Subsidiary and corollary aims include the promotion of the common use of authority data and standards and technical resources as a basis for a shared research environment.

The Forster Project can be seen as a prototype of co-operation between institutions sharing knowledge about certain persons, different aspects of their scholarly work and their place in society. Combining the existing information from all those institutions means aggregating relevant information from libraries, archives, museums and scholars.

The project has the following main goals:

- Combining existing knowledge
- Combining relevant information from institutions and scholars
- Promoting the common usage of authority data and standards
- Promoting the common usage of technical resources
- Building a web interface for common research structures

The project is led by Professor Stefan Greif of Kassel University, the current Chair of the Georg Forster Society,[13] supported by a project team and advised by an international working group including the authors of this paper. The project has been conceived in a number of steps:

Step 1: An initial survey of Forster collections and materials in order to collect preliminary information. Survey forms were widely distributed internationally in 2009 and 2010 and results are currently being processed. Follow-up visits to institutions will be necessary to complete the survey.

Step 2: The results of the survey will be captured and made available on the web in a common format based on the Encoded Archival Description (EAD) or Collection Level Description (CLD) methods.

Step 3: The chosen format will be defined, tested and evaluated applying such criteria as its usability by target groups.

Step 4: These preparatory steps will be followed up by the building of a modular Forster web interface adapted to the project-specific types of material, leading the user to manuscripts, correspondents, topics, works of art, and to ethnological, botanical, and zoological collections. Through a 'crowd sourcing' tool, scholars at large will be invited to add their specific knowledge and thus to enhance the virtually reconstructed Forster collections with results of their own research.

Step 5: The most important issue in the project will be to define the metadata standard which will enable an overall search within the data provided by various institutions: names of persons, titles of works, names given to specific materials, dates and places. This type of information is today provided in a variety of forms, depending on local and national traditions. Projects such as Europeana, where information from different sources is aggregated, have raised awareness of the importance of common standards and of authority data. Hence, one of the goals of the project is the creation of a metadata schema that will be able not only to handle the standardised information within the context of the Forster collections, but also to give access to this information to the scholarly world as well as to users of *Europeana*. We are envisaging giving access to zoological collections as well as to manuscript and book collections. When do information systems use the same terms, when is a kind of 'translation' necessary to make materials understandable in other contexts than their own? Whereas *Europeana* will provide an overall metadata schema with a 'flat' information concept (minimal hierarchies), the platform foreseen in the Forster project has to fulfil other requirements: the specialist has to feel at home in his own field of research and has to be invited to learn about possibly relevant neighbouring information. In this project, the standards of description of libraries and archives will have to 'play together' with those of museums and research institutions. In reality, this means that new standards will be one of the outcomes of the project.

Another aspect of the project will be the promotion of the use of common technical resources, which can help smaller institutions to be integrated into the Forster community. One example is the *Kalliope* union catalogue of letters and literary archives which in Germany provides data from all relevant archives, and where its metadata can be connected with the metadata of digitised collections. Starting from this kind of national catalogue, the next step will be to connect them with other national, regional or local data providers, creating a basis for common research structures. These, in fact, must not only integrate data about letters and archives, but also, in the case of the Forsters, reach out to ethnological, botanical and zoological collections from all over the world. Data-mining technologies and the building of social networks by the use of linked open-data strategies will open the project to even wider communities. In other words: existing technological structures in the participating countries must help to bring closer together institutions which up to now are still working in isolation.

Step 6: These plans will be facilitated by providing the material in question in the form of digital copies. As it will not be possible to digitise all material (though this should be an ultimate goal), a selection of the most important pieces will be made. This selection is, as the former steps in the project, again to be based on a strict co-operation between the institutions and their users.

It goes without saying that the presentation will additionally contain overall information concerning the two Forsters: their biographies, their time and environment, key dates and events, their works (starting as manuscripts and being published in different editions), will be made visible along with their artwork. Combining the metadata of all this in a way that allows all relevant names, dates, places and so on, will certainly lead to a new perspective on the contribution of the Forsters to the culture of Europe, but it will also give new insights into the parts of the world that they visited. Scholarly reflection on the zoological and botanical Forster collections must be one of the important innovations which the Forster project will stimulate. The dispersed collections, their different material types, their state of description and visibility, and, last but not least, their varying degree of scholarly exploration will, once aggregated on a scholarly (scientific) level, lead to the discovery of yet unknown aspects of the Forsters' life and work.

The individual steps of the project are in a modular way dependent on one another. It will be of utmost importance that every step is supervised by specialists from every participating country and that the results of each step are provided in a way that allows for defining more precisely the next ones.

CONCLUSION

The Forster collections are of great and continuing scientific, historical and intrinsic importance. The Forsters themselves were key figures in the European Enlightenment and especially in the development of Europe's understanding of the peoples of the Pacific region and its flora and fauna. George Forster is now regarded as a major Enlightenment thinker, especially in terms of anthropology and ethical issues relating to peoples and cultures. His thinking was firmly based on his experiences with Cook and his father in the Pacific and the collections and observations he made there. Enabling technologies to support the goals of the project have been developed in recent years. CERL as an important data provider in the cultural heritage sector could be an ideal partner in this ambitious project. Assuming its success, the Kassel Forster Project will provide a unique opportunity for opening up Forster collections and materials to scholarly and wider communities world-wide.

NOTES

1. James Cook, *The journals*, ed. P. Edwards (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 228.
2. J. R. Forster, *Novae species insectorum* (London: 1771).
3. See Michael H. Hoare, *The tactless philosopher: Johann Reinhold Forster (1729–1798)* (Melbourne: Hawthorne Press, 1976).
4. No biography of Georg Forster is currently available in English. Among recent German biographies, see for example Ludwig Uhlig, *Georg Forster* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 2004); Alois Prinz, *Die Lebensgeschichte des Georg Forster* (Frankfurt/Main and Leipzig: 2008).
5. J. R. Forster, *Observations made during a voyage round the world*, ed. N. Thomas et al. (Honolulu: Hawaii University Press, 1996), p. LXVII.
6. Second edition (Liechtenstein: A. R. G. Gantner Verlag, 2004).
7. Nicolson and Fosberg (eds), *The Forsters and the botany of the second Cook Expedition (1772–1775)* (Königstein, 2003), pp. 14–15.
8. See *Cook's Pacific encounters: The Cook-Forster Collection of the Georg-August University of Göttingen* (Canberra: National Museum of Australia, 2006).
9. *Pacific encounters: art & divinity in Polynesia 1760–1860* (London: British Museum, 2006), p. 67.
10. See Uhlig, p. 82.
11. See Hooper and Hauser-Schäublin and Krüger, *passim*.
12. The collection is now held by Oxford's ethnographical museum, the Pitt-Rivers. See http://projects.prm.ox.ac.uk/forster/home.html
13. http://www.georg-forster-gesellschaft.de/

From Rome to Lyon: reconstruction of two Hebraic Renaissance libraries

MONIQUE HULVEY

In recent years, several reconstructions have been initiated through the collections of the Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon. The virtual reassembly of its Carolingian library half dispersed around Europe is one of them. However, while describing the Renaissance collections and building an archive of their former owners, it is an unexpected path which led to the reconstruction of sixteenth-century scholars' libraries, prompted by the encounter with a number of interrelated volumes in Hebrew. This paper intends to summarise the most interesting aspects of these Hebrew collections, what made this reconstruction possible, and what we learn from these reassembled libraries (or at least what we have found so far through the stacks of the library), what they suggest in terms of social and cultural history, and of the history of humanism in Lyon.[1]

SANTE PAGNINI

It is a classic of Hebraic studies printed in Basel in the early sixteenth century which provided the first step of this re-discovery: the *Rudimenta* of Hebrew by Johannes Reuchlin, the first advocate of the study of the *lingua sancta*, the holy language, in Germany. A bestseller among Christians, the book is emblematic of the humanists' interest in the ancient languages in their quest for *Hebraica veritas*, the so-called 'Hebraic truth' at the roots of the Holy Scriptures. A knowledge of Hebrew was essential as well in order to gain access to the mysteries of Kabbalah.

Although the scholar who annotated the book did not leave his name, he left many notes referring to the books of the Bible with his own examples in Hebrew and Aramaic (Fig. 1), the corollary language spoken by Christ's contemporaries, and as such of great interest to Christians. Inside the lower cover, the pastedown bears a sixteenth-century inscription identifying the annotator as Sante Pagnini,[2] a Dominican originally from Tuscany who arrived in Lyon in 1526 from Rome via Avignon. The inscription, signed 'Blld' for a member of the Bullioud Lyon consular family (Fig. 2), parallels the *ex-dono* of François Bullioud dated 1610 on the pastedown giving his father's library to the Collège de la Trinité, the college created one century earlier by the City council. Its library is at the origin of the current Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon. From this identification surfaced later a larger number of books in Hebrew and Greek bearing Pagnini's handwriting, most of them printed in Italy.

Pagnini's lifetime work is a translation of the Bible into Latin, the first since the Vulgate.[3] Long before coming to Lyon in search for publishers and printers for this and his other works, he studied Hebrew, Aramaic and possibly Arabic as a youth with a convert[4] in the convent of San Marco in Florence. At the time Italy with its many Jewish communities and converts from Judaism contributed greatly to the development of Hebrew studies. This interest later kindled the publication of Bibles in which the Hebrew and Greek texts could be compared to other versions, the first and outstanding example of which is the Complutense polyglot Bible published in Alcalá de Henares in 1514–17.

When Pagnini studied in Florence, Savonarola, of whom he was a disciple, one of the *piagnoni*, the wailers, was making the convent into a centre of biblical mysticism with the aim of going back to a purer Church. In Florence, Pagnini also inherited Pico de la Mirandola's passion for Platonicism and Hebrew studies, although he never went as far as his mentor in the use of Kabbalah. A supporter of the arts when he became Prior of San Marco, it is certainly at this time in Florence that Pagnini received or purchased his copy of Homer which had been published there in 1488, in which he fastidiously numbered each verse and translated several parts into Latin. His habit of numbering is also reflected by the introduction of the numbering of the verses in his version of the Bible, a practice which remains standard to this day. In the same vein, the Greek authors published by Aldo Manuzio were a source of his interest and provided a wealth of material for the Dominican's intellectual curiosity.

A few years later in Rome, where he taught Greek and Hebrew, Pagnini was obviously part of a group of erudites, scholars and defenders of biblical and Hebrew studies in the heyday of Roman humanism under the Medici pope Leo X.[5] As Prior of the Dominican convent of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, he had at his disposal a great number of oriental manuscripts and could easily acquire the Hebrew books recently printed in Pesaro and in Venice by Daniel Bomberg, volumes which we find in his

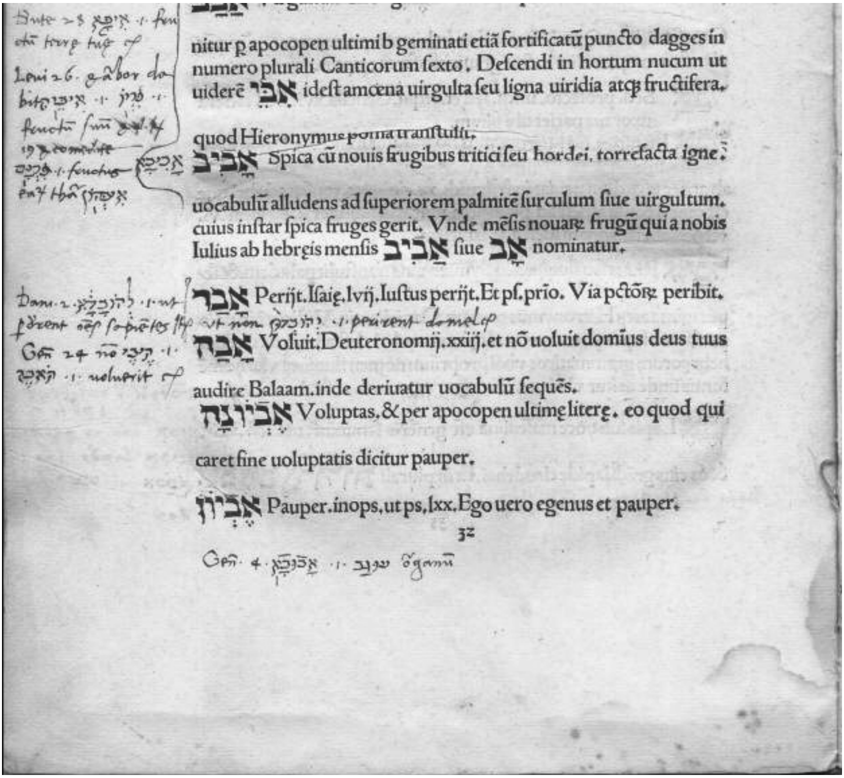

Figure 1 Sante Pagnini's annotations in his copy of Reuchlin, *De rudimentis Hebraicis* (Pforzheim, 1506). Shelf mark: Res 105462

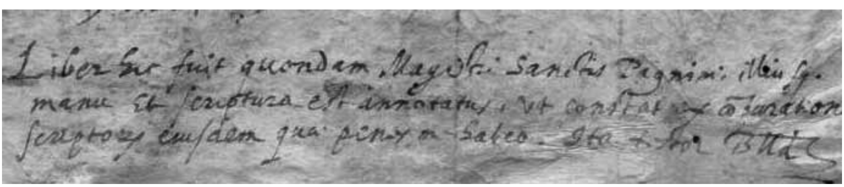

Figure 2 Pierre Bullioud's inscription in Reuchlin, *De rudimentis Hebraicis*, identifying Sante Pagnini's handwriting

personal library. We also have to mention here the gold mine that the Vatican library was with regard to oriental manuscripts, making Rome an ideal place for philological research. In order to show that the foundations of the Christian doctrine can be found in the Hebraic tradition, Pagnini's mystical translation of the Old Testament keeps very close to the original Hebrew, leaving aside the Church's Greek and Latin traditions.[6] Indeed, Pagnini's works mentioned more his Jewish sources such as the grammarian David Kimhi, than the Christian ones. As expected, Kimhi's texts predominate in the Hebraic part of Pagnini's library, with his handwritten notes in Hebrew and Latin. According to art historians, Pagnini's literal version of the Hebrew text could have influenced Michelangelo's interpretation of the Old Testament as seen in some of the panels of the Sixtine chapel: Michelangelo was himself, like Pagnini, a disciple of Savonarola, and one of the *piagnoni* during his youth, back in Florence.

From his time in Rome, where the oldest Jewish community was found, close to the pope, influential prelates and leading scholars, Pagnini's library provides important evidence for his exchanges with a central figure of the Hebraic studies of his time, a Jew admired by many Christians, the grammarian Elias Levita.[7] Pagnini's connection to Levita is documented by two thick manuscript volumes in the stacks of the library of Lyon. They bear Pagnini's hand and his mention of Levita's corrections of his work, a concordance of the Hebraic Bible, or *Sefer ha-Zikhronot* (Fig. 3) which underlies Pagnini's own works[8] and was critical for later studies of Hebrew.

Levita was then living in the house of a prominent humanist figure, the general of the Augustinian order, Giles of Viterbo who was his student of Hebrew. Like Pico and Reuchlin, Giles of Viterbo, soon to be made a cardinal, spent a great part of his life trying to penetrate the hermetic world of Kabbalah. In his intellectual circle also stands an exotic figure, the captive Hassan Muhamad al-Wazzan, better known after his forced baptism under the name of Leo the African, who probably taught him Arabic.

Levita's concordance was never published, possibly because another concordance, the *Sefer Me'ir Nativ* by Mordechai Nathan ben Kalonymos, was published by Daniel Bomberg in Venice in 1523. Hence, the *Sefer ha-Zikhronot* survives in only 3 copies.[9] The Lyon copy, dating from 1516 to 1521 was taken to Avignon and later to Lyon by Sante Pagnini, when he left Rome in 1522 or 1523, just a few years prior to the sack of the city by the imperial troops. Levita, the incarnation of the Renaissance wandering scholar searching for funds for the publication of his works, very much like

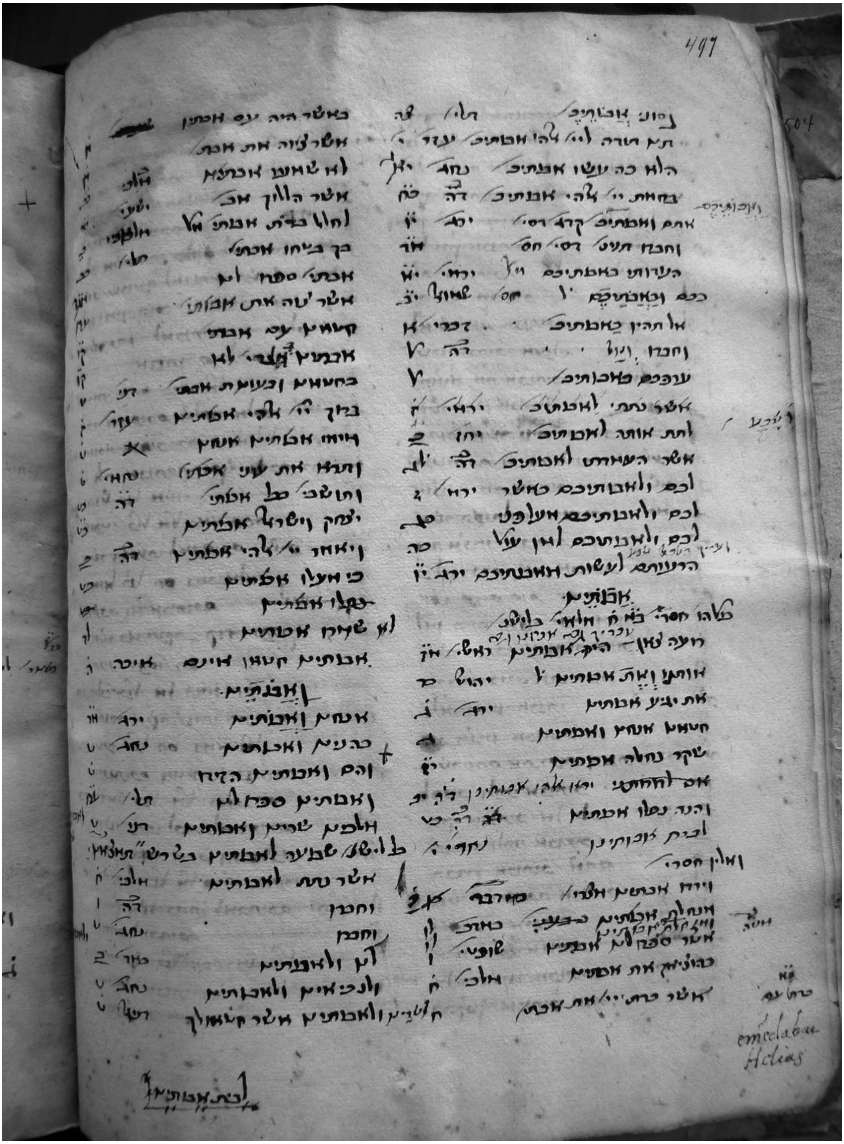

FIGURE 3 Elias Levita. *Sefer ha-Zikhronot: Concordance of the Hebraic Bible*, *c.* 1516–21 (Shelf mark: BM Lyon Ms 3–4), bearing Pagnini's marginalia and inscriptions, here 'emendabat Helias'

Pagnini, saw his manuscripts destroyed on several occasions, particularly during this tragic year of 1527 in Rome. The two other known copies of his *Concordance* are now at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich[10] and at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris.[11]

Besides his philological passion for Hebrew, Pagnini shared other important traits with Levita and Giles of Viterbo, in particular the idea that Jews should teach Christians their ancient knowledge, that their books should be protected, and that their knowledge was the only way for the Christian Church to go back to the ideals of its origins. Pagnini and Levita would be blamed for this, the former for being too close to the rabbis' thoughts and knowledge, the latter for teaching Hebrew to the Christians.

At that time the quarrel between Reuchlin, who supported the value of the Talmud and Hebrew studies, and the Dominicans of Cologne had been brought to Rome. In spite of a tolerant atmosphere at the time, the issue was soon superseded by a more preoccupying phenomenon in the eyes of the Church than the protection of the Jews and their books: the Lutheran Reformation.

This context is particularly important in order to understand the reasons behind Pagnini's departure from Rome.[12] Leo X, his protector and sponsor, had died before providing the necessary funding for Pagnini's translation, compelling him to seek new opportunities. This was most likely the main reason for his following to Avignon the pope's legate Cardinal François de Clermont-Lodève, another possible sponsor. Maybe it was also because a more austere period was being inaugurated in Rome by Pope Adrian VI, who was not favourable towards the arts like his predecessor, and rejected humanistic studies as inspired by the ancient pagan world.

In Avignon, a large Jewish community was still present, whereas in the kingdom of France, Jews had not been allowed to live since the fourteenth century. Nevertheless, it is finally in Lyon[13] where, in his late fifties, Pagnini received the warmest welcome from the consulate who acclaimed him as a great scholar, a precursor of Hebraic studies, and most of all, an efficient preacher against all 'heresies' which were taking root in the city. His Latin translation of the Bible was finally published there in 1528 along with his other works for the study of Hebrew.

For his travelling library, it is likely that Pagnini had to select a limited number of books, so he chose Homer, Aristotle and other Greek authors, David Kimhi, Reuchlin, Levita, Nachmanides and other Jewish commentators on the Torah, that is, the Hebraic Bible. It was by no means a very orthodox library, directly evoking his Roman environment which praised pagan and Jewish antiquity more than Christian ideals.

This selection of favourite or most useful volumes helps us understand better not only his own personality, but more importantly the major role he played later in the life of the city of Lyon, then between Reformation and Counter-Reformation. For example, he took initiatives reflecting ideals related to the Reformation such as publishing Savonarolian literature with Gryphius, and he advocated the creation of the Charity hospital for the poor with the humanist Jean de Vauzelles,[14] an idea developed by the reformers which was also a tradition of the Church in Florence. Moreover, his name is associated with the Bible published by the sulphurous Michel Servet in 1542[15] and condemned as highly heretical.

The larger part of Pagnini's library remained at the Dominican convent of Notre-Dame-de-Confort (Fig. 4), his place of residence, the church funded by the powerful Florentine nation in Lyon, which counted many

Figure 4 Ex-libris of the Dominicans of Notre-Dame-de-Confort in Lyon in *Nevi'im a'haronim im Perush* (Pesaro: Gershom Soncino, 1520) (Shelf mark: 100075)

exiles and bankers, noble families firmly rooted in Catholicism, to whom the city owed a great part of its economical development.[16] Thanks to their wealth, the Florentines had funded the rebuilding of the Dominican church where several families had private chapels and all were buried.[17] This conservative setting might be part of the reason why the consulate, definitely considering the Hebraist as a champion of Catholic orthodoxy, gave Pagnini a grandiose funeral when he died in 1536.

Although since the fifteenth century the city had widely received humanistic influences through trade and the Italian wars, what Pagnini brought to Lyon was a new side of humanism, more open to the idea of the necessity of reform of the Church, and nuanced by his immersion in Roman intellectual circles, which allied love for the arts and for classical antiquity, as can be seen in his library. This tempers the image of the hard-core orthodox Dominican which has long prevailed.

None of Pagnini's manuscript papers or sermons have survived; some of his works known only in one or two copies have now been lost; and his version of the Bible, which was never published in Paris, was more often used by Protestant authors, so that one wonders, whether he could have displeased the inquisitorial authorities. For challenging the Vulgate with his own translation and exegesis, he was criticised by conservative theologians like Agostino Steuco.[18]

The size of his library makes us also wonder about the amount of destruction which has occurred in Lyon on several occasions. The Dominican convent was the victim of floods and pillage at the end of the sixteenth century. During the French Revolution, the collections confiscated from the convents were bombed in the Collège de la Trinité. Finally, in the nineteenth century, the collections of manuscripts, particularly Greek manuscripts, were taken to Paris by dozens to join more prestigious settings. Pagnini must have possessed important manuscript material. Sisto of Siena refers in his *Bibliotheca sancta* to a Greek manuscript of the fourth Book of the Macchabees which he saw in Pagnini's library while staying at Notre-Dame-de-Confort.[19] So far, this manuscript has not been located anywhere.

Like his other writings, his library seems definitely lost apart from the books which remain in the Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, an important resource which can contribute to understanding the genesis of his works. The exploration of the collections continues, however. Roman collections like the Casanatense's might reveal more volumes bearing his handwriting.

PIERRE BULLIOUD

Diverted by the Dominican's glorious Florentine and Roman networks, we have left aside the identifier of his annotations, whose name appears in Pagnini's copy of Reuchlin, mentioning that he, at least, held in his own hands documents handwritten by the Hebraist. Transmitted by the Dominicans, a small part of Pagnini's library and intellectual heritage hence passed to another Hebraist about fifty years later, the Royal attorney Pierre Bullioud (1548–97), a member of one of the leading families in Lyon, the social and intellectual elite of the city. The Hebraists in Lyon were by then almost exclusively jurists, among whom Pierre Bullioud was the most outstanding scholar.

Among the several hundred volumes reassembled bearing Bullioud's handwriting or another of his marks[20] (Fig. 5), we can count more than seventy books in Hebrew, not a huge collection, but well assembled as reflecting the most important titles of sixteenth-century Hebrew literature. Again, we should be careful about the real size of his library and what survived of his books. For instance, as we do not find any book of law, these might have followed another road.

In the hands of such a fervent Catholic during the troubled time of the Religious Wars, Hebrew was used as a weapon against the Reformers, like Theodore Beza, Bullioud's personal enemy. His reputation as a scholar,

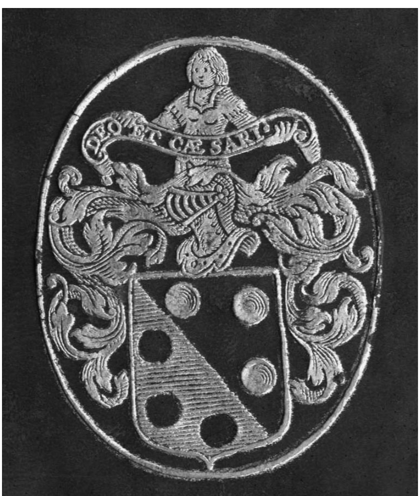

FIGURE 5 Pierre Bullioud's coat-of-arms

the wealth of his family, and maybe his own character, protected him through the most difficult time of crisis in Lyon and several shifts in power. He had purchased at great expense an almost complete Babylonian Talmud printed in Venice by Daniel Bomberg, in order to translate some of the ritual blessings. He was also an adept of the Kabbalah,[21] and a large majority of the books he had in his own house were forbidden by the authority which he represented. At a time when Hebrew and Greek studies had become associated with the Reformation, he obviously delighted in his philological passion for Hebrew, collecting and annotating, sometimes fiercely, the books of his enemies.[22]

Besides the Talmud, which on several occasions was burnt in the larger Italian cities in 1553 and later, copies of editions now very rare survived in his library, for instance a *Siddur*, a book of prayers for the whole year. Bullioud had, among several other books of Kabbalah, a copy of the second edition of the *Zohar* printed in Cremona by Vincenzo Conti in 1560, maybe a copy which Sisto da Siena, another equivocal figure active as an inquisitor in the city that same year, rescued from the pyre as a book of 'good kabbalah' while burning thousands of other Hebrew books.[23]

The oldest imprint in this collection, the *Sefer Tanya* or *Precepts of the Fathers* was printed in Mantua in 1514 by Samuel Latif and bears the name of the inquisitor of Alessandria (Fig. 6). It echoes a number of other books bearing marks of expurgation,[24] and the signature of the censors of the Roman Inquisition, which went during the seventeenth century directly from the hands of their censors to Lyon convents such as the Augustinians or the reformed Carmelites, all champions of the Counter-Reformation in Lyon.

Such reconstructed Hebraic collections document particularly well the position of the Church of Rome, which during the sixteenth century oscillated between interest and suspicion, between interdiction and destruction on one side, and censorship and expurgation on the other.[25] Pierre Bullioud's library and its transmission as one of the first significant gifts to the Jesuit Collège de la Trinité, has remained undocumented to this day, as well as his humanistic connections to other scholars.[26] Bullioud died in his late forties and published only a commentary on the Gospels. During the Religious Wars and the time of the *Ligue* in Lyon, his collection was patiently assembled,[27] consisting of books published on one hand by Christian scholars (in many cases Reformers), and of Jewish books on the other. This raises questions about the book trade, once the demand had become scarce for such specific or controversial contents, and the great

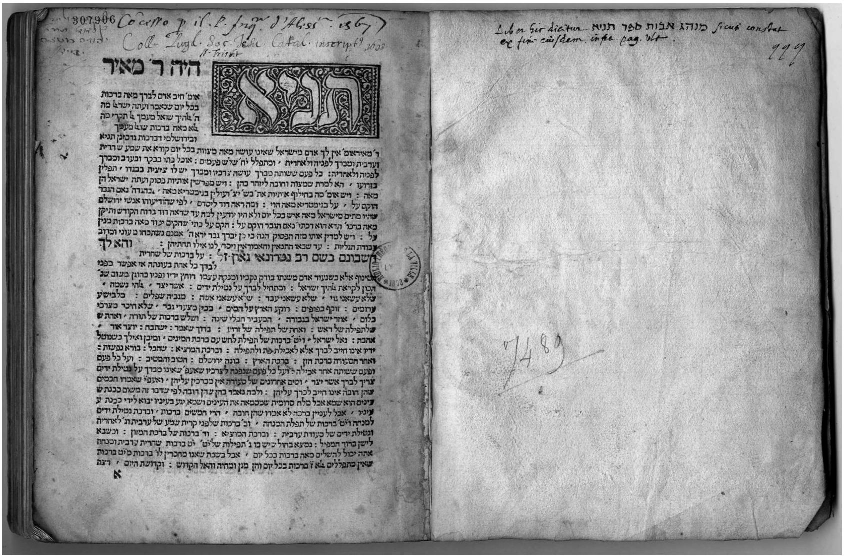

Figure 6 *Sefer Tanya* or *Precepts of the Fathers*. Mantua: Samuel Latif, 1514 (Shelf mark: 307906) bears an inscription in Hebrew 'to … our master, rabbi Juda del Tasso' overlaid with a note 'for the use' of the inquisitor of Alessandria, dated 1567, and on the flyleaf, Pierre Bullioud's annotations about the title of the book

time of humanism was over in Lyon. We know that Bullioud received books directly from Antwerp and Paris but we can only wonder how he obtained his Jewish books and how the market was for such books.

Moreover, although Judaism was not the impetus behind their collecting, the Hebraica assembled in Lyon convey a special insight into the amazing and often tragic history of the Hebrew book and of the communities it was intended for, following quite improbable routes and revealing the intersecting lives of many authors, publishers, printers, and users of the Hebrew book, whether Jews or Christians. Consequently, the reconstruction of these Hebraists' libraries, reflecting two very different periods of humanism in Lyon and their intricate networks, provide a vivid material for Hebraists, historians, and specialists of the Renaissance, to explore and study, and for a wider audience to discover.

In their present state of reconstruction, the libraries of the two main Hebraists in Renaissance Lyon reveal a philological passion for Hebrew and other Eastern languages strictly applied to the Scriptures. Can we then call them 'orientalists' in the modern sense of the word? By the end of the sixteenth century orientalism generally encompassed a genuine interest for oriental cultures. However, immersed in Counter-Reformation and theological pursuits, the jurist Pierre Bullioud did not show much interest for the Eastern world, at least as far as we can tell from his library and what we know of his life. In a dramatically different context, fifty years earlier, his predecessor Sante Pagnini had at his disposal outstanding oriental libraries and was in Rome when the search for antiquity was opening towards Egyptology.[28] However, none of the books which have so far been identified as part of his library allude to such a concern.[29] In fact, Pagnini's curiosity regarding the Orient might have been satisfied through the Greek and Latin classics. Although all his works would need to be studied in this respect, in his *Thesaurus linguae sanctae*, the Hebrew dictionary which remains as the most important of Pagnini's legacy, and in itself an amazing sum of Hebraic culture, it is noteworthy that the Dominican refers mostly to the works of the rabbis, only occasionally to Greek and Latin classics, or to his own experience. In his studies of Pagnini's works, Timoteo Centi illustrates this point with examples from the *Thesaurus*.[30] For instance, correcting Jerome's translation of the Hebrew זֶמֶר 'Zamer' (Deut. XIV, 5) by '*camelopardalis*' or giraffe, Pagnini proposes instead '*capra rupicola*', adding a short digression about the giraffe and its name given in Arabic by Rabbi Ionah of Cordoba (*c.* 990–*c.* 1050).[31] He then mentions the famous Medici giraffe which was sent to Lorenzo de' Medici by the Soldan in the late 1480s and became dear to the Florentines. As one of the most exotic animals of the time, the giraffe excited the curiosity and imagination of Pagnini's contemporaries about the wonders of the East. However, although he describes it well, Pagnini does not say he saw the animal himself. Nor does he refer to any of the new sources of information he most probably had at his disposal in Italy at the time, about the fauna of oriental countries.[32]

NOTES

1. For more about the re-discovery of these two Hebraic libraries, see M. Hulvey, 'Les bibliothèques retrouvées de Sante Pagnini, dominicain de Lucques et de Pierre Bullioud , 'gentil-homme' lyonnais: en hébreu et en grec …', *Bulletin du Bibliophile* (2009/1) 79–106. A summary of their provenance and their contents is also available on-line at: http://www.bm-lyon.fr/decouvrir/collections/hebraica_en.htm. The reconstruction of dispersed libraries in the collections of the Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon parallels a program developped by the

Lyon research center for the history of the book and libraries, the '*Centre Gabriel Naudé*': http://www.enssib.fr/annuaire/ficheCentre-3-presentation

2. Among other studies about Sante Pagnini (1470–1536), see Guglielmo Pagnino, *Vita di Sante Pagnino* (Rome: 1653); Quétif-Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum recensiti* (Paris: 1719–21), II, pp. 114–18; Timoteo M. Centi, 'L'attivita letteraria di Santi Pagnini (1470–1536) nel campo delle scienze bibliche', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 15 (1945), 5–51; Elsa Kammerer, 'Deux témoignages sur Sante Pagnini de Lucques: les éloges de Bartholomaeus Ruffus et de Symphorien Champier', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, LXIV (2002), no. 3, 639–51 et al.
3. *Biblia: habes in hoc libro prudens lector Vtriusque Instrumenti nouam translationem aeditam a … Sancte Pagnino …* Lyon: Antoine Du Ry for Jacques Giunta, Fr. Turchus et D. Bertus, 1528. Pagnini's works and influence have been neglected in the past. In recent years several studies have highlighted his role in biblical humanism, see in particular Max Engammare, 'Sante Pagnini, traducteur *ad litteram* et exégète *secundum allegoriam* de l'Ecriture (1520–36)', *Philologie et subjectivité: actes de la journée d'études organisée par l'Ecole nationale des chartes (Paris, 5 avril 2001)* réunis par Dominique de Courcelles (Paris: Ecole des Chartes, 2002), pp. 41-52; Paul F. Grendler, 'Italian biblical humanism and the papacy, 1515–1535', *Biblical humanism and scholasticism in the age of Erasmus*, ed. by Erika Rummel (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 240–47.
4. The Spanish convert Clemens Abraham, formerly Rabbi Isaac Abraham. Cf. François Secret, *Les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris: Dunod, 1964), pp. 38.
5. Grendler, pp. 242–43.
6. Engammare, pp. 41–52.
7. Gérard Weil, *Elie Lévita humaniste et massorète (1469–1549)* (Leiden: Brill, 1963).
8. Pagnini relied on Levita's work for his *Otsar leshon ha-qodesh, hoc est, Thesaurus linguae sanctae. Sic enim inscribere placuit Lexicon hoc Hebraicum* … (Lugduni: Seb. uero Gryphio excudente, 1529). See Elodie Attia: Un manoscrito di Elia Levita per Sante Pagnini, Acts of the conference of the Associazione italiana per lo studio del giudaismo, Ravenna 2010. *Materia giudaica*, to be published in 2011.
9. See Gérard Weil, 'L'archétype du Massoret ha-Massoret', *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, 50 (1970), pp. 147–58, and Elodie Attia, 'Les manuscrits nos. 3–4 de la Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon au regard des autres versions manuscrites du *Sefer ha-Zikhronot*: nouveaux éléments', in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et de Renaissance*, LXXII, 3 (2010), pp. 575–92.
10. Dedicated to Giles of Viterbo, the BSB copy could have been directly received by the Munich Hebraist J. A. Widmanstetter from the Cardinal.
11. The provenance of the Paris copy has been well documented. A later copy, it was entrusted by Elias Levita to the French ambassador in Venice Georges de Selve, Bishop of Lavaur, upon his departure in 1536, with the aim of having it

published in Paris. Although the imminent publication of the Concordance was announced by Levita in the introduction of his *Massoret ha-Massoret* (Venice: Bomberg, 1538), his hope proved vain. Cf. G. Weil. *'L'archétype'*, p. 153.

12. See Anna Morisi Guerra, 'Sancti Pagnini, traducteur de la Bible', *Les Eglises et le Talmud: ce que les Chrétiens savaient du judaïsme (XVIe–XIXe siècles)*, dir. Daniel Tollet (Paris: PUPS, 2006), pp. 35–42.

13. With its many print shops and 'international' fairs Lyon could then be perceived as an open city, a 'melting pot' of humanism. Cf. Elsa Kammerer, 'Jean de Vauzelles dans le creuset lyonnais: littérature humaniste et pensée religieuse au cœur des échanges entre Lyon, la cour de France, l'Italie et l'Allemagne dans la première moitié du XVIe siècle', *L'information littéraire*, 58, 2 (2006), pp. 32–57.

14. Cf. Kammerer, 'Jean de Vauzelles', pp. 32–57, et N. Zemon Davis, 'Poor relief, humanism and heresy: the case of Lyon', *Society and culture in early modern France* (Stanford University Press: 1975), pp. 53–56.

15. *Biblia sacra ex Santis Pagnini tralatione, sed ad Hebraicae linguae amussim nouissimé ita recognita, & scholiis illustrata, ut planè noua editio uideri possit: accessit praeterea Liber interpretationum Hebraicorum, Arabicorum, Graecorumque nominum … ordine alphabetico digestus, eodem authore* (Lyon: Hugues de La Porte: Gaspard Trechsel, 1542).

16. During the sixteenth century, members of the Del Bene, Albizzi, Gondi, Guadagni, and Gabiano families were regularly part of the City council.

17. In exchange for this strong financial support, the Dominican Priors granted the Florentines the lodging of religious guests during the sixteenth century. After Sante Pagnini, Ambrogio Catarino and Sisto of Siena resided in the convent of Notre-Dame-de-Confort during their stay in Lyon. G. Iacono and S. E. Furone, *Les marchands banquiers florentins et l'architecture à Lyon au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Publisud, 1999), p. 244.

18. Anna Morisi Guerra, 'Santi Pagnini traducteur de la Bible', *Théorique et pratique de l'exégèse: actes du troisième colloque international sur l'histoire de l'exégèse biblique au XVIe siècle (Genève 31 août–2 septembre 1988)*, textes réunis par Irena Backus et Francis Higman (Genève: Droz, 1990), p. 193.

19. Sisto of Siena, *Bibliotheca sancta* (Coloniae: apud M. Cholinum, 1576), p. 37.

20. Pierre Bullioud's books can be identified by one of the following marks: his marginalia, bibliographical notes on endpaper, the printed *ex-dono* for the gift of his library to the Jesuits of the Collège de la Trinité by his son François in 1610, and his armorial bindings. The volumes bearing his coat-of-arms 'party per bend, argent and azure, three roundels and three besants of one in the other' with the motto 'Deo et Caesari' have edges painted in red and yellow chevrons, except for the nine bound volumes containing the Talmud.

21. In his book *Expositions et remarques sur les Evangiles … contre les erreurs modernes*, published in Lyon in 1596, Bullioud expresses his views and support

for Kabbalah. See François Secret. *Les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris: Dunod, 1964), p. 259 and p. 272 note.

22. As in Johann Forster's Hebrew dictionary (Basel: 1557) in a passage about the major issue of the sacrifice of the Mass. The book had belonged to the printer Jean II de Tournes who had to leave it behind when he was forced to leave Lyon for Geneva in 1585. In a note on the title page, Pierre Bullioud mentioned that he acquired it at the public sale of the printer's private goods, an event organised in Lyon in 1589 by the Consulate.

23. Fausto Parente, 'Quelques contributions à propos de la biographie de Sixte de Sienne et de sa (prétendue) culture juive', *Les églises et le Talmud: ce que les chrétiens savaient du judaïsme (XVI^e–XIX^e siècles)*, Daniel Tollet dir. (Paris: PUPS, Sorbonne, 2006), pp. 57–94.

24. On the libraries of the Jewish communities in Italy at the end of the sixteenth century and the expurgation of their books, see Shifra Baruchson-Arbib, *La culture livresque des Juifs d'Italie à la fin de la Renaissance* (Paris: CNRS, 2001).

25. See Fausto Parente, *Les juifs et l'Eglise romaine à l'époque moderne : XV^e–XVIII^e* (Paris: Champion, 2007).

26. He was the skilled student of Gilbert Genebrard and received Henri Estienne's elogious comments in the latter's *Oratorum veterum orationes* in 1575.

27. Bullioud on occasions showed his impatience, as for example during the difficult times of 1591 when he could not receive the books he expected from Paris and petitioned the court for allowing the publication by booksellers in Lyon of books (particularly Genebrard's) which were then protected by privilege in Paris. These requests as *Extraicts des registres de la Sénéchaussée* … have been published in *De iusta Henrici Tertii abdicatione* … (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1591), and *Psalmi Dauidis, calendario Hebraeo, Syro, Graeco … a G. Genebrardo …* (Lyon: ex officina Iuntarum, 1592).

28. See Anthony Grafton, 'The ancient city restored: archaeology, ecclesiastical history, and Epyptology', in *Bring out your dead: the past as revelation* (Harvard University Press: 2001), pp. 57–61.

29. Before having at his disposal the oriental manuscripts of the Vatican and other libraries in Rome, Pagnini learnt Hebrew and other languages in the 'Greek library' of San Marco in Florence which, even in the early times of the ownership of Niccolo Niccoli (1364–1437) included Eastern manuscripts. See Berthold L. Ullman and Philip A. Stadter, *The public library of Renaissance Florence, Niccolò Niccoli, Cosimo de' Medici and the library of San Marco* (Padova: Antenore, 1972), p. 72 et al. In Pagnini's own time, other humanists' libraries reveal a pronounced taste for Egypt, for instance see: Massimo Danzi, *La biblioteca del cardinal Pietro Bembo* (Genève: Droz, 2005), pp. 41–46 et al.

30. See P. Timoteo Centi, O.P., 'L'attività letteraria di Santi Pagnini (1470–1536) nel campo delle scienze bibliche', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, xv (1945), 5–51.

31. *Otsar leshon ha-qodesh, hoc est, Thesaurus linguae sanctae* … (Lugduni, 1529), col. 516.

32. The presence of this giraffe in Florence, a display of Medici political power, is well documented. On occasion, contemporary witnesses even expressed their experience of such a rare and extraordinary sight in the margins of their books. See for instance the notes from an anonymous Renaissance reader in the margin of his Solinus (Parma, 1480), who recounts seeing a giraffe twice, in particular the Medici giraffe in 1487 in Siena. For the '*Chaldean*' name of this exotic animal, he refers to the antiquarian Ciriaco of Ancona's accounts of his travels in '*orientalibus partibus*'. See M. Hulvey. 'Not so marginal: manuscript annotations in the Folger incunabula', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. 92:2 (June 1998), 173–75. Copies of Ciriaco of Ancona's illustrated sketchbooks circulated in Italy at the end of the fifteenth century. One of them, a manuscript formerly in the Pandolfini library, now in the Biblioteca Laurenziana (his *Inscriptiones latinae et graecae ex monumentis variis in Italia et extra Italiam collectae*, sec. xv), is reproduced in *Uomini, bestie e paesi nelle miniature Laurenziane (Firenze, 11 aprile–10 agosto 1987): catalogo* a cura di Luciana Bigliazzi e Aldemaro Giannozzi Firenze: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 1987), sch. 90, Tav. XVIII, (available in HathiTrust Digital library).

Scholars' libraries in Hungary in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: reconstructions based on owner's mark research

ISTVÁN MONOK

Hungarian historians started to publish archival sources regarding library history and the history of reading in 1876 in *Magyar Könyvszemle*, one of Europe's oldest journals of book history. The published archival sources were in particular book lists included in probate inventories from different periods, inventories of confiscated books and other property, records of confiscations, and bills regarding book purchases. In the period between the two World Wars, Béla Iványi devoted most of his scholarly activity to these types of sources, and his collected papers were published in a separate volume.[1] Considering the fact that the historians of the *Annales* School started to publish similar sources on a regular basis at exactly the same time, and that it was in 1941 that Lucien Febvre announced that he intended to analyse probate inventories as a particular type of source,[2] one can be proud of the achievements of the Hungarian historians. In the nineteen-fifties, Zsigmond Jakó emphasised the importance of a unified historical approach to material culture,[3] that is, an examination of all objects listed as assets in probate inventories, and not separately the books, paintings, jewels, clothes, and other personal effects. In the same article, Jakó underscored the fact that an adequate picture of the book culture of a given period cannot be achieved by studying the archival sources alone, since owners' marks and handwritten annotations in extant books (such as *ex-libris*, *supralibros*, shelf marks, other numbers, etc.) can reveal important information. In fact, such evidence can help us reconstruct book collections, estimate the number of lost books, and reveal reading habits as well as particular circumstances under which reading has taken place. In the nineteen-sixties, Jakó supervised provenance studies carried out by his students in Kolozsvár (today: Cluj-Napoca) and in other ancient Transylvanian collections. The evidence gathered through these investigations became available in the form of ephemeral publications, until they were collected in a small volume which came out in the beginning of the seventies, and during the eighties the authors of several books made use of these data.[4] Gustav Gündisch, a contemporary of Jakó, worked with similar dedication on the surviving books of the Transylvanian Saxons, and published his findings in a separate study.[5] In the nineteen-eighties, studies in book history received substantial funding from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. In the nineties, a project of a unified electronic catalogue of all ancient books in the Carpathian basin was launched,[6] in addition to the publication of individual catalogues for each library. Meanwhile, the methodical study of all the archival sources has been completed and partly published.[7]

SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

When one examines the names of owners of books in the extant inventories from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in connection with the names of owners attested in extant book collections, several interesting facts emerge. First of all, the two lists of names are complementary, that is, we know of very few cases, where both the inventories and the books have survived. Another important feature of both lists is that there is hardly any person attested on these lists whose written work we know of. Furthermore, there is hardly any name on these lists which appears among the names of persons known to have been enrolled in a secondary school or university, although the latter must all have been able to read and must have owned and used books. This means that we can reconstruct the reading culture of the intelligentsia in the Hungarian kingdom in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries only from other sources, that is, through quotations and the mentality of their writings. This statement is true only on a general level because, in fact, some of the books of some of the scholars both in Hungary and in Transylvania in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have indeed been identified, so that conclusions can be drawn concerning the intelligentsia of this period by studying these books.

The handwritten notes in the surviving books reveal another general phenomenon. In the Central European region and in Hungary it was very common that the same book came to be included in the libraries of several families or institutions, due to the difficulties in acquiring books and hence to a general shortage of books. As a result, such books contain the names of several of its successive owners. The owner's mark „*N.N. et* *amicorum*" is also common,[8] reminding us of the fact that books circulated beyond the walls of the library of their owner.

SCHOLARS' LIBRARIES

The history of the scholarly libraries in Hungary of the sixteenth century can be summarised briefly. Three important collections are mentioned although two of them were held only partly in Hungary.[9]

Hans Dernschwam (1494–1568), a German who was born in Moravia, lived in Hungary from the age of 20 as a supervisor of the mines of the Fuggers in Hungary and Transylvania. As an envoy of the emperor he went on a diplomatic mission to Turkey. He is known as a humanist due to the Roman inscriptions he collected during his lifetime. He himself catalogued the 1,162 volumes he had in his library in 1552, so there is an authentic contemporary booklist of his collection. Most of the books still exist since his son sold them to the Imperial Library in 1575 after the death of his father, and Hugo Blotius included the books in the Viennese collection.[10]

The books of the historian *János Zsámboky* (1531–84) have also survived in Vienna. Zsámboky was based in Vienna, and his library was kept there, but he spent a great part of his life travelling. Because of financial difficulties he himself sold some of his books: 530 manuscripts were sold to the Imperial Library in 1578. He kept selling until his death, when there were 3,327 volumes left to be listed. His collection was catalogued by Hugo Blotius in 1587[11] when it was acquired from Zsámboky's widow.[12]

We do not have a contemporary list of the contents of the third huge humanist library, that of *András Dudith* (1533–89). The known 572 titles (342 volumes) have been found in 32 different libraries. His life and his spiritual path from being a bishop representing his church at the Council of Trent, to becoming an independent spirit close to the teachings of anti-trinitarianism, is in itself fascinating. His French biographer Pierre Costil has summed up in a separate chapter of his book on Dudith what is known about the readings of this scholar of European fame. Costil also listed Dudith's books, in particular his manuscripts, on the basis of the owner's marks he was aware of.[13] However, a recent reconstruction of the Dudith library[14] based on owner marks has made the picture more complicated, since it shows that only parts of the entire library have yet been revealed. To the best of our knowledge the library of András Dudith must have been much larger than Costil thought. Dudith's library was in Silesia, in

Breslauban (today Wrocław), during the last years of his life. His widow sold it to the Dietrichstein family. This library was taken to Sweden in 1645, during the Thirty-Year's War, but did not remain there as one entire collection.

One can mention more cases where the collection of a philologist or historian cannot be reconstructed from a contemporary book list but only through owners' marks and additional notes, such as the library of Adrian Wolphard in Kolozsvár, the collection of János Baranyai Decsi in Marosvásárhely (today: Târgu Mureş), that of István Szamosközy in Gyulafehérvár (today: Alba Iulia), etc. However, the best Hungarian example to illustrate the usefulness of owners' marks is that of the historian Miklós Istvánffy.

MIKLÓS ISTVÁNFFY

His father, Pál Istvánffy († 1553) visited Padova and studied humanities and law in Bologna. His humanist network is also known.[15] Under his patronage Martin Brenner published the first part of Antonio Bonfini's *Hungarian Chronicle*.[16] The career of Miklós Istvánffy (1538–1615) is that of an aristocrat politician. In 1569 he became a royal councillor, and in 1582 he and his brother became barons. The same year Miklós Istvánffy was appointed Vice-palatine. From 1587 to 1608 he served as chamberlain (*magister curiae regiae*) and from 1608 until his death his title was *magister ianitorum regalium*. He travelled to Poland on behalf of Rudolf II and served as royal commissioner in Transylvania, where Zsigmond Báthory on several occasions resigned in favour of the Habsburgs.

The young Istvánffy owed his erudition to several excellent humanists. He started out his career with Archbishop Pál Várday, then became the secretary of the historian archbishop Miklós Oláh until the latter's death. Archbishop Oláh supported Istvánffy's studies in Padova from 1552 to 1556. It was in Padova that he became acquainted with János Zsámboky. After returning home, he kept up these connections and remained a member of the humanist circle of Nicasius Ellebodius who himself lived in Pozsony (today: Bratislava). Miklós Oláh, János Zsámboky, István Radéczy, Miklós Istvánffy and Georg Purkircher were members of this circle which later also included Boldizsár Batthyány and Carolus Clusius, the Dutch botanist who resided at Batthyány's court at that time.

We do not know where Miklós Istvánffy kept his books during his active political career, perhaps in Vinica or Paukovec in Croatia where he wrote his *chef d'oeuvre*, the *Hungarian history*.[17] The real problem, however, is that we have evidence regarding only a tiny fragment of his library, merely 36 volumes. We can, however, estimate that the entire collection consisted of more than 2,000 volumes. Jenő Berlász wrote the historiography of Istvánffy's library in 1959. He presented all the books (8 volumes) of which historians had become aware at that time, together with hypotheses concerning the books Istvánffy may have had and the location of the library itself.[18] Berlász pointed out that a shelf mark can be seen in Istvánffy's extant manuscripts (historical sources, and copies of rare prints), which indicates that the folio-sized manuscripts in his collection held between 180 and 190 items (See Figs 1 and 2). Berlász emphasised that through these shelf marks one could detect a well-ordered library of several hundreds of volumes. And he was right. Recently discovered volumes have proven his point. These shelf marks can also be found on prints, as has later been discovered. Several shelf marks in the range of 1,500 to 2,000 have been found. The highest number is 2,320!

Mrs Györgyné Pajkossy started to publish this kind of additional evidence in 1970, mentioning Istvánffy's copy of a book by Hieronymus Cardanus.[19] When Jenő Berlász in 1972 amended his earlier publication,[20] he could only present the manuscripts held in the Archives of the Academy of Sciences in Zagreb,[21] and the new evidence concerning the history of Istvánffy's library which could be derived from them. He also suggested, very logically, that the Hilarius codex from the Corvina library, now in the Croatian National Library,[22] must have passed to the Draskovich family (and from there to its present location) from the Istvánffy family.

Jenő Berlász found other paths through which the Istvánffy library got dispersed, and his hypotheses have all proved to be correct. The *De architectura* of Vitruvius Pollio which used to belong to Istvánffy is now held at the County Library of Arad. It must have got there at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the Arad County Educational Association purchased it along with the Csáky Library.[23] Another book, Nicolaus Reusner's collection of tracts on Turkish history, was found in Zagreb in the Zrínyi library.[24] Jenő Berlász in his first article listed Istvánffy's humanist network and emphasised that he must have received or bought the books that were written by its members. Berlász cites the correspondence between Carolus Clusius and Istvánffy where the latter is asking his friend for books.[25]

Istvánffy's humanist network in Pozsony/Bratislava, and the fact that Boldizsár Batthyány belonged to this circle, have already been mentioned. Istvánffy could easily visit Németújvár (today: Güssing) on his way home

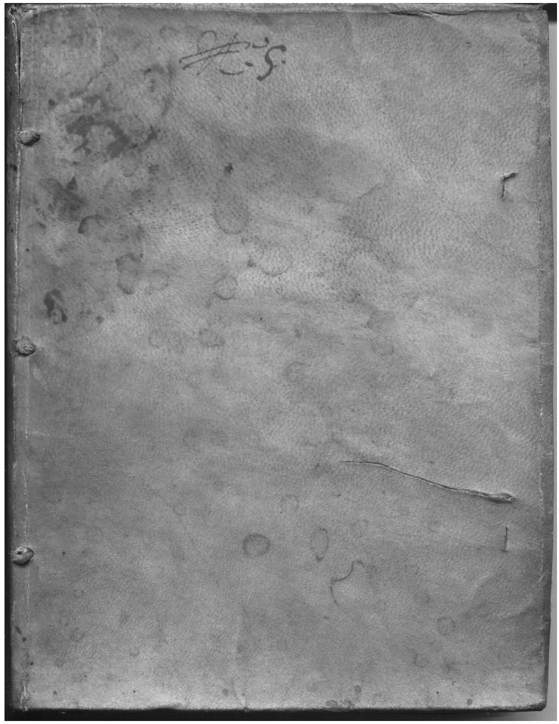

FIGURE 1 Shelf mark on cover of manuscript from Miklós Istvánffy's library

to Vinica, unless he took the road from Graz along the Mura river. The book which this aristocrat offered to István Beythe, Batthyány's minister in 1570, has remained unknown to the scholars concerned with Istvánffy. This is a book by Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus written against the cruelty committed by the Spanish inquisition.[26] It later became the main source of Gáspár Heltai's book entitled *Háló* (Net).[27] The book has survived in a composite volume made for Beythe, in which the other parts are not from Istvánffy.[28] On the cover page of the book by Gonsalvinus, István Beythe wrote the following: *Magnificus dominus Nicolaus Istwanfy in signum amicitiae dono dedit 1570. Sapien. Cap. 5. Tunc statuit justus in magna constantia, aduersus eos qui se angustiauerunt etc.* Furthermore, the University Library of Budapest owns a volume which was offered to Istvánffy by Boldizsár Batthyányi himself. The historian Istvánffy received Philippe de Mornay's (Mornaeus) pamphlet entitled *De veritate christianae religionis liber* from Batthyányi in 1586, and he wrote the following on the recto of

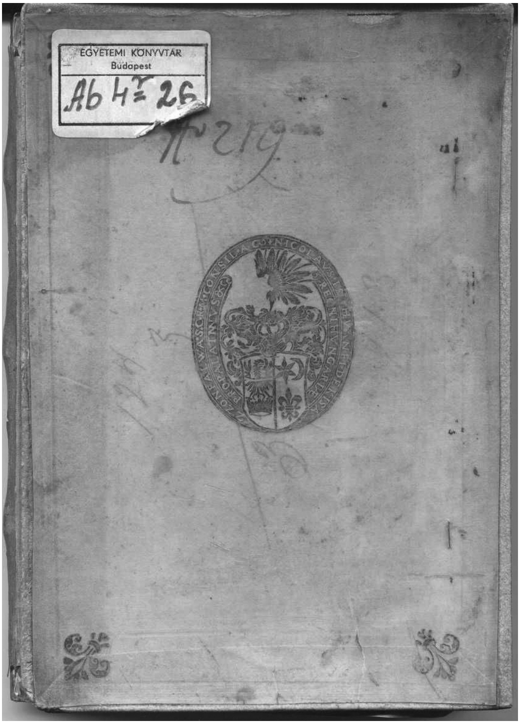

FIGURE 2 Shelf mark on cover of manuscript from Miklós Istvánffy's library

the fly-leaf: *Magnificus Dominus Balthasar de Batthian Magister Dapiferorum Nicolao Isthuanfi dono dedit Januarii 1586.*[29] This finding was presented by Klára Boross in her fundamental study regarding the use of books of the Pozsony humanist circle.[30] She has documented in detail the exchange of books, presents and bequests. Boross accepts Mrs Pajkossy's view that the books of Nicasius Ellebodius which came to the Budapest collection from the Jesuits of Sopron must have originally come from the Istvánffy library because they bear the characteristic shelf mark in Istvánffy's handwriting. However, the study of the Istvánffy library is not yet brought to an end, since Gábor Farkas has found more Istvánffy copies in the rare-book collection of the University Library of Budapest. Mrs Pajkossy has also in 1983 mentioned a few authors in whose books she has seen inscriptions by Istvánffy or his known supralibros.[31]

One should furthermore take into account that Miklós Istvánffy had some of his books bound in a uniform style, that is, he is to be considered as a bibliophile collector. On the binding of his copies one finds the coat-of-arms of his family, with an inscription referring to his highest title: *Nicolaus Isthvanfi de Kisazzonfalwa Sacrae Caesareae Regiaeque Maiestatis Consiliarius ac Regni Hungariae propalatinus*, which means that the bindings on which it can be found were made after 1582. The fact that he had earlier, in 1575, an *ex-libris* made for himself, confirms his conscious behaviour as a book collector. The wording of this *ex-libris* is the following (See Figs 3–4): NICOLAVS ISTHVANFFII S. CAES. M | SECRETARIVS | AETATIS SVAE XXXVI | ANNO DOMINI M.D.LXXV.[32] Another bibliophile characteristic is that he found it important to mention the donator and the date of donation in the book received as a gift from Boldizsár Batthyány. However, part of the almost 500 books identified as originating from the former Istvánffy library are in publishers' bindings and bear no indication of the owner apart from the shelf mark.

Let us now turn to Istvánffy's reading habits. His surviving books show that he read a lot and put marks and short notes and amendments or corrections of the text in the margins and between the lines. The best example of this habit of his is the manual entitled *Appendix Bibliothecae*

FIGURE 3 *Ex-libris* of Miklós Istvánffy, 1575

FIGURE 4 *Ex-libris* of Miklós Istvánffy, 1575

Conradi Gesneri … per Conradum Lycosthenem.[33] In this instance he amended the author in several places. Reading about the fourteenth-century travel book writer, Jean de Mandeville, in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century best-seller version, he added the following: *extat liber Ioannis de Mandeuille militis peregrinationum impressus Moguntiae, anno 1475 sed in* (…) *sunt falsa fere omnia. Inter alia scribit apud Turcas esse homines qui absque patre et matre nascuntur cum quibus ipse fuerit locutus et conuersatus*. This note reveals two important facts: Istvánffy paid close attention to any descriptions concerning the Turks, even if they described fairy-tale-like wondrous births. Secondly, he held in his hands and read this particular edition of Mandeville's *Itinerarius*,[34] most probably at home (or made notes about it somewhere else and then added his note to the Gesner volume at home – although it is less probable). He also noticed a serious misprint in the name of Thurae de Castello, crossed *Thurae* out and corrected it in the margin: *Bonaventura de Castello* (which makes sense). For the name of the Dalmatian Tranquillus Parthemius Andronicus, he added the following biographical note: *Tranquillus iste Andronicus nunquam docuit literas Lipsiae, sed fuit Secretarius Ludovici Griti tam Constantinopoli quam ubique usque ad obitum eius. Mortuus est Sebenici in Dalmatia anno 1572*.

Miklós Istvánffy bequeathed part of his books along with his property in Paukovec to the Jesuits of Zagreb.[35] The rest of his books were inherited by his daughters since his son did not live to adulthood. His daughters married into the aristocracy of Croatia: Eva married Banus János Draskovich, and Orsolya married János Lipcsey, while Katalin became the spouse of György Keglevich. One can only trace the books following the offspring of János Draskovich. The son, György Draskovich, later Bishop of Győr, gave some of them to the Jesuits of Sopron.[36] After the decree of Maria Theresa suppressing the Jesuit order, the Jesuit libraries were dispersed. This also happened to the libraries of aristocrats which survived until the twentieth century (some of which must have included books from the Istvánffy library). Hopefully, a few more books will surface from the Istvánffy library through methodical cataloguing in electronic catalogues and databases.

NOTES

1. Béla Iványi, 'Könyvek, könyvtárak, könyvnyomdák Magyarországon (1600-ig)' (Books, libraries, and printing houses in Hungary until 1600), *Magyar Könyvszemle* (1929), pp. 33–48, 193–208; (1930), pp. 113–28, 296–302; (1931), pp. 60–63; (1932/34), pp. 13–88; as a separate book (Budapest: 1937); new

edition, along with the seventeenth-century part which had been left in manuscript: *A magyar könyvkultúra múltjából. Iványi Béla cikkei és anyaggyűjtés*, ed. by. János Herner & István Monok, Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez, 11, (Szeged: JATE, 1983).

2. Lucien Febvre, 'Ce qu'on peut trouver dans une série d'inventaires mobiliers', *Annales d'histoire sociale* (1941), pp. 41–54.

3. Zsigmond Jakó, 'Az otthon és művészete a XVI–XVII. századi Kolozsváron' (Home and art in Cluj in 16th and 17th centuries), in: *Kelemen Lajos Emlékkönyv*, A Bolyai Tudományegyetem Kiadványai, I. Tanulmányok, (Bukarest–Kolozsvár, 1957), pp. 361–93. The same article appeared in: *A reneszánsz Kolozsvár*. Összeállította: András Kovács, Szerk.: Gyöngy Kovács Kiss. (Kolozsvár: Kolozsvár Társaság, 2008), pp. 84–125.

4. Ádám Dankanits, *XVI. századi olvasmányok* (Readings in the 16th century) (Bukarest: Kriterion, 1974). The german edition: Ádám Dankanits, *Lesestoffe des 16. Jahrhunderts in Siebenbürgen*, Bearbeitung der deutschen Ausgabe: Gustav Gündisch (Bukarest: Kriterion, 1982); Gábor Sipos, 'A kolozsvári Református Kollégium könyvtára a XVII. században' (The College Library of the Reformed Church in Cluj in the seventeenth century), Olvasmánytörténeti Dolgozatok, 1 (Szeged: Scriptum, 1991); *Erdélyi könyvesházak*, I (*Libraries in Transylvania*, I) Klára Jakó, *Az első kolozsvári egyetemi könyvtár története és állományának rekonstrukciója*. (The history and the reconstruction of the first university library in Cluj) (1579–1604), Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez, 16/1 (Szeged: Scriptum, 1991).

5. Gustav Gündisch, *Aus Geschichte und Kultur der siebenbürger Sachsen. Ausgewählte Aufsätze und Berichte*, Schriften zur Landeskunde Siebenbürgens, vol. 14 (Köln–Wien: Böhlau, 1987).

6. See a summary of the results achieved in Hungary, Slovakia, Romania, Austria and Croatia, in: István Monok, 'Vingt ans de recherche sur la culture du livre dans le bassin des Carpates', *Revue française d'histoire du livre* (2001), pp. 199–222; see also István Monok, 'The Union Catalogue of Rare Book Collections in the Carpatian Basin: about the Expert System on Book History in Hungary', *CERL Papers VII* (London: 2007), pp. 7–14.

7. István Monok, 'Die Buch- und Lesekultur in Ungarn der frühen Neuzeit. Teilbilanz der Ergebnisse einer langen Grundlagenforschung (1980–2007)', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Buchforschung in Österreich* (2008), 1, pp. 7–31. The first summary was published with the new results incorporated in István Monok, *Les bibliothèques et la lecture dans le Bassin des Carpates, 1526–1750* (Paris: Champion, 2011).

8. On this type of owner's mark in Europe, see: Geoffrey D. Hobson, '"Et amicorum"', *The Library*, 5th series, IV, 2 (1949), 87–99; Donatella Nebbiai della Guardia, 'Letture e circoli eruditi tra quattro e cinquecento: a proposito dell'Ex libris „et amicorum"', in: *I luoghi dello scrivere da Francesco Petrarca agli albori dell'età moderna. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio dell'associazione italiana dei Paleografi e Diplomatisti, Arezzo, 8–11 ottobre 2003*, a cura di Caterina

Tristano, Marta Cakkeri, Leonardo Magnionami (Spoleto, 2006), pp. 375–95; Angela Nuovo, '"Et amicorum": Construzione e circolazione del sapere nelle biblioteche private del cinquecento', in: *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli ordini regolari nell'Italia moderna attraverso la documentazione della Congregazione dell'Indice. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Macerata, 30 maggio – 1 giugno 2006*, a cura di Rosa Maria Borraccini & Roberto Rusconi, Studi e testi 434 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2006), pp. 105–27; see the summary of Hungarian examples in: István Monok, '„Ex libris Nicolai Bethlen et amicorum". Az „et amicorum" bejegyzésről és a közös könyvhasználatról', in: *Szolgálatomat ajánlom a 60 éves Jankovics Józsefnek. Humanizmus és gratuláció* (Szerk.: Tünde Császtvay & Judit Nyerges. Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2009), pp. 266–76.

9. Jenő Berlász, 'Die Entstehung der ungarischen Bibliothekskultur im 16–17. Jahrhundert', in: *Magyar Könyvszemle* (1974), pp. 14–28; Csaba Csapodi, 'Ungarische Bibliotheksgeschichte. Vom Mittelalter bis zum Frieden von Szathmár (1711)', in: *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1984), pp. 332–57; István Monok, 'Private Bibliotheken in Ungarn im 16 Jahrhundert', in: *Bibliotheken und Bücher im Zeitalter der Renaissance*, hrsg. von Werner Arnold, Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung, Bd. 16 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), pp. 31–54; István Monok, 'Deux siècles de culture de la lecture dans le bassin des Carpates (1526–1730)', in: *Le berceau du livre: autour des incunables. Études et essais offerts au Professeur Pierre Aquilon par ses elèves, ses collègues et ses amis*, sous la dir. de Frédéric Barbier, numéro spécial de la *Revue française d'histoire du livre* (Genève: Droz, 2003), pp. 297–306.

10. *Die Bibliothek Dernschwam. Bücherverzeichniss eines Fugger-Agenten in Ungarn*, hrsg. von Jenő Berlász (Szeged: JATE, 1984).

11. *Die Bibliothek Sambucus, Katalog, nach der Abschrift von Pál Guylás*, hrsg. von István Monok, Péter Ötvös, András Varga (Szeged: JATE, 1992); Gedeon Borsa & James E. Walsh, 'Eine gedruckte Selbsbibliographie von Johannes Sambucus', in: *Magyar Könyvszemle* (1965), pp. 128–33; István Borzsák, 'Ein Copernicus-Exemplar aus der Bibliothek des Joannes Sambucus in Debrecen', in: *Magyar Könyvszemle* (1965), pp. 133–38.

12. The librarian, Sebastian Tengnagel, took away a large number of books, listed separately in his probate inventory: *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak IV. 1552–1740*. Sajtó alá rendezte Rita Bajáki, Hajnalka Bujdosó, István Monok, Noémi Viskolcz, Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez, 13/4 (Budapest: OSZK, 2009), pp. 11–18 .

13. Pierre Costil, *André Dudith humaniste hongrois 1533–1589. Sa vie, son œuvre et ses manuscrits grecs* (Paris: 1935).

14. *András Dudith's Library. A partial reconstruction*, ed. By József Jankovcs, István Monok (Szeged: JATE, 1993); Margherita Palumbo, 'Intorno a un Cardano annotato da Andreas Dudith', in: *Bruniana et Capanelliana. Ricerche filosifiche e materiali storico-testuali*, 7 (2002), pp. 555–67.

15. See: József Holub, 'Istvánffy Pál', in: *Dolgozatok Békefi Remig egyetemi tanári működésének emlékére* (Studies in memoriam Professor Remig Békefi), ed. Jenő Pintér (Budapest: Stephaneum Nyomda, 1912), pp. 222–37.
16. *Rerum Ungaricarum decades tres* (Basileae: 1543).
17. Istvánffy's historical work was published after his death with the support of Péter Pázmány in Cologne: *Historiarum de rebus Hungaricis libri XXIV* (Coloniae Agrippinae: 1622).
18. Jenő Berlász, 'Istvánffy Miklós könyvtáráról' (On the library of Miklós Istvánffy), in: *Az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Évkönyve* 1959 (Budapest: 1961), pp. 202–40. Here we do not repeat his bibliographic data. Berlász found the following book to be the most important concerning the history of the library: Károly Bóta, *Istvánffy Miklós* (Budapest: 1938). The Ferenc Forgách manuscript described by Berlász (224–25), which was unavailable at that time, is in Kismarton (today: Eisenstadt): Schlossbibliothek, Zimmer V. Kasten B. Regal 5/24.
19. Györgyné Pajkossy, 'A két Mercurius Gallobelgicus' (The two Mercurius Gallobelgicus), in: *Az Egyetemi Könyvtár Évkönyvei* V (1970), pp. 239–47. Note 80: *Somniorum synesiorum omnis generis insomnia explicantes libri IIII* (Basileae: Sebastianus Henricpetri, 1562).
20. Jenő Berlász, 'Újabb információk Istvánffy Miklós könyvtáráról' (New evidence concerning the library of Miklós Istvánffy), in: *Az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Évkönyve*, 1972 (Budapest: 1974), pp. 215–44.
21. On a possible interpretation of the Zagreb codex, see: Mihály Balázs and István Monok, 'Történetírók Báthory Zsigmond udvarában (Szamosközy István és Baranyai Decsi János kiadatlan műveiről)' (Historians in the court of Báthory Zsigmond, on the unpublished pieces of István Szamosközy and János Baranyai Decsi), in: *Magyar reneszánsz udvari kultúra*, Szerk. Ágnes R. Váronyi (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 1987), pp. 249–62.
22. *De sancta Trinitate*, Zagreb, National Library, shelf mark R 4071.
23. Vitruvius Pollio, *De architectura libri decem … cum commentariis Danielis Barbari* … (Venetiis: Apud Franciscum Franciscium Senensem, Johannes Crugherum Germanum, 1567). See Elena Rodina Colta, 'Un exemplar din bibliotheca istoricului maghiar Nicolaus Istvánffy, identificat la Arad', in: *Biblioteca si Cercetarea* VII. Academia R. S. Romania, Filialia Cluj-Napoca (1983), pp. 182–87.
24. *A Bibliotheca Zriniana története és állománya – History and Stock of the Bibliotheca Zriniana*. Ed. by Hausner Gábor, Klaniczay Tibor, Kovács Sándor Iván, Monok István, Orlovszky Géza. Szerk.: Klaniczay Tibor. Bp., 1991, Argumentum Kiadó–Zrínyi Kiadó. (Zrínyi Könyvtár 4.) pp. 184–85. (Nr. 141).
25. See: Gyula Istvánffi, *A Clusius-codex mycologiai méltatása* (Budapest: 1900), pp. 213–14.
26. *Sanctae inquisitionis Hispanicae artes aliquot detectae, ac palam traductae. Exempla aliquot, praeter ea quae suo quoque loco in ipso opere sparsa sunt, seorsum*

reposita, in quibus easdem Inquisitorias artes veluti in tabulis quibusdam in ipso porro exercitio intueri licet … Reginaldo Gonsalvo Montano authore (Heidelbergae: Michael Schirat, 1567), Güssing (Austria, Burgenland), Bibliothek des Franziskanerklosters, shelf mark 4/70.

27. Mihály Balázs, 'Heltai Hálójának forrásáról és eszmetörténeti hátteréről' (On the sources and the background of history of ideas of Heltai's Network) *Irodalomtörténeti közlemények* XCVII (1993), pp. 167–96.
28. István Monok, Péter Ötvös, 'Nem mindent mondtunk el' (We have not said it all – on a composite volume of István Beythe in which Mihály Balázs is also interested), in: *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis. Acta Historiae Litterarum Hungaricarum*, Tom. XX (Festschrift Mihály Balázs). Szeged, 2011, SZTE. pp. 212–17.
29. Györgyné Pajkossy, 'Ellebodius és baráti körének könyvei az Egyetemi Könyvtárban' (The books of Ellebodius and his friends in the University Library), *Magyar Könyvszemle* (1983), pp. 225–42. Note 40.
30. Klára Boross, 'A pozsonyi humanista kör könyvei az Egyetemi Könyvtár antikva-gyűjteményében' (The books of the Pressburg humanist circle in the old collection of the University Library), in: *Az Egyetemi Könyvtár évkönyvei*, 13, Istvánffy Miklós könyvei, 16 (2007), pp. 178–84.
31. Györgyné Pajkossy, 'Ellebodius és baráti körének könyvei az Egyetemi Könyvtárban' (The books of Ellebodius and his friends in the University Library), *Magyar Könyvszemle* (1983), pp. 225–42.
32. *Országos Széchényi Könyvtár* (Hungarian National Library), shelf mark RNT (Régi Nyomtatványok Tára = Old Book Collection), exl. 208b.
33. Tiguri: Christoph Froschover, 1555.
34. The ISTC database does not mention this edition.
35. See: Jenő Berlász, 'Istvánffy Miklós könyvtáráról', in: *Az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Évkönyve* 1959 (Budapest: 1961), pp. 230. Berlász was not aware of the Croatian studies detailing the donation made to the Zagreb Jesuites in: Eva Verona, 'Prinosi povijesti Sveučilišne knjižnice u Zagrebu u prvome razdoblju njena života 1607–1773', in: *Zbornik naučnih i književno-umjetničkih priloga bivsih daka i profesora zagrebačke klasične gimnazije 350-godišnjem jubileju, 1607–1957* (Zagreb: 1957). About Istvánffy, see p. 359. See also Matko Rojnic, *Nacionalna i Sveučilišna Biblioteka* (Zagreb: 1974), pp. 6–7. Notes 2–9.
36. Jenő Berlász, 'Újabb információk Istvánffy Miklós könyvtáráról' (New evidence on the library of Miklós Istvánffy), in: *Az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Évkönyve*, 1972 (Budapest: 1974), p. 216.

The archaeology of a collection: the example of Soeterbeeck*

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At the end of the previous century the few remaining Augustinian nuns of the convent of Soeterbeeck in Deursen-Ravenstein, near Nijmegen, made the radical decision to continue their communal and contemplative life in a nursing home for elderly nuns in Nuland, and to close down their convent, which had been established 550 years earlier. The buildings and their fittings, including the old library, were transferred to the Radboud University of Nijmegen in 1997, causing the university to come into possession of a collection of over 50, mostly liturgical, manuscripts, and several hundreds of printed books, dating from the late fifteenth to the twentieth century.[1]

A first examination of the manuscripts has made it clear that these books were preserved because they had been in use for centuries and – maybe more importantly – as a result of the frugality of their owners. Heavily used, repaired, and eventually unbound by the nuns themselves, many of them have ended up defective, already partially reused for binding purposes. The more substantial parts, torsos as it were, were ultimately only joined together, to judge by their simple cardboard covers, in order to preserve them.[2]

Many of the printed books – most of them of small size – show adaptations and extensions too, some of them substantial. Notes of ownership sometimes go hand in hand with short handwritten texts; there are traces of repair; books were rebound, partly with leaves from cut-up manuscripts; and quite a few of them contain loose objects ranging from devotional pictures and mortuary cards to small pieces of textile.

Studying these books makes the reader aware of their multi-layered character and anchoring in time. As such, the Soeterbeeck Collection provides us with an exceptional insight into the individual and collective use and reuse of its manuscripts and printed books over a long period of time, leading to transformation and loss as well to preservation.

The Soeterbeeck Collection is unique in its genesis, and it reflects a history of living with books. As such, it demands a different way of looking at medieval book collections, and it provokes new questions and asks for novel approaches that will provide new insights into the history of book collections in general.

WHAT IS A COLLECTION?

Research into libraries and book collections often centres around the reconstruction of a collection.[3] But what are we talking about when we talk about a collection? Which books did the library of a monastery, a monarch or a scholar include? There are several ways to determine this. The starting point is often an inventory or a catalogue that has survived the passage of time. But such sources are rare, and the information they contain is often far from unambiguous: how and to what purpose was the inventory compiled, was it meant to include all property or was a conscious selection made? The catalogue or inventory of a monastic collection may very well list the contents of the library, but not the books which were in the chapel or the refectory, just as the books which the monks or nuns kept in their cells may also be lacking. Moreover, lists like these often include a significant number of items – such as composite volumes and miscellanies – the contents of which cannot be exactly determined without reference to the actual copy, which seldom survives.

Where a catalogue or an inventory is lacking, a starting point for the reconstruction of a collection is often provided by ownership notes and other traces in surviving books.[4] But such a reconstruction will never be complete. Whoever tries to determine which books mentioned in an inventory have actually survived, is forced, in most cases, to conclude that only a very small number of them are extant. Of the 312 titles mentioned on Michael van der Stoct's book list, only one is currently known to have survived.[5] Because of this, reconstruction on the basis of what survives to the present day almost certainly provides a distorted image of the collection as it once was. In addition, it is far from certain that all surviving books belonged to the collection which we think we are reconstructing at the same point in time.

It is thus a relevant question to ask: what is a collection? And what are the problems we have to deal with when we try to do research on a collection? Before I go more deeply into this, it is worthwhile first to explain what I mean by a collection. A collection is a gathering of books which are or once were in the possession of a single owner, be that a person or an institution. It is often advisable, for practical reasons, to speak of a collection as it was at a given moment in time: in 1960, the Soeterbeeck Collection was very different from what that collection was in 1560. Books from the collection as it was in 1560 could still be part of it 400 years later, although by 1960 most books from the older period had been lost or ended up in another collection. And if they still did belong to the collection in 1960, they had often been changed. After all, books are expanded, supplied with notes, rebound, or wilfully damaged.[6]

Confronted with a historical collection, we must ask ourselves how we can conceptualise a collection which has undergone profound alterations or has been completely or partially lost. To make visible what was lost, and to fill gaps in order to create a coherent impression of what must have been, seems to be the most important motive for reconstructing historical book collections. In doing so, the present state of the collections, or their remains, is often ignored, both because little has survived to make up a collection in the narrow sense of the word, and because we often focus chiefly on the historical period in which it originated or flourished. A medievalist will be looking for medieval collections, rather than focus on the present state of an originally medieval collection (and seldom take into account the printed books).[7] There are good reasons for doing so. I will show why research into the so-called Soeterbeeck Collection is helped by looking beyond its medieval core. In order to be able to understand the complexity of the collection, and its multi-layered structure, it is essential to know its history. So I will first relate the history of the convent and of its collection.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE CONVENT

It was not until 1732 that this convent settled in Deursen-Ravenstein. Its roots are in Nederwetten, a small village near a brook called the 'Suetbeeck', within a stone's throw of Eindhoven. The convent started there in 1448 as a community of the Sisters of the Common Life. In 1452, these devout women requested permission from the bishop of Liège, John of Heinsberg, to adopt the Rule of St Augustine, and it was granted in 1454.[8]

The nuns moved from the marshy soil of Nederwetten to the higher situated village of Nuenen near the river Dommel in 1462, and they were encloistered some years later. From then on the sisters lived only within the monastic enclosure.

From 1452 to 1744 the *cura monialium*, the pastoral care of the nuns, was entrusted to the Augustinian Canons of the monastery of Mariënwater in

Woensel, also near Eindhoven. One group of liturgical manuscripts in the Soeterbeeck Collection probably was manufactured in this monastery.

In the 1580s the convent joined the Chapter of Venlo, which the bishop of Liège had established in 1455 for the benefit of the Augustinian nuns in his diocese. As a result of the closing or amalgamation of monasteries and convents in North Brabant due to regional troubles, the Reformation, and the Eighty Years' War, books from at least three convents of this chapter eventually ended up in Soeterbeeck.

One of these convents, that of Onze Lieve Vrouw in den Hage ('Our Lady in the Hague') in Helmond, first merged with the convent of Sint-Annenborch ('St Anna's Burrow') in Rosmalen in 1543, after the former monastery had been destroyed by the troops of the notorious Guelderian Field Marshal Maarten van Rossum, who was to sack the convent of Soeterbeeck later that same year. The nuns of the convent of Sint-Annentroon ('St Anna's Throne') in Kerkdriel joined those of the convent of Sint-Annenborch in 1572. In the next year, the community of Sint-Annenborch was forced to take refuge in a monastery in Den Bosch, but in 1613 they had to leave the monastery in favour of a community of Jesuits. Seven of the remaining nuns decided to continue their religious life in the convent of Soeterbeeck, near Nuenen, taking with them a large part of the monastic furnishings, including some manuscripts and printed books.

In 1621 the convent of Soeterbeeck counted 17 choir sisters and eight lay or 'converse' sisters, and in 1632 there were 26 sisters and one novice. The signing of the Peace of Münster in 1648 ushered in the last period of the 'old' convent of Soeterbeeck, for in 1732 the nuns finally had to leave Nuenen. They settled on Den Bongaert ('The Orchard'), a rural estate near Deursen in the independent Land of Ravenstein.

There the community survived the French occupation of 1794. Though the end of the community seemed to be nigh on more than one occasion, the 'new' convent of Soeterbeeck survived the nineteenth century. In 1954 the Windesheim community of Mariëndaal ('Mary's Vale'), in Diest (Belgium), even amalgamated with the nunnery in Deursen. The curtain only fell in 1997, as the few remaining nuns moved to Nuland.

CONSTANT CHANGE

The convent's history clearly shows that it is not easy to determine what the collection looked like at any given moment: which collection should we reconstruct? What, for example, do we know of the fifteenth-century book stock? When were which books added to or taken from the collection, or deemed redundant and cut to pieces? We run the risk of reconstructing a collection which never existed.

Doing justice to the Soeterbeeck Collection and the many people who lived with these books requires an in-depth investigation of all of the books in every detail, of all of the inscriptions, and of all of the traces of use in them.[9] The point of departure of the research project at the Radboud University in Nijmegen is the assumption that the collection is the result of a process of constant change which resulted in books that bear traces of alterations, additions, and different forms of deliberate and unintended loss.[10] Considering each book on its own would give a wrong impression because of the many interrelated inscriptions and alterations which can be observed. Not the individual artefacts but the collection as a whole — manuscripts, printed books, and fragments — must be the object of study.

The manuscripts are not only examined for their medieval core, but also for later additions and adaptations. In addition to the manuscripts, the printed books are also fully part of the investigation. Manuscripts and printed books have, for a very long time, functioned side by side, and all of them show notes by the same sisters and rectors, related adaptations, and reciprocal references. The distinction, often found in research, between medieval manuscripts and post-medieval printed books gives a wrong impression of the situation in a convent where all the books were part of a collection which was often heavily used. In the case of Soeterbeeck, some manuscripts supposedly were still used well into the twentieth century. All of these books should be compared to each other in order to track down diachronic layers of use, and thereby contribute insight into the separate stages (stratification) in the use of this collection.

In order to handle this huge research project a new approach is required: the 'archaeology' of the collection. The starting point of the investigations will be what is certain. Not the oldest layers, nor the question how these books ended up as they are now, but their current state, is what forms the point of departure: the collection as it was when transferred to the Radboud University in 1997. It means that the books which have ended up elsewhere are not, at first, part of the corpus.[11] But it also means that all books and fragments, including those which were acquired in the twentieth century, have to be scrutinised.[12] A collection is not a static entity, and a student of collections therefore must have an eye for its dynamics, since constant change is an essential aspect of every collection.

ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE BOOK

The approach presented here is heavily dependent on L. M. J. Delaissé, who, in his 1967 paper 'Towards a history of the mediaeval book', proposed metaphorically to denote the way a book historian had to work as 'archaeology':[13]

> The examination of the different techniques or aspects of our mediaeval books does not differ from the archaeological method as it is commonly known. As in any other branch of this discipline it consists first in observing and analysing all the material data concerning objects of the past and in interpreting them afterwards in order to determine the time and place of their execution. Why not therefore also use for the mediaeval book the word archaeology which not only indicates a method but also suggests a purpose because of its historical significance.

Because of Delaissé's untimely decease, he never developed a detailed method and never extended his approach to a collection of books.[14] Not single books and their individual inscriptions, but successive layers of acquisition and loss, and traces of use, are the object of research. We consider the present collection as an archaeological site which has to be dug up layer by layer. We want to make visible layers over time: the stratigraphy. This means that individual books' diachronic developments have to be correlated, causing synchronic layers to appear. The examination of each individual book is like a deep drilling which yields a certain amount of information. Much of that information is difficult to interpret when the book is studied on its own, but becomes meaningful in the context of other data from the same layer.

In order to make this information visible in a manageable way, all books will have to be described in detail. The printed books are at present being inventoried in a database, where each item is accompanied by a detailed description of its traces of use. This includes at least the binding, ownership notes, in-text corrections and underscoring, added texts, inserted leaves, and loose objects. Ultimately, each of these traces should, if possible, be connected to traces in other books. The researchers' experience is of great importance for this identification process, but we also want to make use of modern techniques, such as automatic handwriting recognition and data mining. Ideally, each of the items from the collection should be made available digitally, a process which might be difficult to realise given the collection's size, but which has at least been started. The ultimate goal is a digital Soeterbeeck Library through time, which would not only

FIGURE 1 Bindings of books in the Soeterbeeck Collection (Nijmegen UB)

be available as research material for experts, but also as a way for anyone who wants to get access to an all but lost monastic tradition and its liturgical and scribal practices.[15]

Once the material has been inventoried, but also at the present stage of the project, connections become clear: we find, for example, various books which have been provided with an ownership mark by the same sister.

Books from the convent's earliest phase often turn out to contain much information on later developments in the collection, but the reverse is also true: later books often contain traces of older books. The most visible examples of this are the books which have been bound in leaves from liturgical books that were taken apart (Fig. 1).

TWO LAYERS

Two examples will enable me to show the results which this type of research, where we search for layers of use in the collection as a whole, that is, for stages in the use of that collection, can yield. The first example is related to a small group of books of hours from various monasteries: two of them are from Onze Lieve Vrouwe in den Hage in Helmond, and date from the first half of the sixteenth century, while a third book was written in Sint-Annenborch in Rosmalen in 1600, into which the Helmond community had amalgamated in 1543.[16] Three other sixteenth-century books are from Soeterbeeck.[17] When the community of Sint-Annenborch left their abode in 's-Hertogenbosch and went to Soeterbeeck, their three

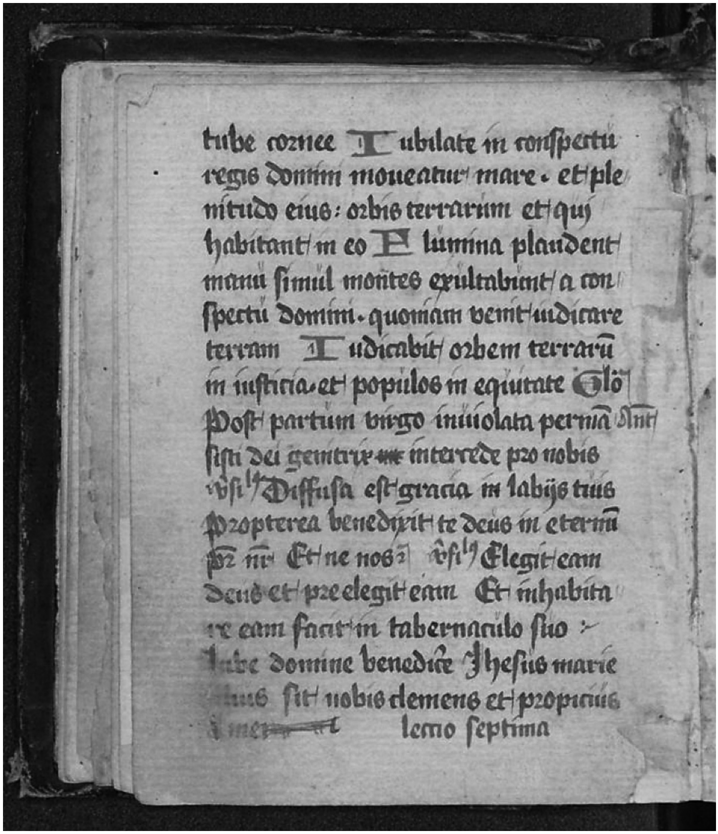


FIGURE 2 Nijmegen UB Ms 458 (*olim* Soeterbeeck IV 48)

books of hours came along, and became part of the collection to which the other three books already belonged. But the text of the three newly arrived books differed from that of the copies which already were at Soeterbeeck and this caused them, at one point, to be adjusted to the 'Soeterbeeck-norm' (compare Figs 2 and 3). There were reasons, apparently, for presenting an identical text in all of these books of hours.

The amalgamation of communities leads to books from different collections coming together. This can result in books that have become redundant being disposed of. The need will have often been felt to attune books

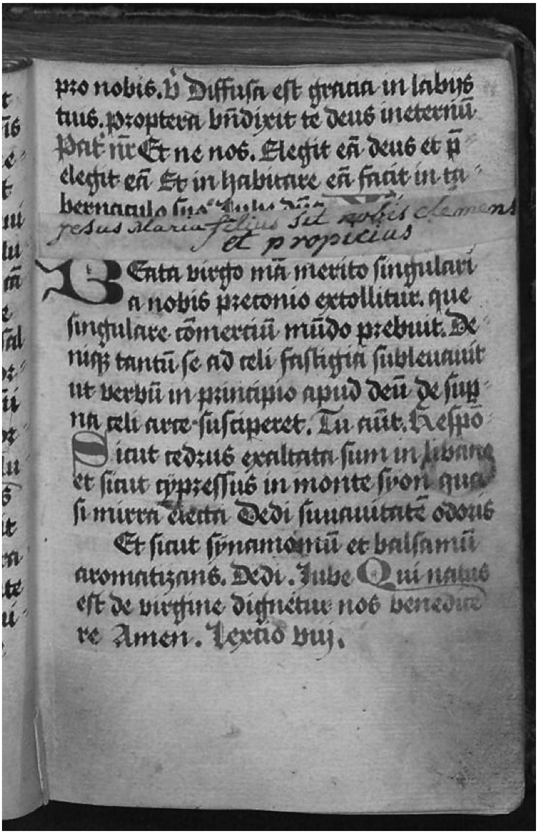


FIGURE 3 Nijmegen UB Ms 472 (*olim* Soeterbeeck IV 81). Textual addition on a pasted strip of paper, cf. the last lines on Fig. 2

because they were in the future to function in the same context, although their contents refer to different contexts. This will have been especially important for books with a liturgical or a para-liturgical function, such as the six Latin books of hours.

The adjustments to the books of hours could have been made shortly after the convents were amalgamated, but it is more likely that they are of later date and are connected to the adaptations made at the end of the eighteenth century, mostly on the part of Arnoldus Beckers, Canon Regular of Gaesdonck near Goch, and rector of Soeterbeeck from 1772 to 1810.[18]

FIGURE 4 Nijmegen UB Hs 447 (*olim* Soeterbeeck IV 6) *Antiphonarium aestivale*. Several alterations made by Arnoldus Beckers

Anyone who looks through the liturgical manuscripts from Soeterbeeck will see that, in innumerable places, the melodies and texts of certain chants have been changed. Sometimes, passages have been crossed out and adjustments added in the margin, but often slips of paper with new notes and words have been pasted on top of the existing music and text (Figs 4 and 5). We know, from the comparison of chants added at the back of some codices (some of which can with certainty be ascribed to Arnoldus Beckers), that the rector of Soeterbeeck is also responsible for some of the other adjustments throughout the entire collection. We do not have a complete survey of his adaptations, but it is clear that Beckers carried out a liturgical revision which obliged him to make widespread adjustments. These modifications also show that manuscripts which were by then centuries-old were still heavily used in the daily services.

Less conspicuous user notes were brought to light primarily during research on the printed books. The flyleaves of many of those books bear the designation 'Soeterbeeck', sometimes followed by a date (Fig. 6). A

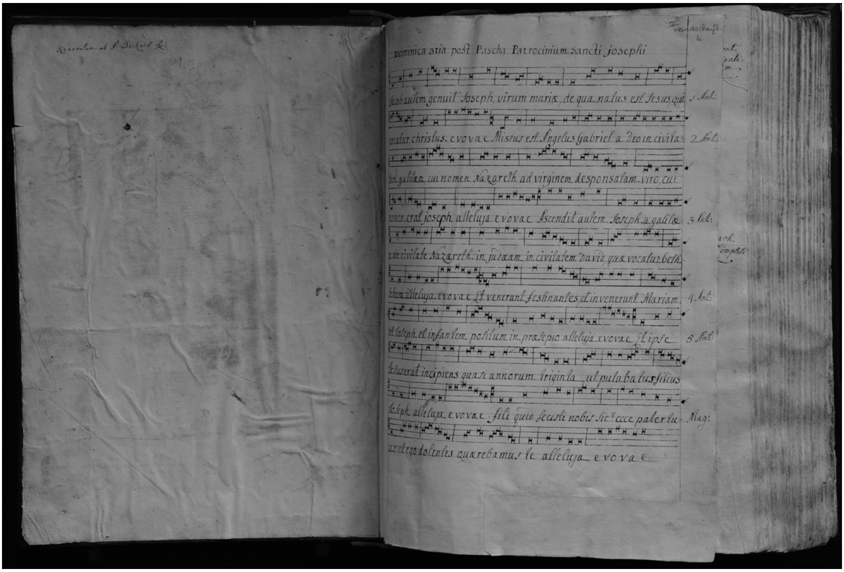


FIGURE 5 Nijmegen UB Hs 447 (*olim* Soeterbeeck IV 6) *Antiphonarium aestivale. Patrocinium sancti Josephi*, antiphons for the Vespers on the third Sunday after Easter, added by Beckers. On the left page: 'Renovatum ab A. Beckers rectore'.

large number of these entries were also made by Beckers. Here, too, research is still ongoing, and we do not have a complete survey, but it seems that, as Soeterbeeck's rector, Beckers wanted to mark the convent's book collection. It is not clear whether he also made an inventory or a catalogue. Further research into the surviving books and the archives, which have only recently been opened, will hopefully throw more light on this issue.

The many adjustments by Arnoldus Beckers, which are related both to fixing the collection and to updating the liturgy, probably make up the most prominent synchronic layer in the Soeterbeeck Collection. His adjustments can be found in dozens of manuscripts and printed books. This one layer alone shows how extensive and complex the collection under scrutiny is.

These examples do not only show how one can apply the archaeological concept of 'stratification', but it also makes clear what happened to the books during these phases.[19] It is obvious that, next to various individual

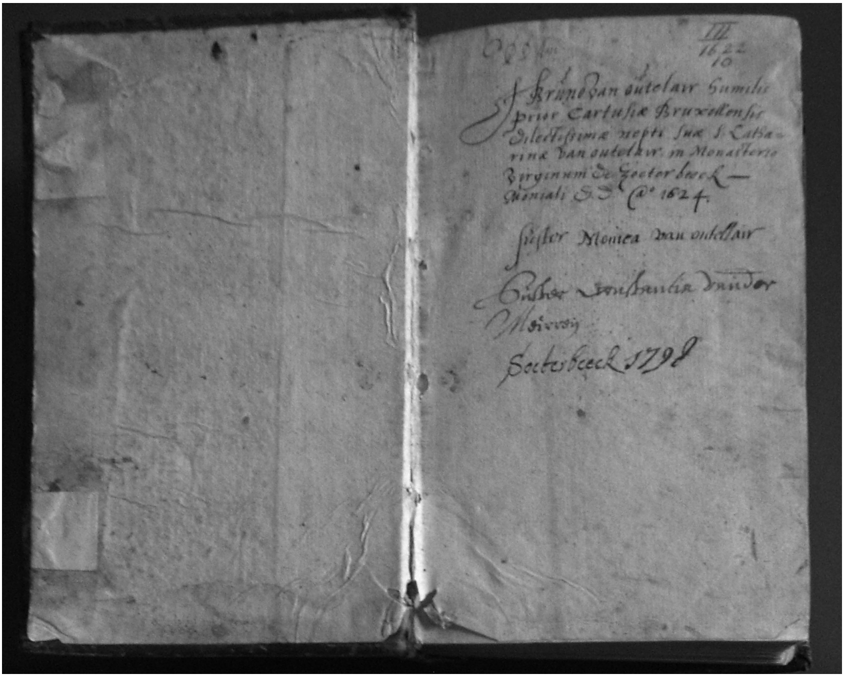


FIGURE 6 Nijmegen UB (*olim* Soeterbeeck III 1622 10). Flyleaf of a printed book, with several ownership marks. The last inscription reads 'Soeterbeeck 1798' and is made by Arnoldus Beckers

traces, there are also many traces which indicate a more systematic adaptation of the books to new uses in a different time.

To systematically map all layers demands a lot of time and effort. Interpreting them is possibly even harder. For this reason, we have opted for a procedure where we do not reconstruct and interpret all layers in detail, but strive to write a small number of synchronically and diachronically oriented monographs. The research into the books of hours, just mentioned, will probably be one such study, and Beckers' role as the convent's Rector and the collection's Keeper certainly has to be exhaustively investigated. It is precisely the possibility of combining research into the book collection with what is known from other sources that allows us to integrate archaeological investigations with research into the lives of people of flesh and blood.

The archaeology of a collection: the example of Soeterbeeck

Research on the Soeterbeeck Collection is not only important because it will provide insight into a culture of devout and literate women. It also explicitly confronts us with aspects that are significant for research into every collection. The realisation that a collection is not static but constantly subject to change is very important. These dynamics play a role even when a collection is examined in the shape it has at a specific point in time: many books display their own traces of use. Over the course of time, virtually every book has been expanded, changed or stripped (and the newly available leaves or fragments can have subsequently ended up in other books). And because many of these changes pertain to a layer of use that is also visible in other books, the separate parts of a collection can often be connected to each other in different ways. In this way, they mirror various layers of adaptation and stages in use. These, again, can be connected to moments in history and thereby tell more than a mere story of paper, parchment, and ink. Just like the opening of an archaeological site, the meticulous 'digging up' of a collection and its parts yields material traces from the past, traces which enable us to gain insight into the religious and literary culture of a monastic community which existed for more than five centuries.

NOTES

* This paper is strongly dependent on the thorough knowledge Hans Kienhorst has of the Soeterbeeck Collection. In several talks we developed our ideas on how to investigate such a collection. I warmly want to thank him for his kind and unconditional help in writing this paper. I want to thank Anouk Geurts, Gaby Kloosman and Diana Denissen for their dedicated and meticulous work on describing the printed books. Ad Poirters assisted me in rendering what I wanted to present in the English language.

1. R. Th. M. van Dijk, '"Dat oetmoedich fundament ende privilegie der susteren." Het leven van een reguliere kanunnikes in Soeterbeeck'. In: Kienhorst et al. (2005) 11–25 (p. 17).
2. To get an impression of the collection and its present state, see H. Kienhorst et al., *Rijkdom in eenvoud. Laatmiddeleeuwse handschriften uit klooster Soeterbeeck* (Nijmegen: Stichting Nijmeegse Kunsthistorische Studies, 2005); H. Kienhorst, *Verbruikt verleden. Handschriftfragmenten in en uit boeken van klooster Soeterbeeck* (Nijmegen: Stichting Nijmeegse Kunsthistorische Studies, 2009).
3. Inspiring examples are P. Crouzet-Daurat, I. Hans-Collas, and P. Schandel, *Manuscrits enluminés des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux*. 1: Manuscrits de Louis de Bruges (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2009) (on the collection of Louis de Bruges); A. Freckmann, *Die Bibliothek des Klosters Bursfelde im Spätmittelalter* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2006).

4. E.g. E. Kwakkel, *Die Dietsche boeke die ons toebehoeren. De kartuizers van Herne en de productie van Middelnederlandse handschriften in de regio Brussel (1350–1400)* (Leuven: Peeters, 2002).

5. R. Gabriël, 'Boekenlijsten en Material Philology. Methodologische overwegingen bij de boekenlijst van Michael van der Stoct (ca. 1394)', in: *Queeste. Journal of Medieval Literature in the Low Countries* 16 (2009), 83–111 (pp. 85–87).

6. It is with books as it is with texts (and likewise with all historical artifacts): they undergo change while being in use, e.g. because they are adapted to new circumstances , or damaged. Inspiring theoretical thinking on the Soeterbeeck Collection was provided by publications on the variability of medieval texts. See Bernard Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante: histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1989); S. G. Nichols (ed.), 'New philology'. Special issue of *Speculum* 65 (1990); S. G. Nichols, 'Why Material Philology? Some Thoughts', in: *Philologie als Textwissenschaft. Alte und neue Horizonte = Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 116 (1997), Beiheft, pp. 10–30; Jürgen Wolf, 'New Philology / Textkritik: a) Ältere deutsche Literatur', in: Claudia Benthien and Hans Rudolf Velten (eds), *Germanistik als Kulturwissenschaft. Eine Einführung* (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 2002), 174–95.

7. See e.g. K. Stooker and T. J. Verbeij, *Collecties op orde. Middelnederlandse handschriften uit kloosters en semi-religieuze gemeenschappen in de Nederlanden*, 2 vols (Leuven: Peeters 1997).

8. This paragraph is mainly based on J. W. M. Peijnenburg, 'De geschiedenis van Soeterbeeck tot 1840', in: Van Dijk (1982), pp. 31–53, and on J. W. M. Peijnenburg, 'De geschiedenis van Soeterbeeck na 1840', in: R. Th. M. van Dijk (ed.), *Het klooster Soeterbeeck te Deursen, 1732–1982* (Tilburg: Stichting Zuidelijk Historisch Contact, 1982), pp. 54–72. Additional information is found in Van Dijk, 'Dat oetmoedich fundament ende privilegie der susteren', and in A. M. Frenken, 'Het Augustinessen-Klooster te Zoeterbeek', in: *Bossche Bijdragen* 11 (1931–1932), 174–301.

9. On marginal inscriptions and other traces of use, see H. J. Jackson, *Marginalia. Readers writing in books* (New Haven / London: Yale University Press, 2001).

10. Involved in this research programme are dr. Hans Kienhorst, drs. José Rekers (PhD student, working on six written breviaries), and three research assistants: Anouk Geurts (2009 until summer 2010), Gaby Kloosman and Diana Denissen (both from august 2010 until 2011).

11. In Brussels (Royal Library), The Hague (Royal Library), Tilburg (University Library) and Amsterdam (University Library), we find manuscripts that can be connected with (parts of) the Soeterbeeck Collection. One manuscript (actually consisting of the remains of two graduals) for several years formed part of a private collection in Louvain, but is kept in Nijmegen University Library (Ms. 492) since 2009.

12. On fragments and the way they influence our attitude to texts and historical artifacts, see H. U. Gumbrecht, *The powers of philology. Dynamics of textual scholarship* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003), pp. 9–23.

This book as a whole was a great inspiration in thinking about the Soeterbeeck Collection.

13. L. M. J. Delaissé, 'Towards a history of the mediaeval book', in: *Divinitas* 11 (1967), 423–35 (p. 429).

14. But see L. M. J. Delaissé, 'The importance of books of hours for the history of the medieval book', in: U. E. McCracken et al. (eds), *Gatherings in honor of Dorothy E. Miner* (Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery, 1974), pp. 203–25. See also A. Derolez, 'Codicologie ou archéologie du livre? Quelques observations sur la leçon inaugurale de M. Albert Gruijs à l'université catholique de Nimègue', in: *Scriptorium. Revue Internationale des Études Relatives aux Manuscrits* 27 (1973), 47–49.

15. On recent developments in presenting and disclosing books and libraries, see E. Mittler, 'Wiedergewinnung durch Wissenschaft und Technik. Die europäische Buchkultur zwischen Original und Internetportal', in: A. Rapp and M. Embach (eds), *Zur Erforschung mittelalterlicher Bibliotheken. Chance – Entwicklungen – Perpektiven* (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 2009), 291–304.

16. Ms. 456 (IV 46), c. 1543–1544, and Ms. 457 (IV 47), c. 1525–1530, both from Helmond (Kienhorst, *Rijkdom in eenvoud*, pp. 74–77). Ms. 482 (IV 91), written by Catharina van Eyck in 1600 in Rosmalen (Kienhorst, *Rijkdom in eenvoud*, pp. 126–27).

17. Ms. 458 (IV 48), Ms. 459 (IV49) and Ms. 460 (IV 50), all three from Soeterbeeck and written in the 16th century (Kienhorst, *Rijkdom in eenvoud*, pp. 78–83).

18. On Beckers, see Peijnenburg, 'De geschiedenis van Soeterbeeck na 1840', pp. 47–51; A. J. Geurts (ed.), *Moderne devotie, figuren en facetten. Tentoonstelling ter herdenking van het sterfjaar van Geert Grote, 1384–1984. Catalogus* (Nijmegen: Roomsch-Katholieke Universiteit, 1984), p. 30. A portrait of Beckers is found on p. 248.

19. Here I have only provisionally presented this approach. Hans Kienhorst is preparing a more thorough paper on the archaeological method in analysing book collections.

Handrit.is and the virtual reunification of the Arnamagnæan Manuscript Collection

MATTHEW JAMES DRISCOLL

The Arnamagnæan manuscript collection (*Den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling*), which derives its name from the Icelandic scholar and antiquarian Árni Magnússon (1663–1730) – Arnas Magnæus in Latinised form – is by common consent the single most important collection of early Scandinavian manuscripts in existence. The collection comprises nearly 3,000 items, the earliest dating from the twelfth century.[1] The majority of these items are from Árni Magnússon's native Iceland, but there are also many important Norwegian, Danish and Swedish manuscripts, along with about one hundred of continental European provenance. In addition to the manuscripts proper, the collection contains about 14,000 Icelandic, Norwegian (including Faroese, Shetlandic and Orcadian) and Danish charters, both originals and first-hand copies (*apographa*).[2]

Árni Magnússon bequeathed his collection to the University of Copenhagen upon his death in 1730. Along with this he made an endowment from his private estate from which money was to be drawn for the publication of text editions and studies pertaining to the manuscripts. A royal charter formally establishing a foundation to administer the bequest was issued in 1760, and 12 years later a permanent commission, *Den Arnamagnæanske Kommission*, was established as the governing body of that foundation.

The manuscripts and documents in the collection are invaluable sources on the history and culture of medieval, renaissance and early-modern Scandinavia and, in a more general way, much of Europe. Perhaps foremost among the texts preserved in the collection are the many examples of the uniquely Icelandic narrative genre known as the saga, widely recognised as constituting one of the highpoints of world literature and still translated and read throughout the world today.

The collection is important for another reason, too: even before its constitutional separation from Denmark in 1944 Iceland had begun

Figure 1 Árni Magnússon (1663–1730)

petitioning for the return of the Icelandic manuscripts in Danish repositories, and it was eventually agreed, in May 1965, that roughly half the items in the Arnamagnæan collection (1666 items, in addition to all the Icelandic charters and apographa), should be transferred to the newly established manuscript institute in Iceland, along with a smaller number of manuscripts (141) from the Royal Library (*Det Kongelige Bibliotek*). The first two manuscripts – the *Codex Regius* of the Elder Edda (GKS 2365 4to) and the large kings' saga compilation *Flateyjarbók* (GKS 1005 fol.), both from the Royal Library – were handed over immediately after the ratification of the treaty in 1971 and the last two in June 1997, the entire process of transfer thus taking 26 years. The manuscripts transferred to Iceland have retained their original shelfmarks, and the two institutions which jointly act as custodians of the collection, the Arnamagnæan Institute (*Den Arnamagnæanske Samling*) in Copenhagen and the Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies (*Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum*) in Reykjavík, work closely together to ensure the long-term preservation of and access to the manuscripts in the collection. The successful – and amicable – resolution of this dispute is widely regarded as a landmark in the history of the debate concerning the return of cultural property.[3] It should, however, be stressed that the items in the collection were legally acquired by Árni Magnússon and left by him to the University of Copenhagen, and the case is thus not entirely analogous with that of, say, the 'Lydian Hoard', 363 artefacts looted from burial mounds in Turkey and sold to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York which were returned to Turkey in 1993.

THE VIRTUAL REUNIFICATION OF THE COLLECTION

As important as the decision to return the manuscripts to Iceland was, it has obviously meant that what is in essence a single collection has been divided in two. With digital technology it is now possible to reunite the Arnamagnæan Collection, giving scholars in both Iceland and Denmark and throughout the world access to the entire collection. As early as 1997, as the last two manuscripts were being handed over, representatives of the two Arnamagnæan institutes in Denmark and Iceland began discussing how best to accomplish this.[4] The result is *handrit.is*, a union catalogue of the holdings of not just the Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies in Reykjavík and the Arnamagnæan Institute in Copenhagen, but also of the manuscript department of the National and University Library of Iceland (*Landsbókasafn Íslands – Háskólabókasafn*). Between them, these three institutions hold about 90% of the 20,000 or so Icelandic manuscripts extant.[5]

Handrit.is is conceived as the central point of access for information about and analysis of the manuscripts in these three collections. The system was initially developed within ENRICH, a project funded under the European Commission's eContent+ programme. The aim of the project, which was led by the Czech National Library in Prague and ran from 2007 to 2009, was to create seamless access to distributed information on manuscripts and early printed books held at repositories throughout Europe through the use of standardised metadata in TEI-conformant XML.[6] All three of the institutions involved in developing *handrit.is* were partners in ENRICH.[7]

Handrit.is exploits the capabilities offered by collaboration under the ENRICH framework. At all three partner institutions, TEI-conformant XML manuscript descriptions are produced according to the ENRICH schema, a narrow subset of the larger TEI schema, defined especially for manuscript description.[8] These provide information on the manuscripts' contents, physical structure, origin and subsequent history. They are then unified in a Subversion repository prior to being ingested into the *handit.is* database. When a document is added to or updated in Subversion, it is automatically validated against the ENRICH schema. If the validation is successful, the document is stored in the database. All partners funnel XML manuscript descriptions through a single repository and all use a single schema. This model of collaboration allows for a high level of control over the structure and content of the manuscript description, to a degree that would be otherwise difficult to achieve with partners geographically distanced from one another.

Controlled vocabularies are used extensively within the XML components of *handrit.is* to regulate content, typically through fixed lists of attribute values defined in taxonomies in the TEI Header or 'hard wired' into the schema. One example of the former is the list of possible text-types available as values of the @class attribute on <msItem>. This list is based on collaborative work by Icelandic and Danish manuscript scholars and does not represent a 'standard' as such, though it might well become one. In other cases existing international standards are used, and the value lists built into the schema. When recording a person's gender, for example, the value of the @sex attribute on <person> may only be '0', '1', '2' or '9', in keeping with ISO standard 5218:1977, 'Representation of Human Sexes'; 1 and 2 indicate male and female respectively, while 9 indicates not applicable and 0 unknown.

Extensive use is also made of authority files, e.g. for the names of persons, places and institutions, using the TEI elements <listPerson>, <listPlace> and <listOrg>, respectively. All proper names occurring in the individual manuscript descriptions are tagged using the <name> element, which carries a required @type attribute to indicate whether it is the name of a person, place or organisation/institution and a @key attribute which points to the relevant <person>, <place> or <org> element in an authority file, as in the following example, where the scribe of a particular manuscript is identified as Jón Erlendsson, a seventeenth-century Icelandic clergyman:

```
The manuscript was written in the <origDate
notBefore="1601" notAfter="1700">seventeenth
century</origDate> by <name type="person"
key="JonErl001">Jón Erlendsson</name>.
```

The correspondence between the values of the @key attribute on <name> and the @xml:id attribute on the relevant <person> element in the authority file, shown below, explicitly associates the two, and provides a path of access to further information about the person for a user browsing the manuscript description. To provide this linkage, the text within the <name> element is transformed into an HTML link which leads to a web-based presentation of the authority file data. This correspondence can operate in the reverse direction as well, in that it is possible to view a list of all manuscripts in which a particular person's name has been encoded.

The <person> element for Jón Erlendsson in the authority file looks like this:

```
<person sex="1" role="scribe" xml:id="JonErl001">
    <persName xml:lang="is">
        <forename sort="1">Jón</forename>
        <surname sort="2">Erlendsson</surname>
    </persName>
    <birth notBefore="1600" notAfter="1610"/>
    <death when="1672-08"/>
    <residence>
        <placeName>
            <settlement type="farm" key="#VilVil01"/>
        </placeName>
    </residence>
    <occupation key="#pr"/>
</person>
```

Jón's dates of birth and death are given as empty elements, intended principally for search purposes. For display purposes, however, appropriate content can be generated from the attribute values; the date of death, for example, can appear as 'August 1672', 'august 1672' or 'ágúst 1672' depending on whether the interface language selected is English, Danish or Icelandic. Occupations are dealt with in a similar fashion; here the value of the @key attribute resolves to 'clergyman', 'præst' or 'prestur' as appropriate.

Jón's place of residence is similarly given as an empty <settlement> element the @key attribute of which points to the relevant <place> element in <listPlace>:

```
<place xml:id="VilVil01">
    <placeName xml:lang="is">
        <settlement type="farm">Villingaholt</settlement>
        <region type="parish" key="#Villin01"/>
    </placeName>
    <location>
        <geo>63.883997 -20.750909</geo>
    </location>
</place>
```

In addition to linking manuscript descriptions and authority files, @xml:id/@key correspondences can also exist within and between authority files themselves. This can be seen in the <placeName> element in the example above, where the <region> carries a @key attribute which references an @xml:id attached to a <place> element in the authority file for place names defining that region.

In addition to the name and details of the parish, county and geographical region of the place, latitude and longitude coordinates are also provided. These may be programmatically extracted during web page renderings and overlaid upon an embedded Google Map. Similarly, one could also generate a list of all farms within a particular parish (by referencing the @key attribute of <region type=”parish”>) and then overlay all farms on an embedded map. There are many interesting further possibilities for working with data linked together through authority files.

Using these methods it is possible to search for manuscripts written at a certain time, in a certain place and containing certain types of texts. By combining these criteria with others relating, for example, to the social status of the scribes and owners and, say, manuscript format and text density, a nuanced picture of Icelandic manuscript production and consumption over many centuries can be obtained.

Through *handrit.is* the dream of reunifying virtually the Arnamagnæan manuscript collection is being realised. But *handrit.is* does much more than this, by including more descriptive data than has hitherto been available, by linking this data to information on the persons and places associated with the manuscripts, by linking also to digitised images of the manuscripts and, eventually, to marked-up transcriptions of the texts, and – not least – by including as it does the manuscripts in the National Library of Iceland. Other manuscript holding institutions in Iceland such as the National Museum (*Þjóðminjasafn Íslands*) and National Archives (*Þjóðskjalasafn Íslands*) are also becoming involved. If institutions holding similar materials in other countries were to do likewise – the Royal Libraries of Denmark and Sweden, Uppsala University Library and the British Library for example – it would be possible within probably not all that many years to have access to not just all Icelandic manuscripts extant but essentially all early Scandinavian manuscripts. Now that would be something to strive for.

NOTES

1. For information on Árni Magnússon in English see Hans Bekker-Nielsen and Ole Widding, *Arne Magnusson: The manuscript collector* (Odense: 1972) or Benedikt S. Benedikz, *Árni Magnússon – Where would we be without him?* (Nottingham: 2002). A comprehensive biography in English is being prepared by Prof. Már Jónsson of the University of Iceland, author of the standard Icelandic work on Árni, *Árni Magnússon: Ævisaga* (Reykjavík: 1998).
2. The printed catalogue of the collection is Kristian Kålund's *Katalog over Den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling* I–II (København: 1889–94); for a survey of the provenance of the manuscripts in the collection see Jón Helgason, 'Den Arnamagæanske samlings proveniens', *Betænkning vedrørende de i Danmark beroende islandske håndskrifter og museumsgenstande* (København: 1951), pp. 117–76.
3. See Jeanette Greenfield, *The return of cultural treasures* (Cambridge: 3rd edition 2007), pp. 13–40; the history of the political debate in Denmark and Iceland preceding the division of the collection is detailed in Sigrún Davíðsdóttir, *Håndskriftsagens saga – i politisk belysning* (Odense: 1999).
4. I presented some of these ideas in 'The virtual reunification of the Arnamagnæan manuscript collection', *The digital demotic*, ed. Lou Burnard et al. (London, 1998), pp. 55–64.
5. Other significant collections of Icelandic manuscripts are found in the Royal Library in Copenhagen, the Royal Library in Stockholm, Uppsala University Library, the British Library and the Bodleian Library in Oxford.
6. The Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) is an international consortium which collectively develops and maintains a standard for the representation of texts of any kind in digital form; see http://www.tei-c.org.
7. Other partners in the ENRICH project were: AIP Beroun, s.r.o., Beroun (CZ), Oxford University Computing Services (UK), Centro per la comunicazione e l'integrazione dei media, Università degli Studi di Firenze (IT), Matematikos ir informatikos institutas, Vilnius (LT), SYSTRAN s.a., Paris (FR), Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid (ES), Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze (IT), Vilniaus universiteto biblioteka (LT), Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu (PL), Universität zu Köln (DE), Monasterium Projekt, Diözese St. Pölten (AT), Budapesti Műszaki és Gazdaságtudományi Egyetem (HU) and Poznańskie Centrum Superkomputerowo-Sieciowe (PL).
8. The reference manual for the ENRICH schema is available at http://projects.oucs.ox.ac.uk/ENRICH/Deliverables/referenceManual_en.pdf.

The monastic libraries in Rome, from the Lists of the Religious Orders for the Sacred Congregation of the Index to the Confiscation in 1873: the reconstruction of the Eborense Library in the Monastery of Santa Maria in Aracoeli belonging to the Friars Minor Observant

MARINA VENIER

The origins of the church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli[1] are very old and closely linked to a legend concerning the emperor Augustus. He had a vision in which he saw in the sky a most beautiful lady standing above an altar, with a child in her arms. This vision took place in Emperor Octavian's room, and it was on that site that the church of Santa Maria in Capitolio was built. It is for this reason that the church of Santa Maria in Capitolio was also known as *Ara Coeli*. The Byzantine monks were among the first to live in this area and it is known for certain that under the pontificate of Gregory the Third (731–41) there was here a monastery dedicated to the Holy Mother of God and to Saint John the Evangelist and Saint John the Baptist.

The Benedictines were already in the monastery in the year 883 and from the ninth to the eleventh century Santa Maria in Capitolio was one of the richest and most important abbeys in Rome. In the twelfth century the Benedictine monks occupied the entire Capitol hill and the abbey began to play a remarkable role in the political as well as the private sphere. Consequently, the whole architectural complex was restored. In 1248, Pope Innocent IV (1243–54) ordered the Benedictines to hand over to the Order of Friars Minor all the possessions linked to Santa Maria in Capitolio. The arrival of the Franciscans on the hill meant that the whole monastic complex underwent architectural restructuring. It was during this period that the name of Santa Maria in Capitolio was changed to Santa Maria in Aracoeli.[2]

Over the following years the monastery continued to grow in importance. From the thirteenth century onwards, the church and the monastery collaborated with the City of Rome: both buildings were used as tribunals, and the Notaries and Corporations used the two cloisters. The old library was used for meetings, and in the eighteenth century Fonseca da Evora used the new library as an official room for the Holy See's diplomatic visits and meetings.[3] In the fifteenth century, Pope Eugene IV (1431–47) gave the Aracoeli to the Friars Minor Observant. One century later, Pope Paul III (1534–49), of the Farnese family, carried out very important architectural changes to the complex of the Aracoeli and to the setting of the Capitoline hill with the project of Michelangelo Buonarroti (1536–46).

Despite the paucity of information available, the monastery, which was the residence of the Minister General of the Order from 1251 to 1444 and also housed a *Studium*, must have had a library already in these early centuries. It is true that in the *Regula bullata* (chapter X) we find the prescription '*Nescientes litteras, ne curent litteras discere*', so that those who had no schooling at the time of entering the Order could not have acquired one there.[4] Some friars, in fact, feared that scholarship, which was always a costly activity, could lead to the strict observance of poverty being abandoned, and thought that learning was incompatible with humility and charity, the core values which Francis of Assisi had taught. At the same time, however, they recognised that a good theological training was of paramount importance for preachers.[5] So the Franciscan *Regula* of the year 1222 did authorise the possession of the breviary. The ownership of books was, however, temporary, for the period of study and the duration of the novitiate, at the beginning of which each brother received *ad usum* some books which were considered necessary and fundamental, such as the Bible and the breviary.

From the mid-thirteenth century, the mendicant orders favoured the creation of libraries in their monasteries, with the books held in common. This meant that the brothers had the basic books without needing to increase the collection they brought with them and would not have to be persuaded to buy new ones for themselves. Many Franciscan libraries were inventoried in the first decades of the fourteenth century and there remain numerous catalogues of library collections in the monasteries of central and northern Italy, compiled in the second half of the century: Pisa (1355), La Verna (1372), Assisi (1381), Sant'Antonio da Padova (1396). In the Monastery of Assisi, the inventory[6] compiled by Giovanni di Iolo in 1381 shows the existence of a '*libraria publica*', a permanent reference library, and of a '*libraria secreta*', from which the books could be lent out.[7]

For this first period there are no catalogues or inventories of the Aracoelitana library, but it is certain that Pope Niccolò III (1277–80) donated some scriptural codices to the monastery (Vaticani latini 7793, 7797). Moreover, a letter of 1323 refers of an '*armarium conventus romani*' and in 1466 nineteen manuscripts were transferred from the Aracoelitana library to the library of Tuscania, then being formed, a gift which could indicate that the collection was rich.[8] Moreover, some bequests to the library are found in wills dating from the end of the fifteenth century,[9] and Francesco Albertini, in his *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris urbis Romae* (1510) cites the libraries of the three main orders, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians, and writes that in Rome (in addition to the Vatican library) are '*aliae multae bibliotecae antiquae, ut apparet in ecclesia Sanctae Mariae ara coeli et Mineruae et Sancti Augustini et Sabinae et aliorum locorum*'.[10]

A list of books of Santa Maria in Aracoeli is found in the manuscript *Vaticanus latinus* 11314, fol. 1r–19v.[11] It contains the list sent to the Sacred Congregation of the Index in the year 1600 mentioning all the books which were held in the common library of the monastery of Santa Maria de Aracoeli in Rome of the Friars Minor Observant of Saint Francis, as well as the lists of the books that were for the personal use of the friars. The books in the common library number 366, of which 41 are manuscripts. Even if we add the 728 volumes which were possessed by the individual friars, it cannot be denied that this list shows a collection of no great size (1194 volumes). This could be due to hasty compilation (the list was sent very late, after several reminders were issued by the Congregation of the Index) or because the friars did not want to reveal all the books they owned, or because of the plundering of the monastery and church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli by the *Lanzichenecchi* (*Landsknechte*) during the Sack of Rome in 1527. On the other hand, the size of the library shown in this list seems to conflict with the fact that it is mentioned, in several works from the end of the sixteenth century, together with other important libraries from the same period in Rome, as possessing many books on all subjects.[12]

Muzio Pansa, in his *Della libraria Vaticana, Ragionamenti* (1590), writes that it is as important as the library of the Dominicans at the monastery of

Santa Maria sopra Minerva and no less famous than the library of the Canons of St Peter, '*nella quale* [Aracoelitana] *sono molti volumi de libri de tutte le professioni, quiui istituita per commodità de Padri, che vi studiano*'.[13] Angelo Rocca (the founder in 1604 of the Biblioteca Angelica), in his *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana* (1591), writes: '*Extat etiam Bibliotheca in Coenobio sancti Dominici, in Aedibus scilicet sanctae Mariae supra Mineruam …: in Aedibus Augustinianis, & in Coenobio sancti Francisci, vel sanctae Mariae de Aracoeli: in tribus enim hisce Coenobijs extant Gymnasia, in quibus plurimi variarum nationum iuuenes aluntur, qui bonarum artium studijs, ac Theologiae praesertim operam nauant*.'[14]

In the seventeenth century other well-known guides to Rome mention the library.

- Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1664) writes that it is a '*Biblioteca copiosa & ordinata di buoni libri per studio delle loro scuole*' (a well-organised library containing many good books for use in their [Franciscan] schools).[15]
- Johannes Lomeier (1669), among the Italian libraries, mentions Santa Maria in Aracoeli together with the Farnese Library, the library of the Dominicans of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, the Augustinian library of St Augustine, and the Vatican library.[16]
- Carlo Bartolomeo Piazza, in his *Eusevologio romano* (1698), describes the library as rich in volumes in all subjects, and continuously expanding.[17]

We finally have more detailed information about the Aracoelitana library from archival sources in the mid-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century. They describe the *celebris bibliotheca* on the first floor, above the sacristy of the church, with two rooms for the librarians. The library was a quadrangle of about sixteen metres by fourteen, with the short side towards the transept of the church.[18] Unfortunately there is no catalogue for this period, but when in 1733 a new library was built, the existing collection must already have been of considerable importance.[19]

The first half of the eighteenth century was a glorious period for the Aracoeli, and for the library too, thanks to the patronage of the Portuguese friar Josè Maria de Ribeiro Fonseca da Evora, a very powerful man, who stayed in the monastery of Aracoeli from 1712 to 1740, General Minister of the Minorites and ambassador of John V of Portugal to the Holy See. In 1733 he founded the new library, with his own funds, together with donations of money and books from John V and by other Portuguese and Spanish noblemen, as well as 7,000 scudi given to him by

Pope Clement XII. 17,900 Roman scudi were spent for the very large and rare collection of books and manuscripts.[20] The Papal brief *Ad seraphicos religionis* dated 20 September 1737 recognised Evora as the founder and architectural patron of the entire library, not only of the building but also of its fittings – the shelves and the *plutei* – as well as of the books. It also gave Evora the right to appoint the librarian and the staff that he required.

Evora's private apartments occupied the site of the old library, above the sacristy. Set at an angle to these, to the east and on a higher floor, was the new library. It was divided into areas for its main functions: the services, located near the papal palace, on the site of the courtyard; the reading room, on the sloped side of the cloister, above the infirmary.

A survey carried out in 1848, shortly before the Second Roman Republic of 1849, gives an idea of the contents of the great reading room. The collection comprised not only theology and patristic works, but also other subjects, such as natural history, medicine, anatomy, natural history, mathematics, philosophy, history including ecclesiastical history, poetry, rhetoric, and grammar.[21] The report of an inspection carried out on May 2, 1873 by Enrico Narducci, government delegate on behalf of the Ministry of Education, gives a good description of the library: '*composta di un ordine inferiore di 30 scansie numerate da 1 a 30, di 6 palchetti ciascuna, più un altro con sportelli, sopra il ballatoio vi sono 36 altre scansie numerate da 1 a 36 di cinque palchetti ciascuna. … In una piccola camera inferiore trovansi 11 scansie 8 delle quali di 7 palchetti, e 3 di 2 palchetti*.' A detailed description of this new library can also be found in the general survey undertaken as part of the expropriation in 1880.[22]

All the services of the library were located between the great reading room and the apartments of the Bishop, in a narrow and dimly lit space on many levels. The numerous internal rooms served for storage of the books which were not in current use. The entrance into the large reading room was difficult of access, but the contrast between the narrow spaces one had to cross in order to reach it and the large hall made it seem even more impressive. The hall was a large rectangle, about 32 metres long, 12 metres wide and 8 metres high. There was shelving of walnut wood on two levels, which were connected by a continuous balcony with decorated parapets and paintings. It was lit by five large rectangular windows. The window on the short side to the south, towards the Forum of Trajan, was on the same axis as the front door. Visitors remarked on the library's unique view over Rome.

Above the entrance door, in honour of the Portuguese king, there was a clock with the coat of arms of the King of Portugal in the centre. Opposite this hung an oil painting commemorating the negotiations between the Portuguese crown and the Holy See. There were tables, desks and three terrestrial and celestial globes, two of them by the Franciscan monk and Venetian cosmographer and cartographer Vincenzo Coronelli.[23] Because of a dispute they had with the friars, we know the names of the architect of the library and of the apartments, Gian Domenico Navone, and of the carpenter responsible for the fittings, Giovanni Palmini.

Most of the existing books in the library, with the exception of those in the storage areas, had a round stamp with the arms of Fonseca and the motto 'BIBL. FONSEC. ARACOELIT.'. There were volumes which had once belonged to different families, including eighty-five volumes with coats-of-arms on the bindings, such as those of the Fonseca and of the Colonna family, of the Archbishop Charles Maurice Le Tellier[24] and of the queen Cristina of Sweden.

Following the confiscation by the Italian State of the properties of the religious orders, which took place in Rome from 1873 onwards, the libraries of sixty-nine monasteries, transferred to the Collegio Romano of the Jesuits, formed the first nucleus of the new National Library.[25] The Eborense library in S. Maria in Aracoeli became the object of a legal dispute between Italy and Portugal which asserted a claim to be the cardinal's legal heir. The judicial controversy ended in 1883 and the collection was transferred to the National Library in that year.[26] As is clear from the report drawn up in 1880,[27] before the transfer, the library comprised 17,642 volumes, 2,268 part works (pamphlets, ephemera?), 60 manuscripts, and 70 Chinese books.[28]

One of the conditions in the agreement which was reached between the Italian and Portuguese governments stipulated that the Eborense library should be kept together in the new building, and in its original shelving. So the wooden shelves were dismantled and then reassembled in a room adjacent to the Crociera, where they remain today; however, they are empty because the books themselves were transferred in 1975 to the new National Library in Castro Pretorio.[29] The books have not been kept together in a single room but are grouped in distinct sections in the storage area: 31, 32, 37, 42 (from 42.1 to 42.7.G.2), 43.[30] The decision was also taken to use the original catalogue of the Aracoeli library, adding the new shelf marks of the National Library next to the earlier ones.[31] Thus, the Aracoelitana Library would appear to be the only complete monastic

FIGURE 1 The Biblioteca Eborense as housed in the Collegio Romano

library now held in the National Library. Unlike the other monastic libraries which are dispersed within its collections, the fact that the Aracoeli volumes can be easily identified could facilitate the full reconstruction of one of the most important libraries in Rome, belonging to one of the most important religious orders, the Franciscans.

However, when we examine the sequence of historical events which shook Rome in particular between the end of the eighteenth and the middle of the nineteenth century, it seems doubtful whether the collection that arrived in the National Library in 1883 is indeed the entire Aracoelitana Library as it was progressively built up over time. In fact, over the course of fifteen years, religious orders suffered two suppressions followed by confiscation of their properties: first during the French invasion and the first Roman Republic (also called the 'Tiberina' Republic) in 1798 to 1800, and again during the Napoleonic period (1809–14). These suppressions had very serious consequences for the libraries of all monasteries in Rome: the history of the Eborense Library in S. Maria in Aracoeli is an example.

The chronicles and documents relating to the years 1798–99 describe libraries being sacked and destroyed. The Proclamation of the Republic on 11 May 1798 declared the suppression of the monasteries, thirty-one of them in the city of Rome alone.[32] What belonged to the monasteries was declared national property and sold in the name of the Public Treasury; those items among printed books, manuscripts, paintings, statues and marbles which were valued as precious by a Special Commission of experts had to be transferred and housed in appropriate places, i.e. the valuable printed books went to the Casanatense library, while the manuscripts were sent to the Vatican Library. The other books were sold by weight to be used as wrapping paper.[33] But soon there was no more space for the printed books in the Casanatense library, and probably these too were taken to the Vatican Library. The sources report that about 25,000 books were selected and saved in this manner.

On 17 July 1799, the two churches and the two monasteries of the Franciscans in Rome, the Aracoeli and the San Bartolomeo all'isola Tiberina, were restored to the friars. These two compounds had been completely stripped and were in danger of collapse. Archival documents tell us that some benefactors offered to compensate the losses of the 'ruinous' monastery of Aracoeli. Yet the books did not return: the Vatican Library decided to retain the volumes from the monastic libraries which had been transferred into its keeping. The return of the books happened probably starting in 1815, after the Napoleonic occupation.[34]

In fact, an inventory of the Monastery of San Bartolomeo all'Isola Tiberina, dated 25 June 1810, written by officials in Napoleon's government, recorded the complete absence of the library and archive.[35] In the inventory of the Aracoelitana Library, drawn up probably in the same year, we read that the books were found on the shelves, but there was no catalogue, or index, 'because the Library was restored by the monks, after it had been transferred and destroyed at the time of the Republic'.

During the Napoleonic period, an order was issued in 1812 for the manuscripts and printed books owned by the suppressed religious orders to be transferred to the Imperial Library in the Vatican. But, in the case of the printed books, the instruction was qualified: only those books which were deemed worthy to be held in the Imperial Library should be moved.[36] Because they were already open to the public, it was decided to keep the Angelica, the Aracoelitana and the Minerva libraries. They were given to the city of Rome, which had to preserve and increase their holdings. The three libraries were to be merged into two institutions only, the

Aracoelitana and the Minerva libraries. This project however was never completed, perhaps for reasons of space.[37]

An inspection of the library probably dating from 1813 records that the Aracoelitana Library had 6,875 printed books and no manuscripts and gives a description of how the books were arranged and the range of subjects they covered.[38] In 1815, the Casanatense Library began to return the volumes which it had in storage, and in the lists of the volumes which were restituted, there is no mention of the Aracoelitana Library.[39]

After returning to Rome on June 7, 1815, also Pope Pius VII decreed the return of the manuscripts and the printed books which had been taken to the Vatican Library during the annexation of the city by the French (1809–14). These amounted to approximately 25,000 volumes. However, the Vatican ended by deciding to retain all the manuscripts and to return only those printed books which were duplicate copies of editions it already owned. As it was impossible to determine from exactly which institution each of the approximately 12,000 duplicates came, the decision was taken to give them to the Araceli and to the San Bartolomeo all'Isola monasteries, which 'in the past transferred the books of better quality'.[40]

In subsequent years, the libraries seem not to have suffered further disruption. Between 1848 and 1849, the historical events that led to the Second Roman Republic, which lasted only five months, seem to have had no impact on library collections in the city. In 1848, we have a report on the Aracoelitana Library, describing how the volumes were organised in the reading room, but it does not say how many they are.[41]

The rest of the story is well-known. After the 1873 law of the Kingdom of Italy, the Eborense library was closed down and confiscated; it was then transferred in 1883 to the National Library, at that time housed in the Jesuit Collegio Romano.[42] The fate of the monastery itself was worse. The land on which it stood was chosen for the construction of the Monument to Vittorio Emanuele II (also known as the Altar of the Homeland or of the Unknown Soldier) in Piazza Venezia. Of the pre-existing buildings on the site only the Church of Aracoeli and the entrance to the portico of the monastery built by the Farnese Pope Paul III (1534–49) were preserved. The part which housed the Library, therefore, was destroyed. The original shelving in the reading room next to the Crociera in the Collegio Romano of the Jesuits is all that remains of the original architectural structure of the library.[43]

At this point it should be clear that if we wish to reconstruct the Library of Santa Maria in Araceli since its beginnings from what remains of it, it is not enough to identify copies found in the old catalogues, arrived with the volumes in the National Library. While the indexes now kept in the National Library provide, in my opinion, a comprehensive picture of the reconstituted Library, as it was from 1815 until 1873, most of the manuscripts and printed books which were in the library before 1815 must be looked for elsewhere,[44] mostly in the Vatican Library. Leonard Lemmens in 1924 stated that some printed books from the Eborense Library, which were identifiable by the Fonseca stamp in them, were to be found in the Reading Room and in the 'General collection East' of the Vatican Library. This is confirmed by a plan of the present reading room built by Pope Leo XIII (Sala Leonina, 1892), where a part of the room was for the '*Raccolta e coll. Aracoeli*'.[45] So the fact that the Vatican library probably holds a substantial number of books from the Eborense collection has been recorded within living memory. Unfortunately, these volumes were removed from where they were kept on the plan and transferred to general storage. There seems to be no documentation on their relocation; their transfer means that it would now be very difficult to find them.

The project *RICI*, Ricerca sull'Inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice (Research project into the Inquiry carried out by the Congregation for the Index), which began in 2001, is attempting to identify the editions and the copies listed in the manuscript *Vaticanus latinus* 11314. But as pointed out above, it is unlikely that this list represents the true extent of the library in 1600 since it transcribes only 1,194 volumes, a very low number.[46]

Bearing these facts in mind, it would be useful to summarise how a reconstruction of the Aracoelitana Library might now proceed. Most of the printed books, as we know from documentary sources and from the volumes themselves, contain two kinds of stamps: the first has the black capital letters B and A (Bibliotheca Aracoelitana), while the second is round with five stars, the arms of Fonseca, and the wording 'BIBL. FONSEC. ARACOELIT.' around the border. The presence or absence of both these stamps in a copy may be linked to different phases of the library's history. I believe that the 'BA' stamp is the earlier and was in the library's books before Fonseca.[47] The same can be said for the shelf marks on the books: the labels found on the front boards are not in the volumes traced in the Vatican Library, but these shelf marks are in the catalogue compiled in the first half of the nineteenth century.[48] It is probable that after the volumes were returned in the 1800s, the library was reorganised and this new catalogue was created.

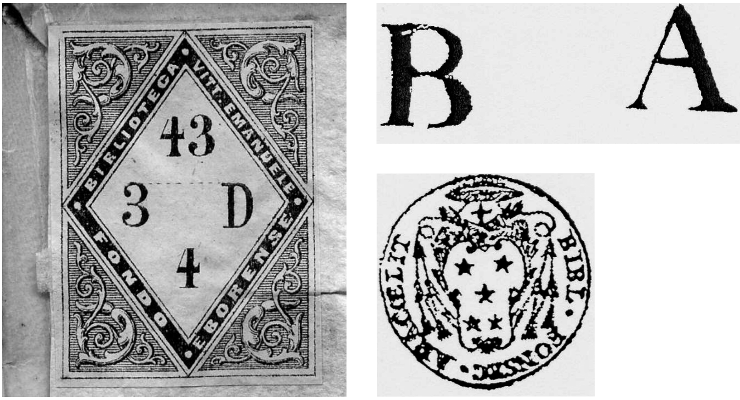


Figure 2 Ownership label and stamps of Biblioteca Eborense

The Aracoelitana books in the National Central Library are easily identifiable: they are all located in separate sections of the storage areas[49] and they have the labels with the words 'Biblioteca Vitt. Emanuele Fondo Eborense'. The new shelf marks have been added next to the earlier ones in the old Aracoeli catalogue.[50] The 1880 record of the delivery of the Aracoelitana Library lists, as we saw above, 17,642 volumes, 2,268 fascicules, 60 manuscripts, and 70 Chinese books.

In 1994, *ICCU* – the Central Institute for the Union Catalogue of Italian Libraries and for Bibliographical Information – developed and released the software for electronic cataloguing of early printed material in SBN, known as SBN-Libro antico, in which it was possible for the first time to index the owners of copies.[51] In the same year, the National Central Library began the cataloguing its historical printed collections 'book in hand'. To date, all the sixteenth and seventeenth-century editions have been catalogued.

At present the copies which have been identified as coming from the Aracoelitana library amount to some 4,100. Some have only the label with '*Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele Fondo Eborense*',[52] others also contain both stamps, or the later stamp with the wording '*BIBL. FONSEC. ARACOELIT*'. It is likely that many more volumes will be found among the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century editions which remain to be catalogued.

In the 'Fondo Eborense' of the National Central Library there are thirty-eight manuscripts, one in 'Fondo Varia'. The record of the consignment drawn up in 1880 lists sixty manuscripts. It is possible therefore that other manuscripts from the Aracoelitana library may have been dispersed in other collections within the National Central Library.[53] In connection with the Aracoelitana manuscripts, Paolo Vian, head of the manuscripts department in the Vatican Library, has identified ten manuscripts included in the inventory drawn up by the Congregation of the Index. He has also shown that other manuscripts from the library are now in the Vatican.[54]

What of the future? The quest to reconstruct the library of the Aracoeli monastery has been divided between two major projects.

- The Google Books project, which will digitise the early-printed books in the National Central Library of Rome published from 1601 to 1900, will also allow for all the books which came from the Aracoelitana Library to be catalogued.
- A second project is run by the University of Pavia, in partnership with the National Central Library of Rome and the Vatican Library, under the co-ordination of Professor Paul Weston. This project aims to investigate, *inter alia*, the provenances of the collections of the Vatican Library.

These two projects, together with the work which has been done hitherto, may mean that it will finally be possible to reconstruct in its integrity what remains of one of Rome's most important historical monastic collections.

NOTES

1. For the fullest treatment of the subject, see M. Brancia di Apricena, 'Il Complesso dell'Aracoeli sul Colle Capitolino, 9.–19. secolo' (Roma: [2000]); P. Vian, 'Altri codici aracoelitani nella biblioteca Vaticana', in *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* (Città del Vaticano: 1988), II, pp. 287–311; L. Lemmens, 'De sorte archivi generalis ordinis fratrum minorum et Bibliothecae Aracoelitanae tempore Reipublicae Tiberinae (A. 1798–1799)', in: *Archivum Franciscanum historicum* 17 (1924), pp. 30–54; L. Oliger, 'Le iscrizioni lapidarie latine del P. Giovanni Antonio Bianchi da Lucca O.F.M. (1686–1758) per Roma e altre città', in: *Studi Francescani* IX (1923), pp. 33–62. See also: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II Roma, 'Fondi minori. Catalogo dei manoscritti Fondo Eborense Mss. Ebor. 17–27', a cura di Silvia Pagni, Dati elaborati con la procedura MANUS dell'ICCU (Roma: 2006), dattiloscritto. A complete bibliography of the history of the National Library can be found in P. Veneziani, 'La Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II', in: *Il Collegio Romano dalle origini al Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali* (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 2003), pp. 397–425; 'La Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio

Emanuele II di Roma: una bibliografia, 1870–1992', a cura di S. Masti, L. Mazzola, M. Pisano, in: *I fondi, le procedure, le storie. Raccolta di studi della Biblioteca* (Roma: Biblioteca Nazionale, 1993), pp. 293–317; V. Carini Dainotti, *La Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele al Collegio Romano* (Firenze: L. Olschki Editore, 1956; Ristampa 2003).

2. Brancia di Apricena, pp. 63, 78, 84 n. 8.
3. Brancia di Apricena, p. 244; *Il Settecento a Roma. Catalogo della mostra*, a cura di A. Lo Bianco e A. Negro (Cinisello Balsamo: 2005), p. 240, n. 137.
4. See Società internazionale di studi francescani, *Studio e Studia: le scuole degli ordini mendicanti tra XIII e XIV secolo* (Spoleto: 2002).
5. G. Barone, 'Conclusioni', in Società internazionale di studi francescani, *Studio e Studia: le scuole degli ordini mendicanti tra XIII e XIV secolo* (Spoleto: 2002), pp. 365–77.
6. Assisi, Biblioteca del sacro Convento, ms. 691, see http://88.48.84.154/bbw/jsp/images/ShowVolumeImages.jsp?id_volume=11949382256120&text=&id_creator=, accessed 2011, 06.
7. D. Nebbiai, 'Le biblioteche degli ordini mendicanti (secc. XIII–XV)', in *Società internazionale di studi francescani, Studio e Studia: le scuole degli ordini mendicanti tra XIII e XIV secolo* (Spoleto: 2002), pp. 229, 252–270. The *Libraria publica* (fols. 23r–81v) had 181 volumes, classified as follows: Bible, Biblical studies, sermons and homìlies, works of the Church Fathers, civil law, theology, Bible commentaries, grammars and dictionaries, philosophy, *summae*, canon law. The *Libraria secreta* (fols. 82–84) had 532 volumes, classified as follows: Bible, commentaries on the Bible, Biblical studies, works of the Church Fathers and Doctors, legends of the saints, Franciscan studies, grammars and dictionaries, philosophy, medicine, history, rhetoric, canon law, *summae*, civil law, theology, ethics, sermons, liturgical books. See C. Cenci, *Bibliotheca manuscripta ad Sacrum Conventum Assisiensem* (Assisi: 1981), pp. 9–37.
8. S. Magrini, 'La *Bibbia* dell' Aracoeli nella Roma di fine duecento', in: *Scrittura e civiltà*, 24 (2000), pp. 227–50, see in particular pp. 228–30.
9. See G. Moroni, 'Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da S. Pietro sino ai nostri giorni' (Venezia: 1840), v, p. 233; Casimiro da Roma, *Memorie storiche della chiesa e convento di S. Maria in Araceli* (Roma: 1736), pp. 449–50; G. Abate, 'Manoscritti e biblioteche francescane del Medio Evo', in: *Il libro e le biblioteche. Atti del primo congresso bibliologico francescano internazionale, 20–27 febbraio 1949* (Roma: 1950), II, pp. 115; P. Vian, 'Altri codici aracoelitani nella biblioteca Vaticana', in: *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* (Città del Vaticano: 1988), II, pp. 287–88.
10. F. Albertini, *Opusculum de mirabilibus nouae & ueteris vrbis Romae* (Roma: G. Mazzocchi, 1510), p. 69.
11. *BAV*, Vat. Lat. 11314: *1600 Inventario de' tutti li libri che sono nella libraria commune del Convento di Santa Maria in Araceli in Roma de frati Menori*

Osservanti di S. Francesco. G. Granata, 'Le biblioteche dei Francescani osservanti', in: *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli ordini regolari nell'Italia moderna attraverso la documentazione della Congregazione dell'indice*, Convegno internazionale Macerata 30 maggio – 1 giugno 2006 (BAV, 2006); R. Rusconi, 'I Frati minori dell'Osservanza in Italia dopo il Concilio di Trento: circolazione di libri e strumenti di formazione intellettuale (sulla base delle biblioteche conventuali e personali)', in: *Identités franciscaines à l'âge des réformes* (Clermont-Ferrand: 2005), p. 404.

12. Vian, pp. 292–307; V. Romani, *Biblioteche romane del Sei e Settecento* (Manziana: 1996), pp. 5–11, 22; A. Serrai, *Storia della bibliografia, V, Trattatistica biblioteconomica*, a cura di M. Palumbo (Roma: 1993), pp. 141–42, 172, 451, 490.

13. M. Pansa, *Della libraria Vaticana Ragionamenti* (Roma: Giovanni Martinelli, 1590), p. 326.

14. A. Rocca, *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana* (Roma: Tipografia apostolica vaticana, 1591), p. 397.

15. G. P. Bellori, *Nota delli musei, librerie, galerie, et ornamenti di statue e pitture ne' palazzi, nelle case, e ne' giardini di Roma* (Roma: B. Deversin e F. Cesaretti, 1664), p. 32.

16. J. Lomeier, *De bibliothecis liber singularis* (Zutphaniae: H. Beerren, 1669), p. 242.

17. C. B. Piazza, *Eusevologio romano, overo delle opere pie di Roma, accresciuto e ampliato secondo lo stato presente. Con due trattati delle Accademie, e Librerie celebri di Roma* (Roma: F. Cesaretti e Paribeni, 1698), pp. clxxix–clxxx.

18. Brancia di Apricena, pp. 209, 242–43.

19. The library was severely damaged during the events of the first Roman republic (1798–1800) and the Napoleonic occupation (1809–14). In particular the archive appeared to have been destroyed and dispersed. See L. Lemmens, pp. 39–49.

20. Brancia di Apricena, pp. 225–30, 243–53.

21. Archivio di Stato di Roma, camerale III, Chiese e conventi, busta 1882, Aracoeli, perizia anno 1848, M. Brancia di Apricena, pp. 246, 264 n. 125–28.

22. Roma, Archivio Centrale di Stato, Fondo biblioteche governative e non governative, Busta 160, 1, perizia del 5 luglio 1880, F. Carta, 'Relazione intorno ai lavori d'inventario e consegna della biblioteca S. Maria d'Aracoeli', in: M. Brancia di Apricena, p. 253.

23. One globe is now on display in the Special Collections reading room in the National Central Library in Rome.

24. BNCR: 37.2.G.16.

25. M. Venier, 'The computerised archive of owners in the older publications database of SBN: the experience of the National central library of Rome', in: *Books and their owners: Provenance information and the European cultural heritage*, edited by David J. Shaw, CERL Papers V (London: 2005), pp. 43–53.

26. Carini Dainotti, p. 65; *Relazione della Giunta liquidatrice dell'Asse ecclesiastico di Roma all'onorevole Commissione di vigilanza* (Roma: Eredi Botta, 1880), pp. 25, 120–23. Documents relating to the consignment of the library can be found in Roma, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Divisione Istruzione superiore, Biblioteche governative e non governative (1881–1894), busta 160, 'Roma, Aracoeli, Biblioteca Eborense'; Roma, Archivio Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, posizione 7D, 1873–1882, 1883–1887.

27. Catalogo della Biblioteca di S.ta M.ia in Aracoeli. 1880, Verbale di consegna della Biblioteca Aracelitana, 12 luglio 1880 (BNCR: Antichi Cataloghi 17): 'Biblioteca, parte inferiore, volumi 5527; parte superiore, volumi 5965. Magazzino, camera 1a superiore, 2a superiore, inferiore, volumi 6150. Totale dei volumi 17642. Appendice di materie diverse deposte provvisoriamente nella camera inferiore del Magazzino: manoscritti, fascicoli n. 60, libri chinesi n. 70, cose d'arte n. 16, raccolta di opuscoli n. 1195, opere 2 in più esemplari n. 198, opere non composte a volume n. 729. Totale dei fascicoli 2268. Totale generale Volumi n. 17642, fascicoli n. 2268'.

28. To date, of the 70 chinese books 42 volumes have been identified in the National Library. They belonged to Agostino Sardi di Carpineto, Friar Minor, missionary in China, which he himself signed and which also bear the seal of the church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli. See: *Pagine dall'Oriente. Libri cinesi e giapponesi della Biblioteca Nazionale*. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Roma, 13 marzo – 30 aprile 1996 (Roma: Bardi Editore, 1996), p. 9

29. The 'Crociera' today houses part of collection belonging to the Biblioteca di archeologia e storia dell'arte.

30. The 6,285 volumes in section 37 contain the stamp of Cardinal Fonseca.

31. BNCR: Antico catalogo 1/1-3.

32. *Collezione di carte pubbliche, proclami, editti, ragionamenti ed altre produzioni tendenti a consolidare la rigenerata Repubblica romana* (Roma: L. Perego Salvioni, 1798), 1, pp. 456–57.

33. G. A. Sala, *Diario romano degli anni 1798–99* (Roma: 1882), parte II, p. 48, parte III, p. 25; A. Galimberti, *Memorie dell'occupazione francese in Roma dal 1798 alla fine del 1802*, a cura di L. Topi (Roma: 2004), v. 1, pp. 74, 99, 157, 164, 361; v. 11, pp. 523, 548, 555, 737, 790.

34. Vian, pp. 308, 310–11.

35. Archivio di stato di Roma, busta 1897/6, S. Bartolomeo all'Isola, 25 giugno 1810, 'Inventario degli oggetti mobili dipendenti dallo stabilimento conosciuto sotto il titolo di S. Bartolomeo all'Isola'.

36. For this period, see A. Rita, *Biblioteche e requisizioni librarie a Roma in età napoleonica* (Città del Vaticano: 2011); De Gregorio, *La biblioteca Casanatense di Roma* (Napoli: 1993), pp. 169–73. De Gregorio cites the Ms. Casanatense 489/1-12: 'Memorie e cataloghi delle biblioteche, che in tempo de' Francesi posero in Casanatense i libri per essere custoditi; e quindi di averli ritirati'.

37. 'Bollettino delle leggi e decreti imperiali pubblicati dalla Consulta straordinaria negli Stati Romani' (Roma: presso L. Perego Salvioni, 1810), v. XII, p. 223: 'Seduta dei 15 ottobre 1810. In nome dell'Imperatore dei Francesi, Re d'Italia, e protettore della Confederazione del Reno. La Consulta straordinaria per gli Stati romani, Veduto il rapporto del Prefetto di Roma, considerando che è necessario di conservare al pubblico le tre librerie, che godevano aperte nella città di Roma; Ordina: Art. 1. La libreria della Minerva, quella chiamata Angelica e quella d'Araceli saranno messe alla disposizione della città di Roma, la quale dovrà mantenerle e completarle a sue spese. 2. Queste saranno riunite in due sole biblioteche, una delle quali resterà stabilita alla Minerva, e l'altra all'Araceli sul Campidoglio. 3. Il prefetto di Roma è incaricato del presente decreto che sarà inserito nel bollettino. Firmati: Il Conte Miollis Governator generale presid. G. M. De Gerando, Dal Pozzo'.

38. 'Ville de Rome, Bibliothèque d'Aracoeli', [*c.*1813/14], Vat. lat. 10362, p. 765.

39. De Gregorio, p. 171, n. 22, 23.

40. See G. Mercati, *Note per la storia di alcune biblioteche romane nei sec. XVI–XIX* (Città del Vaticano: 1952), p. 46, n. 5; V. De Gregorio, pp. 165–66; L. Lemmens, pp. 50–53. In particular, see the inventory which contains the 'Rescritti' of Pope Pius VII, dated from 1800 to 1822, for the restitution of books belonging to various monasteries, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio Biblioteca Ms. 37, p. 185, fasc. an. 1799 n. 1, 'Memoria per la Biblioteca Vaticana', adì 12 agosto 1800: 'Per opera dell'Abate Gaetano Marini trovansi trasportati in alcune camere contigue alla Biblioteca Vaticana, ed ordinati nelle loro classi circa 25.000 volumi, scelti dalle molte librerie de' Conventi soppressi nel passato Governo, e salvati per tal modo dal comun naufragio. Il restituirli agli antichi padroni è ora poco meno che impossibile, giacchè converrebbe esaminarli ad uno ad uno, e vedere il segno e il numero, che lo distingue dagli altri, per così sapere a chi spetta, e manca poi una tale indicazione a moltissimi. D'altra parte rimanendo dove ora sono, possono aumentare grandemente il numero de' libri stampati della BV, e renderla per questa parte assai pregevole e utile. Risulterebbe da una sifatta unione un buon numero di libri duplicati, né minore certamente, per quanto si è potuto osservare, di 10 in 12 mila e questi si potrebbero distribuire a' conventi, che più degli altri ne abbisognano, e che ne fanno sicuramente un buon uso, come a dire sopra tutti i Frati Minori dell'Araceli, e di san Bartolomeo all'Isola; molto più che dalle loro librerie si è avuta la miglior parte di tali libri. Adì 12 agosto 1800'. Volumes which came from other suppressed libraries can have a second owner (see BNCR 31.8.E.5, G. P. Barco, *Specchio religioso per le monache*. Milano: P. Martire Locarni, 1609, from the monastery of San Nicola da Tolentino). 'Dall'Udienza di N.S. Sua Santità rimette la istanza al giusto e prudente arbitrio del Sig. Cardi. De Zelada Bibliotecario con tutte le facoltà necessarie e opportune. A Card.le Roverello, Prodatario'; (p. 186) 'L'abate Gaetano Marini eseguisca fedelmente quanto si contiene nella presente Memoria, e si renda benemerito de' Conventi religiosi in essa nominati, e della Biblioteca Vaticana, a tenore della retroscritta Pontificia volontà. F.S. Card. De Zelada Bibliot.'; (p. 39) 'Lettera al Papa Pio

VII 7 agosto 1815 dal Custode della B.V. Il P. guardiano e religiosi del convento di S. Bartolomeo all'isola di questa città … espongono qualmente nell'anno 1798 per ordine di chi governava nel tempo della cosidetta Republica Romana essendo stato soppresso il surriferito convento i libri spettanti alla libreria di esso sono stati trasportati a quella del vaticano, dove in gran parte tutt'ora esistono. … chiedono la restituzione o la commuta in altri confacienti al loro bisogno.'; (p. 170) 'Lettera a Papa Pio VII e al custode della BV che ne parli. Il P. Commissario Cervelli e religiosi Min. Osservanti del Convento di S.a Maria d'Araceli … essendogli pervenuto a notizia che i libri spettanti a quella loro libraria, sotto le passate vicende furono trasportati, e di presente sussistono nella Biblioteca Vaticana, e standogli sommamente a cuore di riacquistarli con tutti gli attrezzi annessi, al fine di provvedere ai bisogni dei religiosi dediti allo studio tanto attivo che passivo, alle lezioni scritturali, e morali, alla predicazione e simili; umilmente supplica la sovrana bontà e clemenza della medesima Santità Vostra, onde si degni ordinare, che senza veruna difficoltà, e ritardo vengano loro rilasciati tutti i libri sud.i, marcati dal respettivo segno.'

41. Archivio di stato di Roma, Camerale III, Chiese e conventi, Busta 1882, 'Aracoeli'.

42. L. n. 1402/19 giugno 1873, see note n. 26.

43. Brancia di Apricena, pp. 278–93.

44. See in Oxford, Bodleian Library: Rome, Biblioteca Santa Maria in Aracoeli, D-153 Donatus, Aelius, 'Commentum in Terentii Comoedias' ([Venice]: Vindelinus de Spira, [*c*. 1472]), folio.

45. A. Rita, 'La Biblioteca Vaticana nelle sue architetture. Un disegno storico.', in *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Libri e luoghi all'inizio del terzo millennio* (Città del Vaticano: 2011), p. 100.

46. http://ebusiness.taiprora.it/bib/index2.asp, accessed 2011, 06.

47. See BNCR 43.3.D.4, 43.3.D.8, 43.3.D.12, with early bindings and containing the two kinds of shelf mark. The shelf mark on the label on the front plate is of the last reorganisation of the library in Aracoeli (see note n. 48).

48. BNCR: Antichi cataloghi 1/1-2.

49. The sections are: 31, 32, 37 (the 6,285 volumes have the stamp of Cardinal Fonseca), 42 (from 42.1 to 42.7.G.2), 43.

50. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale: Antichi Cataloghi 1/ 1-2. The National Library used the older catalogue, only altering the shelf marks of the volumes (BNC Roma: Archive, Posizione 7C/ 1883 n. 3, 3 bis, 4, Lettere di Domenico Gnoli al Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione: 24 marzo 1883; 18 giugno 1883; 21 giugno 1883). The old catalogues of the Eborense library are: (BNCR: Antichi cataloghi 47) *Registro di prestito della Biblioteca Aracoelitana di Roma. 1822* (carta 1) 'Nota dei Religiosi che tengono libri appartenenti alla Libreria aracelitana. 1822'; (BNCR: Antichi Cataloghi 2/1-3) *Indice alfabetico dei libri della Biblioteca Araceliana*, 1844 (v.1), 1845 (v. 2); (BNCR: Antichi Cataloghi 48) *Indice dei libri che si contengono in questa Biblioteca Aracelitana, con nome de'*

proprii autori segnato. 1828, 'Catalogo topografico della biblioteca aracelitana di Roma'; (BNCR: Antichi Cataloghi 1/1-2) *Catalogo della Biblioteca Aracoeliana Eborense* (2 v., A–M, N–Z) Prima metà sec. XIX, about 16,500 items; (BNCR: Antichi Cataloghi 1/3) *Catalogo della Biblioteca Aracoeliana Eborense. Appendice* (carta 1) 'Appendice di libri della Biblioteca eborense non registrati nel vecchio catalogo. 1884', about 6,450 items; (BNCR: Antichi Cataloghi 17) *Catalogo della Biblioteca di S.ta M.ia in Aracoeli. 1880*, verbale di consegna della Biblioteca Aracelitana, 12 luglio 1880.

51. SBN www.sbn.it, accessed 2011, 06: the 'Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale or National Library Service', is the Italian library network promoted by the General Direction for Library Heritage and Cultural Institutes, in cooperation with the regions and the universities. One of the databases within SBN is the Early Printed Books database, containing records for books from the early days of printing up to 1830. The database of owners in SBN-Antiquarian distinguishes between former owners and the last known owner. The latter (i.e. the owner from whom the library acquired the copies) can have only a single entry. Both categories of owners can be linked to one or more inventory numbers, identifying each copy.
52. They could be the volumes which were found without any marks in the stacks of the Aracoelitana library, the books which were not in current use, as was recorded in the report of 1880 (see note 27) or volumes returned after the first Roman Republic, which also came from other suppressed libraries (see note 40).
53. BNCR, Manoscritto Varia 326. See here note 25; L. Martinoli, 'Per la storia e la catalogazione dei fondi manoscritti della Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Roma', in *Quaderni della Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Roma*, 11 (Roma: 2005), pp. 117–38; 'Manus on-line' http://manus.iccu.sbn.it, accessed 2011, 06.
54. Vian, pp. 289–91, 296–306. An 'Eborense 18' is in the *Archivio storico della Pontificia Università Gregoriana*, Curia, F.C. 978. The Archive of the church and the monastery of Santa Maria in Aracoeli formed part of the Archive of the Roman Province of the Franciscans and suffered the same historical vicissitudes as the Library; however, it was largely destroyed and what remained is today missing. The main institutions where documents from the Aracoelitana library could be traced include: the National Central Library in Rome; the Vatican Library; the archive in the Centro culturale Aracoeli of the Provincia romana dei Frati minori dei Santi apostoli Pietro e Paolo of Rome; the Pontificia università *Antonianum* of Rome, whose library, today the central library of the Order of Friars minor, is the ideal continuation of the Aracoelitana library; the State Archive of Rome (for documents relating to Italy before Unification), the State Central Archives of Rome (for the documents after the Unification of Italy), the Portuguese Institute of Saint Anthony, and the Monastery of the Forty Holy Martyrs in Rome (it belonged to the Friars Minor of San Pietro d'Alcantara).

Identifying libraries and patrons of bookbindings by the evidence of numbers

ISABELLE DE CONIHOUT

In the winter of 1997, in the *NLA* (*Nouvelles du livre ancien*) n° 93, under the title '*À la chasse*', I called for the opening of a new rubric entitled Provenances. I payed tribute to Anglo-Saxon achievements in that field, refering to Roger Stoddard's memorable exhibition in Harvard, *Marks in books*, David Pearson's *Provenance Research in Book History*, published by the British Library in 1994, and the then recent conference, again under the title *Marks in books*, of the Bibliographical Society of America (published 1997).

At the same time I had to confess the French shyness in this field, quite strange in the country of Debure and La Vallière. I contrasted the challenge which copy-specific information represented for American librarians in charge of books mostly bought on the rare book market in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the much easier task of curators in European research libraries, with collections gathered in more fortunate times, when forgery did not exist, and which had been kept in public storage since the end of the eighteenth century.

'*Nul n'est prophète en son pays*', and I must confess that my call '*à la chasse!*' had little immediate resonance in my country.

In my *NLA* paper, I insisted upon a special type of provenance evidence, on which I shall focus here, much more difficult to trace than coats-of-arms, mottos and ex-libris, that is, discreet marks difficult to interpret, old shelf marks and labels, distinctive bindings, etc., in short, the kind of evidence of which curators knowing their shelves are the best connoisseurs.

From a number of case studies in French libraries (Laubespine in the sixteenth century, Peiresc, Naudé, Trichet du Fresne, and Cardinal Mazarin in the seventeenth), I would like to show how attention paid to numeric evidence, that is, old inventory numbers or shelf marks, found on the end leaves and covers of volumes without any mark of ownership, may lead to the rediscovery of huge and highly interesting collections.[1]

CLAUDE DE LAUBESPINE (1545–1570)

In 2003, I gave with Pascal Ract-Madoux a paper at the British Library, on the occasion of the launching of its wonderful *Database of Bookbindings*. Unknown to book historians seven years ago, Claude de Laubespine is now well-known and has joined the very select club of great Renaissance patrons of bookbindings, becoming the third member of a 'Trinity': 'Grolier, Mahieu, Laubespine'.[2] I shall give only a short summary of this discovery, focusing on the numeric evidence which lead to it.

In 1993, I started on a census of the decorated French bindings in the Réserve des livres rares of the Bibliothèque nationale. Shortly after I had begun my travels along the stacks, I noticed two sixteenth-century folio books on architecture, with fine bindings executed at the end of the 1560s, but without any indication of to whom they had belonged – no ex-libris or coat-of-arms (Fig. 1).

Both of them bore on the flyleaf an old shelf mark in brown ink, a number inscribed in a large hand of the end of the sixteenth century, between two parallel lines (Fig. 2). Pascal and I went on searching, and in the end we had found in the Réserve 34 volumes, all bearing the same kind of shelf mark, bound in the 1560s, produced by several workshops.

Whichever workshop bound them, these volumes all had one thing in common, a gilt title on the back. None of them was published after 1569, and the original shelf marks, inscribed on the flyleaf, ran from 9 to 1,481. Alas, all of these books were completely mute about their original owner, except for the mysterious brown shelf marks, which we called the '*cotes brunes*'.

We continued our search in other Parisian libraries, where we found many more volumes, most of them in the Bibliothèque Mazarine, where I had in the meantime been appointed, in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, and in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. This search turned out to be fascinating, passing through the stacks to identify candidates, then, with trepidation, opening the book in the hope that, first, it had kept its original flyleaves – and then, that they would bear our '*cote brune*'.

Outside of France, the richest public library from the Laubespine point of view is the British Library. We also found '*cote brune*' bindings in America (in the Pierpont Morgan Library, and in the Newberry Library), and in a few private collections.

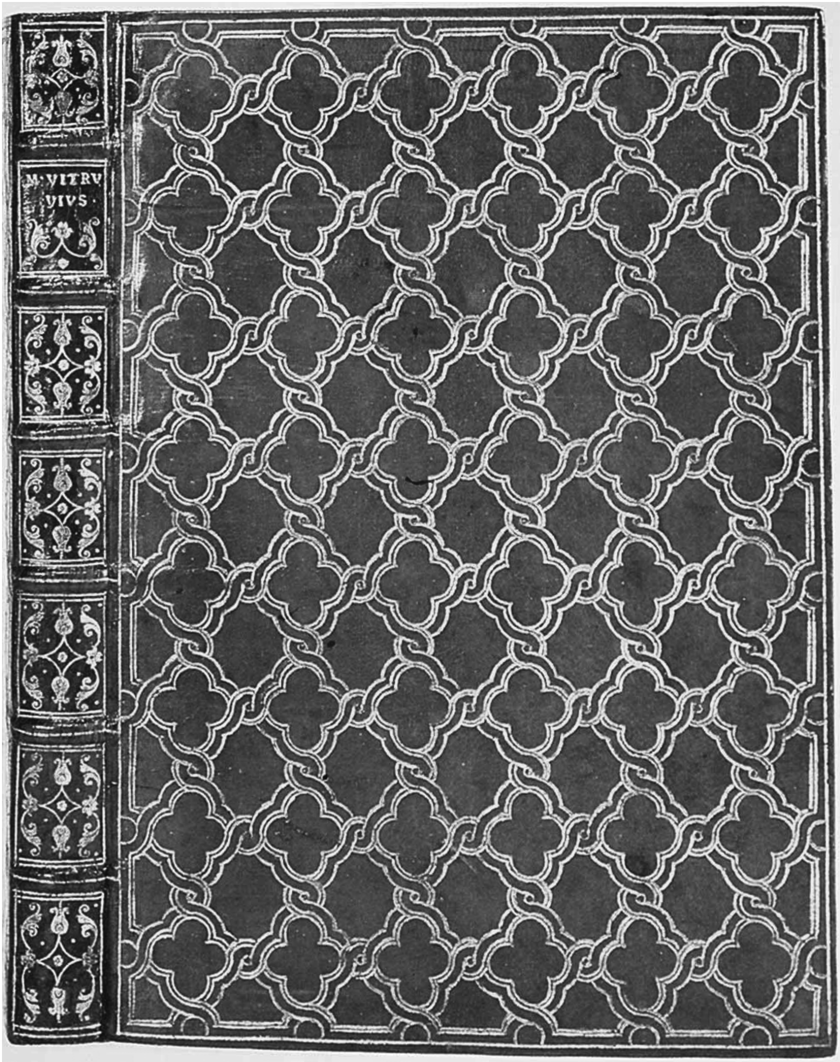


FIGURE 1 Binding for Claude de Laubespine. Photo Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

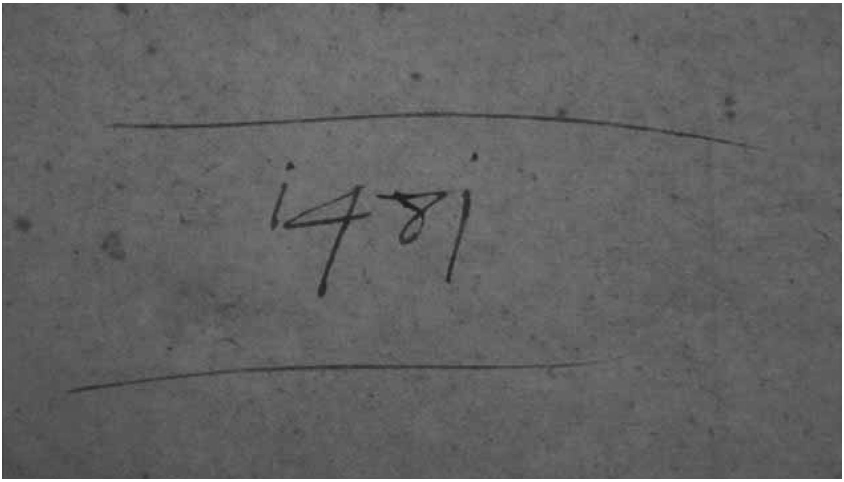


FIGURE 2 Number on flyleaf of book bound for Claude de Laubespine

We were often lucky, and the number of volumes increased, reaching today more than one hundred (it was 65 when the conference at the British Library took place). But we had to wait four years from the initial discovery in 1993, before we identified the original owner.

It was in a literary manuscript kept in the Département des manuscrits of the Bibliothèque nationale that we finally found the trail. Finely bound with a repeated double C, it was believed to be a copy once belonging to King Charles IX. Upon opening it, we had the surprise of finding a '*cote brune*' written on the flyleaf. The manuscript consists of an early de luxe calligraphic version of the love poems, published in 1573, of the French court poet Philippe Desportes, the young rival of Pierre de Ronsard. It contains a final *Sonnet about the year 1570*, an 'awful year' for the poet:

I must hate you, awful year, which gave me so many misfortunes
…
The day you began, I fell in love again
…
I had only one friend, wise, happy, and perfect;
Death took him in his youth…
…
And now that you have arrived at your end, as a final blow
I discover that my lady has changed her mind.

(Je te doy bien hair malencontreuse année
Qui m'as durant ton cours tant de maux fait auoir
…
Le iour que commença ta course infortunee
Ie fus remis captif soubs l'amoureus pouuoir
…
J'auois vn seul amy sage, heureus, & parfait
La mort en son printans sans pitié l'a (ms: la) deffait
…
Et or pour m'acheuer, quand tu vas finissant
Ie treuue que Madame a (ms: à) change de courage.)

The 'wise, happy, and perfect' friend whom Desportes mourns, is the young Claude de Laubespine, a brillant Secretary of State who died at the age of 25 in September 1570.

He had grown up at the Court, and the young King Charles IX was very fond of him. He was soon assigned to delicate missions, and seems to have led an ostentatious life, moving from one to another of his many residences. This brilliant life was suddenly interrupted. The young man died in the Notre-Dame cloister in September 1570, and was mourned by Ronsard, Desportes, and all the Pleiade poets.

The lady loved by Desportes was Claude de Laubespine's sister, Madeleine de Villeroy (1546–96). Celebrated for her beauty and her wit, she is the only woman Ronsard ever praised for her poetic talent. Desportes was very discreet about his love for her. It was only in 1600, after her death, that he first printed the poetical name which he gave her: Callianthe. The C of the binding might thus have referred to Claude or to Callianthe, to the brother or to the sister. Anyhow we were sure that the '*cote brune*' bindings had been made for the Laubespine family.

Further discoveries led us to the conclusion that the books bound for Claude de Laubespine had after his death joined the library of his sister, and that the '*cotes brunes*' had been inscribed at Madeleine's own death, in 1596.

Her husband Nicolas de Villeroy, who would die in 1617, the most distinguished of all the sixteenth-century Secretaries of State, and the chief minister of four successive kings of France, had an inventory made of their common property after his wife's death. So our '*cotes brunes*' were not real shelf marks but numbers referring to a probate inventory.

I must add as a conclusion that the discovery of a later inventory of the Villeroy library confirmed all that we had earlier guessed.

The point I want to insist upon is that the Laubespine bindings kept in the Réserve or in other Parisian libraries had been described and exhibited several times. But nobody had noticed or thought it useful to describe those very unusual numbers, very different from the shelf marks commonly in use in these libraries.

PEIRESC, NAUDÉ, MAZARIN, TRICHET DU FRESNE

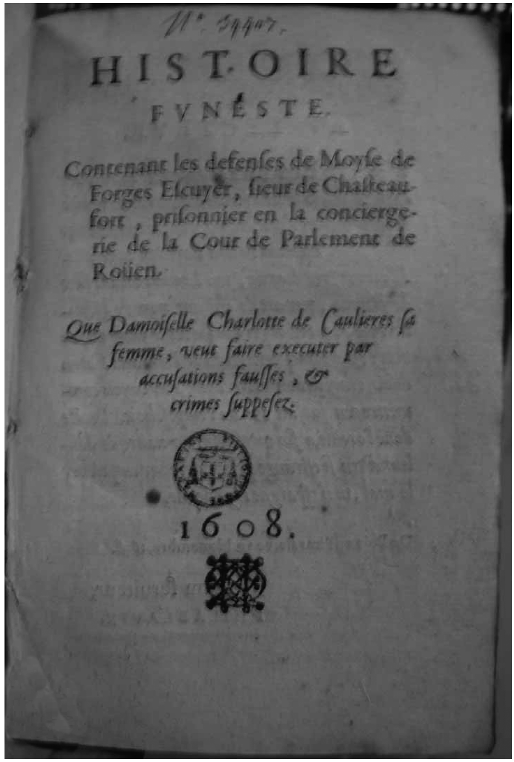
The other heroes of this talk are the well-known Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637), and three of the prominent book-owners of the following generation who acquired parts of his library: Gabriel Naudé (1600–53) and his patron, Cardinal Mazarin (1602–61), and the less-known Raphaël Trichet du Fresne (1611–61).

Peiresc, archaeologist, historian, Egyptologist, botanist, zoologist, physiologist, geographer, astronomer, is mostly famous for his enormous correspondence with all the members of the *République des lettres*. His library was celebrated for its importance and the liberality with which he lent his books to scholars. His red morocco bindings with the monogram NKΦ gilt in the center of the covers are well-known (Fig. 3). They have no other decoration, except 2 or 3 filets, but have another distinctive feature: the date of the edition is nearly always gilt below the title on the spine. This is the first time, to my knowledge, that one encounters this feature, which will not become 'modern' until the time of the great amateurs of incunables and early first editions in the eighteenth century.

But what is not known, and what I only recently discovered,[3] is that the morocco bindings marked with the monogram represent only a minority, about one quarter, of the books in Peiresc's library, which boasted about 5,000 volumes. With the exception of the few books where an ink stamp of the monogram in small format has been added on the title page (Fig. 4), the other three quarters, that is, about 4,000 volumes, are mostly in common and old bindings, and absolutely mute about their provenance.

After Peiresc's death in 1637, the library was kept by his brother for ten years. It is well known that in 1647, Naudé bought the manuscripts en bloc for Mazarin. For the printed books, it is a more complicated story. It was recently discovered (from a letter sent by Francesco Barberini to Lucas Holstenius) that they had been sent to Paris and auctioned there in the autumn of 1647. A catalogue circulated before the auction, but I have not been able to trace a copy of it.

FIGURE 3 Binding for Peiresc with his monogram. Photo Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris



HISTOIRE
FVNESTE.
Contenant les defenses de Moyse de Forges Escuyer, sieur de Chasteau-fort, prisonnier en la conciergerie de la Cour de Parlement de Roüen.
Que Damoiselle Charlotte de Caulieres sa femme, veut faire executer par accusations fausses, & crimes supposez.
1608.

FIGURE 4 Peiresc's monogram stamped on title page. Photo Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris

Another letter sent by Barberini to Holstenius tells us who were the main bidders: 'Quant'alla libreria di Monsieur de Peiresc, fu scelta dal Coadjutor di Parigi [the Cardinal de Retz] e da Monsieur Naudé'. (I will not here go into details about my hypothesis that the part of Peiresc's library bought by the Cardinal de Retz – whose librarian, le Père Jacob, was a close friend of Naudé – is now in Châlons-sur-Marne.)

But checking on the shelves of the Bibliothèque Mazarine the books bought by Naudé at the Peiresc sale (most of them in common bindings: remember that for Naudé luxury bindings were anathema), I noticed a tiny number inscribed on the flyleaves (the highest yet found is 1,347) (Fig. 5), which *could* fit with the numbers of the lost auction catalogue of 1647, and which has convinced me that a copy kept in the Mazarine, in Châlons, or elsewhere, of a title described in Peiresc's inventory, is Peiresc's copy if it has such a number on the flyleaf.

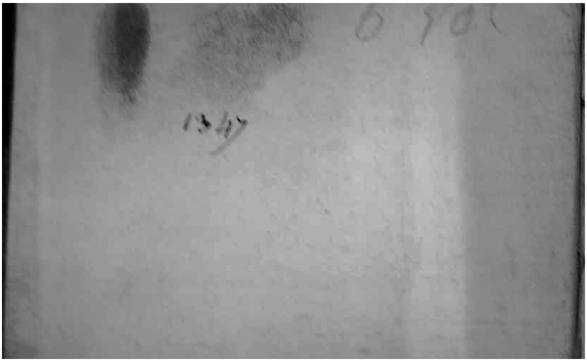


Figure 5
Number on flyleaf of book owned by Peiresc. Photo Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris

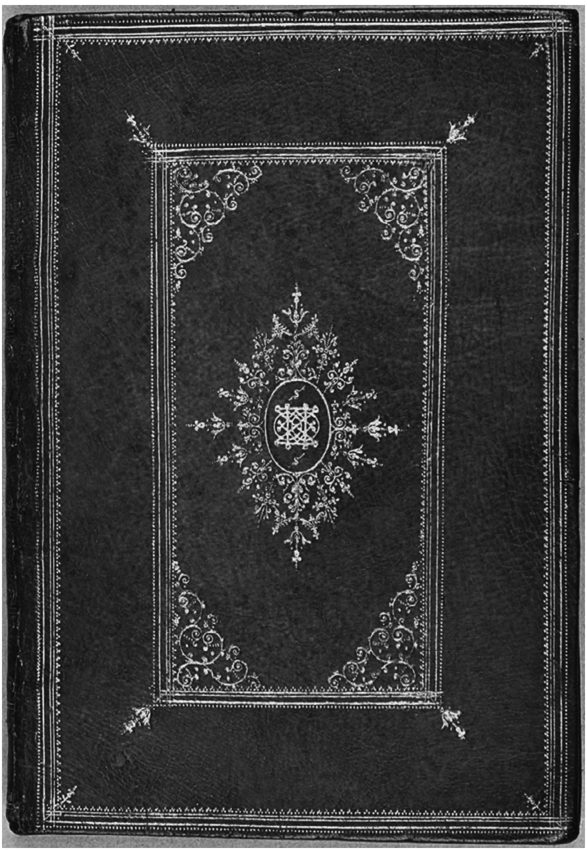


Figure 6
Luxury binding for Peiresc. The book was later owned by Trichet. Photo Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

Naudé and Retz were not the only buyers. Among them was Raphaël Trichet du Fresne, the author of the wonderful phrase epitomising Richelieu and Mazarin's Italianate *cultural* programme: 'Portare Roma a Parigi'. I got interested in him when studying Peiresc's collections.[4] I noticed that one of Peiresc's most precious printed books, Pignoria's *Mensa Isiaca*, in one of the very few de luxe bindings ordered by him, and kept in the Bibliothèque nationale (Fig. 6), was mentioned in Trichet's *post mortem* catalogue.[5]

Scholar, bibliophile, connoisseur of art, Trichet du Fresne was also a book and art dealer. He was proof-reader in the Imprimerie royale where he was responsible for the great illustrated books with drawings by Poussin, Vouet, Stella, Rousselet and Mellan, and especially of the Italian books: Maffeo Barberini (Pope Urbano VIII)'s *Poemata*, and Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*, with a frontispiece by Stella.[6] Later, in 1651, he published the monumental first edition of Leonardo's treatise on painting, sponsored by Francesco Barberini and Cassiano dal Pozzo, with the participation of Poussin giving the text a new pictorial interpretation. An interesting detail: the *Trattato della pittura* contains a list of books at the end, said to be the first annotated bibliography of art literature. The edition was dedicated to Queen Christina of Sweden and to her physician Bourdelot, who was Trichet's friend and probably arranged for him to visit Stockholm.

He arrived there with Gabriel Naudé (whose work for Mazarin had been interrupted by the Fronde) and he stayed from June 1652 to August 1653. He became assistant librarian to the queen and curator of her art collections.[7] Sébastien Bourdon portrayed him in Stockholm surrounded by articles from Queen Christina's cabinet: GiamBologna's Mercury, a bust of Socrates, and, in his hand, the famous classical Gonzaga sardonyx cameo. The portrait, which Queen Christina took to Rome, is known only through the late engraving by Louis Michel Halbou (Fig. 7).[8]

Trichet assisted in selecting items from the Queen's collections which she, with her abdication in mind, in secret shipped out of the country with his help. They were unloaded in Ostend, with the exception of thirteen chests containing 'books, pictures, mathematical instruments and other curiosities' which Trichet considered had been offered to himself as a gift. Among these objects was one of the eight copies known today of Pascal's calculating machine, dated 20 May 1652, probably the one now kept in the Musée des arts et métiers. When the Queen abdicated in 1654, Trichet followed her to Rome. He then returned to Paris, where he was librarian

Figure 7 Portrait of Raphaël Trichet du Fresne by S. Bourdon

and art supplier to Nicolas Fouquet, for whom he bought the famous painting now in the Louvre (then attributed to Gentile Bellini): 'The Audience of a Venetian Embassy in an Eastern Town'.

Trichet assembled a personal library of 10,000 volumes, rich in illustrated books in the fields of art, architecture, history, and natural sciences, and in catalogues of collections (his father Pierre Trichet was the owner of a famous cabinet of curiosities in Bordeaux).

At his death, the library was bought *en bloc* by Colbert for the Bibliothèque royale, except the Italian part, *c.* 1,400 volumes, which had been acquired by Fouquet. Confiscated after Fouquet's fall, the Italian part of

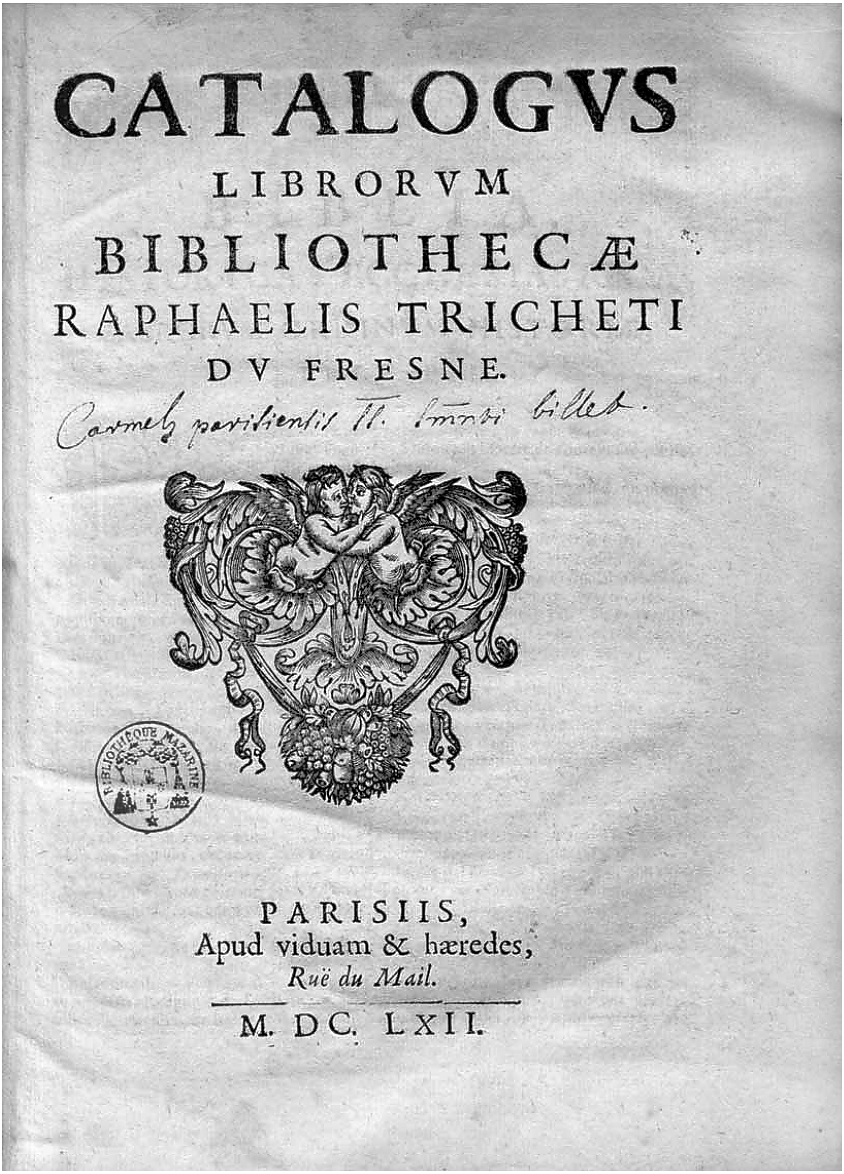


FIGURE 8 Title page of the *post-mortem* catalogue of the library of Trichet, 1662. Photo Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris

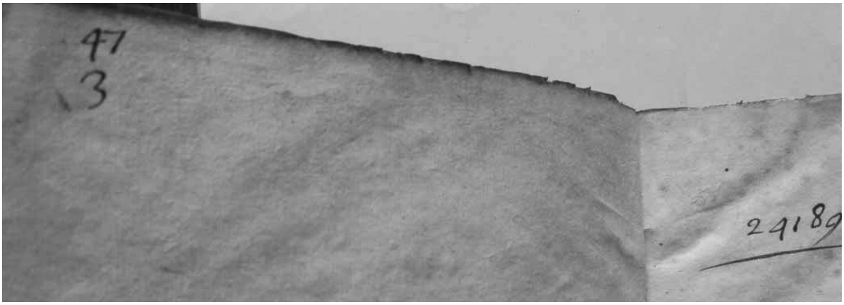


FIGURE 9 Numbers on paste-down in book owned by Trichet. Photo Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris

the library was reunited with Trichets's other books in the Bibliothèque royale.

Trichet's library is relatively well known due to the very incorrect catalogue mentioned above (n. 5), printed for his widow in 1662 to prepare the sale *en bloc* which eventually took place in 1666 (Fig. 8) When as a curator in the Réserve of the Bibliothèque nationale I was searching the provenance files based on owners' marks, I was surprised that there was no mention of Trichet, although the library was known to have acquired his entire collection.

However, upon opening Peiresc's *Pignoria*, I discovered a pair of tiny numbers arranged in two lines on the paste-down (Fig. 9). The following step was the discovery of a unique copy of the 1662 Trichet catalogue, in the Bibliothèque nationale, where all the entries had been annotated with such numbers arranged on two lines. These numbers are those used in Trichet's home for the classification of his library. They have been inscribed by hand on the paste-downs of all Trichet's books – with the exception of the Italian books separately bought by Fouquet, which means that this marking of the books took place in connection with the sale to the Bibliothèque royale.

So I went on identifying more and more books with these numbers, which allowed me to recognise quickly the very elegant uniform binding, in mottled or red calf, which he regularly used. I left the Bibliothèque nationale for the Bibliothèque Mazarine at that time, and, in spite of my short announcement of this discovery in the *NLA* n° 93, today, twelve years later, Trichet is still unknown as a book-owner in the provenance catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale …

MAZARIN

Numbers again! When Mazarin's first library was put up for auction in 1652, during the Fronde, Naudé himself estimated that it contained 40,000 volumes. In 1661, at Mazarin's death, the restored library counted about 30,000 volumes. About 10,000 – among them the Gutenberg Bible – had been recovered from the 1652 Fronde auction. About 8,000 others were Naudé's private library bought after his death in 1653 by Mazarin, and the others were new acquisitions and gifts of the years 1654–61. All of them, with the exception of the manuscripts and 3,600 printed books exchanged with the Bibliothèque royale in 1668 (and apart from sad accidents like Guglielmo Libri's thefts in the nineteenth century), are nowadays on the shelves of the Bibliothèque Mazarine.

Of these 30,000 books, only 200-300 were decorated with Mazarin's coat-of-arms (Fig. 10), and the *grand décor* bindings – among them the famous embroidered bindings – can be counted only in tens. So nothing, besides a presumption based on the old shelf mark showing that the book was in the Bibliothèque Mazarine at the beginning of the eighteenth century, could indicate that a book in the library had once belonged to its founder, Mazarin.

Upon being appointed at the Bibliothèque Mazarine, I noticed hundreds and hundreds of volumes bound in plain stiff parchment of a yellow colour, quite unusual for covers. The spines had suffered much from light and had turned ivory, contrasting with the lettering piece in red leather. I wondered which Italian library Naudé could have bought *en bloc*. Then I discovered, on several of these bindings, ink inscriptions in a cursive seventeenth-century hand, most often on the back cover and upside down: a name, a price in *livres tournois*, the word '*cotté*' with a number, and sometimes a second price, and a number (Fig. 11). These indications were obviously related to an auction.

The inscriptions were written during the 1652 Fronde auction. The number following the word '*cotté*' is the number of the lot, the price is the '*mise à prix*', that is, the estimation price, and the last number is the number of volumes contained in the lot. The name followed by a price is the buyer's name, with the price that the lot reached (most often the estimation prices were doubled).[9]

So the mysterious Italianate bindings had been ordered in Paris by Naudé, always anxious not to spend too much money on bindings ('*Ne vous amusez à la reliure* …') for his wealthy patron, whose love for

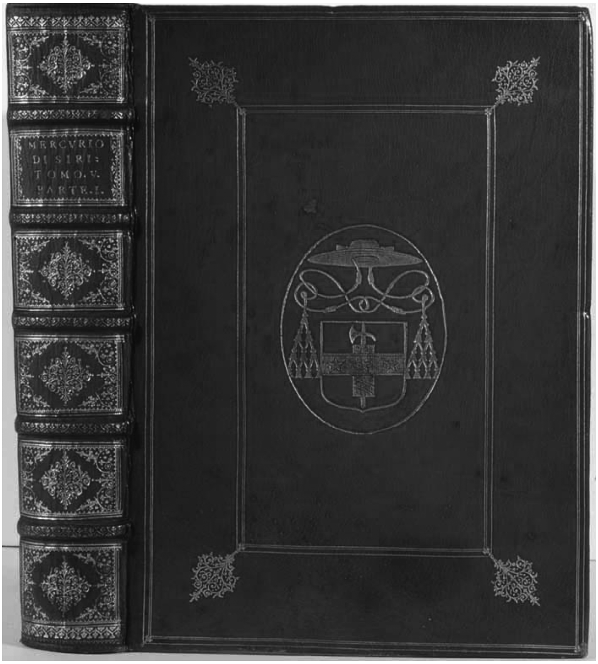


FIGURE 10
Binding for Cardinal Mazarin with his coat-of-arms. Photo Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris

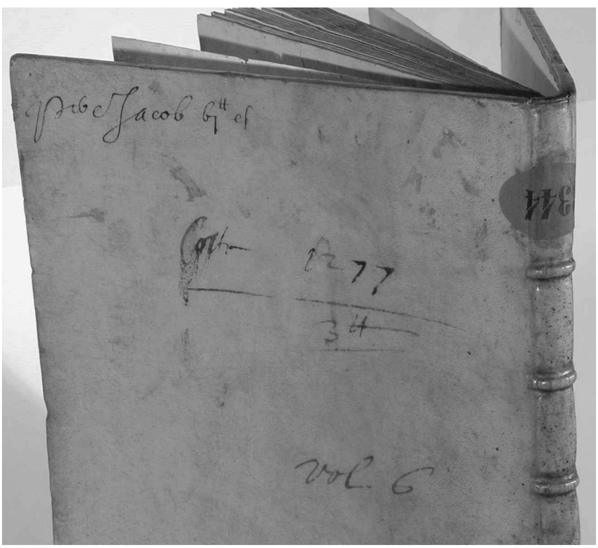


FIGURE 11
Numbers and name on the back of a book owned by Mazarin, auctioned in 1652. Photo Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris

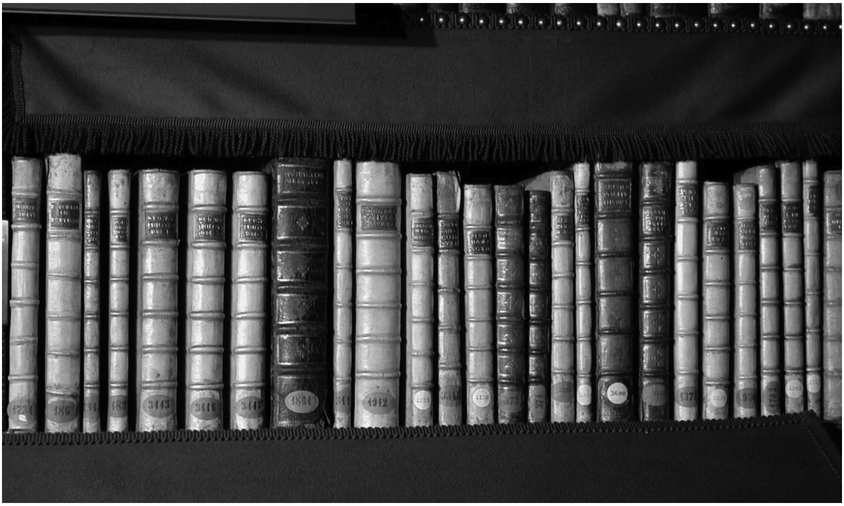


FIGURE 12 Typical shelf of the library of Cardinal Mazarin, set up with volumes identified in the stacks of the Bibliothèque Mazarine. Photo Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris

emblems, devices, and coats-of-arms was in these instances overruled by the principles of his librarian.

I add that I have also found these inscriptions written on further classical, Parisian, red calf bindings. The appearance of the shelves in the age of Mazarin can thus be reconstructed with a high degree of veracity (Fig. 12).

Checking bindings in the Bibliothèque Mazarine has allowed us regularly to add 'Provenance Cardinal Mazarin' to our catalogue data. These bindings were executed before the Fronde. Since only one quarter of the library eventually returned to Mazarin after the 1652 auction, many libraries in Europe must have bindings of this type hidden in their collections. So, '*à la chasse!*' And do let me know if you make a catch!

CONCLUSIONS

These discoveries are the result of methodical and passionate investigations in the stacks. In a time when we fear thefts, and access to collections of rare books is getting more and more restricted, it is the responsibility of the curators of these collections to carry out this kind of research which nobody else is allowed to do.

Another important point is the necessary conjunction of bibliographical examination and investigation of documentary and archival sources: the inventory of the Laubespine-Villeroy library, the annotated copy of the printed catalogue of Trichet du Fresne's collection, and, in the case of Mazarin, the use of Naudé's ledger of payments made to binders (I bypassed this important piece of evidence above, for the sake of brevity). The ongoing project at the École nationale supérieure des sciences de l'information (ENSSIB), aiming at a reconstruction of Peiresc's library, is based both on evidence found in concrete books and bindings, and on evidence in the inventory-after-death of his library.

Finally, should I suggest how curators ought to describe such numeric evidence in catalogues, I would say that it can be done on two levels:

- A rare book cataloguer should try to characterise quite precisely what at first glance may be considered to be a shelf mark, but often turns out to be related to something else (auctions, inventories): alphanumeric or not, in roman or Arabic numerals, any date, the location (paste-down, flyleaf, title page …) and the position (bottom, center, etc.). Maybe the size of the inscription would also be useful: the Laubespine '*cotes brunes*' are 4 cm high, the Trichet numbers 1 cm only or less.
- When whole collections have survived mostly in one location, the library should publish descriptions (including images) allowing curators and scholars at large to become acquainted with the evidence and to discover similar books kept elsewhere. What has been done by the British Library for the Sloane Collection is a very good example. The database of missing books with an illustrated list of identification marks on the website of the Royal Library in Copenhagen, or the similar evidence that one can find on the website of Princeton University library, can also be very useful.

NOTES

1. As all these case studies are based on publications I recently made, I shall limit the notes to the minimum, giving only the references to which the reader can refer for more details.
2. Isabelle de Conihout and Pascal Ract-Madoux, 'Ni Grolier, ni Mahieu, Laubespine', *Bulletin du Bibliophile* (2004), n°1, pp. 63–88; I. de Conihout, 'A propos de la bibliothèque aux cotes brunes des Laubespine-Villeroy: les livres italiens chez les secrétaires du roi dans la seconde moitié du XVI^{e} siècle', in: *Italique, Poésie italienne de la Renaissance*, Genève, VII (2004), p. 137–59; I. de Conihout, 'La belle librairie évanouie de Nicolas de Villeroy', in: *Henri III, mécène des arts, des sciences et des Lettres*, ed. I. de Conihout, J.- F. Maillard and

G. Poirier (Paris: 2006), pp. 317–29, and pl. xxxvii–xlviii. Two further studies are to be published in 2011: 'Ronsard et sa Franciade chez les Laubespine-Villeroy', in: *Poètes, princes & collectionneurs. Mélanges offerts à Jean Paul Barbier-Mueller* (Genève: Droz, 2011); 'Madeleine de Villeroy, Jeanne Bochetel, Marie Clutin: les femmes Laubespine entre Réforme et poésie', in: *Le Donne della Bibbia, la Bibbia delle Donne: teatro, letteratura e vita*, convegno, Verona, 16–17 ottobre 2009.

3. I. de Conihout, 'Du nouveau sur la bibliothèque de Peiresc', in: *Peiresc et l'Italie*, dir. Marc Fumaroli, ed. Francesco Solinas (Paris: Alain Baudry, 2009), pp. 243–63 and pl. v–xvi.

4. *Queen Christina of Sweden. Documents and Studies. Analecta Reginensia* I. [Exhibition catalogue] (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1966), pp. 429–30; I. de Conihout, éditorial 'À la chasse', in: *Nouvelles du livre ancien* n° 93 (1997); 'L'Inventaire des merveilles du monde: collections encyclopédiques et cabinets de curiosités XVI–XVIII^e siècles', in: *Tous les savoirs du monde*, ed. R. Schaer (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France and Flammarion, 1996), pp. 278–319 and 338–41, especially 302–07. I plan to devote a detailed study to Trichet.

5. *Catalogus librorum bibliothecae Raphaelis Tricheti du Fresne* (Paris: Apud viduam & haeredes, Rue du Mail, 1662). Bibliothèque nationale de France, Archives.

6. Concerning the artists who collaborated to illustrated books produced in the Imprimerie royale, one can refer to a number of now classical studies: A. Bernard, *Histoire de l'Imprimerie royale du Louvre* (Paris: 1867); *L'Art du livre à l'Imprimerie nationale* (Paris: 1973); P. M. Grinevald, 'Richelieu et l'Imprimerie royale', in: *Richelieu et le monde de l'esprit* (1985), pp. 237–48; J. Thuillier, 'Richelieu et les arts à l'Imprimerie royale', in: *Richelieu et la culture* (1987), pp. 163–74; Henri-Jean Martin, 'Politique et typographie: la création de l'Imprimerie royale', in: *Mise en page et mise en texte du livre français: la naissance du livre moderne (XIV–XVII^e siècles)* (Paris: 2000), pp. 364–67. But the list needs to be updated, see M. Préaud, 'L'Imprimerie royale et le cardinal de Richelieu', in: *Richelieu, l'art et le pouvoir* [Exhibition catalogue], dir. Hilliard T. Goldfarb (Montréal, Cologne: 2002), pp. 210–15; Véronique Meyer, *L'œuvre gravé de Gilles Rousselet, graveur parisien du XVII^e siècle* (Paris: 2004); I. de Conihout, 'Les livres illustrés par Stella, essai de catalogue', in: *Jacques Stella (1596–1657)* [exhibition catalogue], dir. Sylvain Laveissière (Paris, Lyon, Toulouse: 2006), pp. 35–41.

7. *Queen Christina of Sweden. Documents and Studies. Analecta Reginensia* I. [Exhibition catalogue] Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1966, pp. 429–30.

8. Included in the third part of Fontenai-Couché's *Galerie du palais Royal* (1808), where the subject is identified as Jean Warin (*Queen Christina of Sweden*, no. 1038).

9. I refer those interested in further details to: I. de Conihout, 'Les reliures de Mazarin' in: *Mazarin, les Lettres et les arts, actes du colloque tenu en 2002*, ed. by I. de Conihout and P. Michel (Paris: Bibliothèque Mazarine and M. Hayot, 2006), pp. 276–95.

Gottorp books in the Royal Library of Copenhagen: methodological considerations on the possibilities of identification

KAREN SKOVGAARD-PETERSEN

THE GOTTORP LIBRARY

In the course of the late sixteenth and the entire seventeenth century the dukes of Gottorp (near Schleswig, in today's northernmost part of Germany) collected a large library of printed books and manuscripts, famous in its own time for its broad scope of subjects – theology, law, classical texts, medicine, natural sciences, descriptions of the newly discovered parts of the world etc. in many languages. It grew through the acquisition of private collections and of the collection owned by the former monastery in Cismar, and through purchases of single books.

In 1713 Danish troops conquered Gottorp Castle, in the Great Nordic War, and the library became Danish booty of war. The approximately 10,000 printed books and *c.* 350 manuscripts were brought to the Royal Library in Copenhagen – though not until four decades later, in 1749. This was one of the most significant acquisitions in the history of the Royal Library. Some of the books were duplicates – that is, they were already found in the Royal Library in other copies – and these duplicates from Gottorp were without doubt among the many books that were donated by the Royal Library to the King's private library and the library of the Academy of Sorø in the last half of the eighteenth century, both of which later burned. After the foundation of the University in Oslo (then: Kristiania) in 1811, a substantial amount of duplicates were given to the University Library by the Royal Library, and among them were also books from Gottorp. Still it is a reasonable assumption that between 50% and 80% of the books from Gottorp are still to be found in the Royal Library.

Today, then, the Gottorp library is not a lost library. The majority of the Gottorp books still exist, and most of them are found in the Royal Library. But only to a limited extent are we able to identify the actual books that once belonged to the Gottorp dukes. Once received in the Royal Library, the Gottorp books were not kept apart as a separate collection but were incorporated into the collections and placed on the shelves and registered in the catalogues according to their subjects.

Since most of the Gottorp books do not immediately reveal their provenance, it is not a simple task to identify them today. No systematic attempt has been undertaken to identify the individual books that came from Gottorp to the Royal Library.

However, it turns out that there are certain characteristics, or identification marks, to look for when we want to identify Gottorp books. On the basis of the groundbreaking articles by William Norvin and, more recently, by Harald Ilsøe and Dieter Lohmeier, I tried, some years ago, to suggest some further possibilities of identification of printed books from Gottorp in the Royal Library; in the present paper I merely re-state some of the main points.[1] In the article that follows this one, Ivan Boserup points out a number of new ways to go in the attempt to identify Gottorp books.

CATALOGUES AND BOOKBINDERS' ACCOUNTS

We know many of the titles of the books in the Gottorp library through various catalogues made in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. None of the catalogues are complete, however, and the occurrence of a title in the catalogues is by no means a guarantee that the actual Gottorp copy is still found in the Royal Library. But the catalogues form an obvious point of departure in our attempt to identify the books that came from Gottorp.

In 1709, only four years before the Danish conquest, Johan Nicolaus Pechlin, the last librarian in Gottorp, finished his catalogue of the library's printed books. Later, in the 1730s, the Danish archivist Eschel Lohmann catalogued the theological books before they were moved to Copenhagen.[2] In 1779–80 a catalogue of Gottorp books in the Royal Library was produced, listing nearly 5,000 volumes.[3] Despite its incompleteness this catalogue is a suitable point of departure for identification of Gottorp books in the Royal Library since it reflects the situation after the donation of duplicates to the King's private library and the Academy of Sorø, but before the donation to the University Library in Kristiania (Oslo).

Another archival source for the Gottorp Library's acquisitions of books is the accounts of the Gottorp bookbinders. They have been preserved for the period 1680–1708, that is, rather late in the history of the library.

Already from the 1620s, bookbinders and the sums they were paid figure in the accounts (along with sums spent on purchase of books although usually with no specification of titles); but from 1680 the accounts provide information about the titles of the books that were bound, and even in some cases also about the type of binding they were given.[4]

BOOKS WITH DUCAL COATS-OF-ARMS

A number of books eloquently testify to their Gottorp provenance. They bear the coat-of-arms of one of the Gottorp dukes, conspicuously placed on the front and back covers. Duke Friedrich III (1616–59) was a key person in the development of the library, and his coat-of-arms is still seen on many books: in the upper half are seen, to the left, the Norwegian lion and, to the right, the two lions of Schleswig. Below, the nettle leaf of Holstein is found to the left, the swan of Stormarn to the right and in the middle the knight of Ditmarsken. In the middle the symbols of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst are seen.

FIGURE 1 Augustinus, *De doctrina christiana*, ed. Georgius Calixtus (Helmstad: 1655) (shelf mark 21,-243 02135 4to)

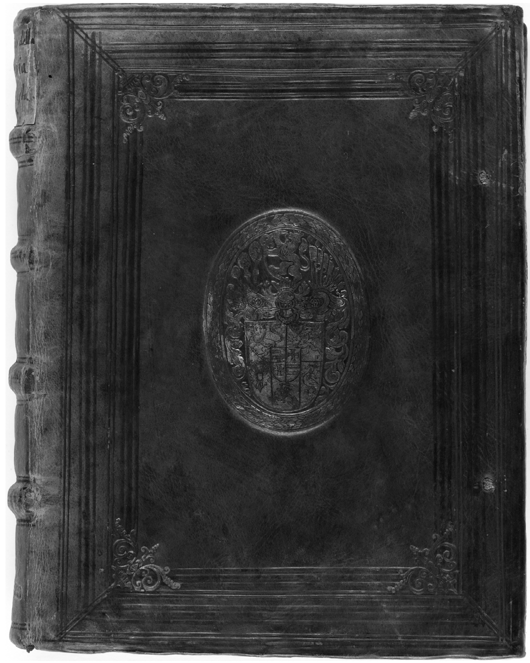


FIGURE 2
Giorgio Basta, *Il governo della cavalleria leggera* (Francoforte: 1612) (shelf mark 54,-96 00377 4to)

The books that bear Friedrich III's coat-of-arms are typically bound in red-brown calf, but they display variation with respect to ornaments. Figs 1 and 2 show bindings that share identifications marks such as coat-of-arms on the front and back, green ribbons, blue edges, the spine divided into compartments with ornaments, front and back covers with a frame and ornaments in the corners, and, finally, a paper label with the handwritten author and title on the top of the spine.

The coat-of arms of Figs 1 and 2 is the most common. But there is another type: on the coat-of-arms of Friedrich III's son, Christian Albrecht (1659–94), a mitre and a cross has been placed in the middle, reflecting Christian Albrecht's position as Bishop of Lübeck (from 1655) in addition to his title of Duke. The Oldenborg and Delmenhorst symbols were placed to the right in the bottom.[5] The typical bindings of the later part of Christian Albrecht's reign are no longer the light or red-brown colour which had been predominant in his father's and the early years of his own reign. From the 1680s – or perhaps earlier – the bindings are often in a darker brown stippled calf with edges stippled with red (Fig. 11).[6]

BOOKS WITHOUT COATS-OF-ARMS: POSSIBILITIES OF IDENTIFICATION

Far from all the printed books of the Gottorp dukes were adorned with their coat-of-arms. But there are other certain signs of Gottorp provenance. Some books bear handwritten dedications to a Gottorp duke.[7] A few others also present a direct statement of Gottorp provenance in a note by a librarian, 'ex bibl. Gott.' ('from the library of Gottorp'). As shown by Harald Ilsøe, this annotation was made by the librarian J. C. Wolfen in the Royal Library. Since he died in 1730, these books must have been brought to the Royal Library already in the 1720s, before the great majority of Gottorp books, although no documentation has turned up regarding such a transaction.[8] An example of books that were sent to Copenhagen before the general transfer in 1749 is the 20-volume Wittenberg Bible printed on vellum in 1565 – one of the treasures once in the Gottorp library as it is today in the Royal library. A third group of printed books with certain Gottorp provenance are those that came to Gottorp from the monastery of Cismar, probably in the second decade of the seventeenth century. Their Cismar provenance is attested by their medieval bindings with characteristic labels and shelf marks.[9]

The question we are concerned with here, is to what extent it is possible to identify books from Gottorp which do not bear any of these certain signs of Gottorp provenance.

On the basis of the bindings *with* coat-of-arms, it is possible to list a number of recurrent features – though none of them are found on all the bindings. Let us take a look again at the Augustine, *De doctrina christiana* and the Giorgio Basta, *Il governo della cavaleria leggera* (Figs 1 and 2):

- Green ribbons have long been recognised as a relatively reliable sign of Gottorp provenance.[10] Although they have often been cut off later, remnants are still to be seen. They were characteristic of Gottorp books (of a certain size), but they are not an exclusively Gottorpian feature. They seem to disappear in the later part of Christian Albrecht's reign, from *c*. 1680.
- The covers are always adorned with a frame with ornaments in the corners (various types).
- Indigo blue edges are very common (though today often faded).
- Paper labels, slightly light brown, pasted on the uppermost compartment of the spine, on which authors and titles are written with ink, are

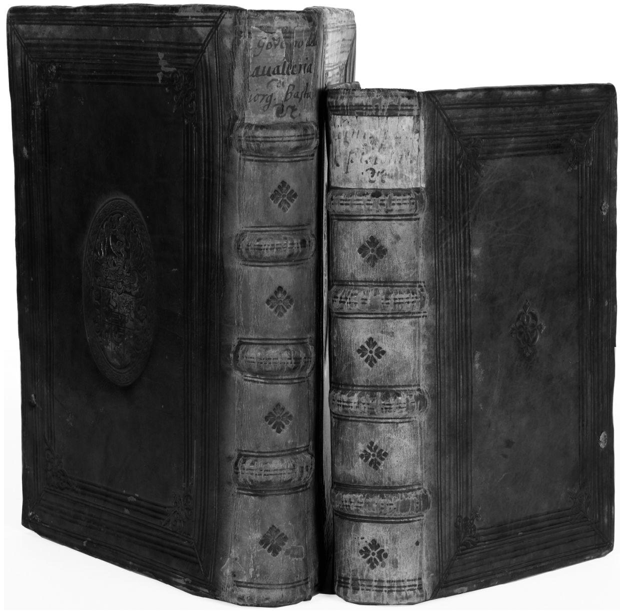


FIGURE 3 The spines of the item shown in Fig. 2, and Petrus Abbas Cellensis, *Epistolae* (Paris: 1613) (shelf mark 86,-336 02663 8vo)

another recurrent feature. Since many seem to have been written by the same hand, and since they are also found on books printed in the late-seventeenth century, they may have been added to the books around 1700, perhaps in connection with Johan Pechlin's catalogue project.

- The compartments of the spine are adorned with a limited set of tooled ornaments.

These features are helpful when it comes to identifying Gottorp books *without* the ducal coat-of-arms. But none of them can in itself be counted as certain proof of Gottorp provenance, since they may also occur on other books – though the presence of several of these features in combination is, of course, stronger evidence than just one of them. Therefore the physical features must be accompanied by a reference to the title in question either in the catalogues or in the Gottorp accounts.

If a book with no explicit Gottorp provenance is bound in a binding closely resembling a book with certain Gottorp provenance, this indicates that also the first book, the 'anonymous' one, belonged to Gottorp. But we need the confirmation of the catalogues to be able to count the book in question as a Gottorp copy.

Fig. 3 shows two spines very much alike. The one to the left is the one we have already met in Fig. 2, which has the coat-of-arms on the front and back covers. The one to the right has no coat-of-arms. In itself this book has no immediate declaration of provenance. Nevertheless, the close similarity between the two spines suggests that the Petrus Cellensis book also comes from Gottorp – and this suspicion is confirmed by a consultation of the Pechlin catalogue where it is also registered (fol. 26r, no. 15). We now know a few more characteristic features of Gottorp book bindings.

Let us take a look at another book, *Jamblichus de vita Pythagoræ* (Fig. 4). This binding has a central rhomb-shaped ornament on the covers. This does not in itself suggest Gottorp provenance. But remnants of green ribbons, indigo blue edges, small flower vignettes on the spine (also found on books with coats of arms) – and traces of the characteristic paper label

FIGURE 4 Binding of *Jamblichus de vita Pythagoræ et Protrepticæ orationes ad Philosophiam libri II autore et interprete Joh. Arceris Theodoreto* ('1698' [1598]) (shelf mark 73:2,-188 00423 4to)

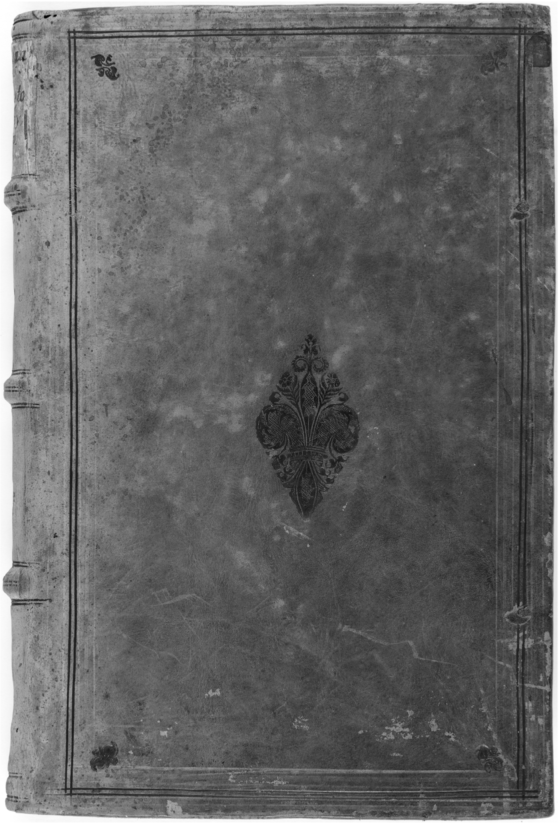


FIGURE 5 *Ant. Scaynii in octo Aristotelis libros de Physica* (Frankfurt: 1607) (shelf mark 73:2,-64 00161 4to)

– in combination with the occurrence of this book in the Catalogue 1779–1780, p. 109, no. 140 – make it safe to conclude that this is a Gottorp book.

Another book with similar flower vignettes and ornamental design is *Ant. Scaynii in octo Aristotelis libros de Physica* (Fig. 5). Remnants of green ribbons, indigo blue edges, and the paper label on the spine further point to Gottorp. The central rhomb-shaped ornament here has the form of a fleur-de-lis. A check in the Pechlin catalogue (fol. 104r, no. 1) confirms that the Gottorp library owned a copy of this work, and this piece of information, in combination with the evidence of the binding, means that

FIGURE 6 Adrianus Pulvæus, *Opuscula quædam* (Wittenberg: 1610) (shelf mark 101,-357 01616 8vo)

there can be no doubt that this is indeed the copy that once belonged to the Gottorp dukes.

Adrianus Pulvæus, *Opuscula quædam* (Wittenberg: 1610) is listed in the Catalogue 1779-1780 p. 68, no. 116 (Fig. 6). The Royal Library copy of this book is a brown skin binding with a central ornament on the covers. Its Gottorp provenance is adequately established by the remnants of green ribbons, the indigo blue edges, the paper label on the spine, and the small vignettes on the spine of the same type as Fig. 2, Giorgio Basta, *Il Governo della Cavalleria leggera* (Frankurt am Main: 1612) – in combination with the presence of the book in the Catalogue 1779–1780.

Once this binding is established as a Gottorp binding, we may also assume that the Royal Library's copy of *Institutionum sive elementorum iuris civilis … libri IIII*, ed. Nic. Reusner (Frankfurt: 1585) (shelf-mark 102, -3 00007 8vo) came from Gottorp. On the binding we find exactly the same features, including the vignettes on the spine, as in the Pulvæus-book. However it has not so far been found in the catalogues, which means that we cannot be as certain about this book as about the others mentioned above.

In some cases it turns out – as expected – that the Royal Library copy of a book mentioned in the Gottorp catalogues is not the one that came from Gottorp. This is the case with *Danielis Cossonii vita cum Notis Jac. Gronovii* (Leiden 1695), as listed in the Catalogue 1779–1780, p. 109, no. 152. The Royal Library owns two copies of this edition (shelf-mark 78:2,-182 00571 and 00572 4to), but none of them has any characteristic Gottorpian features. Indeed one bears the super-exlibris of the Danish book collector Bolle Luxdorph (1716–88), and the other the name of the Hamburg professor Michael Richey (1678–1761) on the title page. In this case the Gottorp copy, mentioned in the Pechlin catalogue (fol. 103r, no. 19), must have been the one that was removed from the Royal Library.

As these examples suggest, it is possible, on the basis of the bindings with ducal coats-of-arms, to enlarge the list of characteristic features of Gottorp bindings considerably, thereby paving the way for identifying many more Gottorp books than hitherto.

BOOKS IN OLDER BINDINGS

The bindings we have looked at so far have been produced for the Gottorp dukes in the seventeenth century. But not all the books in the ducal library received a 'Gottorp binding'. Some kept their old binding. The decoration of the front cover of the *Illustrium Germaniæ virorum historiæ singulares per Hieron. Zieglerum* (1562) (Fig. 7) is by no means typical of Gottorp books. It is bound in brown skin with a frame of portraits and acorn vignettes in the middle, possibly a binding from the sixteenth century. Still, two of the characteristic Gottorp features are present: the indigo blue edges and the paper label on the top compartment of the spine. Since this book occurs in the Catalogue 1779–1780, p. 109, no. 142, it seems safe to count it as a Gottorp copy.

Johannes Draconites, *Commentarius in Danielem* (Marburg: s. a.) is bound together with Philipp Melanchthon's *In Danielem Prophetam Commentarius* and Luther's *Commentarius in Danielem prophetam*

FIGURE 7 *Virorum Historiæ singulares per Hieron. Zieglerum* (Ingolstadt 1562) (shelf mark 67,-303 03171 4to)

(Frankfurt: 1546) (Fig. 8). The binding of the book seems to date from *c.* 1550 (dark skin, ornamented with vignettes and a frame with figures). There is not much to tell us that this may be a Gottorp book – the only Gottorp feature is the characteristic paper label on the top of the spine. However, a book that contains *these three texts* is mentioned in Eschel

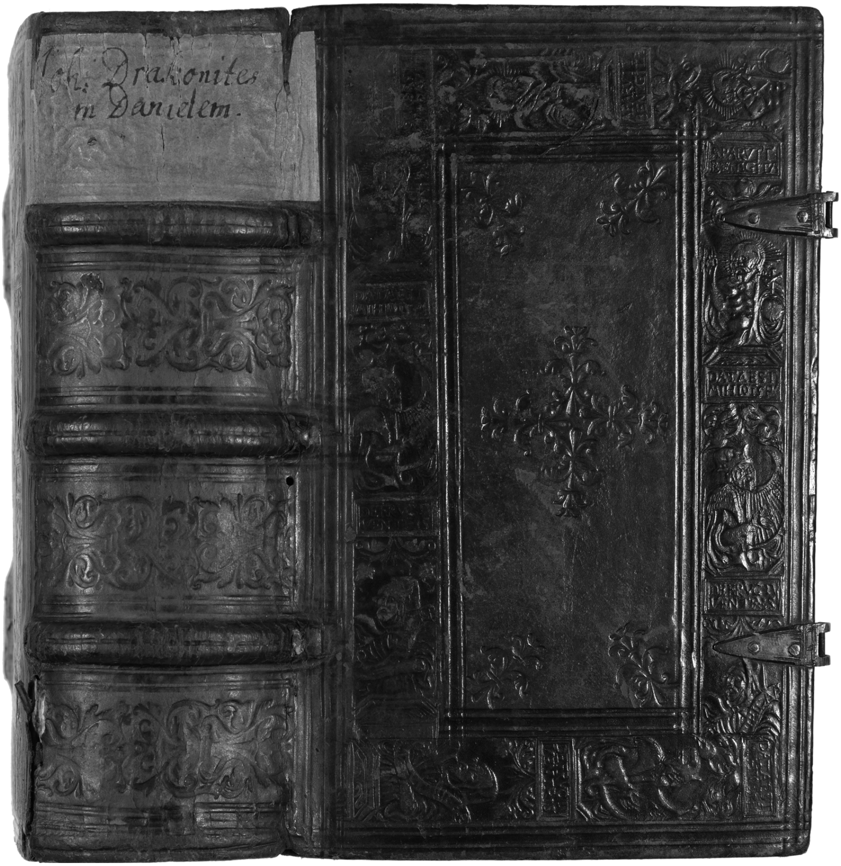


FIGURE 8 Johannes Draconites, *Commentarius in Danielem* (Marburg: s. a.), etc. (shelf mark 83,-242 02078 8vo)

Lohmann's catalogue of theological books from 1737, which leaves no doubt about its Gottorp provenance.[11] It would seem that books bound in well-preserved sixteenth-century bindings did not receive a new 'Gottorp binding' (just like the Cismar incunabula which have kept their medieval bindings). An owner's name, probably from the sixteenth century, is found on the title page: 'Ioanni Bolchio presbytero'.

A plain white parchment binding (with an 'oriental style' closing mechanism) surrounds a copy of Johannes Bugenhagen, *In D. Pauli ad Romanos*

FIGURE 9 Johannes Bugenhagen, *In D. Pauli ad Romanos Epistolam* (Hagenau: 1531), etc. (shelf mark 84,-150 01285 8vo)

Epistolam (Hagenau: 1531) bound together with Bugenhagen's *Commentarius in quatuor capita prioris Epistolæ ad Corinthos* (Wittenberg: 1530) (Fig. 9). Apparently it has none of the characteristic features. No paper label is found on the spine, but title and author have been written in brown ink on the top compartment of the spine in a writing that looks like the writing of the labels. And interestingly, inside on the title page we find the same owner's signature as on the Draconites/Melanchthon volume mentioned above, albeit in a variant version: 'Ioanni Bollicio presbytero'. Again this book – with this combination of texts – is mentioned in Lohmann's catalogue of theological books from 1737.[12] In this case, the owner's name Johannes Bollicius/Bolchius must be counted among the Gottorp identification features.[13]

Indeed a search for Bolchius provenance in Michael Pegg's *German and Dutch Books in the Royal Library, Copenhagen* (Baden-Baden: 1989), provides us with two further books which are likely to have come from Gottorp: Johannes a Lasco: *Defensio verae … ecclesiæ* (Bonn: 1545), bound together with Jean Calvin: *Brevis instructio …* (Strasbourg: 1546) in white,

FIGURE 10 Johannes a Lasco: *Defensio verae … ecclesiæ* (Bonn: 1545), etc. (shelf mark 91,-88 00380 8vo)

unadorned parchment (Fig. 10). The binding bears no Gottorp features except the names of author and title written on the spine in brown ink, but placed in the middle, not the upper part of the spine. This is probably the book found in Lohmann's catalogue of 1737, but here only the Lasco-text is mentioned. Still the combination of Bolchius, the writing on the spine, and the occurrence of the first text in the 1737 catalogue speaks in favour of Gottorp provenance.

THE BOOK BINDERS' ACCOUNTS

The extant book binders' accounts provide another entry into the history of the library. Already from the 1620s the book binders and the sums they were paid figure in the Gottorp accounts, but only from 1680 do the accounts provide information about the titles of the books that were bound and even in some cases also about the type of binding they were given. French binding is probably the most commonly mentioned type – which corresponds well with the general impression of typical Gottorp bindings. An example is the binding of *Dissertatio de vera Senonum origine Christiana* (Paris: 1687) (Fig. 11), which is described thus: 'in fransch ledder der Rucken gantz verguld'. This entry is dated December 20, 1690.[14]

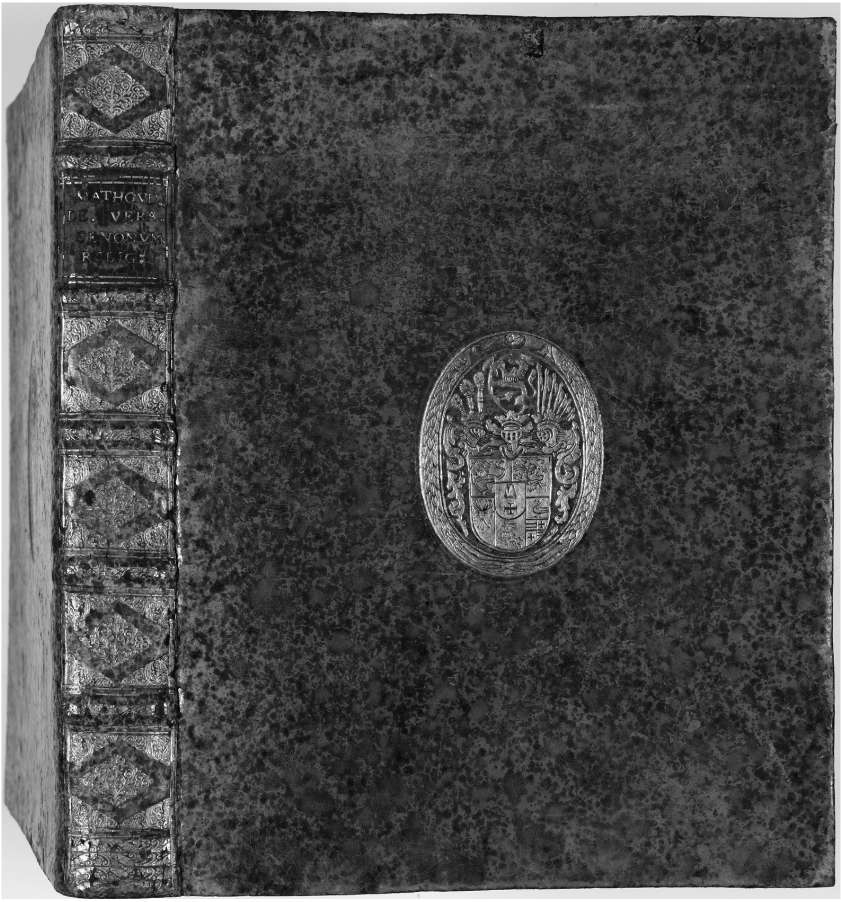


FIGURE 11 Hugues Mathoud: *Dissertatio de vera Senonum origine Christiana* (Paris: 1687) (shelf mark 64,-213 01815 4to)

Another type of binding which recurs in the accounts, is white parchment ('weis Perg.'). But it turns out that it is not so easy to identify the Gottorp books in white parchment. Let me give an example.

'P. Jainet Fleur Institutions Rhetorica in 4to in weis Perg.' – so runs one of the account items, dated May 26 1682. A consultation of the catalogue of the Royal Library points to *Petri Sainct Fleur Institutionum rhetoricarum libellus ad Aristotelis, Ciceronis, Quintiliani, Rodolphi Agricolae, et aliorum* *probatissimorum authorum praeceptiones, de arte dicendi interpretendas ... necessarius*, of which the library owns two editions, Paris 1561 (shelf mark 76,-167 01536) and Paris 1569 (id., 01537). None of them has – yet – been found in the Gottorp catalogues, but both have one characteristic which according to Ivan Boserup[15] might speak in favour of Gottorp provenance: both were originally parts of a composite volume. The 1561 edition has probably been cut out of a composite volume and remained unbound until the 1980s, and the 1569 edition and its too large binding is what remains after one or two following works have been cut out. Significantly, however, the 1569 edition is indeed bound in white parchment, but no further traces of Gottorp provenance are found: there are no ornaments at all and no text on the spine to announce the contents of the book. This is not enough to warrant Gottorp provenance.

CONCLUSION

With these few examples I hope to have suggested that it is possible, though not without risk of making errors, to identify many more Gottorp books than those that have been decorated with the ducal coat of arms. On the basis of the established characteristics of Gottorp bindings this can be done by conferring information from catalogues and book binders' accounts with bindings on the copies now found in the Royal Library. In this process we will gradually expand our list of characteristic features of Gottorp books.

However, the degree of probability must be carefully considered in each case. None of the characteristic features can be regarded as exclusively Gottorpian nor is any of them found on all Gottorp books. Indeed, the paper labels on the spine may be termed exclusively Gottorpian, but in this case the problem consists in distinguishing the Gottorp labels from other similar ones.

NOTES

1. William Norvin, 'Bidrag til Gottorperbibliotekets historie' I–IV, *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen*, 3 (1916), 20–39, 146–61, 234–57; 5 (1918), 193–208. Harald Ilsøe, *On Paper, Parchment and Palmleaves* (Copenhagen: 1993), pp. 69–76. Dieter Lohmeier, 'Die Gottorfer Bibliothek', *Gottorf im Glanz des Barock*, I (1997), 324–47, enlarged version in Danish, *Fund og Forskning*, 36 (1998), 63–102. Harald Ilsøe, *Det Kongelige Bibliotek i støbeskeen*, 1–2 (Copenhagen: 1999). On Gottorp, vol. 2, pp. 405–34. Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, 'Gottorp books in the Royal Library of Copenhagen. A note on the possibilities of identification', *Auskunft. Zeitschrift für Bibliothek, Archiv und Information in Norddeutschland*, 28:1 (2008), 129–51.

2. For information about Pechlin's and Lohmann's catalogues along with three catalogues from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Ivan Boserup's article.
3. Royal Library, Archive, E 36.
4. Norvin, 'Bidrag til Gottorperbibliotekets historie'.
5. In 1666 he passed on the title of bishop to his brother, but the mitre continued to figure in the coat of arms he used as super-exlibris. In the frame his initials CA are seen, but a variant version without the initials is used on the small formats.
6. Lohmeier 'Die Gottorfer Bibliothek' (1997), p. 342, also (1998), p. 100.
7. Some examples are mentioned by Dieter Lohmeier, 'Die Gottorfer Bibliothek' (1998), p. 100, among them the impressive Hamburger Polyglotte (1596) (shelf-mark 1,-4 00022-27). Harald Ilsøe has collected a list of Gottorp books, some of which bear handwritten or printed dedications to the dukes (Ilsøe, *Det Kongelige Bibliotek i støbeskeen*, pp. 415–34).
8. Ilsøe, *Det Kongelige Bibliotek i støbeskeen*, pp. 412–13.
9. Also incunabula from the monastery in Bordesholm may have come to Gottorp. Today the Royal Library owns a number of incunabula from Bordesholm but whether they came via Gottorp, is not certain.
10. Lohmeier, 'Die Gottorfer Bibliothek' (1997), p. 343, also (1998), p. 102. Norvin, 'Bidrag til Gottorperbibliotekets historie' , pp. 243–44
11. Royal Library, Archive, E 31, pp. 406–07, no. 174.
12. Royal Library, Archive, E 31, p. 391, no. 90.
13. Perhaps Johannes Bolck, 'general' rural dean in the royal part of Holstein 1557-1559. I thank Susanne Budde for this information and for drawing my attention to the other books owned by Bolck.
14. Norvin, 'Bidrag til Gottorperbibliotekets historie', p. 237.
15. See the following paper in this volume.

Some new ways to identify prints with a Gottorp provenance in the Royal Library, Copenhagen

IVAN BOSERUP

The investigations carried out by Karen Skovgaard-Petersen on bindings of printed books in the collections of the Royal Library which originate from the library of the Dukes of Schleswig-Holstein in Gottorp Castle near Schleswig, have significantly expanded the number of identification marks which suggest or confirm Gottorp provenance.[1] Following-up on her important findings, I will make some remarks on a few other aspects of Gottorp copies and of their history before and after the transfer of that library to Copenhagen, mostly based on preliminary analyses of the available catalogues and inventories of the printed books.[2] Hopefully, these remarks can in the future contribute to a more exhaustive identification of extant remains from that once famous library, and to a more precise understanding of some aspects of the history of libraries massively integrated into the Royal Library during the eighteenth century.[3]

My observations have been made while working on a project which aims at producing a consolidated virtual inventory of the printed books of the Gottorp library at the time of its seizure by Danish troops in 1713. 'Consolidated' and 'virtual' because none of the extant pre-seizure catalogues and post-seizure inventories is complete by itself. My point of departure has been the 'Pechlin shelf list' made by the last Gottorp librarians, Johann Nicolaus Pechlin (1644–1706) and his son Johann Pechlin (1677–1757), completed in 1709, that is, a few years before the seizure of the library. Shelf after shelf, through 33 sections of varying extent, the Pechlin shelf list reproduces the ultimate arrangement of the library before the seizure.[4] Most of the information found in the Pechlin shelf list is also reflected in the unfortunately incomplete set of discipline-by-discipline index volumes which were transferred to Copenhagen together with the books in 1749.[5] It has turned out that besides errors due to misreading of the handwritten information on the spine of the books on the shelves, composite volumes (*libri colligati*; *recueils factices*; *Sammelbände*) have in the Pechlin shelf list often been registered as simple monographs under the author and title of the first item. Besides, as we will see, a whole section of the Gottorp library, which partly duplicated it (the von Wowern collection), was not included in the Pechlin shelf list and the corresponding set of alphabetical index volumes.

Earlier sources include the '1590 list' (discussed in the following section), and two mid or late seventeenth-century alphabetical catalogues covering Theology and History. These catalogues are kept in the University Library of Kiel and will be further mentioned below.

After the seizure, but before the transfer of the library to Copenhagen in 1749, an interrupted cataloguing project *in situ* (1732–1749) had been entrusted to the archivist Eschel (Eskil) Lohmann (died 1737), followed up by the clergyman and historian Johann Friedrich Noodt (1705–56). Lohmann completed a catalogue covering Theology (E 31 in the Archive of the Royal Library). In addition, there remain discipline-by-discipline listings (E 30 and E 35). None of the sources pertaining to the registration project of the conquerors refers to the shelving system upon which the Pechlin shelf list is based: Gottorp volumes carried no shelf marks.

Finally, there exists a shelf list of the Gottorp acquisition made in the Royal Library, in 1779–80, that is, after the decision taken in 1749 to transfer duplicates (including Gottorp copies) to the King's Library and to the library of Sorø Academy, respectively (E 36).[6] Both of these libraries were annihilated by fire in 1794 and 1813, respectively, but duplicates in the King's Library had been given to the University Library in Kiel in 1775, among which were books from Gottorp, supplemented by some of those that had been given to Sorø Academy. Further Gottorp books may have been included in the duplicate sales of 1783 and 1786, and Gottorp books have been identified in the University Library of Oslo, originating from the 1811 gift of *c.* 29,000 duplicates to this newly established institution shortly before Norway in 1814 gained independence from Denmark.[7]

Once established, the virtual inventory should allow more systematic checking than before of the presence or absence of matching copies on the shelves of the Royal Library. Hopefully, additional identification marks of Gottorp origin will turn up during this process, as has been the case up to this point.

THE GREEN CUPBOARD

The earliest known inventory of books in Gottorp Castle is dated 1590.[8] Its 667 entries, which include some manuscripts, are brief, without mention of the year of publication, sometimes mentioning only the last name of the author or one word of the title. It lists the contents of a particular *Grüne Schappe* at the death of Duke Philip (d. 1590), that is, a number of years before the traditional foundation date (1606) of a library in Gottorp, but clearly to be considered as its substantial original nucleus. This inventory was discovered in 1926 by the art historian Harry Schmidt (1883–1964) and published by him thirty years later.[9] In the meantime, the historian Olaf Klose (1903–87) had tried to match items in the list with books in the Royal Library, but, as he later reported, he had not been able to find any volume among the many hundreds that he inspected, which with any certainty pointed to a Gottorp origin.[10] This negative result has been considered to be definitive, and neither the published transcription of the list by Harry Schmidt nor the careful analysis of the character of its identifiable contents by Ulrich Kuder[11] has led to a renewed systematical search for and examination of bibliographically matching copies in the Royal Library.

However, in the chapter on the fate of the Gottorp collection in his path-breaking *The Royal Library in the Melting Pot*,[12] the renowned book historian Harald Ilsøe has succeeded in identifying two volumes with dedications to Duke Hans the Elder (d. 1580) (nos 401 and 67 in the 1590 list), and one volume dedicated to his successor Duke Adolf (d. 1586) (no. 535). One more volume, at least, among the nine mentioned by Ilsøe (pp. 415–18) with handwritten evidence of ownership by Gottorp dukes before 1590, clearly matches an item in the Green Cupboard: no. 122, inventoried simply as 'Fulgosius'. It is Baptista Fulgosius (Battista Fregoso, 1453–1504), *Factorum dictorumque memorabilium libri IX*, Paris 1578, with a dedication dated 1583 to Duke Philip's immediate predecessor, Friedrich II (d. 1587), see Fig. 1. This edition is also mentioned in the Pechlin catalogue (fol. 160r, no. 11).[13]

Another volume as well, not mentioned by Ilsøe, with Duke Friedrich II's autograph statement of ownership, attested in the shelf list (fol. 164v, no. 18) and other of the mentioned sources, and still extant in the Royal Library, is no. 497 on the 1590 list. The entry here, however, is not to be deciphered as 'Les anores poétiques de hestiann', as transcribed by Schmidt (p. 33) and by Kuder (p. 35), but as 'Les oeuvres poétiques de

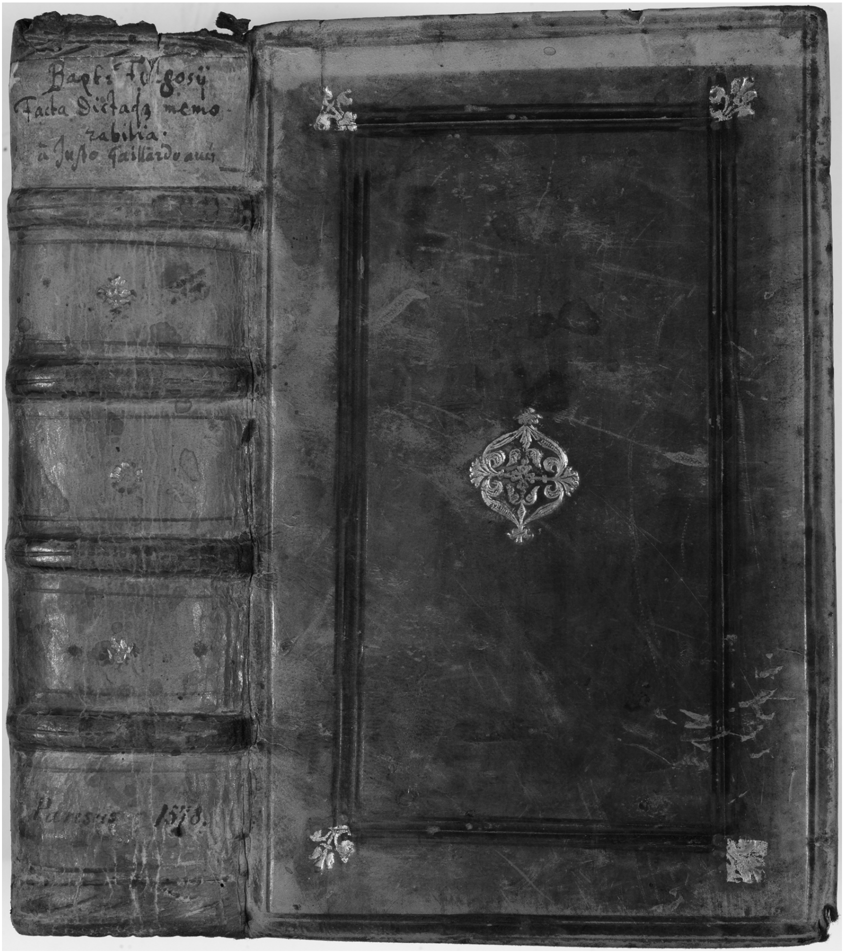


FIGURE 1 Binding (with a Gottorpian spine label) of Baptista Fulgosius, *Factorum dictorumque memorabilium libri IX*, Paris 1578. (144,-299 06270)

[Clovis] Hesteau [de Nuysement, Paris, 1578]'.[14] I stumbled upon this book among the retrieved literary goods stolen from the Royal Library in the 1960s and 1970s by a now deceased former colleague. I was alerted by the sixteenth-century German binding and the remains of a Gottorpian handwritten label on the spine (see Fig. 2) and next, of course, by the

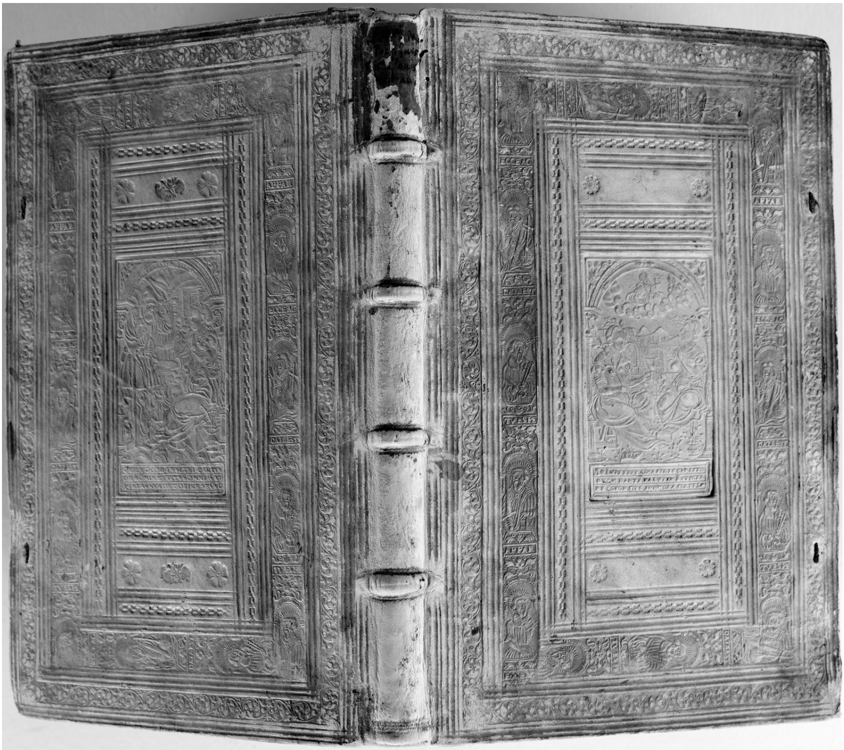


FIGURE 2 Binding, with spine label, of Clovis Hesteau de Nuysement, *Oeuvres poetiques*. Paris 1578, (75:2.-43 00134)

ownership inscription inside. In the Pechlin shelf list (fol. 164v, no. 18), the entry reads 'Hesteau |: Clovis :| Oeuvres poetiques Paris 1578'. Ilsøe was prevented from finding this book during his research along the shelves of the Royal Library, because the treasures hidden by the thief were discovered as late as 2003,[15] and not released for re-inclusion into the stacks of the Royal Library until 2009.

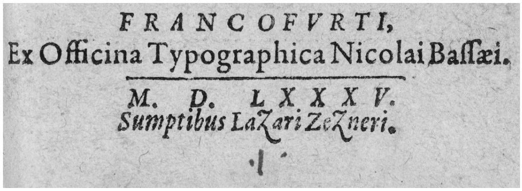
The 1590 list needs to be republished. Ulrich Kuder has bibliographically identified many of the items, and he has very helpfully referred to the German online national bibliography (*VD16*) for every identified item. With the exception of the characteristic handwritten spine labels, Royal Library copies so far matched with items on the 1590 list bear no later 'marks' revealing their previous inclusion in the Gottorp library.

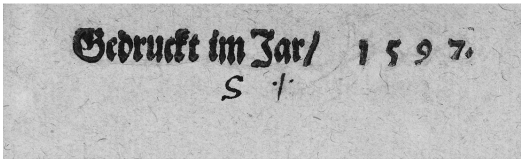
TINY INSCRIPTIONS ON TITLE PAGES

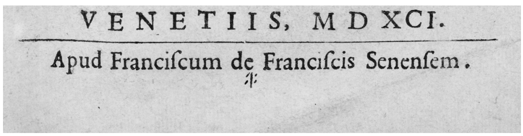
As a general rule, books from Gottorp contain no annotation of any kind. The bindings may have suffered much, but the interior of the volumes is in most cases in a pristine condition, as acquired from the printer or dealer, and as delivered by the bookbinder. General truths tend to become absolute truths, and no one, apparently, since the eighteenth century, has observed and reported, that a considerable number of undeniable Gottorp volumes (e.g. with super-exlibris with the ducal coat-of-arms, and numerous other characteristic binding features) do have handwritten information of some kind added on the title page: tiny symbols inscribed with a fine pen, neatly centered at the bottom of the title page – and hence quite easy to overlook if one expects to find nothing. Such tiny inscriptions are also found on a number of volumes bound in white parchment, a common binding type in those centuries, but identified by Karen Skovgaard-Petersen (on the strength of archival evidence) as one among others used by the bookbinders working for the Gottorp library. Since this type of title-page inscriptions are not mentioned by any historian of the collections of the Royal Library, I am inclined to believe that they are intimately connected with the history of a substantial part of the books seized in Gottorp in 1713 (see Fig. 3).

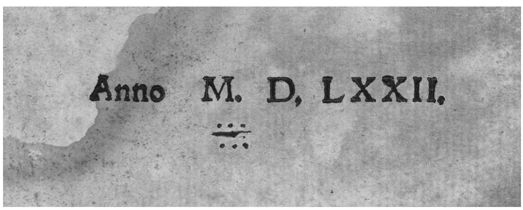
The alphanumeric elements of these tiny inscriptions match neither the ultimate Gottorp shelving as documented by the Pechlin shelf list, nor the shelf marks of the two older catalogues preserved in the University Library of Kiel (see below), but they could refer to an even earlier system. Libraries are dynamic entities, and a substantial re-shelving and re-adaptation of the shelving system would in Gottorp have to take place from time to time. The books so far seen with the tiny inscriptions have all been published before ca. 1615, one century before the Pechlin shelf list and index volumes were produced. At present, I have no suggestion as to the meaning of these tiny inscriptions. Are they related to acquisition, binding, shelving?[16] Hopefully, clues will turn up. In the present context, however, what is important to ascertain is only whether the particular types and structure of these tiny inscriptions, if present on books in the Royal Library, reveal Gottorp provenance with a fairly high degree of certainty. This seems to be the case.

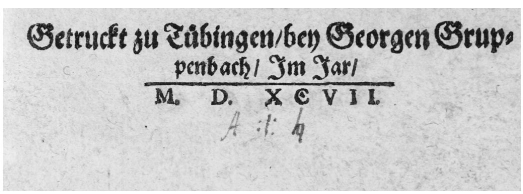
FIGURE 3 (*facing page*) Examples of tiny inscriptions on title pages of books in Gottorp bindings

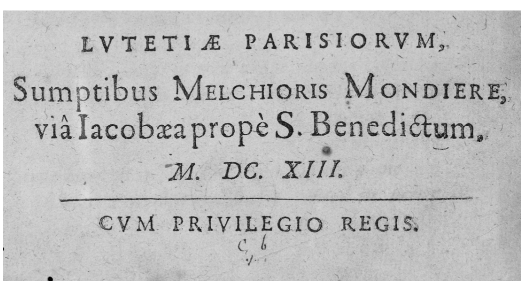

FRANCOFVRTI,
Ex Officina Typographica Nicolai Baſſæi.
M. D. LXXXXV.
Sumptibus LaZari ZeZneri.


Gedruckt im Jar/ 1597.
S ·/·


VENETIIS, MDXCI.
Apud Franciſcum de Franciſcis Senenſem.


Anno M. D, LXXII.


Getruckt zu Tübingen/bey Georgen Gruppenbach/ Im Jar/
M. D. XCVII.
A ·/· 4


LVTETIÆ PARISIORVM,
Sumptibus MELCHIORIS MONDIERE,
viâ Iacobæa propè S. Benedictum,
M. DC. XIII.
CVM PRIVILEGIO REGIS.
C 6

C. 10,000 'books', it is usually stated, was the size of the Gottorp library when seized in 1713.[17] Eschel Lohmann stated in 1732 that the Gottorp archive and Gottorp library were in a great disorder, and it is often stated that the library endured severe losses during the 35 years that went by before it was shipped to Copenhagen in 1749.[18] However, the great number of luxury bindings with Gottorp provenance in the collections of the Royal Library suggest that this information might be greatly exaggerated. Anyhow, the number of volumes shipped to Copenhagen was 9,927.[19]

The number of entries in the Pechlin shelf list is 7,251.[20] Many entries represent multiple volumes (indicated with 'Vol.' or 'V.' plus the number), and some are convolutes of unknown extent and only vaguely described contents. Besides, as mentioned, the Pechlin shelf list often only mentions the initial item in a composite volume. Furthermore, one must take into account that the Pechlin shelf list omits an important collection of books that was in Gottorp Castle and was transported to Copenhagen with the Ducal library: the von Wowern bequest.[21]

Dying in 1612 at the age of only 37, the classical scholar Johann von Wowern (Wouwern; Wowerius; 1574/75-1612) had been 'governor' of Gottorp Castle, that is, in current terminology, Prime Minister of the united duchies of Schleswig-Holstein, and was an active religious reformer. He had in Leiden been a pupil of the famous classical scholar Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), and had published critical notes on Petronius, Tertullian, Minucius Felix, etc.[22] He bequeathed his private books to the ducal library on condition that it would forever remain a separate collection. This clause in von Wowern's will was scrupulously respected through the next century. Two partial indexes kept in the University Library in Kiel, covering Theology and History, respectively,[23] refer to two sets of shelf marks (subject categories), of which none coincides with the shelving reflected in the Pechlin shelf list and indexes. One set, however, has a structure that is similar to that of the Pechlin shelf list, and must reflect an earlier stage of the shelving. According to Wolfgang Merckens (see above, note 3) it must still have been in use in 1688. The other is introduced by a 'W', and Merckens has rightly suggested that these refer to the von Wowern collection. Merckens counted more than 450 such shelf marks in the two indexes, but did not go further into the matter.[24] Upon closer examination, it turns out that a number of the items in these two partial indexes which refer *only* to a 'W' shelf mark cannot be found in the Pechlin catalogue system.

Following this method, and starting with the catalogue of Theological books, one very soon encounters a book already seen by Ilsøe (p. 422), that is, one of the four books mentioned by him with dedications to von Wowern. It is Jean du Tillet (ed.), *Apostolorum et sanctorum conciliorum decreta*, Paris: Conrad Néobar, 1540 (32,-4 00026). It was a gift from Bonaventura Vulcanius.[25] Systematic searches based on the Kiel indexes might reveal stronger marks of provenance than the binding of this particular item: plain white parchment, with the title inscribed on the top of the spine. It probably only leads us to Professor Vulcanius's private library (and book binder), not to von Wowern's.

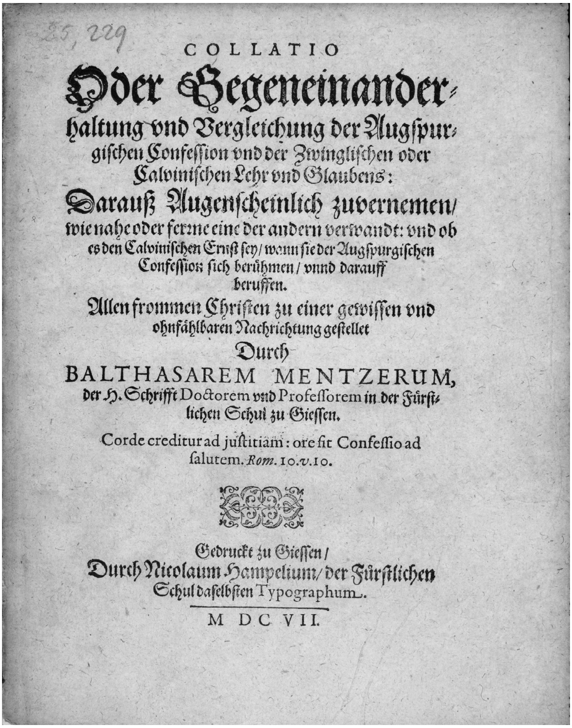
Another way to identify possible von Wowern books consists in comparing the 4,943 items in the 1779–1780 catalogue with the Pechlin catalogue: among a sample of items in the 1779–1780 catalogue which have no match in the Pechlin catalogue, 92% are printed before 1612, the year when Johann von Wowern passed away – Thus, even if it proves impossible to decide whether the copies available are von Wowern's or not, a partial catalogue of his library can be deduced from the available Gottorp catalogues with a fairly high degree of certainty.

COMPOSITE VOLUMES

In 1782, the Head of the Royal Library, Jón Erichsen (1728–87), asked the King for permission to split bindings of composite volumes when they contained items that were related to subject areas far from one another.[26] The Royal Library had not only taken in the Gottorp collections, but also the whole library of *c.* 85,000 volumes of the historian P. F. Suhm (1761–78), and soon after more than 25% of the twice as huge library of Count Otto Thott (1703–85): *c.* 50,000 volumes bought at the Thott-auctions, besides a bequest of 6,500 incunables and pre-1531 prints (and *c.* 4,000 manuscripts). We do not know how many composite volumes were treated in this manner under Erichsen's rule, and it is his successor, D. G. Moldenhawer (1753–1823), who is credited for having carried through the complete rearrangement of the Royal Library, from a shelving as separate collections to a shelving by subject matter, as in the University Library of Göttingen, which he knew well from having studied there. Multi-subject composite volumes represented a challenge, and the obvious solution at that time was to split them.

There was not money for rebinding all the elements of split composite volumes,[27] which, in some cases, if the spine was cut vertically, came to consist on the one hand of the first item and the last item, respectively, each with its single front or back of the binding, and, on the other hand, of unbound items from the middle of the volume. All elements except the first would be without fly-leaves in the front, so the shelf mark was written directly on the top of the title page, which soon became dirty by being rubbed against the binding of the following item on the shelf, see Fig. 4 (shelf mark '25, 229') In other cases the first item retained the whole binding, which now was too broad, so that the spine would break sooner or later (Fig. 5). In other respects, such as the circulation of the books, the rearrangement of the whole library was a success, and Moldenhawer's shelving and catalogue system served Danish scholarship well through the next 150 years as the gateway to the Royal Library's rich resources. Of course, a great number of the books that had thus been severed from their original binding have over the years been rebound, mostly, however, incunables and sixteenth-century printed books, in characteristic Royal Library bindings and with title labels calligraphed by well-attested Gottorp hands, but many such fragments of composite volumes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries remained unbound until the end of the twentieth century.

The occasion for such rebindings, after 200 years, was the 'Great Theft' of the 1960s and 1970s mentioned above, which eventually led to the launch of the 'Great Revision' (1977–1999, though with varying intensity) of all the collections of the Royal Library, the first and last to be carried out in the past century. Every book was checked according to a pre-printed scheme (Extant or missing? In need of binding? With provenance marks? If yes, which?, etc.).[28] So today, hundreds of very simple late twentieth-century bindings identify seventeenth- and eighteenth-century books that in about 1800 were forcefully separated from the binding which they had originally shared with one or more other books. This rebinding and conservation activity was very successful (see Fig. 6). Today, the only books that still have the 'look and feel' of split composite volumes are found among those stolen in the 1960s and 1970s, but retrieved in 2003, or among those that in the early 1970s (after extensive thefts had been detected) were taken out for security reason from the ordinary shelving and stored separately and safely, bound or unbound. It seems that it would be a pity today to rebind these remaining specimens; they should



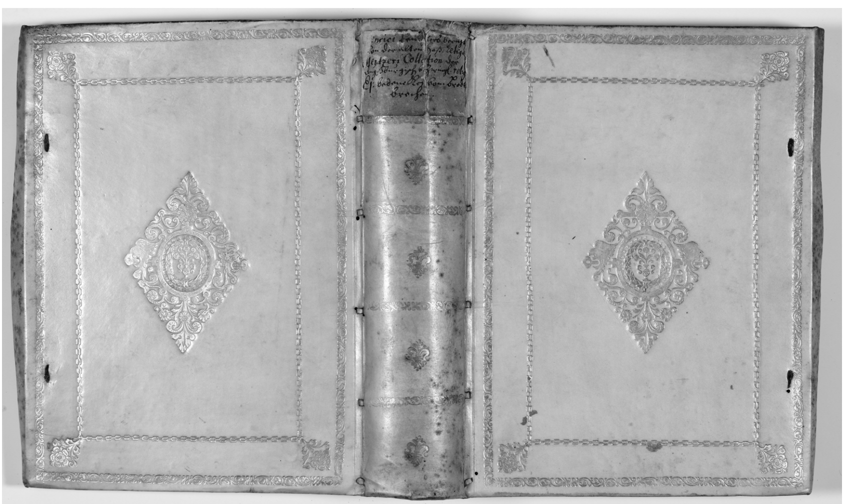
25, 229

COLLATIO
Oder Gegeneinander-
haltung vnd Vergleichung der Augspur-
gischen Confession vnd der Zwinglischen oder
Calvinischen Lehr vnd Glaubens:
Darauß Augenscheinlich zuvernemen/
wie nahe oder ferne eine der andern verwandt: vnd ob
es den Calvinischen Ernst sey/ wann sie der Augspurgischen
Confession sich berühmen/ vnnd darauff
beruffen.
Allen frommen Christen zu einer gewissen vnd
ohnfählbaren Nachrichtung gestellet
Durch
BALTHASAREM MENTZERUM,
der H. Schrifft Doctorem vnd Professorem in der Fürst-
lichen Schul zu Giessen.
Corde creditur ad justitiam: ore fit Confessio ad
salutem. *Rom.* 10.v.10.

Gedruckt zu Giessen/
Durch Nicolaum Hampelium/ der Fürstlichen
Schul daselbsten Typographum.
M DC VII.

Figure 4 (left) Title page, with shelf mark, of Balthasar Mentzer, *Collatio oder Gegeneinanderhaltung und Vergleichung der Augspurgischen Confession und der Zwinglischen oder Calvisnistischen Lehr un Glaubens*. Giessen 1607.

Figure 5 (below) Binding, with broken spine, containing the first out of originally four works: Heinrich Leuchter, *Antiqua Hessorum fides Christiana et vera. Das ist Historischer bericht vom alten und wahren Christlichen Glauben oder Religion der Hessen*. Darmbstatt 1607



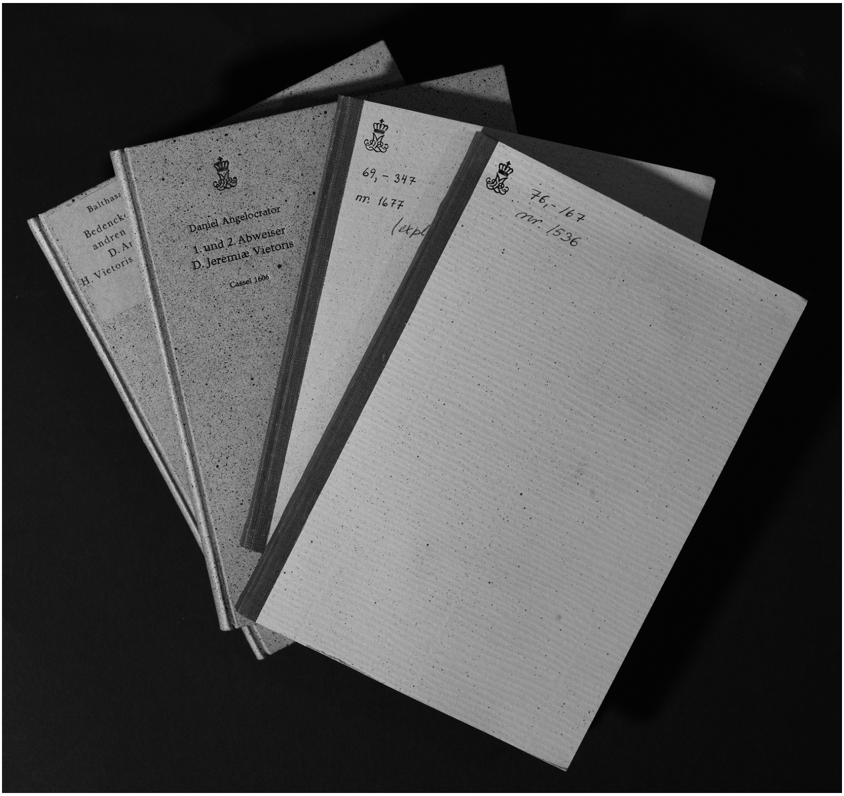


FIGURE 6 'Revision bindings' of the 1970s of books cut out of composite volumes *c.* 1800

rather be boxed as they are, as *lieux de mémoire* of two turning points, *c.* 1800 and *c.* 2000, in the curatorial history of the collections.

One cannot take for granted that any such individual item from a composite volume, within a too large old binding or rebound by the Royal Library in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries, originates from the Gottorp library. Composite volumes were also present in other collections included in the Royal Library during the eighteenth century. But there are so many examples of the phenomenon of split and unsplit composite volumes which demonstrably originate from Gottorp, and so relatively few have been encountered with a clearly different provenance, that a fair guess, when no other evidence *pro* or *con* is available, is 'Gottorp' rather than 'Suhm' or 'Thott'. In very many cases, probable Gottorp provenance can be further evidenced through title statements on the spine of the book that has retained the binding, through mention in the Pechlin catalogue system, or through other of the more or less explicit inventories that were made in Schleswig and Copenhagen after the seizure of the Gottorp library.

I shall give two examples, of which the first consists in combining the elements of Figs 4 and 5 into one, Fig. 7. The decoration on the binding and on the edges has not (yet) been identified as typical for Gottorp (or for a collection included in the Gottorp library), but so has the handwriting on the spine label which mentions three titles. However, as revealed by the 1737 Theology catalogue, four separate works constituted this composite volume. No. 1 is with the cover, too large for it alone, so that it has been compressed and broken. No. 2, mentioned in the third place on the spine label, was Balthasar Mentzer, *Christlichs Bedencken über den andern Abweiser, so Daniel Angelocrator von dem Brodbrechen und Handtnemmen im H. Abendmal wider … Hieremiae Vietoris … Gegenbericht aussgefertiget hat*. Giessen 1606. This work, of only 32 pages, is in the Royal Library (26,-232 00927): it is a 'Schnitzling' with the shelf mark on the title

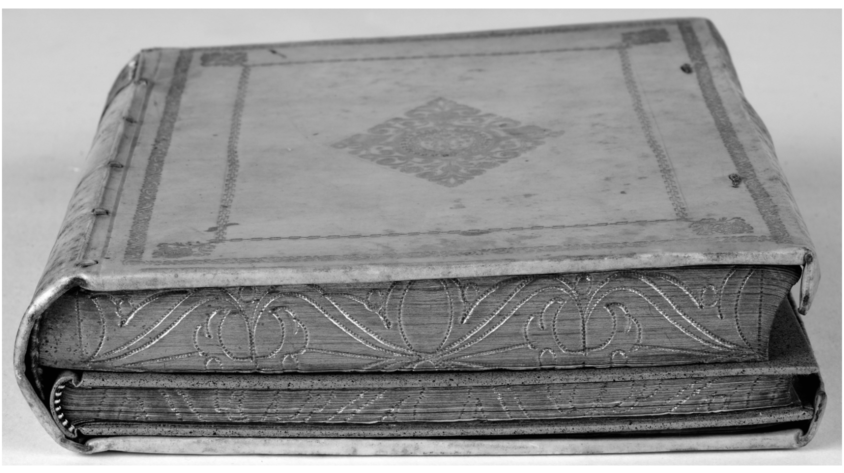


FIGURE 7 A virtual reunification of the items mentioned in Figs 4 and 5, no. 3 and no. 1, respectively, of the original composite volume

page, but not from the composite volume discussed here. The Gottorp copy must have been discarded as a duplicate. No. 3 (Fig. 4), mentioned in the second place on the spine label, has its shelf mark (26,-229 00991) written on the title page and was only rebound in connection with the Great Revision. No. 4, bypassed on the spine label, was Jeremias Vietor, *Rettung dess … Gegenberichts vom Brotbrechen im H. Abendmal … wider die … Schrifften zweyer Prediger im … Caspar. Embdeni und Danieln Angelocratoris*. Giessen 1606. As in the case of no. 2, the Royal Library has this work as a Schnitzling (26,-232 00924), but from another composite volume than the one from Gottorp discussed here.

The other example, Fig. 8, consists in an interesting small collection of five anti-Lutheran works, printed 1525 and 1526, and originally bound together in a German sixteenth-century blind-tooled brown skin binding. Although closely interconnected by their subject matter, these five works were disunited *c.* 1800 and each one separately shelved. The Pechin shelf list only mentions item 1 (p. 188v, no. 17), but the Theology catalogue, completed in Gottorp Castle by Eschel Lohmann in 1737, mentions all five items as bound together in one volume:[29]

[Item] 327

[1] *Erasmus Roterodamus adversus Servum Arbitrium Lutheri*. Antv. 1526. (87,-87 S-30)

[2] Hoochstrati *Dialogus adversus Lutherum de Christiana Libertate*. [1526]. (87,-89 S-30)

[3] Joh. Eckcius[sic] *de Sacrificio Missæ, contra Lutheranos*. [1526]. (87,-87 (S-30)

[4] Ejusd. Eckij *Loci Communes adversus Lutheranos*. [1526]. (87,-87 S-30)

[5] Caspari Salgeri [Sasgeri] *Articuli Unius Indissolubilitas, adversus Lutherum*. Tub. 1525. (87.-92 S-30)

With some difficulty, all five titles can be seen to be reflected on what remains of the typically Gottorpian spine label, glued, in contrast, to an un-Gottorpian binding. Item 1 is still connected by one single string to the much-too-large binding (so that the spine label has been worn down to its present sorry state), while items 2, 4, and 5, were rebound in the early nineteenth century, and item 3 in the late nineteenth century. In the late twentieth century, items 1 and 2 were removed from their respective shelves, and the thief had started to erase the label of item 2. The coat-of-arms of

FIGURE 8 The binding of originally five anti-Lutheran works of which four have been cut away *c.* 1800 and later rebound separately

Denmark would immediately have alerted any Danish antiquarian bookseller. Both stolen items were retrieved in 2003.

Are items 2–5 Gottorp copies? Items 2 and 4 are so with certainty, since their title pages bear the numerals '2' and '4', parallel to '1' at the same place of the title page of item 1. Both also are without fly leaves, and with the Royal Library shelf mark written on the title page. Item 3, which is the only of the five with a great number of marginal annotations, would seem to be an outsider, were it not for ink blottings on the upper edges, which link it with item 4, just as an inked 'E' (it seems; for 'Erasmus'?), shared by the fore-edges of items 1 and 2, link these together. Item 5 is problematic. It has no fly leaves, but also lacks an (ink) numbering and a (pencil) shelf mark on the title page. What seems decisive, in the end, is that item 5 does not follow up on a half inkblot on the top edge of item 4, and one must conclude that item 5 seems to come from another source than the composite Gottorpian volume discussed here.

So, nineteenth-century in-house bindings as well as twentieth-century 'Revision bindings' can be considered as quite strong circumstantial evidence of *probable* Gottorp origin – in some cases *quasi-certain*, that is, if confirmed as parts of composite volumes by the testimony of extant catalogues or inventories, or by other evidence such as, for example, tiny inscriptions on title pages, decorated edges, etc.

Relating the extant copies to the information known from old inventories helps to understand the specific development of a library. The Gottorp library was famous because of its manuscript collection and its rich printed collection in all areas of knowledge. The well-known mathematician and all-round scientist Adam Olearius (1603–71) served under the Duke of Gottorp from his return from the diplomatic mission to Russia and Persia, 1635–39, and was responsible for the library for more than twenty years, from 1649 to his death. It was during his first assignment at Gottorp, as 'Hofmathematicus' that he published his path-breaking account of his travel (1647). As 'Hofbibliothekar' he published a catalogue of the Cabinet of Rarities (*Kunst-Kammer*) of Gottorp Castle (1666), making use of and referring to the resources of the Ducal library. What was his impact on the library? Is his hand to be found on the spine labels? Was he responsible for the reorganisation of the library reflected in the Pechlin shelf list, after the collection had grown substantially under his curatorship? Such and many other questions might be addressed on a more solid basis if the bibliographic data of the Pechlin catalogues can be related to copy specific information on the Gottorp holdings in the Royal Library.

Furthermore, once the extant Gottorp copies are identified, it will in a number of cases facilitate studies of other provenances, since there will be one candidate less to take into account when investigating the many doubtful cases.

For a better understanding of the history of the Royal Library, not only of the history of its collections, their importance at various times, and of the impact of huge included collections, etc., but also of the methods and techniques applied by its personnel in order to cope with the challenges causes by such massive expansions of the collections, it is likewise useful to have a clear picture of the remains of the Gottorp collection. Again and again, it is 'the usual suspects', that is, leather bindings with gilded super ex-libris or lavishly decorated royal dedication copies, which are displayed and identified with Gottorp provenance. The mass of scholarly books that were included because they were not previously present in the Royal Library is an aspect of the history of this library that deserves to be better known.

As more and more provenance data (broadly speaking) is becoming available through electronic library catalogues, which can be harvested and aggregated into new and unforeseen digital contexts, there seems to be no limits to which kinds of copy-specific data should be systematically recorded, since such information can some day become important evidence in a particular chapter of the history of books, libraries, and readership.

NOTES

1. Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, 'Gottorp books in the Royal Library of Copenhagen. A note on the possibilities of identification', *Auskunft. Zeitschrift für Bibliothek, Archiv und Information in Norddeutschland*, 28:1 (2008), 129–51.
2. The important collection of Arabic, Greek, Latin, and German manuscripts of the Gottorp library, *c.* 350 items, are included in the 'Old Royal Collection' (*Gammel Kongelig Samling*, abbreviated GKS) of the Royal Library. For the latest contribution regarding this collection, see Erik Petersen, 'Bibliotheca Gottorpiensis Manuscripta. The inventories of the manuscripts of Gottorp', *Auskunft. Zeitschrift für Bibliothek, Archiv und Information in Norddeutschland*, 28:1 (2008), 117–28.
3. A research project regarding the role of the Gottorp library as a dynamic factor in the history of learning and letters in Schleswig-Holstein, is described by Ulrich Kuder, Hans-Walter Stork, and Babette Tewes, in the 'Einführung' (pp. 3–8) to the issue of *Auskunft* mentioned in the previous two notes, consisting of nine papers focusing on 'Die Bibliothek der Gottorfer Herzöge'.
4. For an overview of the available catalogues and inventories, see Wolfgang Merckens, 'Die Kataloge der Gottorfer Hofbibliothek und die Sammlung von von Wowern', *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte*, 107 (1982), 53–63; idem, 'Ein Gottorfer Bibliothekskatalog in Oldenburg', *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte*, 113 (1988), 93–96. The Pechlin shelf list is in the Niedersächsische Landesbibliotek in Oldenburg, shelf mark Cim I 276. The Royal Library has a xerox copy of it, shelf mark Acc. 1996/133. According to Merckens, the Gottorp shelf list kept in the Kreisbibliothek in Eutin is a fair copy of the Pechlin shelf list in Oldenburg.
5. Three such index volumes are extant in the Royal Library's Archive (KBs Arkiv), E 25 (Law and Political science), E 26 (Medicine, Physics, Mathematics, Philosophy, Criticism, Poetry, Classical authors), and E 27 (History). They are all dated 1709. Missing is the volume on Theology.

6. There are some catches in E 36, which consists of twelve elements bound together and paginated throughout (listing 5,066 volumes: after the eighth element, fols. 270–88 are missing (or the foliation has jumped from 269 to 289), and the tenth element, pp. 293–312 (listing 287 volumes), includes many books printed between 1713 and 1755 (A *Tertullani De pallio* '1786' is an error, since this element of E 36 is signed 8 August 1780).
7. Harald Ilsøe has given an overview of gifts and sales of duplicate copies in 'Bøger der gik den anden vej. Historien om hvad der blev af Det Kongelige Biblioteks dubletter', *Fund og forskning*, 37 (1998), 11–62.
8. Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, Schleswig, Abt. 7, no. 192.
9. Harry Schmidt, 'Das älteste verzeichnis der Gottorfer Bibliothek aus dem Jahre 1590', *Nordelbingen. Beiträge zur Heimatsforschung in Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg und Lübeck*, 25 (1957), 19–54; idem, 'Das älteste Verzeichnis der Gottorfer Bibliothek aus dem Jahre 1590', *Nordisk tidskrift för bok och biblioteksväsen*, 46 (1959), 139–56.
10. Quoted by Schmidt, 'Das älteste Verzeichnis', pp. 22 f.
11. Ulrich Kuder, 'Die erste nachweisbare herzogliche Bibliothek auf Schloss Gottorf', *Auskunft. Zeitschrift für Bibliothek, Archiv und Information in Norddeutschland*, 28:1 (2008), 17–42.
12. Harald Ilsøe, *Det kongelige Bibliotek i støbeskeen. Studier og samlinger til bestandens historie indtil ca. 1780*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1999), 717 pp. (with English summary) *(Danish Humanist Texts and Studies*, vol. 21). On the Gottorp collection, see chapter 19, pp. 406–34.
13. Another 'Fulgosius' attested by Pechlin (fol. 55v, no. 2), the *Consilia postuma* of the jurist Raphael Fulgosius (1367–1427), was not printed before 1607 and cannot have been in the *Grüne Schappe* in 1590.
14. It is a quite rare book, attested in French libraries by only four copies. See Roland Guillaud (ed.), *Clovis Hesteau de Nuysement: Oeuvres poétiques*, vols 1–2 (Genève: Droz, 1994–1996) (Textes littéraires français, 446; 464), vol. 1, p. 27 and p. 62.
15. For details on this sad affair, see http://www.kb.dk/en/kb/manglende-boger/index.html, and Jesper Düring Jørgensen, 'Report on a Theft of Books, a Non-Fiction Detective Story', *Care and Conservation of Manuscripts*, 9 (2006), 113–24; 'Om bøger, bogtyve og sikring på Det Kongelige Bibliotek', *Nordisk tidsskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen*, Årg. 2006 (2007), 150–84; 'The Anatomy of a Crime Discovery after 25 Years. A Notable Case of Book Theft and its Detection', *LIBER Quarterly*, 17 (2007), http://liber.library.uu.nl/articles/000194/article.pdf.
16. With reference to Swedish prints 1737 and 1692, Gunilla Jónsson has published examples of 'booksellers' initials ... often found on the title pages', see Tony Curwen and Gunilla Jónsson, 'Provenance and the Itinerary of the Book: Recording Provenance Data in On-line Catalogues', *CERL Papers* VII (London: Consortium of European Research Libraries, 2007), pp. 31–47, particularly pp. 34 and 35. Her example 2 B shows an 'inconspicuous signature' in

the same place on the title page as the tiny inscriptions on certain Gottorp volumes.

17. Dieter Lohmeier, 'Die Gottorfer Bibliothek', *Gottorf im Glanz des Barock*, 1 (1997), 325–48 (p. 333); Ilsøe, *Det kongelige Bibliotek i støbeskeen*, p. 406. According to W. Norvin, 'Bidrag til Gottorperbibliothekets Historie. VI', *Nordisk tidskrift för bok och biblioteksväsen*, 5 (1918), 206, 9,927 volumes were shipped to Copenhagen in 1749.
18. Victor Madsen, in the Introduction to *Katalog over Det Kongelige Biblioteks Inkunabler*, 1–2 (Copenhagen: 1935), p. xxiv, writes about the library: 'It was stored, however, for many years without care and as free access was given there can be no doubt that a good deal of books have disappeared in this way'.
19. Lohmeier, 'Die Gottorfer Bibliothek', p. 332, with reference to Norvin 1918, p. 206 (based on counts of the lists in catalogues E 30, 31, and 35 in the Royal Library's Archive).
20. Lohmeier, 'Die Gottorfer Bibliothek', p. 332, has 8,224 'Titel'.
21. Ilsøe, *Det kongelige Bibliotek i støbeskeen*, pp. 412 f. mentions a small group of select devotional books from Gottorp, which were in the Royal Library already in 1729, but are not mentioned in the Pechlin catalogues.
22. This Johannes Wowerius, sometimes specified as being 'of Hamburg', must not be confused with his younger contemporary namesake, 1576–1636, a pupil of Justus Lipsius, and a friend of Rubens, particularly known because of the latter's portrait of Lipsius with three friends and pupils, in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence ('The four philosophers'). Our von Wowern's will is in the Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, Abt. 7, no. 274.
23. University Library of Kiel, Cod. Ms. S. H. 410 fol. (Theology); Cod. Ms. S. H. 408A fol. (History).
24. Ilsøe, *Det kongelige Bibliotek i støbeskeen*, p. 422, suggests that the bequest amounted to around twice that number of items.
25. Vulcanius (De Smet), 1538–1614, was professor of Latin and Greek at Leiden University 1581–1612. Among his famous pupils were Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) and Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655).
26. Royal Library, Archive, Journalsag 192. I am indebted to the book historian Karsten Christensen for this key reference.
27. The evocative German word for such a fragment of composite volumes is *Schnitzling*.
28. The reason adduced at that time for spending resources on this was that, if stolen, some specific identification of the volume would be at hand. Gottorp provenance was only registered when based on the ducal super exlibris, because little was known at that time about other ways of identifying Gottorp volumes. The collected mass of provenance information has since then been forgotten. In August 2011, however, a project has been launched by which the book-historical information collected during the 'Great Revision' is added to the records in the library's online catalogue.

29. This catalogue is not faultless, but seems to be the most accurate of all the Gottorp catalogues. Eschel Lohmann must have taken for granted that it was the intention of the Royal Library to shelve the Gottorp library as a separate collection (the normal procedure at that time). However, Lohmann's sequential numbering of the Theology volumes in the catalogue is not reflected in the books or on their bindings.

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