

THE LIBRARY AT WOLFENBÜTTEL, FROM 1550 TO 1618¹

I: THE STAGES OF ITS FOUNDATION

The first to found a library at Wolfenbüttel was Duke Julius of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1528–1589, Plate v), who was on the ducal throne for the final twenty-one years of his life, but who had established a small personal library even before he became reigning Duke. The third son of Duke Henry the Younger of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, he was destined for the priesthood on account of a deformed foot and for this reason had received an academic education. As the youthful incumbent of a canonry in Cologne, he applied himself diligently to his studies and later proceeded to the University of Louvain. In 1550, however, between the periods spent in these latter towns, he undertook a journey to France, during the course of which he visited Paris, Orleans, Bourges, and other cities: it was upon this expedition that he acquired the first books of which we have any knowledge. Thus the year 1550 is the first significant date in the history of the Wolfenbüttel Library.

The founding of the 'Herzog August Bibliothek' is marked by no one date. In its stead, one is faced with a series of sixteenth-century dates which denote the initial stages in the development of this library which later became so famous. Of these early dates that of 1550 is the first.

Amongst the books which Duke Julius acquired upon his French travels is, for example, a fine leather-bound volume in which are combined the two tales of chivalry *Sensuyt la fleur des Batailles de Doolin de Mayence* and *Sensuyt l'hystoire des deux nobles et vaillants cheualiers Valentin et Orson* (Paris, c. 1530, present pressmark Lm 64). On the inside front cover of this volume is to be found the following inscription in the Prince's hand: '.1.5.50. | G.V.W.G. | I.H.Z.B.V.L.'. The final six letters comprise the name and title of the sovereign — 'Julius Herzog zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg' — while the first four signify 'Gottes Vorsehung wird geschehen' (Plate vi). This is the motto of Duke Julius and is to be found especially in those books which he acquired in his first years as an active collector. Those which he obtained in later years contain as a rule the motto 'Aliis (in)-serviendo consumer'. Good examples of the coupling of these two mottos are offered by the two manuscripts Cod. Guelf. (Codex Guelferbytanus) 220 Helmst. and 221 Helmst. On folio 2 recto of the former stand the following words in the Duke's hand: '1569 Alijs. inseruiendo. | consumer. G.V.M.G. | De(n) 20 Decembris zu | Wolfenbüttel eyn | com(men)'. The entry on folio 3 recto of the second manuscript is almost identical.

These and similar works are indicative of the line of the Duke's literary taste both then and in the years shortly after. They are examples of the heroic tales and stories of chivalry written at the time, which were in vogue — notably with men of high estate — and which Cervantes was later to lampoon.

¹ The following standard works may be referred to for the history of the Library at Wolfenbüttel: K. P. C. Schönemann, 'Umrisse zur Geschichte und Beschreibung der Wolfenbüttler Bibliothek', *Serapeum: Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswissenschaft etc.*, 4 (1843), 81–95, 97–106, 193–204, 209–18; 5 (1844), 209–36; 18 (1857), 65–80, 81–91, 97–107; Otto von Heinemann, *Die Herzogliche Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte deutscher Büchersammlungen* (Second edition, Wolfenbüttel, 1894; reprint Amsterdam, 1969); Heinrich Schneider, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Universitätsbibliothek Helmstedt*, Schriften des Helmstedter Universitätsbundes, 1 (Helmstedt, 1924). These works are referred to below as 'Schönemann', 'Heinemann', and 'Schneider', respectively.

Three years after this journey to France Julius became next in line to the ducal throne of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel on account of the death of his two elder brothers in the battle of Sievershausen, near Brunswick (9 July 1553). Little enamoured of this turn of events, the father made several attempts to exclude his son from the succession. At times he would treat him with such extraordinary rancour that Julius was for a time compelled to seek refuge in Küstrin with his brother-in-law Margrave Johann of Brandenburg. The father's dislike was aroused at one time by the physical deformity of his son and at another by the realization that Julius was a follower of the Lutheran doctrine whereas he adhered unswervingly to the old faith.

Not till 1560 were father and son reconciled; with his wife, Hedwig of Brandenburg, Julius returned to his homeland, taking up residence in Schloß Hessen, near Wolfenbüttel. Along with some other estates this castle had been allotted to him by his father as a means of livelihood.

In this peaceable country retreat, the old passion for books awoke with especial vigour. Despite the exceedingly modest means which were at his disposal as a result of the disorder in his father's exchequer, he sought to enlarge his book collection. 1567 was the year of the first significant acquisition. He bought a great number of books forming part of the assets of the Nuremberg lawyer and syndic Dr Michael von Kaden, who had died in 1561. The precise number remains unknown.¹ In each of these volumes can be found an entry, written by Duke Julius, which in most cases reads: 'Alijs inseruiendo consumidor | I D B E T L. | 17 Julij Anno 1567.'

In 1568 Henry the Younger died at the age of nearly eighty. When he assumed the reins of government, Julius moved his residence to Wolfenbüttel, and transferred his library also: it was installed in the old chancellery (east of the castle). Immediately following his accession to office, Julius set in motion his measures for church reform, which enriched the library significantly. The Reformation included the monasteries and convents not only of the old Wolfenbüttel territory but also of the Hildesheim grandbishopric, insofar as the latter had been assimilated into Henry's domain after the war known as the 'Hildesheimer Stiftsfehde'. Julius instructed his stewards and bailiffs to send to Wolfenbüttel the manuscripts and printed texts found in the monasteries and ecclesiastical institutions, so that they might be incorporated into the ducal library. Several nunneries within the former Hildesheim diocese — Dorstadt, Heiningen, Steterburg (near Wolfenbüttel), and Wöltingerode (near Goslar) — were the first to feel the effects of this measure. Although the number of printed works taken from these convents can no longer be ascertained, the quantity of manuscripts is known: from Dorstadt came sixteen, from Heiningen some twenty, from Steterburg twenty-seven, and from Wöltingerode about eighty-five. Among the manuscripts from this latter nunnery are two magnificently illuminated psalters (Cod. Guelf. 515 Helmst. and 521 Helmst.) and the *Martyrologium cum necrologio Woltingerodense* (Cod. Guelf. 498 Helmst.) — a text of importance for the history of Hildesheim.

¹ An investigation into the legal books of Michael von Kaden at present in Wolfenbüttel is reaching completion. A small number of the titles of the French and German texts which were bought from Kaden are named by Heinemann, pp. 9-10, note. Unfortunately he does not mention the pressmarks.

These manuscripts arrived in Wolfenbüttel at short intervals: those from Wöltingerode on 14 and 15 March, those from Steterburg on 18 March and those from Dorstadt and Heiningen on 12 April 1572. On 15 April came an additional 292 manuscripts and printed works from the Marienberg nunnery near Helmstedt. A later provost of this convent, H. Lüders, characterized this event in the following terms: in 1572 'wardt Paul von Cleve mit etzlichen Soldaten von Wolfenbüttel nach dem Closter L. Fr. Berg vor Helmstedt abgefertiget, das er von dannen beydes, der Heiligen Bilder vndt auch Bücher, so viel er derselben alda würde finden, solte hinwegnehmen vndt nach W. bringen; wie denn auch geschehen'.¹

An important event in the early history of the library was the 'Libereyordnung'² drawn up by Duke Julius (first draft of 20 December 1571) and dating from 5 April 1572. This decree takes the form of an instruction from the Duke to his librarian, Magister Leonhard Schröter. In this instruction Schröter is informed how he 'es in vnser bibliotek bey seinen Pflichten vnd Ayden halten soll'. How devoted Julius was to his library finds clear expression in the detail of his specifications for the display of books, for their recording in catalogues and their press-marks — specifications which require the installation of an up-to-the-minute catalogue, which would enable a check to be carried out at any time. Instituted as the personal collection of the sovereign, the library was not public and accessible to one and all — indeed, at that time things could not be otherwise. Nevertheless, outsiders were able to use it: in such cases the duke merely insisted that his own written assent be given. At even this early stage, the borrowing of books also was possible, in a restricted form (points six to nine in the library regulations).

The date of these library regulations is the last chronological milestone in the sixteenth century: for the issuing of these regulations for the librarian concludes the opening period in the history of the Wolfenbüttel library. Following upon the first individual purchases in the 'fifties and the larger acquisitions in the 'sixties, a considerable influx from secularized monasteries meant that, after 1572 the library was gradually outgrowing the framework of a private collection designated for the exclusive use of the sovereign. Now it required a librarian to supervise cataloguing and administration. And now also — with ducal permission — it could be made accessible to the use of certain privileged persons. The limit of viability as a private collection had been reached: the tendency to expand towards the status of a public library was, after the first few hesitant steps, inevitable. Since this limit was marked by the instruction of 1572, we shall be able with good reason to invoke this date in 1972 as grounds for a jubilee commemorating the four-hundredth anniversary of the Wolfenbüttel library.

The acquisitions after 1572 point the way to greatness. From the widow of Johann Aurifaber the Younger — the publisher of Luther's works (Jena and Eisleben, 1555–1565) who died in Erfurt in 1575 — Julius procured a considerable collection of the writings, both of Luther and of other reformers. In addition, there were valuable gifts: the landgrave Wilhelm von Hessen donated a costly and richly illuminated evangeliary which bears the date 1194 and was produced in Helmarshausen (Cod. Guelf. 65 Helmst.). The hand-written dedication reads:

¹ Schönemann, *Serapeum*, 4 (1843), p. 84.

² Reproduced in Heinemann, pp. 295–7.

'zu betzierung Sr. F. Gnaden newangestellten Bibliotheca'; it arrived in Wolfenbüttel on 25 June 1573. Similarly, on 10 August 1584 Julius received from Andreas Stang 'Borussus und Candidatus', a handwritten *Biblia pauperum*, which is even today reckoned among the especial treasures of the library (Cod. Guelf. 35a Helmst.)

Some years ago the Wolfenbüttel librarian Hermann Herbst discovered in the Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv at Wolfenbüttel a list of books drawn up in 1588 by the duke's chancery-clerk, Eberhard Eggelinc. It bears the title: 'Vertzeichnus derjenigen Bücher so In Illustrissimi Julij Bibliothecen oben Auf den brettern stehen Vff Pergamein geschrieben oder gedruckt Vnd Von Eberharten Eggelinc Anno [15]88 Im Augusto Inuentirt worden sein'. The list in question is the earliest yet known to cover an individual section of the Bibliotheca Julia. It contains details of the most valuable part — that housing the parchment manuscripts and printed books and comprises about two hundred entries, each of which concerns one or more volumes. Amongst the printed works, one extremely important volume is recorded — the Gutenberg Bible which is today preserved in Göttingen. Here is thus to be found the earliest proof of the existence of this work at Wolfenbüttel, after the entry in the bible itself. A product of the Duke's last years, the list affords an insight into the treasures which the library contained. Herbst had intended publishing it (as part of a monograph), but did not do so.¹

The son and successor of Duke Julius, Duke Heinrich Julius — well known to German literary history — had the same book-collecting inclinations as his father. But his own predilection was for Roman law, and so his efforts on behalf of the Wolfenbüttel library centred on the acquisition of juridic works. His large measure of success in this resulted in the legal section of the library catalogue, compiled shortly after his death (in 1613), being the most extensive: there were 967 legal works out of a total stock of approximately 4,300 volumes. (We shall come back to this catalogue of 1613/14.)

II: THE ACQUISITION OF THE LIBRARY OF MATTHIAS FLACIUS ILLYRICUS

Duke Heinrich Julius merits great credit for purchasing the library of Matthias Flacius Illyricus in 1597. This was the most significant collection of printed and hand-written texts to be found in the hands of any one private individual in the Germany of that time. According to a summary specification² there were 907 printed and handwritten books which changed owners for 1095 and a half talers. 100 talers in all were asked for the bibles, whilst in the case of the remaining printed material one and a half talers were paid for each folio, half a taler for each quarto volume, a quarter for each octavo, and five Mariengroschen for each sedecimo.

This collection was particularly strong in manuscripts, there being among them — according to this summary specification — 165 written on parchment, which were bought for one and a half talers apiece. To this day we have no knowledge of the printed texts. Ranking among the manuscripts were both the 'Glossae' of the

¹ Information on this point can be found in Hermann Herbst, 'Herzog Julius von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel und seine wissenschaftlichen Gründungen', in *Kultur- und Universalgeschichte, Walter Goetz zu seinem 60. Geburtstage dargebracht* (Leipzig, 1927), pp. 236-7. Publication is now planned.

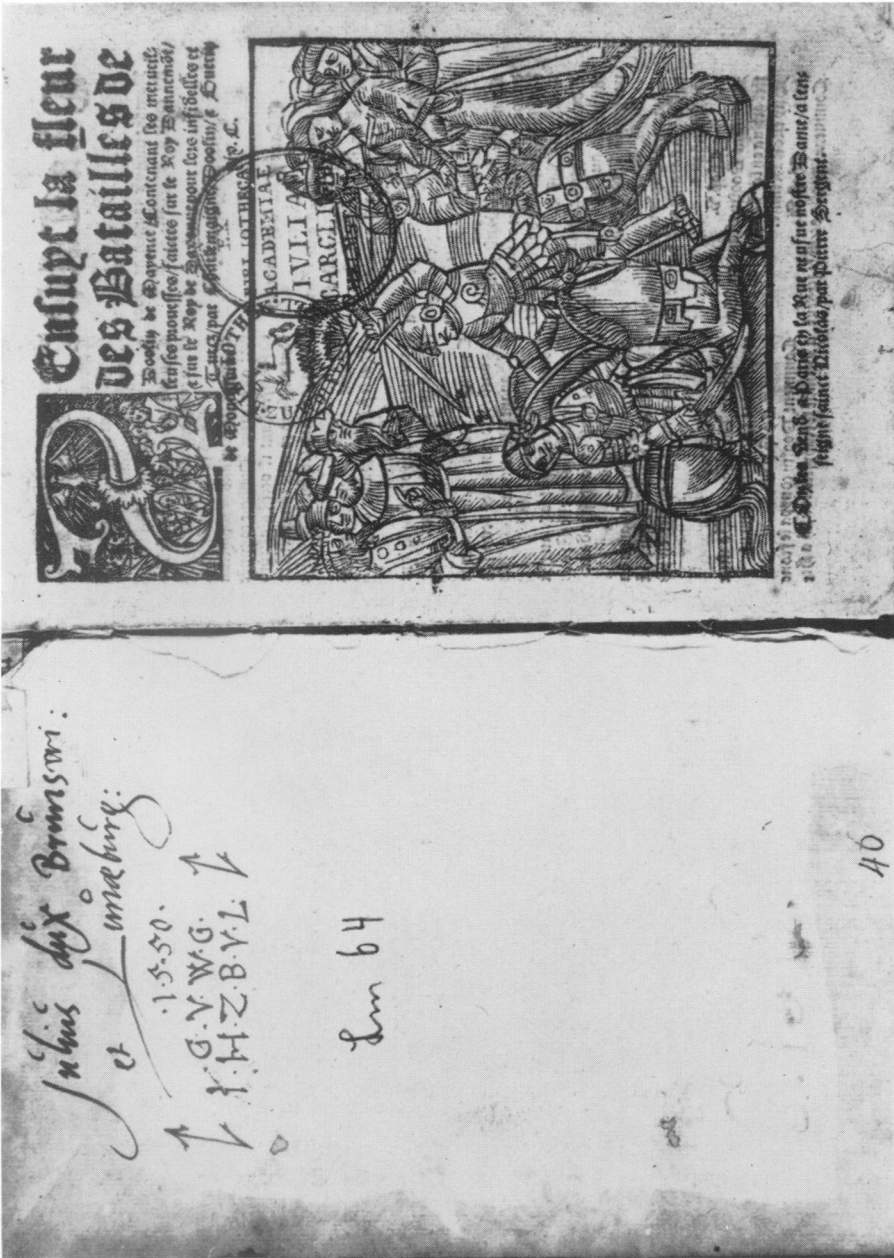
² Reproduced by Schönemann, *Serapeum*, 4 (1843), 88-9.

PLATE V



Duke Julius of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1528–1589)

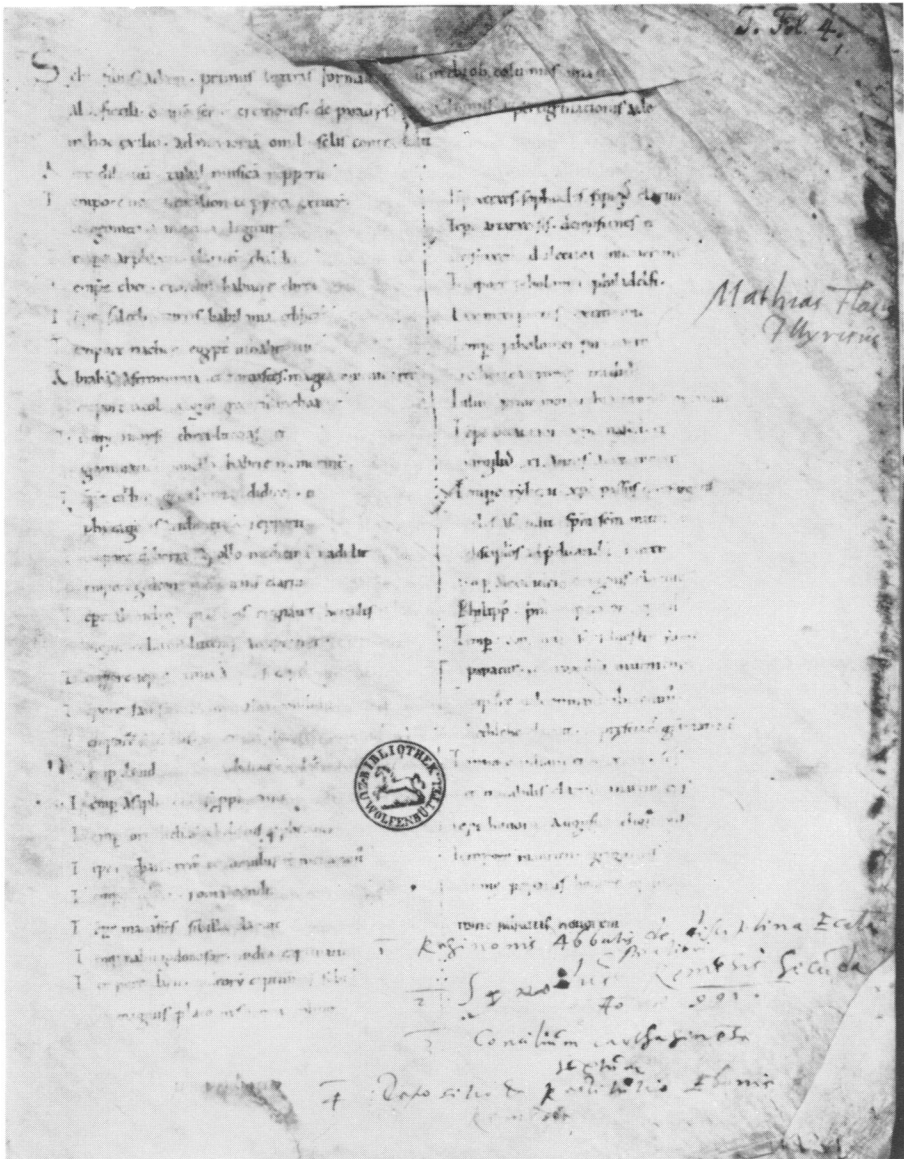
Photograph by courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel



Ownership entry of Duke Julius and title-page of *La fleur des Batailles* . . . Paris c. 1530

Photograph by courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel

PLATE VII



Ownership entry and comments by Matthias Flacius Illyricus in
Cod. Guelf. 32 Helmst. (fol. 1^r)

Photograph by courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel

POETA GRECI, LATINI, GALlici, etc.	
1.	Opera Virgilij Maronis cum Commentarijs diversorum auctorum. Imo Jbid. Maggiorij Virgilij Aeneidos libri sextus in fol. Lips. 1517.
2.	Aeneis Virgilij manuscripta in Membranis Lige Sicilae.
3.	p. Virgilij Aeneidis Graecica et Geographica et quaedam alia minuta Carmina exhaerentia. Lips. 1517.
4.	Cicero Horatii Flaccij Opera cum q. Commentarijs, Aeronis, Porphyrii, Antonij Nemesioli, Jodoci Badij ad 1543. passim in folio.
5.	Elegantum Propertij libri in 4. duntaxat. Venetijs 1488. in fol. Jbid. Tibullus Equus Romanus Venetijs 1487. in fol. Jbid. Catullus veronensis. Omnia cum glossis et Commentarijs.
6.	Ornithionis Vincensium in Lacum Anatum Codicum seu gustus Venet. 1477. in fol.
7.	Aeneis Virgiliana cum Scaev. Honorat. Graeci Commentarijs, J. Philippi Brouck. et annotationibus et alia intertextibus. parvifolij in fol. 1512. Jussu. paucis.
8.	Namius Flavianus libro incipit atq. finit cum gl. manuscriptis. Finis et scriptura in Buxifolij in schola S. Paulini ad 1487. Jbid. Compendium Theologiae de parvifolij articulis catholice manuscriptis. <i>Theological</i>
9.	M. Antonij Lucei poetae libri. Lovanij.
10.	Horatii Venetorum cum Antonij Nemesioli Commentarijs, typis A. Jussu. 1503. in fol.
11.	Virgilij sacro manuscriptis.
12.	Lucei manuscriptis.
13.	Horatii manuscriptis.
14.	p. Ovibus Nase de arte amandi. Jussu remedio Aeneis et alia vsq. ad libro de medicamentis facij inclusivi. Jb. Horatius libri primis ad Cyprianum Flavianum ep. illi pro genis Aeneas vitam clarissimam. Jbid. eiusdem libri etc. Jbid. Antonij Sicili. parvifolij Carmina et huius manuscriptis. 1470. proprietatis Aeneas multa manuscriptis. Jbid. parvifolij Virgilij Aeneas et principia manuscripta. 1460. Jbid. Virgilij vita et epitaphium. Item epitaphium et alia varia orationes et scripta variaz auctorum.
15.	Boetij manuscriptis in fol.
16.	Boetij manuscriptis. in fol.
17.	Apollinaris Sidonii Carmina et Opera manuscripta in membranis in duntaxat. fol.
18.	Juvenalis familiarum Commentum cum Antonij Nemesioli explanatione. Ligd. 1507. in regal. 4to.
19.	Claudianus poeta manuscriptis in 8. parvo.
20.	Ein Buxifolij bis Reimbuxifolij in 4to auf 8. parvo alle zuehlf. iben.
21.	Horatii ihus latine Carmina reddita p. Johannem Hübner. Basil.
22.	Alonj Carmina de humana Natura qd. Aristoclaudianum inscripta. Jbid. Faustinus Carmina jussu auctoris de Affino et voluit cantum suum fieri Longiorum. Jbid. Disticha Catonis et alia Jussu. Jia manuscripta.
23.	Diphrasimi v. i. Dostoris Albray de Eib. Margaritha poetica in 4. Argth. 1503.
24.	

Wolfenbüttel Library Catalogue of 1613-14 (page 19)

Photograph by courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel

Old and New Testaments drawn up by Flacius himself (Cod. Guelf. 199.1. Helmst. — 199b Helmst.) and twenty-three large ‘Sammelbände’ relating to the religious disputes of the period. A hundred talers were paid for the ‘Glossae’, 115 for these volumes of polemics.

The oldest manuscript — the homilies of Johannes Chrysostomus on Matthew (Cod. Guelf. 75a Helmst.) — written in Greek uncials, dates from the sixth century. Next in order of age is the eighth-century *Lex Alamannorum* (Cod. Guelf. 513 Helmst.). Charlemagne’s capitulary of A.D. 789, written in Anglo-Saxon minuscules (Cod. Guelf. 496a Helmst.) goes back to the close of the eighth century; the famous capitulary *De villis* (Cod. Guelf. 254 Helmst.) stems from the second quarter of the ninth. Several manuscripts were written in the ninth century, among them the *Ammonitiones* of Bishop Caesarius of Arles (Cod. Guelf. 562 Helmst.) Although only a few derive from the tenth and eleventh centuries, a greater number derive from the centuries that follow. The majority are theological in content, their principal subjects being ecclesiastical history and canon law. In addition, however, there are also manuscripts of significance for secular history, such as the *Gesta Friderici I* by Otto von Freising (Cod. Guelf. 206 Helmst.) and even works by classical authors, such as Vergil’s *Aeneis* (Cod. Guelf. 349 Helmst.).

The provenances of the Flacius manuscripts — in so far as they can be ascertained with any certainty — provide a picture of the manifold connexions of Flacius and his assistants. Below is a brief survey of some towns whose monastery and church libraries contributed to Flacius’s collection — either through purchase, barter, or the non-return of volumes borrowed. In this account of origins, we may progress geographically, beginning with Magdeburg, the focus of Flacius’s activity in the field of ecclesiastical history, and then widening the perspective to include North, West and South Germany, after which follow the rest of Europe.

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| 1. <i>North and West Germany</i> | 2. <i>South Germany</i> |
| Magdeburg: Kloster Unserer Lieben Frauen
Liebfrauenkirche | Ansbach: St Gumbertuskirche |
| Berge bei Magdeburg: Kloster | Weissenburg, Alsace: Kloster |
| Lüneburg: Michaeliskloster | Heidelberg |
| Hildesheim: Michaeliskloster | Heilsbronn: Marienkirche |
| Pöhlde (Harz): Kloster | Hirtzenhain: Kloster |
| Fulda: Kloster | Nürnberg: Aegidienkirche |
| Weimar: Herzogliches Archiv (?) | Heiliggeistspital |
| Minden: Petrikerche | Reichenbach (bei Regensburg): Kloster |
| 3. <i>Austria</i> | 4. <i>Scotland</i> |
| Melk: Kloster | Arbroath: Monastery |
| Sittich (Kärnten) | St Andrews: Monastery |
| Vienna: Schottenkloster | |

Originally, the scope of the library must have been greater than it was at the time of its sale. Yet it would need a systematic search through other libraries for volumes belonging to Flacius to provide any information on this score. This would be facilitated by the fact that Flacius made entries upon most manuscripts in his possession, giving a short résumé of their content, along with hand-written notes, addenda, or even his own name (see Plate VII). Hence there are now in the Herzog August Bibliothek alone several manuscripts of Flacius which were not acquired as a result of the purchase of his own library, but which came here by

other means. (Whether many were given away or sold within Flacius's own lifetime must naturally remain an open question.) Among the Augustan manuscripts at Wolfenbüttel there are seven which assuredly once belonged to Flacius. Three of these were sent to Duke August the Younger (1579–1666) on 26 January 1666 by the rector of Schöningen (near Wolfenbüttel), Joachim Johann Mader: they are the letters of Nicolaus de Clemangis (Cod. Guelf. 83.29 Aug. 2°), a 'Sammelband' (Cod. Guelf. 22. 8 Aug. 4°), and a collection of primarily humanist texts (Cod. Guelf. 24. 5 Aug. 4°). Of the remaining four manuscripts, one is a miscellany of various minor writings on church history which had passed from Flacius to his colleague Wigand (Cod. Guelf. 11. 20 Aug. 2°). Another is a 'Sammelband' concerned chiefly with the Council of Basel (Cod. Guelf 17. 18 Aug. 4°), while the third contains a collection of the letters of Franciscus Poggio (Cod. Guelf. 19. 41 Aug. 4°). The fourth manuscript (Cod. Guelf. 27. 9 Aug. 2°, dating from the sixteenth century) consists of extracts from a group of letters by Bonifatius, of letters from Pope Leo III to Charlemagne, and of letters from other popes to Pippin and his son — destined to be put to use in the twelfth volume of the 'Centuria'. In the possession of Flacius also was the manuscript of Berengarius of Tours, which came to special fame under the aegis of Lessing (Cod. Guelf. 101 Weiss).¹

The owner of this rich treasure of books was Matthias Flacius Illyricus (1520–75),² a disciple of Melanchthon, though later his opponent, and the principal expositor of the orthodox Lutheran line in the theological disputes of the sixteenth century. After the conclusion of the Schmalcaldian War which brought disaster to the Protestant cause, and following the promulgation of the Augsburg Interim, Flacius had given up his teaching activity at the University of Wittenberg and had travelled first to Lower Saxony and later, in 1549, to Magdeburg, the only town which refused to accept the Interim. From here he proposed to combat the forces of Catholicism through two monumental works. His intention in the one, which appeared later under the title *Catalogus testium veritatis, qui ante nostram aetatem reclamarunt Papae* (Basel, 1556; second edition, Basel, 1562) was to confront the Catholic Church with a collection of pronouncements from its own adherents of former years as witnesses, so to speak, against the Roman cause. The other work, known under the short title of *Centuria Magdeburgenses* (the actual title reads: *Ecclesiastica historia . . . congesta per aliquot studiosos et pios viros in urbe Magdeburgica*) was to be a comprehensive ecclesiastical history, in which Flacius projected giving a chronological — century by century (*centuriae*) — exposé of how the true Church and her religion had gradually been led astray from her pristine purity. It remained incomplete; thirteen volumes appeared in Basel between 1559 and 1574, each treating of one century. Other erudite Protestant theologians were enlisted for

¹ While Schneider, p. 36 f., still considers that this manuscript passed indirectly into the hands of Heinrich Julius von Blum, and that in 1689 it came to Wolfenbüttel from him, together with the Weissenburg manuscripts, Hans Butzmann (*Die Weissenburger Handschriften* (Frankfurt am Main, 1964), p. 289) upholds the more acceptable view that it was in Wolfenbüttel long before the Weissenburg manuscripts, but that it was preserved unbound, did not go to Helmstedt in 1618, was subsequently in 1753 bound together with the latter and hence placed in this section. The fact that Cod. Guelf. 101 Weiss. is not listed in Blum's Viennese register fits in with this hypothesis.

² Flacius is latinized from the Slav Vlačich, and the surname Illyricus derived from his native Istria (where he was born in Albona). On him see: Wilhelm Preger, *Matthias Flacius Illyricus und seine Zeit*, 2 vols (Erlangen, 1859–61).

this large-scale joint undertaking which, polemic in tone, protestant in outlook, and anti-Catholic in tendency, was the first composite ecclesiastical history of the early centuries and of the Middle Ages.

For both his works, Flacius needed to assemble and sift through as extensive a range of source material as possible. It was of particular importance that the libraries both of Germany and of foreign countries should be searched for manuscripts hitherto unknown — for true history had to be drawn up to the light from the uttermost depths of wells. A collaborator qualified for this enterprise was found in Markus Wagner from Friemar near Gotha. Not only was his knowledge extensive and his flair acute, but he was equally well versed in the art of worming his way into the confidence of the owners of public and private libraries.¹ Equipped with the appropriate instructions, Wagner set out upon his voyages of discovery. He first combed Denmark, England, and Scotland, ferreting through the book collections in Copenhagen, Edinburgh, St Andrews, and other cities. Then he travelled to the Netherlands, but was unwilling to journey on to France, Italy, and Spain, since he clearly feared for the supply of manuscripts which he had already gathered together. Hence he now turned to hunting among the libraries of Germany: one finds him especially in those of Swabia, Bavaria, and Austria — from all of which regions he brought back manuscripts. In the sale of 1597 these books, with the help of which Flacius and his friends created their works of ecclesiastical history, came into the possession of Wolfenbüttel.

Flacius supervised his library himself until his death in Frankfurt-am-Main in 1575, after which it was inherited by his widow Magdalene, who two years later married Heinrich Petreus, the rector of the Frankfurt *Barfüßergymnasium*. Attempts to find a suitable buyer for the library were unsuccessful. Only when Petreus, who had in the meantime moved to Göttingen, was in 1591 called to Wolfenbüttel as 'Hof- und Konsistorialrat' and as Inspector of Schools, did he find a ready purchaser for the books of Flacius. On 20 April 1597, the Duke and Petreus agreed upon a contract of sale, by which Petreus

des Hochgelartenn Matthiae Flacii Illyrici seligenn Bibliotheken so er zu Franckuurth am Mayn stehendt hatt, . . . Crafft vnnd Inhalts des deroselben vnter seiner handt vnnd siegell vbergebenenn Inventarii, ohne einigenn mangell allhier zur stedte (jedoch vf S.F.G. unkosten) demnegstenn liefern und vberantwortenn soll vnnd will. Wogegenn S.F.G. ihme Doctori Petreo und seinen erbenn Furstlich zugesagt vnnd versprochen, S.F.G. ihme vnnd denselbenn davur eintauesent sechsvnndneunzigste halbenn tahler, doch in vier terminen durch S.F.G. Oberambtman im Landt Gottingenn Heinrichenn Wissell, oder wer kunfftig alda ann seine stett sein wirdet, . . . vnweigerlich erlegen lassen sollen und wollen.²

Even in Flacius' own life-time, it was questioned whether he had acquired his collection of books and manuscripts in a legal manner. For example: in 1567, a city counsellor of Erfurt went so far as to accuse Flacius of having 'stolen' books from the town's libraries.³ To this day such doubts have not entirely subsided: thus the question was again raised by Karl Schottenloher when examining the

¹ For information on Markus Wagner see Heinrich Schneider, 'Die Bibliotheksreisen des Markus Wagner', *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 50 (1933), 678–82 (especial reference is made to Scotland).

² The original of the deed of sale is in the archives of the Herzog August Bibliothek; it is reproduced in Heinemann, pp. 285–6.

³ This information can be found in a dispatch of 21 May 1567 to Augustus, Elector of Saxony, from Dr Laurentius Lindeman, a counsellor of that electorate. Reproduced in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 11 (1890), 331.

Flacius manuscripts from the Benedictine monastery at Reichenbach near Regensburg.¹ In his opinion, to which the Wolfenbüttel librarian Heinrich Schneider largely adhered,² it 'may have been a question more of neglect [in the return of books] rather than of deceit and theft'. In the opinion of Schottenloher, Flacius in his lifetime retained possession of a large number of manuscripts belonging to others which no one, after his death, was in a position to separate from his legitimate possessions. Even today it strikes one as singular that there should be amongst his manuscripts some which have no connexion with the works of ecclesiastical history in preparation (such as those of classical authors), as well as others which cannot be assumed to have been sold or given away by their original owners (such as liturgical texts essential for church and monastic services).

The discrepancy between prices paid has also been held to be an indication of the somewhat irregular manner in which Flacius came by many writings in his collection. While the parchment manuscripts dating from any century between the sixth and the fifteenth, were valued at only one and a half talers apiece, the Duke paid five talers for each volume of Flacius's writings on religious disputes, and as much as one hundred talers for the 'Glossae' of the Old Testament (written by Flacius himself). In view of this, Schottenloher feels that the buyer was aware of the facts of the case and kept the price artificially low: those manuscripts whose ownership was dubious (as was made clear by inscriptions by previous owners) were valued at a song, whilst more was paid for the works which could be considered the certain property of the legatees.

The view of Heinemann (p. 24), that these disparate prices shed light upon the scale of values by which literary works were assessed at that period is, on the other hand, quite false. As evidence to the contrary, Schottenloher points to letters exchanged between the *Centuriators* as adequate evidence that the value of such ancient manuscripts was indeed well known in the sixteenth century. Besides, so learned a library-owner as Duke Heinrich Julius, with his thorough knowledge of the literary life of his period, can surely be credited with an awareness of the actual value of these old manuscripts.

Not only is it hardly possible to make a final judgement on the manner in which Flacius and his collaborators obtained the manuscripts, but equally, long stretches in the history of his library's formation are shrouded in darkness. A contributory factor has been the disappearance of the catalogue (written on '33 Blättern, so da ab utraque facie ad numerum usque 66 numerirt sind' (Schneider, p. 31)) which Petreus provided as a supplement to the price list during the negotiations of sale to the Duke. This original inventory was handed to the later librarian Lonicerus on 15 December 1600 'zum behuff der Inlifferung gedachter Liberey und dan eine vidimirte Copiam davon zu verfertigen' — to quote the acknowledgement from the librarian.³ Since Lonicerus subsequently left Wolfenbüttel in inauspicious circumstances, it is conceivable that this inventory also disappeared at that time, together with the other inventories and the keys.

¹ Karl Schottenloher, 'Handschriftenschatze in Regensburg im Dienste der Zenturiatoren (1554–1562)', *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 34 (1917), 65–82 (especially, pp. 81 f.).

² Schneider, pp. 29–30.

³ Schneider, pp. 31–2. The original receipt is in the library archives of the Herzog August Bibliothek.

In buying the book-collection of Flacius, Heinrich Julius had in mind from the outset the University Library in Helmstedt. So much is evident from a communication of 22 August 1597 from the Chancellor and Council to the mother superior, factor, and community of the Mariengarten convent near Göttingen. It reads:

Wir mügen Euch nicht verhalten, das vnser gnediger Fürst vnd Herr . . . verschiener Zeit Matthiae Flacii Illyrici seligen Bibliothecam zu Frankfurt am Main seinen Erben zu behuf S. F. G. Julius-Universitet abgehandelt vnd in Gnaden bevohlen, das dieselbe durch S. F. G. Hoff-Rath D. Henricum Petreum . . . des negsten alda eingepackt vnd bei verdingter fuhr bis in S. F. G. Kloster Garten vberbracht werden soll . . .

At the same time, the convent is asked to take temporary care of the chests 'vnd worin sie sonst geschlagen', and to pay the cost of transport against receipt.¹

Thus, probably as early as 1597, the library of Flacius found its way into the Mariengarten convent. The problem of its movement thereafter was long a matter of dispute: did it go first to Wolfenbüttel, or straight to Helmstedt? Heinemann asserts that the library did indeed go to Wolfenbüttel, but that the transition was delayed since the agreed instalments (due at Easter 1598, 1599, 1600, and 1601) were slow and irregular in coming in. 'So geschah es, daß sie nicht schon damals in den Besitz der helmstedter Universität sondern zunächst, als eine willkommene Bereicherung, der fürstlichen Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel zugute kam. Erst später ist sie dann mit dieser durch Friedrich Ulrich . . . ihrer ursprünglichen Bestimmung überwiesen worden' (Heinemann, p. 25).

On the other hand, Schneider maintained (p. 37) that the books of Flacius went straight from Mariengarten to Helmstedt. He too assumes a delay resulting from tardy payment. Yet in his opinion there is nothing to substantiate the hypothesis that these books, together with the donated Wolfenbüttel Library, did not come to the University until 1618. Besides, he declares, the documents dealing with the removal of the Wolfenbüttel Library to Helmstedt make no mention of Flacius's collection. Schneider further believed that he could produce indirect proof of the fact that the Flacius manuscripts were in Helmstedt as early as 1605:

Der Jesuit Nicolaus Serarius erzählt in der Vorrede seiner 1605 veröffentlichten Ausgabe der Bonifatius-Briefe, daß er in der Helmstedter Bibliothek einen stark beschädigten Bonifatius-codex aus dem Besitze des Illyricus gesehen habe. Selbst wenn es sich nicht um die aus Fulda stammende, heute als verloren anzusehende Handschrift der Bonifatius-Briefe gehandelt hat, sondern um irgend eine andere ältere Fuldaer Handschrift, so steht durch diese Nachricht fest, daß beim Erscheinen der Veröffentlichung des Serarius die wissenschaftliche Welt von dem Vorhandensein der Flacius-Bibliothek in Helmstedt unterrichtet war. (Schneider, p. 37)

Schneider's assertion does not hold water. One can accept that Serarius's information is valid, yet one cannot draw so far-reaching a conclusion from it. For mention is made of but one single book of Flacius — a book which, in 1605, by no means necessarily still formed part of the library bought by Heinrich Julius. For this collection, as Schneider himself well illustrates, had been broken into even before 1597. (Schneider, pp. 35–7). It is conceivable that this Boniface manuscript is one of those texts which were given away or sold before that date. Schneider has in fact committed the basic error of not drawing upon the readiest source — a source which offers conclusive proof that the books of Flacius did indeed first go to

¹ In the library archives of the Herzog August Bibliothek. Reproduced by Schönemann, *Serapeum*, 4 (1843), 89–90.

Wolfenbüttel. In the catalogue of 1613/14 the subject-matter of some manuscripts is given in such detail that they can be identified without difficulty with those at present in the Helmstedt stock at Wolfenbüttel. Naturally, the situation is all the more favourable in the case of 'Sammelbände'. So on page 294 of the catalogue, in the section entitled 'Papalia Miscellanea', item 22 ('sub litera Z') begins as follows:

Jacobus Carthusiensis de malo seculi.
It. Liber de beneficijs Ecclesiasticis . . .

This manuscript is identical with Cod. Guelf. 561 Helmst. Detail after detail of the catalogue description is identifiable in the manuscript: there can be no doubt. Yet, as is demonstrated by the front leaf, which bears the titles of some of the treatises written in his hand, this book belonged to Flacius. Cod. Guelf. 669 Helmst., given as item 25 on page 296 of the catalogue, may be cited as a second example. As is shown by the summary specification of content in his hand on the face of the sheet preceding folio 1 ('Huſi et Wiclefi quaedam scripta'), this manuscript also belonged to Flacius. A systematic search through this catalogue would no doubt bring further of his manuscripts to light.

III: THE LIBRARY CATALOGUE OF 1613/14

The catalogue of 1613/14 was drawn up by the librarian Liborius Otho (who held his post between 1612 and 1618), probably shortly after the death of Heinrich Julius. It is a location index, but bears neither a heading nor a title. At the bottom of page 334, towards the end of the catalogue, there stands this note after an entry concerning a book given to Julius by his Chancellor Mutzeltin: 'quo Bibliothecae huius Director et Scriptor Liborius Otho Catalogi finem inponit'. Schönemann (*Serapeum*, 4 (1843), p. 101) and, following him also Heinemann (p. 49), believed that this catalogue had been composed in a very careless manner — especially as regards the description of the subject-matter of the manuscripts listed. As has just been shown, however, this judgement is by no means valid in every case, although there naturally remain several instances in which manuscripts receiving only cursory mention cannot be identified.

According to this catalogue, which is today preserved in the manuscript collection of the Herzog August Bibliothek (Cod. Guelf. A. Extrav.), the stock of books then numbered some 4,300 volumes. The books are first divided into sections by subject and then sub-divided once more according to the letters and numbers of the shelves. No distinction was made between manuscript and printed texts.

The following list enumerates the individual sections by subject:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Libri Grammatici (84 items) | 12. Cosmographici (42 items) |
| 2. Lexica et Dictionaria item Phrasium libelli (75 items) | 13. Mappae (65 items) |
| 3. Poetae graeci, latini, gallici etc. (108 items) (Plate VIII) | 14. Libri de Architectura (33 items) |
| 4. Comici et Tragici (15 items) | 15. Libri de arte pictoria (23 items) |
| 5. Philologi (90 items) | 16. Libri de re militari (49 items) |
| 6. Dialectici Libri (32 items) | 17. Physici libri (127 items) |
| 7. Libri Rhetorici (40 items) | 18. Herbarii (13 items) |
| 8. Musici libri (7 items) | 19. Medici (163 items) |
| 9. Arithmetici (14 items) | 20. Ethici, Oeconomici, Politici (49 items) |
| 10. Astronomici et Astrologici (27 items) | 21. Historici (443 items) |
| 11. Geometrici libri (7 items) | 22. Juridici (967 items) |
| | 23. Sanctuaria Domini hic est sacra Biblia (207 items) |

- | | |
|---|--|
| 24. Libri exegetici Bibliorum (275 items) | 30. Catechetici, Instituta christiana, |
| 25. Postillae. — Exegetici in dominicales
Epistolas et Evangelia (100 items) | Methodici, Confessiones et Loci
communes (92 items) |
| 26. Patres (314 items) | 31. Precationes (21 items) |
| 27. Miscellanea et Certamina theologica
(209 items) | 32. Consolationes (funeral orations)
(25 items) |
| 28. Missalia, Summae, Marialia et Papalia
Miscellanea (516 items) | 33. De Coena domini (45 items) |
| 29. Libri de Conjugio (11 items) | 34. Christus id est de vita et passione
Domini (21 items) |

A supplement of eighty-four 'Fürstenbücher' is appended. The books listed here are those written personally by the reigning princes or their relatives.

A distinct system can be observed in the arrangement of the catalogue. The 'Libri Grammatici' are followed (after the 'Lexica', the 'Poetae', the 'Comici et Tragici', and the 'Philologi') by the 'Dialectici', the 'Rhetorici', the 'Musici', the 'Arithmetici', the 'Astronomici', and the 'Geometrici'. Thus the division of books according to their subject-matter follows the paradigm of the seven liberal arts, although this had admittedly to be supplemented by several additional groupings so as to accommodate every book. These additional groupings were either intercalated between those of the seven liberal arts (the 'Lexica', 'Poetae', 'Comici', and 'Philologi' coming between the 'Grammatici' and the 'Dialectici'), or were appended to the final division, the 'Geometrici'. They comprise a series of minor sections (from the 'Cosmographici' to the 'Ethici, Oeconomici, Politici') followed by the three most substantial sections — History, Law, and Theology — of which Theology, concluding the list and being the largest individual section, is itself extensively sub-divided. This particular division of subjects is exceedingly rare at this period. One encounters more frequently a different order beginning with Theology and Philosophy while later a 'General' category takes the lead.

IV: THE TRANSFER OF THE LIBRARY TO HELMSTEDT

After the death of Heinrich Julius, the new Duke, Friedrich Ulrich (reigned 1613 to 1634) decided to present the rich collection of books assembled by his father and grandfather to the University of Helmstedt, founded in 1575, whilst still retaining — at least provisionally — his right of ownership. A dispatch from the Duke, dated 26 September 1614, informed the vice-rector and professors of this decision:

Wir lassen Euch hiemit gnädig unverhalen sein, welcher Gestalt Wir in Gnaden gewilligt, daß zu mehren unsre Universität Zier und Aufnahme unsere Bibliothek allhier dahin derogestalt transferirt werden soll, daß dieselbe Uns und unseren Erben nicht weniger und noch wie vor sein und bleiben, Wir und Sie auch je und allewegen mit deroselben Veränderung für oder wieder anhero zu nehmen bemächtigt sein sollen und wollen. . . . Datum auf unser Veste Wulfenbüttel am 26ten Septembris Ao. 1614. Friedrich Ulrich.¹

Nevertheless, the business of transferring the library dragged on for some years. In February 1617, the vice-rector and professors turned to Elizabeth, the mother of the reigning Duke, pleading that she might induce her son to part with the books as soon as possible. Yet this had just as little effect as a communication to the Chancellor. Following a second letter to the Dowager Duchess in June 1617, the latter could inform the professors that she was willing to make carts and horses

¹ *Universitäts-Bibliotheksakten Helmstedt*. Reproduced by Schneider, p. 11.

available for haulage for a fortnight. This occasioned a further delay, because the vice-chancellor Eberhard von Weihe notified the Duke that before its transfer the library should be examined for such books 'so zum Theil Publica, zum Theil Kriegs- und solche Sachen concerniren, welche dahin und nacher Helmstedt in fremde Hände nicht gehören' (Schneider, p. 12); these must then be separated out. Thereupon the library was searched for such books as ought not to go to Helmstedt by two court officials (D. Johann Peparinus and 'Kammersekretär' Theodor Bloccius), who were to be joined by the librarian, Liborius Otho. Catalogues of the books which went and of those which remained were also to be drawn up. 13 October 1617 was fixed as the deadline for handing over the library. Yet the process of separating out the books was slow. In February 1618 the two courtiers were reminded again of their liability and instructed to place the books extracted in the Council Chamber, where court officials might make use of them. 9 March 1618 was now envisaged as the date of the transfer. But the entire summer of that year had passed before the selection process was complete.

In Helmstedt, meanwhile, the necessary premises had to be prepared. Until 1617, the 'Juleum' (the University building), which had only been completed in 1612, lacked the bookshelves (in the large chamber on the upper floor) which were being constructed in accordance with the layout adopted in Wolfenbüttel. A joiner was sent to Wolfenbüttel for the special purpose of measuring the size and type of shelves used there, so as to be able to reproduce them in Helmstedt.

On 14 October 1618, the 'Aussonderungsbeauftragten' could report to the vice-rector that at the latest on the 'nächstkünftigen Dienstag oder Mittwoch die Bücher in Fässer zu schlagen der Anfang gemacht werden solle' (Schneider, p. 14). This time they kept their word; on 20 October 1618 and during the ten days following, the library finally arrived in Helmstedt.

WOLFGANG MILDE

WOLFENBÜTTTEL