

Johann David Köhler 's *Anweisung für reisende Gelerte, Bibliotheken, Münz-Cabinette, Antiquitäten-Zimmer, Bilder-Sale, Naturalien- und Kunst-Kammern u.d.m mit Nutzen zubesehe*: Inferred Ethical Concern in Eighteenth Century Library Practice and Lessons for the Twenty-first Century

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ABSTRACT

Information ethics have been of concern to librarians and researchers for centuries. This paper explores the writings of Johann David Köhler, a German academic writing in the early and mid eighteenth century. Köhler, an historian, was also briefly a librarian and a lifelong bibliophile. Köhler's contributions to library science are found in three of his monographs.

One of these monographs is a timely contribution to modern information ethics issues. His commentary on cataloging, access, citation, and copyright are extrapolated from his *Anweisung für reisende Gelerte, Bibliotheken, Münz-Cabinette, Antiquitäten-Zimmer, Bilder-Sale, Naturalien- und Kunst-Kammern, u.d.m mit Nutzen zubesehen*, published in 1762. While practice and theory have evolved since 1762, roots to current concerns can be clearly discerned. A careful reading of ... *Bibliotheken*... provides insights into Eighteenth century ethical practice.

INTRODUCTION

Information ethics are by no means a twenty-first century phenomenon. Professional interest in information ethics increased dramatically in the twentieth century, more particularly in the fourth quarter of that century. That increased interest has been demonstrated in a variety of ways to include conferences with ethics specific orientation, the promulgation of professional codes of ethics, and the increase in the scholarly attention to the subject (Koehler 2002, Koehler 2004).

To state that the interest in information ethics is increasing presumes necessarily that there existed an explicit or implicit concern with information ethics in earlier times. We suggest that such evidence exists. We offer as evidence an analysis of Johann David

Köhler's *Anweisung für reisende Gelehrte, Bibliotheken, Münz-Cabinette, Antiquitäten-Zimmer, Bilder-Sale, Naturalien- und Kunst-Kammern, u.d.m mit Nutzen zubesehen* first published in 1762 and reprinted in part in 1973. We provide a translation of the original German text in Appendix 1.

This work is essentially a travel guide. In its first sixty pages, Köhler described the major European libraries of his day from Berlin to Rome and London. He discussed major theories of classification and cataloging by several authors, usually based on subject cataloging. He also explored what has now come to be known to catalogers and abstractors as *metadata*: how books are produced, the types of inks and papers used, the quality and type of binding, printed and copied documents, illustrations and colors, and so on.

Köhler distinguished between public and private libraries as well as open and closed library sections. He argued that private libraries were biased according to the interests of individual collectors while open libraries sought a broader representation of thought on given subjects. Some libraries are public in that all learned persons might use them; others were closed to the general public.

Köhler also urged users to familiarize themselves with individual library catalogs before search for materials in those libraries. He also argued that library catalogs should be organized along subject lines.

Die Substanz einer Bibliothek sind die Bücher (Köhler 1762: 9) or books are the substance of a library. Köhler spent several pages describing different book types. Some are handwritten others printed. Some are in codex format others are scrolls. Köhler warned his readers that handwritten books were relatively rare, that one is best prepared if one knows beforehand which library held a specific item. One way to locate books is to consult library catalogs. Köhler listed several union catalogs as well as catalogs of individual libraries. These include Montsaucon's *Bibliothecam Manuscriptorum novam*, a catalog of the Vatican library, library of Queen Christine, and of others.

Before turning to the analysis of the ethical content of Köhler's work, we provide a very brief biography.

A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY

Johann David Köhler came into scholarly prominence in a transitional period for European scholarship. From the Middle Ages and into the Enlightenment, European scholars were part of a "common culture of scholarship," a *respublica litteraria* (Eskildsen 2005: 421). That common culture of scholarship was subjected to a series of nationalistic and religious pressures across the eighteenth century so that as Köhler came into prominence in the eighteenth century, there had been a shift from the pan European *imagined community* to a more parochial nationalist one (Anderson 1991).

Köhler might be considered a great grandfather of information science and a grandfather of library science. Köhler was born in Colditz in 1684 and died in Göttingen, Germany in 1755. He was a professor of logic and history at universities in Altdorf and later Göttingen and served briefly as university librarian at Altdorf. His academic focuses were on Roman coins as historical artifacts, ancient weapons, and genealogy.

His credentials as a library and information scientist are based upon three of his monographs: *Syllogie aliquot Scriptorum de bene ordinanda et ornanda Bibliotheca* in 1728; *Hochverdiente und aus bewährten Urkunden wohlbeglaubte Ehren-Rettung Johann Guttenbergs, eingebohrnen Bürgers in Mayntz ...* in 1741; and *Anweisung für reisende Gelerte, Bibliotheken, Münz-Cabinette, Antiquitäten-Zimmer, Bilder-Sale, Naturalien- und Kunst-Kammern, u.d.m mit Nutzen zubesehen* in 1762.

The 1728 *Syllogie ...* is a bibliographic examination of major history texts of the day and is in keeping with the role of historians then and now.

The 1741 *Hochverdiente...* is an examination of the assertion that Johannes Guttenberg was indeed the inventor of movable print -- the printing press -- against competing claims. Bernhard von Mallinckrodt (1591-1664) is credited with writing the first defense of Guttenberg as the inventor of the printing press in 1639 (Schmidmaier), but Köhler is said to have authored second and definitive defense (Eck 2000).

Köhler's third and most important work within this context is the 1792 *Anweisung für reisende Gelehrte, Bibliotheken, Münz-Cabinette, Antiquitäten-Zimmer, Bilder-Sale, Naturalien und Kunst-Kammern, u.d.m mit Nutzen zubesehen*.

Finally, Köhler published a scholarly journal on Roman coins and numismatics in general. His son Johann Tobias Köhler continued that interest. This journal is important to library science in that it is among the first true serials ever published.

INFORMATION ETHICS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Before considering library ethics of the eighteenth century as reflected in Köhler's *Anweisung für reisende Gelehrte, Bibliotheken, Münz-Cabinette, Antiquitäten-Zimmer, Bilder-Sale, Naturalien- und Kunst-Kammern, u.d.m mit Nutzen zubesehen* and how they differ from those of the early twenty-first century, we should enumerate the major principles. S. R. Ranganathan's (1931) Five Laws of Library Science, first articulated in 1928, provide the *raison d'être* for libraries and form the implicit basis for most library codes ethics. These five laws are:

1. Books are for use.
2. Every reader his book.
3. Every book his reader.
4. Save the time of the reader.
5. The library is a growing organism.

In some ways, Köhler presaged Ranganathan. The *Anweisung für reisende Gelehrte* opens with: "*Bücher zu kennen ist allen Gelehrten unentberlich*" (Köhler 1762: 5); or roughly that "the knowledge of books is vitally important for all learned people". That can be read, we suggest, to parallel Ranganathan's first through third principles.

Undoubtedly, Köhler's target audience was smaller than Ranganathan's, and smaller still than a contemporary one. Köhler's interest in cataloging as well as his directive to learned travelers to familiarize themselves with library locations, hours of operation, and rules and policies were in part to "save the time of the reader," or Ranganathan's fourth principle.

Köhler also recognized that libraries, particularly those he classified as "open libraries" were growing organisms, Ranganathan's fifth principle. Köhler preferred open libraries to "private libraries because they contain all branches of knowledge" and because "[t]hey are more comprehensive, more valuable, and more complete, and are continuously being replenished" (Appendix: 1). He argued that public libraries had more balanced and more broadly defined collections. Private libraries held collections that reflected the interests and biases of their creators. Thus one could expect to find a more balanced and a more extensive collection in public rather than private libraries.

Public libraries are those that permit the educated public access to their collections. Private libraries are those created by individuals. Most "public" libraries are associated with educational institutions – both universities and gymnasia or high schools. Open libraries might best be defined as those with open stacks, closed libraries with closed stacks.

Ethical principles and professional values in library science have been explored and examined by a number of commentators. There is general agreement (see e.g. Gorman 2000; Koehler and Pemberton 2000; and Rubin and Froehlich 1996) that the following are among those principles and values recognized as important to the library community:

- Diversity of Opinion
- Equity of Access
- Intellectual Freedom
- Intellectual Property
- Literacy/Information Literacy
- Privacy and Confidentiality

Professional Neutrality/Practice
Selection
Service
Social and Professional Responsibilities
Stewardship and Protection of the Historical/Cultural Record

A reading of Köhler's *Bibliotheken* suggests that at least some of the principles and values recognized as important to the twenty-first century librarian were also of importance in the eighteenth century as well. A certain amount of care must be taken in making this statement. First, although Köhler did serve briefly as the university librarian at Altdorf, he was foremost an historian and philosopher. His perspective may very well not have been that of a librarian but rather a more general scholarly concern. Second, *Bibliotheken* was written as a travel guide for the educated voyager and not as a treatise on library practice or principles. All values and principles of importance to the eighteenth century librarian would not very likely have been enumerated in the document. Where we can infer values and principles from Köhler's analysis, perhaps we can suggest an importance for those principles among his librarian contemporaries.

A bit off point, but third, Köhler may well have been sensitive to the social and professional impact of technology change. Not only did he identify different book formats – the scroll, the codex; he also comprehensively discussed different papers, bindings, and inks. Moreover, Köhler is credited with writing the definitive defense of Gutenberg as the inventor of moveable type in his 1741 monograph *Hochverdiente und aus bewährten Urkunden wohlbeglaubte Ehren-Rettung Johann Guttenbergs, eingebohrnen Bürgers in Mayntz* (Eck 2000). Without doubt the printing revolution was pivotal and contributed to a major redefinition of European cultural, social, economic, and political divides.

We believe Köhler at a minimum implied recognition of several of the values and principles enumerated above. These are:

Diversity of Opinion

Köhler indicated a preference for public libraries over private ones. The key to that preference was the proclivity for public libraries to select a wide range of material

demonstrating differing points of view. Köhler criticized private libraries because their collections were too often a reflection of the bias and interests of the owner. The greater the diversity of material and opinion, the better the library was in Köhler's opinion.

Libraries must of necessity be part of Universities and Gymnasias. I call these open libraries because everyone is permitted to use them. These are preferable to private libraries because they contain all branches of knowledge. They are more comprehensive, more valuable, and more complete, and are continuously being replenished. I call private libraries those who have been collected by esteemed and learned men. They are not to be compared with public libraries because they are not accessible to everyone, have been collected for personal use only, and are loaned only out of kindness to others. They are usually not complete; since they are collected for personal interest; they are not open at all times, not even in Paris with its great complement of foreigners; and finally because they are not permanent. (Appendix p. 2)

Equity of Access

Köhler again preferred public libraries to the private because they were open to the public. Private libraries, he argued, were established to reflect the interests of the owner, but they were also often closed to the general "public." A private library provided might legitimately provide no access to information except to a select group. Public libraries were more catholic in admission policies. Let us not confuse twentieth century concepts of access with those of the eighteenth century. The general public who might make use of the public libraries (and these were mostly university and gymnasium libraries) was far more limited in the eighteenth century than in the twentieth.

Intellectual Freedom

Köhler wrote little on intellectual freedom or censorship except to note that books may be banned or be suppressed. His chief objection as expressed in *Bibliotheken* to these forms of censorship was that the act rendered those books rare and therefore more difficult to find.

We now come to 3. the books which are banned because they may corrupt the good manners (morals). One calls them *Libros Sodaticos* after a hateful Italian poet Sodate, of whom Quinatilianus already spoke. (Appendix p. 24)

Many books are suppressed *auctoritate publica* and thereby became rare.
(Appendix p. 26)

Suppression by political or ecclesiastical authority were but two among many reasons books became rare. Other reasons included expense; number of books originally printed; destruction by fire and other means; printing errors and subsequent recall; suppression of parts but not the whole book; different editions printed in different places; text in foreign languages; and abridgement, alteration, and expurgation.

Intellectual Property

Eighteenth century European intellectual property theory and practice differed greatly from the contemporary. Generally speaking, intellectual property was not nearly so closely guarded as an individual or corporate proprietary right but rather as an expression of collective social process (Hesse 1996). Outright borrowing of words without attribution was not uncommon, indeed as Ann Blair (2003) reports, authors were not inhibited from literally cutting text from a work by another and literally pasting that material into their own.

Western jurisprudence on intellectual property has undergone a significant metamorphosis since the eighteenth century. Many librarians today also recognize that a fair and reasonable approach to the intellectual property concept is an ethical consideration explicitly as an intellectual property concern or as a subset of general observance of legal norms.

Köhler clearly recognized that the preservation of texts often required their systematic copying and recopying. Indeed as Carla Hesse (1996) and Ann Blair (2003) have shown, the practices we now call plagiarism were both commonplace and acceptable practice. If we read Köhler correctly, however, we may conclude that he did hold at least one reservation against the copying of library materials. He admonished library users to adhere to the rules of the library and particularly to determine if and how library

materials might be copied. This seems to imply that in the eighteenth century German context some rights of intellectual property lay with the owner of the artifact, the library, rather than with the author or publisher.

We see no evidence to suggest it but Köhler was perhaps familiar with the British Statute of Ann of 1710. That Statute was the first to formally define copyright. The Statute of Ann extended copyright of then contemporary works to authors or those to whom copyright was transferred for a period of twenty-one years with a fourteen year extension if the author(s) was still living (see Feather 1994). The Statute would not have applied to non-contemporary material and therefore not to much of the material with which Köhler was concerned.

As a resident of Saxony he would not have been bound by the Statute of Ann. As a European scholar, perhaps he would have been influenced by it.

To Köhler's credit, he referenced the works of several librarians and catalogers, particularly in his discussion of book classification. We quote from our translation of the text. One section addresses library descriptions:

One can get a general idea of libraries from various books. Among these are *Gallorie des plus Belles Bibliothèques de l'Europe*; the French Jesuit Ludovici Jacobi's book of the same title; *Lohmeier de Bibliothecis*, Utrecht 1586. 8 vo. In other writings we find in *Struvii Introductione in Rem litterariam*. One will fare better if one becomes familiar with the Special- News. Thus wrote Corning an *Epitistolam de Bibliotheca Guelpherbytana*, and after him Bucardus in two Quartvolumes. *Materi de praecipuis Bibliothecis Parisiensibus*. Crants de Bibliothecis Sueciae. Bacardus de Bibliotheca Vindobonensis. *Materi Differentiation de celebrioribus Bibliothecis*.

A related section is concerned with library catalogs:

Then I must ask for the catalogs of the library which are organized by place of publication, by the content of the books, or after the order of the alphabet. Then I must see how the books are organized. Gabriel Naudeus was a well known physician of our time. Adrianus Baillet was a librarian of Cardinal Launoie. These two learned people could also not agree on how one should put books in order. I had printed, in Altdorf, a *Syllogen Aliquot Consiliorum de adornanda Bibliotheca*. Therein is an introduction by Garnier, a custodian of the Jesuit College in Paris. In addition, the famous Dane, Friderici Rosgard, who was very clever and traveled extensively, had opinions of how a library should be ordered. Finally the famous Prelate Justi Fontaini's introduction.

Selection

Köhler did not discuss selection as a virtue. He did however note, as indicated in the diversity of opinion and equity of access paragraphs, that public libraries were more likely to select a wider and more diverse set of materials than would private libraries. He clearly favored public libraries over private libraries for that reason alone.

Stewardship and Protection of the Cultural Record

Librarians recognize stewardship and protection of their cultural heritage as one of the profession's ethical responsibilities (Koehler et al 2000). Stewardship has been specifically acknowledged as an ethical precept in the ethical codes of, for example, the Association of French Librarians and the Portuguese Library Association. Johann David Köhler did not speak to the ethics of stewardship or of protection of the cultural heritage; rather he discussed book preservation and the causes of their destruction. We can, we believe, infer Köhler's concern for stewardship from his position on the copying and destruction of books.

Köhler credited the Benedictine monks as the copiers and therefore saviors of many rare handwritten and hand copied books. The reproduction of the works, he suggested, was part of the moral charge laid upon the Benedictines. Köhler also noted that the Greeks and Romans made important contributions to the copying of books. The Romans and the Benedictines also contributed to the dissemination of information through translations from one language to others.

Köhler was aware that books might be systematically destroyed for a variety of reasons. Many books were bound elaborately and decorated with gold and precious stones. Such books might be broken apart for those metals and stones. With the advent of printing hand copied books were sometimes destroyed for their bindings. Printed books were then bound in the older bindings. Köhler also described that Franciscan monks would

sometimes use the parchment pages to make whips for self-flagellation. And finally, of course, many books fell victim to war.

CONCLUSION

The ethical principles of one age are necessarily built upon or derived from the principles and practices of an earlier age. We are (necessarily) restricted to the extant literature to attempt to ferret out those principles and practices of an earlier time.

Johann David Köhler is virtually unknown in the English language literature. It has only been in recent years that his contributions to library science were acknowledged in the German literature.

That said, Köhler's *Anweisung für reisende Gelehrte, Bibliotheken, Münz-Cabinette, Antiquitäten-Zimmer, Bilder-Sale, Naturalien- und Kunst-Kammern, u.d.m mit Nutzen zubesehen* provides important insights into the library practices of the eighteenth century including ethical concerns.

The work must be read in its historical context. Even so, Köhler in his discussions of various aspects of library practice provides us with a basis to infer ethical practices. Of the many principles librarians now recognize, Köhler suggested that they had a basis in eighteenth century Europe: diversity of opinion, equity of access, intellectual freedom, intellectual property, selection, service, and stewardship and protection of the historical/cultural record.

It is important for us to remember that the principles we carry into the twenty-first century have a basis in the past. We may recognize that political, economic, social, and technological realities may change; yet there remains a solid belief system that underlies our professional practice.

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Translated by Vera Blair

The Herr Professor Johann David Koehler's Advice for Educated Travelers, Libraries, Coin Cabinets, Antiquities Rooms, Picture Galleries, Naturalistic and Art Rooms and to be useful for these. (To look at with the idea of being useful).

De Bibliothecis (Of Libraries)

Chapter 1

Being intimately familiar with books is indispensable for all educated people. Therefore the first thing to do when traveling should be to seek out libraries where one can acquire the greatest knowledge. This book will contain four parts: Notitia generalis&pecialis de Bibliothecis: Temporis &Legum cognito, fecundum quas Bibliothecae sunt frequentandae; Ordo Bibliothecae; particularia Bibliothecae. We will first discuss libraries in general, and thereafter go through their content. It should be noted that libraries are divided into public sections and private sections. One needs to inquire separately at each library. I shall call open libraries those which were built by great men, Cities, Universities, High Schools (Gymnasia), or learned associations. There is no country where not some Nobility, for love of their subjects, founded libraries. Libraries must of necessity be part of Universities and Gymnasia. I call these open libraries because everyone is permitted to use them. These are preferable to private libraries because they contain all branches of knowledge. They are more comprehensive, more valuable, and more complete, and are continuously being replenished. I call private libraries those who have been collected by esteemed and learned men. They are not to be compared with public libraries because they are not accessible to everyone, have been

collected for personal use only, and are loaned only out of kindness to others. They are usually not complete; since they are collected for personal interest; they are not open at all times, not even in Paris with its great complement of foreigners; and finally because they are not permanent. An example is the library of the great parliament president, Jacobi Thuani, who introduced legislation for a trust for establishing a library but could not get a third vote.

2. One can get a general idea of libraries from various authorities.. Among these are *Galloie des (p 6) plus Belles bibliotheques de l'Europe*; written by the French Jesuit Ludovici Jacobi and Lohmeier's *de Bibliothecis*, Utrecht 1586 in 8 volumes. Additional information about similar texts can be found in Struvii *Introductione in Rem litterariam*. One will fare even better if one becomes familiar with the *Spezial-Nachrichten*. Conring wrote an *Epitstolam de Bibliotheca Guelpherbytana* , and after him Bucardus wrote in two *Quartvolumes.Materi de praecipus Bibliothecis Parisiensibus*, and along the same lines: *Crants de Bibliothecis Sueciae*, *Bacardus de Bibliotheca Vindobonensi*, and *Materi Differation de celebrioribus Bibliothecis*.

3. The rules one has to follow when visiting a library are the following: If I know where the libraries are located, I must present myself at the proper time (when they are open). Then I must inquire about the regulations. For example, I must know if I may take a book out by myself and copy something out of it and how this may be accomplished. Then I must ask for the Catalog of the library to find out how the books are arranged: whether by location, content or alphabetical order . Gabriel Naudeus, a physician, was a well known librarian of our time. Adrianus Baillet was a librarian of Cardinal Launoie. Not even these two learned people could agree on how a library should be arranged. I had printed, in Altdorf, a *Syllogen Aliquot Consiliorum de adornanda Bibliotheca*. Therein is an introduction by Garnier, a custodian of the library of the Jesuit College in Paris. In addition, the famous Dane, Friderici Rosgard, who was very clever and traveled extensively had opinions of how a library should be arranged. And, finally the advice of the famous Prelate Justi Fontaini . Altogether, it was concluded that the best way to order books is to order them according to the four major areas of knowledge into four parts. In

theology, this division would be orthodoxy and heterodoxy, of which the latter are locked away from the public at all times. The Jesuit Orders divide their books in *Bibliothecam Societatis* and *Peregrinorum*, or books by Jesuits only and books by other learned men. It is to be commended if there are inscriptions of the subjects of the books. In many libraries, as in Leipzig at the *Rathsbibliothek*, the books are kept in a cabinet with wire in front of them. In France, there is a silk curtain in front of each shelf. And in several other places is a Futeral of cardboard made to the size of the books so that there are cardboard replicas of various editions and formats of the books. This is the first thing we need to notice about libraries.

Now we come to the content of the library. These are either *substantalia* or *accidentalia*. The substance of a library are the books, and they are either handwritten or printed. Some of the handwritten books we may see in their entirety, some only partially.

The handwritten books as the oldest are mostly located on top, and are the most precious treasures of the library that one usually has to ask about in ones travels. I must also add how an educated traveler must avail himself of handwritten books. One will save himself a lot of time searching if one knows where manuscripts are located. And to this end one must look at a catalog. One should read primarily the famous Benedictine Monk Bernard *Montsaucons Bibliothecam Manuscriptorum novam*, which is a catalog both of the Vatican and the library of Queen Christine and of many others, but they are only catalogs. One also can start with the *Bibliotheca Caefera Vindobonensi of Lambrecii* in 8 sections whose successor Daniel Lesselius wrote in one volume a *Catalogum Manuscriptorum graecorum* for this library. Thomas Schmidt wrote a *Catalogum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Oxoniae*. Theophilus Spizelius wrote a *Catalogum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecarum illustrium*. Ciprianus published a *Catalogum Manuscriptorum theologorum*. Someone also started to write a *Catalogum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Parisiensis*.

For the preservation and copying of many beautiful volumes we have to thank the Benedictine Monks of the Occident. Benedictus, their founder, advised them that “ora”? and labor (the physical and the spiritual?) are inseparable. He also gave them assignments

to do, namely the writing/copying of books and working in gardens and fields. But the copying of books was the most refined work. In old Greece and Rome the Notari copied the books. The monks were later used for this purpose because they did not live secularly. See Conf. *Cassiodorus in Institutionibus divinis* Lib. 2. Chapter 7. and *Montsauceon de Studiis monasticis*: the Monks at that time were not such lazybones. They wrote primarily the Holy Scriptures after the Latin translation of Hieronymus, the Patres, the *Libros lyurgicos* that they needed, and the historical books that are found in every monastery in Historicum. Eusebius was the first among the Christians who left us a chronicle of the creation of the world which Hieronymus translated from the Greek to Latin. They were required to copy that, also. They also had to copy the *Canones Ecclesiasticos*, the *Corpus Juris*, from the Arabic translation of the Greek medical books, and for the schools in the Cloisters, the *Auctores Classicos*. The Ertechian? Monks that Basilius founded, were required to copy (manuscripts) also and do other manual labor. All manuscripts therefore come from cloisters.

In regard to the handwritten manuscripts we must especially: 1. Observe and examine the *Formam Externam* (the outside of the manuscript). 2. the *formam internam*. And once we have done this we want to 3. critique the most noteworthy manuscripts ourselves.

In the *Forma Manuscriptorum externa*, we must note the bindings as well as the size of the manuscript. In observing the bindings, we see that there are bound and unbound volumes. The bound manuscripts naturally do not all have their original bindings anymore. But there are many that do (have their original bindings). And then we must note the triple ligatures of the originals: 1. They are bindings of ivory. The old manuscripts were in the past laid on desks (dais) and chained to them. One may open them but not take them away. On the outermost side therefore there were ivory tablets which came from the Roman *Consulibus*, and had an *Enchiridon* in which were drawn their Expedienta, in a well-carved (embossed) ivory Futeral called a Dyptichon, on which were carved all kinds of historical images. At first the Christians had their Church books bound like this. Alexander Wilthemius told of the de Dyptichis Leodiensibus. The hon. Herr Salig told us of the Hallische (von Halle, a place) Dyptich..Johann Christian Leich

has anno 1743 written a *Diatriben de Dyptichis*. The *Dyptich* are only one and a half hands wide. The other type of bindings was of golden and silver plates, which were fastened with golden nails on which was depicted an embossed biblical scene.

In Regensburg one can find in the sponsorship of St. Emeran, on the *Condice quatuor Evangeliorum*, a precious *Involucrum* which Carl the Fat (Karl der Dicke) had had commissioned written. Amongst the precious stones set therein, one often finds expensive carved stones.

The third type of binding is of leather. This was the most common ligature. A wooden volume was covered with leather onto which were studded pieces of metal or silver. It is rare to find a manuscript with such bindings.

Indeed, when the famous Heidelbergian library was brought to Rome in the thirty years' war by Leo Allatius, all bindings were cut off to make them transport easier.

The unbound manuscripts are of two kinds: the oldest ones are those which were written "*in volumine*" or scrolls. The ancients had no books with pages, but wrote on paper, rolled it up, and called it a "*volumen*". The Jews still have their *Torah* like this. The ends all had long sticks in them called *corneas*, and on their tips hung the *Tituli*. When the ancients speak of books, they mean scrolls. Later on in Italy, many Medici still wrote in this fashion. Vide Brouwer in *Historia Treverensi* Tom. I. p.105. 2. The other type are the *Libri plicatiles*. Here the paper was bent in half and both sides written on. The Herr Prof. Schwartz in 1717 wrote a *Dissertation de Libris plicatilibus veterum*. From this comes the word usage called "*explicare librum*".

The size of the manuscripts varies: the oldest manuscripts are 4to.

Much newer are the small folio, which are about the same size as the *Quadraturae*.

In the *Forma Manuscriptorum interna* we have to note three things: 1. Materials on which it is written. 2. On the *liquorum*: with what ink it is written. And 3. On the language: which language it is written in.

The material on which the manuscript is written is twofold: 1. Parchment. All old codices are written on parchment which is either calf leather or sheepleather. Therefore, *Membranam densiorem, craffiorem, and tenulorem.*

The first is the oldest. It is uncertain whether King Attalius of Pergamus first discovered parchment. Parchment was very cheap, but it had to be first flattened out and guidelines written on it. In old codices it is denser, in newer ones like *Codice pandectarum Florention*, it is thinner which is like postal paper. 2. *Charta*. *Quaevis materia scripturae capax* was called *Charta* a long time ago. *Conf. Hugo de Origine Artis scribendi*. *Charta* is divided into: *Niliacan, feu Niloticam, Corticam, Bombyciam, and Linteam*. *Charta Nilotica*, called Papyrus, has been lost. In Egypt there was a plant like flax that was called papyrus whose fibers the ancients stuck cross-wise to each other, and wrote on this. In Egypt not enough of this material was available so one had to rely on membranes. Tacitus and Plinius among others discuss this. The shrub still exists in Egypt. Also mentioned by Montfaucon in *Paleographica graeca* Lib. and 2. Cap and Lambecius in *Bibliotheca Vindebonensis* also claimed to have found several pieces of this. After the *Nilotica* people made fiber paper from glued together thin skins of birches and linden trees called *Corticam*, which became fragile and brittle. In Munich one can still find an occasional piece of this. The *Manuscript Evangelium* that was ostensibly found in Charlemagne's crypt and sworn upon by the Emperor at his coronation was said to be in *Charta Corticia*. It also occurred in the Orient in *Charta Bombycina* or *Gottonia* which was made of *frutice lanigero*, or cotton. Salmasius ad Plinium discussed this extensively. This was *Charta densa* and very white. The *Alcoran* and most of the Greek codices were written on this. This practice ended in the eleventh and twelfth century and one continued to write on membranes.

Then followed *Charta Lintea*, or our rag paper of today. It is surely a blessing of God that this discovery was made because the parchments became very expensive. The ungrateful

world however concealed the identity of its inventor, and Chancellor von Ludewig offered a prize for the finding him. This invention did not occur before the twelfth or thirteenth century. The *Codices Manuscripti* are written either on *Cortica* or *Bombycina* or *Lintea Charta*, and of the latter ones the *Membranacei* were always preferred as the older ones. Because of this books were printed first or primarily on parchment. The *Lintea Charta* however supersedes all other types.

The liquor, (ink) that the manuscripts were written in is mostly fourfold. 1. Mostly black ink was used because the paper was wet. The ancients had completely different inks, however. Plinius wrote in his *Historica naturali* Lib. 30 chapter 6 a special treatise on the ink. He says it was made from the gall of a fish or the soot of the oven (chimneysoot) that was tempered with gum and water. The inks faded with time, however, and the older a codex is, the fainter the ink, esp. in the *Membranus*. But one observes that if the pages were not blotted well and the ink penetrated more, it remained darker. In *Charta Bombycina* it remained much more beautiful.

2. With red ink, which was called *Minium*, *Mennich*, only the title and chapter were written. Ovidius forbade his scribes to copy his *libros Tristium* with it.:*nec Titulus Minio, nec... Charta notetur*. One also wrote in the margins with red ink, but not entire books. In later times red ink was better made and the initial letters were made red. Hence “*rubricae*”. In the first printed books one also made initial letters red, or colored, and the artisans who did this were called “illuminators”. From the twelfth century on one finds in the initial letters and titles also blue which looks very pretty. One was careful not to use green and yellow inks.

3. One had gold and silver inks. The ancient ones had the art of *Chrysogramiam* which originated around the time of Christ. One venerated the *Bible* and evangelical writings so much that one wrote it with this art. One used genuine gold and silver for this purpose, which lasted to this day. One finds entire evangelical books and books of Holy Scripture written in this manner. The most beautiful examples are found in Regensburg in St. Emeran in the sacristy which was written in Arnulfi times. In the royal library in Paris is

a *codex Bibliorum*, which Basilius Macedo of Constantinople had written (caused to be written). In other books, the title, beginning letters, and the name of God are written in gold and silver. The ancients covered the parchment with purple dye and set the gold on top of it. The marriage certificate of the Kaiser Ottonis II and his wife Theophania is an example of this and is displayed in Gandersheim. This art was already in use in the holy Hieronymus's time, where he scolds the "scoundrel" in the preamble. One says this art has been lost. But Montfaucon in his *Paleographia graecia* Lib. 1 Chapter 1 shows several examples from *the Greek Scriptoribus*: Namely the Chryliographi first mixed *Menning* (red lead)? In mortars, and mixed it with eggwhite, wrote the letters on parchment, and then polished it with a wolf's tooth (*Wolfzahn*).

4. What we need to note (observe) concerning this ink are the *picturae* which are drawn with either one or more colors and use our imagination for what occurs in the written books. In the Imperial library in Vienna there exists such a beautiful *Codex Bibliorum*, with all biblical stories. Lesselius (anführen) (quoted) after the Lambecio. In the Bibliotheca Ambrosiana in Mayland, the Iliad of Homer is so written. In the Terento Vaticano all manner of comedies are presented like this. In the well-known *Saxonspiegel* the entire Saxon-right is portrayed in this manner. In Florence, *Hesiodus* is illustrated with *instrumentis agraris*. In Breslau, the French historian Froissard decorated all his works with such pen-drawn pictures. The Kaiser Wenzel (Wenceslaus?) had all his *Fata* decorated like this. Such codices are now to be highly esteemed.

When examining the ink, one can see that often scribes went over the letters again with new ink with unnecessary zeal, thus spoiling their antique status, of which Montfaucon and Mobillon bitterly complained. For example, in a village in Erbach, an officer went for a walk with the local vicar, and found a cross in front of the village that had been blown over by the wind. When they tidied up the depression in which it stood, they found under it an old note from the ninth century stating that the Abt. Eginhartus, secretary of Charlemagne, had erected the cross there with his wife. But since the writing was so faded, the well-meaning vicar wrote over the letters with new ink and sent it to me.

The languages in which the manuscripts are written are either *Lingua mortua* or *viva*. *Linguae mortuae* are those languages that are no longer used as the mother tongue of any peoples. They are both oriental and occidental. In the Oriental languages, Hebrew is no longer used as a mother tongue.

The occidental languages include Greek and Latin. The oldest Greek manuscripts we have today are from the sixth century. Montfaucon, who traveled extensively to research this, says in his *Bibliotheca Coisliniana* and his *Paleographia greca* that the oldest codices were written with *Litteris uncialibus*, or large letters. One still finds large letters in the *Inscriptionibus*. They are called *Litterae uncialiales*, from *Uncia* which is a *Nomen Mensurae* of the ancients. *The Uncia was the twelfth part of the (Asse?) which in turn was divided into twelve parts. The word was also used as a measure of length, and the thumb was half of an Uncia. The Greeks divided their 24 letters into 12 Uncias, so each letter had one half of an Uncia. We already find this word in Hieronymus' introduction to the "Scoundrel" which he wrote in the fourth century. One has to go by the old *inscriptionibus* and coins (to verify letters), since the material that the old codices were written on were very fragile. One also called these letters *quadratas*, because one had to make a circle if one wanted to do them right. Of these one finds few codices and Montfaucon found in all his travels only thirty. and these mostly incomplete. From the seventh, eighth, and following centuries one finds the letters *quadratas*, but smaller and with *accentibus* and *spiritibus*. In addition, the letters are all connected to each other which was not the case with the *uncialibus*. The newer the codices are, the poorer (less elaborate)? the letters, and contain periods and commas. After the ninth century, many abbreviations occur which the Tachygraphs discovered. In the thirteenth century one finds many small and drawn together letters. The Greeks had an art of inscription that used calligraphy and tachygraphy, which occurred in Alexandria, on the islands, and in the cloisters. They are also much written in Calabria and Sicily. The younger the codices, the more notes and abbreviations there are. Montfaucon wrote about this. We have *notas rhetoricas, musicas, arithmeticas, and astronomicas, etc.*

After the fall of Constantinople many Greeks came to Italy, therefore so did many Greek manuscripts. These Greek codices are written either in columns or on pages, They wrote in columns mainly for speed. The Latin codices are more differentiated in their writing style. The older coins and the inscriptions show us the oldest letters. Those from the fifth century are also written in uncialibus quadratis and rotundis litteris. Cursive occurred only after the invasions. When the West Goths in the sixth century, and later the East Goths came, one had litteras Latinas gothicas. In the seventh and eighth century, the *scriptura Logobardica* emerged, which was lengthy and poor. In the ninth century, the *Scriptura Francica* emerged, which was better. In England when it became Christian, the *Scriptura Anglo-Saxonica* emerged. *Conf. Hiccesii Thesaurus Linguarum septemtrionalium*. Meanwhile the emerging peoples of the Latins maintained a smaller and cleaner style of writing. Later on in the cloisters, people were hired to copy books, and were told to copy the books with large or small letters. Even with the many changes occurring in the Latin style of writing, nevertheless the *uncialis Litterae* were maintained and were called *Capitales* or *Capitularis* because one began with capital letters and decorated them ornately. These letters had no standard size but often took up a whole page. One other Latin writing style occurred in *Diplomatibus* and another in *Codicibus*.

No diploma is written in capital letters but all are written in cursive. They are elongated and curly, but still cursive. The famous Abbott Gottfried, in the Cloister Gottwich, in Austria worked hard to illustrate this difference. The younger the Latin codices are, the more abbreviations they have and these were already well established (*eingerrissen*) in Justinian's day, so that Justinian had to forbid that his code be written in that manner the *Libros Juris*. It is well known that Tiro, the *Libertus* of Cicero, discovered *Notas*. But we do not find any old codices with this. The old codices put the a and the e apart. In newer times they did not even want to write the ae anymore but just the e. The ancients also had no small s, but a lot of long s's. We also find in the old Greek and Latin *codices ab utroque latere scriptos* and written in columns. At the end (of the codex) was the time the codex was written (the date)? , a curse against those who wanted to add anything to the codex , and a prayer for the copyist's soul because copying the codices had become so odious for him. Since up until this point we discussed only the *forma inerna* and *externa*

of the written books, thirdly we now must address the most noteworthy manuscripts themselves.

In regard to the most noteworthy manuscripts themselves, that we still possess, we have to think about them first and then examine them. They are either *anecdoti* or *editi*. The codices *anecdoti* are still available in abundant quantities. But they are very seldom in copy able condition. They exist in large quantities not only in the royal libraries, but also in the *Bodleiana*, and in various Italian libraries. In the *Corsiliana*, which were ensconces in the Parisian library, there were 42 codices *manuscripti Graeci*. One needs to inquire first and most carefully (conscientiously) after the *Anecdotis*. One only asks for the edition to be able to confer (compare, collate) with the printed exemplars.

We want especially to divide the most noteworthy (curious) manuscripts we still have into classes: 1. Biblical. 2. Greek. 3. Latin. 4. German. 5. and Oriental *codicibus manuscriptis*.

The most famous Biblical codices include: at the top of the list: *Biblica graeca Vaticana LXX interpretum*. All those in the know must admit that they have never seen an older book. Pope Sixtus V. took care that the other codices agree with (compare) with this one and thereby were improved. 2. *Codex Bibliorum Bibliothecae Colbertinae* N3c84. There are 24 pages missing. It is also one of the oldest *codicibus*. 3. *Codex Bibliorum Bibliothecae Caefareae Vindobonensis*. This one is written on *Membrana purpurea* with gold and silver letters. But the first book of Moses is not complete therein. 4. The so-called code *Alexandrinus noyi Testamenti Bibliothecae Bodleianae* in England. The codex was a gift to the King of England from Cyrillo. One says it was written by the holy Decla (feminine) under Diocletian. One infers from an added notation that it was written only at her instruction. It is whole (complete), and is with the *Epistola Clementis*, (in addition to?) the *Hymno Angelico* and others. The writing style is not, however, too pure. That is why Richard Simon thought it was a dictation. Therefore the codex is not the very best. Casimirus Utinus scorned it in *Difentationum triade*, which Ernestus Grave did not agree with. Mاسترcht extrapolated on this in *Prolegominis ad novum Testamentum*. One wants to aver 5. that the original of the Evangelist John is in the cabinet of the Duke of

Florence. Magliabecchi says that it is written in *Litteris uncialibus* and in gold and silver letters. Some people aver in error that 6. the original gospel of Mark is still in Italy since Mabillon observed that it was a *Codex Latinus*, even though it was in such poor condition that one could not understand one word.

From the Greek *codicibus manuscriptis*, it is mainly the Psalmbook that was the most copied, of which we find many in Paris, Florence, Vienna, Munich. Under *Patribus graecis*, the *Gregorii Nazienzeni* writings were very often copied. Under the Medicis, the *Dioscorides de Plantis* was the most copied, of which the oldest Codex is in Vienna, written in 595. Montfaucon in *Paleographia graeca* and Lambecius write of this. Busbequius bought it in 1500 from a Jew for a hundred ducats and presented it to the Kaiser. In the Augustiner library in Florence, a beautiful codex by Dioscorides is on display that belonged for a time to Jano Parhasio The third of these is in Paris in the Royal library. Of the philosophers we find mainly (mostly) the *Codices Platonis* copied. The *Ordo Librorum*, however, does not agree with any of them. The Vatican has the best one. It is, however, partially written by a new hand. It is to be pitied that the *Historici graeci* were not copied more, since most of the scribes were spiritual /religious men. Most of them are *Mutili*. The poets were copied more carefully. The *Historici* may have been too cumbersome/ difficult/hefty since they had been copied by several different scribes.

There fewer Latin codices than Greek. The Occidental lands, and especially Italy, were early on destroyed by the barbarians. One needs to remember only the devastation of Rome under the king of the Vandals, Genserich. The Herulers, the East Goths, the Longobards pillaged therein. The Latin monks were, partly too lazy, partly too superstitious, to copy heathen books. The advent of printing ruined the codices completely, that they were all but thrown away, and other books were bound in them (in their pages). Professor Schwartz in Altdorf and I gathered an entire collection of these volumes and we had pieces of nearly all old authors. The goldsmiths further contributed to the ruin of old manuscripts since they had to lay Ducats on old parchment and one can buy a pound for two thalers. I saved almost the entire *Torentium* in this manner. The Franciscans used the thinly beaten parchment on their flogged backs. The oldest *Codex*

albinus is the *Virgilius Florentinus* in the Library *Ecclesiae sancti Laurentii* in Florence which were also collected by Cosmo Medices, and where 3000 old Latin manuscripts are still available. It used to be owned by Curtius Rufus Apronianus, a Patrician and Consul to Rome in the third century, which he inscribed (signed) himself. It is written in *Membrana Litteris quadratis*. There are no older codex to be found. In the Vatican library are also two ancient Virgils. One of them is written in *Litteris quadratis*. The other is not so old. Angelus Politanus wrote therein that he never saw an older codex. In this library, one also finds the *Terentius in gros Quart*, written in large cursive, and drawn masks (pictures); also the first Christian poet, Prudentius with *Litteris Uncialibus* is to be found here.

The most famous of all are the “Pandeckren”? which were found in Amalphi. Kaiser Lotharuis wanted to declare war on the Normans. The Pisaners stood by him and conquered the city Amalphi where a soldier found in an old crate two volumes Of Pandeckten and took them back to Pisa. But it is not the *Authenticum* written by Compilatoribus which shows many circumstances. When Pisa was conquered by Florence in 1406, they were brought to the Rathaus in Florence. Brenkmann died during his work on col Lating the Pandeckten manuscripts and Justiz-Rath Gebauer then acquired them. Of all the Ecclesiatical codices, the Opera (works)of the learned Latin master, Augustinian, were copied the most. Patavius had an old *codicem in papyro aegyptica*, or at least in Cortician, which came into the Paris library. The fewest Roman manuscripts are in Roman script, but are written in Gothic, or Longobardian, or other script. page 32. The manuscripts are valued equally with the printed books that are bound in them (in their pages). One finds very few of the German *codicibus manuscriptis*. The oldest ones are the Ortfrieds Evangelia. The only one left of these is in the library in Hessia owned at one time by the bishop of Aichstadt, then given to the bishop of Gotwich in Austria. There is an example in the Vatican library which is said to be written in Luther’s own hand, the Lutheran translation of the bible. There is a funny verse in it that could not be attributed to Luther. The version itself is very different from Luther’s. The prayer of Manassis in it also ends very differently. This sample came to Rome with the Heidelbergian library. It is said that in the cloister of St. Emeran in

Regensburg there are many manuscripts of old German epics (hero tales). This is not true, however, since I assiduously inquired about them.

Lastly we must look at the oriental Codices Manuscriptus. Of the Libros hebraicus manuscriptos there are no more except one in the form of Codices Bibliorum veteris Testamenti. All others are in newer script. But it is said that in the Dominican church in Bononia, there is a codex compiled by Ezra himself, the codex veteris testamenti. Only Montfaucon and pere LaBat, who is himself a Dominican, show that is only the five books of Moses and these from the fourteenth century. Neither are they written in volumine, but they are nevertheless considered sacred. In Germany we find in the Ministerialsbibliothek in Ehrfurt many beautiful codices veteris testamenti. These, written in Spain, are better than those written in Italy in Gonzano. The Spanish ones are written quadrats and distinct letters. We find many codices in the Arabic language like Vide Herbelots *Bibliotheca Orientalis*. In the libraries in Leyden and in Bodeliana we find many of these also. The Arabs have...exhausted?...all branches of knowledge, esp medicine, history and philosophy. (excoliert). Certainly in the Arabic manuscripts, history is quite complete. In the Syrian language we have ony a few Patres and Concilia, esp. the *Ephraim Syri*. In Persian we have no old manuscripts, and only a few newer ones. There are several Ethiopian manuscripts like *Vide Ludolphi Ethiopia*. We also have Chinese manuscripts but they are printed.

The printed books are the following. We must examine these for: 1. first printing. 2. of large (important)?works. 3. of *libros prohibitos* (censored) those which attack religion or decency or good manners/customs. 4. *On libros connexos* in a specific discipline. 5. Of *libros raros* (rare)? 6 of *libros polygraphorum* and 7. of *Libros futiles*.

The first printings are at the top of the list. One must be very conscientious about these as being the rarest ones, since their editions were very few and barely fifty printed. And the oldest printed books were not esteemed by ignorant people, and not all those printed were disseminated into different countries. If a book was printed in 1500, it is rare. In the first printed editions we have to look at partly the Rudimentary *Artis Typographicae*,

partly to the Incunabula of the same, and partly even look at the books themselves. I call Rudimentary *Artis typographica* those which were printed from plates carved entirely of wood like the Kattunen are now. One printed *Litteris connexis*. Laurentius Kosterus began this process in Haarlem in 1428. One holds the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* and the *Artem Memorandi per Figuras Evangelistarum* for the rarest examples. Julius Caesar Scaliger had the book, the *Horologium beatae Marie Virginis* printed on parchment and it is very rare. *Maittaire, in Annalibus typographicis* Tom. 1) Pag.13-17 says that Graf Pembroke in England owned four of these books printed on parchment plates. But this was only a model (*formschneiderei*) never a book printed with separated letters. 2) Printing was only invented in the middle of the 15th century. Ca1440. Some believe that the Chinese first discovered printing and from there it went to Europe. Did one go in ships to China in those days? I don't think so! No country other than Germany or Holland was the first to discover book printing! The only important thing is which of these two countries invented it.

The Dutch attribute it to their Laurentio Kostero. But I notice/feel that he was only a copier. He printed his form only on one side and then glued the pages together.

We should conclude that the printing of books originated in Germany. But even in Germany people disagree over the location of the discovery of printing. Some say it was in Strassburg. Others say Mainz. In Favor of Strassburg, Schilter, as well as Speklin in his *Strassburger Chronik*, argued in favor of this. But they cannot find any book earlier than from 1444, a bible which says nothing of its origins. Trithemius on the other hand, saves the honor of Mainz, and he is correct. But one does not find the name of the inventor in old *Monumentis*. One believes, and rightly so, that his name was Johann Sorgeloch von Gaensefleisch und Gutenberg. Some people made three different names out of his name. Even today it is customary to make three names out of it. But his name was Sorgeloch. His home was titled in Gansefleisch. And his property was named Guttenberg. He came from a family of knights (See Vide Humbracht's [book] *Honor of the German Nobility*). The occasion for this invention was the following: One used to seal letters with red wax. Not always red, which was used more by the nobility. Over the wax one laid paper and affixed a seal. If one wanted to make a good impression, one wet

the varnish (Lack) and heated up the seal over a light, which when pressed into the wax left the background white and the figure black. This induced Gutenberg to have entire words carved like this, blacken them, and print them. He later had individual wooden letters carved and printed books with very uneven and clumsy letters. He discussed with his neighbor Johann Faust, a goldsmith, the idea of pouring letters out of copper and lead. I wonder about the writing of *Locum Ciceronis de Natura Deorum*, since he says the world is not made out of atoms and speaks to this end; “*Sume aenaeas Litterales, & conjice eas in Chartam, & vide an una ita oriatur vox;*” that one did not get the idea of pouring the letters from ore (metal, brass, bronze) and printing them since one has to thank the ancients for so many useful and clever inventions

3. Now we must discuss the first printed books themselves: a) the first book was printed in Mainz by Guttenberg and was modeled after the old Cologne Chronic and according to Trithemii’s believable testimony, the large *Vocabularium Joannis a Fanua Latinum*. The book has neither year, nor name, nor location anywhere on it. It is displayed in the *Bibliotheca sanctae Geneva* in Paris. It is incredulous that Guttenberg had the gall (gumption) to undertake such a big project for his first attempt at this craft. But he wanted to astound everybody, as many famous men have attested. The book has thick paper, no punctuation, no large beginning letters, no custodes. B) He printed the Latin Bible in two large volumes in 1450 with individually poured letters. Before 12 pages had been printed, the book had already cost 12000 guilders. Faust saw that there was gain to be had and provided Gutenberg with money. When they were in their best printing however, Faust wanted his money back. Since Guttenberg could not pay him, he took away the equipment and finished printing the bible in 1462. I have procured the documents of this litigation (*instrument of the Notarii*) myself and donated it to our library. Faust and his helper Peter Scheffer published the first edition of the Bible in 1462. This is the first book that contains a date. One can find it in the library in Frankfurt am Main in Kassel. The British traded for the others. The Final is in red letters and contains the crest of Guttenberg and Scheffer.

The Kurfuerst (Elector) Lotharius Franciscus of Mainz wanted to build a library in Geybach and wanted to put the first books printed in Mainz in it. He found out that they were located in Ebdorf in the Establishment of Eichstaedt. He sent his councilor there who talked them out of the books. The Kurfuerst gave him (them) gifts of the *Bibliothecam Maximam Patrum*, the *Tomos Conciliorum Omnium*, the *Acta Sanctorum*, a cast silver crucifix, six candelabras and two Fuder (a large quantity) of a costly wine. (c) a Psalter from the Bible that was published by Faust and Schoffer in 1457. It was taken from a bible printing and that is why it was called the third even though it came out at the same time. It was published as a Prodrum of the Bible and that is where it belonged. It was at any rate just a test. (d) *De Januarrationale?de Vinorum Officorum* (e) *Constitutiones Clementinae* 1460. *Joannes Baldi de Janus Catholicum*. (g)*Decretales* (h) *Ciceronis Officiae& Paradoxa* 1465 which is the last book of Faust and Schoffer.

Thereafter printing spread to Italy. We have to notice in old books that their beginning letters were very small with the intention of elaborating (drawing) on them later. They are printed either on parchment or thick paper. Those of parchment are expensive, have no *Custodes?* and are not paginated. Such a printing serves a purpose..... *Instar Codicis Manuscripti* because they are printed from *Manuscriptis*.

We find expensive works in all branches of knowledge. Theologically important works are first the *Codices Bibliorum Polyglottorum*, of which the oldest are the *Biblia Complutensia* printed in 1516. Because this is the first printing of many oriental languages, it does not really stand out. Aldus Manutius printed his *New Testament* from this. One can find this *Biblia Computensia* in the library in Hannover. Later le Choix of Paris published the Bible in Arabic and many other languages in 1541.

Previously, the famous Plantinus had published the *Biblia Antwerpiensia* in six volumes, more beautiful, but not so complete for which the King of Spain paid 50000 Ducats. The translator Montanus, however, was taken by the Inquisition because he deviated from the *Vulgata*. The last *Biblia Polyglotta* is in London of Prismii? Waldoni, published in 1666 in seven volumes. One also needs to look at the *Bibliothecum Patrum* or the *Collection der Kleinen Schriften der Patrum* which Magerius de la Ligne published in 1589 in Paris

in seven volumes. Later, in Paris, in 1654 the 17 volumes of *Bibliotheca Magna Patrum* were published. Finally in 1677 in London the *Bibliotheca Maxima Patrum* in 27 volumes was published. The *Collection Conciliorum* are also very powerful and noteworthy especially *the Collectiones maxima*, which were published in 1644 in 37 volumes and later in 18 volumes. Finally, the famous Jesuit, Hardquin, took over a collection of it, tossed out many things, and made only 12 volumes. His edition is not very correct, and with much too small a print. In 1733, Colletus printed a new edition of the *Collectionis Conciliorum* in Venice in 21 volumes which is beginning to become rare. To be placed next to this is the *Bullarium Laerti Genuini* and *Angeli Genuini* in which contain the Papal Bull. The newest edition came out in 14 volumes in Luxemburg between 1723 and 1740.

In the juristically important works, the famous book came out in two titles, the one, *Tractatus Tractatum*, and the other, *Oceanus Juris*. It is composed of 27 volumes of *Glossatoribus* and *Commentatorius* which Cilletus collated according to the order of the *Pandecten*. *Repetitiones Juris Civilis* and *Juris Canonici* are published in Lyon in 27 volumes. *Libri Basilicorum Fabrotti* in 7 volumes. Under the *Corporibus Jurisglossatis*, the best one is in Lyon, with the beehive (swarm of bees)? on it.

Under the medical books, the Hippocrates and Galen (which DuVal published in 12 volumes) works make a great impression (grosses Aufsehen). *Hortus Malabricus* published in 12 volumes a collection of all East Indian herbs and their names.

The most elegant of the historical books is the *Corpus Historiae Byzantinae* from 1684 to 1711 published in Paris in 31 volumes. It was printed later in 23 volumes in Venice but is incomplete and full of mistakes, also with tiny print, so the Parisian edition is preferable. Bollandus in 1643 began the *Acta Sanctorum Patrum Antwerpiensia*. Solerius, Cuperius, and other Jesuits continued it. The work is ordered after the calendar. A gymnasium was specifically built for this purpose so that young people could be trained to finish this work. The *Februarius* of this work mainly was lost to fire. Altogether it has 40 volumes. In 1704, Golaevius began to publish the *Scriptores Antiquitatum Italiae* which collection Burmann continued in 10 volumes. *Muradorii Scriptores Rerum Italicarum Medii aevi*

which among other things gave us our *Mussaetum* back, consists of 24 volumes and his *Antiquitates Italiae Mediae Aetatis* which is also an admirable work, consists of 6 volumes. In addition, here belongs the meritorious work *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae, ac cujuscunque Generis Acta Publica, inter Reges Angliae, &c. adcurante Thoma Rymer*, London 1704-1717, 17 volumes. The famous bookdealer in the Hague, Neome, republished it in 1738 in 10 volumes. The London edition is in the (here) library (our library) and is the best one. The *Petri Petrusii Numismata Imperatorum Romanum Argentea & Aurea* which was in the coin cabinet of Herzog of Parma in 9 volumes, is a very famous work which was never in a bookstore (for sale) but was only given as a gift. The vignettes contain the newest coins of the Herzog of Parma.

Libri Prohibiti are generally (commonly) put aside (to the side, away) in libraries. We have three types of these works: some of them are prohibited because they attack religion, others because they may cause *Statum Civilem turbiren* (civil unrest, disobedience?) and others because they may cause *bonos Mores corruptem* (moral corruption). The Papists censure books from the time the Concilio Tridentio was in Rome. *Vide Franzii Differtatio de Indicibus papistarum Librorum, prohibitorum. Baillet dans les jugements des savans* Tom. I. In Ingolstadet there is a defense for the *Indeces Librorum prohibitorium..* In it are three classes (types) of censored materials: *Libri prohibiti* are those which no one may read without permission; *Libri expurgandi*, which have some passages in them deleted (crossed out); And *Libri plane abolendi* which need to be burned. They are kept in Catholic libraries either in special rooms, or locked up in cupboards covered with bars (*vergittert*). In the *Augustino*, which came out in 20 volumes, this notation is on the title, "*Omnia fedeliter sunt expunctia, quae possent fidelium mentes corrumpere.*" But in Germany it is no longer so strictly censored even by the Catholics and now even the *Corpus Recessuum lamperi* is no longer under *the Libros Prohibitos*, even though the Augsburgian Freedom of Religion (an organization)? still finds objectionable materials in them, where previously they had the freedom to censor it. One conserves in the libraries the *libros prohibitos*, just like the strongest poisons in the apothecary, for a good cause! One realized in the more enlightened days of the Reformation that even the worst and corrupted books have their uses.

We must now mention several books that attack religion: *Julii Caesaris vanini* which was burned in Toulouse in 1619, *Amphiteatrum Providentiae divinae*, Lyon, 1615. *Idem de admirandis naturae Reginae omnium rerum arcanis*, Paris 1616. Michaelis Serveti, a Spanish Medici, whom Calvinus had burned in Geneva in 1553 and whose story the Chancellor of Mosheim thoroughly expurgated. *Libri septem de Trinitatis erroribus*: A shameful and greedy Lutheran preacher in Regensburg, the well-known Superintendent Serpilius, had this shameful book reprinted and sold it for a lot of money. Petri Pomponatii, a Mantuan, who died in 1525: *Buch de naturalibus Effectuum Caussis feu de Incantationibus feu de Abstrusiori Philosophia*, Basel, 1653, in which the miracles of Christ are shamefully denigrated. He wrote his own epitaph: *Hic sepultus jaceo cur nesci?* *Jordani Bruni Libros, de Caussa & Principio universali and de Mundis Innumerabilibus* one needs to excuse (forgive), only in the Spukio de la Bertha triumphante he overthrows the basic principles/tenets of Christianity. He was burned in Rome in 1600. The rarest is Giulielmo's *Postelli la mere Jeanne*: he was professor *Linguarum orientalium* in Paris in 1664 and was sent to the Orient to acquire beautiful Oriental books. He spoke to a nun in Venice in a waiting room and fell in love with her, and so powerfully, that he insisted that Christ was only the savior of the male sex, and Mother Johannes was the savior of Womankind. He was therefore relegated to a Dominican Cloister as a (nutcase) *unsinnig*. *Johannis' Bodini Colloquium*, in which he attacks seven religions is in this (our) library. All books scandalously attacking religions are written by Italians, Spaniards, and Englishmen which is really surprising.

2. Under the *libros politicos prohibitos* are the following: *Joannis Mariana Liber de Rege & Regis Institutione* of which the first edition published in Toledo in 1596 is the rarest. The Frankfurter edition is much less harsh. Conf. Bayle in *Dictionaire, sub Voce; Mariana.*: Some time ago one considered it here, and still does in Austria today, the *Hippolyti a Lapide, or the Bogislai Philippi* of Chemnitz, *Buch de Ratione Status*, in which he (looks down upon) the Austrian House because of the Thirty Years War and especially Ferdinand II. But there is also much good in it. Writings for the Wiedertauffer also belong in this category, although the Wiedertauefer (re=baptizers)? are not so strict

and do not attack the nobility anymore. Also, all of the Monarchomachi, eg Stephani Junii Bruti Vindiciae contra Tyrannos. Machiavelle and Hobbesii writings do not belong in this category because they do not attack the entire State. The former depicts the *Tyrannos Italiae* and the latter one depicts the *Tyrannos Anglicae*.

We now come to 3. the books which are banned because they may corrupt the good manners (morals). One calls them *Libros Sodaticos* after a hateful Italian poet Sodate, of which Quinatilianus already spoke. These (books) include *Petri Aretini Rationamenti*; *Hadriani Beverlenti Peccatum originale.*; *Aloysia Sygaea*; *Conf. Morhoff in Polyhistore* Lib.I. chapter 8; *Struvius in Introductione in rem Litterariam* Chapter 9; Uffenbach in *Catalogo Bibliothecae* which also included the prices?.

Libros connexos means that all the books in a specific discipline in a library are grouped together so that none are missing. In the theological faculty in Spain, the *Patres Benedictini* of the Congregation of St. Mauri made an extraordinary effort to publish the *Patros Ecclesiasticos* and to explain/illustrate them. If a famous library is missing even one book it is not complete. In Jure, nowadays humanity has become so exalted? that one does not explain the books *ex Glossis* anymore but *ex-Antiquatibus* *****& *Linguis* ; the entire collection of Humanists are there, Allciato, Brissonio, Cujarcio, etc. In the Medical fields, many Greek Medicis, like Fontes must be there. (part of the collection)? Further, the *Historica naturalis* must be complete and especially *Aldrovandi Theatricum Metallicum*. In the Humanities must be all old scripts of Homer and if the library wants to be precocious? Then the editions must be available in *Usum Delphini*. In history, old *Corpora Historicorum omnium Gentium* must be available, of which the English collection is very precious.

By “rare books” we mean not those that are not available anymore in this or that location, but those that are rarely found in any country. Of the causes of the rarity of books one must read *Weidleri Disseratio de Caussis raritatis Librorum*. 1. The books that are written by noble gentlemen are rare because they have only few of them printed. The King of France Ludovicus XIII translated a part of the fist book of *Julius Caesar de*

Bello Gallico in his younger years, or rather his precept did, which is printed very expensively but is very seldom found. In Germany the Herzog August zu Braunschweig-Wolfenbuettel under the name Gustavi Seleni published two books: a book on chess, 1616 and a cryptography, or the art of writing incognito, Luneburg 1624. These are very rare. His youngest son, Ferdinand Albrecht, who was benefactor of the present Wolfenbuettel house, was highly educated. But he had the misfortune, because of his depressing (verdriesslich) personality (humor) to be always confused. He joined the *fruchtbringende*.(fruitful).association and was given the name “des Wunderlichen (the wonderful or admirable one). He owned his own print shop in Bavaria. But his relatives did not want his books to be published because they were very odd/waggish. But I managed to snag the rarest of these which is about his travels and has the following title: “*Wunderliche Begebenheiten in der Wunderlichen Welt durch den wunderlichen und Fruchtbringenden aus eigener Erfahrung wunderbarlich erfahren und wunderbarlich heraus gegeben*” 1678 4to.

2. There are also certainly simpler books of learned men. Eg the Herzog's Anton Ullrich a brother of the previous, Aramena and Octawia. The Graf Kehvenhueller who was privy councilor to three Kaisers and knight of the golden fleece wrote Kaiser Ferdinand II 's biography. These 10 volumes, of the *Annals of Ferdinand (Annales ferdinandei)* were published part in Regensburg and part in Vienna. But only 50 of them were published, one of which of which the king of Poland later paid 1000 ?money). After that his relatives added the eleventh and twelfth parts to the manuscript and allowed it to be published in twelve volumes which are all correct and beautiful, and are very nice to have now. 2. Many books are suppressed ”*auctoriatate publica*” and thereby became rare. Under the Kaiser Carolo VI the famous Pater Petz of Nuremberg published in 1731 8 vo: *Revelationes venerabilis Agnetis Blumbeckin&Vitam, Auctore anonymo*, where several other things were added: It says in chapter 38 and 39: *Ea aliquando seire desideravit cum lacrymis & moerore., ubinam esset praeputium Christi, ut millies illud exoscularetur & saperet & digitis fervaret.* And in another place it says that a whore (one who has become a whore)?*an Aebtizin*) abbess had two angels as midwives. Therefore an order went to the printer from Vienna that all these copies should be brought to Vienna and were secretly

burned in the Jesuit College. The Kaiser's physician discovered this. This book is therefore frightfully rare. Francisci de Bossier *Stemma Ducum Lotharingiae & Berry* is also one of the rarest of books. It was published in 1580 in Paris. King Henricus had it burned because Bossier insisted (in the book) that the Lothringian House derived from the Carolingian house and the Capezian (capetiogic) branch usurped the kingdom of France from the Lothringian branch. thereby starting a war between France and Lothringen: as. in *JohannisGeorgii Korbii Diarum Itineris in Moscoviam Ignatii de Garnier, Legati Caesaris Leopoldi* was published in Vienna in 1689.; the Russian Czar Peter I wanted to go on his first trip from Vienna to Malta to learn shipbuilding. He had to return hurriedly to his country however because of some insult/slight. Kayser Leopold sent Garnier after him, who was supposed to accomplish various transactions with him. In this travelogue are also the frightening executions that the Russian Czar heaped upon the troublemakers, with descriptions and printed in copper. The Kaiser accepted this publication with such displeasure that all of the volumes had to be burned.

The very rare *Pontificum Arelatense* of Petri Saxii is in our library. It was published in Aix en Provence in 1600 in small folio. The author therein described the old Nexum of the Roman and Arelatic realms; therefore the king of France had it confiscated immediately. But Mencke had it republished in *Tomo primo scriptorum Reram germanicarum*.

3. Some books became rare because of gross printing errors. For example, in the introduction of the book *Erasmi Roterdami Vidua Christine ad Mariam Reginam Hungariae*, Basel 1520 8vo. The printer wrote the words wrong: instead of writing *mente illa semper esse, quae talem Feminam deceret* he wrote *Mentula* instead of *mente illa*. That is why these printings were suppressed. Muretus wrote a hymn for the wedding of the Duchess of Florence. The printer, instead of writing *quis unquam vidit tales Nuptials*, made a mistake and set the type: *tales ineptias*. 4. Some books became rare because they were not permitted to be completely printed. In Dresden, the Cryptocalvinists in 1589 started to publish a bible with commentary. The work was confiscated, so that it was printed only to the *Book of Kings*. This piece is found only in Dresden, Leipzig, and

Gotha. The learned Duke August of Wolfenbuttel had a new translation made of the Bible by Sabaudin. He was dissuaded by an uproar by the Wittenbergic theologians so that it was only printed to the 17th chapter of the *Book of Samuel*. The Friderici Hortleder's *Causes of the war of Caroli V against the Schmalkaldic Confederates* (members of some organization) in two volumes is well-known. When he was working on the third one, the Dukes of Wolfenbuttel did not want the unrest that Duke Heinrich of Wolfenbuttel was responsible for to become public. The Duke of Saxen-Gotha therefore had to agree with his brother the Duke of Weymar that his personal secretary Hortleder must put stop writing. The Duke Ernst von Gotha became so irate that he called Hortleder to the carpet himself and stabbed/beat him to death with his big *Stockknopf* (stock=stick,staff). Ludovicus XIII had his biography made in (Medallions?) and printed and described. The king of Prussia Fridericus I wanted to copy his idea. For this purpose, the great and talented Cramer was recommended. The work was so expensive however that only 14 pages were printed. 5. Some books are rare because fire consumed most of them. Of these are Johannis' *Blaeu Atlas Magnus*. He was a coppersmith in Amsterdam, his entire house and office with his collection of charts/maps burned up. That is why this atlas is so rare. *Hieronymi Hennigees Theatrum Genealogicum* in 4 tomes 1598 is almost completely burned in storage in Magdeburg. But there is a complete copy in this library. Olai Rudbekii. *Johannis Hevelii Machina coelestis*, 1671. This large Astronomy book had a pretty copper inlay done in Gdansk but it was destroyed by fire, so there were only two of them salvaged and the (*buchfuehrer*)?booksellers already had 20. The king of France Ludovicus XIII gave him a pension through Colbert. Joannis Heoding *traite des medailles* 1598. *Conf. Essai de l'Histoire de Litterature*. 6. Some books became rare because they came out in various places. The *Diarium Europaeum* is published yearly in several places. Bogislai Philippi of Chemnitz, a privy councilor of the chancellor Orenstirn, *Wars of the King of Sweden in Germany* became rare because some of them were published in Stockholm and others in Germany. Nicolai Schatteni's *Annales Paderbornensis*; he first published *Historiam Westphaliae* and there followed this book. The *Historiam Westphaliae* is almost not available. Of the famous Italian Victorini Siri *Memorie recondite dall' anno 1601. sino all' anno 1640* the first edition is in Lyon, the third and fourth in Paris, the fifth, sixth and seventh again in Lyon, and so

on. After that Siri wrote the *Mercurio historicodel currenti Tempi* which was published in six different places. It is complete in the library of General Flemming in Dresden. 7. Other books are rare because they were never publicized. Of the theological books, the Joannis Wiclesii *Dialogorum Libri quatuor*, 1525...only one book of this enemy of the pope that was printed. *Hippolyti Salviani aquatilium Animalium Historiae, Romae 1528.* there in is a fish beautifully fashioned out of copper and all the names of fish are in it.. Joannis Wasserburgii *antiquites de la Gaule Belgique*, Paris, 1549 is one of the oldest books that belong to the Lutheran history. Nicolai Vinnierii *chronicon Burgundicum. Libanii opera ex Editione Morellii. Dionis Chrysostomi Orationes ex editione Morellii.* The writings of polemics/differences of opinion of high and learned persons also belong in this group. Conf Lunigs *Bibliotheca Deductionum*. One of the rarest is the well known *Deduction* which, when Herzog Heinrich the Younger of Wolfenbuttel, an enemy of the protestant religion, wanted to suppress the City of Goslar and wrote a hateful book against Duke Johann Friederich against the equally nasty *Terminis* written by Duke Johann Friedrich. Luther also wrote against the Duke Heinrich, the well known idiot, in his treatises. But which has been cleaned up considerably in the *Lutheri Operibus*. Nicolai Cillefii's *Defensio Abbatiae sancti Maximini imperialis* is small but very rare and was written against the Kurfuerst of Trier. It is here in our library. Cornelii Duplicii *Scepperi Apologia Christierni II. Regis Daniae in Belgium profugi*; Scepper was a counselor (lawyer) and he defended his client well. In Denmark people tried very hard to eradicate this book.

8. Those books which have been markedly altered in other editions are also in this group. In the Bartholomew de Pisis *Libro conformitatum Vitae sancti Francisci cum Vita Jesu Christi, Bononia, 1590*; in volume 72 it is told that Francis once found a spider in a goblet. He drank this spider down with the holy blood and thereafter the spider crawled out of his leg. Boyle says that no anecdote (occurrence?) could have harmed the holy Francis more as this book; one finds it in our library. The Franciscans were thereafter very concerned? (aufgezogen) with this issue. But the book was established because of the angry inscription in the Franciscan Cloisters: *Deo Homi & sancto Francisco utrique cruciatio*. The first edition of *P Latinae vitis Pontificum* which was published in

Nuremberg in 1481 is also very rare because the Popes in them were ridiculed. *Christiani Truttmani Expositio Grammatica in Mathaeum, Lucam & Joannem* which first came out in Strasbourg in 1514, is also much altered in other editions. Of the *Petri Arlensis de Scadulapis Sympathia septem metallorum & selectiorum Lapidum ad Planetas*, the Parisian edition from 1514 and is not abridged.. Of the *Leonis van Aitzema Saaken van Staat en Oorlogh* the first edition which came out in Leyden in 1652 in 16 Quartbindings very rare and contain many secrets of the Netherlands. The abridged edition was brought about by the General Staaten and was published in six folios in S.Gravenhage in 1669-1672.

9 Furthermore those books are rare of which only a few were printed. Which was due partly to *propter Ambitionem*, partly to *propter Impensas*. In this category belong: *Le Mascurat*, the first edition published in Paris in 1649, the other in 1654. They are both at this library. It is an apology of Cardinal Mazarin, both editions are indispensable because of their commentary, and in general the book is very useful for history. *Pasquillorum Tomi duo Eleutheroepoli*, 1594. Its author is Coelius fecundus Curio. *Simonis Okolski orbis Poloniae* which came out in Crakow is about Polish Nobility it is in this library. Finally 10 those books are rare which are written in foreign languages. Eg in Virginian, Ceylonic, and Russian because for a long time there was only one publisher in Russia in Kiev that is why the *Russian Bible* is very rare and is in this library. Also the bible which the Czar Peter had printed in Holland is rare because most of the editions were lost in a shipwreck. The English *Societas propaganda religione Christiana* had many books written in the Virginian language (American?) and sent these to Virginia. Hungarian books even though they have Latin letters and are easy to print are rare. Oriental books are not so rare and can be seen in Rome in *Congragatione de Propaganda Fide*.

Under the *Libris Polygraphorum* which at the same time were *Helluones Librorum*, at the top of the list are Alberti Magni writings. In the Lyon edition in small print in 21 volumes. Thomas Aquinas writings are in Paris edition of 1663 24 editions. Alphonsi Tostati writings, Paris, 1637 are in 28 volumes, since he only lived to age 40. I speak of people who published singly and no collections exist of these. Athanasii Kircheri who

died at age 76 in Rome, his writings are very rare. Pros. per Farinacius, a famous jurist, left many juristic writings and especially *Jurisprudentiam criminalem* very well known. Pope Benedictus said of him: *Farinam quidem bonam esse, sed non Saccum i.e. Auctorem*, because he made many Rabelaisian? Jokes (pranks). The famous French Jurist, Tiraquellus, set thirty books and thirty children into the world, one each year.

Libri futilis are those books which address nothing special. Example the *ABC Darium Marianum* published in Madrid in 1648 in which are the ABC praises of Mary. An astonishing book in 60 volumes is the Josephi Belidor de Salas, *Knight of St. Jacob in Spain, Archi chronographia* for which Philippus III paid for the printing, is only smeared together from other writings. This gave rise to the Aristotolian saying: *magnus Liber, magnum Malum*.

The *accidentalia* of a library are the *Ornamenta*. Therein are the *instrumenta physica* and *mathematica*. Conf. *Guarnerii Catalogus bibliothecae magnae Jesuitarum Parisiensis*. The *Instrumenta* are very rare and especially the *Sphaerae armillares Mobiles*, where all the planets are depicted in brass and are put in motion with either clockworks or handwheels. One finds similar things in Leyden and Altdorf. Others belonging here are *Imagines and Statuae eruditorum*. Conf. *Schrepperi Imagines & Statuae Virorum illustrium in Bibliothecis*. The famous Petrus Frantzius made a real effort to depict the learned men beautifully, which the Herzog of Wolfenbuttel purchased and donated to the *Carolinum in Braunschweig*. Also included are the beautiful land charts/maps and especially the rare French charts which are of France. In Italy, Coronelli had beautiful charts of Greece and Italy made. The English ones are the rarest. The Swedish Society of Science also had charts made. Illustrated books, esp *Historiae Naturalis* eg Herbal books are among this category. Also illustrated books of crests. In our library we have the *Balliot Inventaire Heraldique* with incomparable crests.(shields)? where many ultramarine blue colors were used. One could not have made the illustrations alone for 500 gold Louis. We must finally not forget the *monumenta* of the donors of this library which are often very nicely worked.