

REMNANTS OF A REFORMATION LIBRARY

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THE reconstruction of an old library is a fascinating study, especially when it is the intellectual remains of a great historical personality or of an important institution. Under such circumstances, a passing remark, an *ex libris* plate, or a minute historical fragment may become as significant as the slightest clue in a trial. As all research students keenly appreciate, the handling of original source materials of men and women who have left an indelible mark upon the age in which they lived provides a distinct thrill, and it is, perhaps, in this experience that the historian receives his greatest reward.

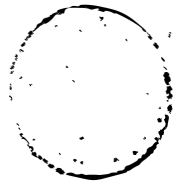
Before the writer in the Jena University Library lie a dozen such fragments.¹ The university ranks them among its most highly prized possessions.² As we examine these remnants of the old ducal library in Wittenberg, our eyes fall upon two old catalogs. Both of these, although somewhat worn and faded, seem to be well preserved in their heavy brown-paper bindings.³ Each has an inscription on its cover written in scarcely legible Latin. Photographs of both inscriptions are here reproduced. The one designated as No. I may be deciphered as follows:⁴

¹ Thanks to the generosity of the directors of the library, Dr. Theodor Lockemann and Dr. Karl Bruelling, both of whom were so *höflich* during my investigations.

² Their presence in Jena is comparatively unknown except in the university circle. This seems strange when we realize that an old source, M. J. C. Mylius, *Memorabilia Bibliothecae Academicæ Ienensis* (Ienae et Weissenfelsae, 1746), p. 12, pointed them out in considerable detail to the historical world. Then, the Wittenberg professor, J. C. A. Grohmann, in his *Annalen der Universität zu Wittenberg* (Meissen, 1801), I, 95, speaks of Mylius and these catalogs. For a brief contemporary description consult Dr. Ernst Hildebrandt, "Die kurfürstliche Schloß und Universitäts-bibliothek zu Wittenberg 1512-1547," *Zeitschrift für Buchkunde*, Vol. II (1925).

³ These catalogs are "oblong in shape," measuring 11×33 cm. and varying in thickness from a few pages to 2½ cm.

⁴ Numbered MS 22 (1) according to the Jena library classification (see Hildebrandt, *op. cit.*, pp. 158 ff.). This is 2 cm. thick and contains 96 pages.

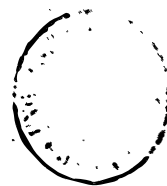


Bibliotheca Ducalis
 Clementissimj principis
 nostri Electoris Saxoniae
 in Arce Vuittembergensi
 Index, Ordine Alphabetico,
 variis per singulos litteras
 Hebraicis Graecis et
 Latinis distinctis.

M. D. XXXVI.

Pandolphus
 Bucher.

No. I



Bibliotheca Ducalis
 in arce Vuittembergensi
 si Index ordine Alphabetico,
 variis, per omnes
 primarias classes sunt
 libri sunt colligati.

M. D. XXXVI.

1
 Pandolphus Bucher
 Bucher No. 9
 Bucher.

No. II

INSCRIPTIONS APPEARING ON THE COVERS OF TWO CATALOGS
 IN THE JENA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Bibliothecae Ducalis clementissimi principis nostri, Electoris Saxoniae in arce Vuittembergensi Index, ordine alphabetario per singulos autores, hebraicos, graecos, et latinos distinctus: MDXXXVI.⁵

The second catalog,⁶ similarly bound, contains a like explanation written in the same hand:

Bibliothecae Ducalis in arce Vuittembergensi Index, ordine alphabetario per omnes studiorum classes, sicut libri sunt colligati. MDXXXVI.⁷

Obviously, both catalogs are from an old ducal library in Wittenberg, Germany. Immediately our curiosity is aroused, and we seek the answers to a number of queries. If these catalogs are from a ducal library in Wittenberg, why are they now in Jena? Further, we remember that after the Askanian line of Saxon princes died out in 1422⁸ the castle in Wittenberg remained unoccupied. The Ernestine house seldom, if ever, visited Wittenberg.⁹ Why, then, maintain a library in an unused castle? Surely, it was there for some other purpose! Was it a public library? Or is it possible that there might be a connection between this library and the University of Wittenberg? Several thoughts immediately suggest themselves. We know that the funds of the richly endowed Stiftskirche were used to help finance the Elector's university.¹⁰ Since the Wettiner were

⁵ Mylius (*op. cit.*, p. 12) claims that these inscriptions were made by George Spalatin, ducal secretary and superintendent of the library in 1536. Since he quotes these inscriptions verbatim, we may conclude that he had these very catalogs in 1746.

⁶ Numbered MS 22B (2) (cf. Hildebrandt, *op. cit.*, pp. 162 ff.). This catalog is 2½ cm. thick and has 120 pages. It is similarly bound and written on the same kind of paper.

⁷ After quoting this inscription verbatim, Mylius adds: "gantze Bücher wie sie gebunden."

⁸ S. P. Schalscheleth, *Historish-geographische Beschreibung Wittenbergs und seiner Universität* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1795), pp. 18-20. Cf. G. von Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der Sächsisch-Ascanischen Kurfürsten*, pp. 281-85.

⁹ The members of this Saxon line which concern us are Frederick the Wise, John the Constant, and his son, John Frederick, whose reigns over Ernestine Saxony and the Ernestine lands included the years 1486-1547.

¹⁰ The secularization of the Stift was begun in 1507, continued in 1525, but not completed until 1536 (see W. Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch der Universität Wittenberg, Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachsen und des Freistaates Anhalt* [Magdeburg, 1926], III, Part I, 132-83, *passim*). For a good source collection on the origin of this Stift consult F. Israël, *Das Wittenberger Universitätsarchiv, seine Geschichte und seine Bestände, Forschungen zur Thüringisch-Sächsischen Geschichte* (Halle, a.d.S., 1913), IV, 1 ff. Grohmann (*op. cit.*, I, 45 ff.) has a good summary.

not using the castle as a residence, its spacious halls were available for their institution of higher learning. The Stiftskirche was converted into the "akademische Festkirche."¹¹ The rooms of the castle were utilized for the law classes¹² and a *Hofgericht*.¹³ The university bulletin board was the *schwarze Brett* on the front door of the castle church.¹⁴ With such intimate relations existing between the castle and the university, may not this ducal library have shared a similar purpose?

If it be true that this ducal library served the faculty and students of the University of Wittenberg, the importance of these catalogs is immediately obvious. A mere examination of the library used by Martin Luther and Philip Melanchthon not only would be fascinating but might also throw light on historical problems thus far somewhat unsettled—problems such as: How far did the Renaissance penetrate the academic life of the University of Wittenberg? or, Was humanism an important factor in the growth of Lutheranism? Since an answer to our questions can be found only in an analysis of the source materials which throw some light upon the origin and the nature of this ducal library, we shall make such an analysis our first objective.

ORIGIN OF THE DUCAL LIBRARY

In 1700 the court chronicler of many years' service, John Sebastian Müller, entered the following observation in his *Annals* with reference to the origin of this ducal library: "In diesem Jahre [namely, 1514] wurde die schöne Bibliothec zu

¹¹ G. Krüger, "Wie sah die Stadt Wittenberg zu Luthers Lebzeiten aus?" *Vierteljahrsschrift der Luthergesellschaft* (1933), XV, 23; Grohmann, *op. cit.*, I, 85.

¹² According to the "Lockschrift" by Meinhardus, *Dialogus illustratus ac Augustissime urbis Albionensis vulgo* (Wittenberg, 1508), chap. xvi, a separate building was erected for the law school on Juristen Strasse during the first decade of the university; yet Dr. Krüger claims all the four law professors lectured in rooms of the castle.

¹³ Heinrich Heubner, *Der Bau des kurfürstlichen Schlosses und die Neubefestigung Wittenbergs* (Wittenberg, 1936), p. 21.

¹⁴ Krüger, *op. cit.*, p. 23. The ninety-five theses were an official academic announcement directed only to the Wittenberg faculty and student body, hence they were posted on this door.

Wittenberg von Churfürst Friedrichen dem Weisen gestiftet."¹⁵ On the basis of this source Mylius concluded that this library was traceable to the year 1514,¹⁶ but he added in a footnote that it might even date to the year 1504.¹⁷ In the latter year a number of theological, legal, and philosophical works were bequeathed to Frederick by the testament of a certain canon in Meissen, Thomas Loesser, which added considerably to the original collection already in the possession of the Electoral court.¹⁸ Mylius was accepted literally by the later Hamburg professor, J. C. A. Grohmann, who in his *Annalen* of 1801 comes essentially to the same conclusion.¹⁹ Both later writers distinguish between these original monastic collections²⁰ (piled, perhaps, in some unused room of the castle) and the opening of the official library to the public in 1514. To Mylius the use of the word *gestiftet*²¹ has special significance designating the appropriation of the private collection for public use. He concludes that Müller's use of this term implies the official designation of the library for the public even if not implicitly thus stated. With

¹⁵ *Annalen des Chur-Fürstlichen Hauses Sachsen Ernestin- und Albertinischer Linien, von Anno 1400 bis 1700* (Weimar, 1700), p. 68.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 2.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, n. (a).

¹⁸ Mylius (*ibid.*, p. 26) writes: "Bibliotheca quoque electoralis Wittebergensis, praesertim apparatus librorum in hac bibliotheca iuridicorum, insigniter auctus est per libros iuridicos ex testamento Thammonis Loesseri, Canonici Ecclesiae Episcopalis Misnensis, ex illustri illa apud Misnenses equestri familia oriundi, qui Bibliothecae electorali Wittebergensi uarios per testamentum legauit, quales tempora uiri, religionis emendationi proximiora, ferebant, libros, theologicos, philosophicos et iuridicos, quibus libris, iudice illustri Budero nostro, adscripsit Georgii Spalatini, qui tunc electoribus Saxoniae a Bibliotheca erat, manus: *Ex testamento eximii doctoris Thamonis Loesser, Canonici in Misnia 1504.*"

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 92-93.

²⁰ Mylius (*op. cit.*, pp. 21-26) speaks of a "Bibliotheca Electoralis" existing already in 1504, and in the same section speaks of the adding of monastic collections as a method used by the Electors to build up the ducal library: "Praeter tres iam indicatos Bibliothecam electoralem augendi modos, etiam exinde bibliotheca haec maximas accessiones nacta fuisse uidetur, quod sine dubio uariorum monasteriorum, praesertim in Saxonia, integrae bibliothecae (et contenti in istis codices manuscripti) insertae fuerint bibliothecae electorali Wittebergensi, etc."

²¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 2, n. (aaa): "Verbum *fundare* autem, uel *legare* non de rebus eiusmodi usurpari solet, quas aliquis ad usum suum priuatum reseruat, sed potius de talibus rebus, quae ad aliorum usum destinantur."

Müller, Mylius, and Grohmann, then, the exact date of the origin of the Wittenberg library becomes a matter of definition. We must add to their conclusions other findings with which they were apparently unfamiliar.

As noted above, George Spalatin was the librarian of this ducal library in 1536;²² it was, in fact, he who wrote the inscriptions on the two catalogs. Let us, then, carefully examine his correspondence, *Annals*, *Diary*, and other "Spalatiniana." Although there are over a hundred such records²³ here in the Jena library, little information may be found on the date of the origin of the ducal library. In this collection there appears Spalatin's "Ephemerides," a yearly account of the important events in his life. The following entry appears under the year 1512: "Hoc anno Fridericus III Elector Saxoniae Bibliothecam in Arce Wittembergensi auspicatur, ministro et bibliothecario in hac, me, G. Spalatino usus."²⁴ Thus, the ducal library was founded in the castle at Wittenberg with George Spalatin in charge as early as 1512. Frederick the Wise himself confirms the fact in a letter to the Venetian printer and bookseller, Aldus Manucius,²⁵ in which he writes: "We are engaged in establishing a library in our castle in Wittenberg, Saxony." In the same year Spalatin also wrote to Aldus for book lists from which he might increase the newly founded library.²⁶ From Spalatin's correspondence with his Nürnberg friend, Christoph Scheurl, we gather further confirmation of the 1512 date. In a letter of December 6, 1512, Scheurl complains that Spalatin has not written but excuses him on the ground that he has learned that Spalatin has been appointed librarian of the ducal library in

²² See above, p. 495, n. 5.

²³ D. Drews, "Spalatiniana," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* (Gotha, 1899), XIX, 69.

²⁴ G. Berbig, "Georgii Spalatini Ephemerides, inchoatae anno MCCCCCLXXX," *Quellen und Darstellungen aus der Geschichte des Reformationsjahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1908), V, 53 (quoted as *Ephemerides* in subsequent pages).

²⁵ Buchwald, *Archiv für die Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels* (1896), XVIII, 10.

²⁶ Friedensburg, *op. cit.*, p. 68. See footnote for other correspondence. Cf. Hildebrandt, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40, who claims that Spalatin was already busy with this task May 1, 1512.

Wittenberg and is now so busy acquiring books from everywhere that he can "scarcely breathe between sweatings."²⁷ Additional mention is made of the ducal library in the correspondence of the humanists, Mutianus and Urbanus, dated 1513, which reports that Frederick the Wise has opened to the public a new library which he is equipping in most ornate fashion.²⁸

But the most convincing evidence of the existence of this library in 1512 may be found in an old pigskin-covered account book from Spalatin's personal library, now in the "Landesbibliothek in Gotha im Schlosz Friedenstein." In this book the librarian kept a record of the purchases made during the first year. Between July 28, 1512, and Easter, 1513, a total of 151 works were purchased at a cost of 202 gulden.²⁹

We then conclude, on the basis of contemporary evidence, that the ducal library came into existence during the summer of 1512, or that, at least, the original collections were opened to the public in that year and subsequently considerably increased.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DUCAL LIBRARY AND THE UNIVERSITY

Since an answer to this question is vital to a proper evaluation of the ducal library, it is important that we determine the purpose for which this library was placed in the Wittenberg Castle. Müller, Mylius, and Grohmann have all touched upon this question. Contemporary sources, also, are ample for a rather accurate evaluation of the relationship of this library to the citizens of Wittenberg and to the university.

During the Schmalkaldic War in 1547, the Elector John

²⁷ *Christoph Scheurl's Briefbuch*, ed. J. K. F. Knaake (Potsdam, 1867), I, 105. Cf. also Letters Nos. 45 and 63.

²⁸ *Der Briefwechsel des Conradus Mutianus*, ed. K. Gillert (Halle, 1890), I, 374; cf. also p. 398.

²⁹ Hildebrandt (*op. cit.*, p. 40) claims these books totaled 163 volumes. Cf. the account of Friedensburg, *Geschichte der Universität Wittenberg* (Halle, a.S., 1917), p. 154, for a slightly different viewpoint. On the relative buying power of the gulden at this time see E. G. Schwiebert, *Reformation lectures* (Valparaiso, 1937), pp. 207-9, which makes 202 gulden the equivalent of about \$3,000.

Frederick, while trying to retreat through the Lochauer Heide,³⁰ was surrounded and captured by the Imperial forces near Mühlberg. With his capture, Electoral Saxony was lost and with it the University of Wittenberg.³¹ By the terms of the Wittenberg Capitulation, May 19, 1547,³² the Elector was forced to surrender the Kurkreis to his treacherous cousin, Duke Moritz of Albertine Saxony.³³ During the settlement, however, the Elector was able to persuade the Emperor that the ducal library was his personal property.³⁴ On July 3, 1547, from the Imperial camp in Bamberg, John Frederick wrote that the librarian, Edenberger, was to transport the library to the old Cloister library at Weimar.³⁵ Apparently this had already been accomplished, for on June 28, 1547, the court lawyers reported that Edenberger had arrived in Weimar with "7 Fudern Bücher,"³⁶ where they remained unopened according to John Frederick's instructions. Mentz says they were afraid to place them in the Schlosz because of the "large mice."³⁷ The Elector was keeping the books boxed up until he could found a new

³⁰ G. Mentz, *Johann Friedrich der Grossmütige, Beiträge zur neueren Geschichte Thüringens* (Jena, 1908), I, Dritter Teil, 103-4.

³¹ Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 299-308, contains the changes instituted by the new Elector Moritz.

³² Mentz, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-11; cf. Mylius, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

³³ Moritz left the Protestant camp and joined Charles V with the hope of gaining the Kurkreis. Mylius says (*op. cit.*, p. 28): "Captus enim anno 1547 non tam fortitudine hostium, quam perfidia suorum, in pugna."

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32: "Sancte asservari . . . voluit; nam ab imperatore impetraverat infelix elector, ut thesaurus iste librarius filiorum trigae, tanquam patrimonium maneret, atque ex Saxonia in Thuringiam, et speciatim Jenam transferretur."

³⁵ Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 297.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, n. 2. Cf. Mentz, *op. cit.*, I, Part III, 256, n. 2, who quotes Bolte that there were 3,132 volumes in this library. Mylius (*op. cit.*, p. 37) writes: "Summa omnium in bibliotheca electorali librorum: theologicorum, 1040; iuridicorum, 562; medicorum, 545; philosophicorum, 964. Summa omnium in bibliotheca electorali librorum, 3111 et musici 21," which totals 3,132 in the entire collection. There seems to be an error in Mylius' calculations, for in classifying the different books he speaks of 612 folio, 186 quarto, 137 octavo, and 5 duodecimo volumes in theology, which makes a total of 940 rather than 1,040. If Bolte took his totals from Mylius, it is possible that in 1746 there were only 3,032 volumes in the ducal library.

³⁷ Mentz, *op. cit.*, III, 256.

library in the Ernestine lands at Jena. When, in the summer of 1549,³⁸ this ducal library was finally moved to the town of Jena, the books were unpacked and became the nucleus of the new Jena University Library. There, as one of the distinguished professors, Buderus, claimed, it should have been appropriately called the "John-Frederick Library."³⁹

On the basis of this transaction some students have concluded that the ducal library was the Elector's private property, but their arguments have little significance. Grohmann points out that the library may have been regarded in a sense as the Elector's private property, but this does not exclude the fact that it might have been designated for university use.⁴⁰ For a satisfactory conclusion we must again examine the contemporary evidence.

In the aforementioned letter to Aldus, the Elector wrote that he was engaged in organizing a library in the castle at Wittenberg which was to be "for the common good of all, the professors as well as the students of our University."⁴¹ While Spalatin, even though he commonly referred to the library in rather general terms,⁴² in his early correspondence with Aldus wrote: "The Prince is decorating his new University of Wittenberg with an excellent library replete with books of all kinds and all disciplines."⁴³ It is also significant that George Spalatin in his correspondence with the Electoral Rath, Hans von Dolzig (when the latter was engaged in the secularization of the Wittenberg Stift of the All Saints' Church, in 1526, after which the rich endowment of this foundation was set aside for the University of Wittenberg), associated the ducal library with

³⁸ Mila and Minkwitz wrote the Elector, July 18, 1549, that the books were ready for shipment (*ibid.*); to which John Frederick replied, September 13, 1549, he was glad the library had arrived in Jena but it should be unpacked in all secrecy (Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 300). Mylius is in error, when he claims (*op. cit.*, p. 33) the books reached Jena by 1548; also, Grohmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 97 f., for giving the date 1558.

³⁹ Mylius, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

⁴⁰ Grohmann, *op. cit.*, I, 97.

⁴¹ Hildebrandt, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁴² *Ephemerides*, 1512, 1515, 1532, 1536.

⁴³ Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 68.

the university. For example, on February 17, 1526, the superintendent made this request:

Ich bitt nochmals wie vor gegen meinen Gnedigsten Hern dem Churfürsten zu Sachssen die Christlich universiteth zu Wittenberg unterteniglich zu befelen. Und sonderlich der Librey und armen frummen studenten treulich zugedencken.⁴⁴

The *Foundationsurkunde für die Universität* (1536), by which the Elector John Frederick reorganized the whole university, is further testimony that the library was a part of the university property.⁴⁵ A section of this document pertains to the ducal library. After briefly treating its early history and stating that it was organized for "the benefit of the University and poor students," mention is made of moving it to a more convenient place that it may be available to all.⁴⁶ Provision of one hundred gulden was also made in the university budget for improving the library. A university professor was to serve as librarian with a salary of forty gulden, which amount, paid quarterly, was also to be taken from the university funds. That the entire university belonged to the Elector and that the library was an integral part of the institution is well illustrated by this document.⁴⁷ References, therefore, like those frequently made by Spalatin—such as "the Library of Your Electoral Grace in

⁴⁴ Drews, *op. cit.*, p. 88. Cf. Doc. 24 in which he speaks of the "dren Jarmerckte zu Leyptzick gute bücher in die Librey zu Wittemberg aufm Schlosz kauffenn von Jar zu Jar zu bessern."

⁴⁵ See above, p. 495, n. 10.

⁴⁶ The library had been kept in the "obern grosen hoffstube" of the Wittenberg Castle. Cf. below, p. 508, for a more detailed discussion of the housing of the library.

⁴⁷ The reprint of the original may be found in Israël, *op. cit.*, p. 113, or in Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 181. From these we quote the section with reference to the library: "Dieweil auch unser lieber vetter herzog Friderich seliger ain gute lieberai alhie zu Wittenberg zu zeugen und aufzurichten furgenommen, und wir dann unser universitet und sunderlich armen studenten zu nutz dieselbige mit buchern in allen faculteten und kunsten, auch in obberurten hebraischen und greckischen sprachen, statlichen zu mehren, zu bessern und an ainen bequemen ort in unserm schlos zu Wittenberg, als in der obern grosen hoffstuben, zu legen und vormittelst götlicher hulf zuzerichten lassen entschlossen, so wollen wir zu mehrung der bucher und besserung derselbn liberei himit hundert gulden jerlich dorzu vorordent haben. und nachdeme eins sunderlichen aufsehers und warters dorzu von nöten, wollen wir und unser erben nach uns itzt und kunftiglich ainen frommen man, der ain gelerter magister sei, dorzu zu vorordenen und zu vorpflichten haben und ime die vorwaltung solcher liberei

Wittenberg"⁴⁸ and "the Library at Wittenberg in the Castle"⁴⁹—are not significant in determining whether or not the library was a part of the university proper. If not before, certainly from 1536 on, the relationship between the library and the university was very definite. Spalatin wrote to the Elector (October 9, 1536)⁵⁰ just after the new statutes went into effect, asking if the library was to be continually enlarged from the regular university funds. Three days later the Elector replied from his Torgau Castle that from that time on the one hundred gulden for the purchasing of new books for the ducal library was to come from "dem Gelde der Fundation."⁵¹

In 1543 the new librarian, Lukas Edenberger,⁵² wrote the Prince that the university had an opportunity to buy a large globe for the "Wittenberger Bibliothek" for forty taler. The library funds had been spent for the year, but Melanchthon was especially anxious to acquire the globe for use in his classes.⁵³ To which the Elector replied (November 28, 1543) that it would be desirable if the "Himmelsglobus" were purchased by a professor in mathematics, since it would not be used very much in the library and might be destroyed.⁵⁴

Other sources point to a close relationship between the ducal library and the university proper. Mylius wrote:

The Elector Frederick III, rightfully and deservedly called "The Wise," laid the foundations for this library. After the Elector had founded the University of Wittenberg in 1502 with great liberality of spirit and at great ex-

bevelhen lassen. deme sollen jerlich von der universitet einnehmer oder vorwalter des fundirten einkommens virzig gulden zu lohn, auf ides quatember den virten tail zu bekommen, geraicht werden. derselb soll auch dorauf warten, domit man zu bequemen stunden ainen freien, unvorsperen zugang dorin haben muge."

⁴⁸ Drews, *op. cit.*, p. 506. In a letter of February 11, 1533, Spalatin says: "Zu furderung E. Chf. G. Librey zu Wittemberg."

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 88: "Gute bucher in die Librey zu Wittemberg aufm Schlosz kauffenn."

⁵⁰ Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 186.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² He was librarian under the new regulations of 1536, but Spalatin was still the superintendent who inspected the library several times a year (cf. Elector's letter of October 12 in *ibid.*).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 236, n. 1.

pense, having received expert advice, and had put distinguished and excellent doctors on its faculty, he was further solicitous that a fine collection of books be purchased, which could not only be of service to the Elector privately but would also be useful to the scholars of the University whose private supply of books was curtailed or at any rate insufficient.⁵⁵

That the Wittenberg faculty was interested in this library may be gathered from the type of books which were added.⁵⁶ In 1533 Philip Melanchthon (who seemed to have had much to do with the selection of new books)⁵⁷ wrote to Spalatin:

Oh, that our plan for buying a variety of books would seem worthwhile to the Prince. For I have heard that the Prince wishes that only theological and native works be purchased, yet I recall in discussing this matter in correspondence with the Prince to have read this remark that a variety of all kinds of Latin and German works should be bought.⁵⁸

Certainly only a university faculty would be interested in or would need the many rare volumes that were purchased. Not even the annual fairs at Leipzig⁵⁹ and Frankfurt-am-Main⁶⁰ (which seemed to have been combed carefully) could supply the demand. We read that Spalatin made frequent trips to Venice. Apparently, the professors checked available lists and from these ordered what manuscripts and rare works they needed.⁶¹ The above communication may be associated with that year's order, for, on February 11, 1533, Spalatin explained to the Prince that these books which the Wittenberg faculty members had selected could not be bought in German lands.

⁵⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 2: "Sed etiam illis in hac academia eruditis prodesse posset, quibus domi curta, vel saltem non sufficiens esset librorum supellex."

⁵⁶ Below, pp. 504 ff.

⁵⁷ Friedensburg, *Geschichte der Universität Wittenberg* (will be quoted as *G.d.U.W.* in subsequent pages), p. 238, n. 2: "Melanchthon, der die Bücherauswahl in erster Linie besorgte, wünschte, dasz möglichst mannigfaltige Werke angeschafft würden, etc." Cf. Mylius, *op. cit.*, pp. 17 ff.

⁵⁸ "Melanchthonia Opera," *Corpus Reformatorum*, ed. Bretschneider u. Bindseil, II (1834 ff.), 625, No. 1089.

⁵⁹ Drews, *op. cit.*, p. 88; Mylius, *op. cit.*, p. 14. The Leipzig fairs had been given a wide variety of privileges under Emperor Maximilian I and were now flourishing. Cf. Meyers, *Lexikon*, VII, 807-9 for a brief account; E. Hasse, *Geschichte der Leipziger Messen* (1885), for a more detailed study.

⁶⁰ Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 221; Drews, *op. cit.*, 506. Nürnberg was another book center where the rarer volumes might be bought. Cf. Mylius, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁶¹ Drews, *op. cit.*, p. 506.

Eurer Churfurstlichen Gnaden wissen sich on Zweifel gnediglich zu erinnern meines vorigen untertenigen erbietens das ich umb etlich bucher Register gin Nurmberg und Leyptzick getrachtet. Zu furderung E. Chf. G. Librey zu Wittemberg. Nu sind sie mir kommen. Habs auch Magister philipp Melanchthon und Magister Lucasen Edemberger⁶² etc. zugeschickt. Darauf mir nechten von Inen schrifftten zukommen,⁶³ das sie zu bemelter Librey der bucher vermoge inligender Zceddeln disz Jars zuerkauffen am netigsten, wie es dann E. Chf. G. durch die Nurmberger am bequemsten aus Venedig zu bestellen können verschaffen. Dann in deutschen Landen werden sie schwerlich anzutreffen seyn.⁶⁴

In 1539, upon the request of the Elector, Spalatin went directly to Venice⁶⁵ to buy certain Hebrew and Greek manuscripts which the venerable professors of the Wittenberg faculty needed. "For, as is clear from the handwritten letter of Spalatin to the Elector, the best Greek and Hebrew manuscripts were much missed by the venerable professors of Wittenberg, since copies could not be purchased in Nürnberg or Leipzig."⁶⁶ This method seems to have been more satisfactory, for we learn from Mylius that from now on Spalatin continued making trips to Venice that he might supply the shortage of manuscripts.⁶⁷ This shortage may pertain to the preparation of Luther's second edition of the German Bible which came out in that year and was revised for later editions until 1545.⁶⁸ However, many other faculty members, as well as students, used the library. When it was closed for inspection and renovation, Spalatin commented in a letter to the Elector, 1537, "I observe that many professors and students are anxious that we reopen the library."⁶⁹ In addition to general use, the professors had the privilege of with-

⁶² Cf. E. L. Enders, Kawerau, *et al.*, *Dr. Martin Luthers Briefwechsel*, VII, 29, n. 1, for identity of Edenberger. He first served as a tutor in the Electoral court, then as Wittenberg librarian.

⁶³ See above, p. 504, n. 58.

⁶⁴ Drews, *op. cit.*, p. 506.

⁶⁵ Mylius, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ For a good English discussion of the various Bible editions since 1534 see M. Reu, *Luther's German Bible* (Columbus, 1934), pp. 221-56. An exhaustive study is *Weimar Ausgabe*, "Die Deutsche Bibel," 7 vols.

⁶⁹ Cited by Friedensburg, *G.d.U.W.*, p. 239, n. 5 (Reg. O Nr. 492).

drawing the rare manuscripts from the library, a privilege which the Elector granted rather reluctantly.⁷⁰

In conclusion, it is obvious that the ducal library stood in very intimate relationship to the University of Wittenberg. It seems, since the Elector owned the entire university, it was simply taken for granted that the ducal library was a part of the institution which he had founded. This close association of the university with the Elector is shown further by the fact that the Old Friderici College and the New Friderici College both took their names from the Elector Frederick.⁷¹ To have spoken of the library as the "University Library," which occurs only once,⁷² would have implied that it was the property of a private corporation. The important fact is that the faculty and students looked upon the library as an integral part of their university. The leading professors used it freely, and it becomes, therefore, an index to the movement in which they were the leading figures. It is significant, for example, that this library came into existence during the very year when Martin Luther became a professor on the Wittenberg faculty and that it supplied him with working materials until the day of his death in 1546. His growth as Reformer, therefore, is paralleled by the addition of books to this library, and this library, conversely, becomes a mirror of the development of the Reformer and the growth of Lutheranism in the University of Wittenberg. Let us, then, attempt to reconstruct this workshop of the Great Reformer—its appearance, its growth, and its content.

INTERNAL APPEARANCE OF THE LIBRARY

Unfortunately, contemporary writers say little or nothing directly concerning the interior aspects of the library. All our references are of an indirect nature, since the writers seem to take for granted that the readers are familiar with the subject.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ For a picture of the Wittenberg buildings see the author's reconstruction, "Frontispiece," *op. cit.*, Nos. 2 and 3; for a detailed discussion of the buildings, pp. 173-98.

⁷² In an Electoral "Erlasz von 1544" is stated "die Bibliothek der Hochschule" is also to be open to scholarship students. See Grohmann, *op. cit.*, I, 99.

We then turn to contemporary library practice for aid in interpreting casual remarks or official changes in the interior arrangement of the ducal library. Since libraries vary as do individuals,⁷³ extreme caution must be used in making deductions which might easily prove misleading. Yet, knowing general library practice in western Europe during the early part of the sixteenth century, we may assume that all had certain characteristics in common.⁷⁴

Most of the libraries of the ancient world were quite different from the commodious structures of today.⁷⁵ The library as we know it today had its inception in the medieval monastery and grew out of the need of preserving their precious manuscripts.⁷⁶ In most of the monasteries the number of books became too great by 1400 to be distributed among the brethren for use in their individual study retreats, the "armarium" or "carrels," as they came to be called in England since they were located in the cloister. Further, such distribution exposed the precious manuscripts to the rigorous climatic conditions of northern Europe, and the problems of their preservation became acute.⁷⁷ In

⁷³ H. Müller, *Von Bibliotheken und Archiven* (Leipzig, 1925), p. 9.

⁷⁴ For a brief description of library architecture and equipment during this period see J. W. Clark, *Libraries in the medieval and Renaissance periods* (Cambridge, 1894), pp. 31 ff.; for the classic description also see Clark, *The care of books: an essay on the development of libraries and their fittings, from the earliest times to the end of the eighteenth century* (Cambridge, 1901); and for an exhaustive study of medieval libraries see J. W. Thompson, *The medieval library* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), especially the chapter on "Library administration and the care of books," pp. 613 ff.

⁷⁵ The library found at Herculaneum, 1754, had 1,700 rolls in a little room that would permit but one person to enter at a time (Clark, *Libraries* . . . , p. 9). Thompson (*op. cit.*, pp. 5-7) points out that certain libraries of Rome were very large, especially those of Caesar, Octavian, Augustus, and Trajan. The latter's *Bibliotheca Ulpiana* ranked third in fame among the libraries of antiquity.

⁷⁶ Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Clark, *Libraries* . . . , pp. 19 ff. Most monasteries were not equipped to house these rare volumes even if the monks had taken them to their private cells.

⁷⁷ The practice of distributing books among the monks, which already existed among the English Benedictines in the days of Archbishop Lanfranc in 1070, became quite common (see Clark, *Libraries* . . . , p. 35). For the origin of catalogs for keeping records, see Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 64, 74, 78, 87, 142, 614, and 618. For a similar practice among the Carthusians in Mainz and Treves and the Brethren of the Common Life cf. H. Heidenheimer, *Aus alten Bibliotheken* (Freiburg, 1906), pp. 4-6. For a similar practice at Wittenberg, see Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 186.

1396 the Cistercians at Meaux in Holderness conceived the idea of a special room for books,⁷⁸ an innovation which spread over all western Europe. It was during the Renaissance, also, that the practice of founding private and princely libraries became popular. It seems that the furnishings, methods of handling and chaining, as well as other library practices became more or less common throughout the Western world.⁷⁹ With the invention of printing, the practices changed somewhat, for the cheaper printed books did not require the very elaborate protection of the valuable manuscripts. It was then that the practice of chaining was dropped for all but the rarer volumes, and the ordinary bookracks or bookcases came into use.

It is to be expected, therefore, that the ducal library at Wittenberg was housed in a special room from the time of its designation as a university library in 1512. Just which of the "large upper Castle-rooms" mentioned in the source of 1536 was the location of the library⁸⁰ cannot be established on the basis of the records. We know that George Spalatin occupied a guest room on the fourth floor of the castle while making his biannual inspections as superintendent.⁸¹ That the room was on one of the upper floors is further confirmed by the reference concerning the removal of the books to the "old Hofstube," to which the library was moved in 1536,⁸² as being "in a convenient place."⁸³ Since the latter, according to a recent publication by

⁷⁸ Clark, *Libraries . . .*, p. 25. Cf. Thompson (*op. cit.*, p. 61), who cites Fleury monastery as having "a special room built where the monks would have better facilities for reading" as early as the ninth century; see also pp. 597, 613 and 623, which cite the years 1373-87 for the transition to the special library room.

⁷⁹ For examples of older and Renaissance type of furniture see Clark, *Libraries . . .*, pp. 39 and 47-48; also Clark, *The care of books*, pp. 193 ff.

⁸⁰ Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 181.

⁸¹ Heubner, *op. cit.*, p. 28: "Im vierten Geschosz werden im Inventar von 1611 ein Unzahl von Stuben und Kammern angegeben, die in ihrer Lage zu bestimmen unmöglich ist, und die wenig Interesse erwecken." Nor does the enumeration of 1539 help to locate the rooms, although many are mentioned among them "ein Zimmer für den Bibliothekar, Dr. Spalatin" furnished like the others.

⁸² Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 181.

⁸³ *Ibid.*: "An ainen bequemen ort in unserm schlos zu Wittenberg, als in der obern grosen hoffstuben, zu legen und vormittelst götlicher hulf zuzerichten lassen entschlossen, etc."

Professor Heubner, now keeper of the town archives,⁸⁴ was located on the second floor of the castle,⁸⁵ we may assume that the location was formerly somewhere near Spalatin's room on the fourth floor. Unfortunately, the *Dialogus of 1508* was published before the founding of the ducal library and the plans next extant are of 1539 when the old library had already been moved. The library may have been housed in any of the rooms on the upper floor, perhaps in the large room on the north side which is readily accessible from the stairway and where Dr. Krüger now houses the relics of the "Verein für Heimatskunde."⁸⁶

On the location of the library after 1536 our information is a little more definite, though again Heubner admits:

Die Frage nach der Verteilung der Räume des kurfürstlichen Schlosses ist ausserordentlich schwierig. Wir besitzen im Urbarium, III. Teil (Bb 6) einen Grundriszplan der drei Stockwerke des kurfürstlichen Schlosses etwa aus der Zeit der Schlesischen Kriege, jedenfalls vor dem Jahre 1760 mit Bezeichnung der meisten Räume und ihrer damaligen Bestimmung.⁸⁷

In addition, he cites two *Inventarverzeichnisse*⁸⁸—one of 1539 another of 1611—which form a basis of his reconstruction of the rooms of the castle. According to these sources the library was located on the second floor immediately above the large south room already mentioned in the *Dialogus* as the "Aestuarium commune"⁸⁹ which now houses the Stadtarchiv and included

⁸⁴ This Stadtarchiv was established in 1936 and Heubner's studies are extremely helpful in local research.

⁸⁵ Heubner, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁸⁶ This was founded by the people of the town under Dr. Gottfried Krüger's leadership in 1910. It is located in the north end of the west wing and adjoins the Schloszkirche.

⁸⁷ Heubner, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 f.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 21. One made by "der Hand des damaligen Schlossers Wolf Schieferdecker (Weimar, Reg.-Bl. 2818)" and a more recent one "aus dem Jahre 1611 im Magdeburger Staatsarchiv (Re. A 25 a tit XX)" made by Uszward, Schwartz, and Volck.

⁸⁹ J. Hauszleiter (*Die Universität Wittenberg vor dem Eintritt Luthers* [Leipzig, 1903], pp. 27-28) interprets this old source well. After describing their trip through the castle church, Professor Meinhardt conducts a student into the castle by way of the door "in inferiori ambitu." "Das erste Gemach, in das sie kommen, ist das aestuarium commune, quod vulgo curiale dicitur aestuarium." Cf. source cited, above, p. 496, n. 12, which treats this in conversational form in chap. viii, p. 4 (unnumbered).

the space now occupied by the Pfarrhausarchiv.⁹⁰ A source of 1546 informs us that two pillars were put into this large room "die wiederumb den Last der Liebreys . . . tragen helfen," as the ceiling sagged considerably under the weight of the library above.⁹¹ We then surmise that the library had been moved already from the upper room to this room on the second floor, referred to as "die alte Hofstube."

The size of either of the library rooms is pure speculation. We do not know the number of books in the possession of the Elector before the addition of the 151 volumes purchased during the first year. Nor do we have records showing how rapidly it may have been enlarged. Spalatin speaks frequently of adding numerous books, but none of the references are definite enough to determine the exact size of the library at any given time.⁹² Mylius, who seems to have handled the actual books, lists them⁹³ as follows:

Summa omnium in bibliotheca electorali librorum	
theologicorum.....	1040
iuridicorum.....	562
medicorum.....	545
philosophicorum.....	964
<hr/>	
Summa omnium in bibliotheca	
electorali librorum.....	3111
et musici.....	21

Many of these books, as we observed in another connection,⁹⁴ were rare old manuscripts which required a special bench and chain. Such volumes required more room than an ordinary

⁹⁰ A museum of creative work which has come from the homes of the German clergy to prove their worth to the state.

⁹¹ Heubner, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁹² Since the "alte Hofstube" housed the entire collection in 1547, we may safely make our estimates on the basis of the room needed to house that number of books and manuscripts; viz., 3,032.

⁹³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 36-37. Cf. above, p. 500, n. 36.

⁹⁴ Mylius (*op. cit.*, p. 37) states that 1,756 volumes were of folio size, 626 quarto, 607 octavo, and 22 duodecimo. This reference is to size, merely, and throws no light on the rarity of the volumes.

printed volume. We do not know what number of the books were of this type, but we know that much of the money spent for books was for volumes which could not be found in private collections.⁹⁵

Let us seek a few comparisons with other libraries of the time for an estimate of the probable size of the library room.

At Canterbury the library, built as I have said, over the Prior's Chapel, was 60 feet long, by 22 feet broad; and we know, from some memoranda written in 1508, when a number of books were sent to be bound or repaired, that it contained sixteen bookcases, each of which had four shelves. I have calculated that this library could have contained about 2000 volumes.⁹⁶

The Queen of Sicily left the following description of the library at Clairvaux, July 13, 1517:

This library is 189 feet long, by 17 feet wide. In it are 48 seats (*bancs*), and in each seat 4 shelves (*poulpitres*) furnished with books on all subjects, but chiefly theology; the greater number of the said books are of vellum, and written by hand, richly storied and illuminated. The building that contains the said library is magnificent, built of stone, and excellently lighted on both sides with fine large windows, well glazed, looking out on the said cloister. . . . The said library is paved throughout with small tiles adorned with various designs.⁹⁷

From these comparisons we may estimate that a library of 3,032 volumes, 1,756 of which were large old manuscripts, would require a room of at least 60 feet \times 35 feet. We may picture the library, then, as being in a room of approximately that size after 1536, conveniently located on the second floor of the south wing of the castle, well lighted by the five large Gothic windows which may be clearly seen in the Wittenberg woodcut

⁹⁵ Mylius, *op. cit.*, p. 2; see above, nn. 55 and 66.

⁹⁶ Clark, *Libraries* . . . , pp. 27-28.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 29. It seems that the universities patterned their libraries after those of the monasteries. The library of the Sorbonne, for example, was housed in a room 120 feet \times 36 feet, and contained 28 desks, 5 feet high and so arranged that they were separated by a moderate interval. They were loaded with books, all of which were chained, that no sacrilegious hand might carry them off. These chains were attached to the right-hand board of every book so that they might be readily thrown aside, and reading not be interfered with (pp. 38-40). For a view that chaining of manuscripts was not common in the Middle Ages before 1271 with the exception of service books see Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 625. This author even feels that it was more common to chain printed books when the press had just been invented.

of 1611, enlarged by Bossögel in 1744.⁹⁸ Probably the windows were of the same "bull's-eye glass" as those of the Lutherstube⁹⁹ and the Melanchthon Study¹⁰⁰ both of which were built during this period and from materials furnished by the Elector.

No descriptions are extant on the inner appearance of the ducal library. There are, however, a number of indirect references which aid us in forming a mental picture of the interior. Since the Wittenberg Castle was generally considered one of the most beautiful in Germany,¹⁰¹ a claim which the *Dialogus of 1508*¹⁰² seems to verify in its description of the rooms which were then completed, we may infer that the Electors would equip their library, of which they were equally proud, in the same artistic fashion as the remainder of the building. Certainly, Spalatin's use of the verb *ornat*¹⁰³ is significant in his correspondence with Aldus Manucius in 1512 where he states that his Prince is beautifying his new "University of Wittenberg with a fine library" replete in all fields. We note, further, that Conrad Mutianus Rufus, the aforementioned canon of Gotha, used the superlative *ornatissime* in describing this new humanistic library which the Elector had just opened in Wittenberg.¹⁰⁴ Even though we make allowance for typical humanistic enthusiasm for anything which concerned the spread of the classics, we may believe that this Prince of the German humanists was im-

⁹⁸ Originals of this may be seen in the "Sächsische Landesbibliothek" in Dresden and in the Halle-Wittenberg University Library at Halle. The reproduction by Walter Köhler in *Im Morgenrot der Reformation*, ed. Julius von Pflugk-Harttung (Hersfeld, 1915), p. 360, although only about half-size, gives the reader some idea of the appearance of the south wall. Cf. Schwiebert, *op. cit.*, pp. 158 ff. for a description of other buildings of the town.

⁹⁹ The best reproduction of this room that I have found is among the Luther scenes published by the Atlantis Verlag, Berlin, under the title *Martin Luther* (1933), p. 281.

¹⁰⁰ Oskar Thulin, *Die Lutherstadt Wittenberg und Torgau* (Berlin, 1932), plate No. 39. Cf. also No. 48. For history of Luther's home see Hermann Stein, *Geschichte des Lutherhauses* (Wittenberg, 1883); for the Melanchthon home, Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 165, n. 2.

¹⁰¹ Heubner, *op. cit.*, p. 19; Krüger, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

¹⁰² See chap. viii. Cf. Hausleiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-32; Heubner, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.

¹⁰³ Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 68.

¹⁰⁴ See above, p. 499, n. 28: "Meo consilio factum est, ut illustrissimus Fridericus grecam comparaverit bibliothecam Venetiis et Wittenburgi publicaverit ornatissime."

pressed. Further confirmation of the attractive appearance of the library comes again from Spalatin's correspondence relative to the adorning of the library walls with portraits of important educators.¹⁰⁵ Although we can find no evidence that this plan was executed, we know from this that Spalatin thought the paintings were appropriate in such environment.¹⁰⁶ That the library had additional space not occupied by books may be gathered from the correspondence relative to the purchase of the aforementioned large globe to be installed in the library.¹⁰⁷ From these indirect references we may conclude that the library was installed in a spacious, artistically decorated, and well-equipped room.

Unfortunately, there is no contemporary description of the library furniture or other library equipment; yet the officials make occasional references to "Pulte und Bänke, sowie Ketten für die kostbaren Werke."¹⁰⁸ In a letter of October 12, 1536, the Elector informed Spalatin of the changes he was making in the administration of the library and added:

Wenn sie in die alte Hofstube gebracht sein wird, achten und sie täglich auf- und zuschlieszen soll; aber Spalatin soll darüber den Oberbefehl und die Aufsicht haben und die geeigneten Bücher für die ausgesetzten hundert Gulden erkaufen und verordnen, auch jährlich mindestens zweimal zur Besichtigung sich nach Wittenberg begeben. Ferner soll er, wenn die in Nürnberg bestellten eisernen Stäbe und Ketten eingetroffen sind, darob sein, dasz die Liberey damit und sonst allenthalben zugerichtet werde, bei diesem Anlasz aber seinen Weg über Torgau nehmen und den Kurfürsten zuvor ansprechen.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Theodor Kolde (*Analecta Lutherana* [Gotha, 1883], p. 310) implies that there had been previous discussion on this matter: "Vasz eczlicher groszen gelahrten Contrafey, die in der Lieberey sollen gemacht werden, belanget, dem wollen wir nachgedenken, und uns so wir gegen Torgau kommen, auff weitererinnern dehalben vernehmen lassen."

¹⁰⁶ During the Electorate of August a collection of such paintings was hung in the "Hall of Princes" of the newly constructed Augustinian College (see Schwiebert, *op. cit.*, p. 185).

¹⁰⁷ See above, p. 503, n. 53: "Über 4 Ellen breit und mit den 12 himmlischen Zeichen bemalt."

¹⁰⁸ Friedensburg, *G.d.U.W.*, p. 238.

¹⁰⁹ Friedensburg does not reproduce the Weimar original (Weimar, Reg. O. Nr. 491 Bl. 5) but merely a summary (*Urkundenbuch*, I, 186).

Even though this reference is very general, the fact that Spalatin was to go to Torgau to discuss additional purchases implies purchases of major proportions. This reference likewise indicates that Frederick the Wise was genuinely interested in equipping his library with the most modern furnishings from the great German center of culture, Nürnberg. Furthermore, the library from then on was to be managed in a business-like manner. In another communication of November 22, 1536, the Elector ordered the library officials to keep a careful record of the "Einnahme und Ausgabe" that the books "nicht verrückt oder verderbt werden."¹¹⁰ The result was the yearly catalogs cited¹¹¹ above, which Christopher Nicolas made under the direction of Spalatin.¹¹²

With these findings, then, we can imagine the library as housed in the commodious quarters already described. The furnishings, no doubt, were in the Renaissance period in harmony with the furnishings of the rest of the castle.¹¹³ On the desks, as was customary in up-to-date libraries of the late Middle Ages,¹¹⁴ were many rare manuscripts purchased in

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

¹¹¹ See above, pp. 495 ff.

¹¹² Mylius writes (*op. cit.*, pp. 10-11): "Ad operam Bibliothecae felicis impendendam, utebatur quoque famulo Christoph. Nicolai, a quo quotannis 4 catalogi Bibliothecae conficiendi, aliaque seruitia in describendis actis uisitationis atque litteris, ad aulam spectantibus, praestanda erant, etc." As a basis for his conclusions, Mylius used some correspondence between Nicolas and Spalatin in which the servant stated that for three years he had not received a suit of clothes even though he had been with Spalatin and had done much writing for the church visitations and "mit den vier Registern, zur Librey gen Wittenberg gehörig, gehabt, und noch alle Jar umschreiben und dieselben Register halden musz." On the following page the author continues by pointing out that two of these very catalogs copied by Nicolas are in the Jena Library, as cited above, p. 495, n. 5.

¹¹³ We have no exact information as to whether or not these desks were purchased or were made locally. Perhaps they were made in the castle, as a "Drechserei mit sieben Tischen" was located on the same floor (cf. Heubner, *op. cit.*, p. 28). Since Wittenberg had developed into a regular center of Renaissance culture (as witnessed in the inner castle decorations, the architecture of Melanchthon's house, etc.), in all likelihood the furniture in the library would also show this Renaissance influence. For pictures of this type desk see Clark, *Libraries in the medieval and Renaissance periods*, pp. 47-48. These were usually from 5 to 6 feet in height placed at moderate intervals. If the interval and size of desks were similar to that of the Sorbonne, the ducal library would have been able to hold 14, but on this we have no data.

¹¹⁴ Clark, *Libraries in the medieval and Renaissance periods*, p. 48.

Leipzig, Frankfurt-am-Main, Nürnberg, and, the most highly prized of all, those which Spalatin bought on his personal missions to Venice.¹¹⁵ All the rarer works were, of course, chained,¹¹⁶ while the more recent printed publications of Luther,¹¹⁷ Erasmus,¹¹⁸ and other contemporary writers may have been placed in the latest innovation, wall bookshelves.¹¹⁹

SUPERVISION AND MANAGEMENT OF THE LIBRARY

Since the preservation of books was a serious concern of the medieval authorities, the practice of keeping some kind of a record became a necessity. Accordingly, there had to be systems of checking, periodical inspections, manuals of library rules, and whatever else might tend to safeguard the precious manuscripts against all types of abuse.¹²⁰

The information on the early organization of the ducal library is very scanty. As noted above, George Spalatin was general superintendent from the beginning and made periodic visits to draw up records of changes and to suggest improvements.¹²¹ As to how the library was managed in his absence, we have little information. The first rather indefinite reference to a regular librarian is in 1526,¹²² but we are uncertain that the recommendation was ever put into practice. Rather, we infer from a letter by Spalatin to the Elector written on December 26, 1534, that the ducal library had no one in charge and that its organ-

¹¹⁵ See below, pp. 518 ff.

¹¹⁷ Kolde, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

¹¹⁶ Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 186-87.

¹¹⁸ Mylius, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-4.

¹¹⁹ Clark (*Libraries in the medieval and Renaissance periods*, pp. 43-45) claims that these bookcases began to be introduced about this time. See also Clark, *The care of books*, pp. 265 ff., for a more detailed study of the origin of this type of library furniture. Thompson (*op. cit.*, p. 624) seems to imply that wall cases came a little later.

¹²⁰ H. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 13: "Sie mussten mehr an den Schutz und die Erhaltung der Stücke denken als in ihre möglichst grosse Benutzung. Es gibt in der Richtung manche Anordnung: über jährliche Revisionen, Aufstellung der Inventare (Kataloge), über den Pfandwert und Bürgschaft bei Ausgabe, über Führung von Leiregistern."

¹²¹ We have no records as to the frequency of Spalatin's inspections in the early years of the library. Mylius (*op. cit.*, p. 9) seems to think that they occurred at least once yearly. From Spalatin's correspondence with Warbeck we learn that he was there twice in 1525 (*Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, ed. W. Friedensburg [Berlin, 1904], I, 222-23).

¹²² Drews, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

ization was rather poor.¹²³ In this communication Spalatin informs the Elector that he has just spent fifty gulden for a number of new books and that he has drawn in most of the books which have been loaned out. Then follows a rather significant confession of the state of things in the library:

Die theologischen Bücher liegen in der Emporkirche der Pfarrkirche hinter der Kanzel, von den übrigen getrennt. Es wäre gut, dasz die Bücherei an einem gelegeneren Ort und also verordnet würde, dasz man die Bücher an Ketten legte und ein Priester dazu bestellt würde, sie täglich auf- und zuschlieszen, damit die Bücherei der ganzen Universität möchte zu Nutzen kommen.¹²⁴

Thus it appears that the library was not managed in a very efficient manner before 1536, but it must have had some form of organization even during these early years. Müller spoke in his Saxon *Annals* of the library having been opened "for public use";¹²⁵ Mylius pointed out that it was organized that it might "be of advantage to the professors and students";¹²⁶ while Mutian spoke of it as being "opened to the public."¹²⁷ Nor can we explain Spalatin's zeal in enlarging the book collection with so many rare manuscripts, had there not been some form of management by which these books were made useful to those who needed them. It is clear from the above complaint that the ducal library did not have regular hours in 1534, nor a responsible librarian in charge during Spalatin's absence. It is possible that only the faculty and certain graduate students had access to the library during these early years while it was still housed in the upper room of the castle.

The year 1536 marked the beginning of a new order for the library as well as for the entire university. In that year of reorganization, as already noted, a regular librarian was put in charge with a salary paid from the university funds. Housed in a more convenient room, the book collections marshaled in orderly array, and regular hours established for use, the library

¹²³ Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 160-61.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* The *Urkundenbuch* does not reproduce the letter but a résumé.

¹²⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 68.

¹²⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 2. ¹²⁷ In letter of Mutian to Rufus (*Gillert, op. cit.*, p. 374).

became an important and integral part of the university.¹²⁸ Although not mentioned in official correspondence until 1539,¹²⁹ we assume that Lukas Edenberger was the newly appointed librarian, still under the general supervision of Spalatin. The librarian opened the library daily, kept careful records of all expenditures, listed books which the library still needed, and, on the basis of these records, made recommendations for purchases. He corresponded with other scholars to keep in touch with possible additions and, together with Spalatin, increased the library's collection from private sources¹³⁰ and from the annual Messen.¹³¹ We gather from some of the correspondence with the Electoral court¹³² that they recopied all the titles of the books in the library at that time. Books loaned to professors¹³³ were carefully recorded and a time limit placed on the period of withdrawal. These regulations point to a rather systematic library practice very similar to that of our modern day.

GROWTH OF THE DUCAL LIBRARY

Mylius implies when he speaks of the library's being enlarged by the books of the Meissen Canon, Thomas Loesser, that there was an original nucleus in 1504.¹³⁴ Whether this consisted of some of the old monastic libraries a number of which were later incorporated in this library,¹³⁵ or of books which Frederick the

¹²⁸ Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 181, 186-87.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 222. There is a possibility that he was not appointed until 1539 and that the Christopher Nicolas who copied the catalogs mentioned above was the first librarian. Mylius speaks of him as Spalatin's "Famulus" who copies the catalogs. Since this individual received no salary for his work but merely expected a "Hofcleid" in return, we prefer to hold that he was merely an assistant.

¹³⁰ Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 221-22, 234-35, 236.

¹³¹ Drews, *op. cit.*, pp. 70, 88; Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 188.

¹³² Mylius, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

¹³³ Friedensburg, *G.d.U.W.*, p. 239; Mylius, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

¹³⁴ See above, p. 497, n. 18.

¹³⁵ After pointing out three methods by which the Wittenberg library was enlarged, Mylius adds (*op. cit.*, pp. 21-26): "The library appears to have received even some very large additions, because without a doubt entire libraries of various monasteries especially in Saxony (and containing manuscript codices), were added to the Electoral

Wise had acquired elsewhere we are not able to establish. Like the theological, legal, and philosophical volumes of Thomas Loesser, the old library prior to 1512 was made up principally of medieval books. This was not true of the new library which George Spalatin built up with the aid of the Wittenberg professors, for in it we see reflected the same changes which came over the university after Martin Luther became a member of its faculty.¹³⁶

The official opening of the ducal library as the library of the University of Wittenberg in 1512 ushered in a new chapter of Reformation history. Both Spalatin and the Elector (as stated above) wrote immediately to Venice for catalogs of possible purchases from Aldus Manucius¹³⁷ and other Italian houses¹³⁸ or from German bookdealers. This new spirit is clearly reflected in the books which were purchased during the first year. On this list, which Professor Friedensburg analyzed in Gotha, he makes the following observation:

Bemerkenswerter aber noch als die Zahl [153 volumes] und der Preis der erkauften Bücher [202 Gulden and 5 Groschen] ist ihr Inhalt. Da suchen wir Aristoteles vergebens und nur vereinzelt begegnen Schriften der Scholastiker; sie verschwinden fast völlig hinter den zahlreichen Ausgaben von Kirchenvätern, neben denen auch eine Bibel "cum glossa ordinaria" beschafft wird. Lang ist ferner die Reihe der Schriftsteller des klassischen Altertums, unter denen sich mehrere in griechischer Sprache befinden, und der ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte; auch fehlt es nicht an Grammatiken und Wörterbüchern. Ferner fallen Werke der Humanisten, eines Marsilius Ficinus, Aeneas Sylvius, Angelus Politianus, Leo Aretinus, Picus von Mirandula, Laurentius Valla, Reuchlin und Erasmus ins Auge; endlich finden sich juristische und his-

library in Wittenberg." Whereupon, he names the catalogs of the former libraries of Grünhain, Lenin, Leipzig, Halle, Meissen, Rainhersbrun, and Nürnberg as still in his possession. Since two monasteries are mentioned in connection with Nürnberg, their number totals eight. The author's conclusion to this section is somewhat confusing: "From these catalogs extant in our University Library in the original manuscript form, I conclude that the catalogs of those books were preserved by Spalatin to keep a record of the good books—a rather unusual procedure for that day—that the library of the Elector could be enlarged from time to time with select volumes of this kind."

¹³⁶ Friedensburg, *G.d.U.W.*, pp. 90-179; Schwiebert, *op. cit.*, pp. 270-82.

¹³⁷ Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 68; Hildebrandt, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

¹³⁸ Friedensburg, *G.d.U.W.*, pp. 153-54: "Um von ihm Kataloge seiner und anderer italienischer Druckerzeugnisse zu beziehen. Ebenso waren deutsche Buchführer für den Kurfürsten tätig etc."

torische, medizinische und astronomische Werke, ein *Itinerarium Terrae Sanctae* u. dgl. m. Hiermit war für die werdende Bibliothek eine feste Grundlage geschaffen, auf der Spalatin, von andern unterstützt, in den nächsten Jahren weiterbaute.¹³⁹

This definite Renaissance influence, with its particular stress on works in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, was increasingly evident in the future purchases. Spalatin, who was a member of the Gotha circle of humanists,¹⁴⁰ received the counsel and assistance of Mutian and his friends. It was through this medium that Spalatin began to make his wants known in Italy.¹⁴¹ Christoph Scheurl, in the very year of the initial opening of the library, informed the superintendent in the letter cited above that he was able to obtain for him the works of the great astronomer, John Regiomontanus, whose writings were at one time valued above a thousand Hungarian gulden.¹⁴² The old Wittenberg professor, Polich von Mellerstadt, also told Spalatin where he might buy a work by Ptolemy.¹⁴³ A letter of Spalatin to Hans von Dolzig, January 13, 1514, shows that the latter had searched the New Year's Leipzig Fair for volumes which the chief librarian wanted, for he inquired as to the purchase of the books "so ich euch verzeichnet."¹⁴⁴ The next year (strange that these entries do not occur more frequently) Spalatin entered in his diary: "In this same year Frederick III, the Elector of Saxony wrote Aldus Manutius in Venice in behalf of both Greek and Latin books for the Wittenberg library, but as Aldus had died

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 154. Cf. Hildebrandt, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.

¹⁴⁰ A. Seelheim, *Georg Spalatin als Sächsischer Historiograph* (Ein Beitrag zur Geschichtsschreibung des Reformationszeitalters [Halle, 1876]), pp. 13 ff. For the number of positions held by Spalatin in the Saxon court see *ibid.*, p. 20; for a discussion of the range of his correspondence, *ibid.*, pp. 31-33. Cf. G. Berbig, *Georg Spalatin und sein Verhältnis zu Martin Luther auf Grund ihres Briefwechsels bis zum Jahre 1525*, pp. 4-5.

¹⁴¹ Gillert, *op. cit.*, p. 374. Mutian writes to Urbanus: "Meo consilio factum est, ut illustrissimus Fridericus grecam comparaverit bibliothecam Venetiis et Wittenburgi publicaverit ornatissime." Cf. W. E. Tentzel, *Historische Bericht vom Anfang und ersten Fortgang der Reformation Luthers* (Leipzig, 1718), II, 45, which claims that Urbanus made the arrangements.

¹⁴² *Scheurls Briefbuch*, I, 105: "Pro qua aliquando obtulit aureos mille et eos quidem Hungaros."

¹⁴³ Friedensburg, *G.d.U.W.*, p. 154.

¹⁴⁴ Drews, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

shortly before this Andreas Asulanus, the father-in-law of Aldus, sent the books."¹⁴⁵

A parallel study of the evolution within the University of Wittenberg would be very interesting, but it would lead us too far afield. Suffice it to say that Luther was now becoming very much interested in the study of Greek.¹⁴⁶ The next year he began to lecture on "Romans" on the basis of Erasmus' Greek New Testament.¹⁴⁷ Wittenberg also appointed its first instructor in Greek and Hebrew, Thiloninus Philymnus,¹⁴⁸ who soon was a thorough convert to Luther's new biblical humanism.¹⁴⁹ In these few years (1512-17) one instructor after another was won over to Luther's point of view.¹⁵⁰ We can understand the addition of all these Latin, Greek, and Hebrew sources when we read in the Reformer's own letter to John Lang, who may have taught him his first Greek,¹⁵¹ the zeal with which he fought Scholasticism and Aristotle (February 8, 1517): "Nothing so burns in my soul as the desire to expose that impostor, who with his Greek mask so completely has deluded the Church, and to lay him bare in all his ignominy before the world."¹⁵² Shortly after this date Luther assigned the following subject for student debate, equally indicative of the new trend

¹⁴⁵ *Ephemerides*, p. 55: "Eodem anno Fridericus III. Saxoniae Elector Aldo Manutio scripsit Venetias pro libris et graecis et latinis ad Bibliothecam Witebergensem, sed Aldo paulo ante defuncto, Andreas Asulanus socer Aldi libros misit."

¹⁴⁶ A good study of Luther's rather late development in the study of Greek is K. A. Meissinger, *Luthers Exegese in der Frühzeit* (Leipzig, 1910), pp. 22 ff. Cf. H. Rommel, *Über Luthers Rundbemerken von 1509-1510* (Kiel, 1930), which treats the early linguistic development well, especially pp. 27-30.

¹⁴⁷ Reu, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-21. For a good study of how Erasmus laid the foundations for Luther's exegetical work see P. Smith, *Erasmus* (New York, 1923), pp. 182 ff.

¹⁴⁸ Friedensburg, *G.d.U.W.*, p. 98.

¹⁴⁹ *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* (1904), XLVIII, 147.

¹⁵⁰ Friedensburg, *G.d.U.W.*, pp. 100 ff.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98. Cf. Luther's letter to John Lang, E. L. Enders *et al.*, *Dr. Martin Luthers Briefwechsel* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1884 ff.), III, 379.

¹⁵² Enders, *op. cit.*, I, 86: "Nihil ita ardet animus (n. um), quam histrionem illum, qui tam vere Graeca larva ecclesiam lusit, multis revelare ignominiamque ejus cunctis ostendere etc."

in the philosophy of the faculty and student body of the university:

It is false to say that without Aristotle one cannot become a theologian; in fact the opposite is true, no one becomes a theologian unless it be without Aristotle; for the whole of Aristotle is related to theology as darkness is to light, and his Ethics is the worst enemy of Grace.¹⁵³

In the spring of 1516 Frederick the Wise made an inspection of the University of Wittenberg, upon which occasion Luther seems to have suggested a number of important reforms to George Spalatin. This may be inferred from a letter to that court official on March 11, 1518, in which the Reformer states that if the university were only reformed as suggested how great would then be the reputation of the Saxon princes. Nor were his appeals unheeded. In another letter to John Lang, May 21, 1518, it becomes clear just what Luther had in mind:

Our university is getting ahead. We expect before long to have lectures in two or three languages. New courses are to be given in Pliny, Quintilian, mathematics, and other subjects. The old courses in Petrus Hispanus, Tartaretus, and Aristotle are to be dropped. The Prince has already given his consent and the plans are before his council.¹⁵⁴

A part of this new plan was to get a regular head of the classics department, a dream which was also realized that same year. On August 29, 1519, just after Philip Melanchthon had delivered his inaugural address on "How to improve the education of the youth,"¹⁵⁵ Luther wrote Spalatin that as long as they had Philip Melanchthon the university desired no other Greek instructor. In a letter to John Lang, September 16, 1518, he included the following observation: "The very learned and perfect Grecian, Philip Melanchthon, is teaching here. He is a

¹⁵³ This is a free translation of but four of 97 theses defended by Master Francis Gunther of Nordhausen in a disputation presided over by the Rev. Father Martin Luther, *W.A.*, I, 226. Cf. Enders, *op. cit.*, I, 105, for an illustration of the interest taken in the Wittenberg changes by the Saxon court; also, Luther's letter to Spalatin, March 11, 1518 (*ibid.*, p. 168).

¹⁵⁴ Enders, *op. cit.*, I, 170. (Loose translation.)

¹⁵⁵ F. Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts* (Berlin, 1919), I, 117-19, gives an estimate of this address. Cf. Luther's remark (Enders, *op. cit.*, p. 220).

mere boy in years, but he is not only a master of Greek and Latin, but of all the learning to which they are keys."¹⁵⁶

In the light of these changes in the faculty and curriculum of the university the trend toward purchases of humanistic materials for the library is further explained. In the same year in which Luther rejoiced over the arrival of Melanchthon, Spalatin was buying more Greek and Hebrew books in Venice. In the diary of that year the following entry appears: "In this year Frederick, the Elector of Saxony, enlarged the library not only with other excellent selections but also with the best works in Greek and Hebrew."¹⁵⁷

After this date the sources are silent until after the reorganization of the university in 1526, when Spalatin requested that funds be set aside out of the All Saints' Church Foundation for the purchase of books for the library.¹⁵⁸ To do this Spalatin suggested that the surplus money of the endowment not needed for other purposes be used at the "dren Jarmerckte zu Leyptzick gute bucher in die Librey zu Wittenberg aufm Schlosz kauffenn von Jar zu Jar zubessernn."¹⁵⁹

It is doubtful if the request was granted at this time, as Mylius inclined to the opinion that John the Constant had little time for the library. He says it cannot "be established with accuracy how many additions were acquired during John's reign." Yet, he adds, without doubt the Elector who was such a champion of the true religion must have placed a number of

¹⁵⁶ Translation by A. Hyma, "Luther's theological development from Erfurt to Augsburg," *Landmarks in history* (New York, 1928), p. 42. Source, Enders, *op. cit.*, I, 237. The *Urkundenbuch*, I, 87-320, *passim*, ably testifies of Philip's contributions to the new university. In the drafting of statutes or other official documents Luther appreciated Melanchthon's finished style. How the Elector appreciated him is shown by Doc. 189 (*ibid.*, p. 167).

¹⁵⁷ *Ephemerides*, p. 56: "Hoc anno Fridericus Elector Sax. ut aliis praelectionibus optimis, ita graecis et hebraicis bibliothecam auxit." Perhaps these books were purchased to meet the needs of Melanchthon's large classes in Greek. Spalatin reports to the Elector in 1526 that he found "gestern in magister Philipps lection freilich bei 5 oder 600 auditores . . . und darunter vil dapferer feiner leut und gesellen." See Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 109.

¹⁵⁸ Drews, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

volumes in the library dealing with the religious conflict of the time.¹⁶⁰

John Frederick, a former pupil of Spalatin¹⁶¹ and a born Lutheran, was far more zealous in behalf of the university and Lutheranism than were his two predecessors. When he became the Elector in 1532, true to his boyhood vows,¹⁶² he sought to improve the university to such an extent that he has often been called its second founder.¹⁶³ Shortly after he became the Elector, plans were drawn for a complete reorganization of the university. An aforementioned letter of Philip Melancthon's indicated in 1533 already that this Elector was going to accomplish much for the new library. Not only did he continue to enlarge the library in the regular way, but he also established a specific amount of one hundred gulden per year which was to be spent on the library. In addition, private libraries such as those of the Franciscans¹⁶⁴ and the All Saints' Church¹⁶⁵ were added to the ducal library.

When the library was established in the new room on the second floor of the castle in 1536, a new activity to enlarge and improve the collection was begun. On November 12, 1537, Spalatin informed the Elector that he had purchased all kinds of new books for the library in Wittenberg, including some more Greek books which he ordered in Nürnberg.¹⁶⁶ In an undated

¹⁶⁰ Mylius, *op. cit.*, p. 7: "Nullum tamen est dubium, quin etiam multa scripta, ad religionis negotium pertinentia, in hanc bibliothecam electoralem reponenda curauerit serenissimus Johannes constans, elector de emendatione sacrorum praeclarissime meritus." Cf. Spalatin's letter to Warbeck, May 22, 1525, G. Mentz-Jena, "Die Briefe G. Spalatins an V. Warbeck, nebst ergänzenden Aktenstücken," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1904), I, 222.

¹⁶¹ Berbig, "Vita Georgii Spalatini ex ipsius *αὐτογραφῶν* descripta M. D. XXXIV," *Quellen und Darstellungen aus der Geschichte des Reformationsjahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1908), V, 18, has the following entry under 1509: "Spalatinus admotus est Praeceptor optimo Principi Electori Saxoniae Duci Johanni Friderico."

¹⁶² Mylius, *op. cit.*, p. 8: "Ab ineunte iamdum aetate sua litterarum studiis uouerat atque consecrauerat."

¹⁶³ Berbig, "Vita Georgii Spalatini . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 27: "Dux Johannes Fridericus Scholam Wittenbergensem . . . regali munificentia fundavit." Cf. Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 167-84, for the reason of this title; also Mylius, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3, n. (aa).

¹⁶⁴ Friedensburg, *G.d.U.W.*, p. 237.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 238; cf. also the additions in n. 135 above.

¹⁶⁶ Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 187-88.

letter, doubtless of the same year, Spalatin spoke of having just visited Wittenberg where he had bound and placed in the library a number of volumes and had placed an order for additional purchases at "Frankfordt am Meyn in der nechstkunftigen messe."¹⁶⁷

On March 3, 1538, the Elector in reply to a former communication informed Spalatin that he had taken the necessary steps to have the books which were desired brought from the Augustiniankloster Library in Grimma to Wittenberg.¹⁶⁸ Apparently, Spalatin had selected the books some time before from a larger collection, as in a letter of January 18, 1538, John Frederick asked him to visit the library of this monastery and send him a list of the books which might be useful.¹⁶⁹ Nor were only the books presenting the Elector's point of view selected. When Duke George of Albertine Saxony died, April 17, 1539, Spalatin wrote that for some time he had wished to add the books "der Widersacher Luthers" to the Wittenberg library that they might be "einem ewigen zeugnis und beweis wider derselben tichter, schreiber und schmiede."¹⁷⁰ Since Duke George was said to have collected many such writings, the Elector was asked to speak to his brother Henry,¹⁷¹ when he might have occasion at his installation, that these volumes might be brought into the Wittenberg collection. In this same connection Spalatin asked whether a recent book by John Eck, which he described as "ein ungeschicktes Ding" directed against Luther's catechism and the Ten Commandments, might not also be bought for the library. From this same letter we see, too, that Dr. Brück and Philip Melanchthon had just returned from Frankfurt-am-Main with a number of books, and that Spalatin expected to visit Wittenberg in the near future to have them bound and placed in the library.¹⁷² According to Mylius,

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 188, n. 1. ¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 203. ¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, n. 1. ¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

¹⁷¹ Henry had married the sister of Philip of Hesse and was a Protestant. When Luther's bitter enemy, Duke George, died in 1539 and the Albertine lands passed over to Henry, Lutheranism also spread rapidly in these Catholic lands. For a picture of conditions see C. A. H. Burkhardt, *Geschichte der sächsischen Kirchen und Schulvisitationen von 1524 bis 1545* (1879), esp. pp. 225 ff.

¹⁷² Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 221.

Spalatin again went to Venice in person this year (1539) to make additional purchases for the ducal library.¹⁷³

On May 28, 1539, the Elector wrote Spalatin from Torgau agreeing that the writings of Luther's enemies be put into the library. He was, however, not in a position to speak to Duke Henry about the matter. He suggested that Magister Eberhard Brisger, who was formerly with Luther, speak to the Duke about the matter through his court preacher, Paulus, when Brisger visited the court in the near future. John Frederick added that he did not doubt that Henry would grant the request.¹⁷⁴

On April 25, 1541, Lukas Edenberger wrote Spalatin from Wittenberg that he had not been able to purchase "juris divini et humani libros veteres" which the students required. Apparently, Christoph Schramm, a Wittenberg dealer, had searched for them in vain at Frankfurt-am-Main. The librarian added that they did not purchase the Talmud in Venice because the prices had risen too high.¹⁷⁵ About two years later, November 13, 1543, the librarian again wrote Spalatin about the possibility of buying the Hebrew books of the recently deceased brother of John Marschalk, Christof von Pappenheim,¹⁷⁶ and the books from the library of King Mathias which might possibly be purchased through the Markgraf Georg von Brandenburg. Edenberger suggested that the Elector, when he attended the next Reichstag meeting in Speyer, 1544, use his influence in adding these collections to the Wittenberg library.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷³ Cf. Berbig, "Vita Georgii Spalatini . . ." *op. cit.*, which claims that these purchases were made in 1535.

¹⁷⁴ Since Henry was agreeable, John Frederick's predictions seem logical, but the sources are silent on the results of the interview.

¹⁷⁵ Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 225: "Hat keine Thalmudicos libros in Venedig kaufen lassen, weil diese dort im Preise aufgeschlagen sind." At this time Luther and his committee were busy revising the German Bible. Since Spalatin speaks of Luther's health in the next sentence, it is possible that the Talmud was needed by this group.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 234-35; also, n. 2. Cf. Mentz (*op. cit.*, II, 388 ff.), who claims that John Frederick arrived in person at Speyer February 18, 1544, but was so busy with political difficulties that little time was left for the library; also Mylius, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

At the close he added that there were also several manuscripts in the library of the late Aurogallus, the Hebrew professor of the university, which came from the library of the well-known humanist, Bohuslaw von Hassenstein.¹⁷⁸ It seems that this letter was written with the aid of Spalatin, who was conducting one of his library inspections at the time.¹⁷⁹ To this suggestion the Elector expressed his wholehearted approval on November 28, 1543, when he wrote from Weimar that they should select the useful materials from the Hebrew professor's library and inform him of the estimated cost whereupon he would give his decision.¹⁸⁰

We now have a general idea of the ways in which the ducal library originated and was enlarged. The original collection of the Elector was increased by the purchases of Spalatin, by the donations of numerous contemporary writers eager to gain the favor of their Prince,¹⁸¹ by the addition of perhaps a dozen monastic collections from the now abandoned monasteries,¹⁸² and, after 1536, by the systematic purchases made possible by the one hundred gulden set aside for that purpose by the Elector.

Let us next turn our attention to the content of this library.

THE BOOKS OF THE DUCAL LIBRARY

It is today impossible to determine what books in the Jena library belonged to the original Wittenberg collection.¹⁸³ In 1746, however, when Mylius described these books, the original ducal library seems to have been still intact, for he writes: "A

¹⁷⁸ Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 235.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, n. 6.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

¹⁸¹ Hildebrandt, who spent considerable time searching for the some 40 copies donated to Frederick by contemporary authors, concluded that few were in the Jena Library today (*op. cit.*, p. 109).

¹⁸² N. 135 above mentions 8. Add to this number the Loesser, the Franciscan in Wittenberg, the Library of All Saints', the Grimma, and the choice of several private libraries.

¹⁸³ E.g., the library has four manuscript copies of the writings of Lorenzo Valla, two by Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, four by John Reuchlin, etc., but as they are scattered throughout the library it is impossible to determine whether or not they are from the Wittenberg collection.

special treatise concerning the Electoral Library of Wittenberg just as it was at the time of the first founding of the Jena University Library."¹⁸⁴

The external appearance of the 3,032 volumes in the collection seems to have been similar, as almost all had pigskin covers. In Section XI Mylius writes:

With respect to the external features of this library, practically every volume has a pigskin binding, and many of the bindings of these books give testimony to the antiquity of the age in which they were collected. This library, however, as we have already pointed out in the preceding paragraphs consists of theological, legal, medical, and philosophical works, in the so-called folio, quarto, octavo, and duodecimo forms.¹⁸⁵

Space will not permit a detailed discussion of the books which were found in the Wittenberg ducal library. A summary of some of the leading authors found in the catalogs of 1536 and in the Mylius collection is, however, vital to our study.

The first section of this catalog lists the theological books in the ducal library, classifying them as follows: Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Luther's German works, and those of Erasmus. Under the first classification, "Hebrew books," appear Old Testaments, commentaries, loci, Chaldean grammars, the principal works of Reuchlin, etc.¹⁸⁶ Then follow six pages of theological works in Greek; grammars, dictionaries, commentaries, and writings of the Church Fathers, which seem to have furnished the tools for Luther's new biblical humanism. In the section which follows under the title "Latin books," a list almost three times the length of the Greek section, are the writings of the Church Fathers, the Scholastics, and some of the contemporary

¹⁸⁴ Mylius, *op. cit.*, p. 36: "De Bibliotheca electorali Wittebergensi, tanquam primo Bibliothecae academicae Jenensis fundamento specialis tractatio."

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37: "Quod attinet ad externam huius bibliothecae conditionem, libri illius ad unum fere omnes ligaturam ex corio suillo habent, et pleraeque librorum ligaturae antiquitatem illorum temporum, quibus hi libri collecti sunt, praeseferunt. Constat autem haec Bibliotheca, uti iam in paragrapho praecedente monuimus ex libris theologicis, iuridicis, medicis et philosophicis in forma, uti uocant, foliorum, in forma quarta, octava et duodecima." It is in this connection that the author gives the sizes and number of volumes in the library in footnote summaries. Cf. above, p. 500, n. 36.

¹⁸⁶ MS 22B (1), pp. 2-3.

writers. The latter materials may have come in the main from the Loesser collection and from other monasteries whose libraries were added from time to time. In the last part of the theological section are Luther's German works and most of the works of Erasmus.¹⁸⁷

The second division of the catalog is entitled "Historical books" in which list appear around 140 volumes written by writers from the Greek, Roman, and contemporary world. Among them are the books of Homer, Herodotus, Josephus, Plutarch, Pliny, Tacitus, Polybius, Orosius, Eusebius, Petrarch, Poggio, Ausonius, and Reuchlin.¹⁸⁸

In the ten pages devoted to civil and canon law the names of most of the accepted authorities are to be found, giving the Wittenberg law student ample materials for study or research. Many of these seem to have come from the Canon Loesser library, as they were marked: "Ex testamento eximii doctoris Thamonis Loesser, Canonici in Misnia 1504."¹⁸⁹

Philosophy was well represented with about eight pages of books by Aristotle, Isocrates, Plato, Pythagoras, Cicero, Epicetus, Seneca, Pliny, Plutarch, Platinus, Boethius, Albertus Magnus, Lorenzo Valla, Ficino, Pico, Mellerstadt, and Melanchthon.¹⁹⁰

Even mathematics and cosmography were represented with around 114 books written by Albumasar, Boccaccio, Boethius, Johannes Regiomontanus, Platemaus, Peurbach, Pomponius Mela, and Thomas Aquinas.¹⁹¹

Among the medical books listed on pages 69-76, enumerating around 150 titles, Galen, Serenus, Cornelius Celsus, and Dryandrius are represented.¹⁹² A number of "Krauterbücher" also appear in the list.

¹⁸⁷ The theological books cover pp. 2-31, *ibid.*; pp. 30-31 list the titles of the books of Erasmus. Cf. Mylius, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3 and n. c.

¹⁸⁸ MS 22B (1), pp. 34-42.

¹⁸⁹ Mylius, *op. cit.*, p. 26; pp. 43-53 are devoted to the law books in the catalog.

¹⁹⁰ MS 22B (1), pp. 53-61 contain the books in philosophy. ¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-69.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 69-76. Cf. Mylius, *op. cit.*, p. 18, which mentions several medical books which were bought from Christoff Schramm by Cornelius Celsus, Qv. Serenus Aldus, and Dryandrius, costing *ca.* \$10.21.

Poetry claims 78 volumes including the names of such writers as the following: Homer, Pindar, Plautus, Terence, Ausonius, Tibullus, Virgil, Catullus, Horace, Juvenal, Conrad Celtis (varia), Chalybis (varia), Pigres (*Batrachomyomachia*), Baptista Mantuanus, Eobanus Hessus, and John Reuchlin.¹⁹³

The next division appears under the title "Oratory, rhetoric, grammar et mixti." Among the 120 titles recorded appear the names of the following ancient and Renaissance writers: Cicero, Pliny, Lucian, Vives, Ficino, Pico, Poggio, Willichius, Camerarius, and Johannes Sturm.¹⁹⁴

The catalog closes with a list of maps such as *Terra sancta*, *Italia* (Grosz), *Italia* (Klein), *Rhetia superior*, *der Turcenzug*, *Peregrinatie Pauli*, *das Ungarland*, *Tabulae in officia Ciceronis*, *Anatomia viri*, and *Anatomis mulieris*.¹⁹⁵

Doubtless many of the volumes in the ducal library would be classified in the rare-book section. Mylius implies this in the closing section of his description of the Wittenberg collection:

The most distinguished and rarest of these books is this Electoral library which we shall divide preferably into three classifications; and to encourage a better acquaintance with these volumes among scholars we shall give their titles. The first classification shall be of books of unusual size, consisting of many volumes, and for this reason not so common but in general rather rare and precious, or at least worthy to remember for one reason or another.¹⁹⁶

If space permitted, an analysis of this long list of books would also be very interesting. Such a study would but furnish additional evidence for the conclusions which seem already evident. An examination of the catalogs and the Mylius list proves that the ducal library had many rare volumes and manuscripts in which the classics, the Church Fathers, the Scholastics, and the humanistic writers of the Renaissance were well represented.

Although there is little direct evidence that Martin Luther and Philip Melanchthon had much to do with the building-up of the library, it is highly interesting that while they were transforming the University of Wittenberg from a scholastic

¹⁹³ MS 22B (1), pp. 77-83.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 83-95.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 95 ff.

¹⁹⁶ Mylius, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

institution in which the *via antiqua* and *via moderna* were dominant into one of biblical humanism, the university library should also reflect this basic change. From the correspondence between Spalatin and the Reformation leaders it is quite evident that the superintendent of the library was a very warm friend of Martin Luther¹⁹⁷ and that, as such, he welcomed and even furthered the changes in the university. As a frequent visitor on the Wittenberg campus, Spalatin had every opportunity to learn the wishes of the Wittenberg professors, and he seems to have done everything within his power to meet their needs.

CONCLUSION

Although it is somewhat hazardous to generalize on the significance of this library, certain deductions seem almost obvious. Since Wittenberg was the center of the German Reformation, such a collection of books as that of the ducal library would be an undoubted spiritual force in the rise of Lutheranism. The fact that the classics, and the Church Fathers, and the humanists were so well represented seems to point conclusively to the fact that the Reformers valued and employed Renaissance tools in the restoration of early Christianity. It is interesting, too, that Martin Luther, who so closely supervised the Church Visitations and the growth of Lutheranism in general, should have tolerated the establishment of a strongly humanistic library in the very university which he was molding into a thoroughly Lutheran institution. All this seems to give us additional evidence as to the Reformer's high estimate of the three sacred languages as keys to theology. And, finally, the humanistic trends in the University of Wittenberg seem to have been much stronger than is generally believed. Erasmus was highly respected as a scholar, even if his theology was rejected, a fact which seems evident from the long list of his writings in the 1536 catalog and from the use of his picture in

¹⁹⁷ G. Berbig, *Georg Spalatin sein Verhältnis zu Martin Luther auf Grund ihres Briefwechsels bis zum Jahre 1525*, p. 9, esp. pp. 13-14; for a complete study, see Enders, *op. cit.*, Vols. I-XIX, *passim*.

the university *Album* for the year 1530.¹⁹⁸ Even if Lutheranism did not accept much of the spirit of the Renaissance because it believed in *sola scriptura*, in its methods and use of literature the spirit of Italy seems to have penetrated its academic halls far more than is commonly realized.

¹⁹⁸ C. E. Förstemann, *Album Academiae Vitebergensis* (Leipzig, 1841), Vol. I, has a number of beautiful illustrations in the Halle original which were not reproduced in the trade publication.