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Editorial: Books and Borrowing: Agents, Access and Accountability, *c.* 1600-1850

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This is the first of a pair of special issues of this journal, both deriving from a conference on reading and book circulation, organised by the AHRC-funded project *Books and Borrowing 1750-1830: An Analysis of Scottish Borrowers' Registers* (Books and Borrowing 1750-1830 (stir.ac.uk); AH/T003960/1) and held at the University of Stirling in April 2023. The two special issues have slightly different remits, this one dealing primarily with books, readers, and agents of different kinds, and the second with libraries, books, and borrowers, although there is inevitably a great deal of overlap between the two. The key themes that emerge across both special issues are the importance of books as forms of capital, both symbolic and actual, and the importance of place and space in our understanding of book circulation.

The *Books and Borrowing* project brings together digitisations and transcriptions of the borrowers' registers of eighteen Scottish libraries in a database that makes these records searchable in a number of different ways. In so doing, it focuses on the circulation of books in a number of separate reading communities in locations across Scotland, from the Orkney Isles to the metropolitan centres of Glasgow and Edinburgh, but it also allows for quantitative analysis of the entire Scottish 'reading nation' to establish which books, authors, and genres were most popular within the period covered (1750-1830), as well as interpretations based on information about the borrowers (such as gender and occupation).[1] These two special issues contain three essays that draw directly on material from the *Books and Borrowing* database, considering the records of the Royal High School of Edinburgh, the Hunterian Library at the University of Glasgow, and the Advocates Library, and which highlight the ways in which a close attention to historic borrowing records pays dividends across a variety of different topics and research questions. But the focus of these special issues is much wider; we are interested not only in books and borrowing, but in all aspects of what Robert Darnton called the ‘communications circuit’.[2] The two special issues contain essays that deal with questions of the provenance, donation, purchase, borrowing, and even looting of books, as well as of authorship, reading, and textual transmission. In this first special issue, the emphasis is mainly on donors (Brookman and Branagh-Miscampbell), printers and booksellers (Watson), collectors and book agents (Jackson Williams), and readers (Branagh-Miscampbell and Purdy).

Across the five essays in this special issue, we also see a strong emphasis on the movement of books and manuscripts across borders. In her discussion of English parish library collections in the seventeenth century, Jessica Purdy, for example, demonstrates that these collections reveal the vitality and reach of the continental book trade in England. Zachary Brookman’s discussion of Zurich’s *bürgerbibliothek*, or citizen’s library, reveals that the library’s list of donations to that collection, the *Bibliotheca novae Tigurinorum,* records over 200 donations made by foreign benefactors from across Europe between 1629 and 1769, and indeed that foreign donations were much higher than domestic ones in the first year of the library’s existence. Elise Watson discusses the trading links that moved books (and other printed matter) between Antwerp, Amsterdam, and Frankfurt – and indeed much further afield – while Kelsey Jackson Williams traces the movement of rare and valuable books and manuscripts from monasteries in Swabia and Greece to the homes of English collectors. Maxine Branagh-Miscampbell, conversely, considers the circulation of books around a small and very localised reading community – the schoolboys of the Royal High School in Edinburgh – but her analysis clearly demonstrates the extent to which these children were fascinated by books of travel, history, and geography that represented the wider world to them. Her work thus highlights the importance of the imaginary journeys enabled by these material objects.

The essays in this special issue also make manifest the extremely complex systems of economic and social capital within which books and other types of printed matter exist. As Watson suggests in her essay on the bartering practices of the Officina Plantiniana in the city of Antwerp, ‘the early modern barter and credit system was a remarkably complex and deeply human web of interdependence and reputation. It was at once material and immaterial, based on the transfer of objects as well as the exchange of promises and information.’ Similarly complex and human webs of interdependence exist across all of the bookscapes discussed in this special issue; Branagh-Miscampbell demonstrates, for example, the unintended consequences on children’s reading which arose from the donation of an individual’s book collection to the Royal High School of Edinburgh in 1801. Brookman discusses the very human motivations of individual pride and ambition that lie behind the generous donations to Zurich’s *bürgerbibliothek* nearly 200 years earlier, while Jackson Williams reminds us of the key role played by individual collectors and their personal agents in the (sometimes dubiously legal) acquisition of rare and valuable materials from monasteries in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Books also represent different forms and types of value. Jackson Williams describes books as ‘simultaneously valuable but easily transportable objects’, and their portability is a key element of their actual financial value, as Watson also demonstrates. But books also represent considerable symbolic and cultural capital, and their value to their readers is almost never directly proportional to their numerical price. Purdy shows, for example, that the use marks in books held by the parish libraries in her study reveal a heavy focus on the spiritual importance of the material, clustering round the themes of ‘anti-Catholicism; the importance of Scripture; the interconnected beliefs around sin, repentance, and salvation; and godly living and dying.' This is, of course, at least partly due to the nature of the material in these collections, but it is also true that the schoolboy readers of the Royal High School seem to have shown considerable interest in works that were not particularly expensive, as suggested by the massive popularity of works such as *World Displayed*, a 20-volume compendium of travel writing marketed specifically to children, published by John Newbery and introduced by Samuel Johnson, in the library's borrowing registers.

The inextricable links between the symbolic and financial capital of books are, though, plainly demonstrated by Brookman's analysis of the reputational advantages that accrued to individuals when they donated to a city library that explicitly aimed to foster scientific and theological inquiry. He discusses benefits ranging from professional promotion to reinforcement of status and involvement in civic life. While clearly impossible to do a straightforward cost-benefit analysis here, it seems likely that wealthy donors to the library did consider donations at least partly in those terms, seeing a donation of a costly book as a small price to pay for the reputational advantage and increase in business networks that it facilitated. Similarly, in the two case studies discussed by Jackson Williams, it is clear that artefacts of significant religious and spiritual value in their original reading communities can and do become objects of desire for their economic worth. The acquisition (or expropriation) of such books and manuscripts by unscrupulous collectors hence reminds us that the uses and fates of books are both manifold and unpredictable. And even when the motivations of those handling books are straightforwardly commercial (as in the case of the Moretus family discussed by Watson), books sometimes seem to elude straightforward categorisations in terms of financial value; as Watson notes, debts were often paid not in money, but in other commodities such as globes, sugar, paper, lottery tickets, and, crucially, information.

The essays in this special issue are organised chronologically, beginning with Jessica Purdy's discussion of early modern parish libraries and ending with Jackson William's analysis of the expropriation of books in the first half of the nineteenth century. The first three essays deal with the period 1598 to1769, while the second two cover the period 1770 to 1837.

Purdy begins the special issue with a discussion of the collections and accessibility of parish libraries in early modern England, and the subjects in which their readers were most interested. She argues that parish libraries were established in this period to provide people of gentry rank and below with a religious education and that, despite previous historians' arguments to the contrary, the works in these collections were appropriate to the intended audience. It further contends that despite physical access restrictions imposed on these libraries by their founders, their books were read and that readers' interests focussed on four themes that were central to early modern Protestantism. Zachary Brookman uses the *Bibliothecae novae Tigurinorum*, the donors' register of the Zurich's 'citizens' library', the *Bürgerbibliothek*, to explore how the collection of the city's first public library developed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The *Bürgerbibliothek*'s consistent growth across the period attests to the popularity of the library and its accessible collection as well as its benefactors' belief in the reciprocal value of patronizing this new type of civic institution. Elise Watson considers the early modern barter system in the Low Countries, examining the bartering practices between the Officina Plantiniana in the city of Antwerp, the best documented print business of the handpress era, and merchants and booksellers in their northern neighbour Amsterdam to argue that Dutch sellers were motivated to barter with the Officina due to their superior access to books, paper, and other luxury goods, and their robust professional and personal networks.

Maxine Branagh-Miscampbell draws directly on material from the *Books and Borrowing* database to analyse the borrowing records of the Royal High School of Edinburgh. She hones in on a particular point in the library's history, taking as the focal point the sizeable bequest of books by merchant, and former pupil, George Grindlay in 1801, and argues that the unedited inclusion of books from a home library influenced, and coincided with, a decisive shift in the use of the school library towards more recreational, practical, and individualised reading experiences at a time when the school curriculum was also broadening and modernising to meet changing educational expectations in an increasingly industrialised and cosmopolitan society. In the final essay of the special issue, Kelsey Jackson Williams discusses the dramatic dispersal of monastic libraries in Europe and the Christian East during the early nineteenth century through two contrasting examples. He identifies changing perceptions surrounding the value and use of books on the parts of both monks and collectors as central to this moment and explores the different – but often surprisingly similar – ways in which books left monastic ownership in western *vs.* eastern contexts.

Collectively, the essays here demonstrate the many ways that books and other printed matter do not fit easily into simple narratives of value, use and, circulation. Darnton's communications circuit is, of course, as he himself noted, a simplified diagrammatic representation of a book's trajectory through the world, beginning with its creation by an author, passing through the hands of all the other agents active in the book trade, and ending in the mind of a reader (who might also be an author; thus the circle begins again).[3] It is valuable precisely because of its simplicity, but it is also, as many other critics, among them Nicolas Barker, Thomas R. Adams, David D. Hall, Padmini Ray Murray and Claire Squires, and Darnton himself, have pointed out, an insufficient guide to the complexities that immediately arise when one looks closely at book circulation.[4] Via detailed consideration of these complexities, the essays in this special issue draw out some of the key and distinctive features of book circulation across the period 1600-1850, noting in all cases the importance of human vagaries in understanding the processes of reading and book circulation. As all these essays remind us, chance plays a significant part in what happens to both books and readers, whether it be in the elements of serendipitous donation that made works unexpectedly available to library borrowers, or in the anti-monasticism that left religious works of antiquarian interest vulnerable to the acquisitive tendencies of wealthy collectors. As Darnton suggests, 'Models have a way of freezing human beings out of history'.[5] These essays tell the very real human stories of gatekeepers, barterers, buyers, and sellers, collectors, donors and bequesters, and borrowers and readers. They remind us of the value of libraries across time when their existence is increasingly threatened in our own.[6]

As this special issue was going to press, we were saddened to hear of the death of John Crawford, a member of the *Books and Borrowing* Advisory Board, and a library historian of eminence, who sat on the Editorial Board of this very journal. John's contributions to the field were many and various. He was Chair of the Library and Information History Group for many years, he wrote and published actively, and as Chair of the Leadhills Heritage Trust for some years, he did much to raise the profile of Leadhills Miners' Library, one of the oldest subscription libraries in the world and the first dedicated specifically to labouring-class readers. This was a natural extension of his research into Scottish working-class reading and mutual improvement, represented by such essays as 'The Ideology of Mutual Improvement in Scottish Working-Class Libraries', (1996), 'Leadhills Library and a Wider World' (1997), 'Reading and Book Use in Eighteenth-Century Scotland' (1994), and 'The Scottish Community Library in the

Age of Enlightenment' (2014) among others, as well as *The Society for Purchasing Books in Wanlockhead 1756-1979* (1981; with Stuart James).[7] His encyclopaedic knowledge of what he described as 'community libraries' informed us in the early days of the *Book and Borrowing* project's research design, and we are personally grateful to him for his time, generosity, and helpful suggestions throughout the project's duration.

We respectfully dedicate the special issue to his memory.

Access, Restrictions and Readership in Early Modern Parish Libraries
Jessica G. Purdy

Abstract
This article explores the collections and accessibility of parish libraries in early modern England and the subjects in which their readers were most interested. The period covered begins with the 1558 accession of Elizabeth I, which preceded by only a few years the establishment of the first post-Reformation parish library, and ends with the Parochial Libraries Act of 1709, which ensured that libraries could not be dismantled and dispersed without permission from the appropriate authorities. This article argues that parish libraries were established in this period to provide people of gentry rank and below with a religious education and that, despite previous historians' arguments to the contrary, the works in these collections were appropriate to the intended audience. It further contends that despite physical access restrictions imposed on these libraries by their founders, their books were read and that readers' interests focussed on four themes that were central to early modern Protestantism.

Keywords
Parish libraries; accessibility; readership; marginalia; history of libraries; religious education

Parish libraries in early modern England were established primarily as repositories of Protestant religious education for clergymen and laymen of gentry rank and below. The aims and audience of parish libraries were reflected in their collections, which for much of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were dominated by religious literature, to the near exclusion of almost all other genres of text. As the seventeenth century progressed, parish library collections retained religious texts and education at their core, but expanded to include a range of secular literature as well. As W. M. Jacob has argued, works of theology, Biblical commentaries, and church histories remained at the centre of these collections, but were joined by books on topics ranging from history, mathematics, poetry and natural philosophy to grammar books, dictionaries and encyclopaedias, and other texts on the liberal sciences.[8]

To demonstrate this educational purpose for early modern English parish libraries, this article focuses on the 165 repositories established between the accession of Elizabeth I in 1558 and the passing of An Act for the better Preservation of Parochial Libraries in that Part of Great Britain called England by Parliament in 1709. The Act was largely the result of efforts by the Church of England clergyman Thomas Bray and his associates in the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), whose combined purpose was, amongst other things, to encourage the provision of libraries and the circulation of books and pamphlets, through which they could propagate Christian teaching at home and abroad.[9] The preamble to the Act observed that 'of late Years, several charitable and well-disposed Persons have by charitable Contributions erected Libraries within several Parishes and Districts in England, and Wales; but some Provision is wanting to preserve the same'. It then continued to set out rules and orders that demonstrate the perceived importance of the parish libraries established in the preceding 150 years. These rules also highlight their significance as educational repositories, by ensuring that these libraries could not be disbanded or dispersed without authorisation, and by ordering catalogues to be produced and records of borrowing and donations to be kept.[10]

Many of these parish libraries were often, at least notionally, available to a mixed clerical and lay readership. Arnold Hunt has argued that 'the significance of these modest collections is that they gave parishioners access to the writings of some of the leading English and continental Reformed divines' and brought their religious and didactic messages 'to a wider readership'.[11] This position was enhanced by Jacob's statement that 'books were an essential tool to promote a learned and godly clergy and godly laity for the reformed Church of England'.[12] David Williams, however, has shown that accessing these books has not always been straightforward and that numerous libraries were subject to various access restrictions.[13] This article examines the intellectual and physical accessibility of several early modern parish libraries in England to demonstrate that, despite some difficulties and restrictions, these books were, in fact, read. The survival of so many parish library books supports the argument made by Andrew Pettegree that survival rates for early printed books are highest when those books were kept in libraries. This article also demonstrates readers' active engagement with these library books, through an exploration of surviving marginalia and annotations, the distribution of which supports Pettegree's contention that such books were not necessarily read widely, but were instead intended for reference as opposed to thorough reading.[14]

Parish Library Collections

Parish libraries differed in size. Some were small collections of fewer than fifty volumes; most were repositories of between fifty and 250 volumes. A small number of parish libraries had collections that numbered over 500 books. The kinds of books that these collections comprised were usually varied and often wide-ranging. Works that provided readers with a strong theoretical education – theology, history, and the classics – were often at the core of a parish library collection irrespective of the date of its foundation. By the late seventeenth century, however, the focus of parish library collections had shifted somewhat. Whilst religious texts still maintained a central position in a library corpus, there were also increasing numbers of secular texts in the collections.

Library collections dominated by religious works are often indicative of a founder's religiously educational intentions. The library established in 1598 in St Wulfram's church in Grantham, for example, reflects the aim of its founder, Francis Trigge, to enable the 'better encreasinge of learninge and knowledge in divinitie and other liberall sciences' for the clergy and laity of Grantham and its surrounding areas.[15] In a similar way, Lady Anne Harington gave the parish church of Oakham in Rutland 'two hundred Latin and Greek Folio's [sic], consisting chiefly of Fathers, Councils, School-men, and Divines' for the use of 'the vicar of that Church, and… the Neighbouring Clergy' in 1616.[16] The same impetus was still strong in the mid-seventeenth century, when merchant and financier Humphrey Chetham bequeathed five parish libraries to churches in and around the area of Manchester. Chetham's will stipulated that 'godly English Bookes, such as Calvins, Prestons, and Perkins workes' were to be purchased and included in the library collections, 'for the edificac[i]on of the common people'.[17] His executors ensured that his wishes were followed.

From at least the 1680s onwards, however, the educational motivations of those establishing parish libraries expanded. Whilst the library established at Wimborne Minster church had originally been composed of only religious texts, a later augmentation brought a significant number of secular works into its collection as well. William Stone donated approximately ninety works by the Church Fathers to the parish church in his hometown of Wimborne Minster in Dorset in 1685. Many of the most commonly-cited Church Fathers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including Augustine, Cyril, and John Chrysostom, appeared in Stone's donation. Such a collection of patristic works strongly suggests Stone's participation in the seventeenth-century collecting practices that saw learned men and dedicated scholars acquiring a broad religious understanding, appropriate to his role first as a clergyman and then as Master of New Inn Hall at the University of Oxford.[18] The collection was augmented a decade later by Roger Gillingham, an acquaintance and possible friend of Stone's. Gillingham's donation to the parish library included works on agriculture, gardening, winemaking, philosophy, natural history, and household literature, as well as several biblical commentaries, classical texts, and works of history.[19]

A similar collection, established by a single individual, exists in More parish library in Shropshire. In 1680, Sir Richard More established this library by providing a gift of both religious and secular books from his own collection, reflecting his desire to educate and encourage a preaching minister in the area and also More's own religious, academic, and general reading interests.[20] The religious texts in this collection varied in age and confessional identity, suggesting a 'range of subtle ecclesiastical distinctions' in More's reading habits and his belief in the importance of providing a broad theological education for his readers. Alongside this religious collection, More also included works of poetry, geography, and mathematics, intended to provide a more rounded education.[21]

As well as demonstrating their founders' educational motives, parish library collections reveal the vitality and reach of the continental book trade in England and the strength of the English domestic book trade. Pettegree has noted that 'English libraries and collectors availed themselves freely of the easy and long-established connections with the continent to obtain the best books that continental suppliers had to offer'.[22] Continental books were readily and easily available in England in the sixteenth century and the continental book trade maintained its prominence in England until the middle of the seventeenth century. At this point, the increased demand for books fuelled by contemporary events from the 1640s onwards, and the shift towards printing 'cheap works of controversy and polemic', forced the English print industry to improve, as Joad Raymond has shown.[23] Many of the continental books surviving in English parish libraries were printed in cities such as Basel, Antwerp, Paris, and Cologne, which formed part of the 'steel spine' of European printing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The proliferation of these cities in the imprints in collections across England shows France and Germany to be 'by far the most important' territories in early modern Europe, 'both intellectually and in terms of book production'.[24]

The city of London was at the heart of the English printing and book trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and continued to be so even into the eighteenth century and beyond, despite an increase in provincial presses. In *The Carriers Cosmographie* (1637), John Taylor listed the various carriers and wagons that travelled along the trade routes and road networks of early modern England, enabling journeys to take place between London and over 200 English and Scottish towns.[25] Whilst by no means all of the parish libraries in England contained books printed in Europe, the distribution of continental books across this trade network is evidenced by their survival in libraries as far distant from London as Yorkshire, Lancashire, Lincolnshire, and Norfolk. Continental works can also be found in counties closer to London, such as Kent, Cambridgeshire, and Buckinghamshire, which is home to the unique Kedermister library in Langley Marish, a significant portion of which comprised Latin and continental books.[26]

The Francis Trigge Chained Library (1598) in Grantham provides an early example of a parish library that includes continental books. Francis Trigge was a Church of England clergyman who in the late sixteenth century gave money to purchase 'books of divinitie and other learninge to the value of one hundredth poundes or thereaboutes'.[27] The majority of books in the original collection of this library were purchased second-hand in Cambridge, though by whom they were purchased is unclear.[28] Although Grantham was itself a market town, in which continental books were likely available, the trip to Cambridge to purchase these books suggests that they were not available in the quantities required to establish the library at this time. The books for the Trigge library might have been purchased in Cambridge, but most of them (249 out of the original collection of 263 books) were printed on the continent, in one of the main centres of printing in either France, Germany, or Switzerland. Not only does this collection demonstrate, therefore, the movement of books around England – from Cambridge to Grantham, in this instance – it also evidences the strong Anglo-European book trade that was responsible for the importation of large numbers of books into England in this period.[29] The similar movement of books, both between England and the continent and within England itself, is evident in the Ripon Minster parish library, established in 1624 by the will of Anthony Higgin, dean of Ripon. Higgin's role as a clergyman often gave him occasion to travel to some of England's major centres of the book trade and the notes he made on the title pages of several of his books indicate that he purchased volumes primarily in York, Cambridge, and London. Basel, Paris, Antwerp, and Cologne – in addition to London – were the four most common cities of publication for the surviving titles in Ripon Minster parish library, indicating the continued strength of the continental book trade in England in the first half of the seventeenth century.

However, continental books could also come to be in English parish libraries through much more personal connections. The library of Swaffham in Norfolk, for instance, contained continental books that were initially acquired by its founders on the continent and held in their personal library collections before being donated to the parish library. Established by Clement Spelman in his will of 1679, the parish library was comprised of Clement's collection of books as well as those of his father, Sir Henry, and his elder brother, Sir John Spelman. Clement himself seems never to have visited the continent, but Sir Henry was known to be in contact with European scholars and Sir John made several trips abroad, including to Paris in 1619 and to Italy in 1628-29.[30] The continental books in their collections, later donated to Swaffham, were therefore most likely the result of these direct, personal relationships with continental scholars and booksellers.

The continued foundation of parish libraries in the second half of the sixteenth century and throughout the seventeenth century demonstrates their sustained importance as repositories of religious education. It also reflects the shift in focus in the later decades of the seventeenth century as secular volumes became more numerous in their collections. Parish library collections are also a testament to the strength of the continental and English book trades in this period. Their proliferation across the hinterlands of England demonstrates the importance of the role played by England's road and trade networks, which made it possible for books to travel between London and its peripheries.

Intellectual Accessibility

'The printing of books in Britain expanded gradually during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries', Raymond has argued, as imported books were 'gradually displaced by domestic production'.[31] However, for most of the sixteenth century, at least, and arguably even beyond, England was very much a peripheral market in the European book trade. Its book production was predominantly vernacular and intended for local consumption.[32] England failed to 'establish a substantial part in the production of books for the international Latin trade', Pettegree has shown, which left the English book trade heavily reliant on its continental counterpart to provide it with, in particular, the Latin texts of Christian and humanist scholarship that were a key part of the Latin trade.[33] The importation of foreign books into England had been a significant, and extremely effective, feature of the English book trade since the fifteenth century, as testified by the large numbers of continental volumes in England, and in many parish libraries.[34]

The language of a book naturally dictates its readership. Most surviving continental books in parish libraries are written in Latin, a language that has traditionally been seen by historians as one known only to the highly educated laity and clergy. Anna Bayman has argued that 'learned works in Latin especially, but also in the Continental languages, remained beyond the scope of most non-elite readers'.[35] If this was the case, it would significantly limit the number and range of people able to read the vast majority of parish library books, particularly in the older libraries in which scholarly Latin religious works dominate the collections. The Grantham library, for example, has already been shown to contain primarily continental books and this pre-eminence correlates with the number of Latin works in the corpus. Only six of the 263 surviving volumes in this collection were written in English, the remaining 257 were written in Latin. Likewise, Higgin's collection in

Ripon Minster also included a significant number of Latin texts printed on the continent, reflecting the collection's original role as Higgin's personal working library during his career as a clergyman. This would seem to support Bayman's and others' arguments in favour of Latin texts being the preserve of clerics and the well-educated. So, too, do the corpuses of books donated by Thomas White, Bishop of Peterborough, to St Mary Magdalene church in Newark-upon-Trent, and to the library in Wimborne Minster church by Stone.[36] Half of the more than a thousand volumes in the Newark library are in Latin, and after their arrival at Wimborne Minster, Stone's Latin patristic texts were available to be read by those members of the clergy and laity with the ability to do so.

However, recent work by Jennifer Richards has demonstrated that Latin would actually have been familiar to any literate male with a grammar school education.[37] General literacy and educational provision was increasingly occupying the thoughts of the 'middling sorts' of people from the mid-sixteenth century onwards. Christopher Brooks has shown that members of London companies and guilds began to make bequests for general educational initiatives, with some specifically choosing to establish grammar schools.[38] These people were financially independent and, as the opportunities presented themselves, began to learn to read and write in significantly larger numbers and to use a portion of their disposable income both to acquire books and to send their children to school, as Ian Green has argued.[39] As such, more literate people of middling social status than previously thought may have had a higher degree of competency in Latin and some continental languages. Of course, this has important implications for the intellectual accessibility of a significant proportion of parish library books: they should no longer be seen as texts for the exclusive use of the clergy and the well-educated laity. Therefore, the Latin Biblical commentaries, theology texts, and works of religious and church history in the Grantham library; the Latin patristic texts and Biblical commentaries in the Wimborne Minster library; the Biblical commentaries and works of theology written in Latin and housed in the Ripon Minster parish library; and the plethora of other religious texts in these and other parish library collections were intellectually accessible, at least, to anyone allowed physical access to the books.

Physical Accessibility

The types of people allowed access to the parish libraries of early modern England were not homogeneous across the different repositories. They were often defined in the foundation documents, whether indenture or will, of individual libraries. The level of restriction was often linked to the intended audience of a parish library. Collections for general readership were often housed in the more public parts of the church whilst those intended for clerical use were usually housed in a more private part of the church or sometimes in the vicarage or parsonage attached to the parish church. There were other accessibility considerations: depending on the size of the parish library collection, whether its books were stored in book chests or cupboards for smaller collections of around fifty volumes or on bookshelves (often chained) for collections of larger than fifty volumes.

There are several examples of small parish library collections housed in book chests or cupboards in the more public parts of the church. These were also the collections intended for a primarily lay audience. Some of these are still *in situ* in their original church and some are now housed in their original chests but in new locations. The Gorton Chest parish library (1653), for example, is still stored in its original carved almery chest, but the chest itself is now housed in the Reading Room of Chetham's Library in Manchester. The Gorton Chest was one of five parish libraries established in the will of the Manchester merchant and financier Humphrey Chetham. The will explicitly stated that the libraries were for the use and education of 'the common people' and ordered his libraries to be placed in 'convenient places' within the parish churches Chetham nominated, presumably for ease of access.[40] A year earlier, in Wootton Wawen in Warwickshire, George Dunscomb, the rector of St Peter's church, 'gave some good books for the use of the parishioners' upon his death in 1652.[41] These books were originally placed in the vicar's house for safekeeping and the ability of the parishioners to access them in that location seems to have been difficult. The parishioners requested the books be moved to the church itself, where they were 'chained to a desk in the south isle of the church, April 11th 1693'.[42]

There are several instances of parish libraries established for the sole use of the clergy, usually for the incumbent minister and his successors. These libraries were often situated in the more private parts of the parish church or, towards the end of the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century, the associated parsonage or vicarage. One of the earliest examples of a parish library established exclusively for the clergy is that of Ipswich, founded in 1599 by a local draper, William Smarte. Smarte bequeathed to St Mary-le-Tower church both his printed and his manuscript books, which he intended 'towardes one librarye… to be used ther by the com[m]on preacher of the sayd towne for the tyme beinge or any other precher mynded to preache in the saide p[ar]ishe church'. Smarte evidently had a clerical audience in mind, which is reflected in his stipulation that the library was 'to be keepte in the vestrye of the parishe church', a space traditionally inaccessible to the laity.[43]

A century and more later, the practice of establishing a parish library and limiting access to it to the clergy was still prevalent. Between 1690 and 1704, three parish libraries were established by testamentary bequest at Assington, Milden, and Lawshall. All three were founded by clergymen for clergymen and ordered to be kept in the parsonages attached to their parish churches. Reverend Thomas Alston's 1690 will gave his books 'unto the vicar incumbent of Assington… and to his successors in the said vicaridge for ever for and towards a standing library'.[44] Thirteen years later, in 1703, William Burkitt, who had been rector of Milden since 1678, died. His will, dated 1 January 1700 and proved after his death, gave 'my

Library [of] Books… for the benefit of succeeding incumbents'. The document explicitly states that the library was to be housed 'in the study at Milding parsonage', enforcing its restricted accessibility, except at the potential invitation of the incumbent.[45] A year after Burkitt's death, a library was established by Stephen Camborne, rector of Lawshall from 1681 until his death in 1704. Camborne's will gave 'all my Library of Bookes to my Successor in this living of Lawshall to continue here forever'.[46] Camborne's will did not stipulate where these books were to be housed, but his executors seem to have decided that, considering Camborne's successor was to be the only person allowed access to the books, the parsonage would be an appropriate location for them. The books remained there until 1957, when they were removed to the University of London Library and finally deposited in Bury St Edmunds Public Library.[47]

It was perhaps more common for a parish library in early modern England to be intended for a combined clerical and lay readership, which impacted on their physical accessibility. The library established by Trigge in St Wulfram's church in Grantham was, according to its foundation indenture, for the use of the 'cleargie and others beinge inhabitants in or nere Grantham and the souke thereof'. It also stipulated a suitable location for this generally accessible collection: 'a verie convenient place in a chamber over the Sowth porch of the said church'.[48] A similar joint clerical and lay readership seems to have been Gillingham's intention when he augmented the collection of patristic texts donated to Wimborne Minster by Stone. Gillingham's 1696 will explicitly stated that the books he donated (and presumably Stone's books too, as he intended for them to be housed together) were to be used and read by 'the clergy… but alsoe… the Gent shopkeepers and better sort of Inhabitants in and about the Towne of Wimborne'.[49] The churchwardens at Wimborne Minster paid out considerable sums of money to convert the former Treasury into a library when Stone's books arrived and Gillingham was apparently content to allow the books to stay in this nominally accessible space. The books are still in the former Treasury today.[50] Spelman's intention for the Swaffham parish library is less clear. In his will, Spelman gave 'to the Towne of Swaffham all my Bookes to the end a Librarie may be constantly kept there', which does not suggest the exclusion of either clergymen or the laity.[51] However, the books were housed first in the Priest's Chamber above the vestry in St Peter and St Paul's church before being transferred to the vestry itself in the eighteenth century. Neither room was accessible to the laity.[52]

An intended mixed readership of clerics and laymen may have led to books being placed in parts of the parish church presumably accessible to both groups. In practice, there were often other barriers to access, largely to protect the collection and the books from being damaged or permanently removed. Both the Grantham and the Wimborne Minster libraries, established almost a century apart, were ostensibly housed in rooms that were generally accessible. However, both were situated in upper rooms accessed only by narrow spiral staircases, potentially causing problems for the elderly and the physically disabled. Furthermore, Trigge's foundation instructions for the Grantham library specifically required 'one good locke & four keyes to be provided', to ensure that the door would be kept locked. As a result, whilst the library was nominally accessible, assuming a reader was able to climb the stairs, reading the books was still granted by *de facto* permission of one of the four keyholders – the alderman, the two vicars, and the schoolmaster of Grantham.[53] Once access had been gained, any reader of the Grantham collection would also find its books 'continually bownd with convenient chaines to the staples devised', ensuring the security of the books and preventing their removal from the library.[54]

Chaining books was still a common practice in the mid-seventeenth century, as exemplified by the parish library established at Southampton by John Clungeon in 1640. Clungeon ordered that his books were to be kept 'chaned with iron chanes and kepte in an iron grate' for security purposes.[55] Similarly, Chetham's 1653 will ordered that his books, placed in 'convenient places' within the nominated churches, should be 'chained upon deskes, or… fixed to the pillars'. This was, as Chetham's will also noted, to ensure 'that none of the said books be taken out of the said librarie att anie time'.[56] This also meant, however, that in both collections the books could not be moved very far from the shelves they were placed on and so the reader would have been forced to stand at the reading desk attached either to the bookcase or chest in which the books were housed. The Wimborne Minster library, established towards the end of the seventeenth century, was not kept locked, but the books were chained to their shelves. Gillingham's 1696 will ordered that both his books and Stone's should be chained to their shelves, for which purpose he provided £10 towards the purchasing of the chains.[57] At the beginning of the eighteenth century, parish library founders were still ensuring that their books were chained to their shelves to provide for their security and to restrict readers' use of the books. In 1703, Edward Smith, vicar of Sleaford, gave to his parish church a small collection of approximately fifteen books. The nineteenth-century antiquarian Edward Trollope notes that Smith gave to the Sleaford parish church of St Denys 'a collection of books of Divinity, each of which is fastened to a rod by a chain sliding upon it, long enough to allow of its being placed on any part of the desk above, but intended to prevent its abstraction'.[58]

Readership Marks

William H. Sherman has argued that 'the more heavily a book was used, the more vulnerable it was to decay'.[59] Inversely, the less frequently a book was used, the more likely it is to survive in a reasonable condition. This argument would seem to be borne out by the survival rates of books in parish libraries established in early modern England between 1558 and 1709. Of the 165 parish libraries founded in this period, ninety-one contain at least one surviving book. Twenty-six of those have between a hundred and five hundred books remaining, seven have between five hundred and a thousand books remaining, and a further twelve have over a thousand books still in their collections. Most of the books in the Grantham, Ripon, Gorton, and Wimborne Minster collections (used as case studies here and elsewhere in more detail) are in a reasonably good state of repair; they bear no signs of extreme wear and tear that cannot be attributed to their age. Had these books been read more often or more thoroughly, a higher level of stress on the bindings, and the spines in particular, might be expected. This supports Pettegree's assertion that early modern library books were not necessarily widely read; that, in fact, 'many such books were primarily intended for reference rather than consecutive reading', and that this has allowed them to survive in considerable numbers and often in reasonable condition.[60]

It must be noted, however, that there is a difference between being read and being read to destruction. Reading was central to early modern Protestantism. Green and Andrew Cambers have separately demonstrated that the act of reading varied according to time and place, literacy rates, social status, and situation, but it remained prevalent across these distinctions.[61] Many of the books in early modern English parish libraries were read, at least in part. These readings are attested to by the plethora of articulate marginalia and other, inarticulate marks of readership: underlinings, asterisks and other marginal symbols, and folded corners, amongst others. Sometimes it is possible to tell who has annotated these volumes. A significant proportion of the volumes of patristic and Early Christian works donated to Wimborne Minster by Stone, for example, include annotations in Stone's own hand, whilst one book in the Grantham library bears the ownership signature of a William Higginbotham in a hand that matches the marginalia present throughout the volume.[62] Most of the time, however, because many books were purchased second-hand for these libraries, it can be difficult to tell who was responsible for the marks in these books, and indeed when the marks themselves were made.

Readers' marks in books in the four parish libraries of Grantham, Ripon, Gorton, and Wimborne Minster centre around four key themes that reflect readers' interests: anti-Catholicism; the importance of Scripture; the interconnected beliefs around sin, repentance, and salvation; and godly living and dying.[63]

Anti-Catholic annotations emphasised the errors, changes, and corruptions of the Roman Catholic Church since the apostolic era. They highlighted Protestants' belief in the pope – and by extension the papacy – being the Antichrist, a belief that Peter Lake argued 'served to bolster the Elizabethan church'.[64] The Gorton copy of Thomas Brightman's *Workes*, for example, includes a marginal annotation adjacent to a passage in which the clergyman argued that the name Antichrist referred 'not [to] particular men, but a certain kingdom and succession', whilst a page on which Francis White stated similar beliefs surrounding the corruption and fall of the pope, in his *A Replie to Jesuit Fisher*, was likewise marked by a reader.[65] This conflation of the pope, the papacy and Antichrist was believed by Protestants to be the cause of the corruption of the Catholic Church. A reader of the Grantham copy of Martin Chemnitz's *Examinis Concilii Tridentini*, for example, underlined Chemnitz's assertion that 'there is no doubt that the Church after the apostles added certain other rites for the purpose of edification, order and decorum'.[66] These corruptions were believed by Protestants to include the practice of selling indulgences, false worship, the veneration of images and idols, and the doctrine of purgatory, as demonstrated by another annotation in the Grantham copy of Chemnitz's *Examinis* that asserts that 'the papalists carry their opinion about purgatory to Scripture, and do not get it from there'.[67]

Indulgences, the veneration of images and idols, and purgatory were opposed by Protestants because they do not appear in the Bible, which Protestants believed contained everything necessary for faith. A reader of the Gorton copy of John White's *Workes* deliberately folded the corners of pages on which White elucidated 'the illumination of Gods Spirit' and the 'vertue and power that sheweth it self in euery line and leafe of the Bible' as methods by which to understand the truth of Scripture.[68] Annotations focussed on Scripture as the Word of God in these libraries' books also focus on the perceived importance of Scripture and correct Scriptural understanding. This was achieved, according to a marked passage in the Gorton copy of Francis Roberts' *Clavis Bibliorum*, by being 'well acquainted with the 1 Order, 2 Titles, 3 Times, 4 Penmen, 5 Occasion, 6 Scope, and 7 Principal Parts of the books, both of the Old and N. Testament'.[69] Carl Trueman has noted that correct interpretation of Scripture by early modern Protestants required them 'to believe it in a saving sense for oneself'. This was achieved through a sense of devotion and the assistance of the Holy Spirit, which itself was channelled through Bible reading.[70] For early modern Protestants, the main benefits of Scripture consisted in its ability to teach and improve its readers and in the regulation of Christian life. As Higginbotham noted in his copy of John Calvin's *Sermons Upon the Booke of Job* now in the Grantham library, 'we most [sic] imbrace one another in a godly manner'.[71] This also seems to have extended to conversion attempts, as shown in a marked passage of John Dod's *A Plaine and Familiar Exposition on the Ten Commandements*, in which the divine stated that 'he that can thus convert his brother from going astray, hath done the part of a good man, and loving friend'.[72]

Such an effort was also viewed as the kind of good work that underscored a godly life, along with regular prayer to God and patience and trust in Him. Regular prayer was extremely important to early modern Protestants, but Alec Ryrie has argued that the Biblical precedent for prayer seven times a day was largely impractical, and so many practiced daily prayer instead.[73] This is reflected by readers of parish library books and is exemplified by the annotation in the Grantham copy of Saint Cyprian's *Epistles*, which underlines the patristic author's exhortation to 'be constant as well in prayer… now speak with God, now let God speak with you'.[74] The importance of trusting in and being patient with God was a recurrent theme in parish library annotations, and can be encapsulated by Higginbotham's marginal comment in the Grantham copy of Calvin's *Sermons* that says simply, 'let us be thankful for the care that god has for us', and his underlining of Calvin's own exhortation to his readers to 'refuse not the correction of the almighty'.[75] A good death was made through active preparation for the event and through seeking the advice of divines on how best to undertake that preparation. Early modern Protestants' preoccupation with death is highlighted by a folded page of the Gorton copy of Arthur Hildersham's *CLII Lectures upon Psalm, LI,* which explained that thinking about one's own death would distract the mind from focussing on the worldly pleasures that had been sacrificed for God, lest they should draw a person into sin.[76]

Readers frequently highlighted the internal and external temptations that manifested in sinful actions committed by individuals on a daily basis. The Puritan theologian William Perkins, on a marked page of the Gorton copy of the second volume of his *Workes,* for example, highlighted sins of infirmity, caused by the passions of men that included grief, anger, sorrow, and other, similar emotions, and sins of presumption, which arose from emotions like pride, arrogance, and wilfulness.[77] If sins such as these were committed, they needed to be repented, and readers of parish library books were deeply concerned with what Ryrie has shown to be the complex process of repentance, which functioned as the pathway back to God.[78] Biblical scholar and Hebraist, Joseph Mede, on two marked pages of the Gorton copy of his *Diatribæ,* outlined a three-step self-examination process for readers to follow to determine whether they were a true penitent that was ready to repent of their sins.[79] Salvation and eternal life could be achieved through faith and righteousness and through a life lived in service to others. The final sentence of the Ripon copy of Saint Athanasius's *Contra Gentes,* in which Athanasius asserted that 'immortality and the kingdom of heaven is the fruit of faith and devotion towards Him', in a passage underlined by a reader, highlights the importance of this belief.

Conclusion

Parish libraries were an important element of religious education in early modern England. Their collections were originally focussed almost entirely on religious and theological texts but gradually expanded outwards to encompass works of secular literature on a variety of educational topics. The Latin nature of these religious texts was not as prohibitive to the general readership that many library founders envisaged as previously thought and, in fact, were nominally available to be read by anyone with at least a grammar school education. Parish library books in early modern England were read, some in some depth. This detailed, but often thematic, reading is evidenced by numerous instances of marginalia and annotations, only a sample of which has been presented here, that highlight the subjects that piqued readers' interests in these texts. These patterns of readership focussed primarily on anti-Catholic sentiments around the corruptions of the Catholic Church that were rooted in Protestants' belief in the importance of Scripture and the idea that it contained everything necessary for salvation. Scripture emphasised the importance of good works, which included the use of the Bible as a tool for teaching and conversion, both of which were a crucial part of living the godly life necessary for salvation. Salvation was possible if sin was committed, but only if those sins were repented of, and the significance of this to early modern Protestants, as well as advice on how to repent, was likewise emphasised in the marginalia of the parish library books. Restrictions on physical access to these books, which ranged from locked doors to narrow spiral staircases to chains on books that prevented their removal, thus did not stop them being read and their messages were held in high regard by early modern Protestant users of these educational repositories.

From the early eighteenth century onwards, parish library provision began to change. The parish libraries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries gradually evolved firstly into libraries that were established and left in the care of trustees, like those of Maldon in Essex and Reigate in Surrey, which ‘being constituted in another Manner than the Libraries provided for’ by the Parochial Libraries Act of 1709, was altogether exempted, and secondly into the subscription libraries that would dominate the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. More work remains to be done on these libraries, both in terms of their users and their borrowing habits and reading interests. The recent development of new digital resources, such as the ‘Libraries, Reading Communities & Cultural Formation in the 18th Century Atlantic’ and the ‘Books and Borrowing 1750-1830’, databases offer unprecedented data on the circulation of texts in this period and will be invaluable for future research in these and other areas of interest.

Building the *Bürgerbibliothek*: Donating to the Zurich Citizens' Library in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

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Abstract

This paper uses the *Bibliothecae novae Tigurinorum*, the donors' register of the Zurich *Bürgerbibliothek* ('citizens' library'), to explore how the collection of the city's first public library developed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The donors' register records over 3,000 gifts from some 900 local and foreign benefactors between 1629, the year of the library's founding, and 1769. Unlike a standard library or auction catalogue, the donors' register allows us to observe engagement with the *Bürgerbibliothek* over time and reveals that, while a remarkable influx of patrons in the first decade of the library's existence secured its position in the cultural and intellectual fabric of Zurich society, interest in the institution dropped significantly by the end of the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, the *Bürgerbibliothek*'s consistent growth across the period attests to the popularity of the library and its accessible collection as well as its benefactors' belief in the reciprocal value of patronizing this new type of civic institution.

Keywords: Libraries; donors; catalogue; Zurich; Switzerland; Swiss Confederacy; patronage; gifts; printing; book history

Introduction

On the evening of 6 February 1629, Heinrich Müller, Johann Ulrich Ulrich, and the brothers Johann Balthasar and Felix Keller, four recent graduates of the Zurich *Carolinum*, the institute of advanced theological education in the city, met for dinner at the home of their former professor Heinrich Ulrich to celebrate the students' returns from their respective postgraduate trips abroad.[80] At some point in the night, according to Professor Ulrich's version of events, the group arrived at the topic of the books the students had acquired on their visits to the continent's many renowned universities and centres of higher learning and their desire to trade them with each other. This prompted Heinrich Müller to suggest establishing a library in their hometown of Zurich in the mould of some of the impressive libraries he had encountered on his travels through England, France, and Italy.[81] Müller's library would be open to all citizens of and visitors to Zurich and allow them access to the brand of knowledge that was being dispensed at the *Carolinum* without enrolling in its courses.[82] This proposal was met with immediate approval from the rest of the group and, the very next day, Müller pledged his copies of the Zurich Reformation printer Christoph Froschauer's German-language Old and New Testaments to this cause.[83] Thus, the *Bibliotheca Tigurinorum civica*, commonly referred to as the *Bürgerbibliothek Zürich*, was born.

This, at least, was the narrative presented by Professor Heinrich Ulrich in a pair of pamphlets, one in Latin and one in German, written and printed in Zurich in 1629 to advertise the library project.[84] Ulrich praises the young founders' zeal for education before arguing that public libraries were integral to the fostering of a culture of scientific and theological inquiry in urban centres and could also help with the preservation and propagation of the Reformed faith, which, a decade into the Thirty Years' War and only a few years removed from the Catholic League's sacking of Heidelberg's renowned *Bibliotheca Palatina*, appeared more vulnerable than ever before.[85] Ulrich therefore now called on all ‘highly and well-learned gentlemen, of clerical and secular status… and every learned person in the city and countryside of Zurich’ to contribute to the literary project with material or monetary gifts.[86] Ulrich also claimed, critically, that all would-be donors would have their acts memorialised in a written register.[87]

The *Bibliothecae novae Tigurinorum*, a 762-page register of donors and their donations to the *Bürgerbibliothek* between 1629 and 1769, is Ulrich’s promise made good.[88] The register is divided into two sections: the former, organised chronologically, deals with gifts from visiting benefactors while the latter, longer portion covers citizen donors and is arranged alphabetically by last name, with entries from the same family arranged under the clan’s hand-drawn, coloured-in coat of arms, ensuring the librarians avoided bruising any egos while elevating the contributions of entire lineages and, more practically, allowing space for the register to expand over a century and a half.

This paper will explore the nuances of public library building and patronage in early modern Zurich through the lens of the *Bibliothecae novae Tigurinorum* and the actions of its curators and donors. Unlike a standard library or auction catalogue, which reflect a collection of books at a given moment in time, a donors’ register allows us to observe the gradual expansion of a library over an extended period. This paper will highlight some of the larger patterns of donors and donations on display in the register and, with them, how the public’s engagement with the institution changed over the *longue durée.* I will also analyse the subject matter and bibliographic details of the items that entered the *Bürgerbibliothek*, revealing the form and function its administrators and patrons envisioned their new public library as taking on at various moments in the early modern era.

All told, the image that we are left with is one of immediate and enthusiastic growth, with scores of donations arriving from within and without the city of Zurich, followed by decades of gradual expansion in which the grandiose gifts of folios bequeathed by visiting dignitaries were replaced by less impressive but decidedly more popular and practical works of contemporary literature provided by local readers. Despite this drop in international interest, however, the Zurich *Bürgerbibliothek* managed to survive until the early twentieth century, at which point it was amalgated with other similar institutions in the city to form the Zurich Zentralbibliothek as we know it today. This paper will argue that the seeds for this type of institutional staying power were sown centuries earlier, as the donors and curators of the *Bürgerbibliothek* laboured to establish the public library as both an accessible literary resource and a symbol of Zurich's civic heritage in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

FIGURE 1: The titlepage of the *Bibliothecae novae Tigurinorum* (ZBZ, Ms Arch St 22)

The *Bürgerbibliothek* in Zurich Intellectual Society

The *Bürgerbibliothek* was not the first institutional library in Zurich, but it was certainly the first widely accessible, purpose-built resource of its kind in both the city and the Swiss Confederacy as a whole.[89] The library's founding statutes, which survive in Latin and in German, ask that library administrators and patrons show 'care and diligence' in their engagement with the *Bürgerbibliothek* 'for the benefit of the churches and the Fatherland, through the furtherance of sound doctrine and God's word'. All citizens who desired to borrow books could do so in return for a deposit of ten guilders or a 'tribute' (*'Berehrung'*) of equivalent value. Even foreigners who were living in Zurich were allowed to borrow books from the *Bürgerbibliothek*, although they were required to pay a fee of five guilders or the approximate value of the item.[90] Ignoring the exceptions inherent to early modern European concepts of citizenship, the *Bürgerbibliothek*, with its focus on accessibility and the civic education, was truly the first public library in the city of Zurich.

The development of the Zurich city library in the early 1630s inspired similar projects across the Protestant Swiss lands. In August 1631, the nobleman Jakob von Graviseth donated a portrait of his godfather, the French bibliophile Jacques Bongars, to the *Bürgerbibliothek*. Less than a year later, as thanks for having granted him citizenship, Graviseth donated Bongars' collection of over 3,000 volumes to the city of Bern to form the basis of a public library.[91] A *Stadtbibliothek* would open in Schaffhausen in 1636, while the music college ('*Musikkollegium'*) in Winterthur, located only twenty kilometres northeast of Zurich, would inaugurate a citizens' library in their town in 1660. Although it had its imitators, however, the rate at which Zurich *Bürgerbibliothek* expanded in the decades after its founding was unmatched in the Swiss Confederacy: compare the 3,662 volumes the Winterthur public library recorded in 1755, nearly a century after its founding, to the 4,793 held by the Zurich *Bürgerbibliothek* only 35 years after it opened its doors.[92]

***Local Donors to the* Bürgerbibliothek**

The *Bürgerbibliothek* benefited from the consistent support of members of the Zurich elite throughout the seventeenth century, attesting to the perceived necessity of a public library in the city and the value Zurich's political, spiritual, and intellectual leaders placed on patronizing such an institution. The *Bibliothekgesellschaft* ('library society', the centre's administrative board) could also serve as a springboard to a more prestigious post. Johann Jakob Ulrich, the son of Professor Heinrich Ulrich, after working as the library's first secretary, would go on to become deacon of the Fraumünster and a professor at the *Carolinum* in 1630 before being named *Antistes*, the highest ecclesiastical office in the city, in 1646.[93]

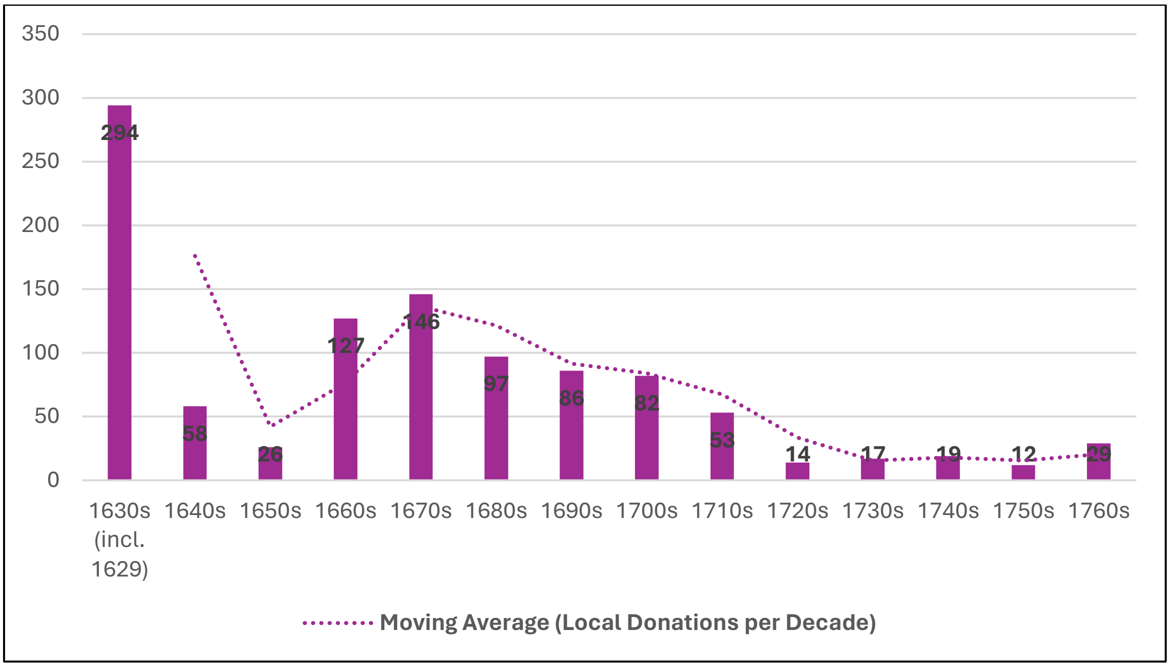

FIGURE 2: Local Donations to the Bürgerbibliothek per Decade, 1629-1769.

The *Bürgerbibliothek* was a cradle of elite patronage from its earliest days. The donors' register records six donations to the city library in February 1629. Most of these came from the *Bürgerbibliothek*'s founders and their kin, all members of Zurich high society:

Heinrich Müller and his father, the city treasurer, under whose name the donation of the Froschauer Bibles is recorded; Felix Keller, the first author of the donation register and the son of a city councillor and rural *Vogt* (reeve, bailiff); Johann Ulrich Ulrich, also the son of a city magistrate, and the clergyman Johann Jakob Ulrich, Johann Ulrich's cousin and the son of the founders' esteemed professor.[94] The single largest donation of the month, some 25 volumes, came from the Zurich literary star Johannes Wilhelm Simmler, pointing to just how quickly word of the library spread amongst the city social and intellectual elite.[95] The following month was no different, as the library received donations from, among others, the professor Hans Jakob Wolf and the *Hauptmann* (military captain) Johann Wilhelm Stapfer, who also donated to the library in March 1629.[96] Both men would serve on the library's inaugural *Bibliothekgesellschaft* under the direction of Heinrich Müller, attesting to the direct participation of a diverse range of bourgeois professionals in the development of the *Bürgerbibliothek.*[97] Almost all of the roughly 700 Zurich citizens who patronised the library between 1629 and 1769 belonged to the city's upper crust, ranging from clergymen, guild leaders and merchants to academics and military men, whose gifts to the *Bürgerbibliothek* served to reinforce their status and involvement in Zurich public life.

The city magistracy also provided logistical assistance to the *Bürgerbibliothek.* The immediate administration of the library was the responsibility of the *Bibliothekgesellschaft*, a mix of secular and ecclesiastical leaders, which reported in extenuating circumstances to the city council, specifically to the city treasurer and the *Obmann* ('chairman') of the cloisters, the two highest positions in the government after the mayors.[98] At the beginning of the 1630s, the magistracy granted the library permission to move into what would become its permanent home in the Wasserkirche, a thirteenth-century church on the edge of the Limmat that sat only a stone's throw from both the Grossmünster and the town hall, confirming the institution's integration into the fabric of Zurich public life.[99] This was underscored by the donation of a new set of stained-glass windows in the Wasserkirche by councillors and guilds bearing each official's coat of arms as well as the transfer of the entire book collection of the city hall, consisting of some seventy volumes, to the *Bürgerbibliothek* in 1630.[100] The *Bibliotheca Thuricensium Publica* opened its doors to the public in its new home on New Year's Day 1634 with a collection of at least 1,500 volumes; that the library was able to achieve this in just five years is a testament to the enthusiastic and active support of local elites and the city government.[101]

The staying power of the *Bürgerbibliothek* in the political and cultural imagination of the wider Zurich citizenry is evidenced by several patterns of donations that we can observe across the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Donating to the *Bürgerbibliothek* rapidly emerged as a practice to be replicated by members of the same family, often across multiple generations. The internal structure of the locals' section of the *Bibliothecae novae Tigurinorum* is designed to account for as much. Entries are organised alphabetically by last name and grouped by family under hand-drawn and coloured coats of arms. Two of Zurich's most prolific donating dynasties were the twin branches of the bourgeois Escher family, who respectively produced some 20 and 28 benefactors to the *Bürgerbibliothek* between 1629 and 1765.[102] Three generations of the family of one Thomas Müller donated to the *Bürgerbibliothek* between 1633 and 1685, while the 1635 donation of the brothers Jakob, Josef, and Daniel Orelli was later followed by contributions from Daniel's sons Georg and Daniel in the 1660s and 1680s, and Georg's son, also Daniel, between 1681 and 1711.[103]

While in most cases, the exact reasons donors had for sending gifts to the *Bürgerbibliothek* were not named, we find several instances where donations can be understood to coincide with important dates or milestones in a benefactor's life. It was common practice, for one, to donate to the *Bürgerbibliothek* on New Year's Day or Berchtold's Day (2 January), which were both civic holidays, as an expression of appreciation to the city library.[104] Individuals could also donate to the library to celebrate professional appointments. Hans Jakob Haab sent gifts to the *Bürgerbibliothek* to celebrate a handful of career moves, such as his appointment as library *Consiliarius*, his accession to the *Grosser Rat* in 1631, and following his nominations as *Stetrichter* (city judge), *Amtmann* (bailiff) of Rüti in 1634, and *Baumeister* ('master builder') in 1653.[105]

Many citizens also made contributions to the *Bürgerbibliothek* upon their death. Occasionally, gifts were given in memory of or in the name of the departed by their widows or heirs. Exceptionally, in 1683, councilman Diethelm Hirzel donated 200 *Pfund* to the library as an '*Andenken*' ('remembrace') for his late brother-in-law, Friedrich Keller.[106] Contrary to most donations recorded in the donors' register, legacies were almost always cash gifts and ranged from the 50 *Pfund* left by the heirs of the dyer Hans Jakob Schaufelberger in 1693 to the 500 *Pfund* by the library's principal founder Heinrich Müller in the 1660s.[107] The donation register provides a single clue as to how this money was spent. In 1676 the printer Hans Jakob Bodmer the Younger, the son and successor of Hans Jakob and Dorothea Pestalozzi, bequeathed 100 *Gulden* to the *Bürgerbibliothek*, which the register notes was used on 21 August to purchase an array of 27 books, including two printed as far afield as Lund and Uppsala in Sweden.[108]

Gifts from Abroad

The *Bibliotheca novae Tigurinorum* records over 200 donations made by foreign benefactors from across Europe between 1629 and 1769. More foreigners than locals donated to the *Bürgerbibliothek* in its first year of operation, while over eighty non-citizens contributed to the library between 1629 and 1639, representing the single highest number of external contributions to the *Bürgerbibliothek* in a single decade over the period recorded by the donors' register. The presence of these cross-continental elites in the *Bürgerbibliothek*'s register points to the emergence of a consensus opinion of the public library as a civic building project worthy of the same material and symbolic patronage a visiting dignitary might have paid to other local religious or political institutions.

Some of these earliest donors were foreigners already living and working in the city of Zurich, who would have seen their contributions to the library as a means of participating in local civic life and giving back to their adopted home. Vincenzo Paravicino, a religious refugee from the Grisons serving as pastor to the Italian congregation in Zurich, was the first non-citizen to donate to the *Bürgerbibliothek*, gifting the library his own printed Italian translation of a collection of polemics by the popular Huguenot controversialist Charles Drelincourt and a French-Latin dictionary.[109]

The *Bürgerbibliothek* was also the beneficiary of gifts from individuals with less fixed ties to the city of Zurich, whose donations to the public library served to strengthen diplomatic, military, or mercantile relationships with the city and its rulers. One of the most prominent benefactors in this category is the Huguenot nobleman and military leader Henri de Rohan, who served as general of the allied Protestant forces in the alpine Valtellina in the Thirty Years War. In September 1632, Rohan gifted a Hebrew manuscript Bible to the *Bürgerbibliothek*, sending it to Zurich with his quartermaster Jacques Dupuy, who himself donated a complementary rabbinical commentary.[110] In a letter to the library secretary, Rohan extends his best wishes for the success of this project destined 'for the public good' ('*au bien public*').[111] Rohan's words underscore the gift's dual function as a fulfilment of patronage obligations as well as a genuine recognition of the practical benefits a public library was seen as having for the further education of the learned elite. Rohan's actions are mirrored by donations from diplomats and merchants from England, Venice, the Low Countries, Sweden and the French Huguenot territories, whose presence in Zurich and in the pages of the

Bibliothecae novae Tigurinorum represent likeminded expressions of political and economic support.

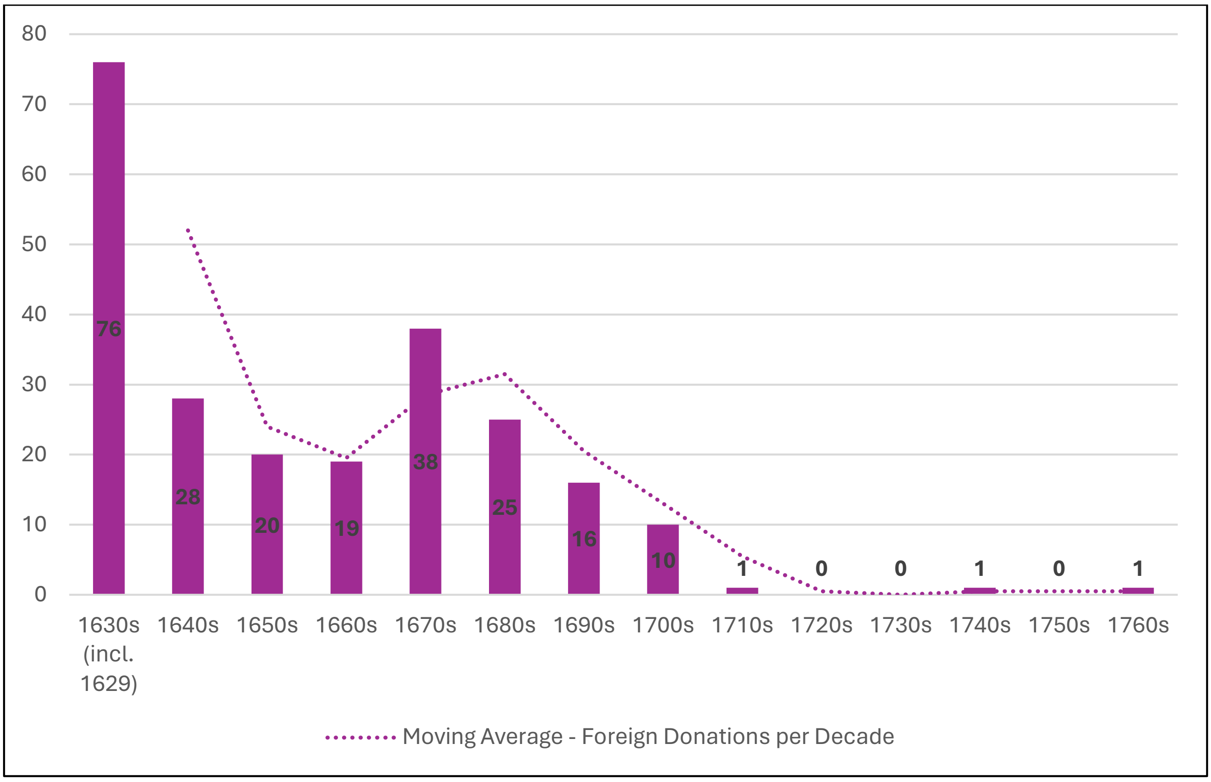

FIGURE 3: Foreign Donations to the Bürgerbibliothek per Decade, 1629-1769.

Tracking the quantity of foreign donations to the *Bürgerbibliothek* illustrates how this civic building project gradually lost its international lustre in the decades after its founding. Only ten contributions from non-citizens are recorded in the first decade of the 1700s compared to roughly 36 in the 1670s and 16 in the 1690s, while a mere six donations occurred between 1710 and 1769, with the last of these taking place over twenty years apart.[112] This decline must have been tangible to the compilers of the *Bibliothecae novae Tigurinorum*. The last foreign donation to the library came in 1769 from Jakob Fels, mayor of the nearby Bavarian city of Lindau on Lake Constance and was completed 'through the mediation' ('*durch Vermittlung*') of Johann Heinrich Schinz, head of the Zurich salt trade; a far cry from the great Venetian and Dutch merchants, English nobles, and Huguenot commanders who patronised the city and its library in the preceding century.[113] The section of foreign donors was organised chronologically and not alphabetically, unlike the one dedicated to the contributions of local patrons, making this drop-off all the more evident. This section was also accompanied by an index, implying that the number of gifts by foreign donors was understood to be finite and thus manageable.[114] At the same time, the index allowed visitors to the library, citizens or otherwise, to survey the names of the great European diplomats who helped build up the local library in its formative years and thus served as a valuable testament to the prestige and patronage once afforded to the city of Zurich and its civic building projects.

In the Stacks: The Development of the *Bürgerbibliothek*'s Collection of Books in the 1630s and 1680s

The book collection of the Zurich city library developed over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries thanks almost exclusively to the *Bürgerbibliothek*'s solicitation of private donors. The *Bibliothekgesellschaft* tended to avoid purchasing private libraries or estates outright, as was common practice amongst, for example, the Dutch municipal library builders of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[115] The *Bürgerbibliothek* considered purchasing the library of the learned Amerbach family in Basel in 1650 and again in 1660 as well as the estate of Hans Heinrich Heidegger at the turn of the eighteenth century before backing down on each occasion.[116] In spite of this, the *Bürgerbibliothek* expanded at an exponential rate in the first decades after its founding, reaching a landmark 6,612 volumes in 1683.[117]

This growth demanded a major reconsideration of how the library housed its books. Since its move into the riverside Wasserkirche, the *Bürgerbibliothek*'s holdings had only occupied the building's top balcony, with the lower atrium kept empty for the occasional

Hochschule disputation, lecture or examination.[118] This would change in 1675, when, after securing the permission of the city council, the pews of the Wasserkirche auditorium were transferred to the Grossmünster, the upper chamber reconfigured into a showroom for the *Bürgerbibliothek'*s non-bibliographic collection of curiosities, and the lower chamber finally converted into a proper library and reading room, complete with a set of ceiling-high bookcases organised by subject and tables that gave patrons the unprecedented experience of consulting books on the spot.[119] A subject index was drafted in May 1683 which describes how the library's holdings were categorised and how many volumes were held on each shelf.[120] The refurbished *Bürgerbibliothek* opened its doors to the public on Pentecost 1677.[121]

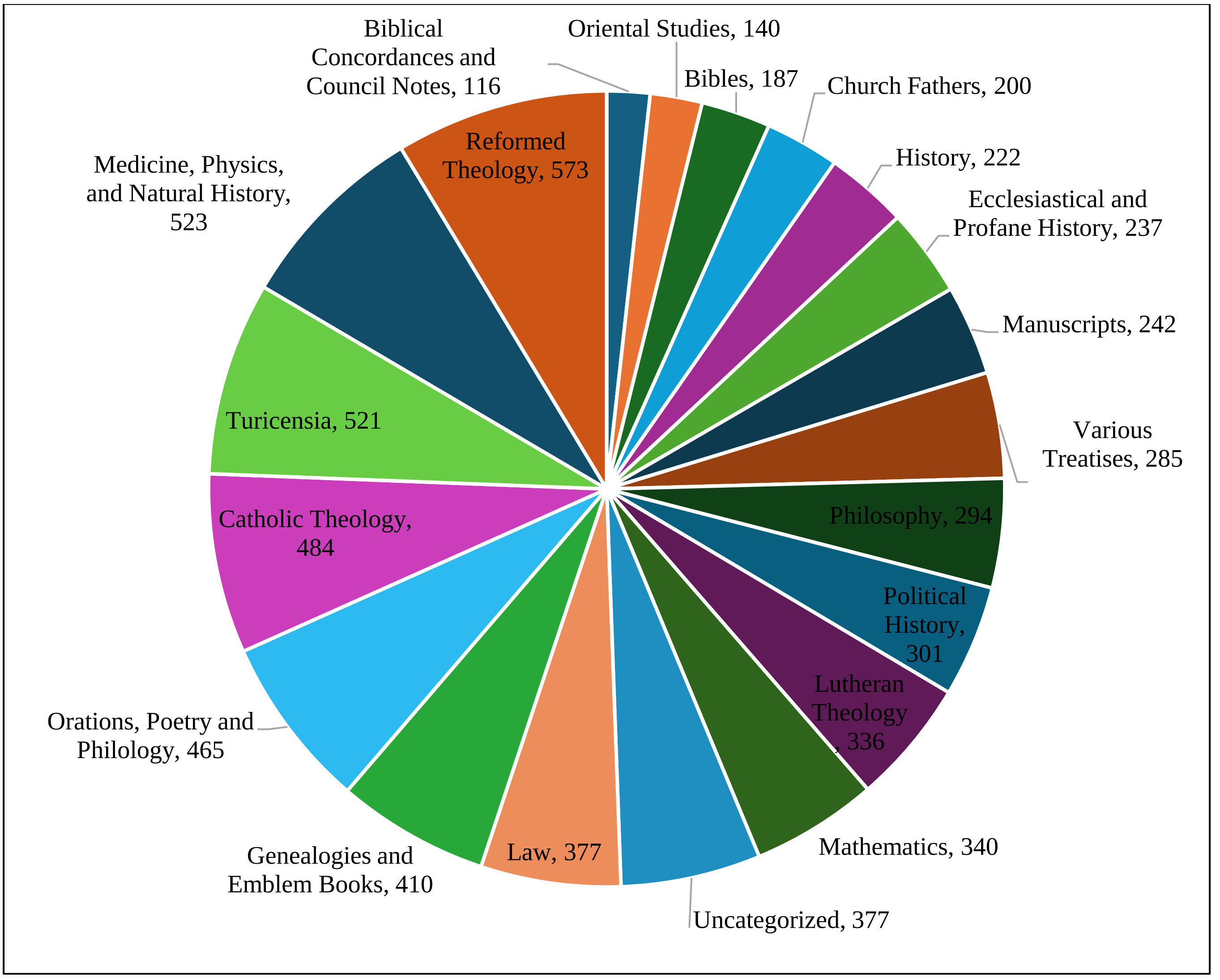

FIGURE 4: Distribution of Books in the Bürgerbibliothek by Subject, May 1683.

The *Bürgerbibliothek*'s sustained growth through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries points to its consistent use by the citizens of Zurich as an intellectual resource. The library's reliance on private donations, however, worked in many ways against guaranteeing this result, since the *Bibliothekgesellschaft*, besides selling duplicates, would have had little say in what kinds of books it was acquiring from benefactors, especially in the library's earliest days. This section will compare details of the editions acquired by *Bürgerbibliothek* in the first and fifth decades after its inaguaration, evidencing how the *Bibliothekgesellschaft* and their patrons each worked to shape the library's collections according to their own tastes and concerns in the years following its founding.

***Place of Printing and the Cultivation of* Turicensia**

Comparing the bibliographic details of the volumes that arrived in the 1630s and fifty years later reveals what types of books donors qualified as worthy of gifting to the *Bürgerbibliothek* and the character they envisioned for the library to take on, as well as how these ideas changed over time. This data also shows how the learned elite of Zurich interacted with the wider European book trade. Most texts that arrived in the *Bürgerbibliothek* in the 1630s and 1680s were printed in Zurich, followed closely in both instances by Basel, the traditional Humanist literary emporium of the Swiss Confederacy located less than 100 kilometres away and a perpetual confessional, mercantile, and political ally to Zurich. In the 1630s, the established print centres of Venice, a regular trade partner which lay just south of the Alps and Frankfurt am Main, easily accessible on the Rhine by way of Basel, came in third and fourth place, respectively, while a large number of the books that arrived in the library in the 1680s were printed in Amsterdam, by this point one of the most prolific book-producing cities in the world.[122]

The strong showing of Zurich imprints in the city library comes as no surprise. Most of the donors to the library were from Zurich themselves and while books from faraway London or Leiden might have impressed with the distance they travelled, it would have been simpler and more cost effective for local benefactors to source titles from their own city. While it never reached the same levels of production it achieved during the Reformation, the Zurich printing industry remained competitive throughout the seventeenth century, with around fourteen different printing enterprises active in the town between the founding of the city library in 1629 and 1699.[123] At least half of these made donations to the

Bürgerbibliothek, including the goldsmith-turned-printer Hans Jakob Bodmer, whose 1629 bequest of over 75 volumes, all printed in his workshop, represents the single largest donation received by the library from an individual donor over the period covered by the register.[124] The printer Michael Schaufelberger sent one of his books to the *Bürgerbibliothek* on every New Year's Day from 1666 to 1673, taking advantage of the *Bürgerbibliothek*'s capacity for preserving and popularizing his own handiwork while participating in one of the cultural traditions that surrounded patronizing the city library.[125]

Maintaining local representation in the stacks was also a matter of civic pride for the people of Zurich. The 1683 subject index reveals the library kept two bookcases that held over five hundred works of '*Scriptores Tigurani'*, also known as *Turicensia*, or writings by Zurich authors. The *Bürgerbibliothek* was founded with the goal of promoting and protecting the scholarly heritage of Zurich, a duty it fulfilled in part by displaying its local holdings in such a deliberate manner, physically laying out evidence of Zurich's past and present strength as an intellectual centre. In 1678, a pamphlet of *desiderata* was printed and circulated amongst the citizenry, listing which works by Zurich authors the library had yet to acquire and promising a reward to whoever brought their copies forward.[126] That same year, the city council legislated that all Zurich authors and printers were required to hand copies of their new titles to the *Bürgerbibliothek* as they were released and at their own expense, whether printed domestically or abroad.[127] The donors' register of the *Bürgerbibliothek* shows that these programmes were at least partially effective, even if we cannot observe a tangible spike in donation rates. Already in 1678, the city physician Jakob Ziegler donated two texts by his father of the same name that were explicitly named in the pamphlet. One year later, Johann Heinrich Fries, who had already patronised the library in in 1675 and 1678, donated a lost book by Konrad Huser.[128] In 1680, the pastor Leonhard Engeler donated nine books by various authors from the library of his late father, all of which had been named as *desiderata*.[129] This decree was renewed in 1692 and 1728, suggesting that any signs of initial enthusiasm might not have been sustained beyond the 1680s.[130]

Age and Format

The age and format of the books gifted to the library further speak as to how they were valued by their donors and the library builders of seventeenth-century Zurich. Most books that entered the *Bürgerbibliothek* in the 1630s were produced after 1600, with a considerable number from the last decades of the sixteenth century as well, while most donations in the 1680s were printed that same decade. The *Bürgerbibliothek* was thus always equipped with the latest literature, keeping the learned citizens of Zurich up to date with the most recent advances in a variety of fields. There were, of course, exceptions. The donors' register often explicitly noted when it received books printed at the workshops of Aldus Manutius, the Estienne family and local stalwart Christoph Froschauer, pointing to the prestige associated with these historic masters of their craft.

This is not to say that older books did not find their way to the *Bürgerbibliothek.* Hundreds of books from the first half of the sixteenth century and over fifty incunabula were donated to the library in the 1630s, including dozens of fifteenth-century Venetian and Lyonnaise legal texts from the Zurich town hall, a German legendary printed in Bad Urach in 1481 and a 1477 German-language Günther Zainer Bible printed in Augsburg.[131] By contrast, the 1680s only saw five books donated from the *entire* sixteenth century, all produced after 1575, and one incunable, Eberhard Schleusinger's 1472 *Tractatus de Cometis*, which only came to the library as part of Leonhard Engeler's exchange of *desiderata.*[132] This reflects the library's inability to attract more impressive individual donations fifty years after it opened as well as a general lack of access to older books in Zurich two hundred years removed from the invention of moveable type.

Format is another category which speaks to the value of a book and how it might be displayed in the *Bürgerbibliothek*. Most of the books donated to the library in the 1630s were folios, of which there were over five hundred volumes, followed by some four hundred octavos and just over three hundred quartos. A mere fifty duodecimos arrived at the library in this decade, many as part of the May 1630 donation of military man Hans Grebel, who gifted twenty duodecimo histories of various European states, all printed in Leiden by the Elzeviers between 1626 and 1632.[133]

Contrastingly, only twenty folios arrived at the *Bürgerbibliothek* in the 1680s, compared to over fifty octavos, around forty duodecimos, and a similar number of quartos. Folios, while impressive both in size and in form, were more expensive to produce than their smaller counterparts. Consequently, over three times more quartos were printed than folios in Europe since the invention of moveable type and represented the most popular option for printers in the seventeenth century. In Zurich, too, the quarto and the octavo reigned supreme and were both respectively produced at over four times the rate of folios. The Universal Short Title Catalogue records only a single folio as having been printed in the city in the 1630s, a full Zurich Bible produced by Dorothea Pestalozzi, the widow of Hans Jakob Bodmer, in 1638.

Yet, as expensive as they might have been to purchase or produce, the folio ultimately made for a much more impressive gift than a quarto or octavo. Imposing in size and often illustrated, the folio would have been the first choice of any learned donor who wanted to make a name for themself in Zürcher patronage circles, especially in the 1630s, when the new civic library was first getting off the ground and enthusiasm for the project was still fresh. Notable gifts of folios from this era include a fully coloured first edition of Conrad Gessner's *Historia animalium* in four volumes, arriving in the *Bürgerbibliothek* as part of the city hall library transfer along with scores of legal incunabula, most of which were also in folio.[134]

The brothers Orelli donated a dozen recent Italian architectural folios in 1635, all of which would have included intricate graphics and diagrams.[135] The donors' register gives us a hint of the monetary value of such volumes. On 5 April 1680, the merchant Hans Georg Orelli donated eleven folio volumes of master cartographer Jan Jansson's *Novus atlas*, which the register notes was worth 200 Gulden, equivalent to just under half the average annual household income in the atlas' native Amsterdam.[136] The sheer number of folio volumes the library received in its first decade is another reminder of the initial hold it had over its patrons, who enthusiastically lavished expensive and visually impressive books on the new civic building project, while the relative lack of such volumes only fifty years later points to how quickly this excitement wore off.

Subject Matter

The May 1683 subject index of the library's holdings shows which types of knowledge the *Bürgerbibliothek* had accumulated in the fifty years since it opened and how different books were valued, organised, and displayed in the library space. The twenty-five new bookshelves hugged the walls of the former choir of the Wasserkirche and formed a ring around the reading room. The placement of the bookcases was deliberate. The two first cases sat at the back of the choir but faced the entrance of the hall and were thus the first a visitor would see upon arrival. These held numerous rare and valuable editions of the Bible and were followed to the right by a shelf of biblical commentaries and concordances, one of works by the Church Fathers, and two shelves of Reformed theology. The next shelves were dedicated to Lutheran and Catholic theology, followed by two of juridical writings and four historical-political shelves for works of history, politics and political history, ecclesiastical and 'profane' history, and genealogies and emblem books, respectively. After these were shelves for mathematics, manuscripts, Greek and Roman poetry, orations and philology, 'Orientalist' literature, and two shelves for medicine, physics, and natural history. The circle was closed by two bookcases of *Turicensia*, which would have also been located at the back of the hall and thus in a visitor's immediate line of sight.[137]

The 1683 index also notes the number of volumes held on each shelf, enabling us to plot the distribution of books by subject in the *Bürgerbibliothek* in the last decades of the seventeenth century and chart the development of the library's holdings over its first fifty years. As might be expected, the largest proportion of books housed in the *Bürgerbibliothek* in the 1630s and the 1680s were works of Reformed theology. These were complemented by a strong showing of Lutheran and even Catholic writers in line with contemporary library building tastes aimed at achieving a collection of universal knowledge as prescribed, most notably, by Gabriel Naudé in his *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque,* which appeared only two years before work started on the Zurich public library.[138] Indeed, by 1683, the *Bürgerbibliothek* had accumulated enough books of Lutheran theology to fill an entire shelf, while Catholic writings were spread over two.

The academic disciplines of 'physics' and law are each given multiple shelves in the library's 1683 classification system. Like theology, the young men of Zurich would have also encountered the natural sciences at the *Carolinum*, where a professorship in 'physics', which encompassed mathematics and natural history as well as ethics, had existed since the great naturalist Conrad Gessner first held the post in the 1540s, although prospective practitioners would have still required further education only attainable outside Zurich to be allowed to work.[139] The same was true of any would-be lawyers and jurists.

Accordingly, most donations in these genres were gifted by individuals with professional associations to the subject. In 1632, the physician Jakob Ziegler donated two of Conrad Gessner's biological texts and later gifted his own treatise on fermentation and decomposition after it was published in Basel in 1647, as well as printed medical disputations in which he had participated during his university days in Basel and Königsberg.[140] Scientific instruments were also given to the library. In the 1630s alone, the library's museum of curiosities received a globe, a sundial, and a French instrument for surveying land mounted on a tripod.[141] Likewise, the *Bürgerbibliothek* acquired most of its juridical literature from individuals like the Genevan jurist Jacques Godefroy (1636) or the Padua-trained lawyer and city councillor Hans Caspar Hirzel (1642). Most of the *Bürgerbibliothek*'s legal holdings actually came from the library of the Zurich city hall, which was transferred *en bloc* to the *Bürgerbibliothek* in May 1630. Although these types of literature would have ultimately appealed to a far more limited demographic than popular theological works, we nonetheless find a considerable number of them in the library of a town where matriculating as a medical doctor or lawyer was impossible, pointing to the enthusiasm with which these professionals sought to share the specialized knowledge they had accumulated over the course of their practice.

According to the 1683 index, the *Bürgerbibliohtek* dedicated four shelves to broadly 'historical' subgenres, which together held over 1,100 volumes, or close to one fifth of the library's total holdings. This influx of new literature in the humanities reflects a growing popular interest in these up-and-coming genres on the eve of the Enlightenment. In the late 1670s, a handful of recent *Carolinum* graduates founded the *Collegium Insulanum*, a literary society whose members would meet every Tuesday on the upper floor of the Wasserkirche to give lectures in Latin or any of the vernacular languages of the Swiss Confederacy on medical, scientific, philosophical, political, or archaeological topics of the presenter's choice.[142]

Most, if not all members of the *Bürgerbibliothek*'s literary societies served on the *Bibliothekgesellschaft* at some point and patronised the city library throughout their political and intellectual careers, with their donations often complementing the content of their lectures. Hans Heinrich Rahn, a founding member of the *Collegium Insulanum*, delivered a talk on foreign policy of the Swiss Confederacy; Rahn would also donate close to two dozen titles to the *Bürgerbibliothek* over a period fifty years, including his own chronicle of the Swiss Confederacy.[143] Christoph Werdmüller spoke to the *Collegium Insulanum* on changes to the military regiment in Zurich; in 1667, he presented his dissertation on the topic to the *Bürgerbibliothek*.[144] Johann Jakob Wagner, another founding member of the *Collegium Insulanum*, also donated many of his own writings to the *Bürgerbibliothek* in the 1670s and 1680s, including the first printed natural history of Switzerland and the handwritten *Historia Bibliothecae Tigurinorum Civicae*, the earliest complete history of the *Bürgerbibliothek*.[145] The prevalence of these literary societies and their members in the *Bürgerbibliothek* as patrons, administrators, and donors demonstrates how the public library was used as an alternative intellectual space for the fostering of new Enlightenment ideas in the sciences and humanities in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

Conclusion

On 25 July 1634, the young Hungarian theologians Lásló Mezó Szanthai and Mihály Fabri Dobraviczai, two of the few foreign-born students to graduate from the *Carolinum* in the early seventeenth century, donated the four volumes of the German-Dutch thinker Nicolaus Vedel's *Arcana Arminianismi*, printed in Leiden between 1632 and 1634, to the Zurich *Bürgerbibliothek.*[146] Like so many of their colleagues at the *Carolinum*, Szanthai and Dobraviczai proceeded from Zurich to matriculate at the University of Basel, where they defended their theses in 1633 and 1632, respectively.[147] It was in Basel that the pair likely met or became aware of Vedel, a former professor of philosophy in Geneva who was also trying for his doctorate at the Swiss university to qualify for a teaching position in

Deventer.[148] After graduating from Basel, Szanthai and Dobraviczai travelled together back to Hungary, just as so many Zurich natives were similarly expected to come home following their academic success abroad. Dobraviczai can later be found working at the Reformed *Collegium* in Sárospatak, where Szanthai was also likely active.[149] Before returning east, however, the expatriates made a point of returning once more to the city that kickstarted their scholarly careers and share with the citizens of Zurich a taste of the knowledge they had acquired over the course of their personal intellectual journeys.

Szanthai and Dobraviczai's engagement with the *Bürgerbibliothek* is evocative of the larger relationship between the Zurich public library and its donors in the seventeenth century. The *Bibliotheca Tigurinorum civica* was founded to cultivate in earnest the spiritual and scientific education of the citizens of Zurich. The library received considerable local and foreign support in the decade following its founding, with benefactors from a variety of elite professional backgrounds seeing in their donations and patronage of the *Bürgerbibliothek* a means of furthering their own social and political advancement, publicizing their own scholarly work or, as was the case with Szanthai and Dobraviczai, preserving information on any of a number of topics, traditional or contemporary, they deemed worthy of transmitting to a wider audience.

Although foreign and, to a lesser extent, local interest in the *Bürgerbibliothek* dropped off significantly towards the end of the seventeenth century, the public library remained a cultural mainstay in Zurich through to 1915, when it was amalgamated along with a handful of other libraries in the canton to form the *Zentralbibliothek Zurich.* Many of the titles that arrived in the *Bürgerbibliothek* in the early modern period remain in Zurich to this day, including Szanthai and Dobraviczai's copy of *Arcana Armianismi*, a lasting monument to the magisterial political and intellectual culture of the city in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Nonetheless, a proper study of the whereabouts of lost books, such as the engraver and printer Matthäus Merian’s gifted edition of his illustrated history of the world, is necessary.[150] Therefore, although the *Bibliotheca Tigurinorum civica* never reached the same levels of renown as some of its more cosmopolitan contemporaries, its librarians and their patrons fulfilled their duties to the citizens of Zurich with diligence and dignity deserving of the words of the poet Balthasar Venator: ‘The honour of Parnassus and the whole of Helicon / belongs either to Zurich or to no place at all’.[151]

Swapping Gossip, Swapping Profit: The Book Barter Economy in the Early Modern Low Countries

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Abstract: The early modern book economy thrived on a system of bartering, swapping printed sheets for printed sheets or other valuable bookish material. Widely discussed as *Tauschhandel* in the context of the Frankfurt Book Fair, this practice continued to flourish in the Low Countries the seventeenth century as the fair's popularity declined. This article examines the bartering practices between the Officina Plantiniana in the city of Antwerp, the best documented print business of the handpress era, and merchants and booksellers in their northern neighbour Amsterdam. While the output of the Plantin presses is well-studied, its input, including maps, lottery tickets, reams of high-quality French and Dutch paper, and even luxury objects like sugar and globes, has gone unrecognised. Ultimately, I argue that Dutch sellers were motivated to barter with the Officina due to their superior access to books, paper, and other luxury goods, and their robust professional and personal networks.

Keywords: book trade, social history, economic history, Officina Plantiniana, Dutch Republic, Blaeu, Elzevier, atlas, paper trade

Word count: 5,722 (excluding references)

‘We are not engaged in printing to exchange books for books, but to make money from them.’ So wrote Balthasar II Moretus, head of the famous Officina Plantinana firm in Antwerp, to his colleague, master mapmaker Willem Blaeu in Amsterdam, in 1634.[152] In one sense, this was a straightforward complaint. Moretus and Blaeu were both regular traders at the Frankfurt Book Fair, and other booksellers’ insistence on the practice of *Tauschhandel,* directly exchanging printed sheets for printed sheets, was potentially disruptive to his cash flow. In another sense, Moretus’ comment was deeply ironic. He and Blaeu themselves exchanged valuable books both inside and outside the fair, and their sons and generations of the businesses they established would sustain themselves sending books back and forth through the end of the seventeenth century. These two powerful printers were emblematic of the flourishing book trades in their respective cities: they were friends and collaborators as well as direct competitors, to the point that Joan Blaeu, Willem Blaeu's son, would even make a name for himself counterfeiting books as being printed by Balthasar III Moretus.[153] The relationship of these two men, and of booksellers in Antwerp and Amsterdam, was predicated on this early modern barter system.

This article calls Balthasar’s bluff by demonstrating just how much extending *Tauschhandel* beyond the fairs allowed his business to flourish. In particular, his business flourished in his exchanges with publishers and merchants in the wealthy and well-connected city of Amsterdam, north of the border into the Dutch Republic. While Dutch publishers were the first to resist the practice in the Frankfurt Book Fair, they eagerly pursued *compte de change* (accounting by exchange) with their colleagues in the Southern Netherlands rather than paying in cash in all areas of their businesses.[154] Using ledgers from the uniquely comprehensive Plantin-Moretus archives, this article examines how the famous Officina Plantiniana in Antwerp settled its accounts with clients in Amsterdam in the second half of the seventeenth century. These accounts show, it argues, that the Dutch enthusiasm for bartering was motivated by their exceptional access to books, paper, and other luxury goods in the second half of the seventeenth century. It was also motivated by personal and professional relationships between peers and privileged access to networks of information.

In the first hundred years of the book, it was not clear it would survive as a new technology. [155] The overheads were high, and the compensation was uncertain, leading most publishers to choose sensible and conservative material to print. Books were also unique commodities because they were not only mass-produced objects, but repositories of ideas, and therefore required a keen sense from printers and publishers where and how they might be most valuable. As Paul Nelles writes, ‘space was not something through which books simply floated – books also created their own currents’.[156] An influential book could not only sell well but invite reprints or new editions, or conversely, printed corrections or angry responses from its detractors. As a result, the substantial investment that went into their production was not always repaid in cash but could be compensated in many different types of credit.[157] Much of this changed with the growing popularity of the Frankfurt Book Fair, and the increasing adaptation of the barter system.

The Frankfurt Book Fair’s history goes back to at least 1485, where the Free Imperial city of Frankfurt-am-Main began to grow a reputation as a place to sell books.[158] What followed was a hugely popular and successful twice-yearly fair alongside a parallel event in Leipzig, where a printed catalogue was distributed in advance and publishers travelled from across Europe to buy and sell printed wares of their own. In the early modern period, it was expensive and dangerous to buy and ship books across significant distances, so a biannual market was an ideal solution for many. However, with such an international marketplace of booksellers, buying in cash was complex. Carrying cash was not always simple across borders either due to the material differences between currencies and the high risk of theft.

As a result, printers and booksellers established systems of credit, used proxies, or exchanged books at the fairs, leading to the barter, *Tauschhandel*, or *Changehandel* system. While the concepts of credit systems and bartering were not new to the early modern period and were in fact firmly rooted in the medieval economy, they functioned particularly well with the exchange of printed sheets. This became a popular way to get rid of old stock and obtain something new to bring home.[159] By 1650, however, the Frankfurt fairs were in decline, despite the industrious participation of the Dutch there as well as at the Leipzig fair. This was in part due to their own undercutting: as Ian Maclean has observed, Dutch publishers began to insist on 1:3 or 1:4 ratios in order to accept the offer of a book barter.[160]

Christoph Plantin and his successors as heads of the Officina Plantiniana, including Balthasar II Moretus, made these fairs a cornerstone of their business. From the founding of the firm in 1548 through the seventeenth century, members of the firm regularly made the trek from Antwerp to Frankfurt in order to do international business.[161] Thanks to the fastidious record-keeping of its many generations of master printers, the firm's records of trade and payment survive in a remarkably complete state.[162]

The other element of this case study, the city of Amsterdam, became a powerhouse of print in the seventeenth century. It had longstanding trade connections with Antwerp, which was only around 150 kilometres away. In the sixteenth century, Antwerp had dominated Amsterdam in its output of printed material. While booksellers in Amsterdam continued to import huge quantities of print from Antwerp in the seventeenth century, the power dynamic changed. In this period, the Officina was also increasingly specialising in liturgical books, a product that Reformed booksellers were not always willing to buy.[163] Important firms in Amsterdam such as the Elzeviers, the mapmaking Hondius family, and the famous Blaeu family of cartographers began to produce new works on a similar or even greater scale than the Plantin-Moretus business, as a result developing close business and personal relationships with the Officina Plantiniana and the Moretus family. Amsterdam also became a major supplier of paper for the Officina in the second half of the seventeenth century. While France supplied nearly all European paper for three quarters of the seventeenth century, Dutch mills began to overtake its production in the 1670s and 1680s. By 1685, they had critically shifted the market in their favour.[164] While not all Dutch publishers were wealthy and successful on the scale of the Blaeu or Elzevier families, the Dutch dominance in printing and paper supply put them in an ideal position of power from which they could barter.

Using the remarkable surviving records of the Plantin-Moretus archive, these changing power dynamics in the second half of the seventeenth century allow for a unique snapshot of how books were bartered between Antwerp and Amsterdam. In particular, these records provide a level of depth into the practicalities of trading and shipping books unusual for the seventeenth century and paint a vivid picture of the actors involved. This article will discuss these practicalities before turning to examine the practice of *Tauschhandel* outside the Frankfurt and Leipzig book fairs in the seventeenth century, and finally the exchange of non-book materials, including paper, lottery tickets, globes, and sugar. By looking at how these *comptes de change* were resolved, we see how Dutch publishers and merchants leveraged their unparallelled access to print-related material and information to barter their way to commercial success.

Barrels, Boxes, and Bankruptcy: The Practicalities of the Barter Economy

The archival records of the Officina Plantiniana provide a remarkably detailed perspective on how this *compte de change* functioned. Correspondences, ledgers, bills of sale, and even travel receipts and handwritten bills of sale over hundreds of years are carefully preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Archive. This was in part due to the fastidious recordkeeping of the family. As their most famous archivist and documentarian Leon Voet wrote in 1969,

> In many cases chance alone must have decided what went into the waste paper basket and what was preserved for posterity, although the volume of material that has survived gives the reader the impression that the almost obsessive care of Plantin and the Moretuses for their documents prevented much from being thrown away.[165]

This obsessive care is to our benefit. There are few early modern printing firms for which such exceptional documentation survives, especially firms with such comprehensive international distribution. While it is simple to imagine booksellers swapping printed sheets at the Frankfurt Book Fair, the practicalities of a broader barter system raise significant questions, including who was participating, how value was established for the books and objects involved, and how these materials actually crossed borders.

The Plantin-Moretus can provide detailed answers to all of these questions. Even in the seventeenth century, the structure of the archive was intentional, careful, and accessible. All outgoing correspondences were copied into *copieboeken*, and incoming correspondences bound into large volumes. The most relevant records to this study are the *grootboeken*, or *grand livres*, compiled by the head of the firm at the time to record transactions with other booksellers. From 1579 to 1671, these were arranged into two separate categories: booksellers in Antwerp, and booksellers outside of Antwerp (*Boekhandelaren buiten Antwerpen*).[166] After 1671, these three parallel series of booksellers, merchants, and Frankfurt Book Fair clients converged into one volume. Additional ledgers represent trips undertaken by various members of the firm to the Dutch Republic, in order to settle accounts with booksellers and merchants. Studying these ledgers makes it possible to reconstruct how many Dutch booksellers and merchants were trading with the firm, and establish when this took place.

To note that the Dutch book trade of the seventeenth century was remarkably successful is to say nothing new. The Dutch produced and consumed more printed material per person than any other country in Europe by a significant margin.[167] In 2019, Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen proposed a compelling reason for this: that Dutch printers and booksellers' success was due to their intelligent business strategies in reaching underserved markets in Eastern Europe and the Baltic, which was in part made up of importing large and expensive religious, medical, and philosophical texts from France and the Southern Netherlands. The resulting wealth caused this industry to grow even more dramatically. The material on Dutch booksellers in this article is largely sourced from the *grootboeken* or *grand livres* of the firm, the accounting ledgers, as well as a number of smaller ledgers kept on specific trips to the Dutch Republic undertaken by members of the Moretus family in 1656, 1671, and 1704, as well as records from the Frankfurt Book Fair. This work has yielded a list of 300 Dutch accounts held with the Officina Plantiniana between 1579 and 1732: 226 booksellers, 62 merchants, 9 individual buyers, and 3 organisations.[168]

This work revealed an enormous number of collaborators across the century and a half of its scope. The Officinia Plantinana traded with a huge variety of individuals, clerics, laity, booksellers, publishers, and merchants. Books were exchanged for all sorts of other goods including other books, paper, and maps. Although some booksellers from the Dutch Republic would travel to Antwerp and buy books in cash at the brick-and-mortar Officina Plantiniana, this was not always necessary. Sometimes, collaborators would travel to Antwerp. Gerrit Verduyn, a paper merchant in Amsterdam, was close to the Moretus family, and would regularly come and stay with them.[169] However, more commonly booksellers would send letters of order to the master printer, who would then send the books to them at their expense.[170]

There were several different ways that they could pay. Most frequently, booksellers would pay in their local currency, the Holland guilder, and send it to Moretus through a

Dutch proxy, setting up a system of credits and debits. In their ledgers, the Moretuses would record the agreed-on price of the books sent in Carolus guilders and stuivers, with 20 stuivers to a guilder. Books could cost as little as a single stuiver for a broadsheet or pamphlet and as many as 700 or 800 guilders for an expensive multivolume set. In the Dutch Republic in this period, these proxies were usually either Levinus or Ysbrand Vincent, two paper merchants in Amsterdam who worked closely with the Plantin-Moretus firm.[171] If northern booksellers were selling their wares at the Frankfurt Book Fair, they could purchase books from the Southern Netherlands there, although as previously mentioned this became less popular for booksellers in the Low Countries over the course of the seventeenth century.[172] The Officina Plantiniana had a catalogue of missals and breviaries that they distributed internationally. One Amsterdam bookseller, Willem van Bloemen, was interested in importing them and wrote in 1695 to ask for one of these catalogues to be sent to him.[173] Books were shipped unbound in sheets, packed into boxes, barrels, chests, and caskets. The buyer was expected to bear the cost of the shipment in its entirety, which motivated some merchants to visit Antwerp in person to supervise the process.[174] While shipments to Rome or Spain could take a year or more to arrive, shipping to the Northern Netherlands was closer to days or weeks. For some booksellers, such as those in Zeeland, Antwerp was far closer than the print centres of Holland, only a short ride through the canals away. An expedited carriage or boat carrying post could move from Rotterdam to Antwerp in a day.[175]

Some merchants would also be paid to ship books to Spain on behalf of the Plantin-Moretus firm. This became a profitable trade in the second half of the seventeenth century, when the firm increasingly specialised in producing liturgical books for eager audiences of monasteries in Spain. The Spanish Hieronymites ordered thousands of copies of a regular number of liturgical books, and their enormous orders reorganised the priorities of the Officina.[176] In order to ensure these books shipped safely, they hired merchants such as

Catharina Kiel in Middelburg to manage insurance, money, and shipping on their behalf. Kiel, and others like her, also frequently functioned as a secondary bank for the firm in the Dutch Republic, collecting debts from negligent booksellers who had not yet paid.[177]

At regular intervals, the head of the firm would take business trips to the Dutch Republic, often to follow up with dozens of these debtors at a time.[178] The litany of misery that emerged from these trips was consistent. Gerard de Langes of Amsterdam, for example, could not pay as he was bankrupt and had fled to the Indies, leaving his family behind, and his widow had moved to Emmerich. Similarly, Joos Colster of Leiden had moved to the Indies, this time with his family, to escape his debts.[179] Several of these entries indicate that the Vincent brothers collected money on behalf of the firm, or at least asked the debtors in-person if they could pay. For example, the Amsterdam bookseller Andreas Frisius had already settled his debts with the Vincents by the time Balthasar III arrived to meet with him in 1671.[180] When Balthasar III recorded meeting with the Vincents on his trip in 1671, he simply noted debts they had collected on his behalf, rather than those they owed him. In one case, Levinus and Ysbrand Vincent even paid bail for one of the Moretus' clients, Jean Emmanuel Huegla, after he was put in a debtor's prison.[181]

Sometimes, booksellers did not pay their debts for years or even decades. Willem Willeborts of Delft had been a customer of the firm since 1580, and when he ordered books in 1594 and 1609 he did not pay these debts back right away. Though he died sometime before 1629, his unpaid debts to the firm were listed, attributed to his son, until at least 1671. The same is true of the unfortunate Bernard Langenes of Middelburg, whose unpaid debt of 30 guilders and 2 stuivers accrued in 1597 was still being pursued in 1671.[182] Without trusted relationships, these transactions could be damaging both to buyer and seller. The completeness of these records is essential for such vivid pictures of the Plantin-Moretus firm's dependents.

Tauschhandel Inside and Outside the Frankfurt Book Fair

Despite the debts accrued by some Dutch booksellers, in general they were the most accomplished in early modern Europe. In the seventeenth century, the book trade in the Dutch Republic flourished because its printers, publishers and booksellers understood how to exploit gaps in both domestic and international markets.[183] The lack of any sort of meaningful censorship in the Dutch Republic also meant that they had many more opportunities to pirate or sell heterodox books than their Southern Netherlandish colleagues.[184] This in itself could sometimes facilitate trade between Amsterdam and Antwerp: in 1655, the Amsterdam bookseller Joachim van Metelen sent Balthasar II Moretus a copy of Isaac La Peyrère's *Prae-Adamitae*, first published the same year.[185] This work caused instant controversy among Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish authorities, due to its argument that humans existed before Adam and Eve. It was so controversial that it was even banned in the usually lax Dutch Republic before the end of the same year. However, it was also popular, as at least four editions were printed in 1655.[186] It was certainly not a book that Balthasar Moretus would have been able to sell openly. However, for a certain clientele it would have held enormous resale value.

In the course of regular daily transactions, the head of the firm would record the sale of books and payment both in daily *journals* and *grootboeken* or *grand livres*, which could cover years or even decades. These are laid out like traditional ledgers, with debits on the left-hand side (verso) and credits on the right (the recto of the next leaf). While they are mostly payments through proxies, these credits also reveal a wealth of books and related objects being sent to the Plantin-Moretus by Dutch booksellers. In this period, most of these fit under two categories: liturgical books and maps. Interestingly, these were two genres in which the firm itself already specialised.[187]

While the Plantin-Moretus firm was largely producing liturgical books by this point, it was well aware of its competition thanks to the books it received from competitors in Amsterdam. The Van Metelen family was a middling printing and bookselling family in Amsterdam who traded extensively with the Plantin-Moretus. Due in part to their shared Catholic faith, the Van Metelens ordered thousands of guilders worth of liturgical books and sent many books back in return. Both Joachim and his son and heir Frederik spent years selling Catholic liturgical books printed by Joan Blaeu in Amsterdam, a direct competitor, back to the firm, while ordering Catholic liturgical books from Antwerp. In 1674, Joachim sent a breviary in four volumes worth 4 guilders. In 1678 he sent a breviary printed by Blaeu worth 7 guilders 2 stuivers.[188]

The Blaeu firm itself printed both maps and liturgical books, and ordered both from the Plantin-Moretus. There are several examples of Joan Blaeu sending his own atlases as payment to Moretus, including an *Atlas Latine* on 12 May 1672. Moretus recorded the value of this famous atlas, comprised of 11 volumes of coloured engravings, at an astounding 767 guilders 10 stuivers.[189] The same year, Joan Blaeu also sent a missal worth 13 stuivers and an *Atlas Hispanice* in ten volumes worth 639 guilders 4 stuivers. In 1673, he sent an *Atlas Gallice* worth 344 guilders 10 stuivers. These were remarkable sums: skilled compositors at the Officina Plantiniana were paid about 1 guilder a day. These three atlases alone would have paid the salary of one of these compositors for 1,751 days, or 4 years, 9 months, and 18 days of constant work.[190] Along with liturgical books, Joachim van Metelen sent a map book of Amsterdam worth 7 guilders. The next year, he sent a travel diary of a journey to China as well, this time worth 14 guilders.[191] In 1685, Frederik van Metelen sent Moretus '*diverse lantcarten'* (various maps) worth 17 guilders and 7 stuivers.[192]

Another major seller was the Amsterdam printer and bookseller Abraham Wolfgang. Between 1681 and 1693, he racked up around 600 guilders worth of debt ordering missals and other liturgical books from the Plantin-Moretus. However, he repaid this handsomely not only in cash but with maps worth hundreds of guilders. He sent Moretus parts of Blaeu's *Atlas Maior* and a number of '*kaertboeken'*, map books, one depicting the Seventeen Provinces of the sixteenth-century Low Countries.[193] In 1680, Wolfgang sent a twelve-volume Blaeu atlas worth 691 guilders.[194] It is very likely that the Blaeu atlases that Wolfgang sold to Moretus were the same ones that he had bought at auction several years previously. In 1674, Joan II Blaeu held three auctions at his family home on the Bloemgracht, one of which was comprised entirely of atlases, books of town descriptions, and copper plates. Wolfgang and his company bought the lion's share of these materials, which he was proceeded to sell to Blaeu's competitor Moretus.[195] Sometimes, rather than single high-value works, booksellers sent larger numbers of copies. In 1677, the bookseller Andreas Frisius sent in 12 copies of Horstius' *Paradisus Animae* for 12 guilders 17 stuivers.[196]

While these enormous missals and atlases were shipped from north to south and south to north, there were other places where Dutch booksellers could sell books to the Officina: at the Frankfurt Book Fair, and to the Moretuses directly when they visited the Dutch Republic on business.[197] While the Officina Plantiniana had been a regular attendee of the fair, the conflicts of the seventeenth century and the ascendancy of the Dutch book trade led Balthasar Moretus II to stop attending after 1662. After the highs of the seventeenth century, where at least 135 northern publishers were selling their wares, Dutch attendance declined as well.[198] The Peace of Munster in 1648 and the resulting closure of the Scheldt River in the same year in Antwerp, an essential trade and transport link, probably affected this decision.[199] At the fair, it was a frequent and well-documented practice to 'exchange books for books', as Moretus complained about, in order to avoid carrying too much cash or having to figure out international exchange rates.[200] Similarly, the Moretuses were sometimes forced to visit the Dutch Republic themselves in order to chase up clients who had not paid their debts in years or decades. This occurred in spite of the proxies they used to collect regular payments.

One remarkable document allows us to compare sales with his book fair clients and his trip ledger directly. In 1644, in the final years of the Thirty Years' War, Balthasar II Moretus decided to make the perilous trek to Frankfurt Book Fair in person. On the way, his party were robbed and forced to pay off marauding Dutch cavalry, ultimately requiring them to hire a military escort.[201] Moretus only returned to the fair in 1656. Curiously, he seems to have used the same ledger of Dutch booksellers for both trips as well as regular trade in between, and on his 1656 trip visited the Dutch Republic in person, between 3 and 17 May. This provides a unique opportunity to compare the number of booksellers who traded books with him in both.[202] The largest client at the fairs was unquestionably the prosperous Elzevier firm. Between 1644 and 1646, Moretus recorded in his travel journal 201 total copies of 16 different books that Louis and Daniel Elzevier sold him between 1644 and 1646. These had a huge range, include medical textbooks, theological works, natural histories, and French political works. In the same timeframe, Moretus sold Elzevier 71 copies of 25 different books in return.[203] Of 24 Dutch booksellers Moretus interacted with on this journey, 11 were from Amsterdam. Of these 11, only three paid any of their debts in books, with 8 (33%) paying in books overall. Of these clients, the Elzevier, Janssonius, and Verhoeven firms were the only ones who had traded books with Moretus in 1644 and were continuing to do so by 1656. The character of these books in this period is far more consistent with the Frankfurt fair than the regular ledgers, characterised mostly by political, medical, and philosophical works.

Fifteen years later, in 1671, a twenty-five-year-old Balthasar III Moretus embarked on his first business trip on behalf of the firm. In his travel ledger, he was equipped with a signed letter from Balthasar van der Beek, then head of the Dutch Jesuit mission in Amsterdam, recommending him as a courteous guest.[204] The back of the ledger also contains formulas in the hand of his father, Balthasar II Moretus, instructing him how to write up invoices and receipts for clients.[205] A receipt tucked into the ledger indicates that, on his journey to the northern Netherlands, he also purchased a *stedeboek* (town book), a description and guide to the province, for 2 guilders and 2 stuivers.[206] On his trip, Moretus saw 33 clients, 21 of whom were in Amsterdam. Of these 21, 6 paid all or some of their debts in books.

On this trip, Louis and Daniel Elzevier traded a number of books to Moretus for store credit, including Spanheim's *De usu numismatum antiquorum* (Amsterdam: 1671), a book of numismatics, for 7 guilders and 10 stuivers. Joannes Janssonius van Waesberghe traded 40 books with Moretus for a total of 192 guilders and 5 stuivers in credit, including 4 copies each of Jesuit Athanasius Kircher's *China Illustrata* and *Mundus Subterraneus,* 10 copies of the works of Marcus Antoninus, and 6 copies of a French edition of Nostradamus' prophecies.[207] This was alongside money normally transferred through the usual proxies. On this trip as well, Abraham Wolfgang traded French books back to Moretus, including an edition of *Memoires et Histoires de Richelieu* in duodecimo, and the works of dramatist Pierre Corneille. This gave him 129 guilders in credits.[208] Hendrik Boom and Cornelius Hackius, in Amsterdam and Leiden respectively, sold Moretus the same work in the same year.[209] Between 1658 and1667, Arnaud Leers, a bookseller in Rotterdam, paid his entire debt of 97 guilders and 9 stuivers in books, 37 copies of 8 editions in all.[210] However, some important figures mentioned above, Joan Blaeu and Joachim van Metelen, did not pay with books on this occasion. While there are no records of another trip until 1705, by which point the business was in the capable hands of Anna Maria de Neuf Moretus, Balthasar III's widow, nothing seems to have changed. The booksellers Henri and Louis van Dole paid 35 guilders of their debt with a liturgical book, *Minorum Officia*, a book of offices for the Order of Friars Minor, in both octavo and duodecimo.[211]

Labour, Perseverance, and Lottery Tickets: Trading Other Materials

Some of the Officina's most important relationships involved maintaining their paper supply. Both Maurits Sabbe and Leon Voet have written of the importance of the Dutch paper trade in the seventeenth century, once importing paper directly from France was no longer economically viable. After this period, the firm became much more reliant on supplies of paper from the Dutch Republic, even if it was sourced from Dutch-owned paper mills in France. Levinus and Ysbrand Vincent were an essential part of this trade, as were a number of other paper merchants such as Gerrit Verduyn, Adrian Fyck and François le Bleu.[212] In fact, there is a separate series of ledgers that parallels those of booksellers with merchants specifically.[213]

However, printers and booksellers supplied paper to the firm alongside actual paper merchants. Alongside money, Jan van der Meulen in Rotterdam sent dozens of reams of paper, sometimes several times a month, to the Officina from 1682 to 1687.[214] Van der Meulen must have either had connections or owned his own paper mill in Rouen, as the ledger specifically indicates the origin of the paper. These could sometimes be of enormous quantity. In 1658 and 1660, the Amsterdam bookseller Gerrit Willemsens Doornick sold Moretus 250 and 77 reams of paper respectively, for a total credit of 1,880 guilders.[215] Sometimes this paper trade was worth the investment of significant social and financial capital. The business partnership of Jean Emmanuel Huegla and Jacques le Blois regularly sent reams of paper back to the Officina, for example in 1664.[216] At some point in the 1670, Balthasar II Moretus included a new entry in his ledger of foreign booksellers regarding the two:

> My son Balthasar [III], being in Amsterdam in the month of September 1671, learned that Blois has moved to Bordeaux, and that Huegla is in prison in Amsterdam for

> debt. Therefore I have asked Levinus and Ysbrand to pay the aforesaid sum of 28 [guilders] to the prisoner Huegla, in order not to run the risk of importuning his creditors.[217]

Another popular set of items to exchange were books of lottery tickets. These were traded both from Antwerp to Amsterdam and Amsterdam to Antwerp. In fact, the various lotteries taking place in the Low Countries were essential to the interpersonal and business relationships of printers and booksellers. Lotteries were hugely popular and attracted enormous crowds. Though they had been popular in the sixteenth century, they exploded with popularity in the seventeenth century, particularly in the Dutch Republic.[218] On 27 January 1696, Ysbrand Vincent wrote to Balthasar III Moretus, saying that the registration for tickets to the Amsterdam lottery 'which takes place from morning before dawn until eight o'clock in the evening, [and] is not only full of people, but the street is so full that they have to place a doorman (an unprecedented thing) at the door so that it will be completed in a shorter time'.[219] Luckily for Moretus, Vincent was there to secure tickets for him.

Lottery tickets both entered and exited the Officina Plantiniana. Before Moretus' 1671 trip, Jean Emmanuel Huegla and Jacques Le Blois had sent six reams of paper 'of various kinds' (*de diverses sortes*) in exchange for a packet of lottery tickets from Antwerp.[220] Ysbrand Vincent bought more than Amsterdam lottery tickets for the Moretus family: their correspondences also demonstrate examples of him buying tickets for lotteries in Haarlem, Leiden, Alkmaar, Enkhuizen, Deventer, Hoorn, Arnhem, and Rotterdam.[221] In 1696, foreigners were banned from registering for the lotteries in Holland. In a letter to Moretus, Vincent sneakily suggested that he register Moretus using the shop motto, 'labore et constantia' (through labour and perseverence), instead of his name to evade this ban.[222] In return, Moretus registered Vincent's entire family for the '*Aalmoessениers Lootterye te Antwerpen'* (Almoner's Lottery of Antwerp), entering two lots for each of his six children.

Moretus, conveniently, was the *aalmoezenier* (almoner) at the time himself. Unfortunately, it does not seem to have paid out for Vincent in cash, only in friendship.[223]

Occasionally, other materials show up in the 'credit' column of these records. On 9 February 1681, Balthasar Moretus III noted that the Amsterdam bookseller Abraham Wolfgang had sent him ‘2 great globes, very finely made and finely gilded…with walnut feet’, worth a remarkable total of 227 guilders.[224] Wolfgang was a well-known and respected maker of globes in Amsterdam. What is interesting is that he clearly did not intend it as a gift. According to the ledger, it served to pay off some of the debts Wolfgang amassed for ordering hundreds of books from the Officina Plantiniana. In another remarkable case in 1671, Jacques Rombout, a bookseller in Amsterdam, paid his debts with a case of sugar from Lisbon.[225] Lisbon was a major trade centre for sugar coming from Brazil and other parts of South America, and much of this trade routed through Amsterdam as well.[226] In his ledger, Moretus does not indicate how he planned to use the sugar, only that it was worth 28 guilders and 4 stuivers.

Finally, the most valuable trade of all was of information between Amsterdam and Antwerp. Ysbrand Vincent kept an eye out in Amsterdam for the counterfeiting of liturgical books from the Plantin-Moretus. He accused a number of firms, including the famous Blaeu and Huguetan firms, of counterfeiting editions from the Officina Plantiniana.[227] On one occasion, the Amsterdam bookseller Frederik van Metelen informed Moretus that Joan II Blaeu was printing a new missal, and even sent him a copy to compare so he could avoid producing a missal that was too similar.[228] This was alongside the Blaeu missals that Moretus regularly bought from him, and sold to him as well.[229] Van Metelen also sold books to clients on behalf of Moretus. In the same letter, he notes that ‘These few lines will then serve as an answer that, according to [your] request, I will send the Hague resident a breviary in 18 tomorrow.'[230] While books crossed borders in the hands of booksellers, shipped in barrels or through Frankfurt, these booksellers also conducted business by proxy on each other's behalf.

Conclusion: Privileged Access

The early modern barter and credit system was a remarkably complex and deeply human web of interdependence and reputation. It was at once material and immaterial, based on the transfer of objects as well as the exchange of promises and information. Debts could go unpaid for decades or be rectified with lottery tickets or sugar. At the same time, printers and booksellers were exchanging their products while actively counterfeiting others. They could meet regularly or go years or decades without seeing each other in person. They could also disappear into poverty or disrepute.

While this study demonstrates these complexities, it also shows that access to them was not necessarily equal. The status and success of these Dutch booksellers and merchants, alongside the exceptional wealth of Amsterdam, Holland, and the entire Dutch Republic, gave them stability and credit that allowed them to sustain relationships with the Officina Plantiniana. Bartering was a system that allowed them to build personal and professional relationships, as well as sustain debts almost indefinitely. Such a reciprocal relationship would not be feasible between two cities with less tremendous publishing industries: however, Amsterdam and Antwerp were remarkably well matched, even specialising in some of the same niche markets with the same niche clientele. Balthasar II Moretus' claim that 'We are not engaged in printing to exchange books for books, but to make money from them' was a specious one: in fact, the two went hand in hand.

The Grindlay Bequest: Acquisitions and Childhood Reading Practices at the Royal High School, Edinburgh, 1770-1830

Abstract

Dating from 1770 until 1960, the surviving borrowing records of the Royal High School of Edinburgh provide a unique insight into children's reading habits at a time when evidence of such reading experiences are scant. When analysed alongside library catalogues, acquisition records, and evidence of the school curriculum, these reveal the way that a school library was used by children throughout its history. Honing in on a particular point in the library's history, taking as its focal point the sizeable bequest of books by merchant, and former pupil, George Grindlay in 1801, this article argues that the unedited inclusion of books from a home library influenced, and coincided with, a decisive shift in the use of the school library towards more recreational, practical, and individualised reading experiences at a time when the school curriculum was also broadening and modernising to meet changing educational expectations in an increasingly industrialised and cosmopolitan society.

The importance of a school library was recognized at the Royal High School in Edinburgh at an unusually early point of the school's history. Honing in on a particular point in the library's history, taking as its focal point the sizeable bequest of books by merchant, and former pupil, George Grindlay in 1801, this article argues that the unedited inclusion of books from a home library influenced, and coincided with, a decisive shift in the use of the school library towards more recreational, practical, and individualised reading experiences at a time when the school curriculum was also broadening and modernising to meet changing educational expectations in an increasingly industrialised and cosmopolitan society. By the 1780s the library contained almost 2000 books.[231] While many of the books came to the school library through deliberate acquisitions and purchasing decisions by a committee of schoolteachers, and, later in the period by a named librarian, books were also donated to the library. The largest of such bequests came from merchant and former pupil, George Grindlay, who donated the contents of his home library to the school in 1801. The Grindlay bequest widened the books available to the schoolboys beyond those which were purposefully acquired by the schoolmasters. The collection was not carefully curated for them in the same way as many of the other titles in the school library catalogue, instead being freely available in its originally-bequeathed state. This contributed to a widening of the books borrowed and an increasing individualisation in the reading habits of the school pupils in the first decades of the nineteenth century, coinciding with a shift in how the library was used by the school pupils.

Combining the study of acquisitions in the school library with details of the books borrowed by pupils reveals both how the library was intended to be used and how it was used by the pupils. However, borrowers' records, particularly in the context of a school library, ought to be treated with caution when used as evidence of reading practices. They can only ever be used as evidence of book circulation or intended reading practice. In a school context, they are also evidence of a specific, supervised reading experience. In many cases, the borrowers' records of pupils are countersigned by their teacher indicating the level of control the schoolmasters had over the pupils' reading choices. When considering school libraries, the methodological approach needs to take into consideration the supervised nature of the reading practices that occur in this type of institution. The borrowers' records of the Royal High School in the 1780s show a specific example of supervision with the countersignature of Luke Fraser, one of the teachers, in many of the schoolboys' records.[232] The Grindlay bequest offers an interesting case study within this broader context as it represents a loosening of the boundaries around childhood reading practices in a formal, institutional context.

Individual children have previously been found in library records, but they are rare. In such cases, we have gained an insight into one aspect of that particular child's reading life. Individual borrowing records of Scottish children have been discovered at Innerpeffray Library near Crieff, the Leighton Library in Dunblane, the Gray Library in Haddington, and at the University of St Andrews.[233] Alongside comprehensive work on literacy rates in the period by Richard Hoggart, R. A. Houston, and David Vincent other pioneering works on child readers in this period include Matthew Grenby's *The Child Reader, 1700-1830* (2011) and Jan Fergus' study of schoolboy reading at Rugby in *Provincial Readers in Eighteenth-Century England* (2007). This article aims to build on this work to augment our understanding of child readers in the period and the works they chose to engage with when their reading materials were both carefully controlled and fell into their hands more incidentally (as in the case of the Grindlay bequest).

Surviving records for the school library included in the archives relating to the Royal High School consist of a ledger recording the books purchased for the school library from 1769 to 1837. There are also library catalogues for the years 1757, c. 1790, 1837, and 1848, when a juvenile section of the library was first established. Concurrently, records of the books borrowed by school pupils exist for the period 1770 until 1960, though these are not complete for the whole period, with a notable gap between 1812 and 1823 and another between 1832 and 1848. Borrowers' records for the period between 1770 and 1826 have been digitised as part of the AHRC-funded *Books and Borrowing* project. These offer a detailed insight into reading habits across the period and crucially an insight into the borrowing habits around the time of all three complete catalogues. This article will draw on the 1839 catalogue which details, by shelfmark, which books came from the Grindlay bequest, and contemporary borrowing records to demonstrate the impact the bequest had on the borrowing trends and reading habits of the pupils.

This article will offer an historical overview of the school library and its place within the broader history of the Royal High School and will outline the existing archival records of the library and what the acquisition and borrowing records can reveal about the nature of both the intended and actual use of the school library. It will then examine these records in the context of Robert Darnton's communications circuit arguing that bequests, as opposed to deliberate acquisitions, contributed to the broadening of reading experiences of the school pupils in unintended ways.[234] Finally, this essay will closely examine three case studies of texts introduced by the Grindlay bequest. It will draw from borrowing data to examine the children's interactions with this particular aspect of the collection, arguing that the Grindlay bequest broadened the books available to pupils beyond those chosen specifically by the teachers. This can therefore provide an insight into what children chose to read when given a greater degree of freedom in the early nineteenth century.

The first iteration of the High School was a seminary school attached to the Abbey of Holyrood in 1128 before moving to a mansion house in the mid-sixteenth century and then to another site in the Cowgate (High School Wynd) in 1555.[235] According to C. A. Ross, the Royal High School was first recorded as a grammar school in an Instrument of Sasine in 1503 and in 1589 it was re-founded as a 'Royal High School' by James VI.[236][237] The school has had several different sites across Edinburgh throughout its history. In 1578, a schoolhouse was completed 'in the garden of Blackfriars' monastery', where it remained until 1777.[238] *The Statistical Account for Scotland* in 1791 describes the building of a new school-house in 1777, the first to have a purpose-built library:

> In 1777 - a new, elegant and commodious edifice for a Grammar-school was built by voluntary subscriptions. This school house cost L. 4000. It consists of one great hall, five teaching rooms, and a library with smaller appartments [*sic*].[239]

However, the *Statistical Account of 1834-45* states that

> in consequence of the extension of the town to the north, this situation was found to be inconvenient, and in 1825 the foundation of the present High School was laid on a spot of ground cleared out from the sloping side of the Calton Hill…There is a large hall, library, museum, and apartments for the different classes.[240]

This move in 1829 coincided with a call from parents for a more centrally-located school in the New Town of Edinburgh and plans were introduced for a second high school to be constructed, which would also be under the control of the Town Council. The pressure from parents for the Royal High School to relocate to the New Town was arguably not just for greater convenience, or due to constraints of space in the overcrowded Old Town, but also because the New Town was seen as the heart of Enlightenment Edinburgh. By the nineteenth century it may have been seen as inappropriate for a school, which was the main forum for the public education of an emerging middle class, to be situated in the Old Town. However, with the construction of the new site on Calton Hill the council abandoned this plan and Edinburgh Academy was set up independently by Lord Cockburn in the New Town, the first real public alternative for the education of boys of the middling and upper classes.

The school's reputation fluctuated throughout the eighteenth century, flourishing particularly under the rectorship of Alexander Adam. An important institution in Enlightenment Edinburgh, the Royal High School provided an education for hundreds of ordinary Edinburgh citizens. It also produced a number of eminent names who would go on to form the intellectual circles of early nineteenth-century Edinburgh; including Walter Scott, Francis Jeffrey, Henry Cockburn, Francis Horner, and Henry Brougham. The collections and borrowing records of the school library reflected the school's role in broadening its pupils' intellectual horizons and, therefore, its central place in Edinburgh society. The school library was established by order of the Town Council in 1658, with the justification that it would be 'convenient and expedient... for the good of the Grammar School both masters and scholars that shall be hereafter, to erect a Library in the said school for all sort of books that may concern humanity and the knowledge of languages'.[241] It is clear that this first school library was a means through which boys could access the classical works they needed for their classical education. This first iteration of the school library depended on 'donations of books from the teachers, and voluntary contributions from the citizens and the pupils of the school'.[242] William Steven's history of the school includes a list of the first donors of books to the library, including the rector, John Muir, and the other masters;

> William Thomson, principal clerk of Edinburgh; John Scougall, William Hog, William Nimmo, William Douglas, and Robert Burnet, lawyers; John Lord Swinton; Patrick Scott of Thirlestane; Mr Robert Douglas, one of the ministers of Edinburgh; William Tweedie, professor of philosophy in the University.[243]

This list not only reveals the type of societal connections which the school held at this time but also explains the eclectic nature of the first surviving catalogue of 1757. The founding of a library suggests that from the relatively early days of the school, it was deemed important that both teachers and pupils, at least of the senior classes, should have access to a school library. As I've argued elsewhere, the importance of the school library was recognised more widely in Scotland in the mid-nineteenth century and so the relatively early inclusion of a library provision for the schoolboys here was both rare and led to an unusually well-developed and well-used library in the eighteenth-century life of the school.[244]

By the 1780s, after the school had relocated and was benefitting from a larger and, for the first time, a specific space for the school library, the financial transactions of the library reveal a more concerted effort in the deliberate acquisition of books. These purchases were deemed valuable for the education of the young men of Edinburgh and demonstrate a new intended use of the school library: as a supplementation to the still largely formal classical education they received. By this point in the school's history, the dominant means of acquisition for the school library was by the deliberate purchase of books by the schoolmasters. Records of these acquisitions can provide an insight into the intended use of the school library by revealing the works that the schoolteachers valued and deliberately placed in the hands of the pupils.

The acquisition records begin in 1769 and most texts purchased in this year were in Latin, reflecting the nature of the library collection at this time.[245] The works purchased for the school library in the 1780s, after the school's move to a new location with dedicated library space reveal a greater balance between classical and contemporary works in English. This is further reflected in the balance between English and Latin works in the 1783 catalogue and then even more so in the 1839 catalogue. The fact that these become an increasingly large part of the school's acquisitions shows that this was a deliberate move for the school library. It is possible that here the schoolmasters were responding to the needs and desires of the pupils, with most of them borrowing only works in English. Popular genres among the schoolboys included travel writing and history, and these formed the basis for acquisition decisions from the 1770s onwards, with the school responding to the reading habits of the boys by purchasing increasing numbers of works of travel writing, history, and, into the nineteenth century, fiction and novels.

The bequest of titles from George Grindlay's own library in 1801 expanded the types of works available in the school library. The first nineteenth-century catalogue which survives reveals that by 1839, there were 2937 titles in the school library. The Grindlay bequest was the only significant named bequest to the Royal High School library since its foundation in

1658 when its supporters donated books to establish the first collection. The remains of the Grindlay collection are now at the National Library of Scotland, having been donated by the Royal High School in 1964. Twenty-five titles (475 volumes) are still available to consult. The 1839 catalogue also reveals a full list of what the Grindlay collection contained and here we get a real sense of the contents of what domestic and self-education may have looked like in the Grindlay household with works such as James Elphinstone's *Propriety Ascertained* (1786), William Scott's *An Introduction to Reading and Spelling* (1796) and *Lessons in Elocution* (1784), alongside numerous works on arithmetic and the practical knowledge required by a merchant. The presence of this type of work in the 1839 catalogue is only due to the donation of the Grindlay collection, and highlights some of the differences between home education and the public education which took place at the Royal High School towards the end of the eighteenth century, with the works in the home library reflecting elementary skills in reading, writing and arithmetic. Furthermore, the Grindlay bequest also included works on female education such as Hannah More's *Strictures on the Present System of Female Education* (1799), Erasmus Darwin's *A Plan for the Conduct of Female Education* (1797), and works aimed at a female readership such as *Housekeeper's Assistant* (1775)[246] and Mrs Martha Bradley's *The Compleat Housewife or the Cook, Housekeeper and Gardiner's Companion* (1758). Books on recreational activities such as chess and backgammon were also part of Grindlay's bequest, including Edmund Hoyle's *Games of Whist, Quadrill, Picquet, Chess and Back Gammon* (1775) and F. D. Philodor's *Analysis of the Game of Chess* (1777). Works of practical religion were also a key part of the Grindlay collection including Giles Fermin's *The Real Christian or a Treatise on Effectual Believing* (1670), though the bequest was not the only source for books of this genre. These all reflect the varieties of useful knowledge which were important inclusions in a home library. The nature of the Grindlay collection also provides a small example of the ways in which a private library differed from an institutional library such as that at the Royal High School, because of the inclusion of works related to recreation and those aimed at women in the household. Comparing the nature of this collection to the types of books already present in the library reveal key differences between a private, domestic library and a school library at this time, showing the different roles that these collections had in people's broader reading lives, with the home library offering practical information for domestic, spiritual and recreational matters, and with evidence of educational works used by younger members of the household.

In his 1982 essay, 'What is the History of Books?' Robert Darnton conceptualised his communications circuit which details each of the agents in the life cycle of a book, from author and publisher to reader.[247] As noted by Mark Olsen and Louis-Georges Harvey in their study of borrowing patterns at Harvard College Library, borrowers' registers enable us to see the 'crucial tie between book and reader which is established through the library'.[248] The link between book and child reader is further complicated by the various agents at play in the school library, and the power imbalances built into the system, with adults curating the books available to children.[249] However, the presence of the Grindlay collection adds an additional element here which disrupts the usual links in the school library. The books acquired by George Grindlay and other members of his family 'find their ultimate resting place' in the school library having previously completed Darnton's original communications circuit. [250] Here the books enter into a new communications circuit, or certainly, an extension of the original where additional agents come into play, with the supervision of borrowing acts by teachers and the school librarian mediating between book and (child) reader. Nevertheless, a question remains over the extent to which the collection was at all censored or curated by the teachers. There is no evidence that any of Grindlay's books were excluded and certainly the inclusion of domestic works such as Mrs Martha Bradley's *The Compleat Housewife or the*

Cook, Housekeeper and Gardiner's Companion suggests that the contents of the home library were amalgamated into the institutional collection in their entirety. These books then have an unintended consequence on the reading habits of the school children for decades to follow, giving a sense of which books children desired to read when given a greater degree of free choice.

With borrowing records for both students and teachers beginning in the 1770s it is possible to trace developments in reading habits at the school library over time, and to demonstrate the impact that the Grindlay collection had on reading habits at the school. While teachers could borrow multiple volumes of the same work and multiple titles at any time, many pupils appear to have often been restricted to borrowing one volume at a time. There were some exceptions to this, perhaps due to student age. For example, Alexander Ewing borrowed single volumes from the library at each of his 22 visits in 1771 and 1772, then borrowed multiple volumes of historical works in a single visit on 18 May 1776. The dates of his borrowing would suggest that by 1776, he was one of the more senior pupils at the school and was therefore likely to have been trusted with the privilege of borrowing more than one volume at a time. This privilege may also have been awarded to students whose borrowing was under the supervision of a teacher. W. Davidson, for example, borrowed volumes one and two of Plutarch's *Lives of the Greeks and Romans* (1470) on 11 March 1771, with this instance of borrowing being one of those signed off by the teacher Luke Fraser.[251] Fraser countersigned several instances of pupil borrowing. From the pupils' own signatures, the majority of these were almost certainly younger pupils in the school from the evidence of their more juvenile handwriting than some of the other borrowers where in some cases letters of their own names were missed out or transposed. John Wilson, for example, one of the more prolific pupil borrowers in the 1770s (he borrowed twelve unique titles and visited the library 29 times between 28 January 1771 and 24 April 1773) had his record countersigned by Fraser in 1771 but not in subsequent years.

The impact of restriction placed on students of borrowing just one volume per visit can be seen in the example of a borrowers' record for Charles Cranstoun, who borrowed three volumes of Hooke's *Roman History* (1738-71) between 26 April and 15 June 1770, returning each volume before borrowing the next. He then went on to borrow all eight volumes of Charles Rollin's *Ancient History* (1730-38) between 27 June and 30 November.[252] In general, pupil visits seem to have no set pattern in terms of how far apart they occurred, except those pupils whose borrowing was countersigned by Luke Fraser, discussed above, who all tend to borrow on the same day. Charles Cranstoun, for example, visited the library once in April and May, but twice in June and July, and then not at all until November when he borrowed books three times.

Rollin's *Ancient History* was deemed, even by the author himself, to be too long to be covered in a school year and this is certainly reflected in Charles Cranstoun's borrowing.[253] However, other students made their way through this work at greater speed. Thomas Wilson, for example, borrowed volumes three to eleven of the *Ancient History* between 26 December 1770 and 8 March 1771, taking less than three months to read nine volumes compared to Cranstoun, who took five months to read eight volumes. Wilson's borrowing includes an intensive period in January when he borrowed five volumes over the course of the month. Despite his quicker reading habits, this still limited Wilson to borrowing just three titles over the course of a year (Rollin's *Ancient History*, Plutarch's *Lives*, and Daniel Defoe's *Tour Thro' Great Britain* (1724)). This was a common borrowing pattern among students and as a result they tended to read very few titles each year. It was also recorded when students held on to items for a longer period than expected. For example, in 1771 Thomas Inglis borrowed volumes one and two of Alexander Pope's translation of Homer's *Iliad* on 25 May and 8 June respectively. These were the only two volumes he borrowed and beneath the record, is written '9 months Recd all', countersigned by L Fraser. This suggests that the pupil took an inordinately long time to return the items.

By the 1780s, pupils had begun to read less intensively and more extensively across the library collections, reflecting Rolf Engelsing's wider argument for a 'reading revolution' in the period.[254] The variety of titles borrowed by pupils noticeably increased between the 1770s and 1780s. There is little change in the most popular titles, with both Charles Rollin's *Ancient History* and John Newbery's *World Displayed* (1759) frequently borrowed (37% of borrowers read *Ancient History* and 57% of borrowers read *World Displayed* across the two decades). However, in the 1780s the breadth of subjects represented in the top ten most popular titles increased. Many pupils moved away from the intensive reading of one text over several months, as demonstrated in Charles Cranstoun's borrowing habits detailed above, towards borrowing individual volumes of different texts each time. For example, J. Marshall visited the library twelve times between 20 October 1787 and 17 May 1788. He borrowed in that time (in chronological order), volumes two, three, four, and five of Charles Rollin's *Ancient History*, volume one of *Voyages,* followed by volume three of *World Displayed* and volume three of *Voyages*; he then borrowed volume two of Thomas Salmon's *Modern History* (1739) on two occasions, followed by volumes five, four, and six.[255] This is a typical borrowing pattern for this time and may very well have been a necessary response to the increase in numbers of pupils accessing the library with no subsequent increase in the quantity of the most popular texts purchased for the library, leading the pupils to borrow the volumes of a work which were available rather than reading them in order. However, the pupils in the 1770s tended to respond to this by borrowing volumes out of sequence or interrupting their reading of one title by borrowing another and then returning to the first, and so it may not be the only explanation for this borrowing pattern. The more extensive reading habits of the school pupils may have been a product of the significant increase in acquisition for the school library in the period after the school's move in 1777. Certainly, the increase in popularity of travels and voyages as a genre, and the widening of the pupils' interests in several historians, not just of the classical world, but the modern too, is reflected in the borrowing habits of pupils in the 1780s.

The most popular works in the 1790s show a continued dominance of *World Displayed* with 587 volumes of this work borrowed over the course of the decade. The next most popular title was Rollin's *Ancient History* with 245 volumes of this work borrowed. It is important to enter a caveat here since both works are divided into multiple volumes, with 20 volumes of *World Displayed* and 12 volumes of *Ancient History.* The most borrowed works in the 1790s also showed the continued popularity of works of natural history and travel writing. There was evidence of an increased interest in naval and military history with John Campbell's *Lives of the British Admirals* in the top ten most borrowed works for the decade, with 99 volumes borrowed. The most prolific borrowers in this decade reveal a new trend in borrowing habits, with an increase in the diversity of titles borrowed by each pupil and across the group of pupils. John Cameron borrowed the most volumes in the 1790s and visited the library 46 times between 1790 and 1795. The range in dates for Cameron's visits suggest that he visited the library throughout his school career and give an insight into how reading interests changed for pupils as they grew older. Cameron borrowed some titles more than once suggesting a rereading of certain works. For example, Cameron borrowed Buffon's *Natural History* in 1791, 1792, and then again in 1794. Moreover, he borrowed volumes six and seven of this work twice. Otherwise, Cameron borrowed works representative of the most popular genres of the decade: histories, including both Scottish and world histories, and histories of the ancient world; voyages and travels; works on natural history, classical works, and Campbell's *Admirals.* The second most prolific borrower, Thomas Dickson, visited the library 34 times between 1791 and 1793. He was therefore one of the most frequent borrowers and often visited the library two or three times in a month during term-time. His borrowing also suggests a diversification of the titles borrowed by pupils, though he certainly also borrowed multiple volumes of the same title, borrowing four volumes of *World Displayed* and eight volumes of William Guthrie's *History of the World* (1764-67). Dickson's borrowing is less diverse than Cameron's, with a strong preference shown towards histories and voyages and travels. Alongside these works which remained popular in the 1790s, an increasing variety of poetry appeared in the borrowers' records. Pupils had borrowed works by Pope, both his own poetical works and his translations of Homer's *Iliad* (1715-20) and *Odyssey* (1725) and Gay's *Fables* (1738) since the 1770s and these continued to be represented in the borrowers' records into the 1790s. However, in the 1790s a broader range of poets were represented in the borrowers' records, albeit in a limited sense. Works by Mark Akenside, Robert Dodsley, and James Thomson were all represented with three pupils borrowing Akenside's works, one borrowing Dodsley's, and one borrowing those of Thomson.

By the 1800s, the works borrowed were a great deal more diverse than previous years. This can be seen from the percentage of overall titles borrowed which the top ten account for. In the 1770s the top ten most popular titles account for almost 65% of all titles borrowed in that decade, and this steadily decreases until the 1820s, when the top ten titles account for just 20% of the overall titles borrowed. This shows that the pupils borrowed a much more diverse range of titles in the nineteenth century compared with the beginning of the borrowers' records in the 1770s. It is difficult to pinpoint whether this change was facilitated by the broadening of the collection due to the Grindlay bequest or whether it was symptomatic of a wider shift in reading habits. Nonetheless, it is at this point that works from the Grindlay collection began to make an impact on the borrowing records. Most notably, as discussed below, texts by John

Milton, Henry Brooke's *The Fool of Quality*, and works of practical knowledge exposed pupils to books they would not otherwise have had access to in an institutional context.

One such category of works which made their way into the school library via the Grindlay bequest were books of practical knowledge. All but one of these titles in the 1839 catalogue came from the Grindlay bequest and the borrowing of these works by pupils fed into a broader trend of increased individualisation in their reading habits at the beginning of the nineteenth century. These books covered a range of topics from gardening, agriculture and husbandry to book-keeping, commerce, and sailing.[256] The borrowing of these works foreshadowed a formal shift in the formal curriculum from a solely classical education to one which included a broader range of practical and vocational knowledge.[257]

As well as the works of practical knowledge, works related to specific careers, most notably the army, were also included, and these were often deliberate acquisitions. Some of these related to rules and regulations in various armies, others focused more on practical knowledge or advice to prepare those entering the army such as *Advice to Officers of the Army* (1777) and *The Soldier's Friend, or the Means of Preserving the Health of Military Men* (1798). This suggests that leadership positions in the army would also have been deemed appropriate careers for these boys and that they were interested in books about this, forming a kind of aspirational reading practice. A broader general interest in the military was also reflected in the inclusion of and borrowing of works such as *Journal of a Soldier* of which there were two copies in the 1839 catalogue and which was borrowed 35 times in the 1820s, and John Campbell's *Lives of the British Admirals* (1785) which was frequently borrowed by pupils from the 1790s onwards.[258] The popularity of these works reflects a wider societal pre-occupation with the military but also highlights the careers and roles that many of the boys went on to engage in, suggesting a sort of aspirational or preparatory reading practice for their adult lives.[259]

The bulk of the books which made up the library of the Royal High School have long since been dispersed with the only parts of the collection remaining being those which once belonged to the Grindlay collection. These 25 titles in the National Library of Scotland offer a small insight into the exact copies of works that were borrowed by schoolchildren in this period. Of those 25 which appear in the borrowers' records for this period, a 1772 Edinburgh edition of Milton's *Poetical Works* is the only book which includes marginalia. Any marginalia has to be very carefully interpreted as, unless there is reference to contemporary events or a noting of names, it is impossible to date accurately. However, what it can reveal is the way in which individual volumes may have been used by readers. In both volumes of Milton's *Poetical Works*, only *Paradise Lost* is annotated. The annotations take the form of a marking up of the text for the task of committing to memory, 'John X' in the margin beside a relevant reference to the Biblical chapter, a congratulatory 'well said!' and the comment that 'Milton was no astronomer' at the close of book two.[260] These suggest a close engagement with the text, at times academic and at other times personal; revealing something about the way in which these works were read, which can augment the data gained from borrowers' records. Even when pupils borrowed both volumes of Milton's *Poetical Works*, suggesting that they read both of these, it is evident from the marginalia that they engaged most closely with the volume containing *Paradise Lost*. Borrowers' records concur with this with a separate edition of *Paradise Lost* borrowed most often and, further, when pupils are restricted to borrowing only one volume of a work at a time, it is only volume one of *Poetical Works* which contains *Paradise Lost* that is checked out. When rules change by the 1820s allowing pupils to borrow all volumes of certain works at the same time, volumes one and two are borrowed together, but the concentration of marginalia in *Paradise Lost* suggests that they were unlikely to be reading this work from cover to cover and adds another nuance to the reading practices we can infer from the data collected around borrowing acts, as well as hints of what they might have thought about the books they read.

Although the Grindlay collection contributed to a broadening and individualising of pupil reading habits, its impact on the most popular books borrowed was limited, with the exception of one book, Henry Brooke's 1777 edition of *The Fool of Quality; or, the History of the Henry Earl of Moreland.* Originally published in 1765, *Fool of Quality* was a sentimental novel that was later abridged by John Wesley under the title *History of Henry the Earl of Moreland*. It is one of the works that Jan Fergus reveals was read in secret by schoolboys at Rugby in the 1780s, though its popularity at the Royal High School occurs much later.[261] It is also a novel which is widely read in the other Scottish libraries in the period with multiple editions circulating in our libraries and hundreds of borrowings across the Universities of St Andrews, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, the Advocates Library, Westerkirk Parish Library, Chambers' Circulating Library, Wigtown Subscription Library, and here at the Royal High School. At the Royal High School, *The Fool of Quality* was one of the most popular books in the 1820s, making it into the top ten most borrowed works in that decade, borrowed 93 times. The incidental inclusion of *The Fool of Quality* at the Royal High School, by way of the Grindlay bequest, and its subsequent popularity is suggestive of the way in which childhood reading practices in the period overlap with those of adults, particularly when access to a wide variety of titles is facilitated.

In conclusion, although the Grindlay bequest had a relatively limited impact on the most borrowed books in the school library, it served to broaden the reading experiences of the school children beyond the books carefully chosen for them by the schoolteachers. The borrowers' records from that point on therefore reveal more about the reading choices made by children at the beginning of the nineteenth century when given a greater deal of freedom in those choices. The evidence of reading experiences remaining in Grindlay's copy of

Milton’s works serve to augment the evidence of how books were used by the school pupils while the inclusion of Brooke’s popular sentimental novel had an unintended and notable impact on the borrowing habits of the schoolboys in the 1820s. The borrowing of works of practical knowledge, not otherwise included in the school library, also reveal a desire for a more vocational education at a time when boys were preparing to play their part in an increasingly globalised and industrialised society towards the middle of the nineteenth century.

The Dispersal of Monastic Libraries in the Early Nineteenth Century: Buxheim and Karakallou

Kelsey Jackson Williams

This article discusses the dramatic dispersal of monastic libraries in Europe and the Christian East during the early nineteenth century through two contrasting examples. These are: (1) the 1423 St Christopher woodblock print and other early examples of fifteenth-century printing, formerly the property of the Charterhouse at Buxheim in Swabia but purchased in 1803 by Alexander Horn for George John, 2nd Earl Spencer; and (2) a series of Byzantine manuscripts, formerly the property of the monastery of Karakallou on Mount Athos but purchased in 1837 by Robert Curzon, later 14th Baron Zouche. It identifies changing perceptions surrounding the value and use of books on the parts of both monks and collectors as central to this moment and explores the different – but often surprisingly similar – ways in which books left monastic ownership in western vs. eastern contexts.

Keywords: Monasticism, monastic libraries, secularisation, book collecting, Earl Spencer, Robert Curzon

The property of monastic institutions has suffered from regular, often violent, appropriation by secular powers since the time of the Reformation. Books have been particularly prominent in these appropriations due to their nature as simultaneously valuable but easily transportable objects and there is a growing literature which documents their movement from religious to secular libraries over the past five hundred years.[262]

In this article I argue that the period between approximately 1790 and 1840 represents a particularly intense, complex moment within this longer history: a moment in which there was a massive shift in the ownership of books which had rested on the same shelves for centuries, sometimes for over a millennium, from monastic libraries to English private collectors. This shift brought with it a series of radical changes in these books' environments and uses. They were divorced from their contexts in space and the collections of which they were a part and placed in spaces shaped both by contemporary elite taste and by the interests of individual collectors; they were removed from one set of reading practices (devotional, meditative, scholarly) and placed in another quite different, where they were often not read at all and certainly not for the same reasons; they were removed from a sphere of shared reading and access, becoming private rather than communal property and less accessible to anyone other than the owner; and, most obviously and brutally, they were often physically removed from their bindings and despoiled, via washing, of their annotations and previous marks of ownership.

But there was also a more fundamental shift present in these changes of ownership, one which was intimately connected with the gap between the spiritual world of the monastery and the secular world of nineteenth-century Europe. Books which had previously been either objects of use, valued for their texts and what those texts could do, or objects of veneration, valued for their age and association with a specific community, were transformed into commercial goods. They were wrenched out of the spiritual world into the world of capitalism.

Considering these changes in the context of the other essays within this issue, it becomes clear that what is being described here does not fit easily into Darnton's communications circuit, which, in any case, privileges ‘new’ rather than ‘old’ books.[263] We may notice among other points that the state, figured only as an outside presence in the form of ‘Political and Legal Sanctions’ in Darnton's original model, here becomes a part of the circuit, directly affecting the use and movement of books (see below). Likewise, describing collectors as ‘readers’ seems to misunderstand the potentially significant distinction between valuing a book as text and a book as object. While it is not my intention to do so here, such slippages suggest the need to revisit Darnton's model in reference both to book collecting in general and the movement of books from sacred to secular contexts in particular.

While the activities of this half century constitute a distinct epoch, one which saw a dramatic shift in how both books and traditional monastic communities were viewed in the western world, this epoch included two distinct strands of monastic library dispersal which stood in stark contrast to each other. One was the expropriation of books from Roman Catholic monasteries. This, which had its prologue in the suppression of the Jesuits and the dispersal of Jesuit libraries earlier in the eighteenth century, stemmed from the forced secularisation – the suppression of monastic communities and the confiscation of their property, usually by the state – brought about in France, the Holy Roman Empire, and elsewhere in continental Europe either directly or indirectly as a result of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars.[264] In this case, books were either confiscated directly by the state – sometimes as cultural trophies, sometimes as potential economic resources, and sometimes for symbolic mutilation or destruction – or were transferred by the state to private individuals, often as compensation for other state-sponsored expropriations (e.g., the mediatisation of many of the Imperial nobles and the consequent loss of their estates). Such books generally reached English collectors only at one or two removes. Most of the major collectors of the period relied on agents, often themselves current or former Catholic priests or monks, who obtained items from monastic collections either just before or in the wake of overt state-sponsored violence and directed the flow of these objects around Europe.[265]

The other strand was the removal of books from Orthodox monasteries, mostly but not exclusively those within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire, either in Ottoman Europe (Greece and the Balkans) or in the Levant.[266] In these cases, English collectors generally engaged directly with the monasteries themselves and acquired the books in question during extended periods of travel, often conceptualised within discourses of the Grand Tour and its post-Enlightenment successors. Direct violence, state-sponsored or private, was less in evidence here, being replaced instead by a sense of cultural superiority and corresponding Orientalisation of the books' monkish owners which, however, often ended in the same results. This strand also had a much longer history entwined with western European book- and manuscript-hunting in the eastern Mediterranean and Islamic world. As scholars such as Simon Mills have documented, English and other western scholars were actively collecting manuscripts, both Christian and Islamic, in the Levant from the seventeenth century, if not earlier, and the removal of books from Orthodox monasteries in the nineteenth century is a practice both dependent on and informed by the work of these earlier traveller-collectors.[267] What changed, however, was the intensity with which monasteries, in particular, were targeted for their collections and the ways in which this targeting became systematised over the course of the century (as discussed below).

These are large claims, not least insofar as they touch on potential moral and ethical issues surrounding the ownership of the books today. In the remainder of this article I will begin to substantiate them through two examples, one from each of the strands outlined above, before bringing these together to make a larger argument about the importance of this period and the place of monastic libraries within it for our understanding of the transmission and use of medieval manuscripts and early printed books.

Reichskartause Buxheim

The early nineteenth century has been often described as the golden age of bibliophilia, an epithet which owes something to the endless enthusiasm and self-promotion of its chronicler, the English clergyman and bibliophile Thomas Frognall Dibdin, but also in a very real measure to the sudden flood of early printed books onto the European market as a result of the Napoleonic Wars.[268] The English private libraries formed in this febrile period – those of Richard Heber, Thomas Grenville, Mark Masterman Sykes, and the Duke of Devonshire to name only a few – have not only been unsurpassed, but are unsurpassable, dependent as their assemblage was on a unique moment in the history of the international book trade.[269]

Chief amongst this generation, standing head and shoulders above the rest in the scope and intensity of his collecting, was George John Spencer, 2nd Earl Spencer (1758-1834).[270] Born into wealth and inheriting a fine, if not exceptional, library Spencer came to collecting in his thirties, balancing it with a series of public roles as Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, British minister to Vienna, First Lord of the Admiralty, and ultimately, though briefly, Home Secretary.[271] In 1789 he bought the outstanding classical library of Count Karl Emerich Reviczky de Revisnye (1737-1793), the Imperial ambassador to London, paying in return a yearly annuity to its former owner.[272] Reviczky, in turn, took the younger man under his wing, introducing him to continental dealers and agents like Eusebio Maria Della Lena and Angelo Maria Pannocchieschi, Marchese d'Elci. By the middle of the 1790s, Spencer could already boast of an impressive network of contacts who were supplying him with volumes either directly bought from or otherwise obtained from monasteries under threat of secularisation.[273]

Foremost amongst these agents was the ever-resourceful librarian, bookseller, and British diplomatic informant Father Alexander (in religion Maurus) Horn, OSB (1762-1820), a Scottish-born Benedictine monk in Regensburg.[274] Horn's remarkable political career has been dealt with elsewhere; his role as agent and finder-out of Europe's rarest books is still being explored.[275] Somewhat surprisingly for a monk, he showed little concern for the oncoming tidal wave of expropriation which faced the monasteries of the German lands at the end of the eighteenth century, happily writing to his employer Spencer on 22 March 1798 that, ‘the Secularization of Suabia will make an excellent harvest for Collectors of old books which I shall not fail to turn out to your Lordship's greatest advantage’, and again on 5 March 1802 that ‘in the present uncertain state of the Bavarian Monasteries I have renewed the Attack’, i.e., his attempts to convince one librarian to part with a particularly desired item.[276] When widespread secularisation came in 1803 and monastic books began to be confiscated on a vast scale, partly to furnish the newly-enlarged Electoral Library in Munich, he boasted to Spencer that the commissary in charge of looting was ‘a particular acquaintance of mine’, able to gently derail the right books from their journey to Munich into Horn's hands.[277] Later that summer he ‘came into concurrence with one of the under Librarians’ of the Electoral Library, i.e., he bribed the recently-minted bureaucrat to sell him still more books destined for the collection.[278] For Horn, books were commercial commodities which could and should be obtained by whatever means required; his letters display a brazen – or simply unselfconscious – openness as to his methods, though he was quick to assure Spencer that ‘I should be sorry if the slightest suspicion should fall on me of being capable of the common tricks of Booksellers’.[279]

One of Horn's most bibliographically significant transactions was his acquisition of a group of books which had belonged to the Charterhouse of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Buxheim, near Memmingen in Swabia. Founded in 1402, it rapidly became one of the largest and wealthiest Carthusian houses in the Holy Roman Empire, containing a library singularly rich in incunables and other early printing.[280] This was in substantial part due to the donations of Hilprand Brandenburg (1442-1514), sometime rector of the University of Basel and patrician of the small town of Biberach.[281] His gifts, according to the *liber benefactorum* of Buxheim, amounted to ‘450 books large and small’.[282] This collection, almost all incunabula, remained at Buxheim, largely in their original fifteenth-century bindings, for the remainder of the monastery's existence and their importance was well-known by the end of the eighteenth century. Martin Gerbert, Abbot of St Blasien, could, for example, write in 1765 that the monastery library ‘abounds in books from the first epoch of the art of printing’ and could spend several pages of his bibliographical travelogue, the *Iter Alemannicum*, describing at length the 1462 Bible and other treasures of the house.[283]

But Brandenburg was not alone in his rich donations and incunables were not the sole extent of Buxheim's treasures. Another, seemingly much more modest, gift was made in the first half of the fifteenth century by Anna von Gundelfingen (*c.*1400-1442), a canoness in the nunnery of Buchau.[284] It was a single manuscript, written in Bohemia in 1417, of the Matins of the Virgin.[285] This manuscript was remarkable, however, not for itself, but for a woodcut pasted inside its cover: a large, hand-coloured woodblock print of St Christopher dated 1423. It is (probably) the earliest known dated example of a woodblock print in Europe.[286] Prints like these were mass-produced for purposes of private devotion, nurturing, as Parshall and Schoch have argued, ‘a sense of closeness . . . privacy . . . and personal interpretation’ and functioning in the same way as vernacular devotional literature.[287] Anna von Gundelfingen would have likely used the St Christopher for this purpose, just as she would have used the manuscript in which it was placed for day-to-day worship.

We may presume that these original uses were carried with the manuscript into its new Carthusian home, though we cannot be sure how long this would have continued. Certainly, by the latter part of the eighteenth century the original devotional purpose of the St Christopher woodcut had receded into the background and its place in the history of art and technology had become central to contemporary understandings. In this context, its importance for the history of printing was first noted by Buxheim's librarian, Franz Krismer, ‘a polymath and great lover of the arts and belles lettres’, who showed it to the art historian Carl Heinrich von Heineken on his visit to Buxheim.[288] Krismer subsequently published a study of early woodcuts in 1776, including the St Christopher (the earliest detailed study on the subject).[289]

It was probably from the works of either von Heineken or Krismer himself that Spencer came to learn of the St Christopher and its significance.[290] In a draft reply to his then regular agent and correspondent, Jean-Baptiste Maugérard, later to become a commissaire looting monasteries across Europe for the French, Spencer had scribbled imperatively, ‘get me the Print of St Christopher at Buxheim’.[291] Maugérard, if he attempted, did not succeed. Nor, at first, did Horn himself. He later wrote of his first attempts that,

> I recollect that being in 1802 at Buxheim where I intended to buy some old Editions and procured [*sic*] your St Christopher those rich Carthusians were convinced that they alone would escape the general Fate of the Monasteries because they having nothing to do with the World, the World had nothing to do with them.[292]

Unfortunately for the Carthusians, what Horn later described as their indifference to ‘<u>all</u> worldly Concerns’ did not stem the onrushing tide and Buxheim was secularised with other Bavarian monasteries in 1803.[293] Its property, including the library, was given as compensation to Count Johann Friedrich Carl Maximilian von Ostein (1736-1809), an otherwise undistinguished nobleman who had lost estates in the redrawing of the European map during the course of the French invasions.[294]

For what happened next, we are indebted to Horn's correspondence with Spencer. The vast majority of the Buxheim library passed to Graf von Ostein, was then inherited by the Grafen Waldbott von Bassenheim and was sold by that family in a high-profile auction in

Münich in 1883.[295] But not, it would seem, all. Writing to Spencer on 4 July 1803, Horn gleefully noted that,

> The Monks of Buxheim who before in hopes of not being suppressed refused all the offers I made them secreted their principal Articles and now I am invited to meet their collection at Ulm.[296]

Which monks and how these items were kept back is unclear, but Horn spent at the better part of the summer at Ulm triumphantly reporting his acquisition of the St Christopher as well as the monastery's Gutenberg Bible, 1462 Bible, 1459 Durandus, Fust and Schöffer Cicero, and Mentelin Virgil, amongst others, many of them part of the bequest of Hilprand Brandenburg: a feast for any bibliophile. Overconfidently, Horn wrote that 'I expect Your Lordship's orders'.[297] He repeated this list, now swollen to fifteen items, apparently all from Buxheim, in a letter of 12 January 1804, proposing £700 for the lot.[298]

Unfortunately for Horn, Spencer, who already had copies of many of the rarities his agent had obtained, demurred, taking only the St Christopher and leaving Horn out of pocket and unexpectedly at loose ends. The immediate consequence of this was that Horn found he could not pay the exiled Carthusians who, accordingly, kept back the St Christopher as security until their account was finally settled.[299] When Horn did arrive with the money in hand, in the early autumn of 1804, he reported that 'the Proprietors of the St Christopher . . . showed a Determination to get rid of that part of the Bargain which concerned him and even offered to restore the Money' but '[a]fter a great Deal of wrangling' Horn prevailed and triumphantly brought away the woodcut and its enclosing volume.[300]

In the following years, Horn advertised several of the unsold volumes from Buxheim for sale, including the Gutenberg Bible, in literary journals both German and French. As Eric

White has shown, some of these were ultimately purchased by the Bibliothèque Nationale while others, again including the Gutenberg Bible, were purchased in 1808 by Comte Léon d'Ourches, a French collector.[301] These scattered volumes had various trajectories. Comte d'Ourches's collection was sold in 1811.[302] Amongst his Buxheim volumes, the Mentelin Virgil, one of Brandenburg's books, was sold to the Manchester slave trader and bibliophile George Hibbert and, from him, passed into the hands of Thomas Grenville; it now rests, with Grenville's other books, in the British Library.[303] Another Brandenburg volume, the beautiful 1462 Bible, illuminated with its donor's arms, was purchased at the d'Ourches sale for Anne-Thérèse-Philippine, Comtesse d'Yve (1738-1814), a Belgian revolutionary, pamphleteer, bluestocking, and bibliophile, who had also bought the Buxheim Gutenberg Bible.[304] When her collection was sold in 1820, the 1462 Bible found its way to England where it passed into the Huth collection; it is now in the Huntington Library.[305] The Gutenberg was acquired by the London booksellers Payne and Foss, who appear to have sold it to 'Mad Jack' Fuller (1757-1834), the philanthropist and defender of slavery, who subsequently gave it to Eton College Library, where it now resides.[306] Other Buxheim books which do not appear on Horn's lists from 1803-4 were probably also acquired, by him or other book agents, around this time, one example being the 1475 *editio princeps* of Horace which also found its way into Spencer's collection.[307]

Returning to the St Christopher, we can observe the ways in which its use, value, and meaning shifted dramatically after its removal from a monastic context to that of an aristocratic collector's library. What had begun its life as an object of personal devotion for Anna von Gundelfingen and had subsequently found its way into a book with practical, communal liturgical value for the Carthusians at Buxheim was transmuted into a commodity, an object valued for its rarity, cultural importance, and economic value rather than for any religious, or even aesthetic, quality; 'there are', Dibdin wrote in his catalogue of Spencer's library, ‘perhaps few more precious relics in existence, connected with the early history of the ART OF ENGRAVING, than the present’.[308] Likewise, its place within the manuscript Matins of the Virgin was elided over such that most modern discussions of the St Christopher completely neglect its larger manuscript context (Anna von Gundelfingen is never mentioned and Buxheim only rarely).

Whether this shift came about solely due to Horn's purchase, however, is less clear. As indicated above, the St Christopher was already being understood as an object of historical and cultural significance, rather than simply of practical devotional use, by Buxheim's own librarian in the eighteenth century. While we cannot recover the stages by which this shift took place - and, indeed, it is perhaps unlikely that even the actors involved would have been aware of them – we may surmise a similar trajectory to that of another monastic acquisition of Spencer's, the 1457 Mainz Psalter formerly in the library of the Premonstratensian Abbey at Rot an der Rot in Swabia. For that volume we have the testimony of Sigismund Hogl, the abbey's librarian, that it was still in use as a liturgical text until the middle of the eighteenth century, but had subsequently come to be valued for its status as an important milestone in the development of printing.[309] In other words, a radical transformation of the meaning and value perceived to inhere in the St Christopher certainly took place, but we should be wary of assigning responsibility solely to Horn and Spencer. Rather, they took action in a field which had already, to some extent, been prepared for them by the recategorisation of the St Christopher as a valuable and desirable art object.

The fate of the St Christopher and the other Buxheim books obtained by Horn is characteristic of that which befell the contents of many monastic libraries during the Napoleonic wars. What is unusual in this case, however, is that these choice items were only commodified and brought into the book market *after* secularisation, whereas individuals like Horn, Maugérard, Della Lena, and their confreres more often coaxed, bullied, and cajoled monks to part with their most valuable books and manuscripts before secularisation, when the threat of expropriation and pillage was imminent but had not yet occurred and religious communities were seeking to prepare themselves as best they could for the coming storm. I have chosen it as an example here, however, for the richness of documentation surrounding the transaction, which allows a better understanding of the motives of the actors involved than would be the case in many other examples.

Karakallou, Mount Athos

By contrast with Spencer, Robert Curzon (1810-1873), who later in life succeeded to the title of 14th Baron Zouche, was a very different kind of collector.[310] A private gentleman in comparison to Spencer's prominent position in Britain's political life, and the heir of an encumbered and dilapidated estate, he lacked the older man's financial and political resources, a difference which directed the course of his collecting into sharply divergent avenues. Loving manuscripts, early manuscripts in particular, but lacking the wealth to compete in the London market, Curzon went on two manuscript-hunting tours, the first to Jerusalem, elsewhere in the Levant, and Meteora in 1833-34 and the second to Mount Athos and elsewhere in Greece in 1837-38. It was almost entirely during these two journeys that he collected an exceptional library of early manuscripts, beginning with Egyptian mummy wrappings and extending to 228 items when he had a catalogue privately printed in 1849.[311]

Curzon in his own time was famous for that minor classic, *Visits to Monasteries in the Levant* (1849), a work now better-known amongst other travel writers than the general public, and is at present perhaps most immediately recognisable for the darkly comic episode in which he plied the abbot of the monastery of El-Sourian in Egypt with strong drink until he succeeded in obtaining Syriac manuscripts in the monastery's possession.[312] Here, however, I wish to focus on one of his more spectacularly successful negotiations during his second tour, one in which he acquired fifteen medieval and early modern manuscripts from the monastery of Karakallou on Mount Athos.

Curzon was called by John Julius Norwich ‘the Elgin of the Athonite libraries’, but was his role quite so straightforward?[313] More recent writers have been divided, some, such as Robin Cormack seeing him as, essentially, a duplicitous looter, others, like Terence Bowers, as a thoughtful critic of the industrial west whose journeys were genuine pilgrimages into an understanding of eastern Christianity.[314] As with Spencer, we must consider the larger context in which his collecting was situated as well as the variation within the modes and methods of his individual acquisitions.

The systematic acquisition of manuscripts from Orthodox monasteries by Englishmen had begun in the generation before Curzon with Joseph Dacre Carlyle, Cambridge professor of Arabic, and Philip Hunt, both members of Lord Elgin's embassy to Constantinople, traveling to Athos and elsewhere in search of lost classical texts.[315] The overbearing practices of Carlyle and Hunt, who took ‘borrowing’ in its most elastic sense, set a standard which was well-established by the time of the Bodleian sub-librarian Henry Octavius Coxe's 1858 government-sponsored report on Greek manuscripts in the Levant, a check-list of items for future acquisition.[316]

Curzon, though in a private capacity, was very much a part of this larger trend in British attitudes towards the Christians of the Levant. He was, he wrote,

> a sort of biblical knight errant, as I then considered myself, who had entered on the perilous adventure of Mount Athos to rescue from the thraldom of ignorant monks those fair vellum volumes, with their bright illuminations and velvet dresses and

> jewelled clasps, which for so many centuries had lain imprisoned in their dark monastic dungeons.[317]

His chance came when he reached Karakallou, one of the twenty monasteries situated on Mount Athos, the centre of Orthodox Christianity.

Karakallou is first mentioned in 1018-19 and still possesses archives dating back to 1294. Although sacked by the Ottomans in the first half of the fifteenth century, it survived the fall of the eastern empire and had become cenobitic, rather than iodiorrhythmic, in 1813, a generation before Curzon's arrival.[318] The only knowledge Curzon is likely to have had of the monastery and its library beforehand is the brief account given by Hunt after his 1801 journey (eventually published in 1817):

> Amongst the manuscripts, we found a treatise in small characters, accented and contracted; the commentary surrounding the text is in beautiful uncial letters . . . [a] miscellaneous compilation containing part of Demosthenes, of Justin translated into Greek, of the Hecuba of Euripides, and the first book of Euclid, and some verses are the only classical fragments. The verses are from Hesiod and from the Batrachomyomachia of Homer.[319]

We know that Curzon was aware of Hunt's published account. His oft-cited ‘notes of libraries in the Levant’, contained in a letter sent to Sir Thomas Phillipps on 6 January 1837, contains a lengthy description of Athonite libraries which is a manuscript-by-manuscript paraphrase of Hunt's survey with no new information, unsurprisingly given that Curzon would not visit the Holy Mountain himself until later that year.[320]

Curzon reached Athos in the late summer of 1837. Most of his attempts to obtain manuscripts there were unsuccessful, the major exception being his negotiations with the abbot of Karakallou. Finding a manuscript leaf written in uncial characters, he ‘made bold to ask for this single leaf as a thing of small value’. His account of the subsequent transaction is worth quoting in full:

> “Certainly!” said the agoumenos [abbot], “what do you want it for?”
>
> My servant suggested that, perhaps, it might be useful to cover some jam pots or vases of preserves which I had at home.
>
> “Oh!” said the agoumenos, “take some more;” and, without more ado, he seized upon an unfortunate thick quarto manuscript of the Acts and Epistles, and drawing out a knife cut out an inch thickness of leaves at the end before I could stop him . . . I ought, perhaps, to have slain the *tomecide* for his dreadful act of profanation, but his generosity reconciled me to his guilt, so I pocketed the [fragment], and asked him if he would sell me any of the other books, as he did not appear to set any particular value upon them.
>
> “Malista, certainly,” he replied; “how many will you have? They are of no use to me, and as I am in want of money to complete my buildings I shall be very glad to turn them to some account.”[321]

Curzon's account of this interchange is a complex text to parse. On the surface, it was undoubtedly written to amuse – Curzon was a great raconteur – and draws on the deeply-entrenched stereotype of the ignorant monk, already seen elsewhere in his work, to weave a narrative which simultaneously makes us cringe and smile. Looking deeper, however, while its breeziness and its stereotypes are very much of the age, we have no reason to doubt the essential veracity of Curzon's account. Most tellingly, we have the physical remains of the abbot's actions: British Library Add MS 39599 is the main (eleventh-century) manuscript, damaged and incomplete at the end, while Add MS 39601 is the section removed, containing the Book of Revelation with a commentary by Andreas of Caesarea. If the abbot *did* vandalise his manuscript in front of an outraged Curzon, happily unaware that something which he perceived as simply rubbish waiting to be repurposed might have a different set of values for his visitor, it certainly puts the transaction in a different light than, for example, Curzon's lubrication of the abbot of El-Sourian with rosoglio.[322]

The next question, to be asked is: what precisely did Curzon acquire at Karakallou? In his *Visits* he wrote that,

> I looked over the library, where I found an uncial Evangelistarium; a manuscript of Demosthenes on paper, but of some antiquity; a manuscript of Justin (Ιουστινου) in Greek; and several other manuscripts, - all of which the agoumenos agreed to let me have.[323]

His *Catalogue* reports a total of eight manuscripts specifically identified as being from Karakallou, including the Demosthenes, there stated to be fifteenth century in date, but not the Justin (which is entirely absent) or the Evangelistarium, which must be the manuscript described, without provenance, as item 18 at pp. 23-24 (now BL Add MS 39602).[324] In 1917 Curzon's daughter, Darea, bequeathed his collection to the British Museum. The modern British Library catalogue reports a total of fifteen manuscripts in all with Karakallou provenance amongst Curzon's collection (the Justin, again, is absent).[325]

This was by no means an insignificant portion of the monastery's manuscript collection. When Spyridon Lambros was preparing his great – and still standard – catalogue of Athonite manuscripts and visited Karakallou in 1880, he recorded 277 manuscripts still to be found there, almost all inferior in age or importance to those which Curzon had obtained.[326] One could fairly say that Curzon took the opportunity which was presented him to gut the library of Karakallou of its most important items. Equally, one could also see this – as Curzon himself seems to have done – as the heroical salvation of priceless manuscripts otherwise destined to neglect or wanton destruction, a view which would have been reasonable enough given the abbot's actions. While most of the manuscripts acquired by Curzon would have begun life having practical liturgical, devotional, and scholarly value for the community at Karakallou, there is no clear evidence that they were still valued as such when Curzon arrived on the scene. Indeed, the library had, he tells us 'been locked up for many years'.[327]

* * *

Initially, these two episodes may seem to have little in common, but I would like to make the argument that not only do they share a number of key features, but that in these features lies a larger roadmap to understanding the transfer of books out of monastic and into private ownership at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In both cases, the items under discussion had begun their lives as objects intended for devotional and/or liturgical use in their respective monastic homes. Likewise, in both cases there is at least some evidence that their original purposes were no longer seen as relevant by their monastic owners in the period discussed. In the case of the St Christopher at Buxheim, it had shifted from being an object of private devotion to one of artistic and historic value, whereas in that of the manuscripts at Karakallou they had, seemingly, been either superseded or ignored and left to a more or less benign neglect in the locked library.

In neither case, however, did the shift in value alone cause the items to leave monastic ownership. What was required, I propose, was not merely a change in use but that change in use combined with changing western European perceptions of monastic communities and their ownership of antiquities. Anti-monasticism, whether sweeping, overtly violent, and state-sponsored or localised, verbal, and personal, combined with the growing passion for collecting manuscripts and early printed books provided the impetus necessary for English collectors to capitalise on monks' changing understandings of the value and use of their collections and so to obtain items from those collections for themselves.

In other words, the collecting – or expropriation – which occurred in the first half of the nineteenth century was made possible by a unique and multifaceted set of cultural, political, and religious variables which aligned in such a way as to result in the widespread and wholesale transfer of manuscripts and early printed books out of monastic collections and into private hands. While it is a modern truism that any library is ‘fragile’ and that books are far more likely to be dispersed than to be kept together, it is also true that the majority of the monastic libraries dispersed in the Napoleonic secularisations or picked over in the Ottoman Empire by nineteenth-century collector-travellers had survived relatively intact for many hundreds of years.[328] This was a specific - indeed, a crucial - moment in which items from the common cultural heritage of the European world came loose from their historic moorings, changed hands, were bought and sold, and had their cultural meanings transformed accordingly.

While this is not the place to fully address the moral and ethical implications of these transactions, it would also be disingenuous to ignore the fact that what I have described here is inevitably fraught with ethical challenges for the modern scholar or librarian. The books and manuscripts described here were not stolen. In the case of the Buxheim collection they were sold by their rightful owners, the Carthusian community, albeit in extremity and under considerable duress, to Horn, and sold by Horn to Spencer. In the case of Karakallou, they were sold by the abbot directly to Curzon. Of course, the Elgin Marbles were also (probably) not stolen, but as the disputes of the past two decades have shown, the fact of a legitimate commercial transaction underlying the expropriation of cultural heritage from one country and context to another does little to resolve the underlying debate over that expropriation's morality.[329] As we come to better understand the tectonic shifts in book ownership which occurred during the early nineteenth century, we ought also to reflect on the complicated place these objects now occupy in public collections, in the cases under discussion the John Rylands Library and the British Library. Any moral right to the Buxheim volumes is undoubtedly complicated by the dissolution of the monastery itself. Should they be treated as, on some level, pertaining to the surviving Carthusian order as a whole? The case of Karakallou is more straightforward; the monastery survives, as it did in Curzon's day, with the remnant of its library still intact. What relationship should or might the twenty-first-century monks of Karakallou have to their forebearers' books in London?

To conclude, I would like to offer a provocation to other scholars. I have made the case here for the critical importance of the period under discussion for understanding the *longue durée* circulation of medieval manuscripts and early printed books, a claim which has also been made by Kristen Jensen, Eric White, Cristina Dondi, David McKitterick, and others; I have also specifically pointed to how changing understandings of the use and value of books, both within and outwith monasteries, led to a sudden, at times catastrophic, dispersal of monastic libraries in the course of a comparatively few decades at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Finally, I have gestured briefly towards questions of morality, especially where books were forcibly expropriated or obtained under false pretences. What has largely yet to be done, however, is to map these processes in detail, for specific institutions, collections, and regions, recovering, insofar as we can, how books left monastic ownership, why they did so, and how we might understand that within modern conceptualisations of cultural heritage. To quote Uwe Hartmann, head of the Provenance

Research Department of the German Lost Art Foundation, who was himself speaking of books looted and confiscated in the twentieth century, 'these objects bear a history that we can't ignore'.[330] As provenance history and the life cycle of the book become increasingly central parts of our discipline, it is imperative that we recover those histories and restore them to the books, once monastic, which now sit anonymously in private collections or on modern institutional shelves.

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[1] William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), *passim.*

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[3] Robert Darnton, '"What is the History of Books?" Revisited', *Modern Intellectual History* 4, no. 3 (2007), 495-508.

[4] Nicolas Barker and Thomas R. Adams, 'A New Model for the History of the Book', in *A Potencie of Life: Books in Society: The Clark Lectures, 1986-1987 (London: Oak Knoll Press, 2001);* David D. Hall, 'What was the History of the Book? A Response', Modern Intellectual History 4, no. 3 (2007), 537-44; Padmini Ray Murray and Claire Squires, 'The Digital Publishing Communications Circuit', *Book 2.0* 3, no. 1 (2013), 3-24, https://doi.org/10.1386/btwo.3.1.3_1 (accessed 22 March 2024); Darnton, '"What is the History of Books?" Revisited', 495-508.

[5] Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', 69.

[6] The fragility of libraries, both in history and in our own time, is discussed further in (among others) Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen *The Library: A Fragile History* (London: Profile Books, 2021), Richard Ovenden, *Burning the Books: A History of Knowledge Under Attack* (London: John Murray, 2020), and Lucien X. Polastron, *Books on Fire: The Tumultuous History of the World's Great Libraries* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2007).

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[13] David Williams, 'The Use and Abuse of a Pious Intention: Changing Attitudes to Parochial Libraries', *The Library Association and Study School and National Conference Proceedings* (Nottingham, 1979), 21.
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[16] James Wright, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Rutland* (London: Printed for Bennet Griffin, 1684), 52.
[17] 'Last Will and Testament of Humphrey Chetham', uncatalogued, Chetham's Library, Manchester.
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[19] 'Will of Roger Gillingham of Middle Temple, Middlesex, 25 February 1696', PROB 11/430/238, The National Archives, Kew.
[20] 'More Church Library Trust Deeds with Rules', P193/S/1/1, Shropshire Archives.
[21] Conal Condren, 'More Parish Library, Salop', *Library History*, 7, no. 5 (1987), 146, 150-58.
[22] Andrew Pettegree, 'Centre and Periphery in the European Book World', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 18 (2008), 118.
[23] Joad Raymond, 'The Development of the Book Trade in Britain', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture,* vol.1: *Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, ed. Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 60-61.
[24] Pettegree, 'Centre and Periphery', 104.
[25] John Taylor, *The Carriers Cosmographie* (London: Printed by A.G. [Anne Griffin], 1637).
[26] Perkin, *Directory*, 259-62.
[27] 'Documents Relating to the Trigge Library: Agreement'.
[28] John Glenn, 'A Sixteenth-Century Library: the Francis Trigge Chained Library of St Wulfram's Church, Grantham', in *Early Tudor England: Proceedings of the 1987 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Daniel Williams (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1989), 66; Jessica G. Purdy, *Reading Between the Lines: Parish Libraries and their Readers in Early Modern England*, *1558-1709* (Leiden: Brill, 2023), 92.
[29] Pettegree, 'Centre and Periphery', 106; Margaret Lane Ford, 'Importation of Printed Books into England and Scotland', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. III: *1400-1557,* ed. Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 183-88.
[30] Perkin, *Directory*, 364-65; William Carr and Stuart Handley, 'Spelman, Clement (Bap. 1598, d. 1679)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26102; Stuart Handley, 'Spelman, Sir Henry (1563/4-1641)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26104; David L. Smith, 'Spelman, Sir John (1594-1643)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26105 (all accessed 3 March 2024).
[31] Raymond, 'Development of the Book Trade in Britain', 61.
[32] Pettegree, 'Centre and Periphery', 106.
[33] Ibid., 106, 114; Alan B. Farmer, 'Cosmopolitanism and Foreign Books in Early Modern England', *Shakespeare Studies*, 35 (2007), 58.
[34] Julian Roberts, 'The Latin Trade', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain,* vol. IV: *1557-1695,* ed. John Barnard, D. F. McKenzie and Maureen Bell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 141-42.
[35] Anna Bayman, 'Printing, Learning, and the Unlearned', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture:* vol. 1: *Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660,* ed. Joad Raymond Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 81.
[36] 'Will of Thomas White, Bishop of Peterburgh, 19 July 1698', PROB 11/446/372,The National Archives, Kew
[37] Jennifer Richards, *Voices and Books in the English Renaissance: A New History of Reading* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 76-79.
[38] Christopher Brooks, 'Apprenticeship, Social Mobility and the Middling Sort, 1550-1800', in *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550-1800,* ed. Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), 76
[39] Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 34.
[40] 'Last Will and Testament of Humphrey Chetham'.

[41] Burnett Hillman Streeter, *The Chained Library: A Survey of Four Centuries in the Evolution of the English Library* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1931), 292.
[42] Thomas Baker Collection, Harley 2045, British Library, 463, cited in Perkin, *Directory*, 400.
[43] 'Will of William Smarte of Ipswich, Suffolk, 2 November 1599', PROB 11/94/340, The National Archives, Kew.
[44] 'Will of Thomas Alston, Clerk of Assington, Suffolk, 31 January 1691', PROB 11/403/170, The National Archives, Kew.
[45] 'Will of William Burkitt, Vicar and Lecturer of Dedham, Essex, 18 December 1703', PROB 11/473/499, The National Archives, Kew.
[46] 'Will of Stephen Camborne, Rector of Lawshall, Suffolk, 29 March 1704', PROB 11/473/499, The National Archives, Kew.
[47] Perkin, *Directory*, 263.
[48] 'Documents Relating to the Trigge Library: Agreement'; For a brief description and discussion of the surrounding area of Grantham, the 'Soke', see Edmund Turnor, *Collections for the History of the Town and Soke of Grantham* (London: W. Bulmer and Co. for William Miller, 1806), ix.
[49] 'Will of Roger Gillingham of Middle Temple, Middlesex, 25 February 1696', PROB 11/430/238, The National Archives, Kew.
[50] 'Account Book, 1640-1696', PE-WM/CW/1/42, Dorset History Centre, Dorset.
[51] 'Will of Clement Spelman of Saint Mary Magdalene, Norfolk, 15 May 1680', PROB 11/363/68, The National Archives, Kew.
[52] Perkin, *Directory*, 365.
[53] 'Documents relating to the Trigge Library: Agreement'.
[54] 'Documents relating to the Trigge Library: Schedule of Orders and Constitutions', Grantham St Wulfram Par/23/3, Lincolnshire Archives, Lincolnshire.
[55] 'Will of John Clungeon, Haberdasher of London, 9 November 1646', PROB 11/198/73, The National Archives, Kew.
[56] 'Last Will and Testament of Humphrey Chetham'.
[57] 'Will of Roger Gillingham'.
[58] Edward Trollope, *Sleaford, and the Wapentakes of Flaxwell and Aswardhurn, in the County of Lincoln* (London: Kent and Co.; Sleaford: William Fawcett, 1872), 165.
[59] William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 5.
[60] Pettegree, 'Legion of the Lost', 3.
[61] Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 25; Andrew Cambers, *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580-1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), *passim*.
[62] John Calvin, *Sermons Upon the Booke of Job (Trans. A. Golding)* (London: T. Dawson for G. Bishop and T. Woodcocke, 1579). Annotated copy: Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark E10.
[63] Purdy, *Reading Between the Lines*, *passim*.
[64] Peter Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 56.
[65] Thomas Brightman, *The Works of that Famous, Reverend, and Learned Divine, Mr. Thomas Brightman* (London: John Field, 1644), 614-15. Annotated copy: Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, shelfmark GC.1.22; Francis White, *A Replie to Jesuit Fisher's Answer to Certain Questions Propounded by His Most Gracious Majesty, King James* (London: Adam Islip, 1624), 63. Annotated copy: Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, shelfmark GC.1.27.
[66] Martin Chemnitz, *Examinis Concilii Tridentini, Part I* (Frankfurt: Peter Fabricius, 1585), 74. Annotated copy: Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark D2. Underlined Latin passage on p. 74 reads '...*Ecclesiam post Apostolos pro ratione aedificationis, ordinis & decori, alios quosdam ritus addidisse*'. English translation: Martin Chemnitz, *Examination of the Council of Trent, Part I*, tr. Fred Kramer (London: Concordia Publishing House, 1971), p. 268.
[67] Martin Chemnitz, *Examinis Concilii Tridentini, Part III* (Frankfurt: Peter Fabricius, 1585), 116. Annotated copy: Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark D2. Underlined Latin passage on p. 116 reads '*Antea aliquoties diximus, Pontificios opinionem purgatorii ad Scripturam adferre, non inde referre, sed cogere hoc videri in Scriptura dictum, quod ante lectionem praesumpserunt credendum*'. English translation: Martin Chemnitz, *Examination of the Council of Trent, Part III*, tr. Fred Kramer (London: Concordia Publishing House, 1971), 330.
[68] John White, *The Workes of that Learned and Reverend Divine, John White, Doctor in Divinitie* (London: R.F., 1624), 26. Annotated copy: Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, shelfmark GC.2.1.

[69] Francis Roberts, *Clavis Bibliorum. The Key of the Bible, Unlocking the Richest Treasury of the Holy Scriptures* (London: T.R. and E.M., 1649), pt 1, 43. Annotated copy: Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, shelfmark GC.1.8.
[70] Carl R. Trueman, 'Scripture and Exegesis in Early Modern Reformed Theology', in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theology, 1600-1800*, ed. Ulrich L. Lehner, Richard A. Muller and A. G. Roeber (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 187; Cambers, *Godly Reading*, 16.
[71] Calvin, *Sermons Upon the Booke of Job*, 7. Annotated copy: Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark E10.
[72] John Dod, *A Plaine and Familiar Exposition of the Ten Commandements* (London: Felix Kyngston, 1614), 360. Annotated copy, Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, shelfmark GC.1.13(1).
[73] Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 148.
[74] Saint Cyprian, *Opera* (Basel: the Office of Johann Froben, 1521), 50. Annotated copy: Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark F27. Underlined Latin passage on p. 50 reads '*Sit tibi uel oratio assidua, uel lectio: nunc cum deo loquere, nunc deus tecum...*'. English translation: *The Writings of Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage,* vol. I, tr. Robert Ernest Wallis, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1868), 12-13.
[75] Calvin, *Sermons Upon the Booke of Job*, 97, 324. Annotated copy: Francis Trigge Chained Library, shelfmark E10.
[76] Arthur Hildersham, *CLII Lectures upon Psalm, LI* (London: J. Raworth, 1642), 241. Annotated copy: Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, shelfmark GC.2.5(1).
[77] William Perkins, *The Workes of that Famous and Worthy Minister of Christ in the University of Cambridge, M. William Perkins: The Second Volume* (London: John Legatt, 1631), 6. Annotated copy: Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, shelfmark GC.2.14.
[78] Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, 55-59.
[79] Joseph Mede, *Diatribæ Pars IV. Discourses on Sundry Texts of Scripture* (London: J.F., 1652), 100-101. Annotated copy: Gorton Chest, Chetham's Library, shelfmark GC.1.12.
[80] The *Carolinum* and the Zurich city council offered scholarships to graduating students to study abroad. Karin Maag, 'Financing Education: The Zurich Approach, 1550–1620', in *Reformations Old and New: Essays on the Socio-Economic Impact of Religious Change, c. 1470–1630*, ed. Beat A. Kümin (Aldershot: Routledge, 1996), 215.
[81] Johann Heinrich Ulrich, *Bibliotheca Thuricensium publico private: selectiorum variorum linguarum et scientarum librorum* (Zurich: [s.n.], 1629), C3v. Christian Scheidegger, 'Buchgeschenke, Patronage und protestantische Allianzen: Die Stadtbibliothek Zürich und ihre Donatoren im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert', *Zwingliana* 44 (2017), 471.
[82] Ludwig Forrer, 'Die Zürcher Zentralbibliothek und ihre Vorgeschichte', *Librarium: Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Bibliophilen-Gesellschaft = Revue de la Société Suisse des Bibliophiles* 4, no. 1 (1961), 2.
[83] Ulrich, *Bibliotheca Thuricensium publico private*, quoted in Salomon Vögelin, *Geschichte der Wasserkirche und der Stadtbibliothek in Zürich* (Zurich: Drell, Füssli und Comp., 1848), 42.
[84] These were the above-mentioned Latin *Bibliotheca Thuricensium publico private* and the German-language *Bibliotheca nova Tigurinorum publico-privata* ([Zurich: s.n.], 1629), USTC 2098899.
[85] Scheidegger, 'Buchgeschenke', 465.
[86] Ulrich, *Bibliotheca nova Tigurinorum publico-privata*, quoted in Vögelin, *Geschichte der Wasserkirche*, 41. ['*Jeden gstudirten Personen in der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich als rechten Liebhabern und Beförderern des gemeinen Wohlstandes vermittelst nutzlicher fremder Sprachen und loblicher freyer Künste'*.]
[87] Vögelin, *Geschichte der Wasserkirche*, 42.
[88] Zurich, Zentralbibliothek Zürich (hereafter ZBZ), Ms Arch St 22, *Bibliothecae novae Tigurinorum publico privatae album* (1629-1769), <https://doi.org/10.7891/e-manuscripta-45784>, 546.
[89] The collegiate statutes of the Grossmünster canonry (*Grossmünsterstift*) writes as early as 1260 of a 'librarius' or 'custos armarii librorum' tasked with the binding and caring of books in the monastic library, which from 1588, was only open to members of the town clergy. Robert Barth, 'Bibliotheken an theologischen Ausbildungsstätten in Zürich', *Zwingliana* 16, no. 4 (1984), 309.
[90] ZBZ, MSc B 89, fol. 29-34, fol. 29-34. Reprinted in Vögelin, *Geschichte der Wasserkirche*, 57-60.
[91] ZBZ, Ms. Arch St 22, 21.
[92] Rolf Weiss, 'Von der Bürgerbibliothek zur Stadtbibliothek Winterthur', *Librarium: Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Bibliophilen- Gesellschaft = revue de la Société Suisse des Bibliophiles* 34 (1991), 7. Urs B. Leu et al., *Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände, Band 3: Kantone Uri bis Zürich, Register* (Hildesheim: Olms-Weidmann, 2021), 370.
[93] Vögelin, *Geschichte der Wasserkirche*, 43. Christian Moser, 'Ulrich, Johann Jakob', *Historische Lexicon der Schweiz* (hereafter *HLS*), https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/010885/2013-01-25/ (accessed 13 July 2022).
[94] ZBZ, Ms Arch St 22, 427-428 (the Müllers), 350 (Keller), 587 (the Ulrichs).
[95] ZBZ, Ms Arch St 22, 546.

[96] ZBZ, Ms Arch St 22, 558-559 (Stapfer), 623 (Wolf).
[97] Vögelin, *Geschichte der Wasserkirche*, 43.
[98] Ibid.
[99] E. Stauber, 'Von der Wasserkirche in Zürich,' *Schweizer Heimatschutz* 18, no. 3 (1923), 40-41.
[100] Vögelin, *Geschichte der Wasserkirche,* 44. ZBZ, Ms Arch St 22, fol. 9r-11r.
[101] Scheidegger, 'Buchgeschenke', 472. Vögelin, *Geschichte der Wasserkirche,* 45.
[102] For the Eschers 'vom Luchs', see ZBZ, Ms Arch St 22, 216-223; for the Eschers 'vom Glas', see 224-228. Katja Hürlimann, 'Escher', *HLS*, https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/023794/2012-04-05/, accessed 19 July 2022.
[103] ZBZ, Ms Arch St 22, 429 (Thomas, Hans Heinrich, and Johannes I Müller) and 431 (Johannes II Müller), and 462-464 (the Orellis).
[104] Scheidegger, 'Buchgeschenke', 474.
[105] ZBZ, Ms Arch St 22, 282.
[106] ZBZ, Ms Arch St 22, 308.
[107] ZBZ, Ms Arch St 22, 538 (Schaufelberger) and 428 (Müller).
[108] ZBZ, Ms Arch St 22, 168-170. Scheidegger, 'Buchgeschenke', 480.
[109] ZBZ, Ms Arch St 22, 27. Charles Drelincourt, *Compendio delle controversie* (Geneva, 1630), USTC 6700519. Robert Estienne, *Dictionaire francois-latin* (Paris : Robert Estienne, 1549), USTC 29527.
[110] ZBZ, Ms Arch St 22, 1 (Rohan), 36 (Dupuy).
[111] Scheidegger, *Buchgeschenke,* 483-484.
[112] Specifically, the Venetian cardinal and librarian Gerolamo Querini's 1748 gift (ZBZ, Ms Arch St 22, 120) and Lindau jurist Jakob Fels' donation in 1769 (123).
[113] ZBZ, Ms Arch St 22, 120.
[114] ZBZ, Ms Arch St 22, 127-134.
[115] Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The Library. A Fragile History* (London: Profile, 2021), 186-7.
[116] Leu et al., *Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände, Bd. 3,* 370.
[117] Vögelin, *Geschichte der Wasserkirche*, 68.
[118] Ibid., 62.
[119] Ibid., 68-69.
[120] Ibid., 69. The handwritten index, 'Series Repositorum seu Receptautorum Bibliothecae Tigurinorum Civicae, 1 May 1683', can be found in ZBZ, MSc B 89.
[121] Vögelin, *Geschcihte der Wasserkirche.*
[122] See especially Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World: Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019).
[123] Christoph Reske, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. Und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 1046-1050. All printing figures taken from the Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC) unless otherwise noted.
[124] ZBZ, Ms Arch St 22, 167-8.
[125] ZBZ, Ms Arch St 22, 536-7.
[126] *Catalogus scriptorium Tigurinorum, qui in bibliotheca civica Tigurina desiderantur* ([Zurich: s.n.], 1678), ZBZ, 6.270,5.
[127] Vögelin, *Geschcihte der Wasserkirche*, 69, n. 21.
[128] ZBZ, Ms Arch St 22, 638 (Ziegler), 240 (Fries). Konrad Huser, *De Imposturis & Ceremoniis Juadaeorum nostril temporis* (Basel: Peter Perna [1575]), USTC 699033.
[129] ZBZ, Ms Arch St 22, 214.
[130] Vögelin, *Geschichte der Wasserkirche*, 69n2. This was not uncommon: The secular and ecclesiastical authorities of the Confederate associate of Geneva saw it necessary to remind local printers and publishers of their obligations to the legal deposit multiple times per year. See Ingeborg Jostock, *La censure négociée: le contrôle du livre a Genève, 1560 -1625* (Geneva: Droz, 2007), 37-9.
[131] Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea sanctorum, sive Lombardica historia Leben der Heiligen: Winterteil* (Bad Urach, Conrad Fyner, 1481), USTC 746159. *Biblia* (Augsburg: [Günther Zainer], 1477), USTC 74105.
[132] [Eberhard Schleusinger], *De cometis* [Beromünster: Helias Heliae, after April 1472), USTC 744124.
[133] ZBZ, Ms Arch St 22, 265.
[134] ZBZ, Ms Arch St 22, f. 9r. Conrad Gessner, *Historia animalium,* Lib. I-IV (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1551, 1554, 1555, 1558), USTC 624827, 624826, 624829, 624828.
[135] ZBZ, Ms Arch St 22, 462-3.
[136] ZBZ, Ms Arch St 22, 465. Jan Jansson, *Novus atlas absolutissimus, das ist Generale Welt-Beschreibung,* 11 vols, (Amsterdam: Jan Jansson [1657-1664]). Pettegree and der Weduwen, *Bookshop of the World,* 18.
[137] Vögelin, *Geschichte der Wasserkirche*, 69.
[138] Gabriel Naudé, *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque présenté à Monsigneur le président de Mesme* (Paris: François Targa, 1627), USTC 6019927.

[139] Hans Nabholz, 'Zürichs höhere Schulen von der Reformation bis zur Gründung der Universität 1525-1833' in Ernst Gagliardi, Hans Nabholz and Jean Strohl (eds), *Die Universität Zürich und ihre Vorläufer* (Zurich: Verlag der Erziehungsdirektion, 1938), 11-12.
[140] ZBZ, Ms Arch St 22, 638. Conrad Gessner, *Physicarum meditationum* (Zurich, Christoph Froschauer (I), 1586), USTC 624830 and *De omni rerum fossilium* (Zurich: Hans Jakob Gessner, 1550 [1565]), VD16 G 1768. Jakob Ziegler, *Fermentatio generationis et corruptionis causa* (Basel: Hans Jakob Genath, 1647), VD17 23:000336V.
[141] From Hans Jakob Bürkli (ZBZ, MS Arch St 22, 189), Hans Rudolf Leemann (385) and Adrian Ziegler (639), respectively.
[142] Vögelin, *Geschcihte der Wasserkirche,* 71-2. The *Collegium Insulanum* would cease operations in 1681 but would be quickly succeeded by the '*Collegium der Vertaulichen*' ('College of the Confidential') in 1686 and later by the '*Collegium der Wohlgesinnten*' ('College of thie Well-Meaning').
[143] Vögelin, *Geschichte der Wasserkirche,* 72, n. 33. ZBZ, Ms Arch St 22, 483-4. Johann Heinrich Rahn, *Eidtgnössische Geschciht-Beschreibung* (Zurich: Hans Rudolf Simler, 1690), VD17 39:124151D.
[144] Vögelin, *Geschichte der Wasserkirche,* 72n33. ZBZ, Ms Arch St 22, 614. Christoph Werdmüller (resp.) and Johann Heinrich Heidegger (praes.), *Quaestiones politicae de imperio et subiectione* (Zurich: Michael Schaufelberger, 1667), VD17 12:184300U.
[145] ZBZ, Ms Arch St 22, 597-598. Johann Jakob Wagner, *Historia naturalis Helevtiae curiosa* (Zurich: Hans Heinrich Lindinner, 1680), VD17 14:079865Q.
[146] ZBZ, Ms Arch St 22, 52. Nicolaus Vedelius, *De arcanis arminiasmi libri duo* (Leiden: apud Francicus Hegerus [Willem Chrisiaensz vander Boxe], 1632), USTC 1028447.
[147] The pair's theses were printed as Lásló Mezó Szanthai (res.) and Sebastian Beck (praes.), *Themata theologica de fine passionis et mortis Dominicae* (Basel: Hans Jakob Genath, 1633) and Mihály Fábri Dobraviczai (res.) and Theodore Zwinger the Younger (praes.), *Antitheseōn concilio Tridentino oppositarum… respondebit Michael Fabri Dobraviczai Ungar* (Basel: Genath, 1632), VD17 15:750408W.
[148] F. S. Knipscheer, 'Vedelius, Nicolaas', in *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek,* Vol. 10, ed. J. Blok and C. Molhuysen (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1937), 1076.
[149] Jan-Andrea Bernhard, *Konsolideriung des reofrmierten Bekenntnissses im Reich der Stephanskrone* (Göttingen, 2017), 516, n. 204.
[150] Szanthai and Dobraviczai's edition of *Arcana Armianismi* is held at the ZBZ under the shelfmark D 109. Merian's donation is on ZBZ, Ms Arch St 22, 24. Johann Ludwig Gottfried and Matthäus Merian, *Historische Chronica oder Beschreibung der führnembsten Geschichten* (Frankfurt am Main: Matthäus Merian and Kaspar Rötel, 1630), VD17 23:236584G.
[151] '*Sed modo Parnassum totumque Heliconis / Aut TIGURI, aut nullo credimus esse loco*'. Balthasar Venator, '*H. Balthasari Venatoris Donarium, in Nova Tigurinorum Bibliotheca suspendum*' (1643), quoted in Vögelin, *Geschichte der Wasserkirche,* 57.
[152] Museum Plantin-Moretus Archief 142, f. 423 (henceforth abbreviated as MPM Arch.), letter of 4 October 1634. English translation in Ian Maclean, 'The Evolution of the Frankfurt and Leipzig Book Fairs and Their Catalogues, 1564–1700', in *Episodes in the Life of the Early Modern Learned Book* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 51. 'Officina Plantiniana' and 'Plantin-Moretus firm' are used interchangeably throughout this piece.
[153] Maurits Sabbe, 'Ysbrand Vincent en zijn Antwerpsche vrienden', *Verslagen en Mededeelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde* (1924), 522; Maurits Sabbe, 'Valsche Plantin- en Moretusdrukken', *De Gulden Passer* 1 (1923), 182-92.
[154] This is the term generally used by the publishers of the Officina Plantiniana in their own accounting. It also remained a popular method of payment at the Leipzig book fair: Jeffrey Freedman, *Books Without Borders in Enlightenment Europe: French Cosmopolitanism and German Literary Markets* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 23.
[155] For more on the early book as a commodity see J.F. Flood, 'The Printed Book as a Commercial Commodity in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 76 (2001), 172-82.
[156] Paul Nelles, 'Conrad Gessner and the Mobility of the Book', in *Books in Motion in Early Modern Europe,* ed. Daniel Bellingradt, Paul Nelles and Jeroen Salman (London: Palgrave, 2017), 43.
[157] Flood, 'Printed Book', 178.
[158] For a useful survey see J.L. Flood, 'Omnium totius orbis emporiorum compendium: The Frankfurt Fair in the Early Modern Period', in *Fairs, Markets and the Itinerant Book Trade*, ed. Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote (London, 2007), 1–40.
[159] Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011), 78-82.
[160] Ian Maclean, 'The Decline of the Frankfurt Book Fair after the Thirty Years' War', in *Book Trade Catalogues in Early Modern Europe,* ed. Arthur der Weduwen, Andrew Pettegree, and Graeme Kemp (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 272.

[161] Leon Voet, 'Chapter 16: Sales', in *The Golden Compasses: A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, vol. II (Amsterdam: Vangendt & Co., 1969-1972), 387-439.
[162] R. Lauwert, 'De handelsbedrijvigheid van de officina plantiniana op de büchermessen te Frankfurt am Main in de XVIe eeuw', *De Gulden Passer* 51 (1973), 127. Lauwert also helpfully includes a thorough overview of the extant records of the Frankfurt Book Fair trade in the Plantin Archive, 139 n. 26.
[163] For a critical documentation of this turn see Goran Proot, 'Shifting Price Levels of Books Produced at the Officina Plantiniana in Antwerp, 1580–1655', in *Crossing Borders, Crossing Cultures: Popular Print in Europe (1450–1900)*, ed. Massimo Rospocher, Jeroen Salman and Hannu Salmi (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2019), 89-107.
[164] Jan Willem Veluwenkamp, 'Paper Flows through the Danish Sound, 1634-1857', in *The Paper Trade in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Daniel Bellingradt and Anna Reynolds (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 127-28.
[165] Voet, *Golden Compasses*, II, 7.
[166] The entire structure of this archive is helpfully documented in a flowchart of the Officina Plantiniana's sales ledger series by Plantin-Moretus archivist Kristof Selleslach in 'How to Transfer the Officina Plantiniana to the Next Generation. The Instructions of Balthasar Moretus II to his Future Heirs (1659–1673)', *De Gulden Passer* 98, no. 2 (2020), 205–297. All of this research is heavily indebted to his curatorial work, which has ensured that the organisation of the business archive is accessible to researchers.
[167] Andrew Pettegree, 'A Whole New World? Publishing in the Dutch Golden Age', in *Negotiating Conflict and Controversy in the Early Modern Book World*, ed. Alexander Wilkinson and Graeme Kemp (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 73-87.
[168] This will be discussed in more detail in my forthcoming monograph, *Print and Catholic Persistence in the Dutch Golden Age.*
[169] Maurits Sabbe, 'Vondel, Balthasar Moretus II, Leonardus Marius en Hendrik Barentsen', *Verslagen en mededelingen der Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie* (1921), 611.
[170] Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, II, 426.
[171] Sabbe, 'Ysbrand Vincent'. For more on this relationship see Frans A. Janssen, 'Of Red, White and Blaeu. The Widow Moretus Buys New Type through Ysbrand Vincent (1706)', in *Technique and Design in the History of Printing* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 115-27.
[172] Voet, *Golden Compasses*, II, 363, 396; Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World: Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019), 267-9.
[173] Lienke Paulina Leuven, *De boekhandel te Amsterdam door katholieken gedreven tijdens de Republiek* (Epe: Hooiberg, 1951), 33.
[174] Voet, *Golden Compasses*, II, 425-9.
[175] Arthur der Weduwen and Andrew Pettegree, *The Dutch Republic and the Birth of Modern Advertising* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 237.
[176] Selleslach, 'How to Transfer the Officina Plantiniana to the Next Generation'; Dirk Imhof, 'De Plantijnse uitgeverij onder Balthasar II Moretus (1641-1674). Een vergelijking met hetuitgeversfonds van zijn grootvader Jan I Moretus (1589–1610)', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis* 16 (2009), 113-29, at 119; Proot, 'Shifting Price Levels'.
[177] For a more comprehensive study of Kiel, alongside the paper merchants Levinus and Ysbrand Vincent, see Elise Watson, 'The Protestant Merchants Who Kept Catholic Publishing Alive: Publishing and Distribution Strategy at the Officina Plantiniana', in *Early Modern Publishers*, ed. Barnaby Cullen, Ian Maclean and Arthur der Weduwen (Leiden: Brill, 2025).
[178] The heads of the firm discussed in this period are Balthasar II Moretus (1641-1674), Balthasar III Moretus (1674-1696), and Anna Maria de Neuf Moretus (1696-1714).
[179] Recorded by Balthasar III Moretus in his 1671 journey to the Dutch Republic. MPM Arch. 337.
[180] MPM Arch. 337, f. 10.
[181] MPM Arch. 322, Grand livre L (libraires) 1672-1681, f. 163.
[182] MPM Arch 321, f. 1.
[183] Pettegree and Der Weduwen, *Bookshop of the World*, ch. 11, 'Bookshop of the World', 266-93.
[184] David W. Davies, 'The Geographic Extent of the Dutch Book Trade in the Seventeenth Century', *The Library Quarterly: Information, Community, Policy* 22 (1952), 200-07.
[185] MPM Arch. 322, f. 46.
[186] Arthur der Weduwen, 'Sold in a Closed Room. Auctioning *Libri Prohibiti* in the Dutch Republic, 1670-1720', in *Book Trade Catalogues in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Arthur der Weduwen, Andrew Pettegree and Graeme Kemp (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 334.

[187] Groot 'Shifting Price Levels'; for an illuminating case study of the production and sale of maps at the Plantin-Moretus see Dirk Imhof, 'The Trade in Individual Maps from Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum* after 1612', *Imago Mundi* 70 (2018), 52-64.
[188] MPM Arch. 322, f. 271.
[189] MPM Arch. 322, f. 36.
[190] Proot, 'Shifting Price Levels', 97. For a more thorough analysis of this historiography, and a discussion of how the price of books mapped onto compositor's wages, see 97-100. For another analysis of pricing at the Officina Plantiniana see Renaud Milazzo, 'In the Mind of a Publisher. Establishing the Price of Emblem Books in Antwerp in the Sixteenth Century', *De Gulden Passer* 98, no. 2 (2020), 183-204.
[191] MPM Arch. 322, f. 30.
[192] MPM Arch. 320, f. 127.
[193] MPM Arch. 320, f. 12.
[194] MPM Arch. 322, f. 290.
[195] Herman de la Fontaine Verwey, 'Dr. Joan Blaeu and his Sons', *Quaerendo* 11, no. 1 (1981), 21-22.
[196] MPM Arch. 322, f. 39.
[197] For a thorough overview of its history and the sources available see Ian Maclean, 'Evolution of the Frankfurt and Leipzig Book Fairs', 6-68.
[198] A.H. Laeven, 'The Frankfurt and Leipzig Book Fairs and the History of the Dutch Book Trade in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in *Le magasin de l'univers - The Dutch Republic as the Centre of the European Book Trade*, ed. C. Berkvens-Stevelinck, H. Bots, Paul G. Hoftijzer, and O.S. Lankhorst (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 192.
[199] S.T. Bindoff, *The Scheldt Question: to 1839* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1945; repr. London: Routledge, 2019), 'Part Two: The Closure, 1572-1780'.
[200] Lauwert, 'De handelsbedrijvigheid van de officina plantiniana', 127.
[201] Voet, *Golden Compasses*, I, 225. For more on how Dutch conflicts affected the Moretus family, see Kristof Selleslach, '"In goede bewaernisse": De bescherming van privébezit door Balthasar II Moretus tijdens de veldtochten van de Republiek van 1645 en 1646', *De Gulden Passer* 101, no. 1 (2023), 77-104.
[202] MPM Arch. 1122.
[203] MPM Arch. 1122, f. 1. These numbers are consistently high until the end of the journal in 1656.
[204] MPM Arch. 337, f. 1.
[205] MPM Arch. 337, f. 83
[206] MPM Arch. 337.
[207] MPM Arch. 337, f. 5.
[208] MPM Arch. 337, f. 19.
[209] MPM Arch. 337, ff. 17, 24.
[210] MPM Arch. 337, f. 30.
[211] MPM Arch. 1082, f. 3.
[212] Voet, *Golden Compasses*, II, ch. 2, 'Paper and Parchment', 17-46. Sabbe, 'Ysbrand Vincent'.
[213] These are in eight volumes covering 1571-1592 (Arch. 18), 1582-1589 (Arch. 20), 1590-1599 (Arch. 21), 1600-1610 (Arch. 127), 1610-1618 (Arch. 128), 1618-1629 (Arch. 131), 1629-1655 (Arch. 134), and 1656-1671 (Arch. 319).
[214] MPM Arch. 320, ff. 96, 143.
[215] MPM Arch. 337, f. 2.
[216] MPM Arch. 319, f. 163.
[217] MPM Arch. 322, Grand livre L (libraires) 1672-1681, f. 163.
[218] Sophie Raux, 'Origin and Typology of Lotteries in the Low Countries', in *Lotteries, Art Markets, and Visual Culture in the Low Countries, 15th-17th Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 12-40.
[219] Quoted in Sabbe, 'Ysbrand Vincent', 523.
[220] MPM Arch. 337, f. 38.
[221] Sabbe, 'Ysbrand Vincent', 523.
[222] Sabbe, 'Ysbrand Vincent', 523-4.
[223] Sabbe, 'Ysbrand Vincent', 524.
[224] MPM Arch. 320, f. 12.
[225] MPM Arch. 337, f. 39.
[226] Christopher Ebert, *Between Empires: Brazilian Sugar in the Early Atlantic Economy, 1550-1630* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 182.
[227] Maurits Sabbe, 'Valsche Plantin- en Moretusdrukken', 182-92.
[228] Letter of 17 December 1683. MPM Arch. 654.
[229] For example, MPM Arch. 320, f. 193. Curiously, in 1688 and 1689, Van Metelen sold Moretus not only liturgical books printed by Blaeu but a ream of royal paper as well.

[230] Letter of 17 December 1683. MPM Arch. 654.
[231] See Maxine Branagh-Miscampbell, 'The School Library and Childhood Reading in Lowland Scotland, 1750-1850', in *The Edinburgh History of Reading: Common Readers*, ed. Jonathan Rose (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), 55-74 which traces the establishment of school libraries across Lowland Scotland in this period and notes that the Royal High School had an accessible school library at a relatively early point in comparison with other schools for which there is surviving evidence.
[232] Luke Fraser was teacher of the second class, taking over the position from Mr Gilchrist who died in 1766. William D. D. Steven, *The History of the High School of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Maclachlan & Stewart, 1849), 108, 160. This level of supervision may have been a peculiarity of Fraser. He was described by Francis Jeffrey as '...a plump, jolly, heavy-looking man, rather foolish-like as otherwise, and in my opinion, would have made a better Landlord than a pedagogue.' Henry Cockburn, *Life of Lord Jeffrey* (1852), 4-6.
[233] See Vivienne S. Dunstan, 'Glimpses into a Town's Reading Habits in Enlightenment Scotland: Analysing the Borrowings of Gray Library, Haddington, 1732-1816', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* 26, nos 1-2 (2006), 53-55 for a discussion of teenage borrowers at Gray Library. See Maxine Branagh-Miscampbell, 'Leighton Library Borrowers: D Munro – Grammar School Boy, Stirling', https://leightonborrowers.com/2017/03/20/d-munro-grammar-school-boy-stirling/ (accessed 31 March 2021) and Maxine Branagh-Miscampbell, 'Childhood Reading and Education: The Royal High School of Edinburgh, 1750-1850' (PhD thesis, University of Stirling, 2021), 130 for the Leighton Library and the University of St Andrews.
[234] Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', *Daedalus* 111(3), 67.
[235] Steven, *History of the High School of Edinburgh*, 5.
[236] William C. A. Ross, *The Royal High School* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1934) 19.
[237] James Scotland, *The History of Scottish Education* (London: University of London Press Ltd, 1970), 71.
[238] Ibid., 14
[239] William Creech, 'Appendix for Edinburgh, County of Edinburgh,' *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, ed. John Sinclair, vol. 6 (Edinburgh: William Creech, 1798), 591.
[240] *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1845), 683.
[241] J. B. Barclay, *The Tounis Scule* (Edinburgh: Royal High School Club, 1974) 40.
[242] Steven, *History of the High School of Edinburgh*, 64.
[243] Ibid, 64-65.
[244] See Maxine Branagh-Miscampbell, 'School Libraries in Lowland Scotland, 1750-1850', *The Edinburgh History of Reading*, ed. Mary Hammond and Jonathan Rose (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020).
[245] Only three English-language titles and one French title were purchased; James Macpherson's *Ossian*, Gilbert Burnett's *An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England*, and Nathaniel Hooke's *Roman History* and Montesquieu's *Considérations sur les Causes de la Grandeur des Romains et de Leur Decadence.*
[246] First publication dates have been given for these works. However, in some cases it was later editions which were included in the Grindlay bequest. The edition of Hannah More's *Strictures*, for example, was published in 1801.
[247] Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', *Daedalus* 111(3), 68.
[248] Mark Olsen and Louis-Georges Harvey, 'Reading in Revolutionary Times: Book Borrowing from the Harvard College Library, 1773-1782', *Harvard Library Bulletin* (Fall 1993), 57.
[249] Kathleen McDowell argues that 'children's unusual powerlessness in relationship to adults… requires a separate lens.' 'Toward a History of Children as Readers, 1890-1930', *Book History* 12, no.1 (2009), 241.
[250] Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books? Revisited', *Modern Intellectual History* 4, no. 3 (2007), 504.
[251] This was the original publication date of Plutarch's *Lives.* The editions borrowed by the school pupils at the Royal High School were all published in the eighteenth century.
[252] 'Books Borrowed from the School library by Masters and Boys, Sessions 1773/74-1777/78', Edinburgh City Archives SL137/14/1.
[253] Giovanna Ceserani, 'Modern Histories of Ancient Greece: Genealogies, Contexts and Eighteenth-Century Narrative Historiography', in *The Western Time of Ancient History: Historiographical Encounters with the Greek and Roman Past*, ed. Alexandra Lianeri (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 148.
[254] Robert Darnton, 'First Steps Towards a History of Reading', in *The History of Reading*, ed. Shafquat Towheed, Rosalind Crone, and Katie Halsey (Routledge: London, 2011). 27.
[255] This is a title which is borrowed frequently by pupils in the 1780s, however it is unclear whose *Voyages* it refers to. The 1783 catalogue lists a number of works of Voyages including a seven volume *Collection of Voyages* in octavo format. Given that other titles are referred to using the author or explorer's name, this may be the collection to which the borrowers' record refers.
[256] John Cullyer's *Gentleman and Farmer's Assistant* (1809) is an example of a work of this genre which was acquired after the Grindlay bequest.

[257] A major modernisation of the school curriculum occurred in 1827 in response to various external pressures. A complete overview of these changes is outwith the scope of this article. For a more detailed discussion, see Branagh-Miscampbell, 'Childhood Reading and Education'.
[258] No bibliographical details are included for this work in the 1839 catalogue though it is likely to refer to *A Soldier's Journal, Containing a Particular Description of the Several Descents on the Coast of France Last War; with an Entertaining Account of the Islands of Guadaloupe, Dominique, &c. and also of the Isles of Wight and Jersey. To which are annexed, Observations on the Present State of the Army of Great Britain* (London: E. and C. Dilly, 1770).
[259] Walter Scott, reflecting on his peers at the Royal High School, stated that he 'can scarce recollect a single survivor' as they were destined to 'die in active service of their country' or 'sought distant lands to return no more'. ('No III Anecdote of School Days, upon which Mr Thomas Scott proposed to found a Tale of Fiction', in *Waverley* (London: Penguin, 1985), 562.) This is also reflected in the *Books and Borrowing* database where pupils from the Royal High School can be traced on to the University of Edinburgh Library, where alumni records reveal that a number of these went on to military careers.
[260] John Milton, *Poetical Works* (Edinburgh: A. Donaldson, 1772). This edition with marginalia is available at the National Library of Scotland, NLS Grindlay.118-119.
[261] Jan Fergus, *Provincial Readers in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 187.

I am grateful to the editors and to the two anonymous readers for their kind and incisive comments on an earlier version of this article.

[262] See especially Cristina Dondi, Dorit Raines, and Richard Sharpe, *How the Secularization of Religious Houses Transformed the Libraries of Europe, 16th-19th Centuries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022).
[263] Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', *Daedalus* 111 (1982), 65-83.
[264] See Dondi, et al., *Secularization*, *passim*.
[265] Kristian Jensen, *Revolution and the Antiquarian Book: Reshaping the Past, 1780-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
[266] This strand has attracted comparatively much less attention. Aside from the specialist studies cited below, Robin Cormack and Elizabeth Jeffreys, eds., *Through the Looking Glass: Byzantium through British Eyes* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), offers a useful starting point.
[267] Simon Mills, *A Commerce of Knowledge: Trade, Religion, and Scholarship between England and the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1760* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020). For the wider context, extending into the twentieth century, see also Tijmen C. Baarda, 'Firmly Established in Early 20th-Century Orientalism: Alphonse Mingana Among His Fellow Scholars', *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 19 (2016), 3-34, and Celeste Gianni, 'Paul Sbath's Manuscript Library: Conceptualizing the Library of a Syrian Catholic Priest between Europe and the Middle East in the Early-20th Century', *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 13 (2022), 381-420.
[268] On Dibdin, bibliophilia, and bibliomania in this period, see Jensen, *Revolution, passim*, Dibdin's own work, especially his *Bibliomania; or Book Madness* (London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1809, and subsequent editions) and *The Bibliographical Decameron, or, Ten Days Pleasant Discourse* . . ., 3 vols. (London: Printed for the Author, 1817), and John A. Sibbald, 'Book Bitch to the Rich – The Strife and Times of the Revd. Thomas Frognall Dibdin (1776-1847)', in *Buying and Selling: The Business of Books in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Shanti Graheli (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 489-521.
[269] See Jensen, *Revolution*, David McKitterick, *The Invention of Rare Books: Private Interest and Public Memory, 1600-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), ch. 17, and Seymour de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books & Manuscripts (1530-1930) and Their Marks of Ownership* (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1930), chs 7-9.
[270] Jensen, *Revolution*, discusses Spencer's collecting extensively but *passim*. The present writer is preparing a book-length study of Spencer's collecting practices.
[271] *ODNB, s.n.*
[272] John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, 17 vols (London: Nichols, Son, and Bentley, 1812-1858), ix. 723-4, corrected by Reviczky and Spencer's correspondence in British Library Add MS 76016, particularly the letters between June and August 1789.
[273] Jensen, *Revolution*, *passim*.
[274] For Horn's Scottish and Benedictine contexts see Mark Dilworth, *The Scots in Franconia: A Century of Monastic Life* (Edinburgh and London: Scottish Academic Press, 1974) and Thomas McInally, *A Saltire in the*

German Lands: Scottish Benedictine Monasteries in Germany, 1575-1862 (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 2016).
[275] Claus Oberhauser, ed., *Diplomatie aus dem Untergrund: Die merkwürdige Karriere des Alexander (Maurus) Horn(e) (1762-1820)* (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2022).
[276] British Library Add MS 75965, Horn-Spencer, 22 March 1798 and 5 March 1802.
[277] British Library Add MS 75965, Horn-Spencer, 18 April 1803.
[278] British Library Add MS 75965, Horn-Spencer, 10 June 1803.
[279] British Library Add MS 75965, Horn-Spencer, 9 July 1798.
[280] See Friedrich Stöhlker, *Die Kartause Buxheim*, 4 vols. (Buxheim: Heimatdienst Buxheim e.V., 1974-78), and Volker Honemann, 'The Buxheim Collection and its Dispersal', *Renaissance Studies* 9 (1995), 166-88.
[281] Paul Needham, 'The Library of Hilprand Brandenburg', *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft* 29 (1996), 95-125, and 'Thirteen More Books from the Library of Hilprand Brandenburg', *Einband Forschung* 4 (1999), 23-5.
[282] Honemann, 168. William Whobrey, in his extensive study of the Buxheim collections, has identified 155 of these scattered across the world at https://buxheimlibrary.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/Hilprand-all-books-final-1.pdf.
[283] Martin Gerbert, *Iter Alemannicum, accedit Italicum et Gallicum. Sequuntur glossaria theotisca ex codicibus manuscriptis a sæculo IX. usque XIII.* (St. Blasien, 1765), 164-70.
[284] *Germania Sacra, NF 32: Die Bistümer der Kirchenprovinz Mainz: Das Bistum Konstanz 4. Das (Freiweltliche) Damenstift Buchau am Federsee* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), 250.
[285] John Rylands Latin MS 366. See Moses Tyson, 'Hand-List of Additions to the Collection of Latin Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, 1908-1928', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 12 (1928), 581-609 at 600 and the more detailed description, with a transcription of Anna's donative inscription, in [Franz Krismer], 'Formschneiderkunst', in Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte und zur allgemeinen Litteratur*, 2 (1776), 104-5.
[286] This claim is dependent both on the falsity of the 1418 date on a woodblock print of the Madonna and Child now in the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels and the accuracy of the 1423 date on the St Christopher itself, neither being beyond suspicion. See Peter Parshall and Rainer Schoch, *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-century Woodcuts and Their Public* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2005), 26.
[287] Parshall and Schoch, *Origins of European Printmaking*, 31.
[288] Karl-Heinrich von Heineken, *Idée générale d'une collection complette d'estampes* (Leipzig and Vienna: chez Jean Paul Kraus, 1771), 250-251. Discussed in Eric Marshall White, 'Gutenberg for Sale: Alexander Horn as an Agent of the International Antiquarian Book Trade', in *Diplomatie*, ed. Oberhauser, 226.
[289] See Krismer, 'Formschneiderkunst', 75-179; Parshall and Schoch, *Origins of European Printmaking*, 5.
[290] Horn assumed that Spencer was unaware of von Heineken's account when he referenced it in a letter of 17 November 1804, but Horn often assumed a superiority of bibliographical knowledge which was not always justified (see British Library Add MS 75965, Horn-Spencer, 17 November 1804).
[291] Annotation to British Library Add MS 76014, Maugérard-Spencer, 16 October 1797. For Maugérard see Bénédicte Savoy, 'Codicologue, incunabuliste et rabatteur. La mission de Jean-Baptiste Maugérard dans les quatre départements du Rhin (1802-1805)', *Bulletin du Bibliophile* (1999), 313-44.
[292] British Library Add MS 75965, Horn-Spencer, 14 March 1806.
[293] Ibid.; Honemann, 173.
[294] Honemann, 173.
[295] Ibid., 173-4.
[296] British Library Add MS 75965, Horn-Spencer, 4 July 1803.
[297] Ibid., 19 September 1803.
[298] Ibid., 12 January 1804.
[299] Ibid., 4 September 1804.
[300] Ibid., 17 November 1804.
[301] White, 'Gutenberg for Sale', 229-30.
[302] *Catalogue des livres rares, précieux et bien conditionnés du cabinet de m.* *** [*i.e.,* Comte Léon d'Ourches] (Paris: Chez Brunet, 1811). The copy at Bodleian Library 25899 e.116 contains prices realised in manuscript.

[303] British Library G.9759. See John Thomas Payne and Henry Foss, *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, 2 vols. (London: Printed by William Nicol, 1842), ii. 772; White, 'Gutenberg for Sale', 230.
[304] White, 'Gutenberg for Sale', 230.
[305] Huntington Library 92587; Herman Ralph Mead, *Incunabula in the Huntington Library* (San Marino, Cal.: Huntington Library, 1937), 4. For d'Yve's sale see *Description bibliographique d'une trèse-belle collection de livres rares et curieux, provenant de la bibliothèque de Melle la Comtesse d'Yve*, 2 vols. (Brussels: Aug. Wahlen & Compe., 1819-20).
[306] Eton College Library Sd1.2.01-02.
[307] John Rylands Library 3302.
[308] Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *Bibliotheca Spenceriana or A Descriptive Catalogue of the Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century . . . in the Library of George John Earl Spencer*, 4 vols (London: Printed for the Author, 1814-1815), i. i-iv.
[309] British Library Add MS 75964, Sigismund Hogl - Horn, 23 February [1798], and see White, 'Gutenberg for Sale', 215-19.
[310] For Curzon see Ian Fraser, *The Heir of Parham: Robert Curzon, 14th Baron Zouche* (Alburgh: The Paradigm Press, 1986), and Meridel Holland, 'Robert Curzon, Traveller and Book Collector', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 65 (1983), 123-57.
[311] Robert Curzon, *Catalogue of Materials for Writing, Early Writings on Tablets and Stones, Rolled and Other Manuscripts and Oriental Manuscript Books* (London: Printed by William Nicol, 1849).
[312] Robert Curzon, *Visits to Monasteries in the Levant* (London: John Murray, 1849), 86-89. See the modern artistic responses to the 'Persuasive Powers of Rosoglio' at https://www.manuscripthunters.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/index.php/curzon/.
[313] John Julius Norwich and Reresby Sitwell, *Mount Athos* (London: Hutchinson, 1966), 95.
[314] Robin Cormack, '"A Gentleman's Book": Attitudes of Robert Curzon"', in *Through the Looking Glass*, 147-62; Terence Bowers, 'Robert Curzon, Orientalism, and the *Ars Peregrinationis*', *Victorians Institute Journal* 33 (2005), 117-48.
[315] See Fraser, *Heir of Parham*, 94-95, and Hunt's 'Mount Athos: An Account of the Monastic Institutions and the Libraries on the Holy Mountain' in *Memoirs Relating to European and Asiatic Turkey; Edited from Manuscript Journals*, ed. Robert Walpole (London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1817), 198-230, as well as Michael E. Martin, 'Two Cambridge Orientalists on Athos', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*,26 (2002), 149-77.
[316] Henry Octavius Coxe, *Report to Her Majesty's Government, on the Greek Manuscripts Yet Remaining in Libraries of the Levant* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1858), 1.
[317] Curzon, *Monasteries*, 394.
[318] Cyril Pavlikianov, *The Byzantine Documents of the Athonite Monastery of Karakallou and Selected Acts from the Ottoman Period (1294-1835): Critical Edition and Commentary of the Texts* (Sofia: 'St. Kliment Ohridski' University Press, 2015), 23-49.
[319] Walpole, *Memoirs*, 210.
[320] Published as 'Robert Curzon's Notes of Libraries in the Levant' in A. N. L. Munby, *Phillipps Studies No. 3: The Formation of the Phillipps Library up to the Year 1840* (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1954), 170-77. Curzon's indebtedness to Hunt does not seem to have been noticed before.
[321] Curzon, *Monasteries*, 381-82.
[322] When the philologist Viktor Ivanovich Grigorovich attempted to see the library a few years later, in 1844, he was told that he could not as 'there is no abbot [and] he did not leave the keys with the governor' ('Игумена нет, наместнику он не оставил ключей'). Grigorovich's telegraphic style makes this passage obscure and it is unclear if the abbot whom Curzon had met was no longer performing his office or was simply absent on a journey (see Виктор Иванович Григорович, *Очерк путешествия по Европейской Турции, Виктора Григоровича* [Казань: въ типографии Императорскаго Казанскаго Университета, 1848], 15).
[323] Curzon, *Monasteries*, 436-37.
[324] Curzon, *Catalogue*, *passim*. For confirmation of this identification see the description of the same manuscript in Frederick Henry Scrivener, *An Exact Transcript of the Codex Augiensis* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co., 1859), l-li.

[325] British Library Add MSS 39586 (Psalter and Canticles, 11th c., though Curzon was uncertain whether he had obtained this at Karakallou or from the Monastery of St. Sabba, near Jerusalem, see fol. ivr), 39590 (New Testament, 11th c.), 39593 (Gospels, 12th c.), 35954 (Gospels, 12th c.), 39599 (Acts and Epistles, 11th c.), 39601 (Revelation, 11th c.?), 39602 (Evangelistarium, 10th c.), 39605 (ps.-Gregory of Nyssa, sermons on John and Matthew, 10th c.), 39606 (Gregory Nazianzene, *Orationes*, 11th c.), 39607 (John Chrysostom, homily on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, 12th c.), 39608 (John Chrysostom, homily on Genesis, 13th c.), 39609 (Isaiah of Scetis, *Asceticon*, 11th c.), 39612 (Revelation, 14th c.), 39617 (Demosthenes, *Orationes*, 15th c.), and 39623 (fragments of an Evangelistarium, 14th c.).
[326] Σπυρίδων Π. Λάμπρος, *Κατάλογος των εν ταις βιβλιοθήκαις του Αγίου Όρους Ελληνικών κωδικών*, 2 τομ. (Κανταβρίγια: Της Αγγδιάς, 1895-1900), i. 130-50, ii. 472-75.
[327] Curzon, *Monasteries*, 381.
[328] For recent reflections on the fragility of books and libraries see Brian Cummings, *Bibliophobia: The End & the Beginning of the Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022) and Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The Library: A Fragile History* (London: Profile Books, 2021).
[329] The legality of the removal of the Elgin Marbles, let alone its morality, is a hotly contested question. See the contrasting views in William St. Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles: The Controversial History of the Parthenon Sculptures*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) and Catharine Titi, *The Parthenon Marbles and International Law* (Cham: Springer, 2023).
[330] Quoted in Anders Rydell, *The Book Thieves: The Nazi Looting of Europe's Libraries and the Race to Return a Literary Inheritance*, tr. Henning Koch (London: Penguin, 2017), 34.