BOOKS AND THEIR OWNERS

THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED TO
DR JOHN MICHAEL SMETHURST

Chairman
Consortium of European Research Libraries
1994–2000

CERL PAPERS · V

Books and their owners:

Provenance information and the European cultural heritage

Papers presented on 12 November 2004
at the CERL conference hosted by
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Dr J. M. Smethurst

A TRIBUTE

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Dr Michael Smethurst – with Dr Franz Georg Kaltwasser – was the pioneer of the European initiative that led in 1994 to the founding of the Consortium of European Research Libraries (CERL). Mike was both naturally and professionally convinced of the advantages of practical co-operation among research libraries. He was early aware that research libraries could offer users a higher quality of service if they worked constructively together, and he was a lifelong advocate and practitioner of this philosophy.

Mike was 'European-minded' and an internationalist. When online technology made it possible for research libraries to offer information about their collections online, he immediately saw the need – and the opportunity – for European research libraries to co-operate on improving access to Europe's historical collections. Dr Kaltwasser, former Director of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, has described the very first step thus: 'On 23 August 1989 in Paris when we had lunch during the IFLA meeting, Mike Smethurst approached me. He expounded a vision. Mike envisaged to induce European research libraries to co-operate in common ventures. Would I be interested in joining him?'

This encounter between two distinguished European librarians led to the jointly hosted First International Conference on Retrospective Cataloguing in Munich in 1990. The mood of the Conference was strongly in favour of active co-operation at a European level. I vividly recall Mike making his way up a darkened bus (the lights had failed) on our return from an evening reception hosted by Dr Klaus Saur to ask if I would be willing to chair a working group to examine how these ideas could be taken forward. Many of the colleagues who participated in that group's work are still actively concerned with the Consortium today.

Mike became the Consortium's Chairman in 1994 and served until 2000. His vision and his keen relish for detail were a powerful combination. With Dr Lotte Hellinga as Secretary, he laid the Consortium's foundations and built it into a strong European organization. He cemented warm professional relationships with Mr John Haeger and his colleagues at RLG, where the Hand Press Book Database has been hosted from 1994.

Mike's particular blend of vision and practical skills is not often found in professional librarians. We owe him an enormous debt for everything that he contributed to the Consortium and for his efforts to improve co-operation among European research libraries. His death, after a short illness, on 18 October 2004 created a huge vacuum within the library profession and in the personal lives of all those who knew Mike, since he was above all a man of great integrity, clear humanity and an effervescent congeniality.

Ann Matheson
Chairman
July 2005

Welcome by National Librarian of Scotland

MARTYN WADE

As National Librarian it is my very my pleasant duty to welcome you all to the National Library of Scotland for this annual seminar of the Consortium of European Research Libraries. In addition to the many delegates from CERL member libraries around the world, we are also pleased to welcome colleagues from libraries here in Scotland.

The study of book ownership, and more generally of the history of copies of books, has much to contribute to an understanding of our cultural history. There is a growing interest in this area within the research community, and we librarians are responding by discussing how we might record this information about our holdings and make it available to all who want it.

This is certainly so here in Scotland, where next month will see in St Andrews the first of what we anticipate will be a series of workshops on recording provenance, taking place under the auspices of our new country-wide 'Rare Books in Scotland' forum.

When it comes to books, the invention and spread of printing itself reminds us how the cultural heritage of the countries of Europe is a shared heritage. As is shown in our exhibition 'The Private Lives of Books', which you will have a chance to see later in the programme, the changing ownership of books is frequently an international affair. Therefore it is particularly appropriate that this seminar is taking place as a CERL event.

Amongst many frinds and visitors here today we are delighted to welcome our former colleague Ann Matheson back to the Library to make a few opening remarkson behalf of CERL.

Opening address

ANN MATHESON

May I welcome you all very warmly on behalf of the members of the Consortium of European Research Libraries to this seminar in Edinburgh, which is hosted jointly with the National Library of Scotland. The Consortium of European Research Libraries arose from an initiative at a conference on retrospective cataloguing, attended by representatives of European countries, in Munich in the late 1980s. The Consortium's aim is to assemble and to bring together knowledge of the rich historical collections of European research libraries and, by extension, those of libraries outside the continent of Europe with strong collections of European printed material. The purpose is to assist scholars – and to help research libraries to assist scholars – by providing a unique resource for the study of early European printing and printed book collections. This has led to the development of the Hand Press Book Database; its associated CERL Thesaurus of place, personal and corporate names; investigation of a facility for federated searching of online manuscript databases with the HPB Database and the CERL Thesaurus; the provision of allied digital resources; and to other initiatives beneficial to users such as, for example, developing common member services. The aim is to offer a unique online portal resource for early European written heritage.

A number of years ago the Consortium initiated the idea of organising a one-day seminar to coincide with its Annual General Meeting in libraries in different European countries. Seminars would be offered jointly with the host library on a theme selected by them. This year the Consortium is holding its Annual General Meeting in Edinburgh, and our hosts in the National Library of Scotland have chosen the theme of 'Books and their Owners: Provenance Information and the European Cultural Heritage' for today's seminar.

The term provenance can be defined at a number of levels but, broadly speaking, it denotes the history of ownership. In the case of early printed books, this history may be simple, complex, partially known or simply unknown. The distinguishing marks found on printed books can reveal significant evidence about their history, their owners, their migration between owners, and, indeed, the context of their times. Library pressmarks, accession numbers, inscriptions, bookplates, owners' notes can all assist to build up the retrospective history and life of individual printed books, and also of the history of entire collections.

Reconstructing the complete ownership history of an individual printed book or collection may be difficult – or sometimes impossible. Much of the necessary evidence may simply not have survived. The best means of moving towards the attainment of this goal, however, is through the work of individual scholars, by closer co-operation among libraries and, nowadays, through the work of local or national initiatives on provenance information. In research libraries we are much more fortunate than our predecessors in this respect: research libraries work more closely together, and in the current developments of online technology we now have a tool to assist us that is more powerful than any before. In our programme today we will hear about a number of such initiatives concerned with provenance information.

Our European cultural history is above all the history of individual books and collections that have moved between owners within families, and from family to family, from place to place, and, indeed, from country to country. In the period of the hand press book, Europe was to a very great extent an enclosed intellectual community within which fresh ideas and new thinking could freely circulate. Large numbers of the books that encompassed these ideas crossed and criss-crossed the boundaries of private ownership and institutional ownership, by means of gift, by purchase, and sometimes by plunder. Every research library in Europe can amply demonstrate this fact from its own historical collections. I remember, when we were in St Petersburg for our Annual General Meeting in 2004, the very special pleasure my Scottish colleagues and I felt when we were shown by our hosts in the National Library of Russia, the prayer book given to Mary Queen of Scots by her uncle, the Duc de Guise, which she is believed to have taken with her to the scaffold in Fotheringay in England. The prayer book, with notes in Mary Queen of Scots' own hand, is now part of the collections in the National Library of Russia in St Petersburg. Much closer to home, we shall hear later this morning a paper on the Library of St Benedict's Abbey, Fort Augustus, one part of which, until the early 1860s, comprised the former library of the Schottenkloster, the Scots Abbey of St James, in Ratisbon (Regensburg) in Bavaria. The tale of how these books crossed the European continent and, after many vicissitudes, eventually arrived at St Benedict's

Abbey on the shores of Loch Ness in the West Highlands of Scotland, and thence to the National Library of Scotland, is an enthralling one.

A better knowledge of the provenance of individual early printed books can also assist us to understand the background to our own societies. We still know very little about the ways in which learning, intellectual ideas, scientific advancement and matters of taste were transmitted across our European continent and beyond in the hand press period, or exactly how the influence of our thinkers and innovators was disseminated or, indeed, the routes by which their ideas travelled. The increased interest in the systematic study of provenance information both at the level of individual libraries and at national level is much to be welcomed as a means of helping us to understand and come to terms with our own intellectual, cultural, social and linguistic traditions. Our histories and our cultures are above all deeply intertwined, not only within Europe itself but also in the many countries outside Europe where the spread of early European printing and its pioneering ideas have been influential.

Ann Matheson
Chairman
November 2004

Provenance and rare book cataloguing: its importance and its challenges

DAVID PEARSON

'The serious study of private libraries, and of the lessons which can be learned from book ownership, is a growth industry and one which has gained much ground in the recent past'. That observation was included in the introduction to my *Provenance handbook*, published ten years ago, and I believe that today that process is accelerating.[1] I was struck recently by a comparison of the entries under the heading 'Provenance' between the first and the latest editions of the *ABC for Book Collectors*, that well known *vade mecum* of bibliographical terms in the English-speaking world, which is used well beyond the bounds of book collecting. The entry in the newly published eighth edition runs to six paragraphs, twice as long as the three paragraphs in the first edition of 1952.[2] The differences go beyond mere length: where the first edition says that the evidences of a book's earlier history are 'often of interest', the 2004 edition says that they are 'always of interest'. This shift of emphasis is noteworthy and signifies the way in which we have moved from thinking that provenance is only interesting when it relates to someone famous, to realising that all kinds of evidence of the ways in which books were owned, read and circulated in earlier times has something potentially useful to tell us about the impact of books in society. We can observe first-hand evidence about the development of the Reformation in England both from Henry VIII's personally annotated copies of contemporary theological works, and from the small English religious tract of the 1540s on whose flyleaf is written: 'I bought this book when the testament was abrogated that shepherds might not read it. I pray God amend that blindness. Writ by Robert Williams, keeping sheep upon Saintbury Hill'.[3]

The history of individual copies of books can give us direct insights into the ways in which they were read and regarded, and what influence they really had. We know that John Donne read Thomas Campion, because his copy of Campion's poems survives; we know that John Locke read Descartes, because we have his copy of the *Opera philosophica*.[4] We know that the early Stuart architect Inigo Jones studied the writings on art theory of the Italian counter-Reformation Mannerist Giovanni Lomazzo, because Jones's copy of his book is extensively annotated with translations and underlinings of what seemed to Jones to be the important passages.[5] Annotated books bring us to the direct interface between author and reader. By looking at entire private collections, conclusions can be formed about the works which were shaping the author's thoughts. This point was nicely summarised in a recent piece in the *Times Literary Supplement* by Claude Rawson, reviewing a new catalogue of Jonathan Swift's library, when he said that 'Authors' reading, and the contents of their libraries, are windows into their character and the cultural atmosphere of their times. An informed awareness of the entire reading context of a writer can tell us more than any study of individual sources and influences'.[6] Reconstructing the contents of private libraries not only allows us to compare them with the collections of their time, it also makes it possible to build up wider pictures of book ownership over the centuries, looking at average sizes, changing trends in language or subject, and in the place of origin of the books. We can see which books were popular and which were not; books have survived in very uneven ways and books which are very rare today may once have been much more widely read than ones which have survived in relatively large quantities.

A growing body of work is emerging which uses evidence of book ownership, or of annotations by particular owners, to explore these kinds of themes. In recent years we have seen, in the English-speaking world, a number of high quality reconstructions of individual collections, such as David Selwyn's listing of Thomas Cranmer's library, or Nicholas Kiessling's work on both Robert Burton and Anthony Wood.[7] We are seeing increasing publication of such lists and inventories through the *Private libraries in renaissance England* series or the *Libri pertinentes* series which Elisabeth Leedham-Green, one of the editors of *PLRE*, is generating.[8] Heather Jackson has recently drawn attention to the importance of annotated books more generally, with her book on *Marginalia*, and Kevin Sharpe has used the ways in which one particular member of the English gentry in the mid-seventeenth century read and used his books to construct a detailed analysis of his world view.[9] Here we are moving into that increasingly popular territory, the history of reading, which is generating its own literature in the interstices between cultural, political and book history. Owen Gingerich has examined every surviving copy of the first two editions of Copernicus, over 600 books now in libraries all round the world, and used the evidence of early ownership and annotation to show not only how quickly Copernicus's ideas spread across Europe, but also how contemporary scientists reacted and networked with each other. He has shown how there are families of annotations that were transmitted from copy to copy, and how sixteenth-century scientists were sometimes more interested in what now seem to us to be the less revolutionary and remarkable aspects of Copernicus's text.[10] He has produced not only a scholarly directory listing all the known copies and their copy-specific features, but also a separate spin-off book for a wider readership, a nice example of what we might call public engagement with humanities research, a book which will bring awareness of the interest of provenance to non-specialists, and he is to be further applauded for that extra initiative.[11]

I believe that the ongoing march of the digital age gives an additional impetus to all of this. The more that texts become available as digital surrogates, the more the role of the book as an essential physical medium for making texts available is going to come into question. When the Advocates' Library was being built up in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century, the rationale for accumulating the books was one of building up a quarry of knowledge available through their pages. That rationale continued into the creation of the National Library of Scotland. Most people think of books primarily in terms of their texts, and when people talk about books they often mean their texts, their contents, rather than the books as physical artefacts. When Milton spoke of a good book as 'the precious life blood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life', he was really praising the ability of words, put together as text, to educate, inform and move us. When the day comes that those words are readily and more easily available through electronic communication, the way that we view books is likely to change. I do say 'when', not 'if': the dominance of the e-book still seems some way off right now, but we live in a fast-changing world. We are already at a point where any English-language book printed before 1700 is available as a full-text digital facsimile, and that date will before long have shifted to 1800. The nineteenth century is increasingly being looked at seriously as the next great challenge for retrospective digitisation and major publishing companies, along with Google, are known to be investigating the possibilities. It is not hard to envisage a scenario, not too far into the future, where pretty much everything published down to the beginning of modern copyright restrictions has become accessible as a digital surrogate, and once Google Print have filled the gap with more recent material, the circle will be almost complete. The only thing missing, then, to effect total transformation will be the technology breakthrough needed to create an e-book format that really is as easy to use and read as the paperback we now hold in our hand – and I can't believe that won't happen. The death of the book will then be complete – in the minds of the general public, and perhaps more worryingly, in the minds of the politicians who ultimately control the funds for our libraries, books will be synonymous with texts that are circulated and communicated electronically, and we no longer need to support those mountains of paper on traditional library shelves.

In this world, the really unique attributes of physical books therefore become all the more important – the copy-specific things as opposed to the words on the page. If you have a late sixteenth-century edition of Chaucer that is entirely unannotated or written in, that has been rebound in the nineteenth century and rebound again in the twentieth so that all trace of its original binding and endleaves have gone, then realistically it doesn't have a lot to offer to a scholar that isn't available from a digital surrogate. If, however, you have a copy in a contemporary binding with a trail of inscriptions which carry all kinds of messages about the status and interest of the book in previous centuries, you have another thing altogether, and a unique cultural artefact. Gabriel Harvey's copy of the 1598 Chaucer, for example, is noteworthy for his usual copious annotations and also for the fact that his marginalia include the first known reference to Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.[12]

A further consequence of this line of logic is that historic libraries, of the kind that are preserved in our cathedral, college and country-house libraries, become increasingly important as preservers of complete and relatively unspoilt pictures of the tastes of the past. Samuel Pepys's celebrated library, preserved intact in its original bookcases in Magdalene College, Cambridge, gives us a complete snapshot of choices and interests at a particular point in time and can be experienced today at both an intellectual and an aesthetic level. If you travel to Townend in the Lake District, out in the back of beyond along winding roads near Lake Windermere, you reach a sixteenth-century farmhouse that was lived in for centuries by a family of yeoman farmers called Browne. In that house they built up, over many generations, a small family library which survives there today, unspoilt in simple contemporary bindings, complete with inscriptions which show which members of the family acquired them, who previously owned them, and some evidence to show how they were purchased.[13] Nobody today is going to go to Townend to *read* a seventeenth-century book whose text can more easily be consulted in a national or university library, but once that text is being universally read by downloading it from *Early English Books Online*, which copy is more important to the national heritage, the Townend one, or the British Library one with its laminated pages and twentieth-century binding? Of course, it will rightly be argued that both books tell a story, but I would suggest that there are some interesting things to ponder here in a world which increasingly forces librarians to make hard choices forced by financial stringencies.

Provenance evidence takes many forms, some of which are easier to recognise and describe than others. The really helpful book owners of the past are the ones who have clearly written their name inside, or pasted a similarly identifiable bookplate in, with additional praise going to those who have also included the date of acquisition, the price paid, or the bookseller or previous owner from whom the book was acquired. Not all owners have been so considerate and rare book cataloguers will be familiar with a range of alternative ploys to tease future generations. People have used monograms and ciphers instead of writing their name, or they have written in mottoes which can sometimes appear without a name attached. The books of the Jacobean playwright Ben Jonson, for example, can sometimes be recognised by the presence of his motto 'Tanquam exploratur' on the titlepage, without the name also. The books on our library shelves are liberally decorated with nameless bookplates, ink stamps and armorial binding stamps which rely on heraldry for their decipherment and these are not always easy to unlock.

Books may be interestingly annotated without the owner having left any indication of his name at all, which can be particularly frustrating. Perhaps the most frustrating provenance evidence of all is the altogether non-existent sort, that which is *not* left, by the people who never marked their books at all. Many people in the past, just like many people today, left no trace of ownership in their books and here we are obviously completely stuck, unless there are other documentary sources like inventories or sale records that make it possible to tie up particular books with their earlier owners. From my experience of looking at books in historic libraries, I would say that maybe half the books you see have no inscriptions or bookplates to show their previous ownership.

As regards the cataloguing and recording of provenance data, this seems to me to be an area which is making real progress, in step with the growing interest in provenance evidence generally. In my 1994 *Handbook*, I lamented the number of important libraries who paid scant attention to copy-specific data when creating new catalogue entries for antiquarian material, combined with a lack of agreed standards or recognition of the importance of such data in cataloguing codes. I think things have changed for the better on all those fronts during the last ten years. Many libraries, certainly within the UK, now include provenance data in catalogue entries created for newly acquired special collections material, although there are obviously huge backlogs to catch up on in the collections built up over preceding centuries. A lot of work has gone on in retroconverting manual catalogues to automated formats, but this is often done by matching old records against big databases, to create the new records without ever revisiting the books themselves. Economically, it's often the only way of doing it, but in such cases you obviously can't incorporate copy-specific data. There have however been a number of projects to retroconvert old catalogues based on proper recataloguing, with the books in hand, and in these cases provenance data has generally been included. The National Art Library, for example, recently completed the recataloguing of their Dyce and Forster collections and you can now search those rich and interesting collections by former owner as well as by author. In my own Library at Senate House in London we have been able to get some funding to recatalogue some of our foundation collections and the same policy is followed. These are just random examples of a growing trend and our library databases are increasingly being enriched with searchable provenance information.

Guidance for cataloguers is also becoming less thin on the ground than it used to be. In the English-speaking world, both the main cataloguing code, the Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules, and the specialised rare books codes like the Library of Congress's *Descriptive Cataloguing of Rare Books* have been almost completely dismissive of copy-specific evidence, concentrating only on the textual content of books. The good news is that the successor to *DCRB*, which is now in preparation and is due to be published before too long as *Descriptive Cataloguing of Rare Materials*, will have a much more robust recognition of the importance of copy-specific evidence and recommend its inclusion in all records for historic books. The UK Rare Books Group has issued some Guidelines for the cataloguing of rare books, edited by Brian Hillyard and myself, which aims to give practical advice on the recording of provenance and other copy-specific evidence within the MARC record structure.[14] These guidelines recognise that cataloguers in different situations have differing levels of expertise and time available for doing provenance research, and so offer a range of options with a minimum level and a higher level, specifying the key elements of data that cataloguers should include. At the basic level, all that's called for is a brief summarisation of each piece of ownership evidence, together with its approximate date. Date is an important point here and I'd say it's the area where catalogues often fall short. If you are looking at a catalogue record for a sixteenth-century book, 'inscription of Henry Smith' is a lot less useful that 'inscription of Henry Smith, eighteenth-century' or 'contemporary inscription of Henry Smith'. Including some indication of date does of course call for some degree of expertise in the cataloguer in being able to date handwriting or bookplates, but even 'later inscription of Henry Smith' is better than nothing if people are reluctant to commit themselves to a particular century, but can recognise that the ownership evidence is clearly not contemporary with the book itself.

Reflecting on where we go from here in developing provenance research and the tools on which it is based, I see no reason to doubt a growing interest among academic book historians and bibliographers in using ownership evidence to elucidate our understanding of the role of books in society. Making that evidence more readily discoverable through online catalogues can only help that work to flourish. To underpin that, there is certainly work to be done in developing the reference works that help cataloguers to recognise and identify the things they see in their books. Such tools as we have at present are often rather dated, or selective in their coverage. For armorial bookbindings, for example, on continental Europe we have works like Guigard and Olivier, which are now getting on for a century old or even past that mark, and in the English-speaking world we have a handful of not very satisfactory works to supplement a very unsatisfactory book published in 1909, which is still often referred to as the standard authority in this field.[15] For English bookplates, our main listing for identification and citation purposes is the Franks catalogue, published in 1904, which is little more than a series of one-line entries which are frustratingly inadequate for any serious purpose.[16] The good news is that projects are in train on both these fronts to produce improved, comprehensive reference works to modern standards which should transform the kind of information we have available; the catch is knowing how long they will take. For armorial bindings, John Morris and Philip Oldfield are working to complete a catalogue which John has been working on for several decades, and for bookplates, Anthony Pincott has made it his life's work to revise the Franks catalogue and produce a new authoritative listing of British plates.

These are both large and ambitious projects, and it may be some time before we see any published results.

Online catalogues increasingly make it easy to access the provenance data they contain but the internet obviously brings the ability to create other kinds of resources to facilitate provenance research. There are a few examples already of databases which link information about former owners with digital facsimiles of their marks of ownership – the Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon has created something like this.[17] There have been a few experiments along similar lines in the UK but no major projects have yet been developed, although I know that a couple have been devised and unsuccessfully sought funding. The idea of creating a database which links biographical and bibliographical information about early book owners with their distinctive marks of ownership seems an obvious possibility and one which could be useful to cataloguers and researchers alike once it developed a critical mass.

It is a sign of the relative newness of this line of enquiry in the bibliographical world that the search results from a Google enquiry for 'Provenance database' are first and foremost databases about paintings – in the art historical world, the importance of provenance has long been recognised. It is noteworthy that the next striking thing among the search results is the number of hits that come back relating to the provenance of electronic data used for scientific research – provenance is becoming an important concept in the world of e-science. From our bibliographical perspective, this can only continue to be an area of ongoing development; by the time the *ABC for Book Collectors* reaches its centenary, perhaps the entry for provenance will have doubled again in size.

NOTES

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Towards a national provenance project? The database of book owners and collectors in Early Modern Scotland

JAMES KNOWLES

My paper concerns a new project that the Scottish Institute of Northern Renaissance Studies, a joint enterprise of the Universities of Strathclyde and Stirling, aided by the National Library of Scotland, and a number of other individual scholars, are in the process of constructing: the database of book owners and collectors in early modern Scotland, 1470–1660. This is a collaborative project, and the project – as will become clear – represents the work of many minds, so my position is to present the proposed work, and outline its rationale. This paper will also explore why, how, and in what ways provenance research has become so important for the scholarly community; the problems and opportunities that such research offers, both for the subject, but also for how scholars interact with libraries; and the role of those, particularly national, institutions in supporting research in the humanities.

THE ACADEMIC CONTEXT

Literary studies, at one point, were largely concerned with formalist approaches to literary texts ('the words on the page'), but the counter-tradition of literary history and of context-based studies has been revitalised following the diversification of critical approaches created during the 'theory revolution', and especially in early modern studies, by the dominance of new historicism. New historicism, and its British counterpart, cultural materialism, emphasize texts in political contexts, and especially how writing relates to the institutions of power (through patronage, economic structures, political and legal frameworks, such as censorship, educational systems and so on). Although new historicism was ultimately overly canonical in its focus, and finally more concerned with privileging the literary text over the social structures in which those texts functioned, this attention to the material conditions of production of literary texts has been highly productive. Recently, this focus on material cultures has coincided with a greater interest by post-revisionist historians in the transmission of ideas and images, and the development of the 'new' histories of the book, propagated, particularly, by scholars such as Don McKenzie.[1]

The last decade has seen a major shift in the understanding of the print revolution and its impact, moving away from a technological explanation towards a 'sociology' of texts. McKenzie explains in the following terms:

> A sociology reminds us of the full range of social realities which the medium of print had to serve, from receipt blanks to bibles. But it also directs us to consider the human motives and interactions which texts involve at every stage of their production, transmission, and consumption. It alerts us to the roles of institutions, and their own complex structures, in affecting the forms of social discourse, past and present.[2]

McKenzie was determined to move bibliographers away from formalist and editorial practices that treated texts in isolation, but his words are pertinent to librarians and a whole range of scholars, especially since his formulation encompasses a wide range of approaches to socially diverse texts, their production and dissemination across literary and historical scholarship. The history of the book and the histories of reading have developed into broader intellectual concerns with the sociology of the text and cultural transmission across many humanities disciplines. Ownership, readership, and habits of study have now become central to the ways in which we understand the dissemination of information in early modern cultures. Studies by Bill Sherman on John Dee's books (1995) and Kevin Sharpe on readership (2000), together with the recent essay collections by Jennifer Anderson and Elizabeth Sauer (2002), and the Folger exhibition *The Reader Revealed* (2002), exemplify the international range of this interest.[3] The approach is summed up by Stephen Orgel in his 'Afterword' to *Books and Readers*:

> The history of the book is not simply a history of print technology; more important, the history of any particular book does not conclude with its publication. The print revolution was, in fact, a reading revolution, a revolution not of technology but of dissemination and reception.[4]

This shift to a scholarship focused on questions such as the spread of information, the systems and communities involved in these exchanges, who was reading, where, how and what they read, has generated the differing needs for academics to trace what we might call 'pure' provenance (the identification of specific books), and 'virtual' provenance (the reconstruction of libraries or communities of readership). The overarching aim for scholars is to understand how the ideas and images we have studied in the past were distributed, used, appropriated, and even preserved. Scholars have become very interested in how messages are transmitted and the interactions across media, such as manuscript, print, and visual and material forms like prints, needlework and other decorative arts. Moreover, a parallel development has been a growing interest in how ideas have moved not only within elite cultures, but across elite and popular culture, and even between written and oral cultures. If we are to take the proposition of 'book culture' seriously, then we must understand the diverse *cultural* uses of the book.

My own recent work editing selected masques and the complete entertainments for the *Cambridge Works of Ben Jonson* illustrates this change in perspectives as the new edition will, for the first time, pay full and systematic attention to the numerous manuscript copies of Jonson's masques, largely uncovered by Peter Beal in his monumental survey the *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*.[5] Among the masques where this manuscript circulation has the greatest impact is the *Gypsies Metamorphosed* (1621). The central device of the first half of the masque concerns a group of gypsies, danced by the Marquis of Buckingham and his family and followers', who arrive ostensibly to read the fortunes of the women of the house (Burley-on-the-Hill in Leicestershire, Buckingham's midland home) but actually plan to pick their pockets. This masque seems to have been particularly popular and was staged twice subsequently, including in a largely revised form at Windsor in a version which substituted a series of fortunes told to the lords of the court for those of the ladies. Versions of these sets of fortunes (both women's and men's) circulated in different orders, and one manuscript in particular, belonging to Sir Edward Conway, James VI and I's secretary of state, contains the ladies' fortunes in a different order, with variant texts, and claims to date contemporaneously with the first performance at Burley. If this claim can be substantiated, then it gives us a very early text of the masque, predating considerably the printed text (which appeared in 1640), and which may – conceivably – contain earlier readings.[6]

Understanding the provenance of a text can be crucial not only to the editorial but to the interpretative process as is the case with another of the cruces of *Gypsies Metamorphosed*. One manuscript version of the Windsor text includes a fortune for Walter Scott, the Earl of Buccleuch. Herford, Simpson, and Simpson's 1941 edition, Greg's magisterial 1951 edition, and

Orgel's 1969 edition all provide the biographical information identifying him, but little has been said about the possible reasons for his appearance in the masque.[7] The general assumption has been that Scott was another penniless Scottish courtier, in his case *en route* to military service in Holland, and that his inclusion was simply because of his accidental presence at court in September 1621. However, recent research on the political and cultural connections around Jonson's visit to Scotland in 1619, made famous by the *Informations* (*Conversations*), with Drummond, has provided a startlingly different context for Walter Scott.

From Jonson's letters to Drummond after his return in 1619 we know that he met with a range of Scottish legal, political and cultural figures:

News have we none here, but what is making against the Queen's funeral . . . Salute the beloved *Fentons*, the *Nisbets*, the *Scots*, the *Levingstons*, and all the Honest and Honoured Names with you; especially Mr James *Writh*, his Wife, your sister. (Ben Jonson to William Drummond of Hawthornden, 10 May 1619).[8]

Although Jonsonian scholarship has concentrated on the Drummond connection, another of the Scottish gentry, Scot of Scotstarvit, holds a greater importance. The literary connections of the Scots, and especially Scot of Scotstarvit, illustrate the kind of society Jonson moved in during his tour: learned, Latinate and Eurocentric. In particular, Scot (1586–1670), a Director of Chancery, Privy Councillor, advocate and later senator of the College of Justice, occupies a key – if not *the* key – role as an *animateur* of Scottish cultural enterprise in the first half of the seventeenth century.[9] He patronized two significant projects, the map survey conducted by Timothy Pont (1565 or 6–?1611) and the publication of *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum* (1637). Pont's maps, the most important survey of early-modern Scotland, were rescued – it is not entirely clear how – by Scot, who passed them on to one of his extensive Dutch contacts, the printer Jan Blaeu who, in turn, had them prepared for printing in his *Theatrum orbis terrarum, sive Atlas Novus* (Amsterdam, 1654).[10] Scot was also an important node for the collection and circulation of poetry long before the publication of the *Delitiae*, which itself seems to have been a familial project. As early as 1615 Scot wrote to David Lindsay of Balcarres (another nobleman educated in France and Italy), requesting various manuscript copies of poems:

At the desire of Sir William Alexander, of Menstrie, and mine, Mr. John Rea, our auld minister has undertaken the collecting and setting togidder of our Scottish poets, in the imitation of the French and Italians, whereof we have gedderit a good number already, and I am doing all that I can to get in those that we want, among whilk there is ane your worship hes, viz. Bodius' Answere to the haill Epistles of Ovid, whilk I will intreat your worship to do me the favour as to send me with this bearer . . . And likeways that ye wald be pleasit to luik out any epigrams either of your father's or Chancellor Maitland's, whereof I know ye have numbers, and either send me them nowe, or acquaint me be your letter whereof ye can be able to help us in these, for we know they were baith excellent in that airt. And finally, gif ye have any others good written poesies of our countreymen, to communicate them also with me . . .

(Sir John Scot of Scotstarvit to Sir David Lindsay of Balcarres, 5 April 1615).[11]

Together with a later letter from Drummond which accompanied a presentation copy of his *Flowers of Zion*, this remarkable document illustrates both the avid collecting of printed texts and manuscripts and their circulation amongst the Scottish nobility.[12] Clearly, for Drummond and Lindsay, books belonged to the currency of friendship and honour that bound society together. In this world Scotstarvit held a pivotal position, although this may have been as much familial as personal as a letter from another of his kinsmen, Francis, 2nd Earl of Buccleuch in 1634 offered support to Alexander Gibson the younger of Durie, 'for putting of the Scottis poeteis to the pres'.[13] His father, Walter, the 1st Earl owned a very extensive library at his castle of Newark (Selkirkshire) which Scot of Scotstarvit had catalogued on his death, often listing titles, date of publication, and also place of publication in most cases. Walter's books included only seventy-four English titles. These books are largely historical, political and military and included *The Works of Chaucer* (1561), a copy of Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, Holinshed's *Historie of England* (1586, 'in two great volumes'), Bacon's *History of Henry VII* (1622), Florio's *Dictionary* (1598), copies of Machiavelli's *The Art of Warre* (1588), translations of Sallust, Quintus Curtius, and even Hobbes's Thucidydes (1629). Most of the books are printed in London, although there is a 1610 Edinburgh *New Testament*. Amongst his extensive collection of classical texts he also owned a remarkable collection of French, Spanish and Italian materials, including *Il Cortegiano*, two copies of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (Lyons, 1556 and Venice, 1587), his *Rime & Satyre* (Venice, 1592), an unspecified Petrarch (printed in Venice in 1592), Sanazarro's *Arcadia* (Venice, 1588) and even a copy of Palladio (Venice, 1601).[14] Needless to say, this throws an entirely different light on the appearance of Scott amongst the fortune-receivers at Windsor in 1621, as it is quite possible that Jonson knew the earl through Scotstarvit, and had possibly even visited him in 1619.

These examples exemplify a shift that has occurred in early modern studies and in approaches to research which has an impact of the kinds of information scholars want from library catalogues. My research leads me to explore the connections between material objects and cultural practices. The Burse *Entertainment* rediscovery required me to explain how this manuscript had appeared in the Public Record Office (now the National Archives), what its codicological context might be, and why Sir Edward Conway, at the time a military figure in Brill, might have wished to acquire a Jonson text.[15] The case illustrates the interdependence of manuscript and print culture – what I think we should call 'book culture'. The problems of editing and annotating *Gypsies Metamorphosed*, trying to understand why certain individuals might be involved, led to a relatively neglected subject: post-1603 culture in Scotland. In terms of provenance research, rather than an object as starting point, in the survival of a book, Walter Scott's library exists only on paper, and the kind of evidence which the document provides highlights the fraught issues involved in the identification of specific books on library lists.

These projects also straddle major changes in the ways in which research can be undertaken, facilitated by the increased availability of material and catalogues on-line. In the past it was essential physically to visit rare-book rooms to read the books, but today it has become possible to download a text from Early English Books Online (EEBO), print it out and read it at home or in the office. As so often the impact of new technology creates a paradox, and it is particularly acute in early modern studies, whereby technology allows greater access to texts in a rather deracinated form, whilst the scholarly imperative points us more towards the specificities of particular copies as used by known readers in defined contexts.

Certainly, the change heralded by EEBO and the increasing opportunities offered by information technology means that kinds of scholarship that were difficult and often the preserve of a privileged few with access to great libraries and private collections, and equipped with arcane forms of knowledge, can and should become more widely available. The provision of provenance information in catalogues and the creation of provenance databases can facilitate exactly this process. On a personal level, as a user, it means that when I approach a new library I want different information, too, not just which books are held, but who owned them. Favourite catalogues are, therefore, those of the Huntington and Folger Libraries where provenance is recorded, and can be searched quite simply using the name field in the advanced search engine. Assembling the library of John Egerton, 1st Earl of Bridgewater, has taken weeks of research at the Huntington –

examining each item – but now you can get almost as far by means of a few keystrokes.

THE DATABASE

The new project fits into these movements in academic thinking but also the opportunities afforded by the relative ease of internet access and its falling costs. The purpose of the project is, as the title says, to produce a 'Database of Book Owners and Collectors in Early Modern Scotland, 1470–1660'. This will be, we think, the first attempt to produce a national database of provenance records. Moreover, the database will be designed for maximum adaptability to allow new fields of study to be developed as the project progresses and, the database will be sufficiently open-ended so that it can be extended to include further chronological timespans and collections as time and funding allows. It is eventually hoped to extend the range up to 1750 and include other collections such as National Trust for Scotland holdings.

The plan is combine currently available research in print and other formats with new research to generate a comprehensive and systematic record of owners in Scotland. The basis will be a keyboarded version of Durkan and Ross, produced at the University of Glasgow a decade since, integrated with all the current updates found in the interleaved copy at the National Library of Scotland, the supplements published in *The Bibliothek*, and information held by individual scholars.[16] This information will be combined with information about owners in published antiquarian sources and catalogues, along with unpublished research on early modern Scottish collectors, such as Dr Brian Hillyard's *Directory of Scottish Book Collectors*.

The bulk of the project, and where we expect to produce major new evidence, will be a systematic study of the holdings of the National Library of Scotland and the Scottish university libraries. This material will be added to the on-line database. This will mean surveying (1) the National Library's approximately. 10,000 ESTC listed items; (2) the NLS continental imprints, possibly another 10,000 items; and (3) the roughly 4900 further ESTC items deposited in Scottish university libraries.[17] The chronological and geographical limits are purely a function of the practical considerations proposed by government funding mechanisms. We cannot even study books held by other UK libraries, although that will obviously be a high priority for a further project.

It is difficult to predict how many owners this work will produce due to the disparate nature of the collections to be surveyed. At the NLS these included personal collections such as Tyninghame House Library (345 books associated with the 1st Earl of Haddington), institutional collections such as the Saltoun Manse Collection (founded 1657; 2000 books including many early theological works donated by ministers), or the James Sutherland Collection (donated to the Advocates' Library in 1707). Based on limited trials using the NLS Newhailes collection we suggest that we can expect to find four owners in every fifty volumes, of whom two will be Scots. On this basis we expect to find references to up to 320 collectors in the NLS ESTC books alone. This will be added to the just over 200 collectors known from sources outside Durkan and Ross. It is hoped that this research will yield a greater sense of the social, geographical, and demographic nature of book ownership. From previous research we know of a goodly number of women collectors, not only the obvious regal collectors, Mary Queen of Scots and Anne of Denmark, but also Lilias Drummond, who married George Seton, Lord Fyvie, and who owned Augustine's *City of God* in a French translation of 1531, or the Countess of Mar, who owned bibles, a *Book of Martyrs*, Dyke's *Good Conscience*, and who purchased tracts such as 'ye Bishops declaratione' for 10 shillings in 1638. Yet even among the noblewomen, these owners remain unidentified so that the Lady Anna Gordon who owned a Du Bartas, *Works* (1621), purchased in 1640, *L'Honneste Femme* (Paris, 1637), and *Tragedies Francaises*, including *Cinna* (1643), *La Virginie Romaine* (1645), *Telephonte* (1643), *Le Veritable Coriolan* (1638) remains unidentified.[18] Lower-class owners such as Katherine Baillie, widow of the baillie of Stromness, who owned 'an old great Bible' in 1660 are almost unidentifiable.[19] We hope that the survey will produce more identifiable women owners.

The second strand of the research will be to combine this information with testamentary records to extend knowledge of the geographical and social range of Scottish book ownership, and every effort will be made to create a sample that is representative by occupation or status, gender, geography, and religious affiliation. The reason for using only a sample is that over 100,000 wills are extant for this period in the National Archives of Scotland which present too large a field for systematic study but will be approached by selecting a range of professions (minister, lawyer, physician, schoolteacher, merchant, baillie, printer and bookseller) likely to produce owners, along with a range of other social groups (bakers, butchers, etc), wills from women (relatively few are extant), and selected across a geographical range (Brechin, Caithness, Dumfries, Dunblane, Edinburgh, Glasgow, St Andrews, Stirling). Orkney and Shetland have been studied to

1700, and produced 14 owners from 2063 wills (that is about 1 in 147), although urban areas or those with universities will doubtless produce greater numbers.[20] Nonetheless, the Orkney and Shetland figures are suggestive when compared to those from a pilot project which sampled wills up to 1750 and suggested that only 1 in every 34 wills might contain references to books.[21] If the pilot figures are borne out, this would give *c.* 3200 owners, although the Orkney ratio would yield about 680 owners.

The larger figure – an overestimate that probably needs to be corrected, especially since the survival of wills and the number of book owners before 1700 are markedly smaller – does, however, point up the limits of current provenance research and offers a challenge for both librarians and scholars. Previous provenance research has largely fallen into the two approaches illustrated today: what we might call 'filiation', and second, cataloguing. Filiation, the tracing of a particular collector, either through extant books or documentation, has generated lists of collectors, usually of high social status or particular bibliophile habits from extant books in certain collections. Cataloguing has usually been restricted to named collections within major libraries (e.g. the Newhailes database at NLS, the Leighton Library catalogue, or the Duff House library catalogue). One database will go beyond these methods of research and illustrates how the technology can infinitely extend the bounds of what is possible, producing in a short time what would have taken many years of research in the past. It also offers a challenge to those who might see provenance research as an esoteric sideline in either academia or librarianship, as it allows us to explore what book culture really means and how it operated. Against the years of previous research with its 200+ owners, a systematic search of ESTC items will add a further 320 or so collectors, or records of ownership, while a survey of testamentary evidence will roughly double this again.

There's a further point to combining object-based and sociological approaches. Although the results of the testamentary study will be more fragmentary, sometimes more prosaic (bakers owning Bibles and psalm books do not have the glamorous allure of rare quartos and deluxe folios sourced from across Europe), and the evidence will certainly be harder to interpret, the results that this combined approach will yield offers great opportunities. There has been little chance for systematic study of ownership, its class, geographical, or confessional distribution, or indeed, room to study the changing patterns of ownership over longer chronological periods, mapping changes in the composition of ownership on to other factors such as the rise in book production, changes in pricing structures in the book trade, the development of new urban centres and so on. This project offers the chance to achieve precisely this, combining object-based research and a more sociological approach, to provide a powerful tool for historians and literary scholars to locate owners, to trace circulations of texts, to explore the dissemination of books and their ideas across classes and regions.

Taking into account that book-owners owned copies of many books and that some individual copies of books were owned by more than one owner, the database will be constructed around two main tables – recording owners and copies of books – in a many-to-many relationship. The 'copies' table will have a many-to-one relationship to a third main table, holding bibliographical records. We hope to import these bibliographical records from library catalogues, and we plan that these records will contain links back to the catalogue they are taken from, so that in due course the provenance information in our project database can form part of the relevant library catalogue. The records will not be full library catalogue records, but we plan that they will contain sufficient information (for example, country, town and date of publication; language; and probably a subject category) to enable the database user to analyse book ownership: for example, how many books on law were owned by women? What were the relative numbers of books in Scottish libraries in the 16th century printed in France and Italy, or written in Latin or French? The database will also contain sufficient information on owners to make such analysis possible, and it will record the evidence for ownership, perhaps with links to images to facilitate identification of further books from the same library (armorial bookplates would be an obvious candidate). The many-to-many relationship between owners and copies of books is similar to that between architects and historic buildings modified by a number of architects over the years. This database has been inspired by the AHRB-funded *Dictionary of Scottish Architects* database.

CONCLUSION

This approach presents something of a challenge to librarians, because it goes beyond the kinds of activity normally associated with the recording of provenance or the preservation and cataloguing of the surviving material objects. It asks libraries to combine information about their own collections, with other information in their own collections (such as inventories, account books and so on), to provide not only more detailed catalogue records that record provenance, but databases that compile and make accessible the information about provenance. Universities and government funding can provide the scholarly and financial muscle to achieve this, but the best location for this research – and certainly the best place for it to be made available – remains the websites of large research collections and, ideally, national libraries. At one level this is the logical end of David Pearson's formulation that provenance alerts us to 'the importance of books in society', by placing historic national collections in an immediate, widely available social context that demonstrates their importance across society.

At the end of this project we hope that we'll have the first comprehensive national database of provenance research. In Scotland this will have particular resonances as we shall be able to return to historical debates such as Rab Houston's seminal debunking of the 'myth' of Scottish literacy[22] with new evidence and research possibilities, while we will also be able to extend studies such Allan's monograph on the impact of neo-stoicism on aristocratic culture.[23] In particular, the study should be able to reveal much more about how books circulated not only between Edinburgh and London, but between Scotland and Europe. The database and associated research will also feed into *The History of the Book in Scotland, Volume 1,* to be edited by Alastair Mann (University of Stirling), and Sally Mapstone (University of Oxford), and also will contribute to the wider Scottish academic context which includes the Centre for the History of the Book (University of Edinburgh). It is hoped, indeed, that the project will act as a catalyst to draw all these different projects together and enhance Scotland's emerging position as a world leader in the new histories of the book.

NOTES

1. D. Finkelstein and A. McCleery, eds*, The book history reader* (London, 2002), provides a good survey; see also R. Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette* (London, 1990).
2. D. McKenzie, *Bibliography and The Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 15.
3. W. Sherman, John Dee*: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst, 1995); K. Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: the politics of reading in early modern England* (New Haven, 2000); J. Anderson and E. Sauer eds, *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies* (Philadelphia, 1999); and S. A. Baron, E. Walsh and S. Scola eds, *The Reader Revealed* (Washington, 2002) [exhibition catalogue, Folger Shakespeare Library].
4. Anderson and Sauer eds, *Books and Readers in Early Modern England*, p. 283.
5. P. Beal, *The Index of English Literary Manuscripts, Volume I: 1450–1625* (1980). Numerous studies have supplemented and benefited from Beal's work, for example, H. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558–1640* (Oxford, 1996), and G. Heaton, 'Performing Gifts: the manuscript circulation of

Elizabethan and Early Stuart Royal Entertainments' (Cambridge, unpublished PhD thesis, 2003).

6. These research interests have led me to provenance research in divers ways, most directly in my work on Jonson's *Entertainment at Britain's Burse* of 1609, rediscovered in 1997, amongst the papers of Sir Edward Conway in the Public Record Office (National Archives). Conway's manuscripts are amongst the most important source for political and cultural historians of the period, forming the backbone of the SP14 and SP16 classes in the PRO, but also providing MS copies of works by Donne, Fletcher, Jonson, Middleton, and many others. Conway was also a great bibliophile; his London collection of 4700 or so books is well-known, but less discussed is the catalogue in Armagh Library of over 10,000 items, many of which were believed to have been destroyed, but which may, in fact, survive at Armagh.
7. C.H. Herford, P. and E. Simpson eds, *Ben Jonson* (Oxford, 1925–52), 11 vols; W.W. Greg, *Jonson's Masque of Gipsies* (London, 1952); S.Orgel, ed, *Jonson: The Complete Masques* (New Haven, 1969).
8. C.H. Herford, and P. Simpson eds, *Ben Jonson*, *Volume I: The Man and His Work* (Oxford, 1925), p. 207. For the identifications, see D. Masson, 'Jonson in Edinburgh', *Blackwoods Magazine* (December 1893), 790–804, Masson, *Drummond of Hawthornden: the story of his life and writings* (London, 1873), pp. 89–108, and *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, volume xi, 1616–1619* (Edinburgh, 1894), clxii-clxviii.
9. R.V. Pringle, 'An early humanity class library: the gift of Sir John Scot and friends to St Leonard's College (1620)', *Bibliothek*, 7 (1975), 33–54. See also *Votiva Tabella: A Memorial Volume of St. Andrews University* (St Andrews, 1911), p. 140 for the foundation which cost Sir John 8000 merks.
10. J. Stone, 'Timothy Pont: Three Centuries of Research, Speculation and Plagiarism' in *The Nation Survey'd: Timothy Pont's Maps of Scotland*, ed I. C. Cunningham (East Linton, 2001), pp. 9–12. On Scot's Dutch contacts, see J.K. Cameron, 'Leaves from a lost *Album Amicorum* of Sir John Scot of Scotstarvit', *Scottish Studies*, 28 (1987), 35–48, esp pp. 38–45.
11. Lord Lindsay, *Lives of the Lindsays*, 3 vols (London, 1849), vol 2, pp. 5–6. Scot goes on to ask for a copy of Melville's 'printed verses'. On national poetical collections, see MacDonald, *The Library of Drummond of Hawthornden* (Edinburgh, 1971), p. 114.
12. Lindsay, *Lives of the Lindsays*, vol 2, pp. 5–6. For Drummond's thanks for a copy of Scipio Ammirato that accompanies the copy of *Flowers of Zion* (26 July 1622): see *Lives of the Lindsays*, vol 2, p. 4.
13. National Archives of Scotland, GD224/479/1 cited in K.M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family and Culture, from Reformation to Revolution* (Edinburgh, 2000), p. 221.
14. National Archives of Scotland, GD224/935/22, 'Inventory of Books, 7 August 1634 at Newwork'. The bound volume of 17 folios contains six and a half leaves detailing classical (Latin and Greek) texts, then Spanish, French and Italian and finally English.
15. For Conway, see J. Knowles, '*The Entertainment at Britain's Burse*' in M. Butler

ed, *Re-presenting Ben Jonson* (Basingstoke, 1999), pp. 114–51, and 'The "Running Masque" Recovered?: A Masque for the Marquess of Buckingham (*c.* 1619–20)', *English Manuscript Studies*, 8 (2000), 79–135.

16. John Durkan and Anthony Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries* (Glasgow, 1961). This can also be supplemented by H. Griffiths, *Final Report: Pilot Project on Private Libraries in Early Modern Scotland*, typescript, Faculty of Arts, University of Stirling (2004).
17. Continental imprints at the university libraries have been excluded, for the present: some are included in the University of St. Andrews 'French Books Project'.
18. Johnston, *Catalogue of the Rare and Most Interesting Books and Manuscripts in the Library at Drummond Castle* (Edinburgh, 1910), pp. 26, 40, and 85.
19. R. A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and Scottish Identity* (Cambridge, 1985), Appendix 2.
20. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and Scottish Identity*, Appendix 2.
21. See above n. 18.
22. See above, n. 19.
23. D. Allan, *Philosophy and Politics in later Stuart Scotland: neo-Stoicism, culture and ideology in an age of crisis, 1540–1690* (East Linton, 2000).

Provenance research as a method for the reconstruction of historical collections[1]

MARIANNA CZAPNIK

Provenance research is only one of the methods used in the history of book. In conjunction with archival research (inventories, wills, other written records), palaeography, watermarks, bindings and the study of type evidence, it enhances our understanding of the history of books and libraries. The provenance method means the study of ownership evidence left by former owners and readers. This includes marks left on individual pages of the book, as well as on the inside and the outside covers.

THE STUDY OF PROVENANCE IN POLAND

In Poland, the interest in the provenance of early books dates back to the nineteenth century. First interest in the theory of the provenance method dates back to the early 20th century. This was initiated by the renowned early imprints researcher, Kazimierz Piekarski, in his paper *On the purpose and methods of provenance research*.[2] In 1950, after the Second World War, on the initiative of Bronisław Kocowski, archive and library researchers proposed the following resolution:[3] to conduct systematic provenance research in libraries and to create an instruction manual for the description of provenance evidence.

This, however, was not accomplished, as the libraries had to deal with the more pressing problem of losses and destruction suffered during the war, the shifting of state borders, the changes in the political system of the Polish state and the liquidation of private property. There arose the urgent need for the processing of private and institutional libraries confiscated by the state from their previous owners. And thus, it was decided that the most important task was descriptive cataloguing (with provenances included) of the oldest and the most precious parts of collections, such as the incunabula and the sixteenth century *polonica*.

In the mid-1970s there was renewed interest in the study of book ownership. In subsequent years, several articles on this subject were published[4] and a new periodical devoted to the history of book collections was launched.[5] The first issue featured an article by Maria Sipayłło, in which the author discussed her proposed provenance research method.[6]

THE INPUT OF THE WARSAW UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Early provenance research at WUL was the work of Maria Sipayłło. She based her thesis on her many years of research, while probing the provenances of early books in the Warsaw University Library collections. The systematic study of ownership marks of early imprints began in December 1959.[7] Arranged chronologically and by call numbers, it is still conducted by the Early Imprints Department. Thus far, the work has been completed on the incunabula, almost the entire collection of sixteenth century books (ca 12.000 volumes) and on approximately 25% of seventeenth century holdings. Additionally some collections from the eighteenth century have also been processed.

Maria Sipayłło had not only formulated the research method, but she had also collected a reference library on the subject and trained a team of specialists. The method itself underwent a series of changes through a system of 'trial and error.' Every book was given careful scrutiny. Its binding, both sides of endpapers and individual pages were examined for evidence of ownership and reading. Once located, these pieces of evidence were interpreted and described on special cards. Five basic criteria were observed. With some modification they are in use today:

1. Every book is given a separate provenance card whose entry is the name of first owner; others are cross-referenced. The main card contains all information concerning the history of the book.
2. The ownership materials are classified in the order in which they appear in the book: armorial and other binding stamps, tooling names or initials, bookplates, stamps, inscriptions and other handwritten notes. At present, however, a chronological order is observed, regardless of the location or type of particular evidence.
3. On the verso of the main provenance card all available biographical data is entered. This is done for all owners with sources cited.
4. The provenance card is independent of the catalogue card of any particular book. What they share is the shelfmark. In addition, the provenance card contains a brief bibliographical outline of the book described.
5. Simultaneously, a check-up inventory is maintained and kept in call

number order. It contains the main entry, which is useful for quick provenance reference.

The provenance cards contain a variety of information, including problematic evidence such as erased or illegible marks, excisions, etc., with their position in the book indicated. Handwritten notes are transcribed in the form in which they appear in the book. Abbreviations are recorded. If no dates are given, approximate dates are provided instead. Books which lack ownership evidence are also provided with a provenance card. At the same time, a parallel subject file is maintained. It is arranged in accordance with the 31 subject categories describing the types of provenance evidence such as armorials, other binding stamps, bookplates, book labels and stamps. These types of evidence are divided into Polish and foreign. Apart from these, there are groups of owners (famous people, professional groups, women, etc.) and the various types of non-provenance notes (book price, opinions about the author and his work, censorship marks, poems, prayers, proverbs, recipes, accounting notes, household notes, biographic, historical and bibliographical data, etc.).

THE PURPOSE AND USEFULNESS OF PROVENANCE STUDIES

The primary importance of provenance studies is in the documentation of one's own collection. Only a detailed description of each book allows for disclosure of its unique features, differentiating it from otherwise identical copies. Such an approach traces the movement of a book between the cultural centres at home and abroad. This not only helps to study the effect a particular work had on society, but it also allows us to learn the interest level and the focus of a given epoch; it traces the movement of ideas and cultural currents. Lastly, without the knowledge of the history of an individual collection it is not possible to arrive at a synthetic history of books and libraries.

THE METHOD FOR RECONSTRUCTION OF HISTORIC COLLECTIONS

The study of provenance evidence can be used also as a tool for the reconstruction of scattered historical collections. It allows us to identify the owner of a particular book, to measure the size of the collection and its content. This gives also a comparative picture against which other collections from the same period can be measured. However, it must be emphasised, that this is not the only method we use in the reconstruction of the history of old collections. Frequently, only through the combination of other research methods, especially the archival approach, can we arrive at the identity of owners and gain a broader picture of the history of their collections.

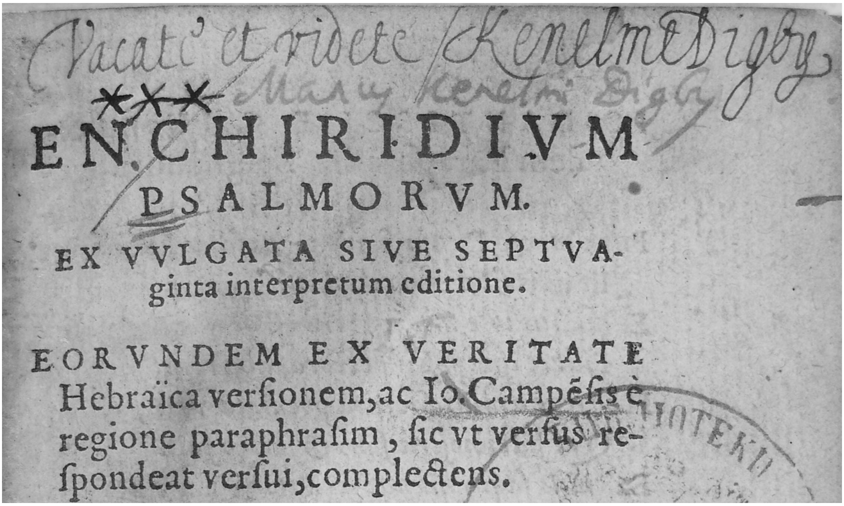
Now, I would like to explain the use of the term 'historical collection' and the factors which caused the dissipation of such collections. When we use the term 'historical collection' we mean a collection of books independent of its size, dating from the period when no new additions were made to the collection. Over centuries, collections of books were scattered and transferred for a variety of reasons. These reasons can be broadly classified as legal (i.e. at the owners' discretion) or those, which were the result of plunder, reprisals and other political factors. In the first group we can include endowments, wills, inheritances, and local and foreign movements of collections with the owner. In this category we should also include auction sales, which frequently caused partial or total dispersal of the collection. The transfer (and dispersal) of collections was frequently caused by political acts, such as the dissolution of lay and church organisations, the closing of monasteries and schools, state takeovers of private estates, or, finally, the movement of diocese and state borders.

The heaviest losses in book collections were caused by plunder and war damage accompanied by repressive actions of the occupying forces. The overwhelming scale of these crimes was typical for the countries of East Central Europe. One of the first major-scale losses was caused by the Swedish army in 1655. At that time, many libraries were plundered and taken to Sweden, among them the Royal Library from Warsaw, and Jesuit libraries from Poznań (Posen) and Braniewo (Braunsberg).

During the nineteenth century, at the time of Poland's partitions, Russia, Prussia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire all played a part in the confiscation of Polish library holdings. Among the significant victims were the Załuski Library, the first Polish public library founded by the Załuski brothers, the Library of the Warsaw Society of Friends of Science, as well as the Warsaw University Library. They were transferred to St Petersburg at the end of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century. Napoleon's Army, at the beginning of nineteenth century, was one more factor which caused additional dispersal of library collections.

Another period of major disasters when book destruction was particularly heavy was the Second World War and the Nazi occupation. After the Warsaw Uprising of 1944, the most precious parts of the collections, such as manuscripts, the incunabula and the sixteenth-century *polonica* were burned by the occupants. This included those parts of libraries which had been given back to Poland as a result of treaties between Sweden (in the

Fig. 1 Kenelm Digby – inscription; and characteristic markings of Józef Andrzej Załuski.


Vacate et videte / Kenelm Digby

ENCHIRIDIVM
PSALMORVM.
EX VVLGATA SIVE SEPTVA-
ginta interpretum editione.
EORVNDEM EX VERITATE
Hebraïca verſionem, ac Io. Campẽſis è
regione paraphraſim, ſic vt verſus re-
ſpondeat verſui, complectens.

seventeenth century) and Russia (in the 1920s). Only a few of Poland's book collections remained untouched in the locations in which they were originally established. In Warsaw, for example, only the library of the Nuns of the Order of the Visitations of Mary (founded in 1654 by the Queen of Poland, Ludwika Maria, 1611–1667) is housed in the same location to the present day, and has not suffered any losses.

The Reformation in Poland did not produce significant book losses. Generally, books were not burned for their 'heretical' content. After the conversion, books and libraries of owners newly converted to Catholicism found refuge in monasteries. Well-stocked libraries were important for the intellectual and spiritual education of the monks, but also for their educational and counter-reformation activities. This pertains especially to the Jesuits. And so, endowments to monasteries were common, as it was known that the books would be well looked after. The monks did not burn books, but sometimes they censored them. Names of cities where they were published were blotted out (such as Geneva and Basel). The names of blacklisted authors were also removed from the catalogues.

The Warsaw University Library acquired many books from the

Carmelites of Kraków (Cracow). Some carry on the binding (or on the title page) the inscription *Haereticus* or *Prohibitus*. One Jesuit librarian from Łomża crossed out or cut out fragments of text, or even whole pages, which he viewed as heretical. And thus, the book was purged and 'improved'. For example, the copy of Conrad Gesner's *Bibliotheca universalis*[8] which contained information about such authors from the Reformation as Martin Luther, Melanchthon and others. He also sewed together some pages with a thick thread. One other example: the Calvinist Bible[9] belonging to Erazm Otwinowski (ca 1528–1614), a poet and a Protestant, features pages with the inscriptions of the Unitarian ministers (the so-called Polish Brothers) who were present at the Cracow Synod of 1563.

Another scattering of library collections took place at the turn of the eighteenth and the nineteenth century, when it was popular to rearrange library holdings. It became common for newly established private or institutional libraries to arrange books according to subject, without attention to provenance. Duplicate copies were traded, which further added to the dissipation of collections. This bibliographical way of viewing former owners and librarians brought about a barbaric habit of separating works on different fields of knowledge, when they were previously bound together. As a result of such actions, other items were deprived of their ownership evidence, which were found only on the first item. Presently it is possible to put together only a few volumes.

SAMPLES FROM THE WARSAW UNIVERSITY LIBRARY COLLECTIONS

The Warsaw University Library contains numerous private and historical collections. They have been the subject of several individual publications.[10] The entire provenance material is and will be gradually published in the future volumes of the catalogue of the collection.[11]

At the time of its creation in 1816, the cornerstone of the library was the collections from Warsaw's schools: the Schools of Law and Administration, the Medical School, the Warsaw Lyceum, as well as the Library of the Appellate Court. In 1819, after the suppression act, which affected a significant number of monasteries of different orders and collegiate churches, the university library acquired their holdings.[12] Among the most precious collections were those of the Benedictines from Łysa Góra and Sieciechów and that of the Cistercians from Ląd, Koprzywnica and Wąchock. Especially prized was the collection of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Miechów. The volumes from these monastic collections can be recognised on the basis of inscriptions, characteristic shelf numbers and spine book labels. Fragments from the former Jesuit holdings which ultimately were acquired by the university library are known to be the most impressive.

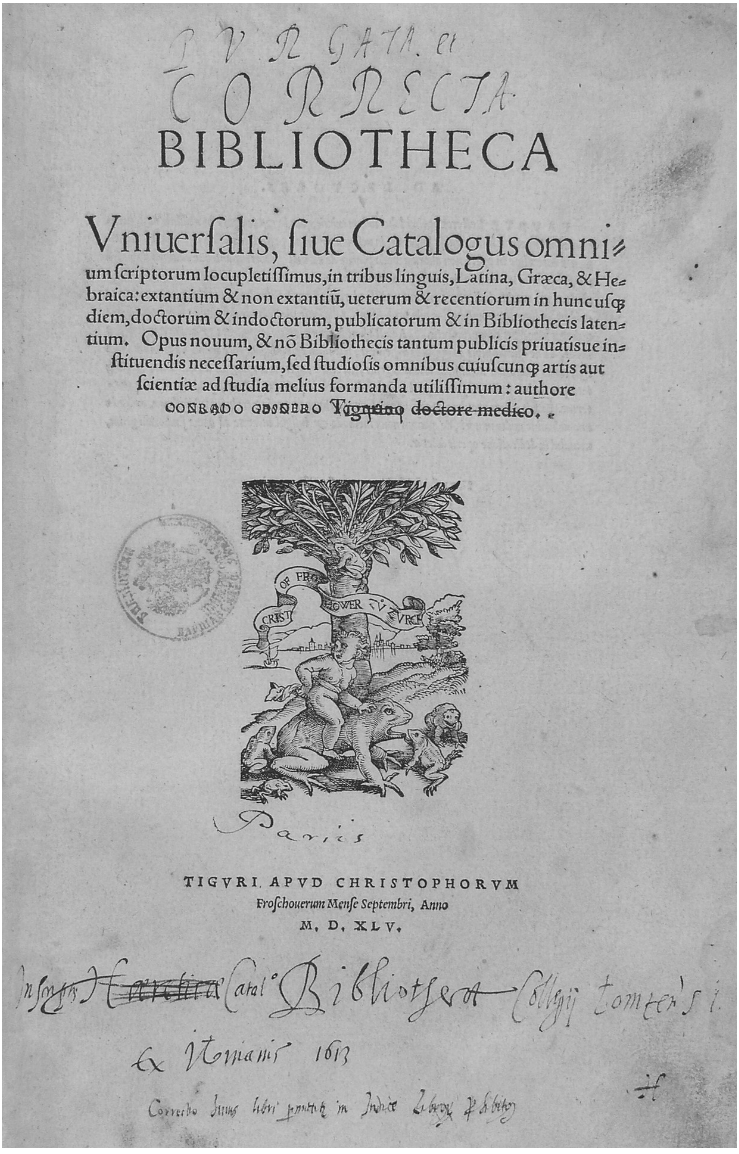
Alongside with the monastic libraries, numerous private collections ended up in the Warsaw University Library, including some previously unknown holdings. Among them, one of the more precious findings was the library of Stanisław Iłowski (d. 1589), humanist, translator from the classical Greek and the first Polish author of a work on historical methodology *De facultate historica* (Basel 1557).[13] Iłowski spent many years abroad, in Basel, Zürich, Padua and Paris. Educated in Italy, he obtained his doctoral degree in law from the university in Bologna. After returning to Poland he became a Canon of the Chapter of Gniezno, Płock and Łowicz. He collected books with a degree of knowledge and not a little expense. Iłowski donated his library to the newly established Jesuit College in Łomża. The college, in fact, was not opened until 1613. Then, the Jesuits received the donation – one thousand volumes from his heirs. We have this information thanks to the Łomża librarian and his diligent notes written into individual volumes. These notes also permitted the identification of individual books, since Iłowski rarely signed them. Sometimes he would write marginalia (identification of his style of writing is a credit to the librarian). Now, what remains are about 260 books.

Along with the Jesuit library from Kalisz came a large fragment – 240 volumes, from the collection of the Polish Primate, Stanisław Karnkowski (1520–1603), a well-known Renaissance bibliophile.[14] Karnkowski's collection features armorial binding stamps (we know of eight types), a woodcut book stamp and sometimes calligraphic inscriptions. It is impossible now to measure the size of this collection, which is scattered, and in all likelihood partially destroyed. A small part of his library can be found in the Collegiate Church in Łowicz. Some copies, since 1656, are in Swedish libraries.

From the collections of the first half of the seventeenth century, worthy of mentioning is the library of Andrzej Lisiecki (d. 1636), who was a lawyer.[15] Some of his books came also with the collection of the Kalisz Jesuits. He decorated his books with a simple armorial binding stamp of two variations. The Jesuits added a special donation book label. So far, 150 volumes have been found.

Another valuable collection of rare and uniformly bound books had previously belonged to Jan Andrzej Próchnicki (1553–1633), the Archbishop of Lviv and a bibliophile.[16] He was one of the most important book collectors among the Polish clergy of the seventeenth century. His collection was dispersed already during his lifetime. As part of his concern for the spiritual

Fig. 2 Censorship and donation notes by Łomża Jesuit's librarian.



and intellectual growth of monks, he donated books generously to monasteries – among them, to the Jesuit colleges in Kamieniec Podolski and Lviv. Próchnicki embellished his books with armorial binding stamps (thirteen types with alternating coats of arms and different inscriptions) as well as with a woodcut donation bookplate, dated 1606, for the Benedictine Library of Sieciechów.

We also found the rich and previously unknown fragment (170 volumes) from the collection of Karol Zabrzeski (d. ca 1680), a doctor and a mayor of Warsaw.[17] Zabrzeski was the owner of a large, presently scattered collection, which he donated to the Carmelites of Warsaw. This collection came to the university library in two ways: first, as a part of the Carmelite library after the dissolution of the order in 1864, and secondly, along with the Library of the Bank of Poland, which was donated in 1890. His books are very interesting, since Zabrzeski collected them also for their unique binding and provenances. It includes several volumes from the library of the King Sigismund II August Jagiellon, as well as some copies which previously belonged to professors of the Cracow Academy.

Among the holdings of the Warsaw Lyceum (which as noted, was the cornerstone of the university library) there was a 3000 books collection belonging to Kazimierz Bronisz Chromiński (1759–1816), who was a lawyer, teacher and a local politician, as well as a real bibliomaniac.[18] Thus far, 358 volumes from this collection have been identified. It was a typical humanist library and contains numerous evidences of reading and bibliographical comments in the owner's handwriting. It includes many volumes from the Załuski Library.

THE ZALUSKI LIBRARY

This review of the interesting collections at Warsaw University Library, frequently fragmentary, is of course abbreviated. I would just like to add a few words about the remnants of the excellent Załuski Library.[19] The Załuski brothers, Andrzej Stanisław, Bishop of Cracow (1695–1758) and Józef Andrzej, Bishop of Kiev (1702–1774) in the year 1747 combined their private collections and donated them for public use. They amounted to 200,000 volumes. In 1795, after the first partition of Poland, on the order of Catherine the Great, the library (which by this time contained about 400,000 volumes) was taken from Poland and transferred to St Petersburg. Portions of the library were returned to Warsaw as duplicates and the so-called 'gifts of his Excellency the Tsar Nicolas I'. Later, a significant part of this collection was returned to Poland in the 1920s, after Poland regained

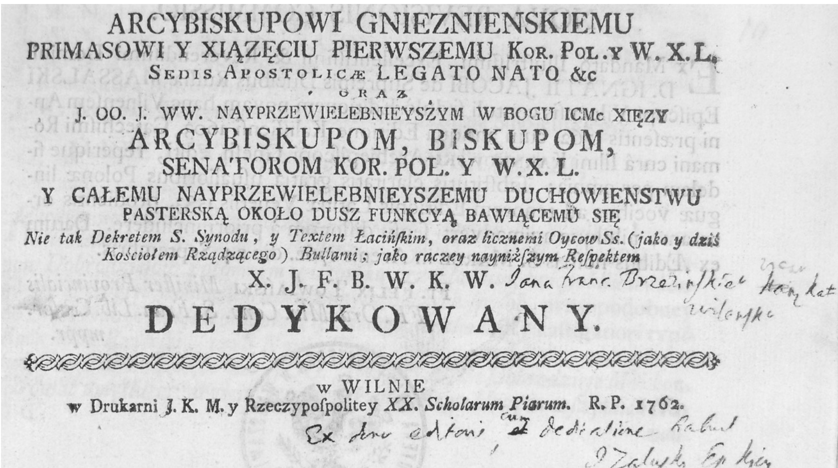
Fig. 3 Józef Andrzej Załuski – bookplate.

Fig. 4 Józef Andrzej Załuski – bookstamp.

independence. Unfortunately, after their incorporation into the National Library, they were burned by the Nazis after the Warsaw Uprising of 1944.

Andrzej Stanisław Załuski marked his books with a bookplate and a dry stamp, A[ndreas] Z[aluski] E[piscopus] C[racoviensis] usually entered on the 25th page of the book. Józef Andrzej decorated his books with an armorial binding stamp, a bookplate and an ink stamp. Occasionally he left his inscription. Most of his books can be recognised through characteristic markings, underlinings with red crayon, bibliographical notes, asterisks denoting the rarity of a given work, etc. J. A. Załuski, as a superb

Fig. 5 Józef Andrzej Załuski – inscription and characteristic markings.



ARCYBISKUPOWI GNIEZNIENSKIEMU
PRIMASOWI Y XIĄŻĘCIU PIERWSZEMU KOR. POL. Y W. X. L.
SEDIS APOSTOLICÆ LEGATO NATO &c
ORAZ
J. OO. J. WW. NAYPRZEWIELEBNIEYSZYM W BOGU ICMc XIĘZY
ARCYBISKUPOM, BISKUPOM,
SENATOROM KOR. POL. Y W. X. L.
Y CAŁEMU NAYPRZEWIELEBNIEYSZEMU DUCHOWIENSTWU
PASTERSKĄ OKOŁO DUSZ FUNKCYĄ BAWIĄCEMU SIĘ
Nie tak Dekretem S. Synodu, y Textem Łacińſkim, oraz licznemi Oycow Ss. (jako y dziś Kościołem Rządzącego) Bullami; jako raczey nayniżſzym Reſpektem
X. J. F. B. W. K. W. Jana Franc. Brzezinskiego kan. kat. wilenskie
DEDYKOWANY.

w WILNIE
w Drukarni J. K. M. y Rzeczypoſpolitey *XX. Scholarum Piarum.* R. P. 1762.
Ex dono editoris cum dedicatione habet
J. Załuski Ep. Kiov.

Fig. 6 Józef Andrzej Załuski – armorial stamp.

bibliographer, collected books at various auction sales in a number of European countries, mainly France, Germany, England, the Netherlands and Italy. He paid attention to the provenance notes of previous owners, decoded ciphers, added names and other biographic and bibliographic data. Some of the books which he purchased bear the provenances of such renowned libraries as those of Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1618–1683), or the English chemist and physician Kenelm Digby (1605–1665).

The Załuski collection was scattered already during the brothers' lifetime. Józef Andrzej gladly donated his books to monastic libraries. Some were also sold at auction, while duplicate copies were exchanged. Many books were lent out. In addition, dishonest librarians took possession of quite a few books. At present, the Warsaw University Library holds approximately 12,000 volumes which carry the Załuski library markings. Large fragments of this collection are also at the National Library in Warsaw and at the National Library in St Petersburg.

When it comes to post-war acquisitions, noteworthy is the library of Georg von Schoenaich (1557–1619) of Carolath-Beutten (now Siedlisko and Bytom Odrzański in Lower Silesia). His collection includes mostly sixteenth century law books, featuring a uniform light-coloured leather binding with armorial stamp (sometimes with initials added). The title page usually contains his inscription with the date and place of purchase. To date, approximately 450 volumes have been found.

In 1949 the Evangelical Church at Kamienna Góra (Landeshut) in Lower Silesia donated to the university library holdings of the excellent public library established there in 1729. The library (named Wallenberg-Fenderlin'sche Bibliothek and Wallenberg'sche Bibliothek Landeshut) was founded by the legate of Melchior Ducius von Wallenberg (d. 1727), by the lawyer Lucas Fenderlin (d. 1794) and his wife Rosina (d. 1824). This collection contains several unique incunabula and many rare early books.

The Warsaw University Library holds also small fragments of various libraries or single volumes which were previously owned by famous individuals, who left their mark on Polish and European history. We can mention here the royal collections: Sigismund II August Jagiellon, Sigismund III Vasa and his sons: Władysław and Karol Ferdinand, Jan III Sobieski, August II, King of Poland and Duke of Saxony, and finally Stanisław August Poniatowski, Poland's last king. For centuries books from the royal libraries drew interest from bibliophiles and researchers. Today they are scattered throughout Polish and European libraries.

We have small fragments of libraries or single books, which belonged to renowned writers who shaped the intellectual landscape of Europe. In this context noteworthy are the books formerly owned by Jan Łaski (Joannes a Lasco (1499–1560), a writer and religious reformer, pastor in Emden and father superior of the Protestant community in London; Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski (ca 1503–1572), author of the well-known political treatise: *Comentarioum de Republica emendanta libri quinque* (Basel 1554);[20] Cardinal Stanisław Hozjusz (1504–1579) who participated at the Council of Trent, author of the *Confessio fidei catholicae christianae* (Cracow 1553, Mainz, Dilingen 1557 et al.), which were translated into numerous languages and were frequently republished. The library also holds books previously owned by the poet, diplomat and the Bishop of Warmia (Ermland) – Jan Dantyszek (1485–1548). His books were embellished with an interesting armorial binding stamp: it comprised his coat of arms and symbols of sacred places to which he went as a pilgrim. A few books carry inscriptions of Andreas Dudith (1533–1589), a humanist and a diplomat of Hungarian origin. Part

Fig. 7 Jan Łaski – inscription; Stanisław Karnkowski – bookstamp.

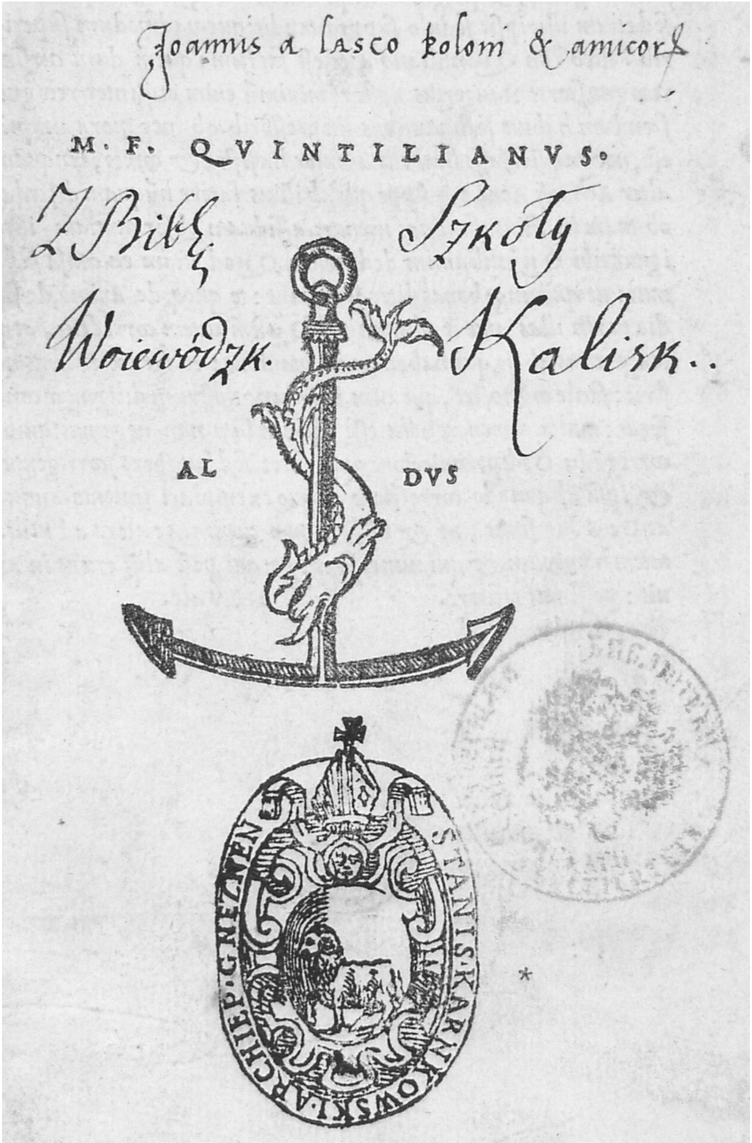
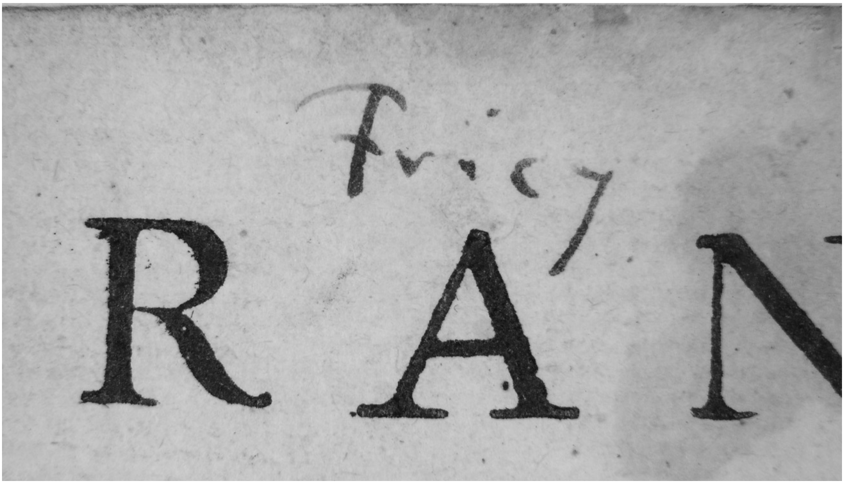


Fig. 8 Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski – inscription.



of his collection was burned in Dresden during the Second World War. Some books are now housed in several Swedish libraries, which were transferred there in the seventeenth century.

Our seventeenth-century collection includes an author's presentation copy of Johann Hevelius (1611–1687), astronomer of Gdansk and a member of Royal Society in London. The book contains handwritten dedication to King Jan III Sobieski.[21]

Among our eighteenth century collections we have a part of the library of the Primate of Poland Ignacy Krasicki (1735–1801), a well-known poet; Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz (1758–1841), poet and political writer, co-founder of the Polish Library in Paris in 1838; General Jan Henryk Dąbrowski (1755–1818) founder of the Polish Army in Italy, and finally, the books owned by Tadeusz Kościuszko (1746–1817), the general of Polish and American armies and the Head of the 1794 Insurrection in Poland.

Finally, in the foreign provenance category, a recently discovered book is especially noteworthy. It concerns a volume from the so-called 'Shakespeare Library,' which was created by the famous forger William Henry Ireland (1777–1835). The book contains two forged inscriptions of Shakespeare: on the title page and on the last page of the book. There are also numerous marginal notes left by the forger.[22]

Not a small part of our collection contains books of unknown owners, or those about whom we cannot find sufficient biographical data. This includes books which belonged to individuals of various social groups, such as the nobility, burgers, clergy (monks of various orders, parish-priests, Protestant clergymen) and women. We can also classify them into several professional groups, for example: professors of the Cracow Academy, students of the Cracow Academy and other schools, physicians, apothecaries, lawyers, mayors, notaries, etc.

CONCLUSION

Today, in the age of computerisation and digitalisation and easy access to Internet resources, new problems arise in the field of provenance research. These are problems of both a theoretical and a technical nature. We must answer the question of whether the provenance research should be continued in the traditional, detailed and time-consuming way. Users' interest in ownership matters has increased in recent years. So the question remains: should the librarians – the early books specialists limit their work to just listing the provenance evidence in the form of indexes, and leave their interpretation to researchers? Or, should they also be involved in tasks concerning inputting of data and other information (such as the digitalised provenance evidence) into online catalogues and databases. This approach, however, could further prolong the entire processing. Another question: how should such a database be built? As one which gathers catalogue and provenance data in one record, or should there be two separate but linked databases? (For some time now, Warsaw University Library has been building a separate online provenance database, but this is still in the testing phase). Moreover, since the arrival of easy access to the Internet and the possibility of downloading, some professionals indicate the problem of copyright infringement. The final product – a provenance record – is the fruit of comparative research and time-consuming study of primary sources. These are some of the problems facing early books specialists in Polish libraries today.

The centuries-old problem of dispersal of historic libraries has created the situation where books with Polish provenances can be found in numerous foreign libraries, while Polish libraries have multiple volumes of foreign origin. It is therefore necessary to research all collections, regardless of the size of the collection or the importance of their previous owners, even if at first glance they appear as insignificant. This applies also to the so-called foreign provenances. This approach would allow for the creation of a real map of historic book collections not only in Europe, but on other continents as well, as an important element of the European cultural heritage. It should be stressed, how important it is to create easy access to domestic and foreign resources of provenance evidence and to exchange this information. In this regard, coordinated work on the domestic and international level can bring about tangible benefits.

NOTES

1. I am indebted to Maria Cubrzyńska-Leonarczyk, Ph.D. and to Halina Mieczkowska for their valuable input in preparation of this material. I have consulted research materials gathered in provenance holdings of the Warsaw University Library during the last 50 years.
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6. Maria Sipayłło, O metodzie badań proweniencyjnych starych druków. in: *Z badań* . . . 1 (1975), pp. 9–30.
7. Maria Cubrzyńska-Leonarczyk, Badacz i znawca księgozbiorów historycznych – Maria Sipayłło. in: *W kręgu nauki i bibliotek. Bibliotekarze polscy we wspomnieniach współczesnych* (vol. 3). Warszawa 1993, pp. 52–62.
8. Zürich, Christ. Froschover, 1545. 2°. Warsaw University Library, Sd.602.835.
9. [Geneva], Rob. Stephanus, Conr. Badius, 1555. 8°. Warsaw University Library, Sd.608.556. This volume comes with the fragmentary collection of the Pauline Fathers from Pińczów and Oporów.
10. These are listed in: Krystyna Niklewiczówna, Oddział Starych Druków Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie 1949–1977, in: *Z badań* . . . 8 (1985), pp. 39–40.
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Katalog druków XVI w. w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2 vols., Warszawa, 1998.

12. More details see Introduction (English transl.) to Komender, *Katalog*, op.cit. pp. 58–72.
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20. Stanisław Rybandt, Nieznane ksiąńki ze zbiorów Andrzeja Frycza Modrzewskiego, in: *Bibliologia dyscypliną integrującą : studia ofiarowane Profesor Barbarze Bieńkowskiej*, Z *badań* . . . [14a] (1993), pp. 153–160.
21. Hevelius Johann: *Machinae coelestis pars prior* . . . Gedani, Simon Reiniger, 1673. 2^{o}. Warsaw University Library Sd.714.171.
22. Anna Cetera, Marianna Czapnik, Małgorzata Grzegorzewska, Szekspirowski apokryf (Egzemplarz The Landgrave of Hessen . . . [1596] Edwarda Moningsa w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie). in: *Przegląd Humanistyczny* 1 (2003), pp. 71–87; Anna Cetera, Małgorzata Grzegorzewska, Fałszerstwo prawie doskonałe (Marginalia Williama Irelanda w ksiąńce Edwarda Moningsa . . .), in: *Przegląd Humanistyczny* 4 (2004), pp.133–143.

The computerised archive of owners in the older publications database of SBN: the experience of the National Central Library of Rome[1]

MARINA VENIER

The history of the National Central Library Vittorio Emanuele II of Rome, its foundation, the setting up of its collections, and their provenances are closely linked to the recent history of Rome as the capital of the Kingdom of Italy. It is not possible to understand the problems of the provenance-management of its books, without knowing its history:[2] a peculiar history compared with the history of other National Libraries.

The National Central Library of Rome was founded in 1876. After the creation of the Kingdom of Italy with Rome as its new capital, the law of the new State n. 1402, of the 19th June of 1873, 'Legge di soppressione delle Corporazioni religiose di Roma', decreed the suppression of all the religious orders and the confiscation of their properties (libraries, archives, buildings, art collections).[3]

By 1874, the libraries of 69 monasteries,[4] situated in Rome and its province, about 650,000 volumes, were moved first to the Dominican monastery of S. Maria sopra Minerva, then to the nearby Jesuit Collegio Romano and were stored in makeshift rooms, like priests' cells. About 380,000 volumes were reallocated in the Casanatense Library (200,000 volumes), the Angelica Library (150,000 volumes) and the Vallicelliana Library (30,000 volumes), whereas 277,674 volumes remained in the Collegio Romano[5], where they constituted the first nucleus of the new National Library.

The consequences of the 1873 law were for several reasons dramatic for the book collections. There was a three-year gap between the taking of Rome and the suppression law. During this period, the religious tried to hide as many volumes as possible (the most precious especially) starting what was then called the 'war of the codes' ('guerra dei codici').[6]

Two special commissions, the 'Commissione governativa per le Biblioteche' (Libraries government commission, 5 September 1872), for a general inspection of all the monastic libraries in Rome,[7] and the 'Commissione di vigilanza' (Committee of inspection), formed in 1873 by the 'Giunta liquidatrice dell'asse ecclesiastico' (Liquidating Committee of the Church estate),[8] to look after the libraries, were unable to manage the situation. At first, the religious protested against handing over the catalogues and the inspections, then they started long judicial controversies, which seriously retarded the delivery of the book collections to the National Library.

Sometimes the books were hidden, destroyed, voluntarily scattered everywhere or transferred to other places.[9] This is the case of S. Gregorio al Celio Library in Rome. It had a nineteenth-century catalogue, probably compiled by Mauro Cappellari, the future Pope Gregorio XVI. The religious declared it had been lost. It seems more possible on the contrary that they kept it: in fact, of the 12,000 volumes of that library, just 4,500 were delivered to the National Library.[10]

In 1874 the Eborense library in S. Maria in Aracoeli, founded by cardinal Josè Maria Fonseca da Evora, General of the Minorites and Minister Plenipotentiary of the King of Portugal to the Holy See, was disputed between Italy and Portugal, which claimed itself as the cardinal's heir-at-law. The judicial controversy ended nine years later, in 1883, when the collection, including both the Eborense and the S. Maria in Aracoeli libraries (19,906 volumes), was delivered to the National Library.[11]

The library of the Collegio di S. Bonaventura, located in the Monastery of the Twelve Apostles, was hidden in a vineyard, the Antoniana vineyard, outside the S. Sebastian gate. Of 16,000 volumes, just 4,435 were delivered to the National Library.[12]

It is very interesting to compare the results of the subsequent inspections of the Commissions, one of the 28th February 1873 and the other of the 15th June 1873,[13] with the first three reports made by Enrico Narducci, government delegate on behalf of the Public Education Ministry: the 'Rapporto sulle Biblioteche romane' (Report about the libraries in Rome) of the 6th October 1870, the 'Piano per la fondazione in Roma di una Biblioteca Nazionale' (Policy for the foundation of a National Library in Rome) of the 16th March 1871,[14] the 'Informazione sommaria' (Summary information) of the 12th July 1871.[15]

Enrico Narducci[16] at that time was one of the main protagonists in the monastic libraries controversy. In the same year the taking of Rome, 1870, he studied the situation of the city libraries and in his 'Report', when able to enter the libraries – the law for the suppression of religious orders was enacted three years after his report – he described the situation of each library, with the number of books and the presence of catalogues as the main instrument to verify the composition of the library. He was also aware of the importance of the preservation of historical memory, and in the 'Policy for the foundation of a National Library in Rome' (written in 1871!) he suggested that the provenance of each volume should be recorded on the catalogue cards and in the inventory register, but his advice went unheeded[17].

The pauperisation of the collection that took place between 1871 and 1873 did not even save the two main historical nuclei of the National Library, the Jesuits' libraries of the Collegio Romano and the library of the Jesuits' General House. In the Collegio Romano there was a main library, called Maior or Secreta, placed at the intersection between two wide corridors, the so-called Crociera (Cross). Some sources said that in the nineteenth century the library had about 80,000 volumes. There were then other four minor libraries with about 30,000 volumes and the Library of the Pharmacy.[18] Of the about 110,000 volumes just 50,000 were delivered to the National Library.[19] In this case, it would have been easy to verify the correct number of the volumes. The library was in its original place and for the first time had not been moved and there were the older catalogues too, author, subject and topographic catalogues.[20]

The library of the Jesuits' General House was founded by the cardinals Alessandro (1543) and Odoardo Farnese (1599). It was then increased with the library of the cardinal Silvio Valenti Gonzaga (+1756) and of his nephew cardinal Luigi (+1801). There was in 1874 a controversy about this collection, because the Jesuits wanted it to be returned. In fact, when Luigi Valenti Gonzaga died in 1808, he bequeathed the library to the Jesuits' General House and the Jesuits considered it as the private property of the General of the Jesuits.[21]

We do not know exactly how many volumes the General House library had. Some documents about the controversy mention 30,000 volumes, including 15,000–20,000 volumes of the Valenti Gonzaga Library.[22] Those last have the ex-libris of the two cardinals, but sometime it is not easy to distinguish their books: for example, all the volumes of the miscellany (1,940 volumes) have the same ex-libris of Silvio. This cannot be possible, because the date of publication of some booklets is after the date of Silvio's death. On the spine on the vol. 1–1468 is written 'S. C. Valenti' [Silvius Cardinalis Valenti]. From the volume 1469 on the spine is a letter and a number A 1- 114; B 1- 128; C 1–110; D 1–10; E, without number [from 1,832 to 1,918]. From the volume 1,919 to 1,940 there is neither letter nor number. Only a part of this Jesuits' library was delivered to the National Library: 4.000 volumes were in fact returned to the Jesuits' General House.[23]

The partial loss of the collections was common to the most part of the monastic libraries and it carried on also after their entry into the National Library. It was also because the Italian political authorities did not understand the importance of this cultural heritage.

Ruggero Bonghi, Public Education Secretary in 1874 (state libraries were under the charge of the Education Ministry) said in his Budget report of the 26th of May 1874[24]:

'Of those 400,000 volumes . . . I can assure you that at least 200,000 are not worth the price of the carriage . . . because the friars read 200-year-old books!'

As a result of this point of view, it was decided to sell the editions owned in many copies, the so-called duplicate copies. The new National Library in fact needed modern books, especially scientific and contemporary books, the kind of books which were absent from the monastic collections.

This sale, started since 1876,[25] increased the meager financial resources and made the acquisition of new books possible.

There are some printed catalogues of the auctions:

- *Catalogo delle opere duplicate di teologia appartenenti alla Biblioteca Nazionale V. E. di Roma che si offrono in vendita al pubblico incanto. Vol. I.* Roma, Tip. Eredi Botta, 1879 (Only this first volume was published, with 5.497 titles about theology and ecclesiastical history and 3,095 about the lives of the saints): BNCRoma 200.H.64;
- *Catalogo di opere duplicate della Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele di Roma*. Roma, G. Sangiorgi, 1895 (Lotto primo), 1897 (Lotto secondo) (about 3,200 books were sold[26]): BNCRoma 200.K.231 (1897);
- *Catalogo dei duplicati della Biblioteca Nazion. Vittorio Emanuele di Roma da vendersi alla pubblica auzione*. Roma, Libreria Nardecchia, 1913–1914 (It lists 5,150 titles): BNCRoma 200.F.5.

The distortion of the collection order and the suppression of their means of identification reached its most critical point with the rearrangement of the volumes in the National Library stacks.

There were bitter controversies about the organization of the new National Library during the first years of its life.[27] In 1882, six years after its foundation, the first project for a subject classification was dropped – its marks can still be found on some volumes, and in the National Library rare books storage there are still some of its catalogue cards – and the present format classification was adopted for the books in the stacks.[28] The handwritten catalogue cards, were bound in small volumes, the so-called Staderini. In 1958, these cards, photographed in a smaller format, were inserted in the drawers of the present catalogue together with the international format cards. These are still the main way to access the historical collection of the National Library.

The National Library moved in 1975 to the present modern building in Castro Pretorio. In 1982 the National Library began to catalogue the sixteenth-century editions, 'book in hand', on paper cards. On this occasion the provenances of each copy were recorded on the cards.

The technical possibilities of that time did not allow all the data to be processed: we were just able to create an Onomastikon, an index of the provenance names. However, we began to understand the real variety and the kind of owners. We could see directly on the books how the owners signed themselves on the copies (by stamps, ex libris, hand-written notes) and we recorded the different forms of the names to identify them. Then it was clear that the history of some collections was linked in some way to the history of other libraries and persons.

An example could be given by the books of the Albani Library, founded in the seventeenth century by the cardinal Alessandro Albani. It is known that the last heir of the Albani family auctioned it in 1857. Part of those books was destroyed during a shipwreck, when they were being shipped to Hamburg where Mommsen had acquired them for the Berlin Library.

The collection comprised 15,200 volumes, as we can see from the nineteenth century catalogues, acquired by the National library in 1899 on the antiquarian book trade market.[29]

The National Library has some volumes showing on the title page a stamp with the device of the Albani cardinals and the BA initials. Those books have a different provenance: S. Maria del Popolo, S. Croce in Gerusalemme, Collegio Romano, Jesuits' General House. We learn from some documents that from 1810 up to 1816 the library of cardinal Silvio Valenti Gonzaga and of his nephew Luigi, before it arrived at the Jesuits' General House, was housed in the Albani Palace 'alle 4 fontane'.[30]

Successful processing of the data pertaining to provenance became possible in 1994, when ICCU – the Central Institute for the Union Catalogue of Italian Libraries and for Bibliographical Information – completed the software for electronic cataloguing of the older books in SBN, SBN-Antiquarian. SBN (www.sbn.it), National Library Service, is the Italian libraries' network promoted by the General Direction for Library Heritage and Cultural Institutes, in cooperation with the regions and the universities. One of the databases of SBN is the Older book database, containing records for monographs from the early days of printing up to 1830. In view of the special nature of the older books, recording provenances cannot be overlooked in their cataloguing.

The National Central Library in Rome is the library which gave most records to SBN-Antiquarian, with more than 70,000 editions, catalogued 'book in hand' and about 80,000 copy descriptions.

At the present time, the owners' file includes about 1,000 headings, the result of the cataloguing of almost all XVI and XVII century BNCR's copies. The owners' database in SBN-Antiquarian distinguishes between owners and last owner. The latter (from whom the library had received the copies) can only have a single entry. They both can be linked to one or several inventory numbers, identifying each copy. It is possible to insert or erase this link and exchange owner and last owner with each other. Sometimes it is very difficult to read hand-written names or notes, so it is possible to link to the accepted name form and all the different corresponding cross-references. Thus we can correct, erase or change the accepted form into the one used by the cross reference and *vice versa*. It is also possible to merge two headings.

The most interesting part for the user is the search function. The starting points can be the owner's identification number or his name and inventory number. By the name the system shows the linked records with a full edition, description, inventory number and shelf-mark, the copy description (binding, pages missing, hand-written notes), and makes it possible to reconstruct the library of each owner and his interests. Starting from the inventory number it is possible to find out all the owners of the copy, to trace out its history.

However some problems arose. It was not possible to link the headings and the images of the corresponding stamps, ex libris and hand-written notes found in the copies. The notes area is not adequate to record the historical or biographical information. It would be necessary to have a specific area for the older shelf marks, in order to create topographical inventories of the older libraries. Those inventories could underline better what is missing in the collection.

The libraries participating to SBN are organized in NODES distributed throughout the national territory. The Nodes are connected to a central system, the INDEX, which sets up the general catalogue of the libraries of the network. The owners and last owners are managed only inside each Node, without connection with the Index. This means that the owners' data can be shared only among libraries in the same node.

It means as well that libraries in the same city could not share the data, when there is more than one node: it is the case with Rome. It is clear, on the contrary, that data sharing would be more appropriate.

Recently, the National library of Torino found in its collections some volumes owned by the libraries of some abolished religious orders in Rome. Those books came from the National Library of Rome and they had been given to the National library of Torino after its 1904 fire.

The cataloguing rules for the description of older material, published in 1995,[31] do not cover ownership and the management of this data. Also the RICA,[32] the Italian Rules for author cataloguing, are often unsatisfactory concerning the form of this particular kind of heading.

First of all, for this kind of subordinate body, the direct form under its own name (Convento di S. Lorenzo in Lucina, Convento di S. Gregorio al Celio, etc.) in this archive causes a block of headings which are too similar.[33] Often we have an incomplete name, presented with only the name or the surname or the initials or letters or monograms. There can also be indications of co-ownership.

As far as the owner archive of the National Library is concerned, we are carrying on with 'book in hand' cataloguing of the older books in SBN-Antiquarian and the entry of ownership data.

We have also started revision of the last owners' headings, trying to reconstruct the history of the delivery of the different libraries of the monasteries to the National library.

The final project is then to have an archive with the owners and last owners headings, in all the forms shown in the copies, linked to the images of the corresponding stamps, ex libris, hand written notes, and older shelf marks. A particular attention should be paid to these shelf marks: they make it possible in fact to identify some provenances.

Because the way in which the shelf marks of each monastery appear on the books (location, ink, handwriting, form) is very similar, it would be useful to organize an archive of the older shelf marks, linked with their images and provenance headings.

When it becomes possible, we would like to record a note, location or reproduction of the older catalogues of the libraries or of the inventories,[34] some of them written when the libraries were delivered to the National Library. It will then be possible, by means of the catalogues, the inventories and the computerized archive of owners, to reconstruct the older collections or all that remains of them in the National Library in Rome.

NOTES

1. National Central Library= Vittorio Emanuele II Library= National Library.
   A special thanks to Margherita Spinazzola and Clementina Piazza for the precious assistance in the translation of the text, to David Shaw for his patient revision and to Riccardo Mazza for his cooperation in the archival searches.
2. For the fullest treatment of the events, see V. Carini Dainotti, *La Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele al Collegio Romano*. Firenze, L. Olschki Editore, 1956 (Ristampa 2003); C. M. Fiorentino, *Chiesa e Stato a Roma negli anni della destra storica 1870–1876. Il trasferimento della capitale e la soppressione delle Corporazioni religiose*. Roma, Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento italiano, 1996; p. 357–421. A complete bibliography about the history of the National Library is in *La Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II di Roma: una bibliografia, 1870–1992*, a cura di S. Masti, L. Mazzola, M. Pisano, in: *I fondi, le procedure, le storie. Raccolta di studi della Biblioteca*, Roma, Biblioteca Nazionale, 1993; p. 293–317. See also: P. Veneziani, *La Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II*, in: *Il Collegio Romano dalle origini al Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali*. Roma, Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 2003; p. 397–425.
3. I. M. Laracca, *Il patrimonio degli ordini religiosi in Italia. Soppressione e incameramento dei loro beni (1848–1873)*. Roma, 1936; p. 139–162.
4. Listed in an Appendix on the CERL website, www.cerl.org.
5. *Le biblioteche governative italiane nel MDCCCXCVIII. Notizie storiche, bibliografiche e statistiche pubblicate a cura del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*. Roma, Società Editrice Dante Alighieri, 1900; p. 41–43. A. Spotti, *Guida storica ai fondi manoscritti della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II di Roma*, in: *Pluteus* IV-V (1986–1987) [1990], p. 359–386 and in: *I fondi, le procedure, le storie. Raccolta di studi della Biblioteca*, Roma, Biblioteca Nazionale, 1993; p. 4–31.
6. Carini Dainotti, p. 16.
7. Carini Dainotti, p. 36
8. I. M. Laracca, p. 141; C. M. Fiorentino, p. 393–394.
9. Archivio Centrale dello Stato (ACS). Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione. Direzione Generale Istituti Superiori. Biblioteche (1860–1881), buste 78, 127.
10. Carini Dainotti, p. 25 n. 9, p. 50–52.
11. Carini Dainotti, p. 24, 58–61. In 1883, Domenico Gnoli, prefect of the Vittorio Emanuele Library, in some letters to the Ministry of Public Education, wrote that about 18,000 volumes of the Eborense library had been delivered to the National Library and that some books, duplicates inside the Eborense collection or published by the friars, had been requested from the General house of the Aracoeli. It is interesting that the prefect informs the Ministry that the Eborense library was kept entire (in accordance with the resolutions taken by the Italian

and Portuguese governments) and that the National Library uses the older catalogue, changing only the shelf marks of the volumes (BNCRoma- Archive-Posizione 7C/ 1883 n. 3, 3 bis, 4 – Lettere di Domenico Gnoli al Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione: 24 marzo 1883; 18 giugno 1883; 21 giugno 1883). The catalogue in *Antichi cataloghi 1/ 1–3* ('Catalogo della biblioteca Aracoeliana Eborense' A-M, L-Z, Appendice), of the first half of XIX century, shows on the right side, close to each title, as Gnoli wrote, the present shelf mark. The sections are: 31, 32, 37 (the 6,285 volumes have the stamp of Cardinal Fonseca), 42 (from 42.1 to 42.7.G.2), 43. In the National library, the volumes of this sections (about 17,000 volumes) have the specific labels of the 'Eborense' [and Aracoelitana] library. There are other older catalogues: *Antichi cataloghi 2/ 1*–3 (1844, 1845), 'Indice alfabetico dei libri della Biblioteca Araceliana', a catalogue with the stamp of Cardinal Fonseca; *Antichi cataloghi 45–48* (in numbers) lists of books, bibliographies, bibliographical abstracts (sec. XIX). The Aracoelitana Library seems to be the only complete monastic library now in the National Library. A study about this library is now in progress.

12. Carini Dainotti, p. 24 n. 4, p. 43.
13. Carini Dainotti, p. 34- 46.
14. Esposito, p. 12–13.
15. Carini Dainotti, p. 24–25; Esposito, p. 26–27.
16. G. Solimine, *Enrico Narducci e le biblioteche nei primi decenni dell'Italia unita*, in: *Nuovi annali della Scuola speciale per archivisti e bibliotecari*, 8 (1994), p. 195–218.
17. Esposito, p. 22: '. . . Peraltro come ricordo storico stimerei utilissimo che in apposita finca del catalogo alfabetico e dell'inventario fosse indicata la provenienza di ciascuna delle opere provenute dalla detta soppressione, come a cagion d'esempio: Arac. Biblioteca già Aracoelitana, Coll. Rom. Biblioteca già del Collegio Romano, SS.Apost. Biblioteca già di S. Bonaventura nel Convento de' SS.Apostoli e così per le altre biblioteche. . . .'.
18. G. Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico ecclesiastica*. Venezia, 1840–1879; vol. XIV, p. 200–201. See Appendix, Collegio Romano Farmacia.
19. *Le biblioteche governative italiane nel MDCCCXCVIII*, p. 47 n.1.
20. BNCRoma, Antichi cataloghi 21 (subject catalogue in 27 volumes), 23 (author catalogue in 12 volumes), 57 (topographic catalogue in 2 volumes). See also: Antichi cataloghi 25, 36, 50, 51 and MS. Gesuitico 882. J. Diamond, S. I., 'A catalogue of the old Roman college library and a reference to another', in: *Gegorianum* XXXII (1951), p.109–114. A. Spotti, p. 9–10.
21. Carini Dainotti, p. 61–62. See also: ACSRoma. Ministero dell'Interno. Direzione Generale Fondo per il culto. Corporazioni religiose. Posizione 8. Gesuiti al Gesù. 'Foglio di fiducia. 15 settembre 1873'. It is the true copy of the original disposition of Luigi Valenti Gonzaga. The original one was in the archive of the 'Procura generale della Compagnia di Gesù'.
22. ACS. Ministero dell'Interno. Direzione Generale Fondo per il culto. Corporazioni religiose. Posizione 8. Gesuiti al Gesù. 'Estratto del verbale della Giunta [liquidatrice dell'asse ecclesiastico] dell'Adunanza del 5 decembre 1874' (Estreat of the minutes of the Liquidating committee of the Church estate, meeting of the 5th December 1874). 'Il popolo romano' 2 gennaio 1875, in Carini Dainotti, p.

62, n. 115. But E. Narducci, when the library was delivered on 20th October 1874 to the Giunta liquidatrice dell'Asse ecclesiastico (Liquidating committee of the Church estate) said that the volumes were about 20,000 (C. M. Fiorentino, p. 396, n.144).

In the National library there are some older catalogues of the Valenti Gonzaga's library:

the catalogue of the cardinal Silvio, *Antico catalogo 12*, with about 1,500 titles and on the last page a document with the stamp of the secretary of the *Reverenda Camera Apostolica*, Silvestro Antonio Mariotti, dated Rome December 29th, pertinent to the will of Silvio. This catalogue contains the books and the first nucleus of the famous miscellany;

the catalogue of the Valenti Gonzaga's miscellany, *Antico catalogo 39/1–5*, five volumes with about 16,000 titles. The shelf mark, showing perhaps the folder or the box where the booklets were, is modified and it is the same now on the spine of the volumes. It is possible that it was changed when the miscellany arrived in the Jesuits General house (1816, see BNCR MS. Gesuitico 545, c. 67), where perhaps the booklets were bound in the present volumes, too. Therefore this should be the catalogue of the miscellany at the time of the death of Luigi Valenti Gonzaga;

the catalogue of the Valenti Gonzaga's miscellany, *Antico catalogo 39/6,* Supplement, with about 3,500 titles;

the catalogue of the Valenti Gonzaga's miscellany, *Antico catalogo 39/7*, Appendix, with 2,600 titles;

the subject catalogue of the Valenti Gonzaga's miscellany, *Antico catalogo 40*, it seems to be the last gathering of the 39/6: its paper has the same watermark and it has the same format. (*Il fondo ANTICHI CATALOGHI della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma*, a cura di M. Breccia Fratadocchi, M. Grazia Gionzer, L. Martinoli, A. Spotti, to be published).

In the rare books storage of the National Library is also an older topographical card catalogue of the miscellany.

23. In the Central Archive in Rome is the list of the 4,000 books, but the description of the editions is very short (*Ribera in Apocal. et in Evang. 2 [vol.]*) (ACSRoma. Ministero dell'Interno. Direzione Generale Fondo per il culto. Corporazioni religiose. Posizione 8. Gesuiti al Gesù. 'Libri che furono scelti nella Biblioteca Generalizia nella già casa Professa al Gesù'; see also: l'Estratto del verbale della Giunta dell'adunanza del 5 Decembre 1874'). The National library does not have the catalogues of either the whole library of the Jesuits' General house, or of the books from Valenti Gonzaga's library.
24. Atti Parlamentari, Sessione 1873–1874, IV, p. 4000, in: P. Veneziani, p. 402, n. 13
25. Carini Dainotti, p. 151 ss.
26. A. Nardecchia, 'Il commercio antiquario specie dei libri ecclesiastici', in: *Il libro e le biblioteche. Atti del primo congresso bibliologico francescano internazionale 20–27 febbraio 1949*. Romae, Pontificium Athenaeum Antonianum, 1950; p. 387.

From some documents (BNCR- Archive- Posizione 7D- Roma 10 maggio 1917: Volumi di scarto delle soppresse corporazioni religiose) we learn that the volumes sold by the four auctions were about 19,000, and others 100,000 discarded volumes were left in storage. Some of those volumes and part of the duplicates' catalogue are still in the National Library.

27. Carini Dainotti 143 ss. There were two Committees of inquiry, in 1879 and in 1880 (Commissione Baccelli: see BNCR- Archive- A*tti della Commissione d'inchiesta Baccelli, 1º gennaio- 21 aprile 1880*, in: Carini Dainotti, p. X). A full description of the events is in: P. Veneziani, p. 397–421.
28. The only library that was left united is the Eborense Library of S. Maria in Aracoeli. See note 11.
29. BNCRoma, Antichi cataloghi 52/1–3, 53.
30. BNCRoma: Manoscritto Gesuitico 545: 'Libreria Valenti. La libreria lasciata dalla Ch: Mem: del cardinale Luigi Valenti Gonzaga che stava in un gran camerone e due piccole camerette nel piano di cima del Collegio Germanico, allora presso la Chiesa di S. Apollinare, poi messo i libri nelle casse fu nel Giugno 1810 portata al Palazzo Albani alle quattro Fontane in deposito fino al Gennaio del 1816 che fu portata alla casa professa del Gesù negli appresso giorni [29 e 30 Gennaio 1816]'. Follows a list of the number of the cases and of the barrows, which delivered the books.
31. Istituto centrale per il catalogo unico delle biblioteche italiane e per le informazioni bibliografiche, *Guida alla catalogazione in SBN. Libro antico.* Roma, ICCU, 1995.
32. Istituto centrale per il catalogo unico delle biblioteche italiane e per le informazioni bibliografiche. *Regole italiane di catalogazione per autori*. Roma, ICCU, 1982.
33. It would be better to entry by the specific name of the monastery. A proposal could be: *S. Lorenzo in Lucina <Biblioteca del Convento di S. Lorenzo in Lucina ; Roma>; S. Bonaventura <Biblioteca del Collegio di S. Bonaventura ; Roma>; S. Bonaventura <Biblioteca del Convento di S. Bonaventura ; Roma>.*
34. The National library has some catalogues and inventories of the monastic libraries: see Appendix.

APPENDIX

The Appendix listing the 78 religious houses whose collections passed, in whole or in part, to the National Central Library can be consulted on CERL's website www.cerl.org under the heading 'Provenance information'. The book stamps of many libraries are illustrated.

The incunable collection of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München and its provenances

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Germany, where, in the fifteenth century, printing with movable type began, until today holds the largest number of books printed in the approximately 50 years after Gutenberg's invention. The total number in German libraries is estimated at around 125,000 copies, of which *c.* 100,000 are already recorded in the British Library's 'Incunabula Short Title Catalogue' (ISTC), the German branch of which has been based at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich (BSB) since 1988. The BSB was very appropriately chosen as the German partner of ISTC, as the library possesses one of the richest holdings in incunabula world-wide – with its 9,650 editions, it comes second only to the British Library itself (which owns about 700 more editions), but with its 19,930 individual copies, it surpasses the London collection by almost a third.

The number of incunable copies in Munich makes the collection a particularly rich source for provenance research. Such an approach is further supported by the nature of the provenances: whereas the London collection was assembled mainly by collectors of rare books (for example, members of the Royal family or bibliophiles like Sir Hans Sloane or Sir Thomas Grenville) and expanded through antiquarian purchases mainly in the second half of the nineteenth century, many incunables in Munich bear ownership marks of their contemporary readers: humanists and monks from a fairly confined area in the Southern part of modern Bavaria. To a very large extent, the collection comprises books which were bought for their contents rather than their appearance; this is reflected by the relatively small number of items with ornate decoration, and, in contrast, a high proportion of early blind-stamped bindings – the books were intended for use, not for display. Most of the texts are in Latin, and theological, legal, classical and scientific literature dominates. In many cases, extensive annotations and manuscript additions give evidence of the reader's interests and needs.

For several centuries, access to this rich book-historical material was difficult for researchers, as no detailed catalogue of the collection existed. Over the past 15 years, this unsatisfactory situation has been amended by the publication of a printed catalogue.[1] In August 2004, the catalogue became available in electronic form via the internet.[2] The electronic publication opens entirely new perspectives for research on the collection, a few of which will be outlined in this paper. After a brief introduction to the collection and the principles applied in its catalogue (with special regard to information on provenances), the functionality of the online database is described. In the second part, ways of using the electronic catalogue for provenance research are outlined, and some perspectives for general conclusions are opened: insights to be gained into the history of the Munich collection and its predecessors, into the history of the book trade, especially in the fifteenth century, and into the history of reading.

THE MUNICH COLLECTION

The printed catalogue of the Munich collection contains detailed descriptions of 9,574 editions in 17,401 copies. Since 1986, when the first volume of the catalogue went to the press, more than 100 editions have been bought. They remain to be catalogued, as do 2,454 volumes of 'incunable duplicates' (supernumerary copies of editions already in the collection), many of which are in an unsatisfactory state of conservation, and an uncertain number of incunable fragments, consisting mainly of binding waste. The conversion of the printed catalogue into electronic form greatly facilitates such housekeeping work, as new acquisitions and additional material will no longer need to be presented in supplements to the catalogue, but can be entered directly into the database and, thus, can become instantly available for searching.

Almost 90% of the Munich incunables contain works in Latin. This is an unusually high proportion: of the *c.* 27,000 incunables listed in ISTC (i.e. all fifteenth-century editions of which copies have been traced), only *c.* 70% are in Latin. The second-largest section of the Munich collection consists of German incunables: more than 1,100 editions in German, i.e. nearly 50% of all known incunables in German, are present, among them many first editions and unique copies. About 200 editions contain Italian works and many more were printed in Italy – evidence for the long-established trade connections and academic contacts between Southern Germany and Italy. A much smaller proportion of texts are in Dutch and French (24 each), Spanish (11) and English (4). Non-Latin alphabets are represented by 36 Greek and 17 Hebrew editions.

The rate of duplicates is particularly high in the Munich collection: the number of copies is about double that of editions. 350 editions exist in more than 5 copies in the BSB, the largest number of copies per edition being 34. About 400 incunables in Munich are unique, i.e. the Munich copy is the only one known. Amongst the treasures of the Munich collection are the only surviving copies of the German *Türkenkalender*, datable to 1454 and ascribed to Johann Gutenberg (BSB-Ink M-149), and the *Stöger-Passion* (before 1462) with its famous metalcuts (BSB-Ink L-94). The Munich copies of the two earliest Latin Bibles (the Gutenberg Bible and the 36-line Bible, BSB-Ink B-408 and 409) belong to the small group of copies which contain printed instructions for the rubricators. Hartmann Schedel's copy of his own *Nuremberg Chronicle* (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493; BSB-Ink S-195,4) allows a glance into the author's collection of graphic art. The only surviving paper copy of the first edition of Duranti's *Rationale* ([Mainz]: Johann Fust und Peter Schöffer, 6.10.1459; BSB-Ink D-324) is important for its extensive corrections by the rubricator, which give insight into the production process.[3]

The size of the collection proved an enormous hindrance to its adequate cataloguing. In the 1820s, Ludwig Hain worked in Munich as a free-lance bibliographer and compiled his *Repertorium bibliographicum* largely on the basis of the BSB's collection.[4] The *Repertorium*, however, was intended as a bibliography and therefore did not contain any copy-specific information. Nevertheless, the *Repertorium* was annotated with shelfmarks and used in place of an incunable catalogue in the Munich reading room. As late as the 1970s, it became finally possible to compile a modern catalogue of the collection thanks to funding from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. The first volume of BSB-Ink was published in 1988; the fifth came out in 2000. Unlike many older incunable catalogues, BSB-Ink is arranged in alphabetical order by author and not by place and year of printing. The latter access to the collection will become possible with the help of the printers' index, which will be published in 2005 together with concordances in the first index volume to BSB-Ink. The second and final index volume will comprise indices of literary contributors, provenances and binders.

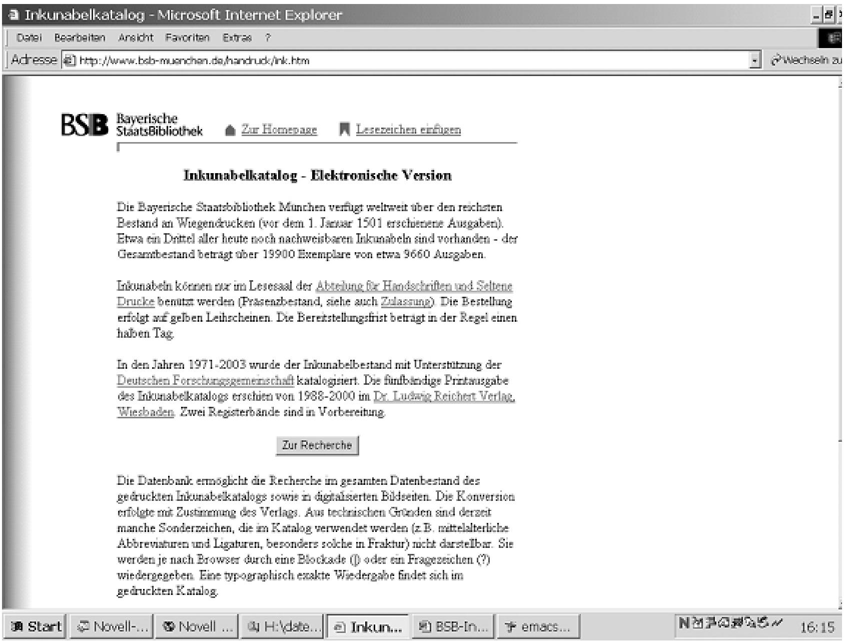
CATALOGUING CONVENTIONS

The Munich incunable catalogue set a new standard for incunable cataloguing. In a deliberate break with bibliographical tradition, it listed works not under the author given in the incunable, but under the author established by modern scholarship. Works were given uniform titles, and all texts printed in any one edition were recorded. As a result, even 'minor' works of an author – such as dedicatory letters and accompanying poems – can now be found in the electronic catalogue with ease. For information on typographical matters, a more restrictive method was chosen: details like the collation and transcriptions of key pages were only provided for editions which had not been described before. Only selected bibliographical references were quoted, as a full list can be found in ISTC. With regard to copy-specific information, not only the shelfmark of each copy is given, but also a detailed description of its condition (completeness, typesetting variants), any artistic decoration (illumination, rubrication) and other manuscript additions (foliation, annotation). If there is evidence for former contents of a composite volume (such as tables of content in contemporary hands), it is presented, and for 'Sammelbände' (composite volumes), a list of all editions which are bound together is provided. The binding is described in brief, and all available provenance evidence is collected.

The recording of provenance information follows strict rules:

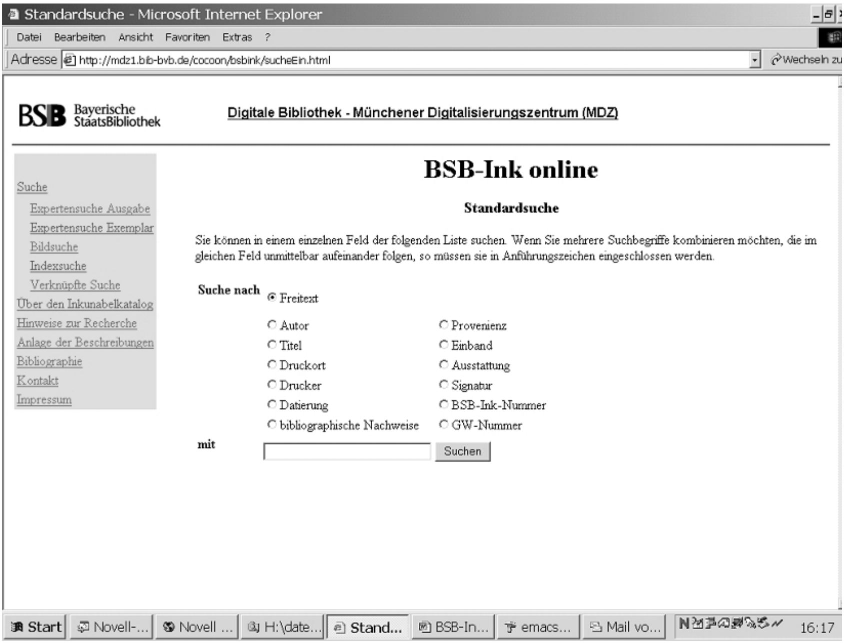
- only information relevant to the individual item is given (for composite volumes),
- information is given in a standardised way, using normalised names of places, institutions and persons,
- owners are listed in chronological sequence; if ownership inscriptions contain dates or placenames, they are also included,
- evidence for the identification of ownership is mentioned explicitly, if the owner's name was not merely entered in form of a handwritten inscription, but is indicated by a book plate, armorial or monogram stamp (sometimes placed on the book edges),
- entries which contain more precise information on sources, prices, dates and places of acquisition are transcribed in full,
- the use of external sources (like historical library catalogues) for identification of the owner is indicated by square brackets, and a reference to the source is given,
- the catalogue records do not contain any biographical or historical information on the owner; instead, this will be presented in the index of provenances.

As for most cataloguing projects which date back to the 1970s and 1980s, the incunable descriptions were produced in the form of a type-written card index in quarto format which was then converted into electronic files by the type-setter. For the compilation of the indices, these files proved an invaluable resource, in spite of being incomplete (one of the five volumes had been lost) and encoded in different typesetting formats. Together with the missing volume, which was retroconverted by scanning and use of OCR software, the data were standardised and structured into bibliographical categories which could then be extracted for the indices. As a platform-independent storage format, XML was chosen. As incunable descriptions show considerable similarities to descriptions of medieval manuscripts, the structure was encoded in MASTER, a recently developed standard XML format for manuscript descriptions.[5] Special characters were encoded as SGML-entities conforming to the standard set by the electronic *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*.[6] After the standardisation of the data had been completed, an internet publication of the catalogue became feasible.



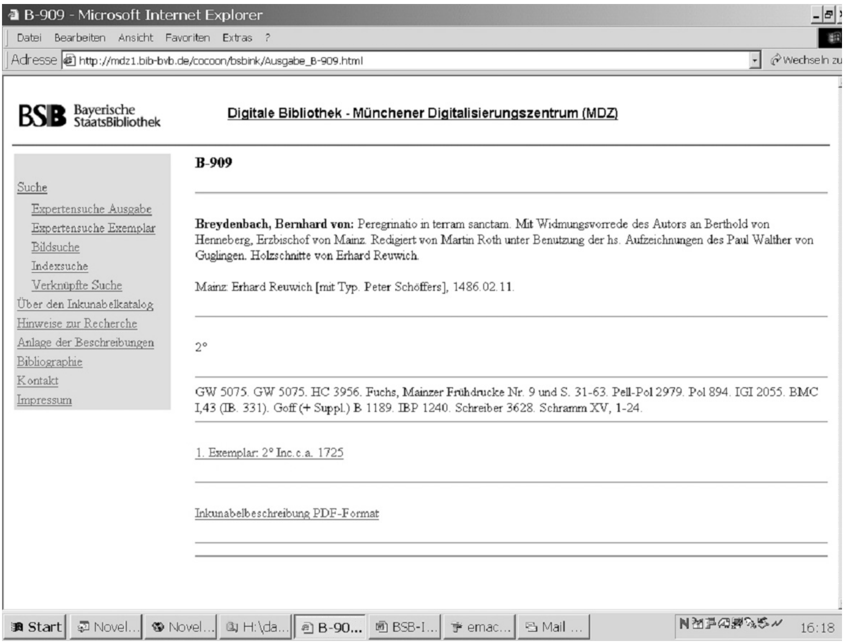
THE INTERNET DATABASE: BSB-INK ONLINE

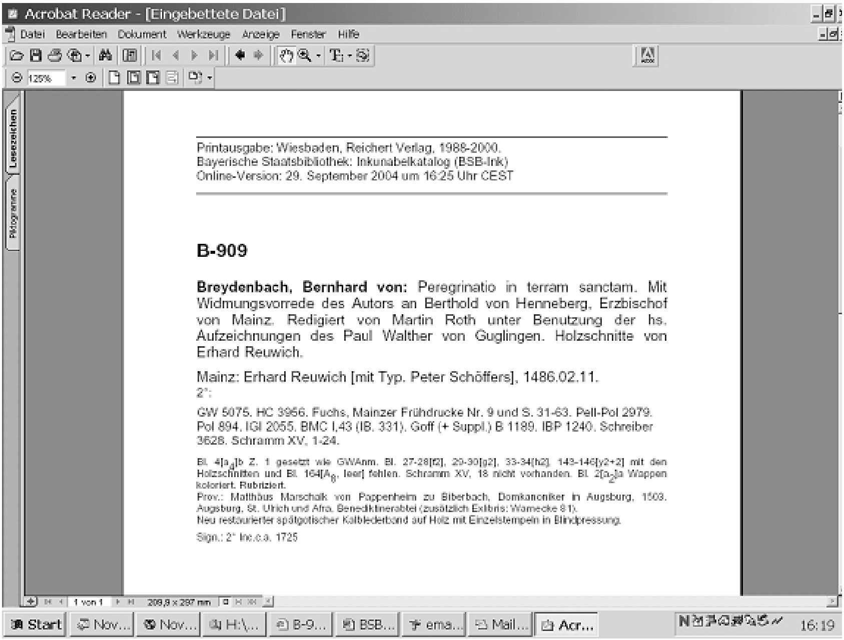
With the publisher's consent, the electronic catalogue went online in August 2004 – even before publication of the index volumes. On the internet, the XML data can be searched in a variety of manners. The option 'standard search' offers the most common access points, both in the descriptions of editions and copies, including provenances. For experts, a more comprehensive list of search categories (for both editions and copies) is available. The 'combined search' option offers the possibility to search in more than one field. The electronic catalogue also supplies an ideal metadata framework for presenting digital images to users. Already in the late 1990s, in the context of a project aimed at the digitisation of incunable illustrations, a total of 6,500 digital images have been created.[7] The 'image search' now allows the retrieval of digitised images by iconographic keyword and with the classification Iconclass.



In the 'index search', alphanumeric lists can be consulted. Lists of catalogue numbers and bibliographical references were created as well as indexes of author names, places of printing, names of printer and also provenances. These lists serve as very basic authority files and could be further enhanced with cross-references from alternative name forms or with bio-bibliographical data. Due to the variability of provenance information in the catalogue, not all of which is standardised, the provenance index is still far from being an authority file, but offers at least the possibility to browse through a list of provenance records sorted in alphabetical order. In future, it is planned to integrate the indexes for literary contributors, provenances and binders into the online catalogue as proper authority files. At the moment, these indexes are being created in an internal database which contains additional fields for biographical and bibliographical information and for standardising entries such as profession, religious order or gender. For an online presentation, the provenance index could be further enhanced by digital images of provenance inscriptions, book plates and other material.

In BSB-Ink online, search results are displayed in accordance with the hierarchical structure of the catalogue records: the first level consists in a short list of results: on the next level, the catalogue record for the edition is displayed with a list of copies (shelfmarks only); the third level contains a description of the individual copy with a list of scanned images (if available), and finally, the images with iconographic metadata are displayed. For printing purposes, a PDF file can be generated for each catalogue record, including all levels of information in a layout similar to the printed catalogue.





Printausgabe: Wiesbaden, Reichert Verlag, 1988-2000.
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek: Inkunabelkatalog (BSB-Ink)
Online-Version: 29. September 2004 um 16:25 Uhr CEST

B-909

Breydenbach, Bernhard von: Peregrinatio in terram sanctam. Mit Widmungsvorrede des Autors an Berthold von Henneberg, Erzbischof von Mainz. Redigiert von Martin Roth unter Benutzung der hs. Aufzeichnungen des Paul Walther von Guglingen. Holzschnitte von Erhard Reuwich.

Mainz: Erhard Reuwich [mit Typ. Peter Schöffers], 1486.02.11.
2°:

GW 5075. HC 3956. Fuchs, Mainzer Frühdrucke Nr. 9 und S. 31-63. Pell-Pol 2979. Pol 894. IGI 2055. BMC I,43 (IB. 331). Goff (+ Suppl.) B 1189. IBP 1240. Schreiber 3628. Schramm XV, 1-24.

Bl. 4[a_4]b Z. 1 gesetzt wie GWAnm. Bl. 27-28[f2], 29-30[g2], 33-34[h2], 143-146[y2+2] mit den Holzschnitten und Bl. 164[A_8, leer] fehlen. Schramm XV, 18 nicht vorhanden. Bl. 2[a_2]a Wappen koloriert. Rubriziert.
Prov.: Matthäus Marschalk von Pappenheim zu Biberbach, Domkanoniker in Augsburg, 1503. Augsburg, St. Ulrich und Afra, Benediktinerabtei (zusätzlich Exlibris: Warnecke 81).
Neu restaurierter spätgotischer Kalblederband auf Holz mit Einzelstempeln in Blindpressung.

Sign.: 2° Inc.c.a. 1725

This hierarchical structure makes it possible to point to each level of a record individually – a function essential for hyperlinking the catalogue internally as well as to external databases. Some internal links are already implemented: all incunables bound together in one volume are cross-linked and the bibliographical references (given in abbreviated form in the catalogue) have been linked to the bibliography. In order to make each level of an incunable description addressable from outside, the edition, copy, and any existing digital image has an individual URL which is based on the catalogue number, copy number and quire signature of the individual page. As a result, it is possible to link incunable editions described in BSB-Ink to incunable bibliographies like ISTC and GW or the catalogue of incunables in German libraries (INKA).[8] Such links are now also feasible for copy-specific resources: descriptions of incunable bindings can be linked to the German 'Einbanddatenbank',[9] and incunables assigned to a certain provenance could be linked to an authority file for provenances – still only a vision at the moment, but one that might become reality soon.

USING BSB-INK ONLINE FOR PROVENANCE RESEARCH

For provenance research, BSB-Ink online contains especially valuable material with regard to three particular aspects:

- the history of collections,
- the history of the book trade in the fifteenth century, and
- the history of reading.

Thanks to the electronic incunable catalogue, it has for the first time in the history of the BSB's incunable collection become possible to gain a precise picture of its composition and development. When the library was founded in the sixteenth century, the personal libraries of three eminent humanists formed the basis of the collection: that of the orientalist Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter (1506–1557), the Augsburg merchant Johann Jakob Fugger (1516–1575) and the Nuremberg doctor Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514). No contemporary catalogue of Widmanstetter's library survives, but its size is estimated at around 1,000 volumes. Today, 118 incunables formerly owned by Widmanstetter can be found in the BSB. From the library of Hartmann Schedel, which was sold to Johann Jakob Fugger in 1552 and purchased by Duke Albrecht V in 1571, *c.* 450 incunables survive in Munich; another 122 come from Fugger's library. The number of incunables in the ducal library in the late sixteenth century has been estimated at around 2000,[10] yet only *c.* 450 incunables bear a bookplate from that period. If the incunables from the private libraries which were purchased before 1580 and which bear no ducal bookplate are added to that figure, a total of *c.* 850 incunables are identified which can be proven to have been in the Munich court library in the late sixteenth century.

In the course of two centuries, that figure rose to *c.* 1,250 incunables recorded in the late eighteenth-century catalogues in which the incunables were listed separately for the first time. Shortly afterwards, the growth of the collection sped up immensely. In the early nineteenth century, the Munich court library benefited from dynastical changes as well as from the transformation of the social and political landscape of Central Europe caused by the French Revolution. In 1777, the Bavarian branch of the Wittelsbach family died out and the Palatine Karl Theodor succeeded to the Electorate. After his death, his library of *c.* 100,000 volumes was transferred in 1804 from his former residence in Mannheim to Munich. A particularly outstanding collection within the Mannheim library are books formerly owned by the Florentine humanist Pietro Vettori (Petrus Victorius)

(1499–1585), among them at least 50 incunables which demonstrate his strong interest in classical and humanist literature.

Shortly before the Mannheim library arrived in Munich, the monasteries in Bavaria were dissolved as a result of the Napoleonic wars. The first religious houses to be closed were those of the mendicant orders (Augustinian Hermits, Dominicans, Franciscans, Capuchins, Carmelites etc.), from whose libraries almost 2,000 incunables survive in Munich. When the other orders followed suit in 1803, the mass of books became too large to cope with: from one Benedictine monastery alone, the one at Tegernsee, more than 1,000 incunables are in the BSB today. The collections of *c.* 200 South Bavarian religious houses which can be identified in the BSB today comprise almost 9,000 incunables. Many 'duplicates' from Bavarian monasteries were sold in the first half of the nineteenth century and, as a result, entered the collections of institutions like the British Museum and the Bodleian Library Oxford. In other incunables, all evidence of former ownership was removed during nineteenth-century rebinding. Thus, the surviving incunables are only one source for the history of the BSB's collection – archival material such as historical catalogues must be taken into account, too, as must incunables which are today preserved in other collections. Only when all those sources have been analysed, will it become possible to reconstruct the collections which entered the Munich court library in the nineteenth century. For projects which aim at the reconstruction of libraries (like those of the charterhouse of Buxheim[11] or of the Augsburg humanist Conrad Peutinger[12]), BSB-Ink can, however, serve as an important starting point.

For the history of the early book trade, the transcribed ownership inscriptions in BSB-Ink give access to a wealth of source material which has not yet been systematically analysed. Only a large collection, such as the BSB's, contains a sufficiently large and representative sample of ownership inscriptions with a high degree of factual information (dates, places, names) – the kind of sources which are otherwise comparatively rare. Amongst the data which can be gained by searches in BSB-Ink online are, for example, incunable prices recorded in the descriptions. However, most price inscriptions lack information about the date and place of purchase and are datable only from the owner's biography or from the type of script. In BSB-Ink, all inscriptions for which no date is supplied in the catalogue are considered to be contemporary (late fifteenth / early sixteenth century).

In numerous incunable descriptions, sources of acquisition, such as the names of bookdealers or of donors, are recorded either on the basis of inscriptions or of archival material. An interesting example is the

Premonstratensian monastery of Windberg, from which a contemporary account book survives. It contains lists of books acquired from the Ingolstadt book-dealer Johannes Muscatel, probably an itinerant bookseller who visited the monastery at regular intervals. 26 incunables in BSB-Ink can be identified with entries in the account book, thus making it possible to determine how soon after publication books were sold and where they had been printed. Muscatel obviously was an important mediator between North Italian printers and German monasteries: of the 26 incunables which Windberg bought from him in 1493 and 1496, 17 were printed in Venice and the rest in Pescia, Modena, Milan, Bologna and Pavia. The oldest books which were bought had been published 4 years before, most were two or three years old. Windberg thus exemplifies the speed of book distribution from printers to readers in the last decade of the fifteenth century.

BSB-Ink can also be used to analyse information on book donations or legacies, a topic which has recently attracted the attention of book historians. It can be demonstrated that books were frequently donated not so much for their textual contents, but rather as symbolic representatives of the relationship between donor and recipient, especially if the recipient was a monastery whose members were expected to preserve the donor's memory by praying for him. In that context, book donations by laymen to a monastery are particularly interesting. Amongst the donors are, as in the case of the Benedictine monastery of St Emmeram in Regensburg, such as relatives of the monks or member of the urban community, an apothecary.

Very few ownership inscriptions contain information about the place where a book was bought. In the Munich incunable catalogue, places of acquisition are given in only 100 inscriptions from the period before 1520. A high proportion of them are inscriptions by Bavarian monks who attended South German universities. They indicate close associations between individual monasteries and particular universities. Thus, the university of Tübingen was frequented especially by Augustinians, as is attested by purchase inscriptions of monks from Beyharting (Augustinian Canons) and Munich (Augustinian Hermits), while Cistercian monasteries had closer relations with Heidelberg (founded in 1385), where a Cistercian college existed. When analysing the relation of place of printing to place of purchase, another pattern emerges which indicates the trade connections of particular printing towns with particular universities. Thus, Ingolstadt shows a strong connection with Italy, while books bought at Tübingen are equally of cisalpine and transalpine origin, and books bought at Heidelberg were almost exclusively of German or French origin. While the database is not yet large enough to allow a general conclusion, it however might stimulate further research on that matter.

Fifteenth-century acquisition dates can also indicate how soon after publication books were bought. Nearly 200 inscriptions in (dated) incunables are recorded in the catalogue indicating time (before 1520) and place of purchase. All the entries come from books printed between 1470 and 1500, i.e. the second period of incunable printing. The table opposite documents the speed of book distribution already in the fifteenth century: 20% of the inscriptions date from the year following publication. While the lower percentage (7.6%) for the first year is a result of the spread of publication over all months of the entire year, the lower figures for later years probably reflect a real slowing down in sales as the editions get older: only about 13% of the incunabula bear inscriptions from the second and third year after publication, and a mere 5% from the fourth and fifth year. By that time, second-hand selling of incunabula becomes an important factor to be considered, and we are moving away from primary distribution.

Rubrication dates can also help to gain an insight into the speed of book distribution. More than 300 incunables in the BSB contain entries by the rubricator, which often give the date when rubrication was completed. This information could also be correlated to printing dates and, thus, show the average time it took to prepare a book for reading after it left the press – a process which was often carried out by the first buyer himself.

BSB-Ink-online also records evidence of when, how and by whom incunables were read. Whereas most inscriptions only indicate the name and sometimes the profession or position of a previous owner, in some cases the intellectual profile of a possessor is sufficiently well-known to justify the detailed analysis of the traces he left in his books. The most common type of reader-evidence are marginal annotations – ranging from simple pointing index fingers to copious commentaries on the text. Konrad Peutinger, the lawyer, diplomat and humanist from Augsburg, whose library is in the process of being reconstructed by a German research project,[13] has been identified as the owner of 61 incunables in the BSB, 47 of which bear inscriptions in his hand. As very few of Peutinger's historical and literary works were published during his lifetime, his books are important sources for his scholarly interests and opinions. Many other former owners of Munich incunabula would deserve a similarly detailed study.

Not only the notes of identifiable historical persons, but also anonymous manuscript additions can give an indication of how particular texts were read and used. Possible areas of research are works, to which texts in

Year of publication	Year of purchase (before 1520)								
	=	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	>5	>10	>20
1470	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1471	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1472	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1473	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1474	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0
1475	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
1476	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
1477	1	2	0	1	1	1	0	2	2
1478	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0
1479	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
1480	0	4	0	0	1	0	0	2	1
1481	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1
1482	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	4	3
1483	0	0	0	0	1	1	4	2	0
1484	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	3	0
1485	2	2	1	0	1	1	2	0	0
1486	0	2	3	0	2	2	0	1	0
1487	2	1	1	3	0	1	1	0	1
1488	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	1	3
1489	1	2	1	0	2	1	1	0	0
1490	0	1	1	9	0	0	0	0	0
1491	0	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
1492	0	8	2	3	0	1	0	1	0
1493	0	2	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
1494	1	1	1	4	0	0	1	0	0
1495	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0
1496	0	0	2	0	2	0	4	3	0
1497	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
1498	0	0	1	2	0	0	2	2	0
1499	0	0	2	1	0	0	2	0	0
1500	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Total	15	41	25	26	11	9	27	29	14
Percentage	7.61%	20.81%	12.69%	13.20%	5.58%	4.57%	13.71%	14.72%	7.11%

German have been added by hand, or calendars in which contemporary events were recorded. And finally, the printed context of an incunable edition in a composite volume deserves attention. For many medieval texts and genres, co-transmission in manuscripts (called 'Überlieferungssymbiosen' in German) in manuscripts has already been studied from various perspectives. Printed books have frequently been ignored in this sort of research – partly because of the enormous number of primary sources, but perhaps also as a result of the emphasis placed by librarians on 'bibliographical units' rather than on composite volumes. While the latter were frequently taken physically apart by nineteenth-century librarians in order to allow for a systematic arrangement of the individual books (thereby destroying any systematic arrangement intended by the original owner), most modern electronic library catalogues cannot cope adequately with the volume as a historical unit. Each individual item is catalogued separately, and often only the shelfmark indicates (to the knowledgeable user) that the volume contains more than one edition. At the moment, it is only in mass digitisation projects that a shift away from that approach seems to be taking place – because it is so much more convenient to digitise an entire volume rather than just one bibliographical unit. In BSB-Ink, every item which is bound with an incunable is listed, and the internal hyperlinking now makes it possible to quickly gain an overview of which works were joined in a composite volume. On the basis of this evidence, provenance researchers must draw their own conclusions, for there might have been many reasons for joining items – from merely practical considerations of size and time of purchase to content-related grounds.

It is to be hoped that many of these fields of research will be explored by users of the Munich incunable catalogue, and many additional ones will be discovered. Even though provenance research is still a minority interest among scholars, it is a method with huge potential: now that a large evidential base is becoming available, great insights into cultural history from the fifteenth century onwards are offered. Therefore, librarians should continue to provide tools which make this type of research feasible. Librarians are ideally positioned for this task: it is only they who have direct access to large quantities of primary material, and who also have the detective qualities and broad knowledge necessary to trace and identify even the most inconspicuous indication of provenance.

NOTES

1. *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek: Inkunabelkatalog (BSB-Ink)*. 5 vols. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 1988-2000 (Vol. 1: A – Brev. 1988; Vol. 2: Brey – Gran. 1991; Vol. 3: Gras – Mans. 1993; Vol. 4: Manu – Ricu. 1998; Vol. 5: Rid – Z. 2000).
2. http://www.bsb-muenchen.de/handruck/ink.htm.
3. See also Lotte Hellinga: 'Proof-reading in 1459. The Munich copy of Guillelmus Duranti, *Rationale*.' In: *Ars impressoria. Entstehung und Entwicklung des Buchdrucks. Festgabe für Severin Corsten zum 65. Geburstag*, ed. H. Limburg, H. Lohse, W. Schmitz. München et al., 1986, pp. 183-202.
4. Ludwig Hain: *Repertorium bibliographicum, in quo libri omnes ab arte typographica inventa usque ad annum MD. typis expressi ordine alphabetico vel simpliciter*

enumerantur vel adcuratius recensentur. Stuttgartiae, Lutetiae Parisiorum 1826–1838. Vol. 1,1.2. 2,1.2.

5. Manuscript Access through Standards for Electronic Records; see http://www.cta.dmu.ac.uk/projects/master/index.html.
6. See http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/
7. See Marianne Dörr, Astrid Schoger: 'Inkunabeln im Internet. Ein Digitalisierungsprojekt der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek'. In: *Bibliotheksdienst* (2000), Heft 2, pp. 255-264.
8. http://www.ub.uni-tuebingen.de/pro/kata/inka.php
9. http://db.hist-einband.de/
10. See *Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände in Deutschland*, Bd. 12: Bayern I–R, ed. Eberhard Dünninger et al., Hildesheim, Zürich, New York 1996, p. 29.
11. See http://www.cls.yale.edu/buxheim/
12. *Die Bibliothek Konrad Peutingers. Edition der historischen Kataloge und Rekonstruktion der Bestände. Vol. 1: Die autographen Kataloge Peutingers: Der nicht-juristische Bibliotheksteil*, bearbeitete von Hans-Jörg Künast und Helmut Zäh. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2003 (Die Bibliothek und der handschriftliche Nachlaß Konrad Peutingers, ed. Jochen Brüning, Helmut Gier, Jan-Dirk Müller und Bernhard Schimmelpfennig. Studia Augustana 11,1).
13. See above note 12.

ProvenanceFinder – preparing a search engine for the retrieval of provenance data

JŨRGEN WEBER

SUMMARY

ProvenanceFinder is designed to be an efficient tool of research with free access for everyone who wants to search internet databases for information on provenance.

For the time being, twelve online catalogues in libraries, archives and museums have been designated as target databases. A virtual catalogue comprising these databases which have been analysed regarding contents and structure of provenance entries will be developed. As a research tool a multilingual thesaurus of provenance terms will be offered. In cooperation with Die Deutsche Bibliothek, the Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon and the Koordinierungsstelle für Kulturgutverluste Magdeburg, there are plans to promote and support the feasibility, the public awareness and the internationalisation of the project beyond the area of libraries. The project has not started yet.

WHY PROVENANCE RESEARCH NOW?

Provenance research deals with the origin and the previous ownership of copies, but also with copy-specific use: marginal notes, dedications, and signs of censorship. In Germany, this kind of research has gained significance over the past years in a twofold way.

Collections, as well as copies, contain a multitude of contextual information on their origin, tradition and their use, that has so far attracted little attention in library practice. As a result, this information has quite often been hidden or even lost. Once this information is lost, the same thing will happen to important provenance data. As a rule, we can find this kind of data in accession books and archive records, as well as in the books themselves in the form of labels, stamps, handwritten notes or insertions of all kinds.

Bernhard Fabian's *Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände in Deutschland* has drawn attention to the significance of such contextual information and has consequently changed our approach to collections and copies. The *Handbuch* regards libraries, archives and museums as interfaces and hubs of collections, whose structures give us information about the various regional connections of such institutions.[1] Provenance research makes these connections visible and can thus be considered an important issue of stock exploitation.

The origin and profiles of use of individual copies and entire collections are an important tool for historical and literary studies, for text editions, literary sociology, art history and bindings research. In libraries these profiles serve as a selective criterion for exhibitions and book presentations and they are indispensable when it comes to the assessment of preservation measures. In a broader sense, antiquarians, auction houses, genealogists and bibliophiles also benefit from provenance information.

In Germany, provenance research has been attracting broader public and political interest thanks to the Initiative 'Lost Art Internet Database' of the Koordinierungsstelle für Kulturgutverluste Magdeburg, Germany's central office for the documentation of lost cultural property (http://www.lostart.de). The Koordinierungsstelle has been collecting data on the losses and the changes in ownership of cultural property, that was lost due to prosecution during the National-Socialist rule or due to events during the Second World War. Provenance research has thus increasingly become a field of research where experts and politicians meet directly and benefit from each other's information. These days, the preparation and implementation of restitution projects in Germany make provenance research a topic in which not only librarians with a preference for historical research are interested. Rather, it is becoming obvious that provenance research must refer to any form of cultural property in libraries and that it is a task with a potential for a sudden increase in political and moral significance.

At present, the most important task is to provide access to already existing provenance information and to link it up. It is the retrieval of and the connection to such information that ProvenanceFinder aims to provide. For a better understanding of its operating processes, the method and standards of previous provenance descriptions as well as the techniques and tools used in ProvenanceFinder research are explained below.

PROVENANCE MARKS: DESCRIPTION AND ACCESS

David Pearson's reference handbook *Provenance Research in Book History*[2] is undoubtedly one of the milestones of bibliographical provenance research. According to Pearson, the term provenance is not confined to origin and previous ownership, i.e. the legal relationship of the owner and his copy, it also includes the use of copies. It is against this background that each single copy represents something that it has not yet been seen from the point of view of bibliographical stock exploitation: a physical object and artefact, that – in addition to its format and its size – can also be characterised by a number of individual features. With regard to provenance research, these features, called 'evidences', supply clues to the use and function of the individual copy. The German thesaurus of provenance terms[3] enumerates more than 60 terms for such evidences, the American equivalent[4] nearly 100.

We find various types of evidences on the binding, the edges, on the inside covers of the case and, of course, in the text block of the copies, either in connection with the printed text or on interleaved sheets, and quite often on inserted letters, photographs and newspaper clippings. There are two groups of features that help us reconstruct the origin and profiles of use of individual copies: (1) direct marks of ownership, e.g. autographs, ex libris, coats of arms; (2) and traces of reading and using copies that supply clues to previous owners and can help identify him or her, e.g. annotations, marginal notes, blackened marks and erasures.

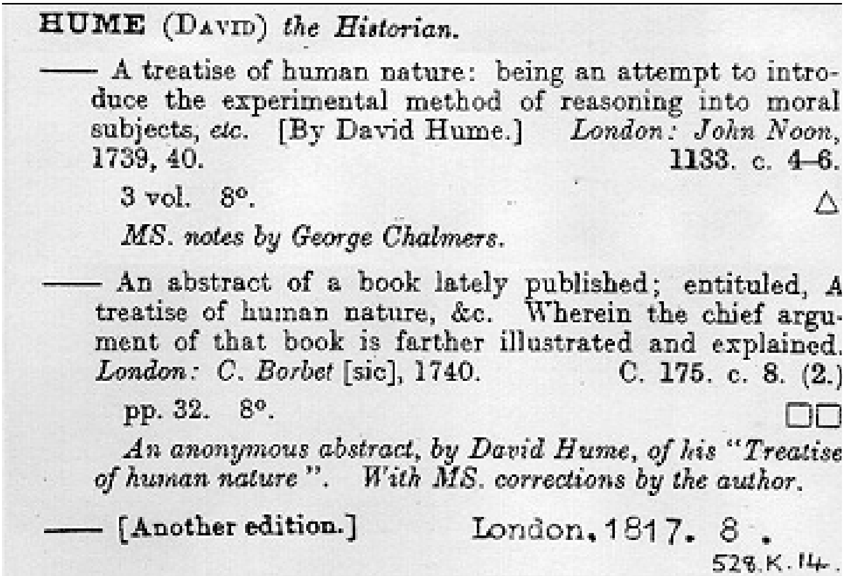
These two groups of features give hints to the type of the copies, i.e. the function of the copies for the previous owner, e.g. withdrawn copies and presentation copies. From the point of view of provenance research, these association copies are the most significant for the identification of the book's intrinsic value because it tells us something about the non-material relationship between previous owner and copy.

However, provenance information is, in general, not easily accessible. There are two reasons for this situation: Until few years ago, there were hardly any bibliographical standards for the description of such copy-specific features, in contrast to bibliographical description and subject indexing. Moreover, even if such information was retrieved and noted as free text in the note area of card or data files, there was no access or research tool to find it.

Consequently, the only hints for the documentation of provenance information could be found, if at all, in bibliographical codes and instructions for the drawing up of author or alphabetical catalogues. Until recently, there were no specific guidelines for the description of copy-specific features. The current editions of the *Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules* (AACR-2) and the *Regeln für die alphabetische Katalogisierung* (RAK-WB) are not appropriately suited for the demands of copy-specific description either. Copy-specific data are normally documented only casually and are not suited for retrieval. The term 'provenance' was introduced in the AACR-2 in 1978, and in the RAK-WB as late as 1993 and this was done rather casually at that.[5]

Neither the old card-based catalogues nor the new EDP-based ones are suited to the representation and communication of copy-specific features of books and other library material.[6]

With MS. corrections by the author: Provenance entry in the British Library General Catalogue of Printed Books to 1975 (clipping)



HUME (DAVID) *the Historian.*

—— A treatise of human nature: being an attempt to introduce the experimental method of reasoning into moral subjects, *etc.* [By David Hume.] *London: John Noon,* 1739, 40. **1133.** c. **4–6.**

3 vol. 8°. △

MS. notes by George Chalmers.

—— An abstract of a book lately published; entituled, A treatise of human nature, &c. Wherein the chief argument of that book is farther illustrated and explained. *London: C. Borbet* [sic], 1740. C. 175. c. 8. (2.)

pp. 32. 8°.

An anonymous abstract, by David Hume, of his "Treatise of human nature". With MS. corrections by the author.

—— [Another edition.] London. 1817. 8 .

528.K.14.

The handling of the notes (whether general or specific), i.e. entries at the bottom of index cards (the note area), is but one example of this problem: On the catalogue cards reproduced in the *British Library General Catalogue of Printed Books to 1975* (1982), copy-specific data are at the end of the actual bibliographic title description, highlighted by a different typography.

Sometimes they give information on previous owners as well as on notes and marginalia of the 'writing reader'. If, during the conversion of the catalogue cards, such entries are transferred to the electronic data record without further qualification, the research of provenance information amounts to the search for a needle in a haystack. Entries that have been drawn up, in German, 'nach Vorlage' or that have been standardised only in part ('With MS. corrections by the author.') can only be evaluated through search requests that combine various searchable fields in a sophisticated way and use tools such as multilingual thesauri with time-consuming routines of synonym- and abbreviation retrieval.

The activities of the Association of College and Research Libraries of the American Library Association and others have brought about some progress in the field of copy-specific description since the middle of the 1980s. Part of this progress has been the development of various thesauri,[7] the establishment of specific cataloguing guidelines[8] and the enlargement of the data format MARC by fields that allow description both at a minimum and a higher level.

Inspired by these initiatives, a model of provenance description has been developed by the Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek under the data format PICA in 1997. This model was published as a 'recommendation for the description of provenance' by the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Alte Drucke at the Gemeinsamen Bibliotheksverbund (GBV) in 2003.[9]

Despite some progress,[10] the possibility most frequently used by scholars to learn about previous owners of books is to inquire personally at the respective library. For the time being, it is impossible to carry out a simultaneous research in databases. This situation is even more unfortunate as book and art collections from literary remains have very often been scattered and the reconstruction of this scattered property depends on the very possibility of carrying out a search.

SERVICES OFFERED BY PROVENANCEFINDER

The future ProvenanceFinder is going to offer an accessible tool for the research of this scattered information which is so important for scholarship and for parts of the public. There is a plan to establish a catalogue that is accessible via the Internet and that can be searched specifically for provenances. The catalogue consists of a combination of selected online-catalogues, that enable external users to get free access to provenance information via the respective OPAC. In addition to local library systems, supraregional catalogues (Manuscripta mediaevalia, Inkunabelkatalog deutscher

Bibliotheken (INKA), Lost Art Internet Database) that combine data from further local catalogues, are also taken into consideration.

Consequently, one single search will initiate indirect queries of provenance information from several hundreds catalogues of libraries, archives and museums.

Connected with the search engine a multilingual thesaurus of provenance terms will form the centre, that will specialise in the query of provenance features in designated target databases. The structure and the terms of the thesaurus have been inspired by the thesaurus *Provenance Evidence*.[11]

There will probably be four search fields offered: previous owner, provenance mark, author/creator, free text.

Searches with the fields 'previous owner' and 'author/creator' will be supported alternatively by databases with authority files for persons and corporate bodies, by adopting certain forms of names from a table with a click on the search field.

Searches with the field 'provenance mark' will be supported by the thesaurus by adopting a certain descriptor and synonyms from a table by clicking on the search field. Tests carried out during the project will help determine if queries can be broadened automatically and if so, by how many synonyms and abbreviations can it be broadened without forcing the user to select them specifically.

The combined search with author- and provenance categories makes sense whenever the author is no longer directly named in the provenance entries, but is rather indirectly mentioned ('With MS. corrections by the author.').

There is a plan to integrate ProvenanceFinder into a portal on provenances. During the preparations of this project a list of links with online resources regarding the subject of provenances has been established http://www.weimar-klassik.de/de/haab/prov_portal.html. In this way, we hope to facilitate the communication between the future users and the cooperative partners and also to make it possible to carry some initial tests.

COOPERATIVE PARTNERS

During the preparations of ProvenanceFinder, the Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek has been collaborating with three partners: The Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, Die Deutsche Bibliothek Frankfurt/M., and the Koordinierungsstelle für Kulturgutverluste Magdeburg / Lost Art Internet Database.

The Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon (www.bm-lyon.fr) has been establishing a provenance database since 2001. In 2002 the libraries in Weimar and in Lyon harmonised the French-German terminology of the thesaurus. For a lot of provenance terms the option of doing research in three languages (English-French-German) was added as early as December 2002.[12] There is a plan to intensify the work on terminology by carrying out further checks during multilingual research of provenance information. The BM Lyon has taken on the task of translating the prospective thesaurus into French.

Die Deutsche Bibliothek Frankfurt/M. (http://www.ddb.de/): There is a plan to support the search for names of previous owners (persons and corporate bodies) with the help of information supplied by the Personennamendatei (PND) and the Gemeinsamen Körperschaftsdatei (GKD). It is true that we will find only the names of famous previous owners in these databases, and it is also true that not every target database registers names in accordance with PND or GKD. However, this supply of information can be used as a kind of 'dictionary' or research tool in accordance with our needs, adapted to the search engine via ProvenanceFinder. It is important for the Deutsche Bibliothek to check the application of the norm data in a new subject matter and technical context. There is a plan to check specifically to what extent PND and GKD are suitable for the search in heterogeneous data, where names are registered in a standardised as well as in an non-standardised form. Furthermore, we will investigate which possibilities exist to improve the suitability of PND and GKD.

The Koordinierungsstelle für Kulturgutverluste Magdeburg / Lost Art Internet Database now cooperates with more than 400 museums, libraries, archives and other public and private institutions all over the world, as well as with many private individuals. The conception and the use of the portal are expected to benefit from the acquired experience in managing information on inquiries and detection of data on previous owners and on objects. It will also benefit from the possibility to help interested institutions and individuals collecting provenance data. It is planned to cooperate on the following tasks:

- Research of provenances registered in a non-standardised way: development and tests of research strategies and their terminology, suitable for finding provenance information, that has been registered heterogeneously in databases and electronic publications.
- Development of a minimum standard for the documentation of provenances: There are plans to supply interested colleagues in museums,

archives and libraries with tools for the retrieval and the description of provenances for Lost Art Internet Database. This measure also aims to standardise technical terms for the documentation of provenances, e.g. owner's annotations, reading dates, sentence structure of dedications.

It was during the preparation of this project that two colloquiums on provenance research were organised and carried out: In 2003 the Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek organised a colloquium *Provenienzforschung für die Praxis. Dokumentation und Recherche von Provenienzen in Bibliotheken (Provenance research in practice. Documentation and research of provenances in libraries)* in cooperation with the Initiative Fortbildung für Spezialbibliotheken und verwandte Einrichtungen e.V. and the Koordinierungsstelle für Kulturgutverluste, Magdeburg in Weimar. In September 2004, there was a follow-up colloquium: *Von der Provenienzforschung zur Restitution geraubten Kulturguts: politischer Wille und praktische Umsetzung (From provenance research to the restitution of looted art – political intention and its implementation)*.[13]

Both conferences have shown that provenance research is being pushed forward by the current political debate on the restitution of looted art. Provenance research will be successful and widely accepted only if it is carried out in a cooperative way. Provenance Finder will be a significant and essential tool to support the search of provenances, but it will also contribute to the international standardisation of provenance documentation.

NOTES

1. *Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände in Deutschland*. Ed. by Bernhard Fabian. Vol. 3. Hildesheim 1992, preface p. 10.
2. David Pearson, *Provenance Research in Book History. A Handbook.* London 1994.
3. Multilingual version under construction: http://www.weimar-klassik.de/de/haab/prov_tpro.html
4. *Provenance Evidence. – Thesaurus for Use in Rare Book and Special Collections Cataloguing*. Prepared by the Standards Committee of the Rare Books and Manuscripts Section (ALA/ACRL), Chicago : Association of College and Research Libraries, 1988.
5. *AACR-2: Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules*. Prepared under the direction of Joint Steering Committee for Revision of AACR. Ed. by Michael Gorman and Paul W. Winkler. 2. ed. Ottawa 1978 (1. ed. 1967). – *RAK-WB: Regeln für die alphabetische Katalogisierung in wissenschaftlichen Bibliotheken*. Erarb. von der Kommission des Deutschen Bibliotheksinstituts für Alphabetische Katalogisierung (bis 1990) und der Expertengruppe RAK des Deutschen Bibliotheksinstituts (seit 1991). Ed. by Kommission des Deutschen Bibliotheksinstituts für Erschließung und Katalogmanagement. 2.ed. Berlin 1993 (1. ed. 1983), 163a.
6. Jürgen Weber, 'The copy in hand' – Ziele und Voraussetzungen

exemplarspezifischer Erschließung. In: *Bibliotheksdienst* 36 (2002) p. 614–624, http://bibliotheksdienst.zlb.de/2002/02_05_06.pdf
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8. The Library Association Rare Books Group, *Guidelines for the Cataloguing of Rare Books*. London 1997.
9. http://aad.gbv.de
10. Monique Hulvey, 'Provenance description and access'. In: *CERL Newsletter* 7, July 2003, p. 3–4, http://www.cerl.org/CERL/Newsletter7.pdf. – Jürgen Weber, 'Provenance information: steps towards cooperative recording and indexing'. In: *IFLA Newsletter. Section on Rare Books and Manuscripts*, Winter 2003. p. 6–8. http://www.ifla.org/VII/s18/pubs/winter03.pdf – Jürgen Weber, ‚Kooperative Provenienzerschließung'. In*: Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie*, 51 (2004) p. 239–245. – The description of provenance can be funded along with other cataloguing projects by Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG): ‚Mitteilungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft'. In: *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie* 48 (2001), p. 283.
11. *Provenance Evidence. – Thesaurus for Use in Rare Book and Special Collections Cataloguing*. Prepared by the Standards Committee of the Rare Books and Manuscripts Section (ALA/ACRL), Chicago 1988. – Deborah J. Leslie, Folger Shakespeare Library Washington, has offered the support of the Bibliographic Standards Committee of the Rare Books and Manuscripts Section for the works on the thesaurus.
12. http://sgedh.si.bm-lyon.fr/dipweb2/apos/possesseurs.htm and http://www.weimar-klassik.de/media/dokumente/Lyon-BM_2003.pdf
13. Texts and reports: http://www.initiativefortbildung.de/html/schlaglichter.html

Cataloguing the Fort Augustus collections: provenance in theory and practice

HELEN VINCENT

The history of the ownership of a book has traditionally been of interest primarily to those who acquire books and document their ownership – that is, to libraries and collectors. Their interest in provenance has often been selective: for collectors, a book may be prized for its links with the author of a work, or the mark of ownership of a famous private library.[1] Writing in 1979, Robert Nikirk, then Librarian of the Grolier Club, said, 'it must be stressed that a *distinguished* pedigree is the only sort that counts. It is pointless to record in catalogues or boast about a string of previous owners who are today unknown as collectors or historical figures of note'.[2]

From the point of view of libraries, there has always been another, more practical reason for only recording Nikirk's 'distinguished' provenances. Originally libraries could only provide manual indexes to provenance, usually arranged either by the kind of provenance, such as armorial bindings, or by the name of the owner. This of course requires that there be a provenance classifiable by type or date, or with a name to index. What cannot be recorded in these indexes is provenance information that cannot be thus classified: names that are only partially decipherable; evidence that at one time a bookplate existed but it has been removed. This paper will discuss why it matters to record the obscure, the indecipherable, the fragmentary and even the incomprehensible evidence of provenance, and how making full use of the possibilities available in MARC (Machine Readable Cataloguing) for noting this information enables this kind of recording to be achieved.

In recent years, scholarly interest has grown in wider subjects than the documentation of ownership – in the *histoire du livre*, and 'sociology of texts', to use Donald McKenzie's phrase. The encounter between reader and text, and the book as material object, have been examined on a more sociological level than that of the traditional study of individual provenances. This can be illustrated by the treatment of these subjects in the authoritative *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*: both volumes published so far contain separate chapters on what *CHOB* vol. iv calls 'collections and ownership' and 'reading and use'.[3] While study of the traditional aspect of 'ownership' is still necessary, it is no longer true that provenance is only of interest when it documents the talismanic association of a book with a noteworthy individual. This shift of research interest from ownership to readership, audiences, and the circulation of texts, must affect how libraries record the marks in books.

Today researchers do not consult library finding-aids solely with a view to discovering specific names or types of ownership marks. Instead they are looking both for more general information – books owned by classes of people such as women or students – and for more particular details such as whether an owner has annotated their copy, or marked a book with lines or pointers which cannot be easily transcribed. How far should a provenance field include this kind of information? How can it be retrieved from the catalogue?

In cataloguing the Fort Augustus collection, we were able to make use of the possibilities MARC21 affords for recording provenance. MARC fields allow for provenance to be recorded in two different ways. One is the use of the 700 field, indexed by personal name, to record 'added entries' (as this field is labelled in our catalogue's online display), for instance owners or binders; there is also a 710 field which can be used to record institutional owners. These fields can also be used to record persons such as editors and translators, and there is a subfield $e, for 'relator terms', which uses a controlled vocabulary to explain these persons' functions. The other is the 561 field, (labelled 'Provenance' in our online display, and officially entitled 'ownership and custodial history'), a free-text field in which can be entered any available information about provenance. In the National Library of Scotland, as in many other English-language institutions, these entries aim to use the controlled vocabulary of the American Association of College and Research Libraries' *Provenance Evidence Thesaurus*. A keyword search on the library catalogue can retrieve items which contain the looked-for word in any of these fields. Thus it is possible to search for a first name, or for keywords such as 'inscription'.[4]

The obvious point is that not all the information included in the 561 field needs to be indexed in any other field, such as the 700 field, since it can be retrieved by a keyword search. From the cataloguer's point of view, therefore, it is possible to include information which is not capable of being indexed elsewhere. We do not need always to research the details necessary for a full identification of a name, or include only information whose significance we fully understand. Where once we might have recorded only what we could interpret, and therefore index, it is now possible to record more and interpret less.

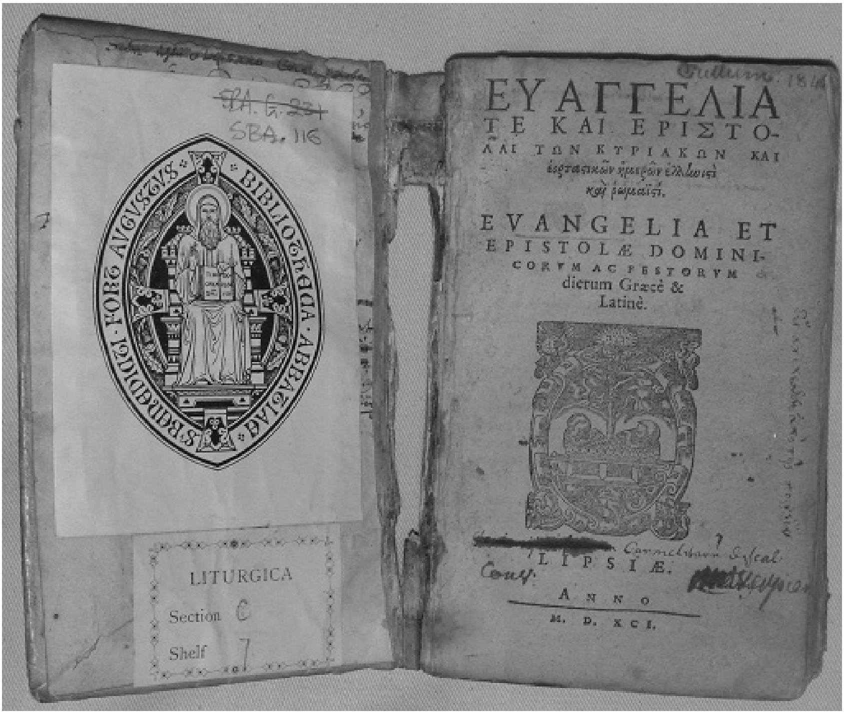
There follow some examples of how this was applied in cataloguing the Fort Augustus collection. First of all, the record for a parallel-text Greek and Latin lectionary printed in Leipzig in 1591.[5] In itself, this book is not a particularly exciting example of a sixteenth-century religious text. What makes it interesting is that this copy has been annotated throughout, with Latin poetry and Greek inscriptions on the available space at the front and back of the book. However, there are problems with two crucial pieces of evidence in identifying who might have made these annotations. In two places where an owner might have written his name, early inscriptions have been obscured – on the title page, they have been overwritten, and on the front pastedown obscured by an early bookplate (Fig. 1). On page 201 a name does appear but it was not completely legible to the cataloguer. The record simply transcribes this information, as much as could be deciphered at the moment of cataloguing, in the 561 field, in its incomplete and fragmentary state:

PROVENANCE: Inscription on p. 201: Sum Stephani [.]o[m]be[ss?] Libri AD 1611. With manuscript Latin poetry and Greek inscriptions on rear endpapers, title page, and front pastedown (obscured by later bookplate), and annotations throughout in (the same?) contemporary secretary hand; some title page inscriptions blotted and written over by a later inscription; inscription on title page: Cullum. 1840.; Fort Augustus Library bookplate on front pastedown; Library pressmark label: Liturgica C7.

Those who manage cataloguing operations will be familiar with the demands of organising this kind of cataloguing – with the need to lay down rules for how much time should be spent in working on each individual item, and how much detail is needed. Thanks to the 561 field, a cataloguer can spend this time recording what lies before them, rather than undertaking a comprehensive investigation to identify previous owners. This is not to say that the owner's name is unimportant but evidence of his reading of the book, or the inscriptions surrounding it, may well prove to be far more worthy of study.

In a finding-aid system which depends on indexes, would this information be lost? Without a name to hang the annotations on, how would their presence be transmitted? Here, it has been possible to record this

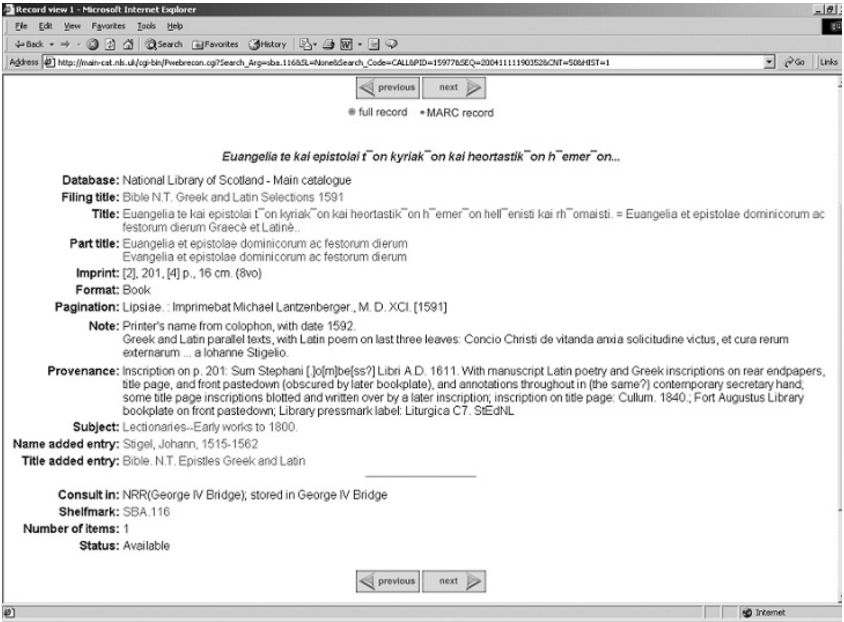
Fig. 1. *Evangelia et epistolae dominicorum ac festorum dierum Graecè et Latinè*, (Leipzig: Michael Lantzenberger, 1591). National Library of Scotland, shelfmark SBA.116.



information in its incompleteness, as the catalogue record (Fig. 2) shows. A researcher investigating sixteenth-century 'manuscript annotations' in Latin and Greek, for instance, would be able to discover the existence of this item. Having retrieved this field through a keyword search, an expert in the field might have the background knowledge and the time, both of which are not always available to cataloguers to unravel the confused elements of this book's history.

To take another example, anyone who has ever tried to decipher handwriting will be familiar with the experience whereby knowing what some of the words must be enables the rest of text to leap into focus. But with ownership inscriptions, sometimes this does not help with transcribing the actual name. There may not be sufficient repetition of the letters used in the inscription to enable the name to be decoded, and the actual signature can depart considerably from an owner's normal hand. In the Fort Augustus collection are several volumes which were offered to the library of Fort Augustus by an inhabitant of Malta.[6] So far so good, but the crucial information of this donor's name was illegible to the cataloguer.

Fig. 2. National Library of Scotland online catalogue record for SBA.116. (Images by permission of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland.)



Record view 1 - Microsoft Internet Explorer

http://main-cat.nls.uk/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?Search_Arg=sba.116&SL=None&Search_Code=CALL&PID=15977&SEQ=20041111190352&CNT=50&HIST=1

previous | next

full record • MARC record

Euangelia te kai epistolai t¯on kyriak¯on kai heortastik¯on h¯emer¯on...

Database: National Library of Scotland - Main catalogue
Filing title: Bible N.T. Greek and Latin Selections 1591
Title: Euangelia te kai epistolai t¯on kyriak¯on kai heortastik¯on h¯emer¯on hell¯enisti kai rh¯omaisti. = Euangelia et epistolae dominicorum ac festorum dierum Graecè et Latinè..
Part title: Euangelia et epistolae dominicorum ac festorum dierum
Evangelia et epistolae dominicorum ac festorum dierum
Imprint: [2], 201, [4] p., 16 cm. (8vo)
Format: Book
Pagination: Lipsiae. : Imprimebat Michael Lantzenberger., M. D. XCI. [1591]
Note: Printer's name from colophon, with date 1592.
Greek and Latin parallel texts, with Latin poem on last three leaves: Concio Christi de vitanda anxia solicitudine victus, et cura rerum externarum ... a Iohanne Stigelio.
Provenance: Inscription on p. 201: Sum Stephani [.]o[m]be[ss?] Libri A.D. 1611. With manuscript Latin poetry and Greek inscriptions on rear endpapers, title page, and front pastedown (obscured by later bookplate), and annotations throughout in (the same?) contemporary secretary hand; some title page inscriptions blotted and written over by a later inscription; inscription on title page: Cullum. 1840.; Fort Augustus Library bookplate on front pastedown; Library pressmark label: Liturgica C7. StEdNL
Subject: Lectionaries--Early works to 1800.
Name added entry: Stigel, Johann, 1515-1562
Title added entry: Bible. N.T. Epistles Greek and Latin

Consult in: NRR(George IV Bridge); stored in George IV Bridge
Shelfmark: SBA.116
Number of items: 1
Status: Available

previous | next

Again, it is easy to record this information in a free-text field as 'offered by [unreadable] of Malta'. This provides a marker to the existence of provenance information that can be more fully explored at a later time, and this partially-uncovered information is shared with anyone who consults the Library's catalogue, rather than perhaps only being available to staff in a behind-the-scenes file of 'provenance items to be further explored when we have the time'.

To some librarians, this partial transcription, which does not provide full information about who these people were, may seem incomplete and unsuitable to put out in the public domain. Should we not have a responsibility only to give our readers information which is as full and clear as possible? The problem with this approach is that we are then, as librarians, limiting readers' information so that they only know, in effect, what we know, when in the case of provenance information in particular, they may be in a far better position to make sense of what we cannot make sense of ourselves. It is also to limit the library's own collective intelligence about its own books: information which, known at the moment of book-in-hand cataloguing, may if unrecorded be forgotten once the book is replaced on the shelf. The information in catalogue records can always be improved, but what if it is not known that there is something there to improve in the first place?

My own experience of researching particular owners of books and circulation of texts has led me to believe in the advantages of the library recording everything, even incomplete and partial information. If what you want to know is that *anyone* has read a particular book, you don't start from name indexes but look for any scrap of information about marks in the book. But I am glad to note that other librarians also argue for this approach: Judith A. Overmier and Elaine M. Doak, writing in 1996, advocate that 'provenance records should be made for all names . . . even those that are illegible, since visiting experts might eventually identify those for the library. The difficulty of knowing which individuals or institutions will be of scholarly import in the future is paralleled by the difficulty of knowing which provenance formats will be of future research interest'.[7]

These principles and their application provided the framework in which we catalogued the provenances of this collection. Now I would like to discuss one specific group of these provenances, to show how the full transcription of provenance details not fully interpreted, in the way I have described, can prove useful to the person who comes to the catalogue looking for provenance information.

BOOKS OWNED BY WOMEN IN THE FORT AUGUSTUS COLLECTION

The history of the book and the study of provenance have traditionally been primarily focused on men. Firstly, there is simply less evidence about women as book owners and readers, owing largely to the culture surrounding books as material property. The actual process of buying a book took place in a male-dominated marketplace, as did the commissioning of marks of ownership such as bindings and bookplates. Inside the home, where a library existed, it was the gentleman's room, and the books in it, like other domestic property, were legally the property of the male head of the household.[8] This means that with some notable exceptions, the history of libraries and collections is *de facto* the history of male ownership.[9]

The second reason is a practical one. From the point of view of those who investigate provenance (and in the context of cataloguing, there is rarely time available to research unpublished archival sources), the kinds of reference sources used to find out about owners are heavily weighted in favour of men. They can be found in lists of university alumni, of professions, of army, navy or state officers. Women can usually only be found through records or histories of their families, and, since they change their names on marriage, can be more difficult to trace. So documenting who exactly the women were who left marks on books can sometimes be an impossible task.

From our first involvement with the Fort Augustus collection, I was intrigued by the presence in the Abbey library of books with marks of female ownership. In a library assembled by monks, the names of women owners stand out; but what can these books tell us about female ownership, and about the transmission of books between the female and male spaces where books were read and owned? There are some 22 works in the collection which have evidence of female ownership (a full list is given in the Appendix; they will be identified by shelfmark in the rest of this paper). Out of a total of 543 works, this is a small number, certainly too small to produce conclusions about the ownership and reading habits of women in general, or Catholic women in particular, but these individual cases offer interesting lights on women as owners and givers of books.

Unsurprisingly, most of these books with female provenance are religious works. Fifteen are works used in Catholic private devotions: liturgical texts such as Books of Hours, devotional manuals and collections of prayers. Of the rest, one is a life of St Jerome (SBA.111), one a life of St Bridget of Sweden (SBA.373), and one a copy of the Church of England Book of Homilies (SBA.683). Only four works cannot be classified as religious: one is a fine eighteenth-century edition of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* (SBA.633–4); one an Italian dictionary, not from the same owner (SBA.585–6); the two remaining items are on timber (SBA.628–9) and natural history (SBA.656). Most date from the eighteenth century, six are earlier, and two from the early nineteenth century.[10] In terms of the whole scope of the collection, this is a relatively small range of dates and of subject matter.

Most of these books are, unsurprisingly in English. Four are in French, three in Italian, and four in Latin. Interestingly, while the four Latin books passed through women's hands, they did so mostly as gifts. For example, an Office of the Virgin Mary, printed by the Plantin press in 1677, was given to 'Charles Bodenham from his Sisters of the Visitation; Aunts Mary and Clara Weld of Lichworth' (SBA.1). A tiny volume suitable for pocket devotion, it would have been a highly suitable present from aunts who were nuns of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary. However, this gift records family history as much as devotion. It was originally given by Irene Bodenham to Mary Weld, presumably the 'Aunt Mary' of the inscription, in 1888. A Weld sister had married into the Bodenham family, and this book marks a relationship between the two families other than that of kinship by marriage – that of a shared religious life.[11]

Another Latin book given as a gift from a woman to a male religious was a life of St Jerome, dated 1646, with an inscription that the book was given to 'The very Revd Prior Jerome Vaughan O.S.B with the grateful regards of Mrs Hutchison. 1876.' (SBA.111). Did the antiquity and Latinity of these books make them specially appropriate presents between the sexes, especially those in orders and those not? And in the case of Mrs Hutchison, did these characteristics balance her 'grateful regards' with a respectable distance from intimacy?

What the Latin books have in common with the English ones is the way in which these women marked their ownership. They did not, it seems, use bookplates or bindings, the two sources of provenance information traditionally beloved of the collector. Not one of these books contains a bookplate or armorial binding for a female owner or indeed for her family. These women's 'ownership' of their books operated outside the sphere of the family book collection. Instead of using any familial marks of ownership, these women inscribed their names in their books – a simple operation requiring only a pen, not commercial instructions to binder or engraver.

Secondly, few of these marks of possession date from the time of the publication of the book; in fact only one, *The Natural History of Oxford-Shire* by Robert Plot (1677), has an inscription dated within fifteen years of publication: 'Dorothy Pickering 1679' (SBA.656). The facts of inscription and dating are particularly of interest to the group of books which I will conclude by discussing: the devotional books. Most of the devotional books were in women's hands anywhere between 20 and 100 years after they were printed. These devotional works were still circulating long after publication, illustrating how the religious pieties of earlier decades survived in female hands. This kind of information can be as helpful to historians as data about the publication of books in investigating religious continuities and changes.

Most of these devotional books are not the sort of items which would attract the attention of the collector: they are badly printed, in poor condition, and bound mostly in plain calf. They are conventional pious works, turned out in numerous editions by Catholic presses in London, Dublin and Europe: *The Devout Communicant* by Pacificus Baker (SBA.87), for instance, has nine editions listed in the bibliography *English Catholic Books 1701–1800*.[12] However, as is often the case, it is copies of such popular texts which do not always survive. One of these books, an edition of *Bona Mors: or the Art of Dying Happily* . . . (SBA.29), was previously unrecorded in the English Short Title Catalogue, and Blom records only one located copy, at Downside Abbey.[13] This copy was in female hands at an early stage: an inscription by Christina Weld, dated 1835, says that 'This book belonged to my dear GrandMamma'. Christina gave this book to Edmund Weld, from whom it passed into the Weld family books donated to Fort Augustus. If this copy, otherwise unknown, had not been transferred to male ownership, would it have survived?

Another edition of *Bona Mors* (SBA.37) has a similar history of female transmission. Three women wrote their names on the engraved frontispiece, and one on the title page. Two of these women definitely owned the book: 'Brigitt Bloundell her book' and 'Mary Hedley her book' (this last on the title page). We are less certain about the others: Mary Gerard and Catherine Walmsley simply wrote their names. Were they owners, or what was their relationship with this text? Catherine Walmsley has not even been clear about the spelling of her surname, trying it three times with an extra 'e' in the middle and three times without.

None of these books contains much evidence of use, in terms of annotations or marks indicating text of interest. However perhaps such evidence exists in the two single sheets found with a copy of Pacificus Baker's *The Devout Communicant* (SBA.87), inscribed by a 'Margaret Moss', dated 1808. This book contains one single sheet engraving of the resurrection, and one single sheet with 'A Prayer to the Blessed Virgin' printed on it. There is also a piece of paper which is a receipt for butter, made out to a Miss Alcock of Warrington; while the other two items may be a combination of devotional aids and bookmarks, this receipt is a more homely sign of use in daily life. However, the passing of time and the changes of ownership mean that it is impossible to say anything about what Margaret Moss, or Miss Alcock, or another owner was choosing to mark.

The only one of these marks of ownership which does assert the devotional life behind the female owner comes from an inscription written by a monk at Ratisbon in an edition of Augustine Baker's *The Holy Practices of a Devine Lover* (SBA.25), a book which, as its dedication to the Abbess of the English Monastery of Our Ladies of Comfort in Cambrai makes clear, was intended as a spiritual manual for nuns. This inscription documents not only the use of the book as the author intended, by an English nun in a continental convent, but also the spiritual life shared by male and female religious communities, and the links between English-speaking religious of both sexes forced to exercise their calling abroad: 'This book belonged to Mother Terese an English Urseline at Landshuet and was sent to Abbot Flemming after her death 1700; she was a good religiouse . . . pray for her soul'.

These devotional books have provenance histories just as important as some of the more traditionally noteworthy items in the Fort Augustus collection, such as that presented by Lord Linton, son of the Earl of Traquair, to the monastery at Ratisbon.[14] It can be argued from inscriptions of this sort that books of private devotion such as the *Holy Practices of a Devine Lover*, or the *Rosary's of the B. Virgin Mary* belonged to women, and were acquired, used and passed on by them in private spaces outside their family library. But the chain of ownership here seems to reveal that what made these copies survive was that eventually they passed out of the hands of women and into the hands of men, into the kind of family collection, library, or institution that for so long was taken as the only area of provenance worthy of record.

Cataloguing the Fort Augustus Collection with the attention to provenance described here formed a substantial project involving approximately one-fifth of the time of two curators for a period of 18 months. I hope what we have revealed about the approach we took to recording provenance – of transcribing as fully as possible, even down to the bookplates of the Abbey Library, and of including the kinds of fragmentary information mentioned above – shows that it was a valid one. The stories given here about individual books are available on our online catalogue: knowledge of the provenances of this collection is not confined to the select few who catalogued it but is accessible to anyone inside or outside the library. What we have been telling you today is not about divulging our privileged and esoteric knowledge, but about showing the possibilities that await anyone who comes to our Library catalogue looking for information about anything from the connections between a Scottish monastery in Germany and the 'home country' during the eighteenth century, to neo-Latin poetry in manuscript, to nineteenth-century exchanges of books as gifts between women.

APPENDIX: BOOKS IN THE FORT AUGUSTUS COLLECTION WITH FEMALE PROVENANCE

All female provenance information is included here; other provenance details are given selectively.

SBA.1 *Officium B. Mariae Virg.: Nuper Reformatum, & Pii V. Pont. Max. Iussu Editum*. Antwerp: Ex officina Plantiniana, 1677.
Inscriptions on verso of front free endpaper: 'Charles Bodenham from his Sisters of the Visitation; Aunts Mary and Clara Weld of Lichworth.' 'From Irene Bodenham to Mary Weld, Novr. 1888.'

SBA.14 *Heures Nouvelles, dediées à Monseigneur le Prince Royal*. Nancy: Jean-Baptiste Cusson, 1728.
Inscription on recto of front binder's leaf: 'Mary Hughes given me by Mrs Nollascote'.

SBA.25 Augustine Baker: *The Holy Practices of a Devine Lover, or the Sainctly Ideots Devotions*. Paris: Lewis de la Fosse, 1657.
Inscription on verso of front free endpaper: 'This book belonged to Mother Terese an English Urseline at Landeshuet and was sent to Abbot Flemming after her death 1700 ; she was a good religiouse and when Superior send severall things to our Church. Pray for her soul.'; inscription on title page: 'Mon[aster]ij S. Jacobi Scotorum Ratisbonae 1700'.

SBA.29 *Bona Mors: or, the Art of Dying Happily in the Congregation of Jesus Christ Crucified, and of his Condoling Mother, to which is annexed the Rosary of Our Blessed Lady*. London: J. P. Coghlan, 1777.
Inscriptions on front pastedown: 'Christina Weld Decbr. 1835. This book belonged to my dear GrandMamma'; 'Edmund Weld ex dono CMW 1837'

SBA.37 *Bona Mors: or, the Art of Dying Happily . . . the ninth edition*. London: Thomas Meighan, 1754.
Inscription on title page: 'Mary hedley her book July 7 1771'; inscriptions in three different hands on recto of sig. A2: 'Brigitt Bloundell her book. Mary Gerard. Catherine Walmsley [repeated several times using different spellings]'

SBA.50 *Heures de Rouen en Latin et en Francois*. Rouen: François Oursel, 1738.
Inscriptions on recto of front free endpaper: 'W. de Rouillon 1837'; 'Emelie de Rouillon Ded.3–43'.

SBA.71 Pierre Marie: *La Science du Crucifix, en Forme de Méditation*. Paris: Didot, 1783.
Inscription on title page: 'Teresa Mary Vaughan'.

SBA.87 Pacificus Baker: *The Devout Communicant: or, Spiritual Entertainments Before and After Communion*. London: J. P. Coughlan, 1794.
Inscription on front free endpaper: 'Margaret Moss her book 1808'.

SBA.104 Thomas Lawson: *The Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus*. Bruges: Joseph van Praet, 1765.
Inscriptions on front pastedown: 'Fred A. Weld July 1840 from Kit'; 'Mena A. Weld from Fred March 1859'.

SBA.111 Petrus Adrianus van den Broecke: *Vita Beatissimis Patris Hieronymi Heroico, Elegaico, alioque Carmine Expressa*. Bologna: Carolus Zeneri, 1646.
Inscription on front free endpaper: 'The very Revd Prior Jerome Vaughan O.S.B. with the grateful regards of Mrs Hutchison. 1876.'

SBA.188 Edmund Burke: *The Rosary's of the B. Virgin Mary, and of the Most H. Name of Jesus Re-Printed*. Louvain (Dublin?): Apud Aegidium Denique, 1725.
Inscription on front free endpaper: 'Ellen Feeling 1797'.

SBA.226 *The Office of the Holy Week According to the Roman Missal and Breviary*. London: T. Meighan, 1729.
Inscription on back pastedown: 'John Seuly, April 13, 1829'; inscription on back endpaper: 'Elizabeth Lawson her book Feb'ary the 25 1846'.

SBA.301 *The Primer or Office of the B. Virgin Mary, to which are added a New & Improved Version of the Church-Hymns, and the remaining Hymns of the Roman Breviary.* Dublin: R. Cross, 1803?
Inscription on front free endpaper: 'Eliza William Edinburgh 1827'.

SBA.341 *Breviarium Sacrarum Virginum Ordinis SS. Salvatoris, vulgo S. Birgittae, Horas Deiparae Virginis, per Ferias Distributas Continens.* Landeshut: Simon Golowiz, 1697.
Inscription on recto of front free endpaper: 'Presented by the Lady Abbess of Altomünster, at the request of the Lady Abbess of Syon Abbey, Chudleigh, S. Devon, Easter 1903'.

SBA.308–9 Richard Challoner: *Considerations upon Christian Truths and*

Christian Duties Digested into Meditations for Every Day in the Year. S.l., s.n., 1767.
Inscription on title page: 'Frances Bodenham'.

SBA.373 Johannes Justus Lansperger: *Vita della B. Vergine Gertruda*, translated by Vicenzo Buondi. Venice: Gio. Battista Colosini, 1589.
Inscription on title page: 'Catherine Englefield'; inscription on recto of front free endpaper: 'From Br. Basil Weld, 1893'.

SBA.431 *Breviarium Monasticum de Mandato Pauli V. Summi Pontificis Editum*. Einsiedeln: Johann Eberhard Kälin, 1756.
Inscription on flyleaf of vol. 1: 'Cum Compactura, et adiecto Diurnali pro 25 fl. Yapparaverunt Fr. Benedicto parentes Petrus Puchner, et Clara Puchnerin 1793'.

SBA.585–6 Giuseppe Baretti: *A Dictionary of the English and Italian Languages*.
London: C. Hitch *et al*, 1760.
Inscription on recto of front free endpaper, vol. 2: 'Margaret Irvine 1763'.

SBA.628–9 John Evelyn: *Silva: or, A Discourse of Forest-Trees, and the Propagation of Timber in His Majesty's Dominions*. York: T. Wilson and R. Spence, 1801.
Inscription on recto of first binder's leaf: 'Elizabeth B. Hill'.

SBA.656 Robert Plot: *The Natural History of Oxford-Shire, being an Essay toward the Natural History of England*. Oxford: At The Theatre, 1677.
Inscription on recto of front free endpaper: 'Dorothy Pickering her booke 1679'; bookplate of Thomas Weld, Lulworth Castle on front pastedown.

SBA.633–4 Torquato Tasso: *Il Goffredo, ovvero Gersualemme Liberata*. Venice: Antonio Groppo, 1760–61.
Inscription on half title of each volume: 'Elizabeth Wanehope from her affect. Helen Blackburn'; inscription on recto of front free endpaper, vol. 1: 'from Lady Hunter Blair, 1895'.

SBA.683 *Certain Sermons or Homillies Appointed to be Read in Churches in the Time of Queen Elizabeth of Famous Memory*. London: A. Bettesworth *et al*, 1726.
Inscription on last blank leaf: 'Isabella McDonald Hir Book 13th May 1808'.

NOTES

1. See John Feather's entry on provenance in *A Dictionary of Book History*, (London: Croom Helm, 1986) p. 222.
2. Robert Nikirk, 'Looking into Provenance', in *A Miscellany for Bibliophiles*, ed. H. George Fletcher, (New York: Grastorf and Lang, 1979), p.15.
3. Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp, eds.: *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain vol. 3: 1440–1557* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); D. F. McKenzie and John Barnard, *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain vol. 4:1557–1695*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
4. Similarly bindings can be recorded in the free-text 563 field, indexed in the 655 field, and are fully keyword-searchable.
5. *Evangelia et epistolae dominicorum ac festorum dierum Graecè et Latinè*, (Leipzig: Michael Lantzenberger, 1591). Shelfmark SBA.116.
6. These books are: Giovanni Francesco Abela: *Della descrittione di Malta, isola nel Mare Siciliano* . . . (Malta: Paolo Bonacota, 1647), SBA.631; Filippo Buonanni, *Ordinum religiosorum in ecclesia militanti catalogus* . . . (Rome: Antonius de Rubeis, 1706), SBA.547–548; Pietro Giacomo Bacci: *Vita di S. Filippo Neri* . . . (Rome: Bernabò e Lazzerini, 1745), SBA.559.
7. Judith A. Overmier and Elaine M. Doak, 'Provenance Records in Rare Book and Special Collections', *Rare Books and Manuscripts Librarianship* xi (2), 1996, 91–99, p.97.
8. For discussions of this question see Maureen Bell, *CHOB* iv, 444–451, and Jacqueline Pearson, *Women Reading in Britain 1750–1855* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), who mentions female spaces for book circulation such as circulating libraries, p.160–169.
9. For a discussion both of the problems of identifying women as owners, and of an exception to the rule in the library of the Countess of Bridgewater, see Heidi Brayman Hackel, 'The Countess of Bridgewater's London Library', in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England*, eds. Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp.138–159.
10. However, the bulk of the dated provenances are from the nineteenth century, with only three dating from before 1701 and four from the eighteenth century.
11. Like SBA.308–9, inscribed 'Frances Bodenham', this book must have come to the Fort Augustus Library through the Weld family, whose donations to the collection are described by Anette Hagan in her paper.
12. F. Blom *et al*, *English Catholic Books 1701–1800: A Bibliography* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), pp.15–16.
13. Blom, *English Catholic Books*, p.34. Now reported to ESTC, this item has not yet (January 2005) been given an ESTC number.
14. Robert Keith: *The History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Thomas and Walter Ruddiman, 1734), SBA.742.

The library collections at St Benedict's Abbey, Fort Augustus

ANETTE HAGAN

The Fort Augustus Collection at the National Library of Scotland comes from the library of St Benedict's Abbey at Fort Augustus on the western shore of Loch Ness, which was dissolved in 1999. In 2000 the National Library of Scotland took into its collections 13 manuscripts and 543 printed books in 759 volumes from the Abbey Library with the help of a generous grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund. This collection is naturally strong in theological, patristic, devotional and liturgical works, and in the controversies of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation periods. Scarcely less impressive is the range of purely secular material. It includes volumes of English and French literature and history, Enlightenment texts, travel and exploration, architectural works and finely illustrated books.

Cataloguing the 759 printed volumes revealed indirectly through provenance marks in many volumes the evolution of the Abbey Library collection. Ownership stamps, bookplates and inscriptions together with acquisition dates in a great number of volumes tell us much about the collection development of the Abbey Library.

This paper deals with the books and collections which were gathered over a period of 800 years and finally came to the Abbey Library; some of the major benefactors of the collections; and some of the most intriguing and interesting items.

St Benedict's Abbey at Fort Augustus was the successor of two older Benedictine foundations in Germany, one English and the other Scottish. The first was the Abbey of Saints Adrian and Denys at Lamspring in Hanover. It was founded by English monks in 1645 and secularised in 1803. Thirteen books came indirectly from Lamspring to the Abbey Library. Seven of them have two provenance marks: the handwritten inscription which, often abbreviated, reads in full: 'Liber Monasterij Lambspringensis Ordinis St Benedicti Congregationis Anglicanae', as well as the stamp 'Mon.

SS. Adr. & Dion'. Four have only the Abbey of Saints Adrian & Denys stamp, while two bear only the Lamspring monastery provenance inscription. The books from Lamspring include The Rule of St Benedict,[1] a history of the Council of Trent[2] and a Latin Bible,[3] as well as a church history of Brittany.[4]

The second Benedictine foundation was the Scottish Abbey of St James at Ratisbon, the so-called *Schottenkloster* in Regensburg in Bavaria. St James at Ratisbon was founded by the Irish Benedictine monk Marianus Scotus (d. 1080) in 1074. Marianus belonged to the famous MacRobartaighs from Donegal. One of the manuscript treasures in the Fort Augustus Collection is a volume of patristic texts (Acc.11218/1) which contains in Marianus's hand the earliest written Gaelic words to be found currently in any work held in Scotland. The best part of this manuscript was written by Marianus himself in 1080 in Regensburg.

Until around the sixteenth century *Scotia major* denoted Ireland, not Scotland: *Scoti* was used synonymously with *Hibernici*. Hence, *Schottenklöster* (Scots or Scottish monasteries) is used as a cover term for the ten Benedictine monasteries founded in Germany by Gaelic-speaking *miseri peregrini*, friars from Ireland, in the Middle Ages. Possibly by a deliberate misunderstanding of the name *Schottenkloster*, some of these monasteries came into the hands of expatriate Scottish monks in the early sixteenth century. So also in 1515, an Apostolic brief by Pope Leo X ensured that St James at Ratisbon passed into the hands of the Scottish Benedictines.

By the 1570s, the condition of the Scottish monastery at Regensburg was one of decline and decay. The Jesuits were keen to take it over, but a decision was reached in 1577 that it was to remain with the Scottish Benedictines. Only one professed monk and one novice constituted the community then. In the same year, Ninian Winzet (1518–1592), formerly the confessor of Mary Queen of Scots, was consecrated Abbot of St James. Now the Abbey entered into a more prosperous phase. It focused its activities mainly on pastoral care, but it also started catering for the education of young Scots. In the first year of his office (1577–1592) Ninian Winzet acquired Bede's Anglo-Saxon Law[5] for the library. Most importantly, the St James Abbey now became a refuge for all exiled Scots Catholics, not just Benedictines. During his time as abbot, Ninian Winzet turned St James into one of the bases from which the mission of reconverting Scotland to Catholicism might be begun.

About a hundred years later under the leadership of Abbot Placidus Fleming (1672–1720) the Abbey Library was expanded considerably. In

1690 Placidus Fleming had a catalogue of the library holdings at St James made. It listed 2,400 volumes, 880 of which had been procured by Placidus Fleming himself over a period of nearly forty years, from 1681 to 1719. One of the items he acquired was a 1644 copy of Knox's *History of the Reformation*.[6] A text on canon law[7] was brought by Fleming from Italy; as the inscription on the title page[8] tells us, he had originally received it as a gift from Abbot Roberto Torta of St Justina's Monastery in Padua. Over the coming years, the Benedictine monks under Abbot Placidus Fleming were to make significant additions to the collection, attracting gifts from a variety of sources. Among them was a copy of Patrick Abercromby's *The Martial Atchievements of the Scots*, presented to the Abbey by the author with an inscription[9] in the year of publication, 1711.

In 1713 Abbot Placidus Fleming founded a small institute, the forerunner of the Scots Colleges, to educate young Scots to become future members of the Order. This mission seminary was established for young Scots intending to be educated at Regensburg and then to return to Scotland and further the cause of the Counter-Reformation. Dom Bernard Baillie became the first principal of this Scots College. He eventually succeeded Placidus Fleming as Abbot of St James. During Abbot Bernard Baillie's 23 years in office (1720–1743), the Abbey Library collections received another boost. Books in the present Fort Augustus Collection inscribed 'sub abbate Bernard Baillie' include a German translation of a life of St Patrick, who is here called 'the Irish Moses',[10] Latin editions of Skene's Laws of Scottish kings[11] and Buchanan's History of Scotland,[12] and a Life of four saints[13] which, according to the Latin inscription,[14] Dom Bernard Baillie procured in Nuremberg in 1707 on his return from his Scottish mission.

Just one incident which demonstrates the contact between the St James Abbey in Bavaria and the Scottish homeland is a book donation by Lord Linton, son of the Earl of Traquair; he gave a copy of Keith's Scottish church history[15] to St James Abbey in 1735.[16] Altogether, Dom Bernard Baillie contributed to the Abbey Library over a period of 37 years.

The main goal of St James Abbey since 1719 was to prepare young men for the mission of the Counter-Reformation in Scotland. However, only born Scots were accepted as novices, so recruitment continued to be problematic. Between 1713 and 1849, only 127 young Scots lived in the monastery; 30 of them became ordained monks and 10 became priests, the rest remained laymen. The physicist and paleontologist Ildephons Kennedy was one of the latter. In the end, St James Abbey was no longer viable. It was dissolved in 1862 by a Papal brief.

What happened to the books in the Abbey Library? Sometime in 1862, Dom Anselm Robertson, one of the last two remaining monks at St James Abbey, loaded a horse-drawn cart with as many books from the Abbey Library as it could carry, and set off from Bavaria to his native Scotland. Tradition has it that in defiance of Pope Pius IX, who was keen for the books to be added to the Vatican Library, he smuggled them out of the country. Eventually, the books were handed to the Lovat family at Fort Augustus for safe-keeping. They remained on the shelves there for little more than a decade. In the 1870s, the 3rd Marquess of Bute proposed the restoration of monasticism in Scotland. The Benedictine Fathers of the English congregation of the Order, who were keen to establish the first post-Reformation monastery in Scotland, started looking for a suitable location. When Simon, 15th Baron Lovat, offered them the Fort at Fort Augustus and its surrounding lands for conversion into a monastery, they accepted. St Benedict's Abbey was founded there in 1876.

Two years later, Dom Anselm Robertson, the monk who had rescued the cartful of books, joined the newly founded Benedictine community at Fort Augustus. Now the rescued books from St James Abbey, about 100 volumes, found a new home in the library of St Benedict's Abbey.

The Fort Augustus Collection includes 28 volumes bearing Dom Anselm Robertson's signature. With one exception, he initially acquired them for his private collection of books. After joining the community at St Benedict's Abbey, he passed his own books on to the Abbey Library. A number of them bear the inscription 'comparavit P. Anselm Robertson' (procured by Fr. Anselm Robertson), together with the price he paid for them. These items cover a wide range of subjects both religious and secular. They include a Spanish edition of *Don Quixote*,[17] books on botany[18] and, curiously, a treatise on ventilation,[19] which suggests that Father Anselm also saw to the needs of the body. The only book with a St James Abbey provenance inscription which also bears Dom Anselm Robertson's ownership signature is the afore-mentioned Life of four saints,[20] originally acquired for the monastery by Dom Bernard Baillie. Why Dom Anselm Robertson put his signature in a book originally belonging to the Abbey Library at St James is not clear.

The Abbey Library at Fort Augustus consisted of 3 large halls and an alcove and housed ca. 40,000 volumes. Books were arranged by subject matter in display cases and folio cabinets. Holland blinds were installed to protect the books from light. Some of the more valuable items, for instance the autograph manuscript of Marianus Scotus, were secured in a glass case. A card catalogue in drawers provided access to the collection.

The library collections at St Benedict's Abbey, Fort Augustus

The monks at St Benedict's Abbey attracted book donations from a variety of sources, both from the immediate neighbourhood and from prominent Catholics elsewhere. Most notably, they became custodians of the collection brought together by Father Thomas Cassidy. An Irish Franciscan, he acquired a large number of books in Dublin between the 1830s and his death in 1870. How he reconciled this valuable collection with his vow of poverty remains a mystery. Father Thomas Cassidy's great-nephew passed about 5,000 volumes from this collection to the Abbey Library at Fort Augustus at the turn of the nineteenth century. Because the legal title to the Cassidy Collection was unclear, the monks were the custodians rather than the owners, and it remained separate from the other Abbey Library collections.

Another benefactor of the Abbey Library was Brother Basil Weld, a member of the prominent English Catholic family Weld of Lulworth in Dorset. Altogether, ten members of the Weld family donated books to St Benedict's Abbey; Basil himself gave fifteen books to the Abbey Library, all of them in 1893. They include an illustrated book on hermits with late sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century engravings, which was once owned by the architect Viollet-le-Duc.[21] There is also a treatise on the penitential psalms,[22] an illustrated book about martyrs and the tortures they were put through,[23] natural history items,[24] and a copy of Augustine's Confessions.[25]

Thirty-seven books from the library of William Urquhart of Craigston in Aberdeenshire also found their way into the Abbey Library; they were donated by a member of the Urquhart family who had joined the Order of St Benedict. They include a number of fine eighteenth-century books as well as French editions of Racine, Voltaire, Montesquieu and Rousseau, a 1677 copy of How to learn Italian in French,[26] and books on ancient history[27] and on farming.[28]

Some books originally from St James Abbey in Regensburg found a temporary resting place at the Order of St Benedict at Westthorn Mills, a Roman Catholic Reformatory near Glasgow, before being added to the collections of St Benedict's Abbey Library. They have the provenance inscription 'OSB Westthorn', all in the same hand. They include a sixteenth-century catechism in Scots,[29] the Psalms of David in Gaelic,[30] and a book on domestic medicine.[31]

Finally, two curious items from St Benedict's Abbey Library are worth mentioning: one is a Greek liturgical book, part of a Menaion, which was presented to the Abbey Library by a Sergeant John Grant, who had brought it with him as a souvenir from Macedonia. This piece of information, which is all that is known about the book, comes from a loose note inserted in the front. Although it is a liturgical book belonging to the Greek Orthodox Church, the gilt icon inserted as a frontispiece shows the Russian saint St Sergius. Finally, there is one item with no evidence at all of previous ownership: the anonymous work *Les victoires de l'amour* from 1714.[32] It was shelved in the Abbey Library under the subject heading Litterarum Extranearum, foreign literature.

The historic core of older books at the Abbey Library at Fort Augustus, numbering some 7,000 volumes and including 23 incunables, was transferred on long-term loan to the National Library of Scotland in 1991/1992. This part of the Abbey Library included the books from the Benedictine monasteries of St James at Ratisbon (Regensburg) and Saints Adrian and Denys at Lamspring (Hanover), as well as the Cassidy Collection. Consisting mostly of pre-1801 British and Continental items, it was of exceptional richness and reflected the role of the Abbey Library at Fort Augustus as the inheritor of the remnants of the German Schottenklöster.

Out of these 7,000 volumes the 5,000 which constitute the Cassidy Collection (the custodianship now transferred from the Trustees of Fort Augustus Abbey to the English Order of Benedictines) remain separately on long-term deposit at the National Library of Scotland. Of the remaining 2,000, the National Library of Scotland bought, as mentioned above, 759 printed volumes with the help of a generous grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund. This collection, the Fort Augustus Collection of printed books, thus represents only a selection from the ca. 7,000 volumes deposited by the Abbey in the National Library of Scotland in 1991/1992, and which was offered for sale in 1999. When the selection was being made, provenance was one of the main criteria used. The remainder of the books previously on deposit in the National Library of Scotland and also the substantial collections of mainly post-1800 books that had never left the Abbey Library were dispersed by private treaty sales, through the book trade and at public auction.

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NOTES

1. *Regula Sanctissimi P. Benedicti*. Parisiis, Apud Ludovicum Billaine, 1665. SBA.2
2. Pallavicino, Sforza. *Vera Concilii Tridentini historia, contra falsam Petri Suauis Polani narrationem*. Antuerpiae, Ex officina plantiniana Balthasaris Moreti, 1670. SBA.554–555
3. *Biblia sacra veteris & noui testamenti iuxta vulgatam, quam dicunt editionem*. Parisiis, Apud haeredes Carolae Guillard viduae quondam Claudij Cheuallonij, 1558. SBA.709
4. Cressy, Serenus. *The church-history of Brittany*. [Rouen, s.n.], 1668. SBA.714
5. *Bedae . . . de natura rerum et temporum ratione libri duo*. Basileae, Excudebat Henricus Petrus, 1529. SBA.655(1)
6. Knox, John. *The historie of the reformation of the church of Scotland*. London, Printed by John Raworth for George Thomason and Octavian Pullen, 1644. SBA.640
7. Margarinus, Cornelius. *Bullarium casinense, seu Constitutiones summorum pontificum, imperatorum, regum, principum, & decreta sacrarum congregationum pro congregatione casinensi* [. . .] Venetiis, Typis Omnibenij Ferretti, 1650. SBA.653(1)
8. 'Placido Fleming abbot brought this book in albis with him out of Italie 1709. 'Dono accepit a d[o]m[in]o Dno Abbate Roberto Torta in Mon[aster]io S[anc]tae Justinae Paduae.'
9. 'Monasterij S. Jacobi Scotorum Ratisbonae 1711. R[everendis]s[i]mo Placido Flaminio Abbati dignissimo exempti Monasterij S. Jacobi Scotorum Ratisbonae dono dedit author libri Patricius Abercromby.' SBA.671–672
10. Certani, Jacob. *Irrländischer Moyses, das ist Tugend- und Wunder-Leben des heilig- und glorreichen Patritij*. Passau, gedruckt bey den Höllerischen Erben, 1722. SBA.415
11. *Regiam majestatem Scotiae veteres leges et constitutiones*. Edinburgi, Excudebat Thomas Finlason, 1609. SBA.648(1)
12. Buchanan, George. *Rerum Scoticarum historia*. Edimburgi, Apud Alexandrum Arbuthnetum typographum regium, 1582. SBA.649
13. Caramuel Lobkowitz, Juan. *Ioannis Caramuelis Theologia regularis*. Lugduni, Sumptibus Laurentii Anisson, 1665. SBA.723
14. 'Monast: S. Jacobi. Scotor. Ratisbonae 1707. comparavit Norimbergae P. Bernardus Baillie redux ex missione Scoticâ; an. 1721 in abbatem electus optime de toto Monasterio sed praecipiue de Bibliotheca merito.'
15. Keith, Robert. *The history of the affairs of church and state in Scotland*. Edinburgh, Printed by Thomas and Walter Ruddimans, for George Stewart and Alexander Symmer undertakers, 1734. SBA.742
16. An inscription on the title page reads: 'This was a gift of the Right Honourable Lord Linton eldest son and heir of the Earle of Traquair an[no] 1735. Ex lib[ris] Monast[erii] S. Jacobi Scotorum Ratisbonae, anno ut supra. Bernardo Baillie abb[ate]'.
17. Cervantes, Miguel de. *Vida, y hechos del ingenioso caballero Don Quixote de la Mancha*. Madrid, Por D. Joachin de Ibarra, 1771. SBA.176–179
18. E.g. Hooker, William. *Flora Scotica; or a description of Scottish plants*. London, Printed by Richard and Arthur Taylor for Archibald Constable and Co., Edinburgh; and Hurst, Robinson, and Co., Cheapside, London, 1821. SBA.428

19. Tomlinson, Charles. *A rudimentary treatise on warming and ventilation*. London, John Weale, 1858. SBA.175
20. Cf. footnote 13.
21. Collaert, Adriaen. *Solitudo, sive vitae foeminarum anachoritarum*. [Antwerp?, s.n., 1606?]. SBA.450(2)
22. Fisher, John. *A treatise concerning the fruitful sayings of David, the king and prophet, in the seven penitential psalms*. [London, s.n.], 1714. SBA.51
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24. E. G. Plot, Robert. *The natural history of Oxford-shire*. Printed at the Theater in Oxford, 1677. SBA.656
25. *D. Aurelii Augustini Hippoii Episcopi Libri XIII Confessionum*. Lugduni, Apud Antonium Jullieron Typographum Cleri, 1660. SBA.6
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27. Rollin, Charles. *Histoire ancienne des Egyptiens, des Carthaginois, des Assyriens, des Babyloniens, des Medes et des Perses, des Macedoniens, des Grecs*. Amsterdam, Aux dépens de la Compagnie, 1730. SBA.206–217.
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31. Buchan, William. *Domestic medicine: or, a treatise on the prevention and cure of diseases*. Edinburgh, Printed by Thomas Turnbull, for Robert Hutchison, bookseller, Glasgow, 1807. SBA.423
32. *Les victoires de l'amour ou histoires de Zaide, de Leonor et de la Marquise de Vico*. Amsterdam, Aux dépens d'Estienne Roger, 1714. SBA.105

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