THE FIRST CENTURY OF LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

BY

ELFRIEDE HULSHOFF POL

LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1975
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OF
LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK LEIDEN

Aangeboden door de Bibliothecaris
THE FIRST CENTURY
OF
LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

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ELFRIEDE HULSHOFF POL

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1975
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# CONTENTS

List of illustrations .......................................................... vii
Corrigenda ........................................................................ vii
Janus Doua Pater and Filius ................................................. 395
Merula ................................................................................. 410
Heinsius .............................................................................. 423
Thysius and Gronovius ....................................................... 432
The holdings in order of subject .......................................... 435
Appendix A
   List of books bequeathed to the University Library by Johannes Holmannus Secundus (1586). .......... 444
Appendix B
   Paulus Merula’s Memoranda to the Curators of the University (1597-1602) ................................. 446
Appendix C
   List of Law books probably bought from the library of Marnix of Saint Aldegonde (1599) .......... 450
Abbreviations .................................................................... 450
Notes ................................................................................. 451
Index of press-marks .......................................................... 460
Classified subject index ....................................................... 461
General index ..................................................................... 463
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Interior of the Library. Engraving by Willem Swanenburgh after a drawing by Jan Cornelisz. Woudanus, 1610.
   *Leiden, University Library.*

2. Inscription on a French title-page of the “Biblia Regia”.
   *Leiden, University Library, 1366 A 1.*

3. Title-page with inscription, showing the book’s provenance from the Holmannus collection.
   *Leiden, University Library, 519 A 10.*

4. Binding with the stamps of Johannes Holmannus.
   *Leiden, University Library, 1366 G 13.*

5. End of the dedication and first page of Bertius’ catalogue, 1595.
   *Leiden, University Library, 1012 C 31.*

   *Leiden, Academisch Historisch Museum.*

7. “Orculumancie van coverleyven ende tgebrayck der Sleulenen vande boeck-kamer des Universyteyt tot Leyden, 1559”.
   *Leiden, University Library, 19 288 f. 10.*

   *Leiden, Academisch Historisch Museum.*

   *Leiden, University Library, B A C 3.*

    *Leiden, Academisch Historisch Museum.*

   *Leiden, Academisch Historisch Museum.*

12. Inscription of Josine de Lannoy, widow of Marinx of Saint Aldegonde.
   *Leiden, University Library, 1368 F 6.*

    *Leiden, Academisch Historisch Museum.*

    *Leiden, University Library.*

15. A page of the catalogue of manuscripts purchased by Golius, 1630.
    *Leiden, University Library, 835 C 15.*

16. Acquisitions noted by Heinsius and Thyssius in an interleaved copy of the 1640 catalogue.
    *Leiden, University Library, B A C 4.*

    *Leiden, Academisch Historisch Museum.*

    *Leiden, University Library, B A F 1.*

19. Dedication of Tycho Brahe’s “Astronomiae instauratae mechanica”.
    *Leiden, University Library, Cod. Scol. 13.*

20. A page of the Tertullian manuscript.
    *Leiden, University Library, Cod. BPL 2.*

Photographs:
Leiden, University Library: nos. 1-5, 7, 9, 12, 14-16, 18-20.
Leiden, Academisch Historisch Museum: nos. 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 17.

CORRIGENDA

405 b, lines 4-5  read *Lermont sur l’Histoire de la Resurrection de Nostre Seigneur Iesus Christ* for eight read seven
407 a, line 38  for two of the three volumes read two of them
409 b, lines 14-15  for the first and second volumes read Catalogue of Rarities
412, caption  see Catalogue Rarities for *Catalogue Rariora* read Catalogue of Rarities
412 b, line 5  for relinquishing his responsibilities. read relinquish his responsibilities.
432 b, lines 8-9  for having worked . . . lifetime. read and worked without salary until the latter’s death in 1655.
433, caption  read instead *Acquisitions noted by Heinsius and Thyssius in an interleaved copy of the 1640 catalogue. for these read they
438 a, line 19  for work read works
438 b, line 37  for books read works
440 b, line 13  for fl. 5 read fl. 500
In June of 1610, the Leiden, having been stored at Maastricht, were in a risk of perishing in these libraries.

"since the library of the academy contains books and works of them."

The motive was previously forward both modes of earlier existence at the end of the century. In the fourteenth century, St. Pancras, one of the convents, was to study books and books. He sent his book catalogues to the Pietersburch, not known as "the" could be long and still remained exemplary uniformistic: since these books, a list of students of the university for the establishment, intended primarily.

When Leiden library, its standards meet, and if "magna contemplation et studere" standards are not above rivalry, are as we shall consider.

During its a library as empowered property it accommodates...
In June 1575 the burgomasters and the corporation of Leiden, having been informed that two old libraries stored at Middelburg and Veere in the province of Zee-land, were not being properly cared for, and even ran the risk of perishing, resolved to make an attempt to have these libraries transported to Leiden,

"since the same could be most fruitful here in our new academy for those who are not as yet provided with books and who have no means wherewith to purchase them." 1

The motivation behind this first attempt to appropriate previously established libraries for Leiden, seems to us both modern and socially aware. We are reminded of the earlier existence, at Leiden, of another library of which by the end of the sixteenth century there remained no trace. In the fourteenth century Philip of Leiden, Canon of St. Pancras, had deplored the fact that—to the detriment of the community—many capable youths were unable to study because they could not acquire the necessary books. He therefore stipulated in his will (1372) 2 that his book collection should remain intact in his house in the Pieterskerkhof (the house which became popularly known as "Solomon's Temple") and even that his books could be loaned under guaranty. Was Solomon's Temple still remembered in 1575 and was the revival of such an exemplary institution contemplated? 3 To be more realistic: since professional scholars possessed their own books, a library would be required only by the poorer students of the new university. The time was not yet ripe for the establishment of a large library, particularly one intended primarily for students in general.

When Leiden some years later did possess a university library, its accessibility to students was by present-day standards minimal. Scaliger's laudatory remark: "Est hic magna commoditas Bibliothecae, ut studiis possint studere" 4 shows however, that our contemporary standards are not appropriate. It must be remembered that the above remark relates to a period of two hours, twice weekly; and later even this was temporarily discontinued, as we shall see.

During the University's first ten years the question of a library scarcely arose. The charter 5 had, it is true, empowered the town to annex and rebuild whatever property it found necessary for the University and the accommodation of its scholars and students. Even recreational facilities for the students were envisaged. But no provision was made for the housing of a library. 6 The wish that a library be established, at public expense, was indeed expressed in a draft constitution produced by several professors on or around May 1st 1575, 7 but the constitution itself says nothing on this point. In this context, Orlens' information that the Curators resolved immediately after the foundation of the University to provide a library appears somewhat questionable. 8 Orlens goes on to say that the library having been established, the Prince of Orange presented two books of outstanding value, namely the Biblia Regia and the Talmud. But this is only half true, as the Talmud did not come into the Library's possession until twenty years later, and from another source. 9 What is true is that at the time of the foundation of the University, William donated as "crescenti huius Academiae munus" the renowned eight-volume polyglot Bible printed between 1569 and 1572 by Plantin. 10 This Bible is generally described as the nucleus of the entire subsequent collection—"fundamentum locans futurae aliquando bibliothecae", the Catalogus Principum (1597) says of the donor. 11 The gift of a Bible to an institution is not, however, tantamount to founding a library.

For the first months, if not years, the unbound volumes remained in the possession of Professor Feugereus 12—the first, and for some time the only professor of theology in the new University (apart from those who gave a few lectures in 1575).

Feugereus may have been entrusted with the Bible when he journeyed from Dordrecht to Leiden in April 1575 bearing a letter of introduction from the Prince. 13 Such a conjecture seems justified by the fact that no gift was mentioned during the foundation ceremony and that the Prince's request to Gerard van Wijngaard to represent him there includes no reference to the presentation of a gift. 14 Where this Bible was kept is not known. It may have accompanied Feugereus to his lectures at St. Barbara's Convent and later in the Beguine Chapel, or he may even have kept it at home.

During the initial years any attempts to build up a library around the Bible must have been unsuccessful. There was at that time scarcely even a local book trade. Plantin and Elsevier had not yet settled at Leiden, and although in 1577 Willem Silvius of Antwerp had been appointed to the post of first university printer ("typographer, bookseller and general printer" 15), there is nothing to suggest that he
2. Inscription on a French title-page of
the Bibliia Regia.

SACRORVM
BIBLIORVM
TOMVS
PRIMVS.

In magnis hoc UNIVERSO
quod visseri columar
nihil HOMINE dignius
nihil in homine: VIRTUTE,
inter virtutes RELIGIONE
in Religione: E DEI VERBO:
quod est hic voluminae partis imprimendum.
Illustrissimi et plurimae incomparabili praecesserit
GVLIELMV SASSOVOVS
felicissimi
Ductoribus huius ACADEMIAE manus

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Post Hoc,
Post Hoc.

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Feugeraeus.
actually sold books to the University. Nor was he here for long: he died in 1580. His son Karel's stay was even shorter.¹⁸

The appropriation of existing libraries in their entirety appears to have been regarded as a simpler course and would have been considerably more economical—most obviously so in the case of confiscated property. The difficulties encountered in starting a library call to mind the University's financial problems in the early years. We are acquainted with no fewer than four attempts to acquire complete libraries. The first three attempts were in vain, and the fourth only marginally more successful. We will later consider the fourth attempt, of 1594-1595, involving the library of the Court of Holland. We will also consider evidence of a fifth endeavour.

In the University's very first year two such efforts were made. Middelburg was conquered in the previous year and it was rumoured at Leiden that a fine library from the Abbey there had been preserved.¹⁹ The monks had indeed been driven from the town, leaving behind almost everything but their clothes. They did, however, manage to take with them some church treasures and some records. Apart from one missal, though, no books were included.¹⁹ The Provincial States had confiscated the Abbey and all its property, including, presumably, the library. A large proportion of the archive is extant, but the library has disappeared without trace.¹⁸ We suppose, then, that it was unobtainable in June 1575 when the City of Leiden requested Paulus Vos, its delegate at the convention ("gecommiterte der dagvaart") to move the library of Middelburg Abbey and another library from Veere to Leiden.²⁰ The subject is not mentioned again.

There is evidence of an attempt to transfer a complete library to Leiden in the Haarlem Treasurer's accounts. It appears from one entry²¹ that in 1578 Cornelis Schoneus, Principal of the Latin School at Haarlem, carried out a request from Douwa to draw up a catalogue of two local monastic libraries. The catalogue itself is not extant and there is no indication that books were transferred from Haarlem to Leiden at that time. This effort must also have been futile, therefore.

In the meantime the Plantin Bible remained in the hands of Professor Feugereus. We learn this from the bookbinder Jan Paets Jacobsoonz to whom Feugereus, possibly at the time of his departure in 1579, had given instructions to "assemble the Bible, size it, and bind it in eight volumes." When the Curators and Buregosters heard of this, they ordered Paets to bind the book as instructed but to deliver it to them and not to Professor Feugereus. Paets' remuneration was fl. 28, fl. 20 of which was paid to him by a decree of April 26th 1581, the remaining fl. 8 being paid only upon his submission of a petition on February 3rd 1590. This petition is the source of the above information.²²

As to the celebrated inscription which appears on the French title-page of the first four volumes of the Bible (see pl. 2), it cannot have been written by Prince William the Silent, as he is referred to as Illustissimus et plane incomparsibilis Princeps. To whom, then, can it be attributed? F. F. Blok, who has devoted a short study to the inscription,²³ points out that the development of ideas, proceeding from the dignity of man to the Verbum Dei, is not Calvinistic; he expresses some surprise that the writer shows so little affinity with the Calvinistic spirit which he assumes, after Dankbaar,²⁴ to have prevailed at Leiden. Mrs. Hellinga draws the conclusion that Leiden cannot have been the source of the inscription and prefers to see in it a reflection of the Prince's personal association with the Biblia Regia.²⁵ Is this assumption of Leiden's Calvinism correct? Even if the need to train ministers was one of the motives for founding the University, this is not proof of a strongly Calvinistic atmosphere prior to 1619. We cannot overlook all that has recently been written about the humanistic circle of Douwa and his friends.²⁶

We shall also see that the subsequent book collection was not markedly Calvinistic in character. Could the inscription not be an expression of the humanistic spirit of the new University? No library is mentioned until 1587 when the Vaulted Room of the University building was brought into use to house the collection. The books would all at this time have passed through the hands of the Librarian, Janus Douwa,²⁷ who wrote in each the Leiden ex-libris, the provenance and in some cases the price as can still be observed in the oldest holdings (see plate 3). It is therefore likely that it was he who entered the provenance in the volumes of the Biblia Regia, in the form of the inscription familiar to us (see plate 2). There seems to be no reason to dispute the assumption that both are from the same hand, namely Douwa's.

In April 1581 the University moved into the former Convent of the "Witte Nonnen" (Dominican nuns), the building on the Rapenburg canal which is still its heart. The Curators considered what remained to be done and ordered the Treasurer "to make ready the site chosen for the library, installing tables and cases for the books".²⁸ The site was the Vaulted Room, situated to the left of the entrance to the University Building, and referred to more than once in the years to come as having been the intended location for the library.²⁹ The fact is that for some time
nothing was done and the site remained "intended". There were, indeed, still no books to be housed except for the eight volumes of the Bibliia Regia which Paets had just delivered in their bound condition. Curiously enough, no previous historian of the University Library has recognized that there was probably nothing to store except the Bibliia Regia. Ordons' opinion has already been mentioned. Van Royen, Stegenbeek and Schoel all take the view that Doussa's appointment as Librarian (on March 1st 1585) proves that the number of books donated and purchased was such that they required proper supervision by a librarian.40 Molhuysen rightly said there was still no question of purchasing books,41 and as far as gifts are concerned he was also more cautious, stating that not many had been received as yet. Witkam first concludes (in 1699)42 that there must have been an increase in the size of the book collection because a University Printer was appointed on June 8th 1577, an "intended" site for the library was named on April 26th 1581, and Doussa was nominated Librarian on March 1st 1585. In 1972, Witkam is rather more vague about what was probably still a small number of books and about their possible whereabouts in the University's two original premises.43 What reasons are there for supposing there were no books other than the Bibliia Regia? 

(1) There was still no question of purchases. Not only is there nothing to be found in the accounts etc., there is no item earlier than 1587 in the calculations of total book expenses to date as drawn up by the Secretary, Jan van Hout, in his University Diary entry for November 26th 1590.44

(2) One well-known donation had been made by Plantin in 1581. On April 6th, a letter was received from him offering a gift from his press and requesting a description of the University seal.45 He was sent a wax impression and it was decided to make a roll, a plate and a stamp to mark all the books, not only on the leather but also on the three edges.46 The plate, which was used to stamp all the books during the Library's first decades, bore a representation of Minerva reading and the arms of Holland, the House of Orange and the City of Leiden.47 It was on the same day that the Curators inspected the intended site of the library, after Paets had delivered the newly-bound volumes of the Bibliia Regia. Where the volumes were then kept is not known. Plantin's gift, "Textum Iuris et Becani Opera", was received on June 26th of the same year, according to a communication from his host, Lipsius, to the Senate. "Hi libri sunt apud D. Lipsium", the Secretary added.48 We know from Lipsius' "Extrait de compte" of June 17th in Plantin's account books that the gift consisted of the following three folio volumes:

1. Corpus d'Is Civile I. Textus Iuris (autore) Ioanni Fabrici (autore) Ioanni Fabrici (autore) Ioanni Fabrici (autore)
2. Corpus d'Is Civile II. Textus Iuris (autore) Ioanni Fabrici (autore) Ioanni Fabrici (autore) Ioanni Fabrici (autore)
3. Corpus d'Is Civile III. Textus Iuris (autore) Ioanni Fabrici (autore) Ioanni Fabrici (autore) Ioanni Fabrici (autore)
4. Corpus d'Is Civile IV. Textus Iuris (autore) Ioanni Fabrici (autore) Ioanni Fabrici (autore) Ioanni Fabrici (autore)
5. Corpus d'Is Civile V. Textus Iuris (autore) Ioanni Fabrici (autore) Ioanni Fabrici (autore) Ioanni Fabrici (autore)
6. Corpus d'Is Civile VI. Textus Iuris (autore) Ioanni Fabrici (autore) Ioanni Fabrici (autore) Ioanni Fabrici (autore)

The last two items stand for Johannes Goruspee Becans. Origores Antverpianae (1569) and Opera hactenus in lucem non edita (1580). What became of these books is a mystery. There is no trace of them later in the Library and they are not named in the Nomenclator, the catalogue of 1595, or the Catalogus Principium of 1597. The gift, we suggest, would have been premature: there was no library to receive it. From this argument it seems unlikely that any gifts were received during this period. Any intended donations would, like Plantin's, have come to nothing. His intention was, certainly, "ad instruendam bibliothecam", but it bore no fruit. Nothing was bought from his shop by the University during his stay at Leiden from 1583-1585, and this disappointment may help to explain why, in 1585, he decided to give his book production of the preceding years to the City of Leiden and not to the University (the gift being effected on January 11th of that year).

The town had the books handsomely bound by Loys Elsevier in parchment stamped with gold and with the name "LEYDEN" in gold on the front cover; ten years later they were donated to the University Library.49 Plantin's interest must have opened the Curators' eyes. How otherwise to explain why, on March 1st 1585, the President of the Board of Curators, Janus Douss, was appointed University Librarian?48 For the situation had not changed; there were still no books, nor any special room for them. It could be surmised that the conferred of this title on Doussa (perhaps by Doussa himself?) was intended to show that there really was a library, an address where gifts, were come to nothing. The Librarian's appointment on March 1st 1585 thus marks the official foundation of the Library. As would be expected, no hint of any such thinking found its way into the official preamble, where expression was given to the importance of the institution and to the rigorous demands to be met by the new functionary:

In as much as it has been found desirable for the advancement of the University, and the benefit of the scholars and students, to establish a public library in which all the good authors and books in all the sciences and arts in various languages be collected and conserved, such as His Excellency the Prince has already presented and other worthy patrons have promised, it is of pressing necessity to appoint an able, qualified and learned person to be Librarian, and to arrange and order an inventory.
learned person for their supervision, conservation and arrangement so that the library may be brought into order and so maintained with knowledge and discernment.\(^{42}\)

The mention of these potential benefactors may in some measure uphold our hypothesis. In any event, the term "worthy patron" was given substance only on December 26th 1586, at the death of the Professor of Theology, Johannes Holmannus Seecundus, who bequested his books to the University.\(^{43}\) This theologian from Stade (near the mouth of the Elbe) was not renowned as a scholar and no portrait of him has been discovered.\(^{44}\) He left no published writings, if we exclude some Latin poems in the works of others such as his medical colleague Joh. Heurnius. He is mentioned also as a student of the well-known Neo-Latin poet P. Lotichius. In this respect he seems to have been well suited to the Leiden of Janus Dousa who, after his death, wrote a long Elegia for his tombstone in the Pieterskerk and who in this tribute called him his amicus intimus.

What did the Holmannus bequest comprise? Molhuysen points out\(^{45}\) that the catalogue of this collection was sent by the University Senate to the States of Holland and West Friesland in 1600, when the question arose of granting a pension to Holmannus’ widow, Rebecca van Edenbüttel, but that this catalogue is no longer in the Algemeen Rijksarchief. “This is regrettable, since it would have given some idea of the wealth of his collection, which according to the Senate’s testimony \(^{46}\) laid the foundations for the Leiden Library.” The widow had certified at that time that the books bequeathed by her husband had been worth more than fl. 1000—and the former Secretary to the Curators, Jan van Hout, confirmed that he had heard Lipsius speak of an estimate of fl. 1000,—and the collection included many “Fathers.” On the basis of this figure and book prices then current, Witkam assumes that there must have been several hundreds.\(^{47}\) This seems an improbably large number as the first version of Bertius’ catalogue, drawn up in May 1595, details only 365 folio volumes and 118 smaller ones in all. It is, of course, possible that some were missing, especially before the books were chained in the first library. But there is likely to have been a good deal of exaggeration in the widow’s accusation, in 1602, that the books had for the most part been dispersed.\(^{48}\) Still, we can with the help of the 1595 catalogue attempt some reconstruction of the Holmannus collection as it then was.

First let us consider the folio volumes. It is known in the majority of cases from whom and for how much they were purchased. This is certainly true of Plutarch’s works, comprising the Fathers, details of which are not easy to reconcile with Lipsius’ pronouncement, resurrected after several years, that there must have been many “Fathers” in the Holmannus bequest. But perhaps Lipsius meant “Protestant Fathers.” It appears in fact that this category viz. the Opera Omnia of Melanchthon (with whom Holmannus had studied at Wittenberg) and the commentaries or sermons on Books of the Bible from Wittenberg, Zürich or Geneva must be ascribed to the legacy.

If we go through these titles in the 1595 catalogue for which no provenance is yet known and check whether an identical book is still extant, we find, in many cases, the inscription “Bibliotheca Academica Lugduno-Batavae. Ex Legato R^4 viri D. Joannis Holmanni S. Theologiae Doctoris et Professoris” (see plate 3). Senguerdues gave this provenance in the 1716 catalogue and Witkam has sought and found ten there.\(^{49}\) One of these is no longer available, having been replaced after 1716. There are three more, a Virgil and two theological works, which fit perfectly into the category of “Protestant Fathers” (see Appendix A, under 1a).

We notice in Plutarch’s (as described in the Nomenclator of Bertius) the titles of various books no longer extant and which were not extant in 1716; so the inscription can provide no answer. The selling of duplicates was common practice and a book was even described as redundant when, for example, its contents were available also in the author’s collected works. Should these titles fit the picture we have now formed of Holmannus’ library, the probability that they originally belonged there is great. This is especially true of 27, Petrus Martyr in Genesin et Bullinger in Marcion et Lucanum, which had been bound by Elsevier in April 1586.\(^{50}\) It is almost certain that this volume came from Holmannus, and the other six titles also seem likely to have been his (see Appendix A, under 1b). We have now reached a total of 27 folio volumes.

In the 1595 catalogue there are several other books of unknown provenance; however, when an extant copy bears an inscription showing a Leiden ex-libris but without the addition of Holmannus’ name, the provenance must remain unknown. The same is true of two volumes with no inscriptions whatsoever, but which are continuously listed in the various Leiden catalogues and which in subject matter accord with the Holmannus collection. One of these (W. Musculus, Loci communis, Basil. 1560) still has an old binding comparable to that of other Holmannus books (see Appendix A, under 1c). The temptation to assume that the inscription was omitted...
3. Title-page with inscription, showing the provenance of the Holmannus collection.

From these pages it is clear that the provenance of the Holmannus collection is speculable.

What of the catalogue that is appended to the book? The provenance of the Holmannus collection is inscribed on the title-page with the following inscription: "Henry Moller, whose name is recorded in the catalogue of the Holmannus collection, is the same author of the works described by the catalogue.

The inscription reads: "Henricus Moller, who was secretary of the archive of the city of Cologne, was the author of "Libri Samuelis, Regum, & Paralipomemon, Ad Ebraicam Veritatem Recogniti, et Brevibus Commentariis Explicati" by Victorino Strigelio."

If we now turn to the footnote, we find that the Holmannus collection was comprised of two volumes, the first being a work by Moller, and the second being a work by Strigelio.

The diptych red on the title-page of the former volume has been noted for its stamps and signs, which have been preserved by the author.

(Acad. Lugd. Bat. Bibl.)

Lipsiae.
Cum Privilegio ad decennium.

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(Acad. Lugd. Bat. Bibl.)

Lipsiae.
Cum Privilegio ad decennium.
from these volumes is therefore very strong. But our speculations must not go too far.

What of the smaller volumes? According to the oldest catalogue these were still in the minority and were apparently regarded as less important. No-one took the trouble, therefore, to enter an inscription concerning their provenance. In quire L of the Nomenclator, the Index illiusorum minus forma in 4°, octavo et 16° begins once again with Theology. We find, amongst others, the same kind of works: commentaries on Books of the Bible, partly by the same authors as before, partly by others. Among them is Henricus Mollerus, otherwise known as Heinrich Möller, who was three times invited to Leiden to take a chair of theology, but refused, and then proposed his friend Johannes Holmannus Secundus, Pastor of the town of Stade, not far from Hamburg where he himself lived. If we now examine the books with his commentaries on Hosea and Malachi, we find that they were indeed presented to Holmannus and contain a dedication to him. These two volumes may be typical in appearance of Holmannus' collection. The latter has a binding of limp parchment dyed red and bearing the Leiden stamp of Minerva. The former has a German pigskin binding, dated 1567, with roll stamps and panel stamps depicting Luther and Melanchthon and, on top, stamps with not only the inscription (Acad. Lugd.) but also, in black, a row consisting of a clover-leaf, a heart pierced by two arrows, and another clover-leaf and the letters I, H and S on the back cover.

These letters presumably stand for Johannes Holmannus Secundus. Any other interpretation (for example that they originally came from Jesuit colleges) seems out of the question in the case of this book and those similar to it, German and Protestant in both content and binding and, in this instance, given directly to Holmannus by the author. The library does in fact possess some 17th-century books from Jesuit sources, where the monogram IHS appears but gives a totally different impression, namely one of complete harmony with the cross and other symbols on the binding. Holmannus stamped each letter separately, placing them sometimes side by side, sometimes under one another and sometimes askew. It is the rather careless work of an amateur. He possibly took pleasure in the fact that his initials had a double significance and therefore played fancifully with them. His emblem, a pierced heart between two clover-leaves (which has no place in the Christian iconography) is likewise the expression of a whimsical mind. In any case, to us it seems that this may well be taken as a distinctive token of Holmannus' books. One of Holmannus' folio volumes, moreover, has the same character-istics: his Cheminizz (now 597 A 8; see Appendix A under 1a, n. 10) has a brown leather binding with Luther and Melanchthon in the middle and, besides, clover-leaf, heart, clover-leaf and IHS stamped in gold on the front, and 1574 on the back.

The red-dyed parchment of Möller's other above-mentioned work (which was of course only much later stamped with the Leiden Minerva) also seems to be characteristic of books with this provenance. There are in fact some more books, certainly originally owned by Holmannus, which are bedecked in red parchment, and one other in green.

There is one final feature that some of the Holmannus books have in common: a press-mark on the lower edge, indicating that these books, fastened into their strong bindings with clamps, must have been placed in the book-case lower-edge out and fore-edge downwards. This is the case in respect of press-marks 30, 41, 43 and 44 (see Appendix A under 2, nos. 8, 15, 11, 4-6).

We may first mention the nine books which undoubtably came from Holmannus because his name appears in them. The name in the case of the first book is probably that of his father, who was also called Johannes Holmannus (see Appendix A under 2a).

Next come three titles of books in which Holmannus' name does not occur but which have stamped pigskin or brown leather bindings and still exhibit, in addition, the clover-leaf-clover stamps and the letters IHS, together with in some cases also a date and two florets (Appendix A, 2b; see plate 4). Next, one with the letters IHS but no clover-leaf-clover combinations, and another without the letters but with the stamp (Appendix A, 2e). Finally, there are two somewhat intriguing instances, with, to the left of the familiar stamp, the letters HI, and to the right HS, and in both cases the year 1565 below. The significance of these letters is debatable. Since, however, one of the two volumes has on the lower edge a press-mark similar to that of other Holmannus books, it seems not unlikely that these two also formed part of the Holmannus bequest (Appendix A, 2d).

We might further mention seven books in red or green parchment similar to that of volumes recorded above (Appendix A, 2e and 3).

These are the books with one or other of the external features which might suggest their inclusion in the Holmannus legacy. Other books which have been rebound may have lost external features which might have related them to the bequest. This seems to be particularly plausible in the case of the sixth in a series of commentaries by Chytreaus on Books of the Bible, since five still have a
Holmannus' binding, and equally so for a similar series by Strigelius. Another in this category could be a book by Camerarius which, in fact, forms the first part of a work referred to above as bound in the red parchment typical of some of Holmannus' books (Appendix A, 2g).

Bullinger's Sermones, a biography of him by Simler, and one of Melanchthon by Camerarius are also worthy of consideration; but some works by Strigelius dating from as late as 1582-84 (when Holmannus was in Holland) seem rather less convincing. It is of course quite possible that Holmannus volumes are to be found in the literature and other sections, but there is no evidence to be adduced.

All in all, it seems that this German scholar's contribution to Leiden University Library was of great importance to its history.

The widow, Rebecca or Beke van Edenbüttel, survived her husband by many years, dying in 1622. After receiving some occasional financial help from the University, she managed in 1602 to obtain a pension of fl. 53.— per annum; this was increased to fl. 75.— in 1606, and fl. 100.— in 1615. Her longevity meant that the Holmannus legacy in effect cost the University fl. 1,950.—

Apart from the intrinsic worth of the books, we may be glad that the impetus was finally provided to put in order the room so long "intended" for the Library. A resolution to this effect was passed one week after Holmannus' death, including a reiteration of the decision to stamp the books received. The earlier passing of this resolution had apparently been forgotten. It was probably discovered that Holmannus' collection was too small or too specialised to form the basis of a university library. In any case, the opportunity to obtain an extensive collection of 47 folio and 5 quarto volumes from Bonaventura Vulcanius was timely. The items thus acquired from the Professor of Greek were of great importance and included not only Stephanus' editions of Plato and other Greek writers, particularly historians, and that same printer/philo-linguist's Theassarici Lignae Graecae and Lingua Latina, but also Vesalius' anatomy; Th. Zwingler's encyclopaedic Theastrum Vitae Humanae; bibliographical and biological works by Conrad Gesner; Seb. Münster's cosmography and Mercator's chronology. Theology and law were also represented. In short, the collection purchased at that time for fl. 354.— formed a good nucleus of reference works.

The Library, which opened on October 31st 1587 in the Vaulted Room of the University Building in an area of nine metres square comprised, therefore, three basic components: The Prince's Bible; the primarily theological, exegetical collection of Holmannus; and the standard works on a wide range of subjects, formerly in Vulcanius' possession. There were also two manuscripts, the Demosthenes donated by Vulcanius when the Library bought his books (now BPG 33), and the manuscript containing Latin inscriptions compiled by Martinus Smetius and acquired in England by Doubs in 1585. In the months preceding the Library's opening, Raphaelengius, Plantin's son-in-law, successor to his Leiden printing office and his post as Univeristy Printer, was commissioned to produce an edition of Smetius' collection of ancient inscriptions, prepared by Lipsius. This being no easy task, a subsidy of fl. 500.— was paid to Raphaelengius at the Library's expense. He was to supply 30 copies to the Library, 15 of which, bound handsomely by Elzevier, were intended for the University's use as gifts. Of the remainder it is quite possible that they too were intended as gifts, in the hope of reciprocation (in other words, as "exchange copies"). Raphaelengius was also to supply ten copies on ordinary paper, but was allowed to deliver other books in their stead—in which case the choice of these volumes was to rest with the Curators and Bursomasters. Is this, perhaps, a clue to the provenance of some books in the 1595 catalogue whose origin is as yet unknown? Smetius' manuscript was rebound by Elzevier and deposited in the Library among the printed books (as was the Demosthenes codex). In 1595 it was no. 1 in the list of historical works, whilst the Demosthenes was kept on the shelf containing literary works in a locked cupboard housing the smaller volumes.

Once the Library had been opened on October 31st 1587, the collecting began in earnest in 1588 by purchases through the book trade—especially from the shops of Professor Raphaelengius and Loys Elzevier, who also received books to bind. The first purchase involved the Lyons editions of the Corpus Juris Civilis and Corpus Juris Canonici, and Bartholomäus Saxoferrata, while the second was the eight-volume Bäsle edition of the Opera Omnia of Erasmus. It is unfortunate indeed that this token of the new University's humanistic aspirations was sold in 1752 after the publication of J. Clericus' Leiden edition (1703-1706). A collection of patristic works from B. Gryphius Buys was also purchased during the Library's first year of acquisition. The acquisitions appear to have been systematic: now a set of historical works; next a group of philosophical works, and so on.

In 1588 the collection had thus increased by 43 folio volumes, in 1589 by a further 23, and in 1590 by no less than 80. Lack of space in the University Building resulted in lectures being held in the Library, thus restricting the space available; furthermore, dampness made the room unsuitable. It was therefore resolved on
4. Binding with the stamps of Johannes Holmannus.
November 26th 1590 to move the Library to another site and, on March 1st of the following year, it was decided to house it in the Beguineage Chapel. It is of the opinion that the books remained only for a short time in the Vaulted Room and that they were transferred to the Beadle's house in de Nonnensteeg as soon as it was decided to hold lectures in the Library. This does not necessarily follow; it is after all quite possible to have bookcases in a room where lectures are being held, and the complaints, in 1590, about the place which was very "theatrical" could only have referred to the Vaulted Room. It is of course plausible that once the decision had been made, no new acquisitions were deposited there but may have found temporary accommodation in the Beadle's house. Opportunity to use the Library in the years before 1595 must have been very restricted and the wording of the resolution exhibits a certain vacillation:

"that the books bequested and donated to the University, together with those bought at great cost by the same University and any to be bequeathed, donated or bought, should be kept there securely and for the service and convenience of the aforementioned University and the members thereof." 

This was seen as the purpose of the Library: its use by the members of the University and the benefit to be derived therefrom by the University. The benefit of poor students is no longer specified. The motive behind the first extensive purchase, that of Vulcanius' books, was the same and was expressed in the words: "as much for the general need of the students as..." and splendidly.

Molhuysen committed to Doussart and Molhuysen to make the acquisitions, professors, professors, and users was a rather limited stock of book.

Work published in the years, and the extent of book acquisition by Paris market and subscription and the University, was also made.

It seems..."
general needs and use of the members as for the honour and splendour of the University.” 69

Molhuysen has pointed out that from the instructions to Dousa the younger on his appointment in July 1593 to make the books available in the first place to the doctors, professors and students, 69 it is clear that the circle of users was already being more widely interpreted, and not limited strictly to the University.

Work pushed ahead both on the new accommodation 71 and the extension of the book collection, again by means of acquisitions from Raphelengius and Elzevier. The Paris market is on one occasion referred to in this connection and the Frankfurt Fair several times. 72 Mention is also made of purchases at auctions. 73

It seems that there was not much question of gifts at this time. Most of the books in the 1595 catalogue can be matched with the accounts. All the more striking, therefore, is an early gift from Beza who sent Leiden University a copy of his Sermones de l'Histoire de la Réseta-

rection de Notre Seigneur Jesus Christ (Genève 1593), dedicated to the States General. 74

The new Library was finally ready to be opened in May 1595, and Bertius 75 was able to present the Curators and Burgomasters with the first catalogue, “ut (...) singulis privitim pro Bibliotheca esse possit.” 76

In his dedication, he too refers to the use and ornamentation of the Library and exhorts his patrons not only to augment the Library’s holdings but also to adorn it with maps and globes and with portraits of scholars and famous men such as had embellished libraries in antiquity. 77 Nevertheless the conservation of texts he regards as the Library’s main purpose; after all, how many books from antiquity had been lost; indeed, how few were still available from the pens of writers living but a few decades previously! Now, fortunately, a library had been founded with the holdings to offer the theologian knowledge, the lawyer exercise, the physician instruction and the antiquarian pleasure. 78

The books were arranged in the catalogue according to location. The folio volumes were in the majority and were kept in the platei, pieces of furniture which not only housed the books but also enabled readers to consult them. Their external appearance can be seen from Wouda-

nus’ famous print of 1610 (see plate 1), in which the number of platei amounts to 22. In 1595, however, there were only 9 in all, viz., 3 for books on theology, and one each for “Jurisprudenz, Medici, Historici, Philosophi, Mathematici, Litterari et qui ad Linguarum cognitio-

nenm pertinent.” 79 These folio volumes, 365 in number, comprised 299 titles. In addition, there were 104 titles in 118 volumes of smaller size, kept in a closed arca.

Bertius used the three 4-leaf quires, A, B, and C for his preface, plus the description of the theological works. More than 9 pages were taken up by an alphabetical index to the four volumes of the Bibliotheca Sanctorum Patrum of M. de la Bigne. He reserved one quire for each of the remaining subjects. History and philosophy each required one of 4 leaves, i.e. G and H, but quires of 2 leaves sufficed for the remainder, and often no more than one- and-half pages contained printed matter. There was thus plenty of blank paper left over for the future, giving the impression that the catalogue was interleaved with blank pages—which was not, in the strictest sense, true. The smaller volumes also occupied one complete quire of 4 leaves: L. The folios each had a number in the platei.
which, in turn, were signified by letters, a different kind of letter being used for each subject. Thus Π XXIX can clearly be seen on the spine of a book from the Holmanus legacy, the title page of which is shown in plate 3; the plates containing books on theology were marked by letters of the Hebrew alphabet. In the next catalogue, that of 1612, this system was abandoned, the plates for the subjects being indicated by A, B, C, and so on. Still to be seen in those books from the Library’s earliest holdings which have not been rebound are the holes at the top of the back cover, next to the spine. These took the pins which held in position the copper plates bearing the copper chains that used to link the books to the iron rods in the plates.¹⁰² A system invented by Jan van Hout, as Bertius tells us in the preface to his catalogue.¹⁰³

The old press-marks (up to and including the additional numbers written by hand in the 1640 catalogue) and sometimes also written titles, appear on the spine, the other way up from the contents of the book. Readers taking a book from the rack had to tilt it, lay it on the reading shelf and then open it. The process is well illustrated in the drawing in Witkam.¹⁰⁴ It is strange that in Woudanus’ print folios are all depicted fore-edge and daps outswards. This system was formerly well-known and traces of it are still to be found in the library, for instance in some law books.¹⁰⁵ However, the placing of the chains, as may be verified from some books still extant, was incompatible with this system; whilst the press-marks and titles on the spines clearly indicate that they were placed spine outwards—which means that the impression given by Woudanus is not altogether correct.

Nearly all the books the Library possessed were, of course, in Latin, at least in the initial period. The editions of Greek texts formed an exception (Greek being in fact a subject of study at this Humanistic University from the very beginning) as did Hebrew and, a little later, Arabic texts. No publications in other languages, still less literary works in the modern vernacular, were acquired. Nowithstanding Douau’s own acquaintance with the poets of the Pliaide and his personal purchase of works by Monsignor, their books were not represented in the Library, not even by the mid-17th century, as we can see from the 1674 catalogue. There was, as yet, not one book in the Dutch language, and French was the only modern language in which a few books had been written. The first to reach the Library was Jacques Bassuit’s Discours astronomiques, Lyons 1557, bought in an auction on November 19th 1591, while among the historical books there were works by A. Thevet, “premier cosmographe du roi”: Cosmographie universelle (Paris 1575) and Les vrais Portraits et vies des hommes illustres Grecs, Latins et païens (Paris 1584). A copy of the Italian poems by Petrarach was another item which could be read in the Library in its original language. These poems were a “special” acquisition since they formed the fourth part of that humanist’s Opera omnia.

The first theology plates contained editions of the Bible and separate Books of the Bible with or without commentaries, the majority being works by German and Swiss Protestant theologians, originally belonging to Holmanus. The second plates (2) contained texts of the Fathers, many obtained from Buys. The original copies of these are often no longer available; indeed, the more a subject was studied in later years, as was certainly the case with patriarchics, the more extensive the subsequent acquisitions in that subject—resulting in the redundance of earlier editions.

The third and last plates (3) comprised theological volumes in the proper sense. Contrary to expectation, perhaps, Luther and Calvin were not represented here (although they were in the commentaries in Π), but Erasmus in, together with Melanchthon, Zwingle, Thomas Aquinas, and even Bellarmium and Janzienus the Elder. The presence of these “Papistical Scholastic” books (as Gomarus later wrathfully called them) which had been supplied by Elzevier in 1590 and 1594 ⁴⁴ seems to indicate that there was no conscious striving towards a specifically Protestant collection. The same breadth of scope is to be found in other subjects. Predictably, authors in all subjects were primarily classical and passed on what was still, in that age, living knowledge. But alongside Hippocrates and Galen were Vesalius and Fermeius; alongside Ptolemy and Euclid stood Copernicus; astrology was also represented. Aristotle’s works and commentaries on them from classical times naturally formed a large section; but Petarch, Pico della Mirandola and Vives were also included among the philosophers. The French humanistic school was well represented in law and also in philology. In history, the Stephanus editions of Greek writers formed an important corpus and, besides these, we notice an attempt to collect Rerum Ungaricarum, Germanicarum, Britannicarum and Hispaniarcum Scriptorium; the Polonica, Muslimsica Turcarum and Indica Historia were also available. The Rerum Britannicarum Scriptorium were in a Heidelberg edition of 1587—there having been hitherto in the Library no book which had been printed in England, or even, in fact, any published in the northern Netherlands; from the southern Netherlands there were only a few. Basle was by far the most frequent place of publication, followed by Venice and Paris and then by Lyons, France, and Italian. In fact, in this area, there were six vol.

This by no means represents the extent of scope: in the inventory, many larger works were also listed. The manuscript collection was not neglected. It is known that from the Anno dam and Unio synodica, the church was compared with the Ducum and Leiden and concludes to the extent that they have been at the verge of a new bishops and monastery. Holmandus’ collection the bishops of Roemen had purchased immediately the church’s library and works of the Library were stored there by Van Hout for a few decades. The church kept the library and the works of the Library and the works had been sent to Leiden, as the most precise inventory confirms. The works had been a subject of a description by Leon Elzevier,⁴⁵ who had been the editor of the collection of editions of the Odes and Duas et Libri de Civitatibus. Van den Broecke, a Quarto vol. of which also contained instances among the previous editions of the individual. The inventory consists of the original inventory and a copy of the same.

Such was the inventory of the Library whose benefactors were mainly
provided the answer (see plate 7). Keys were distributed to the Curators and Professors, as well as to the Warden and Assistant Warden of the States’ College; members of the Town Council could also obtain keys on application to the Librarian. These privileges were, however, bound by strict rules: the keys were not transferable and were not to be copied; holders of keys were to be held responsible for whoever they introduced, whether students or others.

This is indeed different from what Bertius had envisaged in his preface, where he rejoiced in the situation of the new Library inter templum et scholam, between St. Peter’s Church and the University Building (which shows that he thought of the clergy too as library users). He even spoke of communes Ecclesiasticæ & Academicae toleranties ad vivendi oraculum. This suggests a library for general use.

In connection with the above, we may digress for a moment on the word “publicus”. “Bibliotheca Publica” was the normal description of the University Library as early as the appointment of Douai the elder. In 1583, mention was made of a “publycke bibliotecae oft librarie”. The Botanical Gardens bore the name of Hortus Publicus Academici Lugdun-Batavorum in Peter Pauw’s catalogue of 1601, from which it has been concluded that the gardens were by then open to the public. Still, as far as the Library is concerned, this conclusion should be approached with some caution. Does not “publicus” (as opposed to “privatus”) indicate ownership rather than use? In antiquity, “common, general, public” was a secondary meaning of “publicus”, which in the first instance meant “of or belonging to the people, state or community” and was also applied to a store or archive. The relevant point, as far as the Library is concerned, seems to have been public ownership rather than public use. The Leiden Library still uses the designations “Bibliothecæ Publicæ Graeci Codices” and “... Latini Codices”, commonly referred to as BPG and BPL, for those Greek and Latin holdings which were not acquired as bequests or parts of particular private libraries. This originated in the 1716 catalogue (pp. 324 ff.).

In that same catalogue (pp. 308 ff.) the “Hebraici alique orientales excusi Bibliothecae publicæ” are placed opposite the “excusi legati Scaligerani” and “Warnerianis” respectively. If “publicus” here clearly means no more than “not originally from a private collection” then there would appear to be no argument against regarding “publicus”, around 1600, as being only an indication of communal rather than private ownership. “publicitatis institutio” is the somewhat archaic but, it would seem, quite accurate expression, which in the first description of the
7. Ordonnancie van tooverloven ende tgebruyck der Sleutelen vande boec-kamer
des Universiteit in Leyden, 1595.

ORDONNANCIE
Van tooverloven ende tgebruyck der Sleutelen
Vande Boec-kamer des Universiteitys
Tot Leyden.

I. Het is of ons van de Caractere et Burgermeesteren
noodige de openingen van des Universiteits Boec-kamer en ende boomen tge-
bruyck daer af ten dienste van gemeene ende gemeyne wa-
ken sal ter ondergheen gemeene Lande tegens 300 groote cotten daer an al-
treders opgeteeld, bedwingende by de achtdeuren guldens ende boden
noch wittre leggen de behoefte ende gewenschte bruchten sal mogen
hebben ende genieten van zy niette planck niette, en alles geniet en on-
vermeert hadde diede geheugentheyt der eckeren ende ledenen, als de be-
exelinge der boec-kamer naer de faculiteuten ende commen, volgende de Ambtenaren daer van
gemaekt ende dienen elck eenen beur den bruch tot gemeyne benegen sal zy genouden
en geheelvoldoende day naar alle de boktelen (gehechts ather den) een groot veel begonckt en
ende kaften geke, ende daer de hoopte kriengens an de soere toeven gelegen zullen zy en-
den opzien nooden boez. Boec-kamer, de boec-kamer van den ledenen sal benegen den
vren Caractere, ende elck een hooch en alie Profeetens, zyd ordanique als extraordanique,
Regent ende Subregent van Collegie, mistagbers an alle die wesende vande Baggareerder beler-
ner Sede de selue oor begeeren, ende den boez, opzien afspelen zullen, ende dit al aan-
der de bolgende Regulien.

II. Dat niemand noch byg, noch byzondere of andere, op-
ter boec-kamer geding byloge of begong, noch byg, of niette planck, noch byg andere,
dit niette maken, noch byg maken en saeker.

III. Belangende de bocken die selue opzichters van den boez, en
cleynheytsg ge byg andere redening of in de gelegen caffen saery, dat byg, noch be planck
byg, en de boec-kamer van vande caffen, die selue daemae seder op haer planck, selue, en al af selue byg
dit saery.

Aldus gedae hyde Heren Roosheer Johan van der Doe / Peer tot Roostorp:
ij Johan van der Doe / ende Johan de Groot Caractere, Claes Willems v. van
Warmon / Jacob Tomasz, ende Laurens Anneis v. van Zwaenwyk Burgerme-
steren ten Sager en Zee vooff, ende ten bene vanh tw Gruyegen ende getekent

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Library (in the context of the mentioned document) concerns the possibility of instituting a Latin used to be denied them, concerning the independence of before could arise. The discussion of 1595 with regard to the commission of Berner associations. First, the library, which was a responsibility of the Hall and what was the case. They were, in fact, by the Librarian Zonarri, with the help of Lipsius’ De

The Count of nine volumes, it was the ducal one. Dousa had previously begun, he had discovered at the Court of the Haar, there was “John of the great Charles V, in St. Mary arrived in 1591. The count, the court, neglected a building for a temporary building, “vermin” which was the difficulty to obtain proper (The Executive was on permanent inventory) or the making, or it came to the Lords. The library, of which they had possession actually not, therefore, or related Heren were present.
Library (in the *Alma Academia*) occurs in the striking context of: “… prout in usum Reipublicae praeceptae tamen Doctorum Virorum et Studiosorum publicitas instituta est.” 24 Two other circumstances rule out the possibility of its having been a truly general library. The Latin used almost exclusively as the language of books denied them to much of the populace; and the regulations concerning the keys prohibited the students from making independent use of the Library.

Before concern ourselves further, however, with the question of opening and use, let us return to the summer of 1595 which saw the opening of the Library, the publication of Bertius’ catalogue and the resultant flood of donations. Firstly, the town of Leiden handed over its own library, which until then had been housed in the Town Hall and which had, as its nucleus, Plantin’s gift of 1585.20 Among these books were some in the Dutch language. They were thus the first in the vernacular to be acquired by the Library and included Waghenau’s *Spiegel der Zenuwert*, works by Simon Stevin and a translation of Lipsius’ *De Constantia*.

The Court of Holland donated a Hebrew Talmud in nine volumes and some other Hebrew works. This gift was the disappointing outcome of a transaction in which Douss had initially placed high hopes. The previous year he had discovered the remains of a large, general library at the Court of Holland in The Hague. It had been accumulated by a canon from Gorinchem, Jan Dircsz. van der Haer, or Johannes Theodoricus Haitius, nicknamed “John of the books”, who had offered it to the Emperor, Charles V, Count of Holland, in exchange for a canonry in St. Mary’s Chapel at the Court in The Hague. He had arrived in 1531 and moved with his books into a house in the court.24 In the course of time the library was sadly neglected and was lying in an attic “not only useless and unused but also under dust and filth from birds and vermin” when Douss discovered it in 1594.24 He managed to obtain permission from the “Gecommitteerde Raden” (The Executive Council) to transfer the books to Leiden on permanent loan.24 He had already drawn up an inventory 24 and made the necessary preparations (including the making of baskets to transport the books). But when it came to effecting the move it appeared that Their Lordships refused to co-operate; they regarded the library, of whose existence they had not even been aware, as their own property, affirming that a contract in their possession entitled them to the books.20 The transfer did not, therefore, take place. The Talmud 20 and “some related Hebrew writings, numbering in all XVI items” were presented in July 1595. These 16 volumes undoubtedly were the first accessions placed in an additional *plateus*, 7.

The Talmud made a strong impression, so much so that the myth arose it had with the Bible formed part of the inaugural gift of William of Orange.244 Scaliger was also misinformed if, as is claimed, he said: “Le Talmud qui est icy en la Bibliothèque est le bon, qui n’est point chastré. Messieurs les Estats l’ont eu d’un Monastère & l’ont donné a la Bibliothèque.” 243 The present copy is not the original, which had a fine written inscription,244 but comes from the Legatum Warnerianum. The original was probably sold, as was customary when a new copy or a new edition arrived.

As far as the other Hebrew works are concerned, two of the three volumes are probably still extant: our present copies of the *Biblia Bombergiana* (Venice 1524-1526) and of P. Galatinius, *De arcantis catholicae veritatis* (1516) not only exhibit the characteristics of our oldest holdings but have in addition a title on the fore-edge in the same form as appeared in Douss’s inventory of 1594, and the same even as appeared in Van der Haer’s of 1534.244

In addition to the fourth *plateus* for theological works already mentioned, law, history and philosophy now each required a second. Copies of Bertius’ catalogue exist which include these new acquisitions on (very neatly) pasted pieces of paper, and in two newly-inserted quires, marked CC and CCC, although they ought to be read after quire D. The nine volumes of the Talmud are here extensively described and an index to the *Orthodoxographia monumenta S. Patrum* 245 has also been appended, as is the case in quire C, where there was an index to the four volumes of the *Bibliothea Sanctorum Patrum*. Bertius obviously enjoyed bibliographical work; his catalogue is of an accuracy and copiousness which the later catalogues of Heinsius cannot match. An index of all the “worthy benefactors” concludes the book (quires N and O).

Quire M containing the “Catalogus librorum omnium, qui in hunc usque diem Lugduni Batavorum aut a professoribus aut ab aliis eius academiae membri scriptis editique sunt” has not yet been discussed. We assume that this quire dates from later than the first version of the catalogue, since its contents date from July 1595 when Raphelengius donated “Libros omnes in hac academia scriptos a se typis editos.” 247 This gift, combined with the Plantin editions given by the town of Leiden, made the collection of works by Leiden professors and other members of the University almost complete. Some of the publications of Schouten and Paets were still needed and these were now bought and the whole collection bound,248 then listed in quire M in the old-fashioned manner,
alphabetically under Christian name. In the catalogue of 1612 and those following, the titles from this Leiden supplement are scattered amongst all the others. Some of the books still form convolutes, while others were later rebound—this being especially desirable in the case of works belonging to different faculties.

Anyone making a survey of what was published at Leiden in the University’s first two decades on the basis of this quire would be struck by its character. There were few works by specialists, and theology occupied only a modest place. But there were many poems by Doussu, father and son, and also by students such as Adrianus van Blijenburg, Georgius Benedicti (Wertelo) and Dominicus Baudius. There were, finally, the works of the renowned Leiden humanists, Lipiusus, Vulcanius and Scaliger. It could be said that this section of the library is in fact a reflection of the Leiden of Doussu.

Merula

On the death of Doussu Junior, it was not Bertius who succeeded him but Paulus Merula. The most important consideration must have been that he lived next door to the Library. The fact is that regulations for use as laid down in the ordinance of May 24th 1595 had not worked well in practice and the Curators were contemplating an alternative arrangement. At first all had seemed well. The granting of the “ius clavium” was a friendly gesture on the part of the University, and it was understandable that after the donation made by the Court of Holland, its members should receive keys. Other bodies in The Hague also received keys when, in November 1595, Jan van Hout personally delivered the complete set. The Library of Leiden University was indeed the library of Holland.

Eighteen months later, when Doussu’s successor had to be appointed, it was made plain at the meeting of the board of Curators that even in such a short space of time abuses had arisen: many professors were too free in lending their keys to students and others, contrary to the ordinance and to the pledge they had had to make on receipt; also many copies had been made of the keys. The result was the appointment of Merula, who lived in the Beguinage; either he or one of his household could open the Library whenever required. Furthermore, to be assured of his close surveillance of the library, the Curators ordered Merula to be in the Library twice a week to ensure that the books were kept clean and none went missing, and that no persons other than professors received keys.

The measure was of course ineffective, as too many keys were already in circulation. All the keys were therefore recalled, and the lock changed. Merula next inquired in the first of his memoranda whether everyone was to use the same key or whether keys had to be distributed anew. He recommended that if the latter were preferred several notable Leiden citizens such as Daniel van der Meulen and Nic. van der Wiele should also be recipients. The Curators decided the former: the keys were to remain in Merula’s possession, and professors wishing to avail themselves of the Library were to obtain a key from him or one of his family. The Library was to be opened twice a week—on Wednesdays and Saturdays from four o’clock to six in the afternoon. Franck Willems van Dobben (or Dubben), Steward of the States’ College of Theology, would then take charge. It was to the advantage, therefore, of the students. There is extant a protest by them against the closure of the Library which they said was greatly to their disadvantage and was not in accord with the intentions of all the worthy benefactors who had intended to further their studies. A copy of this (undated) petition appears amongst the loose papers pertaining to August 8th 1597 in AC 41. If it preceded the opening of May 1597, this dating cannot be correct. In February, when Merula was ordered to supervise the Library personally, it was apparently not closed, and in May we hear of new keys. The Library may have been closed some time before this, but it could not have been for long. The students’ petition would seem more likely, therefore, to refer to 1606. The professors did everything possible, of course, to regain the “ius clavium”; in August 1597, a request to that effect was turned down. But in February 1598, the Curators agreed to the Senate itself drafting a form of undertaking to be signed by those to receive keys. The “ius clavium” was not restored until the following June; the professors could once more obtain keys in return for a written pledge. Anyone found guilty of misuse was to renew the lock at his own expense. Scaliger’s receipt has been preserved as an autograph of the famous man.

The arrangement seems to have worked well for several years. In 1603 the number of holders was further increased by the admittance of clergy, a group who we may be sure took advantage of this. It appears that in the autumn of 1605 things again went amiss, as, without any record of previous complaints, we find the laconic communication: “To prevent irregularities in the use of the Library, it will, in future, remain closed.” A request by the students in the following year that the twice-weekly opening be resumed was refused “because of misuse of the books by some.”
Text inquired of one was to distribute certain keys. He preferred that Wille van der Velden should be the recipients. The keys were to be kept in a certain key cabinet and was to be opened on Saturdays from 1 to 2. Willems van Strijp was the College of Rhode's. There is extant a description of the Library and its disadvantage in the description of all the avenues to further the collection appears in a letter of August 8th of May of 1948. When, and so on personally, a number of new students' time before the outside of the students' doors. It is necessary to refer to the following, of course, a request of January 1598, setting a form of administrative keys. The following is a list of main keys in the Library of misuse of the keys. Scaliger's words appeared in the famous Fama et Praecepta.

And well for the Collection was further the group who we wish. We again went the complaints, we must not forget irregularities in future, remain the following. The following was assumed was 'The Library by some'.

The Library. 25 years, from the 16th to the 18th.

There are many strange names in the Catalogus Rariora, and the first two or three are:

First, Mr. Peter Huydecoper, Pensionary of the Library; he himself filled up the blanks in the Catalogus Rariora, and it is often mentioned that he was the owner of the Library.

Secondly, Mr. Desmarets, who was the Curator of the Library, and to the present time.

We know nothing of the first, and how Mr. Desmarets came to be the Curator of the Library.

Thirdly, we know nothing of the very first book which was the donation, the book "Principiolum," 1603; nor of the other dates.

Fourthly, we know nothing of the whole of the Library's history, but we do know that it was a handwritten "Catalogus Rariora." We also know that it was a handwritten "Catalogus Rariora." We also know that it was a handwritten "Catalogus Rariora." We also know that it was a handwritten "Catalogus Rariora." We also know that it was a handwritten "Catalogus Rariora." We also know that it was a handwritten "Catalogus Rariora." We also know that it was a handwritten "Catalogus Rariora." We also know that it was a handwritten "Catalogus Rariora." We also know that it was a handwritten "Catalogus Rariora."
The Library was closed to the students for no less than 25 years, from 1605 to 1630.

There are four pieces of information about Merula’s term as Librarian which are of special importance, the first two of which were not made use of by Molhuysen.

First, Merula repeatedly informed the Curators or the Pensionary of the City of Leiden of his wishes concerning the Library. These memoranda (or “remonstrances” as he himself sometimes calls them) have no dates; yet dates can generally be estimated from internal evidence, since it is often clear which Curators’ meeting they preceded, which auction they refer to, and so on. They are loose sheets in the section of Appendices to the Resolutions of the Curators AC 41, and are included as “Appendix B” to the present article.

Secondly, the series of annual accounts of the Treasurer to the University (AC 264 ff.) begins in the year 1598. We no longer have access to complete lists of what each bookseller supplied or bound, such as those for the years 1587-1596, but we do at least know who was employed and how much was paid to various suppliers.

Thirdly, so many gifts were received that Merula began to print a separate catalogue of these, which begins with the very first again and continues, adding each subsequent donation, until the 1603 edition—the so-called Catalogus Prinicipum.193 We do not know why it came to an end in 1603; nor, in fact, do the memoranda continue beyond that date.

Fourthly, Merula in 1607 drew up a catalogue not of the whole collection but of the Rariora. The following were included: Latin and Greek manuscripts; books with handwritten notes or collations; important old editions; “books brought from distant lands”; maps, atlases and globes. Portraits and prints are not mentioned. Provenances were given specifying not only the names of donors but also the collections from which the books had been bought. This catalogue, which can be found in the Library archives (BA C 3), was not published until 1912, when Molhuysen incorporated it in the preface to his catalogue of the BPL.194

Let us now examine the gifts which, thanks to Merula’s active policy, were so abundant.195 According to one of his proposals,196 a “notice board” displaying the names of benefactors was hung in the Library to encourage others. These records of donors and gifts were then printed: in this way the Catalogus Principum was born. Copies of this Catalogus were appended to “begging-letters” which Merula sent out to various institutions.197

The catalogue tells, for example, of those from Dordrecht, Merula’s home town: the magistrates, the prominent citizens, and the students studying at Leiden, who endowed198 the library not only with books, but also with the Dordrecht escutcheons and prints of the town.

There were also many students who did not forget the Library after leaving Leiden.

Foreigners were generous, too. Guilielmus Eyer, a medical student from London, made no less than three gifts.199 It seems that these were the Library’s first English books, not in language but in origin, for even the work by which the English bookbinder and printer Thomas Basson was represented, the Lexicon Iuris Simonis Scardi, did not come from England.200 They were theological works by Whitaker and others, only a few of which in fact came from England (others being printed at Geneva or Antwerp). Also listed by Merula in his catalogue of Rariora was a map of the world with a Christian soldier in battle and a poem by Eyer himself.201

The gift of a Welshman, Henticus Perreus, must have been regarded as curious for another reason: it was a manual of his mother-tongue, Cambria-Britannicae Cym- briaco-Lingus Institutiones et Rudimenta by Joannes David Rhaeusus (London 1592).202 The aim of this work—to aid understanding of the Cymric translation of the Bible published shortly before—must have been poorly achieved, since the latter (now recorded as Bibli a Cymbriac, London 1588) was catalogued successively as: (1612) Utrumque Testamentum Anglicæ; (1623) Bibli a Anglo-Brittan- nica; (1640) Bibli a Britannica, qualified by Irlandica vel Hibernica sunt; (1674) once more Bibli a Britannica. How this ‘Bible’ arrived here, nobody knows. Perhaps it was the gift of an enthusiastic Welshman between 1603 and 1612.

Also worthy of mention are the gifts from Poland such as a book of laws and statutes of the Kingdom of Poland from two brothers Rey à Naglowicz, Equites Poloni.203 This work was written in Latin. For the first works written in a Slavonic language we must mention Philippus Cluverius (1580-1622) of Danzig, although these donations reached the Library circuitously. This student, who later became famous as the founder of historical geography,204 had already made a substantial gift to the Library in January 1600;205 it is early evidence of his special interests: an edition of the Tabula Posteringiana and a personally drawn map of ancient Italy. Editions of works by classical writers, a history of France, and a Hamburg Bible (1596) with the text of the Septuagint, two Latin versions and the German translation by Luther were also included in his gift.

The Library possesses a Polish translation of Luther’s Haupstelle (Königsberg 1573) with a handwritten dedication in Polish from “Filip Kliver” to “Jerzenius Douza”
dated Lugduni Bat. 28 febr.149 The year was, alas, cut off during binding but considering biographical evidence and Georgius Dousa's death in October 1599, February 1599 is the only plausible date.142 This son of Janus Dousa was in Poland from 1592 to 1594 to learn the language, thus giving Cluverius good reason to present him with a book in Polish. They may have become acquainted in Poland, since the young Philip was a page at the Polish court before attending a Grammar School in Danzig. The book appears in the auction list of the libraries of Dousa's two sons and must have reached the Library before 1623.143

There is another book in a Slavonic language to be found in the Scaliger collection, which probably also came from Cluverius. This was a New Testament in Croatian, published at Tübingen in 1563, with a fine binding dated 1564.143 A "super-libros" bearing the following legend is stamped right on top of the gilded panel stamp on the front cover: "Simon Cluver Gethanensis urinque iurs doctor." This was probably Philippus' great-uncle, Simon Cluver (r. 1540-1598),144 who died shortly before Philippus left for Leiden: the young man may have taken the heirloom with him and later given it to his master, Scaliger, to whose circle he belonged. This book, too, seems to have presented cataloguing problems, for although the title-page is also in German: "(.) zum ersten Mal in die Crobatische Sprach verdolmetscht und mit Cyrlischen Buchstaben getruckt (. . .)", the language has been taken for Russian and the script was described as late as 1716 as "Litteris Tirolici" or "Tirolensium". The gifts of Philippus Cluverius do not seem to have done much to promote the pursuit of Slavonic languages.

Let us now turn back to the last years of the 16th century when, under the active direction of Merula, the Library and its collections began to take shape, thanks partly to many gifts from home and abroad. The Library not only received books and manuscripts, but also portraits, maps, prints and even an alligator, which figures in a long account in the Catalogus Principum.145 In one of his memoranda to the Curators,146 Merula asks whether he ought to hang the reptile in the Library or place it on top of a bookcase. However, it seems the animal did not remain in the Library: there is no sign of it in Woudanus' print of 1610.147 What can be seen through is the famous prospect of Constantinople, donated on August 11th 1598 by Nicolaes van der Wele, Treasurer of the University. This sepia drawing of 1599 by Melchior Lorids, 11.45 m. long and 8.45 m. high,148 adorning the northern wall under the windows for as long as the original arrangement of the Library was so maintained.149 Also to be seen in the Woudanus print are the painted portraits and coat of arms of William the Silent and Prince Maurice, which today still grace the general reading room. These were presented by Prince Maurice on August 1st 1598.150 It was at this time, too, that the portraits of Erasmus and Raphelengius were received as gifts.151 and that of Janus Secundus purchased.152 R.E.O. Ekkart has identified them in the Woudanus print as the nearest on the left, the farthest on the right and the middle one on the right—no mean achievement as the rendering of Janus Secundus in particular bears almost no resemblance to extant portraits. We have already seen that the Woudanus print is not entirely reliable, in that the books are all depicted fore-edge outwards. Ekkart finds the same lack of realism in the portrait of Prince Maurice; he also judges the reproduction of the painted escutcheons incorrect and the rendering of the various portraits very free.153 The remainder of the portraits in this print are quite unidentifiable.

Irrespective of these details, it is interesting to try and discover whether the atmosphere at least has been faithfully conveyed in this extremely well-known print, which is reproduced in every book on library history. The prevailing spirit is hardly one of study: gentlemen greet one another and chat; there are even dogs walking about, as is often the case in paintings of church interiors. Would dogs really have come into the Library, or are they only a convention? Merula's fear that the globes might be mishandled by children or inexperienced students when the Library was open again does not exactly suggest an atmosphere of peaceful study. It is probably true to say that the Library was a place of interest to be visited, just like the Anatomy Theatre housed next door.

From the very beginning, the part played by decoration was great. We have already seen that Bertius expressed in the preface to his catalogue the wish for the Library to be embellished with maps, globes and portraits. It has been suggested that this preface could have influenced the execution of the famous frieze of portraits in the upper Reading Room of the Bodleian Library.154 The idea of course was by no means strange in this period. It was known that libraries in antiquity had been so adorned, for Bertius mentions in passing the orator Eumenius and Cicero's Letters to Atticus as sources. Also, Lipius was soon to begin the tenth chapter of his well-known De Bibliothecis syntagma (Antwerp 1602) entitled: "Imagines in sjs doctorum, qua cumb libris disponebant". The idea had already
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J. N. L. Myres has pointed out, in the first of several articles devoted to the frieze recovered at Oxford in 1949, that Paolo Giovio of Crete had hung his library with portraits before the middle of the 16th century; and he gives further examples. The works of Giovio, or Jovius as he was known at Leiden since his Opera Omnia, together with those of Philip of Leiden, were given to the Library in 1595 by that same Jan van Hout who had given Bertius his directions for furnishing the Library. Also available, as we have seen, was the work of A. Thevet, Portraits et Vies, which provided further inspiration and examples for the Bodleian frieze.

It was not intended here at Leiden to produce a series of paintings based on these and similar portrait books for, just as the whole library was on a more modest scale than the Bodleian, so the Librarian attempted to acquire what was wanted in gifts or for merely nominal sums. The "adornments" for the Library would appear to have occupied not only Bertius, but also Merula. This is clear from item 2c of the first of his memoranda, which consists of his "programme." Some of his wishes were quickly fulfilled; others, in contrast, were never realized. As an instance we may note the interesting suggestion that small copper engravings of learned men should be collected and placed, according to faculty, on top of the bookcases. Had this been done, we should have had something similar to the Oxford frieze, on a smaller scale. Nothing materialised, however, beyond a few portraits and escutcheons.

To return to the Bodleian, it is interesting to observe that the Leiden Librarian, Janus Douai Filius appears amongst those portrayed, though as a statesman and without his other function being mentioned. Bachrach has posed the question: why? One very down-to-earth answer could be: because he appeared in one of the portrait books consulted in the production of the frieze. A complete list of the portraits, giving iconographical details, has never been published, but according to E. J. S. Parsons, Secretary of the Library, the models for Douai Filius, Lipsius, and others were in J. J. Boissard's Bibliotheca sine thesaurum viratris et gloriae in quod continentur illustrium eruditione et doctrina virorum effigies et tabulae (1599).

A further book used at Oxford was the Praestantiam aliquot theologorum effigies by Jacobus Verheyden, a Dutchman who was a personal friend of Bodley's. Bachrach lays great emphasis on this book, which was explicitly antipapal, and is thus in keeping with the work of Bodley and James, who obviously wished to give their Library a Protestant character. As has already been stated, however, it seems unlikely that Leiden was "the first academic smithy in the paper-war against the Counter-Reformation", and the first portraits do nothing to suggest that it was: they are those of Erasmus and Janus Secundus. Verheyden's work, personally presented to Bodley, was not available in our Library in the early period and did not appear even in the 1716 catalogue. Our present copy came from the legacy of the bookseller Prosper Marchand (d. 1756) as did our copy of Boissard.

Merula also wished to purchase maps by Plancius and Hondius, or by others; in particular, a map of the Netherlands. Now, in Woodman's print two maps can be seen on the walls, in addition to the portraits, but they are not of the Netherlands: the western and eastern part of Europe can be clearly distinguished. It is assumed that these were more than ornaments and were also used for reference, as were the globes. In the print, gentlemen can be seen using compasses to measure distances on the globes. The University had already bought two at a pawnbroker's auction in 1588 to "be preserved and used in the service of the University". It is not known where they were put, but it is quite possible that they later appeared in the Library. A second set was then presented by Jodocus Hondius.

On these globes (the celestial ones having been dedicated to the scholars of "Academiea Lugdenunensia Batavorum et Frankeirensis") Hondius had incorporated a great deal of information culled from the latest voyages of discovery. For instance, on the terrestrial globe, there are details from Willem Barentz's voyage to Nova Zembla; and on the celestial globe we find depicted for the first time the stars around the South Pole, observed on the first Dutch voyage to the East Indies by Pieter Dirksz. Keyser. This brings home to us that we are dealing with what, for that period, was recently acquired knowledge. In addition to the two sets of globes already mentioned, the 1607 catalogue lists as nos. 5 and 6 "Sphaeres manuales, communis et Copernici". This broaches a matter which was then still very topical, since the Copernican cosmology, although expounded as early as 1543, had not yet been generally accepted—the Librarian Merula himself being among its opponents, as is apparent from his Cosmographia. Science was thus complemented by ornamentation.

Both the astronomers and the surveyors who were instructed in the "Nederduytse Mathematique" (situated underneath the Library) are likely to have been interested in the globes. In 1633, Galilius succeeded in securing the transfer of the two large globes to the observatory on the roof of the University Building, for use by the astronomer, on behalf of the University, and the purchase of the globes was a".72 However, the "Verre" and the "Merula" itself remain in the Library.

The close of the 17th century saw a great many scholarly beginnings, and, in the following century, which was to see the bustling of the Oxford libraries, the Bodleian began to acquire more and more scientific and contemporary manuscripts. But one of the "Verre" and the "Merula" itself, which he did not acquire, was the East was in the 17th century entirely, "To say that there is a library of a Chinese manuscript in China gives a misleading impression. A Chinese manuscript has not yet Library, as if, has been compiled, through the Chinese acquisitions, etc., for curiosity? In the case of a few manu-
use by the astronomers.\textsuperscript{119} Frans van Schooten requested, on behalf of the surveyors that they might enjoy the use of the globes in the Library and that these might be locked away.\textsuperscript{120} He apparently feared the same injudicious use as Merula.\textsuperscript{121} The Curators ruled only that the globes should remain in the Library, there to be used properly.\textsuperscript{122}

The close relationship between ornamentation and scholarship can also be observed in connection with the beginnings of the collection of Indonesian manuscripts which was to become so very important. De Houtman had already brought back from his first expedition a palmleaf manuscript from Java, which was a complete riddle to contemporary scholarship. Merula promptly approached one of the Amsterdam merchants of the "Compagnie van Verre" and requested him to present it to the Library,\textsuperscript{123} which he did. This product of the first sea-voyage to the East was in its possession as early as 1597. Whether it contained Chinese laws, the Koran or something else entirely, "Tempus certius quid docet\textsuperscript{t}it.\textsuperscript{124} It is curious that there should be in the Bodleian Library a fragment of a Chinese book inscribed on the fly-leaf: "A book of China given me at Leyden by Doctor Merla professor in Historiae".\textsuperscript{125} It is scarcely possible that the gift dates from the time when he was "professor historiarum" but not yet Librarian (i.e. from 1592 to the beginning of 1597) if, as has been assumed, this fragment reached our country through the voyage of De Houtman (who saw many Chinese on Java).\textsuperscript{126} Would Merula, so intent on making acquisitions for the Library, have given away such a curiosity? In the catalogue of rations which Merula finally compiled, the "Books brought from distant lands"\textsuperscript{127} were still few in number but the western, and particularly the Latin manuscripts, already formed an attractive collection. In addition to many gifts, we find here quite a number of manuscripts "Emt. ex. bibl. Nansi\textsuperscript{t}it". This relates to Franciscus Nansius, a Flemish philologist (c. 1525-1595) of the Bruges humanist circle, who lived in Leiden with his manuscript treasures and spent the last years of his life as a teacher of Greek at Dordrecht. He published Nonsius' \textit{Graece Paraphrasis Evangelii secundum Ioaninem} (Lugd. Bat. 1589). We do not know when the purchase of works from his estate took place. Credit is generally given to Merula for this important acquisition (which would mean that it took place after February 24th 1597) but we know too much of Merula's \textit{faits et gestes} as Librarian to believe that this would have remained unrecorded. We have attempted elsewhere\textsuperscript{128} to show that the purchase could have taken place in 1596 when the Librarian, Douss Filius, was on his travels; thus his father, the Curator Janus Douss, could have dealt with such things. The Latin manuscripts in this collection are of particular importance and originate mainly from what is now Belgium and north-west France. Many of these manuscripts are of Latin classics, such as several by Ovid, Persius and Juvenal (now BPL 82); Martianus Capella (now BPL 88); Chalcidius' commentary on Plato's \textit{Timaeus} (now BPL 64); Nansius' most famous manuscript, however, the Quadrasus of Lucretius, was not yet in the Library, only later reaching Leiden via Vossius (Voss. Lat. Q 94). A curious inclusion is the fine Latin Evangelia (now BPL 48) which seems quite misplaced among the manuscripts of philological interest. But the many volumes of Latin translations of the epigrams of \textit{Anthologia Graeca} (now BPG 25 and 52) are characteristic of Nansius' original humanist milieu at Bruges.

From Merula's \textit{Ratiora} catalogue some idea can also be formed of the acquisition of "libri annotati" of Gerard van Falckenburgh (c. 1538-1578). This Greek scholar and Neo-Latin poet from Nimyegen, correspondent of Lipsius and Valencius among others, and secretary to Thomas Rehdiger, had published the first edition (1569) of the \textit{Dionysiaca} of Nonnus and produced other philological works in the form of annotations to various Greek text editions. This collection became the property of the Library in 1602 for fl. 150.—after it had lain for some time in Merula's house because of the lack of finances.\textsuperscript{129}

It is precisely the evident lack of any deliberations relating to the purchase of the Nansiani and of any item connected with it in the accounts of the Treasurer to the University which led us to assume that this purchase must have taken place in 1596. This is a year for which the Curators' Resolutions for May and August are missing, while the record of Treasurers' accounts does not begin until 1598.

There were, finally, two more important purchases in the area of Western manuscripts at the end of Merula's term as Librarian and the beginning of Heinians. These were brought to light by K. A. de Meijler and concern the two auctions of the library of the Heidelberg printer Hieronymus Commelius (both being held at Leiden, the one on October 4th 1606 at Orleis', the other at Elzevier's on October 6th 1607).\textsuperscript{130} There are no memoranda from Merula during this period, nor did he include these new treasures in his \textit{Ratiora} catalogue, even though it is dated 1607. The purchases in question are, however, to be found in the Treasurer's accounts: fl. 289-6-6 was paid to Orleis in 1606 (the only payment made to a bookseller in that year); and Elzevier received fl. 220.—, not in 1607 but in 1608 (various items having apparently been

Leiden was an engineer against the wind, or do nothing at all...
deferred). According to De Meijer’s calculations, 183 25 Latin manuscripts on the one hand, and 3 Greek and 3 Latin manuscripts on the other must have been acquired for these respective amounts; there may also of course have been some printed books bought on these occasions and included in the price.

On pages 88-94 of the 1612 catalogue, Heinisius described the manuscript holdings of the Library as “Libri aliquot manuscripti, aut cum MSS. colti promiscue.” The identity and provenance of by far the greater part of these have now been established. There are also several manuscripts, already in the Library’s possession in 1612, which were bought by others at the Commelins auctions and were thus donated (or sold) to the Library shortly after. Petrus Scriverius, for instance, donated a Martianus Capella manuscript (now BPL 36) and one by Godfrey of Viterbo (BPL 15) only a few days after the auction, viz. on October 15th, 1606, as appears from inscriptions. It is not known whether Janus Rutgersius donated the five manuscripts (including the famous Servius (BPL 52)) in which he inscribed his name. In BPL 14, 35, 52, 91 and 93, all from the 1606 Commelins auction, there is the inscription Jani Rutgersii with, in four cases, a price ranging from fl. 1. — to fl. 3. —, but no evidence that they were gifts, and no date. The Librarian could also have bought them from him for the Library, before 1612, in which case the payment is concealed among the unspecified disbursements made to him from time to time. It is most probable, however, that Rutgersius like Scriverius, bought books at the auction with the intention of giving them to the Library.

There is not so much information about Merula’s purchase of printed works, except where Rariola are concerned. In the subsequent printed catalogue, that of 1612, it is naturally impossible to differentiate between the acquisitions of Merula and those of Heinisius in his first years as Librarian. It seems that in Merula’s time lack of money made acquisitions difficult. His request that he might have at his disposal a modest sum of money, paid quarterly, to buy “small ind rare” books not otherwise donated, was not granted. 184 In the case of larger works, their purchase had sometimes to be deferred until there was a liberal benefactor willing to finance it. For instance, Merula suggested tentatively in August 1601 that it might be advisable to buy Lociutum Albertini in nine volumes, and Lociutum Aegidi Bellermone. 185 When some months later the town of Delft offered to finance the buying of law books to the sum of one hundred guilders, he suggested that the cost of the large works mentioned be included. 186 The commentaries of Albericus de Rosate (in eight volumes) do in fact figure in the Catalogus Principum as part of the Delft gift; 187 the other work did not reach our collection.

It is quite amusing to see how the governments of the various towns of Holland waited for one another to bestow favours and found that, above all, precedence must be observed. Thus we no longer know what gifts were eventually made by “the Gentlemen” of Amsterdam and Gouda who had earlier made fine promises, but were awaiting the generosity to be shown by those of Leiden. 188 This information cannot be found in either the Catalogus Principum or the memoranda, since they do not continue after 1603. Had Merula lost some of his élan?

At one time he had still hoped to make an important acquisition gratis: that is, by confiscation. When it was rumoured that Prince Maurice had laid siege to Bois-le-Duc, Merula immediately requested the Leiden magistrature to urge the Prince to bring that town’s libraries to safety for the use of this University. 189 Unfortunately for Merula, Maurice was obliged to raise the siege after a few weeks. 190 Some attention must be given to two purchases of
printed works made by Merula. The first concerns law books from the Marnix library.

It is known that Marnix of Saint Aldegondat had a fine library which was sold publicly on July 6th 1599 at his house in the Pieterskerkgracht in Leiden, where his widow Josina de Lannoy still lived. The catalogue of this auction is the oldest of its kind to be preserved—in a copy in the Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences of Amsterdam.139 It is remarkable that it has no heading for "Juridici", Kernkamp, in fact, used this as an argument in his attempt to show that Marnix did not take possession of the confiscated library of Philip II's Privy Councillor, the lawyer Joachim Hoppers, although he had been given the right to it.140

Whatever the truth of this may be, it is certainly inaccurate to say Marnix did not possess any law books, since the present writer has discovered that some of them had been sold to Leiden University Library even before the auction.

It can be seen in one of Merula's memoranda that before the auction Marnix's law books were at The Hague; also that Merula had already bought some of them there for fl. 68-2, with the permission of Dousa as Curator and that of the Pensionary of the City (to make him the representative of the burgomasters).141

The Curators certainly authorized payment of the above sum to Merula in May 1599 "as restitution for some monies advanced by him in payment for books on behalf of the Library of the aforesaid University".142

We may therefore assume that this item refers to the law books of Marnix and that Merula's document must be dated April or May 1599.

Merula refers to a specification drawn up by himself, but, alas, this is not extant. We may nevertheless attempt an approximate reconstruction of this purchase if we consult the next Leiden catalogue of 1612. The books in platea A of law books, and the first five volumes in platea B had already been registered in the same platea in the 1595 catalogue; then follow in B the numbers 6 to 16, which we know were bought or donated in the summer and autumn of 1595. At this point exact details of purchase unfortunately cease; but we still have a chronological guide to books donated, in the form of the Catalogus Principe.

It would now appear that numbers B 17 to 39, excepting a few items of unknown provenance, were gifts from 1597 and 1598. In platea C there is first of all a gift made by the City of Haarlem in January 1599; then follow 16 volumes of unknown provenance, followed by volumes 18, 19 and 22 from the same Haarlem gift—whilst the provenance of

the intervening items 20 and 21 is not known. It is therefore highly likely that the numbers C 2-17 represent items from the Marnix library and this may also be true of numbers 20 and 21. In fact, the chronological sequence in the plateas is not fully consistent, as can be seen from the example of the books from Haarlem. Towards the end of this platea are a few more works received in preceding years, among which 24-25 and 29-33 are of unknown provenance. Plateas D begins with the 27 volumes of the Oceanus Juris, donated by the City of Leiden in February, 1603. Beyond this point, perhaps, we cannot expect to find any Marnix books, especially since the books here are more recent, that is, printed between 1575 and 1598. The oldest book in C 2-17 dates from 1509, the newest from 1550.

All of these books are probably still in our possession, at least, there is no reason to suppose that the copies which we now have are replacements. Every one, however, was later rebound. No names or annotations are visible.

Any attempt to estimate from the sum of fl. 68-2 how many books were purchased would be purely speculative, considering the wide variation in prices, but if we notice for example that the four-volume Zasio, Lyons 1548, numbered B 7-10, was bought for fl. 15.— in 1595, it does not seem unlikely that 16 volumes, and perhaps more, could have been obtained for fl. 68-2.

Appendix C gives a list of numbers of books, C 2-17, 20-21, 24-25, 29-33, which could be thought to have belonged to Marnix, the former more certainly than the latter.

Until now we have said nothing of the books in smaller format. This category was of much less importance than that of folio volumes. In the 1595 catalogue there was no mention of law books in the cupboard for smaller volumes, whereas in 1612 twenty were catalogued. The provenance of fourteen of these is known. As far as the remaining six are concerned, no chronology can be inferred from their sequence and, although it is improbable that all belonged to Marnix, they are nevertheless recorded in Appendix C.

In the document previously mentioned, Merula had also requested permission to buy some books at the auction itself. Whether he in fact did so we do not know. The name of Marnix does not appear in the accounts. The item may be concealed in a payment of fl. 66.— to Elsevier for the supply and binding of books for the Library in 1599.143 Merula was also repaid fl. 31-10 in 1600 for "monies advanced".144 It is somewhat improbable, therefore, that much more was bought—at least, if anything was, it could not have cost much.

It seems that the Library now possesses three books and two manuscripts from the Marnix auction which were in the
Library as early as 1612 and so could have been purchased at the auction. One of these is Prolianni's Geographia (Basil. 1533), which has Marinus's name written on the title-page. The other two, works of theology, have not only the name written on the title-page, but also handsome bindings to Marinus's specification: vellum with a gold tiqlet and stamp bearing Marinus's vignette of a ship with his motto "Repos ailleurs." However, this was not a purchase made by the Library but the gift of Guillelmus Eyer, because the books concerned are two of the three works by English theologians donated by this Englishman on September 1st 1599. He did not bring them with him from England, but found them at the auction and bought them for presentation to the Library. This type of gift has already been mentioned in connection with the manuscripts. Individuals would at an auction obtain something in their own field to present to the Library.

The same may also be true of the two manuscripts from Marinus's collection, except that Elias Putschius kept the 13th-century Sallust (now BPL 193) longer before donating it to the Library on August 29th 1601. This is not difficult to understand as he was preparing an edition of Sallust which appeared in 1602.

The other manuscript (now BPL 166) is the one described by Merula in the catalogue of the Rario as "Magistri Gilonis Summa de Administratione Sacramentorum. Tractatus de Officio Sacerdotum. Don. a Paulo Merula." Since it is not listed in the Catalogus Principum, Merula must have donated it between 1603 and 1607. It is probable that it came from the Marinus auction, as on that occasion a "Tractatus theologicus Florentii in Gouda" was sold, and that same BPL 166 has the ex-libris "Iste liber pertinet ad dominum domini Theodrici Florencii in Gouda." It was P. F. J. Obbema who drew attention to this and to a manuscript bought by us as recently as 1956 (now BPL 2611); "Dionysii Carthusianensis tractatus contra perfidiam machometi. Ms. in membr. s. XV." These are the contents; on the spine, however, appears: "Liber Canonicon Reguralium," taken from the ex-libris "Liber Canonicon Reguralium in Emsteyn prope Dordracum in Zvendrace." A "Liber Canonicon Reguralium" is mentioned in the catalogue of Marinus's Library.

To conclude, a copy of Lipsius' Politica (L.B. 1589) with a dedication to Marinus from the author 205 has recently returned to Leiden.

What of Marinus's own works? His widow, Josine de Lannoy, donated two posthumously published works in 1600: Le Tableau des Differens de la Religion and Traite du Sacrement de la Sainte Cine 206 bearing inscriptions in her hand. The gift in question must have constituted the Library's first acquisition of works by this scholar, who had late in life become a citizen of Leiden. In addition to the above, the 1612 catalogue lists one more item, a theological work published in 1599. It is only in the 1640 catalogue that a work of historical interest appears, viz. his speech at the Diet of Worms in 1578. "Accedunt tractatus aliquot Germanicé conscripti" is all we find in the catalogue. Heinsius evidently did not consider it worth the trouble to give these treatises their titles.

The accounts of the Treasurer to the University annually contain items of payment to the various book dealers Elzevier, Basson, Orlers and Maire—probably for supplying new books. One item catches the eye: a purchase to the sum of fl. 247.10 207 at the auction of the library of the well-known Leiden merchant Daniel van der Meulen. 208 In view of the fact that the entire auction yielded only fl. 2800,—, one book in eleven of the total number could have been bought by the Leiden Library (i.e. more than a hundred). The books concerned, however, are likely to have cost more than the average. We know that Merula's wish was to purchase "some Greek writers and scholars, very difficult to obtain at this time" 209 One such title is, in fact, known to us since in the catalogue of the Rario, under the heading "Books in old and reliable editions in Greek in Folio", Merula lists as number 2: "Vetus Testamentum iuxta LXX, ex auctoritate Sixti v. P.M. editum Rome 1587", with the addition "Emt. ex Bibli. van der Meulen." Ten further works (in octavo) are listed under the same heading, but without any indication of their provenance. Could they also have come from Van der Meulen? Comparison with the auction catalogue 211 shows that they could not— with the result that the origin of those Aldus and other Greek editions remains unknown, and no answer can be found to the question of what was purchased at that auction for a comparatively very considerable sum. There are, of course, titles in the Van der Meulen catalogue which also appear in the 1612 catalogue, but there is no group of titles of works obviously bought there. Nothing can be proved. The fact remains only that the titles of the law books which as shown above may have come from the library of Marinus do not appear in the Van der Meulen catalogue.

According to Merula, such items of Rario as he himself catalogued were kept "either in the Office or in the two cupboards on the North side of the aforesaid Office." This office, requested by Bertius at the end of his preface and mentioned by Merula in one of his Memoranda (see Appendix B, II, item 2 below), must have been situated
on the West side of the hall since it is not to be seen in the Woudanus print drawn from this side. The manuscripts kept here were always catalogued in a category apart, but the “Alii libri rariores, maxima ex parte in literis, fere omnes magnorum virorum manu annotati et conscripti” also constituted a separate section in the catalogues of Heinssius; they still stood in the cupboards next to the office (“juxta Museum”), according to the 1623 and 1640 catalogues. In 1674, this section as such no longer existed, the items having been renumbered according to faculty as though they were new acquisitions. It was not until the nineteenth century that the majority were reassembled in the room overlooking the garden (the so-called Tuinkamer). Thereafter they were placed in locked cupboards in the stacks, and finally in a separate department.

The books which early on must have been kept in the locked cupboard alongside the special editions acquired by Merula include the collection of twenty-one Greek liturgical books which the Curator, Corn. van der Mijle, brought back from his ambassadorial trip to Venice in 1609 (and donated to the Library, therefore, shortly after Merula’s death). Unfortunately this collection has not been kept together, the books having been separated according to format, from folio to sextodecimo.215

Once more the question arises: for whom was this Library established? It has already been shown which categories of people had the right to enter the Library. But who in fact used it and which books were consulted are further areas of interest. Consider Marinus, for example. Was he one of the Library’s users? He had received a
commission from the States General in 1594 to translate the Bible into Dutch and in the following year moved to Leiden. Although he did not belong to the privileged group, it is scarcely conceivable that he would have been refused entry. It has been suggested that he moved to Leiden because of its learned milieu and because there "he could have all the reference material of the University Library at his disposal." If we remember how small the Library then was, and discover from the auction catalogue what a large collection Marnix himself possessed, this suggestion seems improbable. He even possessed the Biblia Regia, for instance, and had many more editions of the Bible in its original languages than the Library (not to mention many more editions in modern languages), more concordances, more dictionaries and other works. He was less well provided, however, with commentaries on individual Books of the Bible—a field in which the Library was quite rich, thanks to Holmanns. These would certainly have been of interest to Marnix. He also lacked the Opera Omnia of Erasmus and of Melanchthon. And so his desire to use the Library may not after all be as improbable as at first appears. It is possible that the Biblia Regia and in general the larger items which individuals could not afford would have been consulted chiefly at the Library. As we have already seen, Merula pointed out the importance of some large items besides the Rariora. One such work was the Bibliotheca Patrum. It is interesting to note from the correspondence between Merula and Meursius that the latter received volumes of the Bibliotheca Patrum on loan. The Library was still far too small to satisfy the majority of the scholars' requirements. They themselves all possessed a good number of books and—as it would seem from all the correspondence—they borrowed from one another. Merula himself, for instance, used several of Vulcanius' books for his edition of Ennius. Meursius, however, could turn to the library for the Bibliotheca Patrum and even obtained volumes on loan. Thus, although one would not expect the chained books to have been lent at all, the practice was evidently different. Nevertheless, Merula did write that the books had to be returned before February 8th for the annual "review". It is apparent from the presence of the words "non est" and "dest" next to certain titles in working copies of the catalogues that this was not always complied with. In some instances the books were returned later but in others the disappearance was final. Here we have a clear indication of "use" of the Library's holdings.

A further indication of the importance of the Bibliotheca Patrum is that one of the few occasions involving a request from a faculty concerns a new edition of this work. It would seem that a good opportunity had presented itself, there being someone willing to supply the new edition cheaply in return for the old. No advantage was taken of the offer, apparently, as both the editions (viz. that of 1575 in 4 volumes and that of 1589 in 5 volumes) appear in the later catalogues; the more recent one was probably the copy donated by Joannes de Laet in 1603, which has an alphabetical index in the Catalogus Principum, just as the older edition has one in the 1595 catalogue.

The eight-volume Basle edition of the Opera Omnia of Erasmus can also be regarded as one of the "large items" used in the Library. It is well-known that much interest was taken in Erasmus in the Leiden of those early days and that Merula published an edition of his Compendium Vitae. Flitner devoted a special chapter of his Erasmus im Urteil seiner Nachwelt to "Der Leidener Kreis". The early availability of the Opera Omnia in the Library seems to be as much a further indication of this interest as a prerequisite for continued study. In fact, according to the auction catalogues of their libraries, neither Arminius, Scaliger, Vulcanius, Merula nor Baudius owned copies. The use made of manuscripts is often easier to trace than that of printed works, certainly when editions were the result.

To begin with, Merula himself prepared a new acquisition for publication: Willeram's Latin-German paraphrase of the Canticles. This manuscript from Egmond (according to recent research possibly even written at Egmond around 1100 and containing Dutch Language forms) was donated on May 14th 1597 by Petrus Vekemans Meehoutanus, Rector of the Latin School at Alkmaar, and later at Amsterdam. The donation taking place after Merula and his friend Pancratius Castricominus had corresponded on the subject of an edition.

It seems remarkable that this early product from the Library should involve a Germanic text and not a classical one. Such a display of interest in this direction is not, however, unique; we need only think of Vulcanius' De litteris et lingua Getarum ino Gotoborn, published in that same year, 1597, by Raphelengius. The importance of the circle of young students of Scaliger: Grotius, Heinsius, Putschius, Serovierius, Rutgersius etc. must be reassessed here. It has already been suggested that as long as they were undergraduates they had entry to the Library more frequently than twice a week for two hours, and that they became acquainted with the manuscript holdings. It may even be possible that Scaliger's words quoted at the beginning of the pres-
ent article “Est hic magna commoditas Bibliothecae, ut studiosti possint studere” refer not to the average student and the twice-weekly two hours, but to the opportunities open to “his” students. It is still difficult, to give a precise indication of what was used in the Library and by whom at this period. We do notice that in the preface to his edition of Martianus Capella (1390), Grotius refers to “ille manu exeretis liber in Bibliotheca Lugduno Batava asservatus”. His most famous publication in this field is his edition of the Aretae 231 with prints by De Gheyn after the illustrations in the manuscript. This beautiful codex was not in fact the property of the Leiden Library at the time and only came here through Vossius (Voss. Lat. Q 79).

As a fully documented instance of the publication of a manuscript from the holdings of the University Library the following case should be of interest. When Heinius saw that a manuscript (now BPG 18, Andronici Rhodii Paraphraseis in Aristotelis Ethicam) 232 which interested him was to come under the hammer at the first Collegelius auction (1606), he did not buy it himself but requested the Curators to acquire it for the Library, a course which they adopted. The following year he had the “editio princeps” printed by Paets. 234

It seems unlikely that all those who studied the Library’s manuscripts did so “in situ”. The Willeram manuscript passed back and forth for quite some time between users and Library but only became a permanent part of its holdings at about this time. Heinius says of his own activities concerning the Aristotle paraphrase: “(…….) Ac iterum in publica Academiae Bibliotheca reposuit” (on f. 1 of the manuscript). But then, Heinius as a librarian is a different story. The above, at any way, concluded that of Merula as Librarian. He died on July 19th 1607; his contributions to the development of the Library had indeed been great.

Heinius

The following examination of Daniel Heinius’ long term of office as Librarian (1607-1653) does not set out to be as comprehensive as that of his predecessor. A few points, however, need to be made in some detail in order to offer a fair picture. As a favourite pupil of Scaliger, Heinius succeeded Merula in the Library in 1607, 235 after Scaliger had written a rather compelling letter of recommendation. 236 Heinius had to promise “to look after the Library, to preserve the books, to protect the Library from rain and wind, and further, to do all that a good and faithful librarian was bound and required to do.” 237 In a speech printed at the beginning of his first catalogue and reprinted unaltered at the end of succeeding ones, he thanked the Curators and Burgomasters for his appointment. There is nothing in it about his conception of the purpose and function of a library and the task of the librarian, but he does mention the pleasure he experienced in reading the best writers among the Church Fathers, lawyers, physicians and philosophers of classical times (he does not specify poets), and his joy at being able to work as it were in their midst. He goes on to write a Greek epigram on “this great palace 238 of the wisdom-meditating souls of Italy and Greece, prytaneum of quiet, seat of the mind, anchorage of Athen, holy place of joy, temple of liberty, where the ever-living mortals and the ever-speaking silence of the departed dwell; a palace more beautiful than the mighty Croesus possessed, but where the child of Phainarete and the son of Aristo (i.e. Socrates and Plato) live on”.

The study of Merula’s term as Librarian is facilitated by the availability of four areas of information. In the present instance, however, there is no question of memoranda or anything comparable to the Catalogus Prima, nor anything like the catalogue of Rario on which we have drawn heavily for the provenance of so many items. All that remain are Heinius’ printed catalogues of 1612, 1623 and 1640 and the accounts of the Treasurer to the University from which we can see who was employed and how much was spent annually at various book dealers. It would also appear from these that the first catalogue does not date from 1614 (until now a controversial point: the assertion that a book recorded in it dates from 1614 stems from a printer’s error since it should read 1514) but from 1612. In this year the University Printer Paets received, in addition to his salary of f. 200.—, “for the printing of the catalogue of the books in the Library of the University and, further, for the printing of various theses, the sum of f. 90-15” (Decree of November 8th 1612). 239

As far as staff is concerned, Van Dobben (appointed specially, as we have seen, to provide supervision when the Library was open) received payment up to and including 1608, in spite of the closure in 1605, but with the exception of 1607.240 Then there are some items
considering that the Library was opened on Wednesdays and Saturdays, it pleased to make an exception in the case of books that came to the Library in the close supervision of books, and it would seem rather than the connection was that... and, again, it appears from Scaliger... Eyler's interest on occasional occasions: the Library services to the City. It would seem that the Scaliger family... in 1611, but it is recorded that it came to an end further assistance... Finally, in the opening times of the Library, the ordinary services on Wednesdays and Saturdays were no longer in place. The fact that the accounts of the Library were between 1608 and 1611, and other general periods were... remains in the Library. During the time of the... closed to allow time to exercise the services of the Library and oath as to the entire process. After the oaths... Building on the day of the constrained... was it now, it was also allowed entrance and...
concerning Matthias Elzevier. In fact a request is still preserved in which he intimates that he would be pleased to look after the Library; he speaks of locking and unlocking, of being already known to the students, of making himself available to everyone and maintaining close supervision. He makes no mention of his knowledge of books, of acquisitions or arrangement. His request would seem to be an application for the post of custodian rather than that of Librarian, but it is clearly made in connection with the Merula vacancy. It was Scaliger’s wishes that were carried out: Heinsius became Librarian and, again on the strength of a letter of recommendation from Scaliger, Matthias Elzevier became Beadle like his father upon the death of Augustijn de Waersegger. Elzevier incidentally also helped in the Library on several occasions: the first time, in 1609, he received fl. 25.— for services to the Library under the direction of Heinsius. It would seem that the extra activities involved concerned the Scaliger legacy. No such item is to be found in 1610, but in 1611 and 1612 the sums of fl. 30.— and fl. 24.— are recorded. At this point Matthias Elzevier’s services came to an end and Heinsius had to manage without further assistance until 1630. Finally, in that year, the subject once more arose of opening the Library “as was formerly the custom” “for the ordinary student” for two hours twice weekly, on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons, that is, when there were no lectures. A custodian, Jacob van Driel, was appointed to see that “the books were not misused”. The fact that no payment to a custodian appears in the accounts of the Treasurer to the University for the years between 1608 and 1630 warrants the conclusion that the Library was closed for all those years, except to professors and other privileged persons. The opening times of two periods weekly of two hours from 2 p.m. to 4 p.m. remained in force until the beginning of the 19th century. 

During the first years that the Library was officially closed to students, the professors could continue to exercise the “ius clavium”. At the time of Heinsius’ appointment the keys were all again recalled, the lock was changed and the new keys were delivered “under promise and oath as recorded in the Librarian’s Register”. The entire proceeding took place once again as early as 1608. After the occurrence of a conflagration in the University Building on November 11th 1616, the Library was also constrained to adopt stricter safety measures. Not only was it now forbidden to use open fires and candles, but it was also provisionally agreed that no one should be allowed entry except by the “praefectus bibliothecae”. and in February 1617 the “ius clavium” came to an absolute end, no one being allowed keys except the Secretary to the Curators and the Librarian. This measure must have been facilitated by the fact that Heinsius lived in the same house that Merula had occupied in the Beguinage next to the Beguine Chapel, so that either he or some member of his household could give visitors entry.

As far as lending is concerned, Molhuysen assumes that the Curators only gave approval to loans in 1616 but that this decision was revoked in 1620. It may then be that in the measures taken in 1616 extra emphasis was placed only on borrowers signing a receipt; but this need not imply that all previous borrowing had been clandestine. It cannot be assumed that lending finally came to an end in 1620, since the decree must be seen in context. Heinsius was instructed to draft a new catalogue and was therefore not allowed to lend books but had, on the contrary, to recall all books currently on loan. Here are the strange adventures which befell two manuscripts as a result of their being sent and borrowed. In 1598, A. Danis established the identity of the codex Vossianus Gracceus Folio 3, consisting of various texts by Poliorcetici and a manuscript, a collation of which Meursius wrote in another manuscript which is now the Harleianus 6309. Meursius refers to it as “(…) et aliter Academiae nostrae Lugduno Batavae (…)”. I designate Lugduno Batavum”. It is not to be found in the oldest Leiden catalogues, nor did it come from one of the Commelinus auctions. It could, therefore, have been obtained between 1595 and 1612 or possibly between 1612 and 1623, been used by Meursius, and then have disappeared again. What happened to this manuscript before it came into the possession of Isaac Vossius? In those times it must have been of not only historical, but also contemporary interest, being a manuscript with illustrations of siege engines. Scrivarius, for example, says in an edition of Vegetius’ De re militari (L.B. 1607) that he had chosen this text because it was his wish “publico professe” and “bene de re bella merenti”, and that they were living precisely at a time when such authors ought to be read by everyone? 

Meursius prepared other editions of Leiden manuscripts in the history of which we have discovered no irregularities: “actores musici” from ms. Scal. 47, and Philostratus’ Epistolarum from BPG 75, acquired at the Vulcanius auction in 1610 and published in 1616. It is strange that these publications did not, in those years, reach the Library; nor have they yet. But the name of Meursius is again involved in the second instance of a manuscript with an incompressible history.
In 1620 Præcipuæ Gaziæ in libros Regum et Paralipomenon Scholæ were published according to the editor, Meursius, from a manuscript “e Bibliotheca mea depromptum”. It has been established that this text is part of BPG 50, consisting of a commentary on the Octateuch, Reges and Paralipomena. The manuscript is included in the catalogues of 1612 and 1623, in each case with the comment “Volumen nondum editum”. H. J. de Jonge has rightly pointed out that this was no longer altogether accurate by 1623, since part of it had in fact been published, and that the comment “nondum editum” in the 1623 catalogue has clearly been copied directly from the preceding one. Consequently, we are left in doubt not only as to the exactitude of the description, but even, perhaps, as to the availability of these items in 1623. The manuscript may well have come from the second Conmelinus auction in 1607. It is true that the similarity between the titles is not great (Expiatio in Exodum, Graece) but the fact that the number 42 appears at the beginning of the manuscript, when the title quoted was forty-second in the auction catalogue, removes any doubt. In fact De Meijer has claimed that agreement exists between such numbers in many of our manuscripts and “fictitious” numbers in the catalogues of the Conmelinus auctions (these are undoubtedly numbers which were added to other copies of the auction catalogues). The manuscript in question was therefore bought at the 1607 auction, probably by the Library, as it is mentioned in the 1612 catalogue. In one way or another, however, it went away (just as the Polioctetii manuscript did), so that Meursius could describe it, around 1620, as his—“e Bibliotheca mea depromptum”. The fact that it was in the 1623 catalogue once again is, as previously remarked, not proof that it was actually in the Library at that time. Some years later, c. 1625, it was in the hands of another Leiden resident, Daniel Heinsius. De Meijer had noticed that the last blank pages of the manuscript were covered with writing in another hand, probably that of Daniel Heinsius. De Jonge then discovered that part of this writing formed the draft of the preface to the 1633 Elzevier edition of the Greek New Testament. De Jonge has added to this further proof that the preface is the work of Heinsius and that the same is true of the Greek text of the Elzevier edition. He points out that Heinsius cites so often the (as yet unpublished) portion of the Procopius that it is quite clear he must have had the manuscript to hand and could thus in his haste have used it as writing paper.

Was he aware of defacing a library manuscript? He could have obtained it from Meursius and not realised at the time that the item concerned was library property that had gone missing after 1612. That the manuscript had in fact been missing can also be concluded from the Munich copy of the 1623 catalogue (see below n. 287), in which it was left blank by the hand which added an indication of the format of each item, with the comment non est—a comment later crossed out again. Finally, in the catalogue of 1640—which, compared with that of 1623, had undergone certain changes—the Procopius manuscript is no longer listed in the same place as it was in the two preceding catalogues (which would have been on p. 186) but at the end on p. 194—yet once more with the addition: “Volumen nondum editum.” But if the manuscript was bought directly by the Library in 1607, Heinsius himself must have been concerned in this purchase; and at all events it was Heinsius who in his capacity of Librarian entered the Procopius in the 1612 catalogue. It is almost certain therefore that Heinsius, when he used the blank leaves at the end of the Procopius manuscript as a handy source of scribbling paper, was aware that the manuscript was library property.

Heinsius’ career as Librarian was very uneven. One undoubted highlight was the obtaining of the Scaliger bequest in 1609—his Greek and Latin manuscripts, and his Oriental manuscripts and printed works. The acquisition was placed in its entirety in a separate cupboard and catalogued separately; 86 the cupboard can be seen in the right foreground of the Woudanus print. This collection has been of the greatest importance to the Library’s prestige. Scaliger’s fame, the rich assortment of Oriental languages and, perhaps, the esteem in which the Library itself appeared to hold it, made this asset of the Library something of which all travellers who recorded impressions of Leiden would speak in the finest terms. 87 When a request for a particular item was received from Breslau, the Curators immediately decreed that nothing from the collection should be lent. The physician P. Kirstenius, who had wished to compile an Arabic lexicom from Avicenna and other Arabic authors and who had wanted to borrow the “Lexicon Arabicum assembled by the late Josephus Scaliger” (now Or. 212) as well as “certain Arabic [New] Testament with notes” was refused his request. The Curators did so “considering the consequences, and that Scaliger himself had made it known more than once during his lifetime that he did not wish the books he was going to bequest to be lent out or sent anywhere.” 88

It is clear from Scaliger’s will that he did not wish his own unpublished material or that of his father to be printed. It has been described elsewhere in the present volume how Heinsius watched over it and how unfair
...
15. A page of the catalogue of manuscripts purchased by Golius, 1630.

Also have relevant information been a considerable number of
manuscripts from the Scaliger collection. BPG 34 Binos, for
example, was purchased from Golius in 1637. The catalogue
contains a wealth of information and evidence of the possi-
ble provenance of the manuscripts.

At the time of the auction, the
manuscripts were described as "straying" and may have been
in the possession of the Library's Curators.

Several important manuscripts in the
Library were acquired from the auction, including:

- "Ex Arcu J. Schalph," in BPG 67 N in a
17th-century hand.
- "Ex Arcu J. Schalph," in BPG 67 N in a
17th-century hand.
- "Ex Arcu J. Schalph," in BPG 67 N in a
17th-century hand.
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17th-century hand.
- "Ex Arcu J. Schalph," in BPG 67 N in a
17th-century hand.
also have taken place within the Library, but may have been a consequence of lending. Gronovius, for instance, made a copy (now in Leningrad) of the "Apographum Scaligeranum" of the Greek Anthology (now BPG 34 B) in which he wrote: "Absolvi Hagae Com. 1637". The "Apographum" did not appear in the catalogue, however, until 1640.728 These examples show evidence of a certain nonchalance which, particularly with respect to the Scaliger manuscripts, seems rather surprising today. At the auction held by the heir to Scaliger's non-Oriental printed books (his valet, Jonas Rousse) the Library also bought some works containing handwritten annotations by the great philologist.729

Several Greek and Latin manuscripts were bought at an auction held by Vulcanius in 1610;724 after his death, those still remaining were bought in 1615 from his brother for fl. 1200.—729 His ex-libris "Ex τῶν Ἡρωδοτίων..." can still be found in various books.

Vulcanius' manuscript collection gives a good picture of the various aspects of this remarkable man: above all, his interest in late-Greek and Byzantine literature, and his work on Cyrillus (an edition of whom he had already promised in his earliest days at Leiden) and on Corn. Aurelius. It also comprises the letters and documents which give a picture of the time when he was clerk to the Archbishop of Burgos and later to Marini of Saint Aldegonde, as well as the epistles of Carolus Clusius (so important for the history of botany), and finally three books in Chinese.

It is a pity that the Library was not at that time enriched by a collection (comparable to those of Scaliger and Vulcanius) from Justus Lipsius. Lipsius, however, left Leiden in 1591 and died at Louvain. Part of his library later came into the possession of Constantine Huygens and was auctioned as "Museum Lipsianum" in 1722, after the death of Huygens' grandson, and finally acquired for Leiden.726 Lipsius' De Constantia in Latin, Dutch and French versions belongs, with other works, to the Plantin editions donated by the City of Leiden in 1595.727

Another highlight of Heinsius' term of office, although he was probably not himself aware of it as such, was the acquisition of a large collection of Arabic manuscripts which Golius brought back with him from the East.724 Shortly after his appointment as Erpenius' successor he was enabled to undertake a study tour, purchasing manuscripts in the course of his travels; in 1629 the collection was received by the Library.729 Golius applied to the Curators for keys to not only the Library but also the case in which the Arabic books were kept, so that he could make use of the materials for his studies. Permission was granted—the first exception to the strict rule—on condition that if he removed any books he would give Heinsius a proper receipt.729

Thus the foundation for the great Oriental (more particularly Arabic) collection was laid, Leiden which already possessed the Scaliger collection, now indeed became the "Mecca of the Western Arabists",721 and even in the earliest days Arabists came here to see and use the orientalia: as early as 1612, when the Library still possessed only the Scaliger bequest, William Bedwell (who was willingly assisted by Heinsius)731 and later (around 1640) J. H. Hottinger733 were among such users.

Neither the estate of Erpenius, nor that of Golius, however, came into the Library: In 1625, after the death of Erpenius, Leiden had protracted negotiations with the widow over the price of his estate, but unhappily it was sold to the Duke of Buckingham who donated it to the University of Cambridge.724 After Golius' death Leiden was also unable to retain his estate.725

We come now to the other acquisitions of Heinsius' period. The picture here is not so much alternating success and failure as great early success falling off gradually. As far as regular acquisitions through the book trade are concerned, Heinsius was very active in his first years. Books were bought from Elzevier, Basson (who also took on the binding), Orlers, Clouck, Maire and Jacob Marcusz. Annual expenditure in Merula's years fluctuated between fl. 22.— and fl. 340.— (all inclusive). Heinsius reached fl. 600.— in 1608 and, in 1612, exceeded fl. 1000.—. It is known that this brought him into conflict with the Curators. At the meeting of May 1615726 they rebuked him for having already spent more than fl. 1300.— in the current year. The year 1615, with a total expenditure of fl. 1672-13-6, must certainly have been the most expensive, but it comprised three instalments, being fl. 900 for the books of Vulcanius (a purchase desired by the Curators). Their annoyance, however, was also provoked by the nature of the books, which were not only duplicates, but also "various French books (…) which they considered were unnecessary and also of no use to the Library". What these could have been arouses some curiosity today. As has already been said, the annual accounts have not been preserved; we can therefore only examine the catalogues and discover from them what was added in each area between 1612 and 1623.725

These additions were either placed in the plate (mainly on additional lower shelves) and were or were still in the "office" in 1623 ("Libri qui in museo hactenus di-
had somewhat more justification in finding a French translation of Chalcondylas useless, since the original Greek was also available.

At the above-mentioned meeting the Curators decreed that no more than fl. 400.— should be allotted to the Library annually for book purchases, unless special exceptional cases arose—in which case the Curators required to be consulted in advance. The fl. 400.— therefore, could still be spent without prior consultation. But this also came to an end. For Heinsius only once remained within the budget. In November 1619 any purchase without consent was forbidden—a prohibition which extended, incidentally, to the professor of anatomy who was then in the course of purchasing books for his department.290

This prohibition was reiterated regularly in the following years. Eventually, in May 1624,291 it was stated that what Heinsius had purchased "without the prior knowledge or advice of the aforesaid gentlemen" would be paid for "this time without consequence (but with great difficulty)", but in the future he would have to restrict himself absolutely to the regulations. The result was that in 1625 nothing whatsoever was bought. The Curators possibly gave their permission for purchases at the Raphelengius auction and in the years following we read nothing about conflicts. However, the amounts spent had clearly diminished, averaging less than fl. 300.— per annum (excluding the considerable expenditure on the Oriental manuscripts Golius had brought back from the Levant). Warnings were also issued against the exchange of duplicate copies without prior consultation.292

Eventually payment of a bill was refused, in February 1639, although it was paid six months later. The process was repeated until 1643. In these five years, annual expenditure never exceeded fl. 130.— and thereafter ceased altogether. Heinsius appears to have felt defeated by the admonition of August 23rd 1643, the last time that a bill which had initially been refused was honoured.293

After a few years, he appears to have once more requested that an annual amount be allotted for the purchase of books; a decision on the matter was postponed in May 1649,294 and in August of that year it was still under consideration.295 Evidently the request was not granted; nor apparently did Heinsius propose any purchases, since there was no further expenditure on the acquisition of books.

It was only after Tysius replaced him as Librarian in 1653 that acquisition began again. By this time, however, there were many lacunae which could not readily be supplied. It seems, then, that the catalogue of 1623 was a high point before the decline set in. We can ascertain the presence

in 1623 of not only the codex of Cicero, but also of the "exceptional cases" from 1660.

Heinsius was able to withdraw from the Library not only because of the exceptional cases, but also because of the interest he took in other matters. Heinsius and the other scholars of the time, in fact, sometimes checked the records of acquisitions to ensure that the Library was not being overlooked.296

In 1624, Heinsius was one of the first to be elected to the Swedish Academy, and he was later selected as a member of the Royal Society. Heinsius was also one of the first to be elected a fellow of the Royal Society. Heinsius was a man of many interests, and his work in the Library was only one of his many contributions to the scholarly world. Heinsius was a man of many interests, and his work in the Library was only one of his many contributions to the scholarly world.
in 1623 of many books which had only recently been published, but books with an imprint later than 1640 form the exception in the 1674 catalogue, while those dating from 1660 and after are very rare indeed.

Heinsius had difficulties with the Curators in respect of not only acquisition, but also cataloguing. More than once they had to exhort him to draw up a new catalogue which they could use to check the holdings. It would appear that the main purpose of the catalogue was this rather than to give access to the collection or inform scholars of the Library's holdings. The catalogues were, in fact, shelf lists and could therefore easily be used to check the stock. It was for this reason that Heinsius was often instructed to supply an interleaved copy with all new acquisitions added. In 1649 the question of a new catalogue once more arose but Heinsius never produced it, nor did Thysius complete his work on it, even though he had personally offered in 1653 to produce a catalogue when it was suggested he should help the aged Heinsius and later succeed him.

What interests us most to-day, however, is the building up of the collection. Although we are inclined to applaud Heinsius for purchasing so much in the early years (even against the Curators' wishes) it is nonetheless deplorable that he could not later reach a reasonable compromise. Furthermore, he apparently had no policy whatever to elicit gifts, as Merula so successfully had. It is striking, too, on reading over the Resolutions of the Curators, that the subject of an author wishing to dedicate a book to the latter was repeatedly discussed, and that an author then provided some bound copies and received a gift in return. The volumes concerned were thus meant for these gentlemen personally—but in most cases they are not to be found in the Library. What would have been more natural than to agree that a copy should be supplied to the University Library? Take the example of Sixtius Amama of Franeker, an important figure who would have been welcome to a chair at Leiden. He dedicated his Antiquarum biblicae to the Curators of Leiden; the book did not come here, nor for that matter did some others of his works. The activities of Bertius' period—above all, the forming of a separate collection of the works of Leiden professors—were also completely abandoned. Not only were the latter no longer kept together, but no one paid attention to whether the Library received them or not.

We can now, therefore, read in the biography of Rudolf Snellius that "His works are rare; Leiden University Library does not possess them." Heinsius appears to have been in no hurry to satisfy the wishes of one who was his enemy in so many academic fields, with the result that Salmantius complained of having to live in a country where all private libraries were inaccessible and all public ones accessible to everyone.
except himself. He went on to say that the Library did not have much to offer him except the Arabic manuscripts of Golius.\textsuperscript{310}

Heinsius must have felt more pleasure in a new generation of clever young men who studied the Leiden manuscripts: his son Nicolaas, J. F. Gronovius, the younger Vossius. If they collated a text they wrote their name in the manuscript: Ovid, BPL 179, f. 9: “Corculi N. Heinsius 1636”; Claudianus, BPL 116, f. 1: “Collatius A. MDCCXVII Ianuario mensis a Johanne Frederico Gronovio et Nicolao Heinois D. F.”; likewise Heinsius in Claudianus, BPL 131, and Marzialis, BPL 201.

It also appears from their correspondence that books travelled continually between Leiden and Gronovius in The Hague, by means of Nicolaas Heinsius, “ex bibliotheca vel publica, vel vestra”, as the recipient would write, but that such loans were sometimes refused: Vossius could not obtain a copy that he wanted of Velleius Patерculus with annotations by Nansius.\textsuperscript{311}

Not only Daniel Heinsius’ son but also his son-in-law Goes\textsuperscript{312} appears to have been a privileged user of the Library. The words “I believe that Councillor Goes has this” and “Councillor Goes” were written in the 1640 catalogue (copy C 4) next to two items. These concerned works (an annotated edition and a manuscript, Scal. 56 A) which he evidently used for his edition of the Agrimensores, published in 1674.

Among other users of the Library attention should be drawn to one more, namely the Hebrist Constantin L’Empereur van Oppijck\textsuperscript{313} since his case brings another interesting point to light. He received on his own request instructions from the Curators “to refute the Jews” (that is to say, to refute Rabbinical scholars in the form of polemism) and was permitted to borrow what he required for the purpose from the Library, and to order at the University’s expense whatever was not available there.\textsuperscript{314} He did however have to request permission in advance.\textsuperscript{315} It is difficult to determine whether books were in fact bought at his request.

Heinsius was undoubtedly the most important and versatile of the Leiden professors to become librarian in the 17th century. Many students came to Leiden from far and wide because of him, and present-day opinion is once again very strongly in his favour. For all that his term as Librarian was not a very fortunate one and he fell short on many points. It should also be remembered that it was only a part-time occupation for a man who was deeply involved in many other fields.\textsuperscript{316} The view that directing a library was more than just conserving the holdings and protecting the collection from the elements was not yet generally held.

In the last years of his life, Heinsius was physically and mentally exhausted. It was therefore all to the good that in 1653 he could finally relinquish his responsibilities.

**Thysius and Gronovius**

With the intention of making a new catalogue, Thysius succeeded Heinsius on August 26th 1653, having worked without salary during the latter’s lifetime.\textsuperscript{317} The reason why he did not immediately start work on a new catalogue must be that a completely new lay-out for the Library had already been decided upon—another task requiring a younger man than Heinsius. As early as the next Curator’s meeting (November 8th 1653) the drawings were exhibited and accepted.\textsuperscript{318} Three months later “the new order” had already been inspected and approved by the Curators.\textsuperscript{319} It was, in fact, a transition from the mediaeval library to the baroque. The *plater* were cleared away and open cases were placed against the walls to house not only the folio volumes from the *plater*, but now also the books of smaller format from the locked cupboards, arranged by subject. Thysius naturally checked all the books at this time and also the manuscripts, which thereafter were stored once again in locked cupboards. He must on this occasion have used the copy of the 1640 catalogue, shelf-number C 4, which is in the Library Archives. In it we come across remarks in his own hand on the condition in which he found a book or the circumstances of its absence: “completely disbound”, “torn”, “erased”, “on loan, so I have heard, to Mr. Vosius”, “I believe Councillor Goes has this”. There was evidently no reliable register of books lent, although Thysius has assumed that one existed and had requested permission to take possession of it.\textsuperscript{320}

A railing was now placed along the cases and the custodian who was to fetch the books for the public and return them later to the shelves had to move about behind this. A new set of regulations was drawn up in which this was laid down.\textsuperscript{321} Opening to the public was still restricted to a few hours on Wednesdays and Saturdays; it was only possible to use the Library outside these hours with the permission of the Librarian and in the presence of the custodian who, in return, had to be given a tip. Keys were no longer distributed, only the Librarian and custodian being allowed them. Even when the President and Councils of Holland, Zeeland and West Friesland requested new keys, referring to the act of 1595, they were refused.\textsuperscript{322} Only Golius retained the right to one.\textsuperscript{323}

In the copy of the 1640 catalogue, press-mark C 4, which Heinsius had already—very infrequently—used to
record acquisitions received after 1640, Thy'sius continued to keep the catalogue up to date. He also gave all the books and manuscripts running numbers according to category. These same numbers were written on the spine and included in Sponheim's alphabetical catalogue of 1674, the new arrangement no longer entailing cataloguing on a shelf-list basis according to titles. In this copy of the catalogue we can see which items were acquired in Thy'sius' time. The Curators ascertained that some books were not to be found in the Library, but that there was still space; would it not be possible to make gradual additions? It was resolved that the Librarian be allowed to spend fl. 300—per annum on books, but that he must consult the Curators before making any particular purchase. To begin with, he was to be permitted to use

the money raised by the sale of the copper chains—which had been removed from the books—to make purchases at two auctions (those of Hieronymus de Backere and Boxhornius). Average annual expenditure in Thy'sius' time amounted to fl. 330—.

In addition to acquisition by purchase and, of course, by donation, the Library also attempted a third method. Immediately after his appointment, Thy'sius had raised the question of whether, following the example of Utrecht, a provision could be incorporated in the patents granted by the States of Holland which obliged the printers to cede to the Library one copy of each book for which they received a patent. Such a provision was not made until 1679, long after Thy'sius' death, but did not have much effect in the first few decades. It was not
until the 18th century. It became a popular and influential work.

This may be because of the level of skill of the author. It became a model for later writers, particularly those who also wrote in Latin. The work was published in Latin on condition that it was not translated into another language—a restriction that was later lifted.

Was the printing of the work a significant event? A recent article in the *Cleopatra* (now available online) printed at the British Library. The reference to the work is explained by the fact that it was included in the series *Nouveaux livres de la Comédie* in 1676. The publication was included in the *Cleopatra* series, which included the printed version of *Cleopatra*. The printing was strangely, only of *Cleopatra*. J. Anthony has written in *Cleopatra*: Being *Cleopatra* that reached the 18th century, it is impossible to make corrections.

The last printed version was the one by Gronovius. The Gronovius edition is a valuable source but has been seldom used in the scholarly community. It is available online and made by his descendants. It is available online in some cases. It was printed in 1674 at the end of the 17th century. The work was sewn together and has been preserved. It is worth noting that Gronovius was the first to see the work. The work was printed in 1674: the topic of *Cleopatra* is the subject, in the *Nouveaux livres de la Comédie* volumes of 1674. The work was well received by the scholarly community.
until the 18th century that books printed under privilege became a permanent part of the annual acquisition. This may be compared to the agreements made at a local level with some Leiden printers. Jan and Daniel Elzevier became University Printers in 1633 and agreed to a contract similar to that of their predecessors. Maire also promised to cede one copy of all the books he printed on condition that he retain his exemption from excise duty—a request which was granted.

Was the agreement more strictly enforced? A majority of the books in the 1674 catalogue which bear a recent imprint do indeed appear to have been printed at Leiden. Also, there are books whose presence strikes us as improbable and can only be explained by assuming they were supplied by Elzevier: Cilopastra (by Gautier de Costes, Sieur de Calpienéda) in 8 volumes, 1654 (Willems 633) and Scarron, Le Roman comique, 1655 (Willems 762). The last of these books was included in the 1674 catalogue without being given a number, and it was no longer to be found in the catalogue of 1716. This may be because it was not really intended to include this book in the collection. The Elzeviers reprinted various other comedies by Scarron and plays by Corneille, none of which ever reached the Library. More strangely, the work of a Leiden professor of medicine, J. Antonides van der Linden, Selecta medica et ad ea exercitationes Batavae, printed by Elzevier in 1656, did not reach the Library—at least, not until 1973. It is difficult to make out any policy behind all this.

The last Librarian during the Library’s first century was the well-known philologist Johannes Fredericus Gronovius. He also failed to complete a library catalogue but did make preparations for one. Using another copy of the 1640 catalogue, the one preserved as C 5 in the Library Archive, he transcribed all the additions made by his two predecessors, plus all the numbers; and in some cases he added a few of his own acquisitions at the end of a section. In addition an alphabetical index was sewn into some sections. These efforts seem to have been preparations for the catalogue which was eventually to see the light under the direction of Spanheim Jr in 1674; this was arranged alphabetically according to subject, listing first the folio volumes, then the smaller volumes within the same subject. Books without an indication of size were in 4°, those in 8° and smaller sizes being indicated as such.

As well as this token of his activities as Librarian, Gronovius left us his cash-book (B.A.F.I.) in which he accounted for his purchases. It would appear that he was a buyer at various auctions, as we shall see below when discussing the libri Mathematici.

It must not be forgotten that Gronovius’ short term as Librarian also saw the bequest of Levinus Warner’s collection of Oriental manuscripts as “Legatum Warnerianum”. The Oriental manuscript department is still named after this.

Finally, a few observations on the holdings in order of faculty.

The “Libri Theologici” still formed the largest collection. The number of works in folio had risen from 76 in 1595 to 481 in 1674; the number of books in arcis from a total of 28 to 188 in 4° and 170 in 8°. In 1612 the holdings were several times those of 1595, but their character had remained the same. Only some realignment had taken place. The Bibles, including the Hebrew Bibles and the Talmud which had originally been in 7 were now placed in A. The 1477 Delft Bible, in Dutch, completed this section. This meant there was no remaining space for the commentaries on individual Books of the Bible, which were consequently placed in D and E. The patristics occupied the plates B and C (in 1595 alone). The collected works of Calvin, of Luther (his Latin as well as his German works), of Anselm, Thomas, Gerson, Dionysius the Carthusian, Whitaker, and many works by Suarez were also available. Another work which has been in the collection in 1612, but not catalogued until 1623, was David Georgius’, or David Joris’ Verkhringen van de Schepenpraes, donated in August 1598 by Ant. Duyck. This work was something of a misfit, not only with respect to language (except for a translation of a short work by L. de L’Espine—also a gift—and the Delft Bible, it was the only theological work in Dutch until after 1640) but also because of its “heetical” contents.

Was there a repercussion of the struggle between Arminius and Gomarus during the period between the two catalogues of 1612 and 1623? The conflict was carried on largely through pamphlets—a form of writing which naturally did not find its way immediately into the Library. It is, however, remarkable that none of Arminius’ works was acquired by the Library until after 1716—not even his Opera Theologica (1629). But even Gomarus was only represented by one of his earlier books. The Remonstrants were represented by Bertius’ funeral oration for Arminius. In the ensuing controversy over this work there is something of special interest to us. Gomarus accuses Arminius of introducing Thomas Aquinas, Suarez and Beller-

Library, those of Episcopius were missing, as were all the theological works of Grotius, but Begermannus Responsio ad scriptum Grotii (Franeker 1614) was available. It is surprising, too, that there were several works by Vorstius. Later, there was also Uytenbogaard's Kerckhelfs Historie (1647), probably bought by Thyssius at the same time as Trigland's Kerckhelke Geschiedenis (1650) and placed next to it by him. It was only at this time that, thanks to Thyssius, the Statenboeck (the Dutch Authorized Version) was acquired.

There was therefore no question of ignoring or refusing what might be offered, let alone removing it from the shelves. Was there a desire to learn the opposition's point of view and was it regarded as good and useful for the student, no more than in the case of Venema? In the case of Vorstius, it might have been received in a similar manner in the 1620s, the years listed in the notebook. And placed many of the Thesaurus Romano-Latinus; P. Longinus; Ecleistia Cypri; Sallust; Virg.; St. Joh.; and s. a.; many of these books were still available at the same time in the library.

It seems that the library was still quite well-stocked with works from the early 17th century. The monastery was not abandoned. It seems that these books were still available at the beginning of the 18th century and published in the early 18th century.

These were often available in Latin, as with "The Commoner's Guide to the Word" by John Stow and "Smaller Dictionary of the English Language". It is interesting to note that the library was still well-stocked with books, and many of these books were still available at the price, though perhaps in a different format. In this case, the library was still well-stocked with books, and many of these books were still available at the price, though perhaps in a different format.
for the students to be able to do so as well? Or was it no more than coincidence? This may have been so in the case of Vorstius, when we consider the lot of the remaining Remonstrant literature; but it is not likely in the case of the Roman Catholic books which were received in astonishing numbers after 1612. Time and again in the 1623 catalogue we see the acquisitions of recent years listed below sets of books already available in 1612 and placed on the additional shelves at the bottom of many of the plates. Among these additions were a Pontificale Romanum; Ciaconii Vitae et Gestae Svmnorum Pontificum; P. Iacobi Gaulterie Tabula chronographica Status Ecclesiae Catholicae; Romanus Pontifex, sive de Praesentia (. . .); many commentaries on Thomas Aquinas; Martyrologium Romanum and so on. As already mentioned, the books which still remained in the office in 1623 were of the same nature.

It seems, after a random check, that nothing can be learned about the provenance of these Roman Catholic works from their exterior appearance. In 1623 the books were still too recent to have come from confiscated monastery libraries. It can only be concluded that there was a deliberate buying policy. Was it partly because of these books that the Curators voiced objections in the years of the most numerous acquisitions?

Whilst these books are surprising in their quantity, it was astonishing to find eight parts of the Bibliotheca Praetorii Polonorum, continens Societati et Societatis scripta didactica et polemica: 341 was it not customary to oppose anything which savoured of Socinianism? Apart from the edict of the States of Holland of September 19th 1653 against Socinian books and writings, this work was especially prohibited on July 19th 1674, when several volumes had already been here (from the time of Gronovius onwards). It is probable that no volumes published later were acquired. 345

These were not, in fact, the first Socinian books to be available here. The present writer found quite by chance in a binder’s account of 1622 that the heir to Daniel Castellanus, during his lifetime a “Minister of God’s Holy Word”, was repaid the binding costs “of the Opera Socinii and Smaldii bound in eight volumes, delivered by the aforesaid heir to the Library of the aforesaid University.” 342 Also, in 1657, at the auction of the books belonging to the very orthodox Professor of Theology Rivet, Thysius bought Socinian books for the Library at a price of fl. 82.4. 343

In this connection, some groups of obviously “Socinian books” do appear in the catalogue of Rivet’s books, 345 but they do not appear in the 1674 catalogue of the Library; nor were there any such books added by Thysius to his copy of the 1640 catalogue.

It is strange that while there were so many books which we would not expect to find in the collection, so many others which we might have thought essential were missing. We have already noted this in connection with certain other works, and the list could be substantially expanded. There are, for example, many books named by Lebram and De Jonge in their contributions to the present volume—books which were regularly consulted in the 17th century—yet were still not in the Bibliotheca Publica. The scholars must have possessed these works themselves.

Their personal library catalogues provide examples. Heinius owned various theological works by Grotius and Arminius and also possessed several works by Rivet, for example, whereas only Rivet’s Opera Omnia (in 3 vols., Rotterdam 1651-1660) found its way into the Library, after Heinius’ time.

However, we must not overlook the fact that the students of theology who were resident in the States’ College, had at their disposal the library of the college itself. Its beginnings were modest: a few Bibles and some other texts and lexica. 346 But it can be seen from the accounts of the years 1642-1660 347, when fl. 100.—was allotted annually, that quite a considerable theological library was taking shape. This collection did not lack Grotius’ Annotationes in libros Evangeliorum or the Opera Omnia of Gomarus. There was even a 7-volume edition of the Talmud, and Bellarminus and Suarez were also represented.

So much for the “Libri Theologi”. On the subject of the “Juridici”, sometimes referred to as the “Juris periti” or “Jurisconsulti”, we can be quite brief. There were only 20 works in 1595, by 1612 there were as many as 85 works in 5 plates, and by 1674, 229, plus 75 works of smaller format. It is not altogether clear how Schotel 348 arrived at his figures which give the impression that law books in 1612 already outnumbered theological ones. The purchase of law books was on various occasions considered particularly important. This could be seen as early as the autumn of 1595. 349 The legal works bought from Marinx and those donated by various towns have already been mentioned. In the period from 1612 to 1623, when there was such a great increase in the number of Roman Catholic theological works, sundry books of Canon Law were received.

In 1635 the Curators decided that Heinius, who had not spent much money recently, should purchase legal books. 350 In the following year Professor Cunaeus’
requested the Curators to purchase some books required for a refutation of the book entitled *Mare Clavium*, while the students at the same time wanted others on "theoria juris." Cuneau's wish was carried out, yet something not acquired at that time was Grotius' *Mare liberum*, against which John Selden's *Mare Clavium* was directed. The absence of this work, and more conspicuously the absence of the *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* on which his world fame rests, is particularly striking to a non-jurist who examines this collection.

It may be remarked, in conclusion, that Grotius' *Inleiding tot de Hollandische Rechtsgeleerdheid* was available and that the last item acquired by Gronovius (something of a new departure in this collection consisting primarily of Roman Law) was the *Pallas Austicae van de H. M. Heeren Staten Generaal der Vereenigde Nederlanden* (Amsterdam 1644).

In our review of the medical collection in the Library, we must bear in mind that there were not only books on the subject in the University. To begin with, there was a collection of medical-botanical reference works in the Botanical Gardens. The Senate had decided upon this on July 31st 1604. It was thought necessary to have copies of not only Dioscorides with Mathioli's commentary and Theophrastus with J. C. Scaliger's commentary, but also all the works of Hippocrates, Galen and Pliny—"catenis affixi" in the gallery of the Botanical Gardens.

These works had all long since been in the *plinthe* of medical works in the Library—all, that is, except Pliny, for whose work one turned to the first *plinthe* of the historical works. Duplication of titles began early! It is difficult to give details of whether later additions were made to this collection. It does, however, appear that after half a century the copies of Mathioli's *Dioscorides* and Pliny were worn out, so that new ones had to be bought and at the Librarian's expense after a request from Professor Ad. Vorstius.

Another collection of medical books was even closer to the Library in the Anatomy Department housed under the same roof in the Beguinage Chapel. It would seem from the first inventory of all the rarities and other items in the Anatomy Department (the inventory was presented by Otto Heurnius on February 7th 1623 but only published in 1634 by Barge 330) that in "het eerste camerken" there were a number of books—12 in folio, 11 of these "met breede groen side banden"; 6 quarto; 14 octavo and one duodecimo. What is more remarkable is that by no means all of these books were connected with anatomy. Barge, who speaks of 55 volumes (not absolutely accurately, since 55 titles was the number of volumes given above), remarks that these 55 only 15 belonged to the anatomical literature. His opinion of what was available is not unfavourable: in general books and booklets which should be called modern for that time. But he finds what is missing more remarkable than what is present. "Thus we do not expect that in an anatomical library, at the beginning of the 17th century, Vesalius' *Fabrica*, should be lacking or that Eustachius should be represented by only a single work." As for Vesalius, his standard work was in the Bibliotheca Publica in the same building: the edition of 1555 belonged, in fact, to the first purchase of books from Vulcanius and had pride of place as number 1 in the *plinthe* of medical works. But Eustachius was not available here either—not even in 1716.

Finally, Barge speaks of Volckert Coiter and Pieter Paauw (prophets without honour in their own country), the absence of whose works in the anatomy collection strikes him as particularly odd. Coiter was represented in the Library—not, it is true, in the 1595 catalogue, but in that of 1612. It is all the more curious that not one of Pieter Paauw's works should have been available until after 1674, since the author concerned was a Leiden professor. However, he had published scarcely anything before 1595, and his name did not appear in the catalogue of the cupboard containing works by Leiden scholars. As remarked earlier, historians seem later to have felt as little inclined to collect the works of these scholars as the professors themselves were to donate copies of their works. It is working presently a curious pronunciation on the use of a collection of good books. The remark was made by the anatomist Heurnius at the foot of an account from the bookseller Govert Basson after the Curators had decreed that neither the Library nor the Anatomy Department were to buy books without their prior knowledge. Heurnius defended the purchase, saying he needed these works for an anatomical work and explanation, and for presenting to the students the diversity of opinion of renowned anatomists so that they may be spared the expense of unnecessary purchase, as now daily arises. (Compare this with the remark made by Gomarus, who was also apprehensive about what the students might see in the bookshops.) It is clear that Heurnius not only bought books on anatomy, but evidently wanted to establish a general medical library. However, we know of no later acquisitions, and the books failed to appear in the inventories of the Anatomy Department which were printed later. The books were transferred to the University Library in the 19th century and in a few of them Heurnius' inscription can still be seen.

The public in the Museum was not large, almost all the visitors being Dutch (Dordrecht, Holland). A work was made by the publisher Maniester der Chirurgie.

So much for what was which, with copies of medical standard works, are by no means those...

Was this a scientific library? Did the collection grow slowly? As already noted, the Library was well supplied with the library of the College of Physicians of antiquity of the medical profession, and it must have been at the end of the 17th century and 1639, that collecting began. We shall be personally interested in the work of his attic in "Pro. Cl. and was an opponent of his expertise, the Dane Thomsen (after the name of the University of Halle, himself was born in Denmark). Finally, in the dissertations of the professors
still be seen stating that he bought the books "auctori- tate publica in usum exercitij Anatomici" with the date.\textsuperscript{380} At the beginning of the 17th century, relatively few items in the two Leiden medical libraries overlapped. The majority of the books in the University Library were folios, only a few being in smaller format (the latter, though, were available in Anatomy). They were almost all in Latin, of course, apart from a few Greek or Greek-Latin publications by renowned classical physicians. But as early as the catalogue of 1595 there is one work in French among the additional pasted titles, namely Jacques Guillemeau's \textit{Chirurgie} (Paris 1557), of which the Anatomy Department even possessed a Dutch translation "over gheset door Carolum Battum" (Dordrecht 1598). The Library shortly afterwards acquired a work written by Battus in Dutch (part of the bequest made by the student Paulus Hailing in 1600\textsuperscript{276}): \textit{Handbook der Chirurgien} (Dordrecht 1595, 12).

So much for the older collection of medical works which, with their good editions of Hippocrates and Galen, copies of Vesalius and other contemporary writers, standard works in biology and particularly in botany, are by no means unimpressive.

Was this, however, still the case a few decades later? Did the collections expand with the progress of science? As already noted, the Library as a whole grew more slowly the later years of the century, and this also applies to the collection of medical books.\textsuperscript{381} For example, one of the most important events of that period in the history of medicine was Harvey's discovery in 1628 of the circulation of the blood. This discovery was far from being accepted in the following few years and many discussions have taken place on the subject. The Leiden publisher Maire had a reprint of Harvey's work published in 1639, together with a refutation by some of his opponents. When the Leiden anatomist Johannes Walaeus personally conducted some experiments on it, he was convinced that Harvey's theory was sound and let one of his English pupils, Roger Drake, hold a disputation "Pro. Cl. Harveio." This elicited further reactions from an opponent. Finally, he set out his opinions in the light of his experiments in two letters to another pupil, the Dane Thomas Bartholinus. The letter had them published (after the reissue of a work by his father Caspar Bartholinus entitled \textit{Institutiones Anatomicae}) by the printer Hackius at Leiden in 1641. In the controversy Harvey himself was later to use arguments framed by Walaeus. Finally, in 1647, Maire printed a collection of \textit{Recentiorum disceptationes de motu cordis, sanguinis et chyli}. Thus the professors and the press of Leiden had played their part in one of the most important and controversial contributions to medical science.

All this activity met with little or no reaction from the Library. Neither the work by Harvey nor the one by Bartholinus which includes Walaeus' letters\textsuperscript{382} were available, and only the 1647 collection was acquired for the Library. The scholars must therefore have obtained current writings for themselves. And the students? Heurnius, as we know, thought it necessary for the students to be shown a variety of good books. Walaeus prescribed very few when the young Bartholinus inquired which writers he ought to study: Fernelius on physiology (in the Library since 1595) and Spigelius on anatomy (acquired after 1640), but for the most part his own father's works would suffice. No doubt this was a matter of some pride to the son.\textsuperscript{383} If this programme was typical, the students must have had to buy Bartholinus' works themselves as they were not in the Library.

There were many other famous 17th-century physicians whose works only reached the Library much later such as Reinier de Graaf, Nuck, and Buyssch. The 112 folio volumes and 84 smaller volumes available in 1674 comprised only 10 and 8 volumes respectively with an imprint after 1640, and 70 and 35 respectively dating from before 1600. The conclusion is clearly that the University Library played no part in the research and tuition carried out by the Medical Faculty in the "Golden Age".

The "Libri Philosophi", to which the "Physici" also belonged, were almost equal in number to the "Medici": in 1674 there were 123 folios, 63 quoros and 45 octavos. An aversion to compendia and a call to return to the classical sources were characteristic of the end of the 16th century at Leiden.\textsuperscript{280} Gibbons remarks that the results of this movement were only perceptible in education from 1600 onwards. Yet we may observe that this section of the Library's oldest holdings already anticipated the tendency, for the compendia concerned were not present whereas Aristotelian and other sources were. The subsequent interest in metaphysics and the growing influence of Suarez\textsuperscript{381} were later also to be reflected in the Library (although his works were placed not with the "Philosophi" but with the "Theologii"). It is again curious that the Leiden teachers Jacchaeus, Burgersdijk, and Heereboord are completely unrepresented. Aristotle and commentaries on his works from classical and later times remain the largest element in the collection. For the middle of the 17th century, it is striking but not surprising that the works of Descartes were not to be found. On May 20th 1647 the Curators forbade mention of his name whether in support or dissent.\textsuperscript{385} In keeping
with this, his philosophical works did not at first reach the Library, though we shall see in our discussion of the "Mathematici" that his Geometrica did.

It was again one of Heinsius' successors who ensured that modern works were not altogether absent: Thysius purchased editions of the Opera Omnia of Bacon and those of Gassendi in 6 volumes. Gronovius, however, returned to purchasing only works by Aristotle.

The "Literatores" in folio already took up 3 platei in 1612; in 1640, they took up no more than 4 shelves in 2 platei. After that year one item after another of this nature arrived so that by 1674 the total came to 177.

It is evident that there was still no question of literature in modern languages: no Racine or Corneille, no Molière or Cervantes, no Shakespeare or Milton, no Vondel, Huygens or Hooft.

There are only a very few exceptions. Alle de werken of Jacob Cats (1655) figures in the catalogue of 1674. The reason is obvious. According to a Latin inscription Cats, who was for some years a Curator of the University, had presented the work himself. The only English literary work was also presented by the author, Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, who in 1658 enlisted Constantine Huygens' aid in offering her works to Leiden University Library and later expressed her pleasure to him when they were accepted. He did not follow her example, although he presented the Bodleian Library with copies of his poetry.

The only French literary work we encounter in the 1640 catalogue is the Opera Poetica, cum Commentariis, Gallicis, Parisii 1611, the Épreuves of Du Bartas—not placed, however, amongst the "Literatores" but amongst the "Philosophi". Its origin is unknown. There was also a Tragedia Belgii veritatis expressa about the siege of Leiden by Jac. Zevecoytus (Leiden 1626), a cousin of Daniel Heinsius.

The state of the Neo-Latin poetry was in fact not much better. It was only thanks to Bertius' initiative that there was any at all. He had, it will be recalled, made a point of acquiring the works of Leiden scholars and forming them into a separate collection. Quite understandably the Latin works; the Dutch poetry of Jan van :Jouw, for instance, was not included. But it would seem that that is as far as it went, since the later poetry of Douwes, Baudius, Heinsius and Grotius was not obtained.

We turn now to non-literary works in languages other than the classics. In the first place there were naturally translations of the Bible or particular Books of the Bible in different languages. A Dutch Bible, the Delft one of 1477, had found a place in plateus A of the "Theologi" in 1612; the Statthoiügel was not in the Library until Thysius' time. In addition to these, there were other Bibles in every known language (interest in these must have been primarily linguistic rather than theological). There was, for example, a Biblia Islandica, a Biblia Bohemica, a Biblia Fennoica. In conclusion we may call attention to the gift of what is now called the Biblia Massachusettica (Cambridge [Mass.] 1680-1685), even though it falls outside our period. It was presented by the Rector of Harvard as "SS. Bibliorum versio Indica apud Cantabrigienses in Nova Anglia excusa", and was perhaps the first American book in the Library.

There were few forks for the study of languages, Hebrew being the principal exception. Plantin's Theissaurus Thebanicae Linguae. Schat der Nederduytseker spraken, published in 1573, was not in the Library until 1623; and there was not until 1640 a Dictionarium quadrilingue. English, Latin, Greek and French (London 1626). Apart, however, from the one English literary work mentioned there were scarcely any learned books in that language; one chronicle from 1586 and a theological work from 1660, but nothing else. Nor do the works in Latin published in England compare in number with those from elsewhere.

Most of the books in modern languages are to be found amongst the "Historici". Here one could find Bor and Van Meteren in Dutch; Navigations omnes Batavorum & alienarum, Belgico idiomate conscriptae, & eaeis tabulis expressae, apud diverso diverso tempore excussa. (Middelburg 1598); a Rysbuch der Heyliger Lands (Frankfurt), and a Stammbuch der Graffen und Herren, 1570 in German; Navigations diversae idiomate Italic in Tomos tres distinctae (Venice), and Guicciardini in Italian; and here, notably, were books in French. Monstrelet, Vincent de Beauvais and Froissard were received as early as Merula's time, a period when so many large donations were made. As we have seen, various French historical books arrived before 1623—much to the Curators' disapproval.

As a whole, the "Historici" section, which had been the object of many enthusiastic donations and purchases during the first decades, remained second in size only to the theological section. In 1674 the total number of folios was 335, 215 of which had already been present in 1623. The "Historici" and "Literatores" in smaller format were united from 1612 onwards, although the folios remained separate. 154 in 4°; 186 in 8°; and 34 in 12° and smaller was the sum total in 1674.

Under the heading "Mathematici", which included Astronomy, Mechanics, Optics, Architecture and the military sciences, was the smallest section; it was to
THE LIBRARY

441

19. Dedication of Tycho Brahe's
Astronomiae instauratae mechanica.

IOSEPHO SCALIGERO
IVL: CES: T
UIRO.
ILLUSTRI ET INCOMPARABILI
Amico sue honorando.

Hos quoq Stelliferas, vir maxima, sumas labores,
Quos operosa duis nosque diesg, dicere,
Debeat optime, qui inuisi fulgere nosis,
Et utas sine imos sparger ad Antipodas:
Misereus alter visum qui Fata gubernant,
Uranius alter, quia tua Sacra sorve.
Nefcia contempti, fraudari, odia munda noxar,
Carmenque rudes, sorfeitemus pari.
Plurima quaq alias basa agi insanata tulist,
Regna nisi maltem nive peregrina sequi:
Nec peregrina tamen, Coelium tota indeciss Tellus
Suspiciit, Etereis muneigida vius.
Prosperiora igitur Coelestia Nimina spondent
Tanta nec migratis sint perversa locis.

Tycho Brahe
remain the smallest for a long time to come. There were initially 15 volumes in *platos*. and up to 1653 the collection of folio volumes could always be accommodated in one *plato*. In 1674 the total number was 70. The number of small books rose from 9 in 1595 to 56 in 1674. Between 1623 and 1640 next to no additions were made. In 1595 the texts were of course primarily classical, but there was a work by Copernicus, which unfortunately we do not know whose. We have also pointed out that the Dutch works of Simon Stevin were included in the presentation made by the City of Leiden in 1595. A further important gift was made by Prince Maurice of Orange in January 1600: all the mathematical works not yet in the Library but still obtainable (according to the wording in the *Catalogus Prinicipi*, which goes on to give an extensive description of the books). That it must have been difficult to obtain books on that subject at the time becomes apparent from Raphelengius' note, published by Molhuysen, which designates "letter accompanying books sent on approval". The note was evidently in reply to a request for information as to what he could supply, in connection with an offer made by Prince Maurice, "on Geometry, Astronomy and Astrology". The ten books Raphelengius was able to provide did form part of the gift from Maurice to the Library.

The books are all in Latin. This is worth mentioning, as at precisely the same time (the beginning of January 1600) Maurice also established a "school of engineering", the so-called "Nederduytse Mathematique", where lessons were given in Dutch, and which was situated under the Library in the Beguinage Chapel. Did this school obtain books in Dutch? Witkam supposes that there must have been books there too, but nothing is known of them.

The Library at that time possessed in Dutch not only the works of Stevin but also *Van den Circkel* by Ludolf van Ceulen, a gift made in 1598 by the author who in 1600 became a teacher at the School of Engineering. This was followed in September 1600 by the *Practiche des Landmeetens* by Joannes Sens and Joannes Petri Dou, also presented by the authors. The prospective surveyors perhaps had to come upstairs to consult these books, as they later did to consult the globes. The books, in any event, remained in the Library.

The composition of the collection in 1612 can only be ascertained in respect of the smaller volumes, as Heinsius omitted to catalogue the *platos* of "Mathematici". The *Practiche des Landmeetens* mentioned above was now referred to as *Methodus & ratis Geometriae Joannis Sens. Belgic.* Dou is not named. In the light of Heinsius' evident failure to pursue the acquisition of works in this field it comes as no surprise to us that figures we regard as renowned, such as Kepler and Galileo, are still not represented in the period 1623-1640. On the other hand, we can only be thankful that Scaliger's relations with Tycho Brahe resulted in the Library receiving a fine copy of his *Astronomiae instauratae mechanica*, complete with dedicatory poem, and an equally fine manuscript of his *Stellaeus solvi orbi inerrantium accurata restitutione* with a beautiful portrait in coloured engraving.

There seem to have been many important acquisitions made in "Mathematici" shortly before 1674. The name of Descartes here appears for the first time, not in connection with his philosophical works (which were not yet in the Library) but his *Géométrie*, translated into Latin as early as 1649 by Fr. van Schooten the younger and presented to the Curators by him in 1661. It further appears, from Gronovius' cashbook cited above (the *Rationes Bibliothecae*) that a whole series of "Mathematici" arrived at the Library in 1669, recorded as "Ex auctione Almariana empti per D. Schotenum". We assume they were obtained by Pieter van Schooten, who was a teacher at the "Nederduytse Mathematique". We have no information on the auction itself. In the cash-book we find not only the prices listed, but also a record in the left-hand margin of what these same books (not necessarily the same copies) had fetched at the auction of Golius' books the year before. Since very little had been bought at the Golius' auction (only one Euclid manuscript, now BPG 7, and an annotated edition of Euclid, now 758 B 15), various books were now obtained at considerably lower prices. It was only at this point that works by Kepler, Willebrand Smellius, Christian Huygens and others reached the Library. This perhaps explains why the "Mathematice" became suddenly more up-to-date than the other sections.

On reaching the end of our description of the University Library's book collection in its first century, we may conclude that growth was maintained until about 1625, but without subsequent consolidation. In the science subjects in particular this growth did not keep pace with progress in the fields themselves. Not only the classics, but also theology and history in particular developed better although there were many lacunae in these subjects too. There was no change in the situation until the purchase of Isaac Vossius' Library in 1690. But the change, when it came, was radical. Much emphasis has been laid on the importance of the *Codices Vossiani*, especially the *Latini*,...
The Library

A Page of the Teramill manuscript.

20.
and his collection of maps and books of travels is well-known. The present writer feels, however, that there has never been enough attention paid to the fact that his collection of printed books (3984 items) was in all subjects except law so much a supplement to existing holdings as a basis for the formation of the collection. One need only consider the 556 “Mathematical,” Vossius collection was moreover up-to-date. He died at Windsor in 1689 but possessed a copy of the 1687 edition of Newton’s Philosophiae naturalis principia mathematica. Furthermore, it was only through Vossius that the books by Galileo and Descartes, for example, came to Leiden.

A century later there was another acquisition of major importance consisting of older medical works. The Medical Faculty used part of its share of the Riemersma bequest (1770) to buy books of the Swiss doctor J. J. Wepfer (1620-1693), a collection (1435 items) formed during the period in which the Library had neglected the purchase of medical books. The lack of such works was so strongly felt by the Medical Faculty that it used its own money to remedy the situation.

With these two collections we today have holdings in

APPENDIX A

LIST OF BOOKS BEQUEATHED TO THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY BY JOHANNES HOLMANNUS SECUNDUS (1586)

As far as possible, titles are given with the oldest and present shelf-marks.

1. Volumes in folio

1a. Volumes bearing Holmannus name

THEOLOGI


5. R 31, 522 A 11, V. Strigelius, de prophetia in omnes Psalmos Davidis (---). Ad finem adjuncta sunt grammatica anotata (---) Lips. [1563].


LITERATORES

15. a 1, 878 A 14, S. Pagninus, Thesaurus linguae sanctae sive lexicon Hebraicum. Lugd. 1575.


1b. Volumes no longer extant in 1776


Number 17 is not recorded after the 1595 catalogue, nor 19-26 after the 1612 catalogue; 18 and 27 are in the 1623 catalogue but with the ms. addition "non est".

1c. Volumes of unknown provenance, but likely have been left to the Library by Holmarnus
1 15, P. Martyr Vermilium, Loc.i communes ex variis ipsius authoris scriptis (----) collecti (----). Tigr. 1538 = 613 A 13?
1 18, W. Musculus, Loc.i communes in usus sacrae Theologiae candidatorum parati. Basil. 1560 = 613 A 12?

2. Volumes of smaller format
2a. Volumes bearing Holmarnus' name
1. 581 G 19, H. Bullinger, In posteriorum D. Pauli ad Corinthios epistolam commentarius. Tigr. 1535; Id., in D. Apostoli Pauli ad Thessalonicenses, Timotheum, Timotheu & Philonomem epistolam Commentarius. Tigr. [1536]. 8o. The name Johannes Holman upon the title page, is probably that of the first Pastor of that name.
2. 1368 E 7, H. Mollerus, Eranonatio brevis et grammatica concionum Hoose. Witt. 1567. 8o. Written dedication to Holmarnus. Stamped pigskin binding 1567. On the front cover of heart-and-clover and on the back cover HHS.
4-6. 578 F 4-6, Id., Enarratio Psalmorum Davidis. Withe. 1573. 8o. In vol. II a written dedication to Holmarnus from Th. S. Vol. I stamped pigskin binding with heart-and-clover and HHS. On the front cover, back cover 1574: II and III red parchment. All three have 44 on the lower edge.
7. 598 E 6, Libellus novus, Epistolae et ali ad quaedam monstria doctorum (----) complectuntur. Ed. studio Joach. Camerarii. Lips. 1568. 8o. Written dedication to Holmarnus from Johannes Spelbergius Teutomarchus (from Dithmarschen) 1577. New binding with remains of old worn covers pasted on top, these bearing the initials S D, probably Spelbergius, and 1569.
8. 1413 E 23, Novum Testamentum, Gr. et Lat. Theodor Beza interpretate. [Gen.] 1560. 8o. According to the inscription sold by the owner’s heirs Hecht Bonusius to Holmarnus at the house of Lohkorst at Leiden (a house where many students lodged) in 1582 for the sum of one gold Rhenu head guilder and 5 Groschen. Stamped pigskin binding, no other stamps. 30 on the lower edge.

2b. Volumes with Holmarnus' binding, stamps and initials
11. 592 D 8, A. Hyperius, Methodi Theologiae, sive praecipuum Christianiæ religionis locorum communium libri tres. Basil. 1567. 43 on lower edge.

2c. Volumes with either Holmarnus' stamps or his initials

2d. Volumes with the letters H and HS
15. 1402 E 7, V. Strigelius, Τυπογραφια en omnes libros Novi Testamenti (- - - -) Lips. 1565. 47 on lower edge.
16. 1413 D 10, Joannes Ravisius Testor Nivernensis, Officina, nunc demum post tot editiones diligenter emendata (- - - -) per Conr. Lycosthenen Rubeque. Basil. 1562; Theodoritus episcopus Cyri, Dialogi tres contra quasdam haereses (- - - -). Rome 1547.

2e. Volumes in red parchment similar to that of nos. 1, 5 and 6
17. 500 F 8, Joach. Camerarius, Notitia figurarum orationis et mutatae simplicis elocutionis in apostolici scriptis (- - - -). Lips. 1572. 8o. Homiliae (- - - -) excepta ex scripturis Evangelicis. Lips. [1573].
22. 505 G 19, Id., In Mattheum evangelistam enarratio. [Vitbe].1575.

2f. A volume in green parchment similar to that of no. 9
23. 597 E 1, H. Bullinger, Fundamentum firmum, cui tuto
The Library

Paulus Merula's Memoranda to the Curators of the University (1597-1602)

I

Sommighe punten de Bibliotheca aenheven, op welcke mijnheer de Curatus dezer Universiteit, midsharders Burgenvoedsels der Stadt Leyden zullen gheleven te disponenten naer hun gheleyven ende welbehagen.

1. Alsoo deur last van mijnheeren Heeren de sleutenlen van de Bibliotheca van eener, den welken die eertijt gedaen is, ghepreest te zijn, ende het slot bij den slotmakenlder veranderd is: zoo zullen mijnheeren gheleyven te adviseren op het vorder: Offensif voren daerstelleten zal met eenen sleutel, ende hoeuerre de last van den vroebouder in deze zal streekten; Off datmen de andere sleutels mede op het slot zal veranderen ende wederomme uyt deelen aan wyen, op wat manieren ende onder hoedanighe beloven: Endi ende inde letzten wordt ghezovlevet of mijnheeren nyet goet vinden, datmen Daniel van der Mullen, N. vander Welle ende andere van ghelijke qualityt ende gheleereteyt sicken die sleuts pre-nsentere. In allen ghevalle daer op te laten, datmen deur vele het van sleuteles wederomme zouden kunnen vallen in het inconvenient tev项链 nu voirsichtelijk ende bequemelijk gheeweet is.3

2a. Off mijnheeren nyet noodich achten datmen tot circat de Bibliotheca met der tyt vergaشهد the Effigien in cleyn formatet int coper ghesneden van alle geelereerde, ende deur scripten vermaerde mannen, tot verscheiden tijden aftijgesruct int licht gheeweet.2

b. Item het Counterfeitel van mijnheeren den Prince van Orangeen Hoochoelifcker gevorderhten, als van wegen de hooghe Overheyt ende den Heere van den Lande Instituut der Universiteit.4

E. Midsharders de Paneelen of andere geelereerde Mannen, eendsel die in deze Universiteit gheproteertte hebben, als van Donellus, Lipsius ende nijchellegeerde: ende die alhyer igeinwooruddich zijn, te weten van Scaliger, Junius ende andere naer teven, deur tijtse scripten belecht: andersdeels die in Holland eerezhis hebben ghefroteert, ghe-lijkewijs zijn Erasmus, Hadrianus Junius, Secundus ende die gheelijckhebeit, die men lichelich zoude mogen hebben om celenen prijes bij den Erffgenamen off op andere plaetsten; alles omme tot eere eurwige memorie als op eere publicite plaatse bewaert te worden.5

d. Noch mede Wapenen van jonge Princen; Graven ende Barons comende alhyere in de Universiteit om te studeren.

e. Andere andere gheelijke Cyraeten.

ii

3. Off mijnheeren believe dat men coope twee off drie keertum, als de Geographie van Plancius, Hondius, off ander; item die Carte van Nederlanden.6

iii

4. Off mijnheeren nyet naezaem vinden datmen doe mea-cchen een bet van Wagenschoot off anders van vijf voeten off min of meer int vierkant, rundom gheleit, om in de Bibliotheca hangheende aan den want daer op te placken bij columeen op eenenparadien voet alle vierdeels jaers de namen van alzoeliche personen die de Bibliotheca vereert zullen hebben mit eenigehe rare ende singuliere Boucken: midsharders de nominatie van de gheschochezene Boucken met aenjeekeningh van den tyt wanneer de ghescho-chen zijn; daer van sommergen Personen namen ende Don- tien alre bij de Catalogue gedaen is ende noch andere onder hem Remonstant zijn berustende; om alzo alle andere die op verscheiden tijden de Bibliotheca zullen komen visiteren, stilwijgende te vermanen ende te porren tot het looflijk verstercken van de voornemde Bibliotheca met alzoeliche boucken die anders met gheduet willen yst wel en zijn te becomen, als de welcke gescrewen zijn met de hande ende nijchelijchde daer to hij Remonstant wel verhoekte met der tijt ende regelen ende bequeme middelen te gheeraken.7

v

5. Eninde nasmeel men merckelich bevindt dat de plaetse van de Bibliotheca zeer gheequelt wordt met vochicheyt, nyet

iegheurte te zyen of op te doen somwijk zooveel

* See p. 413.

3 Dating from 1589.

2 See p. 410.

3 See p. 416.

4 The portrait.

5 See p. 414.

6 See p. 413.

7 See p. 413.

1. Dat mijnheeren in de stad Le- Pulpita ghepreest werden.

2. Item datmen naer teven.

3. Item datmen nieuwere Libra- liateen.

4. Dat een eereaele bestedenten geschon- venele levens...

1 Dating from 1593.

2 Cf. memoria.

3 See above.

Aen deerstelleten, datmen
Gheeft men in opzeynder datmen
hoe dat hij sproeven wartinge gedaen konne, welcke hij sproeven, sproeven van de ghescho- chenen personen.

Steden heeft

E. Merch.

Een ghescho- chen person.

Endi meer: Item datmen
daer van zijn, ende deerstelleten hebben
gedaen hebben ende ende ende be-
1. Dat mijnheer E. Heeren Curateurs ende Burgemeesters der Stadt Leyden gheleven te onderronnen dat noch twee Pulitza gheenact werden, in de Bibliothecque.

2. Item dat het Contoorn in de Bibliothecque nach ghebeelck werden; alzoo bevonden is dat daer over wolts gheboden.

3. Item dat een ander Taferel gheenan werden, om van nieuws op te placken de namen der ghezonen, die alleen Libertaliteit chooven in eenige Boeken te schoonen.

4. Dat een cleyne somme, ten minste tien ponden alle vierendeel jare, de Bibliothecque toeghevovcht werde te besteden een cleyne ende rare Boucken, die anders niet geschoonck en werden; daer van de Bibliothecaire alle vierendeel jare zal Rekening doen ende Specificatie over leveren wat daer voren ghecocht is.

5. Aan mijnheer Ed. Hooghegeleerde ende Achtbaren Heeren, mijnheere de Curateurs van de Universiteit midghaders Burgemeesters der Stadt Leyden.

Gheeft mit eerbiedinge te kennen Paulus Merula, als Opzeynder van de Bibliothecque in de Universiteit Leyden, hoe dat hij suppliant, de selve alzoo twee jaer en inzijne be- waringhe gehadt hebbe, die by weghen van Donatie, de welcke hij suppliant deur bequame middelen, zoo bij particuliere personen, als by verscheyden Heeren, Collegien ende Steden heeft to wege ghebracht, in zulkel khezopen, zonder uw E. merclieke kosten, heeft verbeurt, dat de prijs van de gheschoonck Boucken, kaerten ende andere dinghen ghracksenen is(he), exceederende is de somme van duysent ghelmens ende meer; bij suppliant hem ghebraghtende tot de Catalogue daer van zijnde, ock mede tot de estimatie die daer van zoude konnen genomen worden. Enzoal hy suppliant al zelve gheedt heeft eendsels gheporeert zijnde deur eene goede yere ende beheertte om de selve Bibliothecque te vermeerderen, ende daer inne, als in cene publique plaetse te vergsgheren alle Singulariteyeten de Staede aengheuicht; andersdeels deur de hope die uw E. den suppliant eerstijts heeft beleeven te doen, van het Honorarium, alzoo doen daer toe gheoordeene, te ver- heenhogen; zoo verzookt hij suppliant, dat uw E. believe aenschoo te nemen op de noestichtig ende gheoutwichtigheyt van de(n) suppliant; ende den zelven, zijn Honorarium ver- heenoot hebbende, oorzaake te gheven in zijn voornemen meer ende meer voort te gheen ende bij alle gheouwchelijke wegen de voorgenoemde Bibliothecque te verbeteren. Dit doende enz.


IJ 1. Dat mijnheer E. Heeren Curateurs ende Burgemeesters der Stadt Leyden gheleven te onderronnen dat noch twee Pulitza gheenan werden, in de Bibliothecque.

2. Item dat het Contoorn in de Bibliothecque nach ghebeelck werden; alzoo bevonden is dat daer over wolts gheboden.

3. Item dat een ander Taferel gheenan werden, om van nieuws op te placken de namen der ghezonen, die alleen Libertaliteit chooven in eenige Boeken te schoonen.

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overlanghe gebracht bij een Bouckebinder van Aemsteldam Didier de la Tombe die dezelve verlaat voor de thuyen pondt vlaams oft ten alderminsten voo de 50 ghuldens, midst datmen hem laat volghen de oude Editie weersnde in de Bibliotheca, die twee partien min hebbende als de eerste naer de verclarlinghe van de Heeren Professoren in de Theologie. 8

2. De Faculteyt in de Rechten verzouckt dat, alzoickickis Just Canonicum ghealligert werde in de Disputation, mijnhen Heeren ghelieve te doen coopen den text van het zelve in Polio; om gheblijkerweyi het Corpus Iuris Civilis gheleyt ende ghcketent te werden in Iuris Auditorio, ghe-tejckent als andere Boucken van de Bibliotheca. 9

3. Paulus Halling zone van de Raathiheere Jacob Paulii heeft uyt zijne Boucken de Bibliotheca ghemaaect alzuleke die aldaer vooir als noyt ghevoneden en werden: Questie Offnen de zelve alle in den druck zal speciaerer, achtervolgende zijnen uitersten wil. 10

4. Philippus Claverus heeft ondertouche andere Boucken de Bibliotheca ghesconckoen Tabulam Itinerarium Veteris Orbis: Offnen de zelve zal doen lijen. 11

5. Offnen de Crocojid in de Bibliotheca zal doen hangen overmiitt de tanden daer uyt ghedenomen werden; oft doen stellen op eenich Fulpitum, op drie iseren krucckens. 12

6. Dat mijnhen Heeren ghelieve te committereeene arme schamele weduwe belast met seven kinderen, tot het schoenmaeckers ende schoonhouden van de Bibliotheca op eenen jaertier penningck, als mijnhen Heeren haec om God willen zullen toeliegen: de zelve presenteere de Bibliotheca alle raencks de Boucken het Stoff aff te nemen ende de plaste te vegaen: alle vierendeel jaers aff alle jaers, als mijnhen Zellen zullen goet vinden, de zelve te schuyren ende te witten. 13

7. Off mijnhen Heeren noyt goet en vinden, datmen de Effigies Doctorem viorum doe stellen tot een Circl op de Fulpit ayegeelick op zijne Faculteyt: tweeck bij Giac Bruxen beloofft is, doch achterblijft. 14

VI

Mijn Heere

1. Dit is ontrent acht daghen geleden dat Iodocus Hondius, deur mij daer toe gheneuicerte ende versocht zijnde, de Bibliotheca vereert heeft twee nieuwe Globos Coelestern & Terrestrem, by hem in het voorlijden jaar uytghegenen, om aldaer tot zijner ghedachensens ende tot behooff van de Lieffhebbers gheestelt te worden. Dan alzoick sorghe de zelve, by kinderen off oenereven Studenten als de Bibliotheca open staat, zouden moghten mistbryckyt ende verdorven werden ende dat evenwel de Professoren gheerene saghen dat zij moghten mede daer van hebben het geboeckyt, zonder in het Cantoor ghesloten te houden, zoo werde dat E. van wegen der zelve ghedenhen den Heeren Curateurs ende Burghemeesters vooir te draghen off het net ghecraden en ware eene Casse te maecken, off erghens eene cleyne plaesente in de Bibliotheca, onternt den schoorsten aff te onderen, daer de zelve ende d’andere Globi, oick mede de Spaerse manuoles zoude moghten uyt roeckeloos handen wech gheestelt, ende alzoick bequemelick by de zelve Professoren, een ijder eene sleutel van zoodanighe kasse off plaesente hebheende, geboeckyt werden. 15

2. De Catalogue van de Boucken van mijn Heer Daniel van der Meulen, mij by uw E. deur Basson ghedenen behandigen, hebbe ik neerstelt overstreet, oick mede met eenichte van de Faculteyten ghecommunicre. Hebben dat inne sommighe saehhetevckt, ende voornameelick etyche Graecos Scriptores & Scholastes; die voor dese tyst zeer quallick zijn te becomen. De Heeren Curateurs ende Burghemeesters werden gheeheden te committeren tot het coopen der zelver, zoo whanne de auctie zal ghebouden werden. 16

3. Uw E. zal ghelieven indachtich te zijn mij te doen hebben eene ondernamie van honderd vijftich ghuldens ter cause van den Opvicht van de Bibliotheca.

4. Item eene ondernamie van acst ghuldens vor eckere arme vrouwe, die dit jaer de Bibliotheca heeft schoongemaeckt. 17

Uw E. dienstwille
Paulus Merula

VII

1. Tsal mijn Heer den Pensionariis believen

1. Ordonnantie te vorderen op Loys Elazervier nopende de Boucken die by consent van zijnen Heeren gheocht zijn in de Bibliotheca van Vermeerden. 18

2. Item op Basson de binden van Boucken ende andere affairen voor de Bibliotheca.

3. Item op Jacob Reijerszoone voor het maecken van drie dozijn ketenen.

4. Item op mij nopende mete rijse in den Haghe ende op Delf voor de weduwe van Jefrou Holmanns (6e). 19
Mons. Pensionaire

1. Tal al uw E. believen te behertigen de zaak van de Boucken van mijn heer van Falckeesteyn, zoo als het eerstelijk moge beklijken is: De annotatien zijn zeer goet ende weerdryck bij een bewaert te werden. —

2. Alzoo zijne Excellente segenwoordig verklaart gheseyt te zijn van ghansch heercgygher voor de Stad van z'Herhoghenbosch ende allere vaste hope genomen werdt, dat hij met der tijd; över de zelve met Gods hulpe de victorie zal erlanghen; dat mede gheseyt ende verseckeert werdt dat in de zelve Stad zijn grootte ende oude Bibliotheeken: hebben mijn Heeren te adviseren, off daer gheen eelck ende bequemen middel en zouden konen gheerast wer- den, deur brieven van Recommandatie aan zijne Excell- lentie, off anders, om de zelve Bibliotheeken te salveren tot behouvan van deze Universiteit.

3. Orillarts, boucbinder alhyber, be- langhegende het bouck in de Medi- cine, tweck aldaer heeft daen halen Magnificus Rector Jacob Reytenroon aengaende de vier dizont ketenen an de Bibli- theque gelever.

4. Item noch te doen maeccken twee andere Pulpita: ende eene nieuwe Tabulam voirt de schencken.

5. Tal uw E. ock believen te vorderen de schenck van mijnen Heeren van Leyden, alzoo die van Aemsteldam daer nae wachten.

5. Item te versoucken consent, dat noch twee Pulpita ge- maect werden.

6. Zal ook beleeven in memorie te houden, off het nyet geraden en is te coopeen Lectura Alberici in neghen Voluminibus ende Lectura Aegidij Bellermare. —

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1. Dating from August 1601.
2. See pp. 420. The auction was held 4.6.1601.
3. See pp. 399 and 402.
4. See p. 418.

VIII

5. Alzoo alzoo alnooch onder Merula zijn berustende de Boucken van Gerard Valckenburgh, op hope dat mijn Heeren die eens zouden coppen, zoo zouneclt die vio- noemde Merula, dat mijn Heeren ghelieve te consenteeren dat van de vioernoemde somme van honert ghulden bestedt werden twintich ghulden voor deze rejse, voor eenne partie van de Boucken vande vinoemde Heere van Valckenburgh, die om de memorië van zooodanighen ghe- leerden man behouren bewaert te werden in eene publice- que plaatse als over al ende deurgaen met zijne hand te gheefyt en geschmedoreert: de reste te employeren daer het mijnen Heeren wel zal ghevallen.

4. Vorder zal mijn Heer de Pensionaris ghelieve te vorderen de schenck vóór de Bibliotheca van mijnen Heeren van Leyden; hoewel de zelve alre yet gedaen hebben, ten eynde de ordre nyet en werde gebroekten ende de zaak nyet en blijve steken, daer het gheensins behoort. De Heeren van Aemsteldeam ende die van der Goude hebben alre goede ende groote beloften geloopen, maar en willen de ordre nyet breken. Het is weinigh dat beheertt wordt van eenen yder voor de Bibliotheca: doch bedrachts veel ende is groot als het al ghecumuleert werdt. Werdt nyet ghewijffert off mijnen Heeren Leyden, zullen die van Dordrecht, Haerlem ende Delf libbreichans navolghen; ende de reestren Steden met een loflich exempel voor- ghueen en tot gijliche liberaliteit verwecken.

5. Dating from the first months of 1602.
7. Cf. memorandum VIII, item 1. The payment was granted on 9.1.1602 (AC 103, f. 107-107v). 
8. Cf. memorandum VIII, item 5 and p. 418. Leiden gifted the Oceanus Juris in two-seven volumes only on February 8th 1603 (Cat. Prin. 02v-7r).
APPENDIX C

LIST OF LAW BOOKS FIRCABLY BOUGHT FROM THE LIBRARY OF MARNIX OF SAINT ALDEGONDE
(1599) *

Folio Volumes:

C 2.3 1 Consiliorum Petri Philippi Cornelii in quatuor partes Digestorum volumina quattuor. Lugduni. Anno 1544.

4-5 Felini Sandei opera in duos tomos distincta, apud Iacobi Baresch. Anno. 1513.

6-7 Consiliorum seu Responsoriorii Alexandri Tartagni Imo-lensii, volumina duo. Lug. apud Gregorium Regnault. 1549.


16 Innocenti Apparatus super Decretalibus. Lugduni apud Hugonem à Pora Anno 1548.

17 Andreas de Isernia, Iacobus Alvarores, Baldus de Perusia super Feudis, Lugduni apud Florum de Sura Anno 1532.

ABBREVIATIONS

AC Archives of the Curators, in Leiden, University Library, Department of Western Manuscripts. See H. Hardenbergh, Het archief van Curatornum Leidse Universiteit, t.e. gedeepte (1754-1815), Zaltbommel 1935.

A3 Archives of the Senate, Ibidem.

Appendices A, B, C: Appendices to the present article.

BA Archives of the Library.

Burman, Synoposis as elsewhere in this volume.

BWPON as elsewhere in this volume.

(Catalogues of the Library, in chronological order:)

1. Nominalis = Cat. 1593 (P. Burman), Nominalis aliquotius omnium, quorum liber est manuscriptus, inter typis expressi existit in Bibliotheca Academica Lugduni-Batavorum; cum epistola de ordine eius atque usus, Leiden 1595.

2. Prima. Catalogus Principiorum, situatiorum, sit singulariorum, qui donationem vel inter eos vel inter eos mortis causa, Bibliotheca Universitatis Academia Lugduni-Batavorum continent, liber editus ab Antonio, Leiden 1597-1603.


4. Cat. BPL (see below), pp. V-V.


8. Cat. 1674 (F. Francken et al.), Catalogus Bibliothecae Publicae Lug-
I wish to thank the Librarian and my colleagues on the Staff of the University Library for their many courtesies and tireless assistance without which this study could never have been written.

("...") also deseeve alhe in onze naewe academie groote vecht zigheken doen voor den greven, die almoeb van bouwen niet en zijn vooroewen eenne gemen Mediën en hebben obbene voor hem te koopen (..."). Molhuysen, Brunnen I, p. 45.*


When, in 1995, Jan van Hout presented a copy of Philip of Leiden's book with a detailed inscription about the writer, no reference was made to the foundation of the Library. (See Cat. 1995, sig. N 2-N 3.) D. van Royen rewrote the inscription in the book, since the original had been lost (Molhuysen, Brunnen V, p. 94*).

Alte Vlotigheden, Groningen 1669, p. 141.

Molhuysen, Brunnen I, p. 9*. The charter bearing the date of January 6th 1579 must have been antedated (see J. Wolters, "Ver. over Rijksgeschiedenis 38 (1970), p. 487").

This omission was observed by C. van Vollenhoven in Ver- spreide Geschriften I, Haarlem-'s-Gravenhage 1934, p. 205.


Sig. a-2.

See below p. 397. For Feueregrus see NNBV III, pp. 398-402.

He occupied his chair from July 1575 to May 1579.


Molhuysen, Brunnen I, p. 5.


W. Hoevenaar, "Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis der Premon- tristenam Abdijs van OLV te Middelburg", Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het huiden van Haarlem, 22 (1997), pp. 210-236, with an inventory of what was preserved in Louvain in 1594.


There is no chapter of canons at St. Mary's Church at Zeere (Fruin, op. cit., pp. 129-131).

Treasureur's accounts for 1578, fol. 51*: "Den selven [Schonaeus] betuut wederom voor dat hy den zien verouderet en een van zyn disciplien gevaerte heeft int maecchen van een Catha- loguin van zeecker boucken leggende inde convente der pred- dicarz, minnebroeders ende onder de hulde vandaens om de bequaeste gevaerlegt te worden seinde univerzet van Leyden volgens de requete vande heere van Noortvraek, moneertende volgens de vorzotarnede ende gootmaet ende hier oever geveren in V. vijf st." Facsimile available in Uit de voorgesche- denis van de Stadtbibliothek te Haarlem [by Lotte Hellinga-Kersten a.o.], Haarlem 1971, p. 20. A detailed account of the situation at Haarlem in 1578 can be found on pp. 19-24 of the same work and, on pp. 26-29, both clerus are discussed.

AC 100, f. 2r and 11r, W. I, pp. 70 and 95-96. The price for binding is given in volume III: "Pro compositione dat Xxviiij florors." The present binding is unfortunately not the original.

F. P. Blok, "Interpretatie van de inscriptie van het Leidse exemplaar" in Lotte Hellinga-Kersten, De Koninklijke van de Prins de Stadtbibliothek te Haarlem, Verslag van een onderzoek, Haarlem 1971, pp. 32-36, see also pp. 17-20.


Janus Douas (Jean van der Does), Seigneur de Noordwijk (1545-1604), description of the New Leiden University commander officer during the siege of Leiden, first Curator of the University and first Librarian from 1585 to 1593. He moved to The Hague in 1593 after his appointment as Justice to the Supreme Court, and was succeeded by his son Janus Douas Filzus. See NNBV VI, pp. 425-429; C. L. Huesakkers, Janus Dosua en zijn vrienden, Leiden 1973. For Douas's central role in cultural affairs, see J. H. Wasseink's paper in the present volume, pp. 160-175.

W. I, p. 69 no 110; cf. Molhuysen, Brunnen I, p. 88*, 26.4.1581: "die plaetse gederseerste toto librieta omne de boucken vander univerzet daer inne te brengen ende te bewaren (...) in de librerie dat de doen vloeren, ghesen daer inne te stelten, tafelen ende cassen tot bewraende vande boucken te doen maecchen." For instance in the licence granting Plantin permission to estab- lish his shop in the gateway, on the left, on condition that it would not block the light for a future library whose position had already been determined ("ter plaetse diereert gederse- neert") See P. C. Molhuysen in Pballa Ledestiis, Leiden 1925, pp. 313, n. 3, W. KZ, no. 8 and W. III, p. 5-6.


Mol, p. 4.

W. KZ, p. 6-7.

W. III, p. 4.

W. I, p. 100-101, 21.11.1590. Total fl. 1711.6-6, including fl. 5.

36 Molhuysen, Brunei I, p. 23; II, I, p. 70, no. 111: "doen maelen zeerleere plaat, ende pestemel, onme darde meer die de bocuen vande universiteit, niet alleinlic op 't leert, mero cpee onder vaende vijen zeijen te doen maelen."


38 Molhuysen, Brunei I, p. 19, II, I, p. 70, no. 112.


41 Molhuysen, Brunei I, pp. 42, 122-123.

42 "AANVE bovederije vande universiteit: van Leyden min- gaders van den docenten, professoren ende gewone studiende aldaer dieoehyck ende gedrukgendh bewert is in den zelve universiteit upergetich te weder een publycke biblioteekte oft liuf, was ino all die goede ende voorstampten auteurs, schri- vere ende bocuen van aelehende scientie ende cuisen in ver- scheyden tien vacteraad ende bewaert mogen worden, sulcx abge Zijn Pr. Excellentie hooghlyckere memorie dezelve universiteit: met eene bocuen ten vyns ende behuutive voor, venters begaft heeft gehad ende meerder uyt goede wijle ende vrye vlichtyck hem verplaat hebben gheenecth te doen, ende dar medtule for all van node xee beuquate, gequallificeerde ende elerige persone godgeornet worden te der opzichte, bewaringe ende dispoitie derzelve bibli- othecaere, ende elme dieciscielle met goede kemiste ende onders- cheyt in goede orde gebracht ende gehoouden te werden (…)".

43 Molhuysen, Brunei I, pp. 47, 136-137*: a reproduction of the fourth page of his will is in B.W. KZ, p. 9; an extract is in Molhuysen, Brunei I, p. 138*.

44 1523-1586. Professor of Divinity at Leiden 1582-1586 (see NNBW V. 21, pp. 797-799; BWP-GN IV, pp. 176-178). His life does not appear in Mourits' Historia Academi (1613), nor in the Notitiae Academiae Batavorum (1625), only in Illustration Hollandiae et Westfriesiae Ordinum una Academia Leidensi, Logdet. Bat. 1614, (inserted between pp. 16 and 17, marked *••**•••*•*, sig. Biij-Vijii). Here too is to be found the elegy by Doussa.

45 Molhuysen, Brunei I, p. 5.

46 2 and 7.4.1600, Molhuysen, Brunei I, pp. 125-126.

47 B.W. KZ, p. 18.

48 Request of 7.2.1602 in AC 41, B.W. KZ, no. 80, ff. 78-79: "merendeerts vertrouwt ende gedistraheert waeren (…)".

49 B.W. KZ, p. 18, n. 6.

50 AC 100, f. 99; II, I, p. 93.

51 Molhuysen, Brunei I, p. 34, 31.7.1582.

52 Rev. Car. and accounts from AC 273 onwards.


54 Molhuysen, Brunei I, pp. 67-69-70.

55 See Molhuysen, Brunei I, n. 3, on this manuscript which Vulcarius had borrowed and now donated, as though it were his own; Cat. BPG, pp. 39-40.

56 Siebenbeker op cit. II, pp. 3-5.

57 Inscriptionum antiquarum Quos passum per Europam, liber. Accessit Auctariam a Justo Lipsio. Ex officina Plantiniana, apud Franciscum Raphelengium, 1588.

58 II, I, pp. 71-72, 90-91.

59 II, I, p. 72.

60 The manuscript is now BPL I (Cat. BPL, I). It is of course inaccurate to say that this is "still" no. 1 in the manuscript collection, is the present-day press-works are from the catalogue of 1716 in which all the manuscripts were arranged according to their title.

61 Jan van Hout included the lists of books supplied and bound in his Dombach (AC 100) and Witskam published them in Part I of Daglijkse Zaken.

62 Bought from Raphelengius 25.3.1588 for fl. 50.— (II, I, p. 90).

63 Sold by Cornelius Haak on October 23rd-24th 1752 for fl. 4.6 (Catalogus praestatissimorum et insignium librorum (…), see in Appendices II, librorum theologorum (…), p. 30, n. 30, according to the copy in A 4, V 3).

64 II, I, p. 92; see NNBW I, pp. 524-525, S. Pa. Haak, Paulus Morula, 1558-1604, Zutphen 1901, pp. 40-46: in a number of cases, among others that of diplomat. He was Merula’s father-in-law.

65 Molhuysen, Brunei I, pp. 58, 169*.

66 Molhuysen, Brunei I, pp. 6, 12.

67 "(…) op dat de Boucken der Universiteit gelegeert ende gene- schoonden misgaders degene die daer toe tot grote kosten van der zelve universiteit geofferd in, ende voort zullen werden ge- legetugt, geschenken ofgiften, daerinne in goede serveerckert- heyt mogen werden betaet ende geuydte ten dienste vorder- nisse ende genijve ende gewye voors: universiteit, ende der Litthamen vandten." Molhuysen, KZ, p. 70.

68 II, I, p. 87, 31.10.1587.

69 11.7.1593, Molhuysen, Brunei I, p. 268*; Molhuysen, II, I, p. 12; Jurani Douss Fuisse (1570), also Neo-Latin poem, Librarian from 1593-1596, in fact abroad from 1591 until shortly before his death. NNBW VI, pp. 429-430.

70 See Wiekkam, in III B, an Appendix on Library and Anatomy Theatre.

71 "Asso 1595 ueste de Pararchische mearcht geleren" (II, I, p. 112); de herthynis 1591 (II, I, p. 104); 1594 (II, I, p. 112); 1595 (II, I, p. 116).

72 See for instance II, I, p. 104 (1592).


74 Petrus Bertius (1565-1630), Assistant Warden (1593), Warden (1607-1615) of the "Statencollege" (States' College of Theology). Acting Librarian in Doussa Junior's absence. Professor of Ethics from 1660 to 1666, of Philosophy from 1659 to 1619, dismissed for Armenian, lived in exile in Paris. Also renowned as a geographer. NNBW I, p. 320.

75 Sig. B 27.

76 Cat. 1595, sig. B27.

77 "Est his quod Theologiae docere, est quod Iurisperitus exercere, est quod Medicum instruere, est quod rerum antiquarum studiorum ornare atque oblectare posse" (sig. A 4).

78 According to a drawing preserved in AC 40 at the end (under 1933), it had been thought that 7 plates would suffice. The mathematical books would then have had to join the literary works in one plate. The cabinetmaker first made 8 plates and immediately after, another four, according to the order for payment dated May 24th 1595 (II, I, pp. 154-157). All 17 were already in use in 1595 (see below p. 409).

79 II, I, pp. 80, 109.

80 Cat. 1595, sig. B 2.

81 II, I, p. 81. Witskam calls the entire piece of furniture a pulpitum, the part where the books were shelved tagus and the reading shelf under it a pilastro. However, since all the catalogues from Bertius' preface onwards refer to plaque as the furniture in which the books were contained, we have used only this term.


83 Letter from Raphelengius at Leiden to Moreus at Antwerp, 17.11.1590: "S'ist possible de trouver les Essais de Montaigne en 4e de la derniere edition, vous supplie d'en vouloir envoyer 2 exempl, a cause que je-ai grand prix. C'est pour le Sr. de Nouvrwick e l'auteur pour Hautens." L. Vooit, "Het Plantijn
22. *508 F. 5-8.
29. *"(...)
31. *In AC 101, ff. 12-30; a comprehensive survey of the same in W. I., p. 79.
32. *There is a lively description (reminiscent of Plautus) of Dousa's experiences in a letter to his son, the librarian—no date or place given, *in: Epistolae ad illustratum et clarum virum oecumenicon controversias. Ed. S. A. Gubbens, Hartlingis Fristomen 1664, pp. 604-607.
34. *QI.B., loc. cit. (cf. n. 8); (J. Meursius), *Atheneum Batavorum, Lugd. Bat. 1625, p. 37.
35. *Altera speculativa, Groningen 1669, p. 140.
36. *Cat. 1593, sig. N 3*.
37. *Algemeen Rijksarchief, Oude Inventaris, 3rd section 10—.
38. *The two volumes of the Hebrew Old Testament (T 1-2, row 870) are still have wooden boards, pasted over, however, with paper. One volume has been trimmed less than the other and has the following inscription on the fore-edge: "Primitum volvum bibl. Hebraeis cum eorum Rabbinus". *Douwa (AC 101, f. 90): "Dou voluumin biblion cum eorum Rabbinam Haebraicam". Inventory 1534: "Volumen Bibliorum in hebraica lingua cum eorum rabbinis in duobus voluminibus." The other work (T 16, row 612 A 8) by Galatius, entitled Opus toti christiani et extraneorum, is much smaller and more unpretentious. *Sobre antiquitatem Judaorum nostras tempora propter habitum; sic Talmud aliqute hebraicae litterae excerptum (...)
39. *This is a new spine and has the title "Papirus Galatius explorator Talmudic Judentum" on the fore-edge. The same title appears in *Douwa loc. cit.; and almost the entire title in Inv. 1534, f. 79. These volumes do not, at least, have the inscription by Joannes Harius which Kronenberg found in two books—one in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the other in the Royal Library, The Hague. The Oxford copy (Am. d. N. 1517) is from the Seeborn collection and has been rebound, but the copy in *The Hague (232 B 15), L. S. Rhodigius, Lexicon antiquarum litter AEV (Boedda, 1517) has a title on the fore-edge, in a similar manner, with the same binding as our copy of Galatius. We have therefore no hesitation in describing both volumes as works of the same hand, as belonging to Van der Haer; likewise a fifth volume comes across in the Leiden Seeborn collection: *Psalterium Hebraicum, Graecum, Arabicum et Chaldseum cum tribus latinis interpretationibus et glossis (1516), now 1558 C 2. Douwa loc. cit. and Inv. 1534, f. 87, with title on fore-edge and same binding as the Galatian and Rhodiogius. This work was already in the Leiden Library in 1595, which may explain why the copy from the Court of Holland did not go there.
40. *'T 17, bought from Elzevier in July 1595.
41. *Cat. 1595, Sig. N 7. In the prefixed date May 24th Bertius was already speaking of a cupboard he had reserved for books published or to be published by Leiden professors and doctors. According to the index to the 1595 catalogue the gift of Raphebelenius took place on July 1st; according to the *Cat. principum, on July 8th.
42. *Payment made to Parts 25.12.1595, W. I., pp. 115-116. Delivery must have taken place earlier than Bascon had already been paid for the binding work on July 24th (W. I., pp. 113-115).
43. *See Molhuysen, *loc. cit., p. 15-17. For Paulus Melius (1558-1607), Professor Historiarum in 1593, and Librarian on 24.2.1597, see *NBNW II, p. 902; S. P. Haak, Paulinus Melius (1558-1607), Zutphen 1901. His salary on appointment was ff. 100.— per annum raised to ff. 150.— in 1599 and ff. 200.— in 1604.

Lex. cit.: "(-) dat men den voers. D. Merula zouden ver- zoekken om den opspoor der voers. bibliothecae aen te nemen ende hem des wekekes teweena te laatcken vinside op voers. bibliothecae, gade staende alle boeccken dat die worden reyn gehouden ende geen verloren ende rijmen dat destemelen en worden geyven dan den professoren onder mutche beloof als dare toe ter ordonnante vande Curateurs ende Burgemeesters is geopschreven in seecbeeke boec dat in zijn geschreven de nemen der geene die de sleestemelen van de boekzaecken ont- fagen hebben.

App. B, i, item 1. This is Merula’s "remonstratie hier inne gebecht," which Molhuysen was unable to find (Bromsen I, p. 373, n. 1).

125 12.5.1597, Molhuysen, Bromsen I, pp. 102, 373-374*.

126 Van Donbok's appointment was for only three months in the first instance, but was made permanent the following year at a salary of fl. 50.— (10.18.1598, cf. Molhuysen, Bromsen I, p. 114), which payment was made to him yearly from 1598 to 1608 (AC 364-262). The payment for 1607 was later cancelled as Van Donbok's services had not been required that year.

127 "Wert gerecomenroet met hebbooleisee vermijt uijt deen naem ende wegen der studenten in allerhande faculteiten dat warachtich is dat de Librerie offhe bibliothecae althier seecbeeke tijt heeft gesloten gaste archtisch gesolot is, dat nemen etsch gebruyck des boecken op gaste ende op gesloten tot groet encheheer ende schade der selve studenten. Ende also het selve is strecckende tot geheul ander eynde als dieeriene geheud heeft diel de weichter litheralebly ende selve Librerie ghebooven hebben; scheinende veel ende dieerieve boecken alter, na seecbeeke de studien der voers. studenten beter mochten gevorderd ende benasticht. So verscoken de voers. studenten vanontmoed, aen Hauere. Hieeren dat de selve Librerie nach werden gecoppen geelk het selve vantvooreen plach te geschieden. twecke doen der 1228.


131 Molh., p. 17, n. 4; press-mark Cod. Scal. 78, 1.

132 Bromsen, Bromsen I, p. 152, 9.11.1603.

133 7.8.11.1605, Molhuysen, Bromsen I, p. 160.

134 Could this perhaps have been the document lying loose in ACS 161 (cf. above p. 410).

135 21.11.1606, Bromsen, Bromsen I, p. 167: "mits die moet- willenheist bij enig en de boeccken gepleeghe." 126

136 For an index of Cart. Prius, and Cart. Riariea see the list of abbreviations, p. 450 above. Cart. Riariea has the following sub-title: "Register van altsulcke Boucken ende andere dinghen in de welschen benen eenige groote stucken (als zijn Regia Rege, Thalidus Babylonicum, Bibliothecae Patrum, Oceanus Iuris ende diergebileche) voornamelijk bestaat de weerdigheid van de Bibliothecae opbeepht tot behuif ende gheerijf van de professoren ende de latinisten van de Universiteit in de Stadt Leyden; meest al bestedet, ende berustende sader off in het Caanook of, in de twee Cassen aan de Noordsijde van het voors. Canoc.”

137 pp. V-XV.

138 Schol. op. cit., pp. 9-10, names several.

139 App. B, i, item 2a and II, item 3.

140 A letter from Merula to "Burgemeesters & Reegderers der Stadt Haerlem" dated 18.12.1597 is preserved (Municipal Archives, Haarlem) and will be published by Miss G. C. Kuiper.


142 Probably the same 29 year-old Guilelmus Aeryn Ldonio Britannicus who matriculated in the medical faculty on June 12th 1598. For the gifts of May 24th 1596, May 24th 1598 and Sept. 1st 1599, see Cart. Prius., sig. B 4° D 2, D 3, G 2*.

143 Cart. Prius., sig. B 1°, 3.11.1596.

144 p. XV, Caerten 10. This also occurs as "The Christian Knight Map of the World" in Hind's Catalogus; see Th. H. Lussingham Scheurleer, in this volume, pp. 249, 253 and no. 114, 158.

145 1.7.1598, Cart. Prius., sig. I. 1. Perenacus was not strictly speaking a student but the 38-year-old taper to a 14-year-old English student, Rodericus Mauritius (Almum Studiorum, coll. 52, 1.7.1598).


148 Cart. Prius., sig. I.2-K 1, 1.1.1600.

149 Now 356 A 12 W. Krolwe (Königsberg) has been interpreted as Cranmer in our oldest catalogues.

150 According to the NVKBW X, p. 180, Claverius came to Leiden in 1600, not matriculating until 20.10.1600. His first gift to the Library, however, dates from January 14th 1600 and according to the inscription he must have been living here in February 1599. Thanks are owing to Miss W. Haanman for deciphering the Polish inscription.

151 Catalogus librorum Iuxta ac Georgii Dioscoridis (post memoriare) Filiiorum Iuxtae Dominii in Noytseijck, L. B., Basconi, 1604, sig. I iij in the section of "Libri Polonici vel Ruthenicoi Sermonis conscripti", which consisted of 8 books belonging to George, including a manual of Polish.

152 Now 356 F 14.

153 Perras, sch. cit., p. 4.


155 Appendix B, V, item 8.

156 Could it have been transferred to the Anatomy Theatre which occupied another part of the same building? In the oldest inventory (J. A. Barge, De oudste inventaire der oude academische anatomie in Nederland, Leiden-Amsterdam 1934), there is nothing to be found, unless it be the "crocodilli pulvis" in "kassen C" (p. 55), but this seems unlikely. It is more probable that the animal was transferred to the third collection of objects of interest in the Leiden of that day, the gallery of the Botanical Gardens. Abh. Schulters, in 1612, saw, in addition to the living eagle and the tortoise mentioned by more than one traveller, a crocodilia: Abr. Schulters, "Vitus ab ipso consignata," in: Sororum antiquitatum, sive Marciliana Georgiaca nova (ed. D. Greter), VII (2) (1769), p. 246.


158 It is interesting that an "intriguing resemblance" has been observed between part of this drawing, viz. a "shallow-domed building that emerges from a hill overlooking water" and Rembrandt's Polish Rider (Colin Campbell), "Rembrandt's Polish Rider and the prodigal son", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 33 (1970), p. 218. Did Rembrandt come and see this drawing? That would be another instance of the museal-like character of the Library.


160 Cart. Prius., sig. D 1 and E 2°; Iom Leidenhuis, nos. 4 and 26.

161 Molhuysen, Bromsen I, pp. 115, 338°; Iom Leidenhuis, n. 15.
THE LIBRARY
G. A. Evers, Utrecht 1940, pp. 187-203.

219 Appendix B, VI, item 2.

220 p. XII.

221 A copy of the printed Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae clarissimi duodecim sex memoriae D. Daniæi Vandler Meulæ, Raph. 1600 is now in the Leiden Municipal Archives, Coll. van der Meulen 68, inv. no. is above f. 71. The auction took place on June 4th 1601.

222 Sub titel Cat. Rariorum, see n. 127.

223 Cat. 1612, pp. 70-79; Cat. 1623, pp. 113-122; Cat. 1640, pp. 142-153; total had risen from 121 to 153.

224 Liturgia tot Graecorum & cultus, Opus magnificum, in volumina vingt & unan distinction, quorum plerique in folio, alia in quarto, alia in octavo, alia minora forma plenius omnium apud Antonium Piniculum excusa quod Venetiis in Bataviam advexit. & Bibliothecae ducavit Nobilissimae & Magnificentiss vir D. Cornelius vander Mijle, Academiarum Curator, cum illustrissima ad Venetos legatione in Patrimone reversius esset.


227 Leiden 1599, see n. 193.

228 See n. 127.


231 Undated letters to Vulcanius, Leiden Univ. Libr., Ms. Vulc. 1081.

232 Appendix B, V, item 1.


239 Leiden, Univ. Libr., Mus. BPL 44V and 246.


243 Cat. BPG, pp. 28-29.

244 Aristoteles Ethycum Nicomacheum Paraphrasis, Incerto Auctore antequo et annotation, Raph. Lugd. 1607, f. xxv: “primo volumen ipsum inter alia nonnulla inveni (..). Legi postea a regele, et cum admirazione quidem singulari ac volupitate. Quae Ampliam..."

245 Cat. BPG, pp. 58-59.

246 Aristoteles Ethycum Nicomacheum Paraphrasis, Incerto Auctore antequo et annotation, Raph. Lugd. 1607, f. xxv: “primo volumen ipsum inter alia nonnulla inveni (..). Legi postea a regele, et cum admirazione quidem singulari ac volupitate. Quae Ampliam..."
repeated AC 21, f. 93, 9.11.1620, cf. Molhuysen, Breuna II, p. 97. In Molhuysen, Breuna II, p. 107, 9.11.1622, the summary Luthgat appears at AC 21, f. 19-20. It is not certain there is only mention of a prohibition of buying without consent.

15 Cat. Vrat. Gr., pp. 4-6.

18 Cat. BPB, pp. 71-72.
20 De Jonge, op. cit., p. 13f.
21 Catalogus Aegyptiorum Librorum, pp. 98-398. See Cat. Sol., which also contains a copy of Scaliger's will on op. cit. -VIII.
22 See our forthcoming article on travellers to Leiden in Quaestiones 5 (1975).
24 AC 103, f. 358-359, 6.7.1613.
25 Selin, op. cit., p. 103.
26 Cat. BPG, p. 14.
28 Ibid., p. 95: Ioanis Grammatici Gaziati Tabellae Universi, sequentia, according to him "suavissimum ac culissimum Pseudoconium." Idem de promptu epistola publica Lugduniense bibliothecia, cui inter alia legavat Jos. Scaliger, notissumum communicavit, is cujus affinitate non exigua super faciales nostrae clarissimi, Daniel Heinsius." Rutgersius had also at his book BPG 59,饭トロclus a.o., from the 1610 Vulcatus auction (f. 1: "Liber Bibl. Lugd. qua utendum sumpsit Rutgersius.").
29 Cat. BPG, pp. 120-121, only brought to light in the 19th century and described by J. Geel.
31 Cat. Librorum Bibliothecae Elstv. Viri Josphi Scaligeri f. Cass. F. quorum auctio habebatur in sedibus Lovicius Elsviri, bibliopol. Lugd. Bat. ad dies H. Martini, Lugd. Bat., Bascon, 1698. The University Library at Leiden has a photocopy of the Kiel University Library copy of the catalogue (original lost in a fire during the last war), in which some purchasers (including the Library) and some prices are given.
32 Bibliotheca Elst. Volulmii (.) auctio habebatur, Lugduni Bata
35 See pp. 398 and 409.
38 7.2.1630, AC 22, f. 19. Not in Molhuysen, Breuna and, consequently, not in Jayboll. She does, however, later give something similar on p. 181, citing Molhuysen, Breuna III, p. 116, where under where 8.1.1635 is mentioned that the Curators gave Gollus a key. This is not a totally accurate summary of what appears in AC 25, f. 89. Gollus did not now receive a key, he was allowed to retain the one he had when, after the appointment of a new Librarian, new supervisory measures were adopted.
40 Selin, op. cit., pp. 101-102, on the basis of letters of recommendation from them that they were from Caenabaus, Epp., Rotterdam 1709, pp. 478, 478, 510. Bedwell's Album Amicorum (now pressmark BPL 2573) contains many entries made by Leiden scholars in sepctember 1709-1711, p. 20.
44 Molhuysen, Breuna II, p. 59.
45 The existence of the 1623 catalogue was known from the second edition of Oirling (1641) p. 215, but it was only in 1938 that a copy was brought to light in the University Library in Munich and described by A. Biedl, "Ein bisher vermisster Leidener Bibliothekskatalog", Hess. Buch 25 (1936), pp. 45-49. Another copy was later discovered in the University Library at Groningen and was transferred to Leiden in 1951; Biedl also mentions a copy in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. We posses a photocopy of the catalogue found in Munich, which was Heinsius' working copy. The original was destroyed by fire during the last war (A. Biedl, Zur Textgegeschichte der Laronius Diogenes. Das grusse Excerpt F., Studi e Testi 184, Giter van Vaticano 1955, p. 76, n. 2).
46 In this volume, Lebram's contribution, p. 251.
50 AC 22, f. 76-78, 80; 9.8.1632.
51 Molhuysen, Breuna II, p. 277.
52 Cat. BPG, p. 277.
53 Molhuysen, Breuna III, p. 28.
54 16.8.1649, AC 24, f. 147.
55 In May and August 1615 and February 1616, AC 105, f. 376, 378, 385, Heinsius apparently all too quickly ceased to comply with the order. Then again in May and November 1620 came admonitions which led to the catalogue of 1623, with the immediate order to prepare a duplicate for future acquisitions. AC 21,
AC 22, f. 178r*, 8.6.1635.
10 Molhuyzen, Bronnen II, p. 204, 13.3.1634.
11 Ibid., II, pp. 214-215, 2 and 3.6.1637.
12 Ibid., I, p. 154.
13 AC 25, f. 29r*, 8.6.1634; and AC 342, f. 478r, account 1655.
17 "Sijn voor de aldersteheerste onkosten te doen tot de boecbouhele instructe der Anatomie plechte deze voort. Bocken ghelievert in Godfried Bassoen, also die gans goud syn, enden sönder die selvegh debite niet kan geschieden het werk en demonstratie der Anatomie, om de partien bocebouhele te separateen ende dese selvegh officien ende sicken te explicant, als ook aller beroemer Anatomorum sententien ende verscheidenheit van opinien de studenten voor te draagen, op dat al gheblyck meede mogen sien, ende leeren welke bocken hier in het studio Anatomie en medico aldermidichs sijn, op dat si haer anders so overgroote onnuhe onkosten voorsien niet aen gen doen int koper van groote manichce ouwen bocken als nu daegheils ghouburt. In Konsttuive van mij Orcho Heurnius." This account, undated but showing "+1643" in a modern hand, is in the corresponding place in AC 43. Since, however, the books and the mounted Ditlers appear in the 1623 inventory, it is clear that it must be dated prior to that year. The sum of fl. 124-18 is answered for in the treasurer's account for 1619 (AC 297, f. 221v). With one single exception all the books in the inventory appear either in this or in another account of Bassoon, already published (Molhuyzen, Bronnen II, pp. 78-80); cf. Barge, pp. 28-29, dated 12.8.1618.
18 For instance in 625 A 11 and 13, 690 A 1, 690 A 6, 17, 649 A 17.
21 A. M. Luyendijk-Kloos has remarked that the first edition of this work is no longer in Leiden University Library. It was included in the facsimile edition of Fred. Ruyseh, Delineatio anatomicarum in suis locupletissimis et laudissimis, 1655 (Nieuwkoop 1964, p. 46 n. 7), assuming, apparently, that it must have been there originally. This was not so, however.
23 Ibid., pp. 200-201.
25 Dibon, op. cit., pp. 66 ff. See also E. Lewalter, Spanische-Innstitut und deutsch-lutherische Methaphysik der 17. Jahrhunderts, Hamburg 1935, on the phenomenon of this influence in Germany as well as in the Netherlands.
26 Molhuyzen, Bronnen III, p. 5.
28 De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens, ed. J. A. Worp, 's-Gravenhage 1916, 312 and 313 from 1658. In n. 2, Worp points out that she had not published anything in 1658 and that Cat. 1716 does not mention any work by her. In the index to that catalogue, however, she is listed not under Newcastle but under Margaret. The gift concerned four of her works: Poems and Fancies (1665) (in Cat. 1714: Margaretta Macchionissense Potestas & Phantasia, Anglice); The Philosophical and Physical Opinions (1655); The World's Olde (1655); Natures Pictures drawn by Fancie paint in the life (1656). They are bound together with a Latin index which was probably specially printed for this gift (See D. Grant, Margaret the first. A biography of Margaret Cavendish Duchess of Newcastle 1623-1673, London 1957, p. 218), New press-marke 1407 C 20. As to Huygens and Oxford see A.G.H. Bachrach, "Some Dutch contacts with the Bodleian Library in the seventeenth century," Bull. Libr. Record 4 (Dec. 1952). pp. 149-160, especially pp. 158-159.
29 1365 F 28. It was decided to give in return theological works by Leiden professors to a maximum of R. 50 — to R. 32.; — Molhuyzen, Bronnen IV, p. 59, 29.3.1688.
30 Th. Shepard, Paradise of the ten Virgin, London 1660.
31 Cat. Princ., sig. H 1 2r.
32 Molh., p. 7, n. 2.
33 Molhuyzen, Bronnen I, pp. 122-123, 380*-392*.
35 Cat. Princ., sig. D 4r.
36 See above pp. 416-417.
37 Wandersburg 1398, now 1371 B 20; Cod. Scal. 13, Cat. Scal., p. 3.
38 Molhuyzen, Bronnen III, p. 171.
41 Molhuyzen, Bronnen III, p. 149 concerning BPL 2, "eente schoone rariteit."
# INDEX OF PRESS-MARKS

Numbers printed in italics refer to the notes on pp. 451-459.

## I. MANUSCRIPTS AND ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Copenhagen, Royal Library</th>
<th>256</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NK5 182</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haarlem, Municipal Archives</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treasurer's Accounts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1578, f. 51v</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leiden, University Library</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AC 41</td>
<td>419, 413, 446-449, 111, 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42, 1607</td>
<td>425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101, f. 12-50v</td>
<td>409, 99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169</td>
<td>381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>264 sqq.</td>
<td>413, 417, 419, 420, 423, 425, 430, 444-449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS 288</td>
<td>408 (Pl. 7), 410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RA C 3</td>
<td>412 (Pl. 9), 413, 122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C 4</td>
<td>432, 433 (Pl. 16), 340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C 5</td>
<td>435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F 1</td>
<td>435, 436 (Pl. 18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BPG 7</td>
<td>442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>428, 270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>423, 234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>403, 35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Hague, Royal Library</th>
<th>105</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>232 B 15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leiden, Municipal Archives</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coll. van der Meulen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leiden, University Library</td>
<td>406, 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>283 A 7-10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>285 A 1-2</td>
<td>406, 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>291 B 6</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500 F 7</td>
<td>446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500 F 8</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>503 G 22</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>505 G 19</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>508 F 5-8</td>
<td>407, 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>518 A 4</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>519 A 10</td>
<td>400 (Pl. 3), 444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>522 A 8</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>522 A 11</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>523 A 3</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>530 A 5</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>556 A 12</td>
<td>413-414, 146-142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>557 A 1-4</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>570 E 8</td>
<td>420, 199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>578 F 6-9</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>578 G 1-7</td>
<td>446</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| BPL 1                     | 2 |
| 443 (Pl. 20), 444, 343    | 2753 |
| 445, 251                 | 439, 2429 |
| 453 (Pl. 19), 442, 179    | 2283 |
| 460, 261                 | 306 |
| 52                        | 47 |
| 454A                      | 432 |
| 472A                      | 410, 122 |
| 47, 101                   | 425, 27 |
| 423, 427                 | 423 |
| 432, 228                 | 221 |
| 432, 428                  |     |
| 442, 473                 | 313 |
| 453, 426                  |     |
| 460, 310                 | 425 |
| 460, 410                 | 425 |
| 460, 425                 | 425 |

## II. PRINTED BOOKS AND LIBRI ANNOTATI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Hague, Royal Library</th>
<th>105</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>232 B 15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leiden, Municipal Archives</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coll. van der Meulen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leiden, University Library</td>
<td>406, 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>283 A 7-10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>285 A 1-2</td>
<td>406, 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>291 B 6</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500 F 7</td>
<td>446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500 F 8</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>503 G 22</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>505 G 19</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>508 F 5-8</td>
<td>407, 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>518 A 4</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>519 A 10</td>
<td>400 (Pl. 3), 444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>522 A 8</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>522 A 11</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>523 A 3</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>530 A 5</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>556 A 12</td>
<td>413-414, 146-142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>557 A 1-4</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>570 E 8</td>
<td>420, 199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>578 F 6-9</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>578 G 1-7</td>
<td>446</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| BPL 1                     | 2 |
| 443 (Pl. 20), 444, 343    | 2753 |
| 445, 251                 | 439, 2429 |
| 453 (Pl. 19), 442, 179    | 2283 |
| 460, 261                 | 306 |
| 52                        | 47 |
| 454A                      | 432 |
| 472A                      | 410, 122 |
| 47, 101                   | 425, 27 |
| 423, 427                 | 423 |
| 432, 228                 | 221 |
| 432, 428                  |     |
| 442, 473                 | 313 |
| 453, 426                  |     |
| 460, 310                 | 425 |
| 460, 410                 | 425 |
| 460, 425                 | 425 |

### Purpose of the two columns: 409, 421, 517, Bibliotheca palatina: 405, 410, 517, 517

### Regulations

Readers 407, 115, 125, dual readers 407, 115, 125

### Lending:

Loan request 431, loan manuscript 431, loan of order 431, restitution 431

### Opening hours:

Library 406 (Pl. 7), 425, 429, 410, 425, keys 425, 425

### Library exchange

BUILD

1.—In the

2.—In the

Building 409, Interior Pl.

alteration 409, 409

Office (Mix.)

127

### Furniture:

449, 70, 433, 438

429, 431, 432, not

### Adornments:

adlases 414, 416

414, 416, 417, 448

435, 444

416, 446

### Lighting

448

Cleaning 448

### Libraries

See General

F.W. v. J. (1791)

Groenov

Thysius, 405, 409, 409

### Purchases

General 39, 39, 409-430
BINDINGS

General 398
Library stamps 36, 37
Minerva stamp 398, 401
Writing and guarding of titles 447
Press-marks 405, 406, 433, 435
Chased bindings, see under Building and Equipment
Characteristics of older bindings: dated bindings 401, 414, 445; red parchment 401, 402, 445; green parchment 401, 445; Leyden stamps 398; Luther stamp 401, 402; Melanchthon stamp 401; titles on the fore-edge 406, 407, 447, 449; press-marks on the lower edge 401, 445
Bindings made by individual bookbinders, see:}

GENERAL INDEX, s.v. Basso, T.; Elsevier, L.; Paets Jrs., J.
Bindings made for special owners, see GENERAL INDEX, s.v. Cluver, S.; Gouda, Domus domini Theodoricci Florentici; Haer, J. van der; Holland, Court of; Helmannus Becundus, J.; Leiden, City of, Library; Matrix of Saint Aldegonda, ph. of.
Initials on bindings: HI/HS 445, IHS 401, 445, ISD 445

Aeyer, G. u.s.
Alma Academica
Andre, Amsterdam
Andronikus
Anadom 435
Anthology G
Antonitz, Ari
Aratea 43
Aristotle, 400
Armianus H
Aurelius, C.
Aviscous 42

Bachrach, A.
Backere, H.
Bacon, Fr. 41
Bailly, P. 44
Balken, v.
Barnek, W.
Barge, J. A.
Bartus, G. d.
Bartholinus
Bartholinus
Bartholomeus
Bartholomeus
Bassantin, J.
Basson, G. 4
Basson, T.

books sappi
Bartus, C. 43
Baudius, D.
Beccus, J.
Bedwell, W.
Bellarminus
Benedict (W)
Bertius, P. 431, 435
(Pl. 6)
Beza, Th. 40
Biblia Bambra
Biblia Regia
Bibliotheca Polt
Bigne, M. de
Blijenburgh, B.
Blok, F. F.
Bodley, Th.
Boer, P. 440
Boer, P. 440
Bois-le-Duc
Boistard, J.
Bor, P. 440
Boschieri
Brahé, T. 44
Bruynen, C.
Burgersdijk
Buys, B. G.

Calvin, J. 40
Cambridge
Cambridge
Campbell, C.
Cassiodorus
Castellanus
Castriconius
Cats, J. 440
Cavendish, C.
Cervantes, M.
GENERAL INDEX

Spelbergius, J. 445
Spigelius, A. 439
Stanes General 405, 422
Stephanus, H. 402
Stevin, S. 409, 442
Stuven, F. 435, 437, 439, 567
Suringar, G. C. B. 382
Talmud 395, 409, 435, 437, 101, 111, 127
Theophrastus 438
Theunisz, J. 33 Anthonisz, J.
Thyret, A. 406, 416
Thomas Aquinas 406, 435, 437
Thysius, A. (1603-1665) 433, 518; handwriting 433 (Pl. 16), 460; librarian 430, 431, 432-433, 436, 437, 440, 517, 518
Tombe, D. de la 448
Trigle, J. 436
Uffenbach, Z. C. von 381
Utrecht 433; library 407
Uyttenboogaert, J. 436
Valckenburgh, see Falckenburgh
Veere, library 395, 397, 20
Vegetius 425
Vekenmanus Meerhouthus, P., see Meerhouthus, P. Vekenmanus
Verheyden, J. 416, 164
Vesalius, A. 402, 406, 438
Virgil 399
Vives, L. 406
Vollenhoven, C. van 6
Vondel, J. van den 400
Vorstius, A. 432, 438
Vorstius, C. 436, 457
Vos, P. 397
Vossius, G. J. 220
Vossius, J. as a reader 432; his collection 417, 423, 425, 442, 444, 381
Vries, S. G. de 376
Volcanius, B. 410, 417, 422, 429, 55; gift 402; 435, 429; acquisitions from him in 1587 403, 404, 407, 458; auction in 1610 422, 425, 429, 274; acquisition from his library in 1615 429

Waghaeser, L. J. 409
Waldens, J. 439, 362
Warrer, L. 407, 409, 435, 334
Wassink, J. H. 27
Weeraper, J. 344
Whitaker 413, 435
Wiebe, N. van der 410, 446; gift 414
Wijngaarden, G. van 393
Wijlram 422, 423, 179, 226, 227
William I, Prince of Orange 414, 446; gifts 395, 397, 398, 409
Wittekm, H. 398-399, 404, 406, 442, 82
Wobser, J. J. 5
Worp, J. A. 370
Woudanus, J. C., Interior of the library (1610), Pl. 1, 405-406, 414, 416, 421, 426
Woudze, S. van der 407, 46
Zevecitosius, J. 440
Zwingli, U. 406