Magna commoditas : Leiden University's great asset : : 425 Years Library Collections and Services

Berkvens-Stevelinck, Christiane

MAGNA COMMODITAS LEIDEN UNIVERSITY'S GREAT ASSET

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Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck

Leiden University's Great Asset

425 Years Library Collections and Services

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Except for Chapter VII and the interviews with the curators and users of the library, this book has already been published in Dutch.
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FOREWORD

Kurt De Belder
University Librarian, Leiden University
Director of Leiden University Libraries

Before you lies the new and augmented edition of *Magna Commoditas – Leiden University's Great Asset*. More than a decade has passed since the original work by Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck was published. This standard work was unobtainable for quite a few years; I believe that when I took office in 2005, I was presented with one of the last copies. Time and again, it has become clear that this standard work is still very much in demand. Not only the library, but also the Executive Board, was very keen to see this demand met. That this has now been achieved, in part thanks to financial support from the same Executive Board, fills me with joy and pride.

The original edition of *Magna Commoditas* was published on the occasion of the 425th anniversary of the founding of Leiden University, and concerned the period between 1575 and 2000. The subtitle of this new edition, which covers the period up to and including 2012, is '425 years library collections and services'. This requires some explanation.

The story of how William of Orange donated the first book, the eight-volume polyglot Bible, to the newly founded university in 1575, is well known. And although very shortly after the founding the university's statutes made reference to the desirability of establishing a library, the real birth of the library can best be dated to 31 October 1587. For on this date, following a thorough renovation, the Vaulted Room of the Convent of the White Nuns at Rapenburg was taken into use as a library. The library of Leiden University thus celebrates the 425th anniversary of its founding on 31 October 2012, and this festive occasion sees the publication of this wonderful new *Magna Commoditas*.

As my predecessor, Paul Gerretsen, wrote in the foreword to the first edition: 'The metaphor that has been chosen for the library's significance to the university community is "Magna commoditas", which has been taken from a quote by Leiden's most famous seventeenth-century scholar, Josephus Justus Scaliger. He described the library as a "*magna commoditas*", which means something like "a great convenience" or "a great asset". It is clear that he was referring to the use of the library, but it is not impossible that he was also alluding to a figurative meaning, of the library as a source of inspiration.'

The large part of this work is devoted to the library's treasures: the collections, old as well as new, both those collections that, in their day, represented the highest pinnacle of scientific understanding, and those rarer and more unique special collections that primarily form the object of research and study. The final, new chapter reflects how the significance of the academic library has, in recent decades, increasingly shifted towards service provision and facilitating the use and production of scientific information, also in relation to research data (digital and otherwise) that play a role in this. The library's own collections still partly form the basis for the service provision, but the activities in which the modern university library is engaged have broadened considerably and are becoming more closely interwoven with primary processes within the university. That is why we felt it was important to include contributions from our researchers, lecturers and students in this new edition.

Just as in 1587, the present-day university once again has a single library organisation: Leiden University Libraries, established in 2009. Unlike then, however, there are now five (and temporarily even six) library locations: the University Library at Witte Singel and four other locations in Leiden, and one in The Hague. As a meeting place, a place for studying and a learning centre, the library plays a central role in student life and is thriving as never before. Moreover, in today's increasingly digital world, the library's expertise as a professional specialist in the provision of scientific information is a vital asset for the university.

We are especially grateful to the author of the original edition, Professor Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, for the fact that we were able to re-use her work in its entirety in this new edition. In addition, various colleagues have contributed to this new edition, among them the curatorial staff and especially Chantal Keijsper and Dr. André Bouwman. Our thanks also go to Maartje den Breejen for editing the new text, to Vincent Mentzel for his wonderful portraits of our users and colleagues, to Frederik de Wal for the superb design of the book, and to Yvonne Twisk, publisher at Leiden University Press and a driving force behind this project.

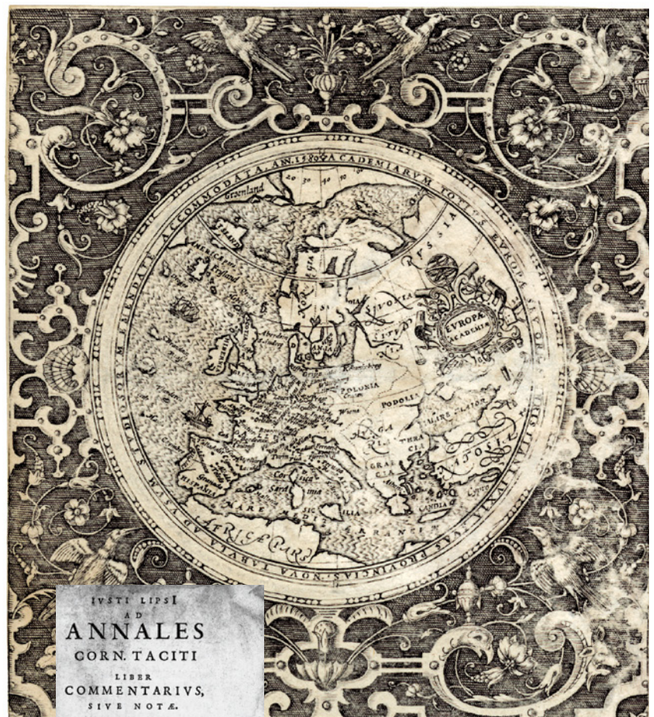
I hope that you will join me and take great pleasure in welcoming this new edition of the *Magna Commoditas*, and that you will find much to discover within.

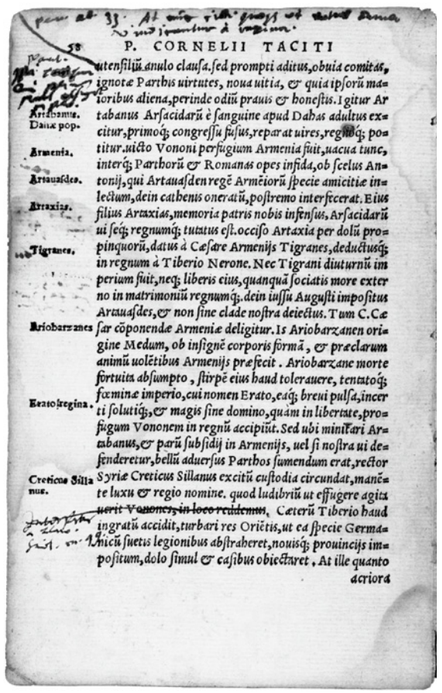
• With the founding of Leiden university in 1575, Leiden became home to the first Protestant university in the Northern Netherlands. This gouache (ca. 1600-1601) from a Leiden law student's *album amicorum* (friendship book) is one of the earliest depictions of the Academy Building. The Latin epigram below elaborates on the wintry setting: 'Dear onlooker, this drawing shows you the university of Holland and shows how the students work themselves to the bone when the wintry north-westerly wind makes it impossible for the ship of the Dionysian god to cut through the Dietsch water'.

•• This edition of Tacitus' *Annales* dates from 1542. The annotations in the margins indicate that Justus Lipsius used this edition as a source for his commentary on Tacitus' book. Such traces make it possible to closely track the development of Lipsius' philological work.

••• Lipsius' commentary on the *Annales* was published in 1581. In addition to philological observations, it also contains information on the historical background in Tacitus' text. As we can work out which manuscripts and editions Lipsius used as sources, it is possible to trace the history of the work's development.

•••• The university towns of Europe are marked on this rare map from the late sixteenth century; the name 'Leiden' can be found on the North Sea. The map was acquired by the University Library in 2000.




P. CORNELII TACITI


IVSTI LIPSI
AD
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LIBER
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ANTVERPIÆ,
Ex officina Christophori Plantini,
Archityographi Regij.
M. D. LXXXI.

INTRODUCTION

A library is like a living creature. It is born, needs feeding and attention, suffers from teething troubles or stagnates, and slowly, very slowly, learns how to make contact with the outside world. It develops adolescent traits, does not always know which way to turn and pursues dead ends. It has to stop and put things in order from time to time, but remains entangled in an eternal battle against chaos. Once it has grown up, it can allow itself to become more critical, and it chooses the direction in life that best suits its personal aptitude and inclination. And this choice subsequently determines its future to a large degree. A library can succumb at any time, but often finds itself resisting its own mortality. In that sense, this living creature we call a library has a heroic and moving quality.

Libraries have many guises. Some have physically disappeared, but live on in our memories, in archaeological finds, in catalogues that have survived, in fragments discovered by chance, and in written accounts or images. Others are firmly rooted in today's reality, housed in purpose-built premises, aiming to provide the best possible service for today's readers, with the limitless boundaries of virtuality on the horizon.

Libraries come in all shapes and sizes, private and public. University libraries occupy a special place in the ranks of institutional libraries. They represent an urge for encyclopaedic knowledge. Their books have been acquired by and for an academic community searching for the most persuasive insights about the past, present and future. This character determines both the formation of the collection and how it is arranged. The growth of a university library should run in parallel with the development of knowledge. New fields require a new transfer of knowledge, and therefore new books. Changes in academic practice and knowledge transfer, in teaching and in research, have a clear impact on the way university libraries are used. Accessibility and loan strategies are good examples of that.

Leiden University Library is more than four centuries old, and its significance to European culture cannot be overestimated. It is one of a small number of cultural centres that helped direct the development and dissemination of knowledge in the modern era.[1] The importance of these centres lies in the simultaneous presence of a unique collection of sources and scholars of exceptional quality. The library had both at its disposal.

There is no comprehensive study devoted to the history of the University Library. Certain periods, like the seventeenth century, have been studied in great depth. Short overviews of a general nature have appeared on a regular basis; treasures from the library were displayed at five-yearly intervals. An all-encompassing study, however, is sorely missed.

The lack of an overview of this kind does have a major advantage, though. It presents an opportunity to realise such a project based on the latest scientific insights. This book is an attempt to tread this new ground – or at least to point it out. The new strand in the field of prosopography – the depiction of the life circumstances and characteristics of historical figures – the research into elites,[2] the semiotic study of reading and learning processes,[3] as well as the hermeneutical approach, all cast a different light on knowledge transfer and on acquiring insights via the written word.[4] Another new type of research consists in studying evidence relating to individuals' use of the manuscripts and books that they had at their disposal, linked to research into the academic publications of the person in question. These recent methodological shifts make it possible to study how the library has operated, from the time of its founding up to the present day, along new lines of research.

The University Library hopes that, with this abundantly illustrated book, it paints an attractive picture of the significance of the library to the university during its 425-year existence.

Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck

• On 8 February 1575, the solemn opening of Leiden University took place, marked by a celebratory procession. A colourful parade of archers, professors and allegorical figures made their way through Leiden, as depicted in this anonymous copper engraving.

•• As well as being the founder of Leiden University, William of Orange also donated the library's very first book. This portrait from around 1598 is attributed to Daniel van den Queecborn. It was donated to the library by Prince Maurice in 1600.

••• The library's first book, a polyglot Bible, was printed by Plantin in Antwerp between 1569 and 1572. It is an interesting fact that the first book acquired by the new, Protestant university was produced under the auspices of the Most Catholic King Philip II of Spain, as proclaimed on the frontispiece. For this reason, this edition is also known as the *Biblia Regia*.

•••• The Plantin Polyglot marked a high point in humanist study of the Bible. The work contains the text of the Scriptures in the languages concerned: Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek and Latin. In one glance, one can compare how a passage is written in the four languages. Moreover, Plantin's print is a typographical *tour de force*.

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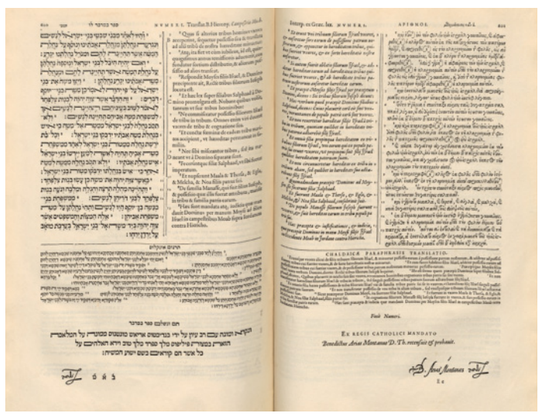

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I A LIBRARY BORN OF THE DUTCH REVOLT, 1575-1607

ONE BOOK DOES NOT A LIBRARY MAKE: 1575-1585

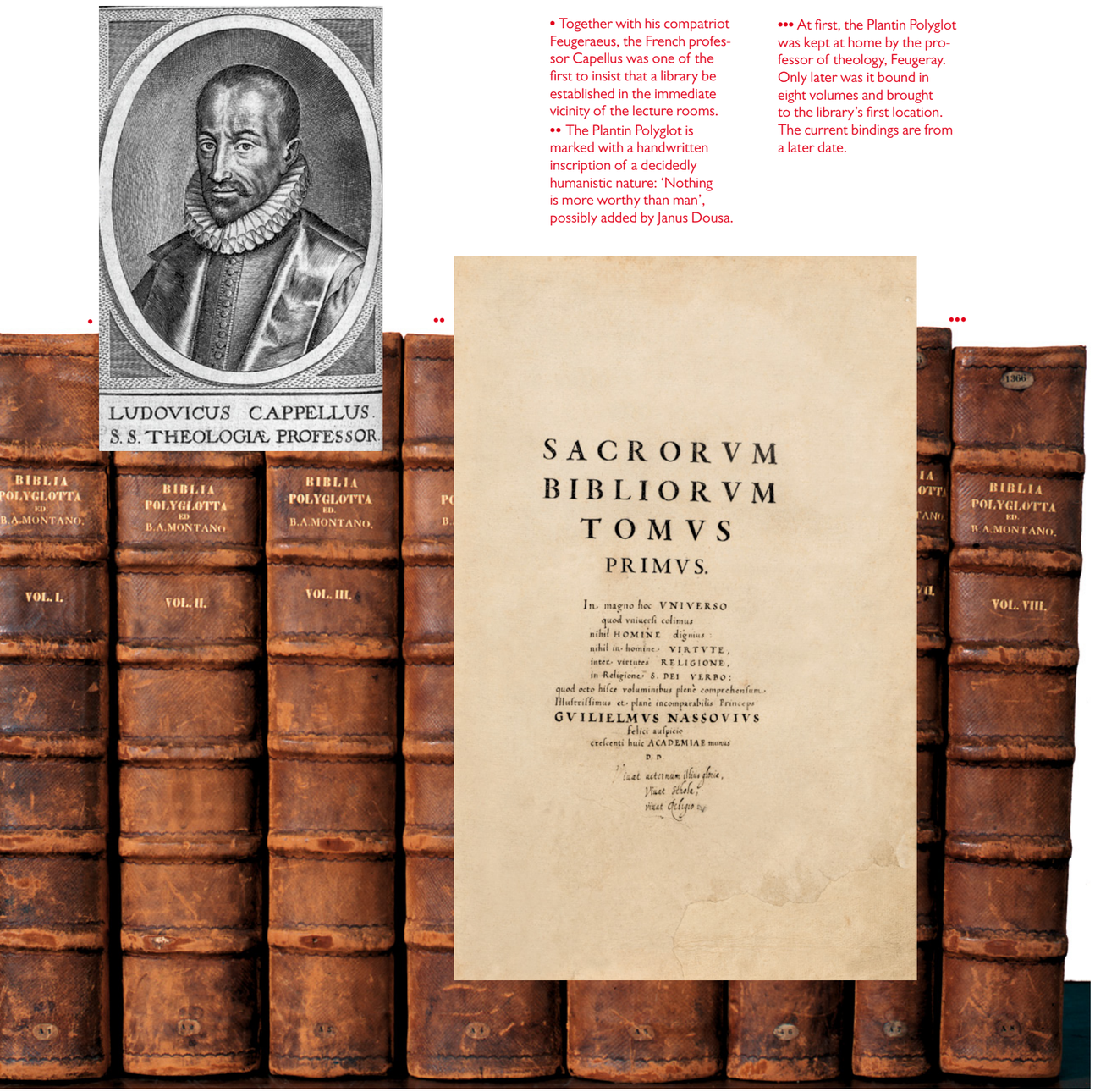
The fledgling university of Leiden, born of the Dutch Revolt and opened on 8 February 1575, had to be created from scratch.[1] Attracting and housing professors and students cost the first curators some major headaches. Founding a library was another of the tasks facing the brand-new university.[2] Barely three months later, a handful of professors drew up a rough draft of the charter for the new Academy. They laid down that a library should be created in the immediate vicinity of the classrooms.[3] Such an aspiration does not appear in the definitive version of the charter, but the plan of building a library and university at the same time was still clearly on the agenda.[4] The first historical account of the library in 1614 describes how the curators resolved to establish a library, or 'book room', at the same time as the Academy.[5]

From the very start, the library had a dual function: to enable people to study and to give greater exposure to the university. No surprise there. It was clearly understood in the sixteenth century that a university without books was inconceivable. In Leiden, it would take more than ten years before this void was filled and a genuine library came into being. However, there is evidence of several attempts clearly aimed at setting up a library during those ten years. It started in 1575 with the donation by William of Orange of the first book: the Plantin Polyglot, printed under the title *Biblia Polyglotta* by Christopher Plantin in Antwerp between 1569 and 1572.[6] Was it the Prince's intention to set the ball rolling for the creation of the library, or was he just honouring the tradition of marking the founding of institutions by giving them a gift for posterity? The sources do not provide an answer to this question. The Prince of Orange had very deliberately made haste in founding the first Protestant university in the Netherlands. Was it not obvious that the Bible should be the cornerstone of the Academy's library? What is intriguing is that he donated this particular version of the Bible, which Plantin had printed on the orders of King Philip II of Spain. Officially, Leiden University had been founded in the name of the Spanish king, and the Prince was acting as his loyal representative by presenting this *Biblia Regia*, the King's Bible. The prince, incidentally, also acquired another copy for his own private library, which would later be purchased by the library of the City of Haarlem.[7] The first catalogue of the library from 1595 lists the polyglot Bible as the 'fundamentum locans futurae aliquando bibliothecae', the foundation on which the library would be built. Although this seems no more than a perfunctory phrase, it may actually harbour a deeper significance. The Leiden copy of the polyglot Bible – the foundation of the library – bears a notable inscription at the start of the first four volumes:

(translated) In this great universe
that we all inhabit
there is nothing more worthy than MAN:
in man there is nothing more worthy than VIRTUE,
among the virtues nothing more worthy than RELIGION,
in religion nothing more worthy than GOD'S HOLY WORD:

that is embodied in these eight volumes,
with which the august and wholly incomparable
Prince WILLIAM OF NASSAU
has presented the ACADEMY,
which is growing under a lucky star,
May His glory, the University, the Religion live for evermore.[8]

This inscription evokes a non-Calvinistic world view. For Calvin, the foundation of the universe is the word



• Together with his compatriot Feugeraeus, the French professor Capellus was one of the first to insist that a library be established in the immediate vicinity of the lecture rooms.

•• The Plantin Polyglot is marked with a handwritten inscription of a decidedly humanistic nature: 'Nothing is more worthy than man', possibly added by Janus Dousa.

••• At first, the Plantin Polyglot was kept at home by the professor of theology, Feugeray. Only later was it bound in eight volumes and brought to the library's first location. The current bindings are from a later date.

of God. Everything rests on this foundation, and all else is chaos. However, the inscription places the emphasis on the dignity of man, and relates this to the unique worth of the Bible, via a number of rhetorical leaps inspired by ancient philosophy. Scholars have therefore been right to point out the humanist nature of this dedication.[9] It is not known who formulated the inscription and wrote it at the beginning of the first four volumes of the Bible. An obvious candidate is Janus Dousa, one of the original curators and the first librarian of Leiden University, but this is unlikely ever to be ascertained.[10] Nevertheless, the inscription does make clear how the new university and its library saw themselves: as a place where people could freely look for knowledge, without any restrictions – a bastion of freedom. The tradition that was adhered to was explicitly humanist,[11] as the choice of first professors to be appointed shows. The polyglot Bible represents a symbolic contribution to this.

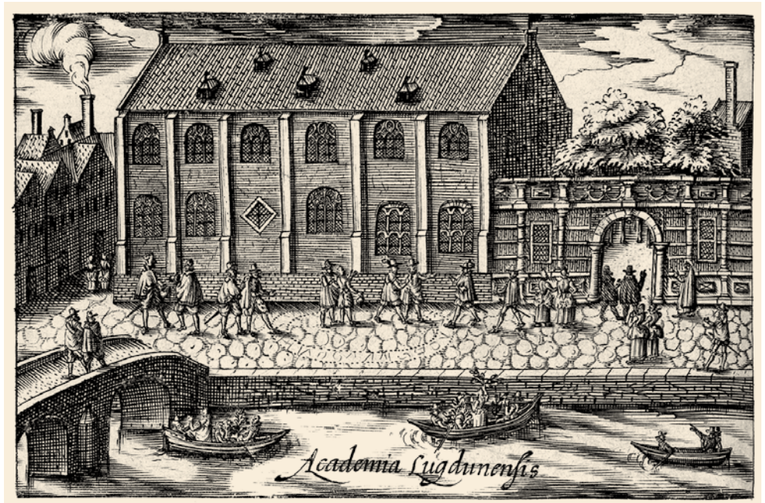
However, one book does not a library make! More were needed, and work started on creating a more solid basis. Of the three people who were involved with the library during the very first years of its existence, two were from France: Guillaume Feugeray (Feugeraeus) and Louis Capel (Capellus). Both came to Leiden in 1575 to teach theology and were appointed at the request of the prince.[12] Their stay in Leiden would not be a lenghty one. De Feugeray was called back to France after four years, while Capel left after a just a few months. Their importance to the library, though, should not go unmentioned. Guillaume Feugeray steered theological teaching in Leiden in a decisive direction: the Bible was to be studied thoroughly from a philological and historical perspective. On his way to Leiden, Feugeray paid a call on the prince, who resided in Dordrecht in April 1575. It is probable that he entrusted the polyglot Bible to the new theology professor, his protégé.[13] In any case, the book remained under the care of the Frenchman for a number of years.

It is not known how the provision of books at the university between 1577 and 1587 worked in practice. Professors will no doubt have had their own private libraries at their disposal and have lent books to each other. It is also certain that students possessed a small number of books, but how they gained access to sizeable or rare books is purely a matter of conjecture.[14] In the case of *privatissima* – tutorials for small groups of students – the attendees will have benefited from the library of the professor in question. It is not inconceivable that professors took copies from their own collections to the classrooms. Sources suggest Feugeray did so with volumes of the polyglot Bible, for example.[15] From the perspective of the humanists, the dividing line between private libraries and what would now be termed as public collections was much vaguer than it is now. Humanists regarded their manuscripts and books as public property. They were borrowed and loaned as a matter of course. It was not unusual for scholars to believe that someone else's book was their own, and to simply forget who the original owner was. Perhaps this situation explains the concern of the curators with regard to the Plantin Polyglot, which was probably kept in Feugeray's house from 1575. Before he left Leiden in May 1579, Feugeray commissioned Jan Paets Jacobszoon to bind the book in eight volumes. Two years later, on 26 April 1581, the curators informed the binder that the bound volumes should not be returned to Feugeray, but to them.[16] In fact, Feugeray had by that time already left Leiden two whole years before!

The year 1581 was an important turning point for Leiden University. It relocated from the former Beguinage Chapel, which had become too small, to the former Convent of the White Nuns at Rapenburg, the present-day Academy Building.

The plans for the library appear to have progressed fairly rapidly. The curators decided to convert the old vault of the convent into a library '...in order to keep the university's books there'.[17] Just six years later, on 31 October 1587, the library opened in the Vaulted Room after it had been thoroughly renovated and timbered. The growing number of books made any further delay impossible. Modern historians have either cast doubt or failed to comment on the existence of a book collection and an area in which to store them before 1586. The few sources we have give little more than indications of its existence, and even these point in another direction.[18]

In his *Beschrijving der stad Leyden* ('Description of the City of Leiden'), published in 1614, J. Orlers refers to a room in the university annex, occupied by D. Pieter Pauw, which served as a storage location in anticipation of the construction of the library.[19] Orlers is the only person to mention this fact – 34 years after the event – but his account does sound credible, partly because, as the son-in-law of the then secretary Jan van Hout, he was very much aware of what was going on. The building in question, situated next to the current Academy Building on Nonnensteeg, was a part of the university premises that housed the beadle, from 1581 to 1598.[20] The university



• The library was initially housed in the Vaulted Room, the first room to the left of the gateway at Rapenburg. This anonymous print from Meursius' *Athenae Batavae* (Leiden, 1625) shows the Academy Building as it would have looked in 1614, with the then new academy gateway (demolished in the nineteenth century). The number of bays on the chapel roof shown on the print is incorrect.
•• These printers' marks were used by three successive university printers: Sylvius, Plantin and Raphelengius. Sylvius' motto was *Scrutamini* ('Search'), derived from the biblical text of John 5:39 ('Search the Scriptures'). The motto used by Plantin and Raphelengius, *Labore et Constantia* ('By Labour and Constancy') is illustrated with the image of a pair of compasses.

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••• The humanist Janus Dousa became the first librarian of Leiden University, a position he held from 1585 to 1593. His portrait is shown on the front of this silver commemorative medal, which dates from the end of 1604 (or slightly later). On the back, a table is depicted, on which lie a book and a sword. Together with the motto above, 'utroque clarescere rarum' (it is rare to excel in both), these objects represent Dousa's political and academic activities.

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beadle Claes Buyzer took up residence in 1581, and his successor, Louis Elzevier, probably took his place in 1590. Eight years later, this official residence, just a stone's throw from the hortus botanicus, was allocated to Pieter Pauw, the then professor of botany, and thereafter to those who succeeded him. Between 1581 and 1587, however, that 'one room', where the university's books were stored in such an improvised manner, continued to form part of the beadle's home. Could there be a more logical place for storing the university's books in anticipation of the completion of the library? Logic does not appear to have been the sole argument here, however.

On 6 April 1581, the curators dealt with a letter from Antwerp printer Christopher Plantin in which he requested an image of the university stamp in order to be able to add it to the books in his studio that he intended to donate to the university.[21] Not long afterwards, recalls the *Dagboek* (diary) by Jan van Hout, the curators decided to manufacture a plate roller and stamp in order to mark not just the leather cover of each university book but also the three page edges.[22] It seems unlikely that a decision of this kind would be taken before there were any copies to be marked. In any case, Plantin did as he was asked. In the Senate meeting of 26 June 1581 Justus Lipsius, with whom Plantin was staying, declared that the printer had donated three books that he had printed 'ad instaurandam bibliothecam', for the library that was due to be created. As a mark of thanks, the printer received the usual present of wine.[23]

In addition to the aforementioned polyglot Bible, which was also printed by Plantin, the university owned at least three other books at the time: the *Origines Antwerpianae* by Johannes Goropius Becanus (Antwerp, 1569), the *Opera hactenus in lucem non edita* by the same author (Antwerp, 1580) and a *Corpus civile* (Antwerp, undated). According to the Senate records, these three books were kept at Lipsius' home.[24] Unlike the Plantin Polyglot, they were not included in the first university catalogue, the *Nomenclator* (1595) or on the list of donations (1595 and 1597). The books have in fact disappeared; it is not known whether Plantin ever got to mark them with the university stamp.[25]

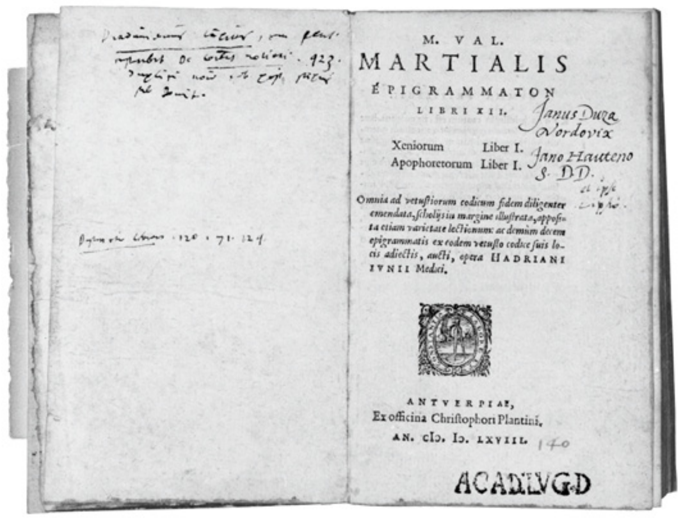
Although the conversion of the vault into a library took a long time, there was never any doubt about the location of the library. In 1583, for example, Plantin was given permission to build a shop at Rapenburg, near the academy, provided he took no measures that could hinder the subsequent creation of windows designed to allow light into the library (in the location where the library was planned).[26] When Janus Dousa, the university curator, was appointed as the first librarian on 1 March 1585, the vault had not been converted into a library. As already stated, the small number of books were presumably being kept in the beadle's residence.[27] The curators had pronounced ideas about the purpose of what they referred to as a public library and how it would function, for 'doctors, professors and students in general'. The library had to contain the best books and the best authors on every science and art – in the original languages, of course. This process had already been started, by no less a figure than the prince, who had donated 'some books' – the Plantin Polyglot in eight volumes. Others had followed his example, which meant that a 'suitable, qualified and learned person' was needed to guard the collection and keep it in order.[28] This decision, too, implied the existence of a core collection.

JANUS DOUSA: 1585-1593

Brief biography

In choosing Janus Dousa as the first librarian, the young university affirmed the tradition it sought to stand for: humanism. Jan van der Does, to give him his original name – Lord of Noordwijk, Langeveld and Kattendijke, was one of the leading humanists of the Northern Netherlands and maintained countless contacts with humanists from all over Europe. Born in Noordwijk in 1545, he enjoyed the usual classical education (Greek and Latin) before leaving for the university at Leuven, where he studied under the humanist Cornelius Valerius van Auwater from 1561 to 1563. After his studies, the young Dousa embarked on a *grand tour* towards the south. He visited the newly founded university at Douai, and arrived in Paris on 1 April 1564. During his two-year stay in Paris, he mixed with humanists from different countries. Among the friends he made there were Jean Dorat, the famous French professor of Greek at the Collegium Regium, and the English humanist, Daniel Rogers, whom he would later meet in England. As good humanists, they studied ancient authors in order to be able to select and study the best texts, using each other's libraries as they did so. Traces of this collective work can be found in a copy of the *Epigrammata* by Martial, which is still in the Leiden University library.[29] The book, published in Lyon in 1559, is part of the library Dousa had in Paris.

• The humanists took advantage of each other's libraries. As the inscription on the title page shows, Dousa gave this edition of Martial's *Epigrammata*, which he had annotated, to his friend Jan van Hout. In turn, Van Hout gave the book to Lipsius.



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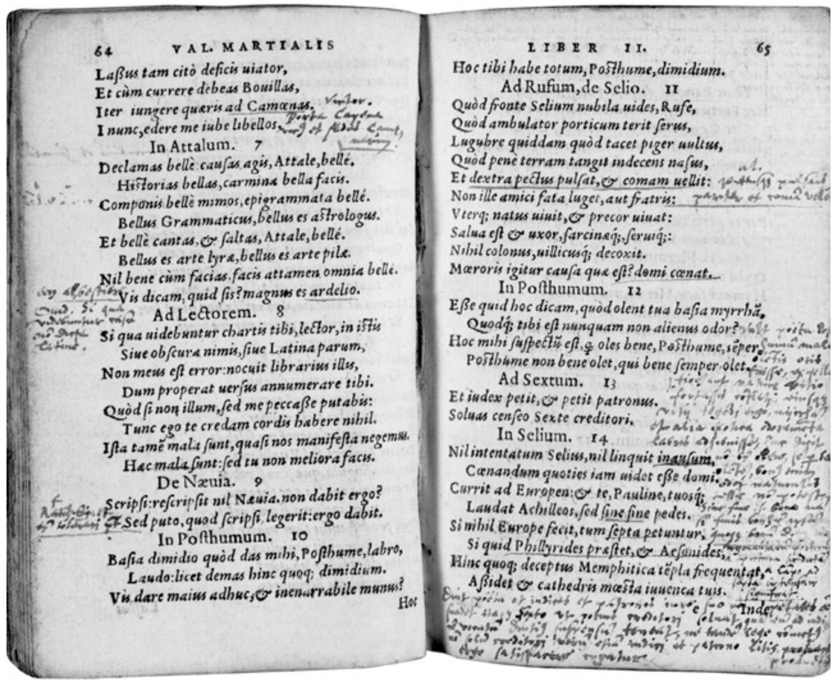

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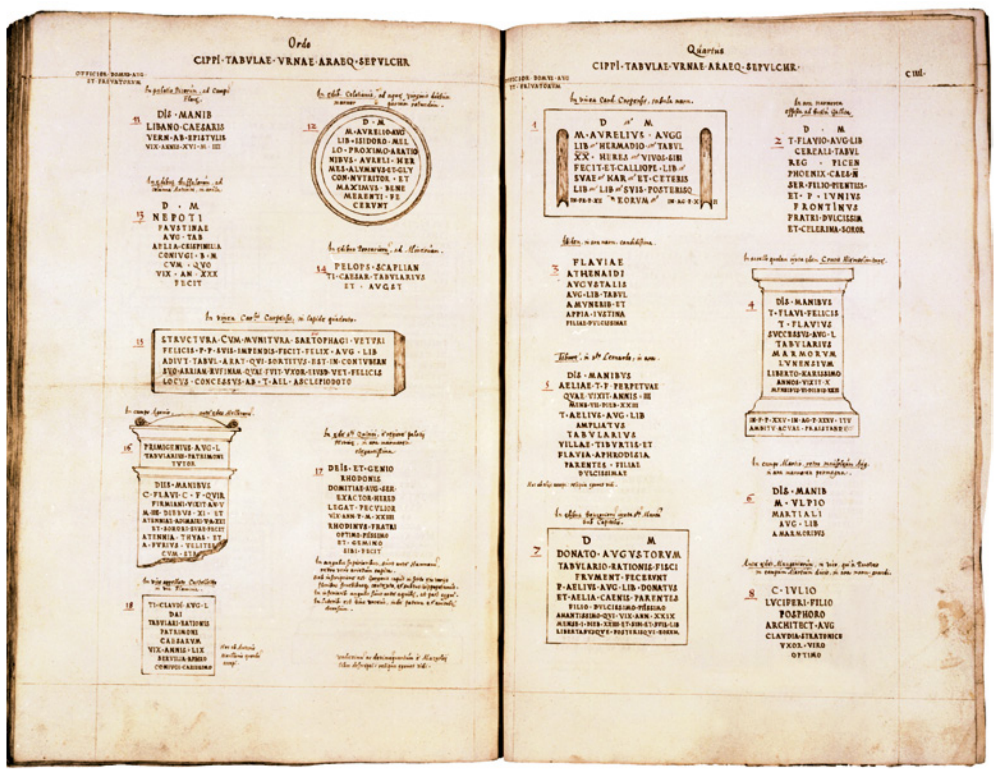
•• The humanists sought to restore classical texts to their authentic state as far as possible. For this reason, they compared ancient manuscripts with early editions. They wrote their corrections and comments on these texts in the margins, as Dousa did here in a 1599 edition of Martial's *Epigrammata*.
••• The humanist Martinus Smetius of Bruges collected classical inscriptions in Italy and recorded them according to archaeological principles. Dousa acquired these *Inscriptiones* at an auction in England, in what was the first large purchase for the library.



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He had annotated it himself and loaned it to his friend Hadrianus Junius, who was preparing an edition of Martial's poems. This was published by Christopher Plantin in Antwerp in 1568. Dousa later presented another edition of Martial to his friend Jan van Hout – this book eventually came into the possession of Lipsius, and through him, of the library in Leiden.[30] It is not implausible that several books belonging to Dousa and other Leiden humanists found their way to the library via this route. Dousa needed no persuading of the importance of a well-stocked collection of books and, especially, of authoritative manuscripts. He had been well aware of this since his youth.

After his return to Noordwijk, Dousa devoted himself to his studies and Neo-Latin poetry. He had his *Epigrammata* published by Willem Sylvius in Antwerp, who would later be recruited to Leiden as the first academy printer. To supervise the publication of his collection of poems, Dousa travelled to Antwerp in 1568, where he met Christoffel Plantin. Plantin too was later asked to go to Leiden as the academy printer, and the presence of his print works and shop in the new university town proved to be highly appealing to the professors the university was seeking to attract.

Two years after meeting Plantin, Dousa became acquainted with Justus Lipsius in Leuven.[31] The encounter would turn out to be invaluable as far as Leiden University and its library were concerned, although this did not become apparent until 1575. As was the custom for humanists from the aristocracy, Dousa wrote poetry, corresponded, collected reliable texts, visited and hosted friends. Without the revolt in the Netherlands against Spain, Noordwijk could well have become a kind of cultural centre, as P.C. Hooft would create at the Muiderslot later on. History was to dictate otherwise, however.

The threat from the *Watergeuzen*, or 'Sea Beggars', forced Dousa to move to Leiden. Until then, he had shown little interest in politics. By siding with Orange in 1572, he went from being a warrior to a diplomat, and later to a university governor, librarian and statesman. The role of Janus Dousa and his friend, the town clerk Jan van Hout, during the second siege of Leiden led to the two – the aristocratic humanist and the autodidact – becoming the symbol of the revolt in the city. Janus Dousa was the curator of Leiden University for eighteen years, during the last eight of which – 1585 to 1593 – he also held the office of librarian. In the former function, he used his contacts in the Republic of Letters to recruit humanists: Lipsius and Scaliger, Vulcanius, Plantijn and Raphelengius came to Leiden specifically because he invited them. He fulfilled the post of librarian on the basis of the same humanist vision that can be found in his *Album amicorum*. The core and development of the Leiden collection have an unmistakably humanist character.

Only a few of the books that formed the basis of the 1585 collection are known to us: the Plantin Polyglot, the three publications donated by Plantin (a *Corpus civile* and two works by Johannes Goropius Becanus, which have since disappeared), and the annotated *Inscriptiones* by Smetius, which Dousa had bought during his stay in England in 1585. This first purchase set the tone for the subsequent history of the library.

The Inscriptiones *by Smetius*[32]

For six years (1545-1551), Bruges humanist Martinus Smetius had collected Latin inscriptions in Italy. He kept this unique manuscript in his library. At the request of one of his friends, the humanist Marcus Lauwerijn, Lord of Watervliet, he had a copy made. However, both the original and the copy were destroyed by fire, apart from a few pages that had been stored in a box. Lauwerijn persuaded Smetius to collect the inscriptions again. With the help of his correspondents, Smetius completed his work for the second time in 1565, dedicating it to his friend Lauwerijn and entrusting the manuscript to him. Smetius was arrested in Brussels shortly afterwards, convicted of being a Protestant pastor, and executed. Lauwerijn fled to France with Smetius' manuscript in his baggage. He did not get very far, however: he was arrested by English soldiers in Ostend. The manuscript was seized and appeared for auction several years later in London, where it caught the eye of Dousa, who immediately purchased it for the Leiden library, without the permission of the other curators and burgomasters. They subsequently ratified the acquisition, however. It was his humanist vision – the idea of bringing a source of immeasurable importance to light – that prompted Dousa to buy the *Inscriptiones* by Smetius. He entrusted the work to professor Lipsius, who commissioned its publication by Raphelengius, the academy printer.[34] The extent to which the publication was regarded as a benefit to the whole university is shown by the fact that the curators paid for it themselves. In return, the academy printer had to provide thirty copies for the university, to be used as gifts or for exchange purposes. This was probably not the only purchase of its kind, but it is the only one that is recorded.

• The university promoted the publication of Smetius' manuscript and covered the costs of publication. This edition was put together by Justus Lipsius and published by Raphelengius in 1588.

•• In 1586, the professor Holmannus bequeathed his private library to the university, a collection that would form the basis of the University Library. We can still trace sixty of Holmannus' volumes, including this edition of Strigelius. A note on the title page clearly indicates that the book came from Holmannus' legacy.

On his return to Leiden, Janus Dousa will have put his efforts into the library that had been entrusted to him. The conversion of the vault, which the curators had decided on in 1585, was not yet complete: it is probable that the delay was related to the founding of the hortus botanicus. However, in late 1586 the library acquired two extensive collections: the Holmannus legacy and many books and manuscripts purchased from Vulcanius, a professor. For the first time, the library was bursting at the seams, and the building work could not be postponed any longer.

The Holmannus library

Johannes Holmannus Secundus was born in the town of Stade, near Hamburg, in 1523.[35] He was asked to come to Leiden in 1582 to teach theology on the recommendation of his friend Henricus Mollerus, a theologist from Hamburg who refused a theology chair in Leiden on three occasions.[36] Dousa regarded Holmannus as a very good friend, an *amicus intimus,* and later composed an epitaph for his grave.[37] Holmannus, a pupil of the German humanist, Lotichius, was not only a theologian but also a Neo-Latin poet. He added dedications in the form of poems to his friends' works. From the items from Holmannus' limited oeuvre that have survived, it appears that he was fully immersed in the humanist tradition.[38] His library bears evidence to this too. On 25 December 1586, Holmannus had his will drawn up in the presence of two of his fellow professors, Joannes Heurnius and Julius Beyma. Jan van Hout was the notary. Holmannus left his entire library for the 'benefit' and to the 'honour' of 'this university'.[39] He died the following day. His extensive legacy turned Leiden's collection of books into a fully-fledged library at a single stroke. It is very probable that Dousa, a close friend of Holmannus who had been responsible for the University Library for a year, played an important role in encouraging this legacy. Had he not on several occasions attempted to start a basic library for Leiden University? Holmannus' legacy allowed him to fulfil this wish. The curators and burgomasters wasted no time. On the very same day, 26 December, they announced Holmannus' death and made public the news of his bequest.[40] The measures that needed to be taken were discussed on the day of the funeral, 31 December. The curators and burgomasters agreed on two things that would assure the future of the library. They formally accepted Holmannus' legacy, and gave the go-ahead for the Vaulted Room to be converted into a library. Time was very much of the essence, as it was becoming imperative for the growing collection to be housed in a suitable location. A month later, Lipsius again pressed home the need to start the building work, this time successfully.[41]

It was not only Holmannus' books that needed to be kept and protected in the new library. His will had stipulated that other books belonging to the university should also be placed there, in safety, for the benefit of anyone wishing to use them.[42]

Estimating the extent of the Holmannus legacy is difficult, nor is it easy to make an assessment of the content. All that remains is a few pointers. The widow of Johannes Holmannus Secundus, Rebecca van Edenbüttel, regularly received financial support from the university after her husband's death, and in 1600 she asked the university to award her a fixed pension.[43] For the purpose of working out the level of the pension, a catalogue of the books that made up the legacy was drawn up and sent to the States of Holland. Although this has regrettably been lost, it is nonetheless possible to form some idea of the value of the library. According to Rebecca van Edenbüttel, the value of the collection bequeathed by her husband was one thousand guilders – a considerable sum. Jan van Hout who, as the notary, had registered Holmannus' will, reaffirmed this assertion. He stated that Lipsius had, in his presence, valued the collection that had been left at over a thousand guilders. Based on the value of books at the time, this would mean that Holmannus had left several hundred books.[44] Recent research has cast doubt on this conclusion, however, and suggests that the collection was significantly smaller. The first catalogue of the library, published in 1595, lists 483 books, many of which did not form part of Holmannus' legacy. There are no more than sixty volumes that could in some way be linked to Holmannus, as Elfriede Hulshoff Pol has shown.[45] There is rather a large difference between a few dozen volumes and hundreds of titles. Might there have been something in the accusation levelled at the university by Holmannus' widow in 1602 that it had not taken due care of her husband's legacy?[47] Fourteen years after the bequest had been made, she stated that most of Holmannus' books had disappeared or been stolen. These allegations probably contain a core of truth: repeated reference is made to the risk of theft from the library in the long line of resolutions aimed at protecting the university's books. However, it is not easy to determine the degree to which this affected Holmannus' books. Only a systematic investigation into the original collection

• Other books that belonged to Holmannus can be identified, among other things, by the initials IHS (Johannes Holmannus Secundus) on the cover. Luther and Melanchton are depicted on two of the three volumes.
•• In the journal kept by the curator Jan van Hout, there is a list of books from Vulcanius' private library, which was acquired for the library in 1587: *Vulcanii boucken.* The list has an encyclopaedic character and shows that the library pursued a deliberate purchasing policy from its start.

would throw light on the matter, but this is no easy task. The habit of replacing 'old' editions from the library with recently acquired 'new' versions continued until the late nineteenth century.

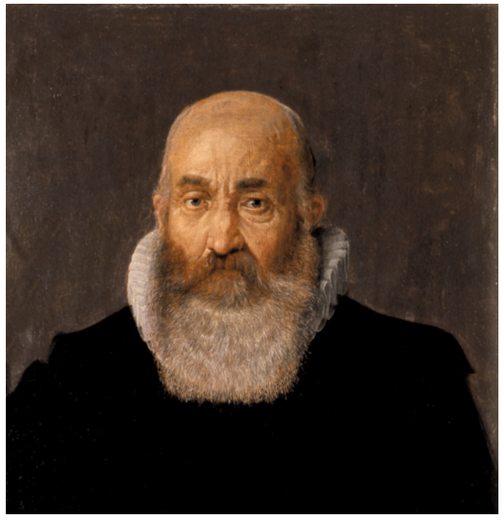
According to the latest research, it is as good as certain that sixty volumes in the University Library were from Holmannus' library.[48] Fifty of these were bible commentaries and theological treatises, while the remaining ten were collections of letters, poetry, and linguistic treatises. Most were published in Germany and Switzerland before 1582, the year in which Holmannus accepted the professorship in Leiden. Apart from two bible commentaries by Calvin and Beza and a few other Calvinist works, all the titles belonged to the moderate Lutheran and Zwinglian tradition. Melanchthon, Bullinger, Musculus, Mollerus and Camerarius are particularly well represented. Holmannus had studied under Melanchton, the *Praeceptor Germaniae*, in Wittenberg. So it is not surprising that the four substantial parts of Melanchthon's *Opera omnia* form part of the collection,[49] as does the most prominent work of another of Melanchthon's pupils, the German Lutheran theologian Martin Chemnitz, in which the author criticises the dogmatic rigidity of both the Catholic and Lutheran churches.[50] Chemnitz represents a mild and irenic interpretation of Lutheranism. The fact that Holmannus had a collection of sermons by the Lutheran theologian Johannes Brentius, a proponent of simple worship ceremonies, in his possession is significant: the influence of Brentius in the Republic was so great that Lutherans here were actually referred to as 'Brentians'. An even more noteworthy fact is that Holmannus had this collection of sermons bound in a single volume with bible commentaries by Luther and Bullinger.[51] No fewer than seven bible commentaries by Bullinger have survived from Holmannus' library. In other words, with regard to the theological works, the collection bequeathed by Holmannus to Leiden University is that of a preacher belonging to a moderate, irenic school of Lutheranism. The influence of Calvinism is limited.

The books of Vulcanius: 1587

The second major component of the new library was not particularly Calvinist either. In the first few months of 1587, the famous philologist Bonaventura Vulcanius, who like Holmannus had come to Leiden several years earlier to take up a professorship, decided to give away part of his private library, which enjoyed an almost legendary reputation. At about the age of fifty, Vulcanius had started to pass some of his collection on to others. He allowed his friends to draw lots for some of the books, a few manuscripts were given away, and other books were sold – in 1587, the Leiden library acquired 57 books and manuscripts in this way, for the sum of 354 guilders. They formed the library's first batch of *Vulcaniana*.[52] They were followed in 1594 by manuscripts by Cornelius Aurelius – these are thought to have come from the library of the Court of Holland[53] – and, after Vulcanius' death, by many other books and manuscripts, accompanied by a portrait.[54]

The fact that the purchase of the books from Vulcanius' library (thanks to the efforts of Janus Dousa) took place just a few months after Holmannus' bequest had been received was by no means coincidental.[55] The list of books donated by Vulcanius had an encyclopaedic character.[56] As well as collections of classical sources like the *Thesaurus linguae Graecae* and the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* by Henri Etienne and the complete works of Plato, Plutarch, Herodotus, Livy and Cicero, there are also titles in the fields of medicine, law, natural history, botany and geography. The *Auctores Rei medicae Graeci et Latini* for example – also by Henri Etienne – were accompanied by complete editions of Galen and Vesalius, while Gessner and Mercator appeared in the library for the first time. This was clearly a considered decision on the part of the library: it was the start of the process of consciously building up a collection. Dousa and Vulcanius were good friends and Vulcanius loaned several books from his library to Dousa – so many, in fact, that after Dousa's death, his son apologised to Vulcanius for not being able to locate all the books that his father had borrowed.[57] They shared a love for books and it was their fervent wish to make sure the university had a good library. It is likely that they jointly selected the major encyclopaedic works and the most important sources from Vulcanius' library (at least, those that did not form part of Holmannus' legacy) that covered the fields taught at the university. In this way, Janus Dousa laid the basis for the future development of the collection. The aim was to achieve a coherent whole: having more than one copy of the same publication was to be avoided. Vulcanius, for example, was asked to take back the four parts of the *Opera omnia* by Melanchton, which formed part of the 1587 purchase, and to replace them with an important medical work: the Holmannus bequest already included a copy of the work by Melanchton and a second was superfluous.[58]

• The humanist and Leiden professor, Bonaventura Vulcanius, was well disposed towards the library. He repeatedly donated manuscripts and books. The library acquired many volumes from his rich private library in the course of the centuries. This portrait was painted by an anonymous master in ca. 1609. It has been in the university collection since 1615, and originally hung above the *Area Vulcanii*, the cabinet containing the manuscripts included in Vulcanius' legacy.



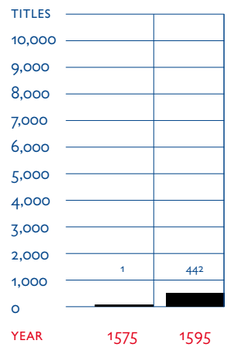
•• This Aurelius manuscript was among the second batch of manuscripts that came from Vulcanius. It entered the collection of the Leiden library in 1594, and it is likely that it first belonged to the library of the Court of Holland.

Contrary to the prevailing view, then, there was indeed a carefully planned method in the way in which items were collected in the early years of the university. Vulcanius himself indicated what his intentions were in transferring his books to the library. When the library opened in the Vaulted Room of the current Academy Building at Rapenburg on 31 October 1587, he donated a Greek manuscript of the orations by Demosthenes, one of the most important works of Greek rhetorical theory.[59] Vulcanius regarded rhetorical discourse as an essential aspect of academic humanist education, and perhaps he sought to emphasise this principle in this way. The donation of the Demosthenes manuscript was, incidentally, typical of the way in which humanists regarded books: Vulcanius had once borrowed the manuscript from somebody else, so it did not actually belong to him. However, this did not stop him from ceremoniously donating it to the curators![60]

The books of Plantin, Elzevier and Raphelengius

The young library was not stocked merely with books and manuscripts originating from the private collections of Leiden University professors: books were also purchased from regular booksellers. This task had been entrusted to the academy printer from the very first days of the library. In 1577 Willem Sylvius, the first academy printer, was charged with ensuring that the university had the books it required. Plantin was given the same task when he took up the post.[61] Their successors, Louis Elzevier and Raphelengius, bought books for the library at the Frankfurter Messe and in Paris. Several lists of these books and of books that were bound for use in the library exist to this day. Past research into these sources has revealed that the *Opera omnia* by Erasmus was added to the library in 1588,[62] and that the acquisition of books by the academy printers and other Leiden booksellers largely concerned recent books.[63] The academy printers also supplied works to the library that Leiden professors commissioned them to print: the *Inscriptiones* by Smetius and all the works by Lipsius, Vulcanius and many other eminent professors.[64] Some printers went even further. When he requested the right to bear the title of academy printer, for example, Jan Paets undertook to give every book that he printed in Latin or Greek to the university.[65]

There was a keen awareness of the vital importance of having a library where the latest scientific publications could be consulted by people without access to an extensive private collection. Presumably this category



The growth of the collections between 1587 and 1595. The first library catalogue shows that a considerable collection had been amassed in a period of twenty years.

included students, although little is known about the books they possessed. A handful of property inventories show that some students owned a number of books.[66] From a petition by Louis Elzevier it appears that he, like Plantin before him, deliberately ensured that his shop was located in the immediate vicinity of the classrooms, thereby making it easier for students in particular to call in and buy books from him.[67] In spite of this, it was clear that studying at the university would be difficult without the proximity of a good library. Studying without books was inconceivable, and the same applied to a university without books. The foundations of a good library in Leiden were laid in 1587.

The Vaulted Room

From 1587 to 1595, the library was located in the vault of the Convent of the White Nuns, now the Academy Building at Rapenburg. The decision to convert this space into a library had been taken as early as 1581. The floor had to be modified, bookshelves made, and reading tables and lecterns put in place.[68] It took six years to bring this about. The books, which until this time had probably been stored in the home of the beadle, could now be displayed in such a way that every member of the university community was able to use them; having a library also enhanced the reputation of the university itself. The founders of the university had these two aims in mind in 1575, as did Holmannus and Vulcanius when they donated their books.[69]

The building work in the vault was completed in the autumn of 1587. Two inscriptions from the time point to 31 October 1587 as the *dies natalis* of the University Library.[70] As far as is known, no depiction or engraving

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• The manuscript that Vulcanius donated in 1587 contained one of the most important Greek rhetorical texts: the orations of Demosthenes. Rhetoric was considered to be the method *par excellence* of imparting knowledge.
•• We know little about students' book collections. Prints, such as this anonymous copper engraving from the third quarter of the seventeenth century, usually show students' rooms with a large number of books. The question is, however, whether these prints reflected reality. Traditionally, books were depicted with the fore-edge facing outwards.
••• As shown by the inscription, Vulcanius gave this manuscript of the orations of Demosthenes to the university curators at the inauguration of the new library on 31 October 1587. One should add that the manuscript did not actually belong to him; he had borrowed it from someone.

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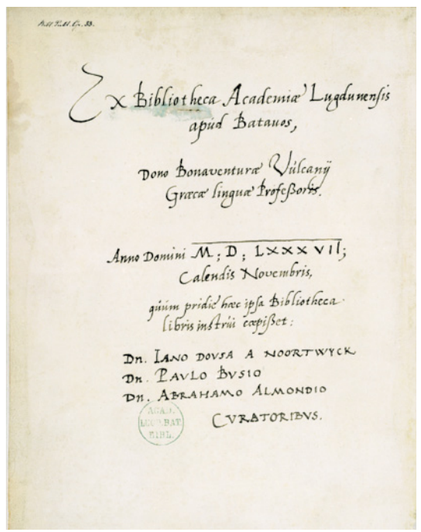

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• Between 1587 and 1595, the library was established in the Vaulted Room of the Convent of the White Nuns, the current Academy Building at Rapenburg. This photograph dates from 1907, when the vault was used as a lecture room. It currently serves as a cloakroom.
•• The new library was established on the upper floor of the Beguinage Chapel, next to the anatomical theatre. Copy of a drawing by J. de Keijzer from 1835.
••• The print of the Leiden library that Woudanus published in 1610 shows a library that still had a decidedly medieval character, with chained books and fixed lecterns. The classification of the books, as indicated on the bookcases, followed the classical organisation of knowledge used in Renaissance libraries.

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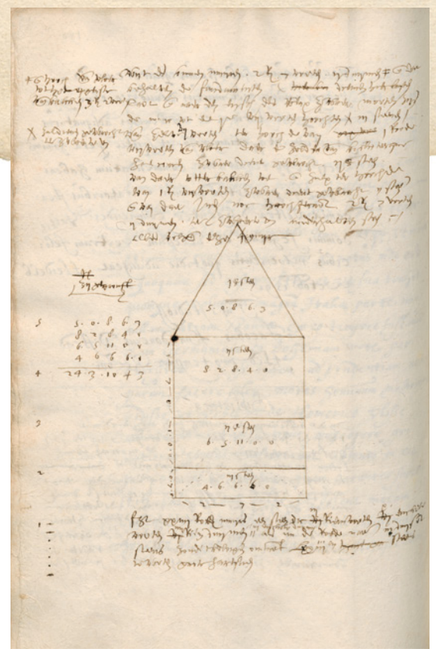

•The print by Woudanus was later copied repeatedly. This copy is a mirror image of the original print; moreover, a few figures have been added.
•• The Beguinage Chapel was chosen as the new accommodation for the library. Janus Dousa and Jan van Hout drew up the designs for the renovations. Van Hout's *Dagboek* (Journal) contains innumerable details of this process.

of the library in the vault has survived. Apart from the calculations relating to masonry and carpentry, which describe the rebuilding work, very little is known about this initial period. This has led to a number of speculations, namely that the vault was used as a library for only a few years, after which the books were again kept in the beadle's home, and that no-one or hardly anyone actually used the books.[71] The scarce sources give no clear picture as to how or how much the first library was used. What is clear is that the location was unsuitable as a library: the humidity of the vault was an unhealthy environment for both people and books. Moreover, as the university grew, it struggled to find space and the vault was also used for lectures. But the greatest problem was the fact that the library itself outgrew the vault. New books continued to arrive, whether by donation or purchase at auctions or from private citizens, or from Leiden booksellers who had bought them in Frankfurt and Paris.[72] Based on the detailed lists of new books in the *Dagboek* (diary) by Jan van Hout, it is possible to estimate the extent to which the library expanded between the opening of the vault in 1587, and the appearance of the first printed catalogue of the library in 1595. In this eight-year period, the library acquired 261 works in 369 volumes, for a sum of around 1800 guilders. The university paid 132 guilders for binding books in order that they could be perused in the library without any difficulty. It was becoming clear that more suitable premises had to be found for the library.[73] The space that was selected was the top floor of the Beguinage Chapel on the other side of Rapenburg.[74]

The Beguinage Chapel

Relocating any library is a huge undertaking. The new space has to be built or converted so that the books can be displayed safely and in an organised fashion, so that the collection can expand, and so that readers can consult the books with ease. Janus Dousa made the plans with his friend Jan van Hout, whose particular interest in architecture was well known.[75] Between 1591 and 1594, Van Hout's *Dagboek* (diary) abounds with details of the far-reaching renovation work carried out on the church and of the costs this involved.[76]

Separated by an interior wall on the first floor of the Beguinage Chapel, the library and the anatomical theatre, for lessons in anatomy, became neighbours. The decision to construct the library and the theatrum at the same time was not a random one. Together with the hortus botanicus, which had been established several years earlier, they were intended to give greater allure to the new university, and indeed they did. Many outsiders visited these locations, describing them in admiring terms in letters, diaries and travel journals.[77] In 1609, when Woudanus produced his four famous Leiden prints, he choose these three locations as his subject, together with the fencing school which was housed on the lower floor of the Beguinage Chapel.

By the end of November 1593, the building work had reached the stage where the first lesson in anatomy could be held in the anatomical theatre, and the relocation of the library could begin. The books were carried in large baskets from the old library to the new one, and the process was completed on 7 December 1593.[78] This was followed by a huge operation that lasted almost two years. First, the books had to be classified according to their field: theology, law, medicine, history, philosophy and the arts. They then had to be carefully catalogued and placed on the specially designed shelves. The person charged with these tasks was the new librarian, the son of Janus Dousa.[79]

JANUS DOUSA JUNIOR: 1593-1596

Janus Dousa was born in 1571, the first son of Jan van der Does (Janus Dousa senior). Like his brothers, he enjoyed the customary humanist education and entered the ranks of Leiden's humanists at a fairly young age. He was involved in publishing classic works, became a fairly accomplished Neo-Latin poet, and helped his father manage the library. When his father left for The Hague in 1593 in order to take up his position in the Supreme Court, he relinquished the office of librarian and advised the curators to appoint his son in his place. On 11 July 1593, Janus Dousa junior became the second librarian at Leiden University, at the age of 21. His task was to keep the valuable books safe and in order for the benefit of the academic community. However, he did not remain in the position for very long. In 1594, he and two of his brothers embarked on a two-year European journey, during which he fell ill. He died shortly after his return to Leiden, aged 25.

Little is known about what impact he had on the library, but it is notable that when in 1612 the curators had five portraits made of scholars who had made a significant contribution to the university, Dousa junior was one of them, alongside his father, Lipsius, Heurnius and Junius.[80] A portrait of Dousa junior can be found on the frieze of the Bodleian Library. His contemporaries clearly regarded him as an important scholar.[81]

• Petrus Bertius produced the first printed catalogue of the University Library. After his time in Leiden, he was, among other things, cosmographer to Louis XIII in Paris. This coloured portrait of Bertius comes from one of his cartographic works, an edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia*, the *Theatrum geographiae veteris, duobus tomis distinctum [...]*, Amsterdam, J. Hondius ii 1618.

•• Janus Dousa junior followed in his father's footsteps as librarian in 1593; he died two years later. This portrait was probably made in 1612 and was commissioned by the curators.

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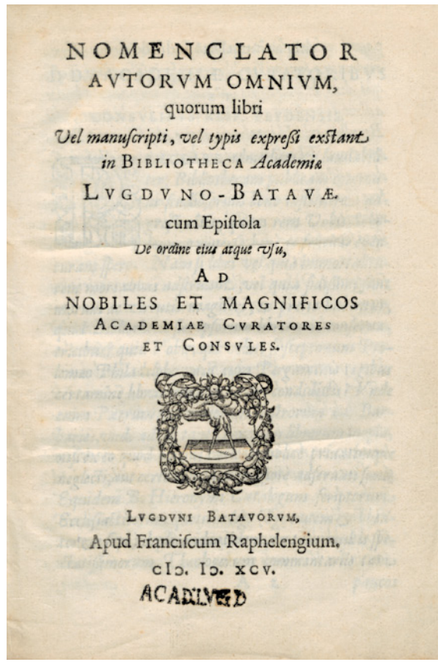
••• The university printer Raphelengius published the *Nomenclator* in the spring of 1595, on the occasion of the opening of the new library.


NOMENCLATOR
AVTORVM OMNIVM,
quorum libri
Vel manuscripti, vel typis expressi exstant
in BIBLIOTHECA *Academiæ*
LVGDVNO-BATAVÆ.
cum Epistola
De ordine eius atque usu,
AD
NOBILES ET MAGNIFICOS
ACADEMIAE CVRATORES
ET CONSVLES.
LVGDVNI BATAVORVM,
Apud Franciscum Raphelengium.
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ACADEMIA

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During his absence, and after his death, his duties were taken over by the deputy regent of the Statencollege – the theological college set up by the States of Holland where theology students were accommodated free of charge – Petrus Bertius.

Petrus Bertius

In the eulogy for Janus Dousa senior, which Bertius delivered on behalf of the university in 1604, he ranked himself among those who had been responsible for the library: he had succeeded Dousa senior and junior. And even though he was never officially the librarian, this assertion is entirely justified, because Petrus Bertius was a major figure as far as the library was concerned.[82] Not only was his *Nomenclator* the first catalogue of the library in Leiden, it was also the first printed catalogue of any institutional library in Europe. Nonetheless, the curators appointed the historian Merula to the position of librarian after Dousa junior's death, not Bertius. Their reasons for doing so are a mystery, but Bertius' fascinating biography does perhaps reveal some interesting clues.

Petrus Bertius was the son of a Flemish preacher who had moved to England. He was born in that country in 1565, remaining there until the age of eleven. When his father accepted a position in Rotterdam in 1576, he had his son join him. Shortly after the move to Rotterdam, the Bertius family allowed the sixteen-year-old Arminius to come and live with them – his parents had been murdered a year earlier by Spanish troops in Oudewater. The resulting friendship between Bertius and the slightly older Arminius would be a lasting one. In 1576, they went to Leiden to study together, living at the same addresses and attending lectures given by the same professors. Bertius shared Arminius' ideas and defended his friend against hostile theologians, something that is clearly evident from the eulogy that he gave after Arminius' death in 1609. This position would ultimately cost Bertius his function as the deputy regent of the Statencollege in 1615 and his professorship in 1619. He formed part of the Arminian school, whose members were ejected from the university. He fled to Paris, where he converted to Catholicism.

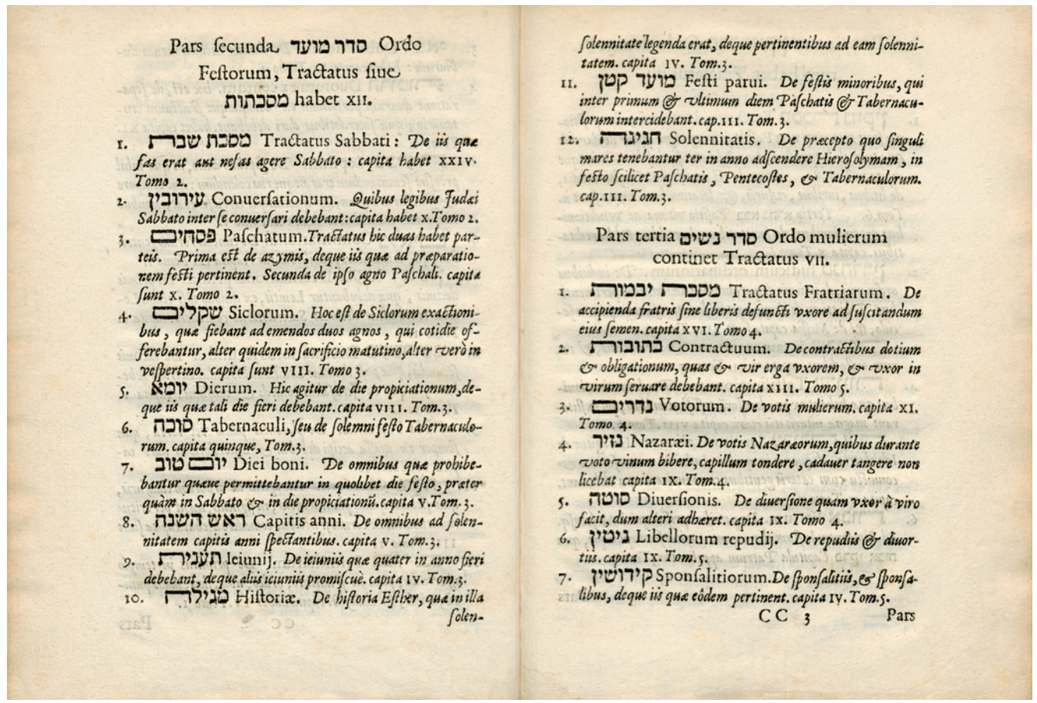
Bertius was a keen pupil of Lipsius, who imbued in him a love of classical texts and their manuscript tradition. In 1591, the teacher and pupil embarked on a memorable journey to Germany, during which Lipsius converted to Catholicism. Bertius stayed in Heidelberg for some time before moving on to Strasbourg, eventually returning to Leiden in 1593 after also visiting Bohemia, Poland, Silesia and Prussia. On the day of his return, his friend Janus Dousa junior was appointed to the office of librarian. It will have been shortly thereafter that Bertius was asked to take over Janus Dousa junior's duties, after the latter set out on his travels. This was at a time when managing the library was of critical importance: the relocation was underway, and the books had to be reclassified and recatalogued. Bertius was a well-read and well-travelled man, who had visited many libraries and bookshops on his travels. From abroad, he sent books to Clusius in Leiden to give to his student friend Raphelengius to look after, so that he would have his own library upon his return to Leiden.[83]

At the request of the curators, Bertius started to classify and catalogue the university's books. He carried out this task in 1594 – a tumultuous year, in which a serious rebellion among the scholarship students at the Statencollege spread throughout the university, for which many people wrongly considered Bertius to be responsible. It led to him gaining a reputation for being someone who could not handle students properly and who caused difficulties. Moreover, in that same year he was accused of both sodomy and heterodoxy. Even though the university court, the Academische Vierschaar, pronounced him 'totally untainted and innocent' and the faculty of theology officially acknowledged his integrity, his reputation was damaged.[84] This and other reasons will undoubtedly have played a part in the decision by the curators to appoint Merula as the librarian in 1597, rather than Bertius. He had previously been rejected for the position of university secretary, as successor to Vulcanius, on account of the feelings of 'hate and envy' of the students towards him, and the concern that this could lead to unrest.[85]

It seems that this weighed more heavily than did the precision and dedication with which Bertius had classified and catalogued the library collection. His *Nomenclator* was printed by Raphelengius in the spring of 1595 and presented to the curators and burgomasters on the occasion of the opening of the new library in the Beguinage Chapel on 24 May of that year. Bertius received 150 guilders for his trouble.

The Nomenclator *by Bertius*

Since the *Nomenclator* was arranged as a shelflist modern readers can still visit the library as it was in 1595. Thanks to the well-known engraving of the library that was made by Willem Swaenenburgh in 1610, based on a design by Jan Cornelisz. Woudanus, it is easy to visualise the new



Pars secunda. סדר מועד Ordo Festorum, Tractatus siue מסכתות habet XII.

1. מסכת שבת Tractatus Sabbati: *De iis quæ fas erat aut nefas agere Sabbato: capita habet XXIV. Tomo 2.*
2. עירובין Conuersationum. *Quibus legibus Iudæi Sabbato inter se conuersari debebant: capita habet X. Tomo 2.*
3. פסחים Paschatum. *Tractatus hic duas habet partes. Prima est de azymis, deque iis quæ ad præparationem festi pertinent. Secunda de ipso agno Paschali. capita sunt X. Tomo 2.*
4. שקלים Siclorum. *Hoc est de Siclorum exactionibus, quæ fiebant ad emendos duos agnos, qui cotidie offerebantur, alter quidem in sacrificio matutino, alter verò in vespertino. capita sunt VIII. Tomo 3.*
5. יומא Dierum. *Hic agitur de die propiciationum, deque iis quæ tali die fieri debebant. capita VIII. Tom. 3.*
6. סוכה Tabernaculi, *seu de solemni festo Tabernaculorum. capita quinque, Tom. 3.*
7. יום טוב Diei boni. *De omnibus quæ prohibebantur quæue permittebantur in quolibet die festo, præter quàm in Sabbato & in die propiciationũ. capita V. Tom. 3.*
8. ראש השנה Capitis anni. *De omnibus ad solennitatem capitis anni spectantibus. capita V. Tom. 3.*
9. תענית Ieiunij. *De ieiuniis quæ quater in anno fieri debebant, deque aliis ieiuniis promiscuè. capita IV. Tom. 3.*
10. מגילה Historiæ. *De historia Esther, quæ in illa solen-*

solennitate legenda erat, deque pertinentibus ad eam solennitatem. capita IV. Tom. 3.

11. מועד קטן Festi parui. *De festis minoribus, qui inter primum & vltimum diem Paschatis & Tabernaculorum intercidebant. cap. III. Tom. 3.*
12. חגיגה Solennitatis. *De præcepto quo singuli mares tenebantur ter in anno adscendere Hierosolymam, in festo scilicet Paschatis, Pentecostes, & Tabernaculorum. cap. III. Tom. 3.*

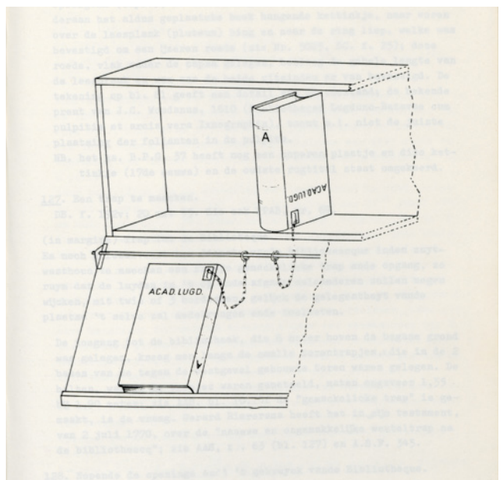
Pars tertia סדר נשים Ordo mulierum continet Tractatus VII.

1. מסכת יבמות Tractatus Fratriarum. *De accipienda fratris sine liberis defuncti uxore ad suscitandum eius semen. capita XVI. Tomo 4.*
2. כתובות Contractuum. *De contractibus dotium & obligationum, quas & vir erga uxorem, & uxor in virum seruare debebant. capita XIII. Tomo 5.*
3. נדרים Votorum. *De votis mulierum. capita XI. Tomo 4.*
4. נזיר Nazaræi. *De votis Nazaræorum, quibus durante voto vinum bibere, capillum tondere, cadauer tangere non licebat capita IX. Tom. 4.*
5. סוטה Diuersionis. *De diuersione quam uxor à viro facit, dum alteri adhæret. capita IX. Tomo 4.*
6. גיטין Libellorum repudij. *De repudiis & diuortiis. capita IX. Tom. 5.*
7. קידושין Sponsalitiorum. *De sponsalitiis, & sponsalibus, deque iis quæ eòdem pertinent. capita IV. Tom. 5.*

CC 3 Pars

• Many different types of letters in many languages were needed to print the *Nomenclator*: Raphelengius' catalogue represents a minor masterpiece of the printer's art.

•• The traces of chains on the books and the indications of shelf marks on the books' spines make it possible to reconstruct Jan van Hout's filing system: the books were placed upside down in the bookcases with their spines facing outwards, so that they could be opened on the lectern in a single movement.



library, even though there were only nine *plutei* in 1595 – these were fixed bookcases that also served as lecterns – and not the 22 depicted in 1610. Bertius made an inventory of the books according to section, and in the order in which they were displayed on the shelves, starting with the cases where the largest books, the folios, were kept. The cases were given a letter – the letters used for each discipline section came from different alphabets, including the Hebrew, Greek and Latin. Agreement about the major classifications was reached in consultation with Jan van Hout.[86] He and Bertius decided on a classical division of knowledge, similar to the one used in the large libraries of the Renaissance.[87] First came theology, with the largest number of titles (103), followed by two fields of equal size: law (28 titles) and medicine (29). History (66 titles) and philosophy (67) were better represented, while mathematics (22 titles) and the arts (23 titles) were less prominent. Many works encompassed several volumes, so that the 338 titles accounted for 407 folio volumes. Bertius made an accurate note of this difference, so essential for the purpose of running a library. However, he only did this in the case of the folios. For the smaller formats, which were kept in lockable bookcases – the *arcae* – he did not note this information. Of the 104 titles of works in the library in smaller formats (quarto, octavo and sextodecimo), it is not known exactly how many volumes these comprised, but their number can be estimated at 118. In total, then, Leiden University Library consisted of 442 titles and around 525 volumes in 1595. It is difficult to make a comparison with other public libraries, as their catalogues are from a later date. In 1608, Utrecht had 4500 titles, while Amsterdam had 700 in 1612, and Wittenberg 1400 in 1678.

The *Nomenclator* is an exceptionally accurate and modern catalogue – and a joy to behold. The use of different typefaces makes it easier for a reader to find what they are looking for. For every book, Bertius listed the place and year of publication, often with the name of the printer, elements that were not usually included in library catalogues until the late eighteenth century. In the case of the folios, he also stated the sequence number of the book on the shelves. Thanks to this level of accuracy, it ought to be possible to reconstruct the original collection of the Leiden University library, in a similar way as in the case of an archaeological dig. Such a reconstruction is indeed necessary. Not every book in the *Nomenclator* is still in Leiden: as more recent editions of the works that were present in 1595 arrived, the older versions were removed from the library. This habit, which was commonplace until the mid-nineteenth century and which has had such regrettable consequences as far as book collections are concerned, was essentially the result of the humanistic desire for ever-better texts in ever-better versions. It was not the editions themselves that mattered to humanists, but the texts that were passed down by way of these editions – not the form, but the substance. This way of thinking predominated in the library for a long time. Comparing the editions listed in the *Nomenclator* with the same works in the current collection can therefore reveal the internal development of the library.

Bertius was very much aware of the need to carefully monitor the development of the brand new library. His *Nomenclator* included a cleverly written foreword aimed at the curators and burgomasters of Leiden, in which he urged them to allow the library to expand. The fact that the curators, during a visit to the library on 20 March 1595, two months before the official opening, expressly ordered the construction of extra *plutei* in order that new acquisitions could be consulted as soon as possible, is evidence that they were conscious of the importance of such expansion. Consequently, they offered Bertius a willing ear. His foreword about the classification and the use of the library is not dissimilar to the later *Conseils pour dresser une bibliothèque,* recommendations for building up a library, by Gabriel Naudé.[88] Bertius' foreword reveals a man whose description of a contemporary library was based on solid knowledge of ancient libraries. So many sources have already been lost, he wrote, that it was high time to put a stop to it. Acquiring manuscripts, books and other sources was the most important task of libraries in general, and of university libraries in particular. After all, people should be able to find the best sources of every type of knowledge there. This goal would be pointless, however, if the sources that had been acquired were not properly looked after. Safeguarding the collection was the second task of a library, and this was immediately followed by the third: making these carefully maintained sources available to those needing to use them in order to pursue their studies. In present-day terms, these core tasks are referred to as acquisition, conservation and providing access. And they still form the essence of the library 'industry' to this day. Readers are the priority. Bertius even indicated what the different kinds of readers might expect to find in the library: the theologians would find knowledge, the legal practitioners would find practice cases, doctors would find instruction

Only a handful of the books that were in the 'chained library' of 1595 still bear their chains, such as this manuscript by Johannes Chrysostomos.

and the literary types would find pleasure and enjoyment. Entirely in line with the humanist tradition, Bertius advocated filling the walls with portraits of scholars and important people, while the world should be made tangible and visible through the presence of globes and maps: this is what the humanists' studies looked like as well. What this description shows, in fact, is the transition from the scholarly library to the institutional library, from the private to the public domain. For Bertius, the library in 1595 was a place to immerse oneself in knowledge, a place that granted access to the universe. It was where the material and immaterial worlds came together, as it were. This philosophy was commonplace at the time, which is why so much attention was paid to the material aspects of the construction of the new library and of the anatomical theatre and the botanical gardens. Touching a manuscript, an anatomical preparation or a plant meant touching knowledge that helped open up part of the universe. This form of knowledge transfer had to be, and remain, accessible to all. The clever system by which the volumes were chained to the *plutei* – a modification to the existing practice, conceived by Jan van Hout – made theft very difficult, while reading the books and manuscripts, sometimes side by side on the same *pluteus,* was very easy. The chained books were placed with their spines facing outwards, but upside down on the shelf in the *capsa*, or case, and the reader only had to tilt them towards him and they would then readily open. Every book chain was attached via a ring to an iron rod. The rings could be easily slid along the rod, but the rod itself was locked. Unlocking the rod would allow the rings to be slid off. A new ring with a chain and book attached could be added simply and the collection returned to its original location without any difficulty, and this is how new developments were incorporated into the library's collection as a matter of course.[89] In a way, these practical inventions reflected the ideal of dynamic knowledge transfer. The white pages of the *Nomenclator* bore testimony to the same ideal, as if the message were 'there is room here for everything we do not yet know'.

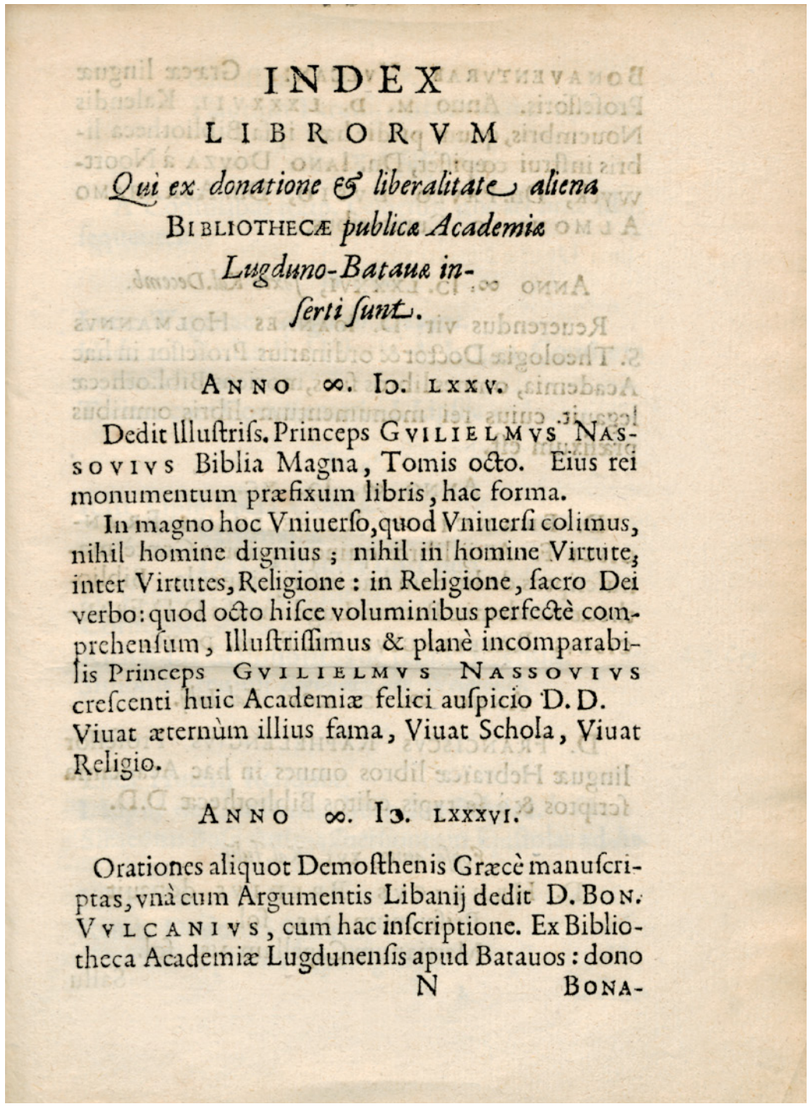
As far as is known, there were two editions of the *Nomenclator*. The first appeared on 24 May 1595, when the library opened, and consisted of the entire catalogue; 625 copies were printed. The second must have been produced several months later, but it is not known how many were printed. This version includes three appendices, each of which was remarkable, as they extended beyond the function of a library catalogue. A library catalogue is, generally speaking, a description of an existing reality and has no other purpose than to assist in locating what is being sought, be it a particular book or knowledge. However, the additions to the second edition of the *Nomenclator* were of a different nature.

The first addition was an inventory of the books that the library obtained between May and July 1595 in the field of theology.[90] Among these items, two monumental works stood out: the nine-part *Talmud Babylonicum*, a gift from the Court of Holland,[91] and the *Monumenta S. Patrum orthodoxographa,* an edition of the Church Fathers in seven parts, purchased from Elzevier in July 1595.[92]

Bertius did not simply record the presence of these books – instead, he added various features that were designed to assist readers. All the treatises from the *Talmud* were summarised, with a Latin translation of their content and the place in the publication where they could be found, while for the *Monumenta Sanctorum Patrum,* he created an alphabetical list of the authors, and the corresponding pages.

This information accounted for almost the whole of the first appendix.[93] In the first edition of the *Nomenclator*, Bertius had similarly assisted readers by giving an alphabetical list of the authors who appeared in another edition of the Church Fathers, the 1575 *Bibliotheca Sanctorum Patrum*. Here, too, he indicated in which part and which column the relevant text could be found. Providing this information exceeds the function of a regular catalogue: in this case, the content itself was being proffered. It was as if the reader was physically being led by the hand in order to enable him to make better use of the available sources.

The aim of the second appendix was completely different. This contained the list of books and manuscripts that were donated between 1575 and 1595, the titles of which were already listed in the catalogue. Giving the names of the donors was intended to encourage potential new donors. It set out a path for the future, in an attempt to positively influence the growth of the library. The third appendix was a summary of works by Leiden professors and scholars, and this served yet another purpose. Bertius listed, in chronological order, the works by individual professors and scholars that were present in the library. These books were kept in a special bookcase in the new library, so making a separate inventory of these works was a reflection of how they were physically stored there. In essence, the list formed a gallery of Leiden scholars,



INDEX
LIBRORVM
Qui ex donatione & liberalitate aliena
BIBLIOTHECÆ *publicæ Academiæ*
Lugduno-Batauæ in-
serti sunt.

ANNO ∞. IↃ. LXXV.

Dedit Illustriss. Princeps GVILIELMVS NASSOVIVS Biblia Magna, Tomis octo. Eius rei monumentum præfixum libris, hac forma.

In magno hoc Vniuerso, quod Vniuersi colimus, nihil homine dignius; nihil in homine Virtute, inter Virtutes, Religione: in Religione, sacro Dei verbo: quod octo hisce voluminibus perfectè comprehensum, Illustrissimus & planè incomparabilis Princeps GVILIELMVS NASSOVIVS crescenti huic Academiæ felici auspicio D. D. Viuat æternùm illius fama, Viuat Schola, Viuat Religio.

ANNO ∞. IↃ. LXXXVI.

Orationes aliquot Demosthenis Græcè manuscriptas, vnà cum Argumentis Libanij dedit D. BON. VVLCANIVS, cum hac inscriptione. Ex Bibliotheca Academiæ Lugdunensis apud Batauos: dono N BONA-

The library was dependent on generous donors. Their contributions are specifically mentioned in the first catalogue, such as the donation of the Plantin Polyglot by Prince William of Orange.

with their works acting as portraits of a kind. Bertius was therefore consciously depicting the contribution made by Leiden University to the world of learning.

But did the 1595 library really represent the real state of knowledge at the time? What did the Leiden University book collection contain?

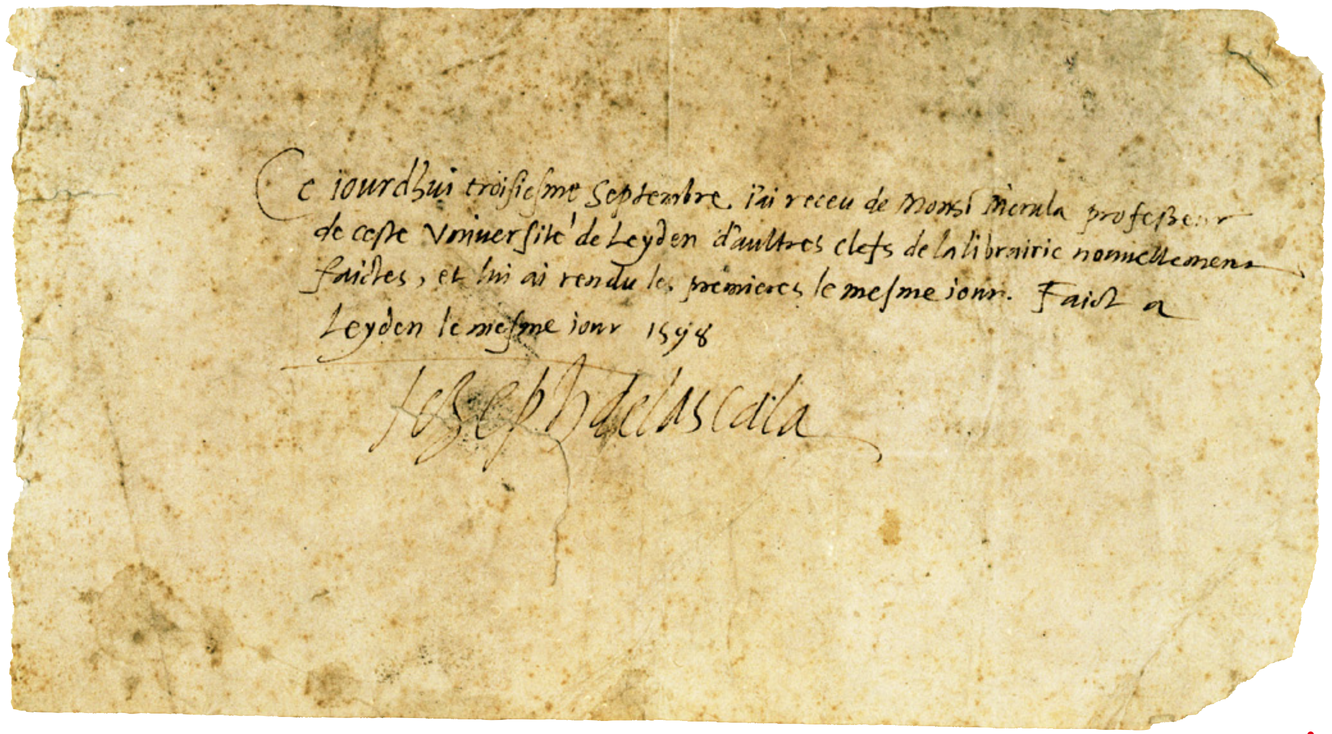
The books in Leiden University Library, 1595

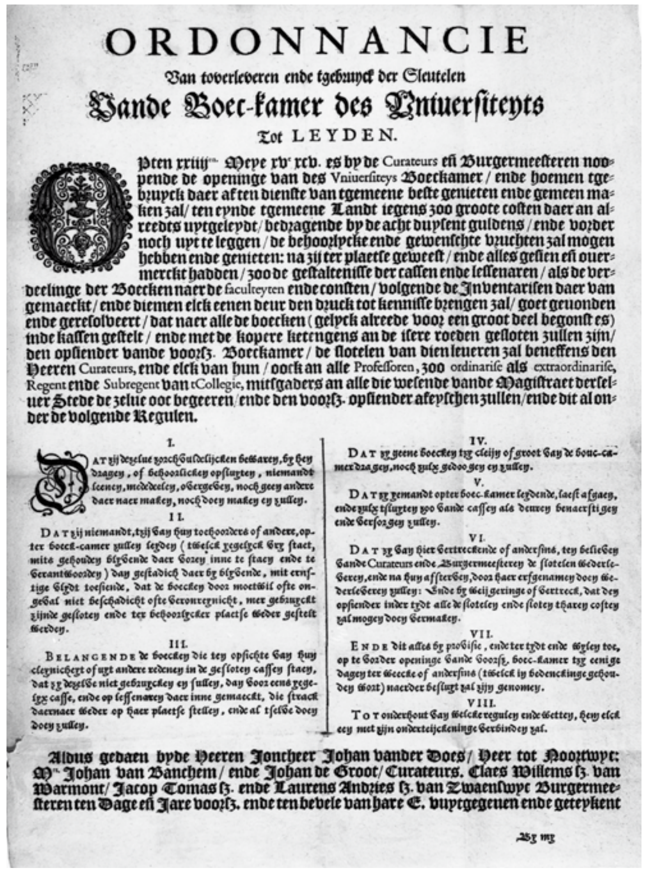
The most important authors to form the basis of university education in the various faculties – theology, law, medicine and the arts – were included in the library. However, theology was over-represented in comparison with the other fields: there were almost twice as many books on the subject as there were on history and philosophy. The four other fields of law, medicine, mathematics and the arts, were represented about equally. The original heart of the collection, the legacy of the theologian Holmannus, undoubtedly had something to do with this, but there was another, more deep-seated reason, which Bertius mentions in the foreword to his *Nomenclator*. Theologians, he wrote, use libraries in a different way from other scholars. They seek *knowledge,* while others look for *practice* (law students or practitioners), *instruction* (medical students or practitioners) or *enjoyment* (students or lovers of literature). He makes no reference to mathematicians in this regard. This meant that theologians could expect to find more works covering their field than scholars in other areas: they sought knowledge that formed the basis of all knowledge. From the perspective of the present day, Bertius' view may seem strange, and even in 1595 this image of theology as the 'mother of all knowledge' was outdated. The position of theology as the leading field of knowledge had been in decline since the middle of the sixteenth century, but libraries require a certain amount of time in order for such major shifts to feed through into their collections. At the moment that they are established, they join a long tradition with its own laws. And so Leiden University Library, established on the basis of a humanist ideal at the end of the sixteenth century, became part of the great tradition of institutional libraries that had evolved since the Middle Ages. This was the tradition of the major monastic libraries and university libraries, in which theology had a leading role. With the original text of the bible, the commentaries and the entire manuscripts of the church fathers, theology dominated libraries until well into the eighteenth century, in Protestant areas just as much as in Catholic ones. Surprise at the presence of the so-called 'Catholic' church fathers in 'Protestant' libraries founded in the Republic at the end of the sixteenth century is entirely anachronistic. Libraries did not make such a distinction, any more than did people living at that time.

A comparison between the three city and university libraries that were founded in the Northern Netherlands at this time leads to some striking conclusions, based on the fact that the libraries in Utrecht, Leiden and Amsterdam reveal a very similar picture.[94] In spite of the fact that the library of the University of Utrecht and that of the city of Amsterdam, which would later become the University Library there, were founded with the help of collections seized from monasteries, unlike Leiden University Library, there are similarities between the three collections and they do not differ very much from late-Middle Ages monastery libraries. Some subjects were dropped, others were added. There was no room in the new collections for liturgical or devotional books directly relating to the Catholic tradition, although polemic publications and critical studies from various quarters were included. Specialist books needed to be purchased for every subject that was taught at the university, which resulted in a constant expansion of the encyclopaedic range of the university's book collection. In other words, there was no break from the library tradition of the Northern Provinces of the Middle Ages and the modern era, but rather a clear continuation. Although the first books in the Leiden University collection came from private citizens like Holmannus, Vulcanius and Raphelengius, they were generally representative of the basic range of material considered essential for the acquisition of knowledge in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

Accessibility: the keys affair

As early as 1575, the professors who had set down the first university statutes on paper declared that the task of the library was to provide students and professors with original texts.[95] A quick start was made on the acquisition of the basic collection, and the university spent a lot of money housing it in the expectation that the entire university community would derive the benefits from it. The curators took precautions in order to protect the collections. When the new library was opened on 24 May 1595, an ordinance governing the use of the keys had already been prepared. Only a limited number of people were given the keys and were entitled to use the collection at will: curators and professors, the regent and deputy regent of the Statencollege, as well as the members of


Ce iourdhui troisiesme Septembre i'ai receu de monsr Merula professeur de ceste Université de Leyden d'aultres clefs de la librairie nouvellement faictes, et lui ai rendu les premieres le mesme iour. Faict a Leyden le mesme iour 1598
Joseph de la Scala


ORDONNANCIE
Van toverleveren ende tgebruyck der Sleutelen
Vande Boec-kamer des Vniuersiteyts
Tot LEYDEN.

Opten xxiiij^en Meye xv^c xcv. es by de Curateurs ende Burgermeesteren noopende de openinge van des Vniuersiteys Boeckamer / ende hoemen tgebruyck daer af ten dienste van tgemeene beste genieten ende gemeen maken zal / ten eynde tgemeene Landt tegens zoo groote costen daer an alreedts uytgeleydt / bedragende by de acht duysent guldens / ende vorder noch uyt te leggen / de behoorlycke ende gewenschte vruchten zal mogen hebben ende genieten: na zij ter plaetse geweest / ende alles gesien ende overmerckt hadden / zoo de gestaltenisse der cassen ende lessenaren / als de verdeelinge der Boecken naer de faculteyten ende consten / volgende de Inventarisen daer van gemaeckt / ende diemen elck eenen deur den druck tot kennisse brengen zal / goet gevonden ende geresolveert / dat naer alle de boecken (gelyck alreede voor een groot deel begonst es) inde kassen gestelt / ende met de kopere ketengens an de ijsere roeden gesloten zullen zijn / den opsiender vande voorsz. Boeckamer / de slotelen van dien leveren zal beneffens den Heeren Curateurs, ende elck van hun / oock an alle Professoren, zoo ordinarise als extraordinarise, Regent ende Subregent van tCollegie, mitsgaders an alle die wesende vande Magistraet derselver Stede de zelve oot begeeren / ende den voorsz. opsiender afeyschen zullen / ende dit al onder de volgende Regulen.

I.
Dat zij dezelve zorchvuldelijcken bewaren, by hen dragen, of behoorlicken opsluyten, niemandt leenen, mededeelen, overgeven, noch geen andere daer naer maken, noch doen maken en zullen.

II.
Dat zij niemandt, tzij van hun toehoorders of andere, opter boeck-camer zullen leyden (twelck yegelyck vry staet, mits gehouden blyvende daer voren inne te staen ende te verantwoorden) dan gestadich daer by blyvende, mit ernstige vlydt toesiende, dat de boecken door moetwil ofte ongeval niet beschadicht ofte verontreynicht, mer gebruyckt zijnde gesloten ende ter behoorlycker plaetse weder gestelt werden.

III.
Belangende de boecken die ten opsichte van hun cleynicheyt of uyt andere redenen in de gesloten cassen staen, dat zy dezelve niet gebruycken en sullen, dan voor eens yegelyx casse, ende op lessenaren daer inne gemaeckt, die strack daernaer weder op haer plaetse stellen, ende al tselve doen doen zullen.

IV.
Dat zy geene boecken tzy cleijn of groot van de boec-camer dragen, noch zulx gedoogen en zullen.

V.
Dat zy yemandt opter boec-kamer leydende, laest afgaen, ende zulx tsluyten zoo vande cassen als deuren benaerstigen ende versorgen zullen.

VI.
Dat zy van hier vertreckende of andersins, ten believen vande Curateurs ende Burgermeesteren de slotelen wederleveren, ende na hun afsterven, door haer erfgenamen doen wederleveren zullen: Ende by weijgeringe of vertreck, dat den opsiender inder tydt alle de sloten ende sloten tharen costen zal mogen doen vermaken.

VII.
Ende dit alles by provisie, ende ter tydt ende wylen toe, op te vorder openinge vande voorsz. boec-kamer tot eenige dagen ter weecke of andersins (twelck in bedenckinge gehouden wort) naerder besluyt zal zijn genomen.

VIII.
Tot onderhout van welcke regulen ende wetten, hem elck een met zijn onderteijckeninge verbinden zal.

Aldus gedaen byde Heeren Joncheer Johan vander Does / Heer tot Noortwyc: M^r. Johan van Banchem / ende Johan de Groot / Curateurs. Claes Willems sz. van Warmont / Jacop Tomas sz. ende Laurens Andries sz. van Zwaenswyc Burgermeesteren ten Dage ende Jare voorsz. ende ten bevele van hare E. uytgegeuen ende geteykent

• The securing of keys to the library remained a topical issue. As the keys were copied illegally, new locks had to be fitted time and again. The professors received the keys to the library, but had to sign a proof of receipt for them. Scaliger signed for his new keys on 13 September 1598. The text on the note reads: 'Ce iourdhui troisiesme Septembre i'ai recuu de monsr Merula professeur de ceste Université de Leyden d'aultres clefs de la librairie nouvellement faictes, et lui ai rendu les premieres le mesme iour. Faict a Leyden le mesme iour 1598 Joseph de la Scala.'

•• The first official guidelines on the use of the library date from 1595. In particular, there were strict rules governing access to the library. The key was given to prominent institutions and individuals from the Republic, but no arrangements were made for students.

the city council. Government bodies in The Hague were also given the keys to the library several months later. Jan van Hout presented them to the Court of Holland, the Supreme Court, the Court of Auditors and the Council of Commissioners.[96] This symbolic gesture emphasised the national character of Leiden University. Leading institutions and individuals in the Republic could regard the library as their own: after all, they had the keys to it.[97] The gesture symbolised a clear political ideal, which was far removed from the original: a collection of books to which the whole Leiden University community had access. It is certainly possible that these two conflicting ideas may have had a negative impact on how the students used the library. What is certain is that the ordinance represented a step backward with regard to the liberal views defended by Bertius in his *Nomenclator*, which appeared at the same time. No arrangements were made for the students, in particular: the 'standard' opening times of the library would be fixed later. The ordinance appeared in print and is thought to have had two purposes. On the one hand, future readers were given the clear message that the university took the protection of its books seriously and, on the other, the outside world was shown the quality of the Leiden academy collection. In that respect, the founding of a good library helped in attracting leading professors, in the same way that the presence of a university printer did. This was indeed the message: scholars could expect an exceptionally favourable climate in Leiden, in which they would be able to dedicate themselves to the pursuit of knowledge in peace and quiet with an extensive range of sources at their disposal. The arrival of big names like Lipsius, Scaliger, Salmasius and many others demonstrates that the message struck home. However, little remained of the ideal of a library for the whole university. This restriction would rebound in a very short time. Students managed to gain access to the library anyway – they borrowed keys from their professors and had copies made. This was nothing remarkable in itself, and key-makers in Leiden could not complain of a lack of custom. After all, wasn't one of the causes of the unrest in the Statencollege in 1594 the fact that students used duplicate keys to enter and leave the college without the knowledge of their regents? It was even one of the reasons for the power struggle that would lead to the student rebellion against deputy regent Bertius.[98] For a library, though, the unmonitored use of its collection is the beginning of the end. It took less than two academic years for the orderly library of May 1595 to descend into chaos. Books were left lying around, were stolen or damaged. The situation got so out of hand that in February 1597, the curators were forced to take decisive action.[99] All the locks were changed and just one person, the new librarian, professor Paullus Merula, was given a key. The library did not reopen until May 1597. Whenever professors wanted to work in the library, they had to fetch the key to the outer door and the bookcases for small-format items – the *arcae* – from Merula's home opposite the library. This tough measure was not enforced for long. Professors protested vehemently against it,[100] and they were given new keys the following year, in exchange for a receipt.[101] Students were allowed to use the library twice a week, on Wednesdays and Saturdays from 2 until 4 in the afternoon, under the supervision of a custodian. An audit was carried out annually to check whether the books were present.

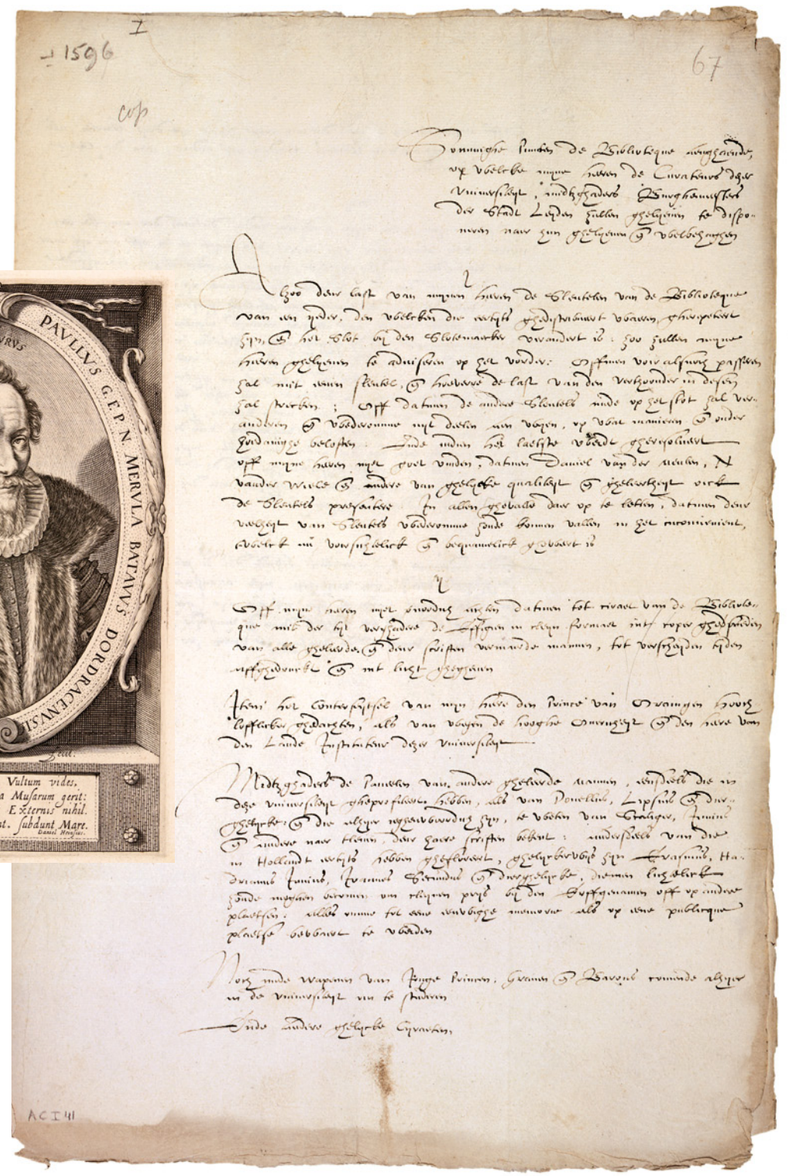
Seven years later, the situation had again become so critical that the library was closed to students.[102] Like the professors before them, the students made their feelings known. This closure, they wrote to the curators, was completely at odds with the intentions of the founders of the library and of the generous donors whose aim had been to provide students with access to the books they needed. Students from every faculty had suffered, they added. Their fierce protests, however, were in vain.[103] For a quarter of a century, from 1605 until 1630, the library remained officially off-limits to students. Nonetheless, it is highly probable that professors continued to use their keys in order to smuggle their students into the library.

MERULA: 1597-1607

Brief biography

For the ten years during which Merula held the office of librarian, from 1597 until 1607, the collection grew in a way that was entirely in keeping with his character. The large-scale expansion of the collection echoed the course his life had taken.[104] Paullus Merula was born in Dordrecht in 1558, was first educated in Brielle, and then in Dordrecht itself. Later on, his links with the town would prove very useful to Leiden University Library. After two more years of study in Delft, he arrived in Leiden in 1578, when the university had existed for just three years. There were not many students at the time – a total of just 85![105] As was usual, Merula studied subjects in different faculties. He attended the lectures given by

• Paullus Merula held the office of librarian from 1597 to 1607. This was a period of great prosperity for the library.
•• The *Memoranda* on the library that were frequently drafted by Merula have been preserved. They give a good impression of the day-to-day operations of a seventeenth-century library.



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Drusius (Hebrew), Tiara (Greek) and Snellius (mathematics). He also did law subjects, but above all he was a pupil of Lipsius.

Merula's *grand tour,* the customary journey undertaken at the conclusion of one's university studies, took him far from home, and he was away for a long time. After a stay in Paris, where he came into contact with the Dupuy brothers and Jean Bodin, and where he conducted philological investigations, he visited the universities of Orléans, Bourges and Geneva, where he studied under Hotman and Beza. His travels also took him to England and Italy, and probably to Germany too. In 1589, Merula married the daughter of Bartholomaeus Buys Gryphius, the rector of the Latin school in Rostock. Merula was one of the people who strengthened the links between Leiden University and those in Helmstedt, Mecklenburg, Braunschweig (Brunswick) and Rostock. This orientation towards Germany is reflected in the Leiden collection.

When Lipsius decided to leave for Leuven in 1591, curators asked Merula to come to Leiden to take over his lectures. He took over the lectures of Scaliger – Lipsius' successor – as well.[106] His own field of teaching would eventually be history. In 1597, he was appointed to the position of university librarian; this is generally attributed to two practical reasons. First, Merula lived at the Beguinage, next to the library, which made it very easy for him to regulate access to it. Second, Merula had asked the curators for a large salary rise shortly before the choice of new librarian was due to be made. If the decision was taken to honour his request, other professors could have been prompted to ask for an increase as well. By entrusting Merula with the position of librarian, the curators were able to circumvent this risk. These practical reasons will undoubtedly have played a part in the curators' decision, but they had another three, better reasons to appoint Merula. First, his wide range of interests was well known. For him, every new appointment was a reason to prepare a publication. His position as a lawyer at the Court of Holland, for example, led to his writing the *Manier van procederen in de Provintiën van Holland, Zeeland en West-Vriesland,* a practical guide for prospective lawyers, which highlighted his gifts as a teacher. With historical and cosmographical works, Merula attempted to produce a reliable summary of the academic achievements of his time. In doing so, he held back from embracing new or even relatively new ideas whose validity had not in his eyes been proven beyond doubt. Works by Copernicus were available in the library, but Merula still believed in Ptolemy's world view, with the earth at the centre of the universe, and he was not alone. Late humanists, whose numbers included Merula, regarded delving into ever purer antique sources as the right way to knowledge. He considered the transfer of synthetic and established knowledge to younger generations as more important than the formulation of scientific hypotheses or the discussions of personal opinions in pamphlets, something that Bertius engaged in on a regular basis. It could be that this cautious conservatism struck the curators as a sound basis for the sensible management of the library.

There was a second reason for entrusting the library to Merula: he attracted many students and he also enjoyed their confidence. During the disturbances in 1594 that had put Bertius in such a difficult position, Merula emerged as a skilful diplomat, not least because his own son was one of the troublemakers. In the year that followed, Merula was a member of the committee that investigated the accusations of immorality that were levelled at Bertius. He was acquitted and cleared of any wrongdoing. In reality, Bertius' greatest shortcoming was his inability to get on well with students. Now, it was the students themselves who, since the opening of the library in 1595, were causing difficulties. In these circumstances, was it so surprising that the curators made Merula the librarian in 1597, rather than Bertius, even though the latter knew the library better than anyone else?

There may well have been a third aspect underlying the curators' decision. No matter how diverse Merula's works were, they had one thing in common: the organised and efficient way in which he accumulated his sources. Manuscripts, books, and documents were sent to him by a large number of correspondents such as Barlaeus, Buys, Marnix of Saint-Aldegonde and many others who would later donate manuscripts and books to the library. Merula knew exactly whom to ask when it came to donations of large numbers of works to the library, and this was something the curators could not ignore. In short, Merula's interest in different areas of knowledge, his good relationships with students and his experience of looking for sources for his academic work provided the best guarantees for the expansion of the library and the benefits it would bring to the university.

A blessing for the library

Merula's appointment to the post of librarian proved a blessing. The chaos that made the library unusable at the

• Leiden scholars in the book of portraits entitled *Portraits des plus illustres papes, empereurs, rois, princes, grands capitaines, et autres personnes renommées*, published by Pieter van der Aa in 1720.

•• In 1602, J. Verheiden published his *Effigies praestantium aliquot theologorum*, a collection of portraits of scholars. The book served as a source for the practice of collecting scholars' portraits for private and public libraries.

••• Merula was a fervent advocate of hanging scholars' portraits in the library. He was an accomplished painter himself, as this portrait of Scaliger from 1597 shows.

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start of 1597 was quickly brought under control and order was restored.

Merula built on the ideal situation that had existed when the library had opened in 1595. The *Memoranda* that Merula regularly sent to the curators revealed an effective operator who took measures to selectively enrich and protect the collection, and to make sure it was used as efficiently as possible.[107] For the time – the end of the sixteenth century – these *Memoranda* are rare testimonies to the management of a library. They differed very little from the reports written by librarians in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. More than anything else, Merula wanted to encourage people to donate works. He wrote to potential donors personally,[108] and had a large board bearing the names of donors placed in a prominent location in the library in order to 'silently exhort and encourage' those who visited the library at various times to 'praiseworthily enhance the library'.[109] In the first two years of his tenure as librarian, using these methods, Merula succeeded in attracting donations amounting to a stupendous one thousand guilders.[110]

Acquisition

In 1598 Merula requested a modest but fixed budget for the purchase of small and unusual books that would not be donated otherwise.[111] He also passed on requests for specific items. In 1601, the theology faculty considered the purchase of the new edition of the *Bibliotheca Patrum* an absolute necessity, while the law faculty wanted to add the second edition of the *Jus Canonicum* to the chain in the *Iuris Auditorium,* the lecture hall where the *Disputationes,* the practical exercises, took place.[112]

Merula's policies were highly successful. New bookcases were regularly needed to be installed and large quantities of new chains were supplied. The library expanded at a rapid pace. Nevertheless, this was just a precondition for his ultimate goal: the creation of a public place in which all the particulars relating to study could be found.[113] In other words, Merula's ideal of a library in around 1600 went beyond the library that the university had aimed to establish in 1575. At that time, its *raison d'être* consisted in providing source texts and general works of reference for the members of the university who did not have material of their own, and in enhancing the prestige of the new academy. Twenty-five years later, the emphasis lay on an encyclopaedic collection that placed all the knowledge of the world within easy reach. This shift was apparent not just in the enormous supply of books and manuscripts, but also in the fact that the written word was starting to face competition from knowledge in pictorial form. In other words, knowledge was acquiring a face.

Portraits in the library

The phenomenon of portrait galleries of heroes, scholars and artists dates from ancient times. Humanists breathed new life into this old tradition and surrounded themselves with images of the people who had inspired them. Just as they maintained the state of the written word by lending each other manuscripts and books and by corresponding with each other and ensuring that the best texts were published, humanists collectively entered the world of pictorial depictions through the lively exchange of portraits of scholars, and by writing to each other on the topic and making sure that the best portraits of the foremost scholars were freely available. The written word and pictorial depiction had become inextricably linked, with the latter not merely serving as decoration but forming a necessary component of an all-encompassing concept of knowledge. Evidence of this can be found in descriptions of private libraries, such as that of the Provençal humanist Nicolas Fabri de Peiresc or the Flemish humanist Vulcanius. However, the phenomenon did not appear until later in 'public' libraries, as institutional libraries were referred to in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, for example, this took the form of a concerted effort on the part of both the Leiden University Library and the Bodleian Library in Oxford. In his 1595 *Nomenclator*, Bertius had aired the idea of putting portraits of scholars in the Leiden library. To carry this proposal forward, wrote Merula in his 1597 *Memorandum*, small-scale copper effigies were needed – a reliable and systematic collection of scholarly portraits. His wish was fulfilled with the *Effigies* book by J. Verheiden that was published in 1602, in which Leiden scholars were prominently featured. The book also became one of the sources of the well-known scholars' frieze in the Bodleian Library that was completed in 1618, and which featured the international leading lights of the scholarly world.[114] However, the frieze in Oxford went one step further than did Merula's collection of portraits in Leiden. The copper engravings that he wanted were intended as a complete index of scholars from which he would make a selection of those scholars of whom painted portraits would be produced to be hung in the library. His first choice fell on professors who had given the university of Leiden prestige in the

From 1598, the *Prospect of Constantinople* by Melchior Lorichs hung on the library's northern wall. The huge drawing symbolised the dawning of interest in the East that would be so characteristic of the seventeenth century.

past: Donellus and Lipsius. This was followed by leading scholars of the time, such as Scaliger and Junius, and then by the major scholars from the Republic: Erasmus, Hadrianus Junius, Joannes Secundus.[115] In other words, Merula limited his selection to the most important scholars from Leiden and Holland. It is impossible to escape the feeling that his choice had a programmatic character. After all, the publications by Leiden scholars were still being displayed in a separate section of the library, as if it was still necessary, 25 years after the founding of the university, to highlight the excellence of the new academy in words *and* pictures? It was not, but this view was not reflected in the layout of the library. Under the watchful eye of William of Orange and Maurice and their coats of arms, Leiden University remained a child of the Dutch Revolt. With the portraits of scholars from Leiden and Holland on the walls, it sought for longer than necessary to make a symbolic claim to a place in the world of learning that the university had long since gained.

It was possible, incidentally, that Merula's passion for portraits of scholars had another, little known, reason: he was himself a portrait artist, and in 1597 produced a creditable portrait of Scaliger which only came into the possession of the university in 1785.[116]

Maps, globes, drawings and objects

Pictures of scholars represented a kind of portal, providing access to their learning. Depictions of the earth, of places and of objects, created a link of recognition between the observer and the whole of reality. The *Prospect of Constantinople,* a drawing by Melchior Lorichs measuring several metres in length, which was placed along the northern wall of the library in 1598, compelled the eyes of visitors to look towards the East.[117] It was actually the library's focus on the Orient that would help its collection gather renown in the seventeenth century. In the same *Memorandum* in which he requested portraits of scholars, Merula asked if he could buy recent maps by Plancius and Hondius, together with a map of the Netherlands.[118] Hondius donated two globes he had made himself to the library three years later.[119] They were placed in the library – not for decoration, emphasised Merula, but as scientific instruments.[120]

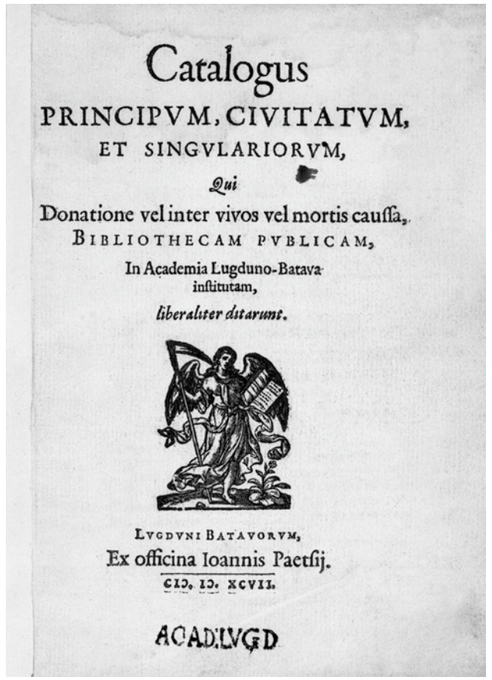
Merula's catalogues

In 1597, Merula created two notable catalogues: a printed version listing donations, and a handwritten one of valuable works.[121]

The catalogue of donations, entitled *Catalogus Principum, civitatum et singulariorum, qui donatione vel inter vivos vel mortis caussa, Bibliothecam Publicam, in Academia Lugduno-Batava institutam, liberaliter ditarunt,* was kept up to date every year until 1603. It was a cumulative catalogue into which new donations were entered. In other words, the *Catalogus Principum* gave a chronological summary of all the donated items received since the founding of the library in 1575. It was not the items that were donated that formed the backbone to the catalogue, but the donors, which is why it was more of a publicity tool than a library catalogue. The names of the princes of Orange, of the cities of Holland and the Court of Holland, of Leiden university professors and foreign scholars formed a tempting and flattering roll-call, surely designed to appeal to future donors. Merula sent out copies of the *Catalogus Principum* to accompany his requests for donations.[122] He clearly struck a chord: the gifts came flooding in. Students would round off their stay in Leiden by donating a book, and this resulted in rare works from England, Poland, Scotland and Germany finding a place in the library. Professors appreciated the opportunity to leave to the library the manuscripts and books they had studied, together with their own written works. After the Leiden city authorities had decided to donate the books that had been kept at the city hall to the library,[123] other towns in Holland were keen to follow suit: Dordrecht, Haarlem and Delft were not slow in making donations of their own, and went on to make repeated, important contributions. These donations served to increase the library's range of philological, mathematical and geographical works, in particular. Merula made a conscious effort to go after manuscripts that could be published and he succeeded in persuading their owners to donate them – examples include the *Willeram* manuscript, a paraphrase of the *Song of Songs* manufactured around 1100, which came from Egmond Abbey. Merula organised the publication of this work himself.[124] He also managed to obtain a *lontar* – i.e. a palm leaf – manuscript that had recently been brought back from Java by a *Compagnie van Verre* expedition. The fact that no-one was able to identify the text did not deter him – someone would be able to at some point in the future. Merula's shrewdness did not let him down: the manuscript marked the birth of Leiden's renowned collection of Indonesian manuscripts.[125]

Merula's second catalogue was entirely different. The handwritten *Catalogus rariorum* from 1607 described the

• This portrait of Prince Maurice, painted around 1598, is attributed to Daniel van den Queecborn. It was donated by Maurice on 1 August 1600, together with the portrait of his father (see page 12) and the accompanying escutcheons.

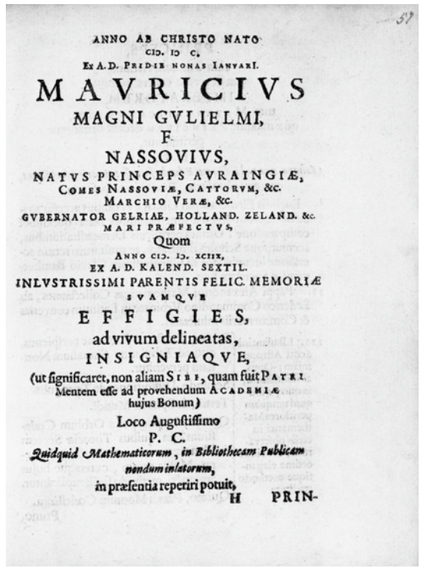


Catalogus
PRINCIPVM, CIVITATVM,
ET SINGVLARIORVM,
Qui
Donatione vel inter vivos vel mortis caussa,
BIBLIOTHECAM PVBLICAM,
In Academia Lugduno-Batava
institutam,
liberaliter ditarunt.

LVGDVNI BATAVORVM,
Ex officina Ioannis Paetsij.
CIↃ. IↃ. XCVII.

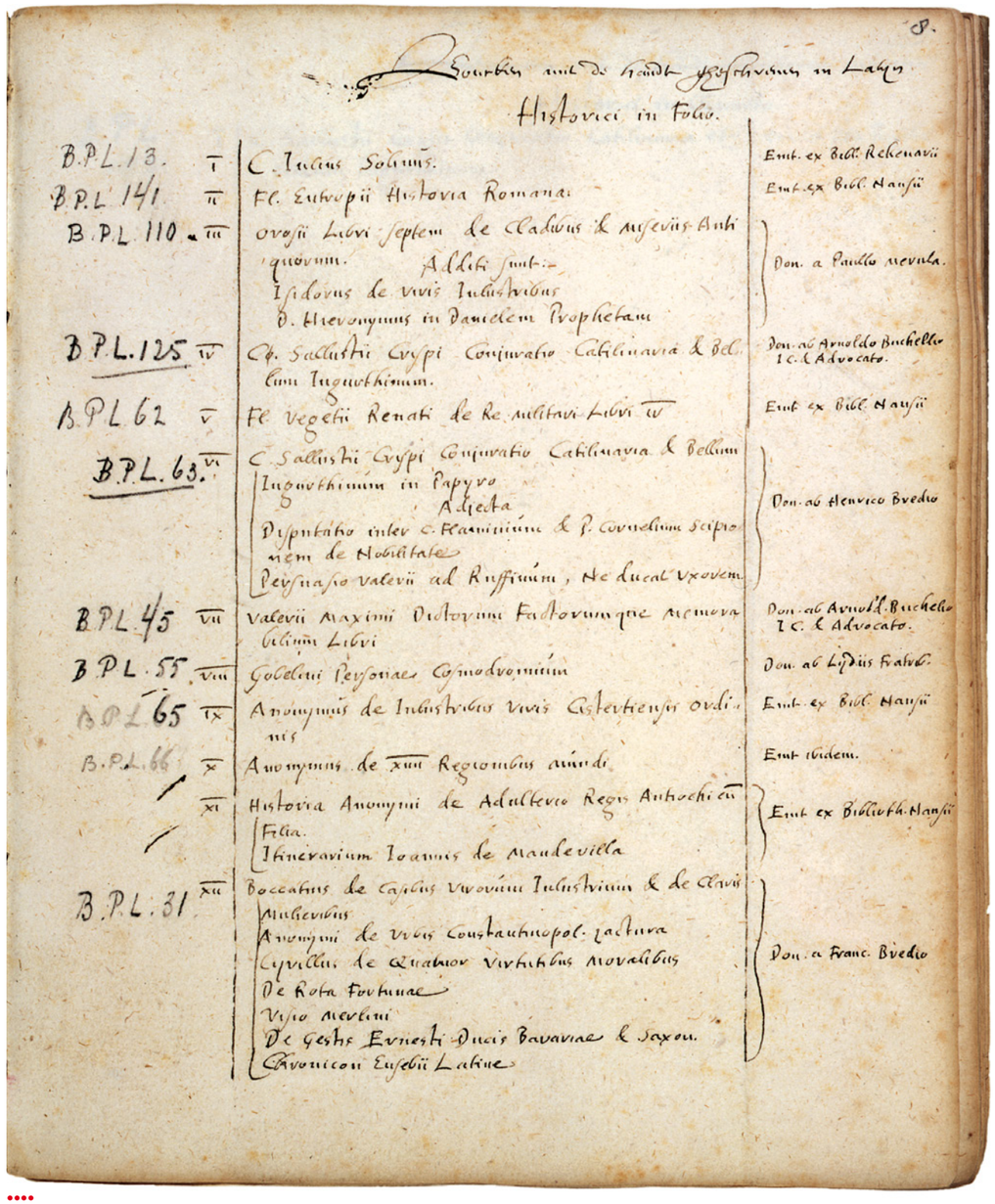
ACAD.LVGD

•• This catalogue of donations that Merula published in 1597 was intended to induce potential donors to remember the library generously.



ANNO AB CHRISTO NATO
CIↃ. IↃ C.
EX A.D. PRIDIE NONAS IANVARI.
MAVRICIVS
MAGNI GVLIELMI,
F.
NASSOVIVS,
NATVS PRINCEPS AVRAINGIÆ,
COMES NASSOVIÆ, CATTORVM, &c.
MARCHIO VERÆ, &c.
GVBERNATOR GELRIAE, HOLLAND. ZELAND. &c.
MARI PRÆFECTVS,
Quom
ANNO CIↃ. IↃ. XCIIX.
EX A. D. KALEND. SEXTIL.
INLVSTRISSIMI PARENTIS FELIC. MEMORIÆ
SVAMQVE
EFFIGIES,
ad vivum delineatas,
INSIGNIAQVE,
(ut significaret, non aliam SIBI, quam fuit PATRI
Mentem esse ad provehendum ACADEMIÆ
hujus Bonum)
Loco Augustissimo
P. C.
Quidquid Mathematicorum, in Bibliothecam Publicam
nondum inlatorum,
in præsentia reperiri potuit,
H PRIN-

••• In 1600, Prince Maurice donated the portraits of himself and his father, William of Orange, to the library, together with a large number of mathematical books.

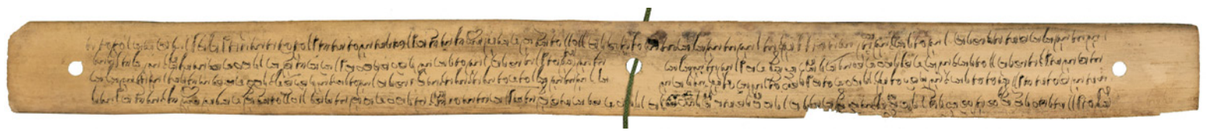


8.

Historici in Folio.

B.P.L. 13. I	C. Iulius Solinus.	Emt. ex Bibl. Rehenavii
B.P.L. 141 II	Fl. Eutropii Historia Romana.	Emt. ex Bibl. Nanssii
B.P.L. 110 III	Orosii Libri septem de Gladius & miseriis Antiquorum. Additi sunt: Isidorus de viris Illustribus D. Hieronymus in Danielem Prophetam	Don. a Paullo Merula.
B.P.L. 125 IV	Cl. Sallustii Crispi Conjuratio Catilinaria & Bellum Iugurthinum.	Don. ab Arnoldo Buchelio I.C. & Advocato.
B.P.L. 62 V	Fl. Vegetii Renati de Re militari Libri IV	Emt. ex Bibl. Nanssii
B.P.L. 63. VI	C. Sallustii Crispi Conjuratio Catilinaria & Bellum Iugurthinum in Papyro. Adjecta Dysputatio inter C. Flaminium & P. Cornelium Scipionem de Nobilitate. Persuasio Valerii ad Ruffinum, Ne ducat Uxorem.	Don. ab Henrico Brederio
B.P.L. 45 VII	Valerii Maximi Dictorum Factorumque Memorabilium Libri	Don. ab Arnold. Buchelio I.C. & Advocato.
B.P.L. 55 VIII	Gobelini Personae Cosmodromium	Don. ab Lydio Fratre.
B.P.L. 65 IX	Anonymus de Illustribus Viris Cisterciensis Ordinis	Emt. ex Bibl. Nanssii
B.P.L. 66 X	Anonymus de XVIII Regionibus Mundi	Emt. ibidem.
XI	Historia Anonymi de Adultero Regis Antiochi cum Filia. Itinerarium Ioannis de Mandeville	Emt. ex Biblioth. Nanssii
B.P.L. 31 XII	Boccatius de Casibus Virorum Illustrium & de Claris Mulieribus. Anonymi de Viris Constantinopol. Lectura. Cyrillus de Quatuor Virtutibus Moralibus. De Rota Fortunae. Visio Merlini. De Gestis Ernesti Ducis Bavariae & Saxon. Chronicon Eusebii Latine.	Don. a Franc. Bivedio

•••• In 1607, Merula drew up a handwritten catalogue of the manuscripts, maps and special books that were kept in the *cantoor*, with notes on their origins.



• Merula also managed to acquire items from the library of Marnix, Lord of Saint-Aldegonde. They included this manuscript by the Roman historian Sallust, with a map of the known world at the time.

•• This Javanese manuscript, which Merula managed to acquire for the library, contains notes on Islamic mysticism and is written on palm leaf (*lontar*). It was brought to the Netherlands by Cornelis Houtman after an expedition by the *Compagnie van Verre* in 1596. Although Merula could not read the manuscript, he recognised its scholarly value.

143 Latin, Greek and Oriental manuscripts and books, as well as the 27 maps and globes that were stored very carefully in the library's office or special storage cases nearby.[126] Merula kept manuscripts and books that he clearly did not want to put on the normal *plutei* or *arcae* in this 'reserved' area, the library's first special department. This exceptional arrangement was no pointless exercise: in 1598 a roof had to be built on the office's partition walls as people had been seen climbing over them.[127] The Latin manuscripts formed the largest part of the 'reserved' collection. Merula ranked the 71 Latin manuscripts according to the classification of the *plutei* in the library, but with one addition, *poetae,* or poets. A dual classification system therefore came into being: the 'regular' collection in the *plutei* and *arcae,* as can be seen on Woudanus' print from 1610, and the 'special' collection, which was stored in the office and the special cases. No known image exists of the library in this state.

The *Catalogus rariorum* was based on the content of the works. Its purpose was the opposite of that of the *Catalogus Principum,* which partly described the same works. Merula sought to use the *Catalogus Principum* to encourage donations, while the intention of the *Catalogus rariorum* was to promote the use of unusual sources, regardless of their origin. The nice thing about the handwritten catalogue is that it states how the manuscripts, books and maps came to be in the library's possession. It reveals that two-thirds of the *rariora* were not donated, but purchased from former libraries belonging to humanists like Franciscus Nansius and Gerard van Falckenburg. A large proportion of the library of Marnix, Lord of Saint-Aldegonde had also been purchased at an earlier time,[128] while part of Commelinus' library is said to have been acquired at the end of Merula's tenure as well.[129] A brief survey of the purchases from these private libraries reveals a surprisingly coherent picture.

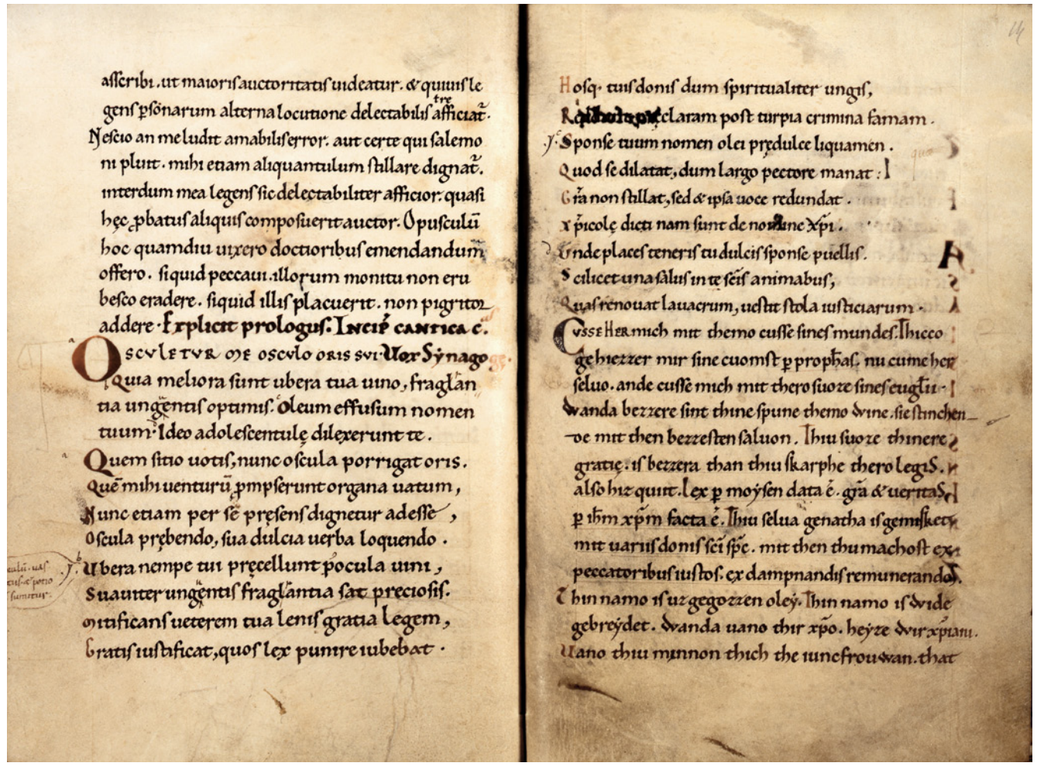
Purchases from private libraries

The Flemish humanist Franciscus Nansius was part of Bruges' humanist circles.[130] In 1584 he fled to the Northern provinces, taking his library collection with him. Nansius found a humanist environment in Leiden to equal the one he had left behind in Bruges, and stayed from 1586 to 1591. He spent the final years of his life in Dordrecht as a professor of Greek at the Latin school. When he died in 1595, his son sold his library, but it is not known when or how. Private buyers like Scaliger and Scriverius managed to obtain important items that they later bequeathed to the Leiden University library, which itself had purchased manuscripts and books from Nansius. Oddly enough, the only evidence of this transaction is Merula's *Catalogus rariorum* and the manuscripts themselves. However, it must have been a costly purchase. No fewer than 44 leading manuscripts and printed works, primarily by classical authors, were acquired. They formed the start of two major series of manuscripts: the *Bibliotheca Publica Latina* and the *Bibliotheca Publica Graeca.* Other European libraries – the British Library, the Bodleian Library in Oxford, the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin and the Vatican Library – later obtained fragments of Nansius' library.[131] It was probably Janus Dousa senior who, in the absence of his son, was looking after the interests of the library in his carefully targeted choice of items from Nansius' collection.[132]

Gerard van Falckenburg was a Nijmegen humanist with close links to Dousa, Lipsius and Vulcanius. His collection of annotated classical texts was famous, and he made frequent use of them for his own publications. When Van Falckenburg died in 1578, Merula bought a magnificent collection of annotated Greek works (*annotati*) from his estate, which he kept in his own library for a time, before they were acquired from him by the university in 1602.[133]

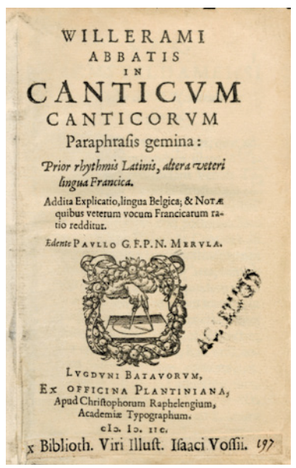
The Northern Netherlands publisher Hieronymus Commelinus had settled in Heidelberg, from where he maintained contact with scholars in Leiden. His library, which contained many classic manuscripts and annotated texts, was sold in two auctions held by Leiden book dealers. Merula purchased a considerable number of items for the library in Leiden.[134]

The means by which a large number of books of Marnix, Lord of Saint-Aldegonde found their way into the collection of the University Library was typical of the sometimes surprising history underlying the acquisition of certain collections.[135] Even before Marnix's library was disposed of in 1599, Merula had selected and made secret advanced purchases of law books, the lack of which had been sorely felt in Leiden. He placed them among the *jurisconsulti,* and also bought a few other items at the auction itself. During the year that followed, Marnix's widow donated his annotated printed works, while manuscripts that had belonged to him and which had been bought by others at the auction later turned up at the library as well.[136] It seems that the humanist circles of the Northern Netherlands felt a degree of shared



• This *Willeram* manuscript, produced at the Abbey of Egmond around 1100, was donated to the library in response to a request from Merula.

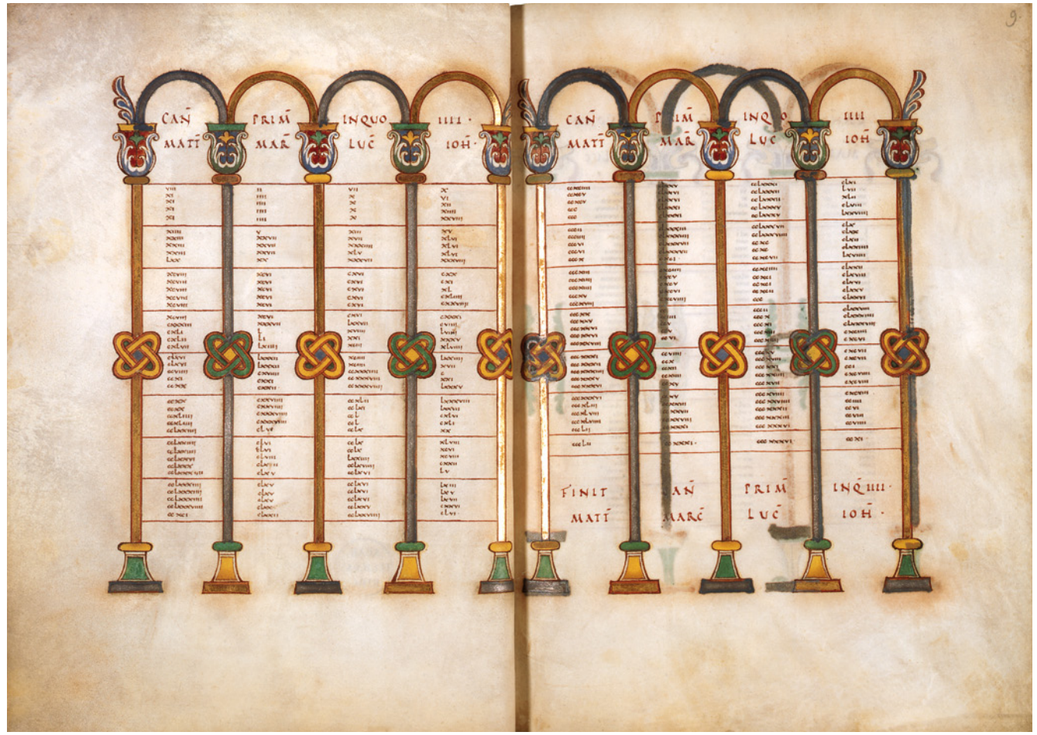
•• Merula published the *Willeram* manuscript in 1598. The motive that drove the collection of manuscripts was their potential use in research into the purest sources. The title page that is shown here is from a copy with annotations by Scriverius.


WILLERAMI
ABBATIS
IN
CANTICVM
CANTICORVM
Paraphrasis gemina:
Prior rhythmis Latinis, altera veteri lingua Francica.
Addita Explicatio, lingua Belgica; & Notæ quibus veterum vocum Francicarum ratio redditur.
Edente PAVLLO G.F.P.N. MERVLA.
LVGDVNI BATAVORVM,
EX OFFICINA PLANTINIANA,
Apud Christophorum Raphelengium,
Academiæ Typographum.
clɔ. Iɔ. xc.
x Biblioth. Viri Illust. Isaaci Vossii. 197

responsibility for the Leiden University library, as was the case in other university cities (Oxford, Heidelberg).

These four examples show how deliberately and coherently the first librarians at Leiden University set to work, led by two main objectives. The first was the desire to acquire a complete core collection in the fields that were taught at the university, and the second was to obtain primary sources for classical publications. At the end of the twentieth century, there was an inclination to make a hierarchical distinction between these two motivations – one education based, and the other research based. Humanism did not make such a distinction: the way students studied was by conducting research. This explains their overwhelming interest in having valuable manuscripts and books in the library and why they proved so difficult to protect.

It was against this background that the arrival of Scaliger's legacy in 1609 came to define Leiden University Library.



This splendidly decorated *Evangeliarium* (ca. 850) contains the text of the four Gospels. The manuscript belongs to the Franco-Saxon School and comes from the library of Franciscus Nansius.

The Leiden University photography collection contains more than 140,000 photographs, negatives, cameras and other related items dating from the time of the invention of photography in the nineteenth century to the present day.

The choice of Maartje van den Heuvel
Curator of Photographs

William Henry Fox Talbot, *Photogenic drawing*, 1839, salt print, 21.5 × 17.1 cm.

'The photo collection of the former Print Room contains some remarkable experiments from the spring of 1839, the year in which photography is officially acknowledged to have been invented. They were made in England by several famous photographic pioneers. Sir William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877) tried to fix an image that had been captured with or without a camera using a salt print – a method in which paper that has been soaked in a solution of kitchen salt is made sensitive to light with the help of silver nitrate. The photogenic drawings by Talbot – "drawings made with light" – of mainly everyday objects like plant leaves are world-famous and are only found in a few other photo collections anywhere in the world, such as those of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.'

George H. Breitner, *Bathing woman in a tub*, between 1890 and 1900, gelatin silver print, 31.5 × 39.4 cm.

'George Breitner (1857-1923) belonged to that group of nineteenth-century artists who saw a new artistic potential in photography. Breitner was an Impressionist painter in Amsterdam. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, he started to experiment with the medium of photography. He used his camera to investigate the visual possibilities of representing light and motion, which he went on to incorporate into his painting work. He made a large number of casual snapshots and experimented with the effects of motion blur and apparently accidental, unusual framings of images. He also photographed models in his studio, both dressed and nude, in an informal everyday manner. Breitner never presented his photography as a form of art in itself; for him, photography provided study material. As an artist, however, his contribution to enhancing the appreciation of the artistic potential of the medium is absolute.'

Paul Citroen, *Metropolis*, 1923, photo collage, 76.1 × 58.4 cm.

'Paul Citroen (1896-1983) started his career as a painter in Berlin. In 1916, he became a bookseller and art dealer in Herwarth Walden's avant-garde Berlin gallery, Der Sturm. Citroen made the *Metropolis* collage specially for a Bauhaus exhibition organised by Paul Klee in 1923, and the work went on to become an icon of modernism. Many modernistic ideas can be seen in the collage: a preference for the bustle of a world city, attention to structures and rhythms in the urban environment, and interest in the signs of modernity in architecture and technology, such as skyscrapers and steel constructions for bridges. Frequent requests are received for *Metropolis* to be loaned out, but such requests have to be granted on a highly selective basis.'

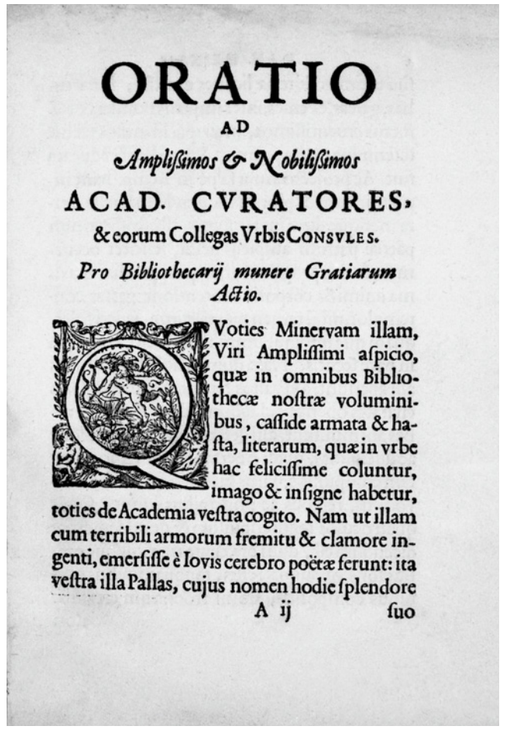
Emmy Andriesse, *Boy with pan, Amsterdam*, 1944/45, gelatin silver print, 52.3 × 39.0 cm.

'The entire negatives archive and a large collection of more than a thousand photographs by Emmy Andriesse (1914-1953) are kept as a part of Leiden's Special Collections. In her relatively short career, Andriesse played an important part in the history of Dutch photography. She occupies a key position in the transition from the modernist New Photography of the interwar period to the post-War, socially engaged documentary photography.'

'She was taught in the 1930s in The Hague by the pioneers of New Photography in the Netherlands – Gerrit Kiljan, Piet Zwart, and Paul Schuitema. Being Jewish, she had to go into hiding during the German occupation, but she continued taking photographs with a group of photographers who came to be known as the *Ondergedoken Camera* ("camera in hiding"). The photographs that Andriesse took during the starvation winter of 1944-'45, such as *Boy with pan*, are now firmly engraved on our collective consciousness.'

▸Erwin Olaf, *Plague doctor*, 2011, chromogenic print, 80 × 60 cm, from the series entitled *The Sieg and Relief of Leiden (1574)*.

'One of the aims of the Special Collections Division is to make sure it continues to share in the current output in present-day collection fields. This series, *The Sieg and Relief of Leiden (1574)*, by Erwin Olaf (born in 1959) is one such example. Together with Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden University commissioned the photographer to depict this important period of Dutch history once again. The input for the commission was both traditional history painting of the Relief of Leiden and historical research by Leiden University that had produced new insights into the succession of events. Olaf, a leading Dutch photographer and master of staged studio photography, presented the entire theme according to his own vision. For example, he emphasised the phenomenon of the plague – indeed, research has shown that the disease was as an important cause of death as was starvation, which traditionally has been extensively depicted. As well as the monumental historical photograph that forms part of the permanent display of the Museum De Lakenhal, the result consists of nine other photographs: a smaller version of the historical photograph, six figure paintings and two still lifes. The latter are now part of the Special Collections.'



ORATIO
AD
Ampliſſimos & Nobiliſſimos
ACAD. CVRATORES,
& eorum Collegas Vrbis Consvles.
Pro Bibliothecarij munere Gratiarum Actio.

QVoties Minervam illam, Viri Ampliſſimi aſpicio, quæ in omnibus Bibliothecæ noſtræ voluminibus, caſſide armata & haſta, literarum, quæ in vrbe hac feliciſſime coluntur, imago & inſigne habetur, toties de Academia veſtra cogito. Nam ut illam cum terribili armorum fremitu & clamore ingenti, emerſiſſe è Iovis cerebro poëtæ ferunt: ita veſtra illa Pallas, cujus nomen hodie ſplendore

A ij ſuo

• The Flemish humanist Daniel Heinsius kept watch over Leiden Library for almost half a century, from 1607 to 1655. He bought more books than the curators of the university would have liked. His point of departure was that the university must provide scholars with the sources that they needed to carry out the practice of scholarship.

•• As he proclaimed in this *Oratio,* which he gave on assuming office, Daniel Heinsius wanted to make Leiden University Library into a *bronnentuin* ('oasis of sources'). Within the library's walls, the scholar must be able to enter into dialogue with classical authors and thereby deepen his knowledge of the world.

••• The university had these copper plates depicting Joseph Justus Scaliger and his father, Julius Caesar Scaliger, made before the two scholars even came to Leiden. The university sent the five hundred engravings that were printed using the plates to French and Dutch scholars, as a form of publicity.

II AN OASIS OF SOURCES, 1607-1655

DANIEL HEINSIUS: 1607-1655

Brief biography

Daniel Heinsius was in charge of Leiden University Library for almost half a century, during which time there occurred major shifts in terms of scientific insights and pedagogic principles, and inevitably these also had an effect on the library's collection. Heinsius managed to steer the library into this new age without gaining the recognition he deserved. His reputation as a librarian stands in stark contrast to his fame as a scholar, so perhaps the story behind his life can throw some light on this remarkable discrepancy.

Daniel Heinsius was born in Ghent, in 1580 or 1581.[1] In 1584 his parents fled to the North for religious reasons. Heinsius remained conscious of his identity as a Flemish refugee for the rest of his life. After brief stays in various cities in Holland, Zeeland, and England, the Heinsius family settled in Vlissingen (Flushing), and it was here that young Daniel received his first education. His father, Nicolaas Heinsius, later sent him to Franeker and then Leiden to study law, but he showed little enthusiasm for this discipline. He was eventually permitted to follow his own chosen field of study – the arts. Daniel Heinsius was just eighteen years old when he was admitted to the circle of Leiden humanists. Leading scholars like Scaliger, Vulcanius and Dousa were immediately struck by his remarkable talent for philological work. They took the young Fleming under their wing, but it was not long before they were treating him as an equal. From 1600 until 1608, Heinsius lived at the *Officina Plantiniana,* the academy printing works that was responsible for printing the publications of Leiden scholars, run by the university printer Franciscus Raphelengius, whom he helped with his philological editions of classical authors. The young Heinsius also turned out to possess outstanding didactic abilities. His knowledge and experience of poetry were so renowned that the curators arranged for him to give trial lectures on famous poets to his fellow students.[2] This was a great success: Heinsius emerged as an inspiring teacher who attracted large crowds of students.[3] His subsequent positions followed thick and fast.[4] In 1603, he became an endowed professor of poetry, and two years later was given the title of professor of Greek language. After Vulcanius' death, Heinsius succeeded him as professor of Greek, before being entrusted with the chair of history in 1613. In the meantime, Heinsius had been appointed librarian on 31 August 1607, taking over from Merula. He held other offices, too, both inside and outside the university: he was the secretary of the university senate (in 1608 and 1614), and historiographer to the King of Sweden (1618) and the States of Holland (1627). In the turbulent period from 1618 to 1619, he also served as the secretary of the deputies of the States General at the Synod of Dordrecht.

Heinsius enjoyed international fame as a poet, correspondent, publisher of ancient texts, literary theoretician, historian and book collector. In order to be able to do his academic work, he needed reliable sources. He went to considerable lengths to obtain them, and expected the curators to provide him with the means to do so – something they did on one occasion, on 8 February 1606.[5] But several months later, when Heinsius asked them for a contribution towards the correspondence costs he would have to incur in order to bring books to Leiden, they were more reluctant. He was only awarded a modest sum for that year, with the stipulation that, in every year that followed, the new accessions of the library would be examined to see if an allowance for new books was justified.[6] Heinsius made these requests in 1606, before he became the librarian – that post was still occupied by Merula. Therefore it is not altogether difficult to explain the constant tension between Heinsius and the curators regarding his excessive book purchases during his time as librarian: in their view, his motives for making purchases were born more out of his own interest as a philologist than out of his position as librarian. Heinsius was appointed librarian on 1 September 1607, at the age of 26,

• Scaliger could not work without his books. Part of his private library travelled with him to the Republic, and it later ended up in the Leiden library. It included many works that had been printed in Southern Europe. This copy of the Hebrew Bible was published in Brescia in 1495.

•• For his commentary on the New Testament, Scaliger needed a good edition of the Talmud. To Scaliger's great joy, four years after his arrival in Leiden, the library was given a good and complete edition of the *Talmud Babylonicum* as a gift from the Court of Holland.

taking Merula's place. Scaliger had urged the curators to give the post to his pupil.[7] Was it just a coincidence that the emphasis of the main task given to Heinsius by the curators lay primarily in looking after the existing collection? They made no mention of acquiring more books or expanding the library.[8]

An open dialogue with books

It quickly became apparent that Heinsius' ideas on the matter were entirely different. In an impassioned speech that he delivered on the acceptance of his new position, he articulated his view of the ideal library: a place where readers could enjoy reading, surrounded by the best authors in the fields of theology, law, medicine, philosophy and the classical arts.[9] In other words, Heinsius saw himself *as a reader* in the middle of the library as it had been since 1595, and as it is depicted on Woudanus' print from 1610. Unfortunately, this reader's perspective was not recognised as forming *part* of that of the librarian. For Heinsius, the spiritual son of Scaliger, the library was the setting for an open dialogue with classical as well as with the more modern authors. In order to keep this dialogue going, it was therefore necessary to gather as many parties to the discussion as possible. This impassioned plea served to announce Heinsius' aim: to turn the Leiden University library into an oasis of sources. He kept his word, acquiring a large number of manuscripts and books for the university, often without informing the curators in advance. He also bought other types of works than those that until then had been in the library, including French books which, in the view of the curators, did nothing to contribute to the quality or good name of the university.[10] The sums used to make these purchases grew at an increasing rate. With some difficultly, Heinsius had managed to secure a fixed budget of four hundred guilders a year,[11] but he spent considerably more – sometimes with the consent of the curators, such as for the acquisition of Vulcanius' manuscripts and books in 1610, but not usually.[12] In spite of all their warnings and countermeasures – the curators even went so far as to tell booksellers that they would no longer pay the library's bills – Heinsius continued to buy books which, in his view, were essential for the library.[13] He also purchased books for teaching purposes that did not actually end up in the library: a Latin bible for the theology professor and an edition of Plato and Aristotle for the philosophy professor. These books were to be kept in specially made cases, which might be made in the chairs of the relevant professors.[14] Copies of these works were already available in the library, so perhaps these works were seen as examples of the duplicate copies that the curators regarded as superfluous.[15]

It was only in 1649 that Heinsius admitted defeat. No more books were purchased during the final years of his tenure as librarian, which resulted in the first chronological hiatus in the library collection and made the curators realise the importance of regular new additions.[16] Unlike purchases, donations are by definition irregular. They may consist of a single book or an entire collection. Among donations, bequests by the deceased played an important role: large bequests helped the development of the library. In the second year of Heinsius' period of office, Scaliger left his renowned collection of manuscripts and books to the university, a legacy the like of which has never been paralleled in the history of the library.

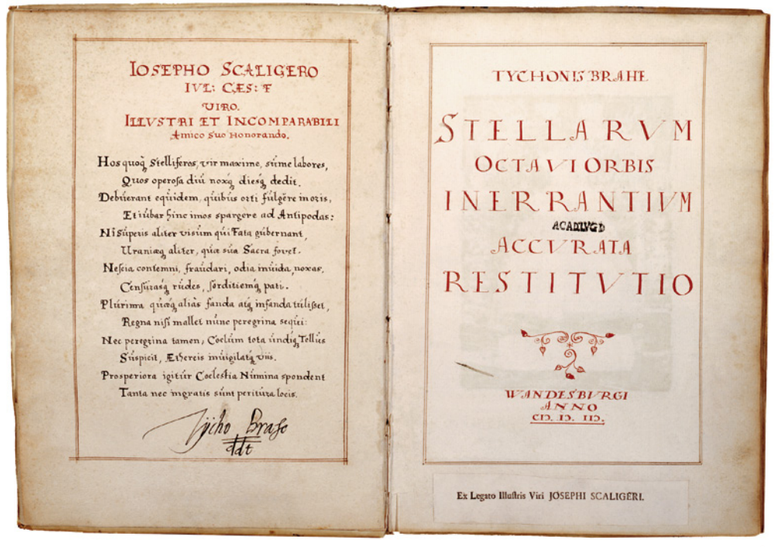
SCALIGER'S LEGACY: 1609

The intellectual relationship with Leiden University that Scaliger had entered into in 1593 started and ended with books and portraits, with words and images. Even before he had decided to travel to Leiden, the curators had two copper plates made – probably at Scaliger's request – of the portraits of Joseph Justus Scaliger and his father, Julius Caesar Scaliger. As a symbol of their admiration and their confidence that he would come to Leiden, five hundred prints were made and sent to 'renowned scholars' in France and the Republic. The original copper plates were placed in the library.[17]

Seventeen years later Scaliger would leave another portrait of himself and a wax portrait of his father to the same library.[18]

Invitation by book

The university also bought two editions of Tacitus and gave them to professor Tuningius for him 'to donate to some Frenchmen if it was in the interest of the library'.[19] Scaliger, too, was presented with books.[20] These methods proved successful – Scaliger decided to accept the university's invitation. The story of his subsequent journey to the North revolves around the troublesome and costly transport of part of his library. Scaliger died a thousand deaths for his books.[21] Two solid cases were made for Scaliger's books at the university's expense, 'pour les livres de



• The Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe was a friend of Scaliger's. In 1598, he sent Scaliger a handwritten copy of his *Stellarum octavi orbis inerrantium accurata restitutio.* He hoped that Scaliger would send him classical texts on astronomy in return.
•• The manuscript that Tycho Brahe sent to Scaliger contains a splendidly coloured portrait of the Danish astronomer.

M. de l'Escale'.[22] The heavy freight had to be loaded and unloaded for every stage of the journey, and the many dangers en route posed a threat to the books as well.[23] During the final part of the journey, from The Hague to Leiden, Scaliger's baggage consisted of four cartfuls. However, the books arrived unscathed.[24] These books from France, many of which had belonged to Julius Caesar, Joseph Scaliger's father, formed the heart of Scaliger's private library in Leiden and, together with the numerous manuscripts, the main part of his future legacy.[25] It represented a considerable expansion of the collection with books that had been printed in southern Europe.

To his great regret, Scaliger had been unable to bring his entire library from Guyenne with him: 'I have a home in France, which I am renting out; I have my own library there, but am using the libraries of others', he wrote in a letter to Casaubon.[26] Not having the right books was, for Scaliger and his contemporaries, an unmitigated disaster. Writing to the Parisian humanist and book collector De Thou, Scaliger said in 1591 that he was unable to start his proposed annotation of the New Testament 'sans mes livres' (without my books), especially not without a good copy of the Talmud.[27] Four years later, the library received a gift from the Court of Holland in the form of a good-quality and complete version of the Talmud, much to Scaliger's pleasure. 'The Talmud that is here is the good one that has not been corrected in any way', declared Scaliger with satisfaction.[28]

Est hic Magna Commoditas

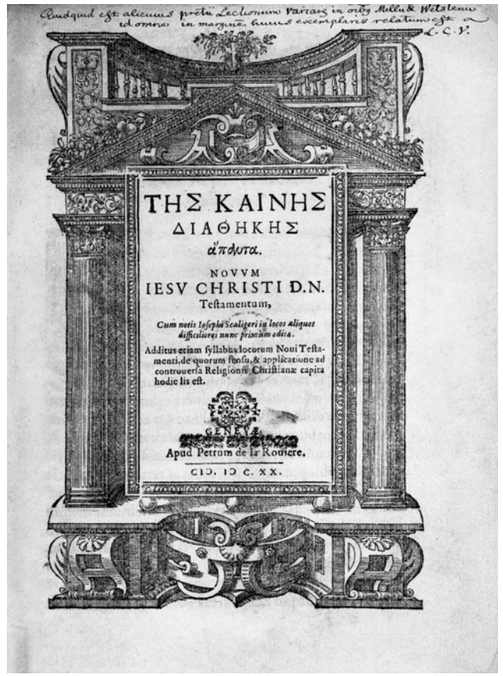
Scaliger appreciated the presence of a well-stocked collection more than anyone. With regard to the collection in Leiden, he had no complaints. He wrote: 'Est hic magna commoditas Bibliothecae ut studiosi pos sint studere' (here, there is the great convenience of a library, that those wishing to study may do so).[29] By *studying,* Scaliger was referring to the process of acquiring a research attitude grounded in a particular way of using sources and instruments. That was the purpose of the teaching at the university in his view and, to an increasing degree, that of his contemporaries. This was a departure from a passive and cumulative attitude to learning, and was a determined vote for modernity.[30] When the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe gave his friend Scaliger a beautiful manuscript copy of his work, *Stellarum octavi orbis inerrantium accurata restitutio*, he also advised him to purchase an accurate sextant. Scaliger would be able to use it to observe the stars and test the reliability of Tycho's results in a formal experiment. In return, the astronomer expected Scaliger to send him his most reliable ancient texts on the night sky.[31] Tycho Brahe's manuscript forms part of Scaliger's legacy (Scaliger 13) and symbolises, as it were, the transition from late humanism to early modernity in the course of the seventeenth century.[32]

All my Oriental language books

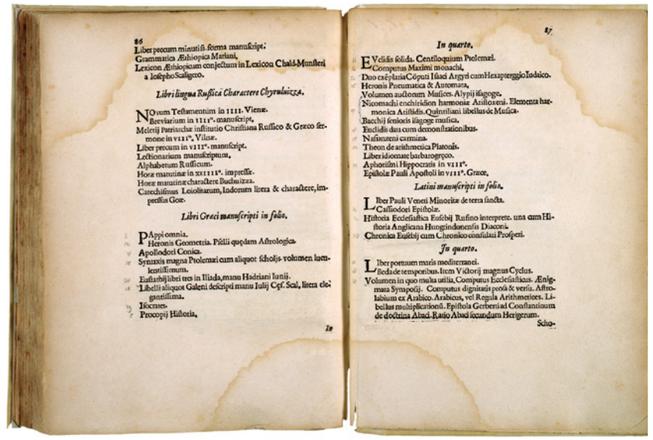
During his sixteen-year stay in Leiden, Scaliger expanded his private library considerably through donations and purchases. When he had to move, two years before his death, he was assailed by the unfounded fear that he had lost some of his books, and it took him a whole month to get his library back in order again.[33] In the two years that followed, Scaliger attempted to give some of his books to his friends and pupils, but most refrained from accepting these out of respect. He died on 21 January 1609, bequeathing all his manuscripts and printed books in Oriental languages to the university.[34] He left other books to his friends, with his servant receiving the remainder to sell for cash.[35]

Scaliger's legacy is the most valuable possession of Leiden University Library. It was given a prominent place: the 208 books and manuscripts were kept in a separate bookcase,[36] positioned on the right of the entrance to the library, before the start of the row of *plutei.* There was a notice on the door indicating the presence of Scaliger's legacy there. Two globes that Scaliger had also left to the library graced the top of the case, while a portrait of the man himself hung nearby.[37] Heinsius was given the task of producing a separate catalogue for the legacy, and it has remained separate from the main collection ever since.[38] Never before had a bequest or purchase been treated as Scaliger's was.

These unusual measures were prompted in part by stipulations in his will. Scaliger had asked Gomarus and Heinsius to publish or republish his works and those of his father. Works from the legacy that had been annotated by hand could be viewed in the library, but publishing or summarising them was not permitted, and neither could the works be loaned out.[39] Scaliger's 'case' remained closed, literally, especially at first.[40] Heinsius guarded the legacy of his spiritual father with trepidation. In 1619, when Pierre de la Rovière published a New Testament in Geneva that included annotations by Scaliger, Heinsius vigorously protested, on the assumption that Scaliger's notes must have come from the legacy. This turned out not to be true – they had been taken from letters and



• Scaliger determined that the annotations and comments that had been added to his books should not be published. When Pierre de la Rovière of Geneva published a New Testament in 1619 with annotations by Scaliger, Leiden's librarian, Heinsius, protested strongly. It later became clear that the annotations came from earlier published works by Scaliger and from his correspondence.



•• In the 1612 catalogue compiled by Heinsius, the books were classified according to language and format. Heinsius' descriptions were extremely concise and were only meant to facilitate the annual audit of the library collection. Heinsius' catalogues were, in fact, shelf catalogues.

••• Hensius' ideal was a library in which a scholar could sit 'inter libros suos ac chartas'; among his books and manuscripts. This print from the third quarter of the seventeenth century still exudes that same ideal.

earlier works by Scaliger. The incident shows how deeply Heinsius felt about the importance of using Scaliger's legacy correctly.[41] However, there were deeper reasons for treating and storing Scaliger's legacy as a separate entity than simply respect or honouring the stipulations in his will.

The prominence of the location of the legacy was also symbolic of how valuable Heinsius considered it to be in terms of the dissemination of knowledge to the university. Scaliger's 'case' was like a magisterial note alongside the main text of the *plutei* of the library collection. The idea was that the great Scaliger, with his critical bearing, would visibly keep watch over the users of Leiden University Library.

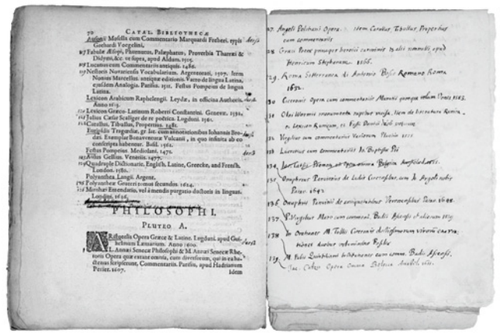
HEINSIUS' THREE CATALOGUES

Heinsius published three complete catalogues of the rapidly expanding library – in 1612, 1623 and 1640. It was not a task he pursued with any great enthusiasm: the curators had to repeatedly push him to start and complete the work.[42]

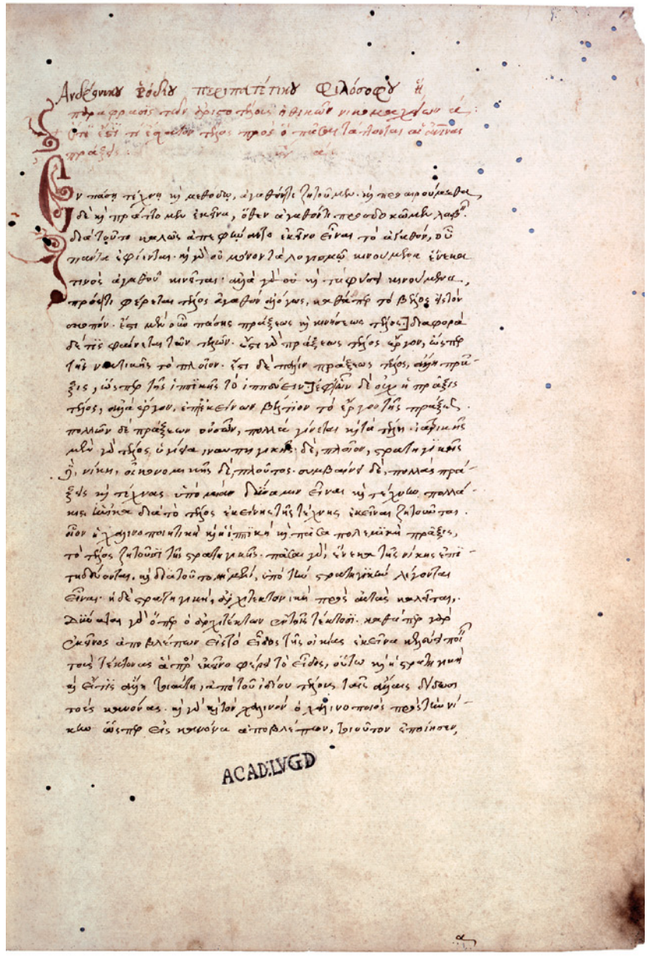
The reason for publishing a second catalogue seventeen years after the appearance of the first printed version, the *Nomenclator,* was the receipt of Scaliger's legacy. Heinsius had been ordered to draw up an accurate inventory of its contents. No trace remains of the list of bequeathed works that Scaliger claimed to have added to his will,[43] but Heinsius knew Scaliger's private library better than anyone and was able to produce the inventory without much difficulty. The *Catalogus librorum quos bibliothecae Josephus Scaliger legavit* runs to four pages of the catalogue that came out in 1612. The description is classified according to language: Hebrew, Arabic, Old Syriac, Ethiopian, Russian and Latin, but the titles were printed in Latin script. Within the language categories, the titles were ranked according to format. It consisted of a total of 208 titles, with only very brief descriptions of the works themselves; Heinsius listed nothing more than the name of the author, a short title and sometimes the place where the work in question had been published. On occasion, he simply recorded *Liber medicinae manuscript,* medical manuscript. The remainder of the catalogue was drawn up in the same way. It was categorised along the lines of the *Nomenclator* of 1595 and followed the systematic sequence of the *plutei* and of the *arcae:* theology, law, medicine, history, philosophy, mathematics, literature. Only the valuable annotated works, Scaliger's legacy and a few additional manuscripts were listed separately. Other sections that appeared in the *Nomenclator* were omitted from the 1612 catalogue and from all subsequent catalogues. Previous areas of study had clearly been abandoned, and this was reflected in the catalogue. For example, the list of contents of the Talmud and the Church Fathers, which Bertius had included as a didactic teaching aid in the *Nomenclator*, had disappeared. It was only in the nineteenth century, when a subject catalogue for the whole library was introduced, that this didactic trend resurfaced, to be raised to the ruling dogma of information technology at the end of the twentieth century. Donated works were no longer given special treatment. Heinsius preferred to concentrate on the purchase of books rather than approaching potential donors. The decision was later taken regularly to draw up lists of donations, but these were intended as an administrative control measure. They continued to be handwritten. The works by Leiden scholars also receded into the background. Bertius had placed them in a special bookcase and described them separately, but Heinsius had them incorporated into the collection as a whole and described the works where he found them. Making the books by Leiden scholars 'invisible' as a separate unit was not without its effects: the production of works from that quarter ebbed away. Authors and publishers were no longer encouraged to donate their books to the library, and indeed stopped doing so. At around the middle of the seventeenth century, the number of works by Leiden scholars that were *not* in the library was alarmingly high.[44] This void was later rectified on a systematic basis, but the realisation that an unforgivable gap had been allowed to arise remained firmly entrenched in the library's psyche. It is still a major criterion when it comes to the acquisition of old publications.

The two other catalogues that Heinsius published, in 1623 and 1640, were cumulative supplements to the 1612 version. Newly acquired books were listed according to the place where the copies were kept: in the *plutei* and *arcae* of the main collection or in the section known as the *musaeum* or *cantoor* (office), that was used to store valuable works securely.

Compared with Bertius' 1595 catalogue, which was designed to enhance the reputation of Leiden University Library, and Merula's catalogues of donations and of valuable works (1603 and 1607), which were designed to entice generous donors, the catalogues by the philologist



• Gronovius entered the newly acquired books into a copy of Heinsius' catalogue of 1640 and numbered them consecutively, meaning that it is possible to form a very precise picture of the collection until 1650.



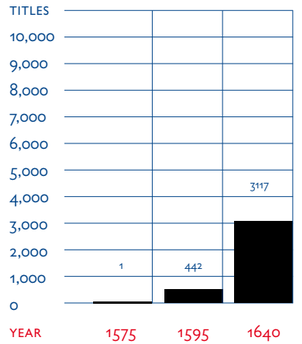
•• At the Commelinus auction, Heinsius found a manuscript of an unpublished Greek paraphrase of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. He implored the curators of the university to buy it.

••• The celebrated Arabist Thomas Erpenius (1584-1624) had compiled an extensive collection of Oriental books. It was his wish that after his death, his collection should be placed next to Scaliger's legacy in the library. A dispute with the heirs, however, meant that this wish was not fulfilled. The manuscripts ended up in the possession of the Duke of Buckingham, who donated them to Cambridge University.

Heinsius are inaccurate and poorly presented. However, this is not as surprising as it may seem at first glance. The purpose of his catalogues was to make it possible to conduct an annual audit of the book collection. They were not works of art or marketing tools, but lists, pure and simple – that is what they looked like, and that is how they were used. There is something ironic about the fact that Heinsius had the *Oratio* that he gave when accepting the office of librarian reprinted in all three catalogues, because this was his way of showing what he felt being a librarian was about: providing as complete an arsenal of sources in every field as possible, so that people could sit in the library like Socrates – *inter libros suos ac chartas,* among the books and manuscripts.[45] Of course, such an ideal required a policy of generous spending, but that should be no obstacle: the discoveries, observations, and notes that would be made through the extensive use of the library would raise the standing of the university.[46] If Heinsius bought large quantities of books, therefore, this was a matter of fulfilling his responsibilities. Between 1595 and 1640, the library grew from 442 to 3117 titles, largely as a result of Heinsius' efforts.

The fate that awaited Heinsius' three catalogues in the library can be described as curious. Indeed, for a long time there was even some doubt as to the existence of the first two.[47] The copies of his catalogues that are now located in the archives found their way there via roundabout routes. The annotated copy of the 1612 version, for example, came from a collection that was not left to the library until 1756.[48] In his testament the bequather, the Huguenot Prosper Marchand, stated that he was leaving his private library to the library on account of the serious lack of French books in it, something he had been able to establish with the help of Heinsius' catalogue.[49] One and a half centuries after it appeared, in other words, the catalogue prompted one of the most important bequests in the eighteenth century – one that consisted almost entirely of French books, which itself had been a bone of contention between Heinsius and the curators. This occurrence was certainly not without its share of irony.

Also worthy of note is the Leiden copy of the 1623 catalogue, Heinsius' second. It was not until 1938 that its existence was proven, and it was revealed that the library of the University of Munich held a copy. After this was discovered, photographs were taken and sent to Leiden. Not much later, during the Second World War, the original went up in flames in Munich,[50] but it was evident from the photographic copies in Leiden that it was Heinsius' working copy. It is a clear record of the furious pace of growth of the library: Heinsius indicated a new classification system in the margins. Extra shelves were fitted beneath the full *plutei*. Heinsius indicated this doubling of the space with a line and the word *infra:* from this title onwards, the books had to be placed on the extra shelves. These works could not be attached using the chains, which made them highly vulnerable, as shown by the ominously frequent occurrance of the note *non est,* it is not there, in the margins of Heinsius' copy.



The growth of the collections between 1595 and 1640.
Due to Heinsius' activities, the collection had increased six-fold by 1640.

The Leiden copy of Heinsius' third catalogue, from 1640, is another exceptional source. Again, it is a working copy, in which the future librarian, J.F. Gronovius, entered additions to the collection from after 1640 by hand.[51] These acquisitions were carefully numbered in sequence, which means the books that stood on the *plutei* in around 1650, on both the upper and lower shelves, can be reconstructed exactly as they were. Gronovius added handwritten alphabetical lists of authors to his working copy, making it a rare testimony to the transition from a systematically arranged library to an alphabetically organised one.

The fate of this 1640 catalogue was closely linked to the development of Oriental Studies at Leiden University in the first half of the seventeenth century.

THE START OF THE ORIENTAL COLLECTIONS

Apart from the Hebrew manuscripts and printed books on the theological *plutei*, there were only a few Oriental works in the library until 1609. Scaliger's legacy changed that. Medieval Hebrew manuscripts of the Bible and

• The university commissioned Jacobus Golius (1596-1667) to travel to the Orient to collect manuscripts. As a result, in 1629, a considerable collection of Arabic manuscripts came into the library's collection. Golius drew up a catalogue of the manuscripts himself, and this was published in 1640.
•• Heinsius published the paraphrase of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* himself, and the *editio princeps* appeared in Leiden in 1607. Heinsius considered publishing new sources to be one of the scholar's most important tasks; the university was therefore obliged to provide scholars with these new sources. This perspective explains Heinsius' lavish purchasing policy.

••

the Talmud, and Arab-language works and Ethiopian and Syriac manuscripts formed the basis of the Oriental collections in the library. The wish of the great Arabist, Thomas Erpenius, who died on 13 November 1625, was that his collection would be placed alongside Scaliger's legacy in the library of Leiden University, but the negotiations with his heirs broke down. His library was auctioned off, and the manuscripts became the property of the Duke of Buckingham, who donated them to Cambridge University.[52]

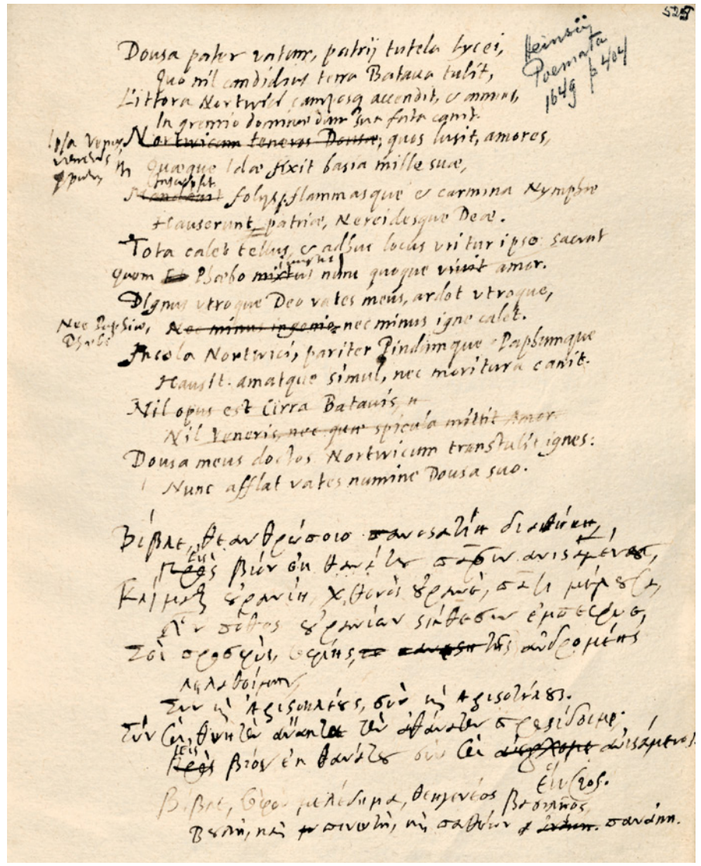
Erpenius' successor as professor of Arabic was his pupil, Jacobus Golius. The second series of Oriental manuscripts in the collection at Leiden owes its presence to him. In 1622-24 Golius took part in a diplomatic mission to Morocco and there acquired contacts who could supply him with manuscripts in subsequent years. In 1625, shortly after his appointment as professor of Arabic, the curators offered him the opportunity to travel to the Middle East on full pay. Initially he travelled to Aleppo and then to Istanbul, where he stayed with Cornelis Haga, the first ambassador of the Republic of the United Provinces in the Osmanic Empire. On behalf of the university he bought over 200 Middle Eastern manuscripts, which he took with him to Leiden on his return in 1629. The main reason for asking Heinsius to draw up a new catalogue of the whole of the library in 1635 was a desire to make these manuscripts available to scholars in an organised fashion. However, the catalogue that rolled from Elzevier's presses a year later contained such poor descriptions of the manuscripts that the academy printer complained to the curators. His good name as a printer would be at risk if he were to publish a catalogue of Arabic manuscripts that was below the normal standard of his printworks, which specialised in Oriental languages. So it was not Heinsius the librarian who was monitoring the quality of the new catalogue, but Elzevier the academy printer. The curators prevented publication and asked Golius himself to produce a 'broader and more relevant catalogue of the Oriental books', and to have it printed at the back of the 1636 catalogue that had been vetoed. The result was that in 1640, Elzevier published a catalogue of Leiden University Library with two inventories of the same Arabic manuscripts, the first of which listed the titles in Latin scripts, and the second in Arabic script.[53] Twenty-five years later, the Warner legacy would be the next major development in the creation of Leiden's Oriental collections.

A LIVELY BUT CLOSED LIBRARY

For security reasons, the library remained closed to 'common students' from 1605 until 1630,[54] while professors had their own key until 1617, for which they had to sign a confirmation of receipt.[55] Later, they had to report to the librarian before entering the library. These restrictive measures were in direct contradiction to the original ideal of the library, namely that members of the academic community could freely consult the sources they needed for their studies, and indeed, in actual fact they were not enforced.

Privileged students, the most prominent of which were Scaliger's pupils, did come to the closed library to work.[56] The attitude of these scholars, or scholars-to-be, towards the library can best be described in terms of how Heinsius treated the manuscripts from the library. In 1606, before he had become the librarian, Heinsius discovered at Commelinus' auction a manuscript of a hitherto unpublished paraphrase of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. He approached the curators and asked if they would buy the manuscript for the library, which they did. During the following year the *editio princeps*, the first edition, of the work was printed by Leiden printer Paets.[37] The scholar Heinsius clearly believed it to be self-evident that sources in the Library that were suitable for publication should be made available to Leiden University professors. For him, the oasis of sources that the library represented for philologists and others fulfilled the same task as did the anatomical theatre for doctors and the botanical gardens for botanists. It was at these locations that students and scholars were given the opportunity to acquire knowledge and make additions to that knowledge themselves. Against that background, the practice of annotating or using manuscripts and books from the library as if they were one's own private property is less strange than it may seem in the first instance.[38]

When Heinsius edited the foreword of the second Elzevier edition of the New Testament in 1633, he used a Greek manuscript by Procopius from the library to jot down his notes. This manuscript, a commentary on the Bible, had no connection with the proposed publication by Elzevier. However, Heinsius was working on the manuscript at the time. He annotated certain passages in the margins and wrote a few verses down which he signed in Greek. It seems that the manuscript was physically alongside him at the time he was writing his foreword to the publication of the New Testament, and that



• Heinsius sometimes used books and manuscripts that were within reach as scrap paper. On a manuscript by Procopius, he scribbled a few verses in Greek; they had nothing to do with Procopius.

•• The Arminian dispute. What originally arose from a theological difference of opinion between two Leiden professors, Arminius and Gomarus, developed into something akin to a civil war between Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants, the 'moderates' and the 'orthodox', respectively. The battle was fought using every possible means. In this cartoon, Bertius, the author of the *Nomenclator*, is crowned with a fool's cap and referred to as *'t Arminiaens kapproen* (the Arminian cap).

he thought nothing of using it to scribble a few rough notes on.[59] When Heinsius annotated certain passages by Procopius in the margin, when he added Greek verses he had composed himself and signed them, he was putting the ideal of the humanists into practice. He is clearly ranked among the group of scholars who took it upon themselves to pass on universal knowledge in as pure a form as possible, and perhaps take a step further. For the humanist reader, dealing with manuscripts and books means a meeting with a text and with an author. The actual owner of the manuscript or book is incidental, of secondary importance. The apparently slapdash treatment of the property of others here is, essentially, a sign of intimate involvement with the source. This applied to Heinsius, and it also applied to the scholars who borrowed the manuscripts and publications from the library to take home – a tradition that was born at the time the library was created and continued until the first half of the twentieth century.[60]

CALVINIST INTERMEZZO

The period of Heinsius' tenure as librarian was a highly tumultuous one. The conflict between Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants about the predestination and freedom of man had arisen at Leiden University with the argument between the professors Arminius and Gomarus and shook the Republic to its foundations. After the Synod of Dordrecht, which sealed the victory of the Counter-Remonstrants in 1619, work started on the process of purifying the university. This resulted in the departure of several leading Remonstrants like Bertius and Barlaeus, and the temporary suspension of Remonstrant sympathisers such as Vossius. Nevertheless, the curators ensured that the university retained its independence, so the consequences of the crisis were limited. Whether the conflict affected the library is difficult to say, although it did become involved in it. When Bertius delivered the eulogy for his friend Arminius in 1609, he incurred Gomarus' wrath. One of Gomarus' accusations towards Arminius concerned the library. Arminius is said to have introduced 'controversial and Papist books' by Thomas Aquinas, Suarez and Bellarminus, for example. Bertius was not slow to respond. These books, he wrote, had formed part of the library long before Arminius came to Leiden: Bertius had described them himself in 1595, in the *Nomenclator*.[61] The matter rested there, but can be taken as a sign of Gomarus' awareness of the influence a library could have upon its readers. Although Heinsius repeatedly spoke out against the Remonstrants, it is questionable whether this played a part in his choice of purchases for the library. From the catalogues of 1612, 1623 and 1640, it appears that most works by leading Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants were absent from the library until well into the seventeenth century, although the works that *were* present were not associated with either camp.[62] Was this down to chance? To a certain degree, yes: why else would works by the proposed successor to Arminius, Vorstius, have been purchased in the period of instability and not those of Grotius? But perhaps there was another factor that played a role.

For Heinsius, the library was an oasis of sources. He believed there to be a direct connection between a beautifully published and accurate volume, and its value.[63] The only purpose of his philological work was to make texts available in print. For this reason, people first submitted manuscripts and books that served this purpose: polemic works were not considered.

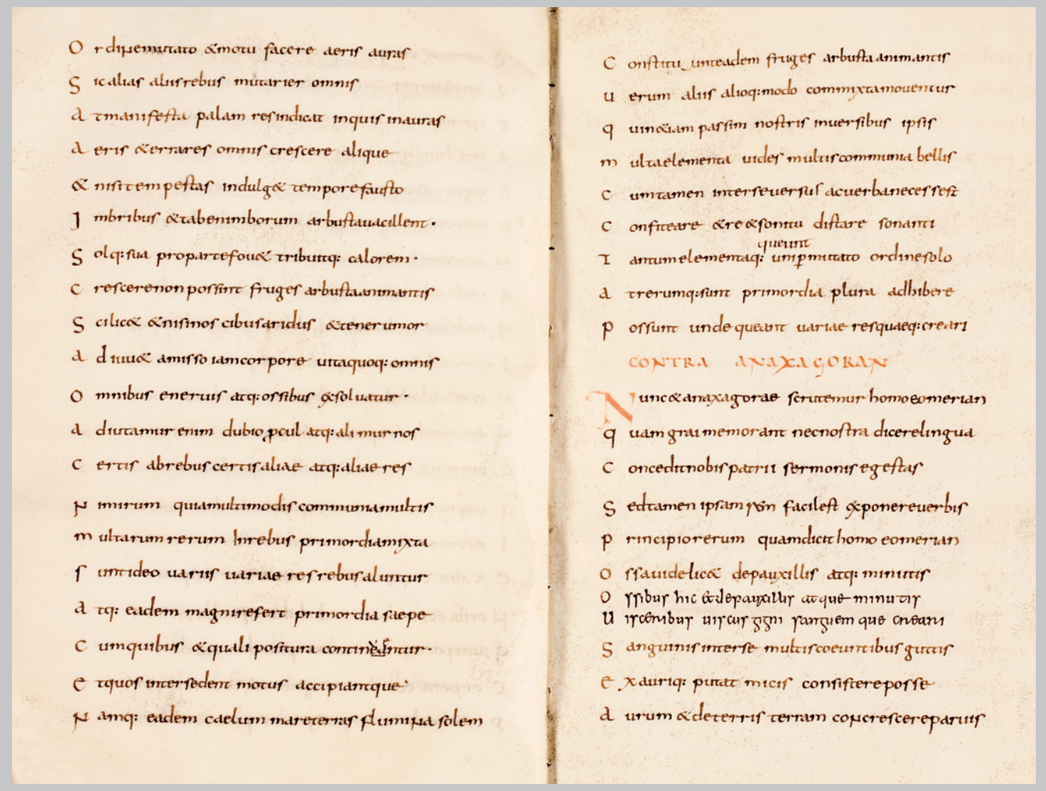
From research that has been carried out so far, it is impossible to draw any general conclusions about the ideological hue of Leiden University Library in the first half of the seventeenth century. This requires a thorough comparison with other European libraries.

The choice of André Bouwman
Curator of Western Manuscripts

From its earliest beginnings, Leiden University collected manuscripts as well as printed works. Unpublished medieval manuscripts were used in Leiden and elsewhere by those studying classical texts, ancient history and the Bible. Scholars were also very interested in academic correspondence and notes by colleagues in which these old sources and other subjects were analysed and explained.

***Aratea*. Adaptation of the Latin translation by Germanicus Caesar. Manuscript on parchment, 99 ff., 22.5 × 20 cm. North-east France, second quarter of the ninth century.**

'The Leiden *Aratea* is a ninth-century pictorial book of exceptional quality. The main point of interest is not the Latin text (an adaptation of a Greek poem about heavenly phenomena by Aratus), but a series of wonderful illustrations of constellations. The 39 full-page miniatures were based on Late Antiquity examples and combine knowledge of astronomy and mythology. The constellations are painted on a blue background, with an orange-red border, while the stars (with Andromeda shown here, a total of 25) are done in gold.'

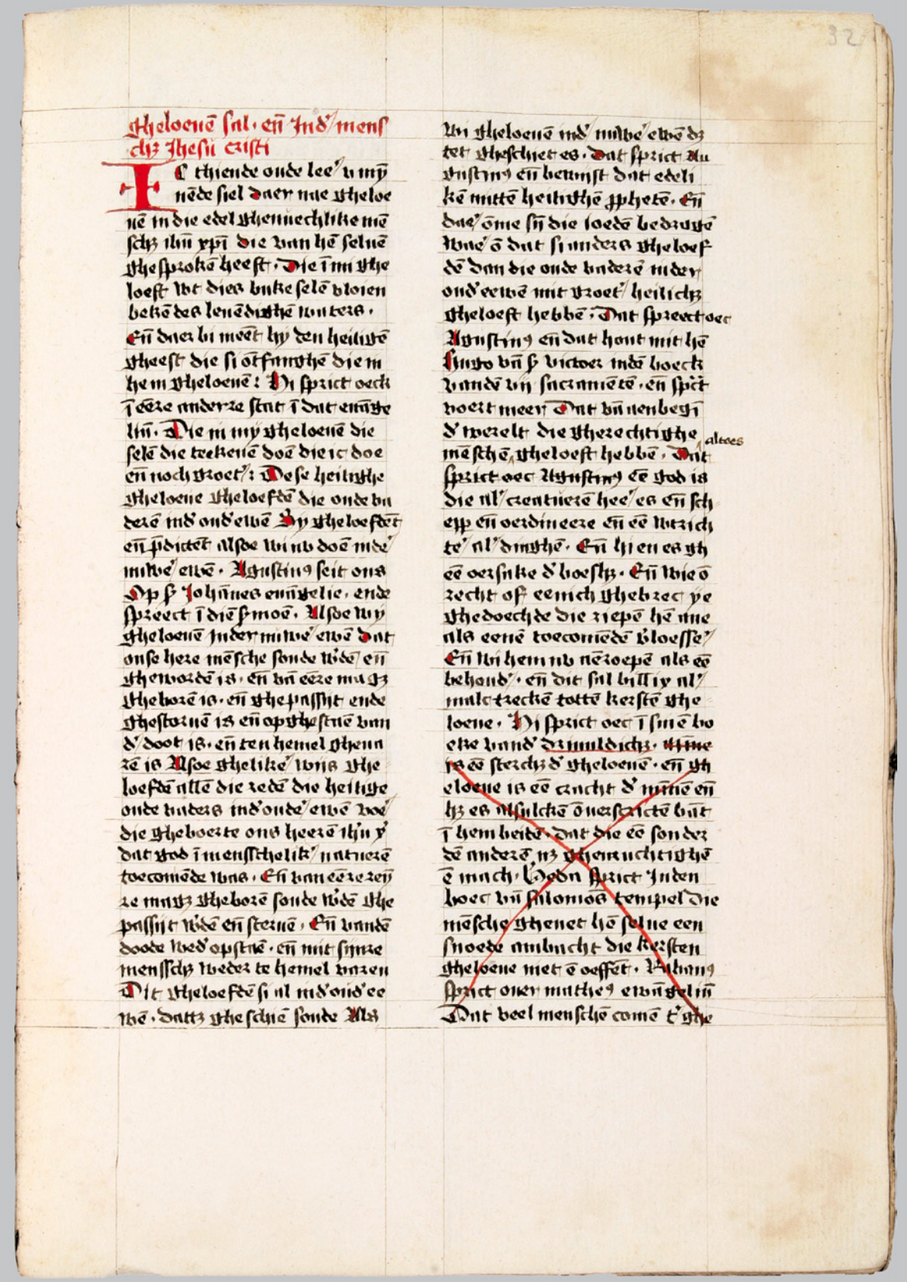


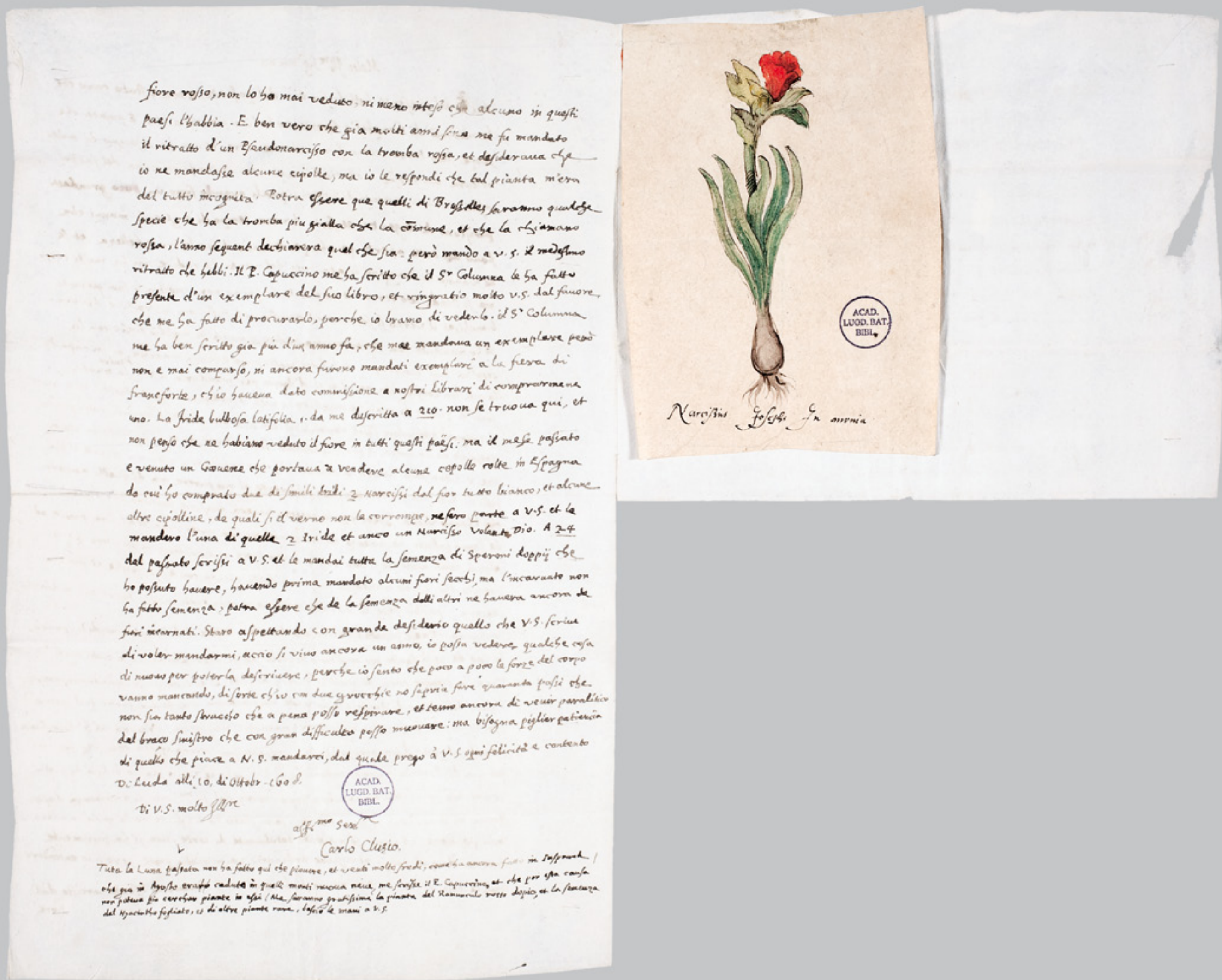
Titus Lucretius Carus, *De rerum natura libri VI*.
Latin, manuscript on parchment, 192 ff., 32.5 × 21 cm.
North-west France (palace school of Charlemagne), early ninth century.

'In his famous didactic poem, *De rerum natura* (On the nature of things), the philosopher Lucretius (ca. 99 BC-55 BC) argues with the help of atomism that faith in a creating deity and in the immortality of man is unscientific. It is therefore not surprising that the work was hardly read in the – Christian – Middle Ages. Nonetheless, the original text was copied at least twice in the ninth century by French monks, though this was probably in order to learn Latin, rather than because of the content.'
'What remains of the text is based on two manuscripts that are now in Leiden: the ancient sources have been lost. They are distinguished on account of their formats – the "codex quadratus" (the square manuscript) and the "codex oblongus" (the oblong manuscript), shown here. An outstanding feature of the manuscript is the spaciousness of the layout: despite its large size, there are just twenty lines on it. The generous amount of space between the lines helps highlight the Carolingian minuscule, the new script that was developed towards the end of the eighth century.'

▸ Otto van Passau, *Boec des gulden throens of der XXIIII ouden*, copy of Dutch incunable.
28.5 × 19.5 cm. Holland, late fifteenth century.

'We know of this Middle Dutch text from older and better sources than the one shown here. This manuscript, with Otto van Passau's *Boec des gulden throens*, is nevertheless very important because it proves to be a direct copy of the edition printed by Jacob Bellaert in Haarlem in 1484. Thanks to this information, it is possible to study accurately the copying process – and in particular, the errors that often occurred during that process – which enhances our insight into text transmission in the Middle Ages.'
'The tenth chapter (on "*kersten ghelove*") contains a notable continuity error as a result of the scribe turning two pages in the version printed in Haarlem instead of one. By continuing to copy from "*minne is een stercheit der gheloeven*", he omitted no fewer than four columns from the original. It was only after he had completed the second column of his own copy and had to turn the page that the scribe noticed his mistake. Using a red cross to cross out the lines he had copied too "early", he then turned back a page and copied the correct text: "*Ick winssche ende ick woude ...*" (etcetera).'





fiore rosso, non lo ha mai veduto ni meno inteso che alcuno in questi paesi l'habbia. E ben vero che gia molti anni sono me fu mandato il ritratto d'un Pseudonarcisso con la tromba rossa, et desiderava che io ne mandasse alcune cipolle, ma io le respondi che tal pianta m'era del tutto incognita. Potra essere que quelli di Bruxelles saranno qualche specie che ha la tromba piu gialla che la commune, et che la chiamano rossa, l'anno sequent dechiarera quel che sia. però mando a V. S. il medesimo ritratto che hebbi. Il P. Capuccino me ha scritto che il Sr Columna le ha fatto presente d'un exemplare del suo libro, et ringratio molto V.S. dal favore che me ha fatto di procurarlo, perche io bramo di vederlo. il Sr Columna me ha ben scritto gia piu d'un anno fa, che mi mandava un exemplare però non e mai comparso, ni ancora furono mandati exemplari a la fiera di Franceforte, ch'io haveva dato commissione a nostri Librari di comprarmene uno. La Iride bulbosa latifolia i. da me descritta a 210. non se truova qui, et non penso che ne habiano veduto il fiore in tutti questi paesi: ma il mese passato e venuto un Genovese che portava a vendere alcune cipolle rotte in Espagna da cui ho comprato due di simili Iridi 2 Narcissi dal fior tutto bianco, et alcune altre cipolline, de quali si il verno non le corrompe, ne sero parte a V.S. et la mandero l'una di quelle 2 Iride et anco un Narcisso volente Dio. A 24 del passato scrissi a V.S. et le mandai tutta la semenza di Speroni doppij che ho possuto havere, havendo prima mandato alcuni fiori secchi, ma l'incarnato non ha fatto semenza: potra essere che de la semenza delli altri ne havera ancora de fiori incarnati. Starò aspettando con grande desiderio quello che V.S. scrive di voler mandarmi, accio si vivo ancora un anno, io possa vedere qualche cosa di nuovo per poterla descrivere, perche io sento che poco a poco le forze del corpo vanno mancando, di sorte ch'io con due gruccie no sapria fare quaranta passi che non sia tanto stracco che a pena posso respirare, et temo ancora di venir paralitico del braccio sinistro che con gran difficulta posso muovare: ma bisogna pigliar patientia di quello che piace a N. S. mandarci, dal quale prego à V.S. ogni felicità e contento. Di Leida alli 10. di Ottobr. 1608.

Di V.S. molto Illre

affmo Ser.

Carlo Clusio.

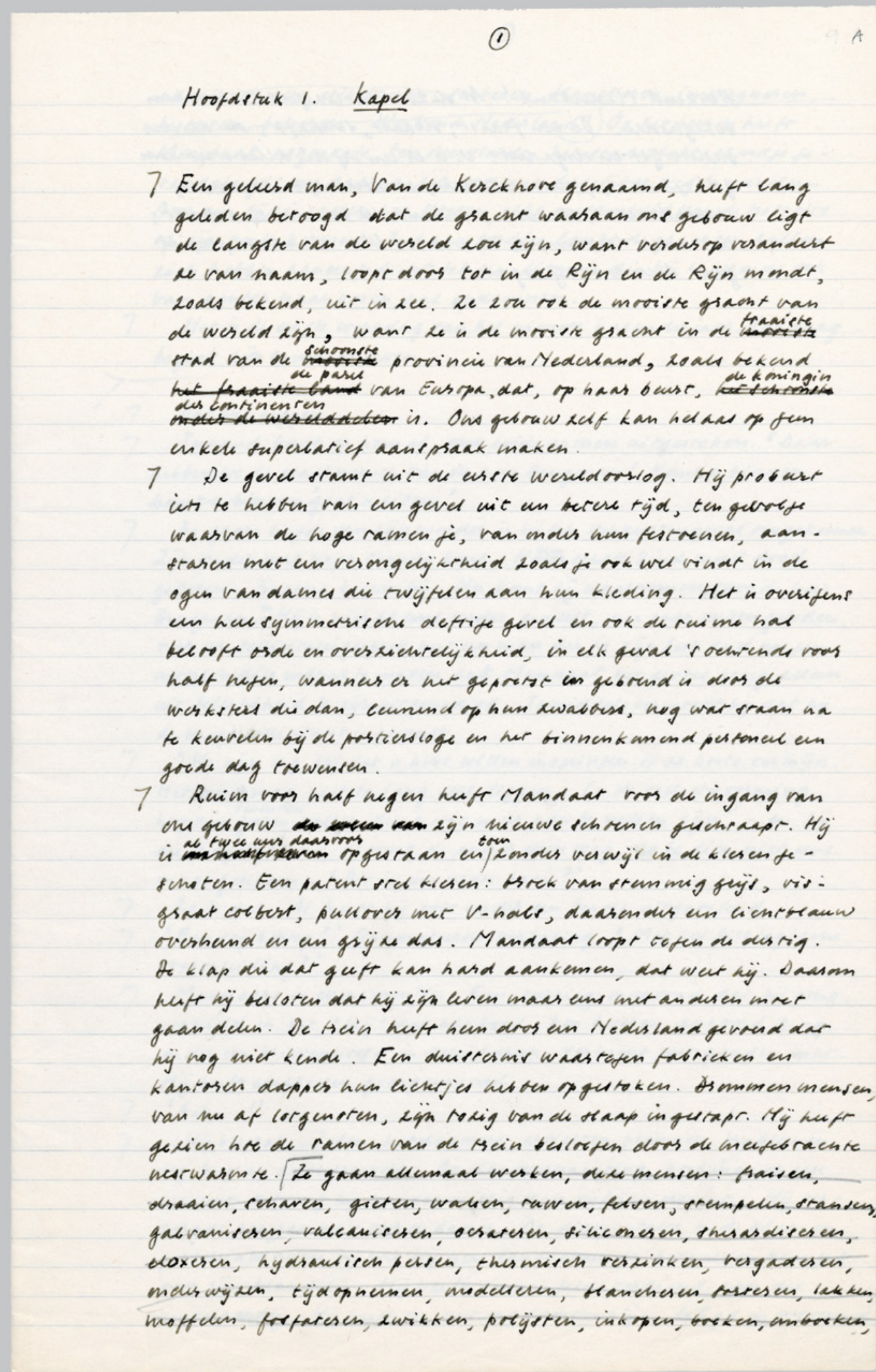
Tutta la Luna passata non ha fatto qui che piouere, et venti molto freddi, come ha ancora fatto in Inspruch che gia in Agusto erano cadute in quelli monti nuova neve, me scrisse il P. Capuccino, et che per questa causa non poteva piu cercar piante in essi. Ma saranno gratissime la pianta del Ranunculo rosso doppio, et la semenza del Hyacintho fogliato, et di altre piante rare. bascio le mani a V.S.

Drawing of a red narcissus with the letter from Carolus Clusius to Matteo Caccini, Florence, 10 October 1608.

'The Special Collections contain important and extensive correspondence – from scholars, literary authors, editors and publishers. There are, for example, more than one thousand of the approximately fifteen hundred surviving letters from and to the botanist and Leiden professor Carolus Clusius (1526-1609) in the library. The body of Clusius' letters was the main feature of an international research project that was carried out under the auspices of the Scaliger Institute between 2004 and 2010. The letter with the attached drawing of a red narcissus was written by Clusius six months before his death to his good friend, the wealthy collector and landscape architect, Matteo Caccini, in Florence. In the letter, Clusius notes that he has never seen a red narcissus and that he does not know anyone who cultivates the flower in his garden.'

▸ **Archive of Frans Kellendonk, supplemented with annotated books from Kellendonk's collection, as well as a collection of his publications.**

'In 2006, the archive of the writer, translator and anglicist, Frans Kellendonk (1951-1990), was deposited in the manuscript collection of the *Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde*. Kellendonk is one of the most important post-war authors. In his novel, *Letter en geest. Een spookverhaal* (1982), Kellendonk digests the impressions he gained as the English subject librarian at Leiden University Library (located at the time at Rapenburg). The archive includes, among other things, a manuscript, shown here, with an early version of the first chapter, *"Kapel"*.'



(1)

Hoofdstuk 1. Kapel

7 Een geleerd man, Van de Kerckhove genaamd, heeft lang geleden betoogd dat de gracht waaraan ons gebouw ligt de langste van de wereld zou zijn, want verderop verandert ze van naam, loopt door tot in de Rijn en de Rijn mondt, zoals bekend, uit in zee. Ze zou ook de mooiste gracht van de wereld zijn, want ze is de mooiste gracht in de ~~mooiste~~ fraaiste stad van de ~~mooiste~~ schoonste provincie van Nederland, zoals bekend ~~het fraaiste land~~ de parel van Europa, dat, op haar beurt, ~~het schoonste~~ de koningin ~~onder de werelddelen~~ der continenten is. Ons gebouw zelf kan helaas op geen enkele superlatief aanspraak maken.

7 De gevel stamt uit de eerste wereldoorlog. Hij probeert iets te hebben van een gevel uit een betere tijd, een geveltje waarvan de hoge ramen je, van onder hun festoenen, aanstaren met een verongelijktheid zoals je ook wel vindt in de ogen van dames die twijfelen aan hun kleding. Het is overigens een heel symmetrische deftige gevel en ook de ruime hal belooft orde en overzichtelijkheid, in elk geval 's ochtends voor half negen, wanneer er het geproest en gebrom is door de werksters die dan, leunend op hun zwabbers, nog wat staan na te keuvelen bij de portiersloge en het binnenkomend personeel een goede dag toewensen.

7 Ruim voor half negen heeft Mandaat voor de ingang van ons gebouw ~~de voeten van~~ zijn nieuwe schoenen geschraapt. Hij is ~~[illegible]~~ al twee uur daarvoor opgestaan en toen zonder verwijl in de kleren geschoten. Een patent stel kleren: broek van stemmig grijs, visgraat colbert, pullover met V-hals, daaronder een lichtblauw overhemd en een grijze das. Mandaat loopt tegen de dertig. De klap die dat geeft kan hard aankomen, dat weet hij. Daarom heeft hij besloten dat hij zijn leven maar eens met anderen moet gaan delen. De trein heeft hem door een Nederland gevoerd dat hij nog niet kende. Een duisternis waarin tegen fabrieken en kantoren dapper hun lichtjes hebben opgestoken. Drommen mensen, van nu af lotgenoten, zijn torig van de slaap ingestapt. Hij heeft gezien hoe de ramen van de trein besloegen door de meegebrachte neerwarmte. Ze gaan allemaal werken, deze mensen: fraisen, draaien, scharen, gieten, walsen, ruwen, felsen, stempelen, stansen, galvaniseren, vulcaniseren, ozoneren, siliconeren, sherardiseren, eloxeren, hydraulisch persen, thermisch verzinken, vergaderen, onderwijzen, tijdopnemen, modelleren, blancheren, torderen, lakken, moffelen, fosfateren, zwikken, polijsten, inkopen, boeken, omboeken,


De marseille
Monsieur
Monsr. Pierre Daumert dans le
Begijnstraat a la ville de Nismes en holland
pour rendre s'il luy plait a Nanon Richard,
inden haage
a La haye en hollande
Par Paris

a marseille ce xij eme Septembre 1701

Ma tres Chere et bien aymée fille

Apres vous auoir Souhaité La paix et dilection de nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ. Comme aussy a ma Chere Suzon Laynee et a ma Chere fily et La Chere petitte de Laquelle je ne scay point Le nom, que L'Eternel nostre Dieu Vous Conserue Touttes en Joye, Sante et liberte Comme aussy a Tous Nos Chers et bien aymes qui nous regardent d'un oeil de Compassion Monsieur Vostre maitre et madame Vostre Chere maitresse qui vous Seruent de pere et de mere Je Les Salue Tres humblement. J'ay dont receu Vostre Chere Lettre ma Chere fille. Elle me rejouit de Voir que vous vous ressouuenés d'un pere qui vous a Toujours aymee fort Tendrement aussy bien qu'a vos autres pauures Sœurs. Vous me marques La Mort de Vostre Mere decedee despuis deux ans. Je Le Scaues par La voye de Mr. Vostre Cousin Le Gendre qui Tient Le manteau Royal. Vous pouues vous imaginer quelle douleur pour moy de vous Scauoir Esparz Comme vous Estes. Toutte ma plus grande Consolation Est Celle de vous Scauoir dans vn pays de benediction Celon mon Souhait. Vous me faites vn offre bien Considerable ma fille que de Vouloir me Venir Trouuer pour me voir, mais quelle Consolation auriés vous de Venir de si Loin pour Voir Vn pere Charge de Chaines depuis quatorze ans pour auoir Secouru L'Eglise de Jesus Christ a la Verite mon desir est bien aussy ardent de vous voir que Le Vostre, mais quel plaisir aurois je de Vous Voir dans vn pays Le plus Barbare qu'il y ait Sous Le Ciel. Juges que puisque Ceux qui y habitent et qui ont eu Les veritables principes de La Ste Religion Refformee sont deuenus Si durs et Si Tigres qu'ils ne donneroit pas vne Bouchee de pain a vne Religionnaire qui Viendroit Voir Ses parents et amis, quand elle deuroit Tomber morte deuant Sa porte, ils disent que C'est de peur de se faire des affaires et que Cella Leur est deffendu; Voila Le portrait de La Charite qui Sexerce en ce pays icy. a moins que d'auoir Les mains bien fournies d'argent. Nul ny peut Subsister Sans Trauailler. Encore bon heur quand on peut Tout doucement S'Echaper

The choice of Arend Pietersma
Curator of the Archives

At the start of the twentieth century the old archives of Leiden University were moved to the library. Since then they have been kept in conjunction with the Western manuscripts.

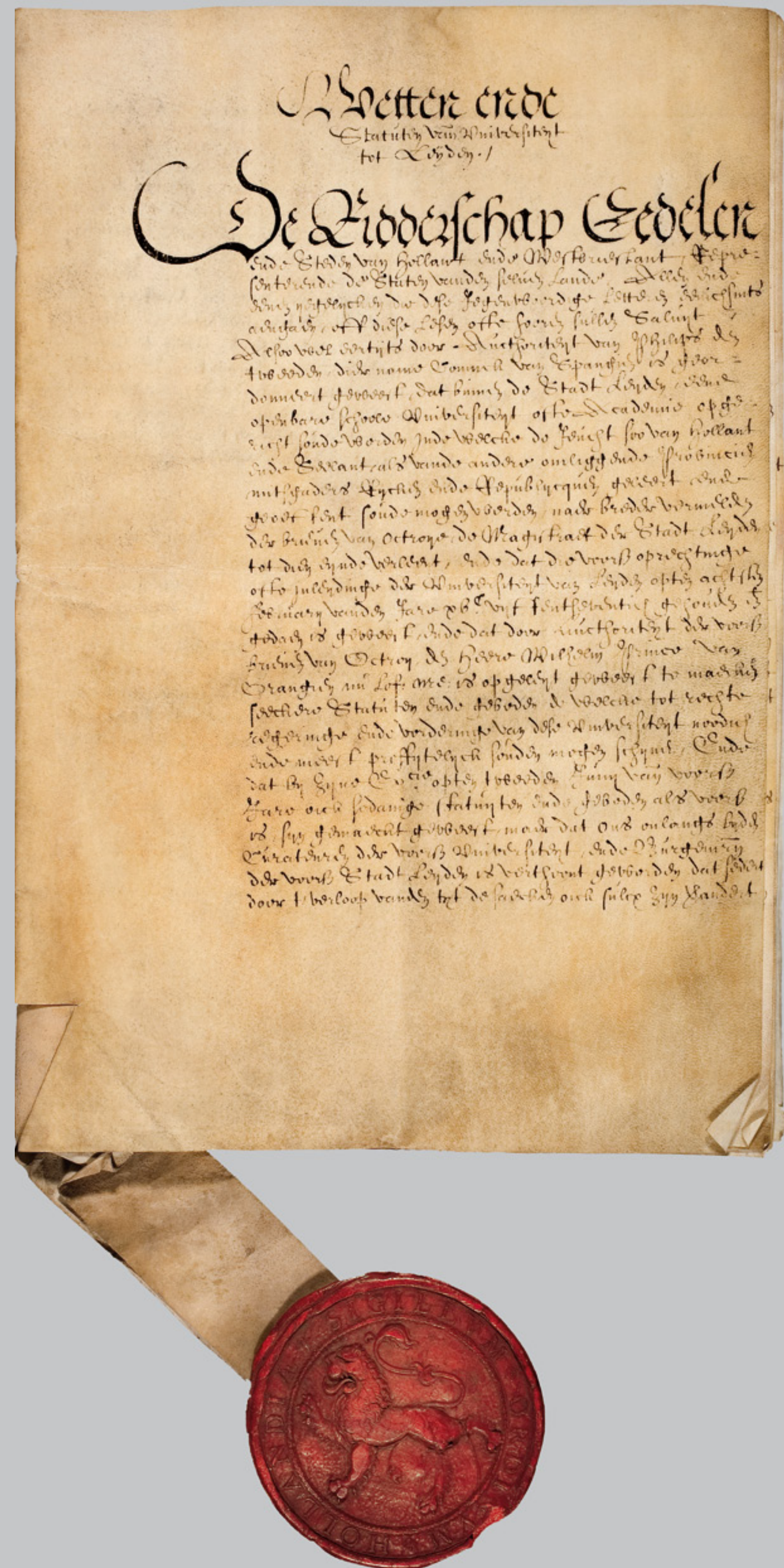
Archives of the Walloon churches: letter from French Protestant Jean Richard de Tibante to his daughter Nannon, in the Netherlands (1701).

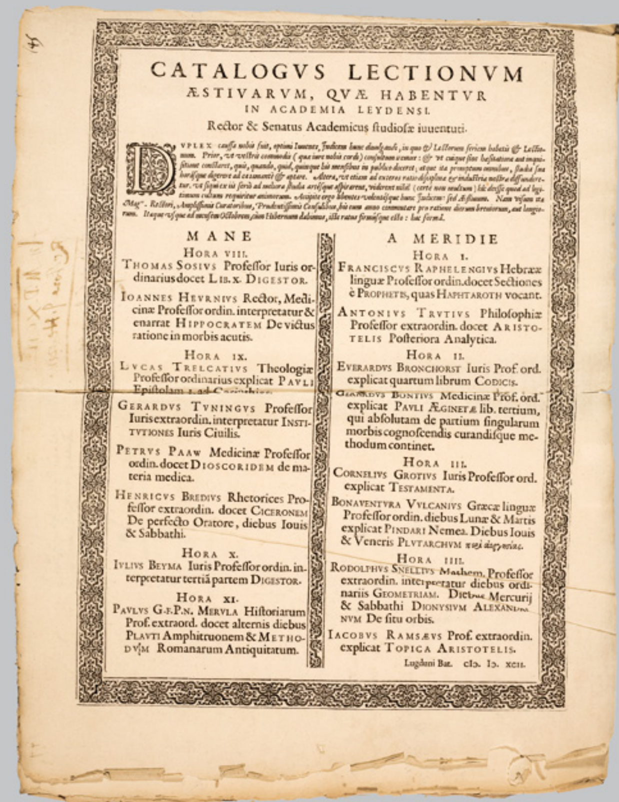
'The Dutch Republic was a place of refuge for many persecuted French Huguenots, who found a great deal of support there from their fellow believers in the Walloon Reformed Church. The archives of the Walloon churches contain not just minutes, the statement of faith and the rules of the church, but also personal letters. One example is a letter from 1701 from French Protestant Jean Richard de Tibante to his daughter Nannon in the Netherlands. As a soldier in the service of the Dutch Republic, De Tibante was taken as a prisoner-of-war by the French in 1687. He was sentenced to work as a galley-slave on the ship, La Patronne, the home port of which was Marseille.

In the letter, which he wrote in secret, he asked his daughter to draw up a plea – the text was included in the letter – and to try and present it to the French King in Versailles. Nannon never read her father's message. The letter was found in a government building during the Second World War, where it had remained either because the addressee was not at home, or unwilling or unable to pay the cost of postage.'

▸ Curators' archives: laws and statutes of Leiden University (1631).

'In 1631, the States of Holland drew up a new version of the 1575 statutes at the request of the Board of Curators and Mayors of Leiden University. The statutes dealt with such matters as the composition of the senate, the elections of the rector and assessors, the oath to be taken by professors and students and the powers of the academic court. One of the articles concerned a ban on establishing clubs of students who came from the same area. The city of Leiden was very favourably predisposed towards the university: professors and students were exempted from providing lodgings for soldiers, from participation in the civil militia and from paying certain taxes. The seal of the States of Holland was attached to the charter to ratify it.'


Wetten ende Statuten van Universiteyt tot Leyden.
De Ridderschap Edelen


CATALOGVS LECTIONVM ÆSTIVARVM, QVÆ HABENTVR IN ACADEMIA LEYDENSI.

Rector & Senatus Academicus studiosæ iuuentuti.

MANE

HORA VIII.
THOMAS SOSIVS Professor Iuris ordinarius docet LIB. X. DIGESTOR.
IOANNES HEVRNIVS Rector, Medicinæ Professor ordin. interpretatur & enarrat HIPPOCRATEM De victus ratione in morbis acutis.

HORA IX.
LVCAS TRELCATIVS Theologiæ Professor ordinarius explicat PAVLI Epistolam 1. ad Corinthios.
GERARDVS TVNINGVS Professor Iuris extraordin. interpretatur INSTITVTIONES Iuris Ciuilis.
PETRVS PAAW Medicinæ Professor ordin. docet DIOSCORIDEM de materia medica.
HENRICVS BREDIVS Rhetorices Professor extraordin. docet CICERONEM De perfecto Oratore, diebus Iouis & Sabbathi.

HORA X.
IVLIVS BEYMA Iuris Professor ordin. interpretatur tertiã partem DIGESTOR.

HORA XI.
PAVLVS G.F.P.N. MERVLA Historiarum Prof. extraord. docet alternis diebus PLAVTI Amphitruonem & METHODVM Romanarum Antiquitatum.

A MERIDIE

HORA I.
FRANCISCVS RAPHELENGIVS Hebrææ linguæ Professor ordin. docet Sectiones è PROPHETIS, quas HAPHTAROTH vocant.
ANTONIVS TRVTIVS Philosophiæ Professor extraordin. docet ARISTOTELIS Posteriora Analytica.

HORA II.
EVERARDVS BRONCHORST Iuris Prof. ord. explicat quartum librum CODICIS.
GERARDVS BONTIVS Medicinæ Prof. ord. explicat PAVLI ÆGINETÆ lib. tertium, qui absolutam de partium singularum morbis cognoscendis curandisque methodum continet.

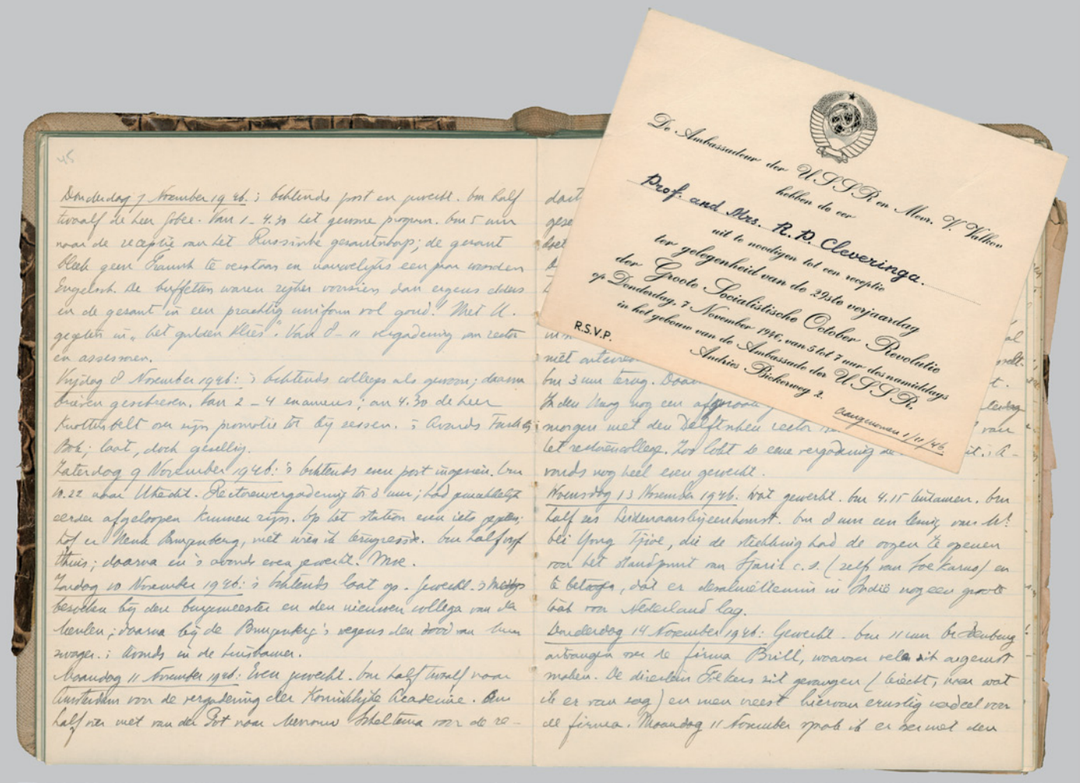
HORA III.
CORNELIVS GROTIVS Iuris Professor ord. explicat TESTAMENTA.
BONAVENTVRA VVLCANIVS Græcæ linguæ Professor ordin. diebus Lunæ & Martis explicat PINDARI Nemea. Diebus Iouis & Veneris PLVTARCHVM περὶ δυσωπίας.

HORA IIII.
RODOLPHVS SNELLIVS Mathem. Professor extraordin. interpretatur diebus ordinariis GEOMETRIAM. Diebus Mercurij & Sabbathi DIONYSIVM ALEXANDRINVM De situ orbis.
IACOBVS RAMSÆVS Prof. extraordin. explicat TOPICA ARISTOTELIS.

Lugduni Bat. cIↃ. IↃ. XCII.

Archives of the senate and faculties – the oldest printed study timetable at Leiden University (1592).

'The oldest printed timetable, dated 1592, shows the lessons listed by the hour, with the professors ranked in order of the hierarchy of the four faculties: religion, law, medicine, and literature, with the ordinary professors listed before their extraordinary counterparts. For example, we can see that the theologian Lucas Trelcatius lectured on the first letter of Paul to the Corinthians at 9 o'clock in the morning.'



To Ambassadeur der U.S.S.R en Mevr. V. Vinogradov
hebben de eer
Prof. and Mrs. R.P. Cleveringa.
uit te nodigen tot een receptie
ter gelegenheid van de 29ste verjaardag
der Groote Socialistische October-Revolutie
op Donderdag 7 November 1946, van 5 tot 7 uur des namiddags
in het gebouw van de Ambassade der U.S.S.R.
Andries Bickerweg 2.
R.S.V.P.

Diary by professor R.P. Cleveringa, Rector Magnificus of Leiden University, 1946/1947.

'On 26 November 1940 Cleveringa, who had been a professor of commercial law and law of civic procedure at Leiden University since 1927 as well as dean of the faculty of law, delivered his well-known speech protesting against the dismissal of his Jewish colleague, professor E.M. Meijers. The high point of his time as rector was the presentation of an honorary doctorate to Sir Winston Churchill. A rector has to be something of an all-rounder, and so it was that Cleveringa – a liberal at heart – found himself as a guest at the reception of the Soviet Ambassador marking the "29th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution". In his diary he noted, "The buffets were more sumptuously stocked than any I've seen and the ambassador was in a magnificent uniform full of gold!"'

► Archives of the Leiden Observatory: *album amicorum* presented at the departure of professor Hendrik van de Sande Bakhuyzen as the director of the Leiden Observatory (1908).

'A grant from Metamorfoze, the Dutch National Programme for the Preservation of Paper Heritage, was obtained in 2008 for the conservation and digitisation of the large archives of the observatory, on which the Faculty of Science and the library collaborated. The heart of the archive consists of the collections of Frederik Kaiser (1808-1872), the founding father of the modern Leiden Observatory and Willem de Sitter (1872-1934), the director of the Observatory from 1918 and a pioneer of modern cosmology. There are also items by H.G. van de Sande Bakhuyzen and Ejnar Hertzsprung, and by their staff and students, including Jan Oort. The archives primarily cover the years 1830-1940.'

'The astronomers in Leiden maintained intensive contacts with leading scientists from all over the world, such as Einstein, about the theory of relativity. The *album amicorum* of Van de Sande Bakhuysen contains almost 600 unique photographs of scientists, observatories and telescopes, and many are signed. They are from all over the world – from Australia to Finland and from Argentina to Japan. The best-known portrait is that of Max Planck, one of the eight Nobel Prizewinners in the album. With its enormous binding it is one of the largest items in the Special Collections of Leiden University Library.'

During the first eighty years of the university, humanism left an important mark on the development of the University Library. The humanist frame of reference is also evoked by this roller stamp from the end of the sixteenth century, on which Pallas Athena is depicted as the patroness of the university.

III BETWEEN HUMANISM AND THE ENLIGHTENMENT, 1655-1701

LEARNED LIBRARIANS

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the successive librarians at the university formed a coherent dynasty. The two Dousas, father and son, Merula and Heinsius were humanists who had been brought up on classical sources. Janus Dousa senior stood at the cradle of the university: his successors would all study at Leiden University and occupy a chair there, apart from Dousa junior, who died young. Their fields were the languages of classical antiquity, theology, and history. Usually, these professors-cum-librarians also fulfilled the task of historiographer for the States of Holland and Zeeland, the assumption being that the library administrators of the first and oldest university in the Republic were unquestionably the best equipped to record the history of the States. The Leiden librarians also gave academic speeches on a regular basis. *Eloquentia* and *Rhetorica* were the channels via which learning was audibly manifested. By giving academic speeches, the learned sixteenth and seventeenth-century librarians were allowing the library to speak, while demonstrating the insights to which working with books on a daily basis led.

The three learned individuals who occupied the post of librarian in the second half of the seventeenth century were Anthony Thysius, Johannes Fredericus Gronovius and Fredericus Spanheim.

ANTHONY THYSIUS: 1655-1665

Brief biography

Anthony Thysius was the librarian for just ten years, but these comprised an important period of transition. The metamorphosis that the library underwent at this time was largely attributable to Thysius. In many ways, the story of his life is very similar to that of Heinsius, his predecessor.

Anthony Thysius was born in around 1603. His father, Anthony Thysius senior, came from Antwerp and belonged to the group of Flemish Calvinists of which Vulcanius was also a member. He had been a pupil of Vulcanius and followed him to Leiden in 1580. The whole family later fled to the North.[1] In 1601, after extensive travels that took him all over Europe, Thysius' father was appointed professor of theology at the Gymnasium Illustre in Harderwijk, where his eldest son, who would go on to become the librarian at Leiden University, was born. Thysius therefore belonged to the second generation of southern Protestant refugees and was able to put his solid upbringing down to a well-travelled father who was known as a moderate theologian. He never lost sight of his background. He divided his studies in Leiden between Greek, Latin, Oriental languages and law. Like Heinsius, he was allowed to give unpaid lectures in poetry, the field in which he would be appointed as an endowed professor several years later, as well as oratory, a field in which he was offered a chair in 1653. In that same year, the curators took measures aimed at replacing Heinsius, who had been unwell for some time. The library was in a state of crisis. The resistance on the part of the curators against making purchases had become too much for Heinsius in 1649, and his frail health was the final straw. The acquisition of manuscripts and books ground to a standstill, the administration of the collection was neglected, and the library descended into complete chaos in a very short time. The curators turned to Thysius, the new professor of oratory, and asked him to turn the tide by drawing up a new and *accurate* catalogue.[2] In order to be able to carry out this task, the whole library would have to be rearranged. The *plutei,* the *arcae* and the office where special volumes were stored were all bursting at the seams, as a kind a furious ode to Heinsius' exemplary zeal.

Fame and reputation are relative things. While he was alive, Anthony Thysius indicated there was no need for a funeral eulogy in the event of his death. In addition, there is no known portrait of him. In this *vanitas* still-life by Pieter Steenwijk (Allegory on the death of Tromp), the funeral eulogy he composed for Admiral Tromp is depicted, however.

The new 'wall' library

It would have been impossible to end this chaos simply by bringing out a new catalogue. Moreover, the interior architecture was no longer in keeping with the image of academic endeavour that was slowly but surely making its presence felt in Europe. In 1595, the humanist library of Jan van Hout and Janus Dousa was given the medieval form of a chained library with learning at its heart – accessible from all sides and surrounded by the portraits of great scholars. This style of presentation, which was old-fashioned even at that time, had survived in Leiden for longer than anywhere else in Europe, thanks to the emphasis on humanist philology. In Italy, Spain and England, new libraries had been designed between 1550 and 1650, while old ones had been completely renovated. As early as 1584, the Escorial in Madrid had presented books in the new style, in neoclassical bookcases placed along the walls. The Ambrosiana in Milan followed in 1609, as did the Bodleian in Oxford in 1610, the Mazarine in Paris in 1647, and finally the university libraries in Leiden and Leuven in 1653 and 1690. However, it would not be until well into the eighteenth century that the new wall libraries would become the generally accepted form.[3] There were different reasons for changing to a new type of library building. First, it was a practical necessity. The explosion of knowledge so characteristic of the seventeenth century had resulted in a huge increase in the production of books, and the number of books that needed to be stored presented librarians with intractable problems. The amount of space in the *plutei* was limited. Even doubling the space available in the *plutei,* as had been done in Leiden, was not enough. In addition, the fragmentation of subjects into certain fields created problems in terms of where to place books. The result was that the chained manuscripts and books were constantly moved and rearranged, with all the dangers that that entailed. The lack of space made radical change unavoidable, but at least as important was the change in attitude of scholars towards their fields, of readers towards their reading matter. Humanist scholars went to the heart of their knowledge by reconstructing antique sources as faithfully as possible, making their own contributions by adding useful notes to these sources. Taking a seat at a *pluteus* in the library and studying texts in depth was a way of entering the world of universal knowledge and determining their own place within it. Access to the universe was therefore secured within the closed sphere of the legacy of ancient history, with one's eye focused on an imaginary central point. This way of thinking now seems paradoxical, but at the time fitted in with a world view in which the earth was the centre of the universe. When Copernicus, and Galileo after him, turned this perspective on its head by stating that the earth went round the sun and not the other way round, they unleashed a revolution that led to huge shifts in all kinds of areas. This included the sphere of library building, although the influence was not felt straight away. From now on, scholars would have to turn around (literally), leave the centre of the library and look outwards in order to get to know the universe. The bookcases on the walls were the symbol of this urge to look outside, functioning as open hatches. As soon as a book was removed from them, the readers got a view of the outdoor landscape.

In 1653, Thysius was given the opportunity to rearrange the library in accordance with these new ideas, and he seized it immediately. What it meant was that the large collection that his predecessor, Heinsius, had accumulated would now get the room it deserved. The building work was completed in six months.[4] The *plutei* were broken up and bookcases placed against the walls. They were used to house the printed books from the *plutei*, mostly folios (now liberated from their chains) and the smaller printed books from the *arcae.* The items were still classified according to faculty, and the books were numbered in sequence. It was only the manuscripts from Scaliger's legacy that were placed back under lock and key, after being checked, in special closed cases for which only the librarian and a custodian had a key. The sole exception to this was the professor of Oriental Studies, Golius, who was working on a catalogue of the Oriental manuscripts.[5]

The general audit exposed some alarming facts. Thysius had asked for a list of loaned works, but his request was in vain – the information could not be traced.[6] He fared little better in his request to his fellow professors to return the books they had borrowed when Heinsius had been in charge.[7] The margins of the printed catalogue that Thysius used for converting the numbering system reveal every librarian's worst nightmare: *deest, desunt* – missing.[8] It was important to prevent this occurring in the future. The safety measures that were introduced with the new layout were certainly hard-hitting. In spite of repeated protests, the privileges that had been enjoyed by professors, curators and members of the council were revoked: no-one, apart from the librarian and custodian, was allowed the keys to the library any longer. And contrary to the practice in the first half of the seventeenth century, this

• The Huguenot André Rivet, who taught theology in Leiden for many years, was known for being an exponent of strict Reformed orthodoxy. He was a vigorous opponent of anything that, in his view, tended towards heresy, particularly Socinianism. His private library contained a large number of Socinian books. After Rivet's death, Thysius managed to secure these rare books for the University Library.

•• The Huguenot Claude Saumaise (Salmasius) taught philology in Leiden. There was such great enmity between himself and the librarian, Heinsius, that the latter barred Saumaise from the library. Saumaise was therefore forced to buy the books that he needed. Many of these books were later acquired for the library from Salmasius' legacy by Thysius, who had by then succeeded Heinsius.

strict rule *was* now enforced. When in 1657 the president of the Council of Holland, Zeeland and West-Friesland insisted that he be given new keys to the library, he was refused. The library, said the curators, had in the past suffered considerably as a result of an access policy that was too lax. With the new set-up, where the books were *not* attached to anything, the problems could only become worse.[9] This new strictness revealed a complete change of course. Whereas in 1595 the library, like the botanical gardens and the anatomical theatre, had been the brilliant achievement of a university born of the Dutch Revolt and portrayed itself as such, sixty years later it took on a new form, literally and metaphorically. The *Instructie voor de lezer* (instructions for the reader), issued in 1655, marked this transition.[10] The provisions were aimed at protecting the collection and safeguarding peace and quiet for the visitors to the library. The politically charged presentation of the showpiece library of 1595 was not repeated. From now on, the library would be designed less for outward prestige, and more with general usefulness in mind.[11] This turnaround had physical consequences for readers entering the library. A low barrier was placed in front of every bookcase. The reader had to ask the custodian for the item he wanted – he would then remove it from the case and give it to the reader over the barrier. To view a book in the library, the reader could use the slanting lecterns that had been placed under the windows and which were very well lit. Borrowing was also permitted, but items had to be signed for. Anyone wishing to view manuscripts had to ask for the locked cases to be opened. In short, things were not made easy for readers. In addition, the library was only open for a few hours on Wednesdays and Saturdays. It was only possible to enter the building at other times with special permission from the librarian – and only then in the presence of the custodian, who had to be paid for the task.[12] The requirements that the custodian had to meet give an idea of the workings of the library. He was expected to be 'reliable and competent', and to know the books of every faculty, know where they belonged, and be able to speak foreign languages.[13]

Acquisition

The new bookcases that had been purchased were bigger than necessary: there was space for the 'many good books' that were apparently still missing from the collection.[14] Nonetheless, Thysius was not given a bigger budget for buying books than his predecessor, Heinsius. However, he was allowed to sell the copper chains from the old library and use the proceeds to fill any gaps in the collection. As an example, he purchased books that the library badly needed from the estates of scholars like Boxhorn.[15] He also managed to get hold of a large number of titles from two renowned libraries of French Huguenots who taught in the Republic – philologist Claude Saumaise (Salmasius), Scaliger's successor in Leiden, and his good friend, theologian André Rivet. These acquisitions show how obtaining antiquarian books from private libraries can have unforeseen consequences. The fact that many books from Claude Saumaise's private library should end up in the library of Leiden University of all places, was not without its ironies: for years, Heinsius had prevented Saumaise from using the library, thereby forcing him to buy the books he needed himself. It was these books that ultimately made their way to the very same library.[16] Equally notable was the fact that the extensive collection of Socinian – heretical – books that Thysius succeeded in obtaining at about the same time, came from the library of the strongly Calvinist theologian Rivet, who had written passionately against the views expressed in the same books.[17] The content of a book that undergoes a change of ownership may stay the same, but the context in which it is read can certainly alter. Further research into how books were used in the context of the library could yield some very interesting results.

If Thysius' attempts to oblige the printers in the Republic to send a copy of every book they printed to the library had succeeded, he would without doubt have been one of the most important librarians in Leiden's history. The idea was not new: it had been practised in France for the benefit of the king's library for almost a century, while in England the measure had been imposed on the Stationers' Company in 1610.[18] In the Republic, with its decentralised government, it was more difficult to create a national *dépôt légal*. It took another thirty years before Thysius' proposal was adopted and nearly a century before it had any impact on the library, but it never became a hard and fast rule, and was not always respected. However, the fact that Thysius had made such a suggestion clearly shows that this librarian was a man with vision.[19] He was more successful at the local level. The rule was already in force at the start of the seventeenth century, but had been largely ignored under Heinsius. Thysius managed to obtain books for the library that had recently been printed in Leiden.[20] When he died on 25 January 1665, the library looked completely different from the chaotic state that greeted him when he took office.

• Johannes Fredericus Gronovius, a professor of Greek, was one of the great philologists of his time. Gronovius was librarian from 1665 to 1671.

•• During the Golden Age, interest in the Orient increased considerably. The paintings and drawings of the time bear witness to this interest, such as this cartouche drawn by Romein de Hooghe for the fourth chart of 'Oost Indien' (the East Indies) by Hugo Allard, ca. 1668.

JOHANNES FREDERICUS GRONOVIUS: 1665-1671

Brief biography

Johannes Fredericus Gronovius came from Hamburg, where he was born in 1611 and spent much of his youth. He studied law and the arts at the major German universities and travelled to Leiden in 1634 on the advice of Hugo Grotius, whom he had met in Hamburg. His first stay in Leiden was brief. From 1634 until 1642, Gronovius journeyed throughout Europe, gaining experiences that would be essential in shaping his ideas as a librarian. After a professorship in Deventer, he settled in Leiden in 1658, at the age of 48, succeeding Heinsius as professor of Greek and history. He was entrusted with the post of librarian seven years later, a task he would continue to perform until his death in 1671. Gronovius was one the greatest philologists of the seventeenth century and wrote outstanding books and commentaries on Latin authors – historians, philosophers and playwrights.[21] He had gathered many of the comments he included in his philological publications from the renowned libraries he had visited on his extensive travels. This involved greatly contrasting experiences. He always maintained the openness with which Parisian humanists and leading members of the *République des Lettres* in other countries had greeted him or made their private or institutional libraries available to him as his ideal. On the other hand, he considered the churlish attitude of English and, especially, Italian librarians as a form of barbarism. His stay in Oxford, where he wanted to study ancient manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, was a disaster, his attempts to see the manuscripts in the Bibliotheca Marciana in Venice came to nothing, while in Florence, too, he was unable to gain access to the libraries in which the sources he needed were located. It was only the collegiality of Frenchman Gabriel Naudé and the German Lucas Holstenius, who had studied in Leiden, that prevented his stay in Rome from turning into a fiasco too. It was not just Gronovius who had experiences of this kind. In around 1640, many travellers from the North complained about the small-minded attitude of Italian librarians and about the decline of Italian publishing since censorship by the church had been tightened up around 1616.[22] For humanists from the North, who had been brought up with a love for Roman civilisation and were looking for sources for their philological work, these experiences were a great disappointment, as they were for Gronovius. They did not fail to leave their mark, however. He needed no persuading of the importance of allowing generous access to libraries – that was his aim. But more than anything, he was aware of the need to cast his mind to the East, where numerous sources were available for the taking.

In the course of the sixteenth century, Oriental Studies had come a long way at the major Western universities. Chairs in Oriental languages were being created all over Europe, with the emphasis initially placed on Hebrew and Arabic, and later on other Oriental languages.[23] The reasons for this interest in the Orient may have varied widely, but were not unconnected. They ranged from religious fervour to scientific curiosity and from diplomatic necessity to linguistic interest. First, at least in terms of chronology, came religious fervour. Theologians in training had to be able to read the Old Testament in its original languages – Hebrew and Aramaic. Moreover, the aim was for them to know the texts from the Jewish tradition so well that they would be able to defeat Jews on their own territory and thereby convert them to Christianity. This was particularly relevant in the seventeenth-century Republic, where Jewish and Christian scholars met and where it was not infrequent for prospective ministers to study with a Jewish scholar in order to learn Hebrew. The same thing applied to Arabic: by learning the language, it was thought that Western Christians could learn to understand Islam and convert Muslims to Christianity. As the years progressed, Chinese and many other languages were similarly 'targeted'. There was therefore a link between the missionary vocation and linguistics that would wane only in the course of the twentieth century. Thanks to this missionary background, Western libraries accumulated numerous translations of the bible, works of grammar and dictionaries in Oriental and, later, African languages.

Apart from missionary zeal, scientific curiosity also fed the Western interest in the Middle East. Before that time, outside Spain at least, contacts between East and West had been too scarce and too difficult for there to be any meaningful direct scientific traffic. At this time, this Western curiosity for the Orient was linked to the humanist focus on the ancient world. This was because a significant proportion of the Greek sources to which humanists turned in their search for knowledge had been translated into Arabic from the ninth century AD. The expansion of Islam in this period covered the entire area of the Mediterranean Sea and the Middle East as far as India. Based on the same motives that would later prompt the humanists to carry out their translations, scientific and philosophical sources were gathered from all the centres

The Leiden manuscript of *De materia medica* by Dioscurides of Anazarbus is the oldest dated Dioscurides manuscript (1083). The plant shown below is the *Qaraniya*, or dogwood.

of civilisation in these regions and were systematically translated into Arabic and Syriac. The school of Baghdad played a leading role in this far-reaching cultural transfer.

In the course of the twelfth century European scholars outside Spain began to gain access to these sources and to translate them into Latin. At the end of the sixteenth century, the influence of the Humanist tradition inspired scholars to go back to the original Arabic sources, which they published in printed form. It was against this backdrop that Plantin's son-in-law Raphelengius started his printing firm specialised in Oriental texts in Leiden, as did Erpenius later on (following the example of the Typographia Medicea in Rome). The diplomatic and commercial contacts that were laid in Istanbul, Aleppo and Smyrna, for example, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were used to acquire Oriental manuscripts that eventually, with some delays, would end up in Western libraries.

This shift was reflected on the wall of Leiden University Library. Whereas the *Prospect of Constantinople* on the wall of the library had been an object of admiration (encouraged by the creator of the drawing, as he beckoned towards the city from outside) for half a century, from 1598 to 1653, the priority now was to obtain treasures from the East for the purpose of scholarly study. The enticing *Prospect* – the visualised version of the Orient – could be put away: the true Orient – the texts – was brought into the library.

It can justifiably be asked whether the arrival of the Warner legacy was not the logical consequence of an overall cultural shift in Europe, one that had started with Scaliger.[24] Every major library focused its attention on the available sources and became involved in a fierce competition to acquire them. When he learned that most of the estate of Golius, the Leiden orientalist who died in 1667, had ended up abroad, Gronovius was as livid as never before. The manuscripts that had belonged to Golius, who had acquired numerous manuscripts in the Orient for the collection at Leiden, had 'been purchased by order of the King of France... and kept in His Majesty's library'.[25] Some of Golius' other manuscripts found their way to Oxford,[26] a reminder of the fate of Erpenius' manuscripts, which had ended up in Cambridge thirty years before as a result of the carelessness of the administrators in Leiden. The arrival of the Warner legacy in 1665 continued Scaliger's Oriental tradition which would continue to be honoured, even in leaner times.

The Warner legacy: 1665

Levinus Warner died in Istanbul in June 1665. He left the collection of Oriental sources that he had built up so passionately during the twenty years he spent in the Levant to Leiden University. The bequest consisted of 959 Arabic, Hebrew, Turkish and Persian manuscripts, 223 Oriental printed books, most of which were in Hebrew, fourteen Greek manuscripts and Warner's own manuscripts. At the time, it was the largest bequest the library had ever received.[27] The Warner legacy supplemented the existing Oriental collection very nicely. This was no coincidence: Levinus Warner had studied Oriental languages in Leiden under Jacob Golius and Constantine l'Empereur before leaving for the Levant in 1644. His studies had given him a thorough education, and his interest in Oriental sources was already remarkable even at that time. In fact, he was following the example of his mentor Golius, who had acquired many Oriental manuscripts during his travels in the Osmanic Empire for both the Leiden University library and his own private collection. Just four years after his departure from Leiden, the university offered Warner the chair in Hebrew. Before setting out on his return journey, Warner wanted to take another trip to Syria in order to buy manuscripts there. The university agreed and met his costs. He ultimately decided to stay in his beloved Istanbul, as an official of the Republic from 1655.[28] He maintained his passion for collecting and studying Oriental sources.

After Warner's death in 1665, the collection he had left in his will had to be transported to the Republic – no easy task in an era when ships' cargoes were regularly lost or damaged, and when piracy was thriving. From Istanbul, the three baskets and two wooden cases travelled to Leiden via Smyrna and Livorno. Most of the collection arrived in 1668, with the remainder turning up later. The Warner legacy was stored in a special case with an inscription in memory of the donor. For the purpose of drawing up an inventory, the university called on the help of T. Petraeus, an orientalist from Holstein, and the Armenian scholar Sjahin Kandi. The latter had previously been employed as a copyist of Arabic and Turkish manuscripts by Golius.[29] The fifth catalogue of Leiden University Library, which came off the presses in 1674, contained a complete description of Warner's legacy. The new catalogue highlighted the unmistakable importance of the Oriental collections. It was the first time they were specifically referred to in the title: *Catalogus bibliothecae publicae Lugduno-Batavae noviter recognitus, accessit*

LIBRI M.S.S.

ARABICI, PERSICI, TURCICI,

LEGATI

WARNERIANI.

جامع البيان في تفسير القران تاليف شمس الدين محمد *
Sjems Eddin Muhammed Commentarius in Alcoranum. 1
تفسير القران *
Expositio Corani. 2
كتاب ترجمة الامصار وتجربة الابصار المشهور بعارج الوصاف ☆
Alwassaf (Historiographi) scil. Abdallah F. Fasl Allah Gjunzi Annales Mogolici sive Gjingischanici, & aliorum Principum ac Regum consanguineorum, successorum in imperio; à primordiis exitus Regis Orbis domitoris Tzjingis Chan, usque ad tempus subjugationis regionum, turmis copiosissimis ducis Hulaku Chan: præmittitur prolixa præfatio, ubi multa carmina stylo plane oratorio. Persice. 3
مثنوي لجلال الدين *
Gjelal Eddin Poëma mysticum de Fundamentis Religionis. Persice. 4
الجكمة *
De Sophistis, Sapientia, ac Adagiis Regum. De Moribus Regum. Hortus Doctorum. De Officio Regum. Acutè dicta Sapientum.

LEGATI WARNERIANI. 317

Sapientum. Oneirocriticum. Admiranda. Medela Animæ. Monita Regum & Principum. Omnia Persice. 5
المواعظ والاعتبار في ذكر الخطط والاثار للقريزي *
Makrizius de Antiquitatibus urbis Ægypti AlCahiræ, vulgo AlCairo vel Grand Caire, splendidis palatiis, vicis & territoriis. 6
مجموع الرسايل *
Sylloge Epistolarum Muhammedis, Imperatorum Othmanicorum, ac aliorum Principum. Arab. Pers. Turcice. 7
نهاية الارب في فنون الادب للنويري *
Noweiri Annales. 1. est vol. constans 5. part. ex diverf. auctor. 8
المستطرف في كل فن مستظرف لمحمد بن احمد الطيبي الابشيهي *
Muhammed F. Ahmed elChatijb elAbsjihi Collectanea ex Corano, Muhammedis dictis, Historicis, ac Poetis. 9
Dioscoridis Anazarbæi de Materia Medica Libri 7. interpretibus Honain ac Stephano, cum figuris rerum ad vivum expressarum. 10
Philosophi Abil Fergi Abdallah F el-Tajjib Interpretatio Librorum Galeni de Arte medicinali, & Conservanda Valetudine. 11
رسايل الشجرة الالهية في علوم الحقايق الربانية *
Scripta de variis Divinæ Sapientiæ generibus. 12
مروج الذهب ومعادن الجوهر لابن مسعود *
Ibn Mesoud Vitæ Illustrium Regum & Doctorum Virorum. 13
الدول سيالة الترسل لمحمد بن مويد البغدادي *
Muhammed F. Muwajjed Bagdadensis Literæ, Persice. 14
شرح المعلقات السبع للتبريزي *
Tebrizii Comment. in 7. Poetarum Carmina. 15
شرح الجغميني بالا زاده رومي *
Mela Zadeh Rumæi Comm. in Gjagminæi Astronomiam. 16

• The Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts from the Warner legacy were included in the catalogue of 1674. The titles in Arabic were described accurately and printed clearly.

•• The professor of theology, Fredericus Spanheim, served as librarian between 1672 and 1701. During this period, the library acquired the Vossius collection. With this, the number of books doubled.

incomparabilis thesaurus librorum orientalium, praecipue mss [...].

The way in which the Warner legacy had been accumulated in the East and become available in the West for the benefit of scholars was typical of the way in which Oriental collections expanded and were used in Europe. The first orientalists, like Scaliger and Erpenius in Leiden, never visited the Orient, and they obtained their sources with some difficulty. The next generation, from the mid-seventeenth century, went out to look for them themselves. The economic expansion towards the East gave Western scholars like Golius and Warner the opportunity to purchase manuscripts and books locally. The sources they acquired there ended up in European libraries, where a sound knowledge of many Oriental languages was needed in order to understand them. Such knowledge was sometimes already available, but not always. There was therefore a certain discrepancy between the enthusiastic purchases in the East and the actual use of these sources in the West. As a result, the need to create specialist catalogues was greater in the case of the Oriental collections than it was for other collections. For the library, the arrival of the Warner legacy represented the high point of Oriental Studies at Leiden University in the middle of the seventeenth century. Almost every academic field was represented in it, in the form of valuable and sometimes unique manuscripts: philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, medicine, natural history and of course versions of and commentaries on the Koran.[30] The importance of such an asset was so great that the entire Oriental collection at Leiden still bears Warner's name to this day: *Legatum Warnerianum.*

However, almost immediately after the arrival of his legacy, there started a decline in the practice of Oriental Studies at Leiden University that would continue until well into the eighteenth century.

FREDERICUS SPANHEIM: 1672-1701

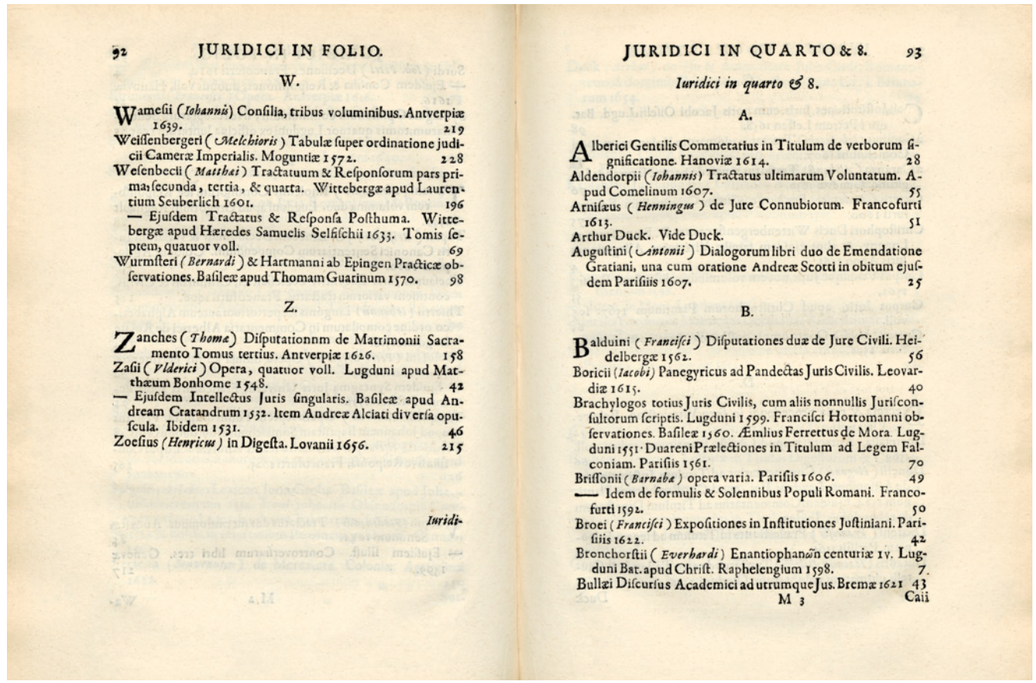
Brief biography

When Fredericus Spanheim accepted the office of librarian in 1672, he could not have suspected that he would be responsible for the biggest purchase in the history of the Leiden University library – the library of Isaac Vossius.

Spanheim was born in Geneva in 1632, where he spent the first ten years of his life. In 1642, his father was invited to Leiden to teach theology. His greatest wish was for his son to follow in his footsteps, a wish that was indeed fulfilled. Despite his preference for philology, Fredericus studied theology in Leiden and became a minister in 1651. From 1655 to 1670 he taught as a professor at Heidelberg, where he received an urgent invitation from Leiden: they were very keen for him to succeed the theologian, Coccejus. A century after the university had been established, it was still as difficult to find professors who could uphold the name of the university and attract students from home and abroad as it had been in the early years. Spanheim not only enjoyed a good reputation as a teacher, but his positions against Socianism and his clear arguments made him highly suitable for a chair at the Leiden University theology faculty. When he appeared uncertain about whether to take up the invitation, he was offered the prospect of many privileges for the trouble of coming to Leiden, as Scaliger had been.[32] Spanheim would go on to spend thirty years teaching theology and the history of Christianity in Leiden, where he also fulfilled some important functions, such as that of rector and librarian. *De prudentia theologi,* on the prudence of the theologian, was the title of his inaugural speech, and this is how his performance can be described. Spanheim was a committed anti-Cartesian, although he was also critical of his equally anti-Cartesian predecessor, Coccejus. He had a markedly critical mind, but was generally able to convey his views in mild and restrained terms.[33]

The 1674 catalogue

By the time of J.F. Gronovius' death, in 1671, the library had become imbalanced in four different aspects: it was again bursting at the seams, the location of the books no longer corresponded to the information in the existing catalogues, many copies were missing, and the collection had become so diverse that it was no longer possible for one person to keep track of it. Spanheim was given the not insubstantial task of restoring order to 'the entire body of the library' and to draw up a new catalogue.[34] Using the sketch that his predecessor Gronovius had made, and which he only obtained from his heirs after some difficulty, Spanheim set to work. He received assistance from Boots, Petraeus and Sjahin Kandi for the Oriental collections and from the Delft rector Abraham van Berckel (Berkelius) with the Greek and Latin works.[35] The new *pertinent* catalogue of the Leiden University library appeared in 1674. It seemed the library owned 3725 printed books and 1702 manuscripts: its possessions had almost doubled since 1640. In terms of the number of



92 JURIDICI IN FOLIO.

W.

Wamesii (*Iohannis*) Consilia, tribus voluminibus. Antverpiæ 1639. 219
Weissenbergeri (*Melchioris*) Tabulæ super ordinatione judicii Cameræ Imperialis. Moguntiæ 1572. 228
Wesenbecii (*Matthæi*) Tractatuum & Responsorum pars prima secunda, tertia, & quarta. Wittebergæ apud Laurentium Seuberlich 1601. 196
— Ejusdem Tractatus & Responsa Posthuma. Wittebergæ apud Hæredes Samuelis Selfischii 1633. Tomis septem, quatuor voll. 69
Wurmsteri (*Bernardi*) & Hartmanni ab Epingen Practicæ observationes. Basileæ apud Thomam Guarinum 1570. 98

Z.

Zanches (*Thomæ*) Disputationnm de Matrimonii Sacramento Tomus tertius. Antverpiæ 1626. 158
Zasii (*Vlderici*) Opera, quatuor voll. Lugduni apud Matthæum Bonhome 1548. 42
— Ejusdem Intellectus Juris singularis. Basileæ apud Andream Cratandrum 1532. Item Andreæ Alciati diversa opuscula. Ibidem 1531. 46
Zoesius (*Henricus*) in Digesta. Lovanii 1656. 215

Iuridi-

JURIDICI IN QUARTO & 8. 93

Iuridici in quarto & 8.

A.

Alberici Gentilis Commentarius in Titulum de verborum significatione. Hanoviæ 1614. 28
Aldendorpii (*Iohannis*) Tractatus ultimarum Voluntatum. Apud Comelinum 1607. 55
Arnisæus (*Henningus*) de Jure Connubiorum. Francofurti 1613. 51
Arthur Duck. Vide Duck.
Augustini (*Antonii*) Dialogorum libri duo de Emendatione Gratiani, una cum oratione Andreæ Scotti in obitum ejusdem Parisiis 1607. 25

B.

Balduini (*Francisci*) Disputationes duæ de Jure Civili. Heidelbergæ 1562. 56
Boricii (*Iacobi*) Panegyricus ad Pandectas Juris Civilis. Leovardiæ 1615. 40
Brachylogos totius Juris Civilis, cum aliis nonnullis Jurisconsultorum scriptis. Lugduni 1599. Francisci Hottomanni observationes. Basileæ 1560. Æmlius Ferrettus de Mora. Lugduni 1551. Duareni Prælectiones in Titulum ad Legem Falconiam. Parisiis 1561. 70
Brissonii (*Barnabæ*) opera varia. Parisiis 1606. 49
— Idem de formulis & Solennibus Populi Romani. Francofurti 1592. 50
Broei (*Francisci*) Expositiones in Institutiones Justiniani. Parisiis 1622. 42
Bronchorstii (*Everhardi*) Enantiophanωn centuriæ IV. Lugduni Bat. apud Christ. Raphelengium 1598. 7.
Bullæi Discursus Academici ad utrumque Jus. Bremæ 1621 43

M 3

Cæii

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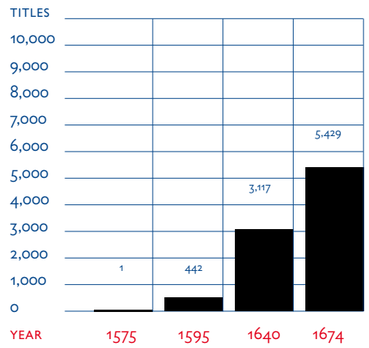
•• A random sample of maltreated books. Complaints about the 'maltreatment' of books are indicative of a recurrent problem in the history of the library. In the stacks, one can see how justified these complaints were.

pages per faculty, theology accounted for thirty per cent, law ten per cent, medicine seven per cent, history and the arts forty per cent, philosophy seven per cent, and mathematics five per cent. The layout of the catalogue displays a mixture of tradition and innovation. The titles were ranked according to faculty, in the traditional way, and according to format within the faculty classifications. However, within the formats they were listed in alphabetical order, which was new, and numbered sequentially. The alphabetic lists that J.F. Gronovius had made in his interleaved catalogue from 1640 had therefore effectively become 'conversion lists' of the old classification (1595, 1612, 1623 and 1640) to the new one (1674).[36] The secretary to the curators noted quite rightly that the catalogue was 'inaugurated' with a speech by Spanheim entitled '*bibliothecae lugduno-batavae nova auspicia*' on 19 October 1674.[37] The use of the word 'inauguration' was highly appropriate. In barely two years, Spanheim had succeeded in putting the entire library in order and making it available under new auspices. From now on, wrote Spanheim, the members of the university community would be able to enter a library where they could expect to find all the erudition, knowledge and wisdom from East and West in every field. Leiden, he stated, could easily withstand any comparison with the major private and public libraries.[38]



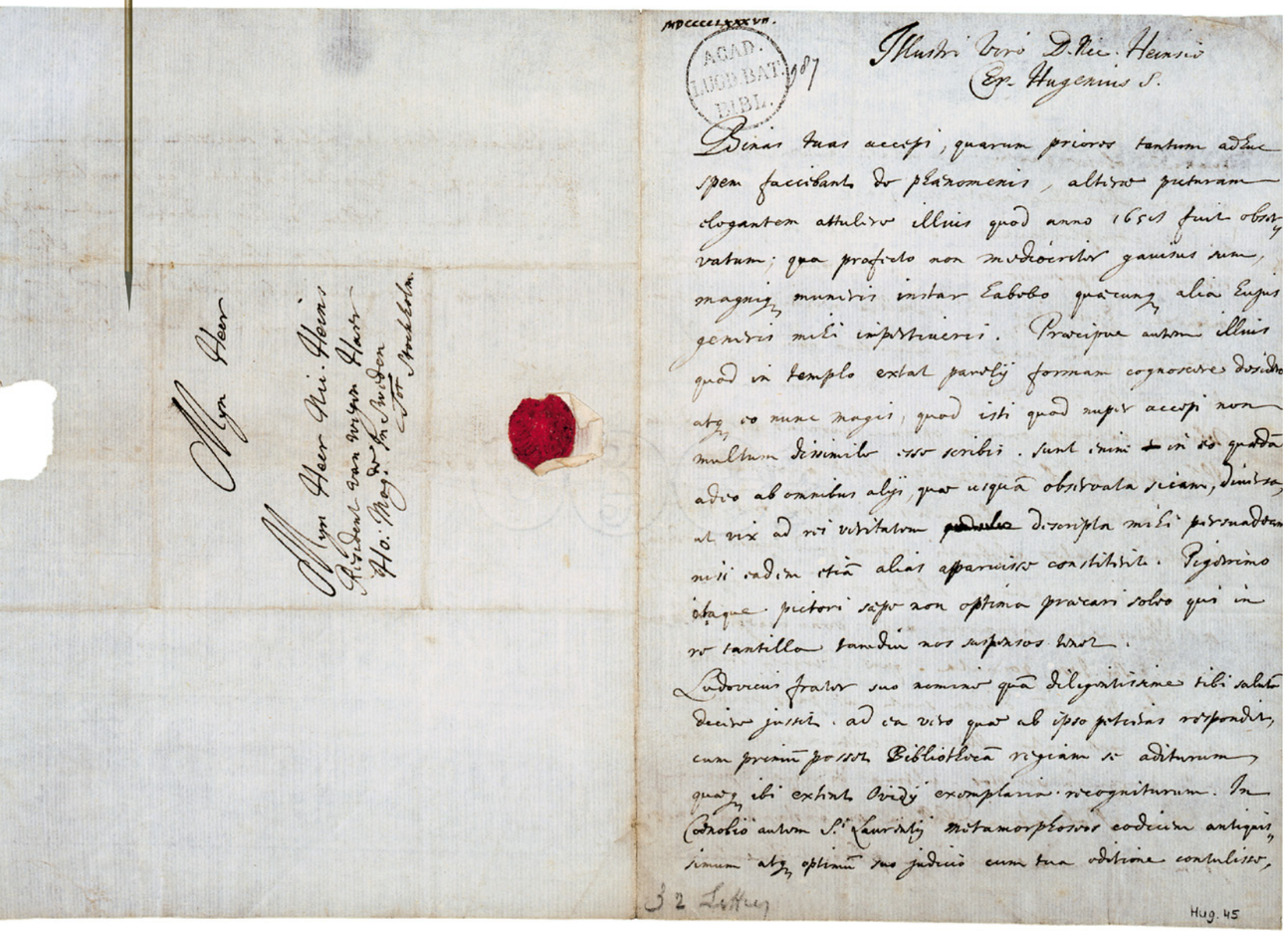
The growth of the collections between 1640 and 1674. In over thirty years, the library's collection almost doubled.

The extent to which the members of the university used their 'public library' was apparent from the fact that in 1683, Spanheim, eleven years after he was appointed as librarian, received a brand new *Instruction*.[39] Until then, only the first two librarians, Dousa senior and junior, had received such an instruction. The oath that Spanheim had to take concerned the various aspects of his work. By some distance, most points referred to the bad habits of borrowers and readers who frequently failed to return books on time, if at all, or who returned them covered in ink, notes or otherwise damaged.[40] The conduct of visitors who came to work in the library was little better. It was impossible to leave them alone with the books for a single moment. What the *Instruction* does in any case show is that the library was used intensively.

Readers? Don't leave them alone for a minute!

Spanheim's aim was to extend the use of the library to every member of the university community, particularly the students. The decision represented a delicate change of course, as students had only been allowed into the library to a limited degree until 1674, and sometimes not at all. More relaxed admission policies in the past had repeatedly led to misuse. Nevertheless, Spanheim stuck to his guns, taking decisive precautions to combat the anticipated mistreatment of the collection by students. He had books that were frequently used by students bound very firmly. The worn-out globes that were used in the library were repaired or replaced,[41] while continuous supervision by the custodian was intended to prevent excesses.[42] The easier access granted to students should be seen in context: during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, professors and administrators at the university had become aware of the need to provide students with good-quality, modern tools. In the exact sciences laboratory-based education had started to gain ground. Future medical practitioners were given the opportunity to acquire practice-based knowledge during their period of study. Therefore it was no more than logical that arts, law and theology students should also be able to access the space that was, essentially, their laboratory: the library. However, the collection did not entirely meet the needs of students, and it was decided that the gaps should be filled. Some legal and medical books that were essential for students were missing, for example, so the university secretary and a law professor started the custom of reviewing the library catalogue and drawing up a list of titles that had to be purchased for the students.[43] This method turned out to be highly effective for at least ten years. However, around 1686 Spanheim appeared to be losing his firm grasp somewhat. The regent of the Statencollege complained in that year that the library had

• Students did more than just study; this anonymous watercolour shows the standard of the Leiden student volunteers in 1672 (when the Dutch Republic was attacked by France, England and the bishops of Münster and Cologne).



•• In 1697, Christiaan Huygens bequeathed his mathematical books, his reference library and his collection of learned correspondence to the Leiden library. The acquisition of learned correspondence, such as this epistle from Christiaan Huygens to Nicolaas Heinsius of 6 March 1662, provided an incentive to publish this correspondence. The Leiden collection formed the basis for a large number of editions of correspondence, including that of Huygens.

gone seriously downhill and that the theology students under his care could not find the books that they needed there. He asked the curators if he could buy the books himself and to make them available to the students in the Statencollege itself.[44] There is a reference to another conflict that took place ten years later again, in 1695, concerning medical students who had misbehaved in the library and who had been banned from using it as a punishment. They requested that they no longer be 'frustrated' in their use of medical books.[45] In short, with its ups and downs, the library continued to be run as best as possible for the purpose of enabling students to use it regularly and intensively, although less attention was paid to the needs of borrowers. The time that humanists were happy to lend each other manuscripts from their private libraries or even from institutional libraries for which they were responsible, was well and truly over.[46] Slowly but surely, the protection of a library's possessions became more important than allowing its free use – at least, it did in the minds of the university administrators. Spanheim and many of his successors had different views on the matter. Although the *Instruction* of 1683 imposed restraints on the lending of books and manuscripts outside Leiden, requests for permission to circumvent the rule continued to be submitted.[47] These were generally refused by the curators, apart from when they concerned Oriental manuscripts, whose difficulty apparently mollified them, or of whose value they were perhaps unaware.[48]

At the end of the seventeenth century, however, a different type of reader emerged. While the university administrators remained stubbornly attached to the protective measures regarding the lending of books and manuscripts, they expected the custodians to admit any 'passing lover of study and books' to the library even outside the opening hours. The Age of the Enlightenment was dawning.

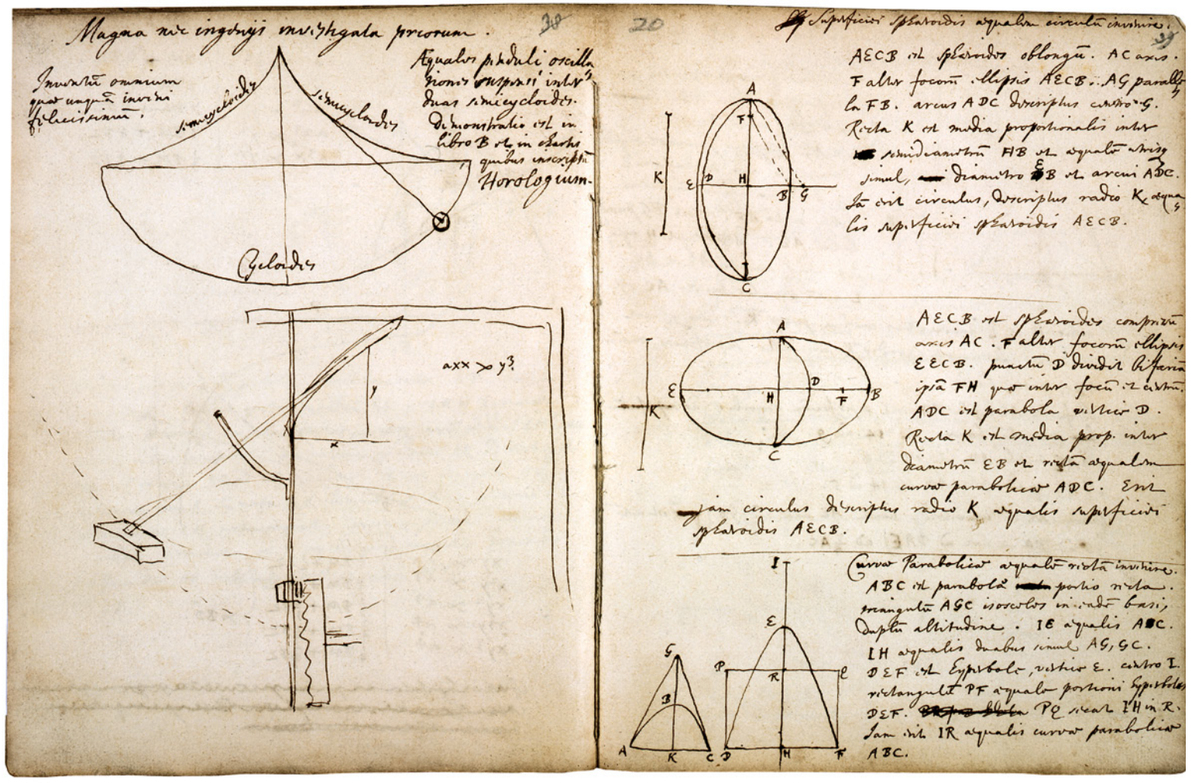
Because of a lack of funds

Because of a 'lack of funds', Spanheim was unable to spend much money on the regular purchase of books.[49] As a result, his selections were checked even more rigorously. When drawing up his wishes with regard to the books to buy, he had to give consideration to each of the faculties in equal measure, as much as possible, in terms of both the usefulness and decorative quality of the books.[50] The curators kept him on a tight rein, threatening every now and then to refuse to pay the library's bills, as they had done with the spendthrift, Daniel Heinsius.[51] Gifts and donations, however, regularly rolled in. The family of Coccejus, Spanheim's predecessor, donated all the works of the well-known theologian, all beautifully bound,[52] while the Huguenot Henri Basnage de Beauval sent two of his books.[53] Spanheim received a large bequest in 1697, when Christiaan Huygens left his mathematics books, his library and his collection of erudite letters to Leiden University. The legacy also contained unpublished works. After studying the manuscripts, professors De Volder and Fullenius had six treatises by Christiaan Huygens published.[54] In doing so, they were effectively following the old humanist custom of disseminating valuable acquisitions of the library in printed form. The legacy included some absolute gems: letters from Leibniz, manuscripts by Descartes and outstanding drawings by Christiaan, such as the one of Hofwijck, the country house of the Huygens family.

The 'shortage of funds' lasted until the start of the eighteenth century, but this did not stop the university from buying a large number of books at the auction of philologist and poet Nicolaas Heinsius, the son of the former librarian, in 1681. In fact, the university could have purchased Nicolaas Heinsius' entire library: the legatees had had a catalogue of it drawn up and offered the collection for sale to the university. Nicolaas Heinsius had managed to accumulate a wonderful collection of classical literature, which fitted in very well in the collection of the University Library. The offer to buy the whole library was rejected with great reluctance because of a lack of money, but the catalogue was given to Fredericus Spanheim and Jacobus Gronovius in order to enable them to identify the books that would be 'useful' for Leiden. Some 212 books were acquired at the public auction, but the list of items that Spanheim and Gronovius had wanted was considerably longer.[55] This episode will undoubtedly have played a role when, in 1690, the complete library of Isaac Vossius was offered to Leiden University.

The Bibliotheca Vossiana*: 1689*

Isaac Vossius died in Windsor in February 1689. He had been the librarian to Queen Christina of Sweden and was the only surviving son of Gerardus Joannes Vossius, who had occupied various chairs in Leiden and Amsterdam.[56] In his will, Isaac Vossius expressed his wish that his extensive library be kept intact. In order to make sure this happened, he had advised his heirs, his nephew



• Christiaan Huygens' legacy included his mathematical annotations.

•• Christiaan Huygens made splendid drawings of his rural retreat at Hofwijck. This one is bound in a manuscript that formed part of the Huygens legacy.

••• The *Bibliotheca Vossiana* included the sixteenth-century map, *La vera descriptione de tuto el Piemonte*.

• In 1690, G.J. Vossius offered his uncle Isaac Vossius' library, the *Bibliotheca Vossiana*, to Leiden University. The appraisal of the collection on offer was entrusted to three professors: Fredericus Spanheim, Jacobus Triglandius and Jacobus Gronovius (depicted here), professor of Greek language and rhetoric.

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••• Found among the volumes of the *Bibliotheca Vossiana* were manuscripts and books that had been taken from Bohemia by Swedish troops as war booty. These may have been given to Vossius, who had been librarian to Queen Christina of Sweden, as compensation for unpaid salary. Some of the items include bookplates that betray their Bohemian origins.

•• The bookplate and the stamp on the binding reveal that this atlas came from the library of Peter Vok, Lord of Rosenberg. The collection had been housed in the imperial library in Prague since 1620. The Swedes took it from Prague in 1648.

G.J. Vossius and his sister, Aafje Vossius, to offer the whole library for sale to the universities of Oxford, Leiden, Cambridge and Amsterdam.[57] It took fifteen years for the storm that raged around this legacy to die down. In a sense, the eventful account of the *Bibliotheca Vossiana,* which reads more like a detective story than anything else, marked the end of the humanist era for Leiden University Library, and the start of a new, modern age.

Oxford was the first university to be offered the chance to acquire the *Bibliotheca Vossiana*. Three professors, including E. Bernard, estimated the value of the library to be 2,800 pounds, or 30,000 florins, provided no books and especially no manuscripts were removed from the collection, something they clearly feared. For that reason, Oxford's offer was tied to two conditions: first, the manuscripts by Martial, Lucretius, Manilius and Hesychius, which G.J. Vossius had removed from his uncle's collection, had to be put back and second, payment would have to be made in instalments, probably in order to guarantee the completeness of the library. These conditions were unacceptable to G.J. Vossius. He decided to approach the second university that his uncle had suggested as a potential buyer – Leiden. In January 1690, he made the catalogue of the *Bibliotheca Vossiana* available to Leiden University, mentioning the amount that Oxford had offered of 30,000 florins. However, he also added that it was possible to buy not the whole library, but just the manuscripts.[58] Leiden followed exactly the same procedure as Oxford. Librarian Spanheim and professors Jacobus Gronovius and Jacobus Triglandius were asked to put a value on the *Bibliotheca Vossiana*. There was already some doubt about the completeness of the library vis-à-vis the catalogue, because Spanheim wrote to England in order to verify the state of the library. The replies were presumably not too disconcerting, because in July the curators laid down an ultimatum for Vossius' heirs: Leiden was prepared to pay 33,000 florins, 3,000 more than Oxford, for the whole library, but the contract would need to be signed quickly. This was duly done in September 1690, in London. The books were taken from Windsor, where the library had been housed since the death of Isaac Vossius, to the house of the Ambassador of the Republic in London. The same was done with the manuscripts, which were packed into crates and travelled different routes. In London, the library was formally handed over to a representative of Leiden University. Ambassador Van Citters managed to get round the payment of export duties – more important than the financial benefit this would bring was probably the fact that the 33 bales and two crates in which the library had been packed would be able to leave war-torn England unnoticed. They were loaded onto the Reigersbergh, a Dutch warship under the command of Captain Ferdinand van Zijle, which set sail from London on 8 October 1690 and reached the Republic four days later. The *Bibliotheca Vossiana* was delivered and unpacked at Leiden University on 21 October 1690, and was found to have sustained no damage. The first instalment of the purchase amount, 21,000 florins, was paid out to the heirs in London.[59]

Spanheim the librarian, and the professors Triglandius and Jacobus Gronovius started to compare the newly received library with the catalogue and quickly came to the conclusion that the *Bibliotheca Vossiana* that was now in Leiden differed markedly from what they thought they had purchased, based on the catalogue. They estimated the value of Vossius' books at 5,000 florins, and that of his manuscripts at the same amount – one-third of the agreed purchase price! Shocked, the curators asked no fewer than three booksellers to provide a valuation of the printed books. The value of the books alone was estimated at 8,159 florins, which meant that the hand-annotated books and manuscripts must have been worth 10,000 and 15,000 respectively in order for the agreed price to be correct. In other words, the impression was that they had been sold a pig in a poke, or in any case that they had paid at least half as much again for the *Bibliotheca Vossiana* as they should have done.[60]

The fact that in the future this would prove not to be the case at all was of course something they could not have known at the time. The unpleasant feeling that they had been duped was confirmed by Jacobus Gronovius, one of the three Leiden professors who had advised in favour of the purchase of the *Bibliotheca Vossiana* and who had discovered it to be incomplete when it arrived. In late September 1690, several days after the contract had been signed in London, Gronovius had received a letter from F. Bonnet, the representative of the Prince-Elector of Brandenburg in Leiden, in which he stated, in reference to the *Bibliotheca Vossiana*, that 'the cunning councillor [G.J. Vossius] has removed all the best parts'. The *Etymologicum Magnum,* a *De Aucupio* by Arrianus, a *Neostephanus,* but also manuscripts by Martial, Lucretius, Longinus, Hesychius and others, with annotations by Isaac Vossius, had disappeared from the collection. Bonnet had heard that Leiden had acquired the library, but dismissed it as a false rumour.[61] It now appeared

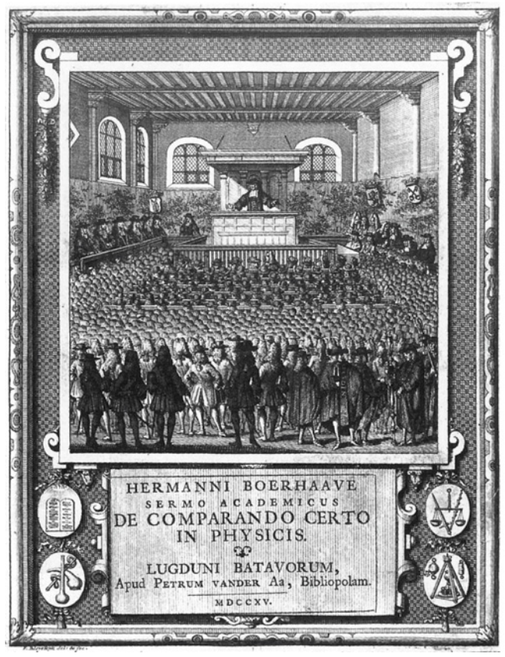
Fifteenth-century alchemistic manuscripts, such as the one depicted here, represent an attempt to analyse and understand the world. At the end of the seventeenth century, people did not realise how great the scientific value of the alchemical manuscripts from the *Bibliotheca Vossiana* was.

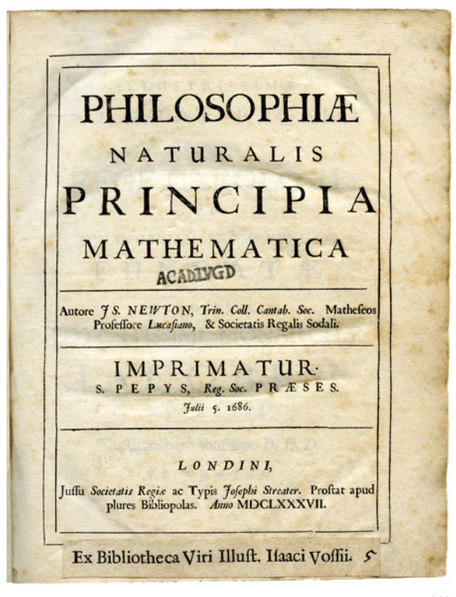
to be true, and when Spanheim asked him for more details, Bonnet referred him to a very reliable informer, Hadriaan Beverland. A former student in Leiden, he had been expelled from the university and exiled for life from the Republic for publishing a work of Arminian theology. He had gone to England,[62] and together with Colomiès had worked closely with Isaac Vossius and looked after his library. He had also been present when the will was drawn up. He was therefore in a position to describe exactly which works G.J. Vossius had withheld.[63] His colleague, Colomiès, had also made a catalogue of Isaac Vossius' library, which was subsequently lost, unfortunately. The collection that arrived in Leiden contained large gaps compared to the inventory supplied by G.J. Vossius, and even more so in comparison to the catalogue by Colomiès. The cooperation of the well-informed Beverland could prove very useful for Leiden, so the curators ensured that the Arminian theologist was rehabilitated: William III revoked his exile at the request of the university.[64] Beverland contacted E. Bernard, one of the three professors in Oxford who were among the first people to look at the catalogue of the *Bibliotheca Vossiana*. Beverland managed to persuade him to issue a written statement,[65] which showed irrefutably that the collection that had been sent to Leiden was indeed far from complete. The university launched lengthy legal proceedings against G.J. Vossius for breach of contract,[66] which it eventually lost in 1704. The Supreme Court ruled that Leiden should pay the remaining sum to the heirs, while G.J. Vossius was obliged to send to Leiden the books and manuscripts listed in the original catalogue, but which had not arrived there. The contract was therefore upheld, and the *Bibliotheca Vossiana* remained in Leiden.

The arguments put forward by G.J. Vossius in his defence show the extent to which the purchase of the *Bibliotheca Vossiana* took place on the dividing line between late humanism and the Modern Age. He had been acting, he said, entirely in good faith. Were old manuscripts not always incomplete? That was not something you ever heard buyers of complete libraries complaining about! Weren't annotated books by definition full of handwritten additions, the value of which was difficult to estimate? And as far as the titles of manuscripts and fragments that gave an inaccurate impression of their contents were concerned – well, that was simply down to the working methods of his uncle, Isaac Vossius, and his contemporaries.[67] To back up his arguments, G.J. Vossius had leading French scholars and librarians make written statements to the effect that the value of the *Bibliotheca Vossiana* had not been estimated too highly, and that his conduct had been correct. His witnesses were impressive figures: they included Baluze, the librarian of Colbert, Clément, the custodian of the Bibliothèque du Roi, Mabillon, Montfaucon and Hardouin, and they all spoke in his favour. But their testimonies sounded like an ode to the collection practices and working methods of late humanism.[68] After all, the *Bibliotheca Vossiana* included a wealth of Greek and, especially, Latin manuscripts that would certainly have pride of place in a humanist library of the kind found in Leiden.

However, the urge to use these manuscripts as the basis for new editions of classical texts had more or less disappeared. As the final loose ends of the legal proceedings were tied up in 1705, the overriding feeling in Leiden was still that of having been cheated. Forty years later, in 1743, when the deputy librarian, Van Royen, drew up a history of the library at the request of the curators, things were different. Although Van Royen himself reckoned the value of the *Bibliotheca Vossiana* to be half the amount that was actually paid for it – a calculation that involved a notably low evaluation of the Hermatic and alchemist manuscripts, the *Vossiani Chymici* – he subtly remarked that subsequent experience meant that the whole affair 'is now viewed differently in the light of experience… and because scholars find and will find much in it of interest.' Moreover, he argues that such an opportunity, to buy an entire collection of manuscripts did not happen more than once in a century.[69] It was therefore the library users, the readers, who came to appreciate the true academic value of the collection, thereby revealing the unusual dynamic between readers and reading matter, between visitors to the library and the library itself. This dynamic encompasses the interplay between searching and finding, the most interesting aspect of which is finding what is *not* being sought, unravelling the unknown and researching it in order to understand it. The *Vossiani Chymici,* the alchemy manuscripts of Isaac Vossius, are a good example of this dynamic. Vossius had received these fifteenth-century Eastern European manuscripts from Christina of Sweden instead of back-pay that was owed to him and had kept the collection, in spite of his attempts to dispose of it. He had tried to sell it, but no-one who was interested in modern science could have suspected that these occult manuscripts would ever be of any interest. They were

• This manuscript bears the marks of having belonged to Emperor Rudolf II, as shown by the stamp on the cover depicting the Habsburg coat of arms.
•• Herman Boerhaave was one of the first, at the end of the seventeenth century, to grasp the significance of alchemical manuscripts for the development of science. He referred to these manuscripts in his introductory lectures on chemistry.





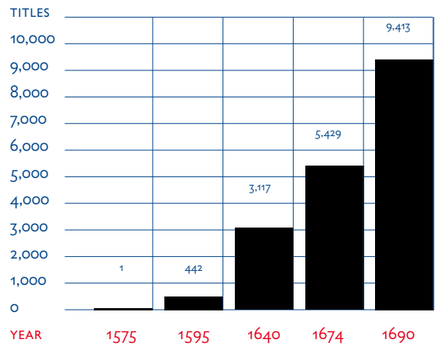
••• During his lifetime, Isaac Vossius had bought books by key scholars, including Galileo, Newton and Descartes. Newton's *Principia* was included in the *Bibliotheca Vossiana*, and in this way came into the possession of the Leiden library.

even less at home in Isaac Vossius' library, oriented as it was towards Greek and Latin classical texts. The truth was that at that time there was hardly anyone who was interested in these works of hermeticism and alchemy: they represented an attempt to understand the world through alchemical processes which were foreign to modern academics. The manuscripts therefore remained in the *Bibliotheca Vossiana* and ended up in Leiden, where they were initially viewed in much the same way as before. One Leiden scholar had a different opinion, however – Herman Boerhaave, who had looked at them when they were placed in special cases. He made reference to them in his introductory lessons in chemistry. After him, it would not be until the end of the nineteenth century that the importance of the manuscripts for the history of science would be appreciated. It was only then that the value of the curious combination of alchemy and scientific inventions in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was appreciated. This brought about a renewed interest in Hermetic manuscripts and led to calls for an accurate inventory to be drawn up of them. A catalogue of the *Vossiani Chymici* only appeared in 1975, quickly followed by that of the *Vossiani Latini,* a very detailed catalogue, in Latin.[70]

In addition to the manuscripts, the 'wonderful collection of rare books' that made up the *Bibliotheca Vossiana* ran to 3,984 items. For the University Library, this meant a new beginning.[71] The number of books since the appearance of the last printed catalogue in 1674 had doubled,[72] but of much greater importance was that the library finally made room for recent books. Gaps were filled, but more importantly new paths were trodden, paths that until then had remained blocked due to an acquisition policy that was too narrow. This was because, unlike the institutional library that existed at Leiden University, Isaac Vossius kept track of the scientific developments of his time. During the course of his life he had taken care to purchase for his private library those books that really mattered: the works of Galileo, of Descartes and of Newton, to name a few. It was thanks to the *Bibliotheca Vossiana* that these works, and with them many essential books from the final quarter of the seventeenth century, found their way to Leiden University Library.[73]

The new library: 1691

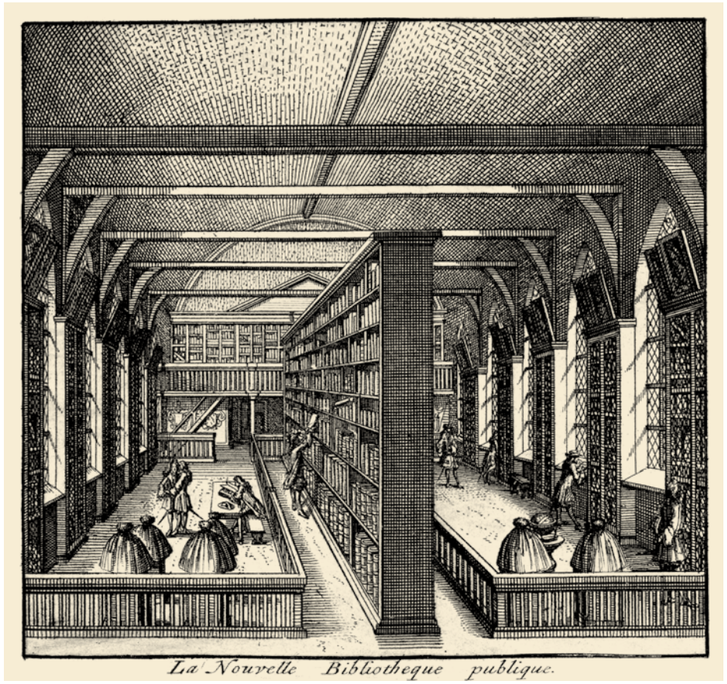
The arrival of the *Bibliotheca Vossiana* put Spanheim in a twofold dilemma. The interior of the library, which his predecessor Thysius had altered in 1653 by clearing away



The growth of the collections between 1674 and 1690. Compared to the last catalogue of 1674, the acquisition of the *Bibliotheca Vossiana* resulted in a doubling of the number of books.

the *plutei* and replacing them with bookcases along the outer walls, was not equipped for the collection's doubling in size. No other space for the library was available, so considerably more shelf space had to be created in the existing space. Spanheim came up with an original solution: he suggested the construction of a two-sided 'large case' down the length of the whole library.[74] The amount of space gained by this simple solution was astonishing and Spanheim's proposal was enthusiastically accepted.[75] The carpentry work was completed in 1694 and the collection could be brought to the new shelves.[76] The *Bibliotheca Vossiana* was still intact, probably located on one side of the centremost 'large case'.[77] As well as the dilemma regarding space, Spanheim found himself facing another: where to put the *Bibliotheca Vossiana.* Vossius had expressly asked that his library be kept as one recognisable whole. This was not a problem as far as the manuscripts were concerned: they were kept together in special closed cases. But for the books it was a different matter, as the library's collection was systematically displayed and catalogued according to faculty. Accepting a separate collection that fell outside the general classification of the library would mean that books on the same subject would be located in two different places. Averse as he was to disorder, Spanheim opted for a different setup. Contrary to Isaac Vossius' wishes, he had the books from the *Bibliotheca Vossiana* placed among the other books in the library, after the duplicate titles had been removed.[78] A slip of paper was attached to the title pages of items from

• In 1694, Leiden library was rebuilt to create more space, especially for the volumes in the *Bibliotheca Vossiana*. A double-sided *groote kasse* (large bookcase) was placed in the middle of the room, in which Vossius' books could be placed. The engraving *La nouvelle bibliothèque publique* gives an impression of the renovation; the similarity to the library in Nuremberg is striking.
•• Struggling with a lack of space at the end of the seventeenth century, the university library in Nuremberg came up with an ingenious solution: by placing a large double-sided bookcase in the middle of the library, twice the number of volumes could be accommodated. It is possible that Spanheim adopted Nuremberg's idea and used it in Leiden.



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Vossius' collection, with the message '*Ex Libris Viri Illustris Isaci Vossiani Pretio Emtis*'.[79] Once again, the entire collection had to be rearranged, and later catalogued, delaying the opening of the new library, which was due to take place after the summer of 1693, for more than a year.[80] The *La Nouvelle Bibliothèque Publique* engraving gives a good impression of the new interior. The library space had a clear layout. Against the back wall stood the gallery with its balustrades, which Spanheim had had built twenty years before for the manuscripts. The '*spectatores*', i.e. those who wanted to view the handwritten books, were able to work here.[81] Placed against the outer walls, between the four Gothic windows, were five high bookcases, protected by mesh covers. They were seemingly used for keeping valuable items that could only be viewed by appealing to the custodian. Two portraits of scholars were hung above each of these ten bookcases, twenty in total, tilted downwards. Presumably the large life-sized portraits of William of Orange and Prince Maurice hung on the wall that is not visible on the engraving. Lengthways, the room was divided in two by the 'large case' that was used for books ranked according to faculty and format; the folios were kept on the lowest shelves, with the small formats on top. A low balustrade ran along the front of the 'large case' on both sides, and the space between these and the bookcase was reserved for the custodian who would give books to readers, and take them back again when they had finished with them. Two custodians were therefore needed, one on each side of the 'large case'.[82] The public had no direct access to the books – they were obliged to keep to the rectangular areas between the windows and the low balustrades, where the globes were also displayed. Visitors had the choice of either reading in a standing position at the window lecterns, or sitting at a long table. Although it had been born of necessity, Spanheim's design was highly original, providing a solution to three urgent issues facing the library: the lack of space, the problem of sufficient light and the need for constant supervision. It was not until 1819 that the library would undergo another transformation.

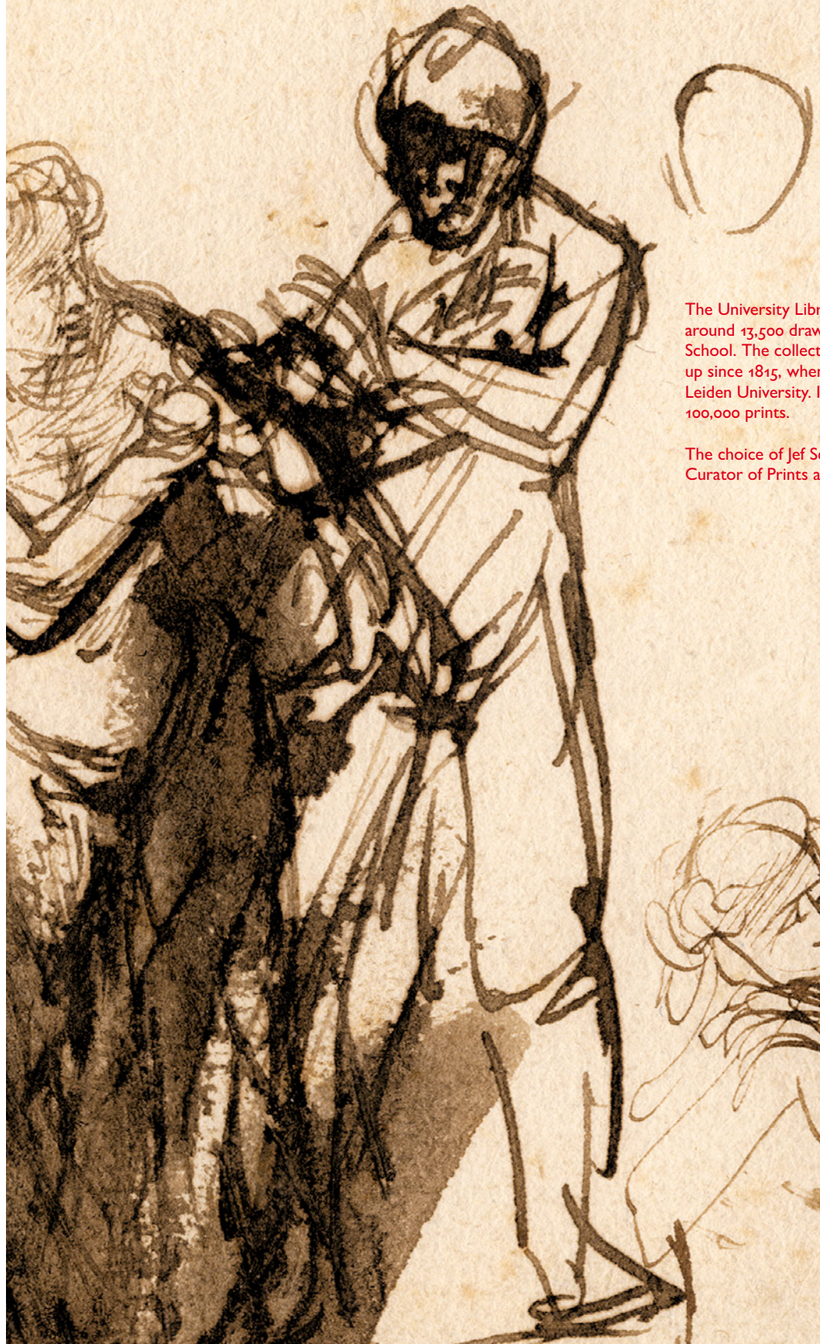
A CARTESIAN SHIFT

The second half of the seventeenth century was marked by a radical shift in Northern European thought. In 1637, Jean Maire in Leiden published *Discours de la méthode pour bien conduire sa raison, et chercher la vérité dans les sciences*. In the book, Descartes gave an introduction to his philosophy, thereby determining the path of scientific thought in Europe until the Newtonian revolution that would dominate the eighteenth century. Cartesianism is based on the idea that man is able to discover the truth through mathematical reasoning. The senses are not to be trusted, while reason offers a model that can lead to knowledge, step by step. Cartesianism was first taught at Dutch universities; in spite of the fierce opposition of Calvinist theologians such as Voetius in Utrecht and Triglandius and Revius in Leiden, the *Principia* of Descartes were on the programmes of the universities at Utrecht and Leiden from 1652.[83] Officially it was forbidden to teach Descartes' philosophy at Leiden or even to mention the name of the French philosopher. However, this curious measure, which remained in force from 1647 to 1676, was more a form of nominal diplomacy than an actively pursued policy. The purification of the university in the wake of the Synod of Dordrecht in 1619 was still fresh in the minds of the curators, and the last thing they wanted was a repetition of that episode. In practice, Cartesianism was taught at Leiden in defiance of the official policy. Nevertheless, until the end of the seventeenth century, the University Library possessed just one book by Descartes – *Geometria,* a work from 1637 which, as it happened, had also been translated from French into Latin by a professor at Leiden, Frans van Schooten, for the benefit of the students![84] Apart from this, Descartes was entirely absent from the library until the arrival of the *Bibliotheca Vossiana* in 1690 and the donation of manuscripts by Descartes by Christiaan Huygens in 1697.[85] Was this a result of the official anti-Cartesianism of the university and Spanheim, its librarian? It is certainly possible. Or perhaps such a notable gap was the latest example of the delayed mechanism evidenced by institutional libraries that tend to lag behind developments in the world outside? In order to answer these questions, it would be necessary to conduct comparative research into the presence of works by Descartes in European libraries.

Fredericus Spanheim died in 1701. Thanks to him, the library was ready to face the century of the Enlightenment.

• René Descartes, by an anonymous master. Descartes' philosophy was taught in Dutch universities, despite opposition from Calvinist theologians. Officially, even mentioning the French philosopher by name was forbidden by the Leiden curators; nevertheless, his philosophy was universally taught.

•• Descartes' *Discours de la méthode*, which he published in Leiden in 1637, contained an introduction to his philosophy and would determine scientific thinking in Europe until the Newtonian revolution, which would create space for new insights only in the eighteenth century.



The University Library is responsible for a collection of around 13,500 drawings, most of which belong to the Dutch School. The collection of prints and drawings has been built up since 1815, when J.Th. Royer left his collection of prints to Leiden University. It now consists of a wide variety of around 100,000 prints.

The choice of Jef Schaeps
Curator of Prints and Drawings

Jan Gossaert (1478-1532),
***The Spinario*,**
drawing, 1508/09, 263 x 205 mm.

'The Spinario by Jan Gossaert is one of the oldest and most valuable drawings in the collection purchased from surgeon Dr Albertus Welcker (1884-1957). Gossaert was one of the artists who introduced the ideas of the Renaissance to the Netherlands. The painter travelled to Rome at the beginning of the sixteenth century, in the wake of bishop David of Burgundy. At that time, it was usual for bishops on diplomatic missions to travel with companions of their own choosing.'
'David of Burgundy was a lover of the arts. He charged Gossaert with the task of drawing the antiquities of Rome. Just four of the drawings have survived, including The Spinario which was based on a bronze statue that stood on a pillar in a public square in Rome. The remarkable thing is that Gossaert depicts the boy, who is removing a thorn from his foot, as if he were flesh and blood. This was typical of Renaissance painters. They used examples from the classical era in order to make new images.'

Bartholomeus Spranger (1546-1611),
***Cupid and Psyche*,**
drawing, 1602/11, 222 x 178 mm.

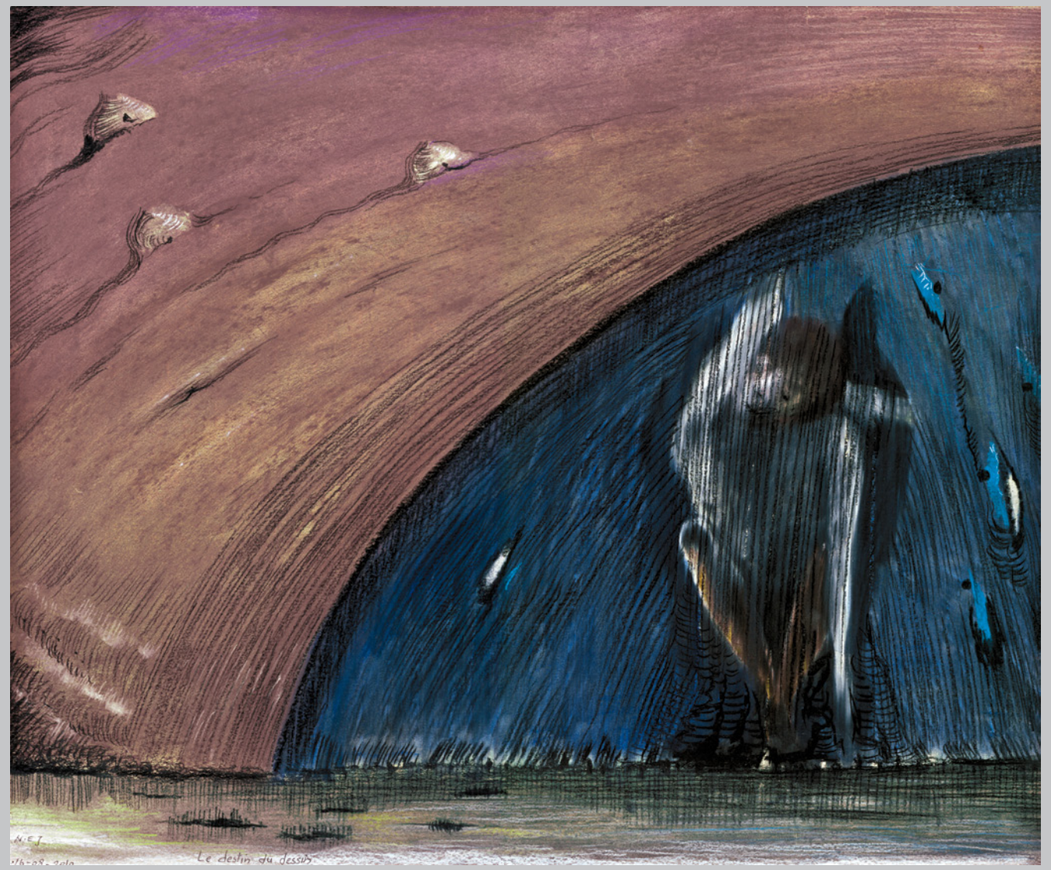
'In the collection of drawings, the sixteenth century is the best represented. One of the most successful painters of the time was Bartholomeus Spranger, of Flanders. He spent some time working as a court painter in the service of the Holy Roman Emperor, Rudolf II, who was very keen on the arts, showing a preference for erotic images.'
'In *Cupid and Psyche*, Spranger depicts the mythological story of Cupid, the son of Venus, who falls in the love with the earthly woman, Psyche, and only visits her at night. Psyche is not allowed to find out what he looks like, but egged on by her jealous sisters, she is unable to control her curiosity. She decides to uncover the identity of her lover: in the drawing we see Psyche lighting up Cupid's sleeping face with an oil lamp. She keeps her head turned away from him, which suggests she is uncertain about whether to look at him, as he has emphatically forbidden this. She may also be carrying a knife in her other hand in case she encounters a dangerous monster, but this is difficult to make out.'

Rembrandt (1606-1669),
***Adam and Eve (The Fall)*,**
drawing, 1638.

'Rembrandt did not make many sketches for etchings: he almost always drew directly on copper plates. It is not only this fact that makes this sketch special, but also because it gives an insight into the artist's train of thought. A comparison of the sketch and the end-product shows the problems Rembrandt wrestled with in order to achieve the desired result.'
'The fascinating thing about Rembrandt is his perfect timing – in each of his actions, he manages to choose the moment of the greatest impact. In the sketch for *Adam and Eve (The Fall)*, you can see him looking for that moment. At first, he depicts Adam with his hand of rejection just before his fall; he later decides that the tension in the image of the etching is greater at the moment Adam has given in to temptation.'

D.P.G. Humbert de Superville (1770-1849), *The Flood, the Last of the Giants*, pastel, 68.5 x 103 cm.

'Humbert de Superville was the first director of the Leiden Print Room. He had a very wide range of academic interests, studying and writing about minerals, volcanoes, icebergs, mythology from the classical era, and the myths and statues of Easter Island. Humbert was also very much an artist, who sought to connect to the international classicism of artists like Flaxman and Füssli in his works. At that time, in around 1800, this was highly exceptional for an artist from the Netherlands, where depictions of things lovely and pleasant were the order of the day. De Superville aimed to push boundaries in visionary images.'
'Of his pastel drawing, *The Flood, the Last of the Giants,* the artist himself said: *De laatste der reuzen of dwingelanden der aarde had zijn toevlugt genomen tot den eenigen boom, die op den laatsten boven het water nog uitstekenden bergtop zich verhief. Die boom bezwijkt onder de vracht des zondaars, die achterover in den vloed is neergestort* ("The last of the giants or tyrants of earth sought refuge in the only tree on the last mountain to be still visible above the water. The tree gives way under the weight of the sinners, collapsing into the flood").'



Nour-Eddine Jarram (1956), *Le destin du dessin*, pastel, 2009, 60 x 50 cm, 2010.

'Two drawings by Nour-Eddine Jarram have recently been purchased because they show very nicely how the art of drawing and graphics are developing in the Netherlands. For a long time, art here was dominated on the one hand by austere modernism and, on the other, by the spontaneous and naïve style of CoBrA. Jarram prefers to hark back to symbolic nineteenth-century artists like Odilon Redon; his work has a poetic feel. *Le destin du dessin* has a certain theatrical quality, as if the artist wanted to create a gigantic backdrop.'

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• Senguerdus' *Philosophia naturalis* shows that he stayed true to Aristotelian philosophy and rejected Descartes' views.
•• Wolferdus Senguerdus was a professor of philosophy and librarian between 1701 and 1724.
••• Senguerdus placed a moving planetarium, the *sphaera automatica*, in the library. The *sphaera* was a representation of the Copernican solar system. Senguerdus himself, however, was of the opinion that Ptolemy had been right and that the earth was the centre of the universe.
•••• In 1711, the university printed a pamphlet about the library's *sphaera automatica* in five languages and distributed it throughout Europe. A century beforehand, in 1610, the university had had the Woudanus prints made. The purpose of both actions was to promote Leiden University.

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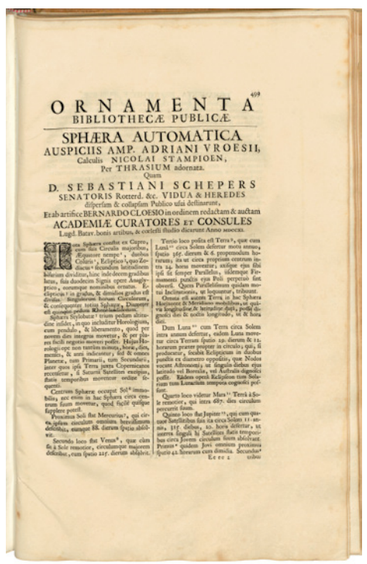

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IV THE COSMOPOLITANISM OF A PROVINCIAL TOWN, 1701-1799

WOLFERDUS SENGUERDUS: 1701-1724

Brief biography

Wolferdus Senguerdus, who succeeded Spanheim as the librarian in 1701, embodied the intellectual conflict of the emerging Age of Enlightenment. His appointment quickly thrust the library into the same area of conflict.

Wolferdus Senguerdus was born in Utrecht in 1646, the only son of theologist and philosopher Arnoldus Senguerdus, who taught metaphysics in Utrecht and who later went on to succeed Barlaeus in Amsterdam. Following his father's lead, Wolferdus Senguerdus chose to study philosophy. He did so in Leiden, where he was given permission in 1667 to give lessons in the subject. In 1675 he became a professor of philosophy, and was made librarian in 1701. Senguerdus died in 1724.[1] He was known as an adherent of the old school who had remained loyal to the philosophy of Aristotle and rejected the system put forward by Descartes. His appointment had been an attempt by the curators, as they had done in the previous century, to provide a counterweight to the fast-growing Cartesianism that was taking hold at the university. No-one could have foreseen in 1675 that Cartesianism would itself make way for a new world vision, Newtonianism. However, an increasing number of scholars were beginning to realise at the end of the seventeenth century that Descartes' system did not satisfactorily explain every phenomenon. Desperate efforts were made to find new approaches, without necessarily avoiding contradictory viewpoints. Fervent anti-Cartesian Senguerdus, for example, regarded the combination of experimentation and rational thought as the only reliable source of true knowledge. It was this enlightened way of thinking that enabled him to undertake a calculation of the weight of air that was almost correct. He expressed the same doubts about Descartes' astronomic system as did Newton, but in spite of this, he continued to believe, like Tycho Brahe in the century before, that the earth was the centre of the universe!

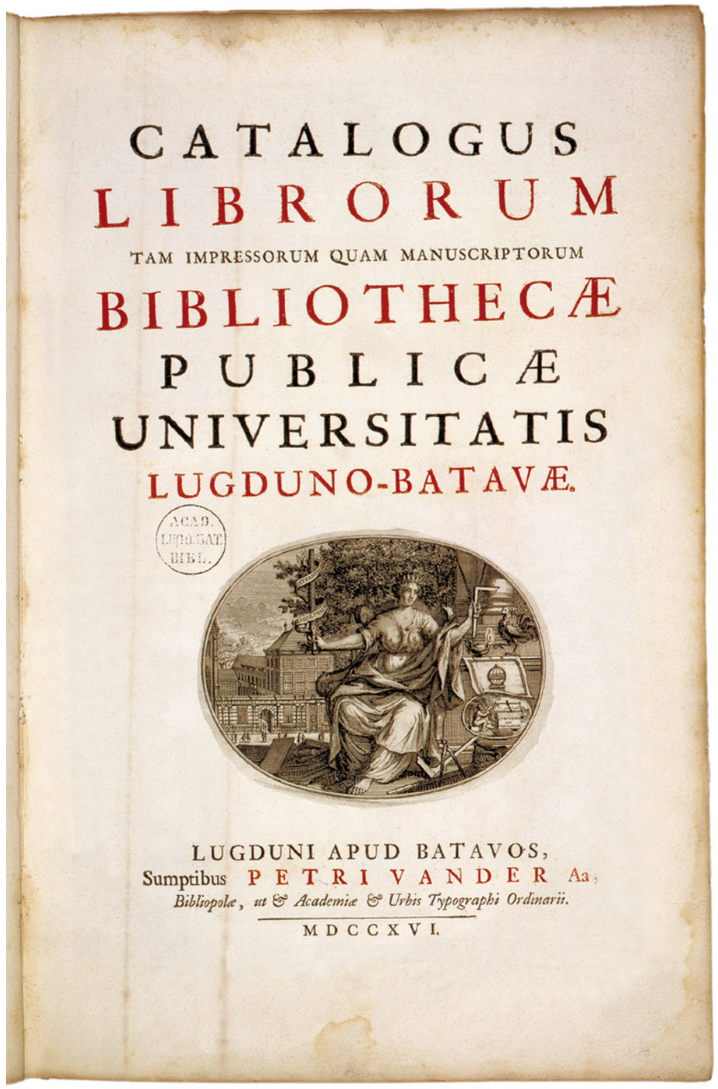
Together with Burchardus de Volder, Senguerdus introduced experimental physics to Leiden. Making instruments was his passion. He designed an ingenious air pump, which was built in the early years of the eighteenth century by J.J. van Musschenbroek.

By appointing Senguerdus, the curators at Leiden abandoned the tradition of selecting a librarian who was either a philologist or a historian, interested primarily in collecting and publishing classical texts.[2] They also broke with previous custom in another area: the idea was that Senguerdus would only have the office of librarian for three years. Like the function of university secretary, the post of librarian would be rotated. However, this plan was never more than a resolution. Was it just an attempt at saving money, or was it the intention to spread the responsibility for the library across the various specialist fields? The sources make no reference to this point, but there is no doubt that at the start of the eighteenth century much value was attached to a more encyclopaedic form of knowledge. This tendency was also visible in the library, in both the interior and the catalogue.

The sphaera automatica

In 1711, Senguerdus had a moving planetarium, the *sphaera movens* or *sphaera automatica,* placed in the library. This remarkable instrument dated from 1672 and depicted the solar system according to the Copernican model.[3] The latest astronomic discoveries – five moons and the ring of Saturn – were added to it later. The *sphaera* had been donated to the university by an influential Rotterdam family. They were 'made suitable for use by devotees of the sciences and of astronomy' by the Leiden curators and burgomasters, and entrusted to the care of Senguerdus. Such care was essential, because the *sphaera* were so popular and used so frequently that

• In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the university's collection contained various pairs of globes; they included terrestrial and celestial globes, such as these, made by Gerard Mercator, Jodocus Hondius and Willem Jansz. Blaeu. At least two pairs were on display in the library, but they were not preserved.


CATALOGUS
LIBRORUM
TAM IMPRESSORUM QUAM MANUSCRIPTORUM
BIBLIOTHECÆ
PUBLICÆ
UNIVERSITATIS
LUGDUNO-BATAVÆ.
ACAD. LUGD. BAT. BIBL.
LUGDUNI APUD BATAVOS,
Sumptibus PETRI VANDER Aa,
Bibliopolæ, ut & Academiæ & Urbis Typographi Ordinarii.
MDCCXVI.

•• No author is mentioned on the title page of the 1716 catalogue. The original compilers of the catalogue, Senguerdus and Gronovius, disagreed with the publisher-merchant, Pieter van der Aa, about the nature and purpose of a library catalogue. The publisher won, and the catalogue was ultimately compiled by others.

they kept breaking, necessitating repeated and costly repairs. In addition, when the instrument was being used, the vibrations it caused led people to fear that the floor might collapse. In 1823, the *sphaera* were moved to a new observatory on the roof of the Academy Building, where they remained until the start of the next century, after which they ended up in the collection of the Museum Boerhaave. The decision by the library to use the *sphaera* to arouse the curiosity of those with an interest in the sciences was a deliberate one. From its very beginning, the library had contained globes that depicted the universe, even though the actual depictions were sometimes hopelessly behind the times in terms of the astronomical discoveries that had been made. Thanks to the new *sphaera copernica*, this outdated state of knowledge could be remedied in one fell swoop. The university was keen to give extensive publicity to the arrival of the moving planetarium, and the pamphlet that described the *sphaera* in words and images was printed in Latin, Dutch, French, English and Swedish versions. This publicity campaign is an echo of the prints by Woudanus one hundred years before, in 1610, which were intended to add allure to the young Leiden university, and one of which featured the library. In addition to the books and the portraits of their authors, geographic depictions like the *Prospect of Constantinople* and maps hanging on the wall, there were globes – those of Scaliger and Hondius. These globes, which rotated on their axes, were intended as an instrument for locating places on earth and in the sky in relation to each other. Exactly one century later, however, the whole solar system was presented in the form of a three-dimensional, dynamic model, and visitors to the library had the opportunity to experience the movement of the heavenly spheres themselves, with the help of the *sphaera*. As it was not possible to replicate all aspects of the new knowledge with the instrument, visitors were advised to imagine the remaining aspects themselves: 'The sun is in the centre point of the *sphera*, and although it is not moving here, it is easy to imagine it turning on its axis.' It was to Senguerdus' credit that he placed the instrument in the library and encouraged the use of the *sphaera* – after all, he personally believed that it was the earth that was at the centre of the universe, not the sun. This is further evidence of how fascinating and fluid the period of transition between late humanism and the Enlightenment was, and of the part played by the library in that process.

The catalogue of 1716

The catalogue that Spanheim had had printed in 1674 had become hopelessly outdated within fifteen years: the arrival of the *Bibliotheca Vossiana* in 1690 meant that the number of books in the library had doubled.[4] Nonetheless, the decision was taken to await the verdict in the legal proceedings that the library had instigated against Vossius' heirs. It was delivered in 1705, ruling that the *Bibliotheca Vossiana* would remain in Leiden in its entirety. Librarian Wolferdus Senguerdus and professor Jacobus Gronovius were given the task of drawing up a new catalogue as soon as possible, and modelling it after those used at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.[5] This was because these catalogues were bought and used as reference catalogues all over Europe. Administrators of private and public libraries compared their own possessions with those listed in the Oxford and Cambridge catalogues, noting the titles they possessed in the margins. The Oxford and Cambridge catalogues functioned as a yardstick for the quality of book collections, and this was a position Leiden sought to emulate.[6] An undertaking of this kind would be highly beneficial to the university, and this explains the enthusiasm with which Leiden printer Pieter van der Aa offered to publish the catalogue at his own expense. However, his offer came with a number of unusual strings attached, including the right of the printer to determine the format of the catalogue and the order in which the books were listed.[7] A conflict between the publisher and the library was inevitable. The new catalogue that librarian Senguerdus and Jacobus Gronovius had started in 1705 was almost ready in 1707. Van der Aa rejected it, however, invoking the preconditions that had been agreed upon, a position the curators supported. The order that Senguerdus and Gronovius had used in their catalogue – the numerical sequencing of the books according to faculty that had been used up to that time and which made it possible to check the collection quickly – did not meet Van der Aa's requirements. He was not seeking to publish a shelf catalogue for internal use, but a didactic tool that would guide the curious reader step-by-step in his quest for knowledge of the world, starting from a basic classification according to faculty to ever more specific units of knowledge. Within these units, the authors' names would be ranked in alphabetical order. The location of the books in the library would be no more than a piece of additional information, useful for library operations. Senguerdus and Gronovius were not prepared to revise

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• The frontispiece of the 1716 catalogue complies with the iconographical rules of the time, while simultaneously offering us a realistic view of the Leiden library. The library's portraits, attributes and furniture are all recognisable.
•• Pieter van der Aa's vignette depicts the *sphaera automatica*, which functioned as a kind of *leitmotiv* in the 1716 catalogue.

••• In the catalogue of 1716, there is a picture of a monumental library: four gigantic halls full of books give one the impression of endless scholarship.

•••

their manuscript on the basis of the printer's wishes, and refused to continue their work on the catalogue. Even the prospect of a large sum of money was not enough to persuade them to change their minds.[8] The matter remained unresolved and dragged on for many years. The curators nominated two new authors: Heymans, a professor, and a reader, Carolus Schaeff.

In 1712 the manuscript was ready, in an amended form. The titles were now listed in alphabetical order within a broad-based classification. Van der Aa proposed the inclusion of portraits of university administrators and professors in the catalogue. At the same time, he asked the university to appoint him as the university printer in succession to Abraham Elzevier, who had died that year.[9] However, his request was turned down.[10] Having been denied the position in name, Van der Aa sought to occupy it in a physical sense: he acquired Elzevier's premises near the Academy Building and set up his shop and printing works there. He also purchased much of the printing equipment from the previous academy printer, including rare Oriental typefaces. He could no longer be overlooked, and in 1715 was finally appointed to the post of university printer, and indeed that of the city's official printer.[11] The Leiden University library catalogue appeared the next year – a magnificent publication in folio format, a real showpiece. The long delay had actually yielded an unintended benefit: it was possible to include a description of the legacy of professor Jacobus Perizonius, the man who had fought so successfully for the reassessment of history as a source of true knowledge. It contained rare books and manuscripts by antique authors.[12] The university stated its approval of the publication by giving Van der Aa a sum of 200 guilders.[13] The title of the catalogue made no reference to its authors. In the foreword, in which he expressed his regret at the delay to the publication of the catalogue, he praised its accessibility, above all: the *lector benevolus,* the benevolent reader, would find it easy to find his way through it. Texts that formed part of collections of works by church fathers and classical and legal authors, and were therefore hard to find, were described individually, as they had been in the *Nomenclator* of 1595. Manuscripts and annotated books were recorded separately, as were recent acquisitions. Descriptions of the library's decorative features were also given: the portrait collection, the globes, and the *sphaera automatica,* while an alphabetical index of the entire collection, made by S. Haverkamp, completed the publication. In short, the 1716 catalogue invited the reader to take a learned stroll along the path of general knowledge that was available in the library. There was no better way of enhancing such a journey than with the pictures of the professors in the various faculties, which Van der Aa was proposing to print at the start of every chapter. This would allow the readers of the catalogue to imagine being in the learned company of Leiden's professors. However, the plan never materialised: the catalogue appeared with just a few illustrations, two of which depicted a library.[14]

The prints of the 1716 catalogue: dream and reality

The frontispiece is quite remarkable. On the one hand, it was in line with the prevailing conventions on iconography, while on the other it allows a view into Leiden University Library. The viewer is led into a dream world with realistic details. The magnificent building represents the temple of wisdom and virtue with which Leiden University is being compared. The standing figure of Minerva and the personifications of *religio* (left) and *prudentia* (right) at her feet were inspired by the examples of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*.[15] Four scenes from university life are depicted around the base of the Minerva statue: a chemistry laboratory, an anatomical theatre, an observatory and an apothecary. To the left and right of these are depicted attributes of war and musical instruments, while directly below the figure of Minerva is a portrait of the founder of the university, William of Orange, in the company of leading Leiden professors. Twelve other portraits of professors hang on the pillars of the first gallery. Just one portrait breaks the pattern: on the right-hand pillar, under the portrait of the professor and librarian, Merula, is Bertius – neither a professor nor a librarian, but worthy of inclusion as the author of the *Nomenclator.*

This, then, is unmistakably the world of the Leiden University library. In its impressive rooms, professors and students congregate or stroll around in earnest discussion. A custodian can be seen climbing up a ladder and handing a reader the book he was looking for. Elsewhere, on the second floor, other scholars are busy at work, while two readers are standing at lecterns that have been placed against the windows. Another is holding a book or manuscript that has clearly been removed from a bookcase with protective bars. One gets the impression that these scenes are a reasonably accurate representation of the actual day-to-day workings of the library, with its lecterns located against the windows, its upper gallery where manuscripts were kept under lock and key, and

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• The colourful Petrus Burmannus served as librarian between 1724 and 1741. Painted by Hieronymus van der Mey, 1736.
•• This pamphlet refers to Burmannus' trial and the witch-hunt against him.
••• As part of the witch-hunt against Petrus Burmannus, a fake catalogue of his private library was published. It was full of made-up titles intended to prove his libertinism.
•••• Petrus Burmannus clashed with members of the Reformed Church in Utrecht, who considered him to be a dangerous libertine. A case was brought against Burmannus; he was accused of having deflowered a girl of easy virtue (sic).
••••• Burmannus considered the comedy genre to be an educational tool *par excellence*. He was a fervent devotee of French comedies and translated a number of them into Dutch, including Molière's *Femmes savantes*. He acquired various editions of French plays for the Leiden library.

Vroomaards ernstige aan spraak,

TOT ZYN

BUURMAN
RITSAARD.

FOey Pieter Buur, 'k had nooit van u dat kwaad verwacht;
Ruckt gy den Zuil van Eer, waar op uw Braaf geslacht
Zo lang onwrikbaar stond, dus plotseling ter needer?
Gelyk den trotsen kruin, eens Hemelhoogen Ceeder,
Werd van een Donderslag, geworpen op den grond,
Zo vald uw schyndeugd ook, wiens Lasterzike mond
En vuyl vergifte pen, elk wist op 't felst te steecken.
Gedoog nu met geduld, die, ieder zyn gebreecken
Gelyk een Plautus, of een Juvenalis Schreef,
Dat men uw geilen aard, en 't kwaad dat gy bedreef,
Nu voere ten tooneel; want elk wil met u Spotten,
O hoogeleerden Heer! zacht 'k meen het hoofd der Zotten
Menzal uw kermisspel, (wie zal het doch verbien?)
Noch in een Fraye-kik op kermis laten Zien.
'k Beklaag de Vrouw, daar gy door d' echt aan zyt verbonden,
Dat zy dien zuivren Band, bemorst ziet en geschonden,
Tot Smaad en schande van haar gansche huys gezin.
Wien blies dien Satyrs aard, dat vuur uw Boesem in?
Dat gy een arme Maagd, die van u geile Lonken
Afkerig was, door list, en zoete Wyn beschonken,
Dat onwaardeerbaar pand haar Maagdom, Rooven moest.
Maar u geweten, zal als 't yzer van de roest,
Noch werden doorgeknaagd, O Eer en Trauwverbreecker!
Uw Foute is zonneklaar, uw straffe gaat ook zeeker:
Gy makt uw zaak niet goet, hoe gy die wederlecht
Verwacht uw loon van 't Aartsche en Hemelsche gerecht.

Gedruckt tot ROTTERDAM in den Dom van UYTRECHT.

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CATALOGUS
Van eenige rare, door veel moeyten by een gebragte Schoone
BOEKEN
EN
MANUSCRIPTEN;
Neevens verscheyde fraaye
RARITEYTEN,
Na den doodverwonden en Hoog-geleerden
HEER PROFESSOR
PETRUS BURMANNUS.
Gedrukt voor de Koopers.

•••

PROCES,
Gevoerdt voor den Ed. Hove van Utrecht
tusschen
DINA VAN SPANGEN,
Wed: van
JAN VAN WOUDENBERG,
Als Moeder ende Mombersse over haare onmondige Dogter
DINA VAN WOUDENBERG,
Impte. in cas van desloratie.
C.
Den Heere ende Mr.
PETRUS BURMANNUS,
Professor in de Academie alhier ged:
Tot ROTTERDAM,
Gedrukt by HERMANUS HERTS, 1709.

••••

DE
GELEERDE
VROUWEN.
BLYSPEL.
Uyt het Frans nagevolgt.
TE THIEL,
Gedrukt by G. van LEEUWEN, 1713.

•••••

its collection of portraits of professors looking down benignly at the readers.

Grander still is the library depicted at the start of the first part of the catalogue. At least four gigantic halls full of books create an impression of infinite learning. Here, too, are images of locked manuscript cases on the first floor. However, the typical Leiden character is expressed most forcibly in the observatory. The *sphaera copernica* is clearly depicted here; it serves as a kind of leitmotif throughout the catalogue, featuring on the printer's ornament, both library prints and the reprinted publicity pamphlet about the *sphaera* shown here.[16]

Pieter van der Aa was not just a publisher and merchant, but also a man of his time: his archives were cosmopolitan, and his interests very wide.[17] 'The learned world and I...', he would write, for example, clearly regarding himself as a member of the Republic of Letters, in a letter to a collector.[18] By arranging, presenting and illustrating his catalogue of Leiden University Library in a certain way, Van der Aa sought to provide the *lector benevolus*, the benevolent reader, with an introduction to the world of the Republic of Letters.

The 1716 catalogue would be the last printed version of the entire collection of the library. Commercially, it was not a success: at the auction of the remaining assets of Pieter van der Aa's business in 1735, the 425 unsold copies went for two guilders apiece.[19] The original ambition of competing with the catalogues of Oxford and Cambridge had proved to be an impossible dream.

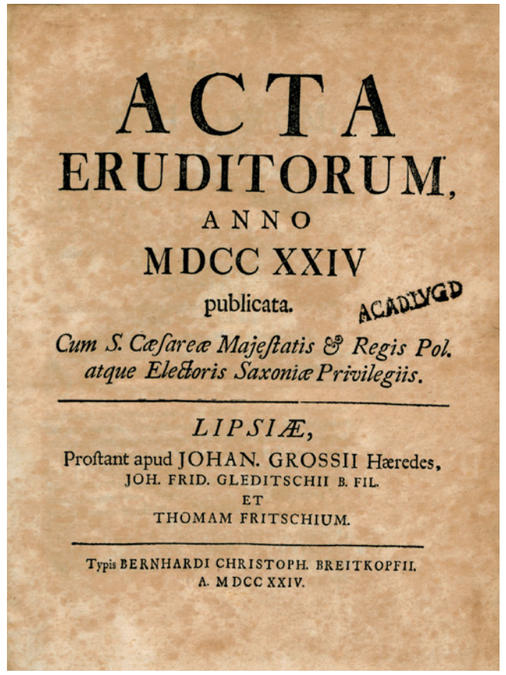
PETRUS BURMANNUS: 1724-1741

Brief biography

After the death of Senguerdus, whose passion for experiments and instruments was so typical of the eighteenth century, the library was entrusted to Petrus Burmannus.[20] He was born in Utrecht in 1668. His father taught philosophy there – he was notorious for his idiosyncratic ideas that resulted in his being accused of Spinozism, which was used as a synonym for free thinking at the time. He died when Petrus Burmannus was eleven years old, but his son would continue to defend him for the rest of his life. Petrus was subsequently brought up by one of his father's colleagues, the classical philologist Graevius.[21] Later, Petrus Burman studied law and classical languages in Leiden and Utrecht. His *grand tour* took him through various states in Germany, after which he settled in Utrecht where he devoted himself to classical studies and occupied different chairs in the academy, in one case as the successor to his spiritual father, Graevius. Between 1709 and 1715, Burman became entangled in a conflict with orthodox thinkers in Utrecht that would affect him for the rest of his life. Numerous pamphlets were distributed on which he was described as an immoral libertine who had been taken to court for deflowering an Utrecht girl of easy virtue (sic).[22] One of these pamphlets was published in the form of a sales catalogue of Burmannus' books and manuscripts.[23] This fake catalogue included such titles as *De nuttigheit van 't hoerejagen door Petrus Burman* ('the usefulness of whoring by Petrus Burman'), but also – among the fictitious books – works by classical authors like Ovid or Petronius that Burmannus had published that were not necessarily to everyone's taste on account of their sensual character. Titles of French plays featured in the list too, as evidence of Burmannus' fondness for comedy: his Dutch translation of *Les femmes savantes* would not have charmed everyone, much less his flamboyant advocacy for comedy as an educational tool![24] Both the fake catalogue and the absurd story about the deflowering formed part of a well-orchestrated campaign of slander against a man who was able to see the light-hearted side of the Enlightenment and who showed evidence of a cosmopolitan mentality. What was actually at stake in the discussion were Burmannus' scientific views – about the circulation of the blood or Copernican heliocentrism, for example – and his campaign for an open transfer of ideas. This progressive outlook would not be without consequences for the library. In 1715, Burmannus succeeded Jacobus Perizonius as professor of history at Leiden. He had the ability to capture the students' interest, and his lectures were very well attended.[25] In 1724 he was given the additional task of looking after the library. A year later, he opened his period of office as professor *in Politicis* with a remarkable inaugural speech, entitled *De bibliothecis publicis earumque praefectis,* which dealt with public libraries and those who ran them. Burmannus used the speech to sound a completely different note to what had been heard before.[26]

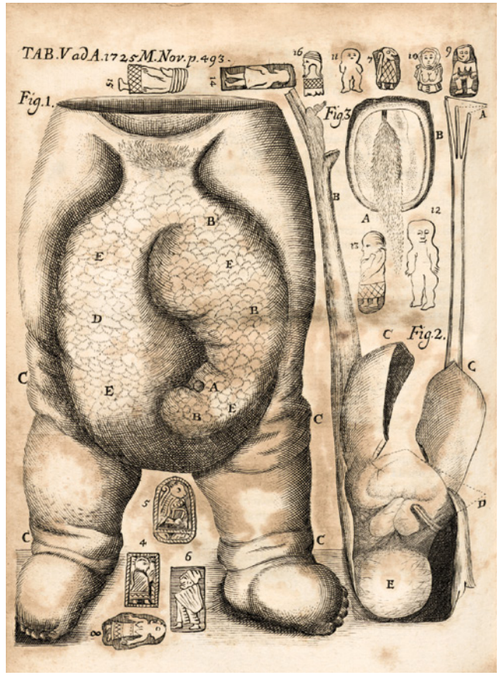
A true librarian

A true librarian, said Burmannus, should be able to philosophise about his field and act according to his own conclusions. He should keep track of what books were being published and be aware of and fill any gaps in his collection. Moreover, he should keep the collection

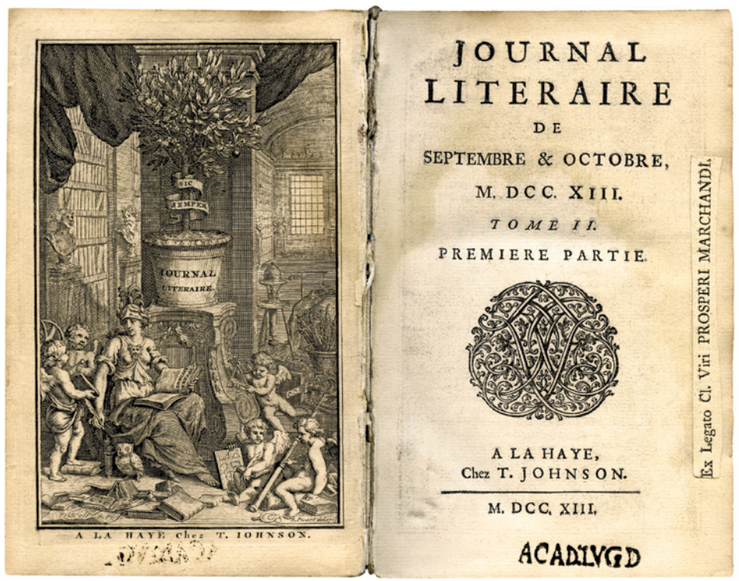

ACTA
ERUDITORUM,
ANNO
MDCC XXIV
publicata.
ACADLVGD
Cum S. Cæſareæ Majeſtatis & Regis Pol. atque Electoris Saxoniæ Privilegiis.

LIPSIÆ,
Proſtant apud JOHAN. GROSSII Hæredes,
JOH. FRID. GLEDITSCHII B. FIL.
ET
THOMAM FRITSCHIUM.

Typis BERNHARDI CHRISTOPH. BREITKOPFII.
A. MDCC XXIV.

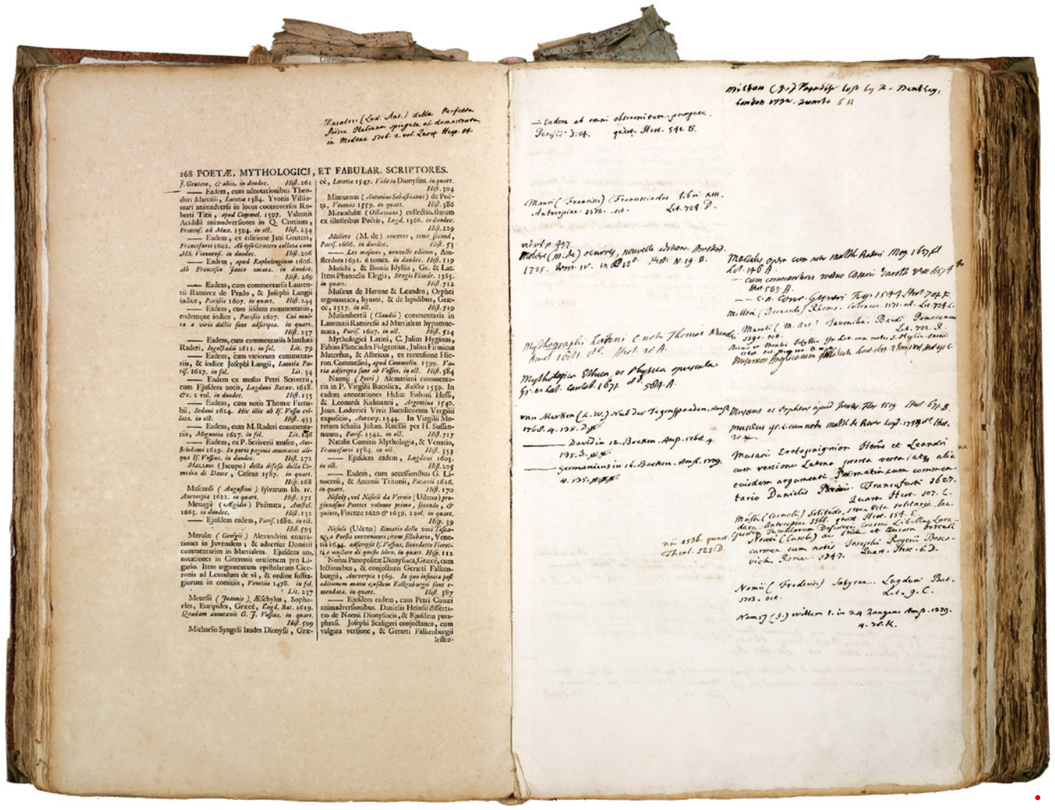


• Scholarly journals, such the *Acta eruditorum* from Leipzig, were used in the eighteenth century to judge the merits of newly-published books. The Leiden library included these journals in its collection.
•• In the scholarly journals, one would come across all sorts of scientific or semi-scientific information, sometimes accompanied by moving illustrations. This image of the development of an unborn child is from the *Acta eruditorum* of 1725.
••• The *Journaux de Hollande*, French-language journals that were usually published by Huguenots in the Republic, enabled readers to follow the rapidly-growing production of books. The *Journal litéraire* was one of the most prominent journals.



clearly ordered, ensuring that it remained in good condition and that texts that were difficult to obtain were published. In other words: the true librarian should become one with his library. Unlike Daniel Heinsius, who had occupied the same position a century earlier, Burmannus was no longer a *reader* at the centre of the library – he *was* the library.[27] Burmannus adhered very closely to his programme,[28] unveiling coherent policies. He selected recently published books from learned journals from all over Europe, which were available in the library. These included the *Acta eruditorum* from Leipzig, the *Journal des savants* from Paris and a range of French-language journals published in the Netherlands that highlighted books being produced in Europe, known as the *Journaux de Hollande*. Burmannus was able to view scientific journals that were not available in the University Library in his own private library, which included an improbably large number of them.[29] He pursued forward-looking purchasing policies between 1724 and 1741; new books, such as many French *nouveautés,* were acquired without hesitation, and this is how the latest edition of the collected plays by Molière, which was published in 1725, found its way to the library in that same year.[30] In light of the earlier mistrust displayed by Leiden towards French books, this represented something of a revolution. Other works that were purchased straight away were the final edition of the much-discussed *History of England* by Gilbert Burnet and the *Opera omnia* by Gerard Noodt of Nijmegen, an advocate of natural law.[31] Leibniz, Newton, Swedenborg and Voltaire were all represented too.[32] In short, the turbulent development of the library during Burmannus' period of office reflected the overall cultural development of Europe. The humanist and post-humanist ideal of the Republic of Letters that brought every scholar together gradually changed into the cosmopolitan ideal of universal knowledge, accessible to every *curieux,* everyone who was curious to learn.[33] But the surprising thing about this period was that for the first time in its history, the library recorded a cultural development more or less as it happened. This was without doubt the result of the cosmopolitan activities of Burmannus, who corresponded with Richard Bentley in Cambridge, Magliabecchi in Florence and Johann Christian Wolff in Halle. This enlightened librarian also managed to close long-standing gaps in the collection by selecting and purchasing major titles – at the auctions of Van Huls, the mayor of The Hague, for example, of theologist and philologist Crenius (including valuable Virgil manuscripts), and of Leiden physician Boerhaave. In addition, he achieved some success in retaining the patent that Leiden had to provide for publications that received privileges from the States of Holland. And although he sold superfluous duplicate copies, he broke with the unfortunate tradition of removing older publications from the library when newer versions arrived.

Burmannus re-emphasised the need to carry out regularly audits of the book collection in his *Instruction,* at the time of his appointment. The printed catalogue from 1716, in which the books were listed by subject in alphabetical order, could not be used for that purpose. As a tactic aimed at catching up on Pieter van der Aa's catalogue, handwritten shelf catalogues had to be drawn up in order to allow regular reviews.[34] Burmannus was not just a good administrator, he also used the library extensively, finding material for his wide-ranging publications of classical authors and of letters by scholars. He bought unpublished letters for the library himself, with the aim of turning them into a publication. His *Sylloges epistolarum* contained countless letters by J.F. Gronovius, Nicolaas Heinsius and Justus Lipsius, which he managed to acquire for Leiden.[35] It was perhaps this that gave Burmannus the idea to pointedly request that users of the library donate to the library one copy of the works they had published based on material from the library's manuscripts.[36] Through this measure, which marked the start of the present-day Leiden documentation practice – the registration of scientific publications based on Leiden manuscripts – Burmannus aimed to promote knowledge that had been accumulated through the use of the library being passed on and for Leiden university to serve as a source for new discoveries itself. He saw the scholarly world and the library as communicating vessels that would produce a constant flow of ideas. A few days before he died, he requested that the secretary to the curators, Van Royen, come to his bedside. Burmannus implored him to persuade the university administrators to continue to take good care of the library, which may not have ranked alongside the largest in Europe, but nevertheless housed a unique collection of printed books and manuscripts.[37] His *cri de coeur* was not in vain. It was decided to entrust the library, for the time being, to the responsibility of the university secretary, David van Royen.[38]



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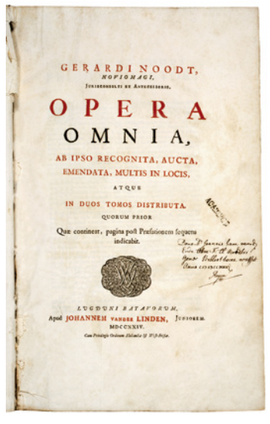
• After 1716, the library's latest acquisitions were entered in an interleaved copy of the most recent printed catalogue. As a result, we can find out what kinds of book entered the library when. Burmannus acquired many French works; for example, an edition of Molière's comedies is mentioned here.

•• Burmannus ensured that important books were available in the library almost immediately after publication. The library had a copy of the 1724 edition of the *Opera omnia* by the jurist Gerard Noodt in the very same year.



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••• The works of Isaac Newton formed an essential part of the library's collection. This medallion portrait of the English philosopher by Isaac Gosset was given to the library in 1761 by Thomas Hollis.

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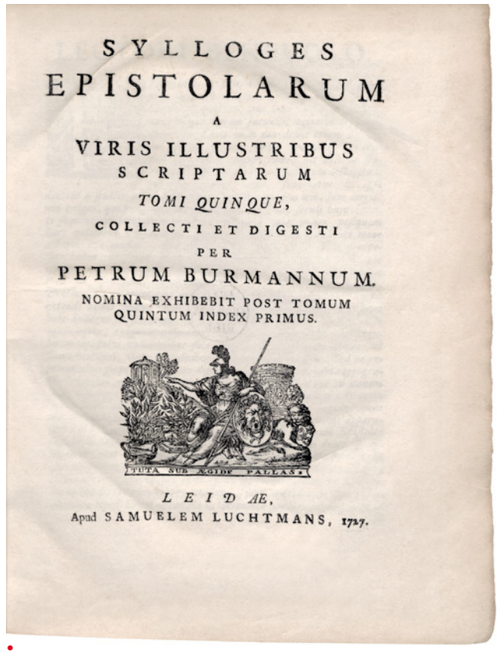

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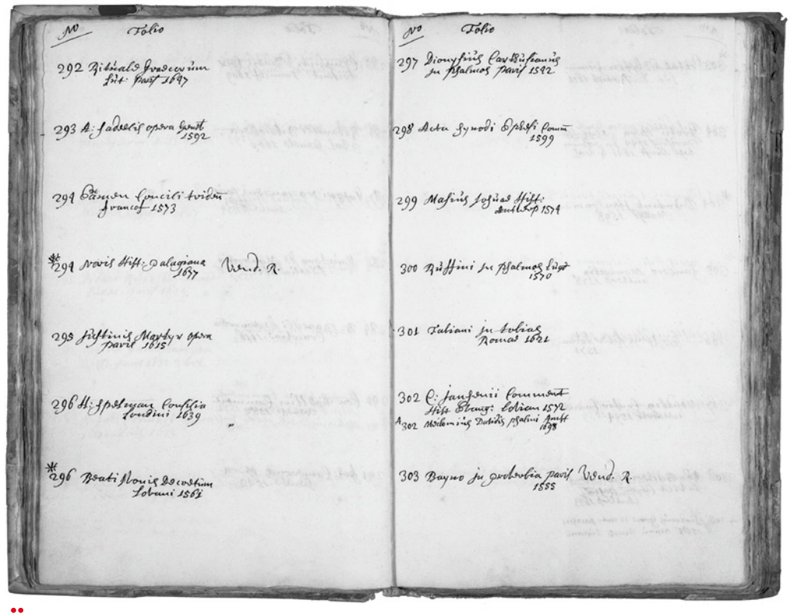
• Burmannus purchased interesting scholarly letters for the library. He published a large number of them himself in his *Sylloges epistolarum* (1723). In this work, Burmannus published countless letters by J.F. Gronovius, Justus Lipsius and Nicolaas Heinsius. All of these letters are kept in Leiden University Library.

•• A new shelf catalogue was needed to be able to monitor the library's collection. The catalogue was compiled and written by hand, but it was never published.



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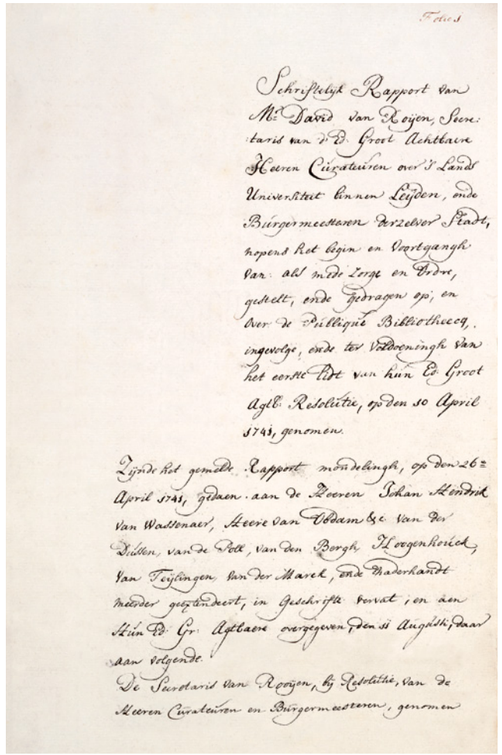
• The works from the Scaliger legacy can be recognised by the *ex legato* labels that were added in the eighteenth century, as can be seen, for example, on this little Russian prayer book from 1331-1332 in the form of a harmonica.

•• The report that David van Royen produced in 1741, commissioned by the curators, forms one of the most important sources for research into the history of the library.


Schriftelijk Rapport van
Mr. David van Royen, Secretaris van 't Groot Achtbare
Heeren Curateuren over 't Landt
Universiteit binnen Leyden, ende
Burgermeesteren derzelver Stadt,
houdende Het begin en Voortgangh
van alle mede Zorge en Debvoir,
gedaen, ende Getragen op, en
Over de Publique Bibliotheeck,
ingevolge, ende ter Voldoeninghe van
het eerste Lidt van hun Ed. Groot
Agtb. Resolutie, op den 30 April
1743, genomen.

Dese Het gemelde Rapport mondelingh, op den 26e
April 1743, gedaen aan de Heeren Johan Hendrik
van Wassenaer, Heere van Obdam &c van der
Dussen, van de Pette, van den Borgh, Hoogenhoeck,
Van Teylingen, van der Marck, ende Vaderhardt
mede gecommitteerde, in Geschrifte vervat; en aan
Hun Ed. Gr. Agtbaare overgegeven den 31 Augusti daar
aan volgende.

De Secretaris van Royen, by Resolutie, van de
Heeren Curateuren en Burgermeesteren, genomen

••

••• Van Royen decided that items that had come from legacies should be provided with labels declaring the name of the donor. This twelfth-century manuscript of a work by Isidore of Seville proclaims that it is *Ex legato Viri Clariss. Jacobii Perisonii.*

•••• David van Royen's term as librarian lasted just four months, in the year 1741. Hieronymus van der Mey painted this portrait of him in ca. 1735.

DAVID VAN ROYEN: 1741

Within four months, Van Royen was able to resolve a number of serious problems, to which his attention had probably been drawn by Burmannus. The records of donations that had been made to the library had not been properly maintained since 1607; Van Royen drew up a complete list. Major bequests, such as those by Scaliger, Warner and Perizonius were barely recognisable, so Van Royen added slips to every item, clearly showing that they were *ex legato*. Since 1668, it had become impossible to locate many of the Oriental manuscripts and printed books, which regularly led to complaints during audits: Van Royen had the Oriental manuscripts arranged in such a way that it would be easier for checks to be carried out. However, he would be best remembered because of his extensive and powerful report about the history of the library, a work that would prove to be an inexhaustible source for historiographers of the future.[39]

ABRAHAM GRONOVIUS: 1741-1775

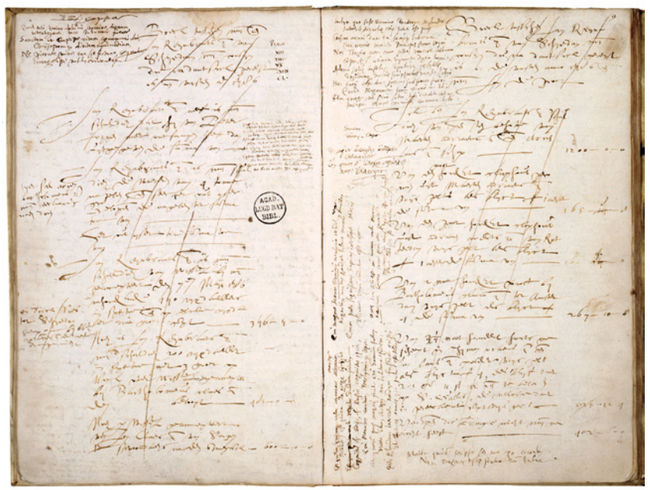
Brief biography

Petrus Burmannus' successor, Abraham Gronovius, came from a family of philologists with very close links to Leiden University Library.[40] His grandfather, Johannes Fredericus Gronovius, had been a professor and librarian there between 1665 and 1671, while his father, the professor of history and Greek, Jacobus Gronovius, had repeatedly been involved with the library's fortunes, as in the purchase of the *Bibliotheca Vossiana* and the subsequent re-cataloguing of the entire library. Abraham Gronovius was also a nephew of Petrus Burmannus.[41] So for more than a century, from 1665 until 1775, the Gronovius dynasty was linked to the University Library.

Abraham Gronovius was born in Leiden in 1695, where he progressed to the Latin school. He fell in love with the classics, a subject to which he was introduced by his father.[42] After the latter's death in 1716, Abraham continued his studies at the university. He obtained his doctorate of law at the University of Angers in France.[43] After a stay of almost a year in England, where he studied Greek, Latin and Syriac manuscripts in Cambridge, Oxford and London, he returned to Leiden.[44] He was offered professorships in Edinburgh and in Bremen, but did not take them up. In the mean time, Gronovius dedicated himself to publishing and annotating classical texts.[45] His family suffered relentless bad fortune: of the ten children born to him and his wife, he was survived by just one, a daughter. As a result of the numerous setbacks, Gronovius developed a tendency to cut himself off from the outside world, but his appointment to the post of librarian in 1741 marked a turning point.[46]

A professional librarian

Unlike his predecessors, Abraham Gronovius was not a professor. Nevertheless, he was equally representative of the Leiden philological tradition, and there was also another reason to appoint him. It was gradually becoming clear that running the library required a specific type of management. This called for a professional librarian, and Abraham Gronovius was the first. When accepting the position, he had to swear an oath on a very detailed Instruction about the management of the Public Library.[47] The *Instructie* was composed by Van Royen and described in minute detail the position of the book and the reader in the wider context of the library. Issued in 1741, it remained largely in force until well into the nineteenth century, and also formed the basis for every subsequent *Instructie.* In addition, it bore a close similarity to the *Orders for the Publick Library* that were introduced in Cambridge several years later.[48] The *Instructie* revealed that the librarian had little room to manoeuvre, financially: the university did not allow more than three hundred guilders a year for its book budget, and the librarian was not even able to decide how this amount was spent. Every year, he had to submit a wish list to the curators, and was only allowed to make purchases with their consent. In addition, special funds were made available for the purpose of bidding at auctions of famous libraries (*auctien van celebre bibliotheecquen*).[49] Gronovius made extensive use of this facility, as did those who succeeded him. The librarian had to draw up accurate lists by hand of all the books, manuscripts, maps and prints that the library acquired every year. Every registered item was given the stamp ACAD. LUGD. (Academia Lugdunensis) on its title and edge, and a place number. The new titles then had to be entered in two handwritten catalogues within eight days: one for the librarian and one that was available to view in the library, so that readers were immediately made aware of any new acquisitions.[50] The most important task of the librarian was, of course, to keep the library in order in accordance with the handwritten shelf catalogues. The books had to be kept 'clean, dry and undamaged'. In the event of a storm or heavy



• The Gronovius family was associated with the library for more than a century. Jacobus Gronovius, the father of Abraham, was involved in the acquisition of the *Bibliotheca Vossiana* and with re-cataloguing the entire library. Portrait painted by Carel de Moor in 1685.

•• The *Instructie* of 1741 prescribed, among other things, that the books had to be provided with stamps: ACAD. LUGD. (Academia Lugdunensis), and later ACAD.LUGD.BAT.BIBL. (Academiae Lugdunensis Batavorum Bibliotheca).

••• This silver medallion belongs to the *Praemium Stolpianum*. Lady Theologica points a young man towards a small temple, from which light is radiating. The message is summarised by the inscription: *Monstrat iter tutumque facit* (she shows the way and makes it safe). The medallion was designed in 1756 by I.G. Holtzey, from a drawing by Frans van Mieris.

•••• In 1743, the library received the legacy of the philosopher Gerard van Papenbroek. It included this manuscript, annotated by Hugo Grotius.

••••• In 1745, Papenbroek's 'antique marmora' collection was displayed in the orangery of the botanical garden, based on a design by Jacob van Werven. This collection of sculptures, which Gerard van Papenbroek had bequeathed to the university in 1743, formed the foundation for the Museum of Antiquities in the nineteenth century.

rain, it was the duty of the custodians to quickly make their way to the library in order to prevent any possible damage.[51] The risk of fire, the worst nightmare of any book lover, was eliminated as much as possible: the use of fire or candlelight was banned in the building.[52] The library was open for two afternoons a week, on Wednesdays and Saturdays from two until four, apart from feast days and during the month of August. Two custodians, one on each side of the centre case, watched the readers in order to prevent the books being 'written in, scribbled on, folded, torn or cut'.[53] If any reader wished to view a manuscript or valuable book from the closed case, the librarian himself had to be asked personally.[54] The area covered in the greatest detail by the *Instruction* was that of the lending of manuscripts and books, something that had led to complete chaos in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was therefore no surprise that the 1741 *Instruction* prescribed highly restrictive lending policies.[55] Only Leiden University professors and readers were able to borrow books and manuscripts, and only for their own use. Scholars from other cities in the Netherlands or abroad were obliged to come to the library in person in order to conduct their research. Everybody was expressly forbidden from conducting research on behalf of anyone else. Collating manuscripts – comparing textual variants – for third parties was not allowed either. All these measures also applied to the librarian,[56] and Gronovius observed them to the letter. This was not because he did not support solidarity among members of the *République des Lettres*, but because he, as the first professional librarian, drew a distinction between his personal activities as a scholar and his official role as librarian. When the German scholar Reiske, a close acquaintance, asked Gronovius to help with an edition he was preparing of Demosthenes, he was happy to send him everything of relevance from his own private library, but absolutely nothing from the University Library.[57] In the middle of the eighteenth century, the generosity that had been such a feature of the past made way for cautious protectionism. This restrictive policy would be lifted in its entirety at the end of the nineteenth century, inevitably leading to other excesses.

The process of registering books that had been loaned was well organised: every borrower had to sign for each of the books they borrowed. They were clearly no more reliable than the readers in the library, because when the books were returned, the two custodians had to leaf through them in order to ascertain that they had not been 'scribbled on, written in, defaced by ink' or that pages 'had not been cut or torn out'.[58] These hazards made regular checks of the collection a necessity. Every four years – and also whenever a new librarian was appointed – the rector was supposed to conduct a complete audit with four assessors.[59] Although these audits quickly became something of a ritual (the rector magnificus and the beadle would make their way to the library, examine a few items based on the handwritten shelf catalogues, and then leave),[60] the library was under control. Abraham Gronovius certainly imposed his trademark style of 'precision' and 'exactitude' on the management of the rich collections.[61] The lists of purchases, patent books and gifts, as well as handwritten catalogues and loan records that were made during his period of office have survived. They form a barely tapped source for the history of the reading culture in the eighteenth century. Gronovius' professional approach was not in vain: in 1745, the curators declared that they had never known the library to be so accurately organised.[62] It had not always been that way!

Notable bequests

Between 1743 and 1775, the library received some notable bequests, namely from Gerard van Papenbroek (1743), Janus Stolp (1753), Prosper Marchand (1756), Richard Harris (1760) and Gerard Riemersma (1770).[63] These bequests were exemplary for the Enlightenment, as they consisted not just of books and manuscripts, but also of other objects that formed special collections. As well as his magnificent collection of classical manuscripts and scholars' correspondence, for example, Gerard van Papenbroek also left his collection of *marmora,* antique inscriptions that formed the basis of the creation of the Dutch National Museum of Antiquities.[64] In 1760, Richard Harris donated his collection of historic medals, which would become the heart of the later *Penningkabinet* – in addition to an extensive collection of bound English books. A common feature of these eighteenth-century legacies was the intention on the part of the donors to exercise some influence on the content and policies of the library. When Janus Stolp gave the library a large sum of money in 1753, he stipulated that a competition should be organised every year and indeed, the *Praemium Stolpianum* still exists. The rest of the money was to be used by the librarian to buy theological and philosophical books.[65] In his will, French Huguenot Prosper Marchand stated that he had left his entire *Cabi-*

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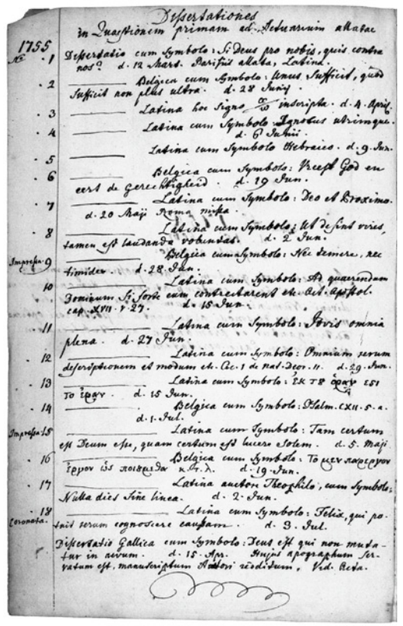
• In 1753, Janus Stolp bequeathed the considerable sum of 11,000 guilders to the library. The sum was used to hold an annual competition in the field of theology. In this portrait, Janus Stolp holds a wig brush in his left hand.

•• After the *Praemium Stolpianum* had been established, a register of entries was kept. The *Praemium Stolpianum* formed part of the boom in competitions that was characteristic of the mid-eighteenth century. Remarkably, this prize still exists.



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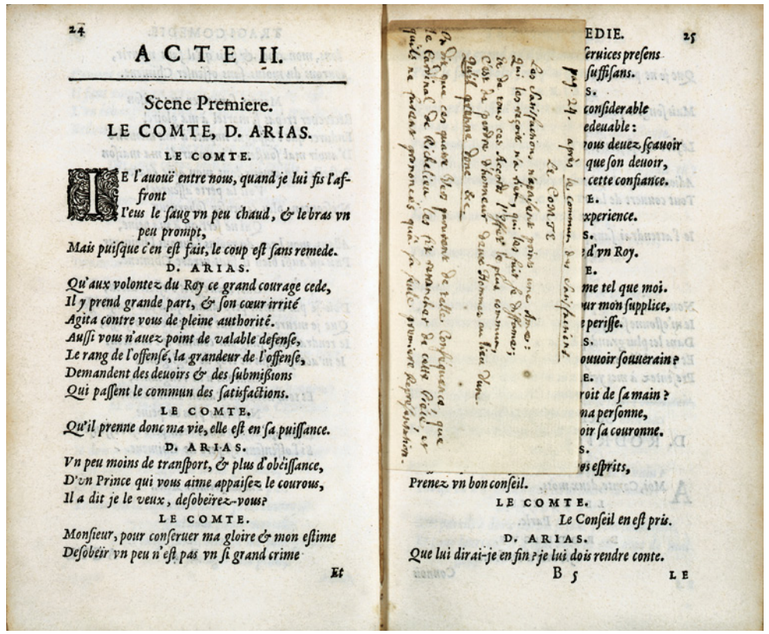
•••The Huguenot Prosper Marchand left his *Cabinet de Livres* to Leiden University Library in 1756. The collection contained designs for book illustrations. Marchand drew this frontispiece for the *Lettres juives* by the Marquis d'Argens.



•••• Of the three thousand volumes that were bequeathed by Marchand, three hundred were annotated by hand. Here is Pierre Corneille's *Le Cid* in an edition from 1638, with a note on Cardinal de Richelieu's censorship of the original text.

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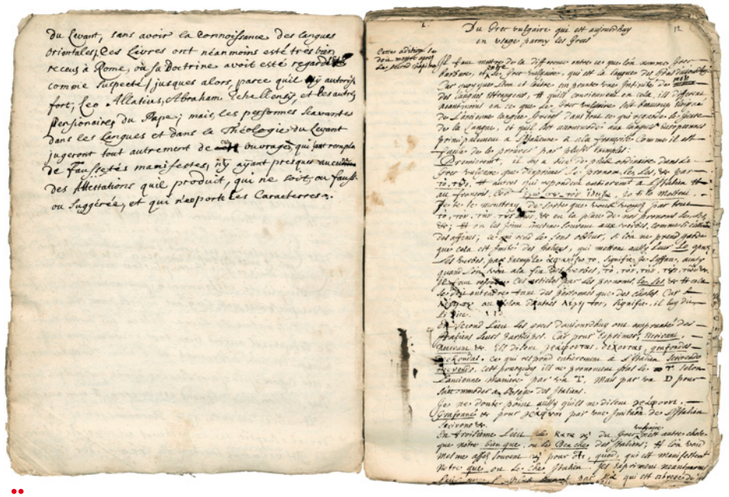

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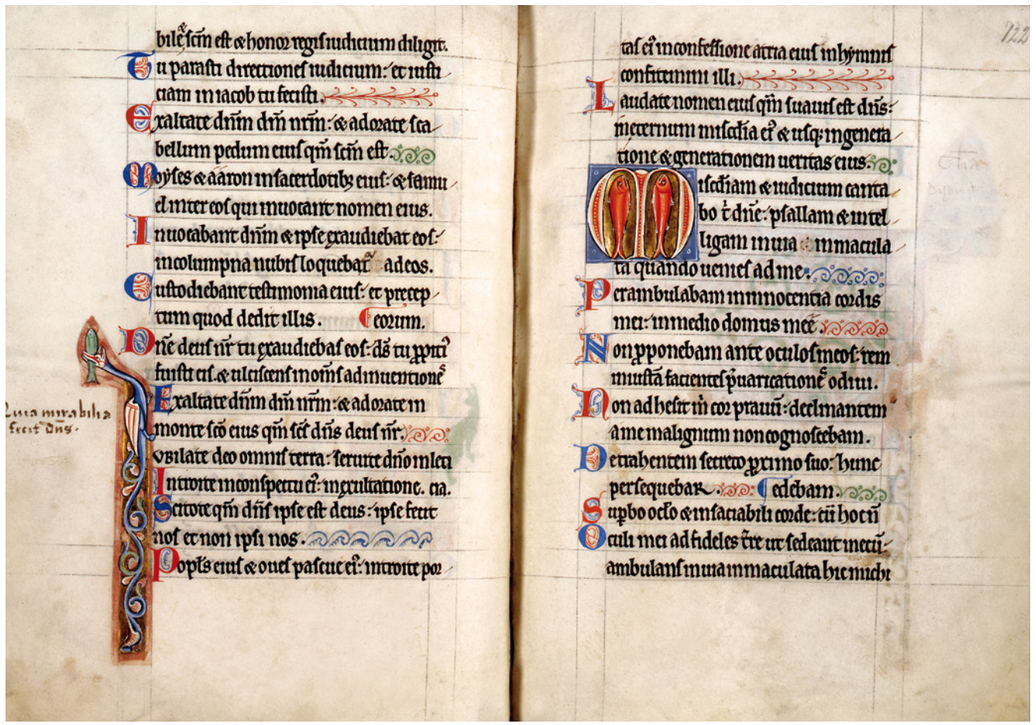
• The *Lettres juives* by the Marquis d'Argens were published in The Hague in 1738. The engraver closely followed Marchand's design. On the top right, he drew a figure that contemporaries would have recognised as none other than Marchand himself.

•• The French Bible scholar Richard Simon was one of the founding fathers of biblical criticism. The manuscript of his *Additions aux remarques curieuses sur la diversité des langues et des religions d'Edward Brerewood* was included in Marchand's legacy.

••• The Leiden professor of anatomy and surgery, Bernard Siegfried Albinus (1697-1770), published his famous *Tabulae sceleti et musculorum corporis humani* in 1747. The illustrations are by Jan Wandelaar. The drawings and proof prints for this work were added to the library's collection.



• This Book of Psalms belonging to the French King Louis IX ('St Louis', 1214-1270) was given to the library by the mayor of Leiden, Van den Bergh. The manuscript dates from ca. 1190 and comes from Northern England.

•• The Book of Psalms of St Louis contains 23 full-page miniatures. From the inscription on folio 30v (*Cist Psaultiers fuit mon seigneur saint Looys qui fu Roys de France, ouquel il aprist en s'enfance*) it appears that the king read from this Book of Psalms during his youth.

net de livres to Leiden University Library in order to fill the noticeable gaps in the collection's range of French books.[66] Richard Harris' motives were similar, with regard to English literature. These donors regarded the library as an organisation for which they as enlightened scholars shared a responsibility, which is why they very much felt it was their personal duty to eliminate what they considered to be important omissions. The strength of this conviction is highlighted from the remarkable tale of the Riemersma legacy. In 1770, Gerard Riemersma left all his assets to the university, subject to a series of conditions that were seemingly more in keeping with the wishes of a librarian than a donor. A handwritten catalogue of the library's acquisitions since 1741 had to be placed in the library itself, said Riemersma, and a supplement to the 1716 catalogue was to be printed as well. And this was not all: a library of 'Low German books' was to be created on the ground floor of the Beguinage Chapel, located directly beneath the library.[67] The first two conditions were met, but as far as the curators were concerned, the third went too far. A compromise was reached – the university renounced its right to the legacy in exchange for a sum of money, which would be used to buy books and be distributed among the four faculties that existed at the time.

Among the many gifts that Gronovius received, the one that stood out was a magnificent illustrated twelfth-century manuscript, the Psalterium of Louis the Pious. It was said that King Louis IX of France used to read the manuscript as a child.[68] The donor was a friend of Gronovius, the mayor of Leiden and former curator of the university, Van den Bergh, who at some stage had 'found' the valuable manuscript in the Southern Netherlands during the War of the Spanish Succession.[69] He gave it to the library in the year that Gronovius became librarian. In that same year – 1741 – Gronovius purchased the *herbaria* of plants from Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope from the estate of the late curator Hieronymus van Beverningk. This would later provide the core of the *Rijksherbarium* (national herbarium). These fragile items – dried plants are extremely delicate – were in need of immediate restoration. Gronovius had a house furbished in the Begijnhof, which became the first restoration studio.[70] When the professor of anatomy and surgery, Bernard Siegfried Albinus, died in Leiden thirty years later, in 1770, Gronovius made sure that the anatomical works that he had left went to the library. Together with the anatomical drawings by Sandifort and Wandelaar, which had been acquired by the university at the same time, these were testament to Gronovius' wide range of interests,[71] which included archaeology, numismatics, botany and anatomy, as well as the Oriental collections. This was hardly strange for someone who, as a young man, had travelled to England in order to study Syriac manuscripts there and who, when he had been the librarian in Leiden for ten years, told an English friend of two positions in England that he would like to occupy: either a chair of Oriental languages at Oxford or Cambridge, or librarian to the English Crown.[72] However, these ambitions were never realised. Abraham Gronovius was of great significance to Leiden University Library. He succeeded in streamlining its day-to-day activities and expanding the collections, although large gaps, particularly as far as recent publications were concerned, remained. At the end of his life, his decisive policies had had the opposite effect to what he had intended; because of a serious lack of space, there was chaos. *Tout est rempli,* everything is full, declared a report to the curators as early as 1760.[73] The books were stacked two or three rows deep, according to a Swedish visitor ten years later.[74] Gronovius was unable to resolve this pressing problem: he became seriously ill and was provided with the assistance of David Ruhnken in 1770. He became Gronovius' successor after his death in 1775.

DAVID RUHNKEN: 1775-1798

Brief biography

Ruhnken was not a professional librarian in the way his predecessor had been. His appointment represented a return to the custom of awarding the office of librarian to a professor who already occupied a chair. The administration of the library had been meticulously streamlined by Abraham Gronovius, and Ruhnken pursued the same course. Little changed. Until well into the nineteenth century, the management and much of the day-to-day running of the library was the responsibility of the librarian. He was assisted by two custodians who monitored the readers during the regular opening hours (Wednesday and Saturday afternoons, between two and four), kept various lists and catalogues up to date, and checked books that had been returned. The custodians were usually booksellers who were also responsible for supplying and binding books. As the management of the Oriental books and manuscripts could only be done by specialists,

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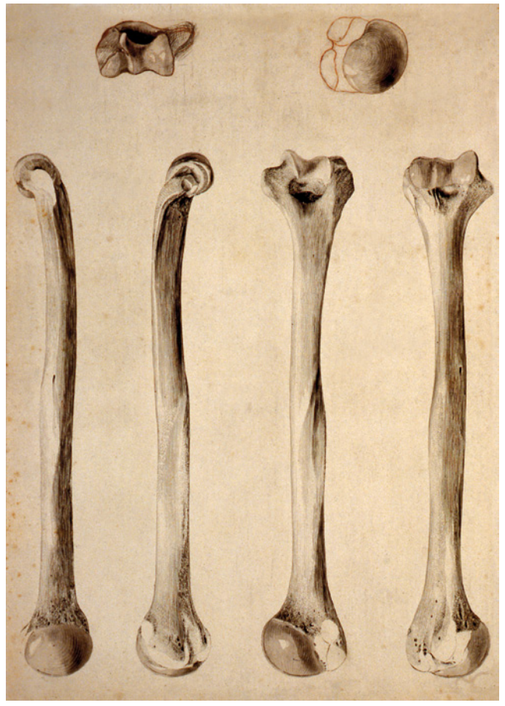

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• In 1741, Abraham Gronovius bought the *Herbarium van Ceylon* from the collection of the deceased curator, Hieronymus van Beverningk. It formed the basis of the Leiden Herbarium's collection.
•• The *Tabulae ossium humanorum* by B.S. Albinus were published in 1753. The beautiful original drawings by J. Wandelaar are kept in the Leiden library.
••• It is probable that this fourteenth-century Persian manuscript was made in Anatolia. It contains a collection of texts on divination, medicine, meteorology and astronomy. Here, the phases of the moon are depicted.
•••• David Ruhnken, librarian between 1775 and 1798. Posthumous portrait by Louis Moritz, 1803.

the function of *Interpres Legati Warneriani* was introduced in 1729, and was linked to the chair of Oriental languages. The duties of the *Interpres* were to catalogue and publish the rich collection of Oriental texts.

In these circumstances, the personality of the librarian helped determine the way in which the library developed. David Ruhnken was a very keen proponent of the Northern European Enlightenment, which was closely reflected in his biography, his private library and the library of Leiden University, for which he was responsible for a quarter of a century.

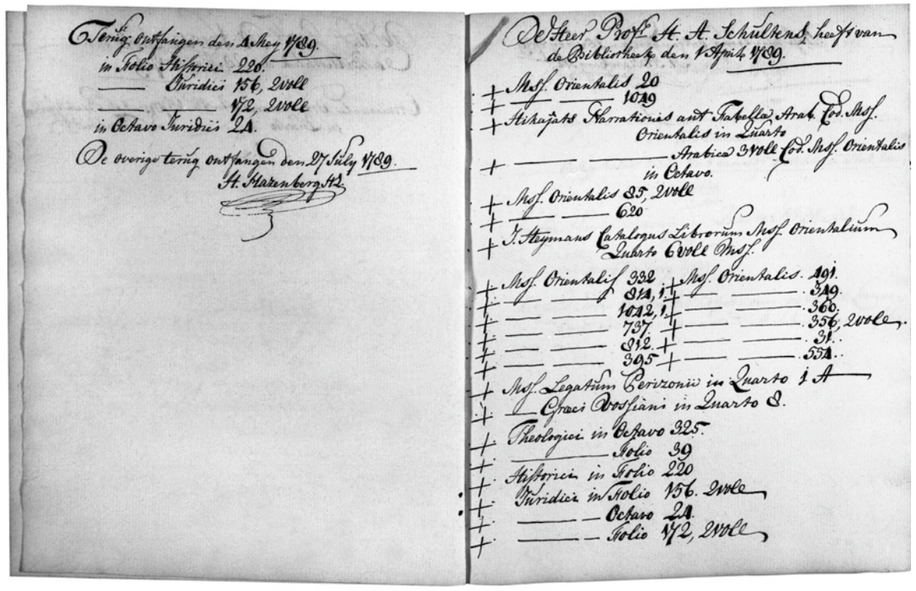
David Ruhnken was born in Pomerania in 1723, in a hamlet near the Baltic Sea.[75] The marriage of his parents was a mixed one – his father was Reformed, and his mother Lutheran – but they had pietistic leanings. They sent David to the Collegium Fridericianum in Königsberg, a leading Pietist school that the sixteen-year-old boy found hard to get used to. With Immanuel Kant, who was there at the same time and with whom he became friends, Ruhnken started to read ancient authors. This was to be the beginning of his passion for philology. His mother's hopes that he would study theology and become a minister remained unfulfilled. Ruhnken wanted to study Greek and left for the recently established University of Göttingen. However, he did not get any further than Wittenberg, where he studied law, history and mathematics for two years, but not particularly successfully. In 1744, Ruhnken departed for Leiden in order to continue his studies with Tiberius Hemsterhuis, one of the founders of the Dutch school of textual criticism, at which texts were put in their historical and philological context and studied critically. Ruhnken had found his niche in Leiden; he became a professor of history and rhetoric there, and never returned to the land of his birth.

A piece of German Aufklärung

Although Ruhnken's memories of German education were not good, it had nonetheless been responsible for shaping him culturally. He brought a piece of German *Aufklärung* with him to Leiden – the rational philosophy of Johann Christian Wolff, the philosopher from Halle who had spread Leibniz's ideas in Europe. He also had a particular fondness for music that conjured up the emotions, with the doctrine of the affections that Bach's music had taken to unprecedented heights. One result of this was that Ruhnken gave a powerful boost to the musical life of Leiden. Music was performed to a high standard in Ruhnken's home; he himself was a competent flautist. Leading musicians were frequent visitors, including the organ virtuoso Abt Vogler, the teacher of Weber and Meyerbeer.[76] Even though Ruhnken himself had renounced Pietism and Wolff's philosophy fairly rapidly, to embrace empirical research instead, many works by Wolff were accepted by the library during his time as librarian.[77]

Around the middle of the eighteenth century, the University Library enjoyed a kind of hey-day, with big names like Boerhaave for medicine, and Musschenbroek and 's-Gravesande for physics. For Oriental and Western philology, Albert Schultens and Tiberius Hemsterhuis developed a new approach for dealing with texts. Hemsterhuis' method required intensive contact with ancient literature.[78] In order to be able to complete any gaps in a text in a meaningful way, the philologist should have first read every manuscript of the author in question, and in order to be able to recognise quotations from ancient authors in classical texts, he should be very well-read. An encyclopaedic knowledge was required for the purpose of being able to identify underlying ideas in a text and to make the necessary associations. To accomplish all this, a well-stocked library was essential. Clearly, the private libraries of the professors were no longer equipped for such a far-reaching task. As well as the name of Ruhnken, those of Hemsterhuis and Schultens appear very frequently on many pages of the loan registers of the University Library, thereby making it possible in theory to reconstruct when and how they worked on particular texts. Ruhnken described his opinions about the work of the philologist in his inaugural speech in 1761, *Oratio de Doctore Umbratico,* which is as compelling now as it was then.[79] In it, he mocked the fussy way in which pedantic scholars approach texts, claiming that they live in the shadow of life without really knowing it. This came from a man whose flamboyant conduct had frequently set tongues wagging. At the age of 41, for example, he married a beautiful girl of eighteen, who was rumoured to be an Italian singer who was soon deceiving him with a whole string of students.[80] There was something odd in the animosity generated by Ruhnken's lifestyle: it was not dissimilar to the gossip surrounding his predecessor, Petrus Burmannus, someone else who enjoyed living life to the full. In fact, Ruhnken's wife, Marianne Heirmans, was neither Italian nor a singer. She was the daughter of the former Dutch Consul in Livorno and did indeed possess a wonderful voice. She bore two daughters, the elder of whom inherited her parents' talents and became

• Albert Schultens was a professor of Oriental languages. According to him, it was only possible to fill the gaps in a text if one had a thorough knowledge of all the writings of the author in question. This demanded that a philologist be exceptionally well-read and have an almost encyclopaedic level of knowledge. Portrait by Hieronymus van der Mey, 1736.



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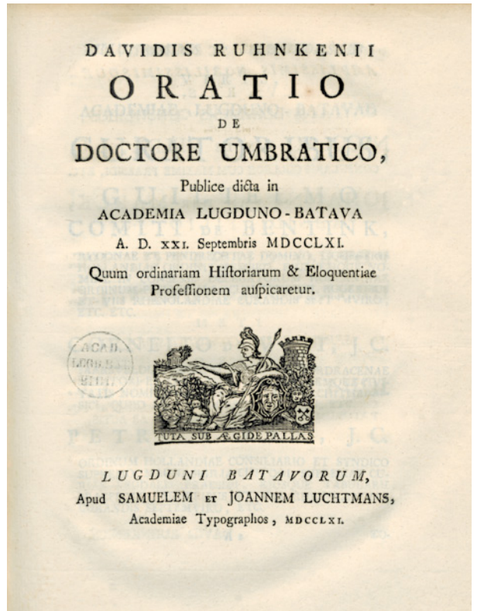

••• In his inaugural address, *Oratio de Doctore Umbratico*, given in 1761, Ruhnken reflected on the work of the philologist, thereby poking fun at the pettiness of pedantic scholars.

•••• With Albert Schultens, Tiberius Hemsterhuis developed a new, critical approach to texts. This method necessitated the intensive study of classical literature. Portrait painted by Jan Palthe, 1757.

a good pianist. The hospitality in the Ruhnken household was legendary, even after the mother and younger daughter had become seriously ill. Scholars from elsewhere in the Republic, foreign visitors, and students thoroughly enjoyed this hospitality,[81] writing about it in enthusiastic terms (with frequent mention of Ruhnken's passion for hunting: until he died, he hunted three or four times a week in the area around Leiden and Haarlem, accompanied by his two favourite greyhounds).[82] This sociability was a feature of the age in which wearing wigs was fashionable, that of the late Enlightenment, of which Ruhnken was very much an exponent in other ways too. He fiercely opposed slavery and torture, for example, and was in favour of inoculating people against smallpox. He became a fervent patriot.[83] Although he did not possess their works, he claimed to have read Bossuet, Fénelon, Corneille, Racine and La Fontaine.[84] His extensive private library, which counted 2,200 titles and passed to Leiden University Library after his death, included works by Lessing, Voltaire, Montesquieu and Molière.[85] Ruhnken, in other words, was a colourful character in eighteenth-century Leiden – someone who very much made his mark on the development of the University Library.

He did not actually have much time to run the library, as so much time was taken up by his teaching duties, his publications and his hunting activities.[86] Still, his tenure as librarian had a great impact on how the collections were used – this is because it coincided with two decisive developments in the field of philology. On the one hand, people started to investigate where certain texts were located in manuscripts and what the relationship between the different manuscripts was, while on the other, the new textual criticism had highlighted the value of collating as many variants as possible. The accessibility of the manuscripts was essential to both.

Greater generosity

Ruhnken did not harbour the best of memories about the accessibility of the library under Gronovius.[87] His extensive correspondence with librarians all over Europe had taught him that things could be different: Cardinal Passionei, the prefect of the Vatican Library, Ferdinando Fossi, who was in charge of the Medici Library in Florence, and Gerard Van Swieten, the librarian of the Court Library in Vienna, allowed manuscripts to be collated and even copied in their entirety for him, without a second thought.[88] This generosity appealed to Ruhnken – who regarded himself first and foremost as a library *user* – far more than did the policy of protectionism at Leiden. In his capacity as librarian, he decided to pursue more open policies, and was very obliging when it came to collating Leiden manuscripts for non-Leiden philologists.[89] He even loaned manuscripts to people outside Leiden. With this entirely new approach, news of which quickly spread, Ruhnken was laying the ground for the policies of the following century.[90]

Because his annual budget for buying books was still just three hundred guilders, Ruhnken was unable to do any more than his predecessor. For that reason, he requested – and was granted – special allowances to be able to bid at auctions of private libraries. He managed to purchase a large number of books at the auctions of Burmannus and Van Alphen in 1779, Ernesti in 1782 and Crevenna in 1790. Moreover, the library received significant bequests and donations during this period. In 1785, lawyer Louis Chastelain declared that the library was to be his universal legatee; with the interest from the capital, it would be able to buy books for the various faculties every year.[91] The library also acquired the manuscripts and annotations of Leiden professors Franciscus van Oudendorp and Franciscus Hemsterhuis in 1790. There were two instances from Ruhnken's period that illustrate how delicate a matter the purchase of manuscripts could be. In 1786, Ruhnken had bought an extremely rare copy of Homer's *Hymn to Ceres* from professor Matthaei in Moscow, and republished the remarkable text himself. A century later, it appeared that the respected Russian professor had stolen the manuscript from the Saint Petersburg archives.[92] This did not have any consequences – the manuscript is still in Leiden.[93] It was a different story, however, in the case of a Virgil manuscript that Ruhnken' predecessor, Burmannus, had acquired at the Van Huls auction. Apparently, it had once been 'borrowed' by Nicolaas Heinsius from the Bibliothèque du Roi in Paris, and never returned. The French authorities demanded the manuscript back, and got it.[94]

Wo man hintritt, tritt man auf Bücher

The library grew steadily under Ruhnken, causing the lack of space, which was already serious at the time of his appointment, to get worse and worse. Books and, more especially, Oriental manuscripts were piled up on the floor.[95] *Wo man hintritt, tritt man auf Bücher* – wherever you walk, you tread on books, complained a demoralised visitor to the library in 1783.[96] The situation gradually became unmanageable, and it was not only

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* LE HARLE COURONNÉ. (b)

Sixième espèce.

CE HARLE, qui se trouve en Virginie, est très-remarquable par sa tête couronnée d'un beau limbe, noir à la circonférence & blanc au milieu, & formé de plumes relevées en disque, ce qui fait un bel effet, mais qui ne paroît bien que dans l'oiseau vivant (c), & que par cette raison notre planche enluminée ne rend pas; on le voit dans la belle figure que Catesby a donnée de cet oiseau qu'il a dessiné vivant; sa poitrine & son ventre sont blancs; le bec, la face, le cou & le dos sont noirs, les pennes de la queue & de l'aile brunes; celles de l'aile les plus intérieures, sont noires & marquées d'un trait blanc. Ce harle est à-peu-près de la grosseur du canard; la femelle est toute brune, & sa huppe est plus petite que celle du mâle. Fernandez a décrit l'un & l'autre sous le nom Mexicain d'*écarotorl*, en y ajoutant le surnom de *avis venti*, oiseau du vent, sans en indiquer la raison. Ces oiseaux se trouvent au Mexique & à la Caroline, aussi-bien qu'en Virginie, & se tiennent souvent sur les rivières & les étangs.

* Voyez les planches enluminées, n.° 935, le mâle, sous la dénomination de *Harle huppé de Virginie*, n.° 936, la femelle.

(b) *Round-crested duck.* Catesby, *Carolin.* tome I, page 94, avec une belle figure. — Harle à crête. *Edwards*, Glan. pl. 260. — *Ecatotzel seu avis venti.* Fernandez, *Hist. nov. Hisp.* page 24, cap. 46. — Idem, page 31, cap. 95. — *Altera ecatotzel.* Idem, page 24, cap. 47. — *Avis venti.* Nieremberg, page 222. — *Hecatzotl alter.* Idem, ibid. — Jonston, *Av.* page 128. — Willughby, *Ornithol.* page 301. — Ray, *Synopf. Av.* page 175. — *Sownor auritatus.* Klein, *Av.* page 142, n.° 3. — *Morgus cristâ globosâ utrinque alâ, corpore supra fusco, subtus albo. Morgus auritatus* Linnæus, *Syst. nat.* ed. X, Gen. 62, Sp. 1. — *Morganser cristatus supernè nigricans, infernè albus, imo ventre fusco; capite & collo nigris; cristâ orbitulari nigrâ, utrinque in medio candidâ, semiglobus majoribus reflexibusque fulcis* (mas.) *Morganser cristatus, in toto corpore fuscus, cristâ orbiculari* (femina)... *Morganser Virginianus cristatus.* Brisson, *Ornithol.* tome VI, page 258.

(c) *Magnâ cristâ exornatur, orbiculari, ac corvinâ modo eminenti.* Nieremberg.

* LE

Le Harle mâle.

Le Dindon.

• This illustration from *Le harle mâle* comes from the ninth volume of Buffon's *l'Histoire naturelle des oiseaux*. Particularly around the time of the Christmas vacation, this book would often be borrowed by the professors.

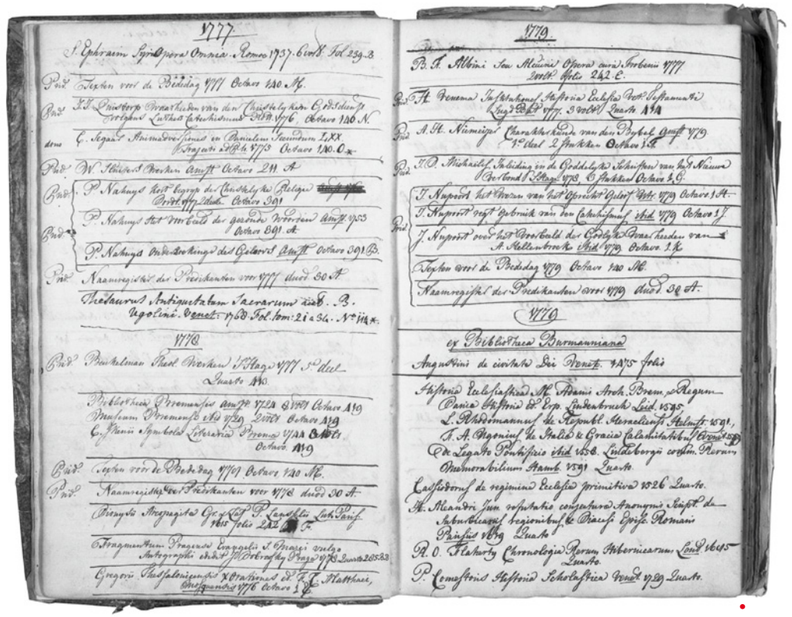
•• Ruhnken was a keen hunter and a typical representative of the late seventeenth century. The *Etrennes des muses*, an almanac from 1778, depicts a hunting scene of the time. The illustration is bound in a silk cover.

••• One of the books that was most popular among professors was Buffon's *l'Histoire naturelle des oiseaux*. The work consisted of ten volumes, which the professors would borrow one by one and take home with them. *Le dindon* from volume 2 is shown here.

Leiden that was affected: many European libraries were struggling with the same defect.[97] It had become necessary to keep books outside the library, in warehouses or storage depots without any reading facilities. This lack of space was a proof of the library's inability to adequately respond to the rapid increase in book production. Books and readers were separated and they were only able to continue their dialogue via a time-consuming trek that took them from one building to another. In Leiden, Ruhnken was obliged to use a number of rented properties near the library and, later, several houses on Papengracht as warehouses.[98] It was only two centuries later, in 1983, that this state of dispersion was remedied with the construction of the new library at Witte Singel.

The unprecedented influx of books and the new way in which science was being organised were products of the Enlightenment. It forced researchers and libraries to alter the way they worked. Periodicals and reports from scientific institutions now formed the basis from which visitors to libraries determined what to read. Studying the most important journals in their respective field was a sure-fire way of ensuring one was fully informed, while reading the results of recent research in the leading academies meant one was firmly up-to-date on the latest scientific developments. It therefore became necessary for the library to purchase these publications in sufficient numbers and to make them available to their readers. This was a trend that would continue to gain strength in the nineteenth century.

• Despite his meagre budget, Ruhnken nevertheless managed to acquire important works for the library. In this chronological register of incoming acquisitions, notes in the margin attest to which items were gifts ('Dono'). Presumably those titles that were not accompanied by this note were purchased. The indication 'Priv' means that the book had been printed with the privilege of the States of Holland and that a copy had to be deposited in the library.
•• In addition to scholarly journals, the professors also frequently borrowed encyclopaedic works, such as this *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire universel et* raisonné *des connaissances humaines* by De Felice.
••• The status quo at the end of the eighteenth century: before the houses at Rapenburg were demolished around 1820, one would enter the library via this gateway. This drawing from 1943 is a copy of an original from 1788.


1777

1778

1779

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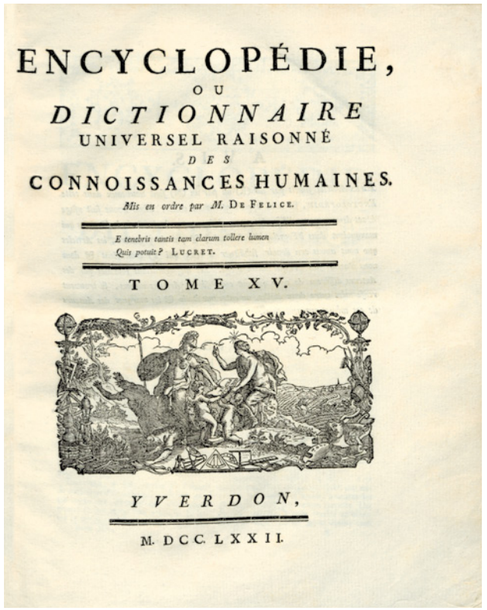

ENCYCLOPÉDIE,
OU
DICTIONNAIRE
UNIVERSEL RAISONNÉ
DES
CONNOISSANCES HUMAINES.
Mis en ordre par M. DE FELICE.
E tenebris tantis tam clarum tollere lumen
Quis potuit? LUCRET.
TOME XV.
YVERDON,
M. DCC. LXXII.

••

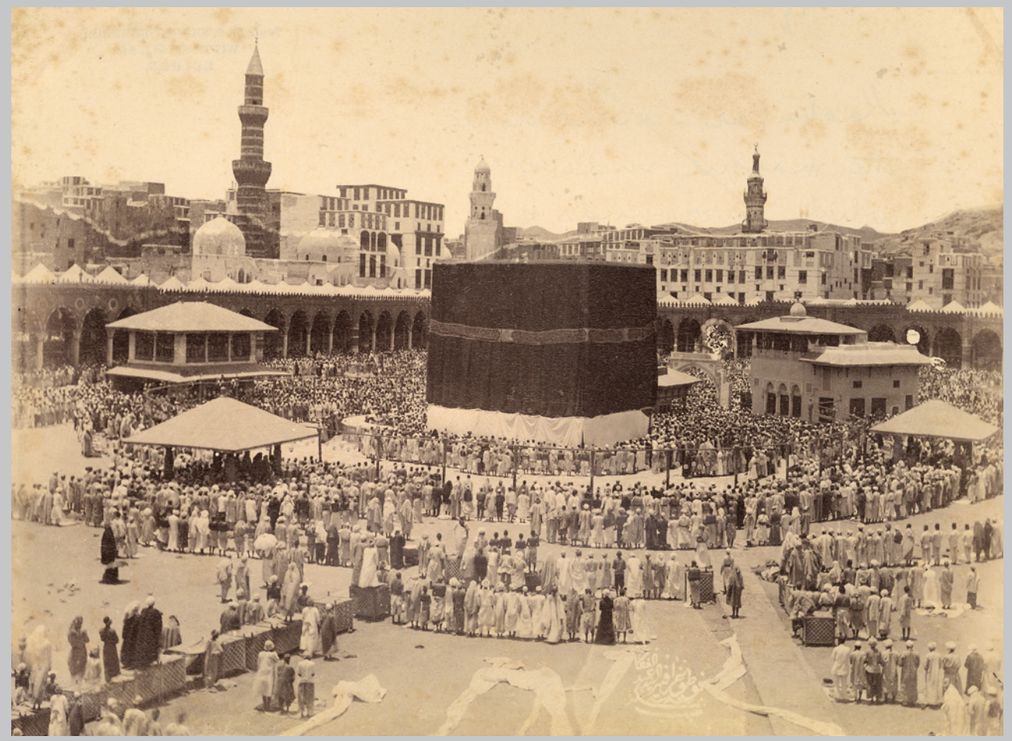
•••

The Oriental collections dealing with the Islamic world and Semitics consist of around 6,500 manuscripts, a much larger number of old printed works and Western Oriental Studies up to around 1950. The best represented are the important cultural languages Arabic, Persian and Ottoman Turkish, with smaller collections in Hebrew, Syriac and the Berber languages, for example.

The choice of Arnoud Vrolijk
Curator of Oriental Manuscripts and Rare Books

Portrait of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) in Oriental dress during his visit to Mecca, 1885.

'Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, perhaps the Netherlands' greatest islamologist, bequeathed his entire collection to Leiden University Library after his death in 1936. In 1884, the young Snouck Hurgronje had left for the Arabian Peninsula. He first lived in Jeddah, where he started a research assignment into the movements of "fanatical" Muslims from the Dutch East Indies. Snouck Hurgronje quickly discovered that the best way of finding out as much as possible about them would be to follow them on their pilgrimages to Mecca, a place where they could escape from the eyes of non-believers. In order to get to Mecca, he converted to Islam.'
'Snouck Hurgronje arrived in Mecca on 22 February 1885. He had a camera – which must have been enormous – sent from Jeddah so that he could record life in Mecca. Because, as a European, he would stand out too much when taking outdoor photographs, he called on the help of a local doctor, Abd al-Ghaffar, who had some experience with photography. The photograph above shows Snouck Hurgronje in Oriental dress, and was taken by the doctor.'



◂ **Photograph of the Kaaba and the al-Haram mosque in Mecca, taken by doctor Abd al-Ghaffar for Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje in around 1887.**

'In August 1885, shortly before the start of the pilgrim season, Snouck Hurgronje was informed by the Ottoman governor that he was to leave the country immediately. Nonetheless, in order to acquire photographs of the Hajj, he left his camera with the Mecca doctor, Abd al-Ghaffar, with a request to continue taking pictures.'

'Once he was back in the Netherlands, Snouck Hurgronje used his notes to create his German-language magnum opus *Mekka*, which included two portfolios with photographs. No Western scholar had previously managed to accumulate so much ethnographic information at the heart of the Islamic world.'

Illustration by Kees van Dongen (1877-1968) in a partial translation of the One Thousand and One Nights, *Hassan Badreddine El Bassraoui,* a French deluxe edition from 1918. Purchased in 2006 with the help of the Friends of the University Library.

'In the late nineteenth century, the French were completely captivated by the Orient, which explains the great clamour for a modern translation of the tales of the Thousand and One Nights. In 1899, the left-wing avant-garde magazine *La Revue blanche* started publishing what was described as an entirely new, complete, literal and unexpurgated translation that was said to have been based on the Arab source texts, *Le livre des mille nuits et une nuit*.
The translator, Joseph-Charles Mardrus (1868-1949), was an Oriental Catholic of French nationality who was born in Cairo. He studied medicine and spent four years working as a ship's doctor, during which he translated the Thousand and One Nights in his spare time. It later transpired that the erotic flavour and "tasty" aspects were largely a figment of his imagination.'
'Paris publishers Les Editions de la Sirène brought out a story from Mardrus' Thousand and One Nights in December 1918. The Fauvist artist Kees van Dongen, who was born in Delfshaven and lived in Paris, made one hundred and ten drawings and eight water colours for the publication. Van Dongen had his own image of the Orient. For example, there is a woman wearing suspenders and high heels – very much an un-Oriental spectacle.'
'With 310 copies and prices of up to 1,500 francs, the book was clearly intended for a select group of book lovers.'

◂ Depiction of a date palm in an Arabic translation of Dioscorides' Greek book on medicines.
A very old illustrated Arabic manuscript from 1083 AD.

'In the first century AD the Greek scholar Dioscorides, who came from Asia Minor, compiled all the existing knowledge about medicinal plants and animal products in a Greek-language work that we know as *Materia medica*.'
'In the ninth century, the standard language in the Middle East was no longer Greek, but Arabic. A certain Stephanus translated the *Materia medica* into Arabic, in Baghdad. The accuracy of his translation was checked by Hunayn ibn Ishaq, the Christian personal doctor of Caliph al-Mutawakkil.
At the end of the tenth century, the Arabic text was again revised in Samarkand, and this is the version we have in the library.'

The Jerusalem Talmud (1289 AD).

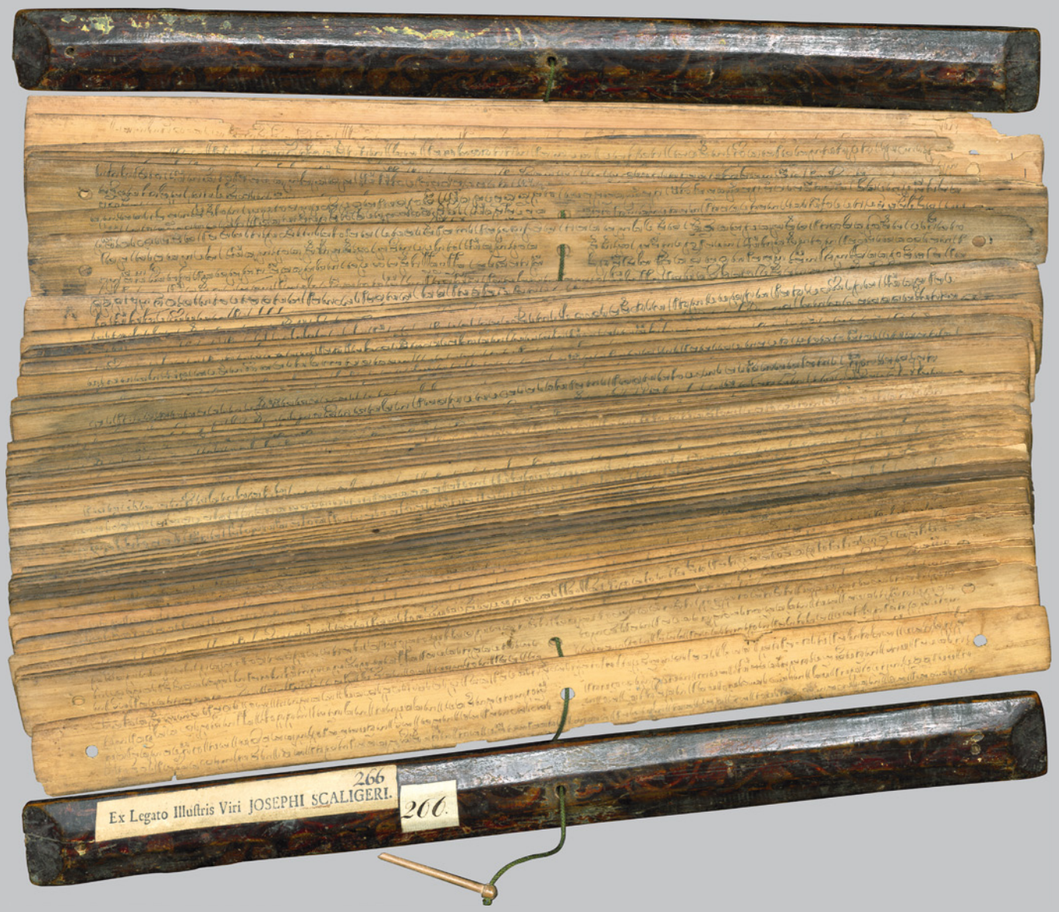
'The Talmud is the great treasure trove of the Rabbinic Jewish tradition. The most elaborate collection comes from the "Babylonia" (Mesopotamia) of the fourth and fifth centuries AD, but a second, smaller collection was created in Palestine, the so-called Palestinian or Jerusalem Talmud.'
'The first edition was printed in 1523-1524 in Venice by Daniel Bomberg from Antwerp. This codex in two volumes is the only complete manuscript of the text to have survived down the centuries. The parchment manuscript was copied in the year 5049 of the Jewish calendar (1289 AD), probably in Rome.'
'After having had several different owners, the manuscript eventually ended up in the possession of the well-known humanist scholar, Josephus Justus Scaliger, who left it to Leiden University Library after his death in 1609.'

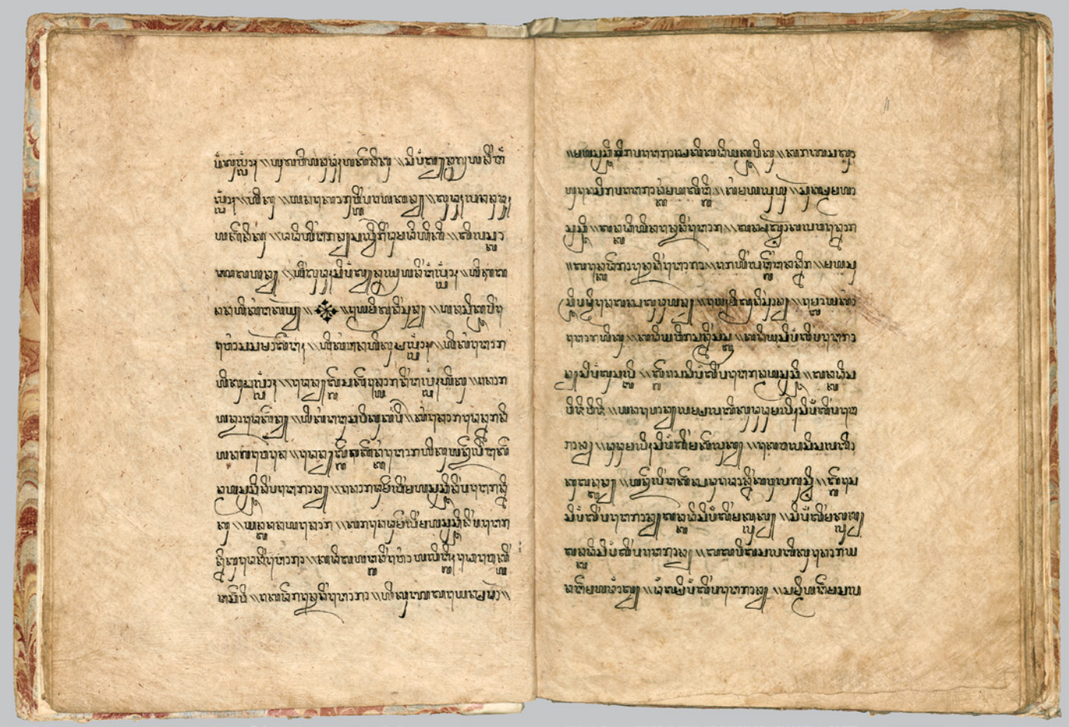
One reason for the worldwide renown of the University Library in Leiden is the Indonesian items in its Special Collections, an incredibly rich treasure trove of thousands of manuscripts, photographs, drawings and printed works, patiently built up over a long period of time, and which has for many years drawn scholars from all over the world.

The choice of Marie-Odette Scalliet
Curator of South and Southeast Asian Manuscripts and Rare Books

Javanese palm leaf manuscript. 43 x 5.2 cm. Sixteenth century (before 1596). Notes on Islamic mysticism, in prose, in the Javanese language and script.

'Librarian Merula accepted the palm leaf manuscript as a gift from an Amsterdam merchant, C.J. van Dulmen. Somehow it was later wrongly assumed that this manuscript was part of Scaliger's legacy, hence the label which was, in the eighteenth century, pasted on one of the two wooden covers, and which reads "Ex Legato Illustris Viri Josephi Scaligeri". We know, however, that it was the first manuscript from the Malay world to have entered the library.'





Javanese manuscript written on Javanese paper, made of beaten and prepared tree bark. 83 p., 25 x 20 cm. Notes, treatise on Muhammadan theology and mysticism in prose. Late sixteenth century.

'This manuscript is known as the "Book of Bonang" (*kitab Bonang*). Pangeran Bonang was one of the nine holy men (*wali*) who are said to have introduced Islam to Java. It has been in the Leiden University collection since 1614 and formed part of the legacy of Bonaventura Vulcanius (1538-1614). Presumably he acquired it through an intermediary from one of the first Dutch navigators who visited Java at the end of the sixteenth century. It seems that Vulcanius was unaware of the geographical origin of the manuscript since he assumed that it came from Japan. An inscription in his hand on the front page reads: *Liber Japonensis* (Japanese book).'

◂ Illuminated letter from the Sultan of Aceh (1639). Text in Malay in Arabic script (*jawi*). 72 × 30 cm.

'Sultan Alauddin Mughayat Syah Iskandar Thani, better known as Sultan Iskandar Thani, reigned in Aceh (North Sumatra) from 1637 to 1641. In 1639 he wrote a letter to Stadholder Prince Frederik Hendrik of Orange, Count of Nassau (1581-1647). It is worth mentioning that this son of William of Orange had been a student in Leiden.'
'The illuminated letter is exceptional for more than one reason. It is the oldest Malay Sultan's letter in the library, and is the only known letter in the world that was written by Sultan Iskandar Thani. The colour of the background of the letter is also exceptional. Blue was very rarely used on manuscripts and not at all on illuminated letters. Recent analysis has shown that the blue colour of the pigment was derived from finely-crushed costly *lapis lazuli*. The letter forms part of the legacy of professor P.J. Veth (1814-1895).'

▸ Raden Jaka Tingkir killing a buffalo while the Sultan of Demak and his retinue look on. Javanese drawing by an anonymous artist. Water colour, gold leaf and washed ink on European paper. 48 × 61 cm. Annotations in Dutch and Javanese. Second half of the nineteenth century.

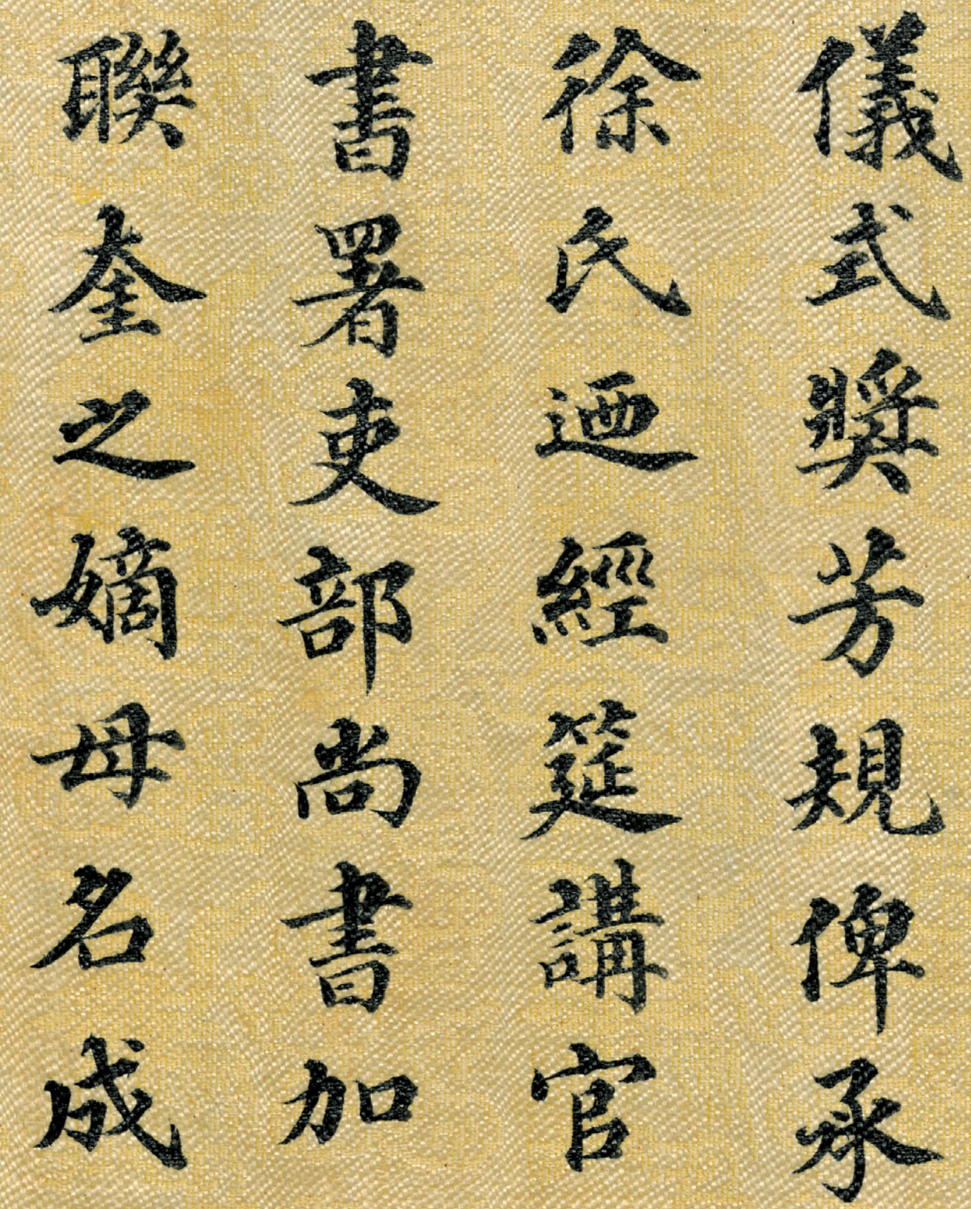
'Among the recent additions to the Oriental collections of Leiden University Library is a particularly fine nineteenth-century Javanese coloured drawing enhanced with gold leaf. It depicts an episode of the legendary and heroic life of Raden Jaka Tingkir. Under the watchful eye of the Sultan of Demak, a sultanate situated on the north coast of Central Java, he kills a wild buffalo by striking it on its head. After this victory, the sultan appointed Jaka Tingkir as head of his army.'
'Raden Jaka Tingkir was a real person, who lived in the sixteenth century. Portuguese sources mention him as the Sultan of Pajang. Jaka Tingkir was the founder of the first islamic sultanate in the interior of Central Java, the capital of which was situated near Solo.'

▸ Narrative Balinese drawing depicting an episode from a story derived from a Balinese poem (*geguritan Gunawati*). Attributed to I Ketut Gedé, Singaraja (North-Bali), ca. 1880 Water colours and ink on Dutch paper. The sheet (34.4 × 48.0 cm) is folded vertically into two halves, each containing a drawing.

'This drawing is one of the 483 Balinese narrative drawings that form part of the extensive legacy of Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk (1824-1894). This great scholar worked on Bali from 1870 until shortly before his death in the hospital in Surabaya. The drawings were produced by Balinese artists at Van der Tuuk's instigation and under his supervision, probably because he was looking for illustrations for his *Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch woordenboek* (dictionary). Van der Tuuk was unable to complete the project, on which he had spent many years. His dictionary was eventually published posthumously, but without any illustrations (four volumes, 1897-1912). The drawing shown on page 149 shows two scenes from the fable of the bull, the tiger and the palm vintner Papaka. The moral of the fable is that man ranks higher than animals, because he represents the gods on earth.'

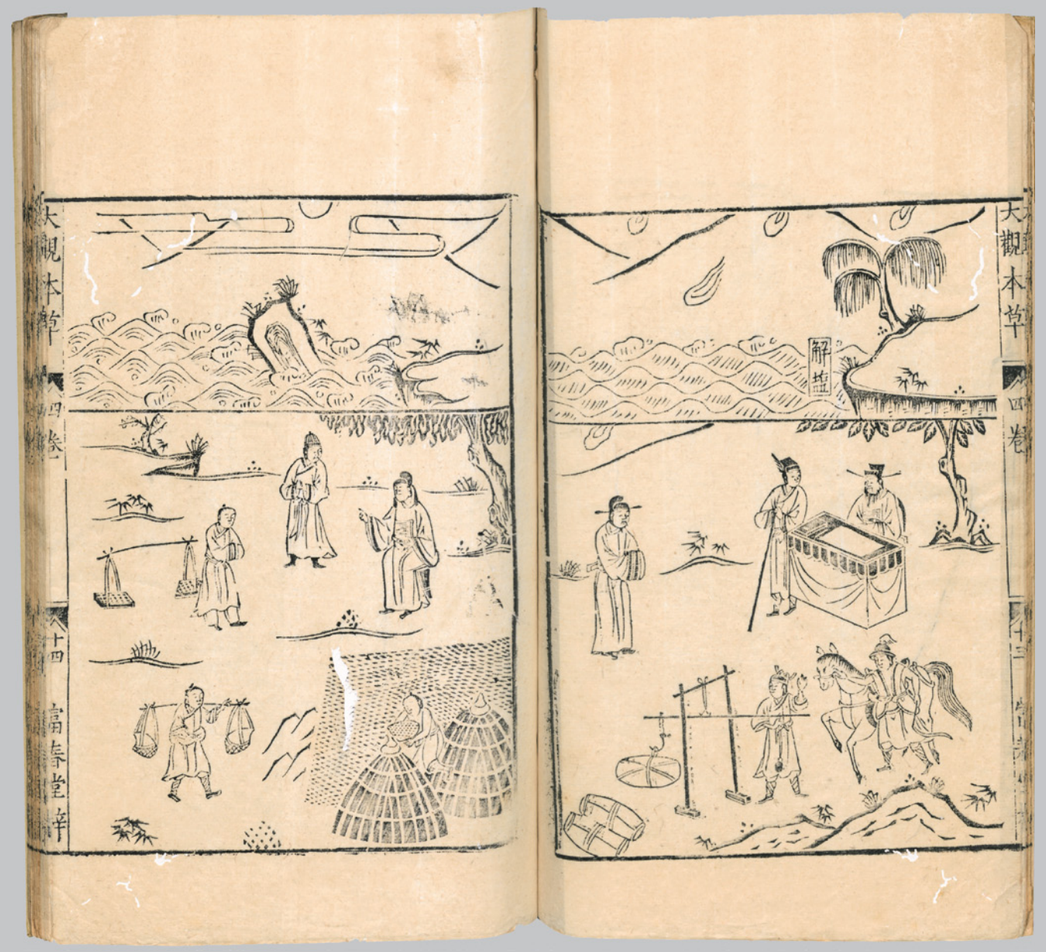
The East Asian Library contains around 3,000 old Chinese books, of which several hundred are rare or are from before 1796. Although the first Chinese books were included in the University Library as early as 1609, the Chinese collection has only really been built up from around 1880. Since the opening of the Sinological Institute in 1930, large numbers of old and new books have been purchased.

The choice of Koos Kuiper
Curator of Chinese and Japanese Manuscripts and Rare Books



Chongxiu Zhenghe jing shi zheng lei beiyong bencao 重修政和經史證類備用本草, Revised publication of Roots and Herbs ready for use, categorised using evidence from the classics and history books, from the Zhenghe period [1111-1118]. Thirty volumes (juan), Nanjing: Fuchuntang 富春堂, 1581. Woodblock print with double pages. *Materia Medica* by Tang Shenwei 唐慎微 (ca. 1052-1136), first impression 1082, reprinted many times. Illustrated with images of plants, animals and minerals.

'The East Asian Library has three volumes of this work (volumes 4, 20, 21) and the Bibliotheca Thysiana also has one (volume 30). The three volumes are perhaps the first Chinese books to have been acquired for the University Library, and came from Scaliger (1609) or Vulcanius (1615). Fifteen volumes have been found in six countries, possibly originating from the cargo of the Santa Catharina. This Portuguese *kraak* (ship) had been seized by the Dutch in the Strait of Malacca in 1602. Volume 4 contains an illustration of salt productin and administration.



◀ **Dutch-Chinese manuscript dictionary, 140 ff., 33 × 21 cm, bound. By Justus Heurnius (1587-1651/2) and a Chinese schoolmaster, Batavia, 1629. On each page there are three sets of three columns with Dutch words, Chinese characters and transcriptions of the Southern Mandarin pronunciation.**

'J.J.L. Duyvendak called this dictionary "the earliest monument of Dutch Sinological studies". Heurnius worked as a minister and missionary in Batavia, where he compiled a Dutch-Latin-Chinese dictionary together with a Chinese schoolmaster who had learnt Latin in Macao. He sent this copy, unfortunately without the Latin text, as a gift to his brother Ottho, a professor of medicine in Leiden. Two other complete copies are located in Oxford and London. Heurnius ended his Chinese studies shortly afterwards, possibly because he learnt the wrong dialect: the Chinese on Java did not speak Mandarin, but Hokkien.'

Yu hai 玉海, 'The sea of jade' by Wang Yinglin, a Chinese encyclopaedia, with thirteen other works by Wang in one hundred volumes in ten boxes. Woodblock print with double pages. The blocks are dated from 1506 to 1791.

'The politician, historian and linguist Wang Yinglin 王應麟 (1223-1296) compiled this encyclopaedia in order to prepare himself for a special Imperial exam in 1256. It was not printed until 1341. This is a later edition, in which old worn out print blocks have been replaced by new ones. They date from eighteen different years, from 1506 to 1791 – in other words, a span of almost three hundred years. There is a clear difference in the style of the characters between the different blocks: in 1507, a calligraphic style was used (kaishu – not particularly attractive), while a printing style (songti) was favoured in 1791. This edition was purchased in 1880 as part of a collection of fifty major Chinese works from the E.J. Brill company of book dealers.'

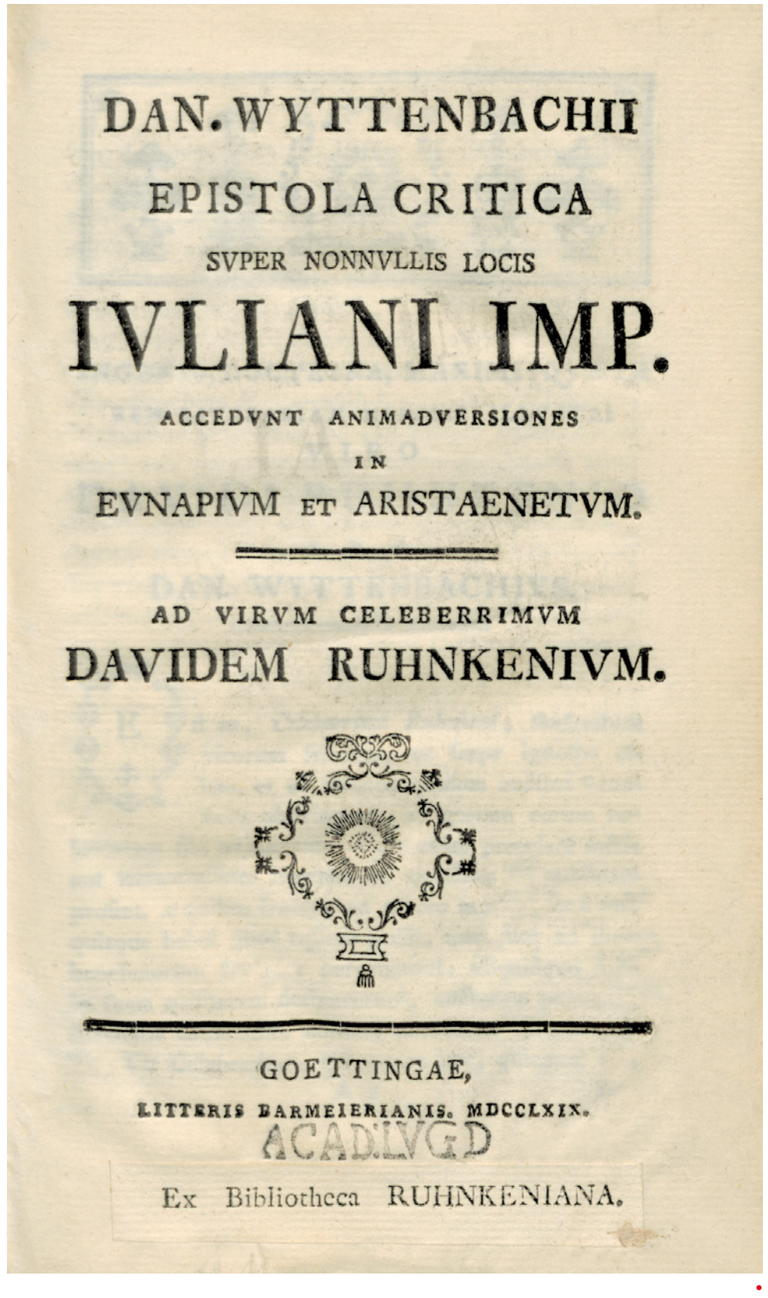
Imperial Decree of 26 January 1819 (Chinese New Year's Day) in which the parents of the worthy official Dai Liankui are granted honorary titles. Roll with Manchu and Chinese text, each written in eight different colours of ink on brocade of eight different colours. Length 485 cm, height 37 cm.

'Dai Liankui 戴聯奎 (1751-1822) was a minister at four ministries consecutively. This decree conferred the honorary title of *Guanglu dafu* 光祿大夫, 'great master of radiating light', on his father, Dai Zhicheng 戴知誠, and that of *Yipin furen* 一品夫人, 'wife of the first degree' on his wife Xu 徐 and concubine Zhou 周, the mother of Dai Liankui.

This and five other decrees were donated to the Sinological Institute in 2008 by Mrs G.A. Vixseboxse-Besier, the wife of sinologist and diplomat, Dr J. Vixseboxse.'

***Bajiang lubie shi shu hua ce* 巴江錄別詩書畫冊: album with poetry, pieces of calligraphy and paintings from the time of the departure from Chongqing. Painting and text by Yang Yongjun 楊永浚 (1894-1960).**

'Two folding books with works of calligraphy and paintings by friends of the diplomat, sinologist and writer Robert van Gulik, presented at the time of his departure from Chongqing in 1946. There, he had had contact with Chinese politicians and high-placed officials, as well as with scholars, artists and musicians, many of whom had official posts but who were also amateur artists, and who had fled from the Japanese to Chongqing, the temporary capital deep inside China. Here, we can see a painting and text by calligrapher and painter Yang Yongjun, who was also a high-placed civil servant. He was a member of the Chinese Youth Party and played an important intermediary role in December 1949 during the bloodless takeover of power by the communists in Sichuan. Note the modern element in this otherwise traditional painting.'


DAN. WYTTENBACHII
EPISTOLA CRITICA
SVPER NONNVLLIS LOCIS
IVLIANI IMP.
ACCEDVNT ANIMADVERSIONES
IN
EVNAPIVM ET ARISTAENETVM.
AD VIRVM CELEBERRIMVM
DAVIDEM RUHNKENIVM.
GOETTINGAE,
LITTERIS BARMEIERIANIS. MDCCLXIX.
ACADLVGD
Ex Bibliotheca RUHNKENIANA.

• Wyttenbach counted himself among the members of the Leiden philological school. He dedicated the first product of his pen to Ruhnken.
•• The Swiss Daniel Wyttenbach served as librarian between 1798 and 1820. This portrait, painted by Louis Moritt, was given to the university by Wyttenbach's widow in 1823.
••• The lawyer and philosopher Meinard Tydeman (1741-1825) made an annotated catalogue of all the books in the library.

V THE AWAKENING OF A NEW NATIONAL AWARENESS, 1798-1896

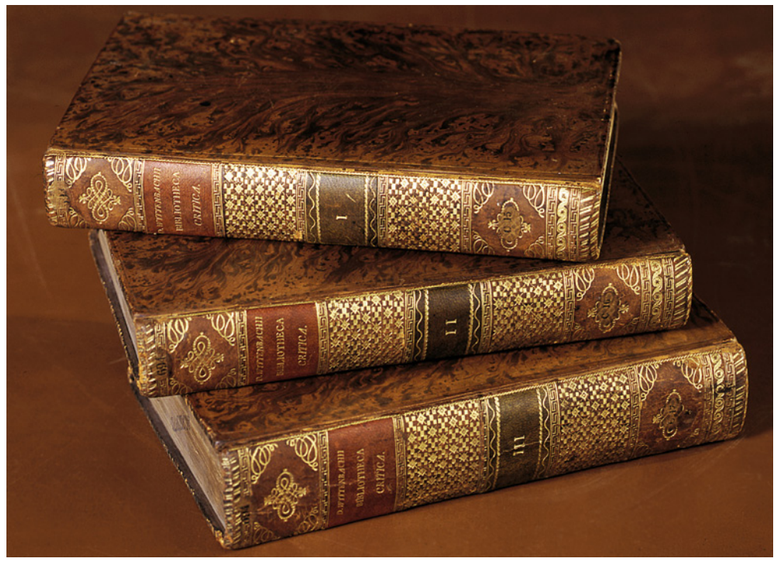
In many ways, the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century in Europe were very like the previous one, and things were no different in the Netherlands. The economic decline that followed the Golden Age reached its nadir at the start of the nineteenth century. Under the Batavian Republic (1795-1806), with its principles of equality based on the French Revolution, the situation showed remarkable similarities with that of the past. The proposed centralisation of power failed to break the firmly-entrenched decentralised mentality, with provinces, cities and municipalities largely retaining their authority over local affairs. This situation changed in 1806, when Napoleon appointed his brother, Louis Bonaparte, as king of the Netherlands. Four years later, the country was annexed and occupied by France. It was not until 1815, following the Congress of Vienna, that it definitely regained its independence, as the 'Kingdom of the United Netherlands'.[1] These turbulent events awakened a new sense of national awareness to which the universities were not immune. With the exception of a few professors, the impression is that there was a deliberate attempt in Leiden not to get involved with all the political upheaval. However, even there the first two decades of the nineteenth century were not trouble-free.[2] The lack of resources and the administrative problems were acute. Responsibility for Leiden University Library throughout this period was in the hands of the resourceful Swiss philologist, Daniel Wyttenbach, whose most important achievement as far as the library was concerned was to protect its collections from the greed of the French occupier.

DANIEL WYTTENBACH: 1798-1820

Brief biography

Daniel Wyttenbach was born in Berne in 1746, where his father taught theology.[3] The home schooling he was given together with his two sisters was quite rigorous, especially with regard to Latin. In 1756, his father joined the University of Marburg, where Wolffianism – a systemisation of the philosophies of Leibniz and Kant by Christian Wolff – was taught. Enlightened ideas, such as those of the English freethinker John Toland, were freely discussed in the Wyttenbach household. It may well be that the eventual choice of Daniel Wyttenbach for philology and philosophy, and not, as originally intended, for theology, was a consequence of this enlightened upbringing. Wyttenbach considered himself part of the Leiden philological school, following on from Scaliger, Gronovius and Perizonius. Every day, he feasted on 'Dutch books'. He particularly admired Hemsterhuis, Valckenaer and Ruhnken;[4] he dedicated his first written work to the latter, in 1769.[5] The book was warmly received in Leiden and the following year, Wyttenbach arrived in the Netherlands for the start of what would be a glittering career. From 1771 to 1779 he taught arts and philosophy at the Remonstrant Seminary in Amsterdam. In 1779 he was given the chair of philosophy at the Athenaeum Illustre in Amsterdam, followed in 1784 by the chairs of Greek and Latin language and rhetoric. It was around this time that Wyttenbach, who remained interested in theological subjects, won two prizes: the *Praemium Stolpianum,* for a dissertation about the unity of God, and the one of *Teylers Genootschap,* for a discussion on the immortality of the soul.[6] At the same time, he was working on an ambitious edition of Plutarch and reviewing the leading philological publications in his *Bibliotheca critica*.[7] His versatile talents and erudition were almost legendary – some even referred to him as 'a new Scaliger'. It was therefore hardly surprising that German and Swiss universities were vying to recruit him as a professor. Their efforts were in vain, however. Ruhnken repeatedly tried to tempt him to Leiden – again, without success.[8] It was only after Ruhnken had died that Wyttenbach

• From 1801 to 1814 Tydeman worked on a new catalogue, which would, however, never appear in print. The 22 volumes (pictured here with supplementary volumes) remained in use as a shelf catalogue until well into the 1860s.
•• Fully in keeping with the spirit of the time, Wyttenbach reviewed important new philological publications in his *Bibliotheca critica*.



decided to accept a position at Leiden, as the successor to the man that he considered not just his mentor, but also his friend, and even a father figure. After 32 years, Wyttenbach exchanged Amsterdam for Leiden, where he became a professor and librarian, as Ruhnken had been. The height of the salary offered to him was unprecedented and came with all kinds of privileges, which meant he was exempted from academic duties in order to be able to concentrate entirely on his philological work.[9] It also seems that an important factor in his decision to go to Leiden was a sense of responsibility to Ruhnken's widow and two daughters: one of Wyttenbach's first acts in Leiden was to secure the acquisition of Ruhnken's private library by the university in exchange for an annual pension to be paid to his family.[10] In his inaugural speech, Wyttenbach sketched the life of his mentor. This fascinating *Vita Ruhnkenii,* written in beautiful Latin, would go on to be used as a book for teaching Latin in Dutch education for generations, together with the equally riveting *Vita Wyttenbachii*.[11] The typical nineteenth-century custom of making classical education pleasantly accessible to as many people as possible is clearly recognisable in these works.

Hoodwinking the French

Wyttenbach succeeded in steering the library through the difficult years of the French occupancy. He had been in the post of librarian for barely a year when the national authorities asked the university to draw up an accurate account of the state of the library.[12] The very real danger to the integrity of the collection that such a request entailed was clear to all: entire collections of works of art had already been transported from all over Europe to France. On 6 June 1801, Wyttenbach sent the rector magnificus of Leiden, Brugmans, a *Memorie over den tegenwoordige staat van* 's *Lands Bibliotheek* ('memorandum of the current state of the national library'), for the attention of Count De Fontanes, who was supposed to assess the situation from his position at the university of Paris and take suitable measures. The *Memorie* was a masterpiece. It combined the harsh reality – the lack of resources, suitable premises, good catalogues, and other facilities – with a misleadingly negative assessment of the value of the old possessions.[13] Compared to manuscripts in other European libraries, wrote Wyttenbach, the once renowned manuscripts in Leiden were of negligible significance. Moreover, most had already been published and they were in a terrible condition, as indeed was the collection as a whole. In other words, the library at Leiden was hardly a source of pride, and at worst a source of high costs. Wyttenbach's list had the desired effect: the consequences of the French regime for the library did not extend beyond the reluctant loan of an Oriental manuscript to the French astronomer, Lalande.[14] Nonetheless, the library's situation remained a cause for concern until independence was restored in 1815.[15]

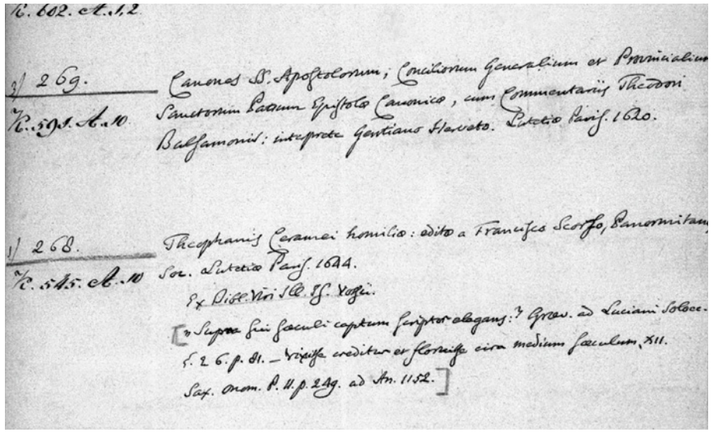
The Hof van Zessen

The housing situation was becoming unsustainable. Visitors from abroad commented on the disgraceful state.[16] The last quarter of the eighteenth century, when Ruhnken was the librarian, saw the start of the practice of using external storage areas, with all that that entailed. In 1801, the university purchased the *Hof van Zessen* and several other nearby premises on Papengracht for use by the library, and part of the book collection was housed there. The manuscripts and the books on history and literature remained in the old library at Rapenburg. Splitting the collection in this way proved to be a problem for readers: use of the dispersed library showed a considerable decline.

The Tydeman catalogue

In spite of this, there were already signs of recovery during this period, and the curators decided in 1801 to attend once more to the matter of drawing up a catalogue. As Wyttenbach had remarked when taking up his post, no catalogue of the collection had appeared since 1741, which therefore made it difficult to find out anything about the acquisitions of the past sixty years.[17] The task of making a *catalogue raisonné* was entrusted in 1801 to the former professor at Utrecht, legal expert and philosopher Meinard Tydeman, who no longer occupied any official position on account of his royalist sympathies.[18] He was assisted by his son and the then youthful professor, John Bake.[19] Tydeman catalogued the entire collection as he found it on the shelves: ranked according to field, and according to format within each field. The (Western) manuscript collections and *libri annotati* were also described; the *orientalia* were left aside. Tydeman worked on this hand-written catalogue in twenty-two volumes until the spring of 1814. It was never printed, but remained in use until the introduction of the *Leidse boekjes* in 1865.[20] The books were placed using the *De Bosch system,* named after curator Jeronimo de Bosch, who conceived it. Each subject was given a Roman

• Tydeman catalogued the books in the order that he found them in the bookcases: according to discipline and, within each discipline, according to format. This catalogue remained in use until the introduction of the *Leidse boekjes* (bound catalogue cards).
•• This magnificent red horse is depicted in a 1343 tract by Muhammad ibn Ya'qub al-Khuttuli on the keeping of horses.



numeral, followed by the designation of the format of the book and a sequence number. The system was not used for long, although traces of it can still be found in many items in Leiden.[21] The Tydeman catalogue was in fact a cumulative addition to the seventeenth century catalogues by Bertius and Heinsius. Tydeman based the catalogue on an old-fashioned approach, making the rounds past all of the sciences, with the reader tracing ever wider circles around the subject in question. At the start of the nineteenth century, however, this encyclopaedic representation of knowledge started to make way for a more targeted, more individual approach. People were increasingly looking for specific authors and specific texts; the need to provide readers with an alphabetic catalogue became more pressing. Tydeman's descriptions were copied onto loose sheets of paper and placed in large boxes in alphabetical order. These sheets made it possible to see at a single glance how many and which editions of a specific book the library possessed. Journals could be located according to title. This was an entirely new way of presenting the collection, so clearly there was a willingness to adapt to the changing approach to knowledge transfer. Another positive sign was the request submitted in 1803 by the future librarian, Van Voorst, for the opening hours to apply to *both* branches of the library. Students and other members of the university were able to visit the libraries at Rapenburg and Papengracht on Wednesdays and Saturdays between twelve and two o'clock in the afternoon; Tydeman lived on Papengracht, so he was able to keep an eye on things.[22] This measure shows that the additional premises that were used for housing books were regarded not so much as an external storage area, but as fully-fledged annexes to the library, where books and readers 'met'. This experience would make the subsequent decentralisation and creation of institute-based libraries easier, as people would already have been able to get used to the idea.

Acquisition

Wyttenbach still managed to make quite a few acquisitions, in spite of the general lack of funds. As well as Ruhnken's library and a series of books from the auction of the late curator, Van Santen, and of professors Bondam and Van Royen,[23] he bought Oriental manuscripts and books owned by Albert, Johannes Jacobus and Hendrik Albert Schultens in 1806. Between 1729 and 1793, the three Schultens had filled the dual function of professor of Oriental languages and *Interpres Legati Warneriani*. The enormous amount of 1000 ducats (5,252 guilders) was bid for their annotated copies of Golius' *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*, dating from 1653.[24] However, Wyttenbach had to cope with a big disappointment in 1811. Even though the curators had reserved a sum of 6,000 guilders for buying manuscripts by Valckenaer and Hemsterhuis from the Luzac auction, the representative of the French authorities forbade him making the purchase. This, wrote Wyttenbach, was the only request of this kind in which he had been refused in his position as librarian.[25]

The gunpowder ship: 1807

On 12 January 1807, Leiden was the scene of a devastating gunpowder ship explosion. One hundred and fifty citizens lost their lives, including professors Kluit and Luzac. Wyttenbach experienced the catastrophe at close hand. His vivid account of the accident gives a clear picture of how he looked after books.[26] On the day in question he was working at home, in his library, with all the books he needed lying open around him. They were from both his own private library and from the University Library, and were primarily *adversaria,* books with critical comments about the text by Plutarch that he was studying. A number of these books were on a table next to the window. While Wyttenbach was having lunch with his nephews the ship, which was two hundred metres away, exploded. Everyone ran outside. The chaos was unimaginable: dead bodies, ruined houses, and gunpowder smoke and panic all around. And spread around here and there on the street were handwritten notes and books that had been ripped apart; they were from Wyttenbach's study, which had been blown open by the blast. The impact of this shock would stay with him for the rest of his life. The University Library, he wrote to a friend, had remained untouched, 'nisi qui libri commodati erant iis, quorum domus collapsae sunt' – apart from the books that had been loaned to people whose houses had collapsed. Later, two damaged books were returned to the library that had been recovered from the house of professor Kluit, who had been killed.[27] A *Lexicon Persico-Turcicum* by Meninsky which had been destroyed in professor Rau's house, had to be replaced.[28] It is probable that other books that had been loaned out were damaged as well, especially those held by Wyttenbach, as he took large numbers (not all of which were stamped) home with him.[29] The disaster led to Wyttenbach, who moved into a house outside Leiden, being given two work rooms in the library. It was the first time that the librarian actually worked in

• With the explosion of the gun powder ship on 12 January 1807, a number of works from the library's collection were lost. Librarian Wyttenbach witnessed the disaster from very close-by: his study, where he also kept books from the library, was reduced to rubble. In this anonymous painting of ca. 1810, we can see the part of the Rapenburg where the Kamerlingh Onnes laboratory was built shortly after the disaster.

•• Johannes van Voorst served as librarian between 1820 and 1833. This portrait was painted by Louis Moritz.

the library.[30] Although the reasons behind the decision were a chance event, it did represent an important step towards putting the position of librarian on a more professional footing.

Wyttenbach's final years were overshadowed by illness, and from 1816 he was no longer in a condition to go to the library. He was assisted by professor Van Voorst, who bore the title of second librarian, and who later succeeded him. Wyttenbach died in 1820 and was buried on his estate in Oegstgeest. His gravestone bears the text *Daniel Wyttenbach Civis Bernos,* citizen of Berne. He was the last librarian at Leiden who was of foreign origin; the cosmopolitan era was at an end. It would be hard to find a clearer indication of the renewed sense of national awareness.

JOHANNES VAN VOORST: 1820-1833

Brief biography

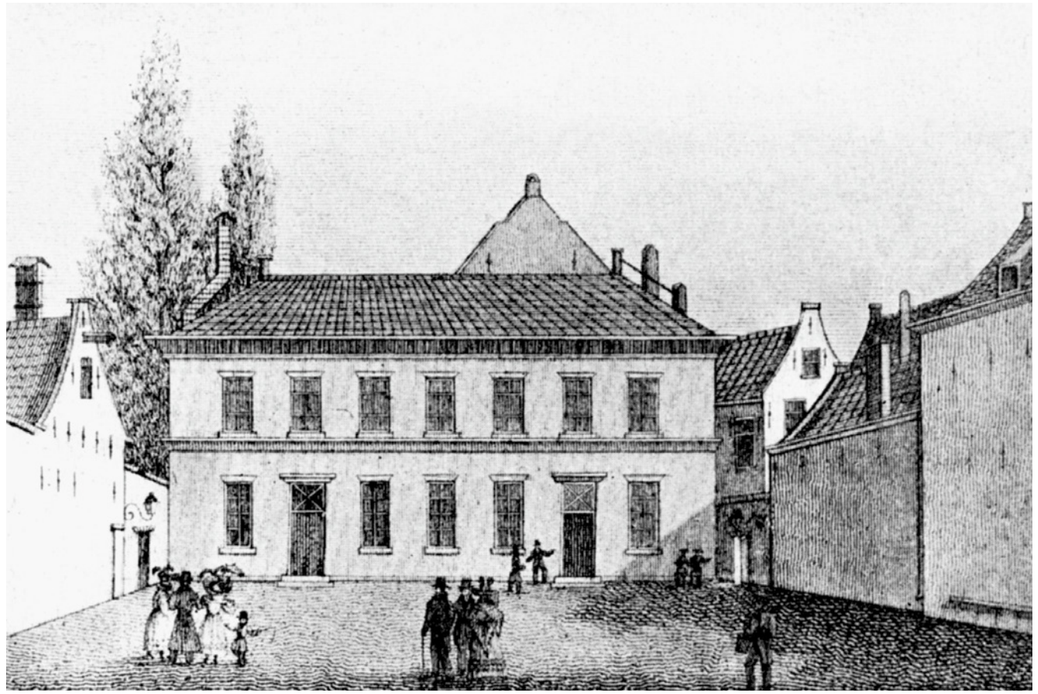
Although some crucial developments did occur during his tenure, Johannes van Voorst is something of a 'forgotten' librarian.[31] He lacked both the flamboyant style of Ruhnken and the international renown of Wyttenbach. The man who 'preferred to be in his study...' and who was apparently always among his books even when at home, was representative of Dutch nineteenth-century domesticity.[32] He was born in Delft in 1757 and studied theology in Leiden. He considered himself part of the Leiden philological school; his mentors were Ruhnken, Valckenaer and J.J. Schultens. After having served seven years in various church parishes, he became a professor of theology in Franeker in 1788. During the French occupation, he again served as a minister in Arnhem, where news reached him of a position at Leiden University. In 1799, he accepted the post of professor of Christian antiquities and the history of Christian institutions. Van Voorst sought in his teaching to impress upon the future ministers the importance not only of continuously studying the Bible, but also of old and more recent texts that could throw unexpected light on the Scriptures. His works also highlight this remarkable open-mindedness. In addition to his professorship, Van Voorst fulfilled the office of academy minister (1815-1821), second librarian (1816-1820) and librarian (1820-1833). Outside Leiden, he was closely involved with the synod of the Reformed Church and with the *Haagsch Genootschap*, of which he became a co-director in 1809. The latter organisation had been established shortly before, in response to the Enlightenment, with the aim of giving Christianity a new place in culture.[33] In his *Memoria Joannis van Voorst,* W.A. van Hengel described the life of his mentor as *quasi bi partita* – almost twofold: there had been his academic life on the one hand, and his church duties on the other.[34] As part of that academic life, there was only limited room for care of the library; this had also been the case with previous professors-cum-librarians, so this situation was nothing new. Nonetheless, it had until then been possible to run the library with the help of a very small number of people: the *Interpres Legati Warneriani* for the Oriental collections and the two custodians. But as the crisis of the French period receded and the construction of the new Kingdom progressed, the task of managing the library required more manpower. Van Voorst was given the help of two deputy librarians, J. Geel in 1822 and J.T. Bergman in 1827.

Prey to the worms

Once again, the library had started to outgrow the premises in which it was located. Drastic measures were needed to keep the valuable works from falling 'prey to the worms'.[35] The mayor of Leiden and curator Heldewier even talked of the university's 'collection of books' as they believed it was not fit to bear the name of library.[36] An initial plan for accommodating the library in a brand new academic building, to be created at the site where the gunpowder ship had exploded, turned out to be too costly.[37] It was decided to opt for Rapenburg, and the project would be carried out in three phases: the demolition of the houses between the chapel and the canal, conversion of the Beguinage Chapel to a closed book storage depot and the construction of a new building on the small square that had been created at Rapenburg.

The new building: 1822

The result revealed the new awareness on the part of the university: it was the first time that the library was visible from the street, but at the same time it offered a protected environment where the stored knowledge could be studied in peace. There was room for all the books, including the copies that had been kept in the external depots. The work started in 1819 and took three years, and a notable aspect of the new building was that it was intended as a library from the outset. Anatomy still had a room there at first, but this arrangement ended in 1860, and from then on the library had all of the buildings entirely at



• In 1819, the decision was taken to tackle the lack of space in the library. The front of the Beguinage Chapel was extended with a building on the west side, designed by Jan Dobbe. The building's appearance changed radically, mainly due to the demolishing of the church tower. In 1822, the new library building was complete. This street map of Leiden by Desterbeck shows a few special buildings, including the new library.

•• Jacobus Geel served as librarian between 1833 and 1858.

its disposal. The new library had a large public reading room on the ground floor, where scientific journals and works from academies and organisations could be accessed, and offices for library employees on the top floor. Oriental and Western manuscripts had their own reading rooms. The focus was now on the readers, not the books. They had access five days a week, from twelve until two, and also from four until seven in the months of April, May, June and September. Manuscripts could be studied at other times,[38] and it was also possible to borrow books: student could do so if they had the endorsement of their professors. The enthusiasm with which professors and students greeted the new library in 1822 was genuine: the building was both elegant and practical.[39] This veritable transformation had the desired effect of making the library popular, and members of the Leiden university community and foreign visitors could be seen there regularly. Those who were unable to make the journey to Leiden received books and manuscripts at their home without any problems.[40] Van Voorst, for example, loaned a Greek manuscript from the *Bibliotheca Vossiana* to the Heidelberg philologist, G.F. Creuzer. The Leiden professor and lawyer J.M. Kemper, who happened to be going to Germany, declared his willingness to take the manuscript to Heidelberg. [41] Nothing was too much trouble when it came to promoting knowledge. This new style of working that started under Van Voorst really began to take shape during the period of office of his successor.

JACOBUS GEEL: 1833-1858

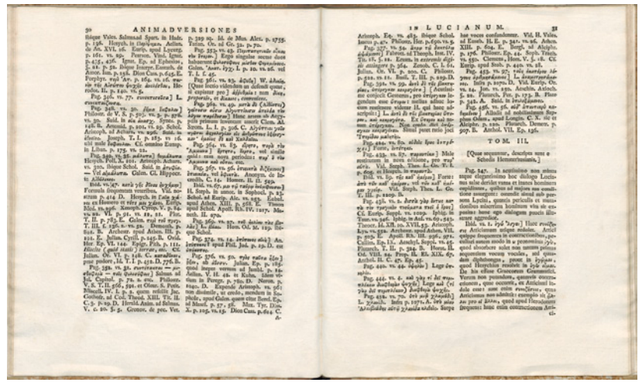
Brief biography

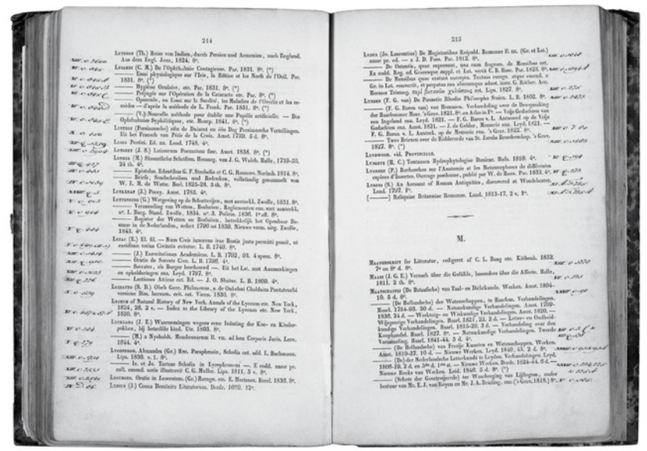
The librarianship of Jacobus Geel was of crucial importance for Leiden.[42] It was under his infectiously enthusiastic leadership that the short-sighted protectionism of yesteryear was banished for good. The library literally opened up to the outside world, a deliberate policy that was a reflection of Geel's personality and attitude to life.

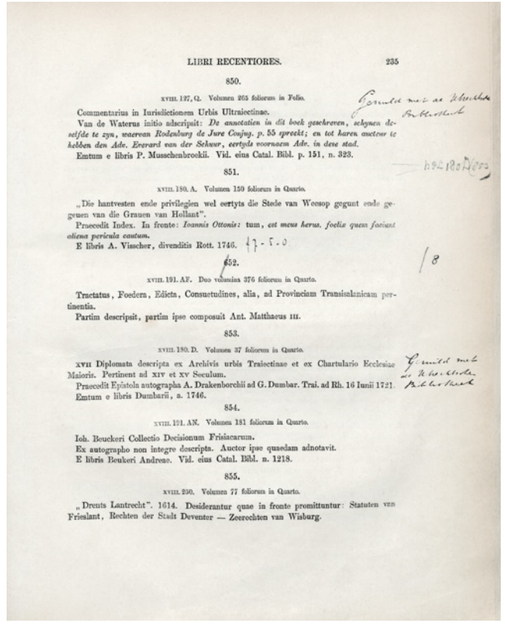
He was born in Amsterdam in 1789, where his parents originally ran a boarding school, and progressed through the Latin school and the 'Athenaeum'. He quickly developed a passion for philology. When he was nineteen, he was given a position as a private tutor to the two sons of Baron Van Dedel, first in 's-Graveland, and later in The Hague. It was during these happy years that Geel's distinctive love of helping young people first developed, something he also displayed during his time as librarian. At the same time, he was starting to make a name for himself as a man of letters, and became a member of the *Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* (Society of Dutch Literature) and the *Utrechts Genootschap voor Kunst en Wetenschap* (Utrecht Art and Science Association). They were at the forefront of the countless societies and academies both in and outside the Netherlands who invited Geel to join their ranks.[43] When the position of second librarian of Leiden University became vacant in 1822, D.J. van Lennep, Geel's mentor from Amsterdam, advised that his pupil be given the post, and indeed he was. He was also given an honorary doctorate and the title of professor. After Van Voorst's death in 1833, Geel took his place as first librarian. Geel made friends with several professors shortly after arriving in Leiden, such as the orientalist H.A. Hamaker and the philologist J. Bake.

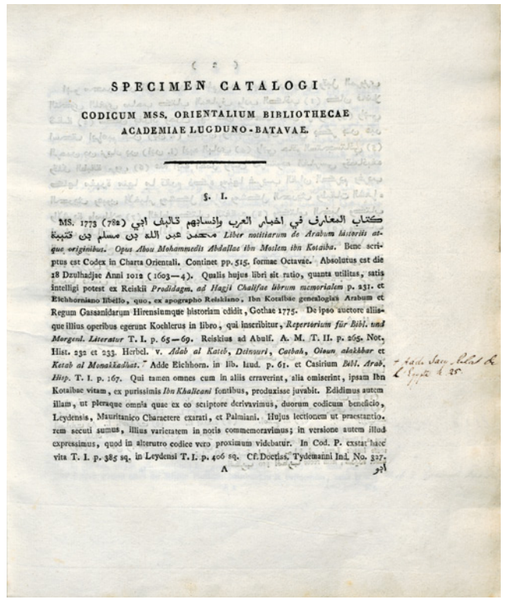
Le style c'est l'homme

The friends met every week in a private house to read and play music. The evenings at Rapenburg in the home of professor Van Asselt and the many reading clubs fulfilled a notable function in the cultural life of Leiden, in which Geel played an important part. Like his predecessor, Ruhnken, he was devoted to the development of the Leiden school of music.[44] When Geel's friend, Hamaker, and his wife died of scarlet fever in quick succession in 1835, Geel became the guardian of their six children. The eldest son moved in with him, followed later by his two sisters and a brother. He did the same for the young Kappeyne van de Coppello, who had also been orphaned.[45] This remarkable attitude was typical of the kindheartedness of Geel and was shared by the woman he would marry in later life after being besotted with her for many years, Caroline Reinward. Struck by an illness of the brain, Geel resigned in 1858, dying four years later in Scheveningen. Some time before his death he had terminated his membership of many different societies, such as the *Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* – averse as he was to eulogies and the publication of obituaries.[46] Geel played an important part in the revival of Dutch literature that occurred after the formation of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1813. The *Gesprek op den Drachenfels* showed his direct style, the collection entitled *Onderzoek en Phantasie* his preference for an unadorned approach to art and science.[47] According to Geel, simplicity, style and taste were the three pillars on which literature should rest.[48] 'Le style, c'est l'homme', style makes the man, he would say,[49] and style









• In 1824, Geel published an edition of Lucianus with the annotations by Hemsterhuis, *Tiberii Hemsterhusii A nimadversionum in Lucianum Appendix* [...]. With this edition, he placed himself in the tradition of the Leiden philological school.

•• Geel compiled a catalogue of the Western manuscripts acquired since 1741, which was published in 1852: *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum qui inde ab anno 1741 bibliotecae Lugduno Batavae accesserunt.* Nowadays, this catalogue is still used on a regular basis for the study of manuscripts and their origins.

••• Geel also published a catalogue of the printed books acquired since 1814, which was published in 1848: *Catalogus librorum bibliothecae publicae Universitatis Lugduno Batavae annis 1814-1847.*

•••• The Oriental manuscripts were repeatedly catalogued. Proof catalogues, such as this one, were published. Proof catalogue of 1820 by the orientalist Hendrik Arrent Hamaker: *Specimen catalogi codicum mss. Orientalum bibliothecae Lugduno-Batavae.*

was indeed the *leitmotiv* of his various activities. Later, this variety would lead people to regard the different facets of his personality as isolated fragments. It was thought, for example, that he had cultivated his literary activities *in spite of* his function as librarian.[50] This is a misconception of both Geel as a person and the times he lived in.

In *Het gesprek op een Leidschen buitensingel over poezy en arbeid,* Geel, sitting on a bench at Witte Singel, has a discussion with the poet, Melissus. Paulus Melissus was a sixteenth-century German poet and composer, who had also been librarian in Heidelberg. The subject of the discussion is the question of whether poetry is the product of labour or inspiration. In Geel's view, it was the former. The poet, he stated, is no different to the bibliophile; both have to work hard. He compared the work of the librarian, looking for and studying old books, with that of a poet. Melissus laughs dismissively in response, but is ultimately forced to admit that he too has to work hard in order to give shape to the 'pure inspiration of poetry'. When their discussion has run its course, they are approached by a scholar who informs them that the new edition of Horace by Peerlkamp has just been published. Geel leaves Melissus, uttering the words: 'farewell, I shall order Horace'.[51] Humour and an ability to put things into perspective were also important features of Geel's personal correspondence. He wrote to Betsie, one of professor Hamaker's daughters: 'I am much occupied with the library and Auntie with buying hats and collecting money for the exhibition, *bien entendu*! – Well, darling, I am writing this in the library (a rare occurrence), which actually constitutes a desecration, as administration and learning are strangers to gallantry.'[52]

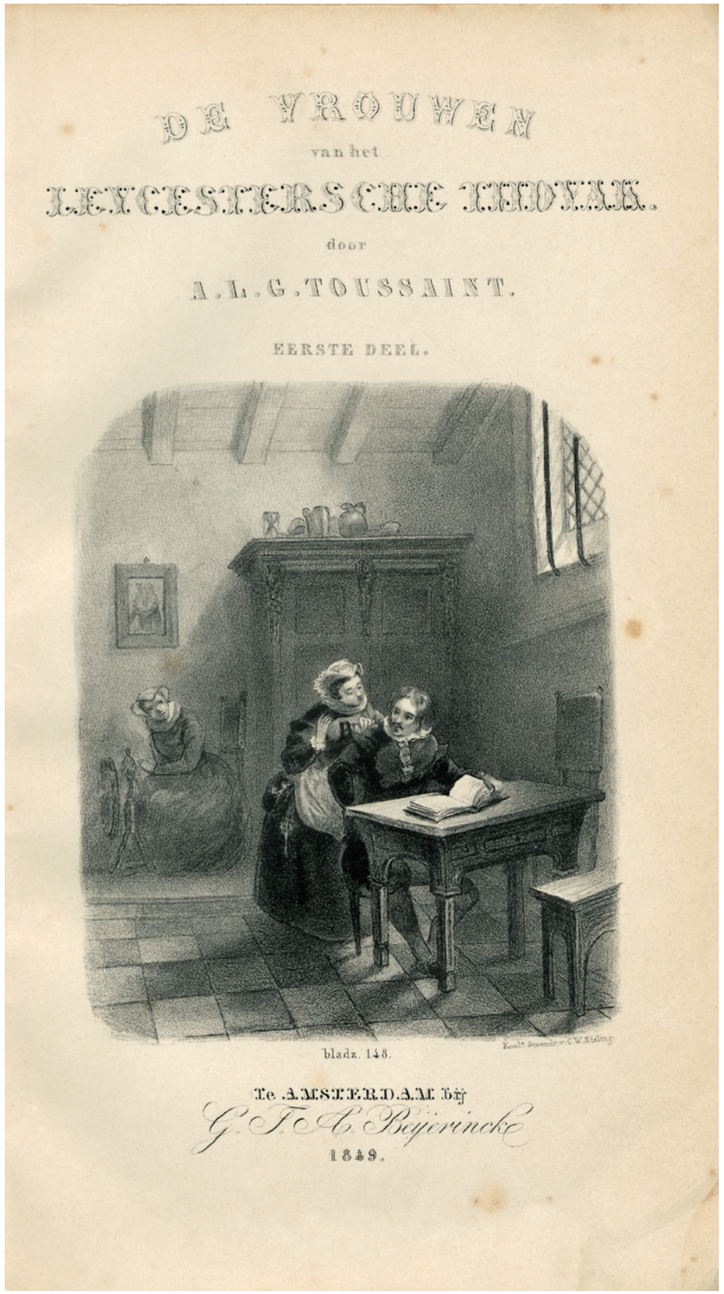
Geel certainly had his work cut out for him at the library, with the battle against the lack of space,[53] with cataloguing, with supervising readers, and with publishing classical texts based on manuscripts. In 1825 he published an edition of Lucian, with Hemsterhuis' annotations.[54] This put him well and truly in the tradition of the Leiden philological school in which two of his predecessors, Ruhnken and Wyttenbach, had played a prominent role. At the time, Leiden philologists were embroiled in a fierce argument with their German colleagues in Leipzig about the definition of philology. Whereas the German scholars regarded everything related to ancient history as philology, their Dutch counterparts preferred to restrict the definition to a critical approach to ancient texts. This difference of opinion continued to rage until well into the twentieth century. Together with Carel Gabriel Cobet, Geel vigorously defended the Leiden position.

Geel's catalogues

As a librarian, Geel succeeded in improving the cataloguing process and in promoting both the purchasing and the use of books. Although he was against printing catalogues in principle – catalogues are by definition out of date as soon as they are printed, was his argument – he nonetheless published two outstanding catalogues. One was of the printed works that had been acquired between 1814 and 1847, and the other of the Western manuscripts that had formed part of the library since 1741.[55] The process of cataloguing Oriental manuscripts was started on numerous occasions. Two draft catalogues were drawn up, but they were never completed.[56] It was not until 1851 that the first part of the catalogue of Oriental manuscripts appeared, written by R.P.A. Dozy, followed seven years later by the catalogue of Hebrew manuscripts by M. Steinschneider.[57] Catalogues listing parts of the collections of Oriental and Western manuscripts appeared regularly in the period thereafter.[58] The financial state of the library had improved markedly since 1813 and the budget for buying books had increased considerably, particularly as a result of the founding of the *Akademische fonds* in 1836, which could be used to fill gaps in the collection.[59] Gradually, professors and faculties demanded and were given more influence on the purchasing policies, while pressure for a balanced distribution of the new purchases among the various specialist fields grew stronger.[60] Geel had visited the leading German libraries as early as 1826 in order to discuss, among other things, the issue of selecting from the growing number of new titles with his colleagues in Göttingen, Wolfenbüttel and Dresden – this would prove to be an insoluble problem for every library from now on. On his return, he wrote a long letter to the curators from which it appeared that in six years he had learnt about all aspects of running a library. Geel, then, was not a man of letters first, and a librarian second: he was both, and equally passionate about both vocations.[61]

Acquisition

Geel filled existing gaps in the collection mostly by buying books at auctions and abroad, using his contacts. This is how he acquired a large number of items at the Hamaker auction (for the Oriental collection) and the Reuvens auction (for ancient history). He bought Turkish and Syriac books in Constantinople and Aleppo.[62] The library gained an important legacy in 1836 in the form of the collection of botanical books of South African born Christiaan Hendrik Persoon, the founder of mycology,



A.L.G. Bosboom-Toussaint received the full assistance of the librarian Jacobus Geel when researching her novel, *De vrouwen van het Leycesterssche tijdvak* (The women of the Leicesterean era), which was published in 1849. He sent her archival material from the library by post. Geel's liberal loans policy was legendary.

the new science of the study of fungi.[63] However, Geel really made his name as the person who kept open the University Library for the outside world and who made its collections widely available to the academic world, in the way that his predecessor Ruhnken had done. This approach was clearly very remarkable, because during his tour of German libraries, R.C. Bakhuizen van den Brink, editor of *De Gids* (a cultural and literary monthly journal) and future national archivist, wrote that '...all of Germany not only respects [Geel] as a scholar, but also regards him as an example of how a librarian can promote science in a thousand ways through humanity and liberality.'[64] In order to achieve this ideal, Geel had had to change previous library habits. It started with the way visitors to the library were received, by employees 'trained in an attitude of obliging helpfulness'.[65] Those working on their doctorate found a supervisor in Geel, while to visitors he was a guide, and for researchers an interested discussion partner who did not hesitate to loan out unique items. This was the experience of the writer A.L.G. Bosboom-Toussaint in around 1850 when she was working on her novels set in the period during which the Earl of Leicester was the Governor-General of the United Provinces and asked Geel if the Leiden library had any sources about Hugo Donellus in its possession. This was at the beginning of the summer, and Geel was on the point of leaving Leiden. By return of post, he told the writer that he would send her all the archived materials in the library that could be of interest. There was no particular hurry for them to be returned.[66] Geel's liberal policy extended beyond the nation's boundaries as well. He was just as happy to lend unique manuscripts to foreign scholars or even to their pupils. In doing so, he wrote, he was taking 'einen Schritte über die Gränze meiner Instruction' – a step outside the limits of his remit.[67] And because the occasional 'scathing remark' was made in Leiden about this practice, he sometimes asked those to whom he loaned items to keep quiet about the matter.[68] As far as his policy of openness was concerned, though, Geel's timing was in his favour: the rapid development of the railways was opening up the country in a phenomenal way. The day before the Amsterdam to Leiden service started, Geel wrote to Bake, describing how he had seen a train pass by. There would be six trains a day in each direction between Amsterdam and the station on the Mare. Life would never be the same again.[69]

A philologist, not a bibliographer!

In 1858, a serious illness forced Geel to hand in his resignation as librarian. His succession became the subject of much discussion: should it be a bibliographer or a scholar, a specialist in the area of *Bibliothekwissenschaft* or an academic librarian who could relate to the professors at Leiden on an equal footing? As far as professor Bake, who wrote an extensive article on the subject in the *Konst- en Letterbode,* was concerned, the answer was crystal clear: the reputation of Leiden University Library, which was still plagued by large gaps in many fields, was based on its collections of Oriental and Western manuscripts. For that reason, the librarian should be an outstanding philologist, someone who could discuss matters of substance with foreign scholars, and certainly not a bibliographer, not a specialist in German 'Bibliothekwissenschaft, whose cradle is the Leipzig Book Fair.' After all, wrote Bake, the *omnis homo,* who masters every field, surely does not exist?[70] His views were not shared by everyone. In an anonymous reply, a certain S. said, 'The library has been set up first and foremost for the use and benefit of young people engaged in study.' The 'most important works' should be available in the library for students from every faculty to view and to borrow. It was therefore high time to liberate the library from its philological bias – the new librarian should not be a philologist![71] However, the motives behind the conflict went further than the background of the new librarian. This was the dawn of a real revolution in the book industry and, therefore, in the history of the library. Bake's wishes effectively referred to the situation that had characterised the library since the sixteenth century: the librarian ran the library, assisted by two custodians and the *Interpres* for the Oriental collections with his *adiutores.* At the time that was enough, but around 1860 all of this changed. As a result of the industrialisation that took place in Europe in the nineteenth century, there was a dramatic increase in the production of books which was, eventually, reflected in an expanded range of items available in libraries. Libraries became like businesses, with increasing numbers of employees and a crucial need for efficient working methods. Geel's successor, W.G. Pluygers, provided the library with the tools it needed in order to cope with this challenge. He was assisted by his second librarian, W.N. du Rieu, who would go on to succeed him. Together, they set out the new course.

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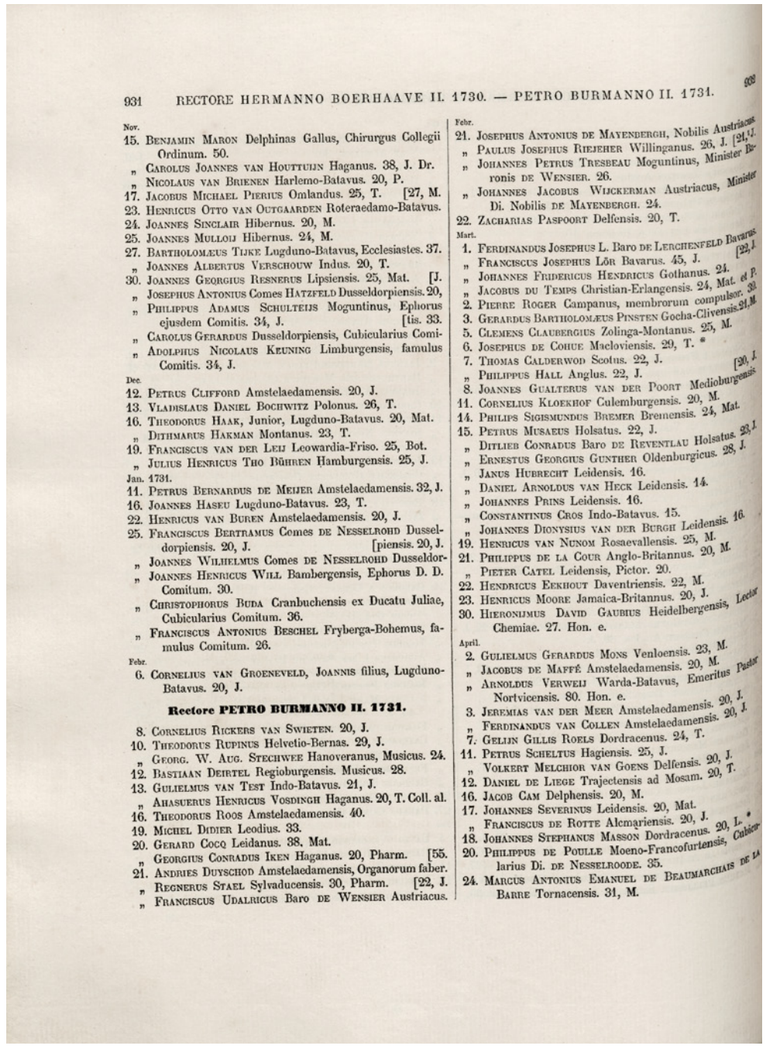
• Willem George Pluygers, librarian between 1859 and 1879. Here he is portrayed in a commemorative book of Instituut Noorthey as a pupil of around fifteen years old.
•• Willem Nicolaas Du Rieu served as librarian between 1880 and 1897.
••• In 1875, Du Rieu published Leiden University's *Album studiosorum [...] 1575-1875*. This work contained the names of all individuals who were registered at the university.



931 RECTORE HERMANNO BOERHAAVE II. 1730. — PETRO BURMANNO II. 1731. 932

Nov.
15. Benjamin Maron Delphinas Gallus, Chirurgus Collegii Ordinum. 50.
„ Carolus Joannes van Houttuijn Haganus. 38, J. Dr.
„ Nicolaus van Briënen Harlemo-Batavus. 20, P.
17. Jacobus Michael Pierius Omlandus. 25, T. [27, M.
23. Henricus Otto van Outgaarden Roteraedamo-Batavus.
24. Joannes Sinclair Hibernus. 20, M.
25. Joannes Mullou Hibernus. 24, M.
27. Bartholomæus Tijke Lugduno-Batavus, Ecclesiastes. 37.
„ Joannes Albertus Verschouw Indus. 20, T.
30. Joannes Georgius Resnerus Lipsiensis. 25, Mat. [J.
„ Josephus Antonius Comes Hatzfeld Dusseldorpiensis. 20,
„ Philippus Adamus Schultetus Moguntinus, Ephorus ejusdem Comitis. 34, J. [tis. 33.
„ Carolus Gerardus Dusseldorpiensis, Cubicularius Comi-
„ Adolphus Nicolaus Keuning Limburgensis, famulus Comitis. 34, J.

Dec.
12. Petrus Clifford Amstelaedamensis. 20, J.
13. Vladislaus Daniel Bochwitz Polonus. 26, T.
16. Theodorus Haak, Junior, Lugduno-Batavus. 20, Mat.
„ Dithmarus Hakman Montanus. 23, T.
19. Franciscus van der Leij Leowardia-Friso. 25, Bot.
„ Julius Henricus Tho Rüüren Hamburgensis. 25, J.

Jan. 1731.
11. Petrus Bernardus de Meijer Amstelaedamensis. 32, J.
16. Joannes Haseu Lugduno-Batavus. 23, T.
22. Henricus van Buren Amstelaedamensis. 20, J.
25. Franciscus Bertramus Comes de Nesselrohd Dusseldorpiensis. 20, J. [piensis. 20, J.
„ Joannes Wilhelmus Comes de Nesselrohd Dusseldor-
„ Joannes Henricus Will Bambergensis, Ephorus D. D. Comitum. 30.
„ Christophorus Buda Cranbuchensis ex Ducatu Juliae, Cubicularius Comitum. 36.
„ Franciscus Antonius Beschel Fryberga-Bohemus, famulus Comitum. 26.

Febr.
6. Cornelius van Groeneveld, Joannis filius, Lugduno-Batavus. 20, J.

Rectore PETRO BURMANNO II. 1731.

8. Cornelius Rickers van Swieten. 20, J.
10. Theodorus Rupinus Helvetio-Bernas. 29, J.
„ Georg. W. Aug. Stechwee Hanoveranus, Musicus. 24.
12. Bastiaan Deirtel Regioburgensis. Musicus. 28.
13. Gulielmus van Test Indo-Batavus. 21, J.
„ Ahasuerus Henricus Vosdingh Haganus. 20, T. Coll. al.
16. Theodorus Roos Amstelaedamensis. 40.
19. Michel Didier Leodius. 33.
20. Gerard Cocq Leidanus. 38, Mat.
„ Georgius Conradus Iken Haganus. 20, Pharm. [55.
21. Andries Duyschod Amstelaedamensis, Organorum faber.
„ Regnerus Stael Sylvaducensis. 30, Pharm. [22, J.
„ Franciscus Udalricus Baro de Wensier Austriacus.

Febr.
21. Josephus Antonius de Mayenbergh, Nobilis Austriacus.
„ Paulus Josephus Riejeher Willinganus. 26, J. [24,
„ Johannes Petrus Tresbeau Moguntinus, Minister Baronis de Wensier. 26.
„ Johannes Jacobus Wijckerman Austriacus, Minister Di. Nobilis de Mayenbergh. 24.
22. Zacharias Paspoort Delfensis. 20, T.

Mart.
1. Ferdinandus Josephus L. Baro de Lerchenfeld Bavarus. [22, J.
„ Franciscus Josephus Löh Bavarus. 45, J.
„ Johannes Fridericus Hendricus Gothanus. 24.
„ Jacobus du Temps Christian-Erlangensis. 24, Mat. et P.
2. Pierre Roger Campanus, membrorum compulsor. 30.
3. Gerardus Bartholomæus Pinsten Gocha-Clivensis. 24, M.
5. Clemens Claubergius Zolinga-Montanus. 25, M.
6. Josephus de Cohue Macloviensis. 29, T.
7. Thomas Calderwod Scotus. 22, J. [20, J.
„ Philippus Hall Anglus. 22, J.
8. Joannes Gualterus van der Poort Medioburgensis.
11. Cornelius Kloekhof Culemburgensis. 20, M.
14. Philips Sigismundus Bremer Bremensis. 24, Mat.
15. Petrus Musæus Holsatus. 22, J.
„ Ditlieb Conradus Baro de Reventlau Holsatus. 23, J.
„ Ernestus Georgius Gunther Oldenburgicus. 28, J.
„ Janus Hubrecht Leidensis. 16.
„ Daniel Arnoldus van Heck Leidensis. 14.
„ Johannes Prins Leidensis. 16.
„ Constantinus Cros Indo-Batavus. 15.
„ Johannes Dionysius van der Burgh Leidensis. 16.
19. Henricus van Nunom Rosaevallensis. 25, M.
21. Philippus de la Cour Anglo-Britannus. 20, M.
„ Pieter Catel Leidensis, Pictor. 20.
22. Hendricus Eekhout Daventriensis. 22, M.
23. Henricus Moore Jamaica-Britannus. 20, J.
30. Hieronimus David Gaubius Heidelbergensis, Lector Chemiae. 27. Hon. c.

April.
2. Gulielmus Gerardus Mons Venloensis. 23, M.
„ Jacobus de Maffé Amstelaedamensis. 20, M.
„ Arnoldus Verweij Warda-Batavus, Emeritus Pastor Nortvicensis. 80. Hon. c.
3. Jeremias van der Meer Amstelaedamensis. 20, J.
„ Ferdinandus van Collen Amstelaedamensis. 20, J.
7. Gelijn Gillis Roels Dordracenus. 24, T.
11. Petrus Scheltus Hagiensis. 25, J.
„ Volkert Melchior van Goens Delfensis. 20, J.
12. Daniel de Liege Trajectensis ad Mosam. 20, T.
16. Jacob Cam Delphensis. 20, M.
17. Johannes Severinus Leidensis. 20, Mat.
„ Franciscus de Rotte Alcmariensis. 20, J.
18. Johannes Stephanus Masson Dordracenus. 20, L.
20. Philippus de Poulle Moeno-Francofurtensis, Cubicularius Di. de Nesselroode. 35.
24. Marcus Antonius Emanuel de Beaumarchais de la Barre Tornacensis. 31, M.

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WILLEM GEORGE PLUYGERS: 1859-1879

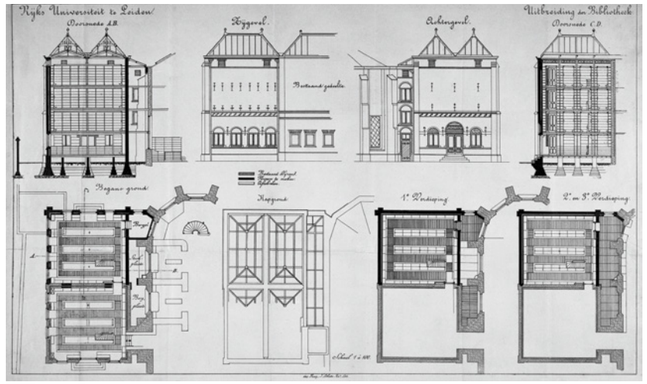
Brief biography
Little is known about Willem George Pluygers.[72] He was a modest man who, like Geel, relinquished all his official functions as he grew older in order to prevent any *in memoriam* being published about him. The son of a minister, he was born in Zwolle in 1812 and educated at the Instituut Noorthey in Voorschoten, before going on to study classics in Leiden. In 1830, he joined the Leidse Jagers (a military unit consisting of Leiden University students), and fought in the Ten-Day Campaign against the Belgians, who were in revolt.[73] After gaining his doctorate in 1836, he became the deputy headmaster at the Delft gymnasium, and later that of Leiden. In 1859, he was appointed to the post of librarian at Leiden University. Bake had got his way: Geel's successor was a philologist. However, Pluygers was not just a philologist: from the way in which he exercised his duties, it quickly became clear that he had his own ideas about how a library should be run. In addition, he had a notably easy manner with young people, the result of his teaching experience.[74] When the university awarded him the chair of speculative philosophy and literature in 1862, he left the day-to-day running of the library to the second librarian, W.N. du Rieu. He would succeed Pluygers in 1880; the significance of Pluygers for the library must therefore be considered in conjunction with that of his successor.

WILLEM NICOLAAS DU RIEU: 1880-1897

Brief biography
Willem Nicolaas du Rieu, the son of a wealthy cloth manufacturer, was born in Leiden in 1829.[75] He was descended from Huguenots who had been driven from France by Louis XIV at the end of the seventeenth century for religious reasons, and his origins played an important role in his life. He progressed through the Latin school and spent eight years studying the arts in his native town, being awarded a doctorate in 1856. For three years, he visited the most important libraries in France and Italy in order to study manuscripts. After returning to settle, in 1864 Du Rieu was employed as an amanuensis for Leiden University Library, and became the curator two years later. From 1880 to 1896, he occupied the office of librarian. Du Rieu played an important role in the *Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*. It is likely that the decision on the part of this organisation to make its rich collection of literary works available to the library on a long-term basis in 1876 was prompted by Du Rieu. Similarly, the founding of the *Bibliothèque Wallonne,* the depository of the history of the Walloon churches, was attributable to Du Rieu. He made the catalogue for the depository, and established the authoritative *Bulletin de la Bibliothèque Wallonne.* Plans to house the *Bibliothèque Wallonne* in the University Library were abandoned in 1880 because of a lack of space; it was only one hundred years later, in 1998, that this did in fact take place.[76] As a dyed-in-the-wool bibliographer, Du Rieu knew a lot about many subjects, and felt a need to make his knowledge available to a wider audience.[77] He published a large number of articles, lists, registers and catalogues, the best-known of which are the register of historic inaugural speeches and dissertations at Leiden and the *Album studiosorum,* the list of students matriculated at Leiden University.[78] Du Rieu died in 1896; his place was taken by palaeographer S.G. de Vries.

THE LIBRARY BETWEEN 1858 AND 1896

In the mid-nineteenth century, all libraries in the Western world were facing sizable difficulties. Buildings and catalogues were in dire need of updating. In Europe, the lead was taken by Germany, while in the Netherlands it was Groningen and Utrecht, followed by Leiden, which acted first.[79] By 1858, there was no more space to accommodate any new books in the library at Leiden, while the reading rooms had become too small for the numbers of readers. Chaos loomed once again.[80] Partly as a result of pressure from the newly-appointed librarian, Pluygers, the university decided to relocate the anatomical cabinet elsewhere, allowing the library to expand.[81] Accompanied by architect J.W. Schaap, Pluygers embarked on a study trip of seventeen (or thirty, according to one source) European libraries. In France, they visited the Bibliothèque Impériale (now the Bibliothèque de France) and the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève in Paris, as well as the Bibliothèque Municipale of Rouen. Their journey to Germany took them to libraries in Stuttgart, Munich, Leipzig, Dresden, Berlin, Wolfenbüttel, Göttingen and Kassel. Their explorations in England did not extend beyond the British Museum, which contained what would later become the independent British Library, in London. From this comparative research, Pluygers concluded that



• After the systematic arrangement of books was abandoned, the books started to be organised according to format. The bookcases were adapted: large formats were put on the lower shelves and smaller ones on the upper shelves. This small revolution necessitated a complete re-cataloguing of the library.
•• In 1862, the Beguinage Chapel was set up as a repository. Following the British Museum's lead, iron gratings that let the light through were installed in the floor. The roof structure consisted of iron plating and glass windows.
••• Cross-section of the library for the renovation and extension of 1862-1866.
•••• Between 1862 and 1866, changes were made to the façade. Rather than having two entrances, the building was given one entrance in the middle of the façade. A recessed central section with a fronton accentuated this new entrance.

the *reorganisation* of the library, as he referred to it, should be seen as one integral event: displaying, cataloguing and the making available of books all formed part of one and the same process.[82] In other words, everything had to be changed at the same time. It was evident that the books should no longer be kept according to the classification used since 1595 (by faculty, and by format within each faculty). Knowledge had branched out to such an extent that it was becoming more and more difficult to find the right place for a book (assuming, of course, that there was actually room for it on the shelves). For that matter, readers were no longer able to get to the books anyway: the idea of a reader finding his way among the books surrounding him had been an illusion for two centuries. Pluygers opted for a pragmatic solution, one that was intended to save space and make growth manageable. From now on, books would be placed on the shelves according to their format, regardless of their content: the folios on the lowermost shelves, and the small formats on the top shelves. As the cases filled up, new ones would be used. This method, which originated in Germany, was first taken up in the Netherlands, and later in other European countries. In France, the government ordered every university to introduce the German system in 1878.[83]

Far-reaching renovation

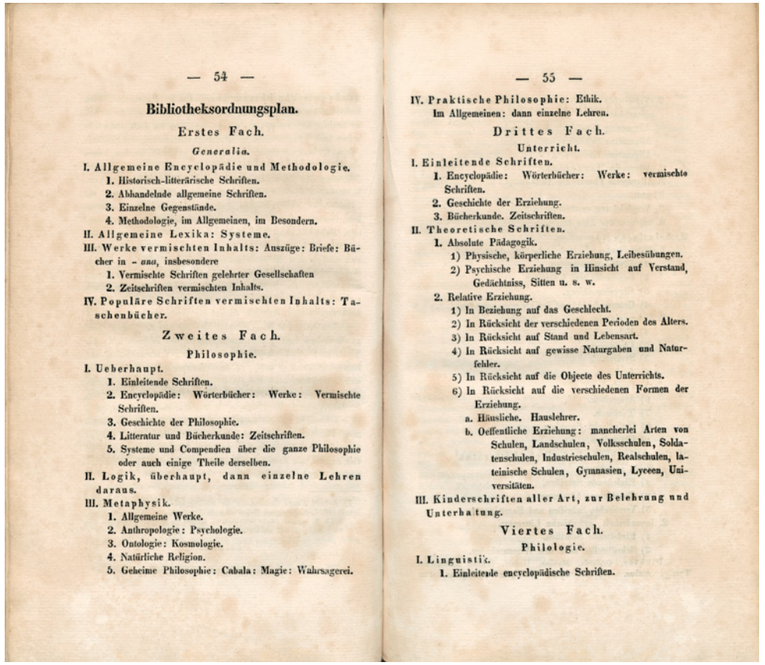
The new system had major consequences for library buildings. In Leiden, it was decided to furbish the whole Beguinage Chapel as a book depot, which meant it had to be drastically renovated: only the outer walls remained. Galleries were built on the ground floor, half-way between the floor and the ceiling, while grates that let light in were placed on the first floor, at a similar height. All the books were now literally within arm's reach for the depot employees. A glass roof allowed daylight in (as well as rain, unfortunately). Pluygers' decision to adopt this new system was nothing short of a minor revolution. All the books in the library, estimated to number around 40,000, had to be re-catalogued and relocated,[84] a task Pluygers entrusted to curator P.A. Tiele, who would later go on to be the librarian in Utrecht.[85] Tiele made a detailed description of every book, using bibliographical rules that would later bear his name (the 'Tiele rules'), and which were adopted nationally.[86]

The Tiele catalogue

In 1864, the text of the complete alphabetical catalogue of Leiden University Library from 1575 to 1860 was ready, and Pluygers was able to seek permission from the ministry to have it printed. A supplement would appear every 25 years, and a new cumulative catalogue would have to be composed every one hundred years.[87] To his consternation, Pluygers' request was refused. The minister in whose hands the decision lay 'did not wish to print'.[88] His argument, that library catalogues are by definition out of date as soon as they are published, was not without some irony: it was a repeat, word for word, of the objections that former Leiden librarian Jacobus Geel had unsuccessfully put forward at the start of the century in order to avoid having catalogues printed. At that time, Geel was more or less forced to have catalogues printed – now, Pluygers was forbidden from doing so. The refusal meant that an answer had to be found to the question of how readers and administrators could find their way around an ever-expanding collection *without* a printed catalogue.

The Leidse boekjes

The solution was found in the form of what were known as the *Leidse boekjes* (Leiden booklets). In reality, the idea was conceived in Utrecht, but following its successful introduction in Leiden, it was quickly became known in the European library world at the *Leidse boekjes*.[89] The principle was simple: every book title was written out by hand on a slip of paper. Bundles of equal thickness were bound together in handy booklets which, like Semitic books, could be turned from the back to the front. This way, the reader could hold the booklet in his left hand while browsing and making notes with his right. Additions were easily made – it was a question of untying the strings, inserting the new title into the right place, and retying the strings.[90] This is how the alphabetic and systematic catalogue was created in Leiden. The new technique fitted in very well with the reorganisation of the library that Pluygers had set in train. After a book had been accurately catalogued, every title would be copied a number of times by clerks, so that the same information would be present in the various catalogues: the alphabetical and systematic catalogues, the shelf catalogue and the catalogue of newly acquired books. Individual books could therefore be traced in four or five different ways, both by readers and the administrators of the library. This was a real asset in the battle against the ever-present threat of chaos, as well as an acknowledgment of the different ways in which readers aimed to use the knowledge that was available in the library. In the meantime,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Bibliotheksordnungsplan.

Erstes Fach.

Generalia.

I. Allgemeine Encyclopädie und Methodologie.
1. Historisch-litterärische Schriften.
2. Abhandelnde allgemeine Schriften.
3. Einzelne Gegenstände.
4. Methodologie, im Allgemeinen, im Besondern.

II. Allgemeine Lexika: Systeme.

III. Werke vermischten Inhalts: Auszüge: Briefe: Bücher in – *ana*, insbesondere
1. Vermischte Schriften gelehrter Gesellschaften
2. Zeitschriften vermischten Inhalts.

IV. Populäre Schriften vermischten Inhalts: Taschenbücher.

Zweites Fach.

Philosophie.

I. Ueberhaupt.
1. Einleitende Schriften.
2. Encyclopädie: Wörterbücher: Werke: Vermischte Schriften.
3. Geschichte der Philosophie.
4. Litteratur und Bücherkunde: Zeitschriften.
5. Systeme und Compendien über die ganze Philosophie oder auch einige Theile derselben.

II. Logik, überhaupt, dann einzelne Lehren daraus.

III. Metaphysik.
1. Allgemeine Werke.
2. Anthropologie: Psychologie.
3. Ontologie: Kosmologie.
4. Natürliche Religion.
5. Geheime Philosophie: Cabala: Magie: Wahrsagerei.

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IV. Praktische Philosophie: Ethik.
Im Allgemeinen: dann einzelne Lehren.

Drittes Fach.

Unterricht.

I. Einleitende Schriften.
1. Encyclopädie: Wörterbücher: Werke: vermischte Schriften.
2. Geschichte der Erziehung.
3. Bücherkunde. Zeitschriften.

II. Theoretische Schriften.
1. Absolute Pädagogik.
1) Physische, körperliche Erziehung, Leibesübungen.
2) Psychische Erziehung in Hinsicht auf Verstand, Gedächtniss, Sitten u. s. w.
2. Relative Erziehung.
1) In Beziehung auf das Geschlecht.
2) In Rücksicht der verschiedenen Perioden des Alters.
3) In Rücksicht auf Stand und Lebensart.
4) In Rücksicht auf gewisse Naturgaben und Naturfehler.
5) In Rücksicht auf die Objecte des Unterrichts.
6) In Rücksicht auf die verschiedenen Formen der Erziehung.
a. Häusliche. Hauslehrer.
b. Oeffentliche Erziehung: mancherlei Arten von Schulen, Landschulen, Volksschulen, Soldatenschulen, Industrieschulen, Realschulen, lateinische Schulen, Gymnasien, Lyceen, Universitäten.

III. Kinderschriften aller Art, zur Belehrung und Unterhaltung.

Viertes Fach.

Philologie.

I. Linguistik.
1. Einleitende encyclopädische Schriften.

• The alphabetical and systematic catalogues could be consulted using the *Leidse boekjes*. This system remained in use until the advent of the computerised catalogue. This photograph dates from around 1959.
•• In 1835, the Breslau librarian Joh. Chr. Friedrich designed a systematic classification for libraries: *Kritische Erörterungen zum überstimmenden Ordnen und Verzeichnen Öffentlichen Bibliotheken*. This classification was adopted by Leiden University Library.
••• Jacobus Geel translated Joh. Chr. Friedrich's systematic classification into Dutch, and the Leiden systematic catalogue was established on the basis of this classification. It would take twenty years to systematically catalogue all of the books.

American libraries had started printing library titles. This had clear advantages: printing was less costly and more accurate, as errors by copiers were excluded. Cambridge was the first library to use this system in Europe, in 1853.[91] Did Leiden get the idea from Cambridge, or was it a case of a simultaneous discovery arrived at independently?[92] No evidence exists of any contacts on the matter, so the question will probably remain unanswered. In fact, the mechanical printing of several copies of the same title for different purposes was the first step towards automating library processes that would really take hold in the final quarter of the twentieth century, where one parent title would serve as the basis, being processed in various ways. Of course, librarians in the mid-nineteenth century could not have guessed this. Their original and modern ideas were cloaked in an old-fashioned appearance. Just as the first railways carriages looked like stage coaches, the walls with the *Leidse boekjes* resembled the old bookcases.

All the university's books

Now that every catalogue card represented a book that was located elsewhere, the idea of a central catalogue of the university's entire collection of books and manuscripts began to take hold, and the process was started in 1860. In around 1880, the ordering and cataloguing of all the books at the university was completely centralised. The operation did not proceed without some fits and starts: the herbarium, the observatory, the zoological laboratory and the hospital, for example, did not trust the interference of the library, but were ultimately forced to fall into line.[93] These tensions were understandable: the centralisation process showed how much Pluygers and Du Rieu regarded the library as the organisation that was best equipped to select and make available the supply of knowledge for the whole of the academic community – a claim that other bodies of the university called into doubt. This conflict, which would continue throughout the twentieth century, was also related to the creation of the scientific or systematic catalogue. Only a catalogue of this kind could provide an overview of the overall book collection – and therefore of the gaps in that collection – with regard to a particular subject.[94] At the time of the reorganisation of higher education in 1815, every university library in the Netherlands had been obliged to produce a scientific catalogue as well as an alphabetical one. Attempts by Groningen, Utrecht and Leiden to work together in this area came to nothing.[95] Leiden's scientific catalogue was not ready until 1881. It had not exactly been rushed – the order for it to be made dated from 1823![96]

Which academic classification?

The biggest stumbling block was the choice of an academic classification that would serve as both a reflection of universal knowledge and a usable instrument for 'ordinary' library users. These two principles were continually confused with each other. According to the curators, 'the largest and most expensive libraries in Europe' applied a similar systematic classification.[97] Nothing was further from the truth, however. The classification of sciences may have crystallised with the appearance of the *Encyclopédie* by Diderot and d'Alembert,[98] but most libraries used a system based on their own traditions and needs; there was no such thing as a common methodology.[99] The need to explore new approaches was all too evident, and for that, eyes turned to the country that had led the way in terms of academic science in the nineteenth century, Germany.[100] As a result, Leiden had German *Bibliothekwissenschaft* to thank not only for the new ways in which its books were displayed, but also the new systematic catalogue. A comparative study of the classifications used in libraries appeared in Leipzig in 1835,[101] in which the librarian at Breslau, Joh. Chr. Friedrich, presented a *Bibliothekordnungsplan*. Jacobus Geel made a Latin version of this.[102] With some modifications, the systematic catalogue at Leiden was produced between 1865 and 1881, field by field, on the basis of this plan.[103] When the work was at an advanced stage, curator P.A.Tiele put together a *List of Contents* of the systematic catalogue, which appeared in print in 1904 and 1929.[104] An alphabetical index of search terms was then created, in order to make the search process easier.[105] The system would remain in use until 1963.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, library management took on an increasingly professional character. For private citizens and organisations with historic collections, it was becoming more and more difficult and expensive to look after them properly, which is why it became more commonplace for them to lend their collections to libraries, archives and museums for an indefinite period. The library of the *Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* was entrusted to Leiden University Library in this way in 1876, as was the collection of the Remonstrant Seminary in 1878, with its interesting early correspondence by Remonstrants.

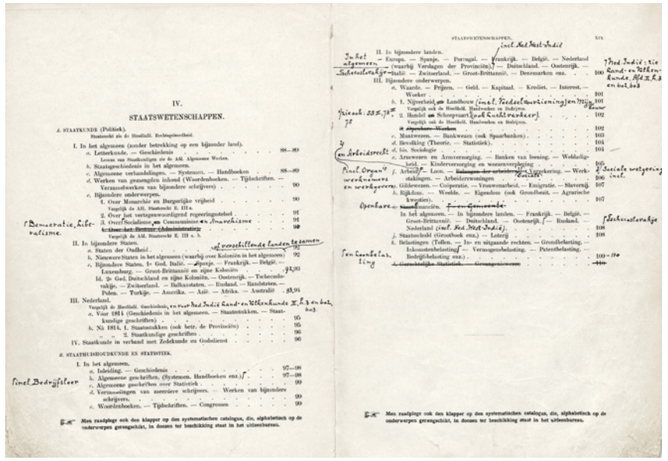
• P.A. Tiele compiled a table of contents from the systematic Leiden catalogues that were published in 1904 and 1929. This example shows how new scientific and societal developments were fitted into the existing classification.

•• The editors of the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* (Dictionary of the Dutch language, or WNT) made intensive use of the sources in the library of the *Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* (Society of Dutch Literature). When this library was given a place in the University Library, the editorial team of the WNT was housed in the immediate vicinity.

••• The repository that was specially designed for the library of the Society of Dutch Literature was built in 1875-1877, next to the Beguinage Chapel and behind the library building of 1822. This typical nineteenth-century building was demolished after the library moved to Witte Singel in 1983.

•••• In 1877, *De Nederlandsche Spectator* (The Dutch Spectator) published this depiction of the transferral of the *Musaeum Catsianum* by De Jonge van Ellemeet.

••••• Almanacs are well represented in the library of the Society of Dutch Literature. The *Altijddurende Almanak* (eternal almanac) of 1854, which was intended for boys and girls, shows this geographical clock, which enabled one to determine the time in every location in the world. The title page of the 1854 edition is embossed with the stamp, 'Maatsch. Nederl. Letterk. Leiden.', with which all of the items in this collection can be recognised.



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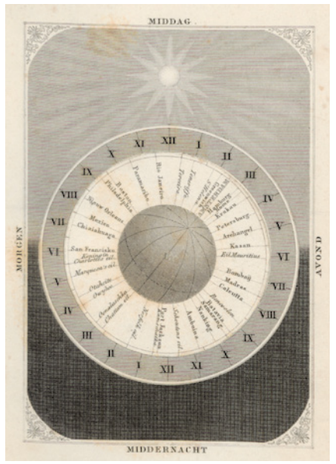

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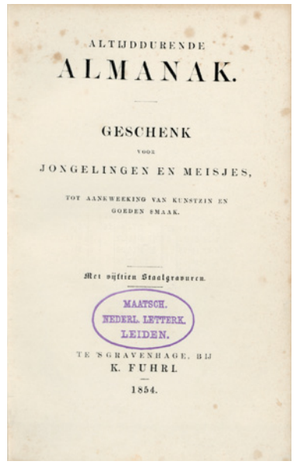

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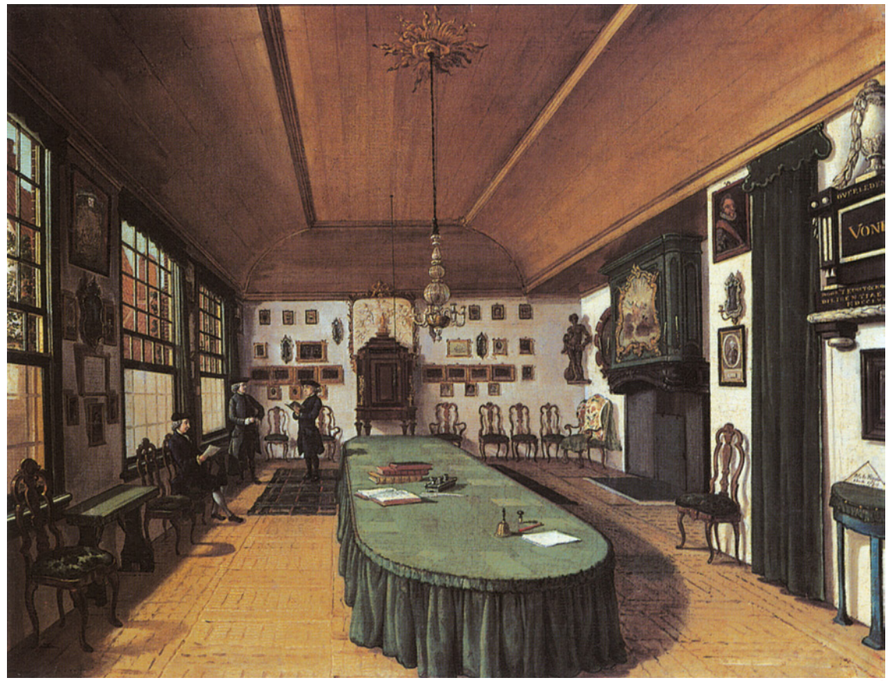
The library of the Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde

The most important collection to be loaned to the University Library was that of the library of the *Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*.[106] Originally, the library belonged to the *Minima Crescunt* student society that had been active in Leiden between 1761 and 1766. The focus of the society's activities was poetry, linguistics, and history. When *Minima Crescunt* turned itself into a national society in 1766, changing its name to *Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde,* these three fields continued to be the most important, and they still form the heart of its library. The call for a complete dictionary of the Dutch language went up from both the *Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* and from linguistic congresses in the Netherlands and Flanders. Under the inspiring leadership of Matthias de Vries, a group of linguists started work on the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal,* the WNT or dictionary of the Dutch language, which was completed in 2000.[107] The *Woordenboek* was based on the usage of words in handwritten and printed texts; it was therefore necessary to have access to these sources on site, in one's own library. However, there was very little money available to buy books or manuscripts: these were generally acquired by the library thanks to the generous gifts of the members of the *Maatschappij*, mostly eminent scholars. All of this was related to the awakening of a new national awareness that was so typical of nineteenth-century Europe, and answered the desire to bring national heritage together and to preserve it for future generations. Thanks to numerous donations, the *Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* library grew into a depository of literary and historical sources of Dutch culture. Publishers donated samples of their Dutch literary publications, for example. At major book auctions, such as that of Leiden historian Robert Fruin, the *Maatschappij* was offered first pick of what it wanted, in advance of the auction.[108] Since 1848, the *Maatschappij* had its own librarian, and from 1850 its own reading room, which was open several hours a day. In principle, the library was intended for the use of members only, but it was not long before interested parties was allowed to use it. After the collection had been repeatedly moved about from one location to another in Leiden, which certainly cannot have been good for the books, it was decided to house the most valuable items in the safety of the University Library. Eventually, in 1876, the entire collection was moved there. The *Maatschappij* was still the owner of its library, which was essentially being loaned to the University Library on a long-term basis, and retained its own identity. The editors of the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* continued to base their work on the *Maatschappij* library, and were subsequently housed in either the University Library itself or in the direct vicinity.[109] The extent to which the *Maatschappij* library and that of its university hosts became more and more intertwined as time went by would become clear in the following century. From 1951, the librarian of the University Library and that of the *Maatschappij* library were one and the same person.[110]

Because of the way it had been founded, the core of the *Maatschappij* library could be described as homogenous. It includes several remarkable components, such as the collections of plays and of almanacs. However, through the years the *Maatschappij* also received some materials via donations that one would be less likely to expect to find there: a collection of illegal publications from the Second World War and a collection of art nouveau books.[111] Three complete catalogues of the *Maatschappij* library appeared in print, in 1829, 1847-1849 and 1887-1889.[112] Between the publication of the second and third catalogues, the number of books in the library's possession rose from 7,547 to 32,173, while the number of manuscripts and annotated books rose from 418 to 1,083. The University Library was experiencing a period of steady expansion. Both collections experienced similar growth in terms of quantity, but it can be assumed that the presence of the *Maatschappij* library influenced the University Library with regard to its purchases of literary books and manuscripts. In leaner times especially, attempts were made to avoid buying the same books twice over. To ensure that the *Maatschappij* books remained accessible, a copy of the most recently printed catalogue was cut into strips, which were affixed to index cards and added to the alphabetical and systematic catalogue of the University Library – a fine symbol of hospitality and interest. The arrival of this large library and of the Bodel Nijenhuis cartographical collection in 1872 led to the construction of a new book depository, behind the library.[113] With its cast iron grates that let the light in through the roof, this building was an outstanding example of a specifically nineteenth-century style of library architecture – regrettably, it was demolished at the end of the twentieth century.



• Before it was housed in the University Library in 1876, the library of the Society of Dutch Literature was moved frequently. Among other places, it was housed in the meeting room of the *Kunst wordt door Arbeid verkregen* (Art is obtained through Labour) society, as shown here in a painting by P.C. La Fargue from 1774.
•• A few of the collections from the library of the Society of Dutch Literature stand out in particular, such as this collection of plays. This sketch and engraving comes from the play, *Het gedwongene huwelijk* (The forced marriage).

• A special item in the library of the Society of Dutch Literature is this illustrated edition of *Huis* (House) by Gerrit Achterberg, published in 1943, with drawings by C.A.B. Bantzinger.
•• This 1894 edition of *Gijsbrecht van Aemstel* by Joost van den Vondel contains proofs with the original designs by A. Derkinderen for the dust-jacket and illustrations.
••• A rich collection of emblem books is to be found in the *Musaeum Catsianum*. This emblem print is from the 1627 edition of *Proteus* by J. Cats.

Voorwerpen, in mijn lied
vereeuwig ik u, niemand weet
het einde van dit wreed gebied
en wat er nóg met u geschiedt,
hoor, hoe ik u heet:

Bindsuubslag, zoete smik,
bloedleeuwerik;
van 't gonzend bloesveld jij-ik
loodrecht oogenblik.

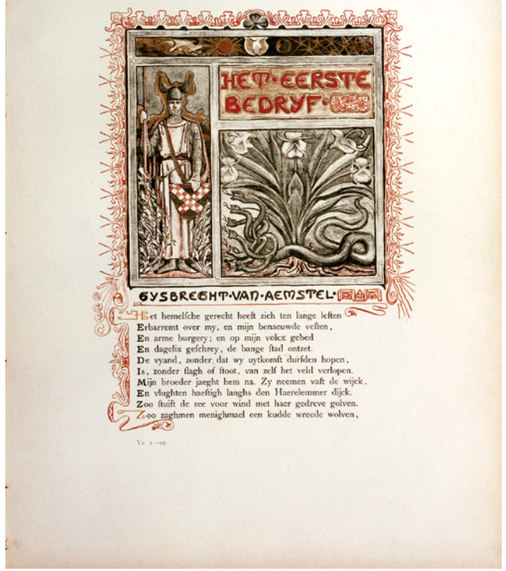
Varen, als moeder zoo volkomen
geboortelijk benomen
rondoms die in u wonen.

Kijken, zooals zij is
wanneer zij er niet is:
aanrecht, kraan, service;
het boordevolle niets;
o dit subliem verlies,
zoolang zij er niet is.

Vloerkleed bereikt als sterven:
elkander overerven
tot in de nauwste nerven.

Tafel, waarowerheen
gelaat, ga nooit meer heen.

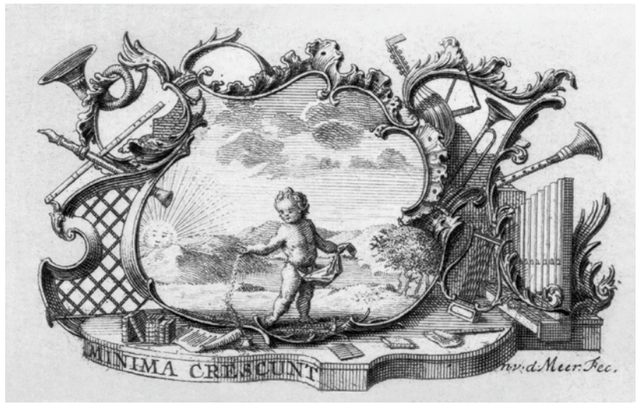
Deur dierbaar toe;
dierbaar open, dierbaar toe.



Het hemelsche gerecht heeft zich ten lange lesten
Erbarremt over my, en mijn benauwde vesten,
En arme burgery: en op mijn vleck gebed
En dagelix geschrey, de bange stad ontzet.
De vyand, zonder dat wy uytkomst durfden hopen,
Is, zonder slagh of stoot, van zelf het veld verlopen.
Mijn broeder jaeght hem na. Zy neemen vaft de wijck.
En vlughten haeftigh langhs den Haerelemmer dijck.
Zoo ftuift de zee voor wind met haer gedreve golven.
Zoo zaghmen menighmael een kudde wreede wolven,

•• •••

• The library of the Society of Dutch Literature originally belonged to the student society called *Minima Crescunt*. The society's vignette is shown here. *Minima Crescunt* developed into a national society and changed its name to the *Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* (Society of Dutch Literature).



•• This Batak manuscript, written on tree bark (*pustaha*) is a rifleman's handbook and contains instructions for shooting a rifle. It comes from Sumatra and was presumably made for H.N. van der Tuuk when he studied Batak languages on the island.

••• These Greek wax tablets were found in Palmyra, which was destroyed in 273. They feature a fable by Babrius, presumably written by a schoolboy: all kinds of errors in the Greek text suggest this origin. Examples of wax tablets such as these are extremely rare; across the world, we only know of three such examples.

Acquisition

During Du Rieu's time as librarian, professor M.J. de Goeje acted as *Interpres Legati Warneriani*. In 1883, he arranged the purchase of the Madani collection, consisting of around six hundred Arabic manuscripts. Amin ibn Hasan al-Madani had left Cairo with his collection in 1883 to go to the International Colonial and Export Exhibition in Amsterdam in the hope of finding potential buyers. He eventually sold his books to Brill in Leiden, who sold them on to the University Library, for which purpose De Goeje received an extra grant from the government of 14,250 guilders. The collection was said to include manuscripts hand-written by Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab, the founder of the Wahhabi movement on the Arabian Peninsula, now the predominant branch of Islam in Saudi Arabia. The library greatly benefited from bequests and gifts during this period as well. Of particular note were the extremely rare third-century Greek wax tablets, of which only three are known to exist, and the *album amicorum* of the first Leiden University librarian, Janus Dousa.[114] In addition, the library received large gifts that underlined the academic nature of the collection. These came from Leiden professors who left specialist books from their private collections in order to fill gaps in the library.[115] Professors De Wal, Simon Thomas, Wickevoort Crommelin and Bierens de Haan, for example, bequeathed book collections in their respective fields: law, gynaecology, ornithology, arithmetic and pedagogics.[116] Their express aim was to promote teaching and research. Others, too, left legacies for the benefit of academic research. In 1894, the orientalist and talented linguist Hermann Neubronner van der Tuuk, who had devoted the whole of his life to the study of Malay, Indonesian and many other Oriental languages, died in Surabaya.[117] As a delegate of the *Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap* (Nederlands Bible Community) in the Dutch East Indies, he was the first person to study the Batak and Balinese languages and, through his publications, to make them accessible to administrators, ministers and future students. For his studies, he had amassed a unique collection of manuscripts that he left to Leiden University, including an unsurpassed collection of bark Batak manuscripts. When the legacy arrived, the then librarian Du Rieu remarked that it was rare for a library to be blessed with such a large acquisition of Indonesian manuscripts. He compared the significance of the collection – around 3,000 Oriental manuscripts, scientific memorandums, drawings, photographs and around 2,000 printed work – for the study of Malayo-Polynesian languages with that of the Warner legacy for Arabic languages.[118] The rare Balinese Wayang puppets – flat leather figures used for silhouette shows – that also formed part of the bequest caused a long-drawn-out conflict with the Ethnographic Museum.[119] The dispute highlighted the differences between the way books and other objects were managed. Did coins, medals, prints, Wayang puppets and other items belong in a library or not? The opinion in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was that they did, as can be seen from the presence of globes and *sphaera automatica* in the library. This view gradually changed. Slowly but surely, museological objects were housed elsewhere, so that from the end of the nineteenth century the library collection was mainly limited to books, manuscripts, and maps. The items in the coin and medal cabinet, of such great significance to Leiden, were put in the library in 1881. Much to-ing and fro-ing ensued between 1892 and 1896 about the question of where this collection could best be kept. It eventually went to the Museum of Antiquities.[120] Ever since the first years of the library's existence, maps, atlases and globes had been part of its collection, albeit a modest part in terms of numbers. The *Bibliotheca Vossiana,* which had been acquired in 1689, had added some magnificent sixteenth-century Italian maps and a few atlases to it.[121] However, the real foundations of the cartographic collection in Leiden were laid by J.T. Bodel Nijenhuis, when he bequeathed his extensive collection of maps, atlases and topographical prints to the university in 1872.

The Bodel Nijenhuis collection[122]

Johannes Tiberius Bodel Nijenhuis was a born collector.[123] He was the grandson of the famous publisher, Johannes Luchtmans, and he made countless auction catalogues for the *S. en J. Luchtmans* book and publishing company, which he led from 1821 to 1850. As the years progressed, he accumulated an impressive collection of books, historical prints, portraits and maps which were sold after his death, with the exception of the cartographic collection.[124] He stood in close contact with Du Rieu, who was the curator of the manuscripts at the library at the time. Both men were among the most active members of the *Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* and were influential figures in Leiden's cultural scene. Bodel was happy to share his passion for topography and historical geography with others, infecting the many visitors he welcomed to his home at Rapenburg, a stone's

• Jan Dousa's *album amicorum* gives a good picture of the first University Library's contacts. A facsimile edition of the *album* was published in 2000.
•• Johannes Tiberius Bodel Nijenhuis collected books, historical prints, portraits and maps. He bequeathed his topographical collection to the Leiden library. This portrait of him was painted by J.L. Cornet.

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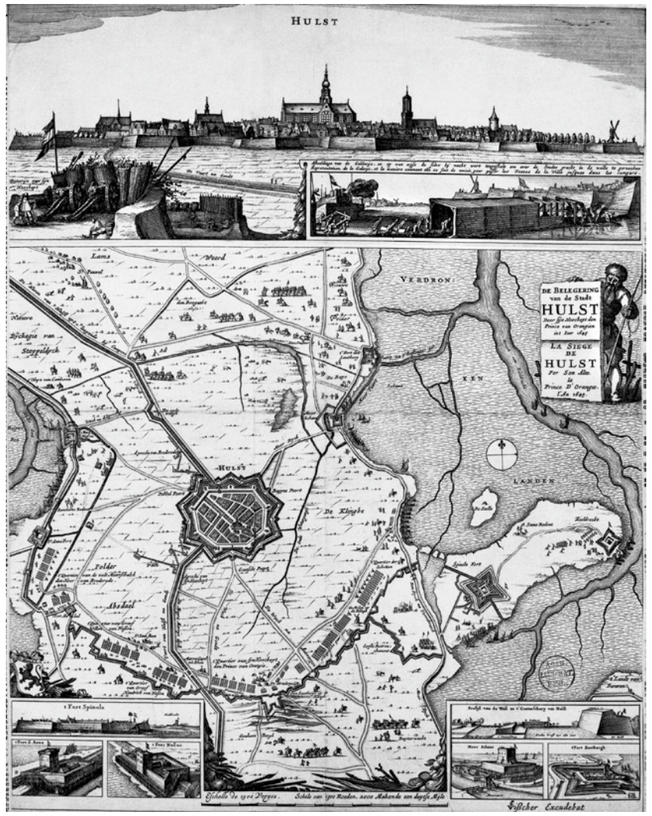
••• This 'news map' shows the siege of Hulst. In addition to depicting the local situation, columns of text were used to explain the most recent developments. Together with pamphlets, maps such as these functioned a source of topical information for a wide audience.



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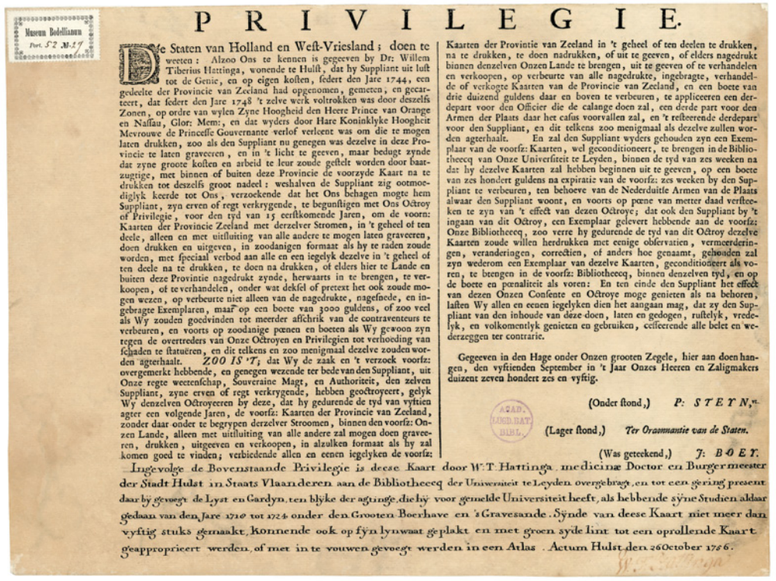
• Publishers were obliged to give a copy of all publications that were printed with the privilege of the States of Holland and West Friesland to Leiden Library. On this printed privilege on the map shown on p. 184, Hattinga has added a handwritten note to thank Leiden University for the lectures by Boerhaave and 's-Gravesande, which he had followed. Leiden University Library acquired Hattinga's map because it had been printed with the privilege of the States of Holland and West Friesland, meaning that the publisher was obliged to deposit a copy in the library.
•• This view of Anchin Abbey is part of the Bodel Nijenhuis collection.



P R I V I L E G I E.

De Staten van Holland en West-Vriesland; doen te weeten: Alzoo Ons te kennen is gegeeven by Dr: Willem Tiberius Hattinga, woonende te Hulst, dat hy Suppliant uit lust tot de Genie, en op eigen kosten, sedert den Jare 1744, een gedeelte der Provincie van Zeeland had opgenomen, gemeten, en gecarteert, dat sedert den Jare 1748 't zelve werk voltrokken was door dezelfs Zonen, op ordre van wylen Zyne Hoogheid den Heere Prince van Oranje en Nassau, Glor: Mem:, en dat wyders door Hare Koninklyke Hoogheit Mevrouwe de Princesse Gouvernante verlof verleent was om die te mogen laten drukken, zoo als den Suppliant nu genegen was dezelve in deze Provincie te laten graveeren, en in 't licht te geeven, maar bedugt zynde dat zyne groote kosten en arbeid te leur zoude gestelt worden door baatzugtige, met binnen of buiten deze Provincie de voorzyde Kaart na te drukken tot dezelfs groot nadeel: weshalven de Suppliant zig ootmoedigly keerde tot Ons, verzoekende dat het Ons behagen mogte hem Suppliant, zyn erven of regt verkrygende, te begunstigen met Ons Octroy of Privilegie, voor den tyd van 15 eerstkomende Jaren, om de voorn: Kaarten der Provincie Zeeland met derzelver Stromen, in 't geheel of ten deele, alleen en met uitsluiting van alle andere te mogen laten graveeren, doen drukken en uitgeeven, in zoodanigen formaat als hy te raden zoude worden, met speciaal verbod aan alle en een iegelyk dezelve in 't geheel of ten deele na te drukken, te doen na drukken, of elders hier te Lande en buiten deze Provintie nagedrukt zynde, herwaarts in te brengen, te verkoopen, of te verhandelen, onder wat deksel of pretext het ook zoude mogen wezen, op verbeurte niet alleen van de nagedrukte, nagedoode, en ingebragte Exemplaren, maar op een boete van 3000 guldens, of zoo veel als Wy zouden goedvinden tot meerder affchrik van de contraventeurs te verbeuren, en voorts op zoodanige pœnen en boeten als Wy gewoon zyn tegen de overtreeders van Onze Octroyen en Privilegien tot verhoeding van schaden te statueren, en dit telkens en zoo menigmaal dezelve zouden worden agterhaalt. *Zoo IS 't*; dat Wy de zaak en 't verzoek voorsz: overgemerkt hebbende, en genegen wezende ter bede van den Suppliant, uit Onze regte weetenschap, Souveraine Magt, en Authoriteit, den zelven Suppliant, zyne erven of regt verkrygende, hebben geoctroyeert, gelyk Wy denzelven Octroyeeren by deze, dat hy gedurende de tyd van vyftien agter een volgende Jaren, de voorsz: Kaarten der Provincie van Zeeland, zonder daar onder te begrypen derzelver Stroomen, binnen den voorsz: Onzen Lande, alleen met uitsluiting van alle andere zal mogen doen graveeren, drukken, uitgeeven en verkoopen, in alzulken formaat als hy zal komen goed te vinden; verbiedende allen en eenen iegelyken de voorsz: Kaarten der Provintie van Zeeland in 't geheel of ten deelen te drukken, na te drukken, te doen nadrukken, of uit te geeven, of elders nagedrukt binnen denzelven Onzen Lande te brengen, uit te geeven of te verhandelen en verkoopen, op verbeurte van alle nagedrukte, ingebragte, verhandelde of verkogte Kaarten van de Provincie van Zeeland, en een boete van drie duizend guldens daar en boven te verbeuren, te appliceeren een derdepart voor den Officier die de calange doen zal, een derde part voor den Armen der Plaats daar het casus voorvallen zal, en 't reliqueerende derdepart voor den Suppliant, en dit telkens zoo menigmaal als dezelve zullen worden agterhaalt. En zal den Suppliant wyders gehouden zyn een Exemplaar van de voorsz: Kaarten, wel geconditioneert, te brengen in de Bibliotheecq van Onze Universiteit te Leyden, binnen de tyd van zes weeken na dat hy dezelve Kaarten zal hebben beginnen uit te geeven, op een boete van zes honderd guldens na expiratie van de voorsz: zes weeken by den Suppliant te verbeuren, ten behoeve van de Nederduitse Armen van de Plaats alwaar den Suppliant woont, en voorts op pœne van meerder daad verfheeken te zyn van 't effect van dezen Octroye; dat ook den Suppliant by 't ingaan van dit Octroy, een Exemplaar gelevert hebbende aan de voorsz: Onze Bibliotheecq, zoo verre hy gedurende de tyd van dit Octroy dezelve Kaarten zoude willen herdrukken met eenige observatien, vermeerderingen, veranderingen, correctien, of anders hoe genaamt, gehouden zal zyn wederom een Exemplaar van dezelve Kaarten, geconditioneert als voren, te brengen in de voorsz: Bibliotheecq, binnen denzelven tyd, en op de boete en pernaliteit als voren: En ten einde den Suppliant het effect van dezen Onzen Consente en Octroye moge genieten als na behoren, laaten Wy allen en eenen iegelyken dien het aangaan mag, dat zy den Suppliant van den inhoude van deze doen, laten en gedogen, ruhtelyk, vredelyk, en volkomentlyk genieten en gebruiken, cesseerende alle belet en wederzeggen ter contrarie.

Gegeeven in den Hage onder Onzen grooten Zegele, hier aan doen hangen, den vyftiensten September in 't Jaar Onzes Heeren en Zaligmakers duizent zeven hondert zes en vyftig.

(Onder stond,) P: STEYN.

(Lager stond,) Ter Ordonnantie van de Staten.

(Was geteekend,) J: BOET.

Ingevolge de Bovenstaande Privilegie is deese Kaart door W.T Hattinga medicine Doctor en Burgermeester der Stadt Hulst in Staats Vlaanderen aan de Bibliotheecq der Universiteit te Leyden overgebragt, en tot een gering present daar by gevoegt de Lyst en Gardyn, ten blyke der agtinge die hy voor gemelde Universiteit heeft, als hebbende zyne Studien aldaar gedaan van den Jare 1720 tot 1724 onder den Grooten Boerhave en 's Gravesande. Synde van deese Kaart niet meer dan vyftig stuks gemaakt, Konnende ook op fyn lynwaat geplakt en met groen zyde lint tot een oprollende Kaart geappropriceert werden, of met in te vouwen gevoegt werden in een Atlas. Actum Hulst den 26 October 1756.

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• Willem Tiberius Hattinga made this map in 1753, commissioned by the Council of State. It consists of a montage of six maps of the islands of Zeeland that had been printed earlier. Hattinga added parts of the chart (tidal outlets with sandbanks, the coast of Zeeland Flanders and Overflakkee) in pen.

•• The invention of printed globe segments (as engravings or woodcuts) made new geographical information accessible to a wider audience. These map segments were engraved in 1621 by Abraham Goos and published by Johannes Janssonius. They show the most recent commercial developments (the Dutch presence in Guyana is mentioned) and recent geographical discoveries (the La Maire strait to the south of Tierra del Fuego is marked). This was in line with the collections policy pursued by Bodel Nijenhuis, who primarily used the maps as sources for his study of Dutch history.

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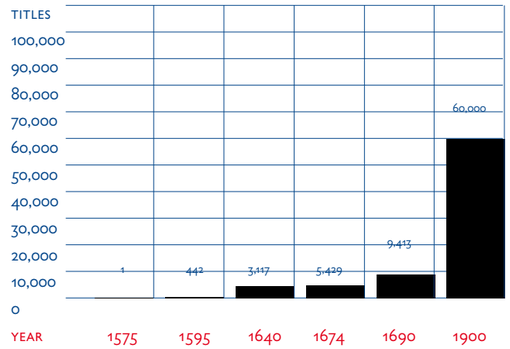
•• This atlas by Arent Roggeveen (Amsterdam, 1675), from the legacy of Bodel Nijenhuis, is a nautical guide to South America. The title refers simultaneously to the maker's name and to the image on the frontispiece: burning peat as a beacon on the coast.

throw from the University Library, with his enthusiasm. He would give detailed answers to the sometimes complicated questions posed by his correspondents. He published reasoned inventories of maps and studies about cartographers.[125] The topographic collection that he left, and which was originally named *Museum Geographicum Bodellianum*, was of an exceptional quality and cried out for further study. First, though, the 300 atlases, 50,000 maps and 22,000 prints needed to be stored and catalogued: a 'stupefying amount', wrote Du Rieu in the *Nederlandsche Spectator*.[126] For almost one hundred years, the library struggled to find space for the legacy and the time and expertise required to describe it. The collection was ranked according to an atlas classification, and the maps were placed chronologically within a country, province, city and village-based sequence. As far as Bodel was concerned, 'Geographia oculus Historiae' – geography was the eye of history. It made historical situations visible.[127] This is why Bodel later came to be regarded as one of the pioneers in the history of cartography in the Netherlands.[128]

The most fascinating items in the Bodel Nijenhuis collection, a third of which are related to the Netherlands, can be found among the street layouts and fortress plans, a large number of which are hand drawn. Other interesting documents are the polder and water maps of the Netherlands and the cartographic heritage of the Dutch United East India Company and the Dutch West India Company. The latter items are an extremely important source for the historiography of former overseas territories and trading posts such as Indonesia, Ceylon, South Africa, Ghana, north-east Brazil, New York, Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles. The Bodel Nijenhuis collection was the first major collection of maps in the Netherlands to be made available to the public.[129]



At the end of the nineteenth century, the library contained six times as many titles as it had in 1690.

LOSING ITS WAY

'A word of regret! Of regret about the relative paucity of printed books in the first and oldest library of the Netherlands,' sighed Schotel, the historian, in 1866. This was the *cri de coeur* of a reader. After retiring as a minister, Schotel had settled in Leiden with the aim of writing historical studies. He could be found in the reading room day-in, day-out and wrote a historical sketch of the library as a way of expressing his gratitude.[130] His disappointment was shared by many. Professors of various faculties complained incessantly about being unable to find the most elementary books on their subjects. Of the list of recent botanical works that professor De Vries urgently needed in 1856 in order to publish Reinwardt's treatise on plants, not a single one was in the library.[131] And how, asked professor J.A. Boogaard in 1877, was one supposed to be able to study the collection of skulls in the Anatomical Cabinet without the aid of the journal *Archiv für Anthropologie*? For new fields at the university, there was an easy explanation: new specialisations were constantly emerging, and universities and university libraries were closely keeping up with them. It was necessary to purchase books and, more especially, journals – in which new developments could be published more quickly – for the new fields. However, finding your way around the maze of new publications was not an easy matter, and instruments to aid this process were sorely needed. The *Catalogue of Scientific Paper*s, published by the Royal Society, was such a 'new tool for nature researchers' and Du Rieu carefully analysed how it worked.[132] Other specialist areas required attention too. Even before he took up his post as first professor of psychiatry in 1899, Gerbrandus Jelgersma submitted a list of the most essential books in his field, and thanks to a special credit, it was possible for the books to be purchased for the University Library.[133] For those subjects that had formed the heart of the library's collection from the days of the founding of the university – history, theology, law and Oriental arts – the situation was no better, not to mention the dearth of books on medicine and physics![134] No matter how

Nautical chart by Cornelis Doedtsz (Edam, 1600), from the Bodel Nijenhuis collection. The rise of the merchant navy at the end of the sixteenth century gave a boost to cartography. Many of these maps were produced by a group of map-makers in Edam, based on Portuguese models.

important the concept of modernism – as the adjustment of thinking to modern life – became at Leiden University, there was precious little evidence of it in its book collection. Recent works were often lacking.[135] Every faculty therefore sought to provide the library with works that were essential for study, and not without success. Thanks to the establishment of the *Akademische Fonds* in 1836, from which assistance could be requested for filling in gaps in the library, the university was able to get things back on track in the second half of the nineteenth century.[136] The librarian made extensive use of the fund in order to acquire special items. In 1872, for example, Pluygers purchased part of the library of former curator Lodewijk Casper Luzac (1786-1861) and, eight years later, a large collection of Chinese books. His successor, Du Rieu, acquired a significant number of Japanese books in the early 1880s from the estates of Leiden scholars. Part of these – mostly from Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796-1866) – was given to the Ethnographic Museum, while the remainder were given to or bought by the library after the deaths of J.J. Hoffmann (1805-1878) and A.J.C. Geerts (1843-1883).[137]

A VIOLIN WITHOUT A TUNING PEG

Since the opening of the new library building in 1822, the Ministry of Education had made repeated appeals to the library to extend its opening hours, but to no avail.[138] The lack of staff made it impossible, wrote the then librarian, Van Voorst, to the curators.[139] It was not until 1863, during Pluygers' period of office, that readers were able to visit on every working day of the week – at first, between one and four o'clock in the afternoon, and later from ten in the morning until four (or three during the winter months on account of the lack of daylight). The library was only open between one and two o'clock in the afternoon during the holiday months.[140] These opening hours were in sharp contrast to those of Italian libraries such as the University Library in Turin and the Bibliotheca Thera in Milan, which were also open in the evenings. Year on year, the Leiden librarians triumphantly reported that the use of the library was increasing, a trend confirmed by the statistics that were now starting to be recorded. Students, professors, foreign researchers and other readers populated the general reading room and the special reading rooms for Oriental and Western manuscripts. It was therefore a matter of absolute necessity for more people to be employed in the reading rooms. There was one employee who succeeded in winning the affections of all the visitors, and especially those of the students – C.A. Emeis, who worked at the library from 1839 to 1883, first as a clerk, and later as a custodian.[141] Emeis was one of those legendary library characters who was able to find everything – from a book that had not been seen since time immemorial to the most recent publication on a completely obscure subject. In the 1861 *Almanak,* the students stressed the necessity of appointing a 'young person' for Emeis to train up 'who can in time become familiar with the layout and the contents of the library… We fear otherwise that the valuable library will one day become like a violin without a tuning peg'.[142] In the long term, wrote the students, it was impossible for one person to know about every publication in every field. They therefore came up with an excellent proposal: 'Would it not be infinitely better if, for example, each of the five faculties had their own employee in the library?'[143] This suggestion, made in 1861, launched the idea of specialist subject librarians, which would only become a reality almost a century later.

AN UNEASY RELATIONSHIP: TEACHING AND RESEARCH

In the course of the nineteenth century, the relationship between teaching and research at the university grew increasingly strained.[144] Was the purpose of the university's collections to serve primarily as illustrative instruments for teaching or mainly as sources for academic research? From the annual reports, it appears that the library sought to fulfil a bridging function between the two.

Gradually, more and more teaching was taking place in the library. Professor Cobet based his tutorials on Greek and Latin palaeography on manuscripts, and in 1867, it was decided that the lessons would be held in one of the library classrooms 'in order to spare the manuscripts'.[145] Until that time, the manuscripts had presumably been taken to a classroom outside the library. The palaeography lectures given by professors Acquoy and Blok also took place in the library.[146] In addition to serving the needs of the university's educational function, the librarians also sought to facilitate science and scientific research as widely as possible.[147] This was no empty gesture. The publishers of the extensive correspondence by Christiaan Huygens, much of which was kept in Leiden,

• Japanese fish. Drawing from around 1820 by the celebrated artist Katsurogawa Kurimoto.

•• C.A. Emeis (1839-1883) was one of those legendary individuals who is able to find anything in a library. He was particularly popular among the students.

were assigned a designated room in the library. Du Rieu and his successor, De Vries, themselves made corrections to the print proofs of the enormous publication using the original letters.[148] The library was also remotely involved with important scientific enterprises like the *Analecta Bollandiana* – the journal of the Belgian Bollandists – the *Bibliotheca Belgica,* the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* and the publications of the *Société de l'Orient latin.*[149]

THE 'GREAT LIBERALITY'

This kind of participation at an international level was due to the willingness by the library to lend unique manuscripts, both Oriental and Western, to foreign institutions and individuals. This 'principle of generosity', which had begun under Van Voorst, became something of a trade mark and lasted from around 1820 until 1900.[150] By some distance, most loaned works went to German cities – Emden, Bonn, Marburg, Heidelberg, Berlin, Breslau, Halle, Leipzig – while some found their way to destinations even further to the east, such as Budapest and Saint Petersburg.[151] The effusive thanks shown by the German historian, Droysen, who was sent a rare manuscript by Scaliger for his edition of Eutropius in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, were totally sincere.[152] As was the gratitude of universal scholar Theodor Mommsen, who regularly received heavy consignments of manuscripts and printed books from Leiden in Charlottenburg, just outside Berlin.[153] When his home went up in flames in 1880, the items from Leiden were miraculously saved. In a letter to Mommsen, who had lost his notes and a large proportion of his own library in the fire, Du Rieu wrote that even if the Leiden items had been destroyed, 'the well-known generosity of the library would have continued as long as the library is under my stewardship, as it would have been such a minor loss in comparison to the 1,300 manuscripts that have been loaned to scholars inside and outside the Netherlands since 1859 and returned undamaged, and which have been used for the benefit of science'.[154] This kind of broad-mindedness was certainly not usual, and Pluygers and Du Rieu hoped that others would follow Leiden's example. 'A clear concept to break new ground' was the idea, and this is indeed what happened in a short space of time.[155] Even libraries that did not generally lend manuscripts abroad, like Trinity College Dublin and the Bodleian Library in Oxford, did send a number to Leiden in 1886 and 1889, albeit after a great deal of negotiation.[156] Most notable, however, was the sending of a very valuable Dutch manuscript by the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, followed by a manuscript of the letters by Servatus Lupus from that same library. For Du Rieu, who recorded this event with pride and amazement, this was proof that Leiden's 'great liberality' was working.[157] Still, it must have been clear to Du Rieu that the policy would be difficult to sustain in the long run. In the final analysis, the unreliability of borrowers and diplomats[158] and the danger of fire and war made the loaning of valuable manuscripts too risky. T.W.J. Juynboll, the *Interpres Legati Warneriani,* had sounded a warning as early as 1858. 'The desire for studies in Hebrew has become so great in recent years, especially among Jews in Germany, that even those with no business to do so are daring to publish Hebrew works,' he argued. He therefore suggested that loans should be restricted to 'persons of sound name and character'. Others were invited to come to Leiden, where they would be willingly offered assistance.[159] When, twelve years later, a ceasefire was expected during the Franco-Prussian War, the library made unsuccessful attempts to repatriate an Oriental manuscript that had been loaned to a Paris scholar.[160] Intervention by the diplomatic service, as urged by the Minister, did not prove to be a guarantee.[161] In 1892, an Arabic manuscript was returned to Leiden that had been lost for three years at the Dutch legation in Berlin.[162] In short, the 'great liberality', which undeniably had been much admired, had to be reformed – on that, librarians the world over agreed, and, once again, it was technological progress that offered a solution. Thanks to the then new reproduction techniques it was possible to make manuscripts available without any risk to the originals. This led to the creation of the *Association internationale de reproduction des manuscrits les plus précieux,* an international *movement,* as Du Rieu described it, for the photographic reproduction of the most valuable manuscripts.[163] For the project to succeed, however, it was necessary to convince at least one hundred libraries all over the world to lend their financial assistance, while French, English, German and Hungarian libraries in particular needed to be persuaded to provide photographs of their rarest manuscripts. This daunting task was entrusted to Leiden University Library by the international congress of librarians that was held in Chicago in 1893, with reference to Leiden's liberal lending tradition. Du Rieu and his successor, De Vries, produced nineteen volumes of manuscript reproductions, which were published by

Student life had its tense moments, as is shown in this 1865 charcoal drawing on the wall of the 'sweatbox' in the Academy Building. In this room, the students would wait for their exam results. The law student Victor de Stuers made this drawing and the one in the stairwell in a single day.

Sijthoff in Leiden. Half a century later, curator G.I. Lieftinck produced another three photographic editions of rare manuscripts from Leiden, Oxford and Wolfenbüttel.[164] No matter how heavy, unwieldy and expensive the volumes were, they nonetheless gave readers the opportunity to become acquainted with the cream of Greek and Latin manuscripts in European libraries. The *movement* for which Du Rieu had worked so hard did not reach its original goal, simply because the technology for making numerous copies of manuscripts for a reasonable price was not at hand. That technology would not arrive until the digital revolution during the final decade of the twentieth century.

In the second half of the nineteenth century Leiden, with its sixty thousand books, thirty thousand dissertations, three thousand Western and 2,600 Oriental manuscripts and collection of large pamphlets, was ranked among the medium-sized university libraries of Western Europe.

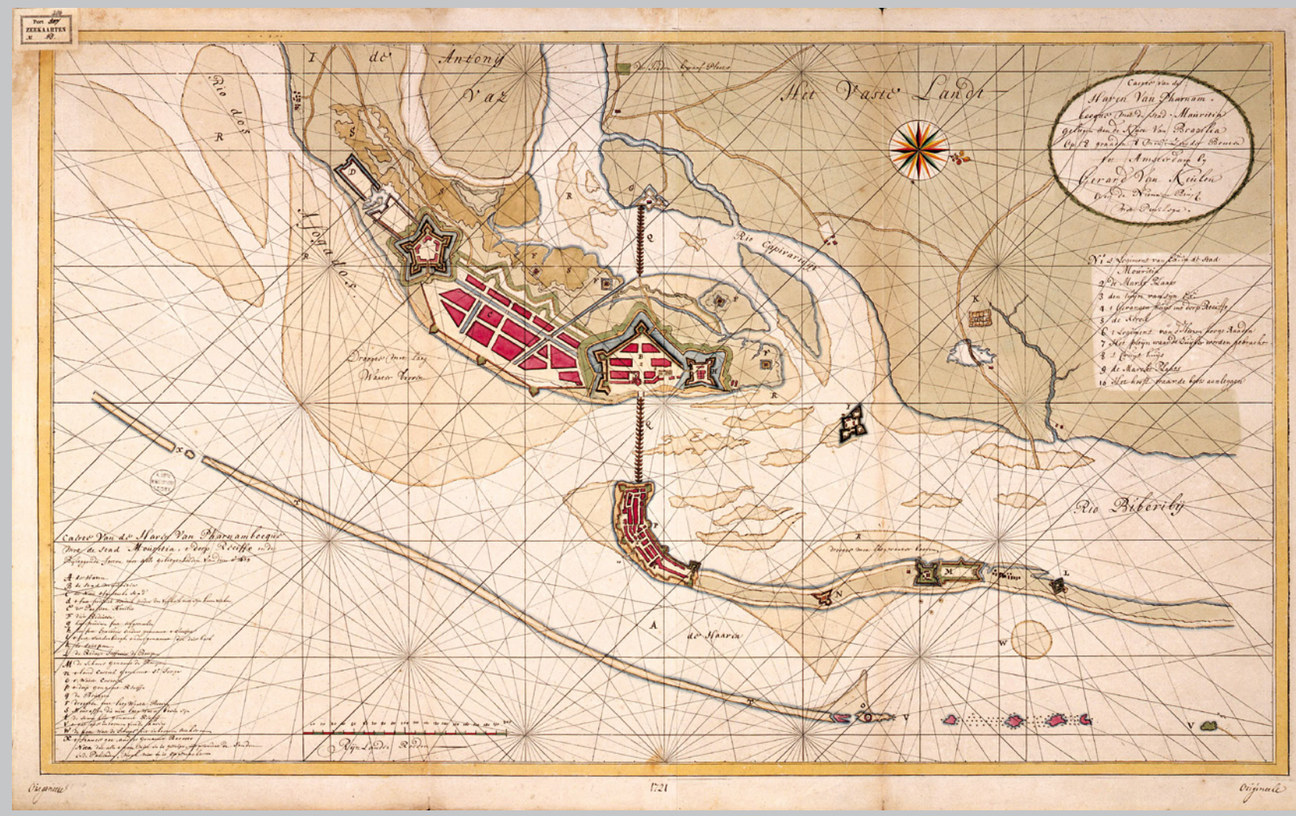
Leiden was unable to match the size of the university libraries of Göttingen, Breslau, Munich and Tübingen. Those at Freiburg, Rostock, Vienna, Prague and Leipzig were twice as large, while Halle, Giessen, Marburg and Würzburg were slightly bigger. The collections of the universities at Kiel, Königsberg and Greifswald were of a similar size to that of Leiden. The particular significance of Leiden lay primarily in its collections of Western and Oriental manuscripts and in the generosity with which the library allowed the collections to be used.[165]

The choice of Martijn Storms
Curator of Maps and Atlases

The collection of maps and atlases includes around 60,000 maps, 1,500 atlases and 25,000 topographic prints and drawings. Easily the biggest part of the collection was acquired in 1872, as a legacy from lawyer J.T. Bodel Nijenhuis. The emphasis is on seventeenth and eighteenth-century cartography, while a significant proportion of the collection consists of manuscript maps.

***Lugdunum Batavorum obsidione cinctum* – 'Dat belegge vander stede van Leyden int jaer ons Heeren 1574 / ghedaen en voleynt to Leijden ten huyse van Joan(n)es Liefrinck An.o 1574 Novemb(er) 17 achter de Hogelantsche Kerke op de Middelwech'; Liefrinck, Johannes Cornelisz (1561-1599 fl.), 32 x 46 cm.**

'Lawyer Johannes Tiberius Bodel Nijenhuis (1797-1872), the director of the publishing company Luchtmans, and secretary of the *Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* for 25 years, was a passionate collector of cartographic and topographic material. One of the most outstanding pieces from his collection is a map that was printed by city surveyor Joannes Liefrinck just after the relief of Leiden. It is one of the first printed layouts of the city. Essentially it is a printed newssheet that gives a vivid depiction of the relief of Leiden, showing the positions of the troops, the "geuzen" (beggars) ships, and fleeing Spanish soldiers. The print, of which this is the only remaining copy, served as a model for the map of Leiden in the well-known Braun en Hogenberg town atlas.'



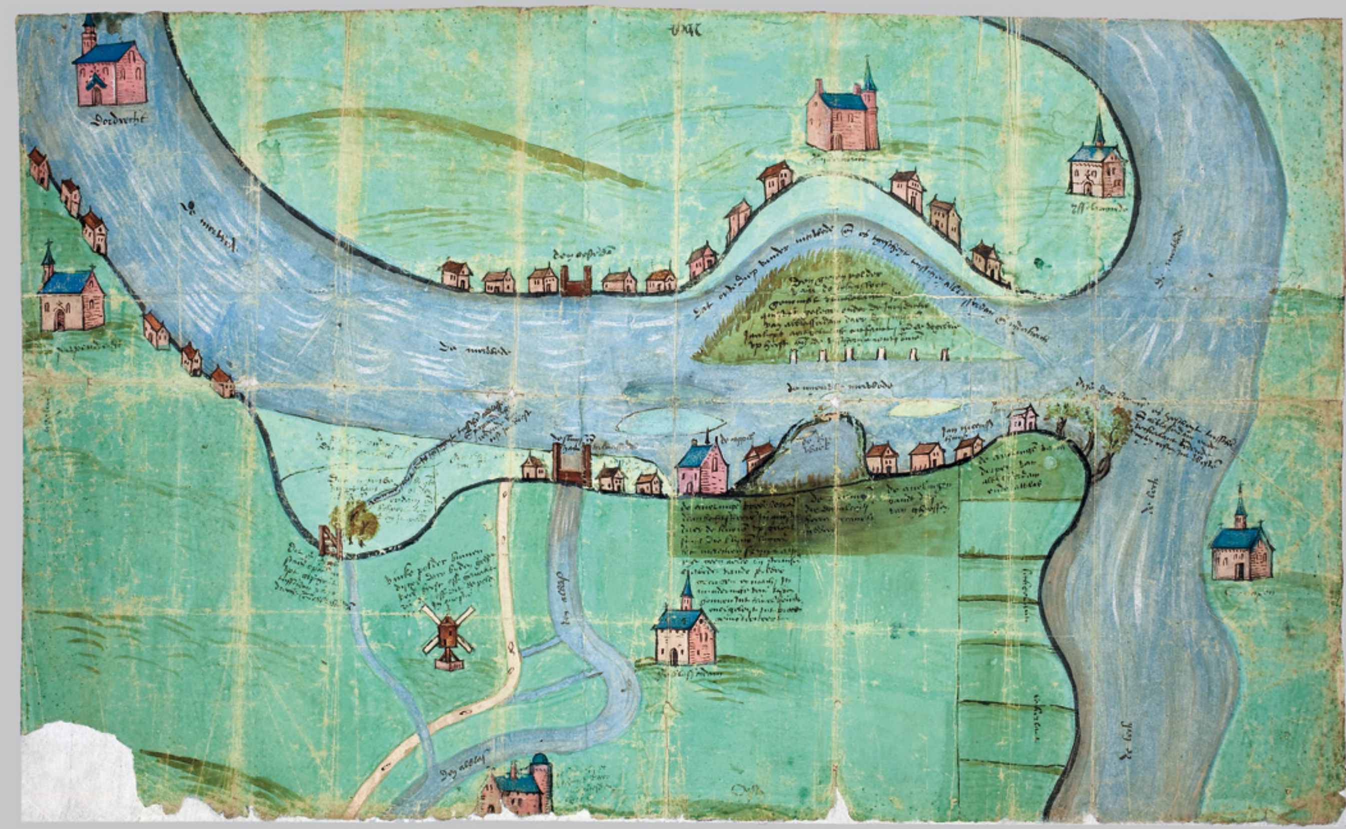
***Caerte van de haven van Pharnambocque met de stad Mauritia geleegen aen de kust van Brazilia...* / Gerard van Keulen, 1721**

'The Amsterdam family firm, Van Keulen, supplied navigation materials from the De Gekroonde Lootsman shop to the Dutch East India Company, for which it became the official map maker. In 1908 Leiden University Library, with the help of a grant from the *Algemeen Rijksarchief* (the forerunner of the current *Nationaal Archief*), purchased from Van Keulen a collection of 330 nautical charts in manuscript dated from between 1704 and 1755. Many nautical charts were printed, so that seafarers would be able to buy a copy. There was less demand for detailed charts of specific ports or certain coastal areas, so it was therefore less expensive to make copies of the charts by hand than it was to print them. Here, you can see a hand-drawn chart of the port of Pernambuco, the present-day Recife in Brazil.'

Printer's proof of the *Caartboeck van Voorne* / Heyman van Dyck, ca. 1697.

'In 2002, the University Library acquired a highly valuable and unique document: an annotated printer's proof of the *Caartboeck van Voorne*. This is the only known printer's proof of a complete atlas and, moreover, bears a wealth of corrections that had to be carried out. The maps, which showed plots of land, were used by the government for levying water taxes on the various landowners.'

'The final proofs of the maps were ready in 1697, and they were presented to the various polder secretaries for approval. The improvements were indicated on the proofs, with the number of errors differing from one map to another. Attention was paid to topographical facts, such as the boundaries of plots of land, the location of houses, the addition of dunes and rows of trees, but also to spelling mistakes and the correct representation of the various coats of arms – a lion looking the wrong way, or two anchors shown upside down. Most of the notes on the printer's proofs were altered in the copper plates. The last polder maps were finally approved in 1698, and the publication appeared in 1701. Being able to gain an insight into the different stages of the process of producing a map is quite unique. In the case of most maps and atlases, it is only the end-product that has survived.'

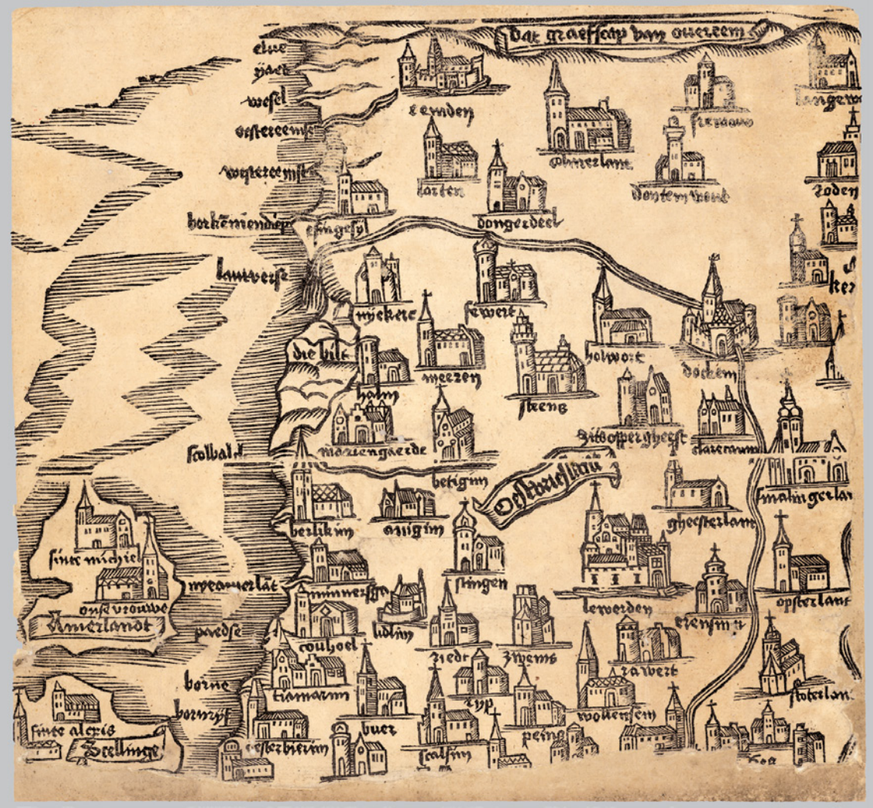


Map relating to legal proceedings concerning the island of Donkersloot in the Merwede, between Ridderkerk and Alblasserdam, ca. 1542, manuscript map, 43 × 69.5 cm.

'This map from 1542 was hand-drawn and covered the legal proceedings concerning the island of Donkersloot in the River de Noord, between Alblasserdam and Ridderkerk. The island originally belonged to Alblasserdam, but in around 1400 the main stream of the river had shifted as a result of repeated floods, leading to Ridderkerk claiming the island for itself. This was the start of a legal process that would drag on for no less than four hundred years. In 1815, the king assigned the island to Ridderkerk. Nowadays, Donkersloot is an industrial estate. Very few sixteenth-century maps relating to the legal proceedings remain but in 2008, the University Library acquired this rare copy. The map is a clear example of primitive mapping that is not based on systematic measurements.'

Fragments of a map of the Diocese of Utrecht, ca. 1524, woodcut, 19.5 × 21.5 and 34.5 × 21.5 cm, COLLBN 20071 M 4: 1-2.

'This is the oldest known printed map of Dutch territory, and these are the only two fragments known to survive. The first covers most of the current province of Friesland, and the second most of Gelderland and Overijssel. The map was probably made for Hendrik van Beieren, the bishop-elect of Utrecht. The map is also known as the 'church map', because all the parishes in the Diocese of Utrecht are said to have been depicted on it. The geometric accuracy of the map is very poor. The fragments were found in the 1950s during the restoration of the binding of an eighteenth-century accounts book from the manuscript collection that had belonged to a lawyer from The Hague, Lodewijk Chastelain.'



• View of the old library building at the beginning of the twentieth century.
•• Drawing of the library building at Witte Singel by Chris Schut, 1985. The collections have been housed here since 1983.

VI FROM TWO WORLD WARS TO CYBERSPACE, 1900-2000

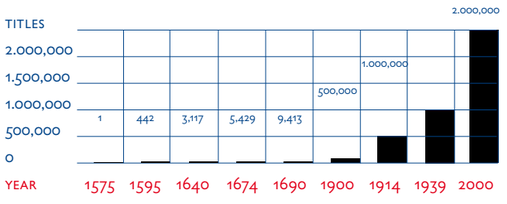
The twentieth century was a century of extremes. Periods of progress were cruelly interrupted by major crises. Two world wars, a global recession, a long-lasting division of the European continent into two power blocs and, at the end of the century, the breakthrough in information technology – future historians will certainly have their work cut out when analysing the consequences of the maelstrom Western society became caught up in. Libraries are not oases of rest in a turbulent world, but are directly affected by and involved in developments around them, bearing their traces. In the twentieth century, this became clearer than ever before.

On the eve of the First World War, Leiden University Library owned around 500,000 books. In 1939, there were a million, and the total had risen to more than two million by the year 2000.[1] The Oriental and Western manuscript collections and those of old prints and maps showed a corresponding growth. Worldwide, libraries were forced to find new ways of dealing with the consequences of the explosive growth in book production. And once again, it was developments in technology that provided the solution. Thanks to the automation of library processes, which started in the mid-1970s, it continued to be possible for libraries to bring books and readers together. Barely a generation later, though, the tail was wagging the dog: new technology forced libraries to expand and reorganise their range of activities. The speed of the information revolution was overwhelming. After an initial period of uncertainty, libraries started to adapt to the new situation and provide electronic information as well as books. The main priority now was the substance of the information, rather than the medium, a consequence of which was the emphasis on monitoring the quality of the content. These monitoring activities mainly concerned university libraries, traditionally the distributors of academic information.

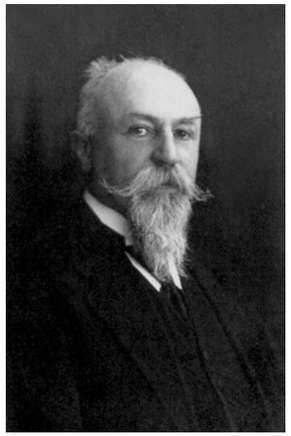
The *Belle Epoque,* which lasted from 1880 until 1914, was a period of unbridled expansion in every field, and brought about major changes to the responsibilities of those in charge of cultural heritage. The functions of librarian, archivist and museum director were subject to a process of professionalisation. At universities, the post of professor or scholar-cum-librarian was replaced by that of a professional librarian who was generally engaged in academic activities as well. From the start of the twentieth century, then, the life and background of librarians became less significant to the library, while the development of the organisation itself took on a greater importance.[2] Up to 1947, the University Library fell under the stewardship of three librarians: S.C. de Vries (1897-1924), F.C. Wieder (1924-1938) and T.P. Sevensma (1938-1947).

SCATO GOCKO DE VRIES: 1897-1924

Scato Gocko de Vries was born in Leiden in 1861, the son of philologist Matthias de Vries, professor of Dutch language and literature at Leiden University and founding father of the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal.*[3] The De Vries family lived next to the library at Rapenburg. Scato de Vries studied classical languages in Leiden; he was strongly oriented towards Germany and undertook many study trips to the country. In 1886, he was appointed to the post of curator of Western manuscripts

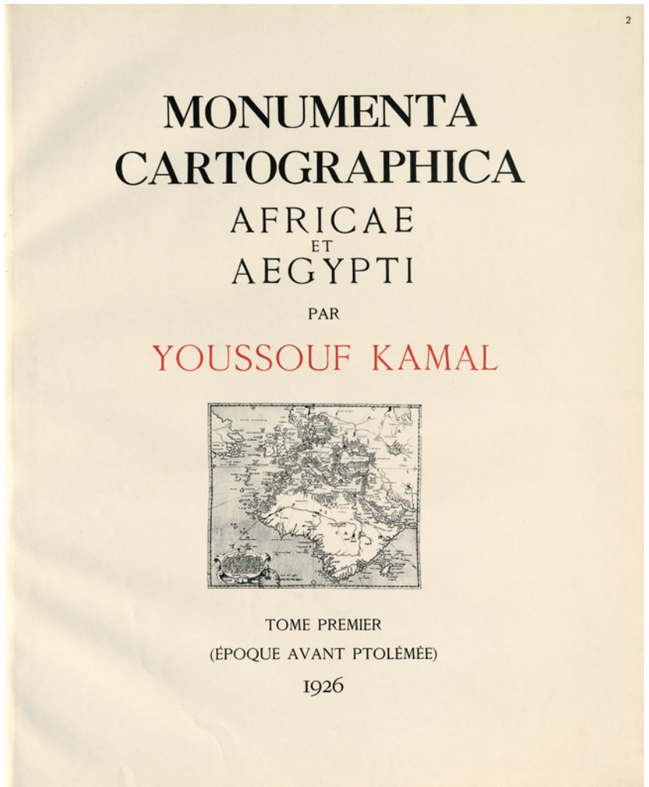


The number of titles quadrupled during the twentieth century.



• Scato Gocko de Vries, librarian between 1897 and 1924.
•• Frederik Casparus Wieder, librarian between 1924 and 1938.

••• Prince Youssouf Kamal embarked upon and paid for the publication of the *Monumenta geografica Africae et Aegypti.* He and the librarian F.C. Wieder brought this project to a successful conclusion within a ten-year period.



at the library, before succeeding Du Rieu as librarian eleven years later. The international project for copying valuable manuscripts that had been launched by Du Rieu was continued by De Vries, which resulted in his being awarded an honorary degree from Oxford University in 1902.[4] De Vries had considerable didactic skills and he used manuscripts from the collection in Leiden to stimulate the interest of students in palaeography and codicology. These practical lessons became more widely known through an illustrated publication entitled *Exercitationes paleographicae in Bibliotheca Universitatis Lugduno-Batavae*.[5] From 1909, De Vries occupied the special chair of palaeography and was for a long time the secretary of the *Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*. In 1923 ill health forced him to resign his post as librarian; he died in 1937.

FREDERIK CASPARUS WIEDER: 1924-1938

De Vries' successor, Frederik Wieder, was a largely forgotten librarian, who has recently been the subject of renewed interest.[6] He was born in Mijnsherenland, where his father was a minister in the Reformed Church, and studied literature in Amsterdam. In 1900, he was awarded a doctorate with distinction for his thesis *De schriftuurlijke Liedekens. De liederen der Nederlandsche hervormden tot op het jaar 1566*.[7] However, he earned his fame as a cartographer, a specialism that he had mastered at Frederik Muller's antiquarian bookshop in Amsterdam, where he worked from 1902 to 1912. Wieder used his knowledge of philology to decipher and interpret the information on maps. In 1912, he made a move to the world of libraries, taking up the post of assistant librarian at the University of Amsterdam. After a spell as librarian in Wageningen, he was appointed as librarian of Leiden University in 1924. He resigned fourteen years later, supposedly for health reasons, although it appears that a conflict (the nature of which remains unknown) with the curators also played a role.[8]

Wieder was a pragmatist. In spite of his reputation as a conservative librarian, he had ideas regarding the future of libraries that would only be generally accepted many years later. For example, he favoured what he termed the 'mobile systematic catalogue', by which he was referring to a dynamic management of the collection. Books that were used extensively by readers should be easily accessible to all, while less popular books could be stored in closed depots. He was therefore advocating a new and flexible form of 'open stacks', of the kind that would become common in academic libraries only around 1970.

As far as Wieder was concerned, good research should, in the first place, be 'documentary' research, and for that reason he pushed for the publication of as many good-quality copies of original maps as possible, with accurate descriptions and an extensive bibliography. His *Monumenta cartographica,* published by Nijhoff between 1925 and 1933, essentially formed the cartographic counterpart to the reproductions of *Codices Graeci et Latini* by Du Rieu.[9] The same academic accuracy was displayed in the *Monumenta geographica Africae et Aegypti,* a project that aimed to publish every map of and document about Egyptian places in chronological order. The project, which was initiated and funded by Prince Youssef Kamal, was personally led by Wieder who for many years spent much of his time on it, leaving the management of the library to other people. Twelve heavy volumes of the *Monumenta Geographica Africae* appeared, the last in 1938. A total of one hundred copies were made, and were donated by Prince Kamal to major libraries.[10]

After Wieder's resignation in 1938, the curators decided to appoint a completely different type of librarian. Their choice fell on the then librarian of the League of Nations in Geneva, Tietse Pieter Sevensma. In anticipation of his arrival, the professor of Old Germanic Languages, Jan de Vries, was appointed as temporary librarian for a period of six months. In 1945, De Vries would be dismissed by the university for collaborating with the occupying forces.[11]

TIETSE PIETER SEVENSMA: 1938-1947

Tietse Pieter Sevensma was a librarian through and through.[12] He was born in 1879 in Sneek and studied theology and later political science in Amsterdam. His doctoral thesis, entitled *De ark Gods, het Oud-Israëlitisch heiligdom,* gave an indication of his modernist views, as well as his wide-ranging interest in the cultural aspects of religion.[13] Sevensma's speciality lay in establishing libraries: the library of the Rotterdamse Handelshogeschool and the public reading room in Amsterdam owed their existence to him. He rebuilt the League of Nations library in Geneva, which he ran between 1928 and 1938, on the American model. Sevensma returned to the Netherlands in 1938 when Leiden offered him the post of librarian,

• Tietse Pieter Sevensma, librarian between 1938 and 1947, and his then wife, surrounded by the other library staff and professors.

•• This Buginese manuscript on palm leaf was made on the island of Celebes at the beginning of the twentieth century. Containing a fragment of an epic, it was brought to the Netherlands around 1908.

with the request to restore order in the library. Presumably he did not hold out much hope as far as international political developments were concerned, even at that stage. For the library business in general and Leiden in particular, Sevensma's achievements were considerable. He laid the basis for appointing academic support staff, he replaced the reading room associations with freely accessible subject-based reading rooms, and carefully steered the Leiden collection through the years of occupation. In his dealings with others Sevensma did have rather a grand manner, which caused irritation, particularly during the war years.

THE LIBRARY UP TO THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Up to 1914, libraries in the Netherlands were thriving, and the library of Leiden University was no exception.[14] So many bequests and gifts flooded in that it is impossible to mention all but a few here. In 1901, the widow of the Remonstrant religious historian and professor, Cornelis Petrus Tiele, left his entire collection of books to the library, consisting of 1,800 books on Assyriology, Old Persian literature and religious studies. She also left means to be used to set up and maintain a special reading room, based on her late husband's study. The *Tieles Kamer* (room) was both an ode to its eponymous pioneer of comparative religious studies and a symbol of the familiar and traditional way of working in the humanities. Until it was dismantled in 1983, the *Tieles Kamer* remained an oasis of peace in the busy library: it was reserved for scholars conducting research in this field.

Manuscripts and maps were also among the donations received by the library. The 48 Armenian manuscripts donated by J. Rendel Harris of Birmingham in 1905 included some very old and remarkable editions of the Psalms and the Gospels.[15] In 1908, the library received two hundred sea charts by the eighteenth-century cartographer Gerard van Keulen via the Ministry of the Interior – a veritable gold mine for cartographic researchers.[16] In 1935, the library was given a collection of archives and around 15,000 volumes that had belonged to A.P.H. Hotz, who had spent many years doing business in Persia and who later went on to become the Consul General of the Netherlands in Beirut. His collection reflects the tastes of a prosperous private collector with a passion for the Orient, containing some magnificent illustrated books and travel journals. It has recently emerged that Hotz's photograph collection and documentation contains some highly unexpected source material relevant to the ethnography of Iran.[17] A notable feature of this period is the keenness with which foreign governments donated large quantities of books: the United States, Czechoslovakia, France, the UK and Russia not only regularly sent books on political science, but also literary works.[18]

The library's growth was not solely the result of generous gifts and legacies – for the first time in its history it also had a considerable budget for purchasing books, although it was subject to fluctuations, as is clear from annual budgets. Between 1904 and 1914, the amount to be spent almost doubled, but remained fairly stable during the First World War. The start of the inter-war period showed a modest increase, but in 1923 the approaching economic crisis started to cast its shadows in the form of a twenty per cent reduction in the budget. In 1940, the library had no more to spend on books that it had had in 1918![19] All the faculties complained about the disastrous consequences for the university's library facilities. Medicine was no longer able to buy any books at all, while the faculty of mathematics and physics was forced to cancel subscriptions to German journals that were vital, but too costly. In its own words, the law faculty was on the point of reaching 'freezing point' and would have done so without the support it had enjoyed from Professor Van Eysinga, who made countless books available. The faculty of theology was in the grip of a kind of fatalism: had books on theology not always been the poor relation? And even the arts, once the most cherished field in the library, no longer benefited from systematic purchases. It was only during the period of post-war reconstruction that this downward spiral would be broken – by a tripling of the budgets between 1947 and 1952.[20]

At the start of the century, a first attempt was made at drawing up a central catalogue of Dutch university libraries.[21] Again and again, efforts were undertaken to persuade the universities to join forces, but apart from the exchange of printed titles, nothing was done until the 1950s. Abraham Kuyper personally took it upon himself to attempt to get the project of coordinating the collections off the ground, but to no avail – probably the only occasion on which a Prime Minister became personally and directly involved with the library business! However, the university libraries and the Royal Library did agree on one point: in 1912 the Tiele Rules were adopted as the standard basis for describing titles, provided that each

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• The nautical charts by the eighteenth-century cartographer Gerard van Keulen, which entered the library's collection in 1908, are a real goldmine for cartographical research.
•• A.P.H. Hotz, a businessman and later the Dutch Consul General for the Netherlands in Beirut, collected manuscripts, books and photographs on life in Persia, such as this album of photographs by the photographer E. Hoeltzer (1835-1920).

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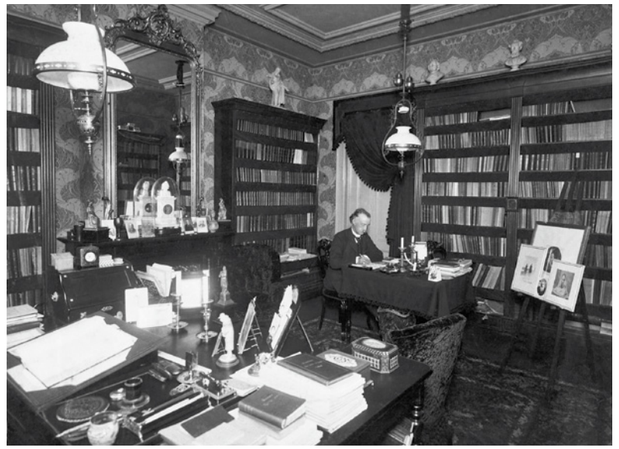

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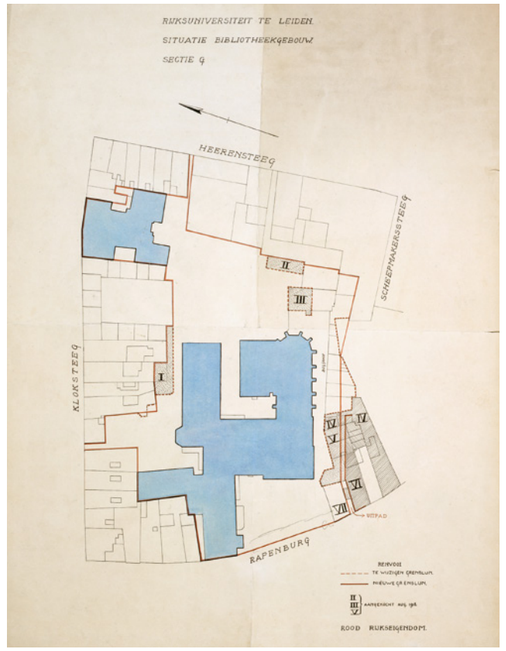
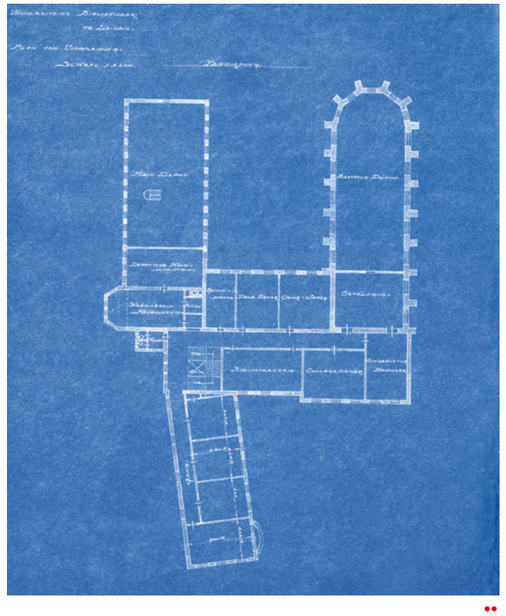
• This manuscript in the form of a scroll comes from Northern India. It contains part of the *Markandeyapurana*, a book that describes the conflict between divine and demoniacal powers.
•• The collection of books belonging to the Remonstrant historian of theology, Cornelius Petrus Tiele, was given to the library in 1901 by his widow. Following this donation, the 'Tieles-kamer' (Tiele Room) was set up as a special reading room for researchers in the humanities. The Tieles-kamer remained in use until 1983.
••• By purchasing surrounding properties, the library attempted to deal with the increasing lack of space that resulted from the expansive growth of the collection. In 1895, the library bought this house at Rapenburg from professor Matthias de Vries.



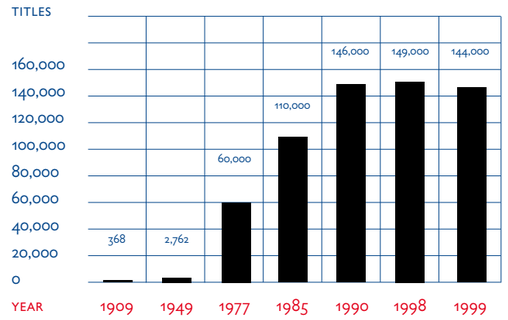
• These extracts from cadastral maps chart the expansion of the library building in the period between 1915 and 1918.



•• This is a blueprint for the layout of the first floor of the extended building. Despite the new repository space and the addition of the left wing where Professor De Vries' house had been, in the 1930s the library building again proved to be too small.

library would be allowed to retain its own historic habits that had evolved over time.[22] The rules had been devised by P.A. Tiele when he worked in the University Library. He later become the librarian at Utrecht University.[23]

As was the case elsewhere, the expansion of the collections in Leiden led to an increasingly critical shortage of space.[24] In an attempt to resolve this, nearby buildings were purchased and existing buildings converted, but the problem remained. In a burst of unbridled optimism on the occasion of the purchase of professor De Vries' house next to the library at Rapenburg Du Rieu wrote 'It will not be necessary to buy a single square metre of land in the next century – the future of the library is assured for good.'[25] This was in 1895. It was a miscalculation that would be repeated several times during the twentieth century. By 1915, there was a pressing need for more rebuilding work to be done in order to create more space; this was carried out during the First World War. When the newly-converted building was first used in 1919, S.G. de Vries said, 'I trust that all reasonable needs will now be met for many a long year.'[26] His hopes proved unrealistic. In 1932 his successor, Wieder, stated that, although he had calculated in 1931 that the library would be able to continue as it was for another seven years, at this point, not even two years later, he had to acknowledge he had been too optimistic, announcing that the library would not be able to accommodate any more new books long before 1939.[27] This situation was reached around 1936, and continued until well after the Second World War.[28] The library was forced to pile newly arrived books and journals on the floor, and the administration of new items stalled. For a library, these are the ominous signs of an imminent implosion. The situation was even more hopeless in 1946, when the new tide of post-war publications started to flood the library even before the previous wave had been dealt with.[29] Large storage depots outside the library offered some temporary relief, but it was not until 1983, after the construction of the new library at Witte Singel, that the nightmare of an unmanageable lack of space could be banished to the past, and all the books (at least, those that were not housed in one of the institute libraries) were brought under the same roof. But for how long?



In the first years of the twentieth century, it became increasingly common for books to be lent out. In twenty years, the number of loans quadrupled. At the end of the century, however, the number of loans decreased. Important reasons for this included the fall in student numbers and the rise of the Internet.

The universal library

Gradually, the nineteenth-century library aimed at scholars made way for the new ideal of the universal library. The starting point was that members of the library should be able to find everything they needed for their studies and research. If a book was not available, then the library would arrange to borrow it from elsewhere. From 1909 to 1949, the number of books loaned to the library increased from 368 to 2,762. The Leiden University library itself loaned out similar numbers of publications to readers at other academic libraries.[30] The ideal of the universal library quite logically led to the institution and growth of the practice of interlibrary lending. This applied to manuscripts as well, although the 'great liberality' of the nineteenth century in this area made way for a degree of caution. The time that private citizens would have manuscripts delivered to their homes was well and truly over; from now on, manuscripts could only be loaned to 'properly equipped libraries', where researchers could study them under supervision.[31] Loans of items to foreign countries had to be arranged via diplomatic channels.[32] However, this was by no means a guarantee of safety: in 1914, during the major fire in Leuven, the town's university library was lost in its entirety, including a number of valuable books and manuscripts from Leiden.[33] In cases where original documents or rare publications could not be loaned out and the person who needed them was unable to come and view them, the answer often lay in modern reproduction technology.[34] It was therefore no surprise that it was the war years during which a sudden increase in the use of reproduction techniques occurred.[35]

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• The Periodicals Room in the 1930s.
•• The lending department in the 1930s.

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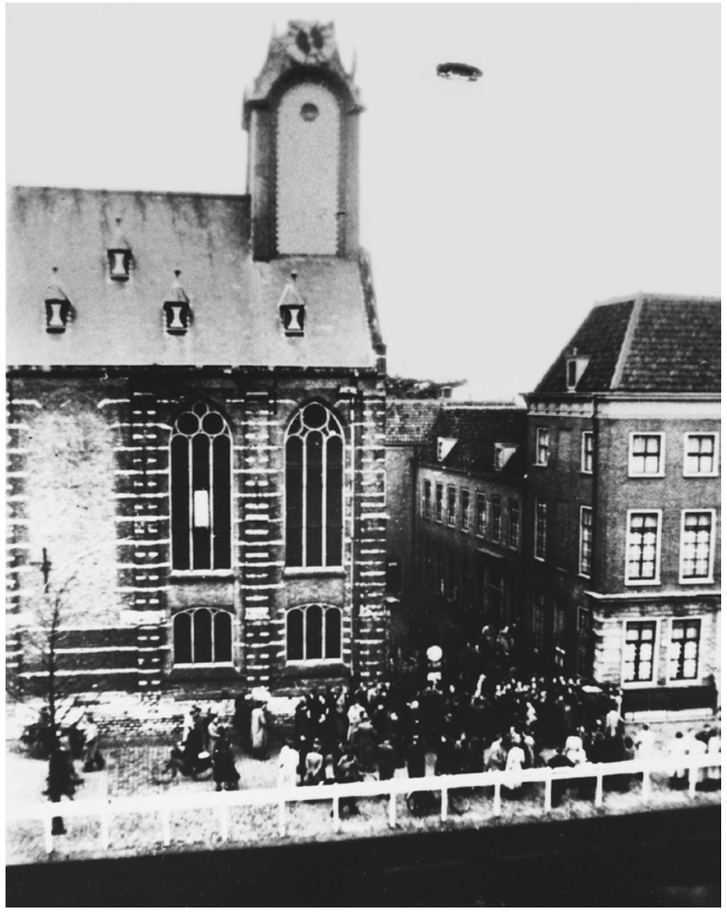
A change in mentality

The Higher Education Act of 1876 had brought about a real change in mentality. Following Germany's example, Dutch universities started to provide a much larger number of study programmes. Teaching methods, too, were modernised: in addition to the traditional lecture, seminars became popular as well. Slowly but surely this change in mentality started to affect the way in which academic libraries were used. Specialised libraries were set up at teaching hospitals, laboratories and institutes, away from the central university libraries.[36] There was also a need for subject-based libraries based on the German *Seminarbibliotheken* model that allowed students themselves to retrieve the literature they needed from the shelves and learn how to use it on the spot, under the supervision of their professors. The ideal of a subject-specific library in the immediate vicinity of the lecture halls was in fact nothing new in Leiden: it was mentioned in the first draft of the statutes of Leiden University in 1575.[37] The advantages were clear, argued librarian De Vries in 1914, as the students would be more inclined to use every free hour productively by, for example, looking up literature discussed during a lecture directly after it had finished.[38] Bringing students closer to the books was, he readily acknowledged, of the greatest importance and the subject-specific reading rooms were an excellent way of achieving this goal. At the same time, though, the existence of these specialised reading rooms formed a real danger to the encyclopaedic character of a university library. The knowledge was split up into smaller units, which was in direct conflict with the all-encompassing ideal of the universal library. For that reason, De Vries and many of his European counterparts suggested that the reading rooms should exist entirely separately from the libraries of the universities where they were based, and with their own financial resources.[39] Anyone wishing to work in a reading room would have to become a member of the relevant reading room association and pay an annual contribution. The example of Amsterdam and Groningen, where reading rooms of this kind already existed, for modern languages for example, was followed by the Leiden *Leeskamer Bosscha* for mathematics and physics in 1912 and the *Juridisch Laboratorium* a year later.[40] When the former was founded, the University Library had lent it the most important books on a temporary basis, but it quickly became apparent that the association that ran the Bosscha room was itself capable of acquiring the books it needed, and the copies that had been provided by the central library were duly returned. After all, these books were essential for the library: surely every student, every alumnus should always be able to rely on every book they needed for 'general academic studies' to be present in the library?[41] In order to back up his plea to the curators, De Vries sent a detailed list of the grants that different *Seminarbibliotheken* in the universities of Berlin and Breslau received. The orientation towards Germany could not be clearer. Nevertheless, the development of the reading rooms would have a distinctive Leiden character. In the same letter to the curators, De Vries wrote to explain that various professors had repeatedly urged him to establish independent subject-specific reading rooms within the premises of the central library. This was, he stressed, a first in the world of libraries. The arguments put forward by the professors were not just of a practical nature: their express wish was to create a close association between studying in the reading rooms and all the academic literature that the central library had to offer, so that students could get all they needed as quickly and as easily as possible.[42] This, too, was all about the ideal of the universal library. In fact, the motives for advocating the presence of independent reading rooms and locating them in the University Library were based on the same ideal – providing students with direct access to universal knowledge. The proponents of integration initially won the day. The rebuilding plans for the library that existed in 1914 were radically altered. In 1919 and 1920, eight subject-specific rooms – two for law, two for theology, and four for the arts and history – were officially opened in the library at Rapenburg.[43] At first, each room had its own statutes, resources, and management,[44] a strange construction that lasted until the eve of the Second World War. One by one, the reading rooms were incorporated into the central library, but the concept of what then became known as specialist study rooms has remained largely unchanged to this day.[45] In particular, the professors who were known for their outstanding teaching abilities went to great efforts to promote a new framework that encouraged independent study on the part of students. Philologist Jacob Wybrand Muller, religious historian William Brede Kristensen, theologist and ethicist Karel Hendrik Roessingh, and historian Johan Huizinga regularly consulted the librarian on the issue of whether the reading rooms were fit for purpose. Opinions sometimes differed – for example Wieder, the librarian, proposed in 1931 that books from the reading rooms should be loaned out in response to the wishes of

• On 26 November 1940, professor Cleveringa gave his famous lecture protesting against the anti-Jewish measures that were being taken by the German occupying forces. The university was closed the following day; the library and the laboratory remained open throughout the war.



•• News of Cleveringa's lecture on 26 November 1940 spread rapidly. Students gathered in the entrance of the Academy Building to show their support.

students. This would enable them to read them at home when they had time to spare. He believed that not being able to read these books – for which, incidentally, he was not responsible – was a 'vital impediment to students' development'.[46]

At the start of the twentieth century, then, it was the reader who had become the key figure in the library, and it was the reader's needs that were the main driver. In a university library, the reader was the student, who had to have all the resources needed for independent study within easy reach.[47] This change in mentality had far-reaching consequences. Gaps were filled up, areas that had been neglected were attended to, the services provided were improved, and opening hours extended.[48] For the first time ever, the library opened in the evening hours, starting from 1915.[49] However, the longer opening hours had to be repeatedly curtailed, mainly because of a shortage of fuel in 1917 and the blackout regulations in 1940. Every time, it was the students who asked for – and were given – greater access to the library.

Some visitors to the library had political motives. Maps from the Bodel Nijenhuis collection played a role during the 1923 arbitration process relating to the island of Miangas,[50] for example. A similar situation occurred in 1932, when Denmark and Norway became involved in a dispute about Greenland after the discovery of large stocks of coal there. It was resolved the following year by the Permanent Court of International Justice in Denmark's favour.[51] The potential political significance of maps in the possession of Leiden University Library would emerge again, later in the century.

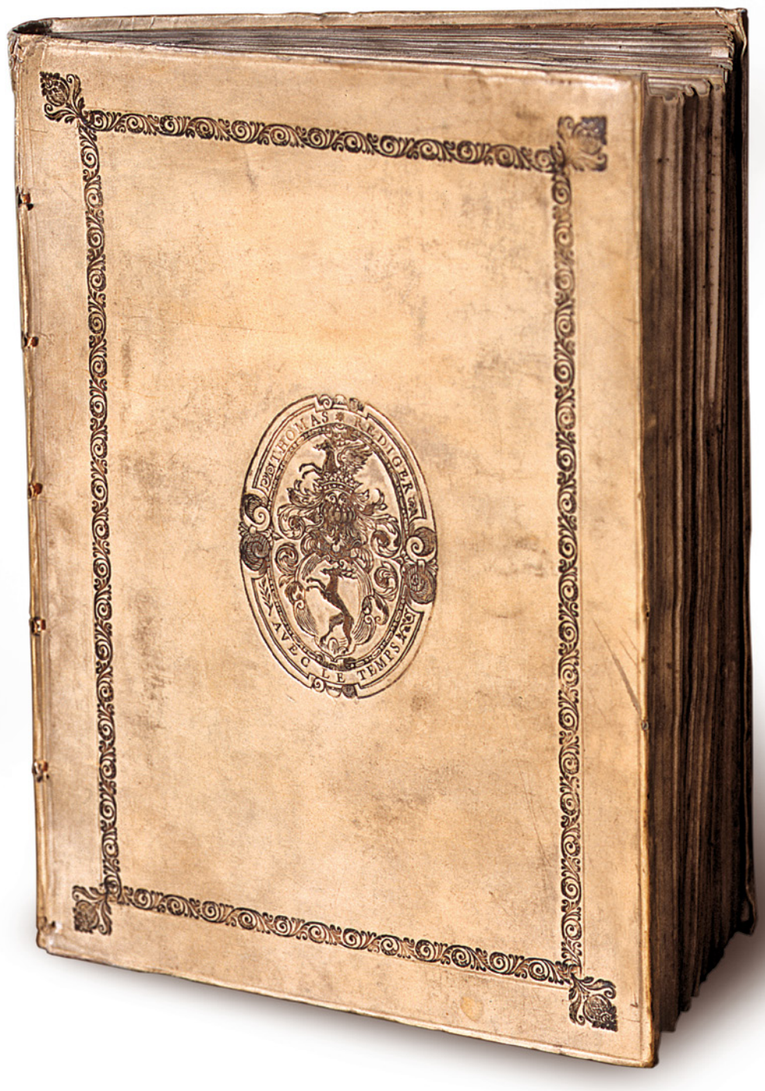
Visibility of the collections

Another new development started to take shape towards the end of the nineteenth century, when the library became known for displaying its collections in internally and externally organised exhibitions. Until that time, books, manuscripts and maps were only shown to individual readers who specifically requested them, and it was only during certain lectures – on palaeography, for example – that manuscripts were viewed jointly. This situation now changed. In parallel to the museum movement, which pledged to give everyone greater access to the nation's cultural heritage, the libraries also sought to display their treasures to the outside world – in other words, to become *visible*. Initially, academic libraries cooperated in exhibitions that coincided with conferences and symposia. A symbolic event marking this development was the purchase in 1883 of twelve display cabinets for an exhibition to accompany the Orientalist Congress of that year. The cabinets could subsequently be used for future exhibitions, wrote librarian Du Rieu, and this is indeed what happened.[52] An exhibition about the history of physics and medicine was organised in 1907 in the library for the participants at the eleventh Dutch Physics and Medicine Congress.[53] In 1931, the guests at the eighteenth Orientalist Congress were given the opportunity of viewing an exhibition about the birth of Oriental Studies in Europe. This development went beyond internally organised displays: items from Leiden were also regularly on show at exhibitions in both Dutch and foreign museums and libraries, in spite of reservations about loaning out the most valuable objects.[54] The *Stedelijk Museum* in Amsterdam, for example, frequently borrowed items from Leiden, for exhibitions on, among other things, Multatuli, Batavia, and the history of Amsterdam.[55] The opening exhibition of the National Maritime Museum in Amsterdam, in 1921, included items from Leiden, and this marked the start of a relationship that has lasted to this day.[56] Items from the library were also included in exhibitions on medical science in Berlin (1905) and London (1921), on the Order of the Golden Fleece in Bruges (1906), and graphic art in Leipzig (1913), to name a few. This new openness was not based on the whims of individuals: it was the result of a carefully thought-out policy on the part of libraries seeking to make the cultural heritage over which they stood guard more visible. As the twentieth century progressed, the library went 'travelling' with increasing frequency,[57] but the foundations for this had been laid before 1900.

1940-1945

Many studies and testimonies about the history of Leiden University during the Second World War have appeared which examine the situation in the various parts of the university in some detail.[58] However, little is known about the library in the war years, as is the case with other academic libraries. There is no mention, for example, of the fact that the library remained open after the university itself was closed by the Germans on 27 November 1940.[59] The library was clearly treated in the same way as the laboratory courses and postgraduate medical training, both of which were also allowed to continue by the occupying power.[60] 'It was very useful to many students that the University Library remained open when the uni-

The occupying forces ordered the founding book of the Bishopric of Breslau from the Leiden *Bibliotheca Vossiana* to be sent to Breslau. In exchange, Leiden received this early fourteenth-century chronicle from the Abbey of Egmond, from the library of Philip of Leyden.



versity itself was closed in November 1940,' wrote librarian Sevensma.[61] His records of the events in his diary are cold and clinical. As early as 1939, precautions had been taken against possible air raids. Immediately after the surrender in 1940, the most valuable items in the library were packed into four chests and stored away safely in the dunes at Vogelenzang, before being stored in the fireproof vault of the *Pieterskerk* (St. Peter's) in Leiden.[62] Sevensma had the most exceptional items that remained in the library packed in watertight bags 'so that they can be moved more easily to safer locations as soon as the first alarm is sounded',[63] something that did indeed prove necessary in the autumn of 1944.[64] Ultimately, the only books that were lost as a result of the war were those that were loaned out, numbering one hundred and fifty in total.[65]

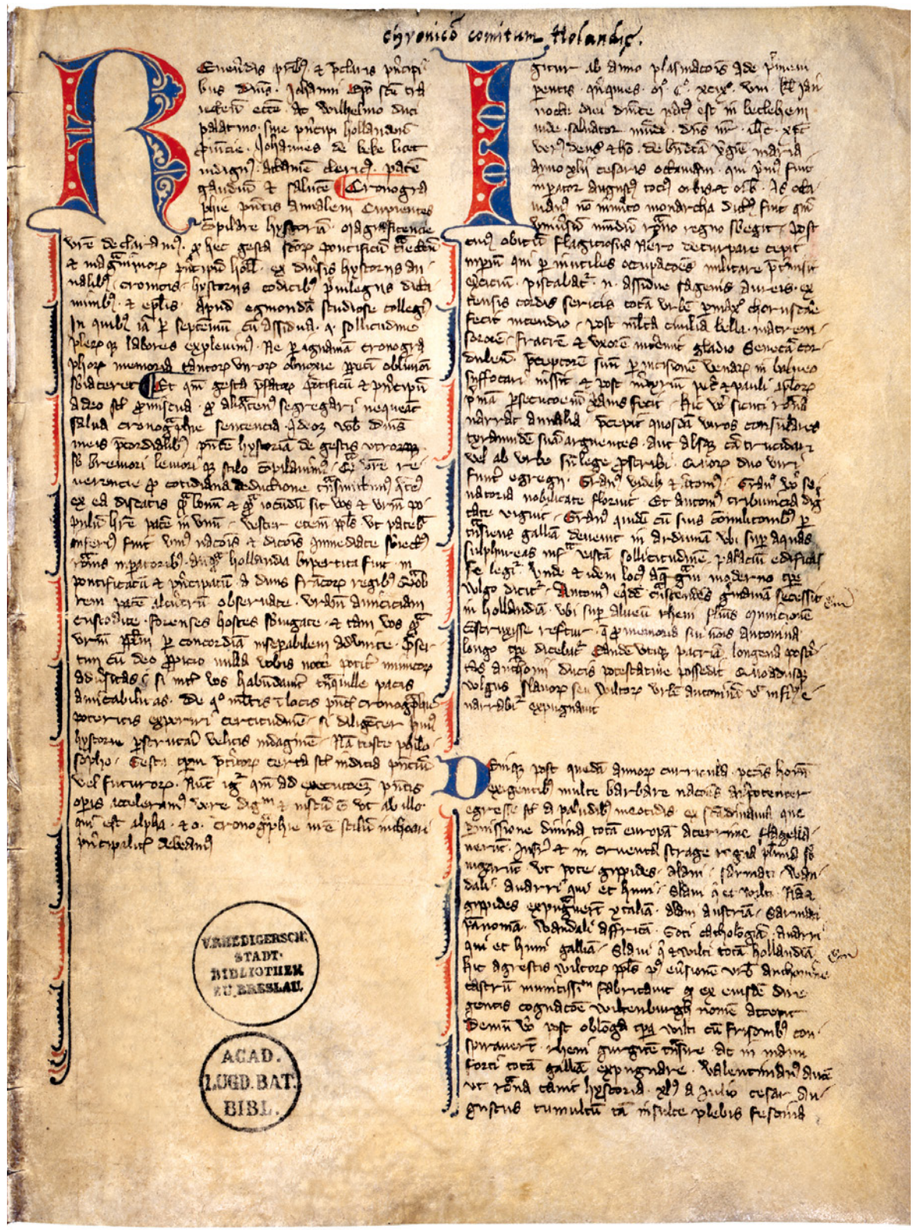
When the war broke out on 10 May 1940, the catalogue – the point of access to the collections – was placed in the library basement. Five days later, Sevensma reported that normal activities were resumed, adding, 'None of the employees has suffered any loss of family members or possessions'.[66] This would change, however. On 23 November 1940, the 31 Jewish employees of the university were dismissed, including two assistants employed in the library.[67] On the day before, Sevensma had written in his diary, 'Mrs E.R. Molhuysen-Oppenheim and Miss C. van Loen received notification from the Department of Education that their services will no longer be required.'[68] That was all he wrote. In his annual report, he added that this had occurred 'as a result of the measure concerning non-Arian public service employees'.[69] Sevenma's diary entries show no trace of the resistance or protests voiced by students and professors. Similarly, no further mention was made of the Jewish employees, one of whom committed suicide on 8 April 1941, while the other was deported to Germany, never to return.[70]

Apparently unmoved, Sevensma continued to record the facts that affected the functioning of the library during the remaining years of the war. The clinical nature of the entry stating that employees left the library 'in order to be put to work in Germany'[71] gives no indication of the misery of forced labour in Germany or of living in hiding, and neither does the statement that, in February 1945, 'the younger employees (18-40) have stayed away from fear of being rounded up by the authorities'.[72] Sevensma even recorded the death of an employee 'through malnutrition' in July of the same year as if it were an administrative nicety.[73] Many years later, at the request of the-then librarian De Groot, an employee in the library who had experienced the privations of the war at first hand, set down his impressions of Sevensma's stewardship of the library on paper.[74] With great reluctance, the author painted a picture of a highly skilful and professional librarian with an authoritarian mentality, who showed not the slightest interest in his employees. This aspect of his character manifested itself in a callous way during the war: 'Even during the war, the employees who were eligible for forced labour in Germany received little support from the librarian. To one of them, who had asked if there was anything that could be done about it, he replied that he did not wish to get involved. After the war, another unpleasant scene occurred. When the younger employees, who had gone into hiding during the 'starvation winter' to avoid being rounded up by the Germans for *Arbeitseinsatz* (forced labour), returned to the library in the spring of 1945, Dr Sevensma informed them that instead of fourteen days' holiday, they would now be entitled to just a week's leave because they had already had so much time off. Such was the awe in which Mr Sevensma was held at the time, no-one dared complain to the curators.'[75] What many people found annoying in particular was Sevensma's passive attitude with regard to the dismissal of the Jewish employees and his ban on making *hongertochten* – treks undertaken, often for tens of kilometres, by people in search of food.[76] In complete contrast was the jubilant tone of Sevensma's report in the middle of the war about the visit of two German librarians to Leiden University Library. They appeared to be very enthusiastic about the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica Manuscripta,* the documentation system for Middle Dutch manuscripts that had been devised by Willem de Vreese, and which had been acquired by the library in 1939. So enthusiastic, in fact, that they copied the bibliographic part for a newly planned National Socialist library for studies in German mysticism and ethnology. Their enthusiasm, concluded Sevensma, was evidence of the appreciation on the part of the academic world of Leiden University Library's aim to become a centre of documentation with regard to the study of manuscripts.[77]

Theft and censorship

Sevensma safely steered the collection at Leiden through the war. Thanks to his diplomatic skills, he circumvented the attempts by the occupying forces to steal a number of manuscripts and have them placed in German institutions. The manuscripts they had in mind were the obvious choices: in 1920, German librarian Paul Lehmann, with

In the chronicle of the Abbey of Egmond, the stamps of Breslau and Leiden sit side-by-side on one page, in fraternal fashion.



the cooperation of his Dutch colleagues, had drawn up an inventory of documents and manuscripts of German origin located in the Netherlands and of other publications that could in one way or another throw light on German history. This work was in keeping with the keenness with which European librarians and archivists attempted to work much more closely together in the 1920s. One of the means to that end was the exchange of archival documents and manuscripts on the basis of their origin, a policy that had in the interwar years indeed borne fruit between the Netherlands and Prussia, as well as in border regions (Düsseldorf, Arnhem, Maastricht). An unfortunate consequence was that Lehmann's *Holländische Reisefrüchte* from 1920 would, exactly twenty years later, serve as an ideal handbook for the *Deutsche Archivamt* in requisitioning manuscripts.[78] Dutch archives and libraries were sent lists of items that had to be sent to Germany; from Leiden the *Archivamt* demanded six manuscripts. Sevensma's diplomatic approach and the reasonableness of the German delegate, the archivist of Düsseldorf, resulted in just two manuscripts being sent to Germany, one of which was part of an exchange agreement.[79] The book marking the creation of the diocese of Breslau, a wonderful fifteenth-century manuscript that had once belonged to Christina of Sweden and Isaac Vossius, was sent to Breslau in exchange for an early fourteenth-century chronicle of Egmond Abbey.[80] Shortly after its arrival in Leiden, it transpired that it had originally come from the fourteenth-century book collection owned by Philip of Leyden, the city's first public library. And so it was that the practice of equal exchanges based on origin produced a not entirely negative result. Several years after the war, Sevensma described this *Bibliothekarische Kriegserfahrung* with some irony.[81]

There can be no doubt that Sevensma's greatest priority was to protect the library collections of Leiden University and ensure they remained accessible. The fact that he succeeded was down to his aloof and cool diplomacy. When the Germans forbade the lending out of books by Einstein, Malraux, Marx and a hundred or so other censored authors in October 1940, except for academic purposes, Sevensma replied that such measures could not possibly be applied to a university library – by definition an academic institution.[82] By all accounts, this seems to have been the end of the matter. It was primarily the public libraries and the Jewish collections that suffered most under the rapacity and censorship of the occupying powers, not the academic libraries. The Leiden University collection came through the war almost entirely unscathed, although it was also very much in the interest of the Germans not to harm it. In 1943, during attempts to Nazify Leiden University and turn it into a *Frontuniversität* for German soldiers, the German official responsible, Dr Wimmer, wrote that, although the university library was generally well stocked, the collection contained surprisingly few recent German books. These would therefore have to be brought from Germany by the future students![83] This suggests that the number of German books acquired in the 1930s was limited, something that changed during the war. In the field of law, for example, there was considerable demand for books on current German law,[84] particularly among Dutch lawyers, who made extensive use of the library for this purpose. After the war, the law study room was thoroughly purged, with books on English, Belgian and French law replacing German publications.[85] Similar changes may well have taken place in other fields as well. However, detailed research is needed in order to gain a clear picture of the influence of the war on the content and use of the collection.

ANTOINE HUBERT MARIE CORNELIS KESSEN: 1947-1961

A.H.M.C. Kessen was born in Maastricht in 1904 and studied philology in Leuven and Leiden, where he obtained his doctorate in 1931 for a thesis on a Middle Dutch penitential. As archivist and librarian to the city of Maastricht, he published a large number of studies on the history of Limburg. After the war, in which he had played a very active part in the resistance, he was the curator of the Groningen University Library for a short time before becoming librarian at Leiden University in 1947. Kessen symbolised the emancipation of the Catholic part of the population. The appointment of a Roman Catholic from Limburg was not entirely uncontroversial in Leiden, a bastion of Protestantism. In the fifteen years of his period of office, the book budget was increased fivefold, while the number of employees tripled. Kessen vigorously defended the central position of the library, but at the same time ensured that books were easily accessible to the students in the libraries of the institutes, laboratories and clinics. He also believed that the results of research, in the form of dissertations, should reach the academic world as quickly as possible. He successfully campaigned for the establishment of international exchange conventions for academic publications. The appointment of Kessen as the librarian

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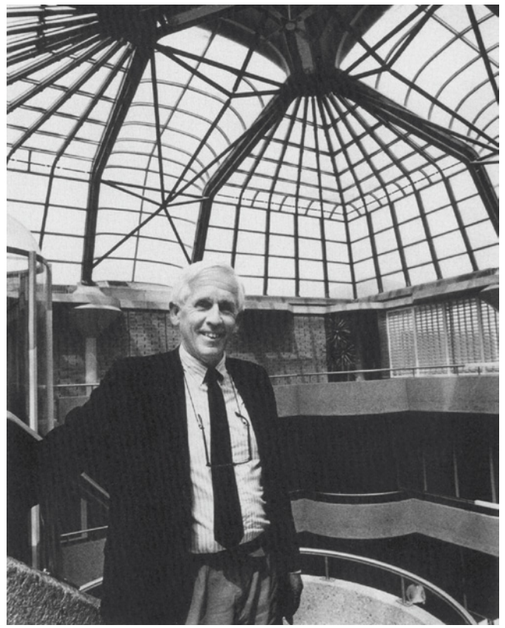

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• Antoine Hubert Marie Cornelis Kessen, librarian between 1947 and 1961. Charcoal drawing by J.N. van Eyck.
•• Johan Remmet de Groot, librarian between 1961 and 1983, in a portrait by Neel Korteweg.
••• During the rebuilding, the library was frequently used by researchers and students. Here, a monk is sitting reading in the general reading room.
•••• Jacques van Gent, librarian between 1983 and 1993.

to the *Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* in 1951 marked the beginning of the personal union between the librarianship of Leiden University and that of the *Maatschappij*. Kessen died in 1961 after a long illness.

JOHAN REMMET DE GROOT: 1961-1983

J.R. de Groot was born in Alkmaar in 1918. He studied law at the University of Amsterdam, graduating in 1941. After nine years as a lawyer in his native town, he took up a position with the *Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie* (now the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation). In 1961 he succeeded A. Kessen as librarian at Leiden University. De Groot joined the ranks of librarians who were also 'book people'. He was a well-read man and an enthusiastic collector of books, with a private library that mostly contained Dutch works of literature, many of which were first editions. This partly explained De Groot's keen interest in accumulating collections for both the University Library and the *Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde*. The *Festschrift* that was presented to him on his retirement was aptly entitled *Boeken verzamelen* ('collecting books'). De Groot sought to create a central location for the library in the university and to persuade libraries to collaborate intensively at the national and international level. It was under his leadership that the new systematic catalogue came into being, and De Groot will undeniably go down in history as the creator of the new library at Witte Singel. The relocation from the old building at Rapenburg to the new premises in the heart of the arts studies complex marked a new phase in the existence of Leiden University Library. De Groot had a keen sense of the prevailing mood: he was one of the first people to envisage the consequences of the automation process for the way in which libraries would operate. He played a pivotal part in the development of PICA, the collaborative partnership between the university libraries and the National Library of the Netherlands for the automation of catalogues. De Groot died in 1987.

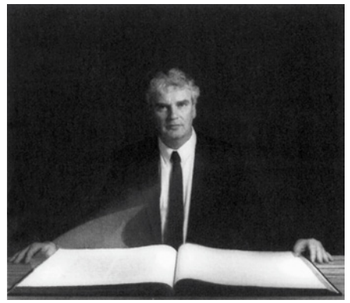
JACQUES VAN GENT: 1983-1993

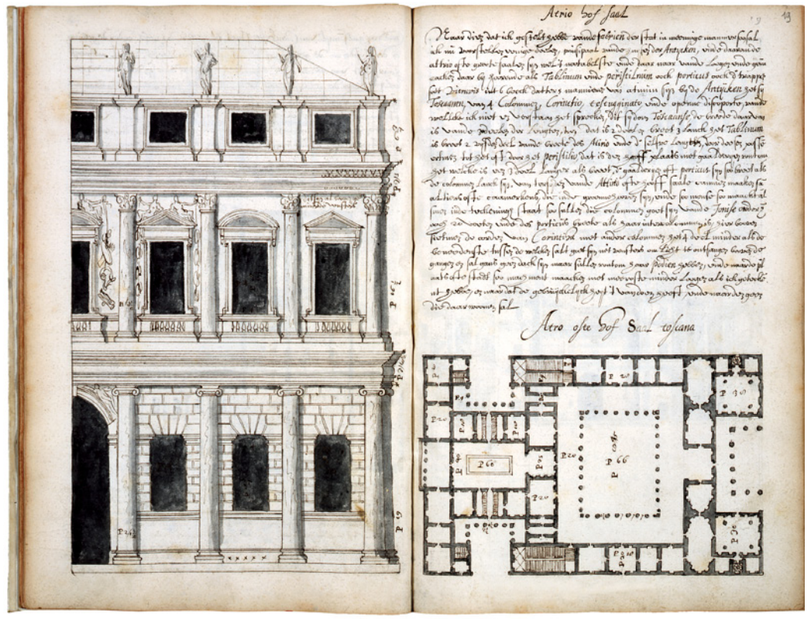
J.J.M. van Gent was born in Schipluiden in 1935. The pattern of his life was very different to that of his predecessors. After spending time in Australia and what was then Australian New Guinea, where he worked as a teacher among other things, he studied cultural anthropology and preventive medicine at Nijmegen. From 1961 he was employed in the library sector, first at the University Library in Nijmegen and later at the provincial library of Friesland, of which he was the director from 1978 until 1984. In that year, he was appointed to the post of librarian at Leiden University, which he occupied until 1993.

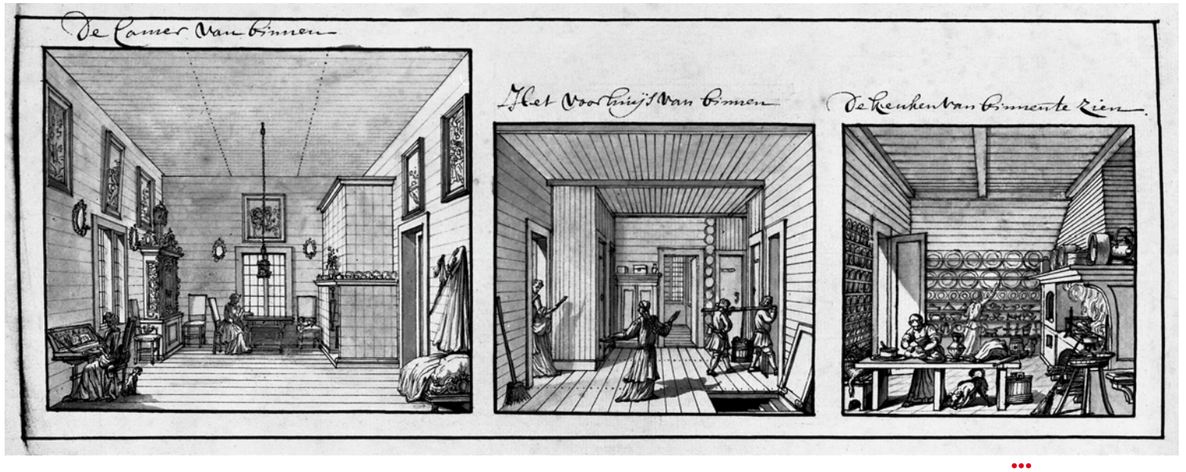
Few librarians will have encountered quite such a paradoxical situation upon taking up their post as did Van Gent. The library had relocated to brand new premises, but it lacked the resources to become a thriving and modern operation. The unfavourable economic circumstances of the time meant endless spending cuts were unavoidable. The budget for books was reduced, while the number of books being published was rising sharply – as were prices. Many subscriptions to scientific journals had to be cancelled, a disastrous situation for an academic library whose task was to keep students and researchers informed about the latest results of academic research. Van Gent attempted to deal with the situation by pushing for greater collaboration between libraries. Drawing up catalogues as part of the PICA partnership was tackled at national level, and the interlibrary loan system saw significant development. Van Gent steered the Leiden library through a difficult period of transition. At the national level, meanwhile, he advocated a common study programme for library studies, and the continuation of the library journal, *Open*. Van Gent's many talents were beautifully captured in the title of the *Festschrift* with which he was presented on his retirement: *Miscellanea Gentiana*.

PAUL GERRETSEN: 1994-2004

Van Gent's successor, P.W.J.L. Gerretsen, comes from a family of Reformed Church ministers. He was born in Utrecht in 1945 and studied history at the University of Groningen. Gerretsen decided to work in the library industry after a lengthy career in secondary education, first as a teacher of history and, from 1976, as the headmaster at the Vrijzinnig-Christelijk Lyceum in The Hague. His arrival in Leiden more or less coincided with the definitive breakthrough in information technology. As the third millennium approached, a completely new era began for the library: from 1980, the catalogues and bibliographies were automated on a large scale, with the books and journals themselves following suit after 1990.







• Paul Gerretsen was appointed librarian in 1994.
•• *De vier boeken der architectuur* (The four books of architecture) by Palladio, published in 1650, influenced architecture throughout Europe. This edition is a Dutch translation of Palladio's work that was only recently discovered.
••• These *Tekeningen van huis en tuin* (drawings of home and garden) by Nicolaas Bidloo date from 1725-1735, and were made in St Petersburg.

1945-2000

The second half of the twentieth century was a very eventful period for the library. The post-war reconstruction, the explosive increase in the amount of academic literature, the rise in student numbers and the advent of the cybernetic dimension directly influenced the relationship between reader and book. Leiden University Library was directed by four librarians during this period: A.H.M.C. Kessen (1947-1961),[86] J.R. de Groot (1961-1983),[87] J.J.M. van Gent (1983-1993)[88] and P.W.J.L. Gerretsen (1994-2004).

The post-war reconstruction
After the Second World War, the library was engaged in the process of reconstruction until well into the 1950s. The supply of books and journals slowly recovered, while students were using the collections with greater frequency. There were first and foremost practical reasons for this: the students' lack of books, combined with the lack of suitable accomodation and study facilities forced many of them to seek 'refuge' in the library, wrote the librarian, Sevensma, in 1946.[89] But there was also another reason. Slowly but surely, it was becoming impossible to graduate without regularly visiting the library. The new supply of books and journals was so extensive that hardly anyone was in a position to build up an adequate collection of their own. For many subjects, the University Library became an essential part of the course. At the same time, the process of using the library was becoming more and more complicated. It was clear that newly arrived students could no longer be automatically expected to find their way around. The guided tours they were given at the start of their programmes were intended to help them familiarise themselves with the way the library worked.[90] Professors did their bit, too, and helped lessen the distance between students and the library.[91] The practical lessons they gave in the subject-based study rooms in the library formed the counterpart to the practical lessons given in laboratories. Students learned the principles of academic research here, and how to work with sources and studies. Here, too, the explosive growth of publications was not without its consequences. After the war, studies on academic topics – constituting a reflection on real knowledge, according to George Steiner[92] – were so numerous and diverse that readers needed a guide, a role that had been fulfilled for the books in the library by the systematic catalogue since 1860. The documentation used for listing articles in journals had the same role, the only difference being that the selected articles did not necessarily have to be located in the library.[93] It became apparent in the field of medicine how urgent it was to be able to identify recent articles. *Excerpta Medica* provided medical practitioners tailor-made answers,[94] and it was not long before people working in other areas awoke to the benefits of more extensive documentation facilities. However, this raised the question of whether it was the task of a university library itself to provide this kind of information. Opinions were very much divided on the issue. Groningen librarian H. de Buck, who was passionately in favour of the new role, eventually won the day.[95] In fact, the provision of documentation, where the material presence of the information in the library no longer formed a yardstick, was the gateway to what would, fifty years later, lead to the virtual library. The far-reaching consequences of this step became particularly visible between 1950 and 1960. The academic duties of the library became more onerous and required, among other things, the recruitment of specialised 'subject librarians' who were able to keep an overview of their discipline and who were responsible for the selection and quality control of the available information. This all happened fairly abruptly – in 1955, ten subject librarians were appointed in Leiden at the same time. Subjects that were so specific that they needed to be tackled individually and study programmes that attracted large numbers of students were given their own institutional libraries, although they fell under the responsibility of the central library. The Central Medical Library and the library of the Law Study Centre, the libraries of the Slavic Institute, the Economic Institute and many others were founded at this time.[96]

During the period of post-war reconstruction, it became clear how much the international orientation of the library had changed. The war had more or less put an end to the contacts between the Leiden library and libraries abroad. At the end of the war, Europe was divided into two – East and West – and apart from a few exceptions, contacts with libraries behind the Iron Curtain died out completely.[97] Eastern Europe was forgotten, a situation that would last for more than half a century. The centuries-long orientation towards German library practice made way for a more direct influence from the United States.[98] It was only after the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 that contacts with libraries in the former Eastern Bloc were restored, especially in East Germany.

• Jan Yperman wrote his *Cyrurgie*, a Flemish handbook for surgeons, in the early fourteenth century. This manuscript dates from the late fifteenth century and is illustrated with drawings depicting surgical instruments.
•• These surgical instruments were used in the Middle East in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries. Comparing these manuscripts in Arabic and Dutch (acquired by the library in 1883 and 1986 respectively) offers up interesting insights.

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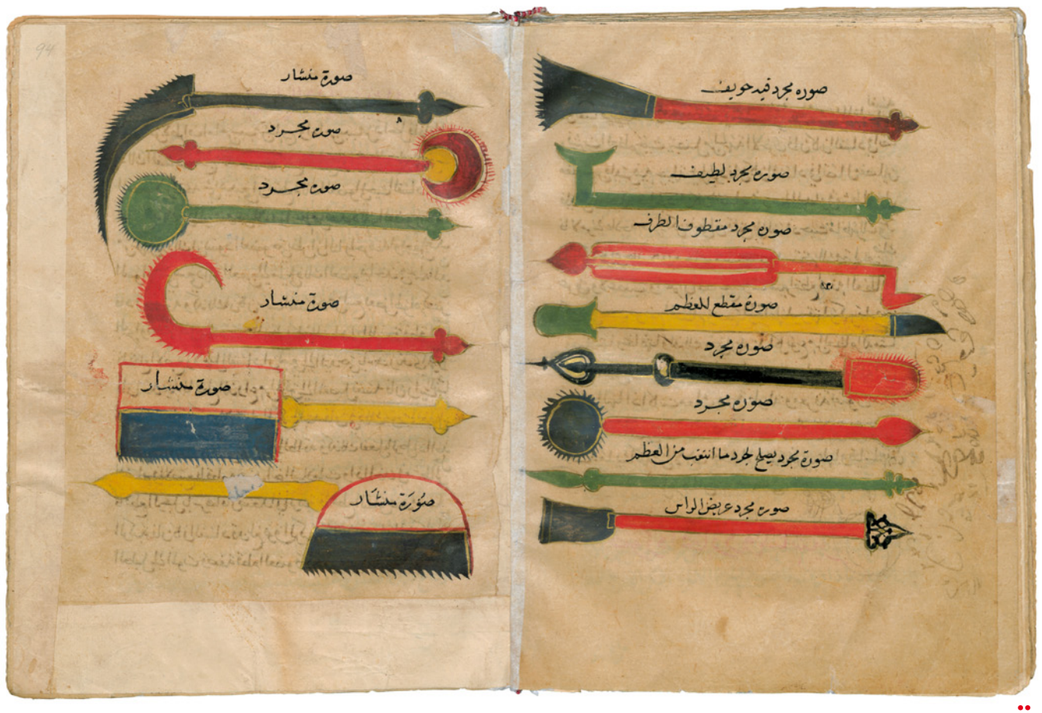

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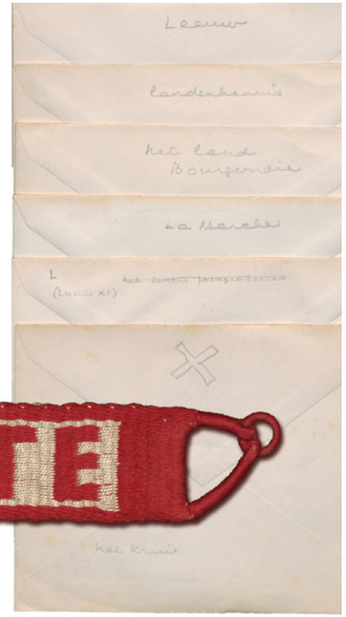

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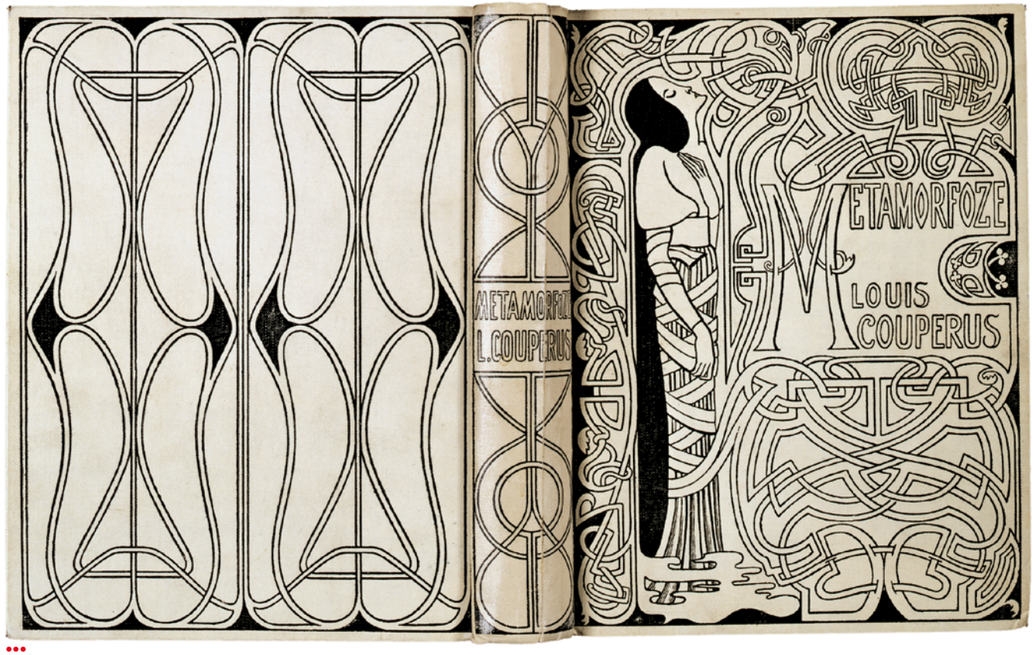
• A lecture by professor Miskotte in the vaulted room of the Academy Building in the 1950s. In 1998, an inventory of Miskotte's archives was published.
•• The archives of the famous Dutch historian and Leiden professor Johan Huizinga (1872-1945) were catalogued in 1998. The archival material included the celebrated 'envelopes' with which Huizinga worked and the embroidered 'silence' sign.
••• The Braches Collection contains a number of special *Art Nouveau* covers, such as this edition of *Metamorfoze* (Metamorphosis) by Louis Couperus, published in Amsterdam in 1897. The cover is by Jan Toorop.



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(198)

ليحفظوا انفسهم من هذا الداء العضال الكثير
المنتشر في اقليم مصر
وكثرة دعوات الناس الصالحة لكم وشكروا احسانكم
ومعروفكم وعلموا ان الفرنساويّة لهم خبرة ومعرفة
واتقان بعلم الطب وكان السبب في اعتراف الناس
بذلك هو هـذا الكتاب
ولا تقطعوا عن الناس معارفكم وعلومكم
قال النّبي صلّى اللّه عليه وسلّم خير الناس من
ينفع الناس من تعلّم علمًا وعلّمه حصل له الثواب
الكثير والاجر العظيم من اللّه
والسلام عليكم ورحمة اللّه
مسجّل بالديوان
حُرر في ٧ شعبان سنة ١٢١٥
عبد اللّه الشرقاوي رئيس الديوان
محمّد المهدي كاتم سرّ الديوان

(199)

DE LA PART DE L'ASSEMBLÉE
DU DIVAN SUPRÊME
DE LA VILLE DU KAIRE LA BIEN GARDÉE;
S'ADRESSANT
AU C.EN DESGENETTES,
CHEF DES MÉDECINS FRANÇAIS.

Que Dieu opère le bien par ses mains !

Après avoir prié Dieu pour votre bonheur et votre conservation, nous vous faisons part que nous avons reçu l'ouvrage que vous nous aviez adressé, et qui a répandu son utilité, soit en particulier, soit en général, parmi les habitans de l'Égypte ; savoir : le traité ou l'opuscule que vous avez composé sur le traitement de la petite vérole, sur les causes, sur le régime et sur les remèdes qu'il faut employer pour en éviter les accidens dangereux et les suites funestes.

Chacun rend grace à la perfection de vos idées et à l'excellence de votre art ; chacun a reconnu combien étaient étendues vos connaissances dans la science de la médecine théo-
rre, et le con-
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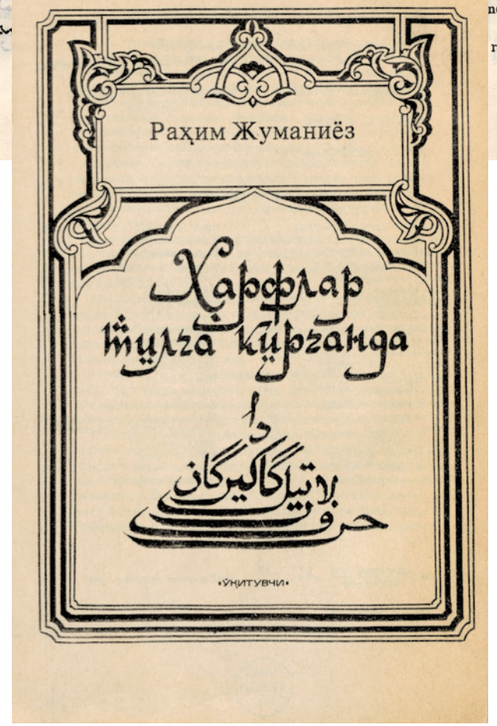

Contemporary publications and objects of material culture, such as these documents from Uzbekistan, are characteristic of the Oriental Collections.

Because of the increasingly democratic nature of higher education, which really took hold in the 1960s, students started coming to the university in large numbers. The number of teachers grew correspondingly, and the library provided the study books that were needed. Until then, it had sought to remove copies of the same publication from its collection. Now, multiple copies of the same book were being deliberately purchased in order to make them available to the many students. This social development, in conjunction with the rapid rise in publications after the war, explains in part the unprecedented growth of the library: from one million books in 1939 to over two million in 2000. The Special Collections were bursting at the seams as well, thanks to the many bequests and large numbers of items on loan. Leiden professors loyally continued the tradition of leaving their own archival collections to the university: the papers of historians Johan Huizinga, T.H. Milo and philosopher G.J.P.J. Bolland, of theologians K.H. Miskotte, W.B. Kristensen, K.H. Roessingh and J.N. Bakhuizen van den Brink, of astronomer J.H. Oort, of jurists E.M. Meijers and Menno Rijke, and of Slav specialist Nicolaas van Wijk, to name a few, form part of the library's collection.[99] It also received the archives of two important publishing houses: the Haarlem firm *De Erven F. Bohn* and the Leiden firm *A.W. Sijthoff's Uitgeversmaatschappij*. One exceptional acquisition was the personal archive of the Russian poet Perelesin.[100] As well as these extensive collections, the library managed to obtain many unique Western manuscripts, such as an extremely rare Middle Dutch surgeon's guide from the late fifteenth century, which possibly came from the Brethren of the Common Life (BPL 3094), the Four Books of Architecture by Palladio from 1650, richly illustrated in a hitherto unknown Dutch translation (BPL 2907), and a collection entitled *Tekeningen van huis en tuin* by Nicolaas Bidloo in Saint Petersburg, dating from 1725-1735 (BPL 2727).

During the twentieth century, the Oriental collections expanded partly along the same lines as the Western ones, and partly along other, more specific ways. Incidental acquisitions like *La Décade Egyptienne*, the first Arabic work in print, from 1798, enhanced the collections. The library also gained possession of various bequests from Leiden professors. The collection of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936), the Islamic studies specialist and advisor to the government, was one of the greatest acquisitions in the library's history. It consisted of around 900 Oriental manuscripts, 10,000 printed books, 5,000 letters, and archival materials and photographs covering several dozens of linear shelf metres. The manuscripts had already been lent to the library by Snouck Hurgronje from 1907, and this loan was converted into a bequest upon his death. The printed books followed in 1936, and the archive material between 1956 and 1980. In the case of the Oriental collections, however, it was more typical for present-day publications and objects from the material culture of non-Western countries, from the Arab world to the Indonesian archipelago, but also from the regions of Europe and Asia that had become independent after the fall of the Soviet Union, like Uzbekistan, to be collected locally.[101]

As regards printed works, two acquisitions from the *Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* are especially noteworthy: the Boekenoogen Collection, consisting of chapbooks and publications of all kinds of fairy tales, and the Braches Collection with its fabulous Art Nouveau bindings. The *Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* also took the opportunity to add the papers of clergyman and literary author Nicolaas Beets (1814-1903) to the already existing collection of his publications.

In 1998, the famous *Bibliothèque Wallonne,* the library of the Walloon churches, was given on loan to the library. Among the items it contains are the archives of the central administrative bodies of the church, such as the *Commission Wallonne,* an exceptional collection of French-language psalters and the *Fichier Wallon,* a documentation system covering the Walloons and Huguenots who had sought refuge in the Netherlands.

The second half of the twentieth century proved to be a fruitful period for the map collection. In 1963, Leiden was given the responsibility for all the maps and atlases from the former Department of the Colonies, a rich source for academic research. In the 1990s, the library bought 340 Dutch school atlases from professor C. Koeman, while the archive of the *Monumenta Cartographica Africae et Aegypti,* the project that Youssouf Kemal had completed in collaboration with Leiden librarian Wieder in 1938, was saved from ruin.

The new building at Witte Singel: 1983

The first plans for the new building date from the 1960s.[102] Situated near the Academy Building, and behind the hortus botanicus, the site at Witte Singel, part of which was where the former *Diaconessenhuis* (hospital) was located, offered enough space for a university campus consisting of arts faculties with the University Library at the centre.


VERTELLINGEN
VAN MOEDER
DE GANS.
TWEEDE DEEL,
DE SCHRANDERE PRINSES.

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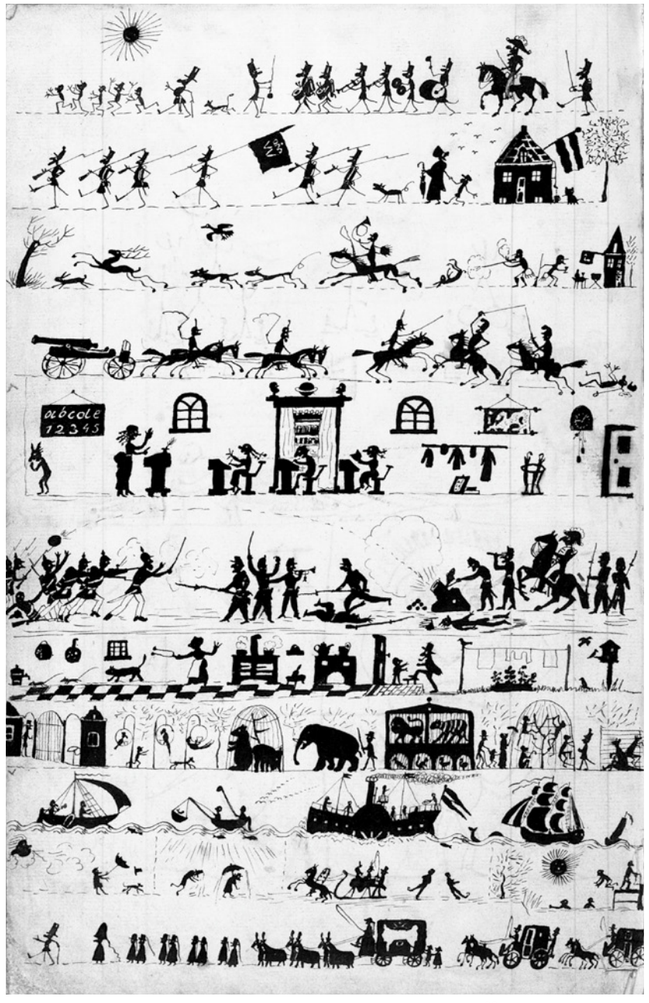
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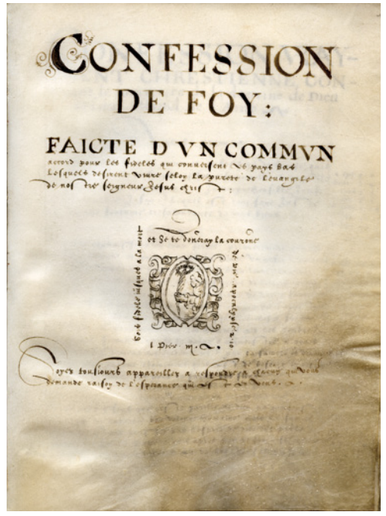
• The library of the *Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* (Dutch Society of Literature) includes a collection of Mother Goose editions.
•• These drawings are by François Haverschmidt and belong to the library of the *Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde*.


CONFESSION
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A.N.W.B.
TOERISTENBOND
voor
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Atlas van Nederland

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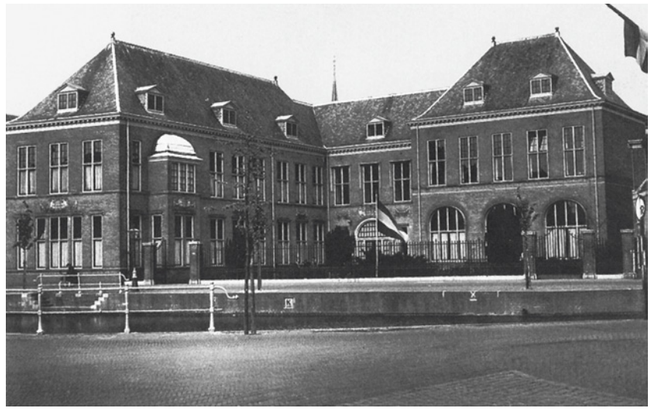

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• One of the showpieces of the Bibliothèque Wallonne is a transcript of the printed Walloon Profession of faith (1561) by Guy de Brès, on which the Dutch Confession is based.
•• In the 1990s, Professor C. Koeman donated 340 Dutch school atlases to the library. Here, we see a Royal Dutch Touring Club (ANWB) atlas that consists of loose maps in a tin box (1920-1937), a Bos-atlas from 1884, and the *Zakatlas* (pocket atlas) by J. Jaeger.
••• The University Library building at Rapenburg, ca. 1970.
•••• Librarian De Groot keeps a close eye on the move.
••••• The move to Witte Singel took place in the summer of 1983.

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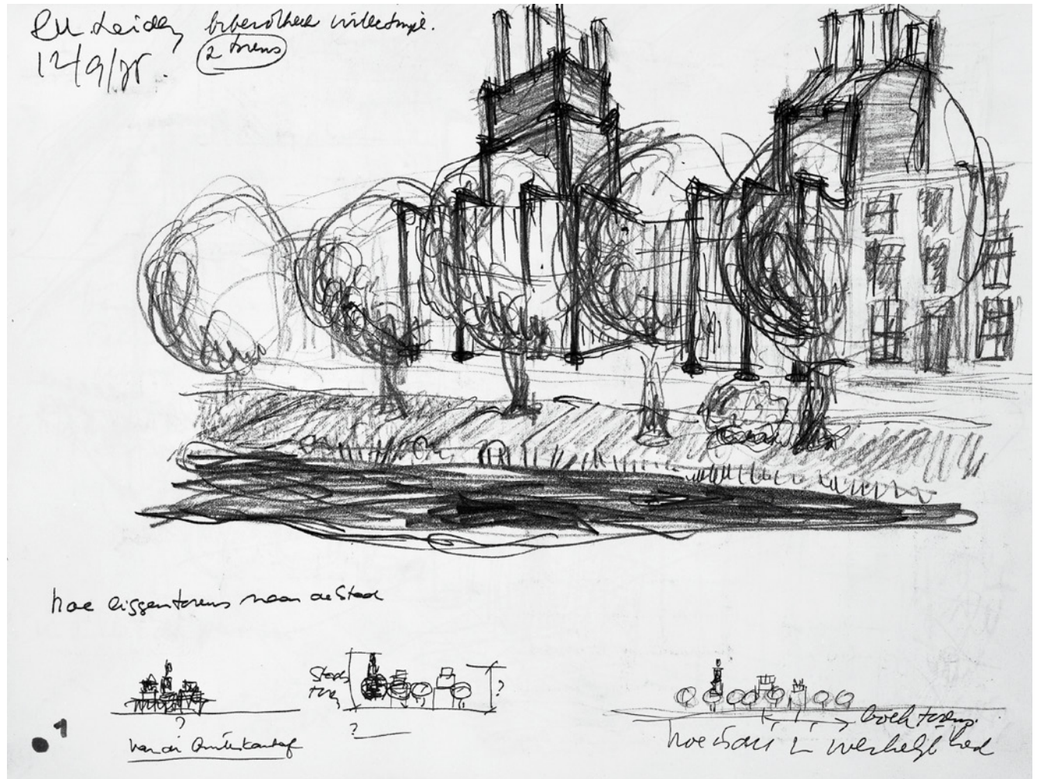
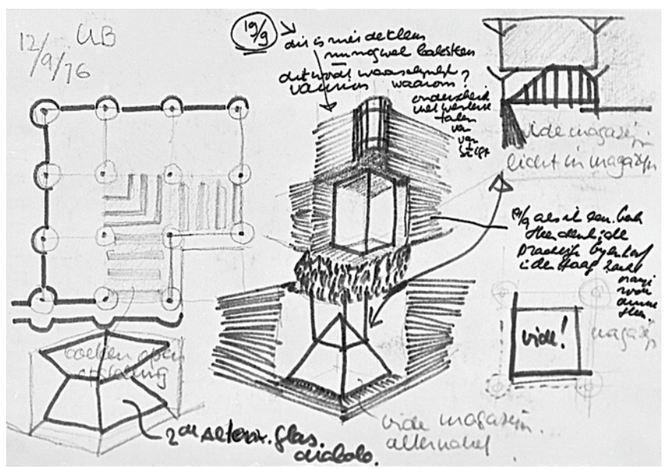




In a first draft, the university library was given a 125 metre high tower.

The new campus for the science faculties and medical faculty was situated on the outskirts of the town. It was the first time since the founding of the university that there was an opportunity to build a new library[103] in which the entire collection (or at least the parts that were not displayed in the institute libraries), including those volumes that had been banished to external depositories through the years, could be reunited.

The initial design featured a 125-metre high tower. Vociferous protests, but more especially, a halt to building projects due to a lack of funds in 1971, prevented the tower from being erected. Several years later, when the site of the *Doelenkazerne* (army barracks) became available, a new plan was drawn up, involving low-rise buildings with an open-plan feel. The overall urban character was emphasised by the presence of houses on the campus. Of the five architects who were invited to submit designs, Bart van Kasteel, who had been responsible for the restoration and new building at the Amsterdam Historical Museum and the *Kurhaus* at Scheveningen, was commissioned to build the new library. His design was as striking as it was idiosyncratic. It was based on the credo of openness of postmodern architecture, one that corresponded very much with the desired openness of the library in relation to the outside world. Readers were looking not just for a library where they could view items and conduct research on site – they also wanted to be able to access all the information that could be had, regardless of where it was kept. The new library had five floors, two of which were underground and were used as storage depots. The ground floor housed the catalogues, the lending department and administrative units; the first floor, the study rooms, and the second floor was used for other departments and the management offices. The library was topped by two transparent plastic roofs, a copper dome and a roof garden, which served as the foundation for a third floor, to be built later. It was possible to move freely along the entire length and breadth of the building, between the study rooms, for example, as if to suggest that the traditional dividing walls separating the different subjects had, in this era of multidisciplinary research, been broken down for good. In the middle of the building was the climate-controlled safe in which the unique sources were kept from which the Leiden library derived its fame. From this central point, reading rooms for Oriental and Western manuscripts, old prints and maps opened out, leading into specialist reference libraries. As in the other subject-specific study rooms, readers could take the most relevant literature relating to their field from the shelves themselves, and use it there and then. The most commonly used journals were available in a depot situated in the basement. In other words, readers were invited to make their own way around the library to gather the information they needed. The items that were not immediately available – the books and journals in the closed basement storage area – could be requested easily and quickly. The layout of the new library could be seen as a spatial expression of the *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*, the seventeenth-century literary dispute between the Ancients and the Moderns, in which the latter believed they stood on the shoulders of the former. Now, the reader was literally standing on the knowledge that had been accumulated over the centuries, and was using it to look out for new sources of information. In the summer and autumn of 1983, the library moved from Rapenburg, where it had been since 1587, to Witte Singel. The main offices of the university would move into the building fifteen years later. There was a historic aspect to the operation: in 1581, the university had outgrown the Beguinage Chapel, and had to move to the Academy Building on the other side of the canal. This had left space for the construction of the library, so it could now, four hundred years on, return to its old spot.

The digital revolution

The final decade of the twentieth century was marked by technological developments that moved forward at breakneck speed. In the wake of the period of automation came the digital revolution in the 1990s, shaking the library world to its very foundations. Until this time, information technology had been used for cataloguing and issuing bibliographical information, but now digital technology rapidly swept into the world of knowledge and science itself. Electronic texts started to compete with their printed counterparts. Texts and readers no longer had to be in the same physical space – the library – but could instead meet in cyberspace.[104] The electronic highway became a fact.

The architectural design of the new library at Witte Singel took account of developments in the field of electronics. In the location where the traditional catalogue was kept measures were taken that made it possible to install computer screens there, if that proved necessary. The entire paper catalogue was digitised between 1978 and 2000. After a few years, the catalogue room looked totally different, and the *Leidse boekjes* (which were being

The new library that came into use in 1983 had five storeys: two basement storeys for the book stacks, and three storeys above ground for catalogues, administration and reading rooms. The construction of basement stacks on marshy ground proved a challenge, and the problem was solved by using double caissons. The roof of the library consisted of two transparent synthetic roofs, a copper dome and a roof garden, which provided the basis for a future third floor.

used less and less) were forced to compete with an army of computer screens. Once again, technological developments had resulted in a complete physical metamorphosis of the library and the physical movements of it readers, leading to a widespread feeling of *déjà vu.* Had there not been a similar transformation in 1653, when the *plutei* had been taken down, the books had been hidden away in bookcases on the walls and from then on were made available via a handwritten catalogue? And what about a similar transformation in around 1860, when the *Leidse boekjes* were introduced and replaced the catalogues with large pages that had been kept in rickety old boxes? This was hardly the first time that the library had undergone a thorough metamorphosis. Nor will it have been the last time that a fear of new technology, linked to a nostalgic longing for the traditional library, caused some scepticism and even resistance. On the occasion of the opening of the Leiden public network – the complete digitised catalogue – in 1995, writer H.J.A. Hofland delivered a speech entitled *Digitaal.*[105] Hofland articulated the feelings of many readers and library users. On the one hand, he said, there is fascination for the endless opportunities presented by the digital armoury, while on the other there are unmistakable feelings of panic about the flood of new information that is coming our way. In the digital age, said Hofland, it is actually the traditional tasks of the University Library – making selections, filling in gaps, and checking the academic quality of the information provided – that give readers and researchers a degree of structure and stability.[106] If the library continues to carry out these tasks, he concluded, the presentation of the library in the information age will ultimately be of secondary importance.

Not everyone shares this view. The degree of hostility towards the new format of a traditional library was highlighted by the installation that Russian artist Ilya Kabakov made in the library of the University of Amsterdam in 1999, entitled *The Old Reading Room.*[107] It shows valuable books and manuscripts displayed haphazardly in bookcases and cabinets. Benches await visitors who are used to reading here, surrounded by their cultural heritage. The high windows that face each other on the left and right are open, and white curtains ripple with the breeze. *The Old Reading Room* can best be regarded as an act of resistance. With this work Kabakov makes a statement against the tendency to replace the sober reading rooms, where readers were surrounded by a whole cultural landscape of books, paintings and other objects, with office-type spaces where computers arranged in symmetrical rows grace empty tables overlooked by naked walls.[108] After all, declared Kabakov, the loss of the cultural setting of the old-fashioned library also means the loss of the power of imagination, which is inspired by the books themselves and which transforms reality. But is he right?

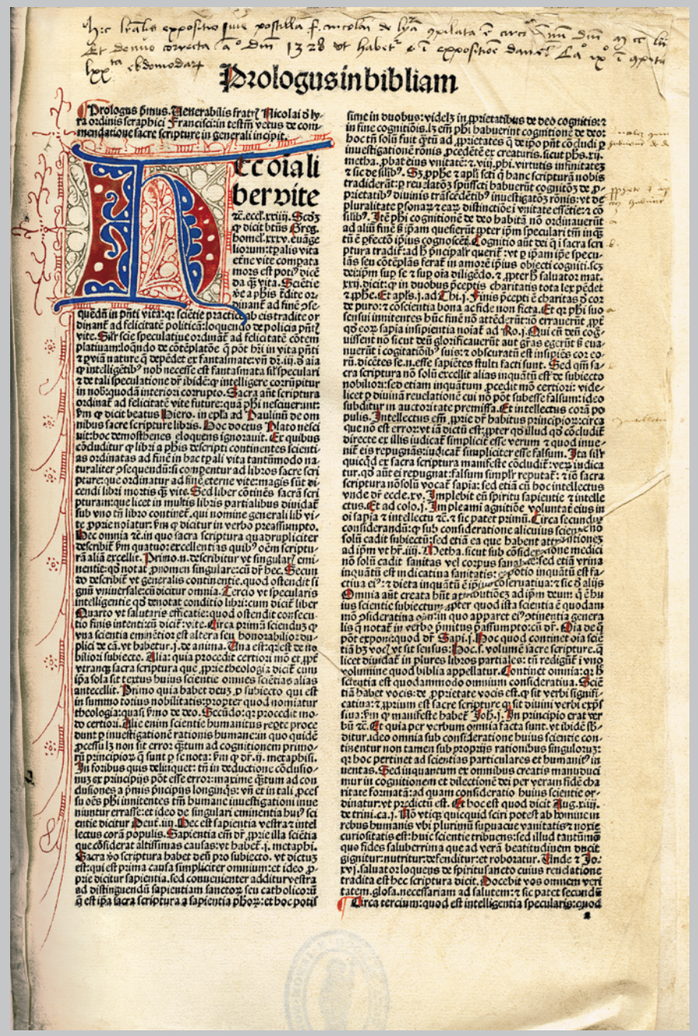
The exhibition commemorating the hundredth anniversary of the birth of astronomer Jan Hendrik Oort, which was held in Leiden University Library in 2000, featured an installation by Vincent Icke, artist and professor of astronomy, the title of which was a quote by Newton – *Nothing is quite as practical as a good theory.* A nebulous cloud rises up from the displayed books and archived items, in which the distances between the stars – one of Oort's most productive areas of research – can be observed.

Whether in its old or new guise, the library clearly continues to appeal to the imagination. The fact that artists have been able to capture this fascination is no accident: these modern-day installations, conceived and intended for a library, are part of a long tradition. *The Old Reading Room* by Kabakov follows in the direction set out by Woudanus' print of the library from 1610, while *Nothing is quite as practical as a good theory* is an echo of the *sphaera automatica* that was installed in the library in 1711. As one millennium ended and another began, the library of Leiden University initiated two projects, the names of which point to the challenges of the future. The first, *Zoeken en vinden* ('search and find') took today's readers by the hand in their search for useful information. The second, in cooperation with the *Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde,* concerned a digital library for Dutch literature. The purpose of this project, which was incorporated into a foundation in 1999, is to make all texts of Dutch literature freely available on the Internet. This way, meaning and the different paths to meaning blend into each other, just as postmodern art forms blend into each other.

In 1999, the Russian artist Ilya Kabakov created an installation called *The Old Reading Room* for Amsterdam University Library. With this installation, he joined the protest against the new tendency to replace books with computers, and the resulting squandering of cultural heritage.

The old and exceptional printed western works include all the volumes printed before 1801 as well as rare and valuable works after that date.

The choice of Anton van der Lem Curator of Rare Books



***Biblia Latina* / cum postillis Nicolai de Lyra et add. Pauli Burgensis et Guillelmi Britonis et replicis Matthiae Dorinck, published by Anton Koberger (Nuremberg, 1487).**

'The *Biblia Latina* is the oldest book from a remarkable collection that was given to the library on loan in 2008 – the library of Theodorus Groenhout (ca. 1640-1716), a parish priest in Noordwijk. Groenhout came from a prosperous Catholic family in Haarlem and was therefore able to afford the purchase of good books, mainly on Catholic theology. After his death, the collection remained in Noordwijk as a parish library, where it was subsequently enlarged by later parish priests. In total, the collection consists of 490 titles in 531 volumes, four manuscripts and a beautiful atlas in five volumes. The Groenhout library is a welcome addition to the Protestant collections that were already in the library.'

'The *Biblia Latina*, published in four imposing volumes by Anton Koberger in Nuremberg, is one of the highlights of Groenhout's collection. The annotation is by Nicolaas van Lyra, a Franciscan monk who was born in around 1270 in La Neuve-Lyre, near Evreux. He gained considerable renown through his commentary on the Bible, which he produced between 1322 and 1331. The most important thing to him was the literal meaning of words and texts, but he also concentrated on what people could learn from the Bible for their everyday lives. Other scholars added their own annotations, which is how this standard edition of the Bible with its comments came into being.'

◄ ***Historia naturalis Brasiliae* / Gulielmus Pisonis et Georgi Marcgravi de Liebstad (Leiden/Amsterdam, 1648).**

'When John Maurice was the governor of Dutch Brazil between 1637 and 1644, he commissioned scholars and artists to record the geographical, cultural, historical and biological aspects of the colony. He put the editorial control in the hands of his personal doctor, Willem Piso, and Georg Markgraf, who as well as being a doctor was a cartographer, astronomer and mathematician. The pair compiled the *Historia naturalis Brasiliae* in which, for the first time, the botany, zoology and medicine of Brazil were described and illustrated with depictions of plants and animals. The book was published in 1648, and for a long time, it was the only scientific publication about the flora and fauna of Brazil. The *Historia naturalis Brasiliae* has been fully digitised, an operation that was funded by the Brazilian embassy.'

***Fasciculus temporum, inhoudende die cronijcken van ouden tijden ...* / [Werner Rolevinck] (Utrecht, 1480).**

'The *Fasciculus temporum* is a wonderfully illustrated world chronicle describing the history of salvation and the church since the time of the Creation. It is a translation of the Latin chronicle of the same name by the learned Cologne Carthusian Werner Rolevinck (1425-1502), which was printed in 1480 by Johan Veldener in Utrecht. It is the earliest vernacular publication of the text. Translations in French and German are said to have appeared later. Just over thirty publications came onto the market in Europe up to 1500.'
'When you open up Veldener's *Fasciculus temporum*, you are immediately struck by its remarkable design. The main text contains the ongoing story of world history. The text is surrounded by two separate timelines (one from the Creation – *Anno Mundi* – and one related to the birth of Christ). Blocks of individual pieces of information are located above and below these timelines. The names of popes, emperors and other rulers, in large or small circles and sometimes joined up by lines, are sprinkled throughout the text. The remarkable thing about this style of presentation is that the reader can determine whether he wants to read history synchronically or diachronically.'

***Stichting Nederlands Museum voor Anthropologie en Prehistorie* (Amsterdam); Anatomic Laboratory of the Leiden University Medical Center (Leiden)**
Collection of physical anthropology and prehistory.

'The collection of physical anthropology and prehistory (ANTPRE collection) came about following the merging of two collections, one of which came from the library of the Anatomy department of the Leiden University Medical Center, and the other from the *Nederlands Museum voor Anthropologie en Prehistorie*, which had been housed in the Anatomical Laboratory in Leiden since 1971. When these two libraries were closed in December 2005, the books were given on loan to the University Library. The collection contains many unique items that can be found nowhere else in the Netherlands.'

Dante Collection, Tilly van de Sande-Swart.

'In 2010, the library obtained a valuable collection of books from apothecary Jaap van de Sande (1916-2001) and his wife, Tilly van de Sande-Swart (1918-2011). He built up a collection of books on pharmaceutics and the history of medicine, including many old impressions [SANDE Collection]. Before the war, Tilly had worked in Italy and had become fascinated by Dante Alighieri (1265-1321). She collected as many publications of the works of Dante and books about him as she could. In all its variety, the Dante collection reflects the major influence of Dante on literature, the visual arts and thought in the Western world to the present day. It means that our library now possesses a rich collection of works by and about Dante that will be of use to a wide group of people.'

Scaliger Professor Wim Gerritsen shows a medieval manuscript to Minister of Education, Culture and Science Maria van der Hoeven, during a visit to Leiden University Library in 2003. To her right Rector Magnificus of Leiden University Douwe Breimer.

VII NEW ROLES IN A NEW MILLENNIUM, 2000-2012

2001-2005: THE LIBRARY IN TRANSITION

Around the turn of the millennium, it was clear to all that a digital revolution was taking place. Few could have suspected, however, that it would have such an all-encompassing impact. The smartphone did not yet exist, and no one had ever heard of social media. In the first decade of the 21st century, the digitalisation of the world gained momentum. Leiden University Library thus had to make haste to keep up with all of the innovations.

Also from a practical perspective, however, radical changes were needed. At the start of the 1990s, university libraries had been warned that without a change of policy, they would turn into dusty, seldom-visited book museums. The warning was voiced in a report by the SURF Foundation, the coordinating body that works on innovative ICT projects to improve the quality of higher education and research in the Netherlands. The management of Leiden University Library responded to the warning with a plan, launched in 1995, entitled *De Bibliotheek Binnenste Buiten* (the library inside-out), which mapped out the transition needed to redirect the library's traditional inward-looking perspective outward. The plan was only put into action in the new millennium, however, and then primarily from 2005, when a new management team took office and the library explicitly positioned itself as a service provider for education and research.

Opening up the Special Collections and the founding of the Scaliger Institute

The founding of the Scaliger Institute in 2000, on the 425th anniversary of the founding of Leiden University, might be seen as the symbolic start of the upheaval that heralded a new, more outward-looking policy. The University Library and the Faculty of Arts (now the Faculty of Humanities) jointly founded this institute in order to facilitate the opening up of the vaults of the Special Collections. The Institute was named after one of the most celebrated philologists in the history of Leiden University, Josephus Justus Scaliger (1540-1609). The university's Executive Board supported the programme of activities to stimulate the use of the Special Collections in education and research, by providing additional funding for the Special Collections Research Centre project.

The Scaliger Institute proved to be a successful formula, with its ever-expanding programme of symposia, masterclasses, special courses and series of lectures, fellowships, the rotating chair for the Scaliger professor, and seminars. In addition, since 2006, partly thanks to financial support from Brill, an academic publishing company with a strong international orientation that has been based in Leiden since 1683, it has been possible to appoint one or more academics every year as Brill Fellows to carry out research into the Special Collections. Since 2012, Elsevier Publishers has also facilitated a grant programme. Every year, this programme enables two international academics to carry out research, for a maximum of three months, into the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth-century books that form part of the Special Collections.

With the founding of the Scaliger Institute, Leiden University Library sent, as it were, an invitation to academics from all over the world to profit from the treasures in the Special Collections.

The Scaliger Institute was set up in 2000 by the University Library and the Faculty of Arts (now the Faculty of Humanities) to encourage and facilitate the use of the library's Special Collections in teaching and research. Kasper van Ommen, the present Coordinator of the Scaliger Institute, presents five highlights from the institute's recent history.

The commemoration of the quatercentenary of the death of Josephus Justus Scaliger (1540-1609).

'Much of the year 2009 was about the commemorations marking the 400th anniversary of the death of the man from whom the institute takes its name, Josephus Justus Scaliger, the French humanist and scholar who died on 21 January 1609 in Leiden.
Exactly 400 years later, the leading Scaliger expert of our time, Professor Anthony Grafton (Henry Putnam University Professor at Princeton University), delivered a lecture in the Academy Building at Rapenburg. Three hundred people came to Leiden from all over the Netherlands in order to witness the homage to Scaliger the multi-talented academic, who was described by Grafton as the Einstein of the sixteenth century. This was undoubtedly a wonderful high point in the history of the Scaliger Institute.'
'In the same year, we also focused on the 400th anniversary of the death of botanist and founder of the botanical gardens in Leiden, Carolus Clusius (1526-1609). One of the most memorable features was the exhibition entitled "The Exotic World of Carolus Clusius" that was held in the library, and included books and manuscripts from Clusius' legacy. The Scaliger Institute organised the exhibition in collaboration with the Hortus Botanicus, the National Herbarium of the Netherlands and the international Clusius research group.'

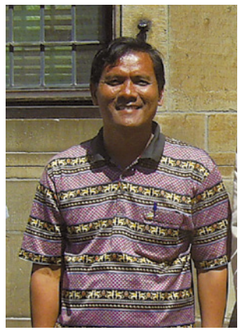
Professor Hélène Cazes (University of Victoria, Canada): Bonaventura Vulcanius: Facebook in the 16th century.

'Since 2006, the Brill publishing company has provided financial support to enable one or two Brill Fellows to work at the Scaliger Institute. Brill Fellows carry out research in the library's Special Collections into one of the publication fields in which Brill operates. In 2007, one of those selected was Professor Hélène Cazes. She came to Leiden to conduct research into the *album amicorum* of the well-known Bruges humanist Bonaventura Vulcanius (1538-1614), who was a professor of the Greek language at Leiden University. At that time, scholars had a friendship book in which they allowed people whom they found agreeable and interesting to write contributions – a kind of Facebook before its time. In her research, Cazes concentrated primarily on the relationships that Vulcanius maintained in his friendship book with other humanist scholars from both inside and outside the Netherlands.

Professor Cazes was originally supposed to stay in Leiden for three months (the period for which she had been awarded a grant), but such was her enthusiasm that she was willing to pay for a year's extension out of her own pocket. She continued her research in 2009 in Leiden thanks to a financial contribution from a Canadian fund.'
'With the launch of Vulcanius' Facebook page and of a collection of Vulcanius the networker, the exhibition 'Facebook in the Sixteenth Century? The Humanist and Networker Bonaventura' was opened on 14 October 2010 in the University Library. Professor Hélène Cazes helped organise the exhibition.'

Scaliger Fellow Nick Hardy, MA (University College, Oxford, UK): the Study of Greek texts in early modern Europe: the case of Patrick Young (1584-1652).

'In 2011, Nick Hardy carried out research into the King James Bible, the English Authorised Version. Although almost all the items of significance are in Oxford, it was in Leiden, of all places, where he found a document bearing the names of the scholars who had helped with the translation. This threw light on a number of important questions. We are proud that with the help of a grant from the Scaliger Institute, he will shortly be gaining a PhD for his research into the influence of the European continent on philology in England in the seventeenth century.'



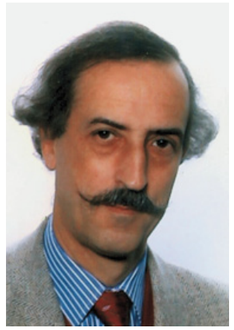
Scaliger Fellow Syarwan Ahmad

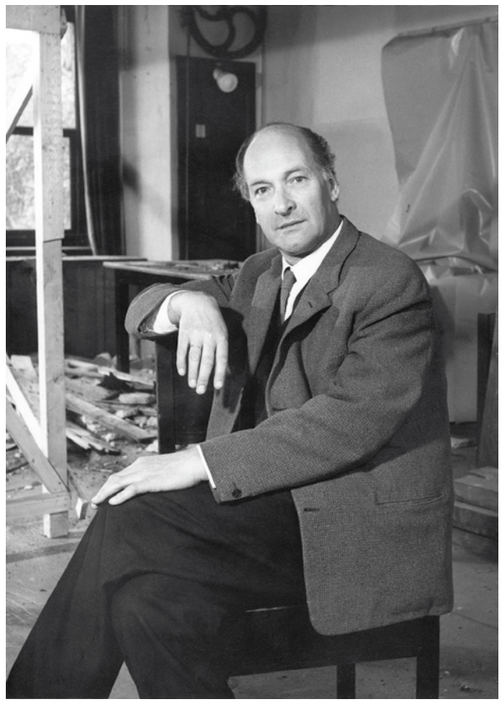
'In 2006, not long after Aceh had been hit by the tsunami, we received a request for a grant from Mr Syarwan Ahmad, of Indonesia. He was conducting research into the impact of the epic poetry of the Holy War on the determination to fight on the part of Aceh fighters during the time of the Dutch colonial occupation.

As a result of the disaster, the institute for which he was working had been swept away, along with all the archives that he had been using for his research work. We were only too pleased to help him, and his gratitude was truly heart-warming.'

Visiting Scaliger Professor François Déroche

'French palaeographer and codicologist François Déroche is one of the most prominent historians of the Koran. In 2010, he spent a month in Leiden, where he gave a series of lectures and taught students as a visiting professor of the Scaliger Institute. He convincingly demonstrated that in the first few centuries after Mohammed, there were many more variations of the Koran existed than most Muslims are prepared to believe. His visit and his views were reported in the national press.'





• Portrait of D.P.G. Humbert de Superville, founder of the Leiden's Print Room. Drawing. by Hendrik Voogd (1768-1839).
•• Simon de Vlieger (1600-1653), *Village Church*. Drawing. Sign. PK-T-AW-256.
••• Portrait of Henri van de Waal, Director of the Print Room and Professor of art history. The collecting of photographs by the Print Room was his initiative (1953).

Bringing the Print Room collections into the Special Collections

Two years after the Scaliger Institute was founded, a further addition was made to the already extremely valuable Special Collections in the form of a unique and famous collection of photographs, prints, drawings and portraits. Back in 1997 the Executive Board of Leiden University had determined that, for purposes of preservation, it would be irresponsible to continue to store the fragile Print Room collections in the building at Rapenburg. The Print Room had been housed in these premises since 1974, and the storage conditions were not optimal. On the recommendation of the Netherlands Institute for Cultural Heritage (ICN), it was decided to move the Print Room to the University Library as of 2002.

The history of the Print Room dates back to 1822; since that time, it has grown into a collection of approximately 12,000 drawings, 100,000 prints, 45,000 portraits and 140,000 photographs.

The core of the collection of prints is made up of the bequest of 22,000 prints and 800 drawings that was left to Leiden University in 1815 by Jean Theodore Royer, a lawyer and collector from The Hague. This bequest formed the foundations of the Print Room, which specialised in educating students with regard to collecting and studying prints and drawings. The Print Room is one of the oldest public institutions to concentrate on this collection area. In 1907, the Print Room resulted in the establishment of a chair in the history of art and with it the foundation of an Institute of Art History (now the university's programme in the History of Art).

The growth of the collection was largely due to the generosity of collectors such as N.C. de Gijselaar, J.T. Bodel Nijenhuis, G.J. de Jonge and, more recently, P. Cleveringa, who left their prints and drawings to the Leiden Print Room, and also to an active purchasing policy. Large ensembles were chiefly acquired through the purchase of the collections belonging to A. Welcker, an Amsterdam-based doctor, in 1957, and A. Staring, the art historian, in 1969. The University Library also keeps a few loans, including one from the Leiden artists' association, *Ars Aemula Naturae*, which mainly consists of nineteenth-century drawings, and a loan of drawings and manuscripts by D.P.G. Humbert de Superville from the collection of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences.

The collection of prints provides an overview of the graphic arts in the most important European countries, from the sixteenth century until the beginning of the twentieth century. While Dutch graphic art is best represented, the collection also contains many examples of Italian, French and German printing. Almost every artist of any name from the Dutch or Holland School is represented in the collection with some examples. This is true to a far lesser degree for the foreign schools; the collection contains small ensembles from Italy, France and Germany. The collection of drawings provides an overview of Dutch drawing from 1500 until the present day. The sixteenth century is the real highlight, with artists such as Hendrick Goltzius, Karel van Mander, Jacob Matham, Crispijn de Passe, Jan Gossaert and Bernard van Orley. Later centuries are also well represented, however, with artists from Claes Jansz. Visscher to Anthonie Waterloo, from Rembrandt to Jacob de Wit, and from B.C. Koekkoek to Leo Gestel and Alexandra Roozen. The oeuvre of the first director of the Print Room, D.P.G. Humbert de Superville (1770-1849), occupies a special place in the collection.

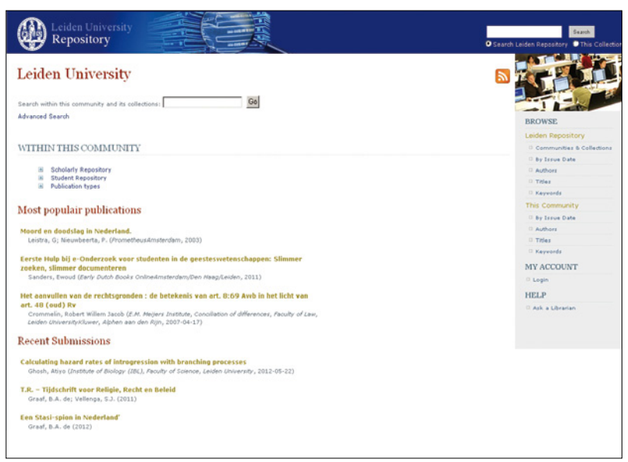
While no other library in the Netherlands has a comparable collection of art, similar collections are to be found in museums. The four most prominent print rooms in the Netherlands are those of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, the Teylers Museum in Haarlem, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in Rotterdam, and Leiden.

The creation of a special chair in the history of printing and drawing in 1991 and the founding of the Faculty of Creative and Performing Arts in 2001 (the current Academy for Creative and Performing Arts), both unique in the Dutch academic world, gave a new stimulus to education that draws upon the collections.

The University Library's portrait collection is one of the largest in the country. At its heart is the collection of portraits that belonged to J.T. Bodel Nijenhuis. Threatened with being put up for auction in 1873, the collection was purchased in time by the state and housed in the Print Room. Thanks to donations and acquisitions, the collection contains a portrait of almost every writer, artist, admiral or statesman from before 1900.

The foundations of the photography collection were laid in 1953 by professor H. van de Waal, professor of art history and director of the Print Room. He persuaded Leiden University to purchase a private collection of mainly Dutch photographs and special historical techniques that had been assembled by Auguste Grégoire of The Hague in the 1930s and 1940s. In this way, a new area of collecting and education was added to the Print Room's existing collections of prints and drawings. At the same time, this

• Alfred Stieglitz, *The Hand of Man*, 1902. Photogravure from the Printroom Collections.



•• Website of Leiden University Repository. Screenshot.

purchase marked the start of the institutional collection of photography by museums in the Netherlands. At that time, not a single museum in the Netherlands had yet started collecting photography with the aim of recording the artistic developments in the medium. In 1958, Amsterdam's Stedelijk Museum would become the second institution to do so.

Professor Van de Waal's aim was to develop the collection 'into a historical overview of the development of photography in the Netherlands, containing representative examples of the most notable movements and the most important photographers.' His dream was realised, as the collection contains examples of practically every kind of photographic technique, rare objects and artistic highpoints. Apart from Dutch photography, from the beginning he also collected important examples from abroad. Almost every prominent photographer is represented, from nineteenth-century pioneers such as William Henry Fox Talbot, Julia Margaret Cameron and Eadweard Muybridge, Jacob Merkelbach and Bernard Eilers, to celebrated photographers such as Edward Steichen, Alfred Stieglitz, Piet Zwart, Paul Citroen, Emmy Andriesse, Ed van der Elsken, Johan van der Keuken, and Jan Dibbets, and more contemporary figures such as Erwin Olaf, Hendrik Kerstens, Rineke Dijkstra and Koos Breukel.

As the only public photography collection in the Netherlands, the Leiden collection also records the technological development of photography. It includes several thousand cameras, examples of equipment for taking pictures, dark room and finishing apparatus (light meters, developing trays, colour filters, drying racks and so forth), projection equipment, magic lanterns and accompanying lantern plates, stereo viewers, and other technical devices.

Moving the Print Room into the University Library was no small undertaking. The existing storage space for valuable and special material in the central vault had to be substantially expanded. All in all, the whole operation took from April 2002 until the beginning of November in the same year. The Print Room collections have since been integrated into the other Special Collections. The move also heralded a new process of mutual enrichment and cross-fertilisation. The topographical prints and drawings from the Print Room were used more intensively in conjunction with the Bodel Nijenhuis collection of Maps and Atlases, and the two collections have now been opened up in a joint project. Links have been established between the photography collections from other Special Collections and the photographs in the Print Room and they can now be compared more easily in education and research.

A global platform for doctoral research

2002 was an important year for the University Library. Not only was the Print Room brought into the Special Collections, but the first outlines were sketched of the national DARE (Digital Academic Repositories) project, an initiative by the SURF Foundation in which all Dutch universities took part. The aim of the project was to modernise the working methods of Dutch knowledge institutions by creating a shared infrastructure and delivering services to digitally record Dutch academic output, make it accessible, store it, and disseminate it via open access. The network would be set up in such a way that the Royal Library would function as a permanent 'e-depot' for digital material. The Dutch universities would fill their own repositories, which would subsequently be collectively opened up via www.darenet.nl. A repository is a central location within an institution that stores and maintains the publications and data that are produced there. Leiden University Library was appointed to administer the Leiden Repository.

On 13 September 2006, professor Kees Blom, Rector Magnificus of Radboud University Nijmegen, opened the national doctoral thesis site on behalf of all of the rectors of Dutch universities. At that time, more than 10,000 doctoral theses were available.

The DARE project was yet another example of the tendency of academic libraries to open up to the outside world. Prior to this, internal research results had been difficult to find, and an untold number of doctoral theses had lain mouldering in attics or on university bookshelves. Now the whole world can learn more about research in Leiden, while equally, academics in Leiden can access a treasure trove of scientific research results from other universities. The opening up of this boundless world of knowledge was primarily thanks to a change in Leiden University's doctorate regulations; according to the revision of 2006, doctoral candidates are obliged to deposit digital versions of their theses in Leiden University Library.

The DARE project was a pioneering initiative. Other countries looked on somewhat enviously as the likes of this initiative, which involved so many doctoral theses on a national scale, had not been realised anywhere else in the world.

Special Collections Reading Room in the University Library at Witte Singel, after renovation, March 2008.

Towards a new library system

Another quite radical undertaking was the acquisition and implementation of the Ex Libris Aleph 500 library system. In December 2003, an agreement was concluded between Ex Libris Ltd. and Leiden University, whereby the university acquired the right to use the Aleph 500 library system. In partnership with Ex Libris, the library worked on setting up the system, designing a completely new catalogue (UCAT), converting the title data and administrative data from the existing local library system (LBS3 from OCLC/PICA) to Aleph, connecting with the national information infrastructure (GGC, NCC/IBL), training more than 200 staff members and informing library users. In May 2005, the new system was taken into use and the library bid farewell to the old catalogue.

Calls for modernisation in 2005

From the start of the new millennium, the library had been engaged in carefully opening its doors to the outside world. After five years, however, the Executive Board of Leiden University noted that the library was not keeping up sufficiently with the times. While the library was following the most recent digital developments, it had failed to modernise itself. What is more, the library ended 2004 with a one million euro deficit.

A radical programme of modernisation was needed. The University Library had to become more professional, in areas such as digital service provision, access to the Special Collections and the renewal of library services and products, among other things. In order to achieve these changes, the Executive Board recruited Kurt De Belder as the new university librarian of Leiden University and Director of the University Library, and Josje Calff as Deputy Director. Janus Linmans, deputy librarian under Paul Gerretsen, stayed on until February 2006 to support the new leadership.

De Belder's *curriculum vitae* fitted in perfectly with the Executive Board's ambitions. De Belder had worked in the university libraries of Stanford University, the University of California, Berkeley, New York University and the University of Amsterdam, where he had been Head of Electronic Services from 1997 to 2005, and where he had shown himself a modernising thinker when it came to scientific information provision and digital libraries.

For the period between 2006 and 2010, De Belder and Calff wrote a substantial new policy plan entitled *Voor Onderwijs en Onderzoek* (For Education & Research). In this plan, they argued that the library had to become an academic information manager and an essential facilitator of education and research at Leiden University, and they also set out the many changes that were needed to enable it to fulfil this role. The choice of services and collections, internal work processes, the relationship with users, the organisational culture and on-site library facilities: everything had to change. Changes in line with the times were needed at both the micro-level and the macro-level, including a full lunch service, good coffee, and permission to use mobile telephones, so long as this was outside the reading rooms and in hushed tones. In 2006, the library got a single Special Collections Reading Room, where all of the special items could be consulted under supervision, with longer opening hours and improved service provision. The plans also entailed a reorganisation, which would enable new staff with new skills to be recruited. This reorganisation was completed in November of the same year.

In the policy plan, De Belder expressed the intention to gradually work towards a single library organisation for the whole of Leiden University. Relations with other heritage institutions, museums and archives in Leiden had to be strengthened, and contacts with other academic libraries in both the Netherlands and abroad needed to be intensified. From 2005, there had already been closer collaboration with the Library of the University of Amsterdam and the Royal Library in The Hague, and ties with the Bodleian Library in Oxford had also been strengthened.

In view of the looming financial deficit, De Belder had to make large cuts immediately upon taking office. In terms of personnel, temporary employment agreements and agreements regarding longer working hours were not extended, official bonuses were stopped and the recruitment of personnel was cut back. The budgets for training and travel were significantly curtailed. In addition, the University Library's book budget was frozen for the first six months, with the result that, due to existing obligations, the collection could only be expanded at the expense of faculty budgets. The binding of complete volumes of journals was temporarily suspended. Thanks to these measures, the library was able to limit the negative impact of the deficit.

• Book lockers in the Huygens Information Centre i(University Library at Witte Singel) allow lending of items during all the opening hours (weekdays: 8:30 a.m. – 12 p.m.)
•• Law Library in Kamerlingh Onnes Building, Steenschuur 25.
••• Social and Behavioural Sciences Library in Pieter de La Court Building, Wassenaarseweg 52.
•••• Gorlaeus Library (Faculty of Science), Einsteinweg 55.
••••• Library Learning Centre in the new building of the Faculty Campus The Hague. Artist's impression.

2006-2010: THE LIBRARY BECOMES USER-ORIENTED

The period between 2006 and 2010 was characterised by research into the wishes of the library's users, cooperation with other academic institutes, and reflection on the library's ideal role. It was a period in which the library prepared itself for the great transformation from being a passive institution centre with a collection for consultation, to being an active partner in the process of amassing knowledge.

Under De Belder, the library became increasingly user-oriented. Through the newly established University Library Student Committee, the specific wishes of students were identified and granted where possible. For example, the opening hours were significantly extended during examination periods and around holidays. In December 2007, wireless Internet and network access was made available in the University Library, and the completely renovated Special Collections Reading Room (the Dousa Room) was re-opened in March 2008.

From 2009 onwards, holders of University Library readers' passes were able to collect the material that they had requested from lockers; that is, small safes that open when scanned with a library pass. Thanks to these lockers, from this time onwards, students and researchers were able to pick up their books in the evenings and on weekends, when the lending desk was closed.

For the first time, the library took part in the information fair for first-year students during the introduction week, in order to make contacts there. Senior student mentors were asked for advice. From now on, user panels were brought in when new systems were developed. The library also developed a range of courses to inform visitors to the library about the enormous range of information on offer. The library kept its ears to the ground, kept its eyes open and sought contact with all of its potential users.

To improve cooperation with the faculties, a so-called faculty liaison programme was set up. By means of this programme, the specialist librarians for the specific subject domains maintain contact with academic staff. The subject librarians keep academics continuously updated regarding the most recent services and products and, at the same time, keep a record of any wishes and needs that researchers and lecturers might have, so that each can derive the full benefit of the other's knowledge.

The intention expressed in *Voor Onderwijs en Onderzoek*, to bring the Leiden libraries together a single organisation, was swiftly taken up by the Executive Board. In 2008, De Belder was tasked with implementing the plan. As a result, in 2009, a new organisation was established: Leiden University Libraries, composed of the central University Library and the faculty libraries for Social and Behavioural Sciences, Law, Mathematics and Natural Science and Archaeology, and a number of libraries of institutes in the Faculty of Arts, namely those of Art History, History, the Kern Institute, Chinese and Japanese & Korean.

Following on from the merger, in 2010, a radical reorganisation took place to transform Leiden University Libraries into a streamlined organisation that could realise the savings targets that had been set.

The collections from Archaeology, Art History and the Kern Institute were housed in the central location at Witte Singel. In 2015, the collections from the Chinese, Japanese and Korean libraries, which are presently combined in the East Asian Library, will be moved to a yet to be constructed new floor of the University Library, where an Asian Library will be created.

Bringing the libraries together in one single organisation not only meant that the university's savings targets could be met; all of the remaining library locations now also had longer opening hours, which also meant more access to the collections.

From 2012, the friends' associations of the University Library and the Print Room will merge in one association of friends of Leiden University Libraries, and the links with alumni and friends will be strengthened.

The importance of physical space: the Huygens Information Centre and the new exhibition space

Paradoxically enough, advancing digitalisation and the more intensive use of digital information have resulted in more intensive use of the library's physical spaces. Particularly for students, the library has become the workplace of choice. In addition, the library also functions as a locus for academic socialisation and as a meeting place. The library has never been so busy, and it should thus come as no surprise that Leiden's libraries are also paying great attention to the modernisation of their physical spaces.

In 2008, the former Tielehal of the University Library was refurbished, and became the modern Huygens Information Centre. Visitors can now choose from various kinds of work stations that are appropriate for diverse activities. There are spacious places with computers or

• Huygens Information Centre, after renovation in November 2008.

•• New exhibition space in the University Library at Witte Singel, 2010.

••• Frontpage of *NRC* newspaper with photo of Erwin Olaf.

just laptop connections, but also comfortable easy chairs and a spacious reading table. Diverse use is made of all sorts of places. Increasing numbers of visitors are bringing their own laptop or tablet with them and working online via the universal wireless network. This positive experience inspired further discussions about a Library Learning Centre, resulting in the planned renovation of all University Library reading rooms in 2012-2013.

Physical and unusually valuable collections also need to be protected in a physical sense; something that was once again demonstrated by the fire in the *Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek* in Weimar in 2004, in which large and unique collections were lost. In June 2008, the University Library – uniquely among libraries in the Netherlands – installed certified gas extinguishing and sprinkler systems, so as to optimally protect its collections against the risk of fire. The sprinkler system was installed in the stacks. The scientific collections are stored on two subterranean floors, which cover a total floor space of more than 11,000 m². Following the first fire alarm, the so-called 'pre-action dry pipe' system pumps water at high pressure into the network of pipes. The sprinklers only start to work in the immediate vicinity of the fire after the second alarm, meaning that there is no risk of a false alarm and the unnecessary distribution of fire-extinguishing water, and so that possible water damage remains limited to a minimal part of the collection. In the vaults of the Special Collections, an extinguishing gas system has been installed that uses argon, an inert gas. If a fire occurs, this gas is pumped into the hermetically sealed vaults, lowering the proportion of oxygen to a level at which the fire dies out. This enables damage to the valuable and unique collections to be minimised. Moreover, argon gas is not harmful to humans or the environment. Naturally, the library hopes there will never be cause for these systems to be used.

The opening of a new exhibition space in 2010 became an important source of added value for the University Library. When rebuilding the entrance area, an opportunity arose to create a new exhibition space there; an ideal location, because it is passed by more or less every visitor. Moreover, members of the public who do not have an entrance pass are able to view what is on display there. Locating the space at the entrance naturally meant that climate control and the security of the often fragile items from the Special Collections were subject to strict requirements, and these were met.

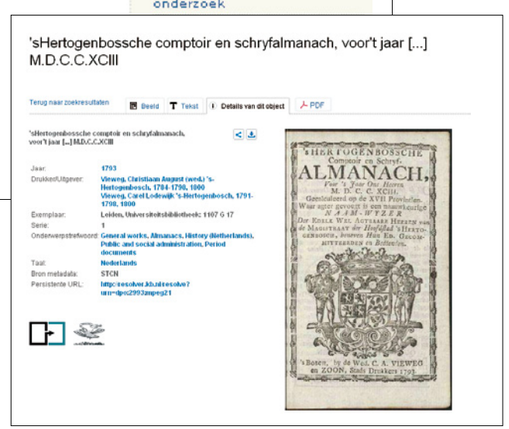
In the spring of 2010, the space opened with an exhibition entitled *Love and eroticism. Seduced by the collections of Leiden University*. More than 230 people attended the celebratory gathering in the modest space. Since then, the library has organised around four exhibitions a year, in collaboration with lecturers, researchers and students. Where appropriate, links are made with the present day, such as in the exhibition entitled *Facebook in the 16th century*, on the *alba amicora* (friendship books) belonging to the humanist Vulcanius. Every year, the library also organises a large exhibition based on its collections in collaboration with a museum. Such exhibitions have included *City of books. Seven centuries of reading in Leiden* (2008, Museum De Lakenhal); *Towards the Golden Age – Hendrick Goltzius & Jacob de Gheyn II* (2009-2010, the Limburgs Museum); *Photography! A Special Collection from Leiden University* (2010, The Hague Museum of Photography); and *In atmospheric light. Picturalism in Dutch Photography, 1890-1925* (2010, the Rembrandt House Museum). The exhibition featuring the photographer Erwin Olaf was particularly special. He was commissioned by Leiden University and Museum De Lakenhal in 2011 to work on a monumental historical piece and eight photographic figure studies and still lifes, based on the theme of the Relief of Leiden. The exhibition was on view until the beginning of 2012. All of these exhibitions were given particularly extensive and positive coverage in the national press.

The international significance of the collections was once again underlined when the Leiden La Galigo manuscript was included in UNESCO's World Heritage List in 2011. The library's collection includes one of the most valuable manuscripts of La Galigo, the longest epic in the world, written in the Buginese language and script.

The increasing digitalisation of the collections

The revolution that has occurred in recent years in terms of the way in which content is produced and made available, has not yet come to an end. Not only has the medium of paper made way for the digital object in many areas, but the nature of the content has also changed radically, and will continue to evolve still further in the coming years. The one-dimensional book or journal has grown into a multi-dimensional product in which text, data, film, sound, and so forth are presented in an integrated way. In addition, raw research data, virtual research laboratories, new media, websites and 'semi-finished products' such as preprints, working papers and annotations have also become direct sources of information, research or study,

• Website of Leiden University Libraries. Screenshot of Dutch homepage. Nearly all webpages have an English version.



•• An e-book from EDBO Collection (Early Dutch Books Online). Screenshot of metadata record and image.

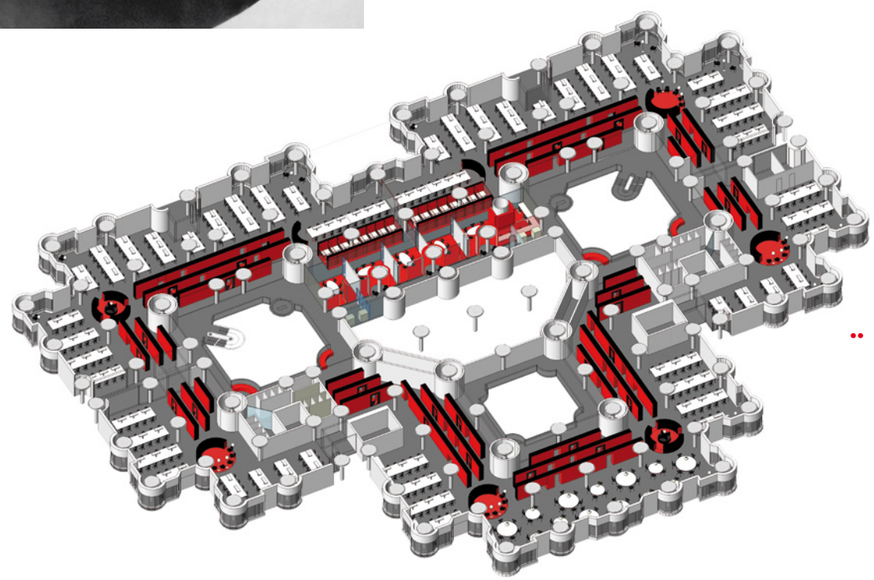
which means that academic journal articles and monographs have ceased to be the only important sources of information for study or research. These diffuse media are still in development, and will undoubtedly assume yet new forms. More and more content will only be published digitally and made available via the web, either for a fee or free of cost. The manner in which content is distributed is also continuing to develop, whereby a transformation is occurring in the traditional role division between authors, publishers, libraries and users. One of these developments concerns open access, which will involve a shift in the flow of funds between actors in the chain. Leiden University Libraries sees it as its task to make these new sources of information accessible for education and research at the university, as well as to experiment further with new business models and different types of distribution.

Enormous changes have thus already occurred in recent years: while at the end of 2004, the library had fewer than 4,000 electronic journals in its collection, in 2011, this number had risen to close to 40,000. In the same period, the number of e-books rose from zero to nearly 800,000. This also means that the library now spends four times more on electronic information than on paper information. In view of the annual rise in costs, the faculties are making major efforts to guarantee access to scientific information. For example, the Faculty of Humanities recently almost doubled its information budget. For its part, the library has organised itself on both the national and international level, enabling it to negotiate deals with publishers that are as favourable as possible. In addition, various models are being used, including 'Big Deal' licensing agreements, open access and patron-driven acquisition, so as to build in the necessary flexibility.

The library is also using various means to acquire important educational and research-related material for the Special Collections. In the period between 2006 and 2010, 2006 and 2007 can be seen, both quantitatively and qualitatively, as exceptionally abundant years as far as gifts, loans and the purchase of special accessions were concerned. During these two years, the Stichting Frans Kellendonk Fonds gave the literary archive of the author Frans Kellendonk (1951-1990) on loan to the Society of Dutch Literature. The Van der Sande foundation, named after the pharmacist Van der Sande, loaned an extensive collection of old prints in the areas of pharmacology, botany, the history of medicine and related sciences, among other things. In addition, the library received a Dante collection featuring Dante's works in numerous editions and translations. Via the e-Bay Internet auction site, the library bought the *Beghijnken van Mechelen,* a medieval manuscript dating from the first half of the sixteenth century, which was of great interest to the Programme on Dutch Language and Literature. The collection of drawings was expanded with two portraits of Rembrandt by Nick Oudshoorn. The private library of Theodorus Groenhout, a priest from Noordwijk, which consists of more than 300 rare books dating from approximately 1540 to 1700, was given on long-term loan by the Diocese of Rotterdam. The above is just a random selection of accessions over two golden years for the Special Collections.

In addition, Leiden University Libraries is carrying out an ambitious digitalisation agenda, supported by national funding from, for example, Metamorfoze, the national programme for the preservation of paper heritage. By means of these activities, fragile and unique material from the Special Collections can be preserved and made digitally available. In addition, in May 2011, together with the Library of the University of Amsterdam and the Royal Library, Leiden University Library made the 'Early Dutch Books Online' databank freely accessible to the world. This entailed the digitalisation of around 10,000 books published in the Netherlands, with a total of over two million pages, dating from the period of the Batavian Republic. This step could be made thanks to funding from the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science. It is often the case that such means are lacking, whereupon the library carefully considers the possibility of a public-private partnership. For example, in 2012, the publishing house Brill, in partnership with Leiden University Libraries, financed the digitalisation of two substantial and unique Arabic and Turkish manuscript collections. Other institutions can purchase access to these digital collections.

It was also possible to resolve some sticking points that had affected the collections for decades. According to the Public Records Act, state archives – including the archives of public universities – must be transferred to a public archive repository within twenty years. For Leiden University, that means transferral to the National Archives of the Netherlands (the state archive of South Holland) in The Hague. Despite this, the archives have remained in Leiden University Library since 1908; the reason for this being, among other things, that there are



• Digital Special Collections database. Screenshot from metadata record and image.
•• Sketch of the future reading rooms on the first floor of the University Library at Witte Singel (after renovations 2012-2013).

close connections between the contents of the university archives and those of the Special Collections. The former contain much information about the history of the library and its collections, the later contain the private papers of numerous Leiden academics, such as the classicist Scaliger, the historian Johan Huizinga and the astronomer Jan Hendrik Oort. The university's administrators have therefore always argued that the university archives should remain in Leiden. On 24 November 2011, regulations and practice were brought into line. Paul van der Heijden, Rector Magnificus and President of Leiden University, and Martin Berendse, the National Archivist, concluded an agreement whereby the archives of Leiden University were formally 'transferred' to the National Archives of the Netherlands. At the same time, the National Archivist signed a decree granting these archives to Leiden University on long-term loan. All of this was achieved without moving a single scrap of paper.

2011-2015: THE LIBRARY AS A KNOWLEDGE PARTNER

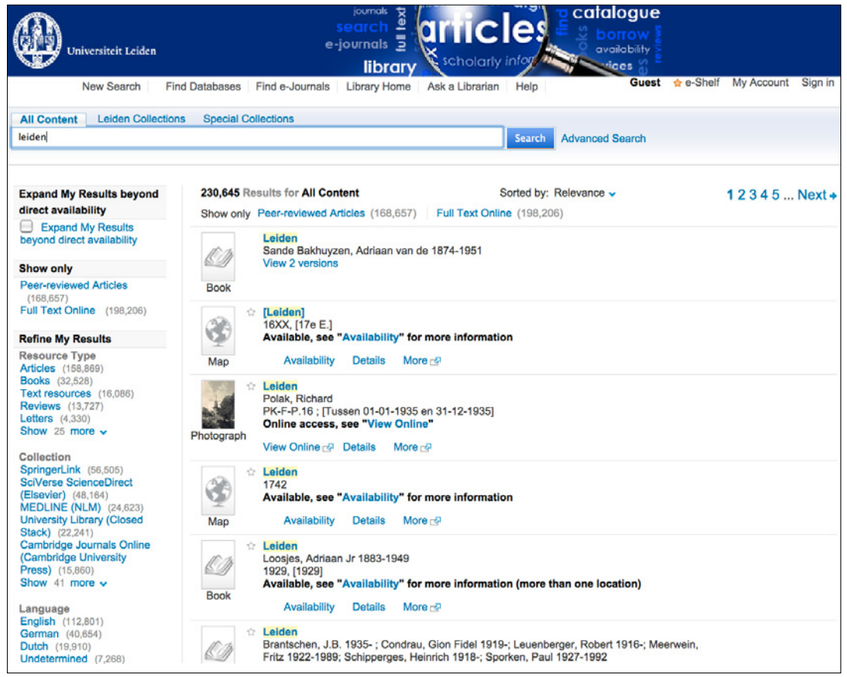
Whereas in the *Voor Onderwijs en Onderzoek* policy plan, the library's central role was still characterised as being mainly supportive and facilitatory, for the period between 2011 and 2015, Leiden University Libraries sees itself primarily as a knowledge partner within Leiden University, and simultaneously, in a physical sense, as a 'hive' that offers spaces not only for study, but also for social gatherings, seminars and lectures.

The new policy plan for 2011-2015, *Partner in Kennis* (A Partner in Knowledge), which was jointly conceived and supported by the director, management team and staff of Leiden University Libraries, states that 'we are ready to make the step from having a purely facilitating role to being the natural, collaborative partner of academic institutes, programmes and research groups. Beyond the university, we will also work closely with reliable, professional national and international partners, who can make a contribution to the role played by Leiden University and to Leiden University Libraries in particular. At the same time, we will continue to develop our own activities in order to highlight our distinctive position in relation to other institutions. We want to perpetuate and further extend our visibility within and beyond the university, in cooperation with others whenever possible.'

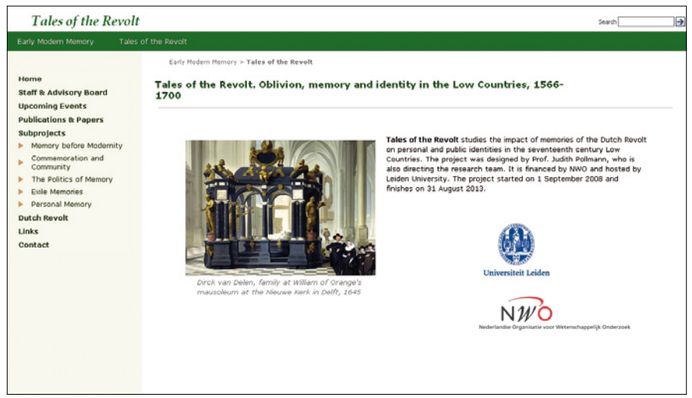
The facilitating role that the library had fulfilled up until that point had to be supplemented with a much more active role: that of a partner with specific expertise in supporting research and education. The library had to transform itself from an information portal into an information manager. Whereas until then, the library had enjoyed a monopoly on the provision of academic information, nowadays, there are alternatives available via the Internet in the form of search engines such as Google Scholar, and such alternatives should not be underestimated. Information services, websites and, more recently, also the various kinds of social media, can help researchers and students find and disseminate relevant information. While the library is no longer the only place where such information can be found, it is the institution *par excellence*, which is able to develop and provide expertise for the processing, analysis, storage and archiving of information, and all to a high standard. In addition, the library can inform, advise and support students, lecturers and researchers at Leiden University on related current issues, such as new media, open access, copyright, licensing contracts, digital rights management, data curation, text-mining and data-mining, and how to deal with large quantities of digital data.

In this process Leiden is seeking cooperation at the national and international level. Important partnerships within the Netherlands include the collaboration between the university libraries and the Royal Library (UKB), SURF, the two most important national data centres (DANS and 3TU.Datacentrum) and the Academic Heritage Foundation (Stichting Academisch Erfgoed, or SAE). At the international level, Leiden University Libraries is associated, among other things, with LIBER, the European organisation for research libraries, and the global OCLC Research Library Partnership, and is collaborating with the Bodleian Library in Oxford in the area of special collections.

As a physical place, the library is thriving as never before. With this, the library has undergone a shift from being an open bookcase to being a learning centre; an inspiring academic environment and a centre for study and related activities, but also an inspiring social gathering place with generous opening hours. There was a need for different kinds of spaces: from individual work stations to group spaces where smaller and large groups could work together; quiet spaces, but also spaces where seminars and lectures could be held – all equipped with modern audiovisual facilities. The establishment of the Library Learning Centre for the new Faculty Campus The Hague should also be seen against this background.



•The new Catalogue allows cross searching of the licensed digital collections, physical collections and special collections of Leiden University Library, using one interface.



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In the current plans for the new building for the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Science, space has already been reserved for a Library Learning Centre.

The organisation of the reading rooms in the University Library building had been left virtually unchanged since the move to the new building in 1983. In addition, the technical systems were not equipped for the large numbers of visitors. Far-reaching improvements are planned for 2012 and 2013: new, more diverse furniture, the updating of the open collections, and a differentiation of the space into both silent zones and spaces for collaboration and discussion. With this, the number of available study places in the University Library will increase from 400 to 700. A media centre for sound and vision will be created, and the computer network and the ventilation and security systems will also be modernised.

There are numerous new opportunities for digital information provision and services. On 15 November 2011, the library launched a new catalogue. For users, this not only replaces the old, traditional catalogue, but also all other information systems, including the digital library. With this, Leiden University Libraries was the first library to take advantage of a cloud computing solution that is provided by a European data centre in Amsterdam. Using a new resource discovery interface based on Ex Libris' Primo software, it is now possible to find all of the scientific information that one previously would have had to search for in different library systems (the Catalogue, the Digital Library, the Leiden Repository and the Digital Special Collections) in one search. Moreover, thanks to cloud computing technology, hundreds of millions of digital articles are instantly findable and accessible in the new system. Full-text searches can be carried out in a substantial percentage of these digital articles and e-books, which means the search result gives even greater access to scientific information.

As a knowledge partner, Leiden University Libraries is working on supporting research groups by providing digital work environments, known as Virtual Research Environments (VREs). Researchers use these digital research environments to collaborate, to plan research, to collect and process research data, to work jointly on publications and to communicate with their peers and society about the research results. It is also possible for researchers from outside the institution to be involved in this. The library provides specialised services in this area. In 2012, eleven Leiden research groups were working with VREs. At the same time, VREs also offer an opportunity to closely involve students in current research. This enables students to develop the ability to think critically and scientifically, to engage in more complex planning and to communicate clearly about the results, all within the framework of actual research projects. In this way, Leiden University is able to use cutting-edge research to further inspire and inform its education.

In the development of Virtual Research Environments and DataLabs, environments in which research data can be professionally managed and stored, Leiden University Libraries is working closely with the Leiden ICT Shared Service Centre, Microsoft Research, and the national data centres, DANS and 3TU.Datacentrum, in order to gather the necessary expertise to support research in Leiden.

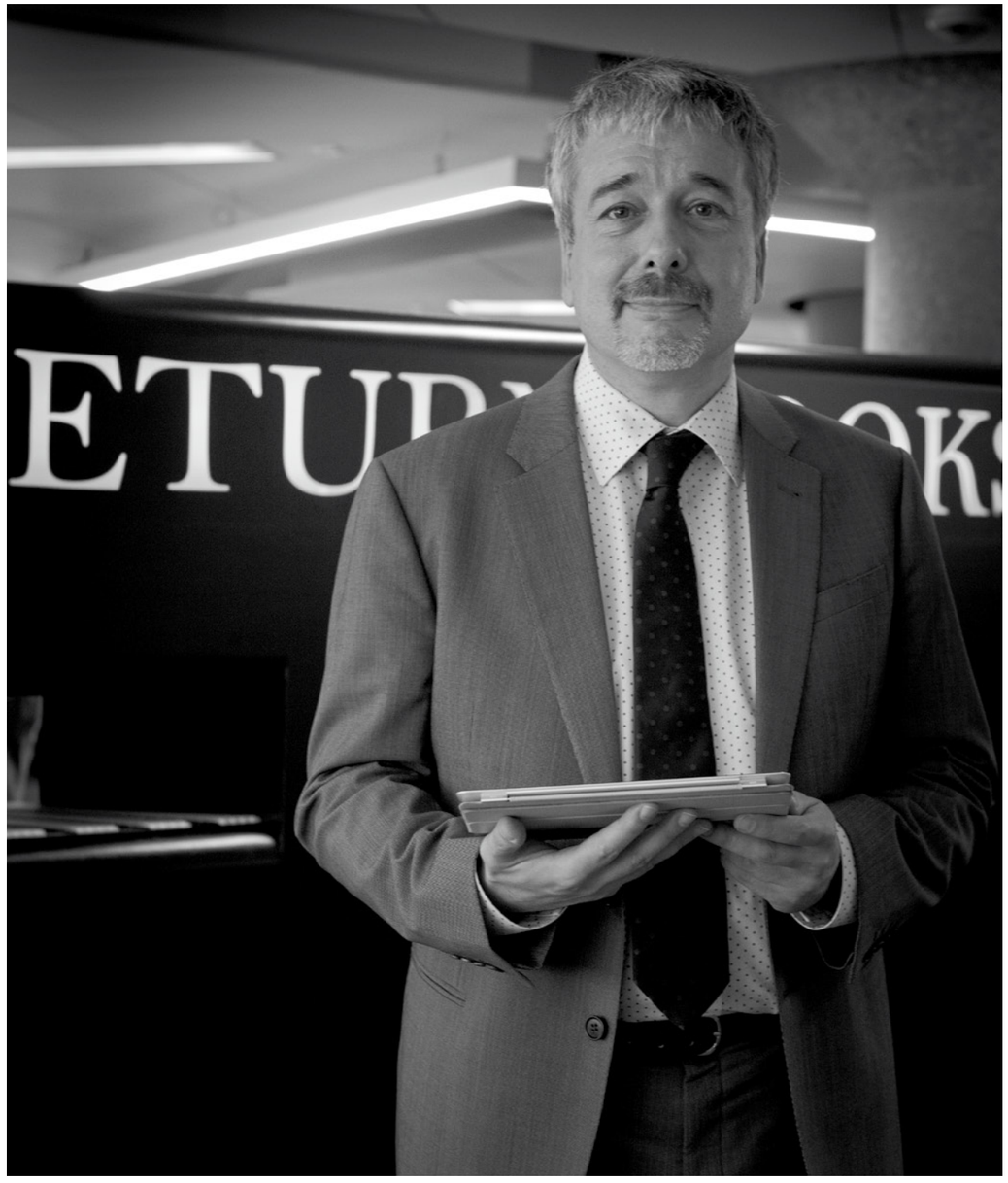
In 2011, Leiden University Libraries used the repository infrastructure to establish a digital repository of Bachelor's and Master's theses. This functions as a combined archive, source of inspiration and showcase for Leiden's BA and MA theses. In the same year, Leiden University Libraries took over the management of the university's Current Research Information System. This system keeps records of publications by Leiden researchers and forms an integral part of the repository infrastructure.

It is remarkable how the library has continued to modernise, and how it has frequently functioned as a magnet for the introduction of new developments within the university. Even though Scaliger might no longer recognise the modern library and its advanced forms of service provision, in today's very different context his words ring as true as they ever did: 'Est hic magna commoditas bibliothecae ut studiosi possint studere.'

KURT DE BELDER 2005-

The current university librarian, Kurt De Belder, was born in Antwerp in 1961, and studied Germanic philology at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel. He spent twelve years in the United States, where he worked in the libraries of Stanford University, University of California at Berkeley, and New York University, after studying comparative literature and library information studies.

At the time of De Belder's return to Europe in 1997, De Belder was asked by the University of Amsterdam (UvA) to take charge of its digital library and set up new digital services. At the UvA, he was responsible for



The current university librarian, Kurt De Belder

EDUBA, a long-term programme of modernisation and change that dealt with every aspect of the library, and in 2001 he founded the Digital Production Centre.

In 2005, De Belder was asked by the Executive Board at Leiden University to modernise their library. Under his management, the faculties and the library started working together more closely, with the library acting more as a knowledge partner, providing teaching and research-related services. Examples of this included faculty liaison, the integration of digital information skills in the curriculum, the repository services, the use of virtual research environments, the administration of research data, and support in the field of copyright. Leiden University Press was established in 2006 at De Belder's initiative, first as an imprint, and in 2009 as an independent publisher. An ambitious programme for repositioning the library as a physical location, including a complete library refurbishing project, took shape. The library became more of a 'library learning centre' with long opening hours and with a variety of work spaces, for both individual study and group work. It came to resemble a beehive, offering not just space for studying and books, but also facilities and areas for social meetings, seminars, and exhibitions.

The Leiden University Special Collections became even more closely linked to research and teaching and now include extensive digitisation activities, which are financed by external sources. In addition, the Special Collections are now much more externally oriented, with major exhibitions in national museums that are highly rated in the national press, and smaller-scale displays in the University Library's new public exhibition space. By showing the treasures from the university's collections in this way and placing them in a broader cultural and academic context, the library is performing its social role to the full.

A single library organisation, Leiden University Libraries, was established in 2009, which means Leiden University now has a highly effective centre of expertise.

PROFESSOR OF EARLY MODERN DUTCH HISTORY

The University of Leiden has been Protestant for many centuries. As a result, for a long time the University Library lacked books from the Catholic tradition. In the course of recent decades, Leiden University Library has purchased and acquired on loan four old parish libraries. Professor Judith Pollmann makes grateful use of them in her research and education in the field of Dutch history between 1500 and 1800.

'In the seventeenth century, half of the Netherlands was Catholic, so it is important that the University Library also includes "catholica",' Pollmann explains. 'Not everything in the parish libraries is world-shattering, but you also need to have everyday books; and there are some real gems among them. A priest would have needed to have a broad grounding in social matters; this is reflected in his library, which, in addition to sermon books, catechisms and devotional works that promote the development of a sound faith, also contained polemical tracts, history books, pamphlets and handbooks on confessional practice.'

Pollmann also makes use of other parts of the special collections, however. She has published a great deal on the Dutch Revolt and identity formation, examining how people in the seventeenth century looked back on the Eighty Years' War. 'In the University Library, my research team and I study popular history books from the Golden Age, Beggars' Songs, plays and odes to historical heroes, and pamphlets on the dangers of the "Spanish tyranny".'

'When researching public debates in the early modern period, you soon find your way to the extensive collection of pamphlets. These originate, in part, from the Bibliotheca Thysiana.' Pollmann is a curator of this seventeenth-century library, which has been kept in its original housing. The curators are responsible for conserving and describing this unique collection, which was bequeathed in 1653 by the lawyer Joannes Thysius (1622-1653).

When Pollmann wants to give demonstration lectures, she takes her students to the Thysiana or to the Special Collections reading room. 'I let the students look at a book from the sixteenth or seventeenth century as an object. If the book is large or has many illustrations, then you can be sure that it was an expensive book. In the seventeenth century, people often had to have their books bound themselves, and they frequently put a number of texts together. This produced interesting combinations, and these can also be informative, just like the notes that people made in books. I always let the students hold the books themselves, so that they experience the historical sensation of performing an action that a reader would also have performed four hundred years ago.'

PROFESSOR OF CONSTITUTIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE LAW

Between 2005 and 2007, Wim Voermans was the director of research at the Faculty of Law. This period saw the first steps towards open access to scientific articles. Voermans immersed himself in the subject and ensured that the registration of research at Leiden Law Faculty became linked to open access.

'I made the case for introducing open access at our faculty, because I think that academics should make optimal use of the technology that is available,' Voermans explains. 'That's one reason. Secondly, it's a question of principle. Academics provide a public service. Using taxpayers' money, they try to identify patterns and links – in my case, in the legal world. It cannot be the case that the results of their research subsequently go to a publisher, who charges yet another sum for the privilege of perusing them. The results of the research must be brought back to the taxpayer. For a long time, publishers had a monopoly on scientific information. Researchers could do little about this, because they saw no other way of publishing their work and bringing it to the attention of the right target group. With open access, however, academics are no longer a source of easy income for publishers. Using the METIS research registration system, they can upload their research and register it under a licence. In Leiden, we will soon switch to using the Converis programme, which is more user-friendly and which also links publications to researchers' personal websites.'

In his own discipline, Voermans has noticed that the introduction of open access has enabled a huge increase in the speed of his research. 'I can now access authoritative scientific sources at my desk, for example via the Google Scholar search engine. Another important side effect of open access is that the application of bibliometrics – analysing how academic papers are used – has become easier and more accurate. The measurements are made on the basis of a citation index in scientific journals – i.e. how often someone has been cited in highly regarded international journals. Thanks to open access, one can measure very precisely how often publications in digital journals or via Google Scholar are downloaded. And a nice side effect is that legal scholars are increasingly publishing in English, because they have to deal with a global audience. And the consequence of this is that again, the discipline is becoming more international. More and more comparative legal research is being carried out. In short, open access has led to a great broadening of knowledge.'

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION AND INTEGRATION

Professor Henk Dekker, born in 1949, is a professor of Political Socialisation and Integration at the Graduate School of Social and Behavioural Sciences. He also holds the position of vice dean and is responsible for the education portfolio on the faculty board.

In his administrative role in the Faculty of Social Sciences, Henk Dekker has been a strong advocate for providing students with courses on how to use the virtual and physical University Library. 'Finding the right information in the right place seems simple enough, but it isn't,' says Dekker. 'Suppose you want to gather some knowledge about political interest: type those two words into Google, and you will get thousands of hits – you'll be swamped. The first thing to do when searching is to formulate the right question, whether you're in the virtual or physical library. You then have to become familiar with the infrastructure. In the virtual library, you need to know that you need to search using Google Scholar, instead of plain Google, for academic information.'

'The University Library provides courses in the form of blended learning. Students acquire learning through face-to-face contact with the academic material from day one of their course, while at the same time learning to find their way around the virtual academic library. The aim is to give students access to high-level literature as quickly as possible and to enable them to learn in an efficient manner. After all, if students use literature sources of a lesser quality, such as encyclopaedias, then they will produce work of a lesser quality. And anyone who fails to study efficiently will need to start saving up for the penalty they will have to pay for not completing their studies in time.'

Dekker is also part of the thesis repository steering group, which is involved with archiving and making theses available on the Internet. Whereas it used to be the case that just one printed copy of a dissertation would end up in the University Library, a new system is being introduced from 1 September 2012: thanks to an agreement between the library and the faculties, a repository is being created in which theses will be safely stored for a period of ten years. Students will supply their theses (which will then be checked for plagiarism) and will be able to choose whether to impose an embargo on their work for a period of time, or to make them available for everyone to access.

Dekker: 'I am very much in favour of open access. That means more quality, because more people will read the thesis and exchange their knowledge about that specific subject. Moreover, most research is carried out using public funds, so the public are entitled to see the results of that work. Finally, Leiden University has so many gems to offer in terms of academic research, it would be wrong to let them simply gather dust – they should be shown off.'

THIRD-YEAR STUDENT OF ART HISTORY

Thomas Vorisek goes to Leiden University Library in the same way that other people go to the office. He sometimes takes a day off or goes to lectures, of course, but he is often to be found there every weekday from 9 in the morning until 5 in the afternoon.

Vorisek initially studied psychology for a year and a half, but he tripped up on the statistics course, which, as he puts it, was 'not his strongest point.' He felt more at home in the Humanities Faculty, specialising in art history. In his second year of this programme, he discovered that Leiden University Library's Print Room was the ideal place to study.

Vorisek: 'My housemates make too much noise, and studying out of the house enables me to completely let go of my studies when I return home, something that works really well for me. Cycling to the Witte Singel in the mornings, I also get some fresh air, which is a nice bonus.'

Sooner or later, all art history students come into contact with the Print Room on the second floor. Its vaults contain a unique collection of portraits, prints, drawings and photographs, and every imaginable book on art can be found there.

Vorisek: 'It seems to me that the Print Room is a bit of a forgotten corner. Apart from examination periods, there are normally only five or six people in there. That's perfect for me. I need lots of peace and quiet to be able to concentrate. Downstairs in the reading rooms, there are sometimes groups sitting working together at the computer, and that distracts me. The Print Room is like a second home. The people who work there say hello when I come in. I've made friends with the people who study there. Because there are so few of you, you tend to have coffee together during breaks. Jef Schaeps, the curator of the Prints and Drawings, is often there and is always approachable.'

'For me, the Print Room is also a treasure chamber. When I arrive in the mornings, cross the inner courtyard and climb the spiral staircase up to the Print Room, I have the feeling that I'm entering a higher sphere. There are books in the bookcases that are so old that they inspire a sense of awe, and what's more, I can find all the study materials I need there. At the moment, I'm taking a minor in photography and film, so I browse through the wonderful books on the development of the camera over the centuries, for example. Film is my great love. I'm also a student assistant at the Department of Information Management and Facilities, which means, for example, that I record lectures on camera and upload them onto the Internet for people who couldn't be there. In the future, I want to do a Master's in Film and Photography, and then I'll continue to spend a lot of time in the Print Room. A special shelf has already been set up for that degree programme.'

PHOTOGRAPHER AND DONOR

In 2010, the Amsterdam-based photographer Hendrik Kerstens made a unique gift agreement with the photography collection of the University of Leiden's Special Collections. He is donating one copy of every portrait that he has made of his daughter Paula, from her earliest years to the present day, in the form of a high-quality 50 x 40 cm ink-jet print. In this way, a duplicate collection of his entire 'Paula' oeuvre is being created in Leiden. Paula is the only other person who will also have a similar duplicate collection.

'Maartje van den Heuvel, the curator of Leiden's photography collection, showed an interest in my work, but her budget was not sufficient to buy the entire collection of work that I've dedicated to my daughter. I decided to donate it, because I would like to have one place in the world where my oeuvre is conserved with care. The Print Room in Leiden appeared to be the best place, as there it will be alongside prints and drawings by Rembrandt and Dürer.'

'I think that it is important that photography is approached in an academic way, and this is the case in Leiden. Photography is a very important invention. For the first time, industrial workers were able to see the pyramids in Egypt. Photography continues to have a crucial influence on our lives. It is the life blood of the advertising industry. And it's the only medium that allows you to look at yourself with your eyes shut.'

'Most museums present photography as entertainment. In Leiden, the collection represents the whole history of photography from the very beginning, enabling connections to be made. In this way, you can translate contemporary photography back to the past. In the Netherlands, we have a tendency to focus on up-and-coming talent, meaning that the wheel is sometimes reinvented. With some knowledge of the past, we no longer need to keep having the same discussions about, for instance, the difference between documentary and staged photography. In Leiden, you can find all disciplines and all time periods alongside each other. My work fits in well there because my contemporary portraits contain references to seventeenth-century painting, for example.'

Kerstens believes that it is important for Leiden's photography collection to be made as visible as possible, so that more people can become acquainted with the academic approach to photography, and also, of course, because the collection is so comprehensive and unique. This is something that regularly happens in the University Library's exhibition space. In 2010, an overview of the Leiden collection was on display in The Hague Museum of Photography, in the exhibition entitled 'Photography! A Special Collection from the University of Leiden.' Rather than being presented chronologically, the Leiden collection was arranged according to artistic themes. Kerstens' complete series, then consisting of 25 portraits of Paula, was also on display as part of the exhibition. Kerstens was already well known abroad, but with the exhibition in The Hague, he broke through in his own country and finally got the recognition that he deserved.

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA

Hélène Cazes is Associate professor at the University of Victoria, BC, Department of French, Programme of Medieval Studies. She first heard of Leiden University Library through the Society for History of Authorship, Readership and Publishing, SHARP, which was convening in The Hague and Leiden in 2006. Then a scholar specialising in the humanist printer and editor Henri Estienne (1540-1598), she had been aware that one of Estienne's publications of Latin poetry (*The Parodiæ Morales* published in Geneva in 1575) had been used as an *Album Amicorum* by a Leiden scholar: Bonaventura Vulcanius. Cazes: 'I started to look at the fascinating collections of 107 poems and declarations of friendship gathered by Vulcanius between 1575 and 1614 (date of his death). Immediately, I was taken in by this album and its stories: names came with places, dates, networks of their own, secret signs of recognition. I was hooked.'

'When I arrived in Leiden with this incipient research, I was met by a wonderful team of librarians and researchers who showed me the library and made me aware of the wondrous Vulcanius archives kept in the library: letters received or written by Vulcanius throughout his life, personal collection of manuscripts and books, volumes filled with notes, books published by Vulcanius. But also an extraordinary collection of *Alba Amicorum*, assorted with an index by name and dates. A treasure for a researcher.'

In 2007, the following year, Cazes returned for nine full months on a Brill Fellowship, to carry out a research project on the *Album Amicorum* of Bonaventura Vulcanius. She wanted to define, precisely and specifically, the network of this humanist and his understanding of 'friendship'. 'As soon as I arrived,' she says, 'I discovered that I would be discovering more than books and manuscripts: working on circles of friends and scholarly collaboration, I was welcomed in a circle of modern humanists and actively engaged in contemporary scholarly collaborations. Librarians and readers alike, at the Scaliger Institute, form a convivial and learned community, generously sharing sources and resources and I learned a lot just by being a fellow at the Scaliger Institute.'

'The humanist collaborative network which is at the foundation of Leiden University and of its library is still very much the model for a scholarly study of this time. In this spirit, I coordinated, with the Scaliger Institute, an exhibition and a collection of papers on Vulcanius, (held at the library and published by Brill respectively). I come back again and again to discover more pieces of the puzzle. This library is whispering good questions and clues for answers into the ears of researchers because it was gathered in a humanist spirit.'

NOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY & ILLUSTRATION CREDITS

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1 A number of these cultural centres are the subject of study in a European research project entitled *Les foyers de la République des Lettres en Europe (XVIe-XVIIe siècles).* The project is based at the Collège de France in Paris and is being supervised by M. Fumaroli. These cultural centres include Paris, Geneva, Rome, Florence, Madrid, Oxford, Vienna, Stockholm and Leiden.
2 P. Blaas, *Betrokkenheid en distantie: Bernard Vlekke (1899-1970) en de studie van de internationale betrekkingen.* Hilversum 1991; F. Barbier, *Le livre et l'historien: études offertes en l'honneur du professeur Henri-Jean Martin.* Genève 1997; *Repertorium van geschiedschrijvers in Nederland 1500-1800.* Compiled by E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier, G.A.C. van der Lem. Den Haag 1990.
3 M. Bal, *Images littéraires ou comment lire visuellement Proust.* Montréal 1997.
4 C. Ginzburg, *Myths, emblems, clues.* London 1990.

CHAPTER I

1 W. Otterspeer, *De Leidse Universiteit 1575-2000. Groepsportret met Dame.* Volume 1. Leiden 2000, p. 85-93. Hereinafter referred to as Otterspeer (2000). With regard to Otterspeer's work, the terms 'university' and 'academy' are used interchangeably.
2 Otterspeer (2000), p. 180-189.
3 P.C. Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit.* Seven volumes. Rijks Geschiedkundige Publikatiën. Den Haag 1913-1924. Vol. 1, p. 21*-22*. Hereinafter referred to as Molhuysen.
4 E. Hulshoff Pol calls this into doubt in her standard work, 'The Library', in: *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century. An Exchange of Learning.* Leiden 1975, p. 395-459, in particular p. 397. Hereinafter referred to as Hulshoff Pol (1975).
5 J.J. Orlers, *Beschrijvinge der stad Leyden.* Leiden 1614, p. 150-151.
6 *Biblia sacra Hebraice, Chaldeice, Graece & Latine, Philippe ii, Reg. Cathol., pietate et studio ad Sacrosanctae Ecclesiae usum*. Christoph. Plantinus excud., Antverpiae 1569-1572, 8 volumes. UBL, 1366 A 1-8.
7 L. Hellinga-Querido, *De Koningsbijbel van de Prins in de Stadsbibliotheek te Haarlem.* Haarlem 1971.
8 In magno hoc universo
quod universi colimus
nihil homine dignius:
nihil in homine virtute,
inter virtutes religione,
in Religione, s. dei verbo:
quod octo hisce voluminibus plenè comprehensum
Illustrissimus et planè incomparabilis Princeps guilelmus nassouius
felici auspicio
crescenti huic academiae munus
D.D.
Vivat aeternum illius gloria,
Vivat Schola,
Vivat Religio.
9 F.F. Blok, 'Interpretatie van de inscriptie van het Leidse exemplaar', in: L. Hellinga-Querido (1971), p. 34-36.
10 Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 397.
11 C.L. Heesakkers, 'Leids humanisme in de vroege Gouden Eeuw', in: *Hermeneus* 66 (1994), p. 186-196; Otterspeer (2000), p. 444.
12 Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 43*, 22 June 1575.
13 On 22 April 1575, William of Orange requested that the Leiden curators appoint Feugeraeus as professor of theology and to compensate him for the costs he incurred in coming here from the third of March up to the date of the request. Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 18*.
14 P. Hoftijzer, 'The library of Johannes de Laet (1581-1649)', in: *LIAS* 25 (1998), p. 201-216, in particular p. 202.
15 Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 395.
16 *Dachbouck* (UBL, AC1 100), f. 2v and 114; Witkam vol. 1, p. 70 and 95-96; Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 397 and p. 451, n. 22.
17 Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 88*, 26-4-1581; Witkam, vol. 1, p. 69 no. 110; Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 397 and p. 451.
18 Witkam (1969), p. 7; Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 398; *Leidse Universiteit 400*, p. 132.
19 J.J. Orlers, *Beschrijvinge der stad Leyden.* 1614, p. 198. Adopted by Schotel (1866) and Suringar (1876), contradicted by Witkam (1969) and Hulshoff Pol (1975).
20 Leiden, Municipal Archives, Secr. Arch. II, inv. 6789. Witkam (1969), p. 7 note 7.
21 *Acta Senatus*, 6 April 1581; Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 18.
22 *Acta Senatus*, 26 April 1575; Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 25.
23 'Exposuit J. Lipsius Chr. Plantinum qui apud eum erat ad instaurandam bibliothecam dono dedisse ex sua typographia textum Iuris et Becani Opera. Quare placuit ut vino donaretur.' *Acta Senatus*, 26 April 1581; Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 25.
24 *Ibidem*.
25 *Index librorum qui ex donatione et liberalitate aliena Bibliothecae publicae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae inserti sunt.* This list was printed at the back of the *Nomenclator autorum omnium, quorum libri vel manuscripti, vel typis expressi exstant in Bibliotheca Academiae Lugduno-Batavae.* Lugd.-Bat., Apud Franc. Raphelengium 1595. N 2. And *Catalogus principum, civitatum, et singulariorum, qui donatione vel inter vivos vel mams causa, Bibliothecam Publicam, in Academia Lugduno-Batavae institutam, liberaliter ditarunt.* Lugd. Bat., ex officina Paets, 1597.
26 Witkam (1969), p. 8 and appendix no. 8, p. 7; P.C. Molhuysen, 'De Academiedrukkers', in: *Pallas Leidensis.* Leiden 1925, p. 313; H.J. Jesse, 'Christoffel Plantijn te Leiden', in: *Leidsch Jaarboekje* (1934), p. 3-5.
27 Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 42, 122*-123*. Published in: Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 452, note 42.
28 *Ibidem*.
29 M. Val. Martialis, *Epigrammaton libri XIIII.* Lugd., Apud Haered. Seb Gryphii 1559. UBL, 755 H 29.
30 M. Val. Martialis, *Epigrammaton Libri XII. Xeniorum Liber I. Apophoretorum Lib. I. Opera Hadriani Iunii Medici.* Antverpiae, Ex Officina Christophori Plantini 1568. UBL, 755 h 30. See: C.L. Heesakkers, *Janus Dousa en zijn vrienden.* Leiden 1973, p. 10-12.
31 C.L. Heesakkers, 'Twins of the Muses: Justus Lipsius and Janus Dousa Pater', in: *Juste Lipse (1547-1606).* Colloque international tenu en mars 1987, éd. par A. Gerlo. (Travaux de l'Institut Interuniversitaire pour l'étude de la Renaissance et de l'Humanisme ix). Bruxelles 1987, p. 51-68.
32 The album amicorum by J. Dousa (UBL, BPL 1406) was published by C.L. Heesakkers, *Een netwerk aan de basis van de Leidse Universiteit: het album amicorum van Janus Dousa.* Leiden 2000.
33 UBL, BPL 1. Published as: *Inscriptionum antiquarum, quae passim per Europam, liber. Accessit auctarium a J. Lipsio.* Lugd. Batavorum 1588. The story of bpl 1 is told in detail by Van Royen (Van Royen, f. 6-7), and adopted by Siegenbeek (1832), p. 3-5. The report by Van Royen was published by Molhuysen, vol. 5, p. 88*-131*.
34 The purchase was only ratified on 17 March 1587. Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 51.
35 On Holmannus: NNBW, vol. 8, p. 798-799.
36 UBL, AC1 100, f. 99v; Witkam (1969), p. 18, n. 6; Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 34, 31-7-1581. Cf. Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 401 and p. 452, notes 49, 50, 51.
37 Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 452, note 44.
38 Dousa wrote a eulogy for Holmannus in which he praised the qualities of the theologist. The eulogy was published by J. Meursius in: *Illustrium Hollandiae et Westfrisiae Ordinum Alma Academia Leidensis.* Lugd. Bat. 1614, vol. 1, p. 16.

39 Leiden, Municipal Archives, Not. Arch. no. 43; Jan van Hout.
40 Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 136*-137*, no. 117. See: Witkam (1969), p. 9-10.
41 Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 139*-140*, no. 121.
42 Leiden, Municipal Archives, Not. Arch. No. 43; Jan van Hout.
43 Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 5, 125-126. 2 and 7 April 1600. Cf. Witkam (1969), p. 18; Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 399, 452, note 46-47.
44 Witkam (1969), p. 10. For indexing figures, see: M.M.G. Fuse, 'Pierson over indexcijfers en prijsstabiliteit', in: J.F.E. Bläsing and H.H. Vleesenbeek (Eds.), *Van Amsterdam naar Tilburg en toch weer terug.* Leiden/Antwerpen 1992, p. 51-73, in particular the appendix 'prijzenreeks', p. 66-68.
45 Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 399; *Leidse Universiteit 400*, p. 132-133.
46 *Dachbouck* (UBL, AC1 100), 7 February 1602; Witkam (1969).
47 Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 399.
48 Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 444-446, Appendix A.
49 Ph. Melanchton, *Opera omnia,* Wittenberg 1580, 1562, 1563, 1577. UBL, 557 A 1-4.
50 M. Chemnizius, *Examinis Concilii Tridentini opus integrum.* Francof. 1574. UBL, 597 A 8.
51 J. Brentius, *In Acta Apostolica homiliae centum viginti duae.* Francof. 1541. This book is bound with M. Luther, *In primum Librum Mose enarrationes.* Wittenberg 1544, and H. Bullinger, *In evangelium sec. Matthaeum commentariorum ll XII.* Tigur. 1542. UBL, 518 A 4.
52 In 1610, Vulcanius' library was auctioned. See: *Bibliotheca Bon. Vulcanii sive Catalogus [...] plurimorum [...] librorum [...] et manuscriptorum [...] et variae effigies [...].* Lugd. Bat. 1610. The Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum in Den Haag possesses a copy of this auction catalogue. A typescript copy of this catalogue is kept at UBL, Special Collections.
53 Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 409.
54 Molhuysen, vol. 2, p. 55. The catalogue of this purchase is by Episcopius and Heinsius. See: P.C. Molhuysen, *Codices Vulcaniani,* p. iv-vii.
55 Dousa deliberately avoided involving his fellow curators in this purchase. They only gave their consent on 31 October 1587, the date on which the library opened.
56 *Dachbouck,* p. 69-70.
57 UBL, VUL 105: 2i, letter from Dousa to Vulcanius, same date; vul 106 i, letter from Dousa to Vulcanius, 1 April 1606.
58 UBL, AC1 18, f. 250. Witkam, vol. 1, p. 89-90.
59 UBL, BPG 33.
60 P.C. Molhuysen, in: *Centrallblatt für Bibliothekwesen* 19 (1902), p. 269.
61 Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 103.
62 Witkam, vol. 1, p. 90-117.
63 Witkam, vol. 1, p. 90-117. Thomas Basson: p. 115, no. 5042; Jan Paets, p. 115, no. 5063.
64 E. van Gulik and H.D.L. Vervliet, *Een gedenksteen voor Plantijn en Van Raphelingen te Leiden.* Leiden 1965, p. 22-25.
65 Witkam, vol. 3, p. 10, 657. Jan Paets repeated his request in 1595 with more success. From 1602 to 1620, he was appointed as successor to Christopher Plantin.
66 P.G. Hoftijzer, 'The library of Johannes de Laet (1581-1649)', in: *LIAS* 25 (1998), p. 201-216.
67 *Dachbouck,* 24 April 1587.
68 Witkam, vol. 1, p. 69; Witkam (1972), p. 5*-12*.
69 For Holmannus: Leiden Municipal Archives, Not. Arch. No. 43; Jan van Hout; for Vulcanius: Witkam, vol. 1, p. 87, no. 131 (31 October 1587).
70 Witkam (1972), p. 12, note 1.
71 Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 402 ss.
72 Witkam, vol. 1, p. 91-92. NNBW vol. 1, col. 524.
73 *Acta Senatus,* 26 November 1590.
74 *Dachbouck,* 1 March 1591. The curators confirmed this choice. Witkam, vol. 1, p. 75. The anatomical theatre was built next to the library. Both institutions remained under the same roof until 1860. Witkam, vol. 3, appendix 'Bibliotheek en Anatomie'.
75 Van Royen, p. 8-9.
76 Witkam, vol. 1 and Witkam (1972), passim.
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78 Witkam (1972), p. 25*. DZ, vol. 1, p. 155, no. 209.
79 C.L. Heesakkers, 'De twee kopiisten van het Landrecht der Vriesne', in: *Landrecht der Vriesne: tekstuitgave en commentaar.* Edited by Ph. H. Breuker. Leeuwarden 1996, p. 245-253.
80 E. van Gulik, 'Drukkers en geleerden. De Leidse Officina Plantiniana (1583-1619)', in: *Leiden University* (1975), p. 385.
81 A.G.H. Bachrach, 'The foundation of the Bodleian Library and xviith century Holland', in: *Neophilologus* 36 (1952), p. 101-114.
82 *Oratio de vita et obitu Jani Dousae[...] habita Lugduni Batavorum post exsequias ejusdem P. Bertii.* Lugd. Bat. 1604 (UBL, 904 F 31). See: C.L. Heesakkers, 'De mortuis nisi bene? The Leiden Neo-Latin Funeral Oration', in: A. Moss, Ph. Dust, P.G. Schmidt, J. Chomarat, F. Tattes (eds.), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Hafniensis,* mrts, Binghampton 1994, p. 219-229.
83 L.J.M. Bosch, *Petrus Bertius, 1565-1629.* Meppel 1979, p. 30 and note 228. See also: *Biografisch Lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands protestantisme.* Part 2, entry Bertius.
84 L.J.M. Bosch (1979), p. 56-58 and passim.
85 Witkam, vol. 1, 66-67, vi-2, p. 170, x-i, p. 23. Quoted by L.J.M. Bosch (1979), p. 189, note 35.
86 P. Bertius mentions this in the foreword to the *Nomenclator* (A4v) and in the eulogy to Janus Dousa. See: L.J.M. Bosch (1979), p. 68 and p. 194, note 434. Jan van Hout mentions the order of the books in his request for a 'reasonable salary'. Witkam, vol. 1, p. 84, no. 5008.
87 P. Raabe, 'Bibliothekskataloge als buchgeschichtliche Quellen. Bemerkungen über gedruckte Kataloge öffentlicher Bibliotheken in der frühen Neuzeit', in: *Bücherkataloge als buchgeschichtliche Quellen: der frühen Zeit.* Hrsg. von R. Wittmann, Wiesbaden 1985, p. 275-297, in particular p. 283 and 295-297. (Wolfenbütteler Schriften zur Geschichte des Buchwesens, 10.)
88 *Epistola ad ordine eius ad usum [..].* G. Naudé, *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque.* Paris 1627.
89 Witkam, vol. 1, p. 157-158, no. 210. Receipt of payment for 407 chains, with a description.
90 Quire CC and CCC.
91 The *Talmud Babylonicum* and several other Hebrew books were donated to the Leiden University library by the Court of Holland in July 1595 and not, as expected, the entire library of the Court of Holland. See: Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 409.
92 Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 409 and p. 453, note 106.
93 For the *Nomenclator* see the facsimile edition published in 1995: Petrus Bertius, *Nomenclator. The first printed catalogue of Leiden University Library (1595).* A facsimile edition with an introduction by R. Breugelmans and an authors' index compiled by Jan Just Witkam. Leiden, Leiden University Library 1995.
94 S. van der Woude, 'Uit de prille jeugd van de Nederlandse stads-universiteitsbibliotheken', in: *Bibliotheekleven* 47 (1962), p. 618-625.
95 See above, note 3.
96 Witkam, vol.3, p. 201-202; see also: Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 453, note 111.
97 Ministers in Leiden were also given the keys to the library, on 9 November 1603. Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 152.
98 L.J.M. Bosch (1979), p. 42-50.
99 UBL, AC1 103, f. 131r-14r; Van Royen, f. 10v; Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 102; Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 453, notes 112 and 114.
100 A request to get the keys back was rejected in August 1597. UBL, AC1 103, f. 19v.; Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 102.
101 Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 112. The proof of receipt that was signed by Scaliger is kept under shelfmark SCA 78: 1.
102 'Is mede geresolveert dat om te voorkomen de ongeregeltheid in de Biblioteecque gebruyct deselve voortsaen sal blijven gesloten.' Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 160. The document is dated 8 November 1605.
103 UBL, AC1 41, with a document dated 8 August 1597. Hulshoff Pol dates the petition of the students after the closure of 1605. The content of the petition confirms this date. See: Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 410.
104 For the biography of Merula, see NNBW, vol. 2, col. 902-904; S.P. Haak, *Paullus Merula (1558-1607),* Zutphen 1901; Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 410-423.
105 Otterspeer (2000), p. 112.
106 In a letter of 16 April 1597, Merula informs Gryphius of the appointment. Quoted by S.P. Haak (1901), p. 138, note 2.
107 The *Memoranda* by Merula are published in: Hulshoff Pol (1975), appendix B, p. 446-450. Hereinafter referred to as *Memorandum.*
108 Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 417 and notes 176-177.
109 *Memorandum* III, 4.
110 *Memorandum* III, before 8 February 1599: Merula received gifts worth in excess of 1,000 guilders.
111 *Memorandum* II, 4.
112 *Memorandum* V, 1 and 2.
113 *Memorandum* III, 1.
114 A.G.H. Bachrach, 'The foundation of the Bodleian Library and xviith Century Holland', in: *Neophilologus* 36 (1952), p. 101-114, with a complete bibliography.
115 *Memorandum* I, 2.
116 Icones, 28. See also: W.N. du Rieu, 'De portretten en het testament van J.J. Scaliger',

in: *Handelingen en Meededelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde,* 1880-1881, p. 102-107.
117 UBL, BPL 1758.
118 *Memorandum* I, 3.
119 *Memorandum* V, 1.
120 *Memorandum* VI, 1. Globes were purchased for the library as early as 1588, but they were outdated. See: Molhuysen *Geschiedenis,* p. 19, note 2.
121 *Catalogus Principum [...]* 1597-1603; *Catalogus rariorum [...]* (1597).
122 Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 413 and p. 454, note 131.
123 Hulshoff Pol, 'Boucken op 't secreet. Plantijndrukken op het raadhuis te Leiden', in: *Jaarboekje voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde van Leiden en omstreken* 64 (1972), p. 89-97.
124 UBL, bpl 130. *Willerami Abbatis in Canticum Canticorum paraphrasis gemina [...].* Ed. P. Merula. Lugd. Bat., Rapheleng. 1598. See: Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 422, and p. 456, notes 226-229.
125 UBL, Or. 266. Cf. Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 417 and 455, notes 176-178.
126 UBL, BA1 C 3. P.C. Molhuysen published it at the beginning of his catalogue, *Codices Bibliothecae Publicae Latinae.* Leiden 1912, p. v-xv.
127 *Memorandum* II 2.
128 Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 418-419.
129 Ibidem, p. 417.
130 (1525-1595). Hulshoff Pol, 'Franciscus Nansius und seine Handschriften', in: *Essays presented to G.I. Lieftinck,* vol. 4, Amsterdam 1976, p. 77-102.
131 *Ibidem*, p. 102.
132 Among the items to come from Nansius' library were manuscripts by Ovid, Persius and Juvenal (BPL 82), Martianus Capella (BPL 88), the *Anthologia Graeca* (BPG 25, BPG 52). The famous Lucretius Quadratus (VLQ 94) came later with Vossius' library. See: Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 417.
133 *Ibidem. Memorandum* VIII, 1 and IX, 3. See: Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 417.
134 (1549-1597). *Ibidem.*
135 (1540-1598). *Ibidem*, p. 419-420.
136 Elias Putschius had purchased a thirteenth-century manuscript of works of Sallust at the Marnix auction. Putschius used the manuscript for his edition of Sallust and then donated it to Leiden University Library (BPL 123). Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 420.

CHAPTER II

1 For Daniel Heinsius, see: NNBW, vol. 2, c. 554-557; P.R. Sellin, *Daniel Heinsius and Stuart England.* Leiden 1968; H.J. de Jonge, *Daniel Heinsius and the Textus Receptus of the New Testament.* Leiden 1971; H.J. de Jonge, 'Peregrinatio Heinsiana. Onderzoek naar de plaatsen waar Daniel Heinsius te Leiden gewoond heeft en naar de plaats van zijn graf, in: *Leids Jaarboekje* 65 (1973), p. 51-67; B. Becker-Cantarino, *Daniel Heinsius.* Boston 1974, p. 16-22; E. Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 423-432; J.H. Meter, *De literaire theorieën van Daniel Heinsius.* Utrecht 1975, p. 16-67, and English version: J.H. Meter, *The literary theories of Daniel Heinsius: a study of the development and background of his views on literary theory and criticism during the period from 1602 to 1612.* Assen 1984.
2 Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 408*, no. 351.
3 B. Becker Cantarino (1974), p. 16.
4 Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 148, 150, 151, 159, 416*-417*.
5 Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 166. On 8 February 1606, Heinsius received 120 guilders 'wegens de moeite die hij heeft gehad om de boeken te krijgen, hem dienstich int resumeren van Lexicon Hesychii'.
6 Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 167, 22 May 1606.
7 Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 175; Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 423.
8 '[...] de Bibliotheecque te versorgen, de boecken te bewaren, de Bibliotheecque tegens regen ende wint te verhoeden ende vorts alles te doen dat een goet ende getrouw bibliothecaris schuldich is ende behort te doen.' UBL, AC1 103, f. 174, 31 August - 1 September 1607; Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 423 and note 237.
9 *Oratio ad ampliss. et nobil. Curatores et eorum collegas, urbis consules pro Bibliothecarii munere gratiarum actio.* Lugd. Bat. 1607. This *Oratio* was included word for word in the catalogues that Heinsius published in 1612 and 1640.
10 Molhuysen, vol. 2, p. 59; Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 429-430.
11 On 7/8 May 1614. Molhuysen, vol. 2, p. 59.
12 Molhuysen, vol. 2, p. 59; Van Royen, f. 16v.
13 Molhuysen, vol. 2, p. 54-55 (13 May 1614), p. 59 (7/8 May 1615), p. 97 (14 October 1620), p. 117 (9 May 1624, last warning), p. 277 (25 August 1643); Van Royen, f. 15 r-v; Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 430.
14 See note 8.
15 Molhuysen, vol. 2, p. 54-55 (7/8 May 1615).
16 Molhuysen, vol. 2 p. 277 and vol. 3, p. 28; Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 431.
17 Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 205*, 194, 14 August 1592. *Leidse universiteit 400,* no. a 109-110, p. 68.
18 The French will of Scaliger, dated 18 November 1608, is printed at the start of the catalogue of his manuscripts: *Codices Scaligerani* (Codices manuscripti ii), Leiden 1910, p. v-viii. For a study of the will and of the Latin will, see: H.J. de Jonge, 'The Latin testament of Joseph Scaliger', in: *LIAS* 2 (1975), p. 248-263. The list of books that Scaliger had added to the Latin will was lost.
19 Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 206*, 195, 8 October 1592.
20 Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 275*, 250, 29 February 1593. *Leidse Universiteit 400,* no. A 109-110, p. 68.
21 Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 278*, 251, Scaliger to Hans Joosten, 3 April 1593. See also: P.C. Molhuysen, *De komst van Scaliger in Leiden.* Leiden 1913.
22 Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 275*, 250, 7 May 1593.
23 Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 276*, 250, 20 July 1593.
24 Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 279*, 250, s.d. (22 August 1593).
25 *Leidse Universiteit 400,* p. 149-150.
26 Scaliger to Casaubon, 11 February 1597, *Epistolae* 157-158, quoted by A. Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger.* Vol. 2, Oxford 1993, p. 393.
27 Scaliger to De Thou, 13 April 1591, quoted in H.J. de Jonge, 'The study of the New Testament', in: *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century* (1975), p. 65-109, p. 76 and note 105.
28 Quoted in Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 409. Ultimately, Scaliger did not publish any notes about the New Testament. After his death, Heinsius made a thorough search for notes on the manuscripts in Scaliger's legacy, but found none.
29 J. Scaliger, *Autobiography. With autobiographical selections from his letters, his testament and the funeral orations by Daniel Heinsius and Domenicus Baudius.* Transl. into English [...] by George W. Robinson. Cambridge 1927. See also: A. Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger.* Vol. 2, Oxford 1993, p. 388, 392.
30 W. Dilthey, *Gesammelte Schriften.* Volume 2, Stuttgart/Göttingen 1964, p. 443-444.
31 A. Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger.* Vol. 2, Oxford 1993, p. 476.
32 A. Grafton, *Commerce with the Classics: Ancient Books and Renaissance Readers.* Ann Arbor 1997, p. 5-7.
33 H.J. de Jonge, 'Josephus Scaliger in Leiden', in: *Jaarboekje voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde van Leiden en omstreken* (1979), p. 87.
34 See note 18.
35 Books from Scaliger's collection later found their way into the library, having been purchased during the auction of his books and via his friends. For the auction catalogue: *Catalogus librorum bibliothecae Ill. Viri J. Scaligeri [...].* Leiden, L.B. Basson 1609. A reprint of this catalogue has also been published: *The auction catalogue of the library of J.J. Scaliger.* A facsimile edition with an introduction by H.J. de Jonge. Utrecht 1977. See: Van Royen, f. 15r; B. Becker Cantarino (1974), p. 17; Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 429, and notes 273 and 275.
36 Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 183.
37 Van Royen, f. 16r.
38 Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 183 (8/10 February 1609); vol. 2, p. 59 (7/8 May 1615).
39 These provisions were included in Scaliger's French will; see: *Codices Scaligerani* (1910), p. vii: 'Du reste de mes escrits je ne veux nullement qu'aucun soit mis en lumière, comme j'ay touché cy dessus, moins qu'on en fasse extraict'. Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 428, is of a different opinion.
40 Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 428-429.
41 H.J. de Jonge, 'The study of the New Testament' in: *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century* (1975), p. 78-80, 97-100.
42 UBL, AC1 103, f. 376, 378, 385 (1615-1620), ACc 21, f. 114-115, 156 (1633-1634). Molhuysen, vol. 2, p. 50 (7/8 May 1615); p. 97 (14 October 1620); p. 107 (9 November 1622). See: Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 431 and notes 296-297.
43 Molhuysen, vol. 2, p. 59 (7/8 May 1615). The curators order Heinsius to hand in Scaliger's '… testament metten Catalogus der boecken'.
44 Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 431.
45 'Nam cum alia aliis disciplinis ac artibus sint propria, unum omnium commune est: bibliotheca nimirum, quam totius quasi sapientiae armamentarium, curae diligentiaeque nostrae incumbere voluistis':

because, while the different fields and arts each have their own characteristics, they have one thing in common – the library, that arsenal of all wisdom that you have sought to entrust to our care and diligence. Catalogue 1612, *Oratio,* Aiiir.

46 Ibidem, Ciiv.
47 Molhuysen (1905), p. 22, 23.
48 UBL, BA1 C2i.
49 Den Haag, Municipal Archives, Not. Arch. 2942, no. 78. See also: Molhuysen, vol. 4, 413-414, 200*-201* and vi, p. 63.
50 UBL (Reference Library Special Collectons). See also: A. Biedl, 'Ein bisher vermisster Leidener Bibliothekkatalog des 17.Jahrhunderts', in: *Het Boek,* new series, 25 (1938), p. 45-49 and Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 457, note 287.
51 UBL, BA1 C5.
52 W.M.C. Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche Beoefenaars van het Arabisch in Nederland.* Leiden 1931, p. 116-118; J.C.T. Oates, *Cambridge University Library. A History.* Vol. 1. Cambridge 1986, p. 164-166.
53 The catalogue in Latin script is probably by Heinsius; the separately numbered appendix with titles in Arabic script was drawn up by Golius.
54 Molhuysen, vol. 2, p. 150.
55 Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 425 and p. 456, notes 245-249.
56 For example, Matthijs Elzevier was appointed as a custodian to the library at Scaliger's suggestion, a function he fulfilled in 1609, 1610 and 1612. He succeeded Franck Willems van Dobben, who supervised proceedings between 1598 and 1608. See: Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 410 and p. 450, note 117.
57 *Paraphrasis Aristotelis Ethicorum Nichomachiorum.* Incerto auctore antiquo et eximio Peripatetico. Lugd. Bat. 1607. The manuscript is kept under the signature BPG 18. See: Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 423 and 456, notes 233 and 234.
58 During their time as students, N. Heinsius, J.F. Gronovius and G. Vossius repeatedly collated and annotated Leiden manuscripts. For example, Heinsius annotated bpl 179 (see f. 9), bpl 131 and bpl 201; Gronovius and Heinsius annotated bpl 118 (see f. 1).
59 H.J. de Jonge, *Daniel Heinsius and the Textus Receptus of the New Testament.* Leiden 1971, p. 19-21. The Procopius manuscript was kept under the signature BPG 50. The draft of the foreword to the 1623 edition of the New Testament is on f. 524-525.
60 Like Meursius and Jan Antonisz. See: Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 456, note 219 and p. 428, notes 266-267. The lending policy appears to have been eased between 1616 and 1620, following stricter policies in the wake of a fire in the Academy Building. Ibidem, p. 425, notes 251-254. In 1629, Golius was lent manuscripts after signing a receipt. Van Royen, f. 19r.
61 F. Gomarus, *Bedencken over de lijckoratie van meester P. Benius.* Leiden 1609, p. 48. Bertius responded with his *Aen-spraeck aen D. Fr. Gomarum op zijne Bedenckinghe over de Lijckoratie ghedaen op de Begraefenisse van D. Jacobus Arminius zaligher.* Leiden 1609. In particular D iiiv. See: Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 436 and notes 337-339; L.J.M. Bosch, *Petrus Bertius 1565-1629.* Meppel 1979, p. 85-99.
62 Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 436.
63 H.J. de Jonge, 'The study of the New Testament' in: *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century* (1975), p. 93.

CHAPTER III

1 Re Anthony Thysius father and son, see: NNBW vol. 5, col. 923-924 and 924-925.
2 Molhuysen, vol. 3, p. 77, 79, 87. See also: Van Royen, f. 20v.
3 J.W. Clark, *The care of books.* Cambridge 1904, p. 265 vv.; B.H. Streeter, *The chained library. A survey of four centuries in the evolution of the English library.* 2nd ed. New York 1970; F. Wormald and C.E. Wright, *The English Library before 1700.* London 1958.
4 UBL, AC1 25, xxxv, 9 November 1654 (carpenter's bill).
5 UBL, AC1 25, xxxv, 8 November 1656, f. 89.
6 Molhuysen, vol. 3, p. 26*; Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 432 and note 421.
7 Molhuysen, vol. 3, p. 116 (6 October 1656).
8 UBL, BA1 C 4.
9 Molhuysen, vol. 3, p. 128-129 (7 May 1657).
10 Molhuysen, vol. 3, p. 34*-35*.
11 Van Royen, f. 21r-v.
12 Molhuysen, vol. 3, p. 95, 34*-35*; Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 432 and note 322.
13 UBL, AC1 25, the application by custodian De Haes took place on 9 February 1654, and his appointment on 5 March 1654.
14 Molhuysen, vol. 3, p. 89-90.
15 UBL, AC1 25, f. 22, 31v, 9 February and 5 March 1654; Molhuysen, vol. 3, p. 91. See also: Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 433 and note 326. Marcus Zuerius Boxhornius (1612-1653) was recruited to Leiden in 1632 as a professor of rhetoric and succeeded Heinsius in 1648 as professor of history and politics.
16 Claude Saumaise and André Rivet, *Correspondance échangée entre 1622 et 1648,* publiée par P. Leroy & H. Bots, avec la participation de E. Peters. Amsterdam & Maarsen 1987, p. xv-xvii.
17 Molhuysen, vol. 3, p. 28*, 688 and p. 141.
18 I. Philip, *The Bodleian Library in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.* Oxford 1983, p. 27.
19 Van Royen, f. 20v and 21r; Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 433 and notes 327 and 328.
20 Molhuysen, vol. 3, p. 26, 78, 88. See also: Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 435 and note 431.
21 NNBW vol. 1, col. 989-992.
22 Nicolaas Heinsius, for example, was well received there. See: F.F. Blok, *Nicolaas Heinsius in dienst van Christina van Zweden.* Delft 1949, p. 127-183.
23 J. Fück, *Die Arabische Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhundens.* Leizig 1955; for the Republic, see: J. Brugman, 'Arabic scholarship', in: *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century* (1975), p. 204-215; *Driehonderd jaar oosterse talen in Amsterdam.* A collection of essays published by J. de Roos, A. Schippers, J.W. Wesselius. Amsterdam 1986; *Een bescheiden onderkomen. Historisch overzicht van de studie van de Oosterse talen en culturen aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht.* Utrecht 1981.
24 P. Dibon and F. Waquet, *Johannes Fredericus Gronovius, pèlerin de la République des Lettres. Recherches sur le voyage savant au XVIIème siècle.* Geneva 1984, p. 30-36.
25 Van Royen, f. 23v.
26 W.M.C. Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefenaars van het Arabisch in Nederland.* Utrecht 1931, p. 180-183.
27 Van Royen, f. 23v-24r; A. Brugman, 'Arabic Scholarship', in: *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century* (1975), p. 203-215, in particular p. 213-214; W.M.C. Juynboll (1931), p. 222-234, 238-239; *Levinus Warner and his legacy. Three centuries Legatum Warnerianum in the Leiden University Library.* Leiden 1970.
28 J. Brugman (1975).
29 W.M.C. Juynboll (1931), p. 232-234; *Levinus Warner* (1970), p. 18-19.
30 'Le Legatum Warnerianum', in: *Quatre esquisses détachées relatives aux études orientalistes à Leiden.* Leiden 1931, p. 1-15.
31 NNBW vol. 10, col. 955-956.
32 A. Eekhof, *De theologische Faculteit te Leiden in de zeventiende eeuw.* Utrecht 1921, p. 56*-57*.
33 F. Spanheim, *Opera quatenus complectuntur geographiam, chronologiam et historiam sacram atque ecclesiasticam [...].* 3 volumes, Leiden 1701-1703.
34 Molhuysen, vol. 4, p. 265-266, 8 November 1672; Van Royen, f. 25r.
35 Molhuysen, vol. 3, p. 287; Van Royen, f. 24v-25r.
36 UBL, BA1 C5.
37 Molhuysen, vol. 3, p. 284.
38 F. Spanheim, *Oratio seu de Bibliothecae Lugduno-Batavae novis auspiciis mense saeculari [...]AD XXIX octobri 1674.* Leiden 1674.
39 Molhuysen, vol. 4, p. 7*-9*.
40 Molhuysen, vol. 4, p. 8*, par. 3.
41 Molhuysen, vol. 4, p. 333, 27 November 1677.
42 Molhuysen, vol. 4, p. 8*-9*, par. 8 and 9.
43 Molhuysen, vol. 3, p. 333.
44 Molhuysen, vol. 4, p. 43, 8 February 1690.
45 Molhuysen, vol. 4, p. 132, 16 March 1695 (reopening).
46 U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *History of classical scholarship.* Ed. with an introduction and notes by H. Lloyd-Jones. London 1982, in particular p. 49-54.
47 Witzen, the Mayor of Amsterdam, was only allowed to view books from the library in the home of curator Van Wijngaarde in Leiden (Molhuysen, vol. 4, p. 35, 2 April 1685); the Amsterdam professor Alexander de Bye got no dispensation to be able to borrow a dictionary manuscript (ibidem). Even though he worked at the library, Casimir Oudanus was only allowed to view manuscripts on site (Res. Cur. UBL, AC1 29, 126). Not even Spanheim was granted dispensation to borrow items from Vossius' library (Res. Cur. UBL, AC1 29, p. 28*, 1 February 1697).
48 Carolus Schaeff was allowed to borrow a manuscript of the Koran for twelve weeks, and later, Chaldean manuscripts (AC1 26, p. 232, 8 May 1683); in 1697, he was given permission to borrow a number of books, including the Biblia Regia, which he needed for his publication of a Syriac New Testament (ibidem, Res. Cur. 9, AC1 29, p. 35-37, 2 April 1697); Professor Triglandius was lent two manuscripts from the Legatum Warmerianum which he could keep at home for a period of one year (ibidem, Res. Cur. UBL, AC1 28, p. 59-60, 29 January 1688).
49 Molhuysen, vol. 3, p. 313, 6 December 1675; ibidem, vol. 4, p. 132-133, 23 April 1695.
50 Molhuysen, vol. 3, p. 333.
51 Molhuysen, vol. 4, p. 52, 5 June 1687.
52 Van Royen, f. 27r (1675).
53 UBL,, Res Cur 8, AC1 28, f. 30v, 8 August 1686.
54 Van Royen, f. 42v-43v. *Christiani Hugenii opuscula posthuma, quae continent dioptricam commentarios de vitris figurandis, dissertationem de corona &parheliis, tractatum de motu, de vi centrifuga, descriptionem automati planetarii.* Edit. Burcherus de Volder and Bernhardus Fullenius. Lugd. Bat. 1703.
55 Molhuysen, vol. 4, p. 16-17,2, 28; Van Royen, f. 27 r-v. The purchase concerned 61 in folio, 90 in quarto and 61 in octavo. The list of books purchased, with prices, can be found in: AC1, Cur. Reg. 10.
56 F.F. Blok, *Contributions to the history of Isaac Vossius's Library.* Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen. Afd. Letterkunde. New series, 83 (1974); R. de Smet, 'Les manuscrits de Thomas Browne et la bibliothèque d'Isaac Vossius. L'histoire d'une filature', in: *Studia varia Bruxellensia ad orbem graeco-latinum pertinentia* III, Leuven 1994, p. 23-38; C.S.M. Rademaker, 'The famous library of Gerardus Joannes Vossius (1577-1649)', in: *LIAS* 23(1996), p. 27-47.
57 UBL, AC1 164, f. 13; R. De Smet (1994), p. 32, note 37.
58 Van Royen, f. 30 r-v.
59 *Ibidem,* f. 31v-32r.
60 *Ibidem,* f. 33v-34r.
61 München, Universitätsbibliothek, 2e Cod. Misc. 627, f. 166v, letter from van F. Bonnet to J, Gronovius, September 1690. The letter was published by D Smet (1994), p. 28.
62 H. van Beverland, *De peccato originali [...] dissertatio [...].* Lugd. Bat. 1679.
63 De Smet (1994), p. 29-30.
64 The pardon was granted on 13 February 1693. See: R. de Smet, 'Traces of Hadriaan van Beverland (1650-1716) in the Zeeuws Documentatiecentrum at Middelburg', in: *LIAS* 19 (1992), p. 73-91.
65 Oxford Bodleian Library, Ms. Smith 8, fol. 101, H. van Beverland to E. Bernard. Copies of the letters from E. Bernard to the Leiden curators in: UBL, AC1 166. See: De Smet (1994), p. 30-31.
66 Molhuysen, vol. 4, passim.
67 Van Royen, f. 34v-35v.
68 As well as being the librarian at Colbert, Etienne Baluze (1630-1718) was also a keen collector. His library was sold in 1719 and showed great affinity with that of Isaac Vossius. See: *Bibliotheca Baluziana, seu catalogus librorum bibliothecae V. Cl. D. Steph. Baluzii Tutelensis [...].* Paris 1719. Nicolas Clément (1647-1712) was responsible for the French king's library for more than forty years. According to G.J. Vossius, Clément had perhaps handled and examined more manuscripts than any other scholar before him, and possibly any after him. It is possible that the same applied to scholars Jean Mabillon (1632-1707) and Jean Hardouin (1646-1729).
69 Van Royen, f. 38 r-v.
70 H. Boerhaave, *Elementa Chemiae,* i (1732), p. 17. Quoted by P.C. Boeren in the introduction to his catalogue *Codices Vossiani Chymici,* Leiden 1975, . ix-xxv, in particular p. xii, note 1. The Latin manuscripts have been catalogued by K.A. de Meyier, *Codices Vossiani Latini.* 4 volumes, Leiden 1973-1984.
71 Quoted in Van Royen, p. 28v.
72 The *Catalogus* of 1674 listed 3725 printed books and 1702 manuscripts. The *Bibliotheca Vossiana* meant the addition of a further 3984 books.
73 Hulshoff Pol (1975), p. 444.
74 Molhuysen, vol. 4, p. 105.
75 Molhuysen, vol. 4, p. 95.
76 Molhuysen, vol. 4, p. 96.
77 Molhuysen, vol. 4, p. 123-4, 8 December 1694.
78 The entire library was checked for duplicate copies by Casimir Oudijn, a Huguenot who had fled France who later became a custodian, and Herman Boerhaave. The worst copies were set to one side and sold by Pieter van der Aa in 1706, and the remainder in 1707 by Vivie. See: Van Royen, f. 41v.
79 Molhuysen, vol. 4, p. 123-124, 8 December 1694.
80 Molhuysen, vol. 4, p. 113 and 122, 26 May 1693 and 15 November 1694.
81 Van Royen, f. 25r.
82 During Spanheim's time, the custodians who supervised the library were French Huguenot Casimir Oudijn and bookseller Joannes Verhessen. See: Molhuysen, vol. 4, p. 105, 14 August and 18 September 1692.
83 R. Descartes, *Principia philosophiae. Speciminu philosophiae: seu Dissertatio de methodo [...].* Amsterdam, 1644. Re Dutch Cartesianism, see: C. L. Thijssen-Schoute, *Nederlands Cartesianisme.* Amsterdam 1954; Th. Verbeek, *Descartes and the Dutch: early reactions to Cartesian philosophy, 1637-1650.* Carbondale 1992; Th. Verbeek e.a., *De Nederlanders en Descartes.* Amsterdam-Paris 1996; Th. Verbeek, *Une université pas encore corrompue [...]: Descartes et les premiéres années de l'Université d'Utrecht.* Utrecht 1993.
84 *Geometria a R. Des Cartes anno 1637 Gallice edita [...] nunc autem [...] in linguam latinam versa [...] Opera atque studio Francisci van Schooten.* Leiden, J. Maire 1649.
85 See: *Catalogus compendiarius.* Pars 1 1932, 'Codices Hugeniani', p. 162.

CHAPTER IV

1 A.J. Van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden.* 12 volumes. Haarlem 1852-1878; P. Brunet, *Les physiciens hollandais et la méthode expérimentale en France au XVIIIème siècle.* Paris 1926, p. 41; E.G. Ruestow, *Physics at 17th and 18th-century Leiden: philosophy and the new science in the university.* Den Haag 1973, p. 78-97; C. de Pater, 'Experimental physics', in: *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century.* Leiden 1975, p. 309-327, in particular p. 314-322.
2 Van Royen, f. 43v.
3 E. Dekker, *De Leidsche Sphaera. Een uitzonderlijke planetarium uit de zeventiende eeuw.* Leiden 1985. The pamphlet about the *sphaera: 'Sphera automatica,* bewerkt en opgemaakt door Thrasius, onder 't beleydt van de Heer Adriaan Vroesen, volgens de oprekeningen van Nicolaas Stampioen. Geschonken tot 't gebruyk van 't Gemeen door de weduwe en Erfgenamen van de Heer Sebastiaan Schepers, Raad der stad Rotterdam, etc. Vermeerdert en in een beter order gestelt door den seer vernuftigen Bernard Cloesen. Ende door de Heeren Curateuren van de universiteit en Burgemeesteren der Stadt Leyden geschikt tot 't gebruyk van de Liefhebbers der Weetenschappen en van de astronomie, in
't jaar 1711.'
4 In 1674, the library collection contained 3725 printed books and 1702 manuscripts. In 1716, it contained 15,000 books, according to an estimate by P. Raabe, 'Bibliothekskataloge als buchgeschichtliche Quellen. Bemerkungen über gedruckte Kataloge öffentlicher Bibliotheken in der frühen Neuzeit', in: *Wolfenbütteler Schriften zur Geschichte des Buchwesens* 10 (1985), p. 275-297, in particular p. 295.
5 Res. Cur. UBL, AC1 29, 376; Van Royen, f. 45r; P.G. Hoftijzer, *Pieter van der Aa (1659-1733). Leids drukker en boekverkoper.* Zeven Provinciën reeks 16. Hilversum 1999, p. 2526.
6 Raabe (1985), p. 285. The transition from a faculty-based to an alphabetic system first took place in England. The first complete alphabetical catalogue was printed in Oxford in 1620. The alphabetic system became more widespread in European libraries in the eighteenth century.
7 Molhuysen, vol. 4, p. 120*-121*.
8 UBL, AC1 29, 549, 15 April 1709.
9 Molhuysen, vol. 4, p. 260, 8 August 1712; Hoftijzer (1999), p. 26.
10 Molhuysen, vol. 4, p. 261.
11 Hoftijzer (1999), p. 28-29.
12 Van Royen, f. 46v-47r; Molhuysen, vol. 4, p. 35. In addition to his books and manuscripts, Perizonius left a sum of 20,000 guilders to the university in order to cover the study costs of a student and to buy rare and valuable historic books. The money was used to purchase books until well into the nineteenth century.
13 Molhuysen, vol. 4, p. 286.
14 J.C. Streng, 'The plates in the Leiden University *Catalogus librorum* of 1716', in: *Quaerendo* 22 (1992), p. 273-284, in particular p. 274.
15 C. Ripa, *Iconologia of uytbeeldinghe des verstands.* Facsimile reprint. Soest 1971.
16 *Catalogus 1716,* between p. 498 and 499. See: Hoftijzer (1999), p. 57.
17 Hoftijzer (1999), p. 89-90.
18 Letter from P. van der Aa to P. Deinoot,

18 November 1694, quoted by Hoftijzer (1999), p. 83 and note 239.
19 Hoftijzer (1999), p. 86.
20 NNBW, vol. 4, col. 354-358. See also: G.W. Kernkamp, 'Pieter Burman, van 1696 tot 1715 hoogleraar te Utrecht', in: *Verslag van het Provinciaal Utrechtsch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen,* 1933, p. 66-136.
21 Johannes Georgius Graevius, 1632-1703.
22 *Proces [...] tusschen Dina van Spangen, wed. van Jan van Woudenberg, als moeder en mombersse over haare onmondige Dogter Dina van Woudenberg impten. In cas van defloratie ca den Heere ende Mr. Petrus Burmannus Professor in de Academie alhier ged.* Rotterdam 1709. (UBL, THYSIA 1532: 3).
23 *Catalogus van eenige raare, door veel moeyten by een gezogte schoone Boeken en Manuscripten; Nevens verscheyde fraaye rariteyten, van den alomvermaarden en Hoog-geleerden Heer Professor Petrus Burmannus [...].* S.l. s.a. (UBL, THYSIA 1532: 28).
24 P. Burman, *De geleerde vrouwen. Blijspel.* Uyt het Frans (van J. Baptiste Poquelin de Molière). Thiel 1713; Idem, *Redenvoering voor de comedie in 't openbaar opgezegt bij den aanvang zijner academische leszen over den toneeldichter Terentius op den 14 september 1711.* Utrecht 1711. (UBL, 1207 B 30).
25 UBL, ACI 30, Res. Cur. 24 November 1716.
26 'Petri Burmanni Oratio de Bibliothecis Publicis, earumque Praefectis, publice habita Leidae a.d. xvii septembris 1725, quum Poësos professionem susciperet', in: *Petri Burmanni Orationes, antea sparsim editae, et indeditis auctae [...].* Hagae Comitis 1759, p. 330-351.
27 Schotel (1866), p. 27.
28 Van Royen, f. 50r-51r.
29 *Bibliotheca Burmanniana sive catalogus librorum [...] Petri Burmanni [...] quorum publica fiet auctio in aedibus [...] defuncti die Lunae 26. Februarii et seqq. diebus 1742.* Leiden 1742.
30 The purchase of books in each year can be traced in an interleaved copy of the 1716 *Catalogus*, where the purchases were written by hand every year. UBL, BA1 c 14.
31 G. Bumet, *Geschiedenis van Engeland 1600-1713.* Leiden 1735; G. Noodt, *Opera omnia: recognita, aucta. Emendata, multis in locis, atque in duos tomos distributa.* Leiden 1735.
32 Zie: *Supplementum Catalogi librorum tam impressorum quam manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Publicae Universitatis Lugduno-Batavae. Ab anno 1716 usque ad annum 1741.* Leiden 1741.
33 H. Bots and F. Waquet, *La République des Lettres.* Paris 1997; W. Frijhoff, 'Cosmopolitisme', in: *Le monde des Lumières.* Sous la direction de V. Ferrone et D. Roche. Paris 1999, p. 31-40.
34 The handwritten catalogues have been preserved: UBL, BA1 C 17; see also: Van Royen, f. 49r.
35 P. Burman, *Sylloges Epistolarum a viris illustribus scriptarum.* 5 volumes. Leiden 1724-1727. One of the library copies contains the registration brochure for the *Sylloge,* from 1723, in which Burman explains his acquisition policies (UBL, Reference Library Special Collections).
36 Van Royen, f. 51v-52r; Molhuysen (1905), p. 36.
37 Van Royen, f. 53v; Schotel (1866), p. 27.
38 David van Royen (1699-1764) was a lawyer and Neo-Latin poet. He occupied the post of secretary to the curators from 1725 to 1753. NNBW, vol. 10, col. 847-848.
39 Van Royen. Published by Molhuysen, v, p. 88*-131*. The attaching of *ex legato* slips to the Oriental manuscripts by Van Royen was not always performed accurately, which resulted in some mystery surrounding the provenance of the manuscripts in the subsequent centuries.
40 NNBW, vol. 1, col. 985-986; E. Hulshoff Pol, 'Een Leids bibliothecaris: Abraham Gronovius', in: *Het boek,* 3rd series, xxxv (1962), p. 91-119.
41 Petrus Burmannus Secundus, the nephew of the librarian, Pieter Burman, addresses Abraham Gronovius as his highly esteemed cousin. UBL, BPL 246, P. Burman to A. Gronovius, two letters from 1759. See also the genealogy of the Gronovius family by J.C.C. Bijleveld, in: *De Nederlandse Leeuw* 60 (1942), p. 103-109.
42 Justinus, *Historiae Philippicae.* Cum integris commentariis et excerptis variorum curante Abrahamo Gronovio. Leiden 1719.
43 E. Hulshoff Pol (1962), p. 101.
44 E. Hulshoff Pol collected this information in the Gronovius correspondence that is stored in the Universitätsbibliothek München, microfilm copies of which are kept in Leiden. E. Hulshoff Pol (1962), p. 100; Idem, 'Brievencollectie Gronovius voor Leiden gefilmd', in: *Bibliotheekleven* 46 (1961), p. 583-585.
45 Including Justinus, Pomponius Mela and Aelianus.
46 One of the curators wrote in his letter of assessment with regard to Gronovius that he 'hebbe veel goeds gehoort, doch dat sich nu wat retireerde en buyten de menschen hieuw'. UBL, AC1 32, Res. Cur., 8 July 1741. Quoted by E. Hulshoff Pol (1962), p. 99.
47 This instruction dates from 3 May 1741 and was published by Molhuysen, vol. 4, p. 79*-85* and by H.F.W. Jeltes, 'Bibliotheekbeheer in de 18e eeuw', in: *Tijdschrift voor boek- en bibliotheekwezen* 8 (1910), p. 134-142. Hereinafter referred to as *Instructie.*
48 D. McKitterick, *Cambridge University Library. A history.* vol. 2. Cambridge 1986, p. 222-224.
49 *Instructie* V en VI; Molhuysen, vol. 5, p. 81*.
50 *Instructie* VIIIi; Molhuysen, vol. 5, p. 81*.
51 *Instructie* I; Molhuysen, vol. 5, p. 79*-80*.
52 *Instructie* II; Molhuysen, vol. 5, p. 80*.
53 *Instructie* X; Molhuysen, vol. 5, p. 82*
54 *Instructie* III; Molhuysen, vol. 5, p. 80*.
55 *Instructie* XI-XVII; Molhuysen, vol. 5, p. 82*-84*.
56 *Instructie* XVII; Molhuysen, vol. 5, p. 84*.
57 Hulshoff Pol (1962), p. 107.
58 *Instructie* XVI; Molhuysen, vol. 5, p. 84*.
59 *Instructie* XVIII; Molhuysen, vol. 5, p. 84*; UBL, BA1 u 3j, reverse side of the draft. The custodian Hazenberg noted when the library was 'collated' between 1783 and 1811, namely every four years.
60 Schotel (1866), p. 34.
61 Quoted by Hulshoff Pol (1962), p. 115.
62 Molhuysen, vol. 5, p. 269, quoted by Hulshoff Pol (1962), p. 114. See also, for the review of 1762: UBL, ACI 34, Res. Cur 1 February 1762, appendix. 14.
63 Molhuysen, vol. 5, p. 38.
64 Hulshoff Pol (1962), p. 113. The Papenbroek legacy is kept under the name of the donor. See: *Catalogus compendiarius [...].* Pars 1. Leiden 1932, p. 50.
65 Molhuysen, vol 5, p. 372, 8 November 1753.
66 *Catalogue des manuscrits de la collection Prosper Marchand* par C. Berkvens-Stevelinck avec la collaboration de A. Nieuweboer. Leiden 1988.
67 Schotel (1866), p. 39.
68 UBL, BPL 76 A.
69 Hulshoff Pol (1962)., p. 113.
70 Hulshoff Pol (1962), p. 102.
71 UBL, AC1 34, 14, Res. Cur. (1756-1780).
72 Letter from Ruhnken to W. Lauder (15 October 1750), quoted by Hulshoff Pol (1962), p. 102.
73 UBL, AC1 34, Res. Cur. , appendix 14, 21 April 1760.
74 E. Hulshoff Pol, 'Een Zweed te Leiden in 1769. Uit het reisdagboek van J.H. Lidén', in: *Leidsch Jaarboekje* 50 (1958), p. 138.
75 NNBW, vol. 10, col. 851-854; for the first part of his life until his appointment as lector in 1755, see: E. Hulshoff Pol, *Studia Ruhnkeniana. Enige hoofdstukken over het leven en werk van David Ruhnkenius (1723-1798).* Leiden 1953; E. Hulshoff Pol subsequently edited the follow-up to this work. A typed version of this work is located in the Leiden University library, library archives. Hereinafter referred to as *typescript.*
76 Hulshoff Pol, *typescript,* S8-10.
77 UBL, BA1 C 14. The acquisitions are recorded in this copy of the 1716 catalogue. For the influence of Wolffianism, see: M.R. Wielerna, *Ketters en Verlichters: de invloed van het Spinozisme en het Wolffianisme op de Verlichting in gereformeerd Nederland.* Amsterdam 1999.
78 Hulshoff Pol, *Studia Ruhnkeniana [...],* p. 50.
79 *Davidis Ruhnkenii Oratio de doctore umbratico.* Publice dicta in academia Lugduno-Batava a.d. xxi Septembris iii. Quum ordinariam historiarum (...) professionem auspicaretur. Leiden 1761. E. Hulshoff Pol, *typescript,*p. 13-14.
80 D. Wyttenbach, *Vita Ruhnkeniani,* p. 119-120; *Mélanges littéraires, tirés de quelques lettres inédites de M. de Villoison à M. Chardon de la Rochette,* in: P.A. Wolf, *Literarische Analekten* i (1818), p. 417; G. Levertin, 'Mathias Waldius' Utländska resa', in: *Samlad Skrivter 5* (1918), p. 41-42.
81 *Ibidem,* p. 14-17.
82 *Ibidem,* p. 27-28.
83 Hulshoff Pol, *typescript,* TB 4 and 7.
84 Hulshoff Pol, *typescript,* TB 6-8.
85 *Bibliotheca Burmanniana, sive catalogus librorum [...] Petri Burmanni [...] quorum publica fiet auctio in aedibus [...] defuncti, die Lunae 26. Februarii et seqq. diebus 1742.* Leiden 1742.
86 Hulshoff Pol, *typescript,* p. 4.
87 Hulshoff Pol, *Studia Ruhnkeniana,* p. 88; Idem, *typescript,* p. 4.
88 Correspondence between Passionei and Ruhnken is kept in Leiden (BPL 338, 1752-1759) and in Rome (Bibl. Vat., Ottob. 3194, f. 17-26, 1756-757). Letters from Ferdinando Fossi and Gerard van Swieten to Ruhnken are kept in Leiden (BPL 338 and RUH 66).
89 Hulshoff Pol, *typescript,* p. 5. On 20 February 1782, J. Steenwinkel and J.A. Clignett were given permission to collate a manuscript (BPL 14 E). On 17 April of the same year, Clignett was allowed to continue the collation work at home. It was completed on 14 September (UBL, BA1 U 31, 20 February, 17 April and 14 September 1782).
90 Schotel (1866), p. 37; Leiden, UBL, BA1 U 3 g-p, *quitance controleboek,* mentions which professors, lectors and others had borrowed manuscripts and books between 1774 and 1796. 1782 sees the first appearance of the name Ignazio d'Asso, the Consul of Spain, residing in Amsterdam, as a non-Leiden borrower (UBL, BA1 U 3j, 27 August 1782). He was subsequently allowed to borrow a large number of Oriental manuscripts to take home to Amsterdam (*ibidem,* 30 October and 30 December 1782, 9 January, 3 February and 1 March 1783). During the subsequent year, a Hungarian reader, Joannes Retsey, was allowed to borrow a handwritten history of Hungary (UBL, BA1 U 3k, 9 December 1784).
91 The will of Chastelain was discussed on 22 October 1787 in the curators' meeting. Molhuysen, vol. 6, p. 381.
92 *Homeri Hymnus in Cererem, nunc primum editus a Davide Ruhnkenio; accedunt duae epistolae criticae, ex editione altera, multis partibus locupletiores.* Leiden 1782.
93 *Catalogus* 1852, no. 22; Molhuysen (1905), p. 40.
94 Decreeten van het Prov. Bestuur van Holland, 23 June 1797, p. 430; L. Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits* [...]. vol. 1, p. 290. Quoted by Molhuysen, *Geschiedenis,* p. 40.
95 The loan registers contain multiple comments that indicate manuscripts were kept on the floor, such as 'deze (manuscripten) van de grond van de gaanderij' (UBL, BA1 U 3u, 21 July 1790); 'uit de manuscripten (...) die op de grond liggen' (UBL, BA1 U 30, 11 March 1794).
96 H. Sander, *Heinrich Sanders Beschreibung seiner Reisen durch Frankreich, die Niederlände* [...]. I. Leipzig 1783, p. 521-522.
97 McKitterick (1986), p. 270; I. Philip, *The Bodleian Library in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries.* Oxford 1983, p. 104-105.
98 D. Wyttenbach, *Vita Ruhnkenii,* p. 460; Schotel (1866), p. 41-42; Molhuysen, *Geschiedenis,* p. 40-41.

CHAPTER V

1 Regarding the various historic assessments of this period, see: G.J. Schutte, 'Van verguizing naar eerherstel. Het beeld van de patriotten in de negentiende en twintigste eeuw', in: *Voor Vaderland en Vrijheid. De revolutie van de patriotten.* Edited by F. Grijzenhout, W.W. Mijnhardt, N.C.F. van Sas. Amsterdam 1987, p. 177-192. See also: J.I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806.* Oxford 1995, p. 1122-1130 and E.H. Kossmann, *De Lage Landen 1780-1980. Twee eeuwen Nederland en België.* Part I, 1986, p. 78-94.
2 For the whole period, see: W. Otterspeer, *De wieskslag van hun geest. De Leidse universiteit in de negentiende eeuw.* Leiden 1992, in particular p. 81-84, 140-144, 151-153.
3 G.L. Mahne, *Vita Danielis Wyttenbachii, literarum humaniorum nuperrime in Academia Lugduno-Batava professoris.* Gand 1823; NNBW, vol. 1, col. 1591-1595.
4 Mahne (1823), p. 78-80.
5 D. Wyttenbach, *Epistula critica super nunnullis locis Iuliani Imp. Cui accesserunt Animadversiones in Eunapium et Aristaenetum ad Virum Celeb. D. Ruhnkenium.* Göttingen 1769.
6 D. Wyttenbach, 'Disputatio de Unitate Dei', in: *Dissertationes [...] ad Theol. Spect. pro praemio Legati Stolpiani conscriptae,* 3 (1780) 1; Idem, 'De Immortalitate Animi', in: *Verhandelingen van Teylers Godgeleerd Genootschap* 4 (1784) 1.
7 D. Wyttenbach, *Plutarchi Chaeronensis Moralia id est Opera, exceptis Vitis, reliqua, Gr. Et Lat. [...].* 6 volumes, Oxonii 1795-1810; Idem, *Bibliotheca Critica [...].* 3 volumes, Amsterdam 1777-1806.
8 Molhuysen, vol. 7, p. 46 (20 March 1796) and p. 98-99 (31 March 1798).
9 Mahne (1823), p. 163-164.
10 *Ibidem.* See also: Molhuysen, vol. 7, p. 104 (29 November 1798) and p. 131 (7 February 1800). Ruhnkenius' library consisted of manuscripts and books. See: *Catalogus compendiarius [...].* 1. Leiden 1932, p. 76-79.
11 Molhuysen, vol. 7, p. 109-110 (4 May 1799). D. Wyttenbach, *De Adolescentia Davidis Ruhnkenii, in exemplum proposita adolescentibus Batavis bonorum artium studiosis.* Inaugural speech delivered in Leiden on 4 May 1799 and published as *Vita Davidis Ruhnkenii.* Leiden 1799.
12 *Memorie over de tegenwoordige staat van 's Lands Bibliotheek en de middelen, welke vereist zouden worden om dezelve te doen beantwoorden aan de vermaardheid en luister der Universiteit en aan de kostbaarheid en voortreffelijkheid der boeken, welke aldaar gevonden worden.* Molhuysen, vol. 7, p. 154 (20 March 1800). See: Siegenbeek (1832), p. 60, Schotel (1866), p. 42, Molhuysen, *Geschiedenis,* p. 44-45.
13 The text was published in *Supplementa ad epistolas Davidis Ruhnkenii en Danielis Wyttenbachii itemque alia aliorum eruditorum anecdota,* edita et annotationibus nonnullis illustrata a G.L. Mahne. Lugd. Bat. 1847, p. 74-78. In an earlier letter to Valckenaer, Wyttenbach complained about the poor condition of the library. *Ibidem,* p. 56.
14 Joseph Jerôme François de Lalande (1732-1807). See: UBL, AC1 72, appendix 1800 (12 February 1800).
15 Molhuysen, vol. 7, p. 154-155 (20 March 1800). Wyttenbach sent a memo on this subject to the curators. They decided to take measures on the basis of just one of the points raised in it: the production of a new catalogue.
16 Schotel (1866), p. 41; F. Lindemann, *Orationes selectae.* Lipsiae 1831, p. 205-207; G. Cuvier and F.J.M. Noel, *Rapport sur les établissements d'instruction publique en Hollande, et sur les moyens de les réunir à l'Université Impériale.* Paris 1811, p. 132.
17 In his *Narratio de rebus Academiae Lugduno-Batavae, seculo octavo et decimo, prosperis et adversis,* Leiden 1802, p. 73-81, J.W. Te Water summarises the history of the library in the eighteenth century and emphasises the lack of a recent catalogue. This lack is also emphasised in a response to his book: *Brief aan den hoogeerwaardigen hoogeleerden heer Jona Willem Te Water [...].* Written by C.A.H. S.l. s.a., p. 25.
18 Meinard Tydeman (1741-1825). NNBW, vol. 2, col. 1464-1466; Schotel (1866), p. 43; Siegenbeek (1825), p. 58-59); Molhuysen, *Geschiedenis,* p. 47.
19 NNBW, vol. 2, col. 78-79.
20 UBL, BA1 C 12.
21 Molhuysen, *Geschiedenis,* p. 42.
22 Molhuysen, vol. 7, p. 183 (22 August 1801), p. 226-227 (12 November 1803) and p. 251 (30 November 1804).
23 For L. van Santen and D. van Royen, p. 131 (7 February 1800). For P. Bondam: Molhuysen, vol. 7, p. 156 and Leiden, ca 72, appendix 1800 (31 October 1800). For d'Orville: Molhuysen, vol. 7, p. 156-158, (17 September 1804). See the auction catalogues: *Bibliotheca Pt. Bondam: quorum publica erit distractio 1 oct. 1800.* Utrecht 1800 and *Bibliotheca Santeniana sive catalogus librorum [...] Laurentius van Santen.* Leiden 1800.
24 Molhuysen, *Geschiedenis,* p. 44. A. Vrolijk, 'A sublime treasure of precious manuscripts. The Schultens' legacy in the Leiden University Library and the elusive purchase of 1806', in: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 19 (2009), p. 281-292.
25 Molhuysen, *Geschiedenis,* p. 45.
26 Wyttenbach described the disaster in a letter to a friend that was published by G.L. Mahne in his *Vita Danielis Wyttenbachii* (1823), p. 182-188.
27 UBL, BA1 U3u and U11, December 1806 - January 1807. This concerned M. Bouquet, *Rerum Gallicarum et Francicarum Scriptores,* v (1744) and xi (1767) and J. Langebek, *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum Medii Aevi,* i (1772).
28 UBL, BA1 *Apparaat Lelyveld* 1817 (462).
29 UBL, BA1 U3u, 9 November 1808. On this date, Wyttenbach borrowed the French translation of Vergil's *Georgica* by De Lille in an 1804 edition. The book was unstamped – a not uncommon occurrence.
30 Mahne (1823), p. 188-189.
31 I. Prins and A.H. ter Hoeven, 'Iets ter nagedachtenis aan den hoogleraar J. van Voorst', in: *Christelijk maandschrift* 12 (1833), p. 597-620; NNBW, vol. 9, col. 1231-1232; *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlandse protestantisme,* part 2, Kampen 1983, p. 449-451.
32 E. J. Krol, *De smaak der natie: opvattingen over huiselijkheid in de Noord-Nederlandse poëzie van 1800 tot 1840.* Hilversum 1997.
33 *Op de bres, 200 jaar Haagsch Genootschap tot verdediging van de christelijke godsdienst (1785-1985).* Den Haag 1985.
34 W.A. van Hengel, *Memoria Ioannis van Voorst,*

theologiae doctoris et professoris in Academia Lugduno-Batava. Leiden 1834, p. 7.

35 UBL, BA1 *Apparaat Lelyveld* 1816: 11a (27 April).

36 UBL, BA1 *Apparaat Lelyveld* 1816: 30a (1816).

37 Molhuysen, *Geschiedenis,* p. 45-46. See also: W. Otterspeer, *De wiekslag [...]* (1992), p. 79. See also: *Universiteit en architectuur.* Leiden 1979.

38 Molhuysen, *Geschiedenis,* p. 47.

39 Schotel (1866), p. 45, cites enthusiastic responses by Prof. Smallenburg and by students.

40 Schotel (1866), p. 44-45; Molhuysen, *Geschiedenis,* p. 47.

41 UBL, BA1 *Apparaat Lelyveld* 1816: 1817. This concerned manuscript VGF 33 .

42 For a general biography of Geel, see: NNBW, vol. 4, col. 634-639; see also: J.A. Wolters, 'Een en ander over Geel', in: *Noord en Zuid* 23 (1900), p. 465-512; M.I. Hamaker, *Jacob Geel* (1789-1862) *naar zijn brieven en geschriften geschetst.* Leiden 1907. See also: W. van den Berg, 'De bibliothecaris doet een boekje open', in: *De boekenwereld* 17 (2000), p. 6276.

43 Regarding the participation of Leiden professors in societies, see: W. Otterspeer, *De wiekslag [...]* (1992), p. 324-327.

44 Hamaker (1907), p. 505; W. Otterspeer, *De wiekslag* (1992), p. 324-325.

45 Hamaker (1907), p. 136-138.

46 Wolters (1900), p. 495.

47 J. Geel, *Gesprek op den Drachenfels.* Leiden 1835; Idem, *Onderzoek en Phantasie.* Leiden 1838.

48 J. Geel, *Iets opgewondens over het eenvoudige [...].* Leiden 1838; Idem, *Nieuwe karakterverdeeling van den stijl [...].* Leiden 1838; Idem, *Iets over den smaak.* Presented during a meeting of the *Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* in January 1826, published in: *Magazijn voor wetenschappen, kunsten en letteren,* 5th part (1826), p. 363 and in: *Mengelwerk van Jacob Geel,* with introduction and notes by J. de Rooi;. Zutphen s.a., p. 80-92.

49 Quoted by Wolters (1900), p. 494.

50 Molhuysen, *Geschiedenis,* p. 48.

51 Quoted by Hamaker (1907), p. 7.

52 Letter from J. Geel to Betsie Hamaker, 21 April 1851, quoted by Hamaker (1907), p. 176.

53 UBL, BA1 Annual Report 1841.

54 *Tib. Hemsterhusii Animadversionum in Lucianum Appendix* ex schedis mss. in Bibl. Lugd. Bat. servatis collegit, disposuit et ed. Jacobus Geel. Leiden 1824; *Euripidis Phoenissae* cum commentario edidit Jacobus Geelius; scholia antiqua in Euripidis tragoedias partim inedita, partim editis integriora adiunxit C.G. Cobetius. Leiden 1846. See also: Hamaker (1907), p. 34.

55 *Catalogus librorum bibliothecae publicae Universitatis Lugduno Batavae annis 1814-1847 [...].* Lugd. Bat. 1848 and *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum qui inde ab anno* 1741 *bibliothecae Lugduno Batavae accesserunt [...].* Lugd. Bat. 1852. In this catalogue Geel also described the acquisitions between 1716 and 1741 so that his manuscript catalogue could be used in combination with the 1716 catalogue. Regrading Geel's resistance to printing catalogues, see: Wolters (1900), p. 476 and Hamaker (1907), p. 115.

56 H.A. Hamaker, *Specimen catalogi codicum mss. Orientalium bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae [...].* Leiden 1820; T.G.J. Juynboll, T. Roorda, H.E. Weyers, *Orientalia,* Leiden 1840-1846, p. 295-504. *Catalogus codicum orientalium bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae.* Leiden 1851-1877.

57 M. Steinschneider, *Catalogus codicum hebraeorum Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno Batavae [...].* Leiden 1858.

58 See list of Leiden catalogues in the bibliography.

59 Molhuysen, *Geschiedenis,* p. 45-46. The Akademisch Fonds was founded in accordance with the kb on 13 October 1836.

60 UBL, BA1 *Apparaat Lelyveld* 1821:147a (21 January). This had already been requested in 1816, see: UBL, BA1 *Apparaat Lelyveld* 1816: 22C and 1817:38. See also: UBL, BA1 *Apparaat Lelyveld* 1827: 405b (physics), 1852: 1411 (laws), 1847: 1108 (astronomy).

61 UBL, BA1 *Apparaat Lelyveld* 1826: 369 b (17 March), 370 (17 March), 376 (10 May), 385 (21 and 24 November).

62 UBL, BA1 *Apparaat Lelyveld* l 1836: 578 (19 March), 587 (24 May), 594 (20 August), 597 (30 August), 599 (6 October); 1838: 676 (10 September), 684 (29 October). For the Turkish and Syriac books: UBL, BA1 *Apparaat Lelyveld* 378 (1826), 608 and 658 (1837-1838).

63 Schotel (1866), p. 50, note 3.

64 Reinier Comelis Bakhuizen van den Brink (1810-1865). Letter to J. Bake quoted by Hamaker (1907), p. 53 and note 2.

65 This text from 1852 is quoted by Wolters (1900), p. 475.

66 Hamaker (1907), p. 110-112. A.L.G. Bosboom-Toussaint (1812-1886) published *De Vrouwen van het Leycestersche tijdvak* in the summer of 1850 and sent a copy to Geel as a token of thanks for his help.

67 This letter to German philologist Fr. W. Ritschl is quoted by Hamaker (1907), p. 54.

68 Letter from Geel to Karsten from 1844, quoted by Wolters (1900), p. 476 and Hamaker (1907), p. 51-52. For foreign libraries that did not lend manuscripts to readers in the Netherlands, he was less accommodating; see: UBL, BA1 *Apparaat Lelyveld* 1836: 686.

69 Quoted by Hamaker (1907, p. 45. See also: W. Otterspeer, *De wiekslag [...]* (1992), p. 13.

70 *Algemeene Konst- en Letterbode* 268 (1858), p. 234-235.

71 *Ibidem,* p. 267. See also: W. Otterspeer, *De wiekslag [...]* (1992), p. 142.

72 W. Otterspeer, *De wiekslag [...]* (1992), p. 142-144. A single *in memoriam* can be found in the *Leidsch Dagblad,* 4 May 1880 and the *Almanak van het Leidsch Studentencorps 1881,* p. 237.

73 J. Bel, W. Otterspeer, P. van Zonneveld, *De Leidse jagers, 1830-1831: student-vrijwilligers en de Belgische opstand.* Leiden 1981.

74 *Almanak van het Leidsch Studentencorps 1860,* p. 164. On the other hand, as far as the second librarian, J.T. Bergman, was concerned, the students encountered more problems than benefits. *Ibidem.*

75 NNBW, vol. 4, col. 1154-1155; *Levensbericht* by P.J. Blok, with a bibliographic list by L.D. Petit, in: *Levensberichten der afgestorven medeleden van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden.* Bijlage tot de Handelingen 1896-1897. Leiden 1897, p. 192-224; W. Otterspeer, *De wiekslag [...]* (1992), p. 151-153.

76 UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Report 1880, Du Rieu. The *Bibliothèque Wallonne* was loaned indefinitely to the Leiden University library in 1998.

77 Blok, *Levensbericht* (1897), p. 198.

78 W.N. du Rieu, *Register van academische dissertatien en oratien betreffende de geschiedenis des Vaderlands [...].* Leiden 1866, with a supplement in 1882; *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae* 1575-1875. Leiden 1875.

79 Schneiders (1997), p. 126. The similarity between the university library buildings in Leiden and Groningen is striking. The architect J.W. Schaap, who had travelled to European libraries with Pluygers, first built the library in Groningen, and then the one in Leiden. See: A.G. Roos, *Geschiedenis van de bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Groningen.* Groningen 1914, p. 50-56.

80 UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Report 1858, Pluygers. The students complained continually about the lack of access to the alphabetic catalogue. See for example: *Almanak van het Leidsche Studentencorps* 1861, p. 246.

81 Schotel (1866), p. 50.

82 UBL, BA1 *Apparaat Lelyveld* 2079 (21 September 1861) and 2081 (21 September 1861). See for the report by Pluygers UBL, AC2, Not. Cur. 1861 (appendix 377). See also: E. Hulshoff Pol, 'In memoriam het oude gebouw', in: *Bibliotheekinformatie* 3 (1970), p. 18-23, in particular p. 18.

83 *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises.* Part 3, Paris 1991, p. 147, 177-178.

84 UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Report 1879, Du Rieu. According to this report, Tiele catalogued 39,583 books between 1860 and 1879. These were joined by 15,568 printed items that came to the library between 1866 and 1879. To these 40,000 titles were also added dissertations, speeches and pamphlets.

85 NNBW, vol. 4, col. 1335-1337; M. Nijhoff, 'Levensbericht van Dr. P.A. Tiele', in: *Levensberichten der afgestorven medeleden van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* 1889, p. 136-188; E. Hulshoff Pol, 'Tieleana', in: *Dr. Pieter Anton Tiele. Documentaire bijdrage tot een biografie.* Eds. J. Jinkes de Jong and A.P.W.M. Kosten. Den Haag 1981, p. 63-80.

86 Molhuysen, *Geschiedenis,* p. 55. The basis for this was laid in around 1860 by Pluygers, who had drawn up catalogue rules for the catalogue that was due to be printed.

87 UBL, BA1 *Apparaat Lelyveld* 875. Letter from Pluygers to the curators, 23 April 1859. See also: UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Report 1858, Pluygers.

88 UBL, BA1 C 28d.

89 Various informative articles about the *Leidse boekje* appeared in trade journals, including P.C. Molhuysen, 'D. Leidener Katalogbüchlein', in: *Mitteilungen des Österr. Vereines für Bibliothekwesen* 8, 2 (1904), p. 75-77; see also: J.P.H.G. Kien, 'Iets over de geschiedenis van "het Leidsche Boekje", in: *Het Leidse boekje 2* (1966), episode 2, p. 1-4 and E. Hulshoff Pol, 'Tieleana', in: *Dr. Pieter Anton Tiele. Documentaire bijdrage tot een biografie.* Eds. J. Jinkes de Jong and A.P.W.M. Kosten, Den Haag 1981, p. 63-80.

90 Molhuysen, *Geschiedenis,* p. 58-61.

91 D. McKitterick, *Cambridge University Library. A history.* 2, Cambridge 1986, p. 532.

92 Molhuysen, *Geschiedenis,* p. 57.

93 UBL, BA1 H 9, Annual Report by du Rieu, March and April 1881; UBL, BA1 *Apparaat Lelyveld* 1892: 4982 (4 May), 5009 (2 November), 5012 (7 December); 1893: 5021 and 5022 (8 February), 5026 (8 March), 5029 (5 April), 5052 (7 June), 5058 (5 July), 5062 (2 August), 5066 (19 September); 1895: 5148 (6 February); 1896: 5245 (3 June).

94 J.P.H.G. Kien, 'Honderd jaar systematische catalogus 1860-1960', in: *Het Leidse boekje,* N.R. 2, February 1969, p. 4-12.

95 D. Grosheide, A.D.A. Monna, P.N.G. Pesch, *Vier eeuwen Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht.* Utrecht 1986, p. 226 and note 124.

96 UBL, BA1 r 2a, instruction to J, Geel, 31 May 1823. The curators repeated the order six years later: UBL, BA1 R 2c, instruction to J.T. Bergman, 3 January 1829.

97 Kien (1969), p. 5-6.

98 *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers [...].* Paris, 28 volumes, 1751-1772.

99 I. Dahlberg, *Grundlagen universaler Wissensordnung. Probleme und Möglichkeiten eines universalen Klassifikationssystems des Wissens.* Frankfurt a. M. 1974.

100 C.E. Maclelland, 'The German universities and the revolution in Wissenschaft, 1819-1866', in: *State, society, and university in Germany 1700-1914.* Cambridge 1980, p. 151-232.

101 J.C. Friedrich, *Kritische Erörterungen zum übereinstimmenden Ordnen und Verzeichnen öffentlicher Bibliotheken.* Leipzig 1835.

102 *Ibidem,* p. 54-84. Johann Christoph Friedrich lived from 1775 to 1836. For the Latin translation of his library layout by Geel, see: ba C 2b.

103 Kien (1969), p. 7-9.

104 *Inhoud van den Systematischen Catalogus van de Bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit te Leiden.* Leiden 1904 and 1929.

105 Kien (1969), p. 9-11.

106 *Dierbaar Magazijn. De bibliotheek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde.* Edited by B. Dongelmans, F. van Oostrom and P. van Zonneveld, with cooperation from M. de Niet. Amsterdam 1995. For the history of the library, see B. Dongelmans and M. de Niet, 'Verzamelen in vogelvlucht', p. 9-24 and M. de Niet, 'De Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde en andere collectieve erflaters', p. 53-55, in the library.

107 *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal,* edited by M. de Vries and L.A. te Winkel (et al.). 29 volumes. Den Haag 1882-1998. Cf. H. Heestermans and A. Bouwman, *Het WNT in de UB : catalogus bij een tentoonstelling,* p. 9-11. Leiden 1999.

108 B. Dongelmans and M. de Niet, 'Verzamelen in vogelvlucht', p. 14.

109 *Ibidem,* p. 20.

110 The librarians of the *Maatschappij* in the nineteenth century were, successively W.I.C. Rammelman Elsevier (1848-1849), L. Ph. C. van den Bergh (1849-1852), L.A. te Winkel (1852-1862), W.N. du Rieu (1862), W. Bisschop (1862-1867), H.C. Rogge (1867-1878), J.J.A.A. Frantzen (1878-1886), A. Kluyver (1886-1889), W.P. Wolters (1889-1892), C.C. Uhlenbeck (1892), J.W. Muller (1893), L.D. Petit (1893-1918). In the twentieth century: R. van der Meulen Rz (1918-1928), A.A. van Rijnbach (1928-1951), A.H.M.C. Kessen (1951-1960), P.C. Boeren (1960), J.R. de Groot (1961-1985), J.J.M. van Gent (1985-1994), P.W.J.L. Gerretsen (1994-2005). See: *Dierbaar Magazijn* (1995), p. 11 and 13.

111 B. Dongelmans and M. de Niet, 'Verzamelen in vogelvlucht'.

112 *Catalogus der Bibliotheek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde.* S.l. s.a. 1829; *Catalogus van de Bibliotheek der Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde.* 3 volumes. Leiden 1847-1849; *Catalogus der bibliotheek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden.* 3 volumes. Leiden 1887-1889.

113 D. de Vries, '1872 – Museum Geographicum Bodellianum – 1972', in: *Open* 5 (1973), p. 235-239, in particular p. 238.

114 The Greek wax tablets were donated by Mr Assenfeldt de Coningh, the Dousa album by W.F. Roëll in the same year, 1893. See: UBL, BA1 *Apparaat Lelyveld*, 1893: 5035 (3 May) and 5039 (3 May). Also UBL, BA1 H 9, Annual Report by Du Rieu 1893. The Dousa album has recently been published: C.L. Heesakkers, *Een netwerk aan de basis van de Leidse universiteit: het album amicorum van Janus Dousa.* Leiden 2000.

115 This word is used by Du Rieu: UBL, BA1 H 9, Annual Report by Du Rieu 1891.

116 UBL, BA1 H 9, Annual Report by Du Rieu 1887 (Simon Thomas), 1892 (De Wal and Van Wickevoort Crommelin), 1895 (Bierens de Haan).

117 Hermann Neubronner van der Tuuk (18241894), see: NNBW, vol. 2, col. 1458.

118 UBL, BA1 H 9, Annual Report by Du Rieu 1894.

119 UBL, BA1 *Apparaat Lelyveld* 1894: 5121 (same date), 5127 (5 December); 1895: 5196 (4 December); 1896: 5225 (4 March), 5228 (4 March).

120 UBL, BA1 *Apparaat Lelyveld*, 1892-1896.

121 D. de Vries, 'Atlases and maps from the Library of Isaac Vossius (1618-1 689)', in: *International yearbook of cartography* 21 (1981), p. 177-194.

122 D. de Vries, '1872 – Museum Geographicum Bodellianum – 1972', in: *Open* 5 (1973), p. 235-239; D. de Vries, 'An "unrivalled collection of maps and charts" at Leiden University Library', in: *The map collector* 47 (1989), p. 2-7; D. de Vries, *Kaarten met geschiedenis 1550-1800. Een selectie van oude getekende kaarten van Nederland uit de Collectie Bodel Nijenhuis.* Utrecht 1989; D. de Vries, '"Chartmaking is the Power and the Glory of the Country". Dutch marine cartography in the seventeenth century', in: G.S. Keyes, *Mirror of Empire. Dutch marine art of the seventeenth century.* Cambridge 1990, p. 60-76.

123 In the *Levensberichten van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde,* 1872/1873, p. 247-288, Du Rieu published a detailed biography of his friend Bodel Nijenhuis.

124 Most of the historical prints were purchased by Frederik Muller. They later came into the possession of the Rijksmuseum Print Room, together with Muller's own collection. The portraits of Dutch subjects was acquired by the Leiden Print Room (since 2002 part of Leiden University Library), and those of publishers went to Hamburg.

125 D. de Vries, *Kaarten met geschiedenis* (1989), p. 11 and 14.

126 *De Nederlandsche Spectator,* 15 June 1872.

127 D. de Vries, *Kaarten met geschiedenis* (1989), p. 10.

128 The American cartographer G.M. Asher described Bodel in 1867 as a 'profound investigator of Geographical Science'. See: D. de Vries,, *Kaarten met geschiedenis* (1989), p. 12. See also: D. de Vries '1872 – Museum Geographicum (...)' (1973), p. 236; D. de Vries, 'An unrivalled collection' (1989), p. 6.

129 D. de Vries, *Rijnland in kaart. Een keuze uit de Collectie Bodel Nijenhuis.* Leiden 1996, p. 7.

130 Schotel (1866). Among other things, Schotel completed the *Biografisch woordenboek der Nederlanden* by A.J. van der Aa (21 volumes, 1852-1878).

131 UBL, BA1 *Apparaat Lelyveld* 1856 (15 November).

132 W.N. du Rieu, 'Een nieuw middel voor heeren Natuuronderzoekers', in: *De Nederlandsche Spectator* 1869, p. 1-16; idem, 'Catalogue of Scientific Papers compiled by the Royal Society of London', in: *The Nederlandsche Spectator* (1892), p. 281-282.

133 UBL, BA1 *Apparaat Lelyveld* 1898. Geel's report can be found in: ÚBL, AC2, 80 II, Appendix 1826, 196.

134 G.C.B. Suringar (1876), p. 13-15. Between 1850 and 1876, this situation improved considerably. *Ibidem,* p. 20. G.J. Hoenderdaal, 'Het modernisme in Leiden', in: *Een universiteit herleeft. Wetenschapsbeoefening aan de Leidse universiteit vanaf de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw.* Published by W. Otterspeer. Leiden 1984, p. 10-25.

135 UBL, BA1 *Apparaat Lelyveld* 1844-1898, passim. See also UBL, BA1 *Apparaat Lelyveld* 405b, letter dated 21 September 1977 from the professors of physics.

136 UBL, BA1 H 9, Annual Report by Geel, 1837. See also: M. Siegenbeek (1832), p. 62. In 1924, the-then rector acknowledged that this policy had borne fruit. UBL, BA1 H 9, Annual Report 1924.

137 UBL, BA1 *Apparaat Lelyveld* 2944 (24 May 1872). For the Chinese books, see: *Leidsch Dagblad,* 10 February 1881. A catalogue of these books was published by G. Schlegel, *Catalogue des livres chinois qui se trouvent dans la bibliothèque de l'Université de Leide [...].* Leiden 1883. With a supplement in 1886.

138 UBL, BA1 *Apparaat Lelyveld* 1822: 226a (3 October), 232a (15 October); 1823: 247 (10 February), 270 (26 June).

139 Letter of 15 October 1822 to the curators. UBL, BA1 *Apparaat Lelyveld*, 232a.

140 The opening hours were regularly moved about. UBL, BA1 H 9, Annual Report by Pluygers 1863; Annual Report by Du Rieu 1880 and 1888. See also UBL, BA1 *Apparaat Lelyveld* 2303 (23 September 1864). W.N. Du Rieu, 'Iets over de pers en de bibliotheek in Duitsland', in: *De Nederlandsche Spectator* 1869, p. 1-5.
141 Regarding Emeis see: *Leidsch Dagblad,* 24 March, 27 March 1883; *De Amsterdammer,* 22 March 1883. See also UBL, BA1 H 9, Annual Report by Du Rieu 1882; W.N. du Rieu, 'De bijeenkomst van bibliothecarissen te Antwerpen', in: *De Nederlandsche Spectator* (1890), p. 292 and 300-301.
142 *Leidsche Studenten Almanak* 1861, p. 246.
143 *Ibidem,* p. 245.
144 W. Otterspeer, *De wiekslag [...]* (1992), p. 362-363.
145 C.G. Cobet (1813-1889) was a scholar of the classics and principally of Greek. UBL, BA1 H 9, Annual Report by Pluygers 1867.
146 J.G.R. Acquoy (1829-1896) was a theologian and church historian and gave lectures in the library on ecclesiastic palaeography and historiography. See: UBL, BA1 H 9, Annual Report by Du Rieu, 1882. P.J. Blok (1855-1929) taught history and gave demonstration lectures on the development of script: UBL, BA1 H 9, Annual Report by Du Rieu, 1894.
147 UBL, BA1 H 9, Annual Report by Du Rieu, 1882.
148 *Oeuvres complètes de Christian Huygens.* Publ. par la Société hollandaise des sciences. La correspondance: 10 volumes, La Haye 1888-1905. See: UBL, BA1 H 9, Annual Report by Du Rieu 1884. On the need for this correction, see: W.N. du Rieu, 'Een paar vragen naar aanleiding van het dagboek van Constantijn Huygens, in: *De Nederlandsche Spectator* (1886), p. 111-112.
149 *Analecta Bollandiana.* 80 volumes, Bruxelles 1882-1961; *Bibliotheca Belgica: bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas,* by Fred. Van der Haeghen & al. Gand, from 1879; *Monumenta Germaniae Historica [...],* Hannover, from *1885; Société pour la publication de textes relatifs à l'histoire et à la géographie de l'Orient latin.* Geneva, from 1877. See: UBL, BA1 H 9, Annual Report by Du Rieu 1884 and 1885.
150 UBL, BA1 H 9, Annual Report by Du Rieu, 1887. See: Molhuysen, *Geschiedenis,* p. 63-64.
151 UBL, BA1 M 104, correspondence regarding the lending out and viewing of manuscripts 1859-1879.
152 UBL, BA1 M 104, J.G. Droysen to Pluygers, 3 June 1874.
153 The name of Mommsen occurs repeatedly in the missives on loans (UBL, BA1 M 104). Mommsen dedicated his new edition of Solinus *(C.Iulii Solini Collectanea rerum memorabilium,* iterum recensuit Th. Mommsen. Berlin 1895.) to the Leiden University library, out of gratitude for their sending him manuscripts. See: UBL, BA1 H 9, Annual Report by Du Rieu 1895.
154 Du Rieu reproduced his letter in his annual report. UBL, BA1 H 9, Annual Report 1880.
155 UBL, BA1 H 9, Annual Report by Du Rieu 1886. For a comparison of the Leiden approach to that of other libraries, see: W.N. du Rieu, 'De bijeenkomst van bibliothecarissen te Antwerpen', in: *De Nederlandsche Spectator* (1890), p. 292 and 300-301.
156 UBL, BA1 *Apparaat Lelyveld* 1887: 4603 (20 July), 4694 (18 September); 1889: 4749 (6 March), 4770 (5 June), 4784 (2 October). See also UBL, BA1, H 9, Annual Report by Du Rieu 1886.
157 UBL, BA1 H 9, Annual Report by Du Rieu 1894. UBL, BA1 H 9, Annual Report by Du Rieu, 1892.
159 UBL, BA1 *Apparaat Lelyveld*, 1858: 1826 (20 November).
160 UBL, BA1 *Apparaat Lelyveld* 1870: 2822 (16 November).
161 UBL, BA1 *Apparaat Lelyveld* 1895: 5163 and 5169 (17 July).
162 UBL, BA1 H 9, Annual Report by Du Rieu, 1892.
163 UBL, BA1 H 9, Annual Report by Du Rieu 1893. Libraries are making more and more use of photography without it leading to similar valuable publications. G.A. Evers, 'Bibliotheek-photographie', in: *Tijdschrift voor boek- en bibliotheekwezen* 8 (1910), p. 227-232.
164 *Codices Graeci et Latini photographice depicti duce Guilelmo Nicolao Du Rieu, Bibliothecae Universitatis Leidensis Praefecto.* Leiden, A.W. Sijthoff, 22 volumes, 1897-1970. See also: A.W. Sijthoff, *A.W.Sijthoff's enterprise of the Codices Graeci et Latini [...]* Leiden 1908.
165 These figures come from W.N. du Rieu, 'Iets over de pers en de bibliotheek in Duitsland', in: *De Nederlandsche Spectator* (1869), p. 1-5.

CHAPTER VI

1 T.P. Sevensma, 'De Universiteits-bibliotheek', in: *Leidsch Universiteitsblad,* 8 (24 March 1939), 13, p. 1-2.
2 Schneiders (1997), p. 221-234.
3 *Levensbericht* by D.C. Hesseling, in: *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden,* 1936-11937, p. 101-111. See also: H. Heestermans and A. Bouwman, *Het WNT in de UB.* Kleine publicaties van de Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek nr. 32. Leiden 1999.
4 Regarding the project, see: A.W. Sijthoff, *A.W. S ijthoff's enterprise of the Codices Graeci et Latini photographice depicti duce Bibliothecae Universitatis Leidensis Praefecto.* Leiden 1908.
5 Published in Leiden, by the firm Brill in 1889 and 1890.
6 D. de Vries will include a chapter about F.C. Wieder in his dissertation, to appear in the near future.
7 *Levensbericht* by J.H. Kramers, in: *Handelingen en levensberichten van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden,* 1942/1943, p. 149-155.
8 At the request of the-then librarian, H.J. de Groot, two library employees set down their memories of the librarian Sevensma in writing in 1970, in which they mention the difficulties surrounding the resignation of Wieder. UBL, BA1 H 15.
9 From the *Monumenta cartographica. Reproductions of unique and rare maps, plans [...]* Ed. by F.C. Wieder, five volumes were published between 1925 and 1933 in Den Haag.
10 Youssouf Kemal, F.C. Wieder, *Monumenta Cartographica Africae et Aegypti.* 12 volumes. Leiden 1926-1938.
11 In 1926, Jan Pieter Marie Laurens de Vries (1890-1964) was appointed professor of Old German language and literature and comparative Indo-Germanic grammar in Leiden. He was a very well-known scholar. In the years of the occupation, he was the vice-chairman of the *Kultuurraad* (cultural council). In 1945 he was dismissed by the university and had his membership of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences terminated.
12 *Levensbericht,* by J.R. de Groot, in: *Levensberichten van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde 1969/1970,* p. 196-202.
13 T.P. Sevensma, *De ark Gods, het Oud-Israelitisch Heidendom.* S.l., 1908.
14 Schneiders (1997), p. 170-184. See also: J.F. van Someren, 'De universiteitsbibliotheek in onze dagen. Een woord bij de opening van de nieuwe bibliotheeklokalen te Utrecht', in: *Tijdschrift voor boek- en bibliotheekwezen 7*(1909), p. 232-243.
15 UBL, BA1 G, Donations 1905.
16 UBL, BA1 G, Donations 1908.
17 UBL, BA1 G, Donations 1935. See: *Perzië en Hotz. Beelden uit de fotocollectie-Hotz in de Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek. Catalogus bij een tentoonstelling in de Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek van 30 januari tot 4 maart 1995.* Compiled by C. Vuurman and T. Martens. Leiden 1995. Before he donated his library to the Leiden University library, Hotz had already pledged part of it to the Royal Geographical Society. Long after the donation had been made, documents came to light as a result of contacts with his heirs. Most were acquired by the library.
18 UBL, BA1 G, Donations, *passim.*
19 In 1904, the total budget was set at 9,549 guilders, rising to 17,325 guilders by 1914. In 1918 it had reached 19,225 guilders, and in 1940,19,683 guilders. UBL, BA1 S 2. The book budget itself was significantly lower. The increase to the budget should be seen against the background of the very low budgets in the previous century, about which Du Rieu complained repeatedly, as in the article, 'Een nieuw hulpmiddel voor heeren natuuronderzoekers', in: *De Nederlandsche Spectator* (1869), p. 1-16.
20 This complaint surfaces repeatedly in the annual reports. UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Reports, *passim.*
21 Schneiders (1997), p. 233-234. See also: R. Damstra, 'Van "Nederlandsche Centrale Catalogus" tot Nederlandse Centrale Catalogus', in: *Opstellen over de Koninklijke Bibliotheek en andere studies.* Collection put together by employees of Dr. C. Reedijk. Hilversum 1986, p. 85-103.
22 Schneiders (1997), p. 177.
23 The 'Regels van Tiele' are based on the *Regelen voor het vervaardigen van den catalogus vastgesteld door den Bibliothecaris W. G.*

Pluygers. December 1861. UBL, BA1 C 29 and C 29 bis.
24 Schneiders (1997), p. 231.
25 UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Report 1895.
26 UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Report 1919.
27 UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Report 1932.
28 UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Report 1933-1934.
29 UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Report 1946/1947.
30 UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Report 1910.
31 UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Report 1927.
32 This was determined by the Minister of Education in a letter to the curators of 10 February 1920. UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Report 1920.
33 UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Reports 1913 and 1914.
34 UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Report 1911.
35 UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Report 1914, in which mention was made of the disruption to international contacts because of the war and of the need to assist researchers with written information, collations and photographs. In 1915 and 1916, too, mention was made of the need to send photographs of manuscripts, for the same reason (*Ibidem,* 1916 and 1917).
36 Schneiders (1997), p. 177-178, 184, 221.
37 Molhuysen, vol. 1, p. 21*-22*. See Chapter 1, section 1.
38 Letter to the curators, 20 April 1914. UBL, BA1 H 9.
39 *Ibidem.*
40 UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Reports 1912 and 1913.
41 *Ibidem,* p. 6.
42 *Ibidem,* p. 7.
43 UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Report 1920. See also: A.S. de Blécourt, *De juridische leeskamers te Leiden.* Groningen/Den Haag 1928, p. 11. Also in: *Bibliotheekleven* 6 (1921), p. 31-32, 59-61.
44 Royal Decree of 10 August 1917. See the statutes of the reading rooms for lawyers, theologians, and for the Faculty of Arts in Leiden in: *Staatscourant* 249, 24 October 1917, supplement 1445-1447.
45 UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Report 1939-1940, 1941, 1942. The theology reading rooms, followed by those for the Arts, were from now open to all readers free of charge. The administration was in the hands of the central library. In 1940, the common areas of the reading rooms of the Faculty of Arts were merged into one language and literature reading room. In 1941, it was the turn of the law reading rooms to be integrated into the University Library.
46 UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Report 1931.
47 UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Report 1920.
48 E. Hulshoff Pol, unpublished speech about the history of the Leiden University library, p. 5. UBL, BA1 H 15.
49 UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Report 1915.
50 UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Report 1923/1924.
51 UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Report 1932. On 13 December 1932, the library was visited by E. Mikkelson, a member of the Danish committee that was engaged in the dispute with Norway. He wanted to see old maps of East Greenland and to use them in defence of the interests of the Inuit population.
52 UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Report 1883.
53 UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Reports1906 and 1923. See also E.C. van Leersum, F.M.G. de Feyfer, P.C. Molhuysen, *Catalogus van de geschiedkundige tentoonstelling van Natuur- en Geneeskunde, Leiden 27 March - 10 April 1907. Elfde Nederlandsch Natuur- en Geneeskundig Congres*. Leiden 1907.
54 P.J. Idenburg, *De Leidse Universiteit tegen nationaal-socialisme en bezetting.* Leiden 1982, p. 9. In the 1925 Annual Report, the librarian regretfully asked, 'if Paris, Rome and London do not loan out valuable manuscripts, then why do we need to be different?' UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Report 1925/1926.
55 UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Reports 1909, 1918, 1924.
56 UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Report 1921.
57 *Bibliotheek op reis 1984-1993. Leidse inzendingen aan tentoonstellingen in binnen- en buitenland tijdens het bibliothecariaat van drs. J.J.M. van Gent.* Catalogue for an exhibition held in Leiden University Library from 25 October to 26 November 1993. Leiden 1993.
58 P.J. Idenburg, *De Leidse Universiteit 1928-1946. Vernieuwing en verzet.* Den Haag 1978.
59 UBL, BA1 H 11, 20 November 1940.
60 P.J. Idenburg, *De Leidse Universiteit [...]* (1982), p. 9.
61 UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Report 1941-1942.
62 Books from the library attic spaces were taken to the basement of the Museum van Volkenkunde, the former hospital. See also UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Reports 1941-1945. The official diary of Sevensma has survived (UBL, BA1 H11).
63 UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Report 1942. During the bombing of Leiden station in December of that year, the Museum van Volkenkunde was hit several times, but the books in the basement remained unharmed.
64 UBL, BA1 H 11, 11 December 1944. See also UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Report 1944.
65 Reports by the administrators about the fortunes of the university bodies during the occupation. See: P.J. Idenburg, *De Leidse Universiteit[...]* (1978), p. 409.
66 UBL, BA1 H 11, 26 October 1939, 9-10 May 1940, 15 May 1940.
67 P.J. Idenburg, *De Leidse Universiteit [...]* (1978), p. 362. The memorandum by Sevensma: UBL, BA1 H 11, 22 November 1940.
68 UBL, BA1 H 11, 22 November 1940.
69 UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Report 1940/1941.
70 The two names do not feature on the 1946 list of university employees who were killed during the war. Prof. De Waal received two letters on the matter requesting that this be rectified (from Th. Voigt, 29 November 1946 and L.A. Crommelin, 25 November 1946. See: Leiden, Academisch Historisch Museum, war archives, no. 109 and 209). The document in which the death of Mrs Molhuysen-Oppenheim was reported was catalogued but is not in the archives. The filing card states: '8 April 1941. Died: the assistant to the University Library, Mrs E.R Molhuysen-Oppenheim (suicide)'. See: Academisch Historisch Museum, war archive, chronological file.
71 UBL, BA1 H 11, 16 February 1944.
72 UBL, BA1 H 11, February 1945.
73 UBL, BA1 H 11, 24 April 1945.
74 UBL, BA1 H 15.
75 UBL, BA1 H 15. The author of this report was H. Verwer.
76 Another library employee, Miss E. Hulshoff Pol, who would later take writing the history of the library very much to heart, responded in writing to the piece by H. Verwer and very much underlined this passivity. UBL, BA1 H 15.
77 UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Report 1941-1942.
78 T.P. Sevensma, 'Eine bibliothekarische Kriegserfahrung', in: *Die Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek,* Wien 1948, p. 591-596.
79 UBL, BA1 H 11, October/December 1940. According to the Journaal, the *Cartularium van Neder Elten*, a manuscript of the *Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* (LTK 617), also appears to have been stolen by the Germans. See: UBL, Acquisitions Register LTK manuscripts (UBL, Special Collections).
80 UBL, BPL 10.
81 T.P. Sevensma (1948).
82 Letter from Sevensma to the curators, 19 October 1940 (Leiden, Academisch Historisch Museum, war archive). See also UBL, AC1 98 (1940), dept. K.A.
83 Letter and report from Dr Wimmer to Generaal Christiansen, 17 November 1943, published in: P.J. Idenburg, *De Leidse Universiteit [...]* (1978), p. 390. On the *Frontuniversität,* p. 219-223.
84 UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Report 1953.
85 The development of the Leiden University collection in the field of law merits a thorough study.
86 G.I. Lieftinck wrote the obituary of A. Kessen, with a list of his publications, in: *Levensberichten van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde te Leiden 1960-1961,* p. 92-105. The title of Kessen's dissertation was *Het Cancellierboeck.* Leiden 1931.
87 C. Reedijk, 'Johan Remmet de Groot', in: *Boeken verzamelen. Opstellen aangeboden aan Mr. J.R. de Groot bij zijn afscheid als bibliothecaris der Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden.* Leiden 1983, p. 9-16; A.J.M. Linmans wrote the obituary of De Groot in: *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde te Leiden* (1989-1990), p. 78-90. Regarding De Groot's activities in pica, see: C.M.J. Sicking, *Voordracht bij het afscheid van Mr J.R. de Groot en Dr* C. *Reedijk als voorzitter en secretaris van Pica.* S.l. 1986.
88 R.L. Schuursma, 'Jacques van Gent. Een biografische schets', in: *Miscellanea Gentiana. Een bundel opstellen aangeboden aan J.J.M. van Gent bij zijn afscheid als bibliothecaris der Rijksuniversiteit Leiden.* Edited by C. Berkvens-Stevelinck and A.Th. Bouwman, Leiden 1993, p. xiii-xviii, with bibliography, p. xix-xxiii.
89 UBL, BA1 H 14 1, 1945/1946.
90 UBL, BA1 H 14 1, 1946, 1948/1949.
91 UBL, BA1 H 14 1, Annual Reports between 1945 and 1953. The professors Loeker, Fischer and Rüter gave lessons in the history study room, for example; the professors Bakhuizen van den Brink and Van Holk in the theology study room; Hugenholz and Lieftinck where the Western manuscripts were kept; and Van Groningen, David and Van Oven in the classical languages study room. In 1960,

complaints were received about the lessons in the history study rooms because they disturbed the readers. UBL, BA1 H 14, Annual Report 1960/1961.

92 G. Steiner, *After Babel. Aspects of language and translation.* London 1975.

93 Du Rieu had already detected this tendency in 1863 in the wake of a publication by the Royal Society. See: W.N. du Rieu, 'Een nieuw hulpmiddel voor heeren natuuronderzoekers', in: *De Nederlandse Spectator,* 1869, p. 1-16.

94 *Excerpta medica,* Amsterdam, 1947-.

95 UBL, BA1 H 9: 5 January 1956 (discussion between librarian Kessen and the staff of Internal Medicine); 13 June 1956 (discussion between librarian Kessen and the chairman of *Excerpta medica*); 25 June 1956 (discussion about the wish of other specialisms to introduce a documentation system); 27 June 1956 (discussion with Dr De Buck, librarian at the University of Groningen about the task of the university library in providing documentation).

96 UBL, BA1 H 9: Central Medical Library (152-1952, 13-2-1953); Law Study Centre (24 November 1954 and 6 December 1955); Institute of Slavic languages (12 November 1952); Institute of economics (8 August 1955).

97 The good relationship with the medical Kirov Academy in Leningrad was maintained (UBL, BA1 H 14 I, 18 October 1955). In 1963, the curators gave permission for two library employees to visit libraries in East Germany (UBL, BA1 H 14 I 26 March 1963). Apart from these examples, there are few traces of contacts with Eastern Europe in the library archives.

98 UBL, BA1 H 9, diary of the librarian, 18 October 1955.

99 Catalogues were published of the Huizinga, Miskotte and Oort collections. A. van der Lem, *Inventaris van het archief van Johan Huizinga; Bibliografie* 1897-1997, Leiden 1998. Codices manuscripti 29; C. Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Inventaris van het archief van Kornelis Heiko Miskotte.* Leiden 1998. Codices manuscripti 28; J. Katgert-Merkelyn: *The letters and papers of Jan Hendrik Oort, as archived in the univ. library, Leiden.* Dordrecht, 1997.

100 J.P. Hinrichs, *Valerij Perelesin (1913-1992): Catalogue of his papers and books in Leiden University Library.* Leiden 1997. Codices manuscripti 27. For the acquisitions of Western manuscripts, see: *Kasten vullen.* Compiled by K. Evers. Leiden 1996. (Kleine publicaties van de Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek, 22).

101 *Islam en 'Mustaqillik'. Oezbeekse boeken sinds de onafhankelijkheid. Catalogus bij een tentoonstelling in de Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek van 22 december 1997 tot 9 februari 1998*. Compiled by J.J. Witkam and A. Vrolijk. Leiden 1998. (Kleine publicaties van de Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek, 27)

102 J.L. de Vries, 'Een nieuw gebouw voor de Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden', in: *Open* 15,no. 12, p. 522-532. See for a detailed analysis of the library between 1975 and 2000: R Breugelmans, 'De Universiteitsbibliotheek', in: *Altijd een vonk of twee. De Universiteit Leiden van 1975 tot 2000.* H.J. de Jonge and W. Otterspeer (eds.). Leiden 2000, p. 213-217.

103 The new building of 1822 consisted of only reading rooms and work areas. The books were housed in various older buildings and in external storage depots, spread over different parts of the city.

104 R. Chartier, *Le livre en révolutions.* Paris 1997, p. 119.

105 H.J.A. Hofland, *Digitaal. Feestrede bij de opening van het publieksnetwerk in de Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek op 23 februari 1995.* Leiden 1995, p. 5.

106 *Ibidem,* p. 9-10.

107 I. Kabakov, *The Old Reading Room. Een installatie in de Doelenzaal te Amsterdam,8 juli-6 augustus 1999*. Amsterdam 1999.

108 *Ibidem,* p. 15.

CHAPTER VII

Printed information on Leiden University Libraries in the new millennium and in English is scarce and quickly outdated. It is therefore recommended to consult the English website of UBL (presently: http://www.library.leiden.edu). Visitors can find a.o.:

– annual reports and issues of the bulletin *Omslag* 2003-2012 (.../library-locations/university-library/publications/);

– information about the Special Collections, the Scaliger institute and exhibitions (.../special-collections/);

– the online Catalogue, which allows cross searching of the licensed digital collections, physical collections and special collections of UBL, using one interface (http://catalogue.leidenuniv.nl/).

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ABBREVIATIONS

AC
: *Archief van Curatoren* (Curators' Archives, Leiden University), especially the first part (AC1), in UBL.

Acta Senatus
: Minutes of the Leiden University Senate, Senate Archives (UBL, ASF 258-334), published in Molhuysen (1923-1924).

AHM
: *Academisch Historisch Museum* (Academic History Museum, Leiden).

AMN
: *Archief Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* (Society of Dutch Literature Archives), in UBL.

Apparaat Lelyveld
: Library history documentation, Library Archives (UBL, BA1 H 13).

BA
: *Bibliotheekarchief* (Library Archives), especially the first part (BA1), in UBL.

Dachbouck
: 'Het Dachbouck van Jan van Hout, aangevuld en geresumeerd', in: *De dagelijkse zaken van de Leidse Universiteit van 1581 tot 1596*. By H.J. Witkam. Volume 9. Leiden 1974. Typescript UBL (Special Collections Reference Library).

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Molhuysen, *Geschiedenis*
: Molhuysen, P.C., *Geschiedenis der Universiteitsbibliotheek te Leiden.* Leiden 1905.

NNBW
: *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek.* Edited by P.C. Molhuysen, P.J. Blok, Fr.K.H. Kossmann. 10 volumes. Leiden 1911-1937.

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Suringar (1876)
: Suringar, G.C.B., *De Akademische Bibliotheek te Leiden: vooral met het oog op het natuur- en geneeskundig onderwijs, uit de door G. C.B. Suringar nagelaten aant.* Compiled and communicated by P.H. Suringar. Amsterdam 1876.

UBL
: Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden (Leiden University Libraries)

UL
: Universiteit Leiden (Leiden University)

Van Royen
: *Schriftelyk Rapport van Mr. David van Roijen, Secretaris van de Ed. Groot Achtbare Heeren Curateuren over 's Lands Universiteit binnen Leyden* (...) 1743. UBL, BA1, H 1. Published by P.C. Molhuysen V, p. 88*-131*.

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•• Mistreated books. Photo Collection UBL (BA2 F 2) .
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• Ditto. Mathematical notes by Huygens. UBL, HUG 13, fols. 19vo-20ro.
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•• Engraved cover page of Hermannus Boerhaave, *Sermo academicus de comparando certo in physicis.* Leiden, P. van der Aa 1715. Photo: AHM.
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• Anonymous copper engraving from J. Saubertus, *Historia Bibliothecae Reip. Noribergensis [...].* Nuremberg, W. Ender 1643, facing page 76. UBL, 988 G 32.
•• 'La nouvelle bibliothèque', from: *Les delices de Leide, une des célèbres villes de l'Europe [...].* Leiden, P. van der Aa 1712. UBL, 403 G 15.
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•• René Descartes, *Discours de la methode.* Leiden, J. Maire 1637. UBL, 20643 F 8.
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•• *Vroomaards ernstige aan spraak tot zyn Buurman Ritsaard.* Rotterdam, In den Dom van Uytrecht s.a.. UBL, THYSIA 1532: 10.
••• *Catalogus van eenige raare, door veel moeyten by een gezogte schoone Boeken en Manuscripten; Nevens verscheyde fraaye rariteyten, van den alomvermaarden en Hoog-geleerden Heer Professor Petrus Burmannus [...].* S.l. s.a. UBL, THYSIA 1532: 28.
•••• *Proces, geventileert voor den Ed. Hove van Utrecht tusschen Dina van Spangen, wed. van Jan van Woudenberg, als moeder ende mombersse over haare onmondige dogter Dina van Woudenberg impetranten in cas van defloratie contra den Heere ende Mr. Petrus Burmannus Professor in de Academie alhier ged. [...].* Rotterdam, H. Herts 1709. UBL, THYSIA 1532: 3
••••• Petrus Burmannus, *De geleerde vrouwen. Blijspel. Uyt het Frans* [van Jean Baptische Poquelin de Molière]. Thiel, G. van Leeuwen 1713. UBL, 1090 G 25.
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•/•• *Acta eruditorum.* Leipzig, B.C. Breitkopfius 1724. UBL, 1456 C 11.
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• Wolferdus Senguerdus and Jacobus Gronovius, *Catalogus librorum tam impressorum quam manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Publicae Universitatis Lugduno-Batavae.* Leiden, P. van der Aa 1716. Interleaved copy, with added information about recent purchases. UBL, BA1 C 14.
•• Gerard Noodt, *Opera omnia.* Leiden, J. van der Linden ii 1724. UBL, 1354 A 3.
••• Medallion portrait of Isaac Newton, by Isaac Gosset, 1758. Sculpture in wax, 9 × 6.5 cm. UBL, ICONES 106. Photo: AHM.
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••• Drawing of frontispice by Marchand for the edition of Jean Baptiste de Boyer, Marquis d'Argens, *Lettres juives, ou correspondence philosophique, historique & critique [...].* Den Haag, P. Paupie 1738. UBL, MAR 28, fol. 247ro.
•••• Annotated copy of Pierre Corneille, *Le Cid [...].* [Leiden, Elsevier] 1638, p. 24. UBL, 1369 E 24:1.
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•• Richard Simon, *Additions aux recherches curieuses sur la diversité des langues et des religions d'Edward Brerewood,* fols. 11vo-12ro. UBL, MAR 70: 2
••• Bernard Siegfried Albinus, *Tabulae sceleti et musculorum corporis humani.* Leiden, J. and H. Verbeek 1747. Illustrations by J. Wandelaar. UBL, PLANO 54 D 1.
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•• Register of loans. UBL, BA1 U 3 n 1788-1792.
••• David Ruhnken, *Oratio de doctore umbratico [...].* Leiden, S. and J. Luchtmans 1761. UBL, 1427 C 8: 2.
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•• *Etrennes des muses, contenant des pièces rares, quelques-unes qui n'ont pas encore paru, des anecdotes piquantes [...] pour l'année 1778 [...].* Rotterdam-Utrecht [ca.1778]. UBL, 1499 G 24.
••• L. Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, *Histoire naturelle des oiseaux.* 10 volumes. Paris 1770-1786.. 'Le harle mâle', from volume 9, facing p. 168. UBL, 1423 A 9.
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•• M. de Felice (ed.), *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire universel raisonné.* Yverdon 1772. UBL, 1167 B 15.
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•• Portrait of Daniel Wyttenbach, by Louis Moritz. Canvas 77 × 62 cm. Collection UL, ICONES 195. Photo: AHM.
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•• Jacob Geel, *Catalogus librorum manusciptorum qui inde ab anno 1741 bibliothecae Lugduno Batavae accesserunt [...]*. Leiden, H.W. Hazenberg 1852, p. 234-235. UBL (Special Collections Reference Library).
••• Jacob Geel, *Catalogus librorum bibliothecae publicae Universitatis Lugduno Batavae annis 1814-1847 [...]*. Leiden 1848, p. 214-215. UBL, BA1 C 26 bis.
•••• Hendrik Arrent Hamaker, *Specimen catalogi codicum mss. Orientalium Bibliothecae Lugduno-Batavae [...]*. Leiden, S. and J. Luchtmans 1820, p. (viii)-1. UBL, 835 C 10.
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