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This special issue of *Omslag* presents articles which all in one way or another deal with provenance research in the Leiden Special Collections.

It aims to make clear how much information there is to be found just by studying individual copies of books and manuscripts.

Provenance Research in Leiden

‘Provenance research is one of the main growth areas in the history of the book, shedding light on how books were used and regarded in the past.’ These are the words of Giles Mandelbrote in his introduction to the book *Libraries Within the Library: The Origins of the British Library’s Printed Collections* (2009). Another English book historian, Andrew Pettegree recently wrote that ‘For researchers [...] the most interesting books are those with the most wear and tear: the most heavily used, the most scribbled in, those with notes in the margin



Title page of the first volume the German edition of Braun and Hogenberg’s town atlas [COLLBN Atlas 12.1].

or at the back, and other signs of use.’ Provenance research, we may conclude, is firmly established as a field of study in the libraries and universities in the Anglo-Saxon world. The situation in The Netherlands, however, is rather different. Little research so far has been done here on the material aspects as they have been handed down to us through the ages.

Luckily, attempts are now made to improve this situation. The Department of Book and Digital Media Studies of the Leiden Faculty of Humanities in close collaboration with the Scaliger Institute has initiated a project, entitled ‘Provenance research in Leiden’. It focuses on book bindings, provenances, annotations and other physical traces of the use of books in the Leiden Special Collections, with the aim of obtaining a better understanding of material book (both manuscript and printed) culture through the ages.

For this research project, co-operation with several partners in Europe is envisaged, among them the Bodleian Library in Oxford, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in München and the library of Uppsala University in Sweden. Other intended partners in the project are the Consortium of European Research Libraries (CERL) and BookNet, a network for ‘the technological study of the book and manuscript as artefact’. One of the main concerns of the project will be creating a digital infrastructure for collecting and presenting information on these aspects, as well as building a database with field descriptions and illustrations for users all over the world. Particular attention will be given to the way in which Leiden humanists, many of whose collections have ended up in the University Library and Bibliotheca Thysiana, used their books.

This special issue of *Omslag* presents articles which all in one way or another deal with provenance research in the Leiden Special Collections. It aims to make clear how much information there is to be found just by studying individual copies of books and manuscripts. Let’s hope it is the beginning of an exciting new project.

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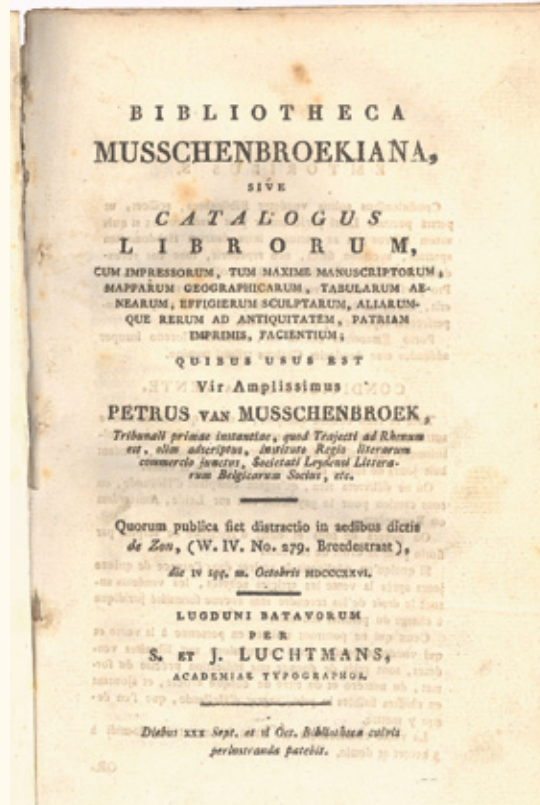
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The puzzling provenance of the German edition of Braun and Hogenberg in the Bodel Nijenhuis collection

Martijn Storms (Curator of Maps and Atlases)



Title page of Petrus van Musschenbroek's auction catalogue [1165 D 1].

In 1572 the first volume of the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* by Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg was published in Cologne. This town atlas can be seen as a counterpart of Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* that was first published in Antwerp two years earlier and is considered as the first modern world atlas. A copy of a German edition of the *Civitates* (*Beschreibung und contrafactur der vornembster Stät der Welt*; COLLBN Atlas 12) is part of the bequest of Johannes Tiberius Bodel Nijenhuis (1797-1872), a Leiden publisher and collector of cartographic and topographic material.

Under the Hammer

One of the first important acquisitions Bodel Nijenhuis made was at the auction of the Utrecht lawyer and archivist Petrus van Musschenbroek (1764-1823) in 1826 at S. and J. Luchtmans in Leiden. As owner-director of the Luchtmans publishing and auction house, Bodel Nijenhuis had made the catalogue of this auction himself (De Vries, 1989, p. 12-13). Former curator of maps Dirk de Vries states that two town atlases of Braun and Hogenberg came under

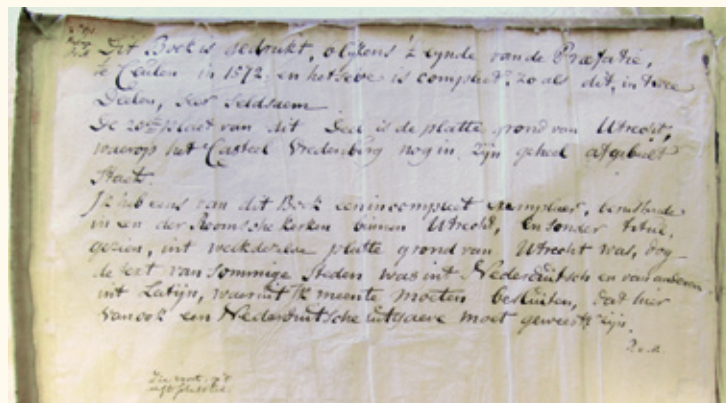
the hammer at that auction: an uncoloured Latin edition and a rare coloured German edition. Based on Van Musschenbroek's and Bodel's notes at the first two fly leaves in the German edition, De Vries concludes that Bodel Nijenhuis did not succeed in obtaining the German edition at the Van Musschenbroek auction, but that he finally acquired that copy at the auction of the Van den Brande-Versluijs library in Middelburg in 1830 (De Vries, 1998, p. 10).

Before the title page of the first binding of this German edition, two fly leaves, thinner and slightly larger in size than the rest of the atlas, are added. At the first fly leaf is a note in Van Musschenbroek's hand that shows his interest in the history and geography of Utrecht, one of the major topics in his collection: *'This book is printed, according to the preface, at Cologne in 1572 and it is complete, like this, very rare. The 20th plate of this volume is the plan of Utrecht, on which the Vredenburg Castle still is depicted complete. Once, I have seen an incomplete copy of this book, kept in one of the Roman churches in Utrecht and without a title, in which the same plan of Utrecht appeared, although the text of some cities were in Lower German and of others in Latin, from which I had to conclude, that of this also a Lower German edition must have been. P.v.M.'*

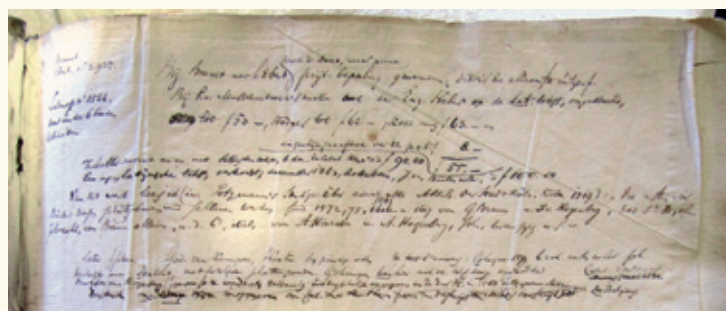
Lost and found

The second fly leaf contains notes of Bodel Nijenhuis about auction prices of several Braun and Hogenberg editions during the early 19th century. It contains also notes on the Leiden auction: *'Bij P. v. Musschenbroek's auctie bood de Eng. Heber op de Lat. tekst, ongekleurd, tot f 50,-, Hodges tot f 62,-; kost mij f 63,- en eigenlijk, na aftrek der 12 pct. (f 8,-) f 55,-'*. From this note we can conclude that Bodel Nijenhuis bought the uncoloured Latin edition at 'his own' Luchtmans auction. However, at present this Latin edition cannot be found either in the Bodel Nijenhuis collection or in the auction catalogue of Bodel's library (that wasn't part of his bequest to Leiden University Library). Anyway, this note is not about the coloured German edition in which it is kept.

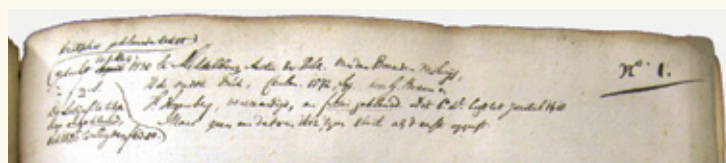
The fly leaf with the note in Van Musschenbroek's hand is misleading. When we examine the auction catalogue of Van Musschenbroek's library, of which an annotated copy by Bodel Nijenhuis is kept in the collection of the Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde, only one copy of Braun and Hogenberg's town atlas is mentioned: *'G. Braunii Civitates Orbis Terrarum, Colon. 1572. 2 vol. cum premult. fig. p.'* (map section, p. 191, lot 120). This must be the uncoloured Latin edition mentioned in Bodel's note. At the third fly leaf, on thicker paper and with the same size as the rest of the atlas, we can read Bodel's note on the Middelburg auction: *'Duitsche gekleurde tekst, gekocht 10 Meij 1830 te Middelburg, Auctie der Bibl. Van den Brande-Versluijs, à f n. s. De Latijnsche tekst liep ongekleurd, Oct. 1826 te Leijden, f 63,00.'*



Van Musschenbroek's note on the first fly leaf in the German edition.



Bodel's note on the second fly leaf in the German edition.



Bodel's note on the third fly leaf in the German edition.

Apparently, Bodel Nijenhuis took Van Musschenbroek's note from his Latin edition and added it to the German edition from the Van den Brande-Versluijs library to keep this information in his collection. What happened to Van Musschenbroek's Latin edition after Bodel Nijenhuis acquired it is unknown. At least, it is not part of the Bodel Nijenhuis collection as a bound atlas. It is possible that Bodel Nijenhuis sold or lost the uncoloured Latin edition for some reason, or stripped it and stored the town plans separately in his collection. The only Latin edition of the *Civitates* that is kept in Leiden University Library is a coloured copy in the Vossius library (COLLBN Atlas 45).

Original note of Petrus van Musschenbroek in Dutch

Dit Boek is gedrukt, blijkens 't eynde van de Præfatie, te Ceulen in 1572 en hetselve is compleet, zoals dit, in twee Deelen, seer seldsaem. De zoste plaet van dit Deel is de plattegrond van Utrecht, waerop het Casteel Vredenburg nog in zijn geheel afgebeeld staet. Ik heb eens van dit Boek een incompleet exemplaar, berustende in een der Roomsche kerken binnen Utrecht en sonder titul, gezien, int welk dezelve platte grond van Utrecht was, dog de text van sommige stede was int Nederduitsch en van anderen int Latijn, waeruit ik men te moeten besluiten, dat hier van ook een Nederduitsche uitgave moet geweest zijn. P.v.M.

Reading Augustine in the Reformation

Arnoud Visser (Department of Neo-Latin, Leiden University)

Historians of ideas have long studied books as sources of knowledge, but far less focused on their impact on individual readers. Provenance research provides exciting new opportunities in precisely this area. Besides identifying the owners of individual copies, this type of research can also cast new light on historical reading habits and the reception of ideas. This potential is especially pertinent for a historical period when ideas radically transformed European society: the age of the Reformation.

Intriguing glimpses of reading

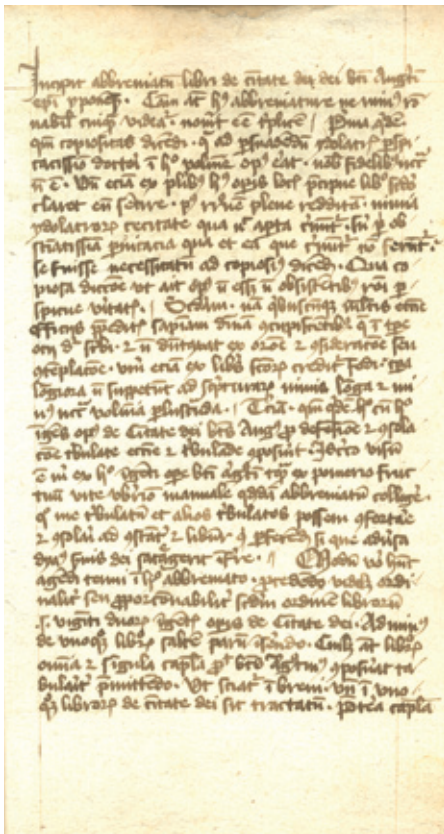
One of the most important suppliers of religious ideas in this era was the late-antique church father Augustine of Hippo. Both Protestants and Catholics claimed the saint as an authoritative guide to the true interpretation of the bible. Indeed, all parties involved often used the same texts of Augustine in support of contrasting ideas. This paradoxical situation raises important questions about the impact of books as a medium of communication. How could

people read the same texts and come to such radically different conclusions? To what extent was an author a source of inspiration or an instrument of confirmation? Among the riches of the collection of Leiden University Library are two items of Augustine's works, one manuscript and one printed book. Both offer intriguing glimpses of the varied reading practices in this period of dramatic religious change. At the same time they also exemplify the challenging nature of provenance research.

The first example is a manuscript on paper of the Latin text of Augustine's *City of God* (VUL 63) dating from the third quarter of the fifteenth century, the period just before the outbreak of the Reformation. The manuscript is part of a collection brought together by Bonaventura Vulcanius, professor of Greek at Leiden from 1581-1614. Yet it has several other ownership marks as well, of which the earliest is of particular interest. It reads: '[This book] belongs to the house of the sisters of Elburg' (fol. 1). This 'house' can be identified as the convent of the Tertiary Sisters of St Francis in Elburg (a small town in the Dutch province of Guelders). Originating as a movement of lay religious (penitents) but from the late thirteenth century part of the Franciscan Order, the Tertiary Sisters formed an important group within that prominent movement of spiritual revival, the *Devotio moderna*.



Several owner's marks and annotations, including '[This book] belongs to the house of the sisters of Elburg' at the upper left corner on the fly leaves of the manuscript of the Latin text of Augustine's *City of God* [VUL 63].



First page of Augustine's *City of God* [vul. 63].

- ▶ Title page of Augustinus, *Van de Stadt Godts. Begrepen in 22 boecken ende verdeylt in vijf stucken. Uyt den Latyne verduytscht door Johannes Fenacolijs. Delft, by Adriaen Gerritsz., 1621.* [509 B 24].

A customized Augustine

What makes the manuscript particularly interesting is the fact that it offers an abbreviated account of Augustine's *magnum opus*. It is, in other words, a customized Augustine, offering only a selection of those parts of the *City of God* which were deemed useful. Moreover, the manuscript contains a preface presenting three reasons why Augustine's works was not copied in full. Although Augustine's 'richness of expression', the scribe argues first, was certainly useful for convincing the sharpest minds among the pagans, it was 'not necessary for us believers'. Second, the scribe continues, the community had many duties to perform, such as prayer and bible reading. This did not give them 'plenty of time to scrutinize overly long and less-needed parts'. The scribe's final argument deals with Augustine's intended readership. While Augustine composed his work for 'the troubled church', this abbreviated version is meant to offer 'a sort of abbreviated guide' for troubled individuals.

If we can assume that the manuscript was commissioned by the Tertiary Sisters at Elburg, which is certainly possible in terms of its date, this item offers us an interesting case of the reading practices of certain religious women on the eve



of the Reformation. If the Elburg Convent did not commission the work itself, the link between the preface and the Sisters' reading practices is more problematic. Yet even then the copy would still present an interesting example of the type of sources to be found in the collection of a convent on the eve of the Reformation. The example suggests, in any case, that the varied reception of Augustine's ideas was partly made possible by the reading practices of individual owners.

A more aggressive approach

The second example takes the notion of personal appropriation in a more aggressive direction. This concerns a copy of the first Dutch translation of the *City of God*, produced by Johannes Fenacolijs (Jan Vennecool, 1577?-1647), a Reformed minister from Maassluis (close to Rotterdam), published by Adriaen Gerritsz. in Delft in 1621 (Shelf mark 509 B 24). Typically for the confessional age in the wake of the Reformation, this translation clearly betrayed the Protestant sympathies of its maker. The preliminary pages, moreover, expressed strong support for the new Protestant magistrates of the Dutch Republic.

The copy is signed separately by two seventeenth-century

owners. Yet most interesting are the later annotations made by an anonymous Catholic owner (probably at the end of the seventeenth, or early eighteenth century), who was clearly unimpressed with the translator's topical message. 'What does a minister do with a Roman [Catholic] work?', this reader wrote, in Dutch, on the title-page, followed by his own answer: 'What he does to the Bible, namely, twist it.' Fenacoliu's dedication to the States General of the young Dutch Republic prompted further aggressive responses. While the translator wrote of 'the overthrowing of Popish images' and 'abolishment of anti-Christian superstitions', the reader launched a personal attack in the form of a didactic dialogue:

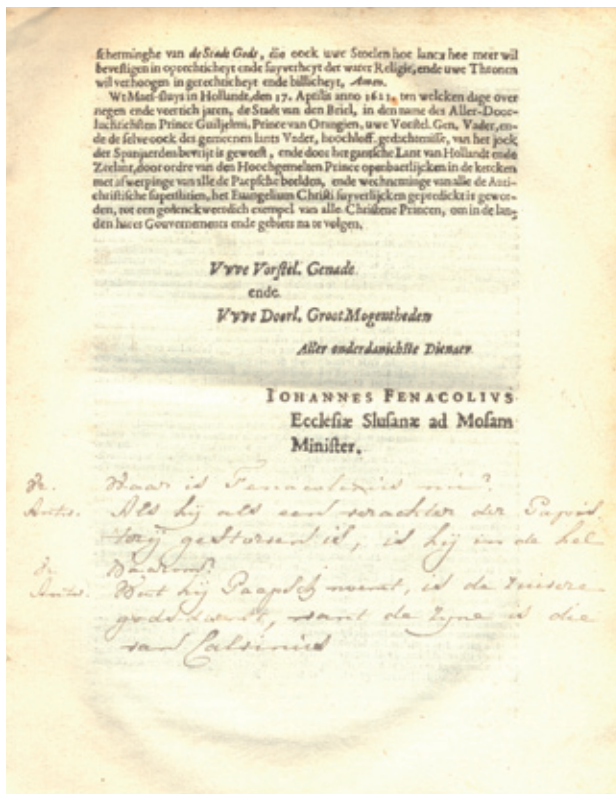
Question: Where is Fenacoliu now?

Answer: If he died a detractor of Popery, he is in hell.

Question: Why?

Answer: What he calls Popish, is pure religion,
for his is that of Calvin.

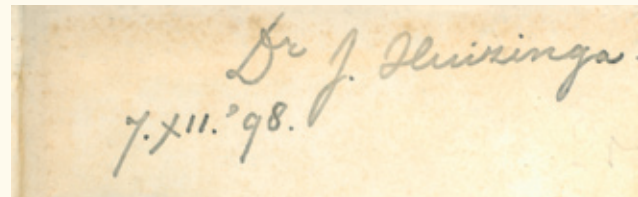
Whereas the manuscript copy of the *City of God* exemplified how owners could adapt a source text to suit personal needs, the owner of this copy goes beyond such an instrumental form of reading by attacking the text and its editor. Both examples illustrate the considerable power of the individual reader in the messy process of transmitting ideas in the Reformation. The more we come to know about the intriguing world of individual readers hidden in many unique copies in our collections, the better we will be able to understand if and how books changed the hearts and minds of their owners.



The didactic dialogue in Augustinus, *Van de Stadt Godts*. [...]. Delft, by Adriaen Gerritsz., 1621. [509 B 24].

Reconstructing the library of Johan Huizinga

Anton van der Lem (Keeper of Rare Books)

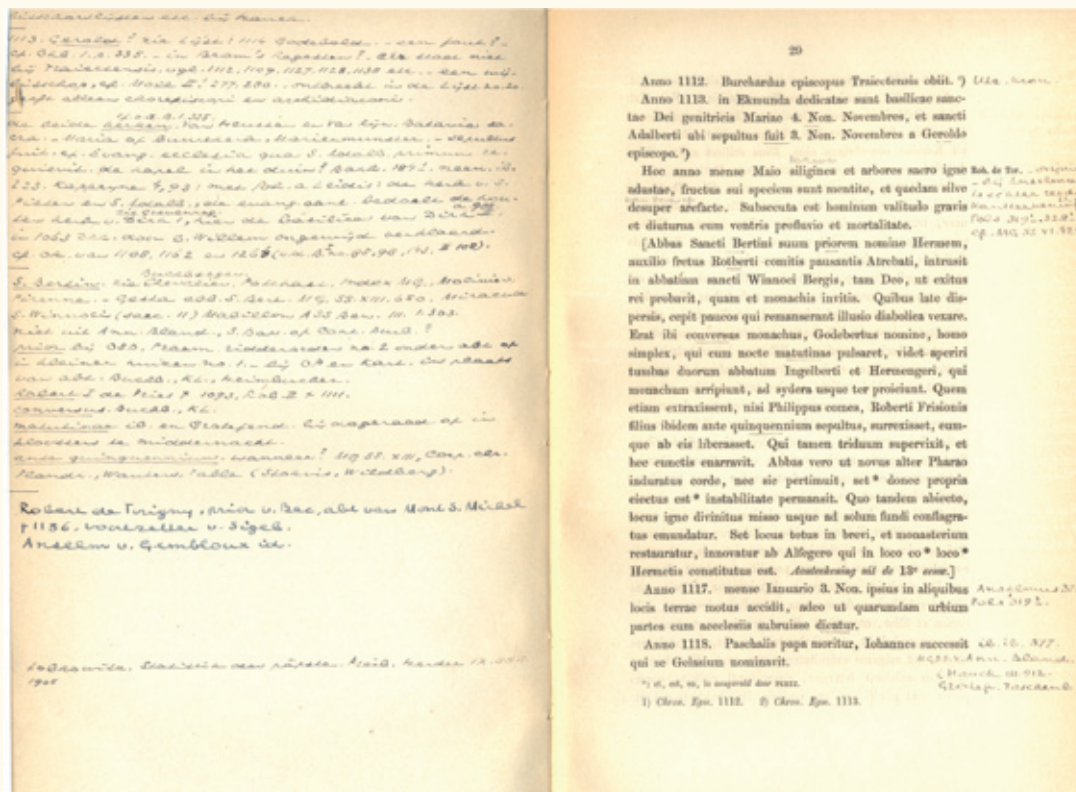


Inscription by Huizinga in his copy of *De imitatione Christi* (Leipzig 1840). [HUIZIN 2007].

Johan Huizinga (1872-1945) is one of the the best known Dutch historians. All over the world his works are receiving, time and again, great attention and appreciation. Several years after his death his collected works were published in eight volumes, from 1948 till 1953. His correspondence appeared in three volumes, from 1989 till 1991, followed in 1998 by the inventory of his archives, including a new bibliography of his works. His main works – *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, *Erasmus*, *Homo ludens*, and *Dutch civilisation in the seventeenth century* – are edited again and again in many languages. The same is true for anthologies of his essays, in Dutch and other languages.

What about the library?

One of the interesting questions is: what ever happened to his library? When Huizinga died on February 1st, 1945, exiled from Leiden University to the east of the Netherlands, he had no books with him. He had left them in his home in Oegstgeest, where he lived since 1936. He intended without any doubt to go home again after the Nazi-occupation and take up his responsibility and settle again to? his study. His library or more properly his collection of books was of a modest, limited size. Just one wall, as was confirmed by one of his former students. Also Huizinga's daughter Elisabeth informed me once that he did not own a large private book collection. For instance: the sources he needed for his *The Waning of the Middle Ages* were borrowed from Leiden University Library and the Royal Library in The Hague. Many books were divided among Huizinga's children. A large part has been sold to an antiquarian bookshop and finally about 50 books were granted by Mrs. Huizinga to the Royal Libray in The Hague. Alas, no list of these books does survive. Admiring their father, most of the children were eager to keep a part of the books themselves. Elisabeth Huizinga choose Huizinga's copy of Robert Fruin, *Verspreide Geschriften*, and the *bellettrie*. Retha Huizinga was interested in her fathers copy of Max Friedländers *Altniederländische Malerei*, reviewed by Huizinga in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant*. Many history books were taken by his son Leonhard Huizinga. Other books must have been granted to friends. The greatest part of the books was dispersed. Nowadays they



Huizinga's interleaved copy of the *Annales Egmundani* (Utrecht 1863). [HUIZIN 2003].

are from time to time to be found in antiquarian bookshops. De Slegte, an antiquarian bookshop in Leiden, was recently so kind to donate a book from Huizinga's book collection to the University Library.

Tracing networks

Why should we want to reconstruct his library and collect the books owned by Huizinga? It does not happen often, but a scholar can be that important that his university, the state library, or a private foundation wants to keep his books together. In Belgium the books of Henri Pirenne are kept in the Université Libre de Bruxelles. In Basel the library of the historian Werner Kaegi, translator and friend of Huizinga, is kept entirely by the Paul Sacher Stiftung. In Salamanca the University Museum does not only take care of the library of Miguel Unamuno, but it is even expended with a study centre. The same is true with the Fundación Ortega y Gasset in Madrid, where I had the pleasure to trace the books with dedications by Huizinga to Ortega. There are three reasons why the books from his library have an important value. First from a scholarly point of view: it is interesting to know which authors he owned, what he learned from them. Second: from a literary or stylistic point of view, to trace the literary influences he underwent. Third: to trace his networks, with whom did he cooperate, what were his contacts seen apart from the contacts in his correspondence? This is especially apparent in books with dedications by friends, colleagues or admirers. Would his library have been granted to Leiden University Library in 1945, probably all the books would just have been catalogued to be read for their content proper, regardless the person from

whom they had come. Nowadays, Huizinga's fame firmly established, they are to be preserved because of their provenance: they are kept to study life and work of Huizinga.

It will be impossible to reconstruct the complete collection of books. But a beginning can be made: several dozens are now safe in the Huizinga-collection of Leiden University Library. Their shelf mark is HUIZIN 2001 and higher. The books don't show a bookplate, but many times Huizinga has written his name in the book, without his title of Professor or Doctor and without date. The small picture shows by exception 'Dr. J. Huizinga', and the date '7.XII.'98'. It was his 26th birthday and he made the inscription in a birthday present: a Latin edition of the *De imitatione Christi* (Leipzig 1840) (HUIZIN 2007). One of the finest pieces in Huizinga's library so far is an edition of the *Annales Egmundani* (Utrecht 1863) (HUIZIN 2003). His copy is interleaved and contains many remarks. Huizinga has not only written his name on the cover, he had also written the title of the book on a small piece of paper and glued this on the back of the blind unpretending binding. In those instances that Huizinga's name is lacking, his handwriting is the only way to recognize whether a book was part of his library. Please let us know when you find a book in a private collection, an antiquarian bookshop or at an auction: Leiden University Library will be eager to obtain it. Of course the book may also be donated, as happens quite regularly. Once the greatest part of his library recovered, we will cherish it as one of our finest collections and consider it as quite normal that his books are to be found in the Huizinga-collection in Leiden University Library. May your effort join ours.

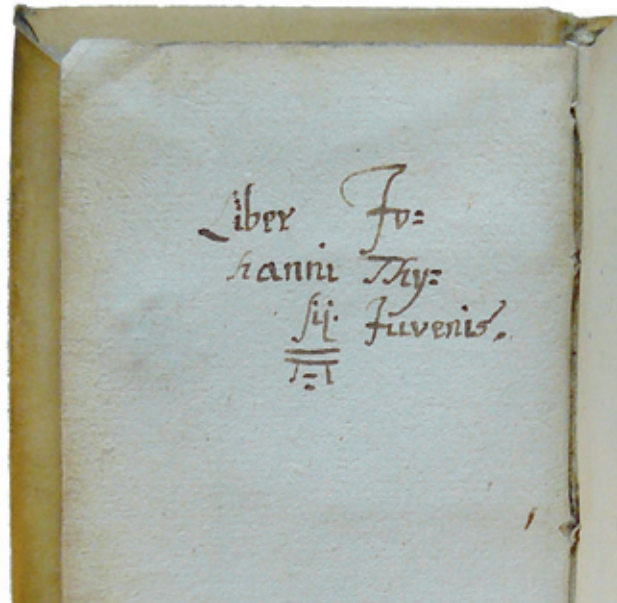
'Sum Thysii'

Books as History in the Bibliotheca Thysiana

Paul Hoftijzer (Professor of Book History, Leiden University and Curator Bibliotheca Thysiana)

A *koeck* or a book?

One of the most illuminating – and touching – documents with regard to the creation of the Bibliotheca Thysiana in Leiden is a short letter preserved in the Thysius family archive, written on the 1st of January 1629 by Johannes Thysius, the library's founder, when he was only six and a half years of age. The occasion for this letter was a New Year's present given to him by one of his great-uncles, Antonius Thysius the Elder (1565-1640), professor of theology at Leiden, who had sent his young relative a piece of cake, or *koeck* in Dutch. In the letter young Johannes, who at the time was still living with his father in Amsterdam, thanked his uncle most politely for the cake and for the 'admonishment' (*vermaninge*), which he hoped to follow. But he added: 'With the help of God I hope to make so much progress in my studies that my dear uncle will honour me next year not with a *koeck* but with a good book' (note the rhyme). Antonius Thysius did indeed present Johannes with a book the following year, a sixteenth-century commentary on the *Epistolae ad familiares* by the

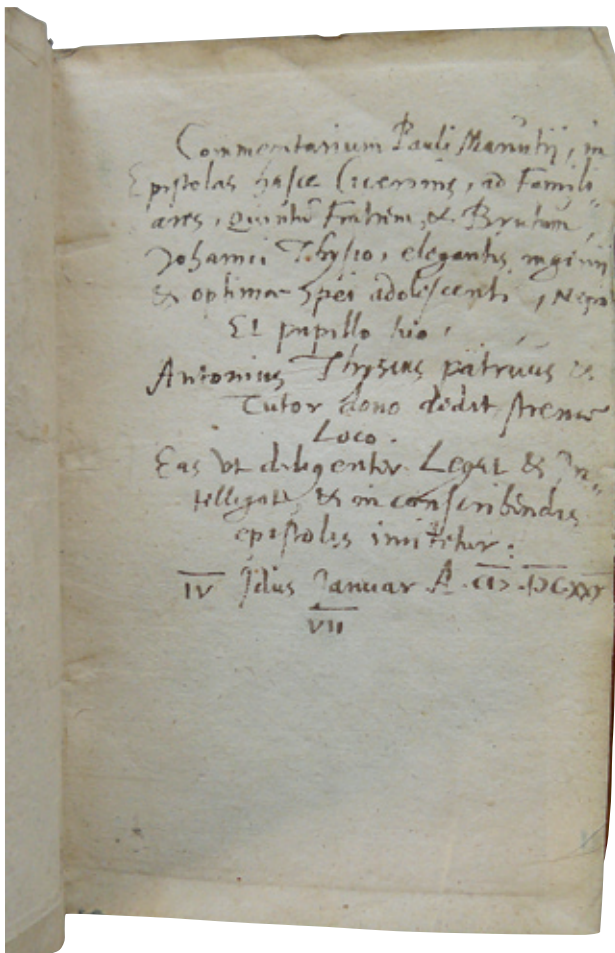


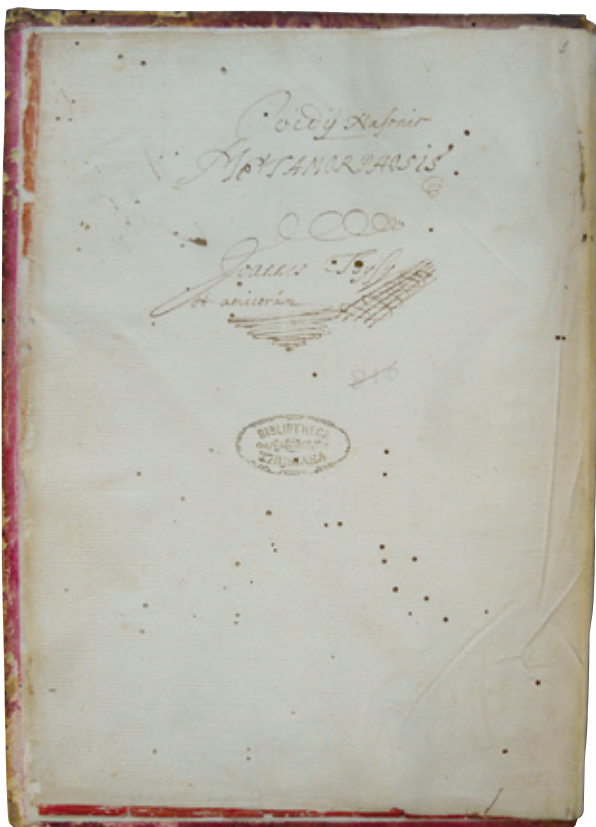
Roman author Cicero, which is preserved to this very day in the library (Thysia 1219). It contains a handwritten dedication, dated 9 January, 1630, in which young Johannes is encouraged to diligently read, study, and imitate Cicero's letters: 'Eas ut diligenter legat & intelligat, & in conscribendis epistolis imitetur'. (see illustration to the left)

Through its dedication and additional documentation, this book is elevated into a fascinating historical document which not only informs us about the precocious origin of Johannes Thysius's love of books, but also about the added meaning books could be invested with. It is one of many examples in the Bibliotheca Thysiana of the way in which books during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were enriched by their owners, users and donors. Research on this aspect of the Bibliotheca Thysiana has only just begun. Hence, this contribution will be limited to presenting some material evidence – in the form of inscriptions, provenances, bindings, and other traces – of how Johannes Thysius appropriated and used his books.

Writing in books

Johannes Thysius wrote his name in most of the books he acquired. One of the earliest examples of this practice can be found in a copy of the Blaeu edition of Silius Italicus' *De secundo bello Punico* (Amsterdam, 1620; Thysia 368), which he inscribed 'Liber Johanni Thysii Juvenis'. (see illustration above) In all likelihood, Johannes was still a school boy when the book entered his collection. Later in life he would simply write in his books 'Sum Thysii' (I belong to Thysius), sometimes 'Je suis de Thyse' when it was a French book, or just 'Jan Thijs' when the book was in Dutch. Only in a few instances did Thysius follow the well-established tradition among humanists to expand the ownership of his books to one's 'friends'. A good example is the fifteenth-century manuscript he possessed of Ovid's





Metamorphoses, which has the inscription 'Joannis Thysij et amicorum' (Thysia 1674). (see illustration above)

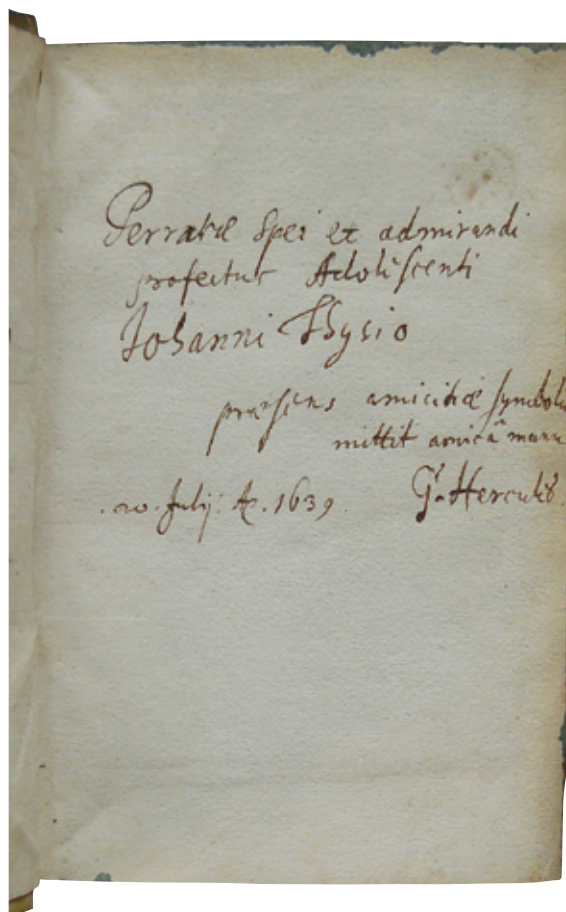
Apart from the books that Thysius bought new in bookshops and second-hand at book auctions, he received quite a few as gifts from family and friends. The Bibliotheca Thysiana holds a number of titles which Johannes obtained from his other grand-uncle Constantin l'Empereur (1591-1648), professor of Oriental languages in Leiden, in whose house he spent most of his life. An example is a copy of the translation of the Latin Old Testament by Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius (Hanau, 1618; Thysia 112), in which l'Empereur wrote: 'dilecto meo Joanni Thysii d.d. Constantinus l'E.' (to my cousin Johannes Thysius Constantin l'Empereur gave this book). Other books Thysius appears to have acquired after his great-uncle's death in 1648. They can be recognized by the provenance 'Sum l'E.' in l'Empereur's characteristic handwriting, to which Thysius sometimes dryly added 'nunc Thysii' (now of Thysius).

A token of friendship

Another book was given to by an as yet unidentified benefactor. A copy of Edo Neuhusius' *Triga scholasticarum artium. Sive idea loquendi, dicendi, disserendi ...* (Leeuwarden, 1636; Thysius 1077) contains the following inscription: 'Perrarae spei et admirandi profectus adolescenti Johanni Thysio praesens amicitiae symbolu[m] mittit amicâ manu G. Hercules . 20 Julii . A^o. 1639.' (G. Hercules sends with amicable hand this book as a token of his friendship to Johannes Thysius, a young man who arouses extraordinary expectations and makes

admirable progress. 20 July, 1639. [with thanks to Jeanine De Landtsheer]). (see illustration below) Was Gulielmus Hercules perhaps one of Thysius' teachers at the Leiden Latin School? A gift emanating from a similar tutor-pupil relation Thysius received when during his Grand Tour he spent a couple of months in the spring of 1647 with the great French oriental scholar Samuel Bochart in Caen to study Hebrew. Bochart had just published his magnum opus *Geographia sacra* (Caen, 1646; Thysia 844), of which he gave a copy to Thysius. Underneath the name of the author on the title-page Thysius wrote 'unde par traditionem Joan. Thysij' (from him as a gift I belong to Johannes Thysius). This protracted visit to Bochart was by the way made possible by a recommendation of the Leiden professor Claude Saumaise. Thysius thanked Saumaise extensively in a letter of 30 April, 1647 (Leiden University Library, PAP 7), informing him that Bochart had even taken the trouble to take Thysius and his travelling companion Job Ludolph to Paris to see the Bibliothèque du Roy and the Sorbonne.

Regretfully, Thysius has left barely any trace of his reading inside his books; a few marginal annotations, the occasional underlining, that is all there is. Combined with the fact that he never published anything of scholarly merit, this raises the question what the purpose of his library was: a tool for his own personal study and research, or an instrument to be used by others as well, if not already during his lifetime, then certainly after it? If the latter is true, it may also explain why the external presentation of his



books is on the whole very sober. Most of the books that he acquired in the bookshops of Leiden were bound by his bookbinder Wolter de Haes in plain vellum bindings, the larger formats adorned with a central, blind tooled ornament. On the spine Thysius usually wrote a short title of the work in question. Only his more expensive folio books, acquired new or second-hand, he had (re-)bound in more expensive calf bindings, with gilt lines on the boards and his monogram on the spine. Occasionally, as in the case of his copy of the Delft Bible of 1477, these calf bindings were adorned with a beautiful gilt tooled central ornament, which seems to have been exclusively reserved for Thysius's books. (see illustration below)



Death is life unto me

Finally, a remarkable feature of many of Thysius's books is the occurrence of a small red wax seal inside the covers, depicting a bird. (see illustration to the right) No reference has been found to the meaning of this animal, which can also be found in books acquired shortly after Thysius's death, but it may well be a phoenix, the more so since on the top of one of the bookcases in the library a contemporary life-size wooden phoenix is placed. Modelled after a well-known emblem by Joachim Camerarius, which has as its motto 'Mors mihi vita est' (Death is life unto me), this bird surely stands symbol for the everlasting cycle of knowledge that takes place in the Bibliotheca Thysiana, and for that matter in every other library. It is perhaps the most poignant example of the symbolic meaning Johannes Thysius attached to his books.



'*Credentialis int Arabis*'

Scaliger's Arabic translation for an early voyage to the Indies (1600)

Arnoud Vrolijk (Curator of Oriental Manuscripts and Rare Books)

Although the first commercial relations between the Netherlands and Southeast Asia were established by private companies, they enjoyed the unreserved protection and encouragement of the Dutch Republic and its most prominent official, prince Maurice of Orange. Before the foundation of the Dutch colonial empire, merchants were highly dependent on the goodwill of the local rulers. To secure this goodwill they brought 'patents', credentials issued by the Dutch authorities, which served as an introduction and gave a more or less official status to their bearers. But how were they to communicate with foreign dignitaries? In the Dutch Republic there was no one with any knowledge of the languages of the region. Since it was anticipated, however, that the recipients of these letters were Muslims, it was assumed that they would understand Arabic. Fortunately, there were scholars at the University of Leiden who could serve as translators. The first of these 'patents' was translated into Arabic and printed by Franciscus Raphelengius, professor of Hebrew at Leiden. It supposedly left the Netherlands on the first voyage to the Indies in 1595. The sole remaining copy is preserved in the Museum Plantin-Moretus in Antwerp.

Doubtful Arabic

Another such letter is held in the Oriental collections of Leiden University Library, UBL MS Or. 1365 (3). The parchment bears a title on the verso side: 'Credentialis int Arabis van Prins Maurits voor Jacob van Neck, Admiraal na Oost Indien.' It accompanied the said admiral on his second expedition to the East Indies, which sailed on 28 June 1600. The Arabic is at times doubtful, but not nearly as bad as one would expect from a generation of Orientalists who never set foot outside Europe. All possible care was lavished on the letter to make it look official. Partly written in gold ink, it carries Prince Maurice's lacquer seal, which was duly attached by a professor of Law.

Did the letter actually serve its purpose? Van Neck's own journal relates that it was presented to the queen of Patani (present-day Pattani, southern Thailand), on 10 November 1601:

'Ende ons patent wert den grootsten vant lant in Arabische sprake voor geleesen. Ende door hunlieden bisschop promptelijc vertaalt, die heur altesamen wel geviel.'

'And our "patent" was read out in the Arabic tongue before the grandees of the country and simultaneously translated by their bishop [sic, apparently a high-ranking member of the Muslim clergy, A.V.], to their general satisfaction.'

Needless to say, the relations between the Dutch and the queen were cordial.

The very existence of this letter in the Leiden collections demonstrates that Van Neck brought it back to the Netherlands. It was presumably kept in a file with sundry translated correspondence at the Leiden University Library, only to be registered in the early 1830s. Ever since R.P.A. Dozy first catalogued the document in 1851, several generations of Leiden curators have been completely mystified by it. Although the letter clearly mentions Van Neck's name and the 'islands and regions of the East Indies' as its destination, the Leiden manuscript catalogues and inventories invariably refer to it as being addressed 'ad diversos Dynastas Mauritaniae' or 'to several Moroccan rulers'. The letter was first edited and translated into Dutch by J. van Oordt in 1899, but its actual destination was rediscovered only in 1980 by H.A. van Foreest and A. de Booy.

A Miracle by a Masterly Author

The identity of the Arabic translator was equally forgotten. In 1989, however, Herman de Leeuw mentioned Josephus Justus Scaliger as the person who had 'written' it,



Parade of the queen of Patani (seated on an elephant) in honour of admiral Jacob van Neck and his crew. R. Roelofs, 'Kort ende waerachtigh verhael van de tweede schipvaerd [...]', in I. Commelin, *Begin ende voortganch van de Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geocroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie* ([Amsterdam], 1646), 1/7, facing p. 18. [UBL 348 c 9-10].



Credentials issued to admiral Jacob van Neck (c. 1564-1638) by Maurice, prince of Orange, on 1 June 1600. [UBL MS Or. 1365 (3)]

but at the same time denied that Scaliger 'would ever have ventured translating into Arabic'. There can be no doubt that the document is indeed in Scaliger's hand, many specimens of which are preserved in the Leiden collections. However, he must also be considered as the translator. This conclusion can be reached by a process of elimination, for in June 1600 there was no one besides Scaliger who knew Arabic. Secondly, De Leeuw is probably right in assuming that the earlier translation of 1595 by Raphelengius served as a model for Scaliger; but there are so many discrepancies that it can only be regarded as his own work. Even the draft of the letter has been preserved, which shows Scaliger's struggle with a language he was never able to learn as well as, for instance, Hebrew. This draft was added to the fair copy in 1992. Finally, there is the date of the letter to guide us: Raphelengius's letter only mentions the Christian date, but Scaliger managed to calculate the correct date according to the Muslim calendar. Who else could have performed this little miracle, except the masterly author of *De Emendatione Temporum*?

Thus, establishing the provenance of this document is not only a matter of concern for bibliographers; it also helps us to learn more about Scaliger's proficiency in Arabic and the practical application of his chronological studies. In honour of Scaliger, the 'patent' was carefully restored in the library's atelier and shown to the public on the 400th anniversary of his death in 2009.

'Hebraea dictio est'

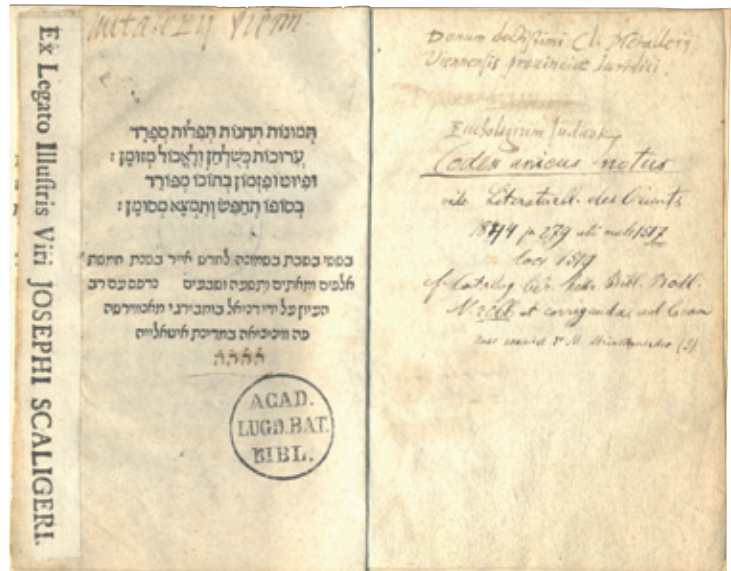
Two books from the library of Claudius Mitalerius

Kasper van Ommen
(Co-ordinator Scaliger Institute)

Amongst the group of sixteenth-century French grammarians, Claudius Mitalerius stands out in several ways. Not much is known about this Humanist and his list of publications is modest. He was trained as a lawyer, but there are no legal publications to his name. He was involved in philology, but apparently as a kind of hobby. His main involvement in the field of French grammar lies in etymologizing and finding kinship between French and Hebrew words. His main publication on this subject is the *Epistola de vocabulis quae Galli a commorantibus in Gallia Iudaeis didicerunt, in usumque receperunt*, that was published as an appendix to Robert Estienne's *Hypomneses de gall. lingua, peregrinis eam discentibus necessariae quaedam verò ipsis etiam Gallis multum profuturæ*, published in Geneva by Henri Estienne in 1582.

The Mother of all Languages

Claudius Mitalerius or Claude Mitalier was 'juge royal (also *Lieutenant Général*) de la province de Vienne' who took his doctors degree on 8 April 1573 at the University of Valence. In Valence he had studied under the French legal expert Jacques Cujas (1520-1590) and the town councillor and law professor Claude Rogier. Among his contemporaries he was generally known as a Hellenist who added notes on the 1576 edition of Valerius Maximus' *Dictorum factorumque memorabilium ad Tiberium Aug. lib. IX* by



Title page of *Tēmūnōt taḥanōt tēfillōt* [...]. 1519. With the owner's mark of Mitalerius (top left) and the inscription by Scaliger (top right) and by the famous bibliographer and Orientalist Moritz Steinschneider (1816-1907) underneath. [1370 E 33].

the Dutch humanist Stephanus Pighius (1520-1604). This book consists of a series of anecdotes for the use of orators. One year later he wrote his epistle on the kinship of French and Hebrew words which were introduced by the Jews living in France. The conviction that Hebrew was the mother of all languages was by then widespread and accepted by many scholars.

The epistle was addressed to his colleague Jérôme de Châtillon, the first president of the Parliament of the region of La Dombes near Lyons, and was published in the *Hypomneses* by Estienne. In this epistle he presented, according to B. Gokkes in 1937 'an interesting series of partly foolish, partly clever (but therefore not always true) Hebrew-Romanic etymologies'. For example, he mentioned the French word for cable (*chable*), which he thought to be derived from the Hebrew *chebel*; the French word *jardin* which was taken from the Hebrew *iahar* (forest) and *guerre* being derived from *garah* (to battle). On other occasions he tried to tie French words with the Syriac language (for instance the French *sot* (fool) with the Syriac *sote*). With this epistle Mitalerius demonstrated what modern historians have described as 'a naive passion and an inexperienced way of etymologizing'.

An important Testimony

Contemporaries of Mitalerius must have thought differently about his work. Even Josephus Justus Scaliger had a certain interest in Mitalerius' experiments. Scaliger involved himself with similar experiments on the kinship of some Dutch, German and Persian words in his Leiden period (see *Omslag* 2007, nr. 1). Unfortunately I have not



Title page of Abraham ben David ha-Levi (et. al), *Sefer Yezirah ha-meyuhas le-'Avraham 'avinu* [...], 1562, with the owners inscription by Mitalerius and Hebrew annotations in an unknown hand. [875 E 24].

been able to find his opinion on the kinship of French and Hebrew words as described by Mitalerius (although after 1600 Scaliger emphasized regularly that not all languages were derived from the Hebrew language), but the two scholars were evidently in contact with each other: they must have met in Valence in the 1570's when Scaliger was studying with Jacques Cujas. As Mitalerius lived in Vienne, only 80 kilometers from Valence, a meeting in this town could possibly also have taken place there. Both books are rare material testimonies of the relationship between both scholars. The name of Mitalerius is mentioned only once in the correspondence of Scaliger. But in this one letter by Scaliger of 12 August 1590 to Scève de Sainte-Marthe (1536-1623) an important testimony is given on Mitalerius. Scaliger is characterizing Mitalerius as 'un des plus doctes es langues et antiquité romaine de nostre aage'. According to Scaliger Sainte-Marthe had erroneously omitted the name of Mitalerius and of the medical doctor Louis Duret (1527-1586) in his edition of the *Poemata et Elogia* of 1587.

Books as Testimony

In the oriental legacy of Scaliger there are two books that were once part of the library of Mitalerius. Both books bear the inscription 'C. Mitalerius Vienn' on the title page.

The two books are:

- Abraham ben David ha-Levi (et. al), *Sefer Yezirah ha-meyuhas le-'Avraham 'avinu* [...] 'im 4 be'urim [...], Mantovah [Mantua], Ya'aqov Kohen mi-Ga'zulo [Jacob ben Naphtali ha-Kohen of Gazzuolo], [5]322 [=1562]. [875 E 24]. The *Sefer Yezirah* is also known as the 'Book of Creation', the earliest extant book on Jewish esotericism.
- *Tēmūnōt taḥanōt tēfillot* [...]: [sive Preces quotidianæ, Hebraice], Venetiis, Daniel Bombergen, [5]279 = 1519. [1370 E 33]. These are the daily vocal prayers in Hebrew.

This copy not only bears the signature of Mitalerius but also an inscription by Scaliger which reads 'Donum doctissimi Cl. Metallerij Viennensis provinciae Iuridici' and 'Euchologium Iudaeum'. According to Scaliger this book is a ritual on the customs, ordinations and sacraments of the Jews. The book is bound in a early twentieth-century calf binding by the Leiden book binder J.A. Loebèr jr (1869-1957), imitating a late Gothic binding.

Both copies bear annotations in Hebrew and Latin on the endpapers and in the text, partly by Scaliger and by other unknown, possibly oriental, hands. It will take some further research to establish how Mitalerius got his hands on these rare books and whether or not he used them for proving his own theses. They were certainly of interest to Scaliger, always eager for new books and new information on the Hebrew language and customs.

The two books in the Scaliger collection are new pieces in the puzzle of the sixteenth-century Republic of Letters. They are testimonies of the interaction between two scholars, which lead to new questions to be answered, and new terrains to be explored.

Feigned nobility: a forged provenance

Jef Schaeps (Curator of Prints & Drawings)

One year after the Amsterdam professor of Greek, History and Eloquence Petrus Burman (1713-1778) passed away, his library was set up for sale at an auction in Leiden. The University Library purchased a number of his manuscripts and printed books, including seventeen incunabula. One of these was the 1482 edition of the *Opera* of Claudius Claudianus, the Roman poet and historian, perhaps best known for his unfinished poem *De raptu Proserpinae*. The book was published in Vicenza by Jacobus de Dusa and is one of the two or three books issued by his short-lived printing office. Not uncommon for Italian incunabula coming from prestigious collection the first page is decorated with a painted border of stylized leaves on a green ground, including a coat of arms with a gold chevron and three gold flowers on a blue shield. This can be identified as the coat of arms of the Italian cardinal, poet and bibliophile Pietro Bembo (1470-1547). Of all the incunabula – all but one Italian – that were purchased at the Burman sale the Claudianus is the only one to show up such a luxurious decoration and to boast such an illustrious provenance.



Claudius Claudianus, *Opera*. Edente Barn. Celsano.
[Vicentiae, Jac. Dusensis 1482] [1365 A 9].

A well-made forgery

However, on closer inspection, the painted border strikes one as out of tune with the time Bembo was collecting his books. Borders like this were produced until long after the introduction of the printing press to give books the same precious look as manuscripts and to impress the owner's mark on the copy. Only when woodcuts became more common as the preferred technique for illustrations did the frequency of hand painted borders diminish. The Claudianus border however shows up characteristics that seem to date from the eighteenth century rather than of the fifteenth or sixteenth century. The shape of the acanthus leaves, the abundant use of white and the cool green and purple remind one more of Rococo ornaments than of book illumination from the late Renaissance. And although it may be considered legitimate to decorate a fifteenth-century book in the eighteenth century, the inclusion of Bembo's coat of arms turns the border into a forgery.

More forgeries like this one are known. In 1986 Helmut Boese unraveled the history behind these and traced the books involved back to the German bishop and book collector Franz Joseph von Hahn and the Venetian bookseller Giovanni Battista Albrizzi. Hahn (1699-1748) had purchased a great number of manuscripts and printed books in Northern Italy over the years to add them to his ever-growing library in Bamberg. After the death of his benefactor and employer Friedrich Karl von Schönborn Hahn got into financial problems, urging him to sell off parts of his library. A group of manuscripts plus a few incunabula were sold through the bookseller Albrizzi. He published a small catalogue of the books for sale in 1747, without mentioning Hahn's name but instead adding it to another catalogue of manuscripts from the collection of the Venetian procurator Gerardo Sagredo. As Boese makes plausible, Hahn's manuscripts and books were provided with hand painted borders, either before the collector took them to Bamberg or later just before the sale in Venice, in order to suggest famous provenances and thus to increase the value of Hahn's library. The coats of arms that were added to the books were those of some of the most prominent Italian noble families, like the Medici, the Visconti, the Este or the Mocenigo, besides those of Pietro Bembo.

The manuscripts from Albrizzi's catalogue are nowadays spread over various collections in Europe. Copies can be found in the libraries of Venice, Dresden, Berlin and Oxford. Until Boese published his research they were generally considered to originate from the Sagredo family. Before the year 2000 only manuscripts could be identified as coming from the collection of Hahn. In that year a printed book, with a hand painted border and obviously belonging to the same group as the manuscripts, turned up at an auction in London. Although it was not present in Albrizzi's catalogue, it must originate from Hahn's library as well. The Leiden Claudianus (UBL I 365 A 9) is the second example in the world known so far of a printed book with a forged provenance.

Willeram: From Egmond to Leiden (and beyond)

A.Th. Bouwman (Curator of Western Manuscripts)

The Willeram is a codex with a commentary on The Song of Solomon, part of which is an Old Dutch transcript and 'Umschreibung' of Old High German passages. The commentary was compiled around 1060 by Williram, abbot of the Bavarian monastery Ebersberg. Alongside the text of *Cantica Canticorum*, a bible book full of love poetry, he placed a double exposition, in which the relationship of the lovers is interpreted as an allegory of the relationship between Christ and his Church. One exposition is in Latin verse, the other in vernacular prose, written in an East Franconian dialect. Four decades later, around 1100, the text was copied by a scribe who was not familiar with the phonology and orthography of texts written in East Franconian and who tried to translate it into his own Low Franconian dialect. Presumably, this happened in Egmond Abbey. As a result, this codex not only belongs to the remnants of the oldest library in the province of Holland, it is also one of the first books written on Dutch soil and the earliest complete source of Dutch language that has come down to us. The *Oudnederlands Woordenboek* – published by the Instituut voor Nederlandse Lexicologie on the internet in 2009 – draws for the greater part on the word material in this manuscript (<http://gtb.inl.nl/?owner=ONW>, e.g. try entry BISWEREN).

Most manuscripts present the components of Williram's commentary in a three-column layout, alongside each other (the Vulgate text in the middle). The Egmond scribe, however, presents them as a part of a single column, one component after another, as shown by opening f. 23v-24r (see illustration above on next page). Following the red rubric *Vox Christi* (f. 23v, l. 2) – which is placed at the right-hand side of the writing area, to save space – we see:

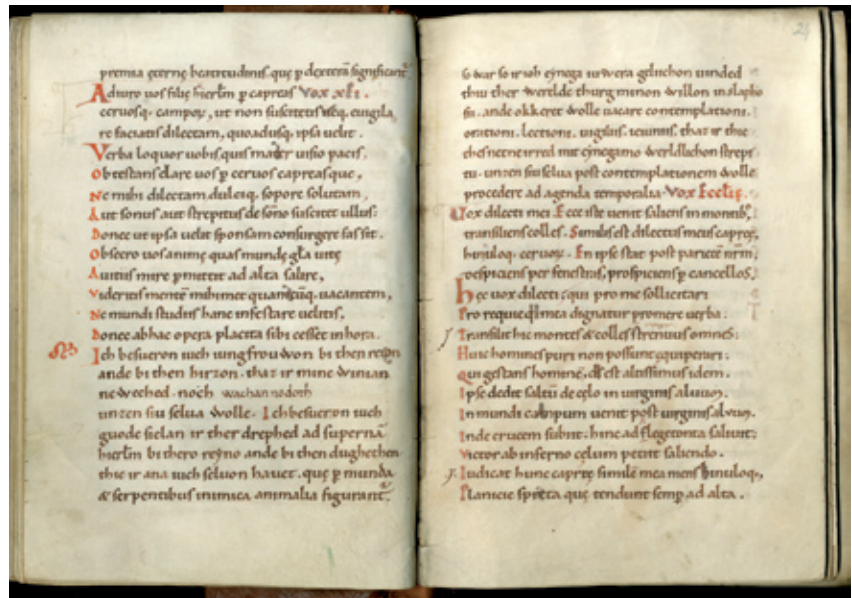
- three text lines from the Latin Vulgate Bible (Song of Solomon 2:7): 'Adiuro vos filie hier(usa)l(e)m p(er) capreas / cervosq(ue) campor(um) ...' (f. 23v, ll. 2-4);
- the exposition in Latin (each verse starts with its own red initial on a new line): 'Verba loquor vobis quis mater visio pacis / ...';
- the exposition (including Vulgate text) in Old Dutch prose (which runs up to f. 24r, l. 7): 'Ich besueron iuch iungfrouwon bi then reion / ande bi then hirzon . thaz ir mine winian / ne weched ...'.

But how did the 'Egmond Willeram' become the 'Leiden Willeram'? Egmond Abbey and its library did not survive the Revolt in the Netherlands against the authority of its king Philip II and that of the Catholic Church. Prior to the demolition of the buildings by the Beggars in 1573, several manuscripts were saved by prior Jacobus Blondeel, who was assisted by Pieter van Meerhout, rector of the Latin School in Alkmaar. The Willeram was one of the

books saved and Blondeel donated it to his friend Van Meerhout. In 1597 the manuscript came into the hands of two Dutch humanists, Pancratius Castricomius and Paullus Merula. They valued the linguistic importance of the Willeram, and decided to study and publish it. The codex was taken apart and its quires transformed into printer's copy. The edition appeared in Leiden at the Officina Plantiniana in 1598. For every commentary section it contains no less than five text blocks, as shown by the corresponding opening p. 26-27 (see illustration below):

- the Latin exposition in italic fount;
- the Vulgate text in a small roman fount, at the same level in the outer margin;
- the Old Dutch exposition in roman fount (Latin words in italic), laid out as the left of two parallel columns;
- a translation of it in contemporary Dutch (presumably by Jan van Hout) in small Gothic fount, laid out as the right of two columns: 'Ic beswere iu / Juncfrouwen bi den reen en bi de(n) her- / ten dat gij mine vrien- / dinne niet en wecket ...';
- the 'Annotatio' (by Castricomius) in roman fount (Dutch words in italic), over the full page: 'Vnzen] *Ter tijd toe*, aduerbium temporum ...'.

The codex clearly shows traces of the preparatory editing (mainly by Castricomius) and the production in the



Willeram von Ebersberg, *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum*. Egmond, ca. 1100. Manuscript. [BPL 130, f. 23v-24r].

Officina Plantiniana. The orthography and punctuation of the Latin has been adapted; see for instance on f. 23v: *hier(usa)l(e)m* receives a capital (l. 2), *euigila-re* a hyphen; point behind *campor(um)* in *dilectam* changed into a comma; underlining of Latin words in the vernacular text (still a common instruction for a printer to use italic), e.g. *ad superna(m) hier(usa)l(e)m*. The words 'wachan nodoth' are a twelfth-century supplement; now and then the original scribe left open spaces when he was unsure about the text of his exemplar. In the margins of f. 23v-24r we see, plummet, two markings indicating a new section in the commentary, and numbers 26-28

indicating the beginnings of the corresponding page of the edition.

Calculating the type must have been a pretty complicated job, because the printer had to synchronise the three text components from the Egmond codex with the text from two other manuscripts in front of him: the translation of Van Hout and the 'Annotatio' of Castricomius. These last two manuscripts have been destroyed, but the Egmond Willeram was saved again. It became the Leiden Willeram thanks to Paullus Merula, Professor in History at Leiden University but also in charge of its library from 1597-1607. Merula must have talked Van Meerhout into donating or selling the Willeram. It became one of the first medieval manuscripts that entered the library.



Willeram Abbatis In Canticum canticorum paraphrasis gemina: prior rhythmis Latinis, altera veteri lingua Francica. Addita explicatio, lingua Belgica; & notae quibus veterum vocum Francicarum ratio redditur. Ed. Paulo G.F.P.N. Merula. Lugduni Batavorum: ex officina Plantiniana, apud Christophorum Raphelengium, 1598. [137 F 30: 3, p. 26-27].

De oplettende lezer

Geert Warnar
(Tenured track researcher in the
department of Dutch literature
and culture, Leiden University)

Servatius in School

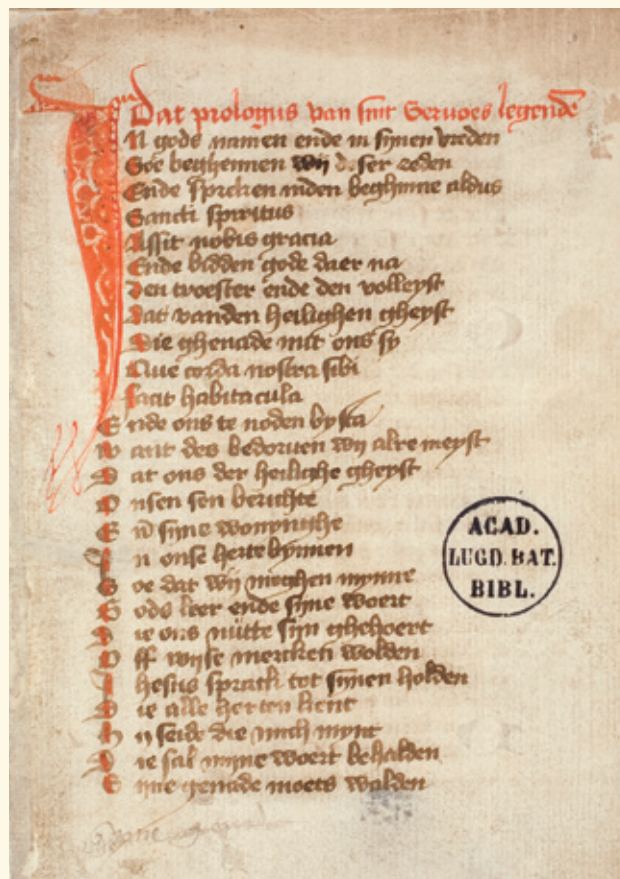
Although in itself utterly inconspicuous, the codex BPL 1215 is one of the treasures in the Leiden collection of medieval manuscripts because of its text. It contains the Dutch version of the life of St Gervase, patron saint of Maastricht. Dating from the twelfth century, this life of Saint Servaes (the Dutch form of Gervase) is the oldest extant Saint's life in Dutch. Some thirteenth-century manuscript fragments of the *Servaes* legend survive, scattered over libraries in Germany and Belgium. The only complete copy of the oldest Saint's life in Dutch verse is found in the Leiden University Library.

The special status of the *Servaes* legend is furthermore enhanced by its author Hendrik van Veldeke, the first Dutch poet of international fame. Veldeke was praised by his German colleague Gottfried of Strasbourg for the *rechte rime* [=perfect verse] of his lyrical poetry.

There is nothing in the *Servaes* manuscript to suggest that the scribe or owner of the manuscript cherished the book as a monument in the history of Dutch literature. Three centuries after being written, the *Servaes* legend had become a textbook to be read in school – like so many medieval Saints' lives. According to a sixteenth-century note scribbled on the last flyleaf, the book was once owned by a certain Hendrick Lenssen, who taught in the school of the Maastricht *beghards*, the lay community of the brothers of St Michael and St Bartholomew. The manuscript must have been used for the benefit of the pupils, who could consult the original Latin *vita* of St Gervase in the same manuscript.

Other books copied by the anonymous scribe of the *Servaes* manuscript were also produced for the beggars of Maastricht. Their library is remarkably well preserved, probably because the brothers had to give up their religious community only at the end of the eighteenth century, after Napoleon's invasion of the Netherlands. In the library of the beggars a wide variety of religious prose texts in Dutch was available, ranging from mystical treatises, a meditative life of Christ, miscellanies of verse and prose, sermons and manuals for contemplation, but also a Dutch rendering by the courtier Dirc Potter of the Italian *Fiore di Virtù*. This work of moral instruction on virtues and vices also may have served the pedagogical purposes of Hendrick Lenssen.

In the case of the Maastricht beggars, provenance research yields spectacular results, leading to an at least partial reconstruction of their library. As such, the *Servaes* manuscript and the other books of the beggars formed an important case study in a recent dissertation on libraries in monastic houses and religious communities in the Netherlands. Over 800 Dutch manuscripts were listed and grouped on the basis of provenance information. The data



The life of St. Gervase in Dutch [BPL 1215].

were taken from the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica Manuscripta*, a documentation system of filing cards with the descriptions of more than 11,000 medieval manuscripts produced in the Netherlands. Numerous card indexes provide thousands of entries to the descriptions of Dutch manuscripts which are now kept all over Europe. The indexes with information on scribes, libraries and owners are a real treasure trove for provenance researchers. Of course, Hendrick Lenssen is listed with his *Servaes* manuscript, not as a monument in the history of Dutch literature, but as one of the thirty manuscripts once owned by the Maastricht beggars.

The information in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica Manuscripta* has been processed in a database which is available to the general public, see: <http://www.bibliotheek.leidenuniv.nl/bijzondere-collecties/handschriftenarchieven-brieven/bnm.html>

The dissertation on Dutch medieval manuscripts from religious communities is: Karl Stooker & Theo Verbeij: *Collecties op orde. Middel nederlandse handschriften uit kloosters en semi-religieuze gemeenschappen in de Nederlanden*. Leuven, 1997.