

Book Transfer Culture: Book Movements in Cities of the Baltic Sea Region as a Sideline of Early Modern Cultural History Research in East Central Europe

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ABSTRACT

In recent decades, book archaeological studies have shown that Early Modern book movements in the Baltic region were particularly pronounced at the time of the Lutheran Reformation. In view of the movements of a Melchior Hofmann, a Johannes Block, a Nikolaus Russ or a Sveno Jakobi, their handwritten entries point fragmentarily to the confessional affinities of their owners, but above all to the connections of former networks that had existed between the merchants, craftsmen and clergymen of the Hanseatic cities, and that determined the ruling, scientific and economic-political interrelationships of that time.

Books of the sixteenth century testify not only to an enormous mobility of their owners, but also to forms of cultural appropriation between individual appreciation, tradition, or antiquarian interest which emerged from the beginning of the Early Modern period and which brought books from different printing places, binding places and contexts of use into the libraries of the Hanseatic cities. Provided that this is the case, one can certainly speak of a book transfer culture and make it a topic within Early Modern cultural history research, which concerns regions of East Central Europe in particular.

KEYWORDS: Baltic Sea, books, Early Modern history, libraries, trade

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Mobility in the Baltic Sea region, especially in the Middle Ages and in the Early Modern period, has been a subject of Hanseatic history research, particularly as a political, economic, or even social-historical phenomenon, through which intra-Hanseatic as well as inter-state trade relations have been well researched. Therefore, delineating a study region will prove difficult. For East Central Europe, the well-known Peterhof may be considered the most eastern location of the Hanseatic trading system in the fourteenth century. In many Hanseatic cities of the eastern Baltic Sea region, such as Riga, Reval, Danzig, and Stralsund, there were corresponding trade companies that negotiated Russian products with goods from Flanders or France. A unique relief panel in Stralsund's St. Nikolai Church provides information about this.¹ With the flourishing of the Livonian Hanseatic towns in the fifteenth century, Peterhof was closed by Tsar Ivan III (1440–1505) in 1494. However, it is known that existing trade relations were continued through the Livonian cities. We know that it was not only furs, honey or fabrics that were traded, but also art, as illustrated by the well-known works of Jan von Bonsdorff or Carsten Jahnke. This indicates that east-west trade networks were frequented not only by merchants, but by artists, craftsmen and clergymen alike. In this context and using the example of art in Danzig, Gerhard Weilandt coined the term “transfer culture.”²

However, little is known about book trade and book ownership within this network between Novgorod and Bruges.³ It can therefore be assumed that there

¹ THOMAS BRÜCK: Zur Geschichte der Stralsunder Rigafahrer von der Mitte des 14. bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts, in: Fernhandel und Handelspolitik der baltischen Städte in der Hansestadt, Lüneburg 2001, pp. 97–136; cf. also BURKHARD KUNKEL: Stralsund—Riga—Nowgorod: Einzigartige Relieftafeln in St. Nikolai zu Stralsund geben Fragen auf, in: Welt-Kultur-Erbe (2019), 1, pp. 23–25. On Novgorod see JELENA ALEXANDROVNA RYBINA: Inozemn'ye dvory v Novgorode [Foreign Chambers in Novgorod], Moskva 1986; JELENA ALEXANDROVNA RYBINA: Torgovlia srednevekovogo Novgoroda: Istoriko-arkheologicheskie ocherki [The Trade of Medieval Novgorod: Historic-Archaeological Outlines], Velikii Novgorod 2001.

² NORBERT ANGERMANN, KLAUS FRIEDLAND (eds.): Novgorod: Markt und Kontor der Hanse, Köln et al. 2002; JAN VON BONSDORFF: Kunstproduktion und Kunstverbreitung im Ostseeraum des späten Mittelalters, Helsingfors 1993; CARSTEN JAHNKE: Der Handel mit Kunst in den hansischen Netzwerken um 1500, in: KERSTIN PETERMANN, ANJA RASCHKE et al. (eds.): Hansische Identitäten, Petersberg 2018, pp. 105–111. On the concept of transfer culture, see GERHARD WEILANDT: Transferkultur—Danzig im Spätmittelalter, in: WOLFGANG AUGUSTYN, ULRICH SÖDING (eds.): Original—Kopie—Zitat: Kunstwerke des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit. Wege der Aneignung, Formen der Überlieferung, Passau 2010, pp. 73–100.

³ See particularly ISABEL TRUEB: Studien zum frühen russischen Buchdruck, Basel 2008, pp. 111–113. See also TIMOTHY SODMANN: Buchdruck, Buchhandel und Sprachkontakt im hansischen Raum, in: PER STURE URELAND (ed.): Sprachkontakt in der Hanse: Aspekte des Sprachausgleichs im Ostsee- und Nordseeraum, Tübingen 1987, pp. 89–105; HEINRICH GRIMM: Die Buchführer des deutschen Kulturbereichs und ihre Niederlassungsorte in der Zeitspanne 1490 bis um 1550, in: Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens 7 (1967), pp. 1153–1772. Cf. also CATHERINE SQUIRES: Die Hanse und Novgorod—drei Jahrhunderte Sprachkontakt, in: Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche

is a culture of book transfer that may be relevant for further research, especially into the cultural history of East Central Europe. For the book and library history of the Early Modern period, two essential cultural achievements are relevant for this assumed area of investigation: on the one hand, that of technology, with book printing as an achievement of transfer between its various printing locations, and on the other hand, the achievement of material (book) culture, which moved with the introduction and spread of the Reformation in the centers and peripheries of the Reformation.⁴ From both an economic and a church-political perspective, there were numerous movements, connections and networks at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Prussia had, after Saxony, the most consistent “vertically organized Protestant state church in Germany.”⁵ It reached far in all directions under the decisive influence of its most ardent supporter, Albert of Prussia, who in the last years of his life made the arduous journey to Wittenberg in 1545 to see and thank his most important pioneer, Martin Luther (1483–1546), one last time. On the well-worn routes from Wittenberg to East Prussia, Livonia and Samland, personal relationships were also consolidated, for example, between Luther and Duke Albrecht (1490–1568) or the Samland bishop Georg von Polentz (1478–1550).⁶ That these cultural achievements were intertwined, is clear from the boom in book printing. The fact that the large printing workshops in Luther’s circle profited from these contacts and networks is shown by the economic development of the company owned by Hans Lufft (1495–1584), the leading head in the Wittenberg printing trade, who printed the writings of Luther, Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560) and Johannes Bugenhagen (1485–1558) in particular, and who ran a print shop in Königsberg alongside Hans Weinreich († 1559/60) from Danzig, Hans Daubmann (Taubmann) († 1573) from Nuremberg and Wolfgang Dietmar from Marienburg.⁷ Lufft’s printing presses had been so efficient that he printed more than 100.000 copies of the German Bible between 1534 and 1574, for example. For compar-

Sprachforschung 129 (2006), pp. 43–87; CATHERINE SQUIRES: Das hansische Niederdeutsch in Novgorod—zur Geschichte des Deutschen im Ausland, in: *Das Wort: Germanistisches Jahrbuch GUS 20* (2005), pp. 265–276; CATHERINE SQUIRES: Die Hanse in Novgorod—Sprachkontakte des Mittelniederdeutschen mit dem Russischen, mit einer Vergleichsstudie über die Hanse in England, Köln et al. 2009.

⁴ On Lutheran networks especially also in North and East Central Europe, see BURKHARD KUNKEL: *Die Kunst der lutherischen Kirchen des 16. Jahrhunderts: Medien, Mitteldinge, Monumente—eine Geschichte der materiellen Kultur*, Berlin 2020, pp. 107–117.

⁵ WERNER KNOPP: Geleitwort, in: WALTER HUBATSCH, ISELIN GUNDERMANN (eds.): *Luther und die Reformation im Herzogtum Preußen: Katalog zur Ausstellung des Geheimen Staatsarchivs Preußischer Kulturbesitz zum Lutherjahr 1983*, Berlin 1983, pp. 9–10, here p. 9.

⁶ “Vide mirabilia! Ad Prussiam pleno cursu plenisque velis currit Evangelium!” Luther to the Bishop of Samland, Georg von Polentz, in April 1525, in: HUBATSCH/GUNDERMANN, front matter. On Luther’s relationship to Duke Albrecht, see KNOPP, p. 9.

⁷ On Hans Lufft in Wittenberg see FRIEDRICH BARTSCH (ed.): *Das Bildnis des evangelischen Menschen: Von Martin Luther bis zur Gegenwart*, Berlin 1956, p. 36; HUBATSCH/GUNDERMANN, p. 83.

ison, the most successful printer, Anton Koberger (1440–1513), employed up to 100 journeymen at 24 presses in around 1500.⁸

It is interesting to observe how mobile scholars and clergymen were at the beginning of the sixteenth century and what books they used or owned. Extensive travel and contacts have been proven for the Rostock theologian Nicolaus Russ (or Rutzes) (1460–1520) who traveled to Livonia at a time before Luther had been there, as can be read in Daniel Springinsgut's history of preachers. As a priest and follower of Hussite doctrines, he provoked the established church with his criticism of the ecclesiastical conditions of his time and was forced to flee.

“Er hat sich ein gantztes Jahr vorher / ehe der seel. Lutherus wieder den Tezelium disputiret / nemlich an. 1516 zu Rostock aufgehalten / und war von etlichen Böhmern / sonder Zweiffel von denen Waldensern / die ihn fleißig besuchet / unterrichtet / und predigte in deren Zusammenkünften / die er aus Noth und nur des Nachts halten musste / scharff wider die Menschen=Satzungen / wider den Ablaß und den Papistischen Aberglauben / absonderlich wider das ungeistliche Leben derer Geistlichen.”⁹

A wider radius of action has been attested for Melchior Hoffmann (1495–1543), who, equipped with a personal missive from Luther, worked in Schwäbisch Hall, Neukirch in Silesia, and in Wolmar and Dorpat. He was appointed as preacher to the German congregation in Stockholm (at that time, the most important stack of Russian furs), but was forbidden by royal edict of Gustav I Vasa (1496–1560) to preach “to the common people” in 1526, and so he moved on via Lübeck to Holstein, which belonged to Denmark.¹⁰ Likewise, such far-reaching routes have been also been attributed to Andreas Osiander (1496/98–1552), for example, who was in Nuremberg before he was appointed to the

⁸ See GERHARD BOTT (ed.): *Martin Luther und die Reformation in Deutschland: Katalog zur Ausstellung zum 500. Geburtstag Martin Luthers im Germanischen Nationalmuseum Nürnberg*, Nürnberg 1983, p. 287, no. 280. On Hans Lufft in Königsberg see HARTMUT KÜHNE: *Der Wittenberger “Bibeldrucker” Hans Lufft und seine Beziehungen zu Königsberg*, in: *Der redliche Ostpreuße* 43 (1992), pp. 90–103. See also especially TOBIAS STICH: *Buchdruck im konfessionellen Zeitalter: Die Drucke der Offizin Osterberger in Königsberg*, München 2014.

⁹ Cf. *Wismarsche Prediger=Historie oder Verzeichniß der h. h. Prediger, so vom Anfang der Reformation des Pabstthums in Wismar das Evangelium geprediget, vormahlen aufgesetzt von M(agister) Daniel Springinsguth, anitzo zu einer Erläuterung der Mecklenburgischen Kirchen=Historie fortgesetzt und ausgeführet von M(agister) Dieter Schröders*, Wismar 1734, pp. 1–2.

¹⁰ On Hoffmann: OLE P. GRELL: *Die Kirchenpolitik der Reformationskönige Friedrich I. und Christian III.*, in: MARTIN KRIEGER, JOACHIM KRÜGER (eds.): *Regna firmat pietas: Staat und Staatlichkeit im Ostseeraum*, Greifswald 2010, pp. 155–168, here pp. 163–165; cf. also KLAUS DEPPERMAN: *Melchior Hoffmann: Soziale Unruhen und apokalyptische Visionen im Zeitalter der Reformation*, Göttingen 1979; KERSTIN LUNDSTRÖM: *Polemik in den Schriften Melchior Hoffmans: Inszenierungen rhetorischer Streitkultur in der Reformationszeit*, Stockholm 2015.

University of Königsberg in 1549,¹¹ or Christian Ketelhodt (1492–1546), who on his flight from the Old Believers to Livonia happened to find himself stranded in Stralsund in 1525. It is hard to imagine that these theologians did not carry at least some of their most important books with them on their journey for use in preaching and worship. It is hardly conceivable that in this early phase of the Reformation, they would already be fully equipped with modern Lutheran agendas, catechisms or sermon manuals.¹² Pre-Lutheran books must therefore have been in widespread circulation; the theologians' current whereabouts in so-called old-stock libraries (*Altbestandsbibliothek* or *ruhende Traditionsbibliothek*) can possibly only be seen as a preliminary last stop on their migration.

Evidence for this can sometimes be proven from the archival records. Much more significant, however, are the books themselves. Considering the object as a material source is the responsibility of the still young discipline of book archaeology. Only by means of systematic book archaeological investigations will we be able to make statements about book ownership, book collections, book stations, book movements and finally, the culture of book transfer.

Book Archaeology and Book Culture

Preliminary to this, attention should be drawn on the one hand to the importance of Early Modern book collections in cities of the Baltic region for research in book history, and on the other hand to the fact that research in book history on this kind of medial cultural transfer is particularly worthwhile for books stationed in various old-stock libraries of Eastern and Central Europe, which bear signs of this transfer culture on or in themselves. Research from this perspective will greatly illuminate the picture of a book transfer culture within this politico-economic network at the beginning of the Early Modern period.¹³

¹¹ On Osiander, see especially MARTIN STUPPERICH: Die Reformation im Herzogtum Preußen: Osiander und der Kampf um die richtige Auslegung der Lehre Luthers, in: RUTH SLENCZKA (ed.): Reformation und Freiheit: Luther und die Folgen für Preußen und Brandenburg, Petersberg 2017, pp. 203–206.

¹² Cf. their Swedish contemporary Sveno Jacobi, who studied theology at the University of Rostock and maintained close contacts with Wittenberg as well as Swedish-Finnish and Livonian theologians and is attested as canonist, principal and bishop chancellor in Skara. See F. ÖDBERG: Über Magister Sven Jacobi, der erste protestantische Bischof von Skara Stift (1530–44), in: Zeitschrift der Västergötlands Archäologischen Gesellschaft (1896), pp. 17–93; OTFRIED CZAİKA: Sveno Jacobi: Boksamlaren, biskopen, teologen. En bok- och kyrkohistorisk studie, Helsinki et al. 2013.

¹³ On the history of material culture, especially in relation to the handling of books in the first century of the Reformation, see in detail KUNKEL, Die Kunst der lutherischen Kirchen, pp. 152–178.

“Signs” of uncovering the cultural-historical knowledge of books regarding their actual work history¹⁴ have now become a regular feature in book and library history. In connection with the research into Johannes Block’s († 1544) library, Jürgen Geiß rightly states that the research of this cultural-historical knowledge corresponds to a “gathering of puzzle pieces—similar to the work that an archaeologist has to do,” for which the term “book archaeology” seems quite appropriate.¹⁵

In view of the immense wealth of material evidence that can be found in books and book collections (as material sources), ranging from writing materials and bindings, for example, to authors, illustrators, and printing and book-binding locations, and material and archival clues regarding book distributors, buyers, owners, and users, I would like to limit myself in the following to a few examples that provide clues to a book transfer culture in the first century of the Reformation. These are the first pieces of the puzzle, which must be systematically considered together with further, cross-genre investigations, especially in the field of material cultural history.¹⁶ How informative these fragmentary

¹⁴ On the concept and method of the history of works, see BURKHARD KUNKEL: *Werk und Prozess: Die Bildkunst der Stralsunder Kirchen—eine Werkgeschichte*, Berlin 2008, pp. 83–88; p. 89, ill. 39.

¹⁵ JÜRGEN GEISS-WUNDERLICH: *Eine Büchersammlung der Lutherzeit: Aspekte der Erforschung von Blocks Gelehrtenbibliothek*, in: JÜRGEN GEISS-WUNDERLICH, VOLKER GUMMELT (eds.): *Johannes Block: Der pommersche Reformator und seine Bibliothek*, Leipzig 2018, pp. 13–22, here p. 14. On the method of book archaeology cf. also BRITTA-JULIANE KRUSE: *Fundstücke zwischen Buchdeckeln: Spuren von Schreiberinnen, eingeklebte Bilder, vergessene Lesezeichen und Rezepte—das sind die Fundstücke in Büchern aus Frauenklöstern des Mittelalters* (lecture), Alfried Krupp Wissenschaftskolleg Greifswald, 2017-02-02, <https://www.wiko-greifswald.de/mediathek/beitrag/n/fundstuecke-zwischen-buchdeckeln-entdeckungen-in-der-kirchenbibliothek-loitz-12693/> (2023-08-13). For the first use of the term “book archaeology” see PIET VERKUIJSE: *Schwierig und dogmatisch, aber auch außergewöhnlich reichhaltig: Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft der analytischen Bibliographie*, in: RÜDIGER NUTT-KOFOTH, BODO PLACHTA et al. (eds.): *Text und Edition: Positionen und Perspektiven*, Berlin 2000, pp. 369–386, here p. 386; cf. also ELMAR MITTLER: *Historische Bibliotheksforschung*, in: KONRAD UMLAUF, SIMONE FÜHLES-UBACH et al. (eds.): *Handbuch Methoden der Bibliotheks- und Informationswissenschaft*, Berlin—Boston 2013, pp. 483–524, here pp. 488–490. For the idea of the puzzle see also SASKIA DÖNITZ: *Puzzling the Past: Reconstructing a Mahzor from Receipt Wrappings*, in: ANDREAS LEHNARDT (ed.): *Genizat Germania: Hebrew and Aramaic Binding Fragments from Germany in Context*, Leiden 2010, pp. 31–39. On the archaeology of knowledge as a discipline “whose meaning and usefulness for history is to bring the traces left by the past in turn into the recovery of its historical discourse,” cf. MICHEL FOUCAULT: *Archäologie des Wissens*, 16th ed., Frankfurt am Main 2013, p. 15.

¹⁶ Cf. BURKHARD KUNKEL: *Material oder Text? Zum Umgang mit vorlutherischen Büchern aus nachreformatorischen Kontexten*, in: *Kunstwerke der Reformation—erforscht und restauriert*, Petersberg 2017, pp. 98–105; BURKHARD KUNKEL: *Mittelalterliche Bücher und Buchbestandteile in nachreformatorischen Kontexten: Ein Plädoyer für das *opus completum* als materielles Zeugnis seiner geschichtlichen Identität*, in: NATALIJA GANIINA, KLAUS KLEIN et al. (eds.): *Von mittelalterlichen und neuzeitlichen Beständen in rus-*

findings can be, especially with regard to forms of handling and thus also forms of movement in the area under investigation, and what questions they can raise with regard to the transfer of book culture, will be demonstrated by means of the following specimens. The series of books that have become conspicuous in the context of historical book collections in their special forms of transmission¹⁷ can admittedly not yet be considered complete or representative.

Book Ownership

As an example of the movement of books against the backdrop of their ownership history, two early prints in the possession of the penultimate prior of the Stralsund Dominican convent Heinrich Wendt may be considered. His Latin bible in quarto format, printed in Venice in 1498 *per symonem dictum bevilacqua*, contains numerous handwritten entries.¹⁸ The title page on the right is dominated by the handwriting:

Iter ad super(i)os gratia pandet

Its scribe apparently *cum auctoritate* recites the last verse from Seneca's *Hercules*, for whom "the way to the gods is paved by glory";¹⁹ below, Wendt's ownership note:

Biblia presens est fratris hinrici wendt, quam (in convent hamborgensi lector degens) quattuor marcis comparavit 1499

Which direction this volume took cannot be read concretely, but it is possible that this bible passed into the possession of the last prior Hermann Westfal († 1433), while Wendt, as is known, left his convent shortly before the Reformation riots in 1523 in the direction of Hamburg. And it is possible that the book itself remained in the house until later a certain Johannes Simens noted that the bible was donated *ad usum* to the library of the Stralsund Gymnasium in 1634.²⁰ A second volume from Wendt's library, an anthology in folio with

sischen Bibliotheken und Archiven: Ergebnisse der Tagungen des deutsch-russischen Arbeitskreises an der Philipps-Universität Marburg (2012) und an der Lomonossov-Universität Moskau (2013), Stuttgart 2016, pp. 213–228.

¹⁷ Cf. ARNOLD ESCH: Überlieferungs-Chance und Überlieferungs-Zufall als methodisches Problem des Historikers, in: ARNOLD ESCH: Zeitalter und Menschenalter: Der Historiker und die Erfahrung vergangener Gegenwart, München 1994, pp. 39–69.

¹⁸ Biblia, Lateinisch: Venedig: Simon Bevilacqua, 8. Mai 1498 (GW 4280). Signatur [Municipal Archives, Stralsund]: W4° 1, in: Stralsunder Bücherschätze, Wiesbaden 2017, p. 38.

¹⁹ On the Seneca quote and its *cum-auctoritate* principle see also PAUL GERHARD SCHMIDT: The Quotation in Goliardic Poetry: The Feast of Fools and the Goliardic Strophe *cum auctoritate*, in: PETER GODMAN, OSWYN MURRAY (eds.): Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition: Essays in Medieval and Renaissance Literature, Oxford 1990, pp. 39–55.

²⁰ On Wendt in the following cf. also Chronicon Osterodanum, in: Bibliothek des Oberlandesgerichts Celle, B II 587, copy, paper, folio, kind notification from Prof. Dr. Hiram Kümper, Mannheim.

works by Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) from the press of Heinrich Quentell († 1501) in Cologne, contains only its dated ownership entry.²¹

Book movements within bourgeois contexts of ownership encounter provenance-historical problems, as the following example of a pre-Lutheran bible shows.²² This volume was published in Low German in Cologne in 1478/79. It thus belongs to the prominent examples of one of the first vernacular full bibles ever. One can assume that it was used by people who were also proficient in this language. In this Lower Rhenish edition, there is a handwritten ownership note in the front mirror. Paleographically dated to the middle of the sixteenth century, this indicates nothing more than the ownership connection with the Lübeck *Bergenfahrer* family Bruns, who we may assume were Lutherans from the 1520s:²³

*Anneken Bruns horth dith bock tho
de idt vindt / de do idt er wedder
umme gades willen.*

Another indication of book movement results from confessional cultural considerations such as the question of when and for what reason pre-Lutheran books entered Lutheran contexts of use. Use beyond the time of the confessional turn can be seen in the *Summa de eucharistiae sacramento* by Albertus Magnus († 1280). In a Wittenberg edition by Johann Alakraw († 1492), dated 1484 and preserved in the historical library in Stralsund, we are informed by a short monogrammatic ownership note (“HGM”) alone.²⁴ Fortunately, this is by one hand and dated with 1536. Who this certain HGM was, and what event he dated to this year, we know as little as his motive for the motto affixed to the upper margin of the title page, which reads to the right and left of his apparently pre-existing monogram:

Confidite, Christus iuuit!

²¹ Stadtarchiv Stralsund, Gymnasialbibliothek (StAS) [Municipal Archives Stralsund, Grammar School Library], sign. W 2° 55: a) Thomas von Aquin: *Quaestiones disputatae de potentia dei, de malo*, [...], Köln 7.V.1500 (Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke (GW) M46306); b) connected print, 1501. Ownership entry quoted after ERNST ZOBEL: *Zur Geschichte des Stralsunder Gymnasiums. Erster Beitrag: Die Zeit der drei ersten Rectoren (1560 bis 1569); mit dem Grundrisse des Gymnasiums und einigen Facsimile*, Stralsund 1839, p. 14: *Hunc preclarum librum (lector amate) habes opera ac sollicitudine fratris henrici went inter sacre theosophie professores minimi. Ora pro eo impensius. Anno gratiae 1499.*

²² *Biblia*, niederdeutsch: Köln: Bartholomäus von Unckel, 1478/79 (GW 4308). Signatur: W2° 8a; in: *Stralsunder Bücherschatze*, p. 30.

²³ About the family Bruns and Anneke Bruns, daughter of Hermen Lamberdes, see MIKE BURKHARDT: *Der hansische Bergenhandel im Spätmittelalter: Handel—Kaufleute—Netzwerke*. *Prosopographischer Katalog*, Köln et al. 2009, pp. 50–51.

²⁴ *Summa de eucharistiae sacramento*, Wittenberg: Johann Alakraw, 1484 (GW 782), in: *StaS*, W 2° 32.

While there are no further indications for a secure attribution of ownership, place, or use of this *summa*, it seems certain, on the other hand, that the motto is a personal confession that must have been decisive for the further work of its user—far away from his Lutheran confessional center of Wittenberg.

The copy of a confession manual by Angelus de Clavasio (1411–1495) experienced a comparable movement. It is an edition of the *Summa angelica* which Johannes Agricola (1494–1566) had burned on the *Schindanger* in Wittenberg on the Monday after St. Nicholas in 1520, together with Luther's Bull of Banns and other hated books. An unknown, probably Lutheran-professing theologian would have had this book in further use.²⁵ The sensitivity of this use at the time of the Lutheran Reformation may be considered a reason why there is no ownership note but rather a confessional commentary on its title page referring specifically to Luther.

Under what must have been an earlier handwritten addition to the printed title (*autore Angelo de Clavasio ordinis Minoris*), there follows in another hand below:

*Lutheri iudicium de hoc autore vid(e) Tom 5 sermon(ibu)s Germ(anicorum)
j.257 B. in fine vor Ehesachen: er hab des
Babst rehte decretal zu sammn gehagen doh sol
er ihm est in allen folgen*²⁶

Laconically it reads: If he [the monk de Clavasio] has gathered the Pope's rights, let him also first follow them in all. The writer refers here to the essential core of Luther's criticism of precisely this sum of confession, the marriage impediments, which he specifically branded as diabolical in his text *De captivitate Babylonica*. Whether this should be considered a justification for continuing to use the other parts of the book for (Lutheran) confessional practice remains perhaps open to question.

The first volume of a six-volume bible published in Basel on 1 December 1498 provides somewhat more material in terms of possession references and theological statements.²⁷ It was edited by none other than Sebastian Brant (1458–1521). His work contains all hermeneutical knowledge of all biblical texts and their word meanings known to date, the most famous and at the same time most familiar commentaries of his time: the *Glossa ordinaria* of Walafri-

²⁵ Angelus de Clavasio: *Summa angelica*. Nürnberg: Anton Koberger, 23. August 1498 (GW 1944). Signatur: W2^o 17, in: Stralsunder Bücherschätze, p. 92. Cf. also the copy printed in Hagenau in 1505 (Verzeichnis der Deutschen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts (VD) 16 A 2822) of Sveno Jacobi, described in detail by CZAİKA, pp. 102–103, 183; or the preserved Strasbourg edition of 1489 (GW 1929) in the Lutheran Stargard in Pomerania, cf. MICHAŁ SPANDOWSKI: Inkunabuły dawnych bibliotek w Stargardzie [Incunables of Former Libraries in Stargard], in *Stargardia* 8 (2013), pp. 41–98, here p. 53.

²⁶ I thank Prof. Dr. Nigel F. Palmer (†) und Prof. Dr. Henrike Lähnemann, Oxford, for their help with the reading.

²⁷ *Biblia latina, erster Teil*: Basel: Johann Froben und Johann Amerbach, 1. Dezember 1498 (GW 4284), in: Stralsunder Bücherschätze, p. 40.

dus Strabo (808–849), which was one of the most widespread medieval biblical commentaries, and that of Nicholas of Lyra (1270/75–1349), the *Postilla in Bibliam* or *Postilla litteralis*. At the bottom of the mirror of the first part of this edition there is a handwritten reference to Luther’s inclination towards Lyra—authorized with the quotation from his edition of works.²⁸ The great librarian Andreas Gottlieb Masch (1724–1807), who owned a complete edition of this bible, recalled that the interpretations of Nicholas of Lyra had “also been diligently used by Luthero”—a preference that has been handed down, for example, in Luther’s Table Talks: *Sine Lira intelligeremus nec novum nec vetus testamentum*.²⁹

Above this is the ownership entry of Magister Löwenhagen († 1595), the previous rector of the local Latin school who was appointed deacon at St. Nikolai in Stralsund in 1551; he had acquired this volume from the estate of the Greifswald theologian Peter Sager.

Hunc librum emi ego Joachimus Lowenhagen a muliere Sagerschen anno 1557.

Location information is missing. Perhaps we will learn from later studies where Löwenhagen studied, and respectively from where Sager acquired this volume.³⁰ What these five examples prove above all, however, is that ownership notes often contain much more than mere names. Their dedications, comments and quotations can provide information about their social circumstances and their (confessional) attitudes and confessions, and thus also reveal traces of knowledge and idea transfers often far beyond the boundaries of our set region of study.

Book Collections—Book Stations

Apart from some book burnings in the southern Baltic region at the beginning of the fifteenth century,³¹ differently motivated preservation efforts are consid-

²⁸ Martin Luthers Werke, vol. 10, Weimar 1828, p. 38.

²⁹ Cit. after ANDREAS GOTTLIEB MASCH (ed.): *Beyträge zur Geschichte merkwürdiger Bücher, erstes Stück: Von den Bibeln*, Wismar 1769.

³⁰ For Löwenhagen, see also GOTTLIEB MOHNIKE: *Bartholomäi Sastrowen Herkommen, Geburt und Lauff seines gantzen Lebens*, Greifswald 1824, p. 322.

³¹ For example, the writings of Nikolaus Russ, a theologian from Rostock, were burned. Russ was thought to be the author of the booklet *Die dreifaltige Schnur*, Lübeck: Snell, around 1480, or also its translator. However, the author was Johannes Huß and the translator into Low German is named in recent literature as Johannes von Lübeck. STEPHAN SEHLKE: *Pädagogen—Pastoren—Patrioten: Biographisches Handbuch zum Druckgut für Kinder und Jugendliche von Autoren und Illustratoren aus Mecklenburg-Vorpommern bis 1945*, Norderstedt 2009, p. 320. See also BRUNO CLAUSEN: *Nicolaus Russ’ Bock van den Strenghen, der Calderinus-Drucker und Johann Snell*, in: *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* (1924), pp. 117–121; AMADEO MOLNAR: *Einleitung*, in: *Jan Hus: Dat Bokeken van deme repe. De udlegginge over den loven*, Hildesheim—New York 1971, p. 3. It may have been copies of these writings that, according to the

ered relevant,³² especially in northern German Hanseatic cities. The corresponding instructions *Van Librien* of the Pomeranian church order are well known.³³ Bugenhagen was concerned with the responsible handling of book inventories of dissolved altars or of monasteries, but also with the inventories of the available private property of clergy and scholars. “Good books” were collected in new places for new tasks. In his letter *An die Ratsherren aller Stände deutschen Landes, das sie christliche Schulen aufrichten und halten sollen*, published in 1525, Luther explained what he understood by “good books,” i.e. “righteous books”: “Firstly, the Holy Scriptures should be available in Latin, Greek, Hebrew and German [...]. Then such books which serve to learn languages, such as those by the poets and oratores [...]. Finally, also law and art books, although even here they should be selected with care. The most important, however, should be the chronicles and histories [...], in order to recognize and govern the world's development, and to see God's miracles and works. Firstly, the Holy Scriptures should be available in Latin, Greek, Hebrew and German [...]. Then such books, which serve to learn the languages, as the poets and oratores [...]. Finally, also the law and art books, although even here among the commentaries a good selection is needed. With the most important, however, should be the chronicles and histories [...], the worlds development to recognize and govern, Yes also God's miracles and works to observe.”³⁴

That it was gospels and bibles that were among the most preserved books from the pre-Lutheran period during the first decades of the Reformation was

tradition of Christian Springinsgut, were “der Päßtliche Inquisitor [hat] fleißig aufsuchen lassen / und verbrannt.” And Springinsgut adds: “Doch sollen noch etliche Exemplaria übrig geblieben seyn / die ein frommer Mensch unter der Erden in einer Lade vergraben gehabt / da sie gelegen / bis Lutherus herfür gekommen.” See Wismarsche Prediger, pp. 1–2. On book burnings see also THOMAS WERNER: *Den Irrtum liquidieren: Bücherverbrennungen im Mittelalter*, Göttingen 2007, p. 591.

³² Such as individual esteem or continued tradition. Cf. also LAMBRECHT KUHN: *Annotationen zur Heiligenverehrung im Bistum Lebus*, in: GERLINDE STROHMAIER-WIEDER-ANDERS (ed.): *Theologie und Kultur: Geschichten einer Wechselbeziehung, Festschrift zum einhundertfünfzigjährigen Bestehen des Lehrstuhls für christliche Archäologie und kirchliche Kunst an der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*, Halle 1999, pp. 85–100, here p. 99, footnote 24: „M. Michael, *Tocktor primitas celebrat*, Anno 1571,” and “M. Christians Gryphenhagen, *primitas celebrat* Ao 1585”; p. 87: “Laurentius Schmelzer, *Cremensis, primitas celebrat*, 1588.”

³³ “Van Librien. // Unde syndt ynn den Steden ynn Parhen // unde Klöstern etlike Liberien / dar denne et= // licke gude boekere ynne synd / welcke ytzund= // der yemmerlick unde schmelick vörkamen un // de vörbracht werdden / dat men dar över ock // bevelen unde vörordenen wyll / dat sol= // cke wol tho hope vorsammet wer= // den / unde ynn eyner yewelicken // Stad eyne gemeyne Liberie // geholden werde / vör de // Parners / Predikers // Scholmesters un // de Scholge // sellen etc.” NORBERT BUSKE (ed.): *Die pommersche Kirchenordnung von Johannes Bugenhagen 1535*, Berlin 1985, p. 112. Cf. also the quote in connection with the history of the monastery libraries at the time of the Reformation in Greifswald: IRENE ERFEN: *Schätze der Schwarzen Kunst: Wiegendrucke in Greifswald*, Rostock 1997, p. 28.

³⁴ Martin Luthers Werke, vol. 15, Weimar 1899, pp. 51–52.

generally assumed.³⁵ But there are far more copies of other theological printed works and manuscripts which in this way found their way into newly stationed book collections, such as, for example, in Greifswald, Wolgast or Barth, in whose main parish churches the books were collected.³⁶ In Rostock, for example, they were first collected in the church library of St. Mary's. Here, the approximately 650 volumes of the Franciscan monastery, dissolved in 1534, were also arranged according to origin, condition and usefulness, and were listed in a catalog in the course of the church visitation in 1566. This corpus of the Franciscan library later became part of the holdings of the university library, but the Rostock council also had access to it.³⁷ What is interesting about these book collections, most of which came from monastic libraries, is the revelation that monks often traveled far beyond the boundaries of their own provinces.³⁸

In Greifswald, the book collection of the Dominican monastery was probably transferred to the library of St. Mary's Church before 1545. The stock of the Franciscan monastery, on the other hand, was inventoried only in 1599, and in 1602, it was added to the library at St. Nikolai and merged with the majority

³⁵ On the existence of full bibles, plenaries, pericope books, and psalters between 1466 and 1522 cf. also JOHANNES SCHILLING: *Deutsche Bibeln vor Luther*, in: BOTT, pp. 283–288, here pp. 283–284. Lutheran possession contexts also held a number of miniature and small-format prayer books of monastic or private contexts in intensive use over generations, courtesy of Nigel F. Palmer (†), Oxford.

³⁶ For the history of the church libraries of Barth, Greifswald, and Wolgast, see generally: JÜRGEN GEISS-WUNDERLICH: *Bedroht, bedrängt und unbekannt: Historische Kirchenbibliotheken in Vorpommern*, in: *Visio: Das Magazin des Nordens* (2012), 2, pp. 42–44; JOCHEN BEPLER, ULRIKE VOLKHARDT (eds.): *Bibliotheken bauen: Die Barther Kirchenbibliothek im Kontext. Separatum aus Jahrbuch kirchliches Buch und Bibliothekswesen*, NF 2, 2014, Regensburg 2015.

³⁷ On the dissolution of the Franciscan monastery of St. Katharinen in 1534, see also ROLAND PIEPER, JÜRGEN WERINHARD EINHORN: *Franziskaner zwischen Ostsee, Thüringer Wald und Erzgebirge: Bauten—Bilder—Botschaften*, Paderborn et al. 2005, p. 34. On the library of the Franciscans in Rostock, see FRANK IVEMEYER: *Nah am Wasser gebaut—das Franziskanerkloster St. Katharinen in Rostock*, Rostock 2013, pp. 56–61.

³⁸ On the “mobility” of the Friars Minor, see for instance BERND SCHMIES, VOLKER HONEMANN: *Die Franziskanerprovinz Saxonica von den Anfängen bis 1517: Grundzüge und Entwicklungslinien*, in: VOLKER HONEMANN (ed.): *Geschichte der Sächsischen Franziskanerprovinz von der Gründung bis zum Anfang des 21. Jahrhunderts*. Vol. 1: *Von der Gründung bis zum Anfang des 21. Jahrhunderts*, Paderborn 2015, pp. 21–44.

of the books from St. Mary's.³⁹ In Königsberg,⁴⁰ Danzig,⁴¹ Kolberg,⁴² Cammin, Stettin,⁴³ and Stralsund, stocks of church and monastery libraries collected in this manner, at least in part at the same time, formed the basis of their parish church and council libraries, but also university or school libraries. One of the largest collections of pre-Lutheran books in the Duchy of Pomerania was initially stationed at St. Mary's after the introduction of the Reformation in Stargard, before this stock of 116 incunabula was passed on to the library of the secondary school (founded in 1604) between 1816 and 1820.⁴⁴

In Stralsund, the books confiscated from monastery property, and some submitted from private property, were initially collected in St. Nikolai. These were books from dissolved altars and altar communities, craft offices, and families, but also from trade or long-distance trade corporations such as the Skåne, Bergen, Riga, Novgorod or Russia traders. This happened in a similar way in

³⁹ THEODOR PYL: *Die Handschriften und Urkunden in der Bibliothek der Nikolai-Kirche zu Greifswald*, 2 vols., Greifswald 1865; ALEXANDER REIFFERSCHIED: *Mitteilungen aus Handschriften der St. Nikolaikirchenbibliothek zu Greifswald*, in: *Wissenschaftliche Beilage zum Vorlesungsverzeichnis der Universität Greifswald*, Winter 1902/03, Greifswald 1902; THOMAS WILHELM: *Inkunabeln in Greifswalder Bibliotheken: Verzeichnis der Bestände der Universitätsbibliothek Greifswald, der Bibliothek des Geistlichen Ministeriums und des Landesarchivs Greifswald*, Wiesbaden 1997; GUNTRAM WILKS: *Die Bibliothek des Geistlichen Ministeriums im Dom St. Nikolai zu Greifswald—Geschichte und Bedeutung*, in: FELIX BIERMANN, MANFRED SCHNEIDER et al. (eds.): *Pfarrkirchen in den Städten des Hanseraums, Rahden/Westfalen 2006*, pp. 183–192; JÜRGEN GEISS: *Mittelalterliche Handschriften in Greifswalder Bibliotheken: Verzeichnis der Bestände der Bibliothek des Geistlichen Ministeriums (Dombibliothek St. Nikolai), der Universitätsbibliothek und des Universitätsarchivs*, Wiesbaden 2009.

⁴⁰ AUGUST SERAPHIM: *Handschriften-Katalog der Stadtbibliothek Königsberg i. Pr.*, Königsberg 1909; RALF PLATE: *Zum Verbleib mittelalterlicher deutscher Handschriften der ehemaligen Königsberger Bibliotheken: Mit einem vorläufigen Verzeichnis der Handschriften in der Universitätsbibliothek Thorn*, in: *Berichte und Forschungen: Jahrbuch des Bundesinstituts für Ostdeutsche Kultur und Geschichte 1 (1993)*, pp. 93–111; RALF G. PÄSLER: *Zum Handschriftenbestand der ehemaligen Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Königsberg: Quellenrepertorium und neues Standortverzeichnis*, in: *Scriptorium 61 (2007)*, pp. 198–217.

⁴¹ OTTO GÜNTHER: *Katalog der Handschriften der Danziger Stadtbibliothek. Vol. 4: Die musikalischen Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek und der in ihrer Verwaltung befindlichen Kirchenbibliotheken von St. Katharinen und St. Johann in Danzig*, Danzig 1911; OTTO GÜNTHER: *Katalog der Handschriften der Danziger Stadtbibliothek. Vol. 5: Die Handschriften der Kirchenbibliothek von St. Marien in Danzig*, Danzig 1921.

⁴² BURKHARD KUNKEL: *Vom "Währen der Werke": Handschriften- und Frühdruckfragmente als historische Quellen: Die Sammlung des Kolberger Gelehrten Otto Dibbelt*, in: GANINA/KLEIN, pp. 229–247.

⁴³ HUGO LEMCKE: *Die Handschriften und alten Drucke der Bibliothek des Marienstifts-Gymnasiums. I: Die Handschriften der ehemaligen Camminer Dombibliothek*, in: *Michaelis-Programm 1879 (Königliches Marienstifts-Gymnasiums zu Stettin, Programm Nr. 114)*, Stettin 1879, pp. 1–44.

⁴⁴ Cf. PAUL VENZKE: *Verzeichnis der an der Gymnasialbibliothek zu Stargard i. Pom. befindlichen Inkunabeln und Frühdrucke bis 1525*, Stargard i. Pom. 1910; SPANDOWSKI.

the St. Mary's library, where, however, the books went in part to the Gymnasium library, attested in 1560, for teaching purposes. It is a coincidence that the Gymnasium was established in the rooms of the former Dominican monastery of St. Catherine. In the *Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände* the number of 11 incunabula is mentioned.⁴⁵ Among them are pre-Lutheran bibles, Augustine editions, and prints with works by Thomas Aquinas or Peter Comestor († 1178). Worthy of note is an early indication of a systematic inventory of this library which is preserved in the minutes of the council.⁴⁶ At least 120 books from this grammar school library show comparably detailed ownership and dedication inscriptions and thus refer to an intensive and supra-regional book transfer culture.

Even on the basis of individual copies, their far-reaching distribution paths and sometimes interrupted connections between the place of printing, the place of acquisition, and the place of ownership become visible: Ernst Zober (1799–1869) described an early bequest to that grammar school library, according to which the well-traveled “M[agister] Jonas Staude honored *Tertulliani Opera*⁴⁷ of the newly established book collection already in the fall of 1562. The donor himself had written the following words in the book: *M. Jonas Staudius, Anaemontanus, minister evangelii Sundii apud Divum Nicolaum hoc libro ornavit novam Bibliothecam, quae incepit 1562 d. 23. Sept.[...] but the so-called endpaper (leaf) has been torn out and the above inscription has thus disappeared.*”⁴⁸ A comparable bequest is dedicated by “Herr Christian Jakob Hagemann, merchant and provisor of the Jakobikirche in Stralsund on 4 May 1782, to the library of the Stralsund Gymnasium”: a new English and Dutch dictionary;⁴⁹ a Vergil edition, Basel 1544,⁵⁰ with remarkable pasteboard covers, inside of which richly illustrated early print fragments are recognizable, containing the note: *In usum Gymnasii Stralsundensis dono dedit Theodorus von Essen [...] 1644*; and a Seneca edition printed in Strasbourg in 1540 in precious embossed binding, which identifies it as *Legatum Andreae Brüggemanni Chirurgii*, and which contains the note of an earlier owner: *Sum ex libris Scipioni Hessen 1599*.

⁴⁵ For this library, see ERNST ZOBEL: *Urkundliche Geschichte des Stralsunder Gymnasiums*, Stralsund 1860; GISELA KLOSTERMANN: *Archivbibliothek beim Stadtarchiv*, in: BERNHARD FABIAN (ed.): *Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände in Deutschland*, vol. 16, Hildesheim et al. 2003, pp. 231–260, here pp. 256–258. Shortly before the introduction of the Reformation in 1523, there had been another library here.

⁴⁶ Cf. the letter of the rector of the Stralsund Gymnasium and his six colleagues to the Stralsund council of 21 July 1560, reproduced in: ZOBEL, *Urkundliche Geschichte*, p. 34. This reference, however, refers more to technological-craft traces than to those that, as dated or datable notes, say something about some kind of handling and the motivation or their preservation.

⁴⁷ StAS, A fol. 26 (VD 16 T 559).

⁴⁸ ZOBEL, *Urkundliche Geschichte*, p. 13.

⁴⁹ StAS, F 26.

⁵⁰ StAS, C fol. 32.

Legacies of this type are widely scattered in the Stralsund Gymnasium library in terms of provenance, including names such as Theodor von Essen (1591–1666), 1644,⁵¹ M. Jakob Stephani (1593–ca. 1680), 1669,⁵² and Paul Rehfeld (1688–ca. 1753). Noteworthy is the entry on the flyleaf of an undated Hebrew print⁵³ with the note *Liber Samuelis Rosenbomii Störmanensis*; also interesting are ownership notes in the form of heraldic bookplates such as that of Ezechiel Spanheim (1629–1710), the great lawyer, rhetoric professor and later diplomat⁵⁴ who sold his extensive library to Frederick I of Prussia (1657–1713), as is known, and thus expanded the royal library in Berlin; other examples of such heraldic bookplates belonged to: Emanuel Gottlob Krüger (1737–1789), 1782,⁵⁵ Georg von Balden,⁵⁶ Carl Friedrich Fabricius, 1818,⁵⁷ Joachim Bernhard Steinhövel, prepositus of the church in Loitz, 1754,⁵⁸ Gregor Lange-mak (1671–1737)⁵⁹ and David Vaart, both from Hamburg 1604,⁶⁰ Christian Friedrich Pöpke (1779–1822) from Lübz in Mecklenburg 1799,⁶¹ M. Martin Winste from Torgau, 1581,⁶² Christoph Lahmann, consul of the city of Speyer, 1607,⁶³ or Matthias von Orthen, councilor at Halberstadt.⁶⁴

The above examples illustrate that book collections were habitually only temporary book stations of the most diverse provenances. Not only did individual copies often have long journeys behind them, but their owners had often travelled far and wide. A particularly impressively differentiated picture emerges in private libraries, which have existed since the seventeenth century at least. One of the most important private libraries was owned by Johann Friedrich Mayer (1650–1712), who also collected medieval manuscripts, early prints and prints from the sixteenth century. His collection was auctioned off after 1715, and its individual volumes were widely scattered. A remarkable volume from this collection was acquired by the Stralsund councilor Tönnies

⁵¹ StAS, E fol. 32.

⁵² StAS, A 8° 38.

⁵³ StAS, C fol. 29. Cf. also the Hebrew autograph in a Syntagma edition, Leipzig 1582 (sign. D fol. 35) with the note: *aestimatur VI imperia in catal.: Banemann.*

⁵⁴ StAS, E fol. 50. For Spanheim, see for example ED MURET: *Geschichte der französischen Kolonie in Brandenburg-Preußen*, Berlin 1885; VICTOR LÖWE: *Ein Diplomat und Gelehrter: Ezechiel Spanheim*, Berlin 1924.

⁵⁵ StAS, D fol. 41.

⁵⁶ StAS, E fol. 24.

⁵⁷ StAS, B 4° 5, B 4° 29a.

⁵⁸ StAS, C 101.

⁵⁹ StAS, F 112.

⁶⁰ StAS, D 89.

⁶¹ StAS, A fol. 24.

⁶² StAS, C 8° 235.

⁶³ StAS, E fol. 55.

⁶⁴ StAS, C fol. 16.

and rebound for the council library as a dedication copy: a northern French pearl bible of the early fourteenth century.⁶⁵

Book Transfer Culture

In order to evaluate to what extent individual volumes were on the move in the study area, their owners must be located. Of course, multiple ownership marks in particular also point to severed connections and interrupted continuities. While such marks occur as handwritten entries on endpapers, embossed, or printed in book bindings, they are sometimes also deleted, torn out and overwritten by new marks. Nevertheless, they bear witness to their various users, scholars, students (alumni), priests, councilors, and merchants in a certain place and at a certain time. For a comprehensive description of a book transfer culture for a defined region of study, ownership marks are puzzle pieces that are waiting to be collected and systematically sorted.

Just a glance at the provenance history of certain individuals and their volumes or partial collections in preserved church, school or private libraries provides the notion of a book transfer culture with somewhat clearer substance. Such an historically grown library has been preserved in part with the collection of the scholar Zacharias Orth (1530–1579). So far, reference to him can be proven in 18 volumes in the Stralsund Gymnasium library.⁶⁶ It is known about Orth, born in 1530, that Duke Albrecht of Prussia enabled him to travel extensively for several years: from Königsberg to Vienna, to Tübingen, and from there to France and back to Prussia (where he took up a professorship at the Albertina in 1567), and then in 1570 to Stralsund, in 1572 to Italy and in 1573 to Cologne. After his death in 1579, the Stralsund Council acquired the library of the scholar, whose 112 volumes were later (in 1644) given to the library of the Stralsund Gymnasium.⁶⁷ An extremely remarkable volume of his library is the annotated compendium of Latin quotations, the *Cornucopiae sive Linguae Latinae*, well known at the time. In addition to his ownership note *sum Zacha-*

⁶⁵ Perlbibel: Pergament, 581 Bl., 21,5 x 15 cm, Nordfrankreich (Paris?), 1. Hälfte 14. Jh. Signatur: HS 972, in: Stralsunder Bücherschätze, p. 22; Auction catalogue: Bibliotheca Mayeriana, sev Apparatus librarivus Io. Frid. Mayeri, theol. quondam Gryphisvv. celeb., II. partibus constans: quarum classes post praefationem exhibentur, Berolini anno MDCCXVI..., Berlin 1715; FRIEDEHILDE KRAUSE: Eine Buchauktion ...: Das abenteuerliche Schicksal der Bibliothek von Johann Friedrich Mayer, in: Marginalien: Zeitschrift für Buchkunst u. Bibliographie. 45 (1972), 1, pp. 16–28. Cf. also Johann Carl Dähnerts Pommersche Bibliothek 2 (1753), pp. 405–424, 445–459, 525–535; 3 (1754), pp. 41–58, 83–93.

⁶⁶ StAS, C 8° 66, C 68, D fol. 33, B fol. 25, D 8° 13 (without cover), C fol. 14, B 4° 24, C 4° 90, A 8° 21 (without cover), D 8° 93, D fol. 26, D fol. 28, D 49, G 57, D 127, D 239, D 140, H 40.

⁶⁷ ERNST ZOBEL: Ueber des stralsundischen Poëten Zacharias Orthus Leben und Schriften, Stralsund 1830 (Schulprogramm des Stralsundischen Gymnasii 1830).

riae Orthi candidi, this volume contains parchment manuscripts from the twelfth century as mirror covers.⁶⁸

The cleric Johannes Block, who is known to have worked in Cammin, Danzig, Dorpat in Livonia, Wiburg, and from 1533 in Barth in Pomerania, provides a revealing testimony of this book transfer culture. Block owned a significant collection of books, which included eight manuscripts and 48 prints from the fifteenth century. A stroke of luck for this library was that its slightly more than 123 volumes, transferred as a donation to St. Mary's Church in Barth in 1544, have been preserved almost completely to this day. Jürgen Geiß, who has been studying this book collection for many years, has found handwritten purchase and ownership notes in almost every one of these books, providing information about the place, time and price of acquisition. In addition, he has identified bookbinders, illuminators, and rubricators, as well as Block's handwritten annotations. Only recently, Geiß was able to confirm a volume in the Berlin State Library that Block bought in Dorpat in 1514/25: a bound-together work *De officiis* and the *Paradoxa stoicorum* by Cicero (106–43) (Mainz 1465) and the princely mirror *De regimine principum* by Vincent of Beauvais († 1264) (Michaelisbrüder, the only pre-Lutheran offizin, Rostock 1477).⁶⁹

Finally

Findings such as these show that Early Modern book movements can be clearly traced to widely divergent printing and binding locations and also places of activity of the books' users. And it does indeed seem to be an Early Modern phenomenon that was considerably promoted not only by the boom in book printing, but also (mutually conditioned) by the confessional political upheavals of the Reformation. And we can not only say that the survival, collection and stationing of pre-Lutheran books were initially the result of ecclesiastical orders, they were also based on a wealth of motivations ranging from individual appreciation to continuing tradition as we have seen with church and school libraries but also the private collections of Johann Friedrich Mayer and later, Ezechiel Spanheim. The latter examples even point to an emerging antiquarian interest from the beginning of the Early Modern period, which could bring individual volumes or entire library collections out of previous contexts of use, even to more remote northern European libraries.

In view of this book transfer culture in the cities of the Baltic region, single copies (such as *opus completum*) have become all the more important factual

⁶⁸ Niccolò Perotti: *Cornucopiae sive Lingua Latinae Commentarii*. Basel: Andreas Cratander, 1521, in: *Stralsunder Bücherschätze*, p. 124. One page contains the text from 2. Esr. 9. 12–25. The unanimous dating I kindly owe to Prof. Dr. Nigel F. Palmer (†), Oxford, and Prof. Dr. Natalia Ganina, Moscow.

⁶⁹ For the Block library see JÜRGEN GEISS-WUNDERLICH: *Die Kirchenbibliothek zu St. Marien*, in: JÖRG SCHEFFELKE, GERD GARBER (eds.): *Stadt Barth: Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte*, Schwerin 2005, pp. 413–416; For the Cicero edition (GW 6921) and the bound Rostock print (R 358) see GEISS-WUNDERLICH, *Eine Büchersammlung der Lutherzeit*.

sources pertaining to the mobility as well as the far-reaching connections and networks of theologians, clergy and scholars in the Wendish quarter of the Hanseatic League of that time. Book archaeological findings make clear how meaningful these material sources are. Especially against the background of changing ownership, concrete statements about the mobility of books are given above all in consideration of their contexts; reconstruction of their ownership also allows reconstruction of the routes over which they traveled in northeastern Europe.

Although the few examples shown here are not sufficient in every case to pin down certain personalities, in order to understand their mobility, their connections and fixed points in this period, book archaeological and, above all, book provenance historical findings can at least prove which routes these volumes took through northern and eastern Europe. In view of the already proven movements of Sveno Jakobi, Melchior Hofmann, Johannes Block, Nikolaus Russ or Zacharias Orth, the few handwritten entries also point to the confessional affinities of their owners. While book archaeological signs of use and appropriation sometimes indicate the personality of their owners or the stations of their activity, they also testify to breaks—severed connections with former networks that existed between merchants, craftsmen, and clergymen of the Hanseatic cities all the way up to Novgorod.

Provided that this is the case, book archaeological research may indeed be considered a side show of Early Modern cultural history research in East Central Europe. But more than that: in view of the manifold relations of power, science and economic policy in the (North German) Baltic region of later centuries up to the fall of the Iron Curtain, they should become a much more important source of cultural history research in East Central and Northeast Europe in the future.

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Wismarsche Prediger=Historie oder Verzeichniß der h. h. Prediger, so vom Anfang der Reformation des Pabstthums in Wismar das Evangelium geprediget, vormahlen aufgesetzt von M(agister) Daniel Springinsguth, anitzo zu einer Erläuterung der Mecklenburgischen Kirchen=Historie fortgesetzt und ausgeführet von M(agister) Dieter Schröders, Wismar 1734.

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