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Books and Manuscripts in the Scheide Library: between pages 80-81, and on pages 91, 94, 95, 97, 100, 102, 103, 105, 107, 112, 115, 150, and 151.

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In the Mainstream of American Book Collecting

BY EDWIN WOLF 2ND

In that inexhaustible reservoir of book lore, Holbrook Jackson's Anatomy of Bibliomania, it is stated that "Private libraries are best enjoyed when they are built up bit by bit; from small beginnings such great libraries as those of Henry Huth and Christie-Miller have grown." He goes on: "The best motto of the book-hunter is festina lente; there is plenty of time, for the world of books is an eternity in its own right."

The Scheide Library is unique in the annals of American book collecting because it is the product of three generations: William Taylor Scheide, John Hinsdale Scheide and William Hurd Scheide. Now, in the Age of Woman, the aberrant gene of bibliomania has affected a fourth generation female, Louise Scheide Marshall. The more common tale is that of children, greedy or improvident, who can hardly wait to turn their father's beloved books into hard, cold cash. Greater love hath no man than one who pays a tax on an inherited library—and then adds to it.

The taste of the Scheides has been wide, rich and personal. Scheide I collected eclectically, buying books to read and objects to satisfy his curiosity, from medieval manuscript church records to Thivet's New Found Worlde, or Antarctike of 1568, from the first edition of Euclid to Franklin's 1742 printing of The Charters of the Province of Pennsylvania. Scheide II started with the idea that the two most important events of modern history were the invention of printing and the discovery of America, points of departure which allowed considerable latitude. Scheide III has been an artist adding touches, even new figures to a large, unfinished—never-to-be-finished—canvas.
Scheide II and Scheide III lived on and over the watershed of American book collecting. In the efflorescent 1920s bibliographical knowledge was ready to rise from the foggy ranks of the innocent enthusiasm of an A. Edward Newton and the not-so-innocent hanky-panky of a Thomas J. Wise to surer and clearer ground with the aid of Eames, Greg, McKerrow, the Gesamtkatalog, the STC and other helps and helpers. Three decades later it had arrived at the peak of the Bowersian discipline, to the uninitiated an arcane science somewhat akin to the mathematical mystery of topology. With a keen sense of what was good, nurtured by careful study, Scheide II was able to buy a Gutenberg Bible in a contemporary Fogel binding and an even rarer bird, the first edition of Pilgrim’s Progress in its original binding, to say nothing of an immaculate copy of the first printing of the Declaration of Independence, and Einstein’s major works in wrappers, as they should be. There is no doubt that the greatest collecting coup—so far—of Scheide III was the acquisition of both the 1457 and the 1459 Mainz Psalters. But with an eye alert to the analytical bibliographers the proud owner has observed that there are differences in the former between the copy still in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the “duplicate” he acquired.

To a greater extent than any other American collection the Scheide Library represents “Printing and the Mind of Man,” to be sure with a strong American bias not to be expected from Messrs. Carter, Muir, et al. The Britishers’ hearts could hardly be expected to beat faster at the sight of the 1649 Cambridge, Massachusetts, Platform of Church Discipline, nor did they consider the Constitution of the United States worthy of inclusion.

No chasers after “Hundreds,” as for instance Josiah K. Lilly was, were the Scheides, no believers in lists of the best and rarest compiled by others. Nor have they bought in accordance with fads. Scheide II bought Newton’s Principia and Darwin’s On the Origin of Species when some of America’s most visible collectors were spending boom money on Goldsmith, Dickens and Conrad. Scheide III added an early 14th-century Hebrew Bible and the first official printing of the Constitution, to say nothing of Bach and Beethoven manuscripts, when the “Grolier Hundred of Science,” flower, bird and private press books were the rage.

It is easy to categorize the collections of some American bookmen. George Brinley collected Americana high, wide and handsome—and a Gutenberg Bible. Henry E. Huntington collected collections and was so busy amassing books that he had no time to savor them. Henry C. Folger squirreled away his Shakespeares and Shakespeariana and never unpacked the boxes in which they were delivered. John Carter Brown, with a detour into Bibles and Aldines, kept to the straight and narrow path of American history, a path followed also by William L. Clements and much more recently by Thomas W. Streeter. William A. White possibly knew more about his books than most collectors of his era. Although a bit of anything might have been found on his shelves, early English literature and William Blake formed his chief treasures.

It is not so easy to put some other great collections into neat compartments. The two-generational library of the J. Pierpont Morgan contains medieval manuscripts and incunabula which in terms of high quality per volume—and the volumes are many—cannot be matched, but the Morgan Library has as well English and American literature, authors’ manuscripts, autograph letters and bindings of all periods. James Lenox, the first American to own a Gutenberg Bible, began his collecting with Bibles, branched out into block books and incunables, favored Milton and Bunyan for a while and then settled down to forming one of the great collections of early Americana which included a copy of the Bay Psalm Book. Brayton Ives, another early possessor of a Gutenberg, had a bit of everything from choice illuminated manuscripts through some editiones principes of the classics, the Shakespeare folios and a few quartos, and early English accounts of voyages of discovery to elegant bindings and French 18th-century illustrated books. On an even grander scale, in many ways the most distinguished American library ever sold at auction, was that of Robert Hoe. With a fortune made from the manufacture of printing presses Hoe bought much of the best book world had to offer: illuminated manuscripts of superlative quality, two Gutenberg Bibles, one of them on vellum, Caxtons of fabulous rarity, Grolier bindings, Shakespeariana and a few American items from Columbus to Filson.

There were collectors who gathered notable collections in the fields of English and American literature. There were period, author and subject libraries of high importance. There were handsome general gatherings such as those formed by Dr. Roderick Terry half a century ago and by Louis H. Silver more recently. Except for Silver, Lilly, Dr. Herbert L. Evans and Harrison Hor-
blit, all in comparatively modern times, there was little or no
interest in works of science. One collector, who did include
science in his prospectus of great books in all fields was Alfred
C. Chapin who did indeed have a bit of everything. Yet, except for
the specialists, there were few who could rationalize their choice
of books the way the Scheides did.

It was as though one heard: “I am interested in the transmis-
sion of words, therefore I have part of an early 3rd-century biblical
papyrus.” Or, it might go: “The development of the English lan-
guage affects our daily life, hence the Blickling Homilies, a major
work in Anglo-Saxon, belongs in my collection.” Another thought
could have been: “Books spread knowledge, and so not only the
earliest books printed in Europe appeal to me, but pioneer printing
in Mexico, Peru and Massachusetts are also evidences of civiliza-
tion I want.” It is probable that the Scheide Library ranks
somewhere up in the first ten when it comes to 17th-century Massa-
chusetts printing, something of an anomaly for a family whose
roots were in Philadelphia’s solid, and sometimes stolid, German
community. The only genetic survival of that background would
seem to be Scheide III’s life-long interest in music, both in notes
on paper in manuscript and print and notes as musicians interpret
them for receptive ears. It will be remembered that at the time
Scheide I “went West” in the oil rush of the 1860s to Titusville the
main supporters and performers of music in Philadelphia were
the German singing societies. Collecting, too, can be atavistic in
its stimulus. Scheide III’s filial respect for Scheide II’s interest in
New England was never better evidenced than in his purchase of
that classic of Indian narratives, John Williams’ Redeemed Captive,
in its first printing of 1707.

There are other collectors of yesterday and today who shared
with the Scheides a real love and knowledge of books. Carl H.
Pforzheimer bought a Gutenberg Bible, too, but the collection,
now a foundation for scholarly purposes, specializes in Elizabethan
and Stuart literature and Shelley. Lessing J. Rosenwald, while he
included fine and early printing within his orbit, was primarily
interested in illustrated books. Three of the present outstanding
amateurs aux livres, Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., H. Bradley Martin
and Paul Mellon, have made collections which in quality are the
equal of any elegant gallimaufry of the past. Although Houghton
indulged himself in such minor aberrations as a Gutenberg Bible
and a magnificent manuscript of the Shah Nameh (now in the
Metropolitan Museum), his greatest thrust was in the field of En-
glish literature with Keats at the apex of his collection. Martin is
somewhat more elusive and his books are very personal; English
and American literary writings—Spenser jostles Durrell and Poe
snuggles up to Emily Dickinson—are at the heart of one of his
libraries. Yet, a great letter of William Penn and perhaps the
finest copy of Lewis and Clark in boards give breadth, while an
assemblage of ornithological books reflects the dedication of a
specialist. For Mellon it is large disparate collections: Blake, very
eyear English printing, color-plate and architectural books, John
Locke’s library and others.

The single-mindedness of Donald and Mary Hyde in the pursuit
of Dr. Johnson, of Wilmarth S. Lewis in that of Walpole and his
age, of Frank T. Siebert on the trail of the American Indian, and
of C. Waller Barrett in the expanding roll of American poets,
novelists and essayists is understandable. One can almost predict
that such and such an item appearing on the market will end up
in one specific collection. Robert H. Taylor in pursuit of English
literature on a wide spectrum sometimes confounds the prophets.
It was not and is not easy to second-guess a Scheide. There is a per-
sonal, not necessarily this-is-what-the-book-world-would-expect,
kind of collecting attitude. If it made sense in the construction of
a bookish whole to Scheide I, Scheide II or Scheide III, another
piece was added. It is something like one of the fantasies of the
great Argentinian writer Borges. How do you make a jigsaw puzzle
out of a turning kaleidoscope? The intellectual curiosity of the
Scheides kept turning the tube; the books fell into place.
Johann Gutenberg and the Scheide Library at Princeton

BY FREDERICK R. GOFF

JOHANN GUTENBERG is a man of mystery. So few facts are known about his life that he appears as rather an amorphous figure, revealing himself during his lifetime principally as a litigant in a number of lawsuits and through a number of broadsides, books, and pamphlets which bibliographers almost unequivocally now believe issued from the first printing presses he established at Mainz in Germany about the year 1450. The distinguished Scheide Library, now housed in its own quarters as an appendage to the Princeton University Library, possesses more of the pertinent printed books and broadsides that issued from Gutenberg's presses and from those of his immediate successors than any other library in America, and there are few libraries in the world which can match the Scheide Library with comparable printed materials dating from the first decade of the invention of printing from moveable metal types.

We shall have more to say about these salient early pieces of print later in this essay, but before advancing to a discussion of their pertinence, it might be useful to review some of the background which led to the invention of printing described by one 15th-century chronicler as "the art of arts, the science of sciences."

Presumably Johann Gutenberg, a well-trained goldsmith, was experimenting with the casting of metal letters with a uniform body during the 1430s, while he was resident in Strasbourg. This information derives from testimony presented during the lawsuit brought by Jerge and Claus Dritzehn, brothers of the deceased Andres Dritzehn, who was one of four partners, including Gutenberg, in an enterprise devoted to the production of mirrors and certain works of metal. The two Dritzehn brothers sued for their brother's place in the partnership, and the case was apparently settled when the verdict directed Gutenberg to pay the two brothers 15 gulden, upon the receipt of which they would have no further claim against him. The other two original partners appear not to have been involved in the suit which suggests that Gutenberg must have been the major factor in the enterprise.

The testimony offered during the prosecution of the suit was vague, but mention was made to materials relating to printing, to the purchase of lead, and to a secret implement of "four-pieces," which Professor Otto Fuhrmann believes may refer to a four-piece type-casting mold. Other depositions indicate that Gutenberg had arranged to teach the partners "all his arts...and not to keep anything secret from them." Whatever is involved here, it is evident that he had an inventive mind and was highly skilled in his crafts whether as a goldsmith or as a worker with other metals.

Following the suit, Gutenberg remained in Strasbourg and continued his residence there until the mid 1440s, but by 1448 he had returned to Mainz, where on the basis of certain documents he appears to have been born about 1409, or a year or two earlier. At the time of his return, therefore, he was a man in his very late forties, apparently unmarried, and the possessor of a number of exceptional skills. He established an office where he put these skills to work; he was successful in persuading Johann Fust, a local entrepreneur and financier, to lend him a considerable sum of money to carry on his operations. Certainly by this time the type-mold, which is the crux of Gutenberg's invention, was well-developed if not perfected, and the money he received in 1450 together with a later loan in 1452 enabled the inventor to proceed with his plans for the production of a monumental printed Bible. Peter Schoeffer, a young and highly gifted calligrapher, entered Gutenberg's employ about this time and probably assisted with the preparation of the punches which produced the matrices used in casting the types expressly designed for the printing of this great Bible. By the fall of 1455 the printing was almost if not entirely completed. But Gutenberg was not allowed the victory for he was sued again, this time by Johann Fust, the mortgagee so to speak.

In the settlement Gutenberg appears to have lost control not only of his printing office and the types used in the production of the Bible, but also of the disposition of the entire edition.

Before getting down to cases, however, some further details about the invention itself should be recounted. It must be borne in mind that in addition to the invention of the type-mold designed for the casting of type on a body of uniform size, permitting the assembly of the individual letters in proper juxtaposition, matrices had to be made for the upper and lower case letters and the other components of the font such as ligatures, abbreviations, and marks of punctuation. The casting process involved an alloy
of lead and antimony which could readily be heated to a molten state and when poured into the mold would cool rapidly to form the individual pieces of type. Some kind of casting stick had to be devised before the type could be properly assembled according to the type setter’s copy and transferred to the form, which was then locked and placed in the recessed area or cofin of the press.

The screw press itself had been adapted from the special kind of press developed by the manufacturers of handmade paper in order to extrude the excess water from the newly-made sheets, which had been couched from the wire molds and placed between coarse cloth or felt. Another factor involved was a suitable ink of proper viscosity, made from boiled linseed oil and lamp black. Inking balls of leather rubbed in the sticky mixture absorbed enough of the ink to apply it evenly to the types as they lay in the form on the press.

At that point the sheet of dampened paper was placed over the type in a regularized position, and then the platen affixed to the screw was impressed evenly over the types in the form and released to produce the printed page. Only one page was printed at a time on the earliest presses. The dimension of the page to be printed could of course be no greater than the size of the platen. There were many other refinements, but essentially this brief outline furnishes the basic details of how the printing process was devised.

The stellar piece in the Scheide collection is the Gutenberg Bible itself, one of 48 recorded copies, of which 14 are in American ownership. Of the total number 12 are printed on vellum and 36 on paper, of which the Scheide copy is one. The precise date of printing is unknown, but from the evidence of the lawsuit which Johann Fust brought against Gutenberg in November of 1455, we have good reason to believe that the Bible was completed or almost completed by the fall of 1455. Its completion cannot have been later than August of 1456, since the imperfect copy on paper in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris contains two notes by the rubricator and binder, Henricus Cremer, dated respectively August 15, 1456 in volume two and August 25, 1456 in volume one.

A sizable work such as this folio Bible of 643 leaves must have taken several years to print. If we can rely on the reference to the printing of this Bible found in the Cologne Chronicle, printed at Cologne by Johann Koelhoff in 1499, the printing of the Bible commenced in 1450. In translation from the original German text this reference reads: “And in the year of our Lord when one wrote 1450—that was a golden year—printing began. And the first book to be printed was the Bible in Latin, with type as large as the type nowadays used in the printing of missals.”

Now a word about the types used. The type-designer selected as his models a large Gothic alphabet undoubtedly based on manuscript letters found in German manuscripts of this period. One such manuscript is the Giant Bible of Mainz, completed in 1453, which Lessing J. Rosenwald presented to the Library of Congress in 1952. The actual letters in this manuscript are smaller than those found in the Gutenberg Bible, but the essential designs are the same. The font that can be reconstructed from the Bible comprised no less than 203 single letter forms, both upper and lower case, 68 ligatures, and 10 other characters, principally abbreviations. Once the type was cast in a sufficient amount two compositors at least commenced to set the pages in type, using as a model a manuscript Bible with 42 lines of text in each of the two columns. One compositor began at the beginning with the text of St. Jerome’s introductory letter, and the other at leaf 129, the beginning of the Book of Kings.

The first compositor had completed setting in type the first four leaves and the recto of the fifth (f. 1a-5a), and the second compositor three and one-half pages (f. 129v-132a), when the work came to a temporary halt. All nine pages at the beginning and the first seven pages of the Book of Kings had been set with 40 lines of text to each column. Incidentally, the headings on five of the 16 pages had been printed in red, marking the first instance of printing in two colors. It now seems evident that the compositors felt they were running out of pace with one another. At that moment we do not know precisely what happened in Gutenberg’s printing office, but the body of some of the type that had been used for these early pages apparently was filed down, and one more page (f. 5b) was set in type and printed. The reduction in the size of the body of the type now permitted 41 lines of type to be set in each column. This caused another dilemma, and since further filing was not possible, the entire fount appears to have been recast on a smaller body which permitted the compositors to resume their tasks, and to accommodate 42 lines of text to each column. At the time of resumption of the composition it was decided to abandon the printing of the headings in red and to re-
set with 42 lines of text the 16 pages that had been set in 40 lines of text and the one in 41 lines. This was accomplished, however, without including any additional text thereby permitting all of the text that had already been set to be utilized when the sheets were assembled for binding. Not a single leaf was to be wasted, proving that in this regard at least the inventor was quite economical.

The Scheide copy has several of these early trial leaves set in 40 lines found at the opening of the first Book of Kings (I Samuel in modern versions) (f. 129a-129a). Five of the leaves in this copy are present today in facsimile, i.e. Volume I, folio 1; Volume II, folios 17, 25, 46, and 305. When the late John H. Scheide purchased this copy in 1924 from Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, it lacked 17 leaves, but all except five have been supplied from other sources, two in 1934 and ten in 1937. The remarkably fine bindings on the two volumes of the Scheide copy are original; it is one of the few copies to have survived in the original covers. The contemporary brown leather has been decorated with blind stamping, and handsome brass bosses have been added for protection at the corners and in the center of the front and back covers. The binder's name is not known for certain, but it may well prove to be the work of Johann Fogel of Erfurt, who is known to have executed the binding for the copy which today is owned by Eton College. The attribution of the binding to Fogel is further supported by the fact that this copy has an Erfurt provenance, having at one time in its early history been owned by a parish church in that community.

It came on the market in 1870 through a Berlin dealer, Albert Cohen; he sold it to Henry Stevens of Vermont, a London dealer, who was acting as agent for Mr. George Brinley of Hartford. As such it was the second copy to be brought to America, having been preceded by the copy presently in the New York Public Library, which Mr. James Lenox purchased at auction at Sotheby's in London in 1847 for the sum of £500, an unheard of price in those days.

At the Brinley sale in 1881 his copy was sold to Hamilton Cole for $8,000, the under bidder being Brayton Ives. It has been reported that Ives bought this copy from Cole shortly thereafter for double this price. At the Ives sale in 1891, James H. Ellsworth was the successful bidder at the price of $14,800. Ellsworth's books were bought privately in 1923 by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, who sold the Bible a year later for $46,000 to the late John H. Scheide, the father of the present owner. The Brinley-Cole-Ives-Ellsworth-Scheide copy was brought to Princeton from Titusville, Pennsylvania, in 1950, where it had remained for 35 years.

Other interesting features of the Scheide copy are the manuscript illuminations found in the margins of several pages, depicting variously a stork attempting to eat a snake (f. 117a); an archer shooting a stag (f. 193a); an owl (f. 193b); a climbing bear (f. 160b); a hibernating bear (f. 237a); and a man with a white cat (f. 237b). Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt in his *Gutenberg and the Master of the Playing Cards* (New Haven and London, 1966) has shown the relationship of a number of these and others as well, some 14 in all, to the Master of the Playing Cards, who was the first man to engrave on copper. This master produced a series of engraved playing cards of which a small number survive; he was also responsible for several beautifully executed illuminations on certain early pages of the Giant Bible of Mainz, which is dated 1453. Presumably the playing cards were engraved at a subsequent time. Lehmann-Haupt speculates that the Master of the Playing Cards and Gutenberg may have known each other while both were at work in Mainz in the early 1450s. The significance of the Scheide Gutenberg Bible to Lehmann-Haupt's study is summarized in the following paragraph found in his book:

A detailed comparison of the miniatures in the Giant Bible of Mainz with those in Mr. Scheide's Gutenberg Bible clearly shows that they were painted by two different artists. In the Scheide Bible, too, a highly gifted master was at work, but he used a somewhat different range of colors and his style is slightly more graphic, with a more decided emphasis on the line. It is also important to note that the manuscript and the printed book differ strongly from each other in the occurrence of miniatures corresponding to the playing cards. Eight little flowers are found in both. But the Giant Bible of Mainz has at least twelve figures that do not occur in the Scheide Bible. On the other hand, the Scheide Bible has at least five miniatures that do not occur in the Giant Bible: a beautiful ciclamen (f. 266v) and four fine bird portraits (f. 160v, 117r, 193v, 231v); also a rather similar bird which occurs twice, on f. 266r and on f. 280r. No bird portraits corresponding to the playing cards occur in the Giant Bible. It is also an interesting
fact, as we will discuss later, that the illuminator of the Scheide Bible—exactly like the illuminator of the Giant Bible—interrupted his work suddenly, after completing the first half of the first volume (f. 231v).

Thus the Scheide Bible takes on added importance not only as a superb example of Gutenberg’s achievements as a printer but also as contributory evidence in the story of the first man to engrave on copper, the Master of the Playing Cards.

The types used in the Gutenberg Bible that Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer fell heir to, following the lawsuit in 1455, were also used in at least 20 editions of a popular medieval grammar, Donatus’ De octo partibus orationis. A number of these carry the name in the colophon of Peter Schoeffer; most editions are known only through surviving fragments that were used as binding materials for later books. One such fragment (in the 40-line state of the type), found today in the Scheide Library, consists of parts of two leaves printed on vellum from an edition comprising 33 lines of text, namely leaves four and seven. The date of printing is problematical.

While Gutenberg and his associates were at work creating the types and procuring the paper and vellum used in the production of the great Bible, they were also busy in other ways. The typecasters, for their part, had produced another type, which was used later in another Bible with only 36 lines of type to each column. Most certainly this type, probably designed by Peter Schoeffer, is earlier than the more sophisticated font found more practical for the 42-line Bible. Also available was a smaller text type, which was first used in the earliest dated pieces of printing that have survived, notably two broadside indulgences of Pope Nicolaus V, granted to those who contributed to the war against the Turks and the defense of Cyprus. One actually contains in the text a printed date of 1454; this edition with 31 lines of text contains several lines of text that are printed with the large Bible type used later in the edition of the Bible with 36 lines of text per column. Another issue of this indulgence, also with 31 lines of text and with the 36-line Bible types used as headings, contains the printed date of 1455. Mr. George Painter, in his essay “Gutenberg and the B36 Group. A Reconsideration,” argues effectively that the indulgences of 1454 and 1455 are “press-variants,” since with the exception of the dates the typographical setting is identical. In his opinion both issues were printed in 1454. The Scheide Library possesses a copy of the Nicolaus V indulgence, printed on vellum, with the printed year date of 1455. The month and day of issuance in the known surviving copies range from March 7 to April 30. In the Scheide copy the ink insertion of the month and day of issuance are faded [21 April?].

A later use of the 36-line Bible type occurs in a bull against the Turks, issued at Rome by Pope Calixtus III on June 29, 1436. This otherwise unknown and most important 12-leaf edition in Latin was acquired by John H. Scheide for addition to the Scheide Library in 1939. Together with the unique edition of the same bull in German in Berlin it remains the most substantial example of the use of the 36-line Bible type prior to its appearance in the edition of the Bible which gives this type its name. There is also an undated Donatus fragment of two full leaves printed on vellum from a 27-line edition, folios 6 and 9, in the same type.

Like the 42-line Bible, the 36-line edition provides no internal evidence concerning its place of origin, its printer or printers, or the date of its execution. The late Allan Stevenson’s study of the watermarks revealed that the paper on which it was printed was in use as early as 1458 and for a terminal date of 1461 derives from the rubricator’s date of that year found in a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. George Painter strongly suggests that Gutenberg may also have printed this edition of the Bible either at Mainz or Bamberg and implies that Gutenberg was allowed to take this type with him when he surrendered his original printing office to Johann Fust. No complete copy of the 36-line Bible is available for study in this country. It is much rarer than the earlier 42-line edition of 1455, and to date only single leaves have found their way into American collections. A part of one such leaf, printed on vellum, is in the Scheide Library.

A year or two antecedent to the 36-line Bible is the justly famous Psalter of 1457, the first printed book to contain a colophon, naming explicitly the printers responsible for its production, and the date of completion. This noble book was printed at Mainz by Peter Schoeffer and Johann Fust and brought to completion on the Feast of the Assumption, August 14, in 1457. Like the 42-line Bible this remains today as one of the truly monumental pieces of early printing. It has been cogently argued that work on the types and the beautifully wrought initial letters, printed in two colors (red, blue, or mauve), was underway in the Gutenberg printing.
office before the 42-line Bible was completed. What role Gutenberg played in the early stages of its production is moot, but there seems no question that most of the credit for its production belongs to Peter Schoeffer, acknowledging of course the financial support which Johann Fust undoubtedly furnished for the undertaking.

William H. Scheide, the present-day owner of the only copy of the 1457 Psalter in America, has presented an interesting thesis in a recent article in the *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* for 1973, entitled "A Speculation Concerning Gutenberg's Early Plans for His Bible." He has suggested in this article that the beautifully designed initials in two colors may have originally been intended for use within the text of the 36-line Bible but never carried out. Be that as it may these initials, some 200 in number, were first utilized in the Psalter of 1457, and some of them were unquestionably designed exclusively for this great book. The great initial B on the first page which introduces the text of the first Psalm, commencing *Beatit viv* ... , is perhaps the most famous of all. In the Scheide copy, which is printed entirely on vellum, this letter is printed in red with the ascenders and descenders printed in blue. Some years ago Heinrich Wallau attempted to reconstruct these letters and in his study has argued most effectively that the initial letters themselves were removable from the block containing the ascenders and descenders. This ingenious arrangement permitted separate inking so that the contrasting colors of the ascenders and descenders, and the initials, could be applied almost simultaneously while inserted in the form, thereby permitting three-color printing in one impression, the third color being the velvety black applied to the types themselves. There were complications in the process when several initials occur on the same page as Mr. Scheide has so carefully pointed out in his article. In these instances masking of the ascenders or the descenders as the case might be became necessary, and obviously more than one impression of these problem pages was required. But these early printers were ingenious men. No simple solution was found, however, and the same problems had to be faced when two years later Peter Schoeffer and Johann Fust used these same initials again in the Psalter of 1459, prepared presumably for the special usage of the Benedictine Monastery of St. Jacob at Mainz.

The simultaneous acquisition of both Psalters dated 1457 and 1459, both printed on vellum, was a crowning event in the history
A sampling of John Eliot materials in the Scheide Library

A selection of documents on slavery in the Scheide Library
of the formation of the Scheide Library. The former is the only copy in this country, and the Pierpoint Morgan Library in New York has the only other copy to be seen in America of the later Psalter of 1459. It has been my privilege to have examined both of the Scheide copies, first in 1956, when they were in the possession of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and later in 1973 after they had been brought to this country by Hans P. Kraus and sold subsequently to William H. Scheide. They were publicly exhibited in this country for the first time at Princeton at the time the Sixth International Congress of Bibliophiles paid a visit to the Scheide Library during September of 1971.

A later use of the extraordinary initials found in the two Psalters occurs in the 1459 edition of Durandus' Rationale divinarum officiorum, a handbook prepared for the clergy in celebrating the Mass and other ecclesiastical offices of the Church, which was also printed by Peter Schoeffer and Johann Fust and is dated October 6, 1459. In this important book the initials are used more sparingly, and the extant copies indicate that their use was not consistent during the printing of this edition. Nine of the initials appear in the Scheide copy, compared with only seven in the John Boyd Thacher copy in the Library of Congress and six in the Lessing J. Rosenwald copy, also in the Library of Congress. The problems of mass production were becoming manifest, and the pioneer printers could no longer afford to be as painstaking in their oversight of their later books as they had been in printing their earlier productions.

Now what had become of Johann Gutenberg after his unsuccessful lawsuit brought against him by Johann Fust? No one knows exactly other than the date of his death, February 3, 1468, and a few casual references in archival sources. There has been much speculation about his continuing career as a printer. As we have previously indicated, George Painter, a fine incunabulist at the British Museum who has only recently retired, believes that Gutenberg was probably allowed to take a fair amount of type with him when he surrendered his printing office in the late fall of 1455, and Painter further suggests that he and certain of his former employees may have been responsible for the printing of the 36-line Bible and other lesser productions printed with the type used in this later Bible. In addition the production of another monumental book dated 1460, the Katholicon of Johannes Balbus, has frequently been attributed to the inventor of the printing
art. Who but the inventor himself, some ask, could have written the humble and beautiful phrases found in the colophon which describe the invention itself? Miss Margaret Stillwell has furnished the following translation which we quote:

With the help of Omnipotent God, at Whose very nod the tongues of infants are made eloquent, and Who often reveals to the humble what He withholds from the wise—this excellent book, Catholicon, has been printed in the goodly city of Mainz, in the glorious German nation (which, by the Grace of God, the Almighty has deigned to prefer and exalt above other nations of the earth by gracious gift and so lofty a light of genius), and it has been brought to completion in the year of our Lord's incarnation, 1460—not by means of reed, stylus, or quill, but with the miraculous and harmonious concurrence of punches and types cast in moulds. Hence to Thee, O Holy Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, let praise and honour be given Thee, Three Persons in One God, Holy Trinity. To the single glory of the Church let universal praise be given for this book, and let all tongues laud the Blessed Virgin Mary, henceforth, and forevermore. To God be the thanks.

Miss Stillwell concluded her bibliographical essay, *Gutenberg and the Catholicon of 1460* (New York, 1936) with the following paragraph:

To those who accept the Gutenberg tradition wholeheartedly, the *Catholicon* stands, personally, closer to him than does any other of the books attributed to his press. For to them, the phrase which brought it forth, *With the help of Omnipotent God, at Whose very nod the tongues of infants are made eloquent, and Who often reveals to the humble what He withholds from the wise*, affords them reasonable assurance that each leaf of the Mainz *Catholicon* must have borne[e] the touch, or the scrutiny, of the Father of the Printing Art.

More recently Theo Gerardy, writing in the *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* for 1973, has reached the tentative conclusion on the evidence of the several different watermarks found in extant copies of the *Catholicon* on paper that the printed date of 1460 in the colophon is erroneous, and that a date of “about 1468” is probably more correct. If Gerardy's conclusions are proved to be accurate, then if Gutenberg was in fact the printer, this must have been the last book to issue from his presses for he died in February of 1468.

The Scheide Library has a copy of this first edition of Balbus’ *Catholicon*, printed on paper with the tower watermark. It also has two smaller tracts, printed with the same type, namely Mathaeus de Cracovia’s *Dialogus rationis et conscientiae*, and Thomas Aquinas’ *De articulis fidei*. Both are undated. Further study of these three controversial books may well prove helpful in the resolution of the questions which collectively they have posed to the students of early printing. Personally this writer has felt for a long time that it is not unlikely that Johann Gutenberg had a hand in the production of Balbus’ great dictionary, but despite its size and surpassing interest it cannot be considered the brilliant example of fine printing as its noble predecessor, the magnificent 42-line Bible.

In brief conclusion it seems proper and fair to state that the Scheide Library with its extraordinary assemblage of prima facie materials relating to the earliest period of printing from movable metal type has contributed a great deal to the untangling of the involved and ever complex story, still only partially resolved, of the career of Johann Gutenberg. John H. Scheide and his son William H. Scheide, who has made important contributions to some of the complexities of the Gutenberg story, have together made available to both the community of scholars of early printing and the bibliographers of the same period an unmatchable resource for the further studies which are inevitable. What finer tribute than the rewards of scholarship itself can be paid to such fine collectors who have opened their minds and their purses to secure the basic materials essential for research, now and in the future, into one of the most exciting periods of all recorded history.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


Incunabula, Bibles and Early Americana in the Scheide Library

BY PAUL NEEDHAM

In the preceding article Frederick Goff has discussed the early Mainz imprints in the Scheide Library. That a separate notice should be given them is highly appropriate, for the Scheide is one of only five libraries where those three greatest monuments of the first years of printing, the Gutenberg Bible, the 1457 Psalter and the 1459 Psalter, keep company together. Its associates in this honor are the British Library, the Rylands Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (D.D.R.). It hardly needs saying that of these the Scheide Library is by far the smallest. Three of the libraries are among the largest in the world, and even the Rylands is well over one hundred times larger than the Scheide collection. The Scheide Library has grown slowly through the decades; for three generations it has maintained the character of a personal collection, relatively uninfluenced by the prevailing currents of bibliophily. An earlier essay on the Library stressed the degree to which it was formed according to the scholarly reading interests of the Scheides. Those who have witnessed the unerring ease with which the present owner finds his way through the 42-line Bible or the Psalters quickly understand that this tradition is still alive; the books are used and read. There are at present about 150 incunabula in the collection, and slightly more than that number of 16th-century imprints. Among this small group are many books of the greatest interest, including many of considerable rarity or in particularly fine condition. A very able overview of the Library's contents was given in 1947 by Julian P. Boyd. But his book, which was privately printed, is no longer readily available, and the Library has continued to grow since he wrote. It may therefore be useful to outline once again some of the early book rarities of the Scheide collection.

The Scheides have for long taken an interest in Biblical texts, and a particular strength attaches to the early German Bibles in the Library. For more than half a century before Luther, there was a continuing market in the German territories for vernacular
Bibles—despite a prohibiting edict of 1485 from the Archbishop of Mainz. The Scheide is the only library outside Europe to include all eighteen of these pre-Luther German Bible editions. Its closest competitor in this country, the New York Public Library (drawing on the great Bible collection of James Lenox), lacks the first of these, the edition printed by Johann Mentelin in Strasbourg, about 1466. The text of these German Bibles was based on an anonymous 14th-century Bavarian translation, but many of the printers after Mentelin felt free to modernize its language. This series of Bibles includes the first Bible with woodcuts, the Augsburg edition printed by Jodocus Pflanzmann, about 1475; the Scheide copy is one of five in America. Another of the series is the handsomest of the early illustrated Bibles, the Low German edition printed in Lübeck by Steffan Arndes, 1494. A related rarity is what may be the first Psalter in German, printed in Strasbourg by Heinrich Eggstein about 1475; the only other American copy is at the Pierpont Morgan Library. Given this, it is natural that the Library also contains the first editions of Martin Luther’s Bible. This epochal work was published in Wittenberg over a period of time, beginning with the New Testament, with woodcuts from the workshop of Lucas Cranach (Sept. 1522), followed by three volumes of the Old Testament (1523-24), the Prophets (1532), and concluding in the first complete edition (1534).

Also present in the Library is the first Dutch Bible text, the Old Testament printed in Delft by Jacob van der Meer and Mauricius Yembrantszen, Jan. 1477. This was the first book printed in Delft and, apart from several undated texts by the mysterious Utrecht “Printer of the Speculum,” the earliest book printed in the Dutch language. No other Dutch Bibles were printed in the 15th century, but it should be remembered that at this time Dutch and Low German were not clearly differentiated. It seems likely that the Low German Bibles also found a market in the Netherlands.

There was likewise from early times a market for Italian Bibles. Eleven Italian Bibles were printed in the 15th century, all in Venice. For whatever reason, they are all of greater rarity than any of the early German Bibles; no library possesses the complete series. Four of these editions are in the Scheide collection, more than in any other American library. The first Italian Bible was printed by Vindelinus de Spira, dated 1 August 1471. A complete copy is at the Pierpont Morgan Library, but the Scheide Library has the only other portion of this edition in America, a single volume containing the books from Genesis through Job. The translator for this edition was Niccolò Malermi (d. 1481), a Camaldolese abbot. While Vindelinus was printing the Malermi translation, a Venetian competitor, Adam de Ambergau, also began work on an Italian Bible. He started out using an archaic Tuscan version as copy, but when Vindelinus’ edition appeared, about halfway through, Adam abruptly abandoned his out-of-date manuscript and completed the remainder of his Bible with a reprint of the Vindelinus text. Adam’s Bible appeared just two months after Vindelinus’, on 1 October 1471; of this second Italian Bible, the Library possesses one of the two American copies, the other being in the Chapin Library.

Another of the Library’s treasures is the first French New Testament, printed in Lyons by Guillaume Le Roy about 1476; the only other American copy is at the New York Public Library. The text of this New Testament is not a true translation of the Vulgate, but rather a paraphrase derived through a complicated tradition from the 13th-century Historia scholastica of Peter Comestor. The Scheide copy of this rare book is in remarkably fresh, clean condition. Also in the collection is the first Latin Bible printed in France, one of three American copies. This was issued in Paris from the shop of the first printers in France, Ulrich Gering, Martin Crantz and Michael Friburger; it is a reprint of the 1462 Fust and Schoeffer Bible. The book is ambiguously dated, but its rhyming colophon seems to state that it was printed in the sixteenth year of Louis XI’s reign, i.e. between July 1476 and July 1477. This relatively late appearance of Latin Bible printing in France attests to the international character of the book trade at this time: Bibles from foreign printing houses would be readily available in France. Thus, only four Latin Bibles were printed in Paris in the 15th century, compared to fourteen Nuremberg editions, seventeen Basel editions, and twenty-two Venetian editions.

The first Bible texts printed in the kingdom of Bohemia are two Czech New Testaments, both of the greatest rarity; no copy of either is known outside central Europe. They are thought, though without proof, to have been printed in Pilsen, the one in 1475 (on the basis of the anonymous printer’s mark, which can be read as “M.A.75”), and the other probably in the early 1480s. These were followed by two complete Czech Bibles, both of which
may be found at the Scheide Library. The first was printed in Prague in 1488; the text is based on the Hussite version. The colophon does not name a printer, but does list four financial patrons of the enterprise. The Prague Bible has been attributed to the press of one Jan Kamp on the basis of general probability rather than specific evidence. Kamp’s name does not in fact appear in any imprint, but in a document of 1499 he is named as a printer, and his name is linked there with that of one of the Bible patrons. The Prague Bible was certainly successful, for it was reprinted the following year in Kuttenberg (Kutná Hora) by Martin of Týšnov—the only 15th-century book known from that town. This Kuttenberg edition was illustrated with numerous woodcuts, clearly influenced by those in Heinrich Quentell’s Low German Bible (Cologne, 1478).

A more recent addition to the collection is the great Kralice Bible (1579-98) of the Bohemian Brethren. The Brethren (now known as the Moravian Brethren) developed as a splinter group from the old Utraquist party in Bohemia; from the 1530s, they were strongly influenced by Lutheran doctrine. The official Bible of the Brethren was translated from the original languages by a committee of scholars, the Planct Polycgnot (a copy of which is in the Library) being their major source. It was printed in six volumes in Kralice, on the estate of the Moravian nobleman Jan van Zerotin. The Kralice Bible is considered an early classic of the Czech language, and despite its being a heretical work in Catholic eyes, its literary influence on modern Czech has been comparable to that of the Authorized Version on English.

Two other interesting Bibles in Slavic languages may be mentioned here. Slovakian was the language widely spoken in the Austrian provinces of Carniola, Carinthia and Styria. Portions of the Bible were first translated into Slovakian by the religious reformer Primož Trubar, and printed in 1555 and after in Reutlingen, Tübingen and Ljubljana; but a complete Bible translation was first made by Trubar’s more scholarly associate, Jurij Dalmatin. Habsburg religious politics prevented Dalmatin’s Bible from being produced in Austrian territories; it was finally printed in Wittenberg, issuing in 1584. It is in essence a Lutheran text, including Martin Luther’s prefaces. By contrast, the Ostrog Bible of 1581 was a deeply traditional publication. This was the first complete printed Bible in Church Slavonic, the official language of Russian Orthodoxy. It was produced under the protection of Konstantin, Prince of Ostrog, in the Ukraine. The printer was Ivan Feodorov, first printer in Moscow, who after being expelled from there by the enmity of the clergy, migrated first to Lvov and then to Ostrog. His Bible is a beautiful piece of printing produced under far from ideal conditions.

The Scandinavian Bibles in the Library, the first complete Bibles in Swedish (1541), Danish (1550) and Icelandic (1584), form a natural group; all were the product of the Reformation, and all depend heavily on Luther’s version. The first Swedish Bible was preceded by a New Testament, printed in 1526 under royal patronage. The printer was Georg Richholf the Younger, who was brought to Stockholm from Lübeck on commission. The full Bible appeared fifteen years later. Its chief translators are taken to be the brothers Olaus and Laurentius Petri, the latter the Archbishop of Uppsala. Once again Richholf was called from Lübeck, this time to Uppsala, to undertake the printing. Richholf’s Bible is a handsome book, illustrated with woodcuts from a variety of sources, including Erhard Altdorfer, Georg Lemberger, and the monogrammist MB. The beautiful title-page border, by Lemberger, had first been used in the 1532 Missale Pragensis, and appears also in the first volume of Luther’s Old Testament, mentioned above (Wittenberg 1523). Two fine full-page cuts by Lemberger are recorded only in the Swedish Bible, though it does not seem likely that they were originally made for the edition.

The first complete Danish Bible was preceded by two Danish New Testaments, both of which were foreign publications, produced under the sponsorship of the exiled King Christian II (expelled 1523). The first dates to 1524; though its imprint is given as Leipzig, it was in fact printed in Wittenberg. This was followed by a completely new translation, printed in Antwerp in 1529. Both these New Testaments are of great rarity; of the second, apparently only one copy is recorded outside Scandinavia. The full Danish Bible, by contrast, was an official publication prepared under the patronage of Christian III. A considerable amount of documentation concerning it has survived. The translation was made by a committee of seven scholars, including John Macalpine, a brother-in-law of Miles Coverdale. The printer was Ludwig Dietz of Lübeck; he brought his equipment to Copenhagen for this one printing job. In 1534 Dietz had printed a magnificent Low German Luther Bible in Lübeck, with woodcuts by Altdorfer, and for the Danish Bible, Dietz imported the same types and
woodcuts. The Scheide copy formerly belonged to the great traveller and collector Robert Curzon.

In many ways the most impressive of this group is the large folio Icelandic Bible, printed in Hólar, northern Iceland, in 1584. The Bible's patron and chief translator was Gudbrandur Thorlaksson, Bishop of Hólar. The New Testament derives from an Icelandic New Testament printed at Roskilde, in Denmark, in 1540. It is not certain, but very likely, that the woodcuts of the Icelandic Bible were cut in Iceland. The charming woodcut title-page border, with scenes from the life of Christ, was certainly made specifically for this edition, for it includes a Bible quotation in Icelandic. It is signed with the initials GT, which may be those of the bishop himself; contemporary sources refer to his artistic ability. Curiously, the woodcuts of the Old Testament copy those in the 1541 Swedish Bible (with the addition of one original cut), while the New Testament woodcuts copy the 1550 Danish Bible. The Scheides' Hólar Bible comes (via J. W. Ellsworth) from the library of William Morris. In accordance with his interest in Nordic literature, Morris had a good working collection of Islandica, of which the Bible was the most valuable single item.

The English Bibles in the Scheide collection are extensive and important; but as these editions are relatively better known, and as the Scheide copies have been described at some length in Julian Boyd's book, a few brief comments here may be sufficient. Bible printing in English began rather late, in the second quarter of the 16th century; but once the flow started, it met with a widespread and enthusiastic response from the English laity. The primordial period of English Bible printing may be taken to end in 1539, for in that year was published the official Great Bible, prepared under the personal supervision of Henry VIII's vicegerent, Thomas Cromwell. Through 1539, some fifty separate editions of English Bible texts appeared, most of them printed on the continent. About a dozen of these were editions of single books or of the Pentateuch; the remainder were full Bibles or New Testaments. The Scheide Library contains twelve of these earliest English Bibles, beginning with the Tyndale New Testament printed at Antwerp in 1534 (the Scheide copy is on saffron-stained paper, as is found in various copies of English religious texts of this period), and continuing through the Great Bible and Taverner Bible of 1539. This is smaller than the finest American collection, that of the New York Public Library, but
fully comparable with the other two major collections in this country, at the Huntington and Pierpont Morgan Libraries. The strength of the Scheide English Bibles, it should be added, continues well beyond this early cutoff date.

This survey of early Bibles in the collection would not be complete without some mention of its Greek Bibles. The first of these in order of printing was the Complutensian Polyglot, 1514-17, printed at Alcalá de Henares under the patronage of Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros. This great work was edited by a committee of Spanish scholars associated with Ximénez' newly-founded collegium trilingue at Alcalá, including several Jewish converts; the texts are Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek and Latin. The Polyglot is a masterpiece of printing, whose beautiful Greek face has served as model for at least one important Greek type in the 20th century.

For reasons uncertain, the Spanish Polyglot was not issued until the early 1520s. This delay enabled two enterprising scholar-printers to anticipate it with Greek Bibles of their own. The first of these was Johann Froben of Basel, who more or less coaxed his friend Erasmus into editing a Greek New Testament (1516). Erasmus' edition, with Latin translation, is notoriously poor from a textual standpoint, having been thrown together, for the most part, only from the manuscripts available in Basel at the time. But its cultural influence was incalculable; probably no book of the Renaissance gave a greater single impetus to Greek studies in western Europe. Erasmus’ Latin version, followed in several years by his paraphrases, had a widely ranging influence in its own right. Many contemporary witnesses, including a number of early Protestants, attest that their spirituality was reawakened by its beautiful prose. In a sense Erasmus’ Latin version was more daring in its implications than any of the vernacular versions to that date, for religious conservatives felt in it a direct challenge to the sacred readings of the Vulgate. The Scheide copy of the first Erasmus New Testament is clean and fresh, in contemporary half pigskin and boards.

Aldus Manutius shortly followed Froben by issuing the first complete Greek Bible, in 1518. He reprinted the New Testament from Froben’s edition, and added the Septuagint, edited primarily from manuscripts in the Bessarion collection. The Scheides’ is the very fine Heath-Heber-Holford copy.

As has been said, the incunabula are not numerous, but nearly all are of interest. Many of these are famous books, and we will touch only briefly on the more common of these. The Scheide “highlights” include a number of fine woodcut books; we may begin with the two blockbooks in the Library. The earlier of these is a German-language Biblia pauperum, in unusually fresh condition from the Meiningicher Bibliothek. It is one of the comparatively few blockbooks to be signed by its maker; it contains the woodcut device of Hans Sporer of Nuremberg, and the woodcut date 1471. Sporer’s Biblia pauperum is a close copy of one produced and signed by Friedrich Walthen and Hans Hurning in Nördlingen, 1470. He made several more blockbooks in succeeding years. Sporer was not a pleasant man: some years after this he beat his wife to death, and this may have forced his removal from Nuremberg. Later he set up as printer in Bamberg and then in Erfurt, issuing many interesting works of German popular literature, including one of the early histories of Dracula.

The other blockbook is one of only two or three known of Italian manufacture, the Opera nova contemplativa signed by Giovanni Andrea Vavassore of Venice. This is an Italian version of the so-called Biblia pauperum, with two Old Testament prefigurations linked to each New Testament scene. Unlike the majority of blockbooks, Vavassore’s is printed on both sides of the leaf, indicating that it was run through a printing press; and it is in small format. It has often been dated to ca. 1510, but must be later rather than that. Vavassore seems to have begun printing in Venice in the early 1520s or possibly the late 1520s, and is recorded at work as late as the 1570s. His one blockbook is a work of great charm.

Important woodcut-illustrated printed books in the Library include the 1489 Strassburg Directorium vitae humanae (ex-Bodem), a medieval Latin translation of the fables of Bidpai; its woodcuts are the same as those found earlier in two German-language editions printed in Urach. Both editions of Kohberger’s Nuremberg Chronicle are here, the Latin (12 July 1493) and the German (23 Dec. 1493); and, handsomer still, Kohberger’s Schatzbehalter (8 Nov. 1491), with woodcuts by Michael Wolgemut. Rarer than these are two other great illustrated books, the Augsburg Spiegel des menschlichen Lebens, ca. 1476, and the Paris 1488-89 Mer des histoires. The Spiegel des menschlichen Lebens is one of the series of fine woodcut books produced by Gunter Zainer in the 1470s. The text is a translation of a Latin Speculum humanae vitae, written by Rodriguez Sanchez de Arévalo while
at the papal curia in the 1460s. The Speculum discusses the advantages and disadvantages of the various stations and trades of man, a natural subject for illustration. Zainer's woodcuts were used again in an Augsburg reprint by Johann Bämler, 1479. They next migrated to Lyons, where in 1482 they illustrated a French edition of the Speculum, and then to Zaragoza, where in 1491, reduced in number, they appear in a Spanish edition. Scheides' copy of the original Augsburg edition is from the Liechtenstein collection; there are four other copies in America.

The two-volume Mer des histoires would find its place on the most rigorous short-list of French 15th-century book illustration. The printer, Pierre Le Rouge, came from a family of calligraphers and illuminators in Châlons, and printed there before moving to Paris. His Paris work includes a number of important books, of which the Mer des histoires is easily the finest. The text is an adaptation of an anonymous Latin world history, the Rudimentum novitiorum, first printed in Lübeck in 1475. The translation is likewise anonymous, but the translator in his preface informs us that he worked at the request of André de la Haye, seigneur de Chaumont; much matter relating to the history of France was added to the original text. The Lübeck editions had attractive woodcuts which served as models for those of Le Rouge, but the latter also have independent artistic value. The richness of decoration throughout is extraordinary: there are woodcut illustrations in four or five different sizes, two sizes of ornamental initials, and a multitude of historiated woodcut borders. The large habitde type, which must have been cut specially for this book, is itself of great beauty. Some of the woodcuts seem to belong to a cycle for a Book of Hours, and are in fact found in later printed Hours. The very large calligraphic L on the two titles was used later by Antoine Vérand.

The Scheide copy of the Mer des histoires is an interesting one. It bears the title-page signature of "Monseigneur Charles de Croix prince de Chimay"; beneath this in a different hand is written "Au duc d'Artois". Croix was an ancient, distinguished and far-flung house, whose honors included those of Chimay and Artois. Several 16th-century members of the family commissioned fine bindings. The Charles de Croix who signed this book was probably the imperial general of that name, son of Philippe III, sire de Croix. In the 19th century the book belonged to Henry Beaufoy. There are five other copies in America.
Moving briefly into the 16th century, another of the fine woodcut books in the Scheide collection is Ulrich Pinder's *Speculum passionis Jesu Christi*, dated from Nuremberg, 30 Aug. 1507. This was one of several devotional works written by Pinder, a Nuremberg physician. Pinder's books were produced, perhaps in his own house, by an anonymous press which earlier printed several works for the humanist Conrad Celtis. The printer was probably Ferdinand Peypus, who first signed books in his own right in 1512, and who in any case came into possession of most of the typographic material found in the Celtis and Pinder volumes. Pinder's *Speculum* contains three distinct series of woodcuts, but is most notable for the 32 large woodcuts by Hans Schäufelein, two of which are signed with his monogram. These beautiful cuts were re-used in a second edition of the *Speculum*, printed by Peypus in 1519, and then in a Czech version of the pseudo-Bonaventura *Vita Christi* (Cracow, 1522). Most of the cuts have also been found as single-leaf prints without text; these were probably pulled in Nuremberg between the dates of the two editions of the *Speculum*. The Scheide copy was formerly Fairfax Murray's, and is in the fine condition that provenance implies.

Italian woodcut books are not as strongly represented in the Library, but it does contain what is certainly the most famous, and perhaps the finest early Italian illustrated book, the Aldine *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* of Francesco Colonna, 1499. Aldine editions having been mentioned, it may be said that the Scheide holdings are select, but very good. The rare 16mo Greek Hours of Aldus (5 Dec. 1497) is found here in very fresh condition, only slightly trimmed, in a contemporary blind-tooled calf binding. Copies are found in only five other American libraries. Four of the Scheide Aldines come from that treasure trove of fine books, the Holford collection; the Greek Bible, already mentioned, Lascaris' *Erotomata*, Museus' *Herm et Leander*, with interleaved Greek and Latin text, and the masterpiece of the press, the Greek Aristotle. This last is especially notable. The book is not rare, and a number of sets in fine bindings are known, but this would seem to be the only uncut copy surviving, with deckle edges retained on all margins. It also contains, in volume III, a blank leaf apparently not otherwise recorded. The binding of the Aristotle is curious: it is French, of the second half of the 18th century, quarter brown calf with gray boards. The spines are decorated with a diaper of crowned H's and fleurs-de-lys, suggesting, though not very clearly, royal ownership. One of the volumes was rebound in the 19th century, to the same style but with different tools.

Other early classical editions are almost equally fine. The Scheide vellum copy (as are most) of the second Fust and Schoeffer Cicero *De officiis*, 1466, is beautifully decorated; it was formerly in the library of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in Leningrad. The Ulm Ptolemy of 1482, the Phillipps copy, is likewise particularly attractive, with fine contemporary coloring of its handsome woodcut maps. The first Greek Homer (Florence, 1489) attracts by contrast with these, being large, clean, and entirely unrubricated. It has a long provenance going back to the great 18th-century collector, Dr. Anthony Askew, who was noted for his outstanding Greek books and manuscripts. The 1471 Vindelinus de Spira edition of Virgil, one of two American copies, is likewise notable for its freshness and large margins. Though partly trimmed, the margins extend fully two inches beyond the pinholes, leaving the majority of the manuscript signature marks still visible. The Subiaco Lactantius of 1495 is again an unusually large copy, in an early Italian blind-tooled calf binding. Like the Fust and Schoeffer Cicero, it comes from the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences.

There are four Caxtons in the Scheide collection, the first editions of the *Dictes or sayengis of the philosophes*, Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*, the *Polychronicon* of Ranulph Higden, and the Syston Park copy of *The myrrour of the worlde*, the first illustrated English printed book. Two books printed by the peripatetic Johann Neumeister, who may have learned his craft from Gutenberg, are of considerable interest. In 1472, in Foligno, Neumeister printed the first edition of Dante's *Divina commedia*, one of three editions, each based on a different manuscript, appearing in that year. The Scheide copy is from the Crawford of Lakelands-Castlecreag-Sunderland-Fairfax Murray collections. About 1482, Neumeister printed an imposing folio missal, signed from Albi in southern France. Its type is identical to the one he used five years later in Lyons, in his beautiful missal for that archdiocese. The Scheide copy of the Albi Missal is defective, comprising only slightly more than half the pages of the full text, but it is nonetheless of great importance. All of Neumeister's Albi printing is rare, but of the Missal only one other copy is known, that in the Bibliothèque Mazarine; and whereas that copy is on paper, the Scheide's is on vellum.
This suggests something of the range of 15th-century printing available in the Scheide Library, but the list is by no means comprehensive. Only a lack of space prevents more ample mention of several other Sweynheym and Pannartz editions; the rare *Gesta Christi* of John Hus, printed in Speyer about 1472; the Greek and Latin Psalter printed in Milan by Bonus Accursius, 1481; the first editions of Wolfram von Eschenbach’s *Parzival* and *Titurel* (bound together, the Huth-Stetson copy); and other important books.

The holdings of early Americana in the Scheide Library are scattered, but individually important, and include a number of items of great rarity. Earliest is the Hoe copy of the Latin Columbus letter describing his first voyage, printed by Eucharius Silber in Rome, 1493. News of Columbus’ journey was immediately popular: one Spanish and six Latin editions of his letter were probably all printed in 1493, in Barcelona, Rome, Basel, Paris and Antwerp. Of these, Silber’s is the only explicitly dated edition. In the same year Silber published an Italian verse paraphrase of the letter, by Giuliano Dati, which achieved popularity in its own right.

But by the turn of the century, literate Europe seems to have lost interest in the Columbian discoveries, while the voyages of Amerigo Vespucci (the authenticity of several of which has almost from the beginning been much in question) found a great vogue. In the years from 1503 to 1510 Vespucci’s explorations along the Brazilian coastline were publicized in dozens of editions, while by contrast only a single Italian edition is known of Columbus’s account of his final voyage. The Scheide collection contains the first and third editions of Vespucci’s earliest publication, a letter to Lorenzo Pier Francesco de’Medici describing his so-called third voyage to the “new regions.” The first edition, in Latin, was printed in Paris in 1503. Its translator was Fra Giovanni Giocondo, whose name will be familiar to classicists from his editing of several Aldine texts. This Paris edition of Vespucci had no proper title, only a salutation from the author to de’Medici. In the second and third editions and after, a simple but effectively dramatic title was hit upon: *Mundus novus*, the New World. Of the third edition of Vespucci, printed in Augsburg, 1504, two distinct impressions on different paper stocks are known, one with a colophon and one without. The Scheide copy, virtually untrimmed from the
Woodcut at head of the account of Vespucci's third voyage
Lettera di Amerigo Vespucci...
The Scheide Library

Stolberg-Wernigerode collection, is of the second impression, with colophon.

Of equal significance to these is the first edition, printed in Florence, ca. 1505-6, of Vespucci's later Lettera delle isole nuovamente trovate, addressed to Piero Soderini, gonfaloniere of Florence, and describing a total of four voyages to the new western lands. The book is of great rarity, and it is an odd chance that the only other American copy is a few steps away from Mr. Scheide's, in the Princeton University Library. A 1507 reprint of Vespucci's letter to Soderini had particularly fateful consequences. In that year, a group of scholars at the Gymnasium Vosagense in St-Dié, working under the patronage of the Duke of Lorraine, printed at their own press a small compendium of geography, the Cosmographiae introductio; the book generally goes under the name of one member of the group, Martin Waldseemüller. This was a remarkable work, which attempted for the first time formally to map the new western discoveries onto the traditional Ptolemaic globe. As a supplement, the book included a Latin version of Vespucci's letter to Soderini, and in commenting on it, the editors...
suggested that the new lands might be named America, in honor of the explorer. Two editions of the Cosmographia were printed in St-Dié, on 25 April and 29 August 1507. The fine Scheide copy, from Henry Huth’s library, is of the second edition.

The same year, in Vicenza, another travel book of very widespread influence appeared, which again gave a special prominence to Vespucci. This was the Paesi nouamente retrouati compiled by Fracanzano da Montalboddo. Fracanzano’s compilation brought together in one handy volume a collection of voyages, African, Asian and American, going back to the Portuguese explorations of the 1450s. Columbus’s first three voyages were recounted here, as was Vasco da Gama’s great sea journey to India. But Amerigo Vespucci was the only traveller explicitly mentioned on the book’s title-page. The Paesi nouamente retrouati was current for fifteen or twenty years, in numerous translations and editions, and it undoubtedly contributed much to the eventual automatic association of the name Amerigo with the New World.

The most important single source for the early history of Spanish Mexico is the series of five cartas de relación which the conquistador Hernando Cortés sent to Charles V between 1519 and 1526. No early editions of the first and fifth relaciones are known to exist. Present in the Scheide collection are the rare folio first editions of Cortés’ second and third relaciones, printed in Seville in 1522 and 1523 by Jacobo Cromberger. These are supplemented by the first Latin editions of the two relaciones, issued from Nuremberg in 1524. The first of these has a plan of Mexico City and map of the Gulf of Mexico not found in the Spanish editions.

The Library also includes a significant collection of what may be termed incunabula Americana, early printing from the New World. The first active press in the western hemisphere was set up in Mexico as an offshoot of the Sevillian printing house of Cromberger. By the terms of a contract effected in 1539, Juan Pablos, of the Cromberger establishment, was given a press and other typographic materials to ship across the Atlantic; agreements were signed to share any profits with the parent house in Seville. It is in recognition of this agreement that Pablos’ early imprints from Mexico City are signed “en casa de Juan Cromberger.” The first several pieces of Mexican printing are more than rare, they are as elusive as will-o’-the-wisps. A 1539 Doctrina christiana in Mexican and Spanish was very precisely described in a 19th-century reference work, but no one since has been able actually to lay his
hands on the book. The same is true of a 1541 news pamphlet, reporting an earthquake in central America. Only two leaves survive of a 1540 Manual de adultos. There is some early evidence for an Escala espiritual which may have been printed even before Juan Pablos’ arrival in Mexico, but no copy of the book has been seen in modern times, and even the early references to it, though sincere, do not appear to have been made de visu.

The first Mexican printed book to survive substantially—and of this there is a copy in the Scheide Library—is the catechistic Dotrina breve of Juan de Zumitraga, first bishop of Mexico; it is dated 1543 on the title, and 1544 in its colophon. The Scheide copy is in its original blind-stamped binding. Other of the twenty-odd early Mexican imprints in the collection include the 1544 Compendio breve on church processions of Dionysius Cartusianus; Zumárraga’s Doctrina cristiana of 1546; and the Franciscan missionary Alonso de Molina’s Vocabulario en la lengua Castellana y Mexicana, 1555. The collection also contains the 1584 Doctrina christiana y catecismo printed in Lima, “Ciudad de los Reyes,” by Antonio Ricardo. This was the second piece of printing, but first book, produced in South America; it was preceded only by a two-leaf tract of the same year, of which the unique surviving copy is in the John Carter Brown Library.

This account is intended as a sketch rather than a catalogue, and so some end must be drawn. But a brief coda seems necessary, if only to demonstrate that the categories above have not exhausted all the Scheide treasures. In the discussion of Americana, no space was found for such fundamental works as Oviedo y Valdes’ Historia general de las Indias, 1535, or the Las Casas tracts of 1554-9. And it seems almost willfully eccentric to leave unmentioned as fateful a book as Copernicus’ De revolutionibus, 1543; or the rare first two publications of Michael Servetus, De trinitatis erroribus, 1531, and Dialogi de trinitate, 1532. A number of interesting examples of exotic printing can only be cited briefly: among others, the 1513 Rome edition of the Ethiopic Psalms, the first printing in that language; the 1516 Genoa Polyglot Psalter, with text in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic; the 1566 Vienna Syriac New Testament; and the 1566 Rome Armenian Psalter.

The articles in the present issue of the Chronicle are nothing if not various, and in sum they strikingly suggest the breadth of interest to be found in this single library room of medium size.
If one feature above others can be said to unify this diversity of objects, it is a certain serious, rather austere, even self-denying respect for the written monuments of human culture. The Scheides' love for books and manuscripts has always been a carefully controlled one. It is unusual for the book-collecting instinct to manifest itself in three consecutive generations of a family. Surely it is even more unusual for that instinct to have continued, over a century, so essentially the same.

Aldus Manutius as Printer of Illustrated Books

BY MARY LAURA GIBBS

Very little is known about the backgrounds of the great printers before they became printers. Some were goldsmiths, some calligraphers, some in other unrelated businesses, but before 1455, and in Italy before the 1470s, all these men had done something else. For the few individuals whose origins we know, there are dozens whose backgrounds are unknown.

Of Aldus Manutius, born near Rome and a Venetian by adoption, we know all we need to know. He was a classics teacher. He loved Latin from boyhood, despite the grimness of his own early instruction, and he traveled to various places in Italy to perfect his Greek with humanist masters. Some of his happiest years were spent teaching humane letters to the young princes of Carpi. He saw in printing an ideal way to provide relatively inexpensive, convenient editions of Greek and Latin classics and contemporary humanist tracts.

He was not interested in promoting popular literature, though he had a natural weakness for publishing the works of his friends, including works of science, belles-lettres, and philosophy. He was not generally interested in producing de luxe volumes for the libraries of great bibliophiles. Aldus's tiny production of illustrated books, only seven titles in his whole career, amounts to scarcely more than a footnote, the illustrations themselves mostly crude or diagrammatic, and in two cases single icons before the text, probably meant to be torn out for religious pin-ups.

However, Aldus did publish one illustrated book so exceptional that it is fair to speak of his output as one illustrated book, plus six. The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, discussed in another article in this issue, was anomalous with the rest of Aldus's production, which otherwise fitly reflected conventional publishing trends of the time plus Aldus's own linguistic and philosophic interests. Poliphilo has intrigued scholars and delighted book collectors since its publication. Ruskin called it the most beautiful book of the Renaissance, and it is still today more enthusiastically described than read. Having begun as a collector's item, a diversion
for the elite, and been prized and protected by owners down the centuries, it is not, as rare books go, a very rare book. Condition may vary, but the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili exists in many copies, in collections all over the world. More than 60 copies of the first edition are catalogued in the United States alone, a considerable representation from a time when 500 copies would have been a large edition.

The Scheide Library boasts three other illustrated Aldines of much greater rarity, considerable interest, and in one case at least, great charm. These are the poem Hero and Leander, by Musaeus, of about 1495; the Greek language Book of Hours, according to Roman usage, and titled Horae beatae Beatrix Virginis, of about 1497; and the Epistole devotissime of St. Catherine of Siena, of 1500. Aldus was not interested in illustration, and these three volumes are much more appropriate choices for him to have published than was the extravagant Poliphili. They are didactic and represent an interest in language: two straightforwardly aimed at teaching Greek, and St. Catherine's letters written in her graceful Sienese Italian, a first complete and popularly accessible edition of these writings. The Poliphili, after all, was printed on commission, and probably regretted later because it did not at first sell very briskly. Considered solely on aesthetic grounds, the importance of the illustrations in the two Greek volumes would be minimal.

Hero and Leander is a small, quick, very early production. We know from its preface that the Greek section is earlier, but not much earlier, than the first volume of the Opera of Aristotle (Nov. 1, 1495, m.V.). The six sheets of Latin text are printed in two different types, neither pre-dating 1495. Aldus was doubtless trying out his Greek font, preliminary to printing the Aristotle. The book has only 22 leaves, usually interleaved so that the Greek and Latin texts face each other, though sometimes the Greek text is found alone. It was meant for a public who knew Latin and wanted to learn Greek, and by whom the book could be used as a sort of primer. The former classics tutor was evangelizing on behalf of Greek literacy, and chose for his purpose a work of secular poetry, popular both in style and in diffusion. The text would have been familiar from manuscript sources, this being its first printed edition, and also readable, thus calculated to appeal to a fairly large buying public of ambitious scholars.

It was an inexpensive product, included in Aldus's price list of 1498 at one marzelli, half the cost of the Greek Hours, and its flimsiness contributed to its rarity now. Fewer than ten copies exist in America of either the Musaeus or the Greek Hours. Two dozen copies of St. Catherine's Letters are recorded here, but they often lack the important woodcut icon of the saint. The physical product—collation, page design, imposition, and decoration—attests to haste. The woodcuts are two separate blocks, set adjacent in the form to print side by side at the center of the gathering. Each page of text is of course grammatically complete. The artistic quality of the cuts is low, basic in both style and explicit impact. A comparison of the two views of Sestos and Abydos becomes a child's game of picking out discrepancies: to wit, the shape of the Abydos basilica and the cross on its roof, the shadow on the dome in Sestos, the tower window in Abydos, rocks on the Sestos shore, Hero's expendable headband (a fastidious touch for plunging out of a window), and much inconsistency in anatomy and in shading and hatching patterns. Despite all of this, the blocks were, as one would expect, cut by the same hand.

The reader easily gleans the gist of the tragedy, even without recourse to the printed words. In the second cut Leander is shown on shore and again in the water, to avoid any possible ambiguity, though topographic consistency thus makes the simultaneous narration (unlike the Hellespont) flow from right to left.

2 The printing has been thought to have been funded by Leonardo Grassi, as is suggested by his preface to the book. A document of 1501, from the monastery of SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice, suggests that part, at least, of the cost may have been borne by the author, the reprobate monk Francesco Colonna. For this see M. T. Casella and G. Pozzi, Francesco Colonna (Padua, 1959), I. 44-5 and document 59.
3 Hence Grassi's well-known petition of 1508-09 to the Venetian Senate requesting an extension of his copyright on the grounds of slow sales due to conditions of war.
5 For complete collation information see British Museum Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVIth Century (London, 1924), V. p. 552.
Simultaneous narration suggests popular printing of the time, and this is in fact what the *Hero and Leander* cuts seem to relate to. This book was not for the sophisticated audience. It was for a public learned enough to know Latin and coveted Greek, but whose taste in literature surpassed its taste in illustration, which must have been conditioned by printed *fogli volanti*, *libretti*, and playing cards sold by street vendors, and prayer sheets and saints’ icons sold or given to pilgrims in churches.6

The *Hours* is a small fat volume. Its essentially didactic intent is revealed by the fact that it is in Greek but is Roman in ecclesiastical usage, and it is sometimes found with an extra gathering bound in, this also printed by Aldus and containing a short introduction to Greek grammar.7 For this product, Aldus’s minimal illustration is one woodcut of the Annunciation. He bought or borrowed the block from the Austrian printer Johannes Hamman, who had been printing in Venice from at least 1482. Hamman had included this cut first in his *Officium B. V. Mariae* of 1495,8 and again in his *Hora ad usum Sarum* of 1494.9 When the grammar introduction is bound in, the woodcut appears twice, on the verso of the first leaf of the introduction, and again on the verso of the first leaf of the *Hours*. It is a small cut, even for a very small 16mo page, with Italianate architecture and classically proportioned, but overall a conspicuous inattention to perspective. It is difficult to say where the Virgin is kneeling, or to determine the spatial relationships of the buildings to each other. The Hamman *Officium* has a series of cuts, of which this is the only one used by Aldus. There is some stylistic variation within the series, but most of the cuts are by this same classifying hand.

Most copies of such a book would of course have been read to pieces. The Annunciation image is neatly positioned with a blank recto, suggesting if not a positive intention of making the image detachable to be posted in the home for private devotion, at least a realization that this might occur. In fact, no copy with the woodcut is recorded in any public library in Italy. The same excision


befell the image of St. Catherine at the head of her letters, printed on the tenth unnumbered leaf of the volume. This is a clear, appealing icon, and the figure of the Saint has some of the authority and elegance of some Poliphilo figures, though the layout of the whole page does not. The epistles are printed, as they were written, in the vernacular, and must have reached a wide audience. This seems to be, in fact, the one of the early Aldines that would have enjoyed the widest sale.

The woodcut has its own importance. It is the first printed icon of the Saint, seminal for a whole branch of her iconography. Although in later versions her face loses the alert, inquisitive look it has in the Aldine woodcut, the Saint is often shown as a frontal, standing figure holding the heart of Christ. All the elements in the Aldine woodcut relate directly to Catherinian hagiography: to her visions, the wording of her letters (“Jesu dolce, Jesu amore” closes many of the letters) or to her own life. Both its complete symmetry and use of short “catch phrases” to remind an observer of familiar quotations related to the Saint bring this woodcut into the realm of popular fogli volanti, the “Bible cards” of their day. It may parenthetically be mentioned that inscriptions on this woodcut show the first use of Aldus’s famous italic type, designed by Francesco Griffo and used for a full text in the Virgil of 1502.

There are two other illustrated Aldines. The Scriptores astronomici veteres of Firmicus Maternus (October 1499) includes other astronomical writings as well, and the commentaries of Aratus are accompanied by woodcut illustrations of zodiac signs and constellations. The cuts derive from earlier publications and are of widely differing quality. One, that of the Pleiades, is of tantalizing stylistic closeness to certain cuts in Poliphilo, issued just two months later.

The last book is the De bello gallico of Julius Caesar, containing other texts as well, edited by Fra Giovanni Jocundus, a friend of Aldus, who referred to Jocundus in a letter of 1508 as “tam amabile quam nomine.” For the edition of Caesar, Jocundus provided some woodcuts diagramming battle tactics, illustration

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11 Hain-Copinger no. 14599: copies in the Pierpont Morgan Library and New York Public Library, among others.
which was conventional for editions of Caesar. Publication of this book was not achieved until 1513, two years before Aldus's death. The book was printed in aedibus Aldi et Andreae soceri, after Aldus's obliging father-in-law Andrea Torresanus had become an official partner in his press.

An Early Coptic Manuscript of the Gospel According to Matthew

BY BRUCE M. METZGER

The Scheide Library has recently acquired an early Coptic manuscript containing the complete text of the Gospel according to Matthew in the Middle Egyptian dialect. Dated by palaeographers to the fourth or fifth century (see below for details), it is one of the four oldest copies of the entire text of Matthew. Of the other three, codex Vaticanus and codex Sinaiticus belong to the fourth century, and codex Washingtonianus is dated to the fourth or fifth century (codices Alexandrinus and Ephraemi of the fifth century are incomplete in Matthew, and the several Greek and Coptic papyri that antedate the sixth century preserve only scraps of the text of Matthew). The Scheide manuscript likewise contains the text, in Greek and in Coptic, of the Greater Doxology or Gloria in excelsis Deo (“Angelic Hymn”). The oldest manuscript evidence hitherto known of the Greek text of the Gloria is found in the Old Testament volume of codex Alexandrinus (fol. 560). The oldest evidence hitherto known of the Gloria in Coptic is the Sahidic text in a tenth-century parchment leaf in Berlin. Furthermore, the Scheide Matthew is one of the oldest manuscripts which preserve their original binding. It can be appreciated, therefore, that in several respects the Scheide manuscript is of more than ordinary importance.

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The Scheide Matthew contains 238 leaves of good (but not first quality) parchment, each measuring about 12.5 by 10.5 cm. (about 5 by 4 1/8 in.). There are 30 quires; 1-29 have each eight leaves, while quire 30 has 6 leaves. The first two leaves at the beginning of the codex are blank, as are the last three at the end. Here and there the edges of the leaves have been eaten by insects, but none of the text has been damaged. The manuscript is written in a single column throughout, with 14 lines per page for the Gospel (pages 1-455) and 13 lines per page for the Greater Doxology in Greek and Coptic (pages 1-11, according to another series of pagination at the end of the manuscript).
The original binding of the manuscript, as was mentioned above, has been preserved (see Plate 1). This is made of wooden boards, bevelled at the edges, with four holes along the binding edge of each board, two holes at the top edge of each board, and three holes along the front edge of the top board. Portions of leather thongs remain in most of the holes, but the back strip, presumably made also of leather, is gone. Small portions of the leather strips to which the signatures were sewn are still present.

Among other specimens of ancient bindings, besides the Scheide Matthew, mention may be made of two Coptic manuscripts in the Chester Beatty collection. These codices, which date from the late sixth century and were preserved in an earthenware jar found at a site near Sakkarra, Egypt, have wooden boards and stamped leather backs. Codex A contains the text of the Pauline Epistles and the Gospel of John, and codex B contains the Acts of the Apostles and the Gospel of John. Another Coptic codex, the Glazier manuscript of Acts of about the same age as the Scheide Gospel of Matthew, is bound in leather and boards that remain in a good state of preservation. Still other Coptic manuscripts with leather bindings include the fourth century copy of Deuteronomy, Jonah, and Acts, now in the British Museum (Or. 7594), the fourth century copy of I Clement (Berlin Or. fol. 9065), and the fourth or fifth century Martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul, now in the Moscow Museum of Fine Arts.

The presence of an occasional hole in the parchment (which the scribe avoided as he wrote) and the small size of the page suggest that the Scheide Matthew was not written for liturgical purposes, but for private use. At the same time, the general appearance of the codex gives the impression that it was produced by a professional scribe trained in making fine copies of literary works for the book trade.


The handwriting of the codex is decidedly a “book hand,” the letters being square capitals with relatively heavy vertical lines and much thinner horizontal and transverse lines. The style reminds one of the uncial script of the great vellum biblical codices of the fourth and fifth centuries (codex Vaticanus, codex Sinaiticus, codex Alexandrinus). The characters are written with some degree of regularity and even a touch of ornamentation. The latter appears in the delta, epsilon, and particularly the tau, in which the decorative stroke at the left end of the crossbar is markedly longer and more emphatic than that on the right. The scribe has often compressed the script at the end of a line in order to avoid breaking a word.

Beginnings of paragraphs are indicated in the manuscript by a slight projection of the first letter into the left margin, but without any enlargement of the letter into an “initial.” In this respect it resembles codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus of the fourth century, whereas codex Alexandrinus of the fifth century has enlarged initials.

Page and quire numerals follow the regular Greek system, namely letters of the Greek alphabet identified as numerals by a superlinear stroke.

Photographs of the script of the codex have been examined by several palaeographers. In the opinion of T. G. Skeat the codex belongs to the fifth century, “since the script in general looks rather noticeably later than that of the codex Sinaiticus, which itself must have been written circ. 340” (letter, dated 21 July 1961, to Hans P. Kraus, the well known rare book dealer of New York City, who was the owner of the manuscript at that time).

According to C. H. Roberts, while “a date in the late fourth century could not be excluded,” one slightly later is probably to be preferred, for “in some respects the hand is like that of the Freer Joshua in Washington (e.g. theta, omikron, and tau), but the latter has the short upsilon not found in this codex, the hand of which in general is less heavy, and certainly earlier. The Joshua is generally assigned to the sixth century” (letter, dated 10 August 1961, to H. P. Kraus).

Among Coptic scholars who have examined photographs of the manuscript, Theodore C. Petersen and Elinor E. Husselman date it to the fourth century, while Julius Assaf, though not eliminating the possibility of the end of the fourth century, prefers as more probable the beginning of the fifth century.
The problem of dating Coptic manuscripts arises from the paucity of dated (or indisputably datable) specimens surviving from the earlier centuries. There is also the methodological question of how far it is legitimate to judge Coptic hands in terms of the development of Greek uncial script. According to the opinion of the late Walter Till, there has been a tendency among Greek paleographers to judge Coptic manuscripts to be somewhat earlier than they really are. In Till’s experience, however, Coptic manuscripts that exhibit the same palaeographic characteristics as Greek manuscripts appear to be of a slightly later date than the Greek ones. Especially is this true in the case of “sacred books,” for which the Coptic scribe often had a tendency to imitate an earlier form of script.¹

On the basis of these considerations, therefore, it appears that the Scheide codex should be assigned to about the fifth century.

The text of the Gospel is divided into 170 sections; these remind one of the 170 sections in codex Vaticanus, without however corresponding to those divisions. The beginning of the several sections is designated by a paragraph mark (coronis), drawn in different forms with red ink. Most are quite simple pen flourishes; others are more elaborate. There are nine instances of the Christus-monogram, and six instances of the Egyptian crux ansata (“cross with handle”), an adaptation of the ancient Egyptian ankh hieroglyph. The artistic motif of the crux ansata came into Christian use late in the fourth century and is seen frequently thereafter in Coptic textiles and stone sculpture.²

At the close of the text of the Gospel (p. 455) stands a colophon, with rows of leaf-ornament in red and black running across the page. Between the rows is the title of the work, “The Gospel According to Matthew. In Peace,” followed by the numeral 1518.³ In this connection, C. H. Roberts remarks:

> “This numeral certainly gives the total of ‘standard lines’ for the whole Gospel. A standard line was commonly estimated at 16 (occasionally at 15 or 18) syllables, and represented the basis on which the scribe was paid for his work. The Chester Beatty codex of the four Gospels and Acts consists of approximately 850 lines, so that a standard length of this figure for one Gospel is not surprising” (letter, dated 10 August 1961, to H. P. Krauss).

> The handwriting of the Greek and Coptic Gloria at the end of the codex differs from that of the principal text, though both are of about the same date. Differences between the two hands are most noticeable in the formation of the alpha, delta, epsilon, rho, and tau.

Part or all of the Gospel of Matthew has been known to be preserved in four Coptic dialects, namely Sahidic, Fayyumic, Achmimic, and Bohairic. Now, for the first time, it is possible to read that Gospel also in the Middle Egyptian dialect.⁴

When one compares the text of the Scheide codex with the Sahidic and the Bohairic versions of Matthew (these are the only Coptic versions in which the text of the entire Gospel is extant), it is clear that the Middle Egyptian version was translated directly from the Greek. It stands between the Sahidic and the Bohairic version, in many respects closer to the former than to the latter. At the same time the Middle Egyptian version frequently differs from the other two in ways that sometimes suggest its greater antiquity. For example, a comparison of such inner-Coptic deviations with the Greek text discloses that the Middle Egyptian version frequently adopts the co-ordinate rather than hypotactic ordering of clauses, as well as introduces a variety of larger and smaller additions into the text. Examples of the latter include “Sodom + Gomorrah” (11:24); “the villages + that are near” (14:15); “Jonah + the prophet” (16:4); “Judas + Iscariot” (26:47); “the elders + of the people” (26:57). Inasmuch as other Coptic

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¹ Walter C. Till in W. G. van Unnik, Evangelien aus dem Nilsland (Frankfurt am Main, 1960), pp. 156 f.
⁴ It is perhaps significant that the scribe represents one thousand by using a small cedrum above and to the left of the letter alpha. According to information collected by H.J.M. Milne and T. C. Skeat (Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus

[London, 1938], pp. 82 f.), during the fourth century the use of surmounting curl or crest over the numeral gradually went out of fashion, being replaced by a simple slanting stroke to the left of the numeral. The latest example cited for the curl (BGU 940) is dated A.D. 398 (see T. C. Skeat, Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, XXVI [1939], 86, and G. H. Roberts, Greek Literary Hands, 350 B.C.-A.D. 400 [Oxford, 1955], p. 24).

⁵ For a technical description of the Middle Egyptian dialect, see the present writer’s contribution to the forthcoming festschrift in honor of Professor G. D. Kilpatrick, ed. by J. K. Elliott (Leiden, 1956).
versions, as well as the Syriac versions, show that the more precise rendering of the Greek text comes at the end of a more or less lengthy development, after considerable effort had gone into reworking the version, the Scheide codex gives the impression of representing a rather early stage in the transmission of the Gospel text in Middle Egyptian.

The Middle Egyptian version utilizes not a few Greek loanwords, which usually agree with the Greek original, but which are found to be in neither the Sahidic nor the Bohairic version. The translator, consequently, could not have adopted them from these versions. The circumstance that in some cases the Greek loan-word differs from the Greek text of Matthew current today shows either that the translator made use of a slightly different Greek Vorlage from that current today, or that he had a certain stock of Greek words at his disposal which he used freely, rather than following slavishly the Vorlage.

* * *

In many respects the Greek text of Matthew from which the Middle Egyptian version was translated stood close to the type of text represented in the oldest parchment manuscripts of the Greek Bible, codex Vaticanus and codex Sinaiticus. Such agreement is especially clear in passages where the Scheide codex joins these two witnesses in supporting the short reading, sometimes in agreement with other Coptic versions, sometimes not. Examples include the following:

It omits the doxology at the close of the Lord’s Prayer (6:13), while the Sahidic, Fayyumic, and Bohairic add either a twofold or a threefold doxology.

It omits the words “saying ‘Peace be to this house’” (10:12), with the Sahidic and Bohairic.

It omits the Signs of Weather (16:2-9), with the Sahidic and certain manuscripts of the Bohairic.

It omits “For the Son of man is come to save that which was lost” (18:11), with the Sahidic and Bohairic.

It omits one of the Woes to the Pharisees (23:14), with the Sahidic and certain manuscripts of the Bohairic.

It omits “new” in “my blood of the new covenant” (26:28), with certain manuscripts of the Bohairic.

On the other hand, however, the Scheide codex not infrequently agrees with one or another group of witnesses in support of the longer reading.  

* * *

At the conclusion of the Gospel of Matthew the Scheide codex contains, as was mentioned above, the Greek text of the Greater Doxology (Gloria in excelsis Deo), followed by a Coptic translation into the Middle Egyptian dialect. This early Christian hymn, of unknown authorship and age, begins with the words of the Lucan report of the song of the angelic host announcing the birth of the Messiah (Luke 2:14). In the fourth century it formed part of morning prayers, and is still recited in the Byzantine Orthros.

A translation of the Greek text of the hymn in the Scheide codex is as follows.

Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men. We praise thee, we sing hymns to thee, we bless thee, we worship thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee for thy great glory, O Lord, heavenly King, O God, Father almighty. Jesus Christ and Holy Spirit. Lord God, Lamb of God. Son of the Father, who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou who takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer. Thou who sittest at the right hand of the Father, have mercy upon us.

Thou who alone hast immortality, dwelling in unapproachable light, whom no one has seen nor can any man see, have mercy upon us. Thou before whom the All trembles and whom it praises, to whom it sings hymns and whom it glorifies, whom every power in heaven blesses, whom every ruler and all creation has feared, be thou pleased to receive our supplication, and turn not thy face from us because of our sins.

* For examples of such readings, with a critical apparatus, reference may be made to the article mentioned in the preceding footnote.

For thou alone art holy; thou alone art the highest; thou alone art the Lord, Jesus Christ, with the Holy Spirit in the glory of God the Father, Amen. To the glory of God the Father, Amen. To the glory of God the Father, Amen.

It is interesting to compare the text of the Gloria in the Scheide codex with forms of the text known from other sources: namely (a) Greek, in codex Alexandrinus (the Gloria is the 14th of the Odes, which stand after the Psalms) and at the close of book vii of the Apostolic Constitutions; (b) Syriac, in the Nestorian Liturgy; and (c) Coptic, both Sahidic and Bohairic.

Near the beginning of the Gloria, after "We praise thee," the Scheide codex adds "we sing hymns to thee," a clause that occurs also in the text of the Gloria preserved in the Apostolic Constitutions.

The section beginning "Thou who alone hast immortality" and ending "because of our sins" is present neither in codex Alexandrinus nor in any other known Greek source. Similar phrases, however, occur here and there in a Nestorian Syriac version of the Gloria.

Toward the close of the Gloria, after the clause "For thou alone art holy," the Scheide codex adds "thou alone art the highest," a clause that occurs in the traditional Byzantine form of the

Gloria but is absent from codex Alexandrinus. The latter also lacks the words "with the Holy Spirit."

At the conclusion of the Gloria the words "in [or, to] the glory of God the Father, Amen" are given three times, whereas the textus receptus of the Gloria agrees with codex Alexandrinus in presenting these words but once.

On the other hand, at several places the form of the Gloria in codex Alexandrinus is more detailed than that in the Scheide codex. Thus, after the words "O God, the Father almighty," codex Alexandrinus continues with the words, "O Lord, only begotten Son."

The Middle Egyptian version of the Greater Doxology, with which the Scheide codex concludes, is a more or less straightforward translation of the Greek text that precedes it in the manuscript. It is not, however, a slavish rendering, as can be seen in the opening sentence: "... his peace upon the earth, his good will among the men." The long addition beginning, "Thou who alone hast immortality ..." is present also in the Coptic version, but with several small differences, namely "whom all rulers [plural instead of singular] fear," and "receive our prayer from us and our petition." The omission in the Coptic of the words, "Thou who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us," is probably the result of a transcriptional oversight on the part of the scribe.

In view of the information presented by the Scheide codex, it is clear that during the fourth and fifth centuries a somewhat different form of the Greater Doxology was used in Egypt from that which we had known hitherto from codex Alexandrinus. Students of the liturgy, therefore, have the opportunity to reassess the development of the text of the Gloria in the context of the theological debates in the Egyptian churches. Particularly interesting is the addition of clauses extolling God's immortality and his dwelling in inaccessible light, as well as the somewhat Gnostic-sounding words, "Thou before whom the All trembles and whom it praises, to whom it sings and whom it glorifies."

11 For a detailed analysis of the form and sequence of the clauses in the traditional form of the Gloria in excelsis, see particularly J. A. Jungmann's The Mass of the Roman Rite: its Origins and Development, 1 (New York, 1956), 546-59.
12 For a convenient listing of references to the All in a score of Gnostic texts, see the index to Werner Foerster's Gnostik, II (Zurich, 1971; Engl. trans., Oxford, 1974).
The Old English Manuscripts in The Scheide Library

By John V. Fleming.

The terms "Old English" and "Anglo-Saxon" as applied to our early vernacular literature have a specialized meaning for medievalists which is not always appreciated by general readers; and anyone who has ever taught Chaucer or Shakespeare to undergraduates will have encountered students whose sense of delight in the discovery of the "Miller's Tale" or Macbeth is only temporarily qualified by an initial difficulty with "the Old English." The cold comfort of philology is that their difficulty is not with "Old English" at all, but with "Middle English" in the case of Chaucer and "early modern English" in the case of Shakespeare. Old English, or Anglo-Saxon, was the language of the Germanic invaders of England as it developed in its insular dialects in the period roughly between the fifth and eleventh centuries. Though it hardly ceased to be spoken on the morning after the Battle of Hastings in 1066, it would never again be widely used as a literary language, the mother tongue of bishops and barons no less than of plowboys and pig farmers. For the better part of the next three centuries the "King's English" would in fact be French, and when the next English monarch did indeed speak English his language, infected to its very core with the Romance contagion of a Latin church and a Norman aristocracy, would be scarcely more intelligible to the author of Beowulf or to King Alfred than it is to the student who sits down for the first time to read the Canterbury Tales today.

It is hardly surprising under these circumstances that our knowledge of Old English literary culture is fragmentary and unsatisfactory. The Old English books which have survived have done so through a curious and at times whimsical process of attrition. We can be sure that what we have preserved represents merely the trace or shadow of what has been lost, but we have too little specific knowledge of the kinds of books sacrificed to decay, fire, King Henry's pillage of the monasteries, and the enthusiastic "recycling" of old parchment by Renaissance bookbinders. What history has left us is a corpus of Old English literature that sits comfortably on a three-foot shelf and still leaves ample room for the dictionaries needed to attack it. If we remove from consideration those works entirely contingent upon the Latin culture of the medieval church—the glossed Psalters and the translations commissioned by Alfred, for example—what we call Old English literature could be made to fit snugly between the covers of a three-decker Victorian novel, and would be positively lost among the pages of Proust. The student of Old English literature must vacillate between the marvel of the achievement of what there is, and despair at the meditation over what there is not.

Some years ago Neil Ker was able, in a single volume by no means remarkable in its size, to describe in lavish detail all known manuscripts containing so much as two or three random lines of Old English, excluding wills. There are few of them, and fewer still on this side of the Atlantic. In all of the great libraries of North America there are only thirteen documents containing the Old English language of pre-Conquest Britain, and of this poor remnant many are mere scraps of vellum, or "fragments" to use the more portentous term of the bibliographers, reclaimed almost accidentally from time's ravages and the grim surgery of the binder's knife. It is particularly remarkable that two of the most important of them, including the one book in all of America which is truly of major significance to the study of Anglo-Saxon literary culture, have found their appropriate home in the Scheide Library at Princeton. They are the imposing will of an Anglo-noblewoman named Æthelgifu, written almost a millennium past, and the so-called "Blickling Homilies," one of the most important vernacular homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church and perhaps the most important collection in any language which witnesses to what might be called the popular religion of the tenth century. Either of these documents would lend luster to a library. That they are both to be found in the same private collection is most remarkable and makes the Scheide Library, among other things, a necessary point of reference for students of Anglo-Saxon society and Old English literature. I say "point of reference" advisedly, for it is no longer always necessary for scholars interested in these manuscripts to travel to Princeton to examine them. Both have now been edited in sumptuous facsimiles, made for two distinguished scholarly enterprises: the Roxburghe Club, and the series of Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile.1 These editions

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1 The Will of Æthelgifu, ed. Dorothy Whitelock, Neil Ker, and Lord Rennell (Oxford, 1968); and The Blickling Homilies, ed. Rudolph Willard (Copenhagen,
go far beyond their remarkably clear photographic reproduction of the texts to provide a wealth of detailed technical information—about dating, paleography, provenance, and physical composition—which is in effect a full codicological analysis. It is not my intent to recapitulate or to summarize that information in this essay. I hope, instead, to suggest something of the general nature of the Scheide Old English manuscripts, and to point to some of the circumstances which make them the quite remarkable documents they are.

The contours of Carolingian literary history are in many respects those of an ancient rather than a medieval civilization, and the documents from the early Germanic Middle Ages which have been most likely to survive the gauntlet of often violent historical change are of course not works of secular letters like Beowulf but documents formally associated with the major social and ecclesiastical institutions of their age. Our earliest graphic records of any sort—some chiselled in stone, some painted on sarcophagi, some on papyrus and parchment—are legal formulaires, kings' lists, public records, testamentary dispositions, and sacral texts designed to claim or defend power and property in this world and to appease or manipulate the powers of the next. Without the surviving records of Anglo-Saxon civil and canon law, our knowledge of pre-Conquest culture would be radically diminished.

Like many Anglo-Saxons, the lady Æthelgifu had a poetic name, and in her case the name is peculiarly appropriate to the context in which history has come to know her. Æthelgifu means "Noble Gift"; and the document imperiously enjoys the generous dispensation of her largess to her principal heir, Leofsige ("Beloved Victory") and to her household familia. Drawn up in the 980s, within earshot of the expected Armageddon and the final Doom which so many Anglo-Saxons looked for in the year 1000, the will tells us something both about the material circumstances of life and popular religious attitudes in the tenth century.

There is much in Æthelgifu's will to interest philologists, geographers, students of early English law, and historians alike; but perhaps its most valuable witness is the light it sheds upon Anglo-Saxon social institutions. The early English historical tradition, from the Romano-Briton Gildas through Bede and into the Anglo-Saxon period, is markedly clerical, indeed explicitly ecclesiastical. Even the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which deals extensively but summarily with secular history, gives little specific indication of the actual conditions of early English social life. One subject about which we know all too little, and which a document like the Æthelgifu will certainly helps us to understand better, is the role of women in Anglo-Saxon society.

We do know that in the ecclesiastical sphere Anglo-Saxon women could exercise positions of considerable authority under circumstances quite unlike those which developed under the later Norman feudalism. One can point to St. Hilda, the famous abbess of the "coeducational" or double monastery at Whitby, who will be forever remembered because of her connection with Caedmon, the first English poet, and who took an active though eventually unsuccessful part in the great synod of 664. Her contemporary Æthelthryth, the daughter of a king, twice joined in royal marriages which were politically fruitful but sexually unconsummated, the founder and ruler of the double house at Ely, provides another instructive example. The evidence we have concerning secular women is scarrper, for the view, or rather the glimpse, of women provided by Anglo-Saxon literature offers little guidance. We have on the one hand the hagiographic stereotypes of a Judith or a Juliana, larger-than-life, moving in ritual step beneath the weight of a heavy literary halo. On the other, there are the iconic, lapidary women of Beowulf, rich in literary purpose but as remote from the actual social conditions of early Christian England as their hagiographic sisters: Wealtheow, for example, Hrothgar's queen, or the anonymous Cassandra who at the end of the poem looks gloomily into the inexorably violent future of the Geats.

Under these circumstances the real story of a real woman, as fragmentary as a legal testament inevitably must make it, is particularly welcome. Æthelgifu was of course not a "typical" Anglo-Saxon woman even insofar as such a phrase might have a real meaning. She was a noble. The fact that we know virtually nothing more about her than is revealed in the will itself is not without significance, for it suggests that her position of considerable wealth and power was by no means particularly unique—a suggestion consistent with the evidence of other wills and muniments. Æthelgifu was a woman of considerable power, both in terms of the extent of her real property, her "hides" of land, and in terms of the number of people in her bounden service. Nor was her estate

merely a titular inheritance in which she took little active interest. On the contrary, the clarity and specificity of her will's provisions show that she was intimately familiar both with her lands and with the slaves within her domain. Though the will names a single principal heir, Leofsiige, Æthelgifu makes a number of subtle distinctions of phrase and intent which show how closely involved she must have been in the detailed governance of her affairs. Her land holdings, which were quite substantial, were divided among three major parcels spread over what is relatively a large geographical area. Two of them were on the borders of the modern counties of Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire, not far from the ancient ecclesiastical centers of St. Albans and Ely, or from the wild fen country of Gethlac. The other was in what is now Northamptonshire in the Midlands, near Watling Street, the ancient Roman road which ran from London to the Mercian kingdom of the northwest and the very borders of mysterious Wales. The efficient oversight of these holdings would have required attention to detail, administrative skill, and decisiveness—qualities which are strongly hinted at in the form and tone of the will.

Like many Anglo-Saxon wills, Æthelgifu's is notable for its munificence, or chartered freeing of slaves, who formed an important part of the population in the culture from which our "Anglo-Saxon liberties" derive. Many of the specific provisions of emancipation in the will are of unusual interest, and one of them, the freeing of a slave-priest, is unique in the corpus of surviving Old English munificences. Æthelgifu prescribes the liberation of Edwin preest, "the priest Edwin." Since the ordination of slaves would seem to have been uncanonical according to the witness of contemporary church law, Edwin's situation reflects either an episcopal irregularity or previously unwitnessed local custom.

Æthelgifu's will is of course a legal document, and one should not expect of it literary qualities more remarkable than those of the chancellor or the courthouse. Nonetheless it does reveal a strength and dignity of style in certain passages which unmistakably link it with the high rhetorical prose styles of Anglo-Saxon pulpit oratory. One example of this will be found in the formal anathema or curse with which the will concludes. Æthelgifu wishes to curse from her grave anyone who would defeat the purposes and intentions of her last will and testament. Of anyone who would do so she says, wurthe he aworpen on tha wynstra hand thonne se Haelend his dome deme and he wurthe Gode swa lath swa Judas was thy hung selfne aheng... ("let him be thrown on the left-hand side when the Savior shall make His Judgment, and let him be as loathsome to God as Judas was, who hung himself... ").

Æthelgifu's will is a magnificent charta of imposing size (roughly 22 by 14 inches), as impressive in its calligraphy as in its solemn prelatical attestations. It is the sort of document with which one imagines Chaucer's Pardoner dazzling his gulls, or dreams of finding behind the false bottom of the old chest in the attic. But even this magnificent relic is but the second most important Anglo-Saxon manuscript in the Scheide Library; and it yields pride of place to one of the signal manuscript treasures of all America, the fat sermon book of some 140 folios or, as we are used to measure books, nearly three hundred pages, known as the "Blickling Homilies."

If there were much logic about these things, this manuscript would by now be called the "Scheide Homilies" or the "Princeton Homilies," by way of indicating their present ownership or geographical location; but the manuscript has maintained a poetic connection with Blickling Hall, the stately home in Norfolk where it found a temporary resting place for nearly two centuries, and whence it was borrowed by Richard Morris when he prepared his edition entitled The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century for the Early English Text Society in 1879. Most old books have at least two histories to share with their modern readers, the one internal, involved with the texts which they transmit and the circumstances of their composition, the other external, having to do with what might be called their archaeological careers. In the case of the Blickling Homilies, these two histories complement each other in a richly satisfying way.

The first independent witness to the external history of the Blickling Homilies is clear if somewhat oblique. In the minutes of the Lincoln Corporation—the civic government, that is, of the important ecclesiastical and commercial center of Lincoln—there is a somewhat curious memorandum under the year 1724. The clerk records an order "to allow Mr Pownall at his own request to have for his own two books writ in ancient character and of no further use to the city."

One of these books in "ancient character" was the Scheide manuscript; the other the Latin office book abundantly glossed in Old English and now known as the Blickling Homilies. The Blickling Homilies, ed. Rudolph Willard, p. 15.
ling Psalter, one of the treasures of the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. This "Mr. Pownall," who thus gained with such unseemly ease at a single coup two fabulous trophies of Saxon antiquity, was William Pownall, a man of leisure and a social climber of solid but provincial background. A bit player in the unfolding drama of English literary history, like the "gentleman on business from Porlock," Pownall was clearly something of an operator, who did however perform two inadvertent services to the United States of America. The first, which deserves to be mentioned in this Bicentennial year, is that he fathered Thomas Pownall, governor of the Massachusetts Bay and possible author of the Junius letters, whose one-eyed foresight made him the king of eighteenth-century colonial administrators. His other great service, perhaps no more intentional than the first, was that he sold his two old books to Sir Richard Ellys rather than to Lord Harvey.

William Pownall had known exactly what to do with ancient manuscripts written in "semi-Saxon," and he took them to one of the few men in England who was at that time competent in Old English: Humfrey Wanley, scholar, bibliographer, librarian, and something of a book-buying undercover agent for Lord Harvey, one of the most dedicated of eighteenth-century bibliophiles. Wanley's diary has the following entry for April 14, 1725: "Mr. Pownall of Lincoln (with one Mr. Fowkes) brought a Letter from Dr. Stukeley certifying that he had some curious MSS. to shew me, & desired to see this Library. I shewed them divers MSS. both antient & curious. His MSS. are two: first an imperfect Psalterium Romanum of St. Hieron, wherein many words are Glossed in Anglo-Saxon: and a book of Saxon Homilies in 4to. containing many that are perfect, as well as others which are imperfect. These he offering to sale to my Lord (although he be a man of Estate;) I promised to write to my Lord by to morrows Post: and he will call here the next Tuesday to know his Lordships Answer."3

It is inconceivable that Lord Harvey and Wanley would have let these treasures go by; and if the books had become a part of that great library they would certainly be in Great Britain still, inconspicuous among the array of manuscripts in the Harley series in the British Library. But for want of a nail, or in this case a key, history went otherwise. Only two days later, five days before his scheduled appointment, Pownall reappeared with another prospective buyer in tow, "Mr. Ellis of Lincolnshire." One can hardly doubt in this tactic the ploy of a high-pressure salesman. "Mr. Pownall brought Mr. Ellis of Lincolnshire to see the MSS, he left with me . . . but my Key to the Receivers in the Closet being sent to Mr. Hasert, I could not presently come at them: whereupon Mr. Ellis departed; & when the Key was brought, Mr. Pownall took away his books, & promised to bring them again on Tuesday next."4 He never came back, leaving poor Wanley to record, a few days later that "Mr Ellis's Servant came for the MSS. which I had not for him, Mr Pownall not coming hitherto according to his Promise & Appointment." Thus did the Blickling Homilies begin their unlikely pilgrimage to Princeton, New Jersey. It remains to be seen where they were before they became the objects of Mr. Pownall's mercantile speculations.

The purposes to which the Lincoln corporation had put the Blickling Homilies—purposes no longer relevant by the first quarter of the eighteenth century—were of course far removed from those of the Old English scribes who had so carefully written them out. It is probably the case that the manuscript owes its survival, as does Æthelgifu's will, to its status as a legal as opposed to a religious document. We do not know when the book left clerical hands to become a part of the civic inventory of the bustling city of Lincoln, but it may well have been about the beginning of the fourteenth century. Certainly it would seem to be about this time that the manuscript began to be used as an "oath book." We still today use the phrase "the gospel truth," ossified in our language as a more or less general protestation of veracity. The historical meaning of the phrase is not "something as true as what is in the Bible," however, but "the truth sworn to on the Bible." In modern Anglo-American legal practice when a witness "swears on the Bible" what is produced in court is the familiar black book. In medieval times, when there were fewer coffee-table volumes intended to dazzle rather than to be read than there are today, the use of an entire Bible for purely formal purposes would have seemed inefficient. Attached to the vellum leaves of Old English prose are the Latin Vulgate texts of the "oath gospels," that is, the gospel proper for the festival masses of the Ascension, the Epiphany, the Annunciation, and Christmas, happily distributed among all four of the evangelists. A further addi-

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4 Diary of Humfrey Wanley, II, 352-53.
tion to the Old English manuscript was made at that time—a Church calendar which recorded the usage of the English Sarum rite with special reference to local customs.

For some three centuries—specifically, from 1304 to 1608—the parchment margins of the Blickling Homilies, once much wider than they are today, were used to record miscellaneous notes and doodlings. Some of these additions are not without significance—particularly the various listings of the "Twenty-Four," the civil government. Others are more or less mindless graffiti of the sort which one continues to find on public antiques today, the sad homage which ignorance pays to the past it cannot understand. Since this vandalism of the homily may well have been a good part of the price of its survival, we should perhaps not complain about it too much.

In fact, the manuscript has suffered only minor damage, some damp stains, a few lost leaves, a binder's inattention, in all the centuries since an unknown English scribe wrote in the Ascension sermon that nigon hund wintra & lxxi—471 years—of the Christian era had passed. We must wonder whether a younger Æthelgifu might not have heard that sermon preached. It seems doubtful that the manuscript's peregrinations to the municipal offices in Lincoln and to Blickling Hall took it very far afield from the monastic scriptorium in which it had been composed.

There are eighteen sermons altogether in the Blickling homily, most of them, as Wanley acutely noted at a glance, complete. The collection thus ranks with Ælfric's so-called Catholic Homilies and the sermons of the Vercelli book, a fascinating manuscript which somehow made its way from England to the north of Italy in the medieval period, as a major repository of early English pulpit prose. When one compares this collection with the earliest known continental vernacular homilies such as the Romance Sermoni subalpini, one is immediately struck both by their antiquity and by the confidence of their literary style. In fact, the Blickling Homilies are remarkable among the whole range of medieval vernacular sermons, which are relatively speaking few in number, especially for the centuries before the Franciscan missions of the 1230s and 1240s. The common practice, attested by abundant evidence, was to record vernacular sermons in Latin, and often only in outline form. We shall never know the actual words used by the Anglo-Saxon spellbinders who could convert thousands of pagans in the Rhineland in the course of an afternoon's preaching.

But the Blickling Homilies are not vernacular in their language alone; they are in a real sense English to the core, reflecting not merely the specific spiritual agenda of the insular church but also some of its institutional peculiarities. Chief among the latter was the important pastoral role of early English monasticism, where the religious houses which had served as the seminaries and training schools for the German missions continued, even after the age of Bede, to exercise an active role in the world from which they had been set apart. Some of the "social" functions of this insular Benedictinism alloyed with primitive Celtic custom are evident in the Regularis concordia. It is clear that the Blickling Homilies, though they reflect a specifically "monastic" tradition, are addressed to a wide pastoral audience which included laypeople as well as clergy and religious. This is particularly obvious in the sermon for Rogation Wednesday, a Doomsday essay which would have left Jonathan Edwards quaking, which is addressed to "every person, both men and women, both young and old, the wise and the foolish, the fortunate and the needy" (ana manna gehwyline . . . ge weras ge wif, ge gonge ge ealdre, ge snottre ge unwise, ge tha welegan ge theanfar).

It is actually a disputed question whether or not some of the most famous medieval "sermons" ever were preached. The question is particularly current with regard to some of the great Cistercian homilies of the twelfth century, such as Bernard's Sermons on the Song of Songs; but with the Blickling Homilies it hardly arises. There is a clear affective and pastoral dimension to them, and they are not "closet sermons." On the other hand, they reveal at the same time certain inescapable formal literary qualities. By the eighth century, the age of Bede and therefore the golden age of Anglo-Latin literature, there was already something of a classical repertory of patristic homilies which circulated widely through the major arteries of the international monastic culture. These collections were often associated, sometimes only wishfully, with the names of three of the four great "Doctors of the Latin Church," St. Ambrose (339-97), St. Augustine (354-430), and St. Gregory (540-604). Other widely anthologized preachers included  

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9 See Johann Baptist Schneyer, Geschichte der katholischen Predigt (Freiburg, 1969), pp. 71 ff.
Peter Chrysologus (a remarkably eloquent bishop of Ravenna apparently given the sobriquet of "Golden Word" in imitation of or in competition with the Greek spellbinder John Chrysostom, "Golden Mouth"), Pope Leo the Great, and Caesarius of Arles. The establishment of a sort of informal canon of homiletic masterpieces was undoubtedly encouraged by the passage in the Benedictine Rule (chapter 9) which recommends the use of the exegetical works of "the most famous and orthodox catholic Fathers."

Medieval literature is in general a poetry of statement rather than a poetry of search, to use a happy distinction made by Dorothy Sayers. Its aims are by and large not private and unique "self-expression" but elegant and effective presentation of shared and cherished truths. Anselm, a great Anglo-Norman monk and one of the largest souls ever to sit in the cathedra at Canterbury, felt obliged to preface what surely must be one of the most original and personal of medieval masterpieces with a plea to the charitable reader to find nothing new in the work at all. In a certain sense, therefore, it would be wrong to look for "originality" in the Blickling Homilies, composed in an explicit monastic tradition already venerable in the tenth century, and organized around conventional liturgical themes and expected moral topics. It is not surprising that we can identify among the collection the echoes and reverberations of patristic authority. But that is only one kind of authority to be found there. Though the sermons are liturgical in nature, their sources of literary inspiration go far beyond the festival proper, or appointed scriptural readings for the individual feast days involved, and even beyond the exegetical materials which had already become in the Carolingian period virtually inseparable from the sacred text itself. Among the clear sources for the sermons are a variety of hagiographic and apocryphal materials which had found a place in what had already become a kind of classical repository of popular spiritual literature.

The patristic authority whose voice speaks most clearly through the Blickling sermons is Gregory the Great. His influence in this Old English book is totally appropriate. Founder of the Roman mission to Britain and therefore regarded as the father of the English Church, himself the author of influential sermons and of

one of the most extraordinary books in the rich library of medieval scriptural commentary, the *Morals in Job*, Gregory was nowhere more vividly remembered and ceremonially honored in the tenth century than in that distant island which he saw, in the touching story reported by Bede, as the home not of the Angels but of the angels. No more surprising is the reflection in the Martinian sermon of a continental hagiographic tradition which at a very early date had established itself as the most durable of Christian heroic modes. The English preacher's specific source here, the *Life of St. Martin of Tours* by Sulpicius Severus, was in the first millennium of the Christian era second only to the classic *Life of St. Anthony*, written in Greek by Athanasius and known to the west in the Latin translation of Evagrius, in the power which it exercised over the monastic literary imagination.

The elements of what might be called hagiographic epic appear widely throughout Anglo-Saxon literature: flamboyant macerations, dubious battles with demons, thumaturgical wonders, almost melodramatic acts of charity. Many of the most moving Old English poems—*Guthlac*, in particular, but also *Andreas*, *Juliana*, and many others—have clearly enough been cast in the mould fashioned by Athanasius and Sulpicius Severus, and we shall find analogous monuments among all of the other early vernacular masterpieces of Europe, in the Old French *Life of St. Alexis*, for example, and the Spanish *Life of St. Dominico of Silos*. The *Life of St. Anthony*, a book instrumental to the conversion of Augustine of Hippo in the fourth century, still haunts the tortured imagination of Hieronymus Bosch in the sixteenth—and, for that matter, is still a living document for Flaubert in the nineteenth.

Perhaps the most interesting source of literary inspiration behind the Blickling Homilies, the source of much that is most imaginative and exciting in medieval visual and dramatic art as well, is the apocryphal tradition. At least three volumes of the extensive medieval New Testament apocrypha have been ransacked by the Blickling preachers: the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, the *Vision of Paul*, and the *Passion of the Holy Apostles.* In these pious fables and others like them, never officially endorsed by the Church but often treated (especially in the British boondocks) with nearly canonical deference, the marvellous, the whimsical, and the exotic combined with the more severe lineaments of sacred
history to provide a rich anthology of legend for the poets and painters of medieval Europe.

The Blickling preachers' penchant for the apocryphal is very marked, and is evidenced by other sermons than those like the Martinmass homily, for which the feast itself encourages recourse to apocryphal or at least flamboyant hagiographic sources. The seventh sermon, for example, designed for Easter, the principal feast of the Christian year, may seem particularly strange to expectations cultivated by a reading of the Fathers or of the sermon cycles of the high Middle Ages. There is no question that it is indeed an Easter sermon. It bears the clear Latin title Dominica Pascha ("Easter Sunday") and begins with a formal statement about the meaning of the eastorice geryno ("the Easter feast"). However, its true subject is not the Resurrection of Christ as related in the Gospel proper for the day. Its actual subjects are the Harrowing of Hell and the supernatural signs of Doomsday, both of which are developed with a vivacity of language and an eye for theatricality which has allowed one recent scholar to detect in the sermon a kind of Carolingian "liturgical drama." 10

In their eclectic union of disparate strands of scriptural, hagiographic, and patristic genres, the Blickling Homilies are far more than a precious witness to early Church life in England: they are an anthology of the major narrative modes and styles of our ancient literature. It can be predicted with some certainty that as the centrality of this early Christian literary tradition emerges ever more clearly, the Old English homilies will continue to attract the admiring attentions of a scholarly generation prepared to find in them much more than the Anglo-German philologues of the nineteenth century were able to see. We are still pitifully distant from being able to make convincingly comprehensive, let alone definitive, statements about Old English literature; if we ever do gain the confidence to attempt them, it will only be when we have learned the lessons patiently waiting in a half dozen or so of these books, "writ in ancient character and of no further use to the city."


The Beethoven Sketchbook in the Scheide Library

BY LEWIN LOCKWOOD

Few manuscripts of the Scheide Library can be more exceptional among American collections than the Beethoven sketchbook to be discussed in these pages. Apart from the singular value that the manuscript possesses by virtue of its content alone, it is the only large-scale Beethoven sketchbook anywhere that is still in private hands, and it is the only Beethoven manuscript of its type held in any library in this country or in the Western Hemisphere. It is true that other American libraries possess important Beethoven manuscripts, including autograph scores of finished works and single leaves or gatherings of sketches, the latter ranging from a torn half-leaf in the Newberry Library to the two sets of sketch-leaves for the Hammerklavier Sonata that are also part of the Scheide collection. 1 But all of the other larger Beethoven sketchbooks known to exist—both those that are substantially complete, like the Scheide sketchbook and those that are partially or largely dismembered—are housed in libraries in Europe, principally in East and West Berlin, and in Bonn, Vienna, London, and Moscow. As a matter of local consequence, therefore, whatever may be discovered about the structure or the analytical significance of the sketchbook within the larger context of Beethoven scholarship, its very presence in the Scheide Library has had since 1966 a special importance for Beethoven studies at Princeton. During that time several generations of graduate students, whose knowledge of the field normally develops first through study of Beethoven sources on microfilm, have gained from it their first direct experience of the size and shape and look of a Be-
ethoven sketchbook, and thus in this field an irreplaceable first impression of the real objects that underlie the complex abstractions of scholarship.

Many laymen know that Beethoven is famous for prolonged and intensive preliminary work on his compositions, and for the quantity and variety of his preserved sketches. Yet probably very few realize the true scope of the extant material that can be approximately classed as sketches. These include all sorts of entries in larger and smaller sketchbooks that Beethoven kept for this purpose, as well as those that he entered on loose leaves or gatherings. More than a century has elapsed since the first serious studies of the known sketches were made by Gustav Nottelholth, but it was not before 1968 that there appeared the first published list of the known extant sketch manuscripts, compiled by Hans Schmidt—and even this list, though it is a great step forward, is not entirely complete. More important than lists of existing sketchbooks are publications that make available their contents. Yet although facsimile and, more often, transcription publications of certain sketchbooks have been appearing sporadically since 1913, the bulk of the Beethoven sketches still remain unpublished in any form.

With due allowance for the hazards of generalities, the position of the Scheide sketchbook among its peers can be portrayed with reasonable confidence against the following background. It seems likely, as Joseph Kerman has shown, that in his earliest years Beethoven used for his compositional work not large sketchbooks but rather single leaves, or smallish gatherings, mingling finished works with sketches, exercises, jottings, and miscellanea of all kinds, and eventually accumulating these early papers in a large portfolio. From about 1798—the period of the Opus 18 String Quartets—he turned to the use of large sketchbooks in which he could work more systematically and which he subsequently preserved through all the temporal and personal difficulties of his mature life. He evidently maintained this procedure up until about 1818, the period of work on the Hammerklavier Sonata. In still later years, he seems to have returned to the use of sketch leaves, gatherings and books of smaller format, making extensive use of score format for such works as the last quartets, in contrast to the single-line sketching that dominates much of the material of the vast middle period.

The Scheide sketchbook is the major sketchbook for the year 1815, extending in all likelihood into the early months of 1816. It contains preliminary material of various types and varied degrees of elaboration for a number of works of this time, and directly reflects this difficult period of Beethoven’s life as a phase of transition for him as composer. Principally represented in the sketchbook are these works: (1) an unfinished Piano Concerto in D Major; (2) the song cycle, An die ferne Geliebte, Opus 98; (3) the Piano Sonata in A Major, Opus 101; (4) the Sonata for Violoncello and Piano, Opus 102, No. 2; (5) an unfinished Piano Trio in F Minor. It also contains material for several shorter finished works, as well as a large number of brief entries for works that never came to fruition. The shorter finished works represented are, among others, the song Sehnsucht (WoO 134), the incidental music to the play Leonore Prohaska (WoO 96), and a Military March for band (WoO 24). The assignment of limiting dates to Beethoven’s use of this sketchbook is aided in some degree by examining the dates that he entered on the autograph manuscripts of the finished works elaborated in the sketchbook (that is, those works of which the autographs are both extant and were dated by him) and the dates of the first editions of the works that were published. On this basis, I can offer several preliminary conclusions: first the dates on the autographs and some other fixed dates relating to the sketchbook (e.g., the date of copying two
canons into a visitor's notebook) fall between August 1815, the
date of the autograph of Opus 102, No. 2 and June 9, 1816 (the
date on the autograph manuscript of the March, written for the
"burgerliche Artillerie-Corps der K. K. Haupt- und Residenzstadt
Wien," at the request of the Commandant of the Corps). Allowing
for the time needed to bring these major works to the final forms
represented by their autographs, the most likely dating for the
sketchbook extends from the early months of 1815 to about a
year later. Further, although many questions about the nature of
the work on major projects remain open, we can probably
assume that the order of the major segments of the sketchbook
is the order in which Beethoven tackled these projects.

Formerly known as the von Miller, Koch, and Flörheim sketch-
book, after its earlier owners, it was bought in 1827, at the auction
of Beethoven's possessions, by the publisher and dealer Domenico
Artaria.* Later it was acquired by the Viennese collector, Eugen
von Miller, who owned it when it was examined by Gustav Notte-
bohm in the 1860s or 1870s. From von Miller it passed to the
English collector, G. B. Davy; from him to the collection of Louis
Koch, and then to the Flörheim collection, from which William
Scheide acquired it in 1966.† Long before a brief description was
given by Georg Kinsky in his catalogue of the Koch collection,
the sketchbook was extensively described by Nottebohm, the great
19th-century pioneer of the study of the Beethoven sketches, in
an essay that first appeared in the periodical, Musikalisches
Wochenblatt, of 1876, and was then republished with minor
modifications, in Nottebohm's collection of essays entitled Zweite
Beethoveniana, issued posthumously in 1887.* Nottebohm's essay
was and is a valuable introduction to the contents and import-
ance of the sketchbook, just as his Zweite Beethoveniana altogether is
still the basic account of many of the sketchbooks that he de-
scribed. Yet current developments in the study of the sketchbooks,
most of all those focused on the reconstruction of the books in the
original forms in which Beethoven used them (before their dis-
memberment, dispersion, and loss of leaves in later times) are
adding dimensions to the subject that Nottebohm did not and
could not perceive. It is, in fact, not too much to say that the
study of the sketchbooks as manuscripts has begun to be put on a
new footing by means of an approach to their structure through
the analysis of their paper-types, watermarks, and other physical
characteristics. At the same time, further study since Nottebohm
has also taken place in the domain of analytic interpretation, and
sketches have been used as analytic material by many scholars,
including Heinrich Schenker and also August Halm, Walter
Riezler, Paul Mies, Oswald Jonas, Allen Forte, and many others.
Most recently such approaches have broadened to include attempts
to make sense of some of the sketches not simply as we find them
in the sketchbooks themselves but as we find them linked to other
sketches for the same works that are found, at times, on loose
leaves and bifolia, which Beethoven may have used in conjunction
with the sketchbooks themselves. While such uses may well have
differed greatly from work to work and from period to period, it
appears that this approach is particularly relevant to the types of
compositional problems Beethoven faced at just the time at which
the Scheide sketchbook was in use.

The importance of recent research on paper-types and water-
marks should be partially apparent on even the most casual pe-
ral of the sketchbook, for one of its most striking features is the
loss of a group of seventeen consecutive leaves, which were re-
moved from the book between the folios 16 and 17 (pages 32 and
33). Only thin marginal strips of these missing leaves remain,
presumably too close to the inner binding to have contained any
writing. The first sixteen of these strips are so nearly uniform in
contour that it looks as if someone cut out all the leaves at one
stroke, perhaps with a palette knife; the 17th and last strip is a bit
wider than the others at the bottom but it too could have been
cut away in the same operation. Following this gap, the next re-
main ing leaf (folio 17) is still more conspicuously mutilated; most
of this sheet has been crudely ripped away, leaving only a hori-
izontal upper fragment on which only the first two staves remain
partially intact.

* On Artaria's acquisition of sketchbooks and other mss at the auction of
Beethoven's papers, on November 5, 1827, see Douglas Johnson, "The Artaria Collec-
174-226.
† See G. Kinsky, Manuskripte, Briefe, Dokumente von Scarlatti bis Strawinsky;
While the sketchbook was in the Flörheim collection it was examined by the late
Professor Erich Hertzmann of Columbia University. A full transcription of it was
then made by Dr. Dagmar Weise, long associated with the Beethoven-Haus.
* Musikalisches Wochenblatt, VII (1876), 609-611, 625-627, 637-639, 650-655, 669-
321-326. The version in the 1887 publication has some slight changes in the text
from that of 1876.
But these are not the only missing leaves. An examination of
the structure of the sketchbook, soon after its arrival in the
Scheide Library, showed that it is made up not of consecutive
gatherings of leaves placed adjacent to one another, but that
it consists entirely of one large gathering of bifolia, placed one
inside the other, all of uniform paper. It was also clear that folios
11, 12, and 13 of the sketchbook are not bifolia but single leaves,
one halves of bifolia. The identification of three leaves now
housed elsewhere as candidates for these missing leaves is due en-
tirely to Alan Tyson and Douglas Johnson. In a brilliant article
titled “Reconstructing Beethoven’s Sketchbooks,” Tyson and
Johnson demonstrated that through a scrupulous and wide-rang-
ing analysis of watermarks and other physical evidence, such as
inkblots, it is not only possible to provide firm evidence for
identifying now detached leaves that were once part of integral
Beethoven sketchbooks, but that it is also possible, within fairly
narrow limits, to specify the order in which such leaves should be
(hypothetically) restored to their original places.9 As candidates
for the three leaves in the Scheide sketchbook that are missing
between the present folios 46 and 47, Tyson and Johnson have
identified two leaves in the British Museum (Addition 29997,
fols. 19 and 37) and one in Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS
Grasnick 20A, folio 5.10 The basis for the identification is in the
first place their watermarks. Although the watermarks of the
British Museum leaves had earlier marked them out as possibly
belonging to this sketchbook, no one before Tyson and Johnson
had realized that watermarks can supply a procedure for deter-
mining the order of missing leaves, and no one had applied such
methods to this or other sketchbooks before they did. Their
procedure is based on the fact, long obvious to watermark experts,
that oblong bifolia of the type used in Beethoven’s sketchbooks
(and most of his other music manuscripts, as well as those by 18th-
century predecessors and by contemporaries) were originally
produced by folding large sheets horizontally in half, then folding
them vertically in half again; the folded sheet was then cut along
the horizontal folded edge to produce the joined pair of oblong
leaves called a bifolio. Since the watermark had been impressed
upon the original large sheet, its folding resulted in a four-fold
distribution of portions of the original watermark, which Tyson
and Johnson call “watermark quadrants.” If, following them, we
number the quadrants conventionally from 1 to 4, moving clock-
wise from bottom left, it is then clear, as Tyson shows, that only
four sequences of quadrants can result for any bifolio: 1, 2, 3, 4
and its reverse; or 2, 1, 4, 3 and its reverse. As he has put it,
“If . . . the same quadrant is found twice in succession, the two
leaves must be from different sheets. . . . Or if we find quadrant 1
being directly followed by quadrant 3, we are forced to conclude
either that the leaves are from different sheets, or that at least
one leaf has been lost between them (or both of these).”11 Since
at least two of these proposed sheets, from London and Berlin,
contain sketch material for the unfinished F-Minor Piano Trio
that occupies folios 43 to 54, their musical content also fits into
this portion of the sketchbook convincingly, and the evidence of
the corresponding inkblots, which seem entirely likely to have been
made by Beethoven, not a later owner, confirms the hypothesis. It
is not too much to say that this method, simple as it looks, is one
of the most impressive technical achievements ever made in
Beethoven manuscript studies; indeed, in the field of musicological
manuscript studies altogether. As for the seventeen missing leaves
of the earlier part of the sketchbook, Robert Winter has suggested
at least one in Bonn as a possible candidate, but as details and
confirmation of physical and notational evidence are as yet unpub-
lished, I shall do no more than mention his work here; Dr. Tyson
also informs me that another leaf in the same Berlin group, Gras-
nick 20A, may originally have served as an additional leaf outside
the entire sketchbook as we have it, and this too awaits further
detailed discussion by him.12 It is also to be hoped, and assumed,
that when the sketchbook is eventually made available in pub-

9 Douglas Johnson and Alan Tyson, “Reconstructing Beethoven’s Sketchbooks,”
Journal of the American Musicological Society, XXV (1972), 137-156.
10 Add. 29997 of the British Museum is not a sketchbook or an integral gathering
but a miscellaneous assemblage of Beethoven sketch-leaves, from various periods.
On Grasnick 20A, which is a mixed group of 11 leaves, see W. Virnisiel, “Zu Be-
thovens Skizzen und Entwürfen,” Studien zur Musikgeschichte des Rheinlandes,
Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Ludwig Schiedermaier, Beitrag zur Rheinischen
Musikgeschichte (Köln, 1955), pp. 150-155.
11 A. Tyson, “A Reconstruction of the Pastoral Symphony Sketchbook (British
Museum Add. MS 31766),” Beethoven Studies (New York, 1973), p. 76; also Johnson
and Tyson, “Reconstructing Beethoven’s Sketchbooks,” op. cit.; and Tyson’s recent,
“The Problem of Beethoven’s ‘First’ Leonore Overture,” Journal of the American
Musicological Society, XXVIII (1975), 299-334, especially pp. 332 ff., on “ground
rules for the description of watermarks.”
12 I am indebted to Mr. Winter and to Dr. Tyson for personal communications
on these points.
lished transcription, the publication will include not only the leaves that it still contains but also those that will have been securely identified as belonging to it in its original state, whatever the present location of those leaves. This manifestly reasonable hope, already expressed in the professional literature, has not been fulfilled in earlier editions of Beethoven sketchbooks by the Beethoven-Haus in Bonn, issued as part of their publication series of "complete" Beethoven sketchbooks in transcription. It is, however, my understanding that a change of policy has recently taken place, and that in the future, attempts will be made to publish the sketchbooks not as they are—often divided and dismembered—but, so far as possible, as they were when Beethoven used them. It is to be expected that improved understanding of their contents will follow.

* * *

If we turn now to samples drawn from the contents of the sketchbook, let it be understood that they are intended only as a small fraction chosen from the wealth of material found in almost every sector of the volume. Beyond the obvious difficulties of locating, reconstructing and deciphering the Beethoven sketchbooks, a central problem in interpreting them lies not only in perceiving the true musical sense of a passage or segment but in placing a given sketch in a plausible relation to the other sketches for the same work, and thus developing evolutionary hypotheses projected upon the material. Equally challenging is the preservation of a delicate balance between two broad approaches to the conceptualization of the Beethoven sketch process: one is an approach which seeks to determine a characteristic set of procedures that may be common to the genesis of many of Beethoven's works; the other stresses the special process of germination of ideas that were developed for a single composition, and which may be intelligible only in terms of that composition. To some degree, of course, these are analytic categories, not simply modes of organization of sketches, and they are certainly more nearly tendencies than fixed polar extremes.

13 This is most striking in the case of the "Pastoral Symphony" sketchbook, of which the Beethoven-Haus issued only the portion preserved in the British Museum (Add. 51768), omitting those portions contained in the Berlin Miscellany Landsberg 10. For a reconstruction of the sketchbook that takes into account the British Museum and Berlin portions, as well as accounting for other leaves that originally belonged to the sketchbook, see Tyson's article cited first in note 11, Beethoven Studies, pp. 67-96.

In two earlier studies I have attempted to analyze two sets of sketches from this sketchbook, for two quite differently organized works, which furnish samples of these divergent approaches: in both, the approach to the sketches seemed to grow in a natural and (to me) convincing way from the nature of the sketch material as it emerged from close study of these pages, and from related material found elsewhere.14 One set is a sequence of short entries for the brief but expressive song, Sehnsucht ("Die stille Nacht"), WoO 146, set to a text by the poet C. L. Reissig and written just before Beethoven embarked on the massive song cycle, An die ferne Geliebte, which follows Sehnsucht in this sketchbook. In the Sehnsucht sketches we find as many as twenty-three short but discrete entries for the opening phrase of this strophic song, strung out over several pages of the volume (pp. 60-64).

These entries furnish a classic example of what is often regarded as the "typical" Beethoven sketch sequence, that is, they seem to form a generative string of transformations, which show, as Nottebohm put it, the "gradual building-up of the melody," which "by means of steady industry" is welded into a larger whole. Of these variants I have suggested that one can indeed regard them as presenting successive versions of the same subject, but that "there is a way of viewing these sketches other than as embodying a gradually emerging series of variants whose goal is only discovered en route. One might, for example, be persuaded that Beethoven had in mind from the beginning one or more fixed points in the conceptual scheme, and that against these fixed points he proceeded to develop variant possibilities, emphasizing different dimensions of the final scheme. . . ."15 That is, the mere observation of variants remains a neutral catalogue without an effort to determine the specific direction of the transformations in the sequence, and the line of direction may be a tortuous one, as different aspects of the material are brought forward in each renewed effort.

Another type of sketch, requiring a different type of analytic approach, is provided by the twenty-nine pages of sketches in the Scheide sketchbook for the unfinished Piano Concerto in D Major. Had this work of 1815 been realized it would have been the last of Beethoven's concertos for piano or for any instrument. Dating


15 Beethoven Studies, p. 121.
from six years after the Emperor Concerto, its failure to reach completion signals an important turning point; it marks the effective close of Beethoven’s career as pianist, for his deafness now made it impossible for him to perform in public any longer. For this work, unlike Sehnsucht, we do not find on consecutive pages of the sketchbook the progressive elaboration of a single musical idea, but rather a complex series of longer and shorter sketches for the first movement of the work (the only one to be extensively planned), the basic shape of which can be determined in reasonable detail from the unfinished autograph orchestral score of the movement, housed in East Berlin.16 The Scheide material includes at least two extended drafts for larger sections of the movement, but its main contents are a number of shorter and medium-length sketches for single thematic ideas within the movement. Portions of these sketches are dispersed through the pages of the volume, and are linked by means of symbols which show that a sketch broken off in one place is picked up elsewhere: the connecting symbols include hieroglyphic signs and also numbers such as "1900," "3000," and so on.

The larger point to be made here—of necessity summing up in the briefest form what can only be demonstrated at length—is that in this case the Scheide sketches are not a self-contained, integral body of ideas but are better understood as a partial remnant of a larger assemblage of sketch material, the other members of which are found on outside leaves, bifolia, and small gatherings that were never part of the sketchbook. The autograph score itself is best regarded as part of the same assemblage of preliminary materials, and in this instance it seems to me altogether likely that it is not the end product of a chain of sketches, but is part of a process that probably began in the sketches, passed through drafts of various types, went into a rudimentary score (the autograph) and passed back into the sketches when certain problems of composition became insoluble within the space of the autograph itself. Without attempting to discuss details, suffice it to say that for the

Concerto the sketchbook seems clearly not to be a central source of sketches, but is rather, for the most part, a source of rapidly-written single-line versions of ideas which reflected in the most reduced form what had to be worked out more carefully elsewhere; the other sketches include extended drafts on two and on three staves, of the sort that are found only in a very small part of the Scheide pages.

That such a relationship existed not only for this unfinished work but, at least in part, for a finished work that is also prominent in this sketchbook, is evident from the extant materials for the finale of the Violoncello Sonata, Opus 102, No. 2. While the Scheide presents only a few jottings for the first and second movements, it has extensive material for the fugato finale of the Sonata—but once again it lacks the consecutive connected drafts. We find these, however, in other, outside gatherings that contain material for the same movement—most significantly the drafts in the gathering now known as Bonn, Beethoven-Haus, Bodmer MS Mh 92.17 Again, no detailed demonstration can be made here—but the nature of the evidence makes it reasonable to suggest, albeit in advance, that here again the sketchbook seems to have had the function of a workshop for ideas that had run into trouble elsewhere, a place particularly suited for work on difficult problems but not to write out full compositional drafts in detail. The disconnected and jotted ideas in the sketchbook may well reflect temporary breakdowns in the larger continuities that were being attempted on other sheets outside its pages.

Finally, a glimpse of still another element in the sketchbook, this time a single page that may provide a different type of evidence of the potential relationship of what is inside a sketchbook to what is outside it. Amid sketches for the Violoncello Sonata Opus 102, No. 2, page 40, staves 5-10 of the Scheide presents a pair of entries of considerable interest: one is a short two-part imitative passage in $\frac{3}{4}$, with signature of two sharps and treble clef in the upper part; the segment has all the earmarks of the opening of an imitative piano piece in B Minor, a sample of the type of contrapuntal composition best represented by the Bach Inventions (see Fig. 1). The first entry breaks off after 14 measures.

16 The score is Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS Araria 184; see E. Bartlitz, Die Beethoven-Sammlung in der Musikabteilung der Deutschen Staatsbibliothek (Berlin, 1970). In addition to the Scheide sketchbook, other preliminary material for the Concerto is found in these sources: Berlin, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS Landsberg 10, pp. 79-82; London, British Museum, Add. 25997, fols. 41r-42r; and Berlin, Stiftung Pr. Kulturbesitz, MS Grasnick 92B, fols. 21-25. Two sketchbooks reported lost since World War II also contained material for the Concerto: see Nottebohm, Zweite Beethoveniana, pp. 307-13 and 314-20 (Schmidt, "Verzeichnis," Nos. 69 and 70).

17 More recently reclassified as "SBH" 648, that is, H. Schmidt, "Die Beethoven-Handschriften des Beethoven-Hauses in Bonn," Beethoven-Jahrbuch, VII (Bonn, 1971), 1-44. No. 648. As this group of five leaves consists of 20-staff paper it cannot possibly have originated in the Scheide sketchbook; that it belongs to the same period, however, is beyond question.
It is followed by another 3/4 segment in the same key, this one not imitative but apparently also for the piano, with closely-spaced triadic motion in right hand and rising 16th-triplets in left hand (see p. 150 and Fig. 2). Most striking of all is the notation in the left margin, adjacent to staves 7-8 (part of the first of these pieces), "h moll Schwarz Tonart" ("B Minor—dark key").

That Beethoven had a special belief in the appropriateness of certain keys to certain verbally definable emotional associations, is attested by the earliest of his biographers, Schindler, who reports at some length on Beethoven's interest in this matter and on his general approval of ideas of this kind advanced in his time, especially by the writer C.F.D. Schubart, in his *Ideen zu einer Aesthetik der Tonkunst* (1807). Schindler reports an alleged conversation between Beethoven and his friend Friedrich August Kanne, in which Beethoven explicitly associates his choice of keys in *Fidelio* to the expression of particular sentiments by specific characters in the opera. Schindler further declares that "to deny without reason the special character of the different keys was to
Beethoven like denying the efficacy of the sun and moon on the ebb and flow of the tides . . . and I very strongly doubt if our master could have been persuaded that his belief in the special character of the keys was an obsolete and mistaken theory . . .

This sketchbook entry confirms the evidence of the early biographers, and as evidence of this type it is not entirely isolated. In 1967, while looking through the British Museum packet of diverse Beethoven sketches known as Add. 29997, I found that it too contains a page having the same marginal notation. Later, when I had transcribed the contents of the London leaf and compared it to the Scheide, I found that the material sketched on the two leaves is in fact the same. This is especially arresting because the London leaf is written in pencil, and is folded in half in the middle, with these entries written on the left side before the fold. It is a specimen of that type of sketch-leaf which Beethoven was in the habit of folding in half and putting into his pocket, for use as he walked around Vienna or in the countryside. The two entries appear in the same order on the London leaf, and their musical substance is exactly the same. They differ only in a few very minor details at the end of the first entry, and the London leaf provides only a portion of the second; but the identity of the two entries is beyond question, and the second entry now has at its beginning the inscription “h moll schwarzer tonart.”

It looks on the face of it as though this is a clear case in which Beethoven first sketched an idea in pencil on a leaf used in folded form (therefore presumably outdoors) and then copied down in ink and further elaborated the same material in the sketchbook he was then using indoors. That the shape and treatment of the subject of the first entry bears a resemblance to the fugato subject of the Finale of the Violoncello Sonata Opus 102, No. 2, is evident enough; yet it seems unlikely, despite the importance of B Minor for that Finale, that either this entry or the key-designation can be intended as anything but a separate compositional idea, opening up a sudden byway in the midst of Beethoven’s work on the Finale. Is it possible that this leaf in Add. 29997 is also a leaf removed from the Scheide sketchbook—perhaps one of the 17 leaves lost between folios 16 and 17? The question can be raised here but not yet answered, until conclusive evidence of its physical characteristics and watermark is made available. What is be-

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Americana in the Scheide Library: Adventures of a Novice

BY GORDON M. MARSHALL

If anyone should have known that the Scheide Library is not just "a bunch of Bibles," as I once heard a colleague describe it at a cocktail party, it was I. I handled most if not all of the treasures in the collection during the summer of 1964. I was employed to assist the librarian, Mrs. Mina R. Bryan, in making ready the manuscripts, books and pictures for the move from the room on "A" floor of Firestone Library to quarters then under construction next to the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. Perhaps my most vivid non-book memory of those three months is of taping together plastic drop cloths to cover the temporary bookstacks.

But it is the books themselves which have remained firmly in my memory. Of course I remember certain isolated books because they related to my personal interest—American political history in the Revolutionary and early National periods: the excellent selection of pre-1776 political pamphlets, for instance, including a nearly complete set of the orations commemorating the Boston Massacre, lacking only those for 1780 and 1782, all in pristine or fine condition; or a copy of William Tudor's An Oration delivered March 5th, 1779 (Boston, 1791) bearing the ownership signature of Samuel Adams. Shelved right next to the first of the massacre orations was the first edition, first issue, of A Short Narrative of the Horrid Massacre in Boston, perpetrated in the evening of the fifth day of March, 1770, published at the order of the Boston City Council as the opening anti-British propaganda salvo after the fracas on King Street. Hanging at the end of the metal shelving in a simple black frame was a fine impression of the so-called "10:30" state of Paul Revere's engraving of the same events.

Shelved nearby were many of the important sermons and tracts which appeared in the five years between the Boston Massacre and the next major event of the Revolution—Lexington and Concord. Copies of the Boston and London pamphlet printings of Governor Thomas Hutchinson's fateful critical letters intended for the eyes of the ministry but apparently intercepted by the deputy postmaster-general of the Colonies. Benjamin Franklin, were next to young Thomas Jefferson's Summary View (Philadelphia, Dunlap, 1774) with a cut signature of Jefferson pasted inside the rear cover. Riffling when I should have been working, I came upon John Dickinson's A Declaration by the Representatives of the United Colonies of North America (Philadelphia, 1775) and Samuel Johnson's strident Taxation No Tyranny (London, 1775).

It was some weeks before I handled what I then considered the Scheide Library's two most important "pieces" of Americana: "the Lexington Alarm" documents and the first broadside printing of the Declaration of Independence. Although I did not have to see them, Mrs. Bryan, considered it a necessary part of the education of a neophyte bookman. With proper ceremony they were taken from the brown safe and placed on the table in front of me. Thus was I introduced to a glimpse of these treasures.

But my viewing of the "Lexington Alarm" documents and the Declaration of Independence broadside taught me more than awe. Through those two objects more than any other I learned why the best collectors acquire books for their collections and how they regard ownership as a "trust" and not a possession. It was evident to me as I read John H. Scheide's 1940 article in the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society and the bulging research files of Mrs. Bryan that the purpose of his buying the Lexington Alarm manuscript and surrounding documents was not to own a collector's jewel. He bought the manuscript because it was a thread in the tapestry of individual freedom.

The thread began with one strand: a single-page manuscript beginning "Watertown Wednesday morning near 10 o'clock To all the Friends of American Liberty," and concluding, "The above is a true copy as rece[ive]d here p[er] Express forwarded from Worcester—Test Daniel Tyler Jun'r." It was a re-copied message from the Committee of Correspondence for Watertown, Massachusetts, on April 19th announcing the battle of Lexington and Concord and appealing for aid. The transcription had been done by the Brookline, Massachusetts, Committee of Correspondence to be forwarded to points to the south. At the time John Scheide purchased it (June, 1933, from C. A. Means acting for Adams P. Carroll of Norwich, Connecticut) the text was known in only two other copies, one at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and
another at the New York Public Library. Both were later versions of the same message—transcriptions by other local Committees of Correspondence before sending it on to the next town.

To lengthen that thread John Scheide acquired from A.S.W. Rosenbach in 1938 the publication of the Lexington and Concord news in the April 27, 1775, broadside Post Script to William and Thomas Bradford's Pennsylvania Journal. Barely two years passed before it was further lengthened by two purchases: the June 26th, 1775, broadside printed in Boston giving the British account of the naval bombardment of Charlestown during the Battle of Bunker Hill which followed Lexington and Concord like an echo and Alexander McDougall's manuscript description of the arrival in New York of the Lexington-Concord news written on the back of the April 23rd broadside account of the battle. The first was purchased from Goodspeed's Book Shop in August 1949 and the McDougall manuscript from Lathrop Harper in November. Rosenbach provided the next strand in the Lexington alarm thread in November 1941: a six-page document by the Committee of Correspondence of Maryland forwarding the message from the Wallingford, Connecticut, Committee of Correspondence to the southward with endorsements as far as New Bern, South Carolina. Two months later Goodspeed offered a rare Boston broadside account of Lexington and Concord published by John Howe the day after Daniel Tyler Junior's manuscript account was written. John H. Scheide jumped at the chance to complete his string, for as he often said, all of the documents were "one link in a chain of occurrences which led to revolution." But it was a link that a less tenacious and historically minded collector would not have taken the pains to forge.

In my reading of the history of American collectors since my summer in the Scheide Library, I have found few other collectors to equal John H. Scheide in the care he showed in selecting items for his collection. Fewer still have had a son who has been more than a caretaker of his father's collection. William Hurd Scheide is such a son, for although he has his own collecting interests he nonetheless purchased Thomas W. Streeter's unique copy of the second broadside issued by Thomas and William Bradford telling their fellow Philadelphians about Lexington and Concord. It was issued on April 26, 1775, and contained the same later information from the Wallingford, Connecticut, Committee of Correspondence of Colonel Gardner's command of the British troops that John Dunlap had also issued in broadside form on the same day.

The first printing of the Declaration of Independence which Mrs. Bryan had placed in front of me was not the bibliographic puzzle the Lexington Alarm documents were, but it must have been equally satisfying to John Scheide when he bought it in 1949 from A.S.W. Rosenbach. More than just another "link in the chain," the Declaration was our first state document as a nation and therefore the first test of how well the fourth generation of Americans had lived up to the hopes and ideals of the first generation of settlers in this strange new land.

With the Declaration securely in the safe, I returned to my dusting, cataloguing and checking the other Americana. As I handled the original copies of familiar texts I came to see them in a new light: the rare official edition of The Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union (Lancaster: Francis Bailey, 1777) a copy of which Charles Evans had never seen and which has marginal notes by Eliphalet Dyer (a member of Congress during its consideration); an uncut, unopened copy of The Definitive Treaty Between Great Britain and the United States printed for Benjamin Franklin in Paris; an uncut copy, in original wrappers, of the first Philadelphia pamphlet edition of the same document (Evans 20809); the Ordinance for the Government of the United States, North-West of the Ohio River (New York, 1787) signed by Charles Thomson; the first census of the United States (published in 1791) signed by Thomas Jefferson; the Leland-Boker issue of the Emancipation Proclamation. They were, and I think the Scheides as collectors thought them to be, the test papers of American democracy which showed the progress we as a people were making toward the realization of the principles in our first state paper.

While I was working on these public documents a strange package arrived from Seven Gables Bookshop in New York containing a copy of Constitutions des treize états-unis de L'Amérique, edited and translated by Benjamin Franklin and La Rochefoucauld and printed in Paris by Pierres in 1783. It was a rather good copy of this important book in a contemporary French binding. But the top of the volume had been in contact with water and some of the pages were stained well into the area of text. I thought I had already handled a copy of this work and upon checking found that I indeed had. I looked at the new arrival again when
some folded sheets in a special compartment inside the rear cover caught my eye. Unfolded, these proved to be three leaves printed on both sides with what appeared to be the text of the Constitution. A small strip half the length of one side had been cut out of each sheet to allow the leaves to fold as flat as possible. My eyes popped—I had made my first bibliographical discovery! I quickly consulted P.L. Ford and other reference works to make sure that a facsimile of the official printing of the final draft of the proposed constitution which the convention sent to the Continental Congress for transmission to the states for ratification had not been issued. My joy knew no bounds when I determined that a facsimile had never been issued. I confronted my “teacher” waving my discovery saying, “Do you know what this is?” Mrs. Bryan said, “Of course, that’s why we ordered the book on approval.” My puffed-up pride deflated and I resumed my normal work. I was getting the “education” Mrs. Bryan had promised.

Despite this mishap, I continued to scan the shelves. Other items no longer seemed to follow a chronological line, but were concentrated in knots or clumps around certain pivotal events—the Great War for Empire (i.e. the French and Indian War 1754-1763), the Great Awakening, the founding and early struggles of the various colonies—and key figures in American history: George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, William Penn and others. These events and people related, in one way or another, to the triad design around which it appeared to me William Taylor Scheide and John Hinsdale Scheide had organized their collection: the history and progress of the Word (the Bible and religious thought), the growth of liberty, and the role of the man of virtue and principle in history.

I encountered those imprints relating to the latter category first, in the guise of one of eight known copies of the first edition of twenty-one-year-old Major George Washington’s Journal recounting his visit to the French forts on the Ohio, printed by William Hunter at Williamsburg in 1754 and the London edition (with the rare map) published the same year. John H. Scheide acquired the Williamsburg printing in 1940 from A.S.W. Rosenbach. It had previously been owned by Henry Charles, B.F. Stevens, Herschel V. Jones and Alfred T. White. The Scheide copy of the London edition is very unusual in that the map has been partially colored in outline and has contemporary manuscript notations of geographical points not printed on the map.

Mr. Scheide gathered it into his collection in 1932 from C.F. Heartman. The Washington items were prime examples of the “man of virtue and principle” portion of the Scheide Library’s design.

It appeared to me that it was in the works of three men that all of the Scheide collecting motives were best combined. Reflecting a curious geographical quirk for collectors who were so firmly grounded in Pennsylvania, all of these men were New Englanders. Two, Increase and Cotton Mather, were the quintessential symbols of New England. The Library contains over a dozen of the major works of each, with many in their original seventeenth-century American blind-tooled calf bindings. Increase Mather was well represented by The Wicked Mans Portion (Boston, Foster, 1675) which in addition to being an early example of what would become a New England staple, the execution sermon, was the first book printed in Boston. It was also one of the first Mather items acquired by John Scheide, in July 1911, and marked the beginning of his association with the booksellers Dodd and Livingston who would be responsible for many of the cornerstones of the Scheide New Englandiana.

My favorite Increase Mather item was A Narrative of the Miseries of New England which he had published in London in 1688 to justify Massachusetts’ stubborn opposition to James the Second’s reign. It qualified for inclusion on all three counts being the story of the gradual secularization of a religious settlement, an early case of American resistance to British authority, and part of Increase’s efforts to make the Bay Colony seem more tolerant, both religiously and socially. His Kometographia (Boston, 1683) was a close second for my affection. Although less rare than A Narrative, and lacking two leaves, Kometographia was a key example of the compromise between the word of God and the word of science which Puritan intellectuals had fashioned. In addition it had been owned by a non-intellectual Puritan, Isaac Jewett, and had obviously been well read and digested, a fate not true of many of the surviving Puritan books.

In the case of Cotton Mather two works stand out in my mind: Johannes in Eremo (Boston, 1695) and Things for a Distress’d People to Think Upon (Boston, 1696). Both are in contemporary American bindings and both were purchased from Goodspeed’s a year apart (1939-1940). There was no evidence of contemporary ownership on Johannes in Eremo as the end papers had been re-
paired. But the provenance of the *Things* pamphlet reads like a genealogical chart. Simon Willard purchased it in November, 1696. It then passed into Samuel Greenwood's hands in June 1718. Samuel Parker acquired the volume in 1815 and added a large bookplate which may obscure the record of ownership for the hundred years between Greenwood's possession and his own. It remained in the Parker family being passed down to John W. Parker in 1845 and later to Benjamin F. Parker. Goodspeed’s secured the volume from the Parker family for John Scheide.

As much as I came to admire the Scheide Library's collection of Mather family imprints and their authors, I became possessed by the books and pamphlets by and about John Eliot, missionary to the New England Indians, linguist, and religious zealot. All directly fulfilled the three goals which William and John Scheide seemed to have in collecting. More importantly I could almost feel the same sense of wonder and fascination which the Scheides must have felt as they acquired and studied these works.

I began my recataloguing, dusting and “oiling” with the biggest of the volumes in the Eliot legacy. Any illusions which I had that Bibles were bibliographically easy was quickly dispelled by the “Eliot Indian Bibles.” The first was John Eliot's translation of the *New Testament* into the Algonquin language, the printing of which had begun in the summer of 1655 and was finally completed and issued in 1661 (Evans 64). The Scheide copy was a choice one, one of the tallest known and among a very few to survive in its original binding (possibly by John Ratcliff). Eight of its leaves are in facsimile but very good ones as I learned to my chagrin. Two blank end-leaves were also added when the binding was repaired sometime in the nineteenth century. It was one of the forty copies, with the extra title page in English and dedication to Charles II, sent by Eliot to England for the approval of the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, of which fifteen are known to have survived. John H. Scheide acquired it from James F. Drake in March 1919 and although it has the characteristic diamond-shaped type ornament on the Indian language title page, the Scheide copy did not match any of the fourteen copies known to Wilberforce Eames in 1890 and therefore constituted an unknown fifteenth.

Next to it on the shelf was the “Eliot Indian Bible” itself—*Mamosse Wiimneetupanatamow*—as issued by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson in 1663 without the English title page (Evans 72). Even lacking the final blank and rebound in a modern binding the provenance of this copy made it more than special. Wilberforce Eames had found the Scheide copy then (1884) in the possession of Dr. William Everett of Boston (Eames 26). Dr. Everett told Eames that he had received it from his father, the Honorable Edward Everett (1754-1845), who in turn had received it as a gift on the occasion of his visit to Eton School from Dr. E. L. Hawtrey, the headmaster—Everett then being the American ambassador to England. Dr. William Everett sold the volume to Dodd in 1911 who offered it to Mr. Scheide. It didn’t take a very discerning eye to note that someone had cut out the diamond-shaped type ornament from the title page and skillfully replaced it with a blank piece of paper that had been filled in manuscript. Could it be that Edward Everett was a book criminal? Or was it Dr. Hawtrey? We shall never know.

Next to this unusual book was another which I thought could not possibly be as interesting as the Eliot 1663 Indian Bible. But it was. At first glance the Scheide copy of the 1685-1686, or second, edition of the Eliot Indian Bible did not appear remarkable in the slightest degree. But it bore the bookplate of Sir James Richards and was unknown to Wilberforce Eames who had painstakingly located more than forty surviving copies, out of the 2,000 originally printed. Upon measuring, we found the Scheide copy was, surprisingly, much larger than the John Carter Brown copy (formerly Brinley’s) thought by Eames to be the largest. It also had many untrimmed pages, very unusual for a highly prized book often trimmed and “repaired” during successive rebindings.

But it was the binding which troubled me the most. It was certainly contemporary but unusually crude and therefore not the work of Edmund Ranger. It was not that of John Ratcliff although he was known to cut corners, particularly on the Bibles he had been sent from England under contract to bind. Of course other binders were at work in Boston during the period but would even an obscure binder have turned out such a crude case for a Bible? I thought not. The rawness of the binding made little sense to me until I read the printing history of this edition of the Eliot Bible. The text of the first edition had been corrected by the Reverend John Cotton and the type for the new edition was set by a Christian Indian with the adopted name James Printer. Had
the Scheide copy of the second edition been the personal copy of one of Eliot's converts? Perhaps the mysterious James Printer had personally bound this copy of his handiwork for himself.

Working from the longest to the shortest of the Eliot imprints I next began to catalogue Eliot's grammar of the language of the Massachusetts seacoast Indians who even in the year of its publication (1666) had begun their long slide into extinction. John Hinsdale Scheide acquired it from Dr. Rosenbach in late January, 1926. But even my neophyte bibliographic eyes could see something was odd about this copy of this extremely rare book. The title page and four other leaves looked different from the surrounding pages. A check of the correspondence files revealed a bulging folder with letters both testy and supplicant between J. H. Scheide and Clarence S. Brigham, Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society. Here was the history of the Scheide copy of Eliot's Indian Grammar. To simplify a complex story—complex as only a contest between two determined, strong-willed men could be—the point at issue was a copy of the Indian Grammar which Goodspeed's owned and which the American Antiquarian Society wanted. Goodspeed's copy was incomplete; so was the Antiquarian Society's and so was Mr. Scheide's. The arrangement eventually hammered-out over a tortuous thirteen months (January 1935 to February 1936) was that the Society would buy the Goodspeed copy and then sell John Scheide the copy they already had to complete his copy. Mr. Scheide was to retain only those leaves he needed to complete his copy and return the unused leaves to the Society. Thus the Antiquarian Society would get the Goodspeed copy “free” and both John Scheide and the Society would have complete copies.

Upon examining the Scheide copy it was instantly clear why the negotiations had been so long. John Scheide had sent his copy to Riviere in London shortly after its purchase in 1926, and the English firm had "dolled it up" (his phrase) supplying the missing leaves by lithographic transfer facsimile from the British Museum's copy. Less than ten years later he was sending it back to Riviere & Son to undo all this "dolling up" and insert the genuine pages from the Goodspeed-AAS copy. Brigham was understandably reluctant to part with the leaves Mr. Scheide wanted from the new copy for the title page had written on it, in an instantly recognizable crabbed hand, "To be returned to Co. Mather" and "S. Mather." It was this title page and the last four leaves which John Scheide wanted. In the end each party got what they wanted—a complete copy of perhaps the rarest of John Eliot's works.

The mystery of the Grammar solved I turned my attention to the last group of Eliot imprints—a group of twelve pamphlets known to collectors as the "Eliot Indian Tracts" even though he did not write all of them himself. Most accounts including the Church Catalogue list eleven pamphlets in the series. But the counting should begin with William Castell's A Petition of W. C. exhibited to the high court of Parliament now assembled, for the propagating of the Gospel in America, and the West Indies ([London], 1641) for in this pamphlet the idea was first advanced that Parliament should realize the benefits to the Colonies which would result from friendship with the Indians and their conversion to Christianity. The result according to Castell would be a bulwark against Spanish expansionist designs on England's rapidly growing American and West Indian colonies.

England was interested enough by Castell's suggestions to include a reference to "better governing the Protestant religion" in the ordinance which established Robert Earle of Warwick governor-in-chief of the United Colonies of New England, but not convinced. To further their efforts to solicit funds in England to aid the Indian missionaries, the Massachusetts-Bay Colony's agents in England Hugh Peter and Thomas Welde published in 1643 a miscellany of information, supplied mainly by President Henry Dunster (1609-1658) of Harvard, entitled New England's First Fruits. It contains the first account of Harvard College and of the work of the itinerant missionaries. The agents' hope that the missionaries and the College would benefit from increased generosity was only partially realized. Harvard did get its first scholarship and the missionaries received a £20 annuity from Lady Mary Armine but little else and certainly not the organized support they expected.

Three other "Eliot Indian Tracts" had to appear before Parliament formalized its earlier vague and indifferent support of the missionaries. In 1647 John Wilson or Thomas Shepard wrote The Day Breaking, if not The Sun-Rising of the Gospel! With the Indians in New-England. While Peter and Welde's New England's First Fruits had hinted, The Day Breaking made a bold, direct plea for financial aid and related Eliot's achievements at Natick and elsewhere as proof of what could be done on a massive scale if adequate monies were available. The second of the "Eliot
Indian Tracts” opened with a dedicatory letter to Parliament whose purpose was not to pay Parliament the usual courtesy but to shame that body into direct financial aid to further the progress of the faith. But Parliament still dawdled throughout 1647. Edward Winslow, the Bay Colony’s London agent and the man responsible for the printing of The Day Breaking caused the third propaganda tract to be published in 1648, Thomas Shepard’s The Clear Sunshine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians in New-England, this time with the signatures of several prominent clergymen affixed to the dedicatory epistle to Parliament. While the public was reading the pamphlets, Winslow badgered Parliament. The tactic began to work, and in March 1648 the House of Commons began debate on a charter for a new philanthropic organization to promote the faith. While Parliament debated Winslow had issued yet another pamphlet, The Glorious Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England, the fourth of the “Eliot Indian Tracts,” consisting of excerpts from letters by Eliot and Thomas Mayhew detailing the day to day nature of their work with the Indians. It appeared in public in May, 1649, with Winslow’s trademark, a dedication to Parliament and the Council of State, and within months the bill was passed. The charter created “The President and Society for Propagation of the Gospel in New England,” with power vested in the president, secretary and fourteen assistants. At last Eliot, Mayhew, Shepard, Winslow and the others concerned with Christianizing the Indians had what they wanted: one central organization, based in London, to raise funds and to channel them into the work in New England, through the Commissioners of the United Colonies. The Society survived the Restoration and was granted a Royal Charter in 1662. Its efforts and funds made possible the printed record of Eliot’s achievements.


Of the eleven pamphlets (not counting William Castel’s Petition) in the Eliot Indian Tracts series the Scheide Library lacks only numbers nine and ten. These two pamphlets are known in eleven copies each, and all are now in institutional libraries so it is improbable that copies will come on the market to complete the Scheide Library’s gap unless some dubious “creative deaccessioning” takes place.

I had spent so much time following the elusive trail of the printed Eliot material that I barely had time to catalogue the box of fifty-nine manuscript Indian documents. They ranged from a 1662 land deed in Hingham, Massachusetts, between Petnowatuk and other Indians and John Tower to a 1828 annuity receipt of the Chiefs of the Seneca Nation to Jasper Parrish. Ten were from the early nineteenth century, with the remainder divided evenly between the late seventeenth and middle eighteenth centuries. By far the most interesting was the July 8, 1778, letter from the Chiefs of the Six Nations to the Township of Kingston, New York, warning of a raid they were about to make. The “Onadaghga” Indians were loyal to King George and sensible that “there are many friends of Government mixt with those that they esteem Rebels & avowed enemies” gave this last warning so that “a torent of Innocent Blood” would not be spilled. The “Onadaghga” offered safety to those who would leave the town and come to their camp. For the rebels who stayed behind there was no hope “as The Hatchett [was] Already Lifted Up.” Although the Six Nations did attack many towns in upstate New York, I have never been able to find out if the people of Kingston surrendered to the chief who had signed the warning with the mark of the standing deer or had fought and died. Each of the documents held a story as inter-
esting as the tale of the Six Nations versus Kingston, but I had already spent so much time on the beginning of my cataloguing that I had to slight the end.

Many of the Indian manuscripts had been purchased by John Scheide in a series of sales held during 1926 when by some strange coincidence four major collections were auctioned at the American Art Association Gallery. In my rush to finish my cataloguing I almost overlooked Wilberforce Eames' *John Eliot and the Indians* (privately printed by Eames in 1917). When Mrs. Bryan had reminded me not to neglect cataloguing the Eames I almost visibly turned up my nose at the thought of having to catalogue a modern book (albeit a limited edition) after all the rarities I had been allowed to do. Once again my chagrin knew no bounds for tipped into the Eames book, just behind the photographer’s copy of John Eliot’s letters with Jonathan Hamner in the decade of the 1670s, were the actual letters themselves. In addition to the four letters Eames had reproduced one unknown to him had been added at a later date: John Eliot to Hamner October 28, 1653. With red face I asked Mrs. Bryan if I could also catalogue another Eliot letter without place or date addressed only to “Richard” which I had noticed next to the Eames treasure volume. Without rubbing salt in my wounds Mrs. Bryan kindly consented.

In my three months working in the Scheide Americana I never finished all the Indian material. A number of imprints relating to the Indians somehow escaped my notice. I have learned since that included in this group was Sir Walter Scott’s copy of William Hubbard’s *A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians* (Boston, 1677) complete with the famous and rare “White Hills” map and encased in a levant morocco binding by Zehnsdorf, and Robert Southey’s copy of Roger William’s *A Key into the Language of America* (London, 1643), the first book by the author, the first book on the linguistics of the New England Indians, and the first description of the customs and manners of those Indians by one who had lived amongst them.

I stupidly wasn’t interested at the time in the rapidly growing Mexican and South American imprint collection which includes many American incunables. I was scared off by their fine Castillian Spanish texts, since my own Spanish was the border variety acquired during my teenage years in Southern California. I did little more than transcribe the title page of Juan de Zumarraga’s *Dotrina Breue* (Mexico City, Juan Pablos for Juan Cromberger, 1543/1544), the first surviving book from the first press in the Americas. The Constitution, Rules, and Order of Service of the Hermits of Saint Augustine, another Mexico City imprint (1556) containing the first music printed in the Western Hemisphere and the *Doctrina Christiana y Catecismo Para Instruccion de los Indios*, the first major work printed in Peru (1584) received an equally undeserved cursory cataloguing.

One Spanish book in which I was interested but which my poor command of the language prevented me from enjoying was a group of tracts by Bartolomé de las Casas, Bishop of Chiapa. I learned later that two of the pamphlets, his *Este es un tratado... sobre la materia de los Yndios que se han hecho en ellas esclavos y Entre los remedios...* both published at Seville in 1552, contained his proposals for utopian bi-racial (Carib Indian and European) communities and the importation of African slaves whom he felt could better survive the murderous condition in Spanish mines and on the *latifundios*—a proposal he later repudiated and regretted. I remember asking Mrs. Bryan why John Scheide bought the volume. But now I know, for if ever a man was confronted with an ethical choice it was Bartolomé de las Casas. His works certainly measure up to the Scheide collecting criteria.

If any single group of Americana illustrates the Scheide Library’s emphasis on the role of religion in personal and world affairs it is the manuscripts and books relating to the institution of slavery. Both sides, pro- and anti-slavery are equally well represented. The latter side has the two largest items: the manuscript draft of the March 1, 1780, Pennsylvania state law providing for the gradual abolition of slavery with the manuscript of the March 29, 1788, amendment formerly owned by Flavia Redick of Washington, Pennsylvania, one of the founding members of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery in Pennsylvania and six folio volumes of *Reports, Minutes, Evidence Taken Before a Special Committee and a Committee of the Whole House from 1788 to 1799 in the House of Commons in Connection with the Debates on the Abolition of the African Slave Trade*. Discovered in an old house in London in the 1960’s, bookseller Geoffrey Steele brought them to William H. Scheide’s attention. After investigation, it was learned that they were very rare and that these volumes had provided most of the evidential grist for the anti-slavery mill throughout the nineteenth century. They had been so often edited, extracted and re-edited that very few copies of the complete reports in their
original state have survived. It was a major addition and one which Mr. Scheide did not hesitate to make.

As powerful a witness as these two major items bear to the horrors of slavery, the personal agonies of that inhuman institution was best captured by a single manuscript document written on a half sheet of paper by John Alden, dated New York July 30, 1802, it is a certificate of abandonment for two children born to Alden’s female slave, Nan, and of which he was the father. “According to law” Alden with this simple one-sentence document renounced all responsibility and condemned his own sons to lives of involuntary servitude. There are thirty-eight other such documents in the Library, each with as terrible a tale. But none are as brutally final as John Alden’s declaration.

My three months in the Scheide Library did more than provide rigorous practice in bibliography, the proper conservation of rare books, and a philosophy of Americana. It gave me an incurable case of bibliomania. Over half my salary which I had planned to use for graduate school expenses went for the purchase of books. Most of it was spent at one swoop at a bookshop in Trenton, New Jersey. I had found an old bookseller’s label inside one of the Scheide books from Traver’s Bookstore. The label appeared to be early 20th-century, and I wondered if the shop was still there because the ABA Guide listed no antiquarian bookseller in Trenton. After much hunting my fiancée and I found it. Yes, the new owner said, standing amid the modern pocket paperbacks and greeting cards on the first floor, there were still some old books on the second floor. Indeed there were! There, in the unair-conditioned gloom, covered with coal dust as thick as cake frosting (but with their 1980’s prices unchanged) was much the same stock from which William T. or John Scheide must have selected the book with the label in it. Not quite a mother lode, but bonanza enough for a struggling graduate student. I bought more than I should have and not as much as I wanted. I wish I could go back with what I know now and discover it all over again. But book collectors, like fishermen, always talk about the ones that got away. And although I doubt that the Scheides would be immune to this affliction, what they have caught in their collecting net is more than enough to establish the Scheide Library as a major Americana collection.

THE SCHEIDE LIBRARY 1965-1975

The Scheide Library was officially opened in the spring of 1965. Author cards for the Scheide books are in the University Library’s public catalogue with the designation “WHS” and a notation on the bottom of the card “For information on a privately owned copy, consult Department of Rare Books.” There is an author, title, subject catalogue in the Scheide Library for further consultation. By this means both undergraduates and graduate students, as well as members of the faculty, are informed of books which are otherwise not available in the University Library.

Since the Library has been opened there have been several exhibitions in the main exhibition gallery which were drawn chiefly from the Scheide resources as well as other exhibitions based on University holdings which were supplemented by Scheide books and manuscripts—books of science, German philosophy (with the collection of Professor Walter Kaufmann) medieval manuscripts, Bartolome de las Casas, and others. There is always a two-case exhibit of books or manuscripts in the Scheide room which is open to the public.

The medieval and renaissance manuscripts in the Library are listed in the DeRicci catalogue of such manuscripts in America and the fifteenth-century printed books in Goff’s Incunabula in America. Both of these bibliographies are universally known and used. Through these channels scholars from the United States, Canada and Europe have come to do research in the Library. One visiting scholar, Professor Rowland L. Collins, spent a year on a fellowship working on the Scheide manuscript of tenth-century Anglo-Saxon homilies for a new text for the study of Anglo-Saxon. A study of an English manuscript of Magna Carta, ca. 1300, is in process by a member of the Index of Christian Art in Princeton. Other scholars who have worked in the Library have come from the Bibliothèque Nationale; Jesus College and All Souls College, Oxford; the University of Birmingham; and the International Christian University of Tokyo. The Library register also includes
visitors from India, Pakistan, Germany, Sweden, Holland, Yugoslavia, Israel, Denmark, Indonesia, Spain and Brazil.

For five years Dr. Karl Kup, formerly head of the Spencer Collection of the New York Public Library, held yearly seminars in the Library, under the sponsorship of the University's Graphic Arts Collection. In 1974-1975 this series, under the same sponsorship, consisted of eight lectures in the fall on the development of the manuscript and eight lectures in the spring term on the history of the book. The speakers were professors of departments of the University and visiting lecturers, specialists in the subjects under discussion. Single meetings of classes from the Departments of Music, Art, History and English meet from time to time throughout the year for lectures by professors of those departments as well as groups from Rutgers, Drew, and other New Jersey schools and colleges.

This is only a brief summary of some of the activities of the University Library in which the Scheide Library has participated in the past ten years.

Friends of the Princeton University Library

LAWRENCE HEYL

The Council of the Friends of the Princeton University Library records with deep regret the death on October 12, 1975, of Lawrence Heyl.

At the time of his retirement in 1962 Mr. Heyl had been a member of the staff of the Library for forty-one years. From 1921 until 1937 he was Chief of the Acquisitions Department. In that year he became Acting Librarian but remained in charge of acquisitions. In 1940, shortly after taking charge of the Preparations Department, he was appointed Associate Librarian, and held both positions until 1958 when he relinquished the former one. Of paramount interest to the Friends was his service as their Treasurer for twenty years. He was also a member of the Editorial Board of the Chronicle from its inception in 1939 until 1962.

At the time of his retirement it was said of him that he, more than any other individual, had moulded the collections of the Library, to which more volumes were added during his tenure than in the 170 years of its growth before 1920. As head of the Preparations Department he made many decisions affecting the cataloguing of Library materials and the composition of the card catalogue, decisions which will largely determine the use that scholars may make of the collections. His ability to tend to a multitude of details made him invaluable as Associate Librarian. Nowhere is this attention to detail shown more clearly than in his correspondence about the Graphic Arts Program of the Friends, seeing to it that Elmer Adler received his oil ration stamps, or making certain that membership dues were properly distributed.

For the great expenditure of time and thought he devoted to the affairs of the Friends, as the author of the Biblia section in the Chronicle, as adviser on acquisitions, and as their Treasurer, the Friends and the Council hold him in memory with most sincere gratitude.
FINANCIAL REPORT

The summary of financial transactions on the Operating Account for the year 1974-1975:

**RECEIPTS**

- Cash balance July 1, 1974: $15,264
- Dues for 1974-1975: $31,448
- *Chronicle* subscriptions and sales: 4,683
- Annual dinner, May 2, 1975: 3,395
- Contributions: 83
- **Total RECEIPTS**: $54,783

**EXPENDITURES**

- Printing of *Chronicle*, Vol. XXXV, No. 3: $4,332
- Printing of *Chronicle*, Vol. XXXVI: 11,568
- Postage and printing: 2,515
- Membership drive: 1,619
- Annual dinner, May 2, 1975: 1,377
- Editor's salary: 2,065
- Clerical assistance: 1,283
- Transfers to Acquisitions Committee Fund: 15,000
- **Total EXPENDITURES**: $42,759

- Cash balance June 30, 1975: $11,974

Contributions received from Friends during the year 1974-1975 for current acquisitions totaled $31,756.

**PUBLICATION FUND**

**RECEIPTS**

- Balance July 1, 1974: $4,906
- Sales: 1,875
- Contribution from Dr. Howard T. Behrman: 500
- **Total RECEIPTS**: $6,441

**EXPENDITURES**

- *Dr. Panofsky & Mr Tarkington* Project: $4,120
- Mailing: 39
- Promotion: 198
- **Total EXPENDITURES**: $4,357

- Balance June 30, 1975: $2,084

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FRIENDS OF THE PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

The Friends of the Princeton University Library, founded in 1930, is an association of individuals interested in book collecting and the graphic arts and in increasing and making better known the resources of the Princeton University Library. It has secured gifts and bequests and has provided funds for the purchase of rare books, manuscripts, and other material which could not otherwise have been acquired by the Library.

Membership is open to those subscribing annually fifteen dollars or more. Students may join for five dollars. Checks payable to Princeton University Library should be addressed to the Treasurer.

Members receive The Princeton University Library Chronicle and occasional publications issued by the Friends, and are invited to participate in meetings and to attend special lectures and exhibitions.

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Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey 08540

1973-1976

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Siegfried Hamilton

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1974-1977

Archibald S. Alexander

Howard T. Behrman

Nathaniel Burt

Levering Cartwright

Robert C. Hyde

Victor Langer

Daniel Maginn

Baldwin Maull

Edward Naumburg, Jr.

Kenneth H. Rokey

Robert H. Taylor

1978-1979

Peter A. Benoliel

Hamilton Cotter

William Elpers

Henry E. Geerley

Arthur G. Holden

Alfred H. Howell

Graham D. Mathison

Charles Rykamp

Bernhard R. Schaefer

William H. Schide

Frank E. Taplin

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Robert H. Taylor, Chairman

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