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The University of Warsaw Library (BUW)

Scripti versus manu Philippi...
or the Album Amicorum with an Entry
by Philipp Melanchthon from the Collection
of the University of Warsaw Library*

Early printed books are valuable artefacts not only because of their content but also for the annotations inscribed on their pages. The album of friends presented in the paper is a Wittenberg edition of the psalms in Martin Luther's translation from 1551, with annotations by the *praeceptor Germaniae* Philipp Melanchthon and other well-known reformers of the sixteenth century, as well as laypersons affiliated with the court of the dukes of Pomerania. After discussing individual entries, we attempt to identify the owners of the book and outline the circumstances under which it found its way into the collection of the University of Warsaw Library.

Stare druki są cennym artefaktem nie tylko ze względu na swą treść, ale także z powodu pozostawionych na ich kartach adnotacji. Przedstawiony w artykule album przyjaciół to wittenberska edycja psalmów w tłumaczeniu Marcina Lutera z 1551 r., do którego wpisał się *praeceptor Germaniae* Filip Melanchton, a także inni znani reformatorzy z XVI w. oraz osoby świeckie, związane z dworem książąt pomorskich. Po omówieniu wpisów w dalszej części artykułu podjęto próbę zidentyfikowania właścicieli książki oraz nakreślenia okoliczności, w jakich znalazła się w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie.

* First of all, I would like to thank the Reviewers. It is thanks to their suggestions that the paper has taken its present shape.



Keywords: *album amicorum*, Philipp Melanchthon, reformers, early printed books, provenance, Pomerania, Hesse
Słowa kluczowe: album przyjaciół, Filip Melanchton, reformatorzy, stare druki, proveniencja, Pomorze, Hesja

Early printed books capture the attention of modern audiences for various reasons. Sometimes because of their contents, the artwork and layout, other times because of the striking or compelling binding. Sometimes work's uniqueness is due to annotations and traces of intensive use of the volume in centuries past. Handwritten lists of contents or titles of co-bound works, as well as maxims, prayers or chronicles of daily life can be found on linings, inserted pages or within the contents of the work. Occasionally, the book could also have been inscribed by a well-known person or multiple people, turning the publication into an album of friends (*album amicorum*). Several such albums are kept in the collection of early printed books of the University of Warsaw Library (hereafter BUW).¹ Particularly noteworthy among these is a volume in which we find autographs of famous Pomeranians and reformers of the sixteenth century, including the "teacher of Germany," Philipp Melanchthon.

Book of Friends, *Album Amicorum*, *Album Sodalium*

The practice of leaving inscriptions in a book or on loose-leaf sheets was initiated by the academic community in Wittenberg in the first half of the sixteenth century.² The custom quickly became widely imitated by students at other university centers, nobles and burghers alike in Germany, as well as in neighboring countries. Called albums of friends, *Stammbücher*, and name books,³ they evolved

¹ On albums of friends in the BUW's GSD (Early Printed Books Department) collection, see: M. Sipayłło, "Z starych książek," *OiRwP* 11 (1966), p. 153.

² W. W. Schnabel, *Das Stammbuch. Konstitution und Geschichte einer textsortenbezogenen Sammelform bis ins erste Drittel des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 2003), p. 246 – determines the date as 1541, when Martin Luther signed Bibles from Hans Lufft's printing house, 1541. From 1542 onward, the custom became widespread.

³ E. Kotarski, "O imionnikach XVI i XVII wieku," in: *Staropolska kultura rękopisu*, ed. H. Dziechcińska (Warszawa, 1990), p. 93, lists other names: "*philotheca, liber memorialis, thesaurus amicorum, libellus amicorum, liber amicorum, theatrum eruditorium.*"

over the centuries in terms of the functions they fulfilled, their visualization and content.⁴ In the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries, they often took the form of small booklets with blank pages, but printed works were also used as the basis for albums of friends: the method was either to interleave or attach blank pages at the beginning or end of the volume. Emblem collections,⁵ popular *icones*,⁶ and sometimes collections of engravings⁷ were preferred for this purpose.

According to A. Golik-Prus, *Różnorodność formuły „non omnis moriar” w łacińskich wpisach sztambuchowych przelomu XVI i XVII wieku* (Katowice, 2004), p. 27 – currently, the most common terms in Polish are *sztambuch* and *album amicorum*.

⁴ The research on books of friends has a long tradition and produced a vast body of literature. See, among others: J. Jania, “Sztambuch – jego geneza i kształtowanie się,” *Litteraria* 11 (1979), pp. 31–51, who suggested a definition and typology of the albums; the author focused more on the albums of the Romantic era. An outline of the history of *Stammbücher* and new research perspectives was presented recently by A. Michalska, “Nowe perspektywy w badaniach nad nowożytnymi albumami przyjaciół,” *Prace Kulturoznawcze* 22, no. 4 (2018), pp. 30–31; detailed bibliography on the topic is provided by Golik-Prus, *Różnorodność formuły*, p. 27. From the extensive foreign literature on the subject, in addition to W. W. Schnabel, we should mention: E.K. Thomassen, *Alba amicorum* (Den Haag, 1990); P. Amelung, “Die Stammbücher des 16./17. Jhs. als Quelle der Kultur- und Kunstgeschichte,” in: *Zeichnung in Deutschland, deutsche Zeichner 1540–1640. Ausstellungskatalog* (Stuttgart, 1979/1980), pp. 211–222; B. Wilson, “Social Networking. The Album Amicorum and Early Modern Public-Making,” in: *Oltre la sfera pubblica/Beyond the Public Sphere: Opinions, Publics, Spaces in Early Modern Europe*, ed. M. Rospocher (Bologna, 2012); for the origins of *alba amicorum*, see for example H.-P. Hasse, “Melanchthon und die ‘Alba amicorum’: Melanchthons Theologie im Spiegel seiner Bucheintragungen,” in: *Der Theologe Melanchthon*, ed. G. Frank. *Melanchthon-Schriften der Stadt Bretten*, vol. 5, eds G. Frank, J. Loeher (Stuttgart, 2000), pp. 291–337.

⁵ For instance, Jan Zborowski used Joannes Sambucus’ *Emblemata et aliquot nummi antiqui operis* from the Antwerp printing house of Christophe Plantin in 1564 for his album (S. Bodniak, “Album amicorum Jana Zborowskiego,” *Silva Rerum* 2, no. 11/12 (1927), pp. 174–179); Martin Schilling owned an interfoliated copy of the later (1574) Antwerp edition of the *Emblemata*... See: A. Szczepaniec, “Sztambuch Sebald Sauermana – przyczynek do kultury intelektualnej patrycjatu wrocławskiego w drugiej połowie XVII i na początku XVII wieku,” *Roczniki Biblioteczne* 66 (2022), p. 69.

⁶ Daniel Naborowski used the volume *Icones sive Imagines virorum litteris illustrium* by Nicolaus Reusner, published in Strasbourg in 1590. See: C. Pirożyńska, “Sztambuch Daniela Naborowskiego,” *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej* 21 (1971), pp. 93–103.

⁷ E.g., engravings by Crispin de Passe published in 1612 titled *Academia, sive Speculum vitae scolasticae... / Trajecti Batavorum ex officina chalcogr. Crispiani Passaei*. See: I. M. Veldman, “Studentenleven omstreeks 1612. Crispijn de Passe’s Academia,” *De Boekenwereld* 15 (1999), pp. 344–353.

Booklets with ready-to-fill templates of blank coat-of-arms escutcheons were very popular; the Frankfurt printer and publisher Sigmund Feyerabend (1528–1590) specialized in the publication of such books, collaborating on this occasion with the eminent Swiss artist Jost Amman (1539–1591).⁸ However, the artworks of such albums are a separate issue, unrelated to the album from the BUW discussed below. Thus, it is sufficient only to mention that the album entries were quite often accompanied by drawings, watercolors, copper engravings with representations of coats of arms, emblems, portraits, allegories or genre scenes.⁹

However, as researchers point out, the custom of inscribing in albums remains a primarily German phenomenon.¹⁰ Entries from the sixteenth century are diverse in every respect. Some consist of a short sentence or an extensive poem, sometimes in the form of a prayer.¹¹ Other times, they are quotations from the Bible, or the Church Fathers accompanied by a rich commentary, a signature, the place where the entry was made and the date; sometimes, they are just initials with dates. There was no shying away from excerpts from the works of ancient and medieval authors, as well as writers from later centuries; the selection of an appropriate quotation was facilitated by specially created collections of maxims – *florilegia*.¹² At times, the subjects of the entries (as well as the iconographic elements) were quite frivolous in nature.¹³

⁸ Amelung, “Die Stammbücher des 16./17. Jhs.,” pp. 213–214. An example of such a collection of wood engravings ready to be used by individuals inscribing in the albums: S. Feyerabend, *Stam und Wapenbuch hochs und niders Standts...* [ill. Jost. Amman, Lucas Mayer, Christoph Stimmer, MB, LF.]. (Franckfurt a.M., after 1 Sept. 1579); BUW, ref. Sd.604.607 (contains only 36 sheets).

⁹ Kotarski, *O imiennikach XVI i XVII wieku*, pp. 105–106; Kotarski also includes the binding of volumes as the artwork of the albums.

¹⁰ The phenomenon of *Stammbücher* was highlighted among others by J. A. Kościelna, “Sztambuch Valentina Jurgi Withera (1578–1623) jako źródło biograficzne,” in: *Piśmiennictwo na Pomorzu Zachodnim do końca XVIII wieku*, ed. J. Kosman (Szczecin, 2015), pp. 143–145. The author focuses on traditional *Stammbücher*.

¹¹ Schnabel, *Das Stammbuch*, p. 263.

¹² Kotarski, *O imiennikach XVI i XVII wieku*, p. 102. See also: J. Ziemiński, “Manu propria. Wpis Olbrychta Karmanowskiego do *liber amicorum* Andrzeja Lubienieckiego,” *OiRwP* 57 (2013), p. 157.

¹³ Michalska, “Nowe perspektywy,” p. 31. See also: H. Bauer, “Alt-Elbinger Stammbücher in der Stadtbücherei,” part 1: “Biographische Beiträge aus Stammbüchern der kryptokalvinistischen Zeit um 1600,” *Elbinger Jahrbuch* 8 (1929), p. 178, the Mikołaj Zenowic’s entry, 1600.

Most often, entries were made in Latin, as well as Greek and Hebrew; modern languages, German and occasionally Polish, were also used for this purpose. However, we should return to the origins of the practice of collecting entries among the academic community, by concentrating on annotations with religious content, as they will be the main focus of the paper. At this point it is necessary to ask a fundamental question about their original purpose. Were they collected only as a keepsake? The earliest ones, annotated by the reformers' hand, can certainly be considered "Protestant relics," but the motive for collecting them was not, in contrast to the later centuries, ties of friendship, but rather the authority of the teacher and the thoughts they wished to pass on.¹⁴

Although they are referred to as albums of friends, according to German *Stammbücher* researcher Werner Wilhelm Schnabel, we are looking at another meaning of the term – a collection of autographs created for religious purposes. The words inscribed in an album were meant to comfort or indicate the correct way of life.¹⁵ Thus, the entries of reformers or exegeses of quotations conveyed a teachable message. For this reason, although they were addressed to specific individuals, the inscriptions usually did not contain *ad personam* phrases. They constituted a transfer of Protestant thought from the university – to the places of residence of the given student or traveler, sometimes considerably distant from the location where the entry was made. Therefore, in addition to the term *album amicorum*, for the earliest pieces created in Wittenberg, researchers also propose other terms such as *album auctoritatum* or *album sodalium*.¹⁶

This is certainly relevant to some of the entries placed in the album of friends kept at the BUW. Due to the form and authorship of the annotations discussed in the article, we will divide them

¹⁴ H.-P. Hasse, "Wittenberger Theologie im 'Stammbuch'. Eintragungen Wittenberger Professoren in Album des Wolfgang Ruprecht aus Eger," in: *Humanismus und Wittenberger Reformation. Festgabe anlässlich des 500. Geburtstagen der Praeceptor Germaniae Philipp Melanchthon am 16. Februar 1997*, ed. M. Beyer (Leipzig, 1996), pp. 89–90.

¹⁵ Schnabel, *Das Stammbuch*, p. 251. Quotes from Protestant scriptures providing moral guidelines are mentioned in Golik-Prus, *Różnorodność formuły*, pp. 100–101.

¹⁶ Hasse, "Wittenberger Theologie," p. 93. Hasse also discusses the intricacies around the term *Stammbuch*, and the difference between a *Stammbuch* – *album amicorum* – a collection of signatures.

into the entries of theologians (from the 1554–1578 period) and those by persons affiliated with the court of the dukes of Pomerania (from the 1577–1580 period); they will be discussed in that order. The appendices included at the end of the paper contain an edition of the notes in question and a list of the authors.¹⁷ To begin with, however, we should take a close look at the volume chosen for this specific album.

“The Psalter Reordered”

Early “Wittenberg” albums were usually created in theological texts, among which Melanchthon’s writings were very popular.¹⁸ In the case in question, the album’s foundation was a collection of psalms translated by Martin Luther in 1551, printed in Wittenberg by Hans Lufft in a small, handy octavo format (8°);¹⁹ it was another edition of the Songs of David as interpreted by the Father of the Reformation. The title page of this edition is decorated with a woodcut which depicts, from the left, a group of armed men approaching a building; its central wall is occupied by a two-color printed title of the work along with the address of the edition. From a window on the right side of the edifice, a woman can be seen helping a figure descend a rope down the wall. The scene refers to a Scripture passage: the story of Michal rescuing her husband King David from armed men sent by Saul, King of Israel.²⁰ These are not the only decorative elements of the card. At the bottom of the woodcut boundary line we see the emblems of the reformers, on the left shield inscribed in a medallion surrounded by acanthus leaves – Martin Luther’s rose, and thus the symbol of the Protestant Church; on the right – Philipp Melanchthon’s crest, a bronze serpent on a cross, a reference to Christ crucified.

¹⁷ Appendices: 1 – list of persons inscribed in the album with corresponding page numbers, 2 – entries by reformers, 3 – entries by Pomeranian dignitaries.

¹⁸ Amelung, “Die Stammbücher des 16./17. Jhs.,” pp. 211–212.

¹⁹ M. Luther, *Der Psalter mit den Summarien. Auffß new zugericht...* (Wittemberg, 1551), BUW, ref. Sd.608.1959 – the book description in: *Katalog druków XVI wieku Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie*, eds T. Komender, H. Mieczkowska, vol. 2 (Warszawa, 1998), item 1167 (partially outdated information on entries).

²⁰ 1 Sam 19:11–18.



Fig. 1. Title page of M. Luther, *Der Psalter mit den Summarien. Auff's new zugericht...* (Wittemberg, 1551), BUW, ref. Sd.608.1959

The emblems of individual reformers were also stamped on other title pages of sixteenth-century prints, a sort of authorization that confirmed that the printed work belonged to the Reformation writings.²¹ The illustration was designed, especially for the first complete edition of Martin Luther's 1531 psalms, by an artist whose name is

²¹ N. Buske, "Titeleinfassung der Schriften Johannes Bugenhagens – ein Beitrag zur Entwicklung der reformatorischen Bilderwelt," in: *Johannes Bugenhagen (1485–1558) der Bischof der Reformation. Beiträge der Bugenhagen-Tagungen 2008 in Barth und Greifswald*, eds I. Garbe, H. Kröger; im Auftrag der Theologischen Fakultät Greifswald [etc.] (Leipzig, 2010), pp. 352–353. On p. 375, Abb. 9: a reproduction of the title page of Martin Luther's Psalms of 1531 (date in the colophon of the 1533 edition).

unknown to us today. The woodcut adorning the featured book from the BUW is a slightly altered version of the same composition, and the woodblock with which the frame on the title page was printed had been used in Hans Lufft's printing house since at least 1544.²²

Although, to the best of our current knowledge, the book in question is the only known copy of the 1551 edition,²³ this fact does not imply that it is particularly unique. After all, the content of the work is known from other editions, and the cataloging of both Polish and European library resources is an ongoing process; we can assume that in time it will resurface in other collections as well. It also lacks marginalia or any traces of previous readings. Its uniqueness is determined precisely by the entries of acquaintances or friends of the owner of the volume, left on the blank pages attached by the bookbinder, placed at the beginning and end of the book block; the other factor is the fascinating, not fully explained, history of this particular copy.

Entries

Philipp Melanchthon penned an inscription on the first two blank pages attached to the psalter, concluding the text with a typical formula “Scripti versus manu Philippi” and a date: 1554²⁴ (see

²² Cf. the title pages of Luther, *Der Psalter Deutsch, mit den Summarien, Auffß new zugericht...* (Wittenberg, 1544). VD 16 ZV 1596, https://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/index.php?id=6&tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=12307&tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=1 and the first complete edition of the psalter compiled by Martin Luther in 1531/1533. VD 16 L 6702, <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00071600?page=>.

²³ The 1551 edition is not listed in other libraries. The Central Catalog of early printed books of the National Library of Poland notes only a copy from BUW under the old reference: *Obce XVI-4^o-16^o-274*. In the international HPB database there is a description based on the BUW copy. Cf. VD 16 online, which includes other editions, e.g. B 3315 (1548 edition), B 3318 (1555 edition). The edition in question is also missing from J. Benzing, *Lutherbibliographie: Verzeichnis der gedruckten Schriften Martin Luthers bis zu dessen Tod*; ed. in Verbindung mit der Weimarer Ausgabe unter Mitarb. von H. Claus (Baden-Baden, 1966) (*Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana*; 10, 16, 19) and *D. Martin Luthers Werke: kritische Gesamtausgabe [Weimarer Ausgabe]. Deutsche Bibel*, vol. 2 [*Propheten; Weisheit Sal.; Sirach*] (Weimar, 1909) – the bibliography appended from p. 201 (*Bibliographie der hochdeutschen Drucke von Luthers Bibelübersetzung 1522–1546*) includes, among other items, psalters published up to 1546.

²⁴ For reproductions of some of the entries, see: *Druki XV i XVI w. [Dokument elektroniczny]: katalog wystawy* [concept, selection of objects and descriptions:

Appendix 2, no. 1). Although the full name is missing here, there is no doubt that these words were penned by the *praeceptor Germaniae*. This is evidenced by the distinctive handwriting known from his vast manuscript legacy.²⁵ Melanchthon sometimes signed his entries with both his first and last name, but just as often he would leave just the former, as in the case at hand.

The reformer repeatedly inscribed himself in books and on loose-leaf pages, as attested by his close associate and friend Joachim Camerarius (1500–1574) in the latter’s acclaimed *History of the Life and Deeds of Philipp Melanchthon*, originally published in 1566.²⁶ According to the biographer, Melanchthon spared no effort or time for this time-consuming activity, although we do not know the annotator’s own thoughts on the subject.²⁷ It is considered to be the first account of the new practice of theology professors inscribing themselves in books of their students.²⁸

E. Bylinowa, M. Czapnik, H. Mieczkowska, catalog compiled by M. Czapnik, introduction by H. Mieczkowska, reproductions by K. Dąbrowska, digital version P. Maculewicz] (Warszawa, 2004). Some of the information in the *album amicorum* entry is outdated (including Philipp Melanchthon’s entry identified as the autograph of Pomeranian Duke Philipp I). Likewise see: *1000-letnie dziedzictwo chrześcijańskie Pomorza Środkowego, czerwiec–wrzesień 2000, Muzeum w Koszalinie* [exhibition catalog, exhibition and catalog concept by D. Szewczyk, ed. J. Kalicki] (Koszalin, 2000), p. 158 (item VI 16). I would like to thank Alicja Kościelna of the State Archives in Szczecin for sending comparative material (autographs of Prince Philipp I) at an early stage of the study of the attribution of Philipp Melanchthon’s entry.

²⁵ The authenticity of the entry was also confirmed by Dr Christine Mundhenk of the Melanchthon-Forschungsstelle der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. This research center is editing Melanchthon’s manuscript legacy, preparing it for print and online access, see: <https://www.hadw-bw.de/forschung/forschungsstelle/melanchthon-briefwechsel-mbw/digitale-ressourcen> (accessed August 2023). The psalter reference from the BUW, which was handed over to the researcher, was included in the list of Melanchthon’s book entries.

²⁶ J. Camerarius, *De Philippi Melanchthonis ortu, totius vitae curriculo et morte... narratio, diligens at accurata Ioachimi Camerarii...* (Lipsiae, 1566), p. 63: “Cooperant enim pleriq[ue] & aliorum celebritate moti expertere, vt manu eorum aliquid in suis libellis perscriberetur, quod ostentare possent. Antq[ue] aliqui ad tales scripturas cartas conglutinatas & libellos peculiare circumferre, cui rei incredibile est, quantum temporis operaeq[ue] tribuerit, cum qualis res esset animaduerteret & negando tamen neminem vellet offendere,” BUW, ref. Sd.608.2637.

²⁷ Hasse, “Wittenberger Theologie,” p. 89, note 2.

²⁸ Schnabel, *Das Stammbuch*, pp. 244–245.

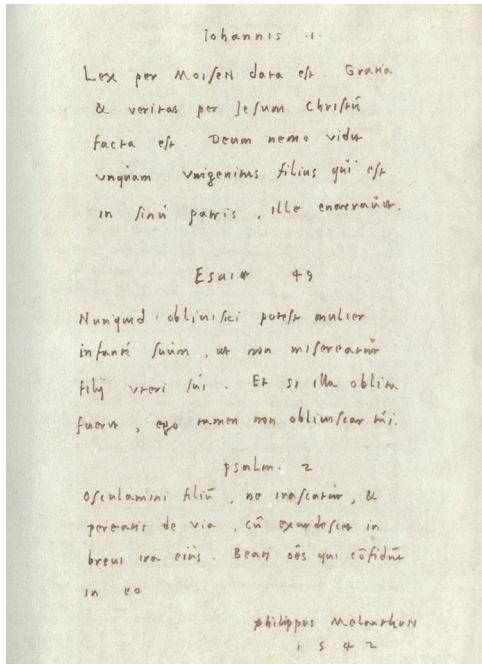


Fig. 2. Philipp Melanchthon's entry from the album of Oswald Lasan (1494–1567): *Erster Teil der Bibelübersetzung M. Luthers...* (Wittenberg, 1541); From the collection of the Polish Academy of Sciences Gdańsk Library, Ref. Ms. 2499, fol. 6recto

The great popularity of this practice is also evidenced by the fact that the manuscript entries (biblical quotations) of Melanchthon and other reformers were collected as early as the sixteenth century by the Lutheran theologian Georg Rörer (1492–1557) and first published in 1547 in the form of a collection entitled *Vieler schönen Sprüche aus göttlicher Schrift auslegung...*²⁹ Subsequent editions of this work were supplemented by the author with new entries.

²⁹ G. Rörer, *Vieler schönen Sprüche aus göttlicher Schrift auslegung...* (Wittenberg, 1548). VD 16 R 2811, the book was published in several editions. On the Wittenbergers fondness for dedications, see: H. Volz, "Die Bibeleinzeichnungen der Wittenberger Reformatoren. Eine Buchgeschichtlich Literarhistorische Studie," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 46 (1971), pp. 122–137 – further reading there. Insights into Melanchthon's entries are provided by: bibliography in W. Hammer, *Die Melanchthonforschung im Wandel der Jahrhunderte, Ein beschreibendes Verzeichnis*, vol. 1: 1519–1799 (Heidelberg, 1967), vol. 3: *Nachträge und Berichtigungen 1519–1970* (Heidelberg, 1981), no. 1257 in both volumes; as well as the RAA database, Repertorium Alborum Amicorum, <https://raa.gf-franken.de/de/suche-nach-stammbucheintraegen.html>, which contains 66 Melanchthon entries (accessed August 2023). See also: *Manu Propria. Mit eigener Hand. 95 Autographe der Reformationszeit. Aus den Sammlungen der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek-Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (SLUB)*, eds H.-P. Hasse, J. Kocourek, K. Nitzschke (Dresden, 2017), vol. 16, 69, 89.

Fig. 3. Philipp Melanchthon's entry on the pages attached to M. Luther, *Der Psalter mit den Summarien. Auffß new zugericht...* (Wittemberg, 1551), BUW, ref. Sd.608.1959, pp. [1-3].

nostra quae
 multa sunt,
 decerunt ex
 his anni qui
 decerunt.

 precatio
 Regis Iosaphat
 reddita versibus
 Cameracensium.

<p> In tenebris nostrar de densa caligine mentis cum nihil est toto pectore consilij Turbati erigimus Deus ad te lumina cordis </p>	<p> Nostra tuāq; fides solius orat opem Tu rege consilij actus pater optime nostror Nostrū opus ut laudi seruiat omne tunc Scripti versus manu philippi 1554 </p>
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The originator of the practice in question, however, was not Philipp Melanchthon, but Martin Luther, who authored 305 entries we know of today.³⁰ It should be assumed that the actual number was probably higher. Melanchthon was asked for autographs in person, and those who did not have the opportunity to meet him arranged the matter through the proofreader and publisher of his works, the aforementioned Georg Röer.³¹

Philipp Melanchthon, unlike Martin Luther, who cited primarily the Book of Psalms in his entries, often quoted the New Testament and the Church Fathers.³² He was also fond of quoting prayers, as well as referring to secular authors. Thus, the first fragment of the album entry from the BUW's collection of early printed books comes from the chronicle of the Lutheran historian Johannes Carion (1499–c. 1538), compiled and published by Melanchthon in 1532.³³ Melanchthon's *editio princeps* was published in German; however, the work quickly gained popularity and as early as 1537 the superintendent of Lübeck, Hermann Bonnus, translated it into Latin. The quotation analyzed here is from the Latin version, referring to the Talmudic prophecy of Elijah (*Traditio domus Eliae*) heralding the imminent arrival of the end times. It speaks of the division of world history into three periods, each lasting 2,000 years, with the reformer's contemporary era just coming to an end.³⁴ The eschatological motif often appeared in Philipp Melanchthon's book entries, and the quotation invoked, on more than one occasion, served as his maxim.³⁵

³⁰ Schnabel, *Das Stammbuch*, p. 247. On the book entries of Martin Luther and other reformers, see: Volz, "Die Bibeleinzeichnungen," p. 128 ff.

³¹ Volz, "Die Bibeleinzeichnungen," p. 126.

³² Hasse, "Melanchthon und die 'Alba amicorum'," p. 300: Melanchthon frequently cited John 14:23, Col 3:16, Phil 2:13; 303 ff.; the Church Fathers he cited included Epiphanius of Salamis and Gregory of Nazianzus.

³³ Johannes Carion (actually Johan Nagelin) sent the manuscript in 1531 and Melanchthon published it in 1532 – *Chronica durch Magistru[m] Johan Carion vleysig zusammen gezogen* (Wittenberg, [1532]). VD16 C 998.

³⁴ Quoted in *Corpus Reformatorum editit Carolus Gottlieb Bretschneider* (hereafter CR), vol. 12 (Halis Saxonum, 1844), p. 717; for *Traditio domus Eliae* as a book entry (discussion) see: Hasse, "Melanchthon und die 'Alba amicorum,'" pp. 321–322 and id, "Wittenberger Theologie," pp. 105–107, 110 (entry in Hebrew and Latin).

³⁵ The quotation is to be found, among other works, in a 1550 book belonging to Eber; see: CR, vol. 7 (Halis Saxonum, 1840), p. 715 (no. 4837). See also: Kalliope catalog, the entry in *Biblia hebraica...* (Basel, 1546), under the date 1556 – <https://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-2265836>, as well as:

Only a small fragment has survived in the book from the BUW. The initial verses are missing³⁶ and it is not clear whether *Traditio domus Eliae* constituted the first or perhaps subsequent line of the annotation.

A further portion of the note in the album of friends is an excerpt from a prayer composed by Joachim Camerarius.³⁷ Melanchthon reworked it and turned it into verse form for the first time in the third version of *Loci Communes*, published in 1543, which constituted the first dogmatics of the Protestant Church.³⁸ The verses in question evoked the figure of Jehoshaphat, King of Judah of the Davidic dynasty, who, having found himself in a difficult situation, relied on God's grace and expected help only from the Creator.³⁹

The poem gained extreme popularity, and was used many times by Melanchthon and other Wittenbergers. Martin Luther quoted it when he made an entry for Justus Jonas in the Greek version of the New Testament in 1542, and Philipp Melanchthon quoted it on a copy of the *Loci communes* published in Leipzig in 1546.⁴⁰

Biblia Sacra... (Lugduni, 1558), under the date 1560, http://iaa.bibl.u-szeged.hu/index.php?page=browse&entry_id=8034, 4th volume of the works of M. Luther from the 1552, under the date 1553, http://iaa.bibl.u-szeged.hu/index.php?page=browse&entry_id=12473.

³⁶ The missing text: "Traditio domus Eliae

Sex milia, Anni su[n]t Mundi
& postea destructio
Duo millia, Iane
Duo millia, Lex
Duo milia, Dies Messiae
Et propter peccata..."

³⁷ As mentioned by Melanchthon himself in two letters to Camerarius: the one dated 5 February 1550, in: *Melanchthons Briefwechsel*, part. T: *Texte*, vol. 20: *Texte 5643–5969: (October 1549–Dezember 1550)*, eds M. Dall'Asta, H. Hein, Ch. Mundhenk (Stuttgart–Bad Cannstatt, 2019), no. 5724: "...Poematus igitur et expectemus a deo consilia et mitigationem publicarum et privatarum miseriarum, ut in tuis versibus dicitur: "In tenebris nostrae et densa caligine mentis, etc."; and the one of 13 February 1551 (see: CR, vol. 7, no. 4664, p. 542).

³⁸ Verse in: *Loci Communes* published in CR, vol. 21 (Brunsvigae, 1854), p. 965.

³⁹ 2 Kings 20:12. M. H. Jung, *Frömmigkeit und Theologie bei Philipp Melanchthon* (Tübingen, 1998), p. 138; p. 131 – this is one of the prayers from the *Loci praecipui theologici*, which includes 22 prayer texts in all.

⁴⁰ In addition to Melanchthon, Georg Maior and Kaspar Cruciger signed on the copy, as mentioned by K. Hartelder, *Melachthoniana Paedagogica, eine Ergänzung zu den Werken Melanchthons im Corpus reformatorum* (Leipzig, 1892), p. 164; for a description of the entry see: S. J. Baumgarten, *Nachrichten von Merkwürdigen Büchern*, vol. 6, no. 2185 (Halle, 1754), pp. 400–401, BUW, ref. 11.1.10.119/1.

On the other hand, in its printed version, the distich found its place in numerous editions of David Chytraeus' *Catechesis* (1554–1614)⁴¹ and in Joachim Camerarius' 1560 collection of prayers.⁴² It is worth mentioning that Leonhard Lechner (1553–1606) composed a musical piece (*Lumen in tenebris*)⁴³ to accompany the text.

The next and also the most extensive entry from the BUW's album (see Appendix 2, no. 2) is a text compiled in Wittenberg by Johannes Bugenhagen,⁴⁴ a Pomeranian reformer, on 21 June 1554. The entry thus dates from the time when the "Doctor Pomeranus" fulfilled his duties as a preacher and academic teacher, while also serving as dean of the theological faculty of the University of Wittenberg (a position he held from 1548 until his death).⁴⁵ It is significant that he left his inscription on the verso of the page with Melanchthon's autograph, as two men have been friends since the 1520s. Bugenhagen begins with the words of the Christian apologist Lactantius, a repeated source he referred to in his works.⁴⁶ However, it turns out that the cited poetic work *Carmen de paschalis*⁴⁷ was erroneously attributed to Lactantius

These and subsequent works by Melanchthon and other reformers from the 16th century, with the referenced verses are cited in the bibliography in: W. Hammer, *Die Melanchthonforschung im Wandel*, vol. 3, no. 1257.

⁴¹ E.g., D. Chyträus, *Catechesis In Academia Rostochiana Ex Praelectionibus Davidis Chytræi Collecta* (Wittebergæ, 1554), sheet G₇recto; VD16 C 2515.

⁴² W. Hammer, *Die Melanchthonforschung im Wandel*, vol. 3, no. 1257.

⁴³ First published in the 1581 edition, see: *Sacrarum cantionum, liber secundus*, no. 9 (*In tenebris...*) (<https://stimmbuecher.digitale-sammlungen.de/view?id=bsb00094078>).

⁴⁴ Bugenhagen's book entries, and more, were elaborated by O. Vogt, *Dr. Johannes Bugenhagens Briefwechsel, gesammelt und herausgegeben durch...* (Stettin, 1888), items 104 (pp. 233–234), 113 (p. 253), 114 (pp. 253–254), 129 (pp. 276–277), 162 (p. 343), 168 (p. 356), 170 (pp. 358–359), 240 (pp. 281–282), 253 (p. 504), 275 (pp. 541–542), 279 (pp. 548–549), 294 (p. 570), 300 (p. 576), 305 (p. 636).

⁴⁵ V. Gummelt, "Bugenhagen Tätigkeit an der Universität Wittenberg, Bugenhagen Tätigkeit an der Universität Wittenberg," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 105 (1994), p. 200; for a general biogram, see the entry by H. H. Holfelder in: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (hereafter *TRE*), https://doi.org/10.1515/tre.07_354_46.

⁴⁶ V. Gummelt, *Lex et Evangelium. Untersuchungen zur Jesajavorlesung von Johannes Bugenhagen* (Berlin, 1994), p. 79; among the Church Fathers, he also cited the works of Lactantius: *Divinae institutiones*, and *De opificio Dei*. Furthermore, the works of Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine.

⁴⁷ J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus: sive bibliotheca universalis, integra, uniformis, commoda, oeconomica, omnium SS. Patrum, doctorum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum qui ab aevo apostolico ad usque Innocentii III tempora floruerunt...*

during the Renaissance. This poem was often included in the works of Lactantius,⁴⁸ but had in fact been written by the poet Venantius Fortunatus (530–c. 600), bishop of Poitiers. Referred to in hymnography as *Salva festa dies* (Be greeted, solemn day), it is an Easter hymn still sung in church today. In the remainder of the entry, clearly delineated by pen from the words attributed to Lactantius, Bugenhagen cites further passages of Scripture, with chapter indication though without verse, a common practice at the time.⁴⁹ He continues the theme of the Resurrection, referring to passages from the letters of St Luke and the Acts of the Apostles.⁵⁰ Inscribed in the psalter, the paraphrase of Jesus' preachings of repentance and forgiveness also served as Bugenhagen's entry twice in 1552, once in Latin on 8 June, and then in the German version with the date 12 October in the 1545/1546 Bible.⁵¹ He summarizes his entry with the words of a psalm, apparently quoting them from memory: "Blessed are those who dwell in Your house, O Lord; they shall praise You forever and ever." He concludes with a reference to the Letter to the Ephesians, which recommends to follow Christ's example to overcome one's enemies and instructs one to lead a new reborn life.⁵²

The last theologian to make an entry in the album in 1554 in Wittenberg was Hebraist Johannes Forster (1495–1556), a professor at the local university (see Appendix 2, no. 4). Forster, a man of the age of change, pupil of the magister Johannes Eck and the first Protestant doctor of theology in Tübingen, was a friend of Melancthon, whom he assisted in the last years of his life. In the field of

[Series Latina, in qua prodeunt Patres, doctores...] (hereafter *Patrologiae Latinae*), vol. 7 (Paris, 1844), p. 287, verses 47–48.

⁴⁸ See e.g., Lucius Caelius Firmianus Lactantius, *Opera* (Rome 1472), fol. [B₇recto] (fol. 231): "Lactantii Firmiani de resurrectio[n]e dominicae die. Salve festa dies...;" online: <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/Inc.I.33>.

⁴⁹ Volz, "Die Bibeleinzeichnungen," p. 123, note 16 – the practice of counting verses in the Wittenberg Bible was first used in print in 1586 (earlier in Heidelberg in the German-language New Testament in 1568).

⁵⁰ Luke 24:44–46, Acts 10:41–45.

⁵¹ Acts 10:40–41, quoted by O. Clemen, "Autographen aus der Reformationszeit im Kestnermuseum in Hannover," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 38, no. 5–6 (1921), pp. 112–113. The entry in German, "Johannes Bugenhagen: Bucheintrag, 12. Oktober 1552," discussed by Hasse in: *Manu propria*, item 94, pp. 200–201; entry previously cited by Vogt, *Dr. Johannes Bugenhagens*, item 275.

⁵² Eph 4:22–24; cf. *Mniejszy katechizm Marcina Lutra Doktora ś. Teologii*, Wyd. większe (W Cieszynie, 1869), p. 149.

translation, he helped Martin Luther, a fact also attested by Joachim Camerarius. He assisted the Father of the Reformation in translating the Old Testament, and was listed as an official aide when the psalter was revised in 1531.⁵³ Forster's writings concentrated on the Hebrew language – his greatest work, a comprehensive Hebrew-Latin dictionary written from a theological perspective, was for many years the primary work in this field.⁵⁴

The penchant for the *lingua sacra* is also reflected in his entry, left on the verso of the last printed page of the psalter and the recto of another blank one attached at the end of the volume, beginning with the phrase in Hebrew with the Latin translation "Salutare tuum expecto Domini" (I await your salvation, Lord). In a commentary on the Chaldean paraphrase of the books of Moses, where the redemption of the Son of God is mentioned, Forster points to Christ as the only source of consolation, for "it is certain, true and eternal." He had made the same entry a few years earlier, in 1550, in the album of his friends Abraham (1526–1577) and David Ulrich (1561–1626),⁵⁵ two superintendents in Zerbst, and used it again in 1552.⁵⁶

The fact that Melanchthon's texts⁵⁷ were eagerly chosen for autographs for albums is confirmed by another entry, penned by Jakob Runge, Bugenhagen's successor, a well-known theologian and superintendent of Pomerania (see Appendix 2, no. 3). A disciple of Luther and Melanchthon, with whom he also shared ties of friendship, he is a representative of the next generation of reformers.⁵⁸ The words

⁵³ J. Steinecke, *Das Reformationstagebuch des Johannes Forster. Zur Erinnerung an den Hebräiker und hennebergischen Reformator* (Magdeburg, 2018), p. 97.

⁵⁴ R. Jauernig, "Johann Forster," *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 5 (1961), eds Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, p. 304 (hereafter NDB). L. Geiger, "Forster, Johann," in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (hereafter ADB), vol. 7 (1878), pp. 165–166.

⁵⁵ See: *Repertorium Alba Amicorum*, https://raa.gf-franken.de/de/suche-nachstammbucheintraegen.html?permaLink=1549_ulrich;213 (accessed: August 2023).

⁵⁶ For the text of the entry with an English translation, see: P. Smith, "Some old unpublished letters," *The Harvard Theological Review* 12, no. 2 (1919), pp. 214–215.

⁵⁷ On this topic, see: Hasse, "Wittenberger Theologie," p. 103. An excerpt from Melanchthon's works also served as an entry in Mikołaj Koryciński's album, see: A. Wagner, "Wolumin z księgozbioru Mikołaja Korycińskiego z rękopiśmiennym fragmentem tekstu Filipa Melanchtona," *OiRwP* 58 (2014), pp. 123–127.

⁵⁸ On Runge's interactions with Melanchthon, see: K. Harms, "Melanchthons Beziehungen zu Pommern und sein Einfluss auf die pommersche Kirche," *Baltische Studien. Neue Folge* 47 (1960), pp. 97–99. About Runge, see also: H.-G. Leder, "Pommern," in: *TRE* 2010 (online version), p. 44.

written on the card are a fragment of a prayer, composed in verse by Melanchthon after the death of Eva Heling (?–1555), wife of the superintendent Moritz Heling (1522–1595), who went on to become a Nuremberg-based theologian. Melanchthon later himself often cited these lines in letters, and preachers quoted them in funeral eulogies⁵⁹ to show the juxtaposition of *the nothingness of man – God*. The well-known poem “Nil sum, nulla miser novi solatia” became the basis for the later church song “Ich armer Mensch doch gar nichts bin,” no longer used today.⁶⁰

It was arranged in 1564 by Johannes Gigas, a Thuringian-born evangelical theologian and author of Church hymns, who died in Silesia.⁶¹ Was it also Runge’s favorite poem? Perhaps, as the superintendent faced a lot of troubles, both in his professional and private life.⁶² For the rest of the entry, he used passages (probably written down from memory) from St Matthew’s gospel: “But seek ye forth the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you”⁶³ and from the First Book of Samuel.⁶⁴ Jakob Runge penned these words under circumstances unknown to us, in Stettin on 13 May 1578.

The following entries, left by members of the family of Pomeranian dukes and by magnates from well-known noble families, between 1577 and 1580, also originated from this region. These typical album inscriptions contain all the elements belonging to such annotations – date, entry, signature, sometimes complemented with decorative symbols.⁶⁵

⁵⁹ CR, vol. 8, p. 442, no. 5748 (deceased 1555), pp. 433–434, no. 5739 (Scripta publica... in Acad. Witeb. 17.III.1555), pp. 438–439, no. 5744 (5.III.1555); for Melanchthon’s poem, see: Jung, *Frömmigkeit und Theologie*, p. 88, note 302; M. Füssel, *Christliche Leichpredigt, Bey dem Begräbnüß deü Edelen Gestrengen, Ehrenvesten, Hoch vnd Wolbenambten Herren Joachim von Berge*, [Acc.] G. Vechner *Christliche Leichvermanung auß dem Sprüchlein 1 Samuelis 2. ... Den 1 Aprilis im 1602 Jahr...*, [s.l.] (1602), p. 93. VD17 15:736271X.

⁶⁰ Jung, *Frömmigkeit und Theologie*, p. 87, note 299.

⁶¹ <https://www.bach-cantatas.com/Lib/Gigas.htm>.

⁶² A. Hackermann, “Runge, Jacob,” in: ADB, vol. 29 (1889), pp. 689–691; see also: M. Ptasiński, *Narodziny zawodu. Duchowni luteranicy i proces budowania konfesji w Księstwach Pomorskich XVII/XVII wieku* (Warszawa, 2011), p. 101, about him and Runge’s order.

⁶³ Matt 6:33.

⁶⁴ 1 Sam 2:30.

⁶⁵ On this type of entries see: M. Turowska, “Książęce znaki własnościowe w kolekcjach piastowskich Brzegu i Legnicy (ze zbiorów Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu),” in: *Piastowskie kolekcje ze zbiorów Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej*

In accordance with court etiquette⁶⁶ the series of ducal autographs from 1577 begins with John Frederick (1542–1600), ruler of Pomerania, who used the maxim *Was Gott will* expressed in the letters “W G W”⁶⁷ (see Appendix 3, no. 3). Below, there is the ducal signature in the form of the initials “I[ohann] F[riedrich] H[erzog] Z[u] S[tettin] Pommern,” while above the motto, between the numerals of the date, are embedded the joined “P E M,” the first letters of the names of the duke’s parents (Philipp, Maria) and wife (Erdmuthe). The entire piece is decorated with decorative graphic signs placed on both sides and at the bottom. The entry of Erdmuthe of Brandenburg (1561–1623), was placed right next to it (see Appendix 3, no. 1). On the card adjacent to John Frederick’s initials, with the same date of 1577, we see a sequence of the first letters of the alphabet, with the initials “E G M Z B H Z S P” underneath, which reads as *Erdmuthe geborene Margräfin zu Brandenburg Herzogin zu Stettin Pommern*.⁶⁸ The entry would not be peculiar at all if not for the fact that above the date the same letters as in John Frederick’s notation, albeit in a different order, were placed (the first letters of the in-laws’ names, not those of the duchess’ parents), as well as the letter E [Erdmut] and F?; additionally, the entire notation, except for the date, is crossed out (was Erdmuthe just testing a pen?). The duchess inscribed herself once again just below the husband’s annotation discussed above (see Appendix 3, no. 4). This time, the spouses’ initials “I[ohann] E[rdmuthe]” appear between the numerals of the 1580 date, a practice as common as placing the initials of the parents’ names. The letters “H I F Z S P” left below, again denote the

we Wrocławiu. Digitalizacja i udostępnianie, eds I. Bińkowska, D. Codogni-Łańcucka (Wrocław, 2015), pp. 95–121. See also: Golik-Prus, *Różnorodność formuły*, pp. 68–69.

⁶⁶ On the subject see: Golik-Prus, *Różnorodność formuły*, p. 61.

⁶⁷ Elaboration of the sentence found in *Lexikon der Stammbuchsprüche. Stechow’s Stammbuchsprüche-Schlüssel* (S.S.S.S.), ed. F.-C. von Stechow (Neustadt–Aisch, 1996) (hereafter *Lexikon der Stammbuchsprüche*), p. 254. Another suggested solution is “Wie Gottes Wille” (the lexicon usually contains several suggestions for elaborating on a particular abbreviation).

⁶⁸ The same sequence of letters is found on a book belonging to Erdmuthe (“E G M Z B H Z S P 1598,” it functions there as an initial supralibros) stored at ULB Darmstadt (ref. M 7884) and on valuable items, such as a chalice from Słupsk. See: M. Frankowska-Makała, R. Makała, “Kunststiftung und Kustbesitz Erdmuthes von Brandenburg, Herzogin von Pommern-Stettin (1561–1623),” in: *“Zwischen Thronsaal und Frauenzimmer.” Handlungsfelder pommerscher Fürstinnen um 1600*, eds D. Schleinert, M. Schneikart (Köln–Weimar–Wien, 2017), p. 172.

Pomeranian ruler Johann Friedrich (Herzog Johann Friedrich zu Stettin Pommern). And further on, unmistakable, the duchess's entry ends with a German variant of the *manu propria* (in own hand) formula: "Erdmuth Gebornne Marggrewin zu Brandenburck herzogin zu Stettin pomernn meiner Handt." The following smaller letters, written below, probably conceal a longer pious sentence. This is not an isolated case of a joint entry by the ducal couple. The spouses often inscribed their autographs⁶⁹ in albums of friends. Both were eager to inscribe themselves in the books, as well as to collect the entries of representatives of the elite of the time.⁷⁰ The duchess, when drawing words for the albums, in addition to dedications, sometimes added prayers she had composed herself. This pious and learned woman repeatedly penned saintly verses,⁷¹ knew Latin, appreciated the classics and, above all, loved books.⁷² She did not, however, shy away from court life, willingly hosting members of the elite at the castle in Stettin, as well as attending ceremonies at European courts.

⁶⁹ E. Metzner, "Das Stammbuch der Herzogin Erdmuth zu Stettin-Pommern," *Baltische Studien. Neue Folge* 13 (1909), p. 5. We know them, for example, from the book of Prince Alexander von Holstein or Johann Jacob von Eberstein. For the ducal couple's album entries kept at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, see: L. Kurras, *Germanisches Nationalmuseum: Die Handschriften des Germanischen Nationalmuseums Nürnberg*, vol. 5: *Die Stammbücher*, part 1: *Die bis 1750 begonnenen Stammbücher* (Wiesbaden, 1988), no. 21, p. 31: the album of Georg Adam von Redwitz (Ref. Hs 18123) – dated 1596; no. 17, p. 23: album of Hans Jacob II. Graf zu Eberstein (ref. Hs 6037d) – dated 1594.

⁷⁰ Erdmuth's album contains 44 entries from 1578–1598 (as described by Metzner), it is currently kept in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden; see: <https://kalliope-verbund.info/query?q=ead.otherroles.gnd%3D%3D%22123510481%22>.

⁷¹ On the prayers authored by Erdmuth, see: Metzner, "Das Stammbuch," pp. 4, 27. A prayer (song) dedicated to Duchess Erdmuth by Michael Brüggemann, Michael Pontanus is preserved in ULB Darmstadt; on parchment, dated 11 October 1613, attached to the *Eine Christliche Lehr und Trostpredigt... Zum Christlichen unnd Selligen Ehrngedechtnis der Edeln und vieltugentreichen Junfräuwleins SOPHIEN von Miltitzen, welche den 22. Augusti des 1612. Jahrs ... im 9. Jahr ihres Alters dieser Welt valediciret ... Anno 1612*, ref. Hs 2517. I would like to thank Darmstadt library employee Andreas Göller for bringing this fact to my attention, as well as the book with the duchess's supralibros from the ULB Darmstadt collection (mentioned in note 68).

⁷² J. Bepler, "Sophia Hedwig von Pommern (1561–1631). Der Umgang mit Büchern im Alltag der Fürstin," in: "Zwischen Thronsaal und Frauenzimmer," pp. 198–199. On Erdmuth's cultural patronage, see: Frankowska-Makala, Makala, "Kunststiftung und Kustbesitz," pp. 165–177.

Under duchess Erdmuthe's crossed out annotation there is another passage, also inked by a woman's hand. Dated 1578, it is inscribed by another of the Pomeranian rulers, who valued books as much as Erdmuthe⁷³ – Sophie Hedwig (1561–1631), daughter of Julius, Duke of Brunswick at Wolfenbüttel, wife of Ernst Ludwig, Duke of Wallachia (1545–1592) (see Appendix 3, no. 2). Her husband's initials E L were incorporated into the date, while the letters "M H Z G" placed beneath are the abbreviation of the maxim *Meine Hoffnung zu Gott*.⁷⁴ This personal motto (sometimes used in a variant of *Meine Hoffnung zu Gott allein*) was repeatedly placed by the duchess in *Stammbücher*, sometimes also in combination with dedications.⁷⁵ Below is the duchess's autograph "Sophia Hedewig geborne zu braunsig vnd lunenbur Herzogin zu Stettin und pommern meine Hand." This notation was not accidentally placed next to Erdmuthe's autograph. The women were friends, which is also evidenced by the *Stammbücher* entries.⁷⁶

The same 1578, though on a separate sheet (p. 18), also saw the entry of Sophie Hedwig's husband Prince Ernst Ludwig, who wrote "W G H W G" which we can read as *Was Gott haben will, geschieht*.⁷⁷ (See Appendix 3, no. 5.) Above the motto, inside the date there is the "H S" monogram, referring to the names of the wife (Hedwig Sophia), while below the autograph, as in the case of both duchesses, ends with a German variant of the formula *manu propria* (German: "mein eig[ener] Hand"). The ducal entry on both sides is surrounded by decorative graphic signs.

Another of the dukes whose autograph can be found in the album is Philipp I's youngest son, Barnim X/XII the Younger (1549–1603), ruler of the Duchy of Darłowo and, since 1600, of Stettin (see Appendix 3, no. 6). Under the date of 1577, the duke placed the maxim *Hilf Got zur Seligkeit*, abbreviated to "H G Z S"⁷⁸ and a signature in the form of initials "B[arnim] H[erzog] Z[u] S[tettin] Pom[mern]."

⁷³ Both of the aforementioned Pomeranian duchesses contributed books as their dowries and received a thorough education at home.

⁷⁴ *Lexikon der Stammbuchsprüche*, p. 157.

⁷⁵ E.g., an entry from the same year 1578 in the album of granddaughter Dorothea von Anhalt (1607–1634) – Bepler, "Sophia Hedwig," pp. 202–203.

⁷⁶ Metzner, "Das Stammbuch," p. 21; the entry in Erdmuthe's prayer book: "1578 M. H. Z. G. Sophia Hedwig... Deine liebe Schwester, weil ich lebe."

⁷⁷ *Lexikon der Stammbuchsprüche*, p. 253.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

Between the numerals of the date the combined letters P and M were placed – similar to those penned by John Frederick, denoting the first letters of his parents' first names. On the other hand, in the lower part below, notes were posted by representatives of the great Pomeranian families – the Schwerins, Schwetzkows, Zitzwitzs and Kleists; all bearing the date 1577.

The first autograph is that of a descendant of the von Schwerin family – Johann or Joachim,⁷⁹ accompanied by the letters “C B V D M B,”⁸⁰ followed by that of Valentin Swetzkow⁸¹ with the sentence *Christus mein Sieg* (styled “C M S”)⁸² (see Appendix 3, no. 8). Below, an autograph was left by the ducal marshal of the Darłowo Court, Peter Czitzwitz,⁸³ with a pious exclamation expressed

⁷⁹ The text reads “Jo. v. Schwerin”; at the time, Ulrich v. Schwerin was active at the ducal court in Stettin, as a counselor and later marshal of the court of Duke Philipp I and his sons; see: von Bülow biography of Ulrich v. Schwerin, in: ADB, vol. 33 (1891), pp. 426–427, he died in 1575, had seven sons. L. Gollmert, *Geschichte des Geschlechts von Schwerin Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte...*, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1878) lists several, including Joachim v. Schwerin auf Stolpe 1625; J. H. Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste* (Halle–Leipzig, 1731–1754) (hereafter *Zedler-Lexicon*), vol. 36, p. 456 (BUW ref. 18.18.1.1/3) lists Joachim, Rudigest's father, among Ulrich's sons.

⁸⁰ Cf. *Lexikon der Stammbuchsprüche*, p. 33 mentions only the abbreviation C. B. – Cristi Blut.

⁸¹ Psalter inscription: “Valt. Swetzkow.” Surname used in forms Swetzkow, Schwetzkow. Valentin von Schwetzkow is known from Johann Georg Böhne's (lawyer, born in Toruń, active in Wittenberg and Altdorf) album entry from 1576, fol. 63, see: <https://haab-digital.klassik-stiftung.de/viewer/image/1268942464/16/>. *Zedler-Lexicon* refers surname Schetzko to Stojentín in vol. 40, pp. 304–305; the lexicon mentions Valentin who in 1530 was a doctor of laws and Hauptmann in Loytz. M. Stojentín, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des uradeligen Geschlechts von Stojentín Pommerschen Ursprungs*, vol. 1: *Urkunden und Urkundlichen Nachrichten...* (Braunschweig, 1895 [Görlitz, 1896]), doc. 125 of 1561, p. 119, Valentin Stojenski tho Vixow (Pol. Wykosowo), p. 161, no. 185, 1608. Carsten – Valentins Sohn auf Vixow, also in doc. 196 of 1618, p. 167 (Claus). Leopold Freiherr von Zedlitz-Neukirch, *Neues preussisches Adels-Lexicon...*, vol. 4, the following forms of the surname: Stojenthin, Stoyentín, Stointín – no mention of the person in question.

⁸² *Lexikon der Stammbuchsprüche*, p. 40. Other suggestions for elaborating on the sentence: Christus meine Starke, Christus mea salus, Christus mein Heil. The character mentioned in *Pommersches Wappenbuch, gezeichnet und mit Beschreibung der Wappen und historischen Nachweisen versehen von J. T. Bagmihl*, vol. 3 (Stettin, 1847), p. 100. (The family owned the Swetzkow estate located to the north of Słupsk since 1575).

⁸³ M. von Stojentín, *Geschichte des Geschlechts von Zitzewitz* vol. 1–2 (Stettin, 1900), vol. 1, p. 238: no. 293 (1573) – „Peter Zitzewitz, Fürstlicher Hofmeister

with the abbreviation “E D S” (*Ex Deo sunt?*)⁸⁴ (see Appendix 3, entry no. 9). The last note on this page was placed by the later marshal of the ducal court and equerry, Tönnis von Kleist (before 1556 – after 1608)⁸⁵ with the motto *Gott mein Hoffen und Trost*, “G M H T.”⁸⁶ It is worth mentioning that Tönnis Kleist served Prince John Frederick for 20 years, and after his death was appointed to Prince Barnim for three more years, thus holding the highest state offices for a total of 25 years during the reign of the Griffin dynasty.

In 1578, on a separate sheet (p. 22), the trusted chancellor of Prince Philipp I and his sons, Valentin von Eickstedt (1527–1579/1580),⁸⁷ inscribed himself with the motto “Gott wird’s geben” (“G W G”)⁸⁸ (see Appendix 3, no. 12). Between the numbers in the date the letter “A” appears, most likely referring to the name of his wife Anna von Jasmunt,⁸⁹ and below the autograph is a quote from the Book of Psalms, “Auxilium meum a Domino, qui fecit caelum et terram.”⁹⁰ That distinguished man, while in the service of the dukes of Pomerania exemplarily fulfilled the diplomatic missions entrusted to him (e.g., he took part in the negotiations regarding the marriage of Ernst Ludwig to Sophie Hedwig).⁹¹ He penned a biography of

in Rugenwalde....” The surname was also found in the forms Czetwicz?, Zitzwitz, Zitzewitz. *Zedler-Lexicon* lists three lines of this family in Pomerania, no mention of Peter.

⁸⁴ *Lexikon der Stammbuchsprüche*, p. 63 – the EDSR maxim, *Ex Deo sunt reges*, an unfinished (?) maxim.

⁸⁵ In the album: “Ton. Kleist.” Tönnies v. Kleist auf Kowalk, in the service of Prince John Frederick (“Hofdiener”) from 1580 – his profile in: *Geschichte des Geschlechts von Kleist*, part 3: *Biographien bis 1880. Dritte Abteilung, 2. überarbeitete Auflage auf Grundlage des Textes von H. Kypke (1885) und von Ergänzungen von H. Wätjen (1979)*, ed. S. von Kleist (Hamm, 2023), p. 485.

⁸⁶ Cf. *Lexikon der Stammbuchsprüche*, p. 96; no mention of the abbreviation listed in the album.

⁸⁷ Spelled “Valtin ad Eickstedt” in the album.

⁸⁸ *Lexikon der Stammbuchsprüche*, p. 105. Other elaborations: Gottes Wille geschehe; Gottes Wort gilt.

⁸⁹ G. von Bülow, “Valentin v. Eickstedt,” in: ADB, vol. 5 (1877), pp. 746–747. The chancellor’s epitaph is in St Nicholas Church in Greifswald (see: Deutsche Inschriften Online).

⁹⁰ Ps 120:2 (121:2 in translation): “My help cometh from the LORD, which made heaven and earth.”

⁹¹ D. Schleinert, “Die Hochzeit des Herzogs Ernst Ludwig von Pommern mit Sophia Hedwig von Braunschweig Wolfenbüttel im Jahre 1577,” *Pommern: Zeitschrift für Kultur und Geschichte* 37, no. 4 (1999), p. 14.

Prince Philipp,⁹² although his work (mainly historical) is believed to had been overrated by his contemporaries.⁹³

The entry of Chancellor von Eickstedt is adjacent to the autograph of an unknown member of the von Brauchwitz family⁹⁴ (see Appendix 3, no. 11) with the date 1577 and the letters “G M H” (*Gott mein Hort?*).⁹⁵ The date is preceded only by an asterisk, and the entire inscription is adorned with graphic signs placed on both sides.

The last entry left on the outer, lower corner of one of the last blank pages is the autograph of another ducal dignitary, chancellor and secret counselor, a mysterious individual that has been judged unflatteringly by history, Peter Kamecke (1543–1613). The chancellor inscribed the date 1578, combined with the first letters of his parent’s names “A K” (Achacy, Christine)⁹⁶ and the motto “H[ilf] G[ot] Weiter.”⁹⁷

⁹² A brief biography and legacy of von Eickstedt detailed by: A. C. Vanselow, *Gelehrtes Pommern, oder alphabetische Verzeichniss einiger in Pommern gebornen Gelehrten...* (1728), p. 30 (wrong date of death, 22 April 1600). E.g., the *Annales* manuscript (*Annales Pomeraniae 1574–1591. Einfaltige Beschreibung der Lande Stettin Pommern...*) is an excerpt from Thomas Kantzow’s chronicle of Pomerania. On von Eickstedt’s works, see also: W. Kühlmann, H. Langer, *Pommern in der Frühen Neuzeit: Literatur und Kultur in Stadt und Region* (Tübingen, 1994 [reprinted 2015]), pp. 5, 77.

⁹³ Citation from G. von Bülow, “Eickstedt, Valentin von,” in: ADB, vol. 5 (1877), p. 746.

⁹⁴ Spelled “I V Brauchwitz” on the sheet. *Zedler-Lexicon*, vol. 4, p. 1126 Brauchitsch: lists Georg, ducal counselor of Pomerania, d. 1605; Jacob active in Silesia “auf Rustern, Poldsdorf, Bielweise und Rostersdorff, an 1563 Hauptmann zu Wolau und Steinau.” J. Sinapius, *Schlesische Curiositäten. Erste Vorstellung Darinnen die ansehnlichen Geschlechter des Schlesischen Adels Mit Empfehlung des Ursprungs, der Wappen, Genealogien der qualifizierten Cavaliere der Stammhäuser und Güter beschrieben...* (Leipzig, 1720), vol. 1, pp. 294–295; surnames Brauchitsch; Georg (d. 1605); p. 295 mentions two family members named Jacob, both with ties to Silesia: “Zur Bielweise im Wohlauischen Jacob Brauchitch von Brausdorff 1558, 1584,” “Zu Rostersdorff im Raudnischen Wohlauischen Fuhrstenthums Jacob 1590, 1595.” There is also Hieronymus (Jeronim) – Hieronymus auf Ober und auf Oberglausersdorff (d. 1605) – who supposedly had a son, Johann. No mentions in *Neues preussisches Adels-Lexicon*.

⁹⁵ *Lexikon der Stammbuchsprüche*, p. 96. Other suggested meanings: Geduld mit Hoffnung, Gott meine Hilfe, Geduld meine Hoffnung, Gott meine Hoffnung.

⁹⁶ F. Kamecke-Cratzig, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Familie von Kamecke* (Cöslin, 1892), p. 44 (no. 214) – died 1615; p. 43 (no. 209 – father’s biography – Achacy married Christine Borcke), p. 44 (no. 214), p. 120, footnote: son of Achacy and Christine.

⁹⁷ Cf. *Lexikon der Stammbuchsprüche*, p. 110; there, we only find the abbreviation HGA: *Hilf Gott allzeit*.

The inscribed phrase “Mein Eig[enthum]” (“my property”) confirms that the book belonged to Chancellor Kamecke’s collection (see Appendix 3, no. 13). It is noteworthy that of the annotators who placed their maxims in the volume mentioned so far, this is its only documented owner. However, the identities of the earlier and later possessors of the psalter are shrouded in doubt.

The Owners

Over the centuries, this small volume has changed hands and storage location many times. Unfortunately, not all of the owners are known by name. The book’s state of preservation is not objectionable today, however, this was not always the case. In 1999 it was subjected to conservation treatment due to damaged binding, for which a luxurious but perishable fabric had been used in the sixteenth or early seventeenth century. Prior to conservation, only remnants of black velvet were visible on the lower board, while the upper lining (presumably with a supralibros?), bindings (probably silk), spine, lining and perhaps a few more inserted pages were missing. It is precisely the absence of the latter that makes it impossible to determine whether Philipp Melanchthon included information about the person to whom he dedicated his words, i.e. the owner of the album, for, as already hinted, his entry begins on the first surviving page, mid-sentence. It cannot be ruled out that it was on the now defunct page(s) or liner that the name or ownership mark of the album’s owner was placed. Melanchthon’s ties to the Griffin dynasty are known, but as will be explained below, it is most likely that they were not the addressees of the “teacher of Germany” entry.⁹⁸

We know the name of, quite possibly, the first owner, thanks to Johannes Bugenhagen; on the last page of his reflections he inscribed vertically an ambiguous phrase “Haec scripsi textus (a me) episcopo Cam.” (“I inscribed this text [by me] for the Bishop of Cammin).”

⁹⁸ See: R. Stupperich, “Melanchthons Anteil an der Reformation in Pommern,” *Archiv für die Reformationsgeschichte* 51 (1960), p. 210 ff. He was the author of the curriculum for the dukes, sons of his friend Philipp I of Pomerania. About Melanchthon’s contacts, see: C. Domtera-Schleichardt, *Die Wittenberger “Scripta publice proposita” (1540–1569). Universitätsbekanntmachungen im Umfeld des späten Melanchthon* (Leipzig, 2021), pp. 114–115; the following pages discuss manuscript entries.

In 1554, the title was held by Martin Weiher (1512–1556), the first Protestant bishop of Cammin (modern-day name: Kamień Pomorski), a graduate of the universities of Wittenberg, Ingolstadt and Bologna.⁹⁹ While studying in Wittenberg (1534–1541), he attended Melanchthon's lectures and had the opportunity to meet Martin Luther. It remains unknown whether Weiher returned to Wittenberg in 1554,¹⁰⁰ however, he was known to be a book lover and owner of a valuable library, the expansion of which he personally took care of. This broad-minded Renaissance man valued both ancient culture and contemporary authors, Italian comedies and music.¹⁰¹ He died in 1556, and between that date and 1578 (the year when the volume was signed by Peter Kamecke) the exact whereabouts of the book are unknown. It is certain that the bishop's estates, as well as the office, passed into the possession of the Pomeranian dukes after Weiher's death, but were the books handed over as well?¹⁰² It is also difficult to ascertain today how the volume with Melanchthon's entry ended up in the book collection of Kamecke, the chancellor of the Pomeranian dukes.¹⁰³ It is not out of the question that the bishop gifted it to

⁹⁹ M. Dzięcielski, "Edukacja młodzieży szlacheckiej z ziemi lęborsko-bytowskiej w czasach nowożytnych," *Cywilizacja i Polityka* 2 (2004), pp. 147–189; see also: Z. Szultka, "Rodzina i młodość Marcina Wejhera Biskupa Kamińskiego (1549–1556)," *Czasy Nowożytne* 30 (2017), pp. 11–48. For the biography: R. Schmidt, in: *Deutsche Biographie* 16 (1990), pp. 274–275. R. Pawlik, "Duchowni kapituły kamińskiej ze wschodniej części Księstwa Pomorskiego wobec reformacji," *Acta Cassubiana* 19 (2017), pp. 189–192.

¹⁰⁰ Martin Weiher did not have to be present in Wittenberg to obtain Bugenhagen's entry; Hans Lufft collected the reformers' entries for Albrecht of Prussia; see: Schnabel, *Das Stammbuch*, p. 250.

¹⁰¹ Weiher's book collection is mentioned only by H. Waterstraat, "Martin Weiher, der letzte Camminer Bischof im Reformationszeitalter," *Unser Pommerland* 8 (1923), p. 315. Brief biography: J. Petersohn, *Die Kamminer Bischöfe des Mittelalter. Amtsbiographien und Bistumsstrukturen vom 12. bis 16. Jahrhundert* (Swerin, 2015), pp. 101–103; R. Schmidt, "Martin v. Weiher, Bischof von Camin," *NDB* 16 (1990), p. 274 ff.

¹⁰² Cf. M. Kurzyńska, "Kolekcje starych druków w bibliotekach muzealnych obszaru województwa Zachodniopomorskiego – historia i współczesność. Zarys problematyki," in: *Zbiory specjalne w bibliotekach polskich: problematyka badawcza i organizacyjna*, ed. A. Borysowska (Szczecin, 2015), p. 98, note 28.

¹⁰³ T. Ososiński, "Peter Kamecke i jego księgozbiór," in: *Unbekannte Schätze. Germanica des 16. Jahrhunderts in der Universitätsbibliothek Łódź = Nieznane skarby. Germanika XVI-wieczne w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego*, eds C. Dietl, M. Kubisiak, trans. M. Półrola (Łódź, 2018), pp. 163–172.

a member of the ducal family (or after his death it became the property of the next bishop of Cammin, John Frederick), and the latter gave it to the ducal chancellor. The ruler was eager to bestow books on his chancellor, but for lack of convincing evidence of this course of events, we leave this question open. Certainly the recipient frequented the Szczecin court, as attested by the cited entries from 1577.

Regardless of how the volume came into the possession of the duke's advisor, it is worth noting that Kamecke also collected books, although the exact size of his library is unknown. He distributed his collection between several locations. At the manor house in Glinna (German: Glien, Gryfino County) he kept 15 volumes, known to us from the inventory, where we also find a psalter which can be traced to the BUW copy.¹⁰⁴ Certainly Kamecke had more books, since today we know of more than 20¹⁰⁵ accumulated both through the aforementioned donations by John Frederick¹⁰⁶ and the bishop's travels.¹⁰⁷

The size of the surviving book collection prevents us from fully determining the owner's reading interests, and the exact fate of the chancellor's library after his death is also unknown. What is clear, however, is that towards the end of his life he took special care of part of his book collection. For the books donated to the church in his hometown of Łasin (German: Lassehne, Koszalin County), he

¹⁰⁴ Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie, AKS II/97, p. 465: „Schreibstüblein. Fünfezzenbüchern... 8. ein Psalter mit den Summarien Teudsch.” I would like to thank Dr Paul Gut, director of the State Archives in Szczecin, for sending scans of documents from the archives.

¹⁰⁵ Ososiński, “Peter Kameke,” pp. 171–172; more than 20 volumes are now in the University of Lodz Library, while individual volumes have been purchased by the collection of the National Library of Poland.

¹⁰⁶ Ososiński, “Peter Kameke,” p. 168; for a description of a book from Kamecke's collection, see: P. Lewkowicz, “Oprawy i proveniencje XVI-wiecznych druków niemieckojęzycznych w Bibliotece Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego,” in: *Unbekannte Schätze*, pp. 88–89.

¹⁰⁷ He certainly made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, per Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie, RiS 498, p. 31: “Peter Kamecke auf Lassehne hat sich viele Jahre peregrinierus halber in der Fremde aufgehalten, auch zu Jerusalem das Heil. Grab besuchet...”; according to: J. A. Kościelna, “Pomorzanie w Ziemi Świętej (do końca XVI wieku). Rekonesans badawczy,” *Stargardia* 10 (2015), pp. 137–138, he visited Italy and made numerous trips to Denmark, France and Turkey. Kamecke's travels to Italy and France are mentioned in *Vierteljahrsschrift für Heraldik, Sphragistik und Genealogie*, ed. Ad. M. Hildebrandt, no. 10 (1882), p. 344.

commissioned uniform parchment bindings (with an impressed initial supralibros) and a printed donation ex-libris, known today in two versions. The book collection stored in Łasin became dispersed at the end of World War II. However, the volume discussed and signed by the chancellor in 1578 left his library much earlier than the others, perhaps already in the early seventeenth century. It was not the only one. We also do not know how the individual volumes once belonging to Kamecke ended up in the library in Kamienna Góra (German: Landeshut, Lower Silesia Province) before World War II.¹⁰⁸

The next ownership mark left on the BUW book transports us to the nineteenth century. The last known pre-Second World War owner is the library of the Dukes of Hesse in Darmstadt, as evidenced by the rectangular stamp imprinted on the title page of the psalter [nineteenth century] with the inscription “Grossherzogliche Kabinettsbibliothek,”¹⁰⁹ featuring a closed ducal crown in its center. How did the book reach Hesse? It is not easy to answer this question. There are many possible routes and means, but two seem to be worth considering.

The first of the hypothetical paths from Pomerania to Hesse is through the Saxon capital, Dresden. Namely, Peter Kamecke may have given his *album amicorum* to a friend or acquaintance – a member of a Pomeranian ducal family, and the latter passed it on. If this was the case, most likely the recipient was a woman. According to Saxon law, personal book collections, like valuables and clothing, were inherited only by women (daughters, nieces, granddaughters) after the death of the owner, unless otherwise stipulated in the will.¹¹⁰ Thus, the volumes belonging to the Pomeranian duchesses who came from the Reich could have fed the libraries of their hometowns. Was the recipient the Duchess Erdmuthe, even though she inscribed her entry on the pages attached to the psalter? Or her sister Duchess Anna Maria (1568–1622), wife of the next Pomeranian ruler Barnim X/XII the Younger? Both were widowed and died childless, so their books were inherited by relatives from the Reich. There are some clues in favor of Erdmuthe as the owner of the album (despite the fact that

¹⁰⁸ Ososiński, “Peter Kamecke,” p. 172.

¹⁰⁹ Stamp as yet unknown in the Darmstadt library; also not listed in *Bibliotheksstempel. Besitzvermerke von Bibliotheken in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland./Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, ed. A. Jammers (Wiesbaden, 1998); Darmstadt stamps on pp. 58–59.

¹¹⁰ Bepler, “Sophia Hedwig,” p. 210.

for years, John Frederick's wife did not enjoy a good relationship with the chancellor).¹¹¹

The duchess was fond of giving books to people close to her heart. There are also well-known examples of volumes that have been donated to the Dresden library after her death, where they are still kept today. In addition, a volume formerly owned by Princess Anna Maria¹¹² is held in this library. Why Saxony in particular? In this case, the answer is obvious. Erdmuthé and Anna Maria's sister Sophie (1568–1622), the wife of Saxon Elector Christian I, and the last of the daughters of John George, Elector of Brandenburg (1525–1598), resided in Dresden. Thus, it is possible that the volume with Melanchthon's entry was submitted under unknown circumstances (as a gift or by inheritance) into the book collection of the equally educated and book-loving Sophie. The sisters shared a deep friendship, and Erdmuthé had already gifted Sophie with a handwritten prayer book, now stored in the Darmstadt archive.¹¹³ Sophie's granddaughter, Landgravine Sophia Eleonora von Sachsen (1609–1671), who, by marrying Georg II von Hessen-Darmstadt (1605–1661), known as the Learned One, expanded the Darmstadt library with a sizeable and valuable collection;¹¹⁴ through Sophia Eleonora, her grandmother's books found their way into the collection of the Dukes of Hesse in Darmstadt. Admittedly, there is no description of the psalter in the inventory of books Sophia Eleonora brought to Darmstadt, but the inventory is not complete,¹¹⁵ so such a scenario is not out of the question.

¹¹¹ The chancellor schemed against Erdmuthé by competing for the favor of her husband John Frederick. According to Joachim von Wedel's chronicle (*Hausbuch*), Kamecke reconciled with the duchess in 1593, as mentioned in Ososiński, "Peter Kameke," p. 165.

¹¹² Metzner, *Das Stammbuch*, p. 6.

¹¹³ Beppler, "Sophia Hedwig," pp. 198–199, 210. The prayer book given to Sophie is in the Darmstadt archive, with the reference HStAD Bestand D 4 No. 189/6; see: <https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/detailAction.action?detailid=v2976077&icomefrom=search>.

¹¹⁴ K. H. Staub, "Hofbibliothek" (Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt), in: *Handbuch Deutscher Historischer Buchbestände in Europa*, ed. B. Fabian, vol. 5 (Hildesheim–Zürich–New York, 1992), p. 59: "Einen bedeutenden Zuwachs erfuhr die Bibliothek durch die Büchersammlung von Sophie Eleonore (1609–1671), der Frau Landgraf Georgs II. (1605–1661, Regierungsantritt 1626) und Tochter des Kurfürsten Johann Georg I. von Sachsen."

¹¹⁵ The psalter is not listed in Sophie Eleonore's book inventories kept in the Darmstadt Archives [Hessisches Staatsarchiv Darmstadt]; I would like to thank Andreas Göller for fact-checking and providing this piece of information.

How else could the book have reached Hesse? To consider this question, we should take a look at early printed books from the BUW which also have a Darmstadt provenance. Volumes from the collections of the Dukes of Hesse usually bear an oval stamp with the inscription “Grossherzoglich Hessische Cabinetts Bibliothek” (in several variations), often accompanied by a hexagonal stamp with the letters “H S B” denoting the library in Homburg (Homburger Schloss Bibliothek). The simultaneous occurrence of these two stamps on books is due to the fact that the collection of the Homburg castle library, through family ties and inheritance, was received by the ducal library in Darmstadt in 1866.¹¹⁶ On the other hand, in 1921, Duke Ernst Ludwig sold part of the grand ducal collection to the Darmstadt State Library (Hessische Landesbibliothek Darmstadt), an important event for the reconstruction of the path of the discussed album of friends, to which we shall further return below.¹¹⁷ The rectangular “Grossherzogliche Kabinettsbibliothek” stamp seen on the *album amicorum* in question appears less frequently than the oval one, but it too happens to be accompanied by provenance markings which indicate that it belongs to the Homburg library.¹¹⁸ This fact is extremely important, since the Homburg collection also held books from Pomerania –

See also: A. Schmidt, “Sächsische Einbände in der Grossherzoglichen Hof- und Landesbibliothek zu Darmstadt. Mit 23 Bildern,” *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, N.F. 10 (1918 [1st half]), p. 10.

¹¹⁶ H. Linck, “Quellen (Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt),” in: *Handbuch Deutscher Historischer Buchbestände in Europa*, vol. 5, p. 91; the majority of Homburg’s collection was destroyed in 1944.

¹¹⁷ Y. Haase, “Hessische Landesbibliothek (Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt),” in: *Handbuch Deutscher Historischer Buchbestände in Europa*, vol. 5, p. 62: “1921 verkaufte der abgedankte Grossherzog Ernst Ludwig ca 40.000 Bde der Kabinettsbibliothek für einen Betrag von 60.000 RM an die ehemalige Hofbibliothek, die seit 1917 den Namen ‘Hof- und Landesbibliothek’ und seit 1920 den Namen ‘Landesbibliothek’ führte.” The current name of the library is Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt.

¹¹⁸ Book with three stamps (two from the cabinet library and one from Homburg): BUW, Cabinet of Manuscripts, inv. no. 141 (statutes of the Diocese of Kamień, a print co-bound with manuscript) <https://crispa.uw.edu.pl/object/files/611926/display/Default>. An example of a volume with the *Grossherzogliche Kabinettsbibliothek* stamp, formerly part of the collection in Homburg: BUW, ref. Sd.608.399–403; the book was owned by Landgravine Elisabeth Dorothea (1676–1721) of Homburg, wife of Frederick III, Landgraf of Hessen-Homburg; notation on the title page “Elisabetha Dorothea Haessiae Landgravia m.pp. Homberg die 2 Mens[is] Aprilis 1717.”

at least two of them belonged to Duchess Erdmuthé.¹¹⁹ However, whether the volume with Melanchthon's entry came into the possession of the Hessian dukes through Homburg remains a mystery.¹²⁰

Although these are two most probable routes (via Dresden or Homburg) by which the volume in question might have moved from Pomerania to Hesse, all that can be said for certain about the owner of the psalter after Peter Kamecke, and before the library of the Dukes of Hesse, is that they were a wealthy person who valued beautifully bound volumes.

We should mention here another small booklet in the BUW collection, the binding of which was done by the same bookbinder as the album with Melanchthon's entry. It, too, was bound in black velvet (very deteriorated today), and the gilded edges of the pages were decorated with the same rich tooled motif. This collection of foundational religious texts of the Protestant church, consisting of Martin Luther's small catechism, his hymns, the gospels and pericopes,¹²¹

¹¹⁹ [Library Catalog 1723–1776:] *Bücherverzeichnis der Schloßbibliothek Homburg vor der Höhe (18. Jahrhundert)*. Transkription 2002 durch M. Sproll (Berlin). No. D/4/P „Gebetbuch ohne Titel, Alle Geschrieben, vermuthlich von Erdmuth Herzogin zu Stettin Pommern wie hinten zu ersehen von 1570 bis 1603.” (p. 100 in quarto), no. E/2 “Glaubens Bekänntnis, Christliches, Meiner Frau Erdmuth. Gebornen Marggrävin aus Churfürst[lichem] Stamm Brandenburg p Herzogin zu Stettin Pommern pp Welche ich Meinem Treuedlichen Herzliebsten Herrn Gemahl Herzog Johann Friedrich zu Stettin Pommern pp zum Sehligen Neuen Jahr Freundlich verehrt habe Anno 1594. NB. ist auf lauter Pergament geschrieben, vergolddt auf dem Schnitt und in Schwarz Sammet eingebund[en]” (p. 102).

¹²⁰ No description of the album of friends in question in [Library Catalog 1723–1776:] *Bücherverzeichnis der Schloßbibliothek*, the catalog contains only folios (2) and quarta (4), no books in octavo format (8). https://digitalisat-he.arcsinsys.de/pdf/hstad/findbuch/d11_100_2_katalog.pdf; in the archives stored in Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie (Archives of the Pomeranian Dukes – Ref. I/2438, I/2439, and I/2337 concerning the funeral and legacy of the Duchess; also in AKS files I/2377, I/2378, I/2380, I/2381 *Die Vermählung des Herzogs Johann Friedrich von Pommern mit Erdmuth, geb. Markgräfin von Brandenburg und derer Leibgedinge*, vols 1–4), the lists of books owned by Duchess Erdmuthé were not found. I would like to thank Andreas Göller for inspecting the catalogs of the Homburg collection stored at the Darmstadt Archives and for the inspiring conversation. I am also grateful to Dr Paweł Gut for conducting a search on Erdmuthé's books at the State Archives in Szczecin.

¹²¹ BUW, ref. Sd.608.1960–1962: 1. M. Luther, *Enchiridion Der kleine Catechismus für die gemeine Pfarherr und Prediger. Auffß neue ubersehen und zugericht*. [Acc.] *Ein Trawbüchlin für die Einfeltigen Pfarherrn. Das Tauffbüchlin verdeudscht und auffß new zugericht*. (Wittemberg, 1542). 2. *Euangelia mit den Summaririen und Epistel*

also belonged to the grand ducal library in Darmstadt before World War II. The title pages of all three co-bound items, like the book with Melanchthon's entry, bear the rectangular stamp "Grossherzogliche Kabinettsbibliothek."¹²² Not only is the binding style of both volumes (black velvet, gilt-tooled page edges) identical. The bookbinder attached blank pages to both, as well. In the album of friends discussed in this paper, the pages added to the psalter at the beginning and end are filled by the entries of reformers and notable Pomeranians; as in the case of Martin Luther's works, the bound pages at the beginning were left unsigned.

The final pages, on the other hand, were used to complete the contents of the *Geistlike leder vnde Psalmen*, write down litanies, prayers, hymns, including the paraphrase of Psalm 103 – Johann Gramann's Lutheran church song *Nun lob, mein Seel, den Herren*.¹²³ Unfortunately, apart from the texts related to the contents of the co-bound works, the owner left no other marks or notations that could help in their identification. It is also difficult to determine who and when bound the two volumes (did it happen in a Pomeranian or rather a Saxon workshop?), something that would be extremely helpful in reconstructing the journey of the album with Melanchthon's entry. A watermark from the attached blank pages, i.e. a mark identifying the region of origin of the paper added to the block during binding, would make determining the bookbinder's workshop far easier. Unfortunately, the too-small format of both books makes it impossible to recognize the watermark.¹²⁴ The story is further complicated

auff alle Sontage und fürnemesten Feste durch das gantze jar. (Magdeburk, 1543).
3. M. Luther, *Geistlike leder vnde Psalmen vppet nye gebetert Mart. Luther: Dyth synt twee Gesanck Bökelin vnde mit velen andern gesengen den thouören vormeret vnde gebetert* (Magdeburg, m. 1537–1560).

¹²² The similar tooled motif is presented in *Deutsche Bucheinbände der Renaissance um Jakob Krause Hofbuchbinder des Kurfürsten August I. von Sachsen* (Berlin, 1994), tabl. 38 – a Wittenberg workshop. The tooled motif is comparable with those crafted in the mid-16th century in Fontainebleau, see: M.-P. Laffitte, F. Le Bars, *Relieuses royales de la Renaissance. La Librairie de Fontainebleau 1544–1570* (Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1999), e.g., pp. 105, 111.

¹²³ In the last co-bound item, *Geistlike leder*, there is no part 2 – the absence of an online copy makes it impossible to compare to what extent the hymns and litanies written on the blank pages are a supplement to the missing text and to what extent they were additional excerpts of pious texts.

¹²⁴ Only small fragments of a watermark with the image of an eagle on the inner corners of the pages added to both volumes are visible.

by the fact that the excessively trimmed edges of the pages of both volumes indicate that they had been bound twice. Without enough clues to solve this mystery from the field of book binding studies, the only thing left to say is that both the content (edifying literature) and the luxurious binding of the two small books from the BUW suggest that they had belonged to an elegant book collection of a member of the social elite.¹²⁵

The further history of the volume with Philipp Melancthon's entry is equally unclear. During World War II, the book was kept at the castle in Karpniki¹²⁶ (German: Fischbach, Karkonosze County), from where it was transported, along with other collections of the Dukes of Hesse, to the repository at the National Museum in Warsaw, which collected, among other items, collections secured from Silesia. In the same year, the book collection from Hesse (though not in its entirety) was transferred to the University of Warsaw Library.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ While we were unable to trace an inventory of books belonging to Princess Erdmuthé, her legacy (*Testament und Kodizill Herzogin Erdmuthes von Pommern[-Stettin], geborener Markgräfin von Brandenburg, und deren Nachlass*, Sächsisches Staatsarchiv, Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, ref. 10024 Loc. 10000/19) includes an inventory of books belonging to Fräulein Elisabeth Eleonore dated 18 November 1619; it contains, among other items, a volume comprising the Gospel, Catechism and Songbook, as well as another book: Psalter Davids. The listed volumes were bound in black velvet and decorated with pearls and gold: I would like to thank Dr Ute Essegern of the Dresden Archives for pointing out this listing. In the early printed books collection of the BUW there are several books belonging to noblewomen whose books were bound in black velvet, with gilt-tooled page edges (e.g. BUW, ref. Sd.604.665 was owned by Anna and Magdalena, daughters of Wilhelm IV).

¹²⁶ BJ Oddział Rękopisów, *Sprawozdania z terenu*, a file without ref. number. "Sprawozdanie z podróży służbowej [- -] na Dolny Śląsk w sprawie zabezpieczenia księgozbiorów opuszczonych w dniach od 9. do 12 stycznia 1946: Karpniki (Fischbach) [- -]. Ponadto jest tu 150 skrzyń z biblioteki ks. heskiego z Darmstadt, umieszczone na zamku, oraz bardzo niewielka biblioteczka zamkowa [- -] dr Jan Czaplński Dat 14.01.1946." ["Report of a trip ... to Lower Silesia to secure abandoned book collections from January 9 to 12, 1946: Karpniki (Fischbach) [- -]. In addition, there are 150 chests from the library of the Duke of Hesse from Darmstadt, placed in the castle, and a very small castle library [- -] Dr. Jan Czaplński Date: 14 January 1946."].

¹²⁷ The BUW archive, file XII/57, sheet 12 "Gift of the National Museum – 84 boxes library of Dukes of Hessen (11,881 volumes) including 3798 early printed materials;" file X/134, sheet 173: "secured book collection [Grossherzoglich Hessische Cabinetsbibliothek] received from the National Museum in January 1946... (total 10897 vols)." The archives do not include a detailed inventory

The reason for the earlier transfer to Fischbach is unknown. It is certain that the castle had belonged to the dukes of Hesse since the nineteenth century, and that the private library of Duke Wilhelm and Duchess Marianne (brought from Berlin in 1852) was located there. However, in 1906 this book collection was transported to Darmstadt.¹²⁸ Were other private collections of members of the ducal family kept at the estate? Certainly, the books were in a small museum, open at the castle and accessible to the public. More volumes appeared in the princely estate during World War II. Its last owner, Prince Ludwig von Hessen und bei Rhein (1908–1968), considered it a safe haven from Allied air raids, so in 1942 his private collection was transported from the Castle Museum in Darmstadt to Fischbach. At the time, this summer residence of the Hessian dukes served as a repository¹²⁹ of valuable works of art looted by the Nazis from the occupied territories, under the management of Gunther Grundmann, the Wrocław conservator of Lower Silesia. Some of the Darmstadt collection returned to the West at the turn of 1944/1945 (e.g., valuable works by the most prominent painters, including the *Madonna of Mayor Meyer* by Renaissance artist Hans Holbein the Younger),¹³⁰ however, it is not known which items (or

(bibliographic descriptions) of the donated collection. History of parts of the Darmstadt collection in the study. On the book collection from Hesse, see: M. Cubrzyńska-Leonarczyk, "Universitätsbibliothek Warszawa," in: *Handbuch Deutscher Historischer Buchbestände in Europa*, ed. B. Fabian, vol. 6: *Polen*, eds M. Zacharska, J. Pirożyński et al. (Hildesheim–Zürich–New York, 1999), p. 65. In Polish: Cubrzyńska-Leonarczyk, "Germanika w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie," *Z Badań nad Polskimi Księgozbiórami Historycznymi*, 18, 1997, p. 156 (partially obsolete). Books with ownership marks of the Dukes of Hesse are also kept by the library of the National Museum in Warsaw.

¹²⁸ Cf. Haase, "Hessische Landesbibliothek," p. 63: "Als Geschenk des Großherzogs erhielt die Hofbibliothek 1912, 34 große Kisten mit Büchern aus der Bibliothek des Schlosses Fischbach in Schlesien, die durch Erbschaft an ihn gelangt waren."

¹²⁹ On the revindication effort, see: W. Kieszkowski, "Składnica Muzealna Paulinum i rewindykacja zabytków na Dolnym Śląsku," in: *Pamiętnik Związku Historyków Sztuki i Kultury*, vol. 1 (Warszawa, 1948), p. 144. Karpniki is a rare example of a non-Silesian collection being deposited in Silesia, pp. 145, 146; "part of the castle collection from Darmstadt" was secured there, the entirety of which was transferred west in 1944–1945. Karpniki is also mentioned by S. Fitszt, "Losy zbiorów, kolekcji i muzealiów jeleniogórskich w latach 1939–1967," *Rocznik Jeleniogórski* 34 (2002), p. 127 ff.

¹³⁰ S. Bernatt, "Zamek w Karpnikach udzielił schronienia arcydziełu malarstwa renesansowego," *Rocznik Jeleniogórski* 14 (1976), pp. 103–112.

books?) remained at the castle. Establishing this fact is hampered by the lack of detailed inventories, which, by definition, were not created during the evacuation from Darmstadt, and even if there were any, they did not survive the war. According to surviving accounts, collections from the Hessische Landesbibliothek Darmstadt were not taken to Karpniki for Silesia, but only from the aforementioned Castle Museum.¹³¹ Remarkably, according to today's knowledge, early printed materials with the stamps of the Grand Ducal Library of Hesse (including the oval "Hessische Grossherzogliche Kabinetts-Bibliothek") stored today in the BUW do not bear the manuscript ownership marks and signatures of the pre-war Landesbibliothek, but this does not solve the question of their origins.¹³² For as mentioned earlier, before the war the Darmstadt library (Hessische Landesbibliothek Darmstadt) successively applied acquisition marks to the collection of the library of the Hessian dukes (Kabinettsbibliothek) obtained in the 1920s. Today it is not possible to determine the extent of that practice.¹³³ We also know that part of the library collection was deposited in the Darmstadt museum during the war, although this concerned only the most valuable sets of items (manuscripts and incunabula) providing an intermediate link in the further evacuation.¹³⁴ Weren't books also taken out of the Castle Museum when the collection was moved? It is also quite possible that a part of the collection bearing Hessian library stamps, stored in the BUW

¹³¹ No information on the evacuation and inventory of the Hessian dukes' book collection in the Großherzoglichen Familienarchiv held at the Darmstadt Archives; information courtesy of Dr. Rainer Mass, head of the Großherzoglich-Hessischen Haus- und Familienarchivs im Hessischen Staatsarchiv Darmstadt (a letter of January 18, 2016).

¹³² Perhaps further research will result in new findings, as the registration of provenance in the GDS of the Bulletin is still ongoing; at the moment, more than half of the resource has been registered.

¹³³ Information obtained at ULB Darmstadt, from Mr. Andreas Göller (letter of 4 October 2021).

¹³⁴ H. Linc, "Die Bücherverluste der Hessischen Landesbibliothek im Jahre 1944," in: *Durch der Jahrhunderte Storm. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Hessischen Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt* ed. E. Zimmermann (Frankfurt am Main, 1967), pp. 198–199; in September 1939, the library's most valuable incunabula and manuscripts were placed in a "fireproof" room of the Landesmuseum, on Aug. 25, 1942, a further 22 cimelia were secured there, and then another portion on Feb. 12, 1943. Later on, the materials made their way to several locations: the Rauenzell castle at Immerstadt; the Maria-Eck monastery at Ruhpolding in Chiemgau and the Kochendorf mine at Wimpfen; all survived the war.

collection today, was in the private collection of one of the members of the grand ducal family.¹³⁵ Could they have belonged to Prince Ludwig? Regardless of whether the volume in question was in the possession of the Darmstadt Landesbibliothek or perhaps one of the ducal family's private libraries before World War II, it does not change the fact that it belonged to the Hessian princes in the past, and found its way to the BUW via Karpniki.

Finis

A number of issues concerning the *album amicorum* with Philipp Melanchthon's entry from the BUW's collection of early printed books remain unexplained. The absence or fragmentary nature of the sources does not allow us to fully reconstruct the history of its movements, including the circumstances under which it ended up in the collection of the Darmstadt *Grossherzogliche Kabinettsbibliothek*, and later at Karpniki Castle. We also do not know all the owners of the volume or the circumstances in which the autographs discussed were collected. The collection of entries of noble persons was fostered by various celebrations, and the year 1577 was full of important events for Pomerania – the ducal nuptials were celebrated twice: Erdmuthe to John Frederick in February, and Sophie Hedwig to Ernst Ludwig in October.¹³⁶ Who knows, perhaps the inscriptions in the discussed book were made during one of the weddings. Also interesting, though impossible to determine, is the question of the circumstances under which the entries of the Wittenberg reformers were collected. Convenient occasions for this may have been university lectures or meetings at Melanchthon's house, where both theologians and students met to listen to theological exegeses.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ The BUW collection holds a book entitled *The Landgraue of Hessen* (1596) belonging to Prince Ernst Ludwig (1868–1937), as evidenced by the pasted-in ex-libris (no Hesse library stamps); it also found its way to the BUW via Karpniki.

¹³⁶ Schleinert, "Die Hochzeit des Herzogs," pp. 7–15.

¹³⁷ On Melanchthon's lodgings: Steinecke, *Das Reformationstagebuch des Johannes Forster*, pp. 81–82. Melanchthon provided lodging to Bugenhagen and Forster, when he arrived in Wittenberg. On the subject of Poles living with Melanchthon, see: O. Bartel, "Filip Melanchton w Polsce," *OiRwP* 6 (1961), p. 87; and J. Tazbir, "Filip Melanchton w pamięci Polaków," *OiRwP* 40 (1996), p. 6.

Whether the pages (all or some of them) with the reformers' entries were not attached later is also an unanswered question, as Johannes Bugenhagen's inscription in particular is very much sewn into the block of the volume. There have been known cases where the autograph sheets of notable individuals were attached to the book at a later date.¹³⁸ However, the excessive sewing of these sheets can also be explained by the effect of the conservator's interventions, i.e. new sewing of the book block in the twentieth century. The lack of photographic documentation of the object before conservation does not allow to resolve the question.

Despite so many unanswered issues and doubts, it must be emphasized that the book constitutes an exceptional testimony to past customs, as well as the tastes of people living in the sixteenth century, and remains an extremely valuable keepsake: a rare autograph album of Philipp Melanchthon in Polish collections,¹³⁹ which as a result of the turmoil of history added greatly to the collection of the BUW.

¹³⁸ Schnabel, *Das Stammbuch*, p. 247: such pages were sometimes pasted or rewritten into other books, sometimes "ready-mades" were collected. P. 248: after the death of the owner, such pages were sometimes sold, donated and falsified by being pasted into other books.

¹³⁹ On the book with Philipp Melanchthon's entry found in the National Library in Warsaw, see: M. Spandowski, "Stargardzkie Melanchthonianum w Bibliotece Narodowej w Warszawie," *Stargardia*, 12, 2017, pp. 61–71; An album with Melanchthon's (and Bugenhagen's) entry from 1542 is kept by the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, ref. Ms 2499 (album of Oswald Lasan [Lassan], d. 1567, description in the RAA album database, see fig. 2) and the University Library in Wrocław (refs. 377899–377901), reproductions in: A. Borys, "Album amicorum Johanna Reimanna (1544–1597). Najstarszy znany sztambuch w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu," in: *Śląska Republika Uczonych = Schlesische Gelehrtenrepublik = Slezska Vedecka Obec*, eds M. Hałub, A. Mańko-Matysiak, vol. 5 (Wrocław, 2012), p. 120, note on p. 113. Philipp Melanchthon's entries in four books belonging to Polish students were collected by K. Piekarski, "Melanchtoniana in Poland," *Reformacja w Polsce* 6, no. 21–24 (1934), pp. 173–176; more recently, the entry by Wawrzyniec of Brzeziny was discussed by P. Matwiejczyk, *Melanchtoniana Polonica. Correspondence of Philipp Melanchthon with the Poles* (Berlin–Warsaw, 2022), pp. 331–332.

APPENDICES

(page numbers attributed by the author)

APPENDIX 1 – the list of people inscribed in the album

Barnim, duke: p. 20
 Bugenhagen Johannes: pp. 4–6
 Brauchwitz I., von: p. 21
 Czitzwitz Peter: p. 20
 Eickstedt Valentin, von: p. 22
 Erdmuthe, duchess: pp. 8–9
 Ernst Ludwig, duke: p. 18
 Förster Johannes: pp. 15–16
 John Frederick, duke: p. 9
 Kamecke Peter: p. 24
 Kleist Ton: p. 20
 Melanchthon Philipp: pp. 1–3
 Runge Jakob: p. 7
 Schwerin Jo[hann? or Joachim], von: p. 20
 Swetzkow Valentin: p. 20
 Sophie Hedwig, duchess: p. 8

APPENDIX 2 – Entries by reformers

(underlining occurring in the records has been replicated)

No. 1:

page 1

.... nostra quae
 multa sunt,
 deeru[n]t ex
 his Anni qui
 deeru[n]t.

precatio
 Regis Iosephat
 reddita versibus
 Camerarii

page 2

In tenebris nostrae
 et densa caligine
 mentis
 Cum nihil est
 toto pectore
 consilii,
 Turbati erigimus Deus
 ad te Lumina
 cordis,

page 3

Nostra tua[m]q[ue] fides
 solius orat opem.
 Tu rege consilijs actus,
 pater optime nostros
 Nostru[m] opus ut laudi
 serviat omne tuae
 scripti versus
 manu philippi
 1554

No. 2:

page 4

Lactantius In Carmine
 Paschali. Salve festa dies-
 Christe salus reru[m], bonae
 Conditor atq[ue] Redemptor,
 Unica progenies ex Dei-
 tate Patris.
 Salve catenatas inferni
 carceris umbras
 Et revoca sursum quidquid
 Ad ima ruit¹⁴⁰ -

Christus a Resur-

¹⁴⁰ "Solve catenatas inferni carceris umbras et revoca sursum quidquid ad ima ruit" in: *Ad felicem episcopum de pascha*, verse 73–74, https://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost06/Venantius/ven_ca03.html (accessed August 2023).

rectione, Lucae ult. dicit¹⁴¹
 ex Mose Prophetis et psalmis
 Oportuit Christum pati
 et resurgere a mortuis ter-
 tio die, et Praedicari In No-
 mine Eius Poenitentiam
 Et Remissionem Peccatoru[m]
 In Omnes Gentes, Inci-
 piendo a Jerusalem.
 Exemplu[m] huius Act. X¹⁴²

page 5

Petrus praedicat gentibus In
 Domo Cornelij

Christus praecepit Nobis prae-
 dicare et Testificari populo
 q[ui]a Ipse est qui constitutus est
 a Deo Iudex vivorum et mor-
 tuorum. Haec est praedicatio
Poenitentiae in Nomine Christi.

.....

¹⁴¹ Luke 24:44–47, Vulgate: “Et dixit ad eos: Haec sunt verba quae locutus sum ad vos cum adhuc essem vobiscum, quoniam necesse est impleri omnia quae scripta sunt in lege Moysi, et prophetis, et Psalmis de me. Tunc aperuit illis sensum ut intelligerent Scripturas, et dixit eis: Quoniam sic scriptum est, et sic oportebat Christum pati, et resurgere a mortuis tertia die et predicari in nomine eius poenitentiam, et remissionem peccatorum in omnes gentes, incipientibus ab Jerosolyma.” King James Version: “And he said unto them, These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled, which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the psalms, concerning me. Then opened he their understanding, that they might understand the scriptures, And said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day: And that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem.”

¹⁴² Acts 10:41–42, Vulgate: “non omni populo sed testibus praeordinatis a Deo, nobis qui manducavimus et bibimus cum illo postquam resurrexit a mortuis et praecepit nobis praedicare populo et testificari quia ipse est qui constitutus est a Deo iudex vivorum et mortuorum.” King James Version: “Not to all the people, but unto witnesses chosen before of God, even to us, who did eat and drink with him after he rose from the dead. He commanded us to preach to the people and to testify that he is the one whom God appointed as judge of the living and the dead.”

Huic Omnes Prophetæ testimonium perhibent Remissionem Peccatoru[m] accipere per Nomen Eius quotquot Credunt in Eum¹⁴³. Haec est praedictio Remissionis Peccatorum In Nomine Christi.

.....

Quam vero efficax sit Spiritus Sanctus per talem praedicationem, ita ibidem sequitur.

Adhuc loquente Petro verba haec, cecidit Spiri-

page 6

tus Sanctus super Omnes qui audiebant Verbum, Et obstupuerunt¹⁴⁴ etc.

.....

Primu[m] illud est Inchoatio Poenitentiae quam vocamus Contritionem. Alteru[m] est fides In Christum. Hoc autem tertiu[m] est fructus fidei et efficacia Spiritus Sancti qui nobi[s?] Noua obedientia et Noua Vita, quae erit Credentibus aeterna, videlicet, q[uod] viuimus In Gratiaru[m] actione

¹⁴³ Acts 10:43, Vulgate: “Huic omnes prophetæ testimonium perhibent remissionem peccatorum accipere per nomen eius omnes qui credunt in eum.” King James Version: “To him give all the prophets witness, that through his name whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins.”

¹⁴⁴ Acts 10:44–45, Vulgate: “Adhuc loquente Petro verba haec, cecidit Spiritus Sanctus super omnes qui audiebant verbum. Et obstupuerunt ex circumcissione fideles qui venerant cum Petro, quia et in nationes gratia Spiritus Sancti effusa est.” King James Version: “While Peter yet spake these words, the Holy Ghost fell on all them which heard the word. And they of the circumcision which believed were astonished, as many as came with Peter, because that on the Gentiles also was poured out the gift of the Holy Ghost.”

et laude Dei patienter fe-
rentes mala, et Tuorantes
[illegible] secundum illud. Beati qui
habitant In domo tua Do-
mine In saecula saeculorum lau-
dabu[n]t te,¹⁴⁵ Eph.4 deponite
vos secu[n]dum pristinam etc¹⁴⁶
Joh. Bugenhagen Pomer. d.
MDLiiii 21 Junij.

[Vertical:] Haec Scripsi Textus (a me) Episcopo Cam.

No. 3

page 7

PRECATIO PHILIPPI
MELANTHONIS

Nil sum, nulla miser noui solaria,
Massam,
Humanam nisi quod tu quoq[ue]
Christe geris.
Tu me sustenta fragilem, tu Chris-
te gubernas,
Fac vt sim massae surculus ipse
tuae
Hoc mirum foedus semper mens
Cogitet, vno
Hoc est, ne dubita, foedere
Parta salus
Matth. 6¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ Ps 83:5, Vulgate: "Beati qui habitant in domo tua, Domine; in saecula saeculorum laudabunt te." Ps 84:5, King James Version: "Blessed are they that dwell in thy house: they will be still praising thee."

¹⁴⁶ Eph 4:22–24, Vulgate: "deponere vos secundum pristinam conversationem veterem hominem, qui corrumpitur secundum desideria erroris. Renovamini autem spiritu mentis vestrae et induite novum hominem, qui secundum Deum creatus est in iustitia et sanctitate Veritatis." King James Version: "That ye put off concerning the former conversation the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts; And be renewed in the spirit of your mind; And that ye put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness."

¹⁴⁷ Mt 6:33, Vulgate: "Quaerite ergo primum regnum Dei, et iustitiam eius: et haec omnia adjicientur vobis." King James Version: "But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you."

Primum quaerite regnum Dei et
omnia adijcientur vobis. Quia
honorificantes me honorificabo
Inquit Dominus. Et qui Deum
contemnunt, erunt in foelices et ig-
nobiles 1. Reg. 2¹⁴⁸

Jacobus Rungius. D.
13. Maij Anno 1578
Stettini

No. 4:

page 15

Genesis XLIX¹⁴⁹
ליאוערך הייהי יהיה
Salutare tuum expe-
cto Domine.
Paraphrastes
Chaldaicus.

Dixit pater noster Jacob. Non
expecto redemptionem Gidde-
nis filij Ioas, quae est tempora-
ria neq[ae] redemptionem Sim-
sonis filij Manue, nam & haec
est transitoria. Sed expecto
redemptionem Christi filij
Dauid, qui venturus est ad
vocandum ad se filios Israel,
huius, inguam, redemptionem
desiderat anima mea.

¹⁴⁸ 1 Sm 2:30, Vulgate: "Propterea ait Dominus Deus Israel: Loquens locutus sum, ut domus tua, et domus patris tui, ministraret in conspectu meo, usque in sempiternum. Nunc autem dicit Dominus: Absit hoc a me: sed quicumque glorificaverit me, glorificabo eum: qui autem contemnunt me, erunt ignobiles." King James Version: "Wherefore the LORD God of Israel saith, I said indeed that thy house, and the house of thy father, should walk before me for ever: but now the LORD saith, Be it far from me; for them that honour me I will honour, and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed."

¹⁴⁹ Genesis 49:18, Vulgate: "Salutare tuum expectabo, Domine." King James Version: "I have waited for thy salvation, O LORD."

page 16

Haec pia est et plena consolatione Patriarchae dicti huius declaratio, pertinens ad omnem posteritatem fidelis Israe q[uod] ea in rebus aduersis non ad praesidia humana confugere debeat, quae aut sunt transitoria, aut omnino vana, sed ad filium Dei ex Dauidе secundum carnem natum, cuius vt redemptio certa est, ita quoq[ue] est vera et aeterna.

Johannes Forsterus D.
Manu sua scribebat
Witebergae 1554

APPENDIX 3 – entries of Pomeranian dignitaries
(arranged in the order of their occurrence)

No. 1 (p. 8):

PEM [F?]

1577

A : B : C : D : E : F : [blurred]

E : G : M : Z : B : H : Z : S : P [blurred]

No. 2 (p. 8)

15 E L 78

MHZG

*Sophia Hedewig geborne zu braunsig
und lunenbur Hertzogin zu st[blurred]
stettin und pommern meine Hand.*

No. 3 (p. 9)

15 PME 77

W & G & W

I [lub H] F H Z S Pommern

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No. 4 (p. 9)

15 FE 80

- H . I . F . Z . S . P\*
- Erdmuth Gebornne Marggrewin  
zu Brandenburck hertzogin zu  
Stettin pomernn meiner Handt.*
- No. 5 (p. 18)  
15 HS 78  
W G H W G  
Ernst Ludwig Herczogk  
zu Stettin Pommern  
mein eig[enes] Hand
- No. 6 (p. 20)  
15 PM 77  
H. G. Z. S.  
B. H. Z. S. Pom.
- No. 7 (p. 20)  
15 \* 77  
CB. VD. MB.  
Jo. v. Schwerin
- No. 8 (p. 20)  
15++77  
C. M. S.  
Valt.Swetzkow
- No. 9 (p. 20)  
1. 5. 7. 7.  
E. D. S.  
Peter. Czitzwitz.
- No. 10 (p. 20)  
1. 5. 7. 7.  
G. M. H. T.  
Ton: Kleist
- No. 11 (p. 21)  
1. 5. \* . 7 . 7.  
G. M. H.  
. I . V . Brauchwitz
- No. 12 (p. 22)  
15 A : 78  
X G W G X  
Valtin ad Eickstedt  
Auxilium meum a D[omi]no  
qui fecit caelum et terram
- No. 13 (p. 24)

15 AK 78  
 H G Weiter  
 Peter Kameke  
 mein Eig[entum]

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## Abstract

The paper presents a sixteenth-century album of friends from the collection of the Early Printed Books Department of the University of Warsaw Library, in which notable reformers, among them Philipp Melanchthon, as well as the dukes and duchesses of Pomerania and dignitaries affiliated with their court, were inscribed. Their annotations appear on the pages attached by the bookbinder to the Psalms in Martin Luther's translation, published in Hans Lufft's well-known Wittenberg printing house in 1551. The trend of inscribing in books was started by the academic community in Wittenberg in the sixteenth century, and the custom soon found imitators in other European urban centers. In order to show the peculiarities of the volume discussed in the article, a brief description of this phenomenon is outlined.

The album presented here was created in the early years of the formation of the entry collection practice, and contains exegeses of Scripture passages, prayers, references to the poetic and chronicle works of secular authors, and the writings of Philipp Melanchthon. The entries of Pomeranian dukes and dignitaries, composed mainly of initials concealing pious sentences and autographs, are of a different nature. Therefore, the inscriptions subjected to analysis are discussed in two groups, first the notes made by theologians (penned in Wittenberg and Stettin, 1554–1578) and then the annotations made by individuals from the court of the Pomeranian dukes (made in Stettin, 1577–1580). The appendices at the end of the article contain an edition of the discussed entries and a list of their authors. Using the provenance marks left on the book and other indications (family collations, prevailing customs, characteristics of the binding, surviving archival transmissions), attempts were made to identify the owners and reconstruct its 400 years history. It is known that in the past the album belonged to Peter Kamecke, advisor to the Pomeranian Duke John Frederick, and earlier perhaps to Martin Weiher, the first Protestant bishop of Kamenz; in the nineteenth century it was owned by the grand ducal library in Darmstadt and in 1946 it became the property of the University of Warsaw Library. Attempts were also made to trace the route the volume in question traveled from Pomerania to Hesse, and on to Karpniki in Silesia.

*Scripti versus manu Philippi...* czyli o albumie przyjaciół  
z wpisem Filipa Melanchtona ze zbiorów Biblioteki  
Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie

W artykule zaprezentowano osiemnastowieczny album przyjaciół ze zbiorów Gabinetu Starych Druków Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie, do którego wpisali się znamienici reformatorzy, wśród nich Filip Melanchton, a także książęta i księżne pomorskie oraz dostojnicy związani z ich dworem. Ich adnotacje widnieją na kartach dołączonych przez introligatora do Psalmów w tłumaczeniu Marcina Lutra, wydanych w znanej wittenberskiej oficynie Hansa Luffta w 1551 r.

Modę na wpisywanie się do książek zapoczątkowało środowisko akademickie w Wittenberdze w XVI w., a zwyczaj ten szybko znalazł naśladowców także w innych europejskich ośrodkach. Dla ukazania specyfiki omawianego w artykule woluminu nakreślono krótką charakterystykę tego zjawiska.

Prezentowany album powstał w początkowej fazie kształtowania się praktyki zbierania wpisów, zawiera egzegezy fragmentów Pisma Świętego, modlitw, odwołania do twórczości poetyckiej i kronikarskiej autorów świeckich oraz pism Filipa Melanchtona. Inny charakter mają wpisy książęce i dostojników pomorskich, złożone głównie z inicjałów kryjących pobożne sentencje i autografy. Dlatego też poddane analizie zapisy omówiono w dwóch grupach, najpierw noty sporządzone przez teologów (powstałe w Wittenberdze i Szczecinie w latach 1554–1578), a w dalszej części adnotacje autorstwa osób z kręgu dworu książąt pomorskich (powstałe w Szczecinie, z lat 1577–1580). Zamieszczone na końcu artykułu aneksy zawierają edycję omówionych wpisów i spis ich autorów.

Na podstawie pozostawionych na książce znaków proveniencyjnych i innych przesłanek (koligacji rodzinnych, panujących zwyczajów, charakterystyki oprawy, zachowanych przekazów archiwalnych) podjęto próbę zidentyfikowania właścicieli oraz odtworzenia jej historii na przestrzeni ponad 400 lat. Wiadomo, że w przeszłości należała do Petera Kameckiego, doradcy księcia pomorskiego Jana Fryderyka, a wcześniej być może do Martina Weihera, pierwszego protestanckiego biskupa kamińskiego, w XIX w. do biblioteki wielkksiężęcej w Darmstadt, a w 1946 r. stała się własnością Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie. Próbowano także nakreślić sposoby transferu omawianego woluminu z Pomorza do Hesji i dalej na Śląsk do Karpnik.

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