CHAPTER 2

Reading the Materiality of a Pamphlet Collection

The German Reformation at the Folger Shakespeare Library[1]

CAROLINE DUROSELLE-MELISH

The Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, DC, is well known for its eighty-two copies of Shakespeare's First Folio and its early English book collection, but few people are aware of its collection of sixteenth-century German Reformation pamphlets—one of the largest in North America. While undeniably important, the reputation of the Folger English collections has obscured the existence of significant holdings in other subject areas, which also make up the library's identity. Furthermore, the presence of a German Reformation collection at the Folger Library is unexpected, since most other North American collections on this subject are located in theological libraries (Gatch 2007, 3).

This essay seeks to shed light on a too-little-known collection at the Folger Library. In doing so, it aims to capture the historical complexity of the collection through a close examination of its books'

material features. Indeed, the meaning of a collection goes beyond the size and the content of its books; it is also determined by their individual and collective histories. As Aaron Pratt has aptly written,

> early printed books carry with them the years between their original creation and their presence in twenty-first-century institutions and private collections. They are home to bookplates, stamps, labels, shelfmarks, and manuscript inscriptions… many books have seen substantial structural changes… each book's accretions and subtractions have meaning. (Harry Ransom Center, January 27, 2021)

These alterations take on new meaning when a book becomes part of a different collection, small or large. As Ben Kinmont writes, "When the book joins a library, it takes on another voice… [and] becomes part of a communal body that creates something larger than the sum of its parts" (Kinmont 2020, vii).

It is the sum of these individual and collective voices that makes up the significance of the German Reformation collection in the Folger Library.

Foundation of the German Reformation Collection

The Folger Shakespeare Library opened its doors in 1932 with, at its core, the collection of its founders—Henry and Emily Folger—whose interests were focused on Shakespeare and Shakespeariana. With the acquisition in 1938 of Robert Leicester Harmsworth's collection of over twelve thousand English books printed between 1475 and 1640, the library became overnight one of the largest repositories of early English books on either side of the Atlantic. While the Folgers had acquired English works mostly to illuminate Shakespeare's literary world, the Harmsworth acquisition expanded the library's scope to include early modern British culture broadly defined. After World War II, Folger directors and curators kept developing the English collections and extended their acquisitions to works as late as the end of the seventeenth century. By the late 1950s and early 1960s, they had started aggressively acquiring continental books—until then, less of priority at the Folger Library—and focused on texts that would help to inform English culture. Pamphlets on the German Reformation fell into this category.

The building of the German Reformation collection was intended to support and develop a subject area already well documented in the collections—namely, the English Reformation. Thanks to the Harmsworth collection and acquisitions in the 1950s, the library owned copies of numerous works by English reformers as well as multiple editions of sixteenth-century English translations of works by their German and Swiss counterparts.

The acquisition of two major collections established the Folger German Reformation collection: first, the purchase of about 250 pamphlets from Sir Thomas Phillipps's collection in 1958, and then the purchase of Emanuel Stickelberger's collection almost twenty years later in 1977.

Both collections concentrate on the early years of the German Reformation. Most of the Phillipps titles were printed between 1502 and 1550, while the 850 books in the Stickelberger collection were printed between 1502 and 1658, with 516 titles published before Luther's death in 1546. As Drew Thomas (2019, 276–7) has recently remarked, Luther was not only a prolific writer, he was also one of the best published authors of his time. It is therefore not surprising that the two collections, with their early chronological focus, include 370 different editions of his works that pre-date his death: that is, about two-thirds of the total number of Luther's publications produced during his lifetime (Folger Shakespeare Library 1983).

The works of other early reformers and supporters of the Reformation, such as Andreas von Karlstadt (1486–1541), Wenceslaus Linck (1483–1547), and Ulrich von Hutten (1488–1523), are also represented in both collections. Emanuel Stickelberger (1884–1962) was interested in documenting the Reformation movement in Switzerland—his native country—and collected the works of Swiss reformers, such as Ulrich Zwingli (1484–1531), Jean Calvin (1509–64), Johann Oecolampadius (1482–1531), and Heinrich Bullinger (1504–75). His collection is also broader in scope than Phillipps's, which mostly consists of pamphlets by Luther (190 out of 250 titles total). In addition to sermons, it includes reports on important Swiss disputations, a few early satirical dialogues, mandates, and declarations by the princes of the Schmalkaldic League and others. It also includes Bibles and psalters, among which are copies of the 1522 second edition of Luther's New Testament and the first French Protestant Bible, printed in Neuchatel in 1535.

The Folger Library kept acquiring books and pamphlets on the Reformation after the purchase of the Phillipps and Stickelberger

collections and tried to fill in gaps, while limiting its acquisitions to printed items within the chronological range of the two collections. When doing so, it considered other holdings in the library. Hence, acquisitions of the works of humanist thinkers of the pre-Reformation were guided by the impressive Folger Erasmus collection—now consisting of four hundred different pre-1800 editions. Likewise, acquisitions of works by Catholic authors opposed to the Reformation movement were most likely driven by the recusant literature present in the collections.[2]

One should note that the Folger German Reformation collection is strictly made up of printed books. Only one manuscript—an autograph letter by Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560)—came with the Phillipps collection (Melanchthon c. 1545).[3] Furthermore, most of the books are pamphlets, usually under a hundred pages long, in a quarto or octavo format, and typically written in German.

Collective Voices: The Phillipps Collection

Phillipps's and Stickelberger's collections carry distinct collective voices despite having the same focus. Much, indeed, separated the two collectors: the scale of their collections, their attitude towards collecting, and, most importantly, the circumstances under which they acquired their books. These differences greatly affected the shape of their collections.

Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872) is no doubt one of the greatest collectors of all time, at least in terms of the size of his collection. It was so large—it has been estimated at sixty thousand manuscripts and fifty thousand books—that its dispersal lasted well into the twentieth century. In 1946, Phillipps's great-grandson, Alan Fenwick, sold the remnant of the collection (i.e., another twelve thousand manuscripts and an unrecorded number of books) to the bookseller brothers Philip and Lionel Robinson, who were based in London. It was from Philip Robinson that the Folger Shakespeare Library acquired the Phillipps's collection of Reformation pamphlets in 1958 (Robinson, August 1, 1968). The library had already done business with the Robinsons before World War II, when it had acquired from them the love letters of John Donne, among other manuscripts (Munby 1960, 5:96).

Phillipps's remarkable manuscript collection has overshadowed his printed books and, even within the realm of his printed books, most attention has focused on his collection of incunables. Little appears to have been written on his books printed after 1500, which included historical works on the British Isles, books on colonial America, travel narratives, and many bibliographies and catalogues, some of which are now in the Folger Library collections. Phillips was a voracious acquisitor, but this did not prevent him from having a clear objective: to preserve documents witnessing the history of the British Isles and, more broadly, the origins of a European culture at a time of great transformations (Clemens and Ducharme 2019). Phillipps's interest was primary sources, whether in manuscript form or as printed books. His library catalogues indicate that he owned historical studies on the German Reformation, bibliographies, and catalogues of German and Swiss libraries (Phillipps [1819]; [1824–1825], no. 1614, no. 7730; [1841], 40; [1852], 21–3, 30, 46, 49). His strong interest in the Reformation movement in England (starting with Henry VIII's text on sacraments) and his trips on the Continent between 1822 and 1829 also influenced his acquisitions.

Phillipps was not the only one in Britain acquiring Continental material during this period. British collectors and libraries greatly benefitted from the upheavals happening on the Continent in the late 1700s and early 1800s: the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars, the dissolution of monastic institutions, and the reshaping of Western European states. No other period in European history had ever known such a large destruction and circulation of books. A. N. L. Munby, in his Phillipps Studies, mentions that, of the thirteen million books in France before the French Revolution started in 1789, ten million were either destroyed or changed hands within five years—i.e., by 1794 (Munby 1954, 3:19). Germany was not immune to these events: in 1803, monastic institutions were dissolved, books moved from private hands to institutional ones, governing units were reshaped, and political systems changed.

German Reformation pamphlets seem to have circulated mainly within Germanophone countries in the early modern period (Guilleminot 2017, 2). It is thus in the early 1800s that they started being collected in earnest in other parts of the Western world, mainly in Britain and, a couple of decades later, in the United States (Gatch 2007, 38–9).[4]

The provenances of Phillipps's Reformation pamphlets are illustrative of these changes. In 1824, while in Darmstadt during one of his

trips to Germany, Phillipps acquired part of the collection assembled by Leander van Ess (1772–1837). Van Ess had been deeply affected by German political and societal transformations. After having been a Benedictine monk until the dissolution of monasteries, a pastor, and then a professor of Catholic theology at the University of Marburg and a Catholic pastor in the same city, he had retired to Darmstadt, where he was working on a German translation of the Old Testament (Gatch 2007, 10–12, and Gatch 2021). The German scholar seems to have benefitted from the turmoil around him to amass an extensive book collection, part of which he was trying to sell when he met Phillipps.

Van Ess sold to the British collector numerous manuscripts, incunabula, early printed Bibles, and Luther pamphlets—the last now in the Folger collections (Gatch 2007, 33). A decade later, in 1838, he sold to the Union Theological Seminary in New York the rest of his books, including the largest part of his Reformation pamphlets collection, made up of approximately 1,250 items (Gatch 2007, 49).

The Phillipps pamphlets from the Van Ess collection can be identified by the numbers inscribed or pasted on a small square or round label on their title pages (these correspond to the numbers in Van Ess's catalogue of pamphlets) (Gatch 2007, 50). Some of these items also carry numbers inscribed by their previous owners, which Van Ess sometimes crossed out in red pencil. Others have an inscription "Dupl" indicating that the German collector mostly sold duplicate copies to Phillipps. Gatch's extensive research on this collection has determined that the Van Ess Reformation pamphlets came from the Marienmünster monastery library near Paderborn, where the collector had been a monk.

Some Phillipps pamphlets have provenance marks reflecting their recent dispersal from different collections. Phillipps likely acquired them through various agents, such as the importers Williams and Norgate, whose ticket is pasted in one of the Luther pamphlets (Luther [1521a]), and at various auctions in Britain and on the Continent. He thus must have purchased at auctions several books from the Van de Velde collection, from which he also acquired fifty manuscripts in 1833 (Munby 1956, 4:206). Jan Frans van de Velde was a Belgian Catholic cleric and librarian at the Catholic University of Louvain who had lost his position when the Habsburg emperor Joseph II closed the university in 1788. Earlier, the librarian-bibliophile had helped his institution obtain manuscripts from Belgian monasteries dissolved by the same Joseph II. In 1797, though, when the Belgian

states were annexed by the French revolutionary government, Van de Velde, fervently anti-revolutionary, fled to Germany. This was where he became interested in Luther's works and assembled a significant collection on Luther and the Reformation movement throughout Europe (De Schepper, Kelders, Pauwels 2008, 54–6). Some of Van de Velde's books carry the marks of other collections recently dispersed, such as the bookplate of chaplain Henricus Vanden Block—a Belgian bibliophile who had lost his fortune during the French Revolution and whose collection was partly sold in 1808 (Cochlaeus 1529 and Linnig 1906, 112–13).

Other marks of provenance on Phillipps pamphlets include the stamp of the Munich University Library: "ad. Bibl. Acad. Land." or "biblioth. Acad. Ingolst." Founded in Ingolstadt in 1472, the Bavarian university had been moved to the town of Landshut in 1800 due to the threat of the Napoleonic army, before being transferred in 1826 to Munich. Its library was among those state institutions that received large quantities of books from nearby dissolved monasteries (Munby 1954, 3:19–20). In order to make space for the newly arrived books (and also, no doubt, for financial gain), the university library undertook a campaign to deaccession duplicates, stamping them as such.

Some pamphlets, in addition to various marks documenting their recent provenance, bear Thomas Phillipps's shelfmark with a roman numeral, a letter, and a number inscribed either on the title page or on the front board (image 1). This shelfmark is distinct from the one the collector assigned to his manuscripts.[5]

Image 1: Example of Phillipps shelfmark inscribed on the title page of a pamphlet.

Many of the pamphlets in the Phillipps collection can be identified by their uniform, gray-printed three-quarter boards with a manuscript paper label on their spine (image 2). The fact that they have the same decorated boards as the Van Ess pamphlets at the Union Theological Seminary underlines their shared provenance. It also indicates that their bindings date prior to their acquisi-

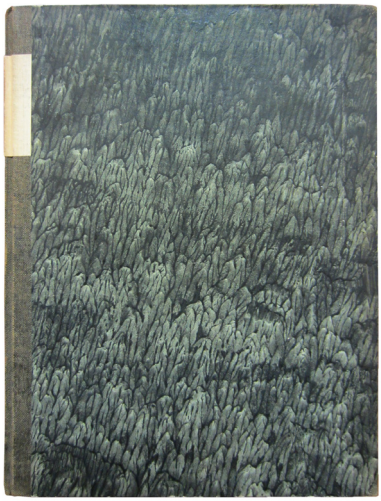


Image 2: Example of a gray printed three-quarter board with a paper label pasted on the spine, covering a Phillipps pamphlet.

tion by the British collector and the New York library (Gatch 2007, 50–4).

Phillipps had a utilitarian approach to the binding of pamphlets. He preserved the ones that were sound and replaced with his Middle Hill boards those that no longer efficiently protected the textblocks. Indeed, the books in his collection that he had bound or rebound were uniformly covered with a distinct, plain-colored paper, either salmon pink or yellow over millboard without pastedowns or other endpapers (image 3). Such bindings were similar to those found on books of popular literature at the end of the eighteenth century in England, although they generally included endpapers. Publishers commissioned these covers for their trade editions but rarely did collectors have their books bound in such a way (Stuart 2004, 80–96). Phillipps's preference for unadorned paper covers (instead of leather) was therefore unusual for a collector of his wealth. No doubt, these preferences were driven by his desire for economy, like publishers. Several pamphlets in Middle Hill boards have blue endpapers, which must have been elements carried over from their previous bindings. Clearly, Phillipps instructed his binder to use the cheapest cover method possible and to reuse whatever material could be preserved.

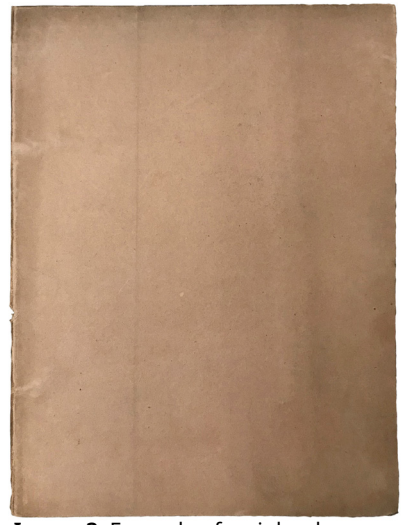


Image 3: Example of a pink salmon Middle Hill board covering a Phillipps pamphlet.

The most likely explanation for the presence of pamphlets in the collection left disbound or unbound with a simple paper spine is that Phillipps's binder ran out of time or money to work on these items. It should not be perceived as a desire to

preserve historical evidence; Phillipps's concern was in preserving texts, not their materiality.[6]

Collective Voices: The Stickelberger Collection

Emanuel Stickelberger collected German Reformation literature in a very different context from Phillipps. At the end of the First World War, he left his career as a chemical engineer to write historical fiction, short stories, a book on Hans Holbein the Younger (Stickelberger 1942), and historical plays on early German and Swiss reformers. Although his family ties to Holbein may have played a role in his interest in this historical period, his main motivation seems to have been a wish to inform his Protestant fellows about early figures of the Reformation movement. Clearly, his own works and his collection informed each other.

Unlike Phillipps, who collected voraciously and acquired collections *en bloc*, Stickelberger collected selectively, acquiring only authors and editions that specifically appealed to him. His main collecting interest was the Swiss Reformation movement and the works of German reformers who held views similar to those of their Swiss counterparts (Seebass and Tammann-Bertholet 1977, 5).

Stickelberger also collected Swiss imprints and seventeenth- and eighteenth-century German literature.[7] In 1944, he founded the Swiss bibliophile society named after Sebastian Brant's *Stultifera Navis* (the Ship of Fools). The Folger Library purchased the portion of his collection on the Reformation after his death in 1977 through the Basel firm Erasmushaus, Haus der Bücher, with whom the collector had done business throughout his life.

Stickelberger's books have more varied modern provenances than Phillipps's because he acquired them individually or in small groups. Yet some books bear the same marks as those in the Phillipps collection, such as the Van de Velde inscription or the stamp of the Munich University Library (*Das Alt Testament zü teütsch…* 1527). The fact that the same marks of ownership are found in both collections is evidence of the steady circulation through the 1900s of books from collections dismantled in the early 1800s.

Many Stickelberger pamphlets have an institutional provenance showing that the sale of duplicates was a common practice of German university and public libraries throughout the nineteenth and early

twentieth centuries. Their marks also reflect the turmoil of the Swiss collector's lifetime: many of these volumes came from German institutions affected by the political changes occurring between the First and Second World Wars. Their stamps can sometimes help determine the period of their deaccession from institutions and the approximate period of their acquisition by Stickelberger. The books with a stamp from the "Martin Luther University of Halle-Wittenberg," for example, must have been sold after 1933—the year in which the Nazi regime renamed the university. Likewise, books from the State Library of Breslau were likely deaccessioned before 1945, when Breslau became part of the Republic of Poland and the library took its Polish name: "City Library in Wroclaw" (later renamed the Wroclaw University Library). Closer to home, Stickelberger also acquired many duplicates from the Basel Public Library in his hometown.

Stickelberger's collection also includes books from private theological collections built in the nineteenth century, such as that of the Swiss historian of Protestantism Gaspard Ernest Stroehlin (1844–1907). Although the bulk of Stroehlin's collection was sold to the municipal library of Geneva after his death in 1907, Stickelberger was later able to buy a group of books remnant from it. Other North American libraries with German Reformation material also include books from this private library. The Pitts Theology Library at Emory University, for example, owns five books from the Stroehlin collection.

Like the books from Phillipps's collection, those from Stickelberger's are distinguished by their bindings. Most of the pamphlets are in decorated paper boards or wrappers, following bibliophilic tastes from the first part of the twentieth century. Stickelberger's binder used leaves from incunables and books from the early 1500s to cover many of these items and, in doing so, renewed the tradition of early binders, who used leaves from manuscripts and printed books no longer thought to be of value themselves; the leaves might be used as covers, pastedowns, or guards on the newer books. But while the early binders did this for economic reasons, Stickelberger's binder used printed leaves for aesthetic purposes: the beauty of their typography, the whiteness of their paper, their decorations, or their woodcuts. This practice also reveals the collector's complex attitude towards early books. He did not hesitate to have his pamphlets bound with leaves separated from books printed less than fifty years earlier. Only in a few cases was attention paid to the printed text of the leaves or to the subject of their woodcuts. Hence a leaf with a large wood-

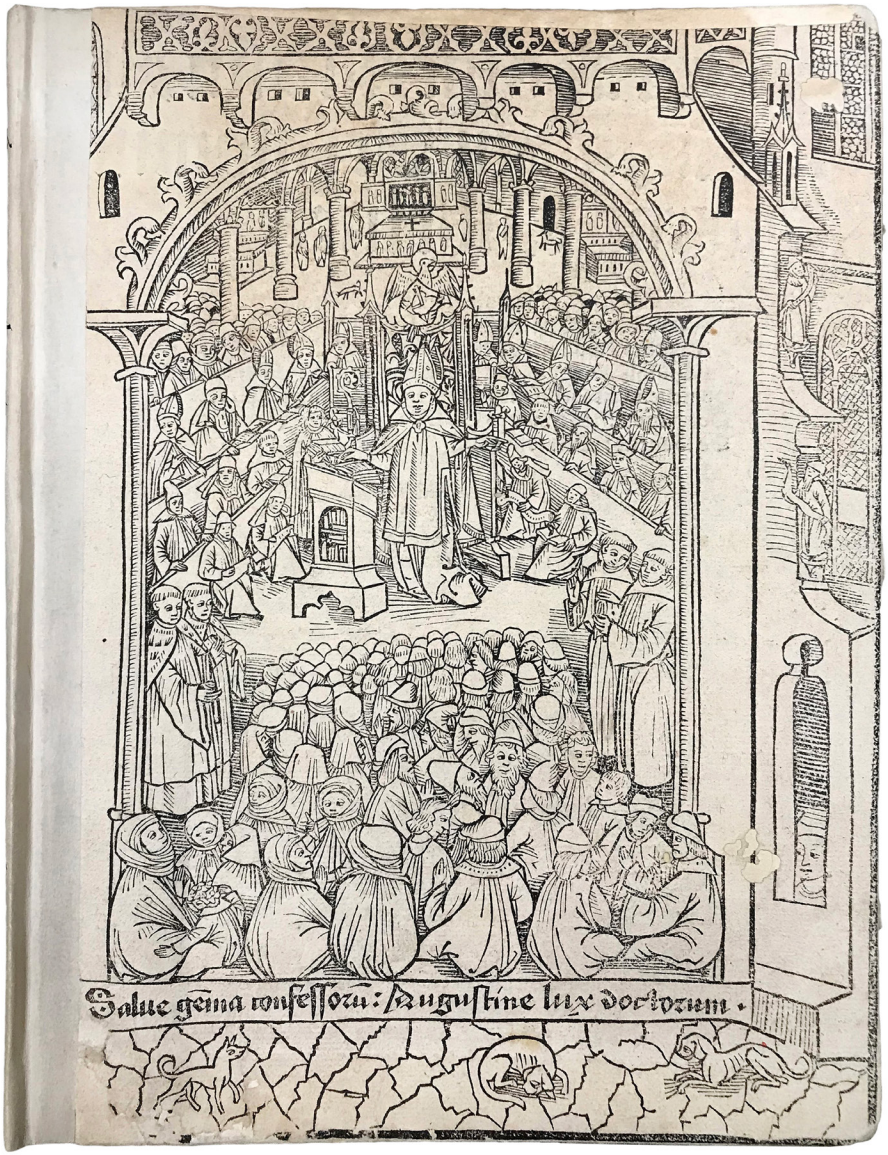
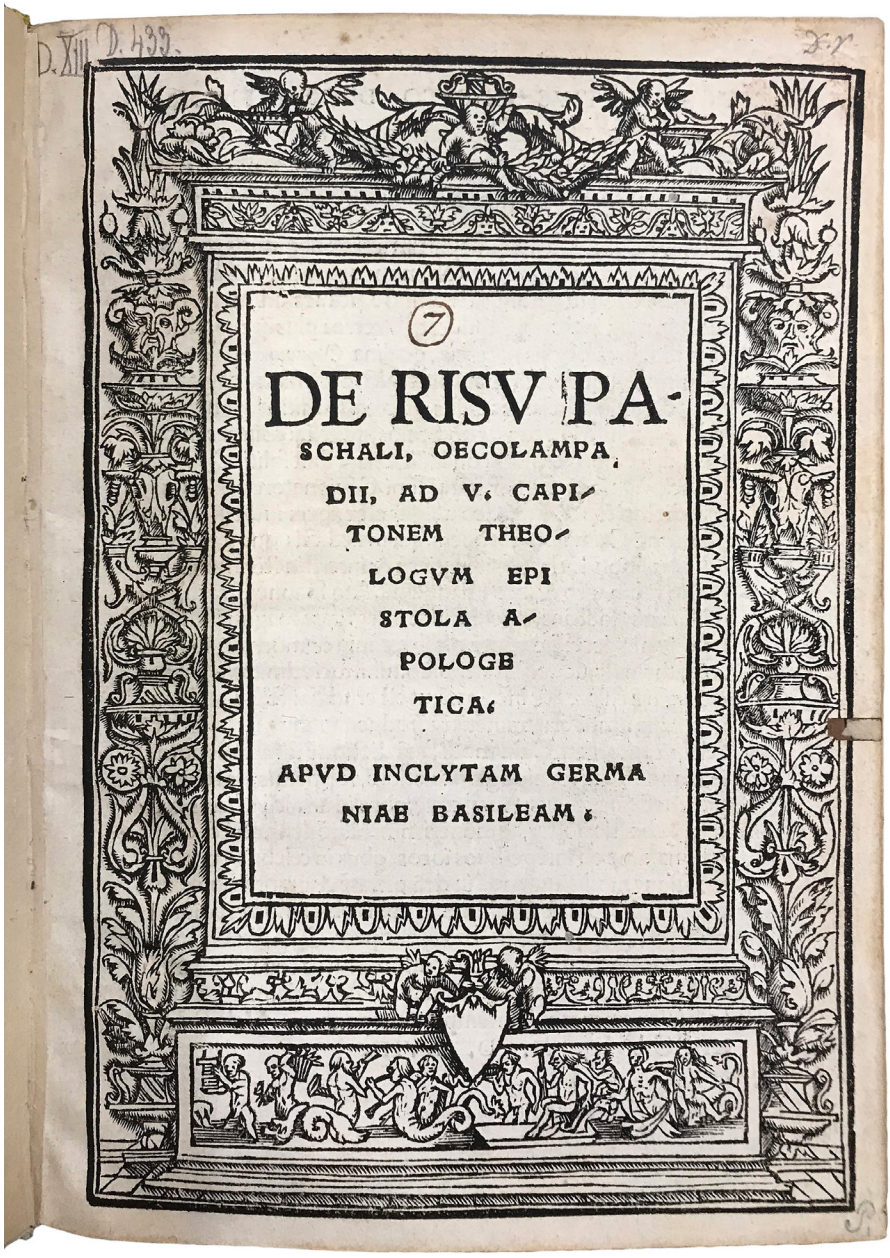


Image 4: Large leaf with woodcut depicting St. Augustine preaching, used to cover a pamphlet written by Luther's opponent, Johann Eck (Eck [1519?]).

cut depicting Saint Augustine as a preaching bishop appropriately covers a text written by Johann Eck (1486–1543), a theologian and opponent to Luther (Eck [1519?]) (image 4).

Manuscript leaves were also used as covers, here again with little to no consideration of their content. In one instance, several manu-

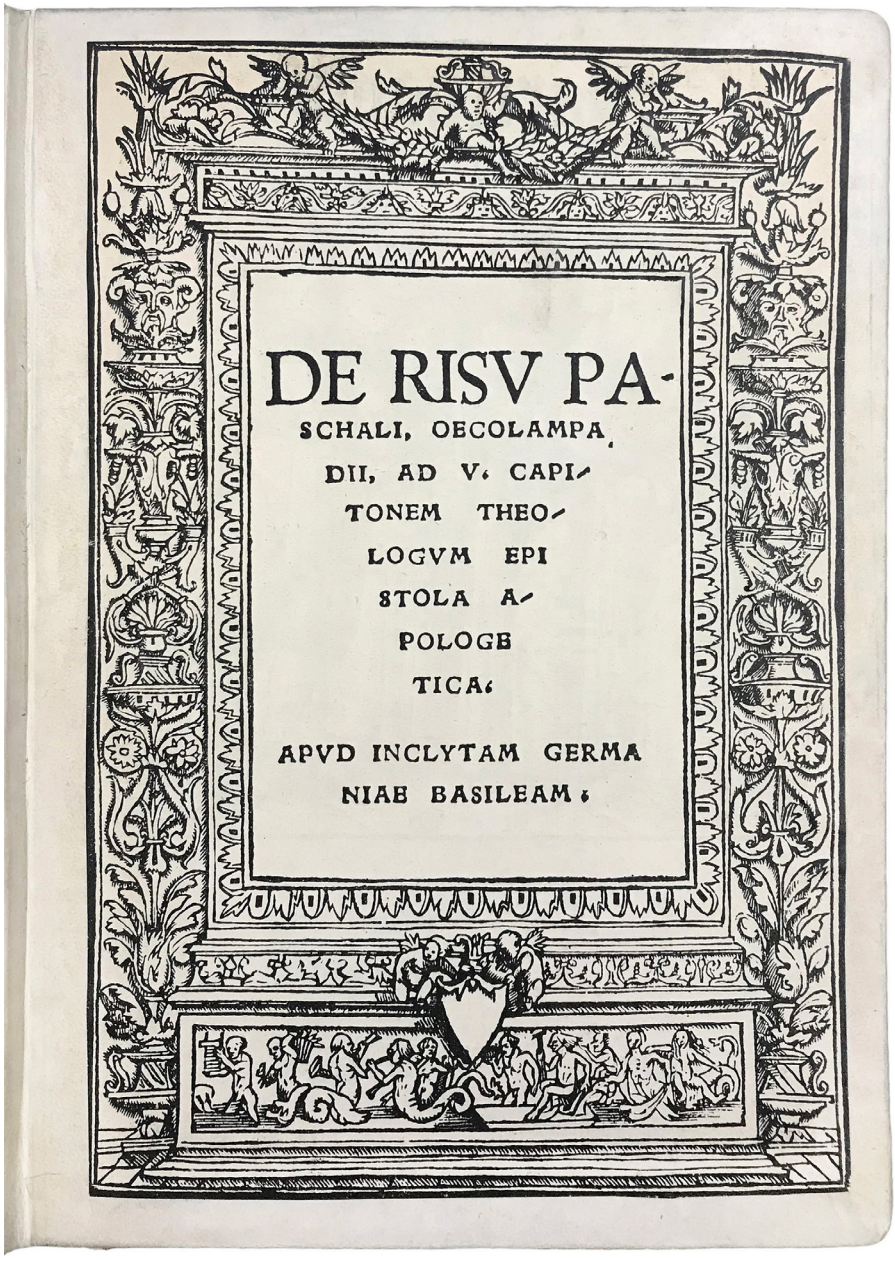


7

DE RISV PA-
SCHALI, OECOLAMPA-
DII, AD V. CAPI-
TONEM THEO-
LOGVM EPI
STOLA A-
POLOGE
TICA.

APVD INCLYTAM GERMA
NIAE BASILEAM.

Images 5 and 6: Title page of a pamphlet by Johann Oecolampadius and its



cover with drawing that copies the printed title page (Oecolampadius 1518).

script fragments written in different hands and from different time periods were used to cover a pamphlet, as pastedowns, and as spine reinforcement (Eck 1526).

The collector's sister is thought to have been responsible for the calligraphic inscriptions and drawings on the spines of many books and pamphlets.[8] She may have been the calligrapher who copied onto several modern vellum bindings the printed text of their title pages. Covers were then turned into pages of text, celebrating the typographical quality of Reformation pamphlets (Oecolampadius 1518) (images 5 and 6). The collector also had several binding stamps created, including one with his armorial design, which were placed on modern parchment and on original early bindings. These gilt stamps imitated those of early modern collectors while adding a decorative element, though sometimes with doubtful results: the stamping of the collector's armorial on a cover made of a manuscript leaf rendered its design indecipherable (*Ein Christenlich gespräch gehallten zü Bern[n] Zwüschen den Predicanten vn[d] Hansen Pfyster Meyer von Arouw* ... [1531]) (image 7).

Image 7: Stickelberger's armorial stamp on a manuscript leaf, used to cover a pamphlet and rendering the stamp's design indecipherable (*Ein Christenlich gespräch gehallten zü Bern[n] Zwüschen den Predicanten vn[d] Hansen Pfyster Meyer von Arouw...* [1531]).

Stickelberger was far from being the only collector to have his books bound following his own tastes and perception of his books. Those he acquired from the Ernest Stroehlin collection were bound in goatskin (often referred to as morocco) by Hans Asper, a prominent Swiss binder active in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Asper's most sophisticated binding represented in the Folger Library collections was for a copy of the first edition of Henry VIII's *Assertion of the Seven Sacraments*, which used a modernist design to highlight the historical importance of this text (Henry VIII 1543) (image 8). Collectors then regularly mixed artistic styles from different time periods on their books. Stickelberger thus did not hesitate to place his modernist

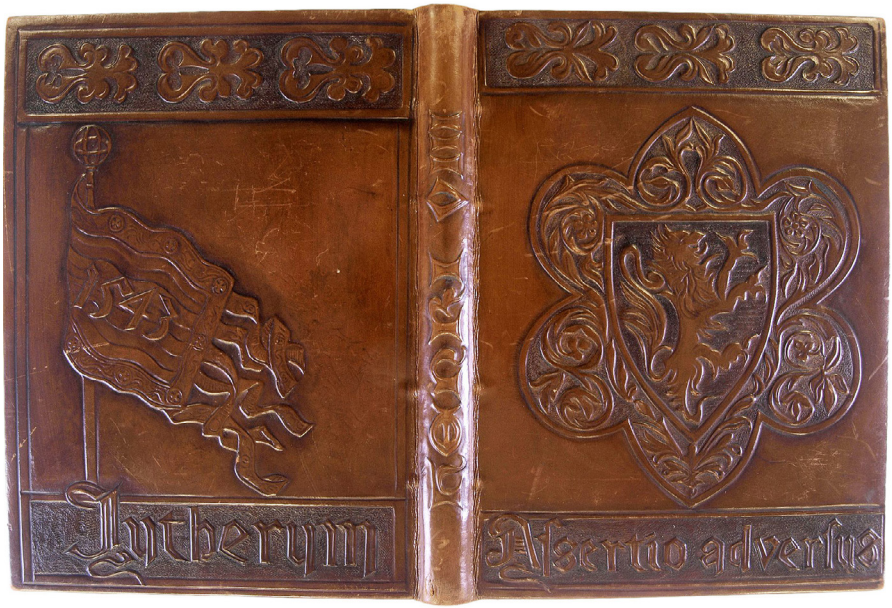


Image 8: Binding by Hans Asper covering Henry VIII's *Assertion of the Seven Sacraments* (Henry VIII. 1543).

bookplate in sixteenth-century books. Besides changing their covers, he extra-illustrated some of his pamphlets, pasting onto their end-leaves either early modern single-sheet prints or cutouts from books depicting their authors.

Early Accretions and Subtractions

In addition to the qualities specific to the most recent collections they came from, the Folger Reformation pamphlets also display characteristics of their earlier lives. Hence, while the majority of the pamphlets in the Phillipps and the Stickelberger collections are bound individually, many show evidence of having been bound with other texts in composite volumes (or *Sammelbände*) at an earlier time.

The remnants of finding tabs are the most common traces of these earlier groupings. Finding tabs were used to easily retrieve the section of a text in a book or the beginning or the end of a pamphlet in a volume (image 9). Made of parchment or paper in various colors (white, brown, or green), they were pasted on title pages or the last leaves of text.[9]

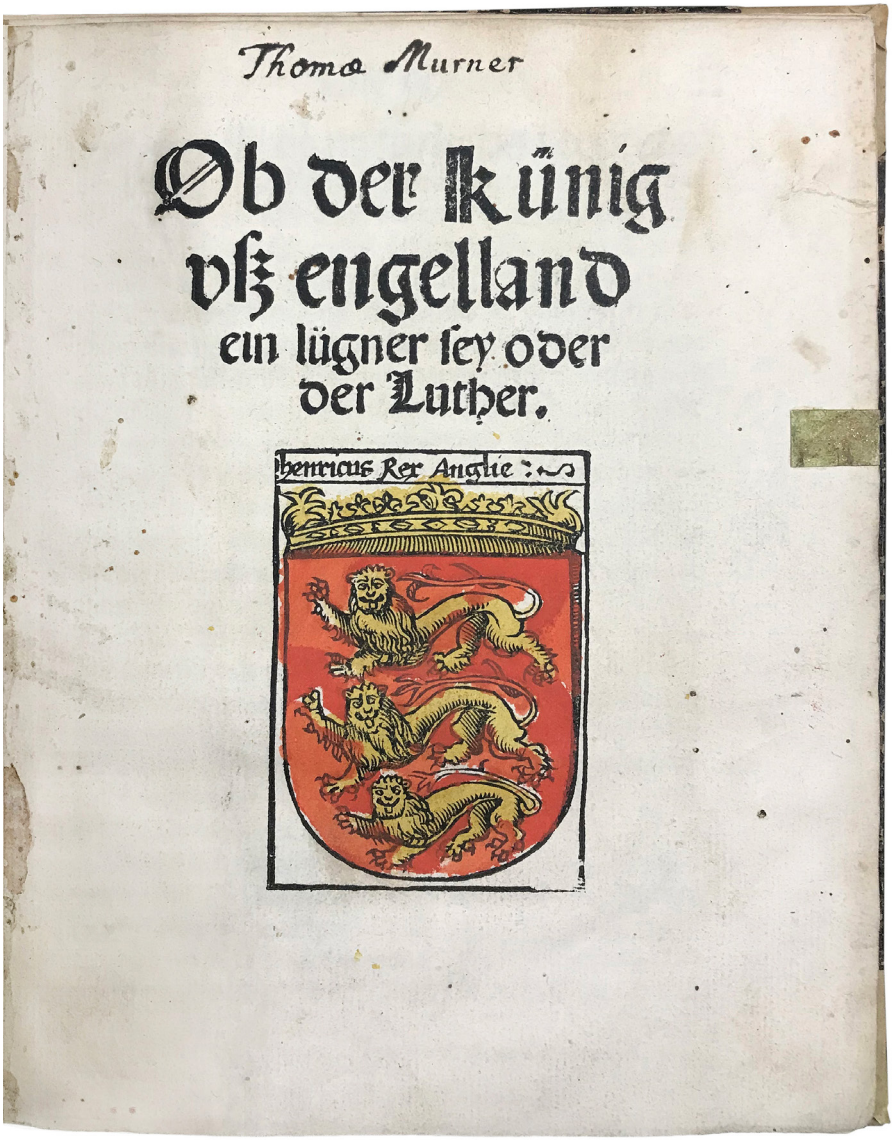


Image 9: Finding tab on the title page of a pamphlet by the poet and opponent to the Reformation Thomas Murner (1475–1537) (Murner 1522).

The manuscript pagination superimposed over the printed one in numerous pamphlets and the traces of offset ink on pages—i.e., text or image transferred from one page to the opposite page—also indicates their binding with other texts in the same volumes.[10]

Phillipps and Stickelberger acquired their pamphlets after they had been broken up from volumes. Most Phillipps pamphlets were disbound before they became part of the Van Ess collection (Gatch 2007, 50–4). The practice of breaking up volumes had started in the eighteenth century and reached its height a century later, when numerous institutional libraries wished to introduce a new order and accessibility to their collections. These were the reasons why, for example, Armand d'Artois (1845–1912), the curator of the Mazarine Library in Paris, broke up thousands of volumes of Mazarinade political pamphlets and arranged them on shelves in alphabetical order by title (Duroselle-Melish 2017a, 191). One may suspect that the same fate befell many Stickelberger pamphlets in German institutional libraries in the nineteenth century.

A few Reformation pamphlets in the Folger library collection also show evidence of having been simply stitched before having been bound more formally. Indeed, not all pamphlets were bound either individually or in composite volumes when acquired by their early owners. Many must have been first used without a cover, although few are extant in such condition (most likely because, without covers, they were more at risk of being lost or destroyed), and their number should not be underestimated. The mark of a fold, for example, in the center of the twenty-page-long biblical commentary by Ludwig Hätzer (c. 1500–29)—now bound in a modern binding—reveals how this pamphlet spent a significant part of its earlier life folded and unbound (Hätzer 1523). Other pamphlets in the collection have soiled first and last leaves, showing that these leaves served as de facto covers.

While Phillipps and Stickelberger did not hesitate to have their pamphlets bound, they were more circumspect with books of a larger size.[11] Stickelberger, hence, kept some of his books in their original state without any alteration. In doing so, he preserved evidence of pre-1800 binding production and of owners' attitudes towards their books, including their practice of having separate texts bound together.

For example, a *Sammelband* with four texts printed in 1561 and 1562 is in its sixteenth-century binding with decorated blind tooling. The texts are all in German and share an intellectual unity, demon-

strating the intentionality of their grouping in one volume. Far from writing in isolation, Reformation authors were in dialogue with one another and responded to one another's arguments, whether in agreement or not, through the print medium. This interrelationship sometimes led to the binding of these texts together. The volume starts with a 1561 translation of a biblical commentary on the Lord's Supper, first written in Latin by the Swiss reformer Heinrich Bullinger (1561). The second text—a defense of the Holy Eucharist doctrine from 1562 by the German reformer Johannes Brenz (1499–1570)—is directed against Bullinger's text (Brenz 1562). The third one is Bullinger's response to Brenz, also from 1562 (Bullinger 1562). The volume ends with a sermon on the Apostles' Creed by the Swiss humanist and reformer Johannes Montanus Fabricius (1527–66) (Fabricius 1562). Although Fabricius's text is not directly related to the previous ones, its printing date (1562) and an inscription on its title page (indicating that it was a gift from the author) signal the owner's likely intention to store it securely with pamphlets recently acquired.

Another composite volume with two texts is in an elaborate binding with gold-stamped decorations and gauffered gilt edges from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. The first bound text is a revised edition of the French version of the Geneva Bible prepared by Theodore de Bèze (1519–1605) and other theologians (*La Bible, qui est toute la Saincte Escriture du Vieil & du Nouueau Testament*… 1588); the second is a translation of the Psalms by the same author and Clément Marot (1496–1544) (Marot and de Bèze 1587).[12] The most intriguing feature of the volume is its yellow paper (image 10). Other examples of Bibles on yellow paper exist, although none in either edition of these texts. This suggests that the coloring in this Stickelberger volume was applied when the texts were to be bound together. Such embellishment might have been intended to imitate the brightness of gold. The yellow paper, which at first must have looked much brighter, paired well with the gilt binding of the book to create a striking effect (Duroselle-Melish 2017b).

Original bindings from the Stickelberger collection sometimes provide direct information about their early owners. Hence the name of a woman, Helena Fürstenhauserin, has been stamped on the front cover of a binding with the date (most likely of its making) 1588 (image 11). The text it covers was printed in 1584 and written by the reformer Urbanus Rhegius (1489–1541) (Rhegius 1584). Although nothing is known about this female owner, her elaborate binding shows her social standing and points to the type of Reformation texts

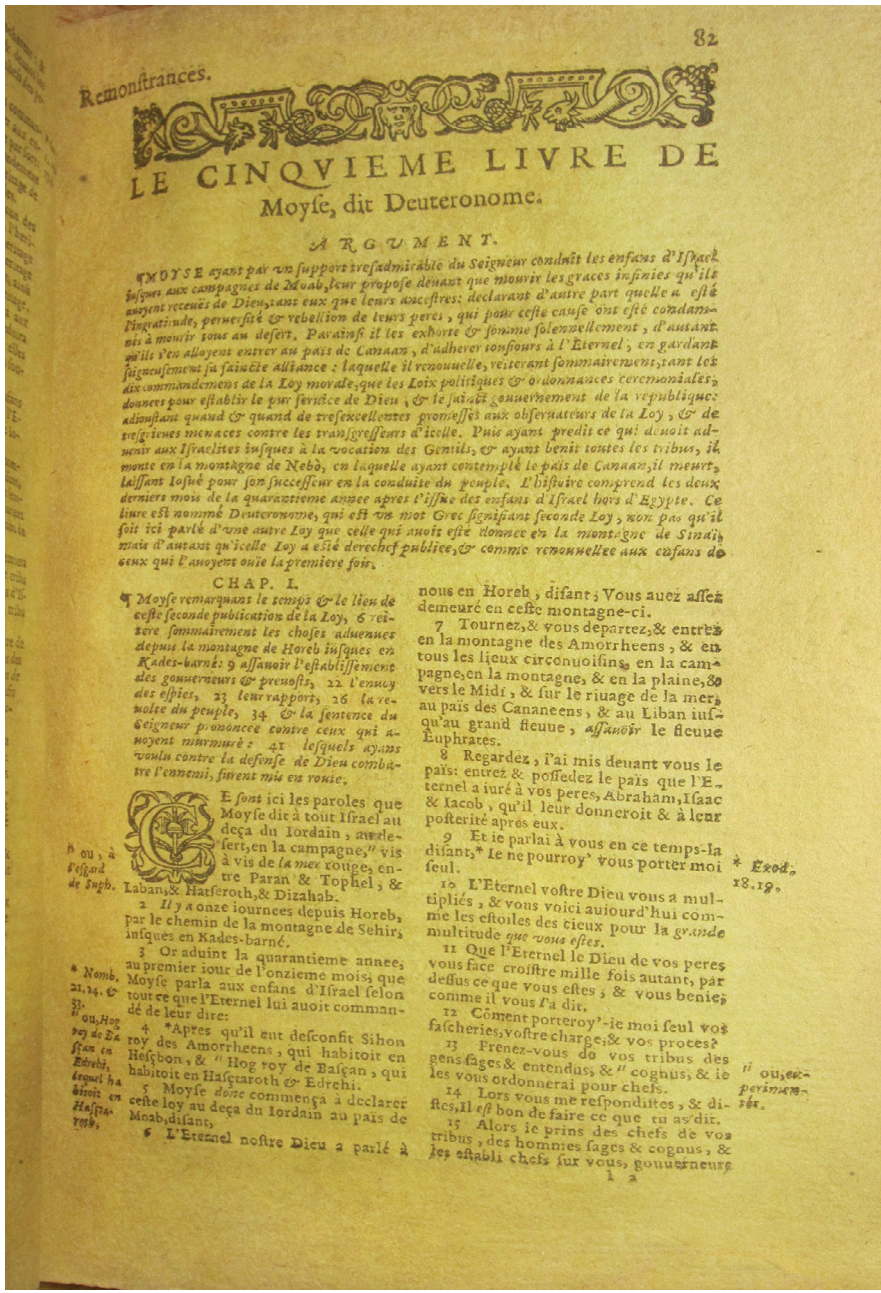


Image 10: Page from a copy of the French version of the Geneva Bible on yellow paper (*La Bible, qui est toute la Saincte Escriture du Vieil & du Nouueau Testament…* 1588).

Image 11: Binding with name of its owner, Helena Fürstenhauserin, stamped on it (Rhegius 1584).

women read. Rhegius's book was extremely popular in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Written in the form of a dialogue between the author and his wife, it explained numerous prophecies found in the Old Testament. Rhegius's inclusion of a female character and his didactic style may indicate that he also aimed for his book to reach a female readership.

Some books have less elaborate early bindings than those discussed above, but they nonetheless provide information about their early owners. A copy of Calvin's commentary on the epistles of Paul, for example, is in a plain German binding, providing a durable method to protect a text frequently used (Calvin 1548; image 12). One of its sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century owners assertively signed his name on the title page.

Image 12: German binding with thin wooden boards and quarter vellum over parchment covering a copy of Calvin's commentary on the epistles of Paul (Calvin 1548).

Phillipps's and Stickelberger's books include traces of their early lives, not only on their covers but also on their pages with manuscript notes. These inscriptions help clarify the reception of Reformation texts over three centuries and suggest that early editions of the Reformers' works were read and used until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The most common type of manuscript notes found throughout the collection are ownership inscriptions. They record, often on the title page, the various transactions involving the books (e.g., a purchase, or a gift from the author or a friend). They also document the transmission of volumes over centuries from one owner to another, either within the same family or not.

Members of several generations of the same family inscribed their names in Stickelberger's copy of the first French Protestant Bible printed in Neuchatel (*La Bible qui est toute la Saincte Escripture, en laquelle sont contenus*... 1535). The earliest inscription seems to be contemporary with the printing of the book and records a mother and her son (image 13). By contrast, the Bible on yellow paper discussed earlier displays an ecclesiastical connection between two of its successive owners: an archdeacon gave this copy to a pastor.

Reformation books and pamphlets in the Folger collections also exhibit the coats of arms of their early owners, either drawn or stamped on their leaves. These might be drawn in a blank space intentionally left by printers for this purpose on title page borders,

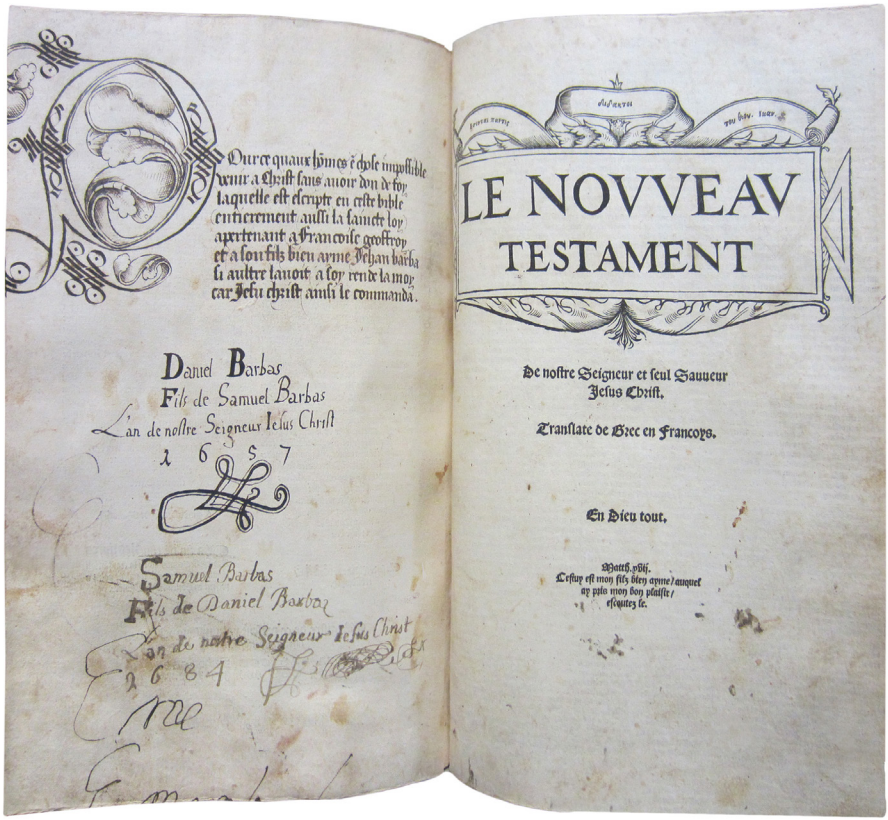


Image 13: Françoise Geoffroy and her son Jehan Barbas appear to have been the first owners of this copy of the first French Protestant Bible, printed in Neuchatel in 1535 (*La Bible qui est toute la Saincte Escripture, en laquelle sont contenus*... 1535). The exquisite calligraphic style of their inscription sharply contrasts with the more standard one of their heirs.

or they might be stamped (image 14). Coats of arms are also depicted on bookplates, such as in the Stickelberger copy of a text by the Augsburg evangelical weaver Ulrich Utz Richsner (n.d.), with the bookplate of Martin II Gerbert—abbot of the Saint Blaise Abbey in the Black Forest from 1764 to 1793—thus recording the eighteenth-century ecclesiastical provenance of this Reformation pamphlet (Richsner 1524).

Owners also recorded the date of purchase and the price paid for their books, whether new or used. Hence a certain Jean Boisnard, perhaps from the Huguenot community in England, recorded how much he paid in 1696 in London for a copy of Calvin's *Sermons in French* (Calvin 1563).

Those who belonged to a learned circle sometimes wrote the Latin inscription *Et amicorum* in their books, wishing to record their adherence to the Renaissance literary ideal of book sharing between literati friends (for example Brenz 1523).

Image 14: Large armorial design of the Gufer von Reinhardsberg family from Bamberg, active at least until the early eighteenth century, stamped on the verso of a pamphlet by Andreas von Karlstadt (Karlstadt 1520). Above, the stamp of the Basel Public Library crossed out with the inscription "Dupl."

Beyond ownership inscriptions, the Folger Reformation pamphlets include many notes recording the interactions of readers with their texts. These paratexts could range from non-verbal marks to elaborate commentaries. Readers corrected typographical errors, underlined words or sentences, traced vertical marks, or drew manicules by the text they wished to highlight. Sometimes they recorded when they had completed the reading of a text with the Latin word *perlegi* ("I have read this") and a date (for example, Luther 1520).

Readers also added by hand the author's name and the imprint information often missing from pamphlets' title pages, most likely

for easy retrieval.[13] Their notes were either in Latin or in the vernacular (mostly German), independent of the language of the text. They created their own indexes and concordance tables to search texts more efficiently, such as in the Stickelberger copy of Luther's translation of the New Testament issued in December 1522 (Luther 1522).

Overall, few books in the Phillipps and Stickelberger collections include marks of censorship. The majority were written in the vernacular and seem to have circulated in an environment free of censors. Ecclesiastical libraries sometimes owned a few, or collections of, Reformation pamphlets (at least in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), but they must have kept these texts behind locked doors, restricted to a few.[14] Hence the inscription *Prohibitus* on the title page of a copy of Calvin's commentaries is not necessarily a sign of censorship and may simply indicate that this book was on the Index (Calvin 1561). Likewise, the few readers who crossed out sections of text in their pamphlets did not make those sections impossible to read. They may simply have wished to mark their disagreement with the text. Book owners, certainly, did not hesitate to express their opinions in their books. The owner of a copy of a diatribe against monastic orders by Ulrich von Hutten, for example, added his or her own criticism against monks and nuns (Hutten 1520)

While early owners did not hesitate to cover their texts with manuscript notes, they rarely decorated the pages of their books. Few pamphlets in the Folger Reformation collection have their title page woodcuts hand-colored. Likewise, only a few texts include rubrications. The woodcuts that decorated numerous Reformation pamphlets must have amply satisfied book owners' tastes for ornamentation. Moreover, although printed in black, the high-quality impression of woodcuts sometimes produced striking results and created the impression of color.

Drawn images, though, could be more than simple decorations and could represent a reader's visual response to a text. Hence, if the hand-painted borders on the title page of a Luther pamphlet (image 15) served as a decoration, the allegorical image of the Christian faith drawn on its verso (image 16) can be read as the assertion by its maker of his or her commitment to the Lutheran faith in light of the content of the pamphlet: a response from Luther against two of his opponents fervently opposed to the Reformation, Hieronymus Emser (1478–1527) and Thomas Murner (1475–1537) (Luther [1521b]).

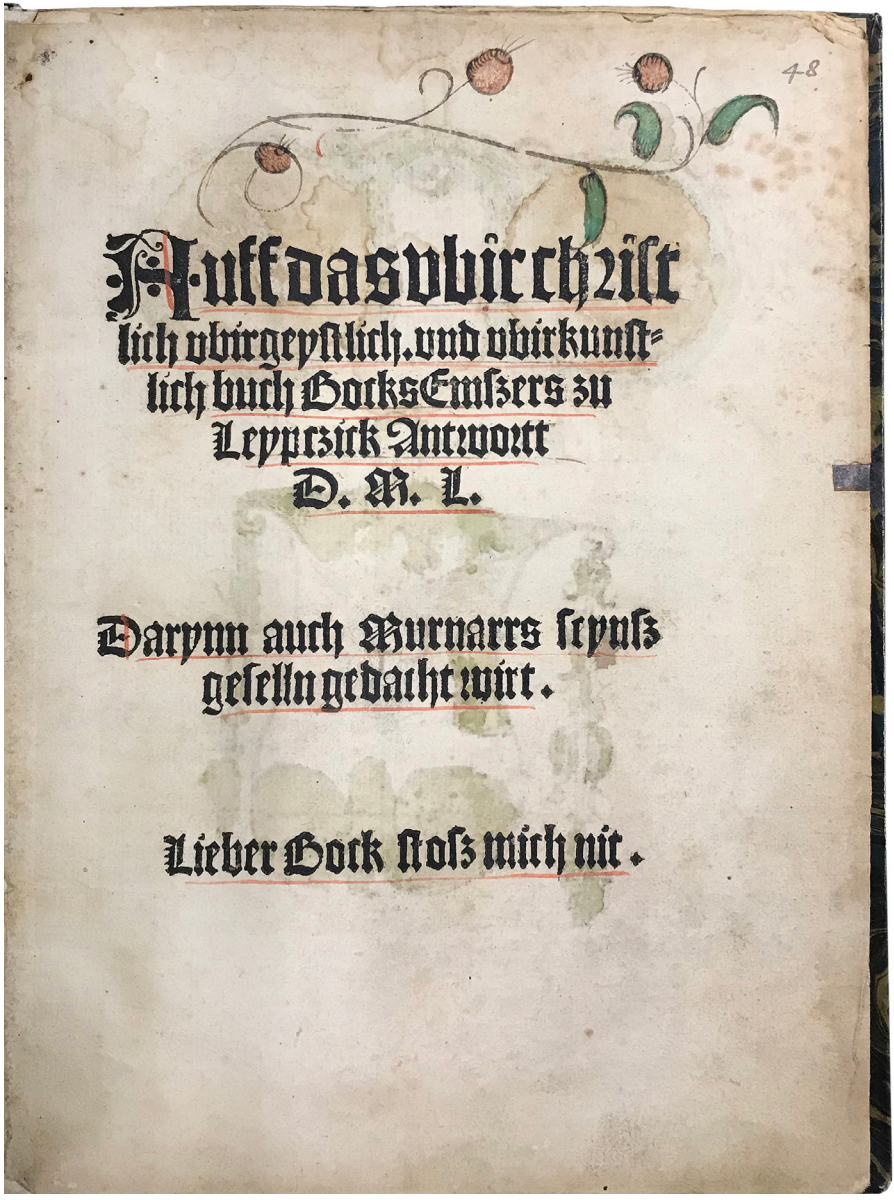


Image 15: Title page of a Luther pamphlet with hand-painted decorations (Luther [1521b]).

Image 16: A drawn allegory of Christian faith on the verso of the same pamphlet.

Conclusion

Until recently, readers of Reformation pamphlets at the Folger Library were mostly historians of English religious thought, who studied these items only for their content (Folger Shakespeare Library 1977, 7). By contrast, today's readers are increasingly paying attention to the material features of these printed items in addition to their textual content.[15] These pamphlets are not fixed objects; they were physically changed as they passed through multiple hands, places, and historical periods. Their bindings and the marks on their leaves reflect these various transitions and impact our reception of their texts. From manuscript notes to ownership and non-textual markings, from stitched pamphlets to *Sammelbände* (and their disassembling), from plain to decorated bindings, over the centuries private and institutional owners changed the physical aspect of their pamphlets and, each time, created a different reading experience.

Highlighting the materiality of this Folger collection is especially critical, since copies of Reformation pamphlets are now accessible in multiple ways: in libraries where they have survived in large numbers (Gatch 2007, 5) and in online tools, mostly in the database VD16, which includes digital surrogates of Reformation pamphlets from German libraries (VD16 n.d.). While digitization has greatly supported textual studies, it has also expanded the ways one can examine books by highlighting their unique material features. VD16, for example, includes multiple copies of the same text, underscoring each item's unique story. Yet it includes few digital surrogates of copies from non-Germanophone libraries. It also lacks many texts that are extant only in a few copies and so are not readily available in most collections. If only for these reasons, the in-person consultation of individual copies in libraries remains necessary.

It is also important to acknowledge that the Folger Reformation items share common features with books in other collections—the Union Theological Seminary and the Pitts Theology Library, to name just two. Uncovering the shared material characteristics among collections, as well as the significance of the unique characteristics of each item, would add meaning to Reformation pamphlets well beyond their textual content and help us to better understand their former lives. Ultimately, it would make our collections more meaningful and give them greater visibility.

References

Primary Sources

Das Alt Testament zü teütsch… 1527. Zürich: Christoph Froschauer. Call number 218- 035, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

La Bible qui est toute la Saincte Escripture, en laquelle sont contenus… 1535. Neuchatel: Pierre de Vingle. Call number 218- 037, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

La Bible, qui est toute la Saincte Escriture du Vieil & du Nouueau Testament… 1588. Geneva: [Jérémie des Planches]. Call number 218- 038 item 1, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

Brenz, Johannes. 1523. *Ain Sermon zü allen Christen, von der Kirche…* Augsburg: Melchior Ramminger. Call number 218- 060, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

———. 1562. *Bericht Iohannis Brentzij von dem Büchlein D. Heinrici Bullingeri, des Tittels, Von dem Himmel vnd Gerechten Gottes…* Frankfurt am Main: Nicolas Bassée. Call number 218- 097.2, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

Bullinger, Heinrich. 1562. *Gägenbericht Heinrychen Bullingers, vff den Bericht herren Iohansen Brentzen von dem Him[m]el vnnd der Gerächten Gottes…* Zürich: Christoph Froschauer. Call number 218- 097.3, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

———. 1561. *Von dem Himmel vn[d] der Grächten Gottes…* Zürich: Christoph Froschauer. Call number 218- 097.1, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

Calvin, Jean. 1561. *Commentaires de M. Iehan Caluin sur toutes les epistres de l'Apostre S. Paul, et aussi sur l'Epistre aux Hebrieux…* Geneva: Conrad Badius. Call number 218- 123, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

———. 1548. *Commentarii in quatuor Pauli Epistolas…* Geneva: Jean Gérard. Call number 218- 114, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

———. 1563. *Sermons de M. Iean Caluin sur l'epistre S. Paul apostre aux Galates…* Geneva: François Perrin. Call number 218- 128, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

Ein Christenlich gespräch gehallten zü Bern[n] Zwüschen den Predicanten vn[d] Hansen Pfyster Meyer von Arouw… [1531]. Zürich: Christoph Froschauer. Call number 218- 233, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

Cochlaeus, Johannes. 1529. *Fasciculus calumniarum, sannarum et illusionum Martini Lutheri, in episcopos & clericos…* Leipzig: Valentin Schumann. Call number: 171- 218, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

Eck, Johannes. [1519?]. *Disputatio et excusatio Domini Ioha[n]…* Leipzig: Martin Landsberg. Call number 218- 178, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

———. 1526. *Die falsch onwarhaftig, Verfurisch Leer Vlrich zwingli von Zurch*. Ingolstat: Peter and Georg Apian. Call number 218- 180, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

Fabricius, Johannes Montanus. 1562. *Der Christen Gloub…* Zürich: Christoph Froschauer. Call number 218- 097.4, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

Folger Shakespeare Library. 1977. *Annual Report of the Director for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1977.* O. B. Hardison, Jr., Director. Washington: The Folger Shakespeare Library.

Hätzer, Ludwig. 1523. *Ein vrteil gottes vnsers ee gemahels, wie man sich mit allen götzen vnd bildnussen halte[n] sol…* Zürich: Christoph Froschauer. Call number 218- 241, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

Henry VIII. 1543. *Assertio Septem Sacrame[n]torum aduersus Martin. Lutherum…* Rome: Francesco Priscianese. Call number 218- 251, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

Hutten, Ulrich Von. 1520. *Clag vnd Vormanung gege[n] dem übermässigen vnchristelichem Gewalt des Bapstes zü Rom…* Strasbourg: Johann Knobloch. Call number 218- 279, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

Karldstadt, Andreas Rudoff-Bodenstein von. 1520. *Von geweychtem Wasser und Saltz*. Strasbourg: Martin Flach. Call number 218-045, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

Luther, Martin. [1521a]. *Von der Beycht ob die der Bapst Macht habe zu gepieten*. Wittenberg: [Melchior Lotter]. Call number 171- 046, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

———. [1521b]. *Auf das überchristlich Buch Bocks Emsers Antwort…* Wittenberg: Johann Grunenberg-Rhau. Call number 218- 429, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

———, trans. December 1522. *Das new Testament, yetzund recht grüntlich teutscht…* Basel: Adam Petri. Call number 218- 036.1, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.

———. 1520. *Warumb des Bapsts vnd seyner Iungerñ Bucher von Doct. Martino Luther vorbrāt seynñ…* Wittenberg: Johann Rhau-Grunenberg. Call number 171- 022, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

Marot, Clément and Théodore de Bèze. 1587. *Les CL Pseaumes de Dauid mis en rime francoise…* Geneva: Jérémie des Planches. Call number 218- 038 item 2, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

Melanchthon, Philipp. Circa 1545. *Letter to Conrad Embecanus at Cologne*. Call number F.c.2, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

Murner, Thomas. 1522. *Ob der Künig vsz engelland ein lügner sey oder der Luther*. Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger. Call number 218-570, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

Oecolampadius, Johann. 1518. *De risu Paschali…* Basel: Johann Froben. Call number 218- 579, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

Phillipps, Thomas, Sir. [1819]. *A Catalogue of Books at Middle-Hill, Worcestershire, 1819*. Salisbury: Printed by J.A. Gilmour. Call number \Phill.\Coll.\08.26\P54\CatB\1819 04/04/96 N 03/26/96 N 03/25/96 X 03/20/96 C, Phillipps Collection, The Grolier Club of New York.

———. [1841]. *Catalogue of Books at Middle Hill: 2nd[-4th] Supplement, 1841*. [Middle Hill: Charles Gilmour?]. Call number \Phill.\ Coll.\08.26\P54\Cat\no. 1 04/04/96 N 04/01/96 X 03/26/96 N, Phillipps Collection, The Grolier Club of New York.

———. [1824–25]. *Catalogue of Printed Books*. Middle Hill: Adolphus Brightley]. Call number \Phill.\Coll.\34.52\MH462, Phillipps Collection, The Grolier Club of New York.

———. [1852]. *Catalogus of Printed Books, at Middle Hill*. [Middle Hill: Typis Medio-Montanis. Call number: \Phill.\Coll.\08.26\P54\ CatB\1852, Phillipps Collection, The Grolier Club of New York.

Rhegius, Urbanus. 1584. *Dialogus von der herrlichen, trostreichen Predigt, die Christus Luce XXIIII…* Wittenberg: Clemens Schleich. Call number 218- 673, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

Richsner, Ulrich. 1524. *Ain hüpsch Gesprech biechlin, von ainem Pfaffen vn[d] ainem Weber, die zůsamen kom[m]en seind auff der strass…* Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner. Call number 218- 676, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

Robinson, Philip. August 1, 1968. *Description of materials sold to the Folger Shakespeare Library*. Call number Acquisitions Files, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

Secondary Sources

Bibliographical Society of America. n.d. “Lenore Coral, ‘British Book Auction Catalogues 1801–1900: A Preliminary Version of Munby-Coral 2,’ 2014; update: 2016”. Accessed January 27, 2021. *https://bibsocamer.org/bibsite-home/list-of-resources*.

Clemens, Raymond and Diane Ducharme. 2019. *All the Books in the World! An Exhibition at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscripts Library, Yale University*. January 18–April 21, 2019. New Haven: Office of the Yale University Printer; West Haven, Connecticut: GHP.

De Schepper, Marcus, Ann Kelders, and Jan Pauwels. 2008. *Les Seigneurs du livre: Les grands collectionneurs du XIXième siècle*

à la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique du Ier février au 23 août 2008. Brussels: Bibliothèque royale de Belgique.

Duroselle-Melish, Caroline. 2017a. "Anatomy of A Pamphlet Collection: From Disbinding to Reuniting." *Papers of the Bibliographical Society*, 111:2, 185–202.

———. 2017b. "A Yellow Book," *The Collation* (blog), March 7, 2017. https://collation.folger.edu/2017/03/a-yellow-book.

Fabian Handbuch: Handbuch der Historischen Buchbestände in Deutschland, Österreich und Europa. n.d. "The Bodleian Library. 2. Outline of the Collections. Tractatus Lutherani." Accessed January 27, 2021. https://fabian.sub.uni-goettingen.de/fabian?BodLib2.

Folger Shakespeare Library. 1983. *Martin Luther (1483–1546): A Jubilee Exhibition at the Folger Shakespeare Library*. Washington DC.: Folger Shakespeare Library.

Gatch, Milton McC. 2007. *The Library of Leander van Ess and the Earliest American Collections of Reformation Pamphlets*. New York: Bibliographical Society of America.

———. n.d. "The Book Collections of Leander van Ess." Accessed January 27, 2021. https://www.miltongatch.us/the_book_collections_of_leande.html.

Guilleminot, Geneviève. 2017. "Les éditions de Luther à la Bibliothèque nationale de France." *Revue d'histoire du protestantisme* 2, no. 1/2: 237–47.

Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin. n.d. "The Long Lives of Early Printed Books." Accessed January 27, 2021. https://www.hrc.utexas.edu/long-lives-of-early-printed-books.

Kinmont, Ben. 2020. *Gastronomy, Catalogue 17*. Austin, Texas: The Antinomian Press.

Linnig, Benjamin. 1906. *Bibliothèques et ex-libris d'amateurs belges aux XVIIe, XVIIIe, et XIXe siècles*. Paris: H. Daragon.

Munby, Alan Noel Latimer. 1951. Phillips Studies. Vol. 1, bk. 1, *The Catalogues of Manuscripts and Printed Books of Sir Thomas*

Phillipps; Their Composition and Distribution. Cambridge: University Press.

———. 1952. Phillips Studies. Vol. 2, bk. 2, *The Family Affairs of Sir Thomas Phillips*. Cambridge: University Press.

———. 1954. Phillips Studies. Vol. 3, bk. 3, *The Formation of the Phillips Library up to the year 1840*. Cambridge: University Press.

———. 1956. Phillips Studies. Vol. 4, bk. 4, *The Formation of the Phillips Library from 1841 to 1872*. Cambridge: University Press.

———. 1960. Phillips Studies. Vol. 5, bk. 5, *The Dispersal of the Phillips Library*. Cambridge: University Press.

Seebass, Adolf, Tilman Seebass, and Verena Tammann-Bertholet. 1977. *Reformation: Katalog der Sammlung Emanuel Stickelberger für die Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C. = Reformation: Catalogue of the Emanuel Stickelberger Collection Purchased by the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.* Basel: Haus der Bücher.

Stickelberger, Emanuel. 1942. *Der Mann mit den zwei Seelen: ein Holbein-Roman*. Stuttgart: J. F. Steinkopft.

Stuart, Bennett. 2004. *Trade Bookbinding in the British Isles, 1660–1800*. New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press; London: British Library.

"Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts (VD 16)." n.d. *https://gateway-bayern.de/TouchPoint_touchpoint/start.do?SearchProfile=Altbestand&SearchType=2*.

Thomas, Drew. 2019. "Cashing in on Counterfeits: Fraud in the Reformation Print Industry." In *Buying and Selling: The Business of Books in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Shanti Graheli, 276–300. Leiden, Boston: Brill.

Notes

1 This paper is based on a talk given at the Pitts Theology Library at Emory University on October 29, 2019. The author would like to thank William Davis from Image Services at the Folger Shakespeare Library for his precious help in bringing the author's pictures up to publication quality. She would also like to thank Roger Gaskell for his helpful comments on a draft of this essay and Chandra Wohleber for her in-depth reading. Due to the current pandemic and the closure of most libraries in Washington, DC, the author was prevented from reviewing some primary and secondary sources first consulted in 2019.

2 For this essay, however, I have limited my research to the Phillipps and Stickelberger books, which represent the main part of the Reformation collection at Folger.

3 The British collector must have owned other manuscripts written by German Reformers, which were dispersed prior to the 1950s (see next section on Phillipps's collection).

4 The Bodleian Library, for example, purchased in 1818 through Sotheby's a collection of over 2,500 Lutheran pamphlets from the German collector, professor, and librarian Johannes Gottlob May (1754–1821) (Fabian Handbuch n.d.). The British auction book catalogues also record the sale of several private German collections of theological works during the same period (Bibliographical Society of America n.d.)

5 Phillipps may not have had the time to assign a shelfmark to all his pamphlets.

6 Little work has been done on Phillipps's pamphlets. Further research is needed to confirm these observations.

7 An overview of this portion of Stickelberger's collection can be consulted on the auction website Yumpu (last accessed on January 27, 2021), *https://www.yumpu.com/de/document/read/7537864/bibliothek-emanuel-stickelberger-deutsche-koller-auktionen*.

8 Stickelberger's sister is also thought to have bound most of his Reformation pamphlets. Further research in Swiss archives is needed to confirm this.

9 Peter Stallybrass shared with the author his Powerpoint presentation, "The Materiality of Reading," Goethe-Universität,

Frankfurt, 15 June 2016.

10 Offset printing could happen at the printing or binding stage. It seems related to a combination of factors, including: the manufacture of the ink, how soon it was bound in a composite volume and when the paper was pressed, and the atmospheric conditions in which the book is kept.

11 A practical explanation for this is that it was less time-consuming to bind a pamphlet than a large and thick book.

12 The printer Jérémie des Planches is thought to have printed both works in Geneva, although his name does not appear in the first bound text. Marot's and de Bèze's translation was first printed in 1544.

13 For a discussion on the absence of imprint information on Reformation pamphlets, see Thomas's (2019) "Cashing in on Counterfeits."

14 Gatch (2007, 54–6) has written that few German monastic libraries owned collections of Reformation pamphlets. Yet, it is clear that some did.

15 I thank my colleagues Michele Silverman and Rachel Dankert for their Aeon users' report for the Reformation pamphlets collection from 2017 to 2019.