THE LIBRARY OF THE Kripplein Christi Lutherian Church in Wschowa In Light of Its Book Collection at the National Library of Poland and Other Sources

The Land of Wschowa used to play a bridging role between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and European cultures; it was a site of tolerance and freedom for religious refugees. Established at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, the intellectual circle of Wschowa and Leszno constituted a unique phenomenon in this part of Europe.

The evangelical Latin school at the Kripplein Christi Old Town Church in Wschowa (Fraustadt) became a local “hotbed of the intelligentsia,” where numerous outstanding individuals started their education, among whom were Valerius Herberger (1562–1627), a pastor, religious poet and preacher,


also known as “Little Luther” or “Polish Luther”;\(^3\) Matthaeus Vechner (1587–1630), a court physician of King Sigismund III Vasa; Andreas Gryphius (1616–1664), a poet and playwright, deemed one of the most remarkable Baroque authors in Europe; Samuel Friedrich Lauterbach (1662–1728),\(^4\) a pastor and historiographer, the author of the first complete history of Poland written in German; and others. Their private book collections were often passed, with legacies, to the Kripplein Christi Library, following the death of the owners. There were two Lutheran parishes (communities) in Wschowa: the Old Town parish (established in 1555) and the New Town parish (established in 1646). This paper refers only to the former one. The history of the Old Town parish started with the introduction of the Reformation to Wschowa in 1552–1555.\(^5\) For the first fifty years, however, it was only associated with the Fara Church, taken over from the Catholics, where the first Latin school already operated.\(^6\) The Lutheran church named Kripplein Christi (Christ’s Crib) opened in December 1604, and the Latin school at the church opened in 1607. It is only this church and its school that the library discussed in this paper was associated with.

The library was officially in existence between 1641 and 1945, yet its glory days coincide with the years when the Latin school was in operation, since the library was developed alongside the school, comprising its research and teaching facilities. With the school’s liquidation in 1826 and the opening of the Realgymnasium [a type of secondary school – translator’s note] in Wschowa, the Kripplein Christi Library, whose book collection had not been increased, gradually declined in significance.\(^7\) In 1881, 724 volumes (including all incunables and some manuscripts) were taken in deposit by the Staatsarchiv Posen. After Poland regained its independence, they were kept by the State Archive Library in Poznań.\(^8\) The

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7 Ibidem, p. 39.
removing part of the church’s library survived both world wars and remained in Wschowa until 1949, when it was taken over by the Storehouse of Secured Libraries in Poznań. In November 1949, the Storehouse divided the collection for the benefit of the National Library in Warsaw.

The works of Samuel Friedrich Lauterbach, the Wschowa pastor and historiographer, namely Vita, fama et fata Valerii Herbergeri..., and its second-part publication Fraustädtisches Zion, das ist historische Erzehlung, was sich von An. 1500–1700 im Kirch-Wesen zu Fraustadt zugetragen..., in particular (both published in Leipzig in 1708–1711), consistently remain primary and still valuable sources to the history of the Kripplein Christi Church, and its associated spiritual and intellectual community. These works have formed the basis for subsequent studies on this subject. Appearing in the second part, the chapter Von der Herbergerischen Bibliothek am Kripplein Christi comprises the oldest surviving description of the Church’s library. Its informational value is priceless. The chapter presents numerical data of the original book collection size, as well as information on new accessions, the first cataloguing attempts, the rules on making the collection available and the library’s opening hours. With his well-known inclination to storytelling, Lauterbach shares a handful of information on various events, such as evacuating the entire library to Grębocice (Gramschütz) in Silesia in 1656 out of fear of the Swedes, or two great fires of the Church in 1644 and 1685, which the library survived without a scratch. Moreover, the pastor lists eleven donors and their donations to the library. The bibliographic descriptions of those books are


composite by nature, usually limited to the name of an author, a portion of a title and the book’s format. At times, the number of volumes and the place of publication are mentioned or the owner’s handwritten inscription from the volume is quoted. These data have been of particular assistance in dating the preserved library catalogue from 1656. Subsequent studies on the Kripplein Christi parish include, among others, Der neue Zion..., published in 1855 by Pastor Johann Friedrich Specht. Regrettably, the publication adds no new insights on the library, with all its references being literal quotes from Lauterbach (for example, the original size of the book collection or information on the evacuation of the library in 1656). In his Geschichte der ehemaligen Lateinschulen Fraustadt, Moritz Fribe discloses several pieces of valuable information on the library. The work comprises a study on the history of the Wschowa Latin school, including both the evangelical and catholic facilities. In addition to the size of the book collection, Fribe mentions the discontinuation of purchases of new books for the library, and ascertains that new accessions were acquired only through donations. Among the 20th century studies, three fascicles Quellen und Forschungen zur Heimatkunde des Fraustädter Landchens, edited by Gotthard Schober (Fraustadt 1927–1936), provide some new facts on the library. Being the jubilee publication on the 300th anniversary of Valerius Herberger senior’s death, the first one is of particular importance.

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The library of the Kripplein Christi Church was established as a bequest from Valerius Herberger junior (1618–1641). The founder was the son of Zacharias Herberger (1591–1631) from his marriage with Dorota Deutschlander (1598–1628), and a grandson of Pastor Valerius Herberger (1562–1627). On his deathbed, Valerius Herberger junior passed the entire ancestral book collection to the Kripplein Christi Church and established a bequest of 1,000 thalers, the interest on which was to finance education for poor evangelical youths in his hometown. In addition to the scholarship, in his will he also established a bequest of 200 thalers, interest

14 J. F. Specht, Der neue Zion, oder die Geschichte der evangelisch-lutherischen Gemeinde am Kripplein Christi zu Fraustadt. Herausgegeben zu der 300 jährigen Reformations-Jubelfeier dieser Gemeinde am 18. Mai 1855, Fraustadt 1855.
16 F. Lüdtke, W. Bickerich, “Valerius Herberger und seine Zeit, zur 300. Wiederkehr seines Todestages”, Fraustadt 1927 (Quellen und Forschungen zur Heimatkunde des Fraustädter Landchens; Heft 1).
on which was intended for the library management and for increasing its collection. The Herberger scholarship was awarded up until the 1890s.

Even over 250 years following its establishment, the library would be called “Herberger’s Library” or “Valerius’s Library,” arguably more by virtue of Valerius senior, rather than his grandson’s authority, who was de facto the founder. The earliest documented occurrences in sources on the library’s name date back to the end of the 17th century. Preserved in the book collection are annotations of the Latin school’s rectors and deputy rectors, who also served as librarians looking after the books, which enable us today to compare the popularity of particular names.

*Bibliotheca Valeriana* was a popular name. Other names that can be found include: *Bibliotheca Fraustadiensis; Bibliotheca Herbergeriana; Bibliotheca Valeria-Valeriana; Bibliotheca ad Præsesæ Christii; Bibliotheca Fraustadiensis Valeriana*. Samuel Friedrich Lauterbach employed the following names: *Bibliotheca Wschovensis* and *Herbergerische Bibliothek*. A similar name of *Herbergersche Bibliothek* was used by Moritz Friebe in his work. Pastor Paul Gürtler applied the names: *Altstädtische Kirchenbibliothek* and *Bibliothek der evangelischen Kirche zum Kripplein Christi*. Ultimately, during his service in the church in 1890s, the book collection received the stamp: “Bibliothek der Kirche zum Kripplein Christi in Fraustadt.”

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20 Inscription of Johannes Schnatzinger (†1691), deputy rector of the Latin school since 1676, rector between 1681–1691, call no. SD 73.02567 and inscriptions of Johann Lauterbach (1693–1758), deputy rector since 1716 and rector between 1719–1731, call no. SD XVII.4.1887, SD Cyr.520, SD XVIII.3.11960 I–II, SD XVIII.1.24389, SD XVII.4.10335 I–II p.1, SD XVII.4.10330. Unless otherwise specified, all call numbers indicated in reference notes refer to the National Library of Poland collections.
22 Inscription of Johann Lauterbach. Call no. SD Cyr.386.
23 Inscription of Johann Lauterbach. Call no. SD XVII.4.10349 III.
24 Inscription of Samuel Müller, born 1671, rector between 1700–1702. Call no. SD XVII.4.10362.
25 Inscription of Johann Lauterbach. Call no. SD XVII.4.4020.
26 S. F. Lauterbach, op. cit., p. 443.
27 Ibidem, p. 440.
29 Call no. SD XVII.3.8625-8628 adl.
30 Call no. SD XVII.2.18792 II, SD XVII.2.18794.
The Herbergers’ Library

The book collection of the Herbergers family laid the foundations for the Kripplein Christi Library, established after 8 November 1641. This was primarily Valerius Herberger senior’s book collection, only slightly increased by his son and grandson.

This is proven by numerous notes by Herberger senior notes on the books, and frequent handwritten dedications to him. The book collection was built-up at least since the 1590s. A good number of inscriptions and dedications are not dated, and another shortcoming lies in the fact that, during the subsequent process of binding detached prints into bound-withs, some notes have been excessively trimmed. Lauterbach estimated the initial book collection size at 1,200 volumes.\(^{31}\) The Herbergers’ book collection volumes lack such distinctive provenience characteristics as, for example, the further discussed legacies of Samuel Müller, Johann Ernest Bensheim or Pastor Paul Emanuel Gürtler. All the books from those donations feature ownership inscriptions that make them easily distinguishable.

The Herbergers’ ownership inscriptions are only included in a few volumes. Rarely did Valerius Herberger senior or his son, Zacharias, sign their books. It is more often the authors’ handwritten dedications for both Wschowa pastors and their handwritten notes on the book leaves that confirm the actual ownership. Around 1610/1611, some books were bound with parchment and the owners’ initials were embossed in the upper covers: V[alerii] H[erbergeri] F[raustadiensis] and Z[achariae] H[erbergeri] F[raustadiensis].

It should be noted here that a significant number of the uniformly parchment-bound volumes include inscriptions of dominus Herberger or Herberger. The location of inscriptions, however, is rather unexpected, as they are placed on the pastedown where it adheres to the board (fig. 1). This proves that new book blocks had been signed before they

![Fig. 1. The Herbergers’ ownership inscription on the inside of the pastedown, SD XVII.3.24271-24272](image)

\(^{31}\) S. F. Lauterbach, op. cit., p. 444.
were handed over to a bookbinder. These notes are visible mostly in the case of damaged copies; at times they show through a fine pastedown.

The issue becomes more evident in the case of the sparse books of Valerius junior, who died prematurely at the age of 23. He also used to sign his books in a non-standard location, namely at the very end of the text. Hence, *Sum Valerij Herbergeri* inscriptions can frequently be found following the printed word *FINIS* (fig. 2). Undoubtedly, these are inscriptions of Valerius Herberger junior, as they appear in books published after 1627, i.e. following the death of his grandfather.

Despite these hardships, a partial reconstruction of the Herbergers’ book collection as of 1641 is still possible nearly 400 years later. Apart from some insightful information provided by Lauterbach in *Fraustaditisches Zion* and – obviously – the preserved book collection *per se*, a handwritten alphabetical index to the catalogue in preparation, held today in the National Library of Poland, is of the utmost importance. It is an early document, dating which becomes possible based mostly on information contained in *Fraustaditisches Zion*. In the chapter devoted to the library, Lauterbach mentions that it was Gottfried Textor (the Latin school’s headmaster in 1646–1656) who organised the first book collection for the consideration of 15 thalers. Most importantly, Lauterbach lists the names of eleven donors, with the titles of the books donated, the majority of which survived and today are held in the National Library of Poland. At times, Lauterbach indicates the years of particular donations inconsistently, yet these data are frequently present on the volumes. After comparing the information provided by the pastor with inscriptions on the volumes, it follows that the latest donation from among those mentioned by Lauterbach enriched the library’s collection in 1704.

![Fig. 2. Valerius Herberger junior’s ownership inscription, SD XVII.3.8068-8069](Image)

32 Call no. RPS Akc.9431.
Most likely, the manuscript results from the book collection “organising” works performed by Textor. Bound with a piece of a parchment manuscript, the document has dimensions of 19.5 x 16.5 cm and contains 156 leaves altogether, within which leaves 1–15, 100–148 and 150–156 remain blank. It can be described as an alphabetical index allowing navigation through the section (class) system applied in the library. There were nine sections; perhaps an *inventarium* was also prepared. The document has no title and presents as follows: it contains the handwriting of at least two people – later additions to the original text are visible; the layout is of two columns per page; each column consists of four rubrics: praenomen, [nomen et titulus], columnna, litera. The “catalog” was drawn up in alphabetical order (author–title), though the principle was not strictly observed in entry indexing within particular letters. The entries are organised alphabetically by surname, and in the case of authorless works – by titles. The bibliographic descriptions consist of: the author’s forename and surname, abridged title, designations of a part and bibliographic format. There is no publisher’s imprint. The author’s name is only provided with the first item on the list and replaced by an ellipsis in the relevant following items. A bibliographic format and a reference to location within the library (columnna, litera) are also provided only once and replaced by an ellipsis should they refer to items indicated previously. The *columnna* rubric contains section numbers identified with Arabic numerals. Depending on their formats, books received their location in a particular section, indicated by uppercase letters presented in the *litera* rubric. Arguably, the digits 1–9 pointed also to library racks, whereas the letters A–I identified shelves, counting from bottom to top, in such a manner that the largest formats were grouped under the first letters of the alphabet. Hence, the further a letter is towards the end of the alphabet, the smaller the format of the book. Generally, it can be stated that sections 1–2 contained the Bible, concordances and commentaries; sections 3–5 accommodated respective disciplines of theology; sections 6–7 housed works on grammar and rhetoric, thesauruses and lexicons; section 8 was devoted to medicine, natural history and geography, and section 9 – to law. The index comprises 2,000 titles, and although some of them indicate works issued together and reference notes, demonstrably, it was a very large library. Section 7 contained the largest number of titles, reaching over 400, while section 9 ranked as the smallest one, with about 30 items.

In principle, the catalogue contains works published until the 1630s, i.e. those that could be owned by Valerius Herberger senior (†1627), his son Zacharias (†1631) and Valerius junior (†1641) – the library’s founder and the last owner of the book collection. Moreover, the catalogue lists very
early donations to the library, certified by Lauterbach: *Braunschweigischer Evangelischer Kirchen Harmoneyen* (original spelling of titles preserved) donated in 1647 by Matthaeus Scholz from Świdnica (fig. 3),34 two incunables: *Biblia cum postillis Nicolai de Lira* in four volumes, the property of Pastor Michael Eder, after his death in 1648 donated by his last wife, Barbara Juliana Vechner (fig. 4).35

The catalogue does not record the following works: *Analysis Evangeliorum Dieterici*, in quarto donated by Johannes Schnatzinger while he served as the Latin school’s deputy rector, i.e. between 1676 and 1681,36 *Matthaei Poli Synopsis Criticorum, in folio* in five volumes, donated in 1703 by deacon Michael Schön37 or *Livius, in folio* donated by Christian Sachß in 1704.38

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36 Call no. SD XVII.3.24467-24468 adl.: C. Dietericus, *Analysis logica Evangeliorum*, Erphordiae 1618.
37 Call no. SD XVII.4.10368 I–V: M. Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum Allorumque*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1678–1679.
On the last leaf at the end of the manuscript there is a note informing about books stowed into five chests. In the light of Lauterbach’s account, this points to the evacuation of the book collection to Gramschütz in 1656. Importantly, the catalogue already contains Schola pietatis in five volumes, donated to the Kripplein Christi Library by a spouse of Siegmund von Loss, whose estate housed the collection in 1656. On these grounds, it can be concluded that the catalogue may have been drawn up after 24 May 1656, following the return of the book collection from Grębocice. Therefore, it documents the first 15 years of the library’s existence and, after deducting donations from 1641–1656, it may reveal the estimate size of the Herbergers’ book collection at the time it was bequeathed to the Kripplein Christi Library. Unfortunately, Gottfried Textor left his post in the same year and the work he had started was discontinued. The catalogue itself is not complete, as evidenced by prints with Herbergers’ provenience found in the book collection, but which the index does not record. Herberger’s manuscripts are also omitted.

The analysis of the index contents has revealed that, since its earliest days, the library housed complete sets of works by the most significant Lutheran theologians of their times: Martin Luther, Philip Melanchthon, Martin Chemnitz, Georg Major, Balthasar Mentzer and others, as well as Calvinist theologians: John Calvin, Théodore de Bèze, Lambert Daneau, David Pareus and many other Reformation activists, just to list a few: Huldrych Zwingli, Jacobus Arminius, Jan Hus, etc. The works of Catholic theologians, for example, Robert Bellarmin or Antonio Possevino, account for a small share of the book collection. This would confirm Janusz Tazbir and Wojciech Kriegseisen’s views on modifications in the structure of dissident book collections from the middle of the 17th century, triggered off by the Counter-Reformation offensive.

The catalogue records numerous Polonica among which the Psalterz (Psalter) translated by Jan Kochanowski (copy and edition unknown to-

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40 Call no. SD XVII.2.8078 I–V: J. Gerhard, Scholae pietatis liber I–V, Jena 1622–1623.

day; there were as many as 25 editions up until 1656) needs to be listed first, and the following: Marcin Kromer’s *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum* (copy and edition unknown, there were three editions); Salomon Neugebauer’s *Historia rerum Polonicarum* (copy unknown; there were two editions), Jan Łasicki’s *Clades Dantiscanorum* (copy unknown; presumably the Frankfurt edition from 1578), Paweł Galowski’s *Expliatio catechismi Polon.* in octavo (print unknown), Martin Luther’s *Postilla domowa* translated by Hieronim Malecki (Königsberg, at the heirs of Jan Daubman, 1574), as well as two unspecified sets of Polish constitutions *in folio.* The non-trinitarian literature is also well represented: the works of Andrzej Dudyńcz, *Racovian Catechism* (copy unknown, presumably a German translation from 1608), Jakub Zabarowski’s *Ad Nodum Gordium seu disputationem de vocacione ministrorum a Martino Śmiglecki... editam... responsio* (Raków, Sebastian Sternacki, 1615, copy unknown). And the works by authors of the Land of Wschowa and Silesia: complete works by Valerius and Zacharias Herberger, works by Leonhard Kreutzheim, Jan Amos Komenski, Jan Jonston, Daniel Sennert, Natanial Tilesius, Abraham Scultet, Eliasz Reusner and others.

**Subsequent donations and legacies of greater importance**

A great advantage of the Wschowa library comprises the fact that its book collection increased naturally – with the Herberger’s fund for book purchases, the latest publications were obtained on an ongoing basis. Donations were another source of the book collection growth. Apart from the vast amount of individual book donations, the library also received some large legacies.

**ELEAZAR CELLARIUS’S BOOK COLLECTION**

According to Lauterbach’s account, Cellarius (born in 1628 in Oleśnica), a pastor in Oborniki Śląskie (Obernigk), handed over as many as 200 volumes to the Kripplein Christi Library in 1664–1676. It must have taken place after 1664. Cellarius inherited the book collection after his predecessor, Caspar Clodwigius (who served as a pastor in Oborniki Śląskie in 1654–1664). Clodwigius used to sign books on the inside of the

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43 S. F. Lauterbach, op. cit., p. 446.
front board: *Ex Bibliotheca Casparis Clodwigij P[astoris] A[nn]o 1650* (fig. 5). Those inscriptions were scratched out and replaced with: *Ex Bibliotheca Eleazari Cellarii P[astoris] Obernicensis A[nn]o 1659* (fig. 6). On the same page, in the upper left corner, there is the volume’s *numerus currens*. The portion of the Kripplein Christi book collection housed in the National Library includes 91 volumes of old prints originating from this legacy, 26 of which carry ownership inscriptions of Cellarius or Clodwigius. The highest known volume number is 119.

**SAMUEL FRIEDRICH LAUTERBACH’S BOOK COLLECTION**

Pastor Lauterbach bequeathed his entire legacy in his will, drawn up not long before he died (24 June 1728). With a few ownership inscriptions present in the legacy (books and manuscripts), it is mostly the pastor’s notes inside the volumes that distinguish his property. The book collection includes a significant assemblage of bound-with *funeralia* and *nuptialia*, as well as dissertations, invariably with lists of contents enclosed on protection leaves. Their enormous value is evidenced by the fact that all the volumes were taken on deposit by the Royal State Archive in Poznań.

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SAMUEL MÜLLER’S BOOK COLLECTION

Müller (1671 – post 1736), the Latin school’s rector in 1700–1702, handed over at least 118 volumes, including manuscripts, in 1736. All volumes carry ownership inscriptions: Ex Bibliotheca Sam[uelis] Müllers Rect[o-ris] Fraustad[iensis], Ex legato Sam[uelis] Mülleri Rect[oris] Fr[austadiensis] emeriti 1736, most commonly on the title leaf (fig. 7). At least 12 volumes originating from this legacy were housed in the Wschowa deposit in Poznań. Numerous prints comprise only subsequent copies of works already housed in the library. Attention should be drawn to Proverbia Salomonis per Ioannem Campensem... Latinitate donata (Kraków, Florian Ungler, post 10 March 1534), regrettably the copy is incomplete.

JOHANN ERNEST BENSHEIM’S BOOK COLLECTION

The son of Ernest Bensheim and a Wschowa attorney, Bensheim (1698–1735), who died on 20 November 1735, bequeathed to the library his entire book collection. It consisted of at least 124 volumes (including manuscripts). All the volumes carry ownership inscriptions, mostly accompanied by the following note on the front endpapers: Ex legato Bensheimii Praetoris Fraustadiensis Anno 1736 (fig. 8). Earlier notes can also be found, for example: Sum ex Bibliotheca Joannis Ernesti Bensheimi Jur. Practici Vschovensis 1727.

46 Archiwum Państwowe w Zielonej Górze, Akta Miasta Wschowa, Wpisy do ksiąg wójtowsko-ławniczych odnośnie realizacji testamentów mieszczańskich, sygn. 500, kk. 418–419. [State Archive in Zielona Góra, Town Records of Wschowa, Entries into the records of Vogt-assessors courts regarding the execution of burgher wills], call no. 500, ff. 418–419.]

47 Call no. SD XVII.3.24482.
The book collection includes artificially created assemblages: Disputationes luridiae and Miscellanea luridica. At least 38 volumes originating from this legacy were taken on deposit in Poznań. The copies are often interleaved, having numerous notes of the attorney. Attention is drawn to books in the Polish and French languages. Particularly noteworthy are: Bartłomiej Grośicki’s Porządek sądowy spraw mieyskich (Kraków, Łazarz Andrysowic, 1559), Artykuły prawa Maydeburskiego (idem), Ustawa płacey v sądow (idem, 1558), Postępek około karania na gardle (idem, 1559), Jan Pisarski’s Mowca Polski... tom wtory (Kalisz, the Jesuits’ print, 1676), Zarty abo krotofilne facecyce z history... wybrane (Toruń, Jan Christian Laurer, 1717).

As both legacies arrived at the library in the same year, in part they received ownership inscriptions on front endpapers written by the same hand. It can also be noticed that the book collections have been interspersed. Within the Bensheim book collection there are numerous books of Jonasz Deutschlaender (†1664), a Wschowa alderman, whose daughter, Rosina, was the wife of Andreas Gryphius and deacon Florian Klepperbein (1652–1712). At times, however, some of the books carry (mistakenly?) the ownership inscription of Müller.

Minor donations worth mentioning include legacies from Michael Vetter (†1710), pastor in Golssen (prints and manuscripts); Johannes Schnatzinger (1691), Latin school’s rector (periodicals); and Christoph Adam Kühn (the 17th century), a doctor (medicine and alchemy works, including incunables).

**Depositum Fraustadt (Dep. Frst.)**

The Depositum Fraustadt (Wschowa Deposit) in the Staatsarchiv Posen (1881–1919), i.e. the State Archive in Poznań, and subsequently in the State Archive Library in Poznań (1919–1945?) constitutes a significant stage in the library history for the book collection in question. Given the tragic fate that befell the Archive in Poznań and its library on 29 January 1945, the only sources – obviously apart from a mercifully preserved portion of the book collection – comprise information in studies developed in 1881–1945.

The two already mentioned publications, namely “Biblioteka Archiwum Państwowego 1869–1929” by Feliks Pohorecki and “Valerius Herberger und seine Zeit...” by Franz Lüdtke and Wilhelm Bickerich, are of particular importance.

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From this paper's perspective, the first publication reveals invaluable information on the book collection's handover date, its size, recording method and existing card catalogues. In addition, it lists nearly all of the incunables, for which a detailed catalogue of 17 items was drawn up. Today, it constitutes a valued source for the purposes of estimating wartime losses. The compilation also tells us that St. Augustine’s *De civitate Dei* (Venezia, Gabriel di Pietro, 1475 – in losses IBP†269) was the oldest item in the book collection. The second publication provides information on the Herberger and Lauterbach legacies, quoting the deposit’s call numbers.

Thanks to Pohorecki study, it is known today that the book collection was handed over upon the State Archive Directorate’s request of 5 October 1881 (the document no longer exists), and the handover took place on 9 November 1881. As no documents survived that could advise on the method of allocating the books for the purpose of creating a deposit, the book collection itself remains the sole source of relevant information. Noticeably, it was the volumes that presented the greatest value for researchers, due to factors such as year of publication, publishing format, binding and provenience, that were mainly taken on deposit. These are also criteria that can possibly substantiate the separation of multi-volume publications – an issue that should be examined in more depth.

The following may be concluded:

- The library was stripped bare of nearly all the mementos of Pastor Valerius Herberger (manuscripts and prints with his handwritten notes and dedications for him);
- All the incunables were taken from the library;
- The entire rich assemblage of funeralia and nuptialia, regarding mostly Silesia, Greater Poland and Pomerania, which represented the actual value of the library, was taken away;
- All volumes with appealing binding (including volumes bound with parts of the 15th century manuscripts and incunables) were taken away.

Therefore, the information provided by Edward Chwalewik asserting that the “Prussians robbed the Kripplein Christi Library of the most valuable things” should arguably be understood in this vein.

50 Notwithstanding the meticulousness with which it was prepared, one incunable was missed out: A. Persius Flaccus, *Satirae*, [Leipzig, ca 1497/1500] (IBP 4264). Dep. Frst. 511, current call no. SD Inc.F.01291 adl. Furthermore, the items 8 in the compilation *Diurnale romanum*, and 11 – Hugo de s. Caro’s *Speculum ecclesiae* turned out to be the 16th century prints, thus the total number of incunables in the library accounted to 16.

Particularly puzzling is the aforementioned fact that voluminous publications were separated. Having analysed the preserved materials, it can be concluded that multi-volume works were complemented with individual volumes from different editions. This is markedly apparent in the case of Martin Luther’s works, housed in the library in various editions. Volumes with bindings of greater value (the 16th century, skilled workmanship) or which were more appealing (e.g., parts of illuminated manuscripts re-used), as well as volumes with herbergeriana were also selected.

This part of the book collection was inventoried in the Staatsarchiv Posen, with numerus currens from 1 to 724 assigned. An identical number was written on a paper label stuck onto the lower part of the book spine. Resembling postage marks and with blue framing, such labels came in several versions. They were specific to the Archive in Poznań – the same labels were also stuck onto the records.

Those stickers soon started to crumble or detach (acid paper, bone glue not sticking to parchment), so they were replaced by a number written directly on the book spine, where such a label had used to be stuck. Now and then, this number was carelessly and often unintelligibly inscribed inside a volume, on its endpaper or title leaf. This has led to many of today’s issues with identification, at times making it even impossible (fig. 9a–b). Sparse
volumes were marked with stamps: “Konigl. Preuss. Staats-Archiv Posen” or “Kgl. Staats-Archiv Posen.”

The books were not sorted according to their bibliographic format, nor arranged by subject; it was the height of the spine that determined their order. For that matter, the book’s spine height corresponded, to some extent, to its bibliographic format, so it would not be misleading to distinguish the following call number sections: 1–50 folio, 51–100 quarto, 101–211 octavo and smaller. Starting with 212–234 again folio, 235–500 quarto, octavo and smaller. From 500–552 folio, 552–600 quarto, octavo, 600–724 quarto. The deposit’s call numbers play a significant role in identifying the Kripplein Christi book collection, since they are the only designations of its location found in the literature of the subject. Some volumes were returned to the library, as evidenced by call numbers being crossed out (fig. 10). It is also worth noting that many volumes underwent conservation (gluing, filling paper losses, new binding, new endpapers). Regrettably, the materials used at the time were acidic, meaning that the repairs are in worse condition today than the books themselves.

Although the deposit did not survive the German occupation of 1939–1945 unscathed, it did – colloquially speaking – have more luck than the remaining part of the Archive Library book collection. According to the already quoted reports by Jan Baumgart and Kazimierz Kaczmarski, the State Archive Library in Poznań was entirely consumed by fire on 29
Neither the Library’s own collections, nor the deposits housed there survived. The preserved records of the Poznań Storehouse remain silent about securing any remnants of the Archive Library. That said, it is doubtful that the deposit could have been located in the Archive building on that ill-fated January day. The circumstances, under which parts of the book collection survived and ultimately ended up in the National Library, require further investigation.

The book collection inventory in the 1890s (blue call numbers)

As the Latin school at the church closed down, it was the parish clergy who exercised custody of the library. Paul Emanuel Gürtler (1848–1939, a deacon in the Kripplein Christi Church from 1885, and subsequently a pastor from 1910) gained particular merits in this respect. Being a bibliophile, the clergyman dedicated more time to the library than his predecessors, and he donated his own book collection. Once the deposit had been handed over to the Staatsarchiv Posen, the book collection needed organising and another inventory. In light of the already cited study by Friebe, this must have taken place before 1894.4

A topographic system was applied. Similarly, as in the case of the deposit, the volumes were also arranged according to the height of their spines. Generally, care was taken to merge multi-volume publications. The volumes received designations of numerus currens, from 1 to at least 2,754, in order from the largest to the smallest formats. This does not mean, however, that the library housed 2,754 volumes at the time. Number 2,754 is the highest call number known in the National Library collection, yet the National Library does not have it in its entirety. It is certain, though, that there were not many more books, as items of the smallest formats received designations of the highest numbers. Attention is also drawn to the fact that Friebe provided exactly the same amount of current numbers – 2,754 – in his study. Unfortunately, things become complicated here, as one number does not always represent one volume (although it is usually the case). There are 31 inventory numbers that include addi-

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52 Cf. reference note 48.
54 M. Friebe, op. cit., p. 39 – a mention (from 1894) about the library’s catalogue (inventory) consisting of 2,754 current numbers. This information is consistent with the data presented further in this paper.
tional volumes marked with lowercase letters, up to the first five. The only exceptions are call numbers 1170 and 2386. Numerous volumes were grouped under those call numbers, marked with consecutive letters a–z, and doubled letters aa–zz further on.

Based on what has been preserved, the inventory certainly consisted in a total of 2,754 current numbers, which represented about 2,900 volumes. With the document having been lost, it is difficult to determine today whether it incorporated the items that were taken into deposit by the State Archive.

The following designations were applied: the current number was inscribed in thick, blue pencil on the inside of the front cover, and in the event that there was no binding, or it was significantly damaged, the inscription was made on the front endpaper, or the first preserved leaf, at times being a title leaf. The same number was written on a paper label stuck onto the lower part of the book’s spine. The sticker was always placed on a volume, regardless of the book’s condition. Where there was no binding, the sticker was placed directly on the block along the sewing on the spine (fig. 11a–b). Additionally, the number was also written on paper strips inserted into the books.

In general, the following call number sections may be distinguished: 1–340 folio, 340–1170 quarto, 1170–2386 octavo, small quarto, 2386–2754 duodecimo and smaller. The book collection was then marked for the first time with an oval stamp “Bibliothek der Kirche zum Kripplein Christi in

Fraustadt,” placed on the inside of the front cover, as well as on front endpapers and leaves, which was done carelessly, occasionally several times on the same page (fig. 12). Except for several volumes, sections 47–142, 276–283, 370–546, 558–580, 1213–1446, 1461–1474 were left unstamped. There are individual volumes stamped and with a blank sticker prepared on the spine, which did not receive numerus currens. This means the work was not completed.

Besides the aforementioned call numbers, spine stickers and stamps, “Z” symbols written in the same blue colour as call numbers and placed in the upper parts of title leaves (in the case of bound-withs, also on each one) (fig. 13) are another feature specific to the book collection. These are of inestimable assistance in determining the provenience of volumes deprived of binding and front endpapers, as well as individual adligats, which for various reasons became dissoluta.
Volumes of manuscripts were also stamped without call numbers being assigned to them; thus they must have comprised a separate, excluded assemblage. They carry a square, blank, red label in the lower part of the spine.

Despite deficiencies and the often rather unprofessional nature of the work carried out at the time (e.g. affixing numerous stamps on the same page or inscribing call numbers several times, covering as much as two-thirds of endpapers in small formats), it has at least meant that the book collection received clear designations, making it distinguishable from other library collections, which was not the case with the remaining volumes grouped as the Depositum Fraustadt. As far as the latter are concerned, in the case where – for instance – a spine sticker became damaged and its call number was not copied to an endpaper soon enough, and the volume carried no other provenience marks, identifying such a volume as appurtenant to the Kripplein Christi Library may already be impossible today.

In addition, three copies still have a parish stamp: “Sieg. D. Evang. Kirche Zum Kripplein Christi in Fraustadt” (fig. 14) – so they might have been stored in the parish office.

Pastor Paul Emanuel Gürtler’s book collection comprises an individual assemblage. It does not have the provenience features of “the old collection” discussed above; with the only common characteristic between them being the same oval library stamp. This book collection received separate call numbers written on labels stuck onto the upper part of the volume’s spine and repeated inside on the front endpaper or title page. Here too, the books were arranged according to a systematic catalogue, and also in this case, one call number does not necessarily represent one volume, with those grouped under some of the call numbers being marked with consecutive letters from a to z. The owner had previously marked his collections with a handwritten inscription on endpapers.

FIG. 14. Parish stamp (1930), SD XVII.4.4018
stating the date of receipt, e.g. Gürtler 1872 or with stamps: “P. Gürtler, Oberpfarrer I. R. Fraustadt Grenzmark, Gerberstr. 15” and “Paul Gürtler Pastor Fraustadt Prov. Posen.”

**Ultimately, how did the book collection end up in the National Library of Poland?**


55 [Mr Brylczak [Alfons – acting library assistant] conducted a business trip to Wschowa with the aim of carrying out an inspection of the former German book collections, currently in the custody of Fr. A[ndrzej] Kostka. The book collection of theological contents will be transferred to Poznań in the next month. – translator’s note]. The report for April actually comes with information: “W miesiącu sprawozdawczym – z Wschawy – b[żyły] Zbór ewangelicki ca 5000 tomów.” [In the reporting month – circa 5,000 volumes were brought: from Wschowa – former Evangelical Church – translator’s note].

Provided at the time, the estimate stands questionable, since it is undeniable that the last inventory of printed books recorded not more than 2,900 volumes. This amount may be increased by a dozen or so volumes of manuscripts. In 1927, Edward Chwalewik estimated the book collec-


The Library of the Kripplein Christi Lutheran Church in Wschowa

The amount presumably included a considerable collection from Pastor Gürtler, donated to the library in the 1920s.\footnote{E. Chwalewik, op. cit., p. 529.}

The report of the Storehouse operation for November 1949 reads as follows: “Repartycja: Przekazano Bibliotce Narodowej w Warszawie [...] 3,188 [tomów] (Księgozbiór starodruków ze Wschody [!])” [Repartition: 3,188 volumes were handed over to the National Library in Warsaw (Old prints collection from Wschoda [!] – translator's note)].\footnote{This matter is currently under study. Firstly, the approximately 5,000 volumes secured may indicate that Gürtler’s collection consisted of nearly 2,000 volumes. Secondly, the data presented by Chwalewik should not be considered valid, as the author rarely provided any first-hand information. Thirdly, it remains to be seen where the Depositum Fraustadt was located between January 1945 and November 1949.}

The handover report of 11 November 1949, kept in the National Library's Institutional Archives, has the following contents: “Na podstawie zarządzenia Naczelnjej Dyrekcyj Bibliotek [...] przekazano Bibliotce Narodowej w Warszawie 3 188 woluminów starodruków ze Wschowy.” [Pursuant to an order from the Central Directorate of Libraries [...] 3,188 volumes of old prints from Wschowa were handed over to the National Library in Warsaw – translator's note].\footnote{Ibidem, k. 79 – Bolesław Świderski, Sprawozdanie z działalności Zbiornicy w Poznaniu w miesiącu listopadziu [!] 1949, Poznań 6 grudnia 1949. [the exclamation mark refers to a spelling mistake in the name of the month – translator's note].}

Due to the lack of cases for transportation, the book collection was to be handed over in two batches, as stated in another letter from Bolesław Świderski dated 18 November 1949, addressed to the National Library Directorate.\footnote{Ibidem, leaf 2.}

It is uncertain whether the number in the report referred to the volumes in the first batch, or whether the document was issued for the entire book collection being handed over. There is no document that would confirm the receipt of the second batch. Perhaps the assumption that it was never handed over is the most convincing, for one thing because the number of volumes in the National Library is significantly lower; for another because it has been demonstrated that books with the Kripplein Christi provenience are housed in other libraries, and at times have appeared at antiquarian auctions. It should be noted that, although the report mentioned “old prints,” the National Library also re-
ceived prints published after 1800 as well as manuscripts. It remains to be seen whether the volumes of the former Depositum Fraustadt were included in those transported. The above facts indicate that there was another partition in 1949, possibly of the already merged book collection.

As of today (31 December 2016), the National Library houses for certain 8,547 works in 2,449 volumes, verified as raising no doubts as to their provenience. At the heart of the book collection are old prints: 635 volumes include prints from the 16th century; 1,487 volumes consist of prints from the 17th century; and 285 volumes – prints from the 18th century. However, it should be kept in mind that many volumes are bound-withs. The publishing chronology basically ends with the 1720s; the number of books published subsequently is negligible. Furthermore, only 10 volumes of prints from the 19th and 20th centuries have been found so far. Eleven titles of incunables in twelve volumes, at least 24 units of manuscripts (from the 16–19th centuries) and at least 80 volumes of periodicals (mostly from the 18th century) originate in the Kripplein Christi Church book collection.

Polonica, Silesiaca and Pomeranica [publications originating from or written by authors of Silesia and Pomerania respectively – translator’s note] comprise nearly half of the collection – up to 4,000 works in 394 volumes, mostly from the 17th century. Moreover, three Cyrillic prints from the 18th century and nine Judaica (from the 16–18th centuries) are also worth mentioning. A full analysis of the library contents goes beyond the scope of this paper, though it should be pointed out that a considerable collection of academic dissertations, school curricula and sermons (funeralia and nuptialia) in Greater Poland, Silesia and Pomerania, comprise a significant part of the Wschowa library.

As far as the origin of the aforementioned 2,449 volumes is concerned, it must be added that this number includes 2,005 volumes (prints, manuscripts) stored until April 1949 in Wschowa, and 435 volumes of the Depositum Fraustadt, stored in the State Archive in Poznań between 1881–1939 (or 1945?). Today, these two portions of the Kripplein Christi book collection kept in the National Library's Old Prints Department are conventionally marked with: “Wschowa” and “Wschowa Deposit” respectively. In accordance with the trends prevailing in the post-war library science, individual collections of secured libraries have not been created, but have been incorporated into the general inventory sequence of the library. For that reason, it is still difficult to determine the exact number of volumes housed in the National Library in Poland.

Regrettably, the Kripplein Christi book collection has been dispersed, with numerous items being located in various libraries across Poland.
At least five copies are known to be housed in the Adam Mickiewicz University Library in Poznań,\(^6\) two – in the State Archive in Poznań,\(^6\) three – in the Kórnik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences,\(^6\) another two – in the library of the Franciscan Monastery in Poznań,\(^6\) and one copy is known to be stored in the library of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin.\(^6\) The latter two are incunables, which have been presented in depth by Michal Spandowski.\(^6\)

translated by Marta Koprowicz

**SUMMARY**

This article is a synthesis of information obtained from two surviving large parts of the book collection of the former library at the Kripplein Christi Lutheran Church in Wschowa (Fraustadt), which have been in the holdings of the National Library of Poland since 1949. This library existed formally from 1641 to 1945. In 1881, the Staatsarchiv Posen (later the National Archive Library in Poznań) took 724 volumes on deposit. After World War II, the two separated parts of the collection both came to be deposited at the National Library in Warsaw. The data contained in this article puts in order all the accumulated knowledge about this library. There is a discussion of the attempts made to organise and inventorise the collection, and an analysis of the 1656 manuscript catalogue of the Wschowa library (also preserved at the National Library), which is the basis for the reconstruction of the founder’s library. The information provided will make it easier to navigate the dispersed collection and enable the identification of books from the particular legacies.

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\(^{6}\) Call no. W.Inc.66 (incunable; the aforementioned another copy is a 16th century print without a call number). Originating from the Depositum Fraustadt, these items fell into the possession of the Wschowa Franciscans after the war, where they were recorded at the time of preparing *Incunabula quae in bibliothecis Poloniae asservantur* (IBP 4941). They fell into the possession of the Poznań Franciscans only in the 1990s.
