

Book Transactions of Emperor Rudolf II, 1576–1612: New Findings on the Earliest Ownership of the Voynich Manuscript

Stefan Guzy¹

¹ *University of the Arts Bremen, Am Speicher XI 8, 28217 Bremen, Germany*

Abstract

Emperor Rudolf II, who in a 17th century letter is stated to have bought the codex for 600 ducats, is regarded as the first owner of the Voynich manuscript, though further evidence is missing. Due to the large amount of money involved, it is safe to assume that some written notes must have been taken for accounting purposes by the imperial authorities. This study therefore considers the different ways this transaction could have been executed by the imperial administration. It also explores where such an expensive book could have been stored – most probably in the *Kunstammer*, the Emperor's personal collection of rare and precious things. In the period of Rudolf's reign, from 1576 to 1612, a total of 126 transactions of books could be found from analysing approximately 6900 journal entries. A transaction in 1599, involving a small number of alchemical manuscripts bought for 600 florin from the Augsburg physician Carl Widemann, seems to present a way in which the Voynich manuscript could have got into the Emperor's collection. Additionally, Widemann's friendship with the botanist and Orient traveller Leonhard Rauwolf sheds possible light on how he could have acquired the manuscript, if he was indeed the owner.

Keywords

provenance, Rudolf II, Hofkammer, book transactions, Carl Widemann, Leonard Rauwolf

1. Introduction

The medieval codex we know as the Voynich manuscript is by far one of the most discussed and researched manuscripts in the world. However, it is surprising that most of the research thus far has explored its undoubtedly enigmatic writing system and the similarly mysterious illustrations, while archival research on its early ownership has only been carried out by a few researchers.[1] Provenance research started with the antique book dealer Voynich himself, whose claim that the alchemist John Dee (1527–1608/09) sold the book to Emperor Rudolf II was solely based on a letter he found together with the manuscript [2]: Bohemian physician Johannes Marcus Marci von Kronland (1595–1667) wrote to the then-famous scholar Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680) in Rome, stating that the manuscript he had inherited from a friend had been bought by Emperor Rudolf II for 600 ducats – an enormous sum of money. While Voynich's Dee thesis was lacking any firm evidence and soon was dismissed, the precise amount of money given in the detailed letter suggests that a book transaction really could have taken place and must have left traces in the fairly well-organized imperial administration.

2. Could Rudolf II have owned the manuscript?

Without any doubt the codex we know today as the Voynich manuscript, would have fit perfectly in the collection of Emperor Rudolf II (1552–1612), whose interest in rare, obscure and precious

¹International Conference on the Voynich Manuscript 2022, November 30--December 1, 2022, University of Malta.

EMAIL: guzy@zwoelf.net

ORCID: 0000-0002-8673-0965

This paper is an English summary of the comprehensive German study with further references which is going to be published in early 2023.



© 2022 Copyright for this paper by its authors.

Use permitted under Creative Commons License Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0).

CEUR Workshop Proceedings (CEUR-WS.org)

artifacts was well-known. But where could it have been stored? The first option could be the Kaiserliche Hofbibliothek (Imperial Court Library) in Vienna. We know that the imperial librarian Hugo Blotius (1533–1608) was given a budget of 1000 fl. in 1576 for three years (with a budget of 200 fl. per year for acquisitions): a 600 fl. acquisition would therefore have been too high an expenditure. [3] Neither his manuscript inventory of 1597, nor his successor Sebastian Tegnagel's catalogue of 1609/19, contains any book records that match the description of the Voynich manuscript.[4] In addition, a book that cannot be read and therefore has no utilitarian purpose would not be a logical addition to the public library collection.

The second option to consider is the Emperor's personal library. After changing his permanent residence from Vienna to Prague in 1583, thus leaving the Imperial Court Library behind, he set up a new library at the Hradshin, based on a small book collection that was already there, combined with some volumes he brought with him from Vienna.[5] Little is known about this library. A visitor in 1612 mentions the *Keyzers Hoffbibliothek* and a separate *Bibliothecarius* Martin von Hasdale (c. 1570–1630),[6] which gives an impression of size. Rudolf occasionally ordered the transport of some of the books stored in Vienna (mostly of an alchemical nature) to Prague, to include them in his personal library.[7] Some of the library's manuscripts that we know of were rebound in a precious manner, bearing the Emperor's coat of arms, but most of the codices kept their original bindings. Despite having its own librarian, the Prague library must have been small enough that the books did not receive any shelf marks, and there is no evidence that a catalogue was commissioned by the Emperor.[8] Towards the end of the Thirty Years' War, Swedish troops looted the library in 1648, which at this time included a huge number of 10–11000 volumes from the Rosenberg library – the largest private book collection in Bohemia. Everything was transported in thirty large crates to Stockholm.[9] The Royal Swedish librarian Isaac Vossius (1618–1689) was commissioned to take care of the books. His special inventory of the alchemical books in the collection lists 129 codices, so we can estimate that most of Rudolf's Alchemica were preserved and are now stored in the Leiden University library.[10] However, some of the Emperor's private books were looted by others, and soldiers may have sold a few codices on their way back home, so manuscripts from the Prague court library can be found today in several libraries.[11] As the whole Swedish manuscript collection, including all looted goods, accounted for only 953 books, Rudolf's private Prague collection probably did not exceed a couple of hundred codices, especially since the majority of the manuscripts would have originated from the Rosenberg library provenance.[12] Swedish court member Alexander Erskein (1598–1656), who was actively involved in the lootings, managed to gain possession of a contemporaneous library catalogue (*Pragensis Arcis librorum Catalogus 1636*) which was probably made after Rudolf's death as a part of the documentation of his personal property. Unfortunately, any trace of this catalogue, mentioned in Erskein's private library catalogue of 1648, has been lost, although it probably would not have contained a record of the Voynich manuscript any longer, if it was written in 1636 and not based on an older inventory.[13]

The last place where the manuscript might have been stored is the famous Kunstkammer, Rudolf's private collection of precious, curious and rare objects from all around the globe.[14] Royal antiquarian Daniel Fröschl compiled a complete inventory from 1606 to 1611, now preserved in Vaduz, Liechtenstein. Roughly 250 volumes of books can be counted, a lot of them containing drawings and etchings of remarkable landscapes, buildings, cities, animals and plants, together with some liturgical books and a few exotic codices like palm leaf manuscripts. No description matches the Voynich manuscript, although not all volumes are described in detail.[15] The books were stored in six crates – a rather unusual and outdated way at the turn of the 17th century and evidence that they were not used very often. A more detailed inventory of Rudolf's personal property (including the Kunstkammer and his private library) was compiled shortly after his death in 1612, but unfortunately a copy has not yet been discovered.[16] Later inventories from 1619 and 1621 do not contain any more information for our case, although the books are now stored in cabinets.[17] Physically separating aesthetic objects from functional books, for example those with an alchemical context, was common during this time,[18] therefore if Rudolf did in fact own the manuscript, the Kunstkammer was certainly the place where it would have been stored.

3. Verehrungen, inheritances and other book acquisitions

To understand where to look for transaction details, it is necessary to know how payments for any works of art, including books, were executed in the 16th and 17th century. The well-organized *Hofkammer* (Imperial Court Chamber), as the central registry office, was involved in almost all imperial transactions.[19] Additionally, the local *Hofzahlamt* had a budget to pay for the expenses of everything related to the court itself, mostly for the imperial employees, but occasionally they also paid for some of the Emperor's artworks. Their accounting books are preserved for the reign of Rudolf (with just the years 1578–1580 missing).[20] Furthermore, another office, the *Geheime Kammer*, had a budget for the Emperor's personal expenses, for example for numerous presents. Their accounting books (*Geheime Kammerzahlamtsbücher*) were examined in a 1932 publication by art historian Julius Fleischer, who found them of little value in terms of mentioning artwork transactions.[21] They have not been located since, although Rudolf apparently did not use this office for his numerous art acquisitions, including books – in contrast to his successors.[22]

With luck, the Hofkammer's journal books containing all outgoing letters and imperial orders, together with a register of every piece that arrived at their office, have been preserved for the timeframe of Rudolf's reign.[23] As part of a research project by the Austrian Academy of Science in the 1990s, these account books were edited for all art related entries from 1576 to 1612, so every book transaction where the Hofkammer was involved is accounted for.[24] Furthermore, similar edition projects on other archival sources, which contain information on Rudolf's art acquisitions, were carried out as early as the late 19th century, so in total circa 6900 art history related letters and account journal entries have been analyzed for this paper, complemented by selected archival sources and literature.[25]

In total 126 book transactions of Rudolf II, during his reign from 1576 to 1612, could be identified. Any kind of printed or handwritten book was included in this study, although it is sometimes unclear how voluminous the mentioned manuscripts or printed books were. Excluded from the analysis were musical manuscripts and newspapers. Most of the book transactions were gifts to the Emperor, who often gave a small amount of money in return. In these so-called *Verehrungen* (salutations), Rudolf obviously had no influence on the topic of the books, so these manuscripts and printed books are quite diverse in content. Most of them went directly to the Imperial Court Library in Vienna, and many of them are still preserved at the Austrian National Library.

Looking at all the transactions, it becomes clear that Rudolf was not an avid book collector. Not only because he left the Court Library in Vienna while moving to Prague, but also based on the fact that, over his 36 year-long reign, he initiated very few acquisitions of books: in 1576 he purchased six unspecified books from the court antiquarian Jacopo Strada (1515–1588) for 600 thaler (=720 fl.), but other files also mention *etliche vom ime genomene alte buecher* (a lot of old books), so this was probably a small book collection.[26] In 1578, he closed a big acquisition deal with the historian Dr Johannes Sambucus (1532–1584) of about 530 Greek manuscripts and a statue, however this was initiated by his predecessor Emperor Maximilian II. The amount of 4590 fl. (or 2550 ducats) was incredibly high, and we know of a letter where Rudolf nags about payment reminders, and Sambucus would have hardly found someone other than Rudolf who was willing to pay such a high amount of money for this collection.[27] An admirer of the already-famous painter Albrecht Dürer, he purchased a volume of the artist's drawings for a couple hundred florin.[28] In 1593 the files report a transaction where Augsburg goldsmith Bartholomäus Lotter received 583 fl. 22 kr. for some unspecified maps.[29] In the same year, the Emperor paid 310 thaler for four illuminated herbaria by the famous physician and traveller Dr Leonhard Rauwolf (1535?–1596), now preserved in Leiden.[30]

In only two cases, Rudolf bought books from a professional book dealer: in 1608, he purchased an illuminated map (*Theatrum Ortelii*) from the art dealer Jacob Pross for 46 fl. 40 kr., and some years earlier in 1599, he acquired a small book manuscript collection for 500 thaler from the Augsburg physician and manuscript dealer Carl Widemann. The Widemann acquisition is worth taking a closer look at, since 500 thaler is the equivalent of 600 fl.: the sum mentioned in the Marci letter. It is unlikely that the manuscript was bought with gold ducats as the letter literally says, however, since

the imperial account books show that nearly everything was paid for in gold florin, using mostly Rhenisch guilders (Rheinischer Goldgulden, fl.) or Thaler (thl).

4. A barrel of rare books

As was usual with acquisitions which could not be carried out locally, the Emperor would commission someone to make the transaction, in this case his close friend Reichspfennigmeister Zacharias Geizkofler, a court member responsible for the state finances. Although the archival material of Geizkofler's office in Augsburg was probably destroyed in the Thirty Years' War, luckily some copies were preserved in the personal archive of his family, now located in the Ludwigsburg state archive.[31] Together with some new archival findings in the Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv in Vienna, the Wiedemann-Rudolf transactions can be reconstructed:

In 1597 Rudolf commissioned Geizkofler to buy a *Khunstbuech* from an unspecified seller in Augsburg for 100 fl.[32] a rather high price for a single manuscript if we look at Rudolf's list of acquisitions. The term *Kunstabuch* was usually given to interesting books about medicine, alchemy, mining and astronomy, among other crafts. The Emperor obviously liked the manuscript as he agreed to another transaction. This must have taken place in late 1598 or early 1599, since Geizkofler asked the Hofkammer in February 1599 for payment instructions for *500 taller umb püecher* (500 thaler for books).[33] Their journal books reveal that the Augsburg physician and former alchemist Dr Carl Wiedemann was the seller.[34]

Geizkofler could now pay Wiedemann, but in florin instead of thaler – so with the usual exchange rate he was paid 600 fl. as can be seen from the yearly account books of Geizkofler's Reichspfennigmeisteramt in Augsburg.[35] These account books had an appendix containing detailed descriptions of all transactions, but neither the draft version in Geizkofler's family archive, nor the final volume sent to the Hofkammer (which is now preserved at Stadtarchiv Augsburg), have further supplements.[36] The most detailed account of what was bought in the 600 fl. deal comes from a later journal entry of the Hofkammer's clerk regarding the 24 fl. transport costs for this deal: *ain väßl mitt allerlai selzamen büchern* (a small barrel with a couple of remarkable/rare books). Unlike today, wooden barrels were used as a common way to transport books safely.[37] Unfortunately, no *Passbrief* – a kind of passport used to transport goods on behalf of the Emperor – or any other file regarding this transaction has yet been found.[38] The manuscripts that Wiedemann was selling appear to have been greatly favourable with the Emperor, as immediately after the purchase he bought another three *kunstpuecher* from him for 60 fl.[39] Other than these three purchases (the first one is certainly from Wiedemann), no other transactions with the Augsburg manuscript dealer could be found.

5. Wiedemann's books

The separation of all *Alchemica* from the looted collections by the Swedish librarian Vossius allows us to identify which books were in the small barrel that was transported from Augsburg to Prague in 1599. Due to Wiedemann's distinguishable handwriting, five quarto volumes from Rudolf's former private library can be attributed to the three book transactions detailed above.[40] Furthermore, a small paper manuscript of the Augsburg physician's very own alchemical experiments at the Rosenberg estate in Wittingau/Třeboň in 1587/88 is now preserved at the Strahov monastery library, but bears a former shelf mark from the library of the Order of the Red Star in Prague.[41] Another volume from Wiedemann came via the library of the Bohemian *Hofkanzlei* (court chancellery) in Prague to the Austrian National Library in Vienna. Both codices are evidence that the Emperor's former library had already been partially scattered before the Swedes looted the rest in 1648.[42]

Wiedemann (1555–1637) was an avid manuscript collector and copyist throughout his life, especially of Paracelsian literature.[43] His library contained circa 1000 volumes – one of the biggest of its kind in Germany. Although his main occupation was the city physician of Augsburg, he always tried to sell manuscripts from his collection to several sovereigns: Bavarian Duke Maximilian (1609) [44], King James I of England (1619)[45], Duke August of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1620s)[46],

Philipp IV of Spain (1624)[47], Sigismund III of Poland (1628/32)[48], and Christina of Sweden (1634)[49], among probably many others. A letter from 1621 reports that Widemann had some secret and encrypted manuscripts (*allerhand ghayme schriften, auch etwas steganographisch*) but that he was an expensive seller – both these details would support the 600 fl. transaction.[50] Unfortunately, there is no remaining trace of what happened to his impressive manuscript collection after his death; it was probably destroyed during the war in Augsburg, if not still preserved in a private library today.

Most of Rudolf's correspondence of the time regarding the Widemann transaction was also lost to the Thirty Years' War. Among a lot of other archival material, seventeen big folio volumes of incoming letters from 1567 to 1600 (which would have included the manuscript dealer's offers) were looted by the Swedish troops in 1648, however the whole archival repository was destroyed in the Stockholm Palace Fire of 1697.[51] The few remaining letters of Rudolf in Vienna do not contain any correspondence with Widemann.[52]

But where could the Augsburg city physician have gotten hold of such a codex like the Voynich manuscript? If it was not one of the manuscripts he had purchased or acquired from his wide network of correspondence partners[53], he could have inherited it from his father Georg or Jörg Widemann (c. 1520–1581/82), who was a barber surgeon (*Bader*), and later a city servant and innkeeper in Munich, and probably had some interest in botanical-medical manuscripts on account of his trade. Intriguingly, Widemann lived in Augsburg in the house of his predecessor, the former city physician, botanist and famous orient traveller Dr Leonhard Rauwolf (1536–1596), who was forced to leave the city for Linz in 1588, but kept the house.[54] After his widow's death in 1597, their Augsburg house with all their belongings was sold.[55] However, since the first book deal with the Emperor took place the same year, it is quite possible that Widemann, who was a close friend or even relative of the Rauwolf family[56], was commissioned by his heirs to sell some of Leonhard Rauwolf's books – after all he was one of Augsburg most prolific manuscript dealers. This claim is supported by a contemporaneous remark in a 1531 book, reporting that some of Rauwolf's books were sold after his death.[57] Despite comprehensive research, the list of Rauwolf's books is missing from the files of the detailed *Verlassenschaftsabhandlung* (death and estate inventory) by the Linz city officials.[58] If he did not acquire it out of interest, Rauwolf's notability for any herbal subjects, especially after a bestseller book publication about his travels to the Near East, would have made him a perfect candidate for someone to offer him the Voynich manuscript – which, almost 100 years later, is how it came into the hands of Kircher.

6. Conclusion

The comprehensive archival situation in regards to the Hofkammer files let us assume that the vast majority of book transactions during the reign of Rudolf II has been covered by this study. In comparison to all other acquisitions, the amount of 600 fl. for a single book appears to be far too expensive, especially if we consider that Rudolf paid only a couple of hundred florin for a much sought-after Dürer volume he greatly admired, or if we recall the 370 fl. he paid for four precious illuminated Rauwolf herbaria. As another contemporaneous reference, the whole library of Swiss scholar Theodor Beza changed ownership in 1598 for 600 fl.[59] Therefore the sum stated in the Marci letter would fit as a price for a small collection of rather precious manuscripts, like in the Widemann transaction. Missing shelf marks or evidence of a former imperial rebinding also do not rule out the possibility that the manuscript was part of Rudolf's private library, as other books from his collection show.

Because Widemann was an avid correspondence partner, further research in this matter should focus on his preserved letters, which could mention his spectacular book transaction with the Emperor. The 600 fl. income doubled his net worth as the Augsburg tax registers reveal – certainly, he must have reported his exciting business deal with the Emperor to fellow peers.[60] There is also a chance that the enormous 30 million files preserved in the Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv in Vienna could contain some clerk's remarks on the transactions with Widemann. They also seem to be rather important for the Hofkammer, since they copied the Emperor's written order in this matter in their *Gedenkbücher* (memorial books) of significant letters in 1599.[61]

7. References

- [1] Among others: Rafał Prinke/René Zandbergen, The unsolved enigma of the Voynich manuscript, in: *The Voynich Manuscript. The world's most mysterious and esoteric codex*, London 2017, pp. 15–40, here: p. 20–25.
- [2] Wilfrid M. Voynich, A Preliminary Sketch of the History of the Roger Bacon Cipher Manuscript, in: *Transactions of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia*, 43 (1921): 415–430.
- [3] Lydia Gröbl/Herbert Haupt (Eds.), *Kaiser Rudolf II. Kunst, Kultur und Wissenschaft im Spiegel der Hoffinanz. Teil I: Die Jahre 1576 bis 1595*, in: *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 8/9 (2006/2007), Reg. 54; Gertraud Leitner, *Hugo Blotius und der Straßburger Freundeskreis. Studien zur Korrespondenz des ersten Bibliothekars der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Diss. Wien 1968, p. 34.
- [4] Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB), Cod. ser. n. 4451, URL: <http://data.onb.ac.at/dtl/7768973>, edited in print by Hermann Menhard,: *Das älteste Handschriftenverzeichnis der Wiener Hofbibliothek von Hugo Blotius 1576. Kritische Ausgabe der Handschrift Series nova 4451 vom Jahre 1597 mit vier Anhängen*, Wien 1957; ÖNB, Cod. 13541: Sebastian Tengnagel, *Catalogus omnium librorum in bibliotheca Caesarea exstantium a. 1609 et 1610*, URL: <http://data.onb.ac.at/dtl/7526549>.
- [5] Christian Callmer: *Königin Christina, ihre Bibliothekare und ihre Handschriften. Beiträge zur europäischen Bibliotheksgeschichte*, Stockholm 1977, pp. 120–124; Otto Walde, *Storhetstidens litterära krigsbyten. Enkulturrhistorisk-bibliografisk studie. I.*, Uppsala/Stockholm 1916, pp. 306–333; Alena Richterová, *Alchemical Manuscripts in the Collection of Rudolf II*, in: Ivo Purš/Vladimír Karpenko (Eds.), *Alchemy and Rudolf II. Exploring the Secrets of Nature in Central Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries*, Prague 2016, pp. 249–291; Ivo Purš, *Zbytečné cennosti a cennézbytečnosti? K povaze a osudu alchymických rukopisů Rudolfa II. v majetku královny Kristýny a Isaaca Vossia*, in: *Miscellanea oddělení rukopisů a starých tisků* 20 (2008): 33–64, here pp. 42–43.
- [6] Heinz Schecker, *Das Prager Tagebuch des Melchior Goldast in der Bremer Staatsbibliothek*, in: *Abhandlungen und Vorträge der Bremer Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft* 5 (1931): 217–282, here p. 264.
- [7] Richterová (2016), pp. 249–250.
- [8] Richterová (2016), p. 252; Purš (2008), pp. 63–64, with a picture of the binding. Out of 42 Rudolf's personal manuscripts in the Leiden collection only 11 have been rebound with his coat of arms (cf. Petrus Cornelius Boeren, *Codices Vossiani Chymici*, Leiden 1975, pp. XIX–XXI) and Christian Callmer, *Königin Christina, ihre Bibliothekare und ihre Handschriften. Beiträge zur europäischen Bibliotheksgeschichte*, Stockholm 1977, pp. 122–123). This matches a 17th century description of a visitor that *bey die 40 Folianten* (c. 40 books) were out of the Emperor's private library. Cf. Erich Trunz, *Wissenschaft und Kunst im Kreise Kaiser Rudolfs II. 1576–1612*, Neumünster 1992, pp. 140–141.
- [9] Beda Dudík, *Forschungen in Schweden für Mährens Geschichte*, Brünn 1852, pp. 46–54, 58–61; Jenny Öhman, *Die Plünderung von Prag 1648: Eine schwedische Perspektive*, in: *Frühneuzeit-Info*, URL: https://fnzinfo.hypotheses.org/627#footnote_37_627; Jiří Procházka, *Beutebücher in Schweden. Deutsche Handschriften und Bücher aus Böhmen und Mähren*, in: *Biblos* 45 (1996): 239–247; Adolf Berger, *Die Rosenberg'sche Bibliothek und Wenzel Březan*, in: *Mittheilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen* 20 (1881/82): 193–211; Emil Schieche, *Die Rosenbergsche Bibliothek vor und nach dem Jahr 1648*, in: *Stifter-Jahrbuch* 5 (1957): 102–140; Emil Schieche, *Umfang und Schicksal der von den Schweden 1645 in Nikolsburg und 1648 in Prag erbeuteten Archivalien*, in: *Bohemia. Jahrbuch des Collegium Carolinum* 8 (1967): 111–133.
- [10] Boeren (1975), p. X; Callmer (1977), pp. 47–48.
- [11] Otto Walde, *Bücher und Bibliotheksgeschichtliche Forschungen in ausländischen Bibliotheken*, in: *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* 17 (1930): 75–148, here: p. 84; Leipzig University Library, Ms. 0398 (with letters of Edward Kelly to Rudolf); Cf. Detlef Döring,

- Katalog der Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig. Neue Folge, Bd. 1: Die neuzeitlichen Handschriften der Nullgruppe, Teil 2 (Ms 0301–0600), pp. 112–113; Richterová (2016), p. 255; Alena Richterová, Jeden z rukopisů Rudolfa II v Leidenu, in: *Miscellanea oddělení rukopisů a starých tisků* 13 (1996): 13–23; Budapest: Alena Richterová, Některé z rukopisů Rudolfa II. v Budapešti, in: *Miscellanea oddělení rukopisů a starých tisků* 14 (1997): 21–29.
- [12] Kungliga Biblioteket Stockholm, Cod. Holm. U 202:1–2 (*Bibliothecae Christianianae Catalogus*), Faksimile edition: Christian Callmer (Ed.): *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum bibliothecae regiae Holmiensis c. annum MDCL ductu et auspicio Isaac Vossii conscriptus, Holmiae Suecorum* 1971, cf. Callmer (1977), pp. 47–48.
- [13] Royal Swedish National Library Stockholm, Sig. U302 (*Förteckning öfver Alexander Erskines bibliotek*). Erskine's sons tried in 1667 to sell their father's inherited library without result, a 1684 auction in Hamburg only contained printed books. His personal archive is preserved today at Staatsarchiv Hannover (Stader Reichsarchiv, Sammlung Erskine) but it is still unclear what happened to his manuscripts including Rudolf's library catalogue. Callmer researched several German, Austrian and Czech libraries but did not find any trace. Cf. Heinz-Joachim Schulze, *Findbuch zum Bestand 32 Erskeinsche Aktensammlung* (Stader Reichsarchiv) (1431–1655), Göttingen 1982, pp. 1–54; Schieche (1967), pp. 127–131.
- [14] Sabine Haag/Franz Kirchweyer/Paulus Rainer (Eds.), *Das Haus Habsburg und die Welt der fürstlichen Kunstkammern im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Wien 2015, pp. 229–254; Beda Dudík, *Die Rudolphinische Kunst- und Raritätenkammer in Prag*, in: *Mitteilungen der k.k. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale* 12 (1867): XXXIII–XLIV (with an edition of two inventories).
- [15] Full printed edition: Rotraud Bauer/Herbert Haupt, *Das Kunstkammerinventar Kaiser Rudolfs II. 1607–1611 = Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 72 (1976).
- [16] Mentioned in Josef Svátek, *Die Rudolphinische Kunstkammer in Prag*: in Josef Svátek (Ed.), *Culturhistorische Bilder aus Böhmen*, Wien 1879, pp. 225–272, here: p. 235.
- [17] 1619: Jan Morávek, *Nově objevený inventář Rudolfinských sbírek na Pražském hradě*, in: *Památky archaeologické. Skupina historická N.Ř.* 2 (1932): 69–82; 3 (1933): 74–94; 4/5(1934/35): 98–103; 1621: ÖNB, Cod. 8196 and another copy at Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv (FHKA) Vienna. Full printed edition by Heinrich Zimmermann, *Das Inventar der Prager Schatz- und Kunstkammer vom 6. Dezember 1621*, in: *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses Wien* 25 (1908): XIII–LXXV.
- [18] Evelyn Korsch, *Bibliothek*, in: Werner Paravicini (Ed.): *Handbuch Höfe und Residenzen im spätmittelalterlichen Reich. Bilder und Begriffe, Teilband I, Ostfildern* 2005, pp. 367–372.
- [19] Mark Hengerer, “Herz” der Hofkammer — “haupt buech über das universum”. *Die kaiserliche Hofbuchhaltung zwischen Transaktionsdokumentation und Staatsgestaltung (16. bis 18. Jahrhundert)*, in: Gerhard Fouquet et al. (Eds.), *Hofwirtschaft: ein ökonomischer Blick auf Hof und Residenz in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit, Ostfildern* 2008, pp. 191–240, here: pp. 191–197.
- [20] FHKA, SUS HZAB Hofzahlamtsbücher Nr. 26–62. Cf. Christian Sapper, *Die Zahlamtsbücher im Hofkammerarchiv*, in: *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 35 (1982): 404–452.
- [21] Julius Fleischer, *Das kunstgeschichtliche Material der Geheimen Kammerzählamtsbücher in den staatlichen Archiven Wiens von 1705–1790*, Wien 1932, S. 7–8.
- [22] Herbert Haupt, *Kulturgeschichtliche Regesten aus den Geheimen Kammerzählamtsrechnungen Kaiser Josephs I. (1705–1711)*, in: *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 36 (1983): 329–373; Herbert Haupt, *Kunst und Kultur in den Kammerzählamtsbüchern Kaiser Karls VI. Teil I: Die Jahre 1715 bis 1727*, Wien 1993.
- [23] FHKA, *Alte Hofkammer, Hofffinanz Österreich, Bücher* 321–642.
- [24] Lydia Gröbl/Herbert Haupt (Eds.), *Kaiser Rudolf II. Kunst, Kultur und Wissenschaft im Spiegel der Hofffinanz. Teil I: Die Jahre 1576 bis 1595*, in: *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 8/9 (2006/2007): 205–353; Herbert Haupt (Ed.), *Kaiser Rudolf II. Kunst, Kultur und Wissenschaft im Spiegel der Hofffinanz. Teil II: Die Jahre 1596 bis 1612*, in: *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 10 (2008): 229–399.

- [25] Heinrich Zimerman (Ed.): Urkunden, Acten und Regesten aus dem Archiv des k. k. Ministeriums des Innern, in: Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses 5 (1887): CXX–CLXXVI (until 1586); vol. 7 (1888): XV–LXXXIV (1586–1660); Wendelin Boeheim (Ed.), Urkunden und Regesten aus der k.k. Hofbibliothek, in: Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses 7 (1888): XCI–CCCXIII (until 1596); vol. 10 (1889): I–XIX (1596–1614); Heinrich Zimmermann (Ed.), Auszüge aus den Hofzahlamtsrechnungen in der k. k. Hofbibliothek, in: Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses 29 (1910/11): I–XLVI (1606–1637); Karl Köpl (Ed.), Urkunden, Acten und Regesten aus dem k. k. Statthaltereiarchiv in Prag, in: Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses 12 (1891): I–XC (until 1600); vol. 30 (1911/12): I–XXXIII (1601–1617); Hans von Voltolini (Ed.), Urkunden und Regesten aus dem k. u. k. Haus-, Hof- und Staats-Archiv in Wien, in: Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses 13 (1892): XXVI–CLXXIV (until 1590); vol. 15 (1894): XLIX–CLXXIX (until 1600); vol. 19 (1898): I–CXVI (until 1611); vol. 20 (1899): I–CXXIII (1612–1619); Franz Kreytzi (Ed.), Urkunden und Regesten aus dem k. und k. Reichs-Finanz-Archiv, in: Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses 15 (1894): I–XLVIII.
- [26] Lhotsky (1945), p. 163; Hilda Lietzmann, Der kaiserliche Antiquar Jacopo Strada und Kurfürst August von Sachsen, in: Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 60 (1997): 377–399, here: pp. 384–393;
- [27] Letter from Kaiser Rudolf II. to Erzherzog Ernst, Prague, 19. September 1578; cf. Kreytzi (1894), Reg. 11582.
- [28] Josef Neuwirth, Rudolf II. als Dürer-Sammler, in: Xenia Austriaca. Festschrift der österreichischen Mittelschulen zur 42. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Wien, Erster Band, IV. Abteilung: Geschichte und Geographie, Wien 1893, pp. 186–225, here: pp. 200–204.
- [29] Lhotsky (1945), p. 274.
- [30] FHKA, AHK, Gedenkbücher Österreichische Reihe Nr. 156, Bl. 269; Bauer/Haupt (1976), Nr. 2667–2669.
- [31] Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg (StAL), B 90 (Familienarchiv Geizkofler 1357–1726).
- [32] FHKA, Alte Hofkammer, Hofffinanz Österreich, Akten Nr. 216, fol. 277r (letter of Rudolf II. to Zacharias Geizkofler, Pilsen, 25. February 1600); StAL, B90 Bü 421 (Konzept Amtsraitung 1597–1598), Bl. 86v; StAL, B90, Bü 453 (Tabelle über die Ausgaben des Reichspfennigmeisteramts 1596–1597), here: Ausgaben November 1597.
- [33] StAL, B90, Bü 409 (Amtsregistratur 1599), irregular pagination (between p. 3 und p. 4)
- [34] FHKA, Alte Hofkammer, Hofffinanz Österreich, Geschäftsbücher Nr. 527 (Registratur Prag 1599), Bl. 38v; Gröbl/Haupt (2006/2007), Reg. 1490.
- [35] StAL, B90, Bü 454 (Tabelle über die Ausgaben des Reichspfennigmeisteramts 1598–1601), here: Ausgaben März 1599.
- [36] StAL, B90, Bü 422 (Konzept Amtsraitung 1599), no foliation (at *Extraordinari außgaben in d[er] röm. khay. m. hofzallmaister ambt gehörig*); Stadtarchiv Augsburg, Kaiserliche Hofkammer, Buchhaltung, Reichspfennigmeisteramt, Sign. 2.
- [37] FHKA, Alte Hofkammer, Hofffinanz Österreich, Geschäftsbücher Nr. 531 (Expedit Prag 1600, fol. 45r; FHKA, Alte Hofkammer, Hofffinanz Österreich, Akten Nr. 216, fol. 277r (Rudolf II. to Zacharias Geizkofler, Pilsen 25. Februar 1600, draft); FHKA, Alte Hofkammer, Geschäftsbücher Hofffinanz Nr. 535 (Registratur Prag 1600, fol. 49r.
- [38] Checked without success: HHStA, Hausarchiv, Familienakten, Fasz. 98–124 (Passbriefe für die Überbringung von Geschenken des Kaisers 1563–1794) and Fasz. 98–125 (Passbriefe für Gegenstände für den Hof 1567–1624); HHStA, Reichshofrat Gratialia et Feudalia Paßbriefe; HHStA, Reichshofrat Gratialia et Feudalia Geleitbriefe; RHR Resolutionsprotokolle saec. XVI Nr. 79 (1597), Nr. 80a (1597), Nr. 80b (Sammelband von knappen Protokollnotizen aus den Ratssitzungen 1597–1600), Nr. 81 (1598–1604, lat. Expedition), Nr. 82 (1599), RHR Resolutionsprotokolle saec. XVII Nr. 1 (1601), Nr. 2 (1601); RHR Exhibitenprotokolle saec. XVI Nr. 10 (1596).

- [39] StAL, B90, Bü 423 (Amtsraitung 1600), no foliation (at *extraordinäre Ausgaben zum Hofzahlmeisteramt gehörig*); FHKA, Alte Hofkammer, Hoffinanz Österreich, Geschäftsbücher Nr. 543 (Registratur Prag 1601), fol. 433r.
- [40] Leiden University Library, Voss. Chem. Q17, Q21, Q24, Q38, Q56.
- [41] Strahov Monastery Library, Ms. DD 34.
- [42] ÖNB, Cod. 11347.
- [43] Tilmann Walter/Simone Herde, “Ein gnuegsam Testimonium und Zeügnus”. Der Arzt Carl Wideman (1555–1637) im Streit mit dem Collegium medicum in Augsburg, in: Laura Balbiani/Kathrin Pfister (Eds.), *Minera discipulorum. Vorstöße in das Fachschrifttum der frühen Neuzeit. Gedenkschrift für Joachim Telle*, Heidelberg 2014, pp. 301–344.
- [44] Carl August Muffat, Die königliche Hof- und Staats-Bibliothek in München, in: *Bayerische Blätter für Geschichte, Statistik, Literatur und Kunst* 1832, pp. 74–77, 86–88, 189–192, 204–206, 212–215, 238–240, 244–246, 261–264, here: p. 215.
- [45] National Archive London, State Papers 81/16, fol. 13–14; State Papers 81/30, fol. 254.
- [46] Julian Paulus, Alchemie und Paracelsismus um 1600. Siebzig Porträts, in: Joachim Telle (Ed.), *Analecta Paracelsica. Studien zum Nachleben Theophrast von Hohenheims im deutschen Kulturgebiet der frühen Neuzeit*, Stuttgart 1994, pp. 335–406.
- [47] HHStA, StAbt Spanien Varia 5-7-35.
- [48] Kungliga biblioteket Stockholm, Ms. D 1332.
- [49] Riksarkivet Stockholm, Oxenstiernska samlingen E 748
- [50] Ronald Gobiet, *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Philipp Hainhofer und Herzog August d. J. von Braunschweig-Lüneburg*, München 1984, Nr. 559 (letter from Philipp Hainhofer to Herzog August from 8. April 1621).
- [51] Schieche (1967), S. 117–118; Severin Bergh, *Svenska Riksarkivet 1618–1837*, Stockholm 1916.
- [52] HHStA, Hausarchiv, Familienkorrespondenz A (1425–1912) and Familienkorrespondenz B (1400–1806).
- [53] Walter/Herde (2014); cd. the database of physician’s letters “Frühneuzeitliche Ärztebriefe des deutschsprachigen Raums (1500–1700)”, URL: <https://www.medizingeschichte.uni-wuerzburg.de/akademie/index.html>.
- [54] Abdolbaset Ghorbani/Tinde van Anandel/Tilmann Walter, The Emperor’s herbarium: The German physician Leonhard Rauwolf (1535?–96) and his botanical field studies in the Middle East, in: *History of Science* (59) 2021: 1–22; Simone Herde/Tilmann Walter, Neues zur Biographie des Augsburger Arztes und Orientreisenden Leonhard Rauwolf (1535–1596), in: *Sudhoffs Archiv* 94 (2010): 129–156.
- [55] StAA, Reichsstadt Augsburg, Lit. 561 (Grundbuch C), Bl. 205; Walter/Herde (2014), pp. 313–314.
- [56] Among other evidence of a close relationship, Sara Zimmermännin, certainly a sister of Widemann’s wife, lent the Rauwolf couple 600 fl. in 1578. Herde/Walter (2010), p. 145; Wolfgang Reinhard (Hg.): *Augsburger Eliten des 16. Jahrhunderts. Prosopographie wirtschaftlicher und politischer Führungsgruppen 1500–1620*, Berlin 1996, pp. 648–650.
- [57] Hofbibliothek Aschaffenburg, Inc. 61: *Diß buch hat vor jahren gehabt N. Rauwolff, medicus zue Augsburg, der in ganz weitentlegenen lendern gewesen ist, als mich der verkauffer berichtet hat*. (This book belonged to [Mr] Rauwolff, a physician in Augsburg, who travelled the world, as the book seller told me.) The remark is from a late 16th or early 17th century hand.
- [58] It should have been in OÖLA Linz, Ständisches Archiv, Landschaftsakten, Schachtel 487. Checked without result: Schachtel 308, 488, 489, 493, 494, 521, 526, 529, 532, 533, 538, 542, 543, 544, 549, 585, 903 and 913.
- [59] Lenka Veselá/Marta Vaculínová, Die Bibliothek des Theodor Beza: Verloren oder zerstreut?, in: *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 93 (2018): 208–227, here: S. 211.
- [60] Stadtarchiv Augsburg, Reichsstadt, Steueramt, Steuerbuch 1600, Bl. 26d. The net worth after the deal was between 400 to 800 fl.
- [61] FHKA, Alte Hofkammer, Gedenkbücher Österreichische Reihe Nr. 159, fol. 429r–429v; FHKA, Alte Hofkammer, Gedenkbuch Nr. 481 (Reichsregistratur 1598–1601), fol. 117v–118r.