

# The Memmingen Book Network

Claire Bolton

Oxford, UK

**Abstract** This paper uses book provenance information from the town of Memmingen in southern Germany as a basis for discovering its book trade history. It brings together this information with that of some earlier writers to throw light on the scholarly book network that grew in the town, the book buyers and owners, and the book producers with their supporting trades, in Memmingen in the second half of the fifteenth century. It will look at who the buyers were, what they bought, how books were traded, from where their books had come, and, where possible, how much the books cost. The prices of books are put into context of known living costs of the period.

**Keywords** Memmingen. Books trade. Owners. Costs. Scholarly network. 15th-century printing. Incunabula.

**Summary** 1 Introduction. – 2 Finding the Evidence from the Books. – 2.1 Larger Collectors and the Religious Orders. – 2.2 Smaller Clerical Book Collectors. – 2.3 Some Non-Clerical Buyers. – 3 Book Production. – 3.1 Manuscripts and Printed Books. – 3.2 Paper-making. – 3.3 Bookbinding. – 4 The Book Trade. – 4.1 From Where Did the Book Buyers Buy their Books? – 4.2 The Subject Matter of Purchased Books. – 4.3 The Prices Paid for Printed Books. – 4.4 Prices of Other Commodities. – 5 Conclusion.

## 1 Introduction

Memmingen was (and is) a trade centre on the river Iller, lying on the east/west salt route from Bohemia to Lindau and the north/south route from Northern Germany to Italy. It was a *Reichsstadt*, which gave it some autonomy, and in the 1400s was the most important town in the Allgäu region in southern Germany.<sup>1</sup> By the second half of the fifteenth century it had a population of about

---

<sup>1</sup> Dees, *Economics and Politics*, 145.



5,000, a book printer by 1480, and at least six different bookbinders. The city had also built an additional paper mill to the one that already existed.<sup>2</sup> Only five kilometres away to the west of Memmingen lies the Carthusian monastery of Buxheim, famous for its library, and, some twelve kilometres to the south-east lies the Benedictine Abbey of Otto-beuren. Volker Honemann, in his study on the Buxheim collection, stated that “right from the beginning Buxheim was connected with learned people who owned, and produced, books – and donated them to the monks”.<sup>3</sup> Many of these connections were with people from Memmingen and so this study includes incunables from Buxheim.

The 1470s was a time of economic growth for the town, with the building of larger warehouses as businesses expanded.<sup>4</sup> The main industries were flax growing and fine linen production, and iron working. There were new warehouses for storing salt and grain. The guilds built themselves new guild-houses and some of the religious houses were rebuilt or expanded. Living standards were at their peak.<sup>5</sup> Trade was not only in agricultural and household goods; the town was wealthy enough to support a growing trade in books. Some of the Memmingen book information has been described by other scholars; however this paper will bring these disparate pieces of information together and show Memmingen at the centre of a scholarly network.

## 2 Finding the Evidence from the Books

The evidence, the basic information about who purchased, when and where, lies in the books. Paul Needham’s provenance source, IPI, was the starting point for finding any mention of Memmingen and its books, followed by visits to the Memmingen Stadtbibliothek to look at their almost 600 incunables. Unfortunately the library has no benefactor book giving details of when and how the incunabula arrived there. Also, some of the provenance inscriptions have been lost through the centuries with later repairs and rebinding. Some volumes do have provenance inscriptions, but many of these are from later centuries. A catalogue was made in 1643 which lists the editions contained in the library at that time, and which gives a firm date for the existence of some of the collection in Memmingen. Despite these limitations a list of 460 copies with a clear Memmingen link (apart from just being on the Stadtbibliothek shelves) gradually took shape, and their book buyers and owners were identified. Some of these buyers and owners are described in this paper.

---

<sup>2</sup> Piccard, “Zur Geschichte der Papierzeugung”, 42-68.

<sup>3</sup> Honemann, “The Buxheim Collection”, 166-88.

<sup>4</sup> Dees, *Economics and Politics*, 154.

<sup>5</sup> Dees, *Economics and Politics*, 15.

## 2.1 Larger Collectors and the Religious Orders

Some book owners, such as the religious orders, did not always purchase the books themselves, but received them as gifts, either at the time of purchase or later, perhaps after the death of the original owner. Others did buy books for themselves, and kept them, or passed them onto their family. The number of books held by individual owners ranges from a single volume to 450 books.<sup>6</sup>

The earliest identifiable Memmingen book owner was a book buyer and collector on an impressive scale, and sanctioned by the Pope to purchase books for his order. Petrus Mitte de Caprariis (1415-1479), a canon lawyer, was Preceptor of the Antonine order in Memmingen from 1439 until his death. From his early student days in Heidelberg and Paris, and through the 1450s and 1460s he had purchased and commissioned manuscripts, all costs being paid for by the Order. Franz Samma's thesis on Petrus Mitte's collection states that he spent over 2000 florins on at least 242 Latin manuscripts.<sup>7</sup> Details of some of his purchases can be found in the original Antonierhaus account books in the Memmingen Stadtarchiv. One example shows payments of 115 pounds Heller to the scribe Wolricus Hornen for writing 113 quires as well as quires in a psalter. He was also paid 29 pounds Heller for illuminating the book, and 116 pounds Heller for binding three volumes. The work had started in 1458 and was finished in 1460.<sup>8</sup>

At the same time as he was collecting books for his library, Mitte was also building the Antonierhaus, with a room to store his increasing library. Samma describes the library room as being over the entrance, and also occupying St Peter's Chapel alongside.<sup>9</sup> With the spread of printing, Mitte moved seamlessly from collecting manuscripts to buying printed books. His first purchases were six editions, almost hot off the press, from printers Sweynheim and Pannartz, made when he was in Rome in 1468-69. He inscribed them with prices and details of the costs (listed in table 1).<sup>10</sup>

---

**6** This latter figure is the recorded number of books owned by Hilprand Brandenburg (cf. below) and donated to Buxheim.

**7** Samma, *Die Bibliothek*, 118-19.

**8** MStadtA D 244/2, 21r, 34v, and 87r, for period 1456-1466.

**9** Samma, *Die Bibliothek*, 108.

**10** Scholderer, *Fifty Essays*, 197. The first copy in the list is now in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, the following three are in the British Library, the fifth copy in the Hunterian Library, Glasgow, and the last copy in the Huntington Library, California. For more recent information cf. Hoffmann, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 73-81.

**Table 1** Petrus Mitte's earliest purchases from Sweynheym and Pannartz in Rome

date printed	ISTC	author	title	purchase date	price paid
1467	ic00503500	Cicero	<i>Epistolae et familiares</i>	1468	4 florins
13 Dec 1468	ih00161000	Hieronymus	<i>Epistolae</i>	1468	16 ducats
21 19/69	ic00656000	Cicero	<i>De oratore</i>	1468	5 florins
12 Jan 1469	ic00643000	Cicero	<i>Brutus</i>	1468	5 florins
28 Feb 1469	ia00934000	Apulius	<i>Opera</i>	1468	4 florins
12 May 1469	ic00016000	Caesar	<i>Commentarii</i>	1468	4 florins

There are some strange discrepancies between the years of purchase and printing, which have been discussed before by other scholars. Martin Davies suggests that they are perhaps due to Petrus Mitte allocating all the books he had bought from Sweynheym and Pannartz to the year of his visit.<sup>11</sup>

All the books he purchased, both manuscript and printed, were left in his will to the Antonierhaus. However, some were sold after his death.<sup>12</sup> On the closure of the Antonierhaus in 1562 some of the books went to the Benedictine monastery at Irsee. Today 47 of his books are in the Stadtbibliothek in Memmingen.<sup>13</sup>

Hilprand Brandenburg (1442-1514), also a canon lawyer, was an even larger collector of books, all of which (around 450 editions) were left to the Monastery at Buxheim on his death, and were later dispersed by the sale of the Buxheim library in 1883.<sup>14</sup> Currently 164 (both manuscript and printed) of the dispersed books have been located.<sup>15</sup> Like Petrus Mitte, Brandenburg started buying manuscripts in the 1460s.<sup>16</sup> Needham suggests that Brandenburg began to purchase printed books when in Basel between 1469 and 1472.<sup>17</sup> Two of his earliest purchases, both printed by Johann Mentelin in Strasbourg around 1470, have the Brandenburg coat-of-arms painted on their incipit pages.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Davies, "Two Book-lists", 51.

<sup>12</sup> Samma, *Die Bibliothek*, 130-3.

<sup>13</sup> Samma, "Katalog". *Die Bibliothek*, 26-32 and 41-2. Also 128-61 for more details on the movements of Petrus Mitte's books after his death.

<sup>14</sup> For more about the Buxheim collection and its dispersal, cf. Honemann.

<sup>15</sup> This is the latest figure from Paul Needham, who keeps an updated tally (personal email 7 November 2018).

<sup>16</sup> Needham, "The Library of Hilprand Brandenburg", 101.

<sup>17</sup> Needham, "The Library of Hilprand Brandenburg", 101.

<sup>18</sup> Augustinus, Aurelius, *Confessiones*. [Strasbourg: Johann Mentelin, not after 1470]. Folio. GW 2893; ISTC ia01250000. Sayle, *Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Catalogue of the Early Printed Books*, no. 14, (also Needham, no. 45), and Alphonsus de Spina,

At some point, perhaps after Brandenburg's death, many of his donated copies were inscribed and had a book plate with his printed coat-of-arms pasted in. Some of the bookplates have fragments of text printed on the back, suggesting that they were made from printed waste. The typefaces used on the waste belonged to the Memmingen printer, Albrecht Kunne: his Types 160G and 87G. The former was in use only between 1500 and 1508, which suggests a later date of printing for the bookplates than the *c.* 1480 that is often given. Only four of Brandenburg's books have a purchase date: they were all purchased in Tübingen in 1504 and bound there and are now in Augsburg.<sup>19</sup> None have prices. Volker Honemann describes Brandenburg as the most important benefactor to the Buxheim library – his donations were recorded in their Benefactors Book from 1479 (the year of Petrus Mitte's death). By the time of Brandenburg's death in 1514, he had donated 450 books, as well as money to build a library and a chapel.<sup>20</sup>

Jacob Matzenberger (d. 1504) was pastor of the *Frauenkirche* from 1482 to 1499, and Magister of the *Heiliggeist* order in Memmingen from 1498 until his death in 1504. There are nineteen editions with his provenance. They were printed between 1473 and 1498, and purchased between 1483 and 1498. They are almost all theological, but he also purchased Hartman Schedel's *Liber cronicarum*. His books are now in various European libraries, apart from one in the United States at St John's College (Collegeville, Minnesota).

There are thirty books with provenance from the (joint) order of the *Heiliggeist* and the *Kreuzherrenkloster*, also known as the Order of San Spiritus and the Order of the Crucifixion. At least sixteen of them, including a bound collection of six books printed by Kunne, were donated to the order in the sixteenth century by Alexander Mayr who was Magister from about 1525. An earlier Magister, Johannes Wolff, donated two copies to the order, and Thomas Knod, Magister from 1507 to 1530 of the *Heiliggeist* order, donated five books to his order to help start their library.<sup>21</sup> One of these books is in the Memmingen Stadtbibliothek [fig. 1].<sup>22</sup>

The *Augustinereremiten* order have thirty-one books with their provenance. Nine of these came from their Prior between 1480 and 1489, Johannes Fasnacht. The earliest book was printed in 1463 and

---

*Fortalitium fidei*. [Strasbourg: Johann Mentelin, not after 1471]. Folio. GW 1574; ISTC ia00539000, in Princeton University Firestone Library (Needham, no. 49).

19 Hubay, *Incunabula*, nos. 602, 643, 645, 648.

20 Honemann, "The Buxheim Collection and its Dispersal", 168.

21 Karrer, *Memmingen Chronik*, 170.

22 Guillermus, *Postilla super epistolas*. [Augsburg: Günther Zainer, about 1472]. Folio. GW 11930; ISTC ig00642000. MMStadtB 3,239.

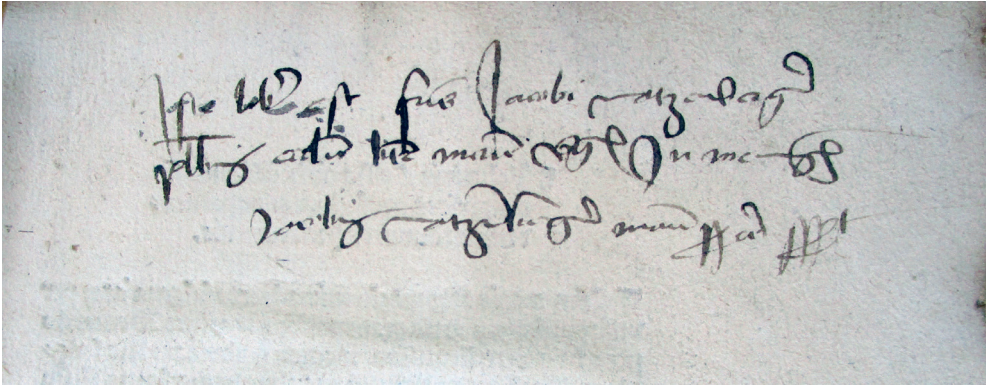


Figure 1 Provenance inscription from Jacob Matzenberger (MStB shelfmark 3.38)

the latest in 1496. The earliest provenance inscription from Fasnacht is 1480 and the latest 1489; six were theological and three were of canon law. None have any purchase prices.

## 2.2 Smaller Clerical Book Collectors

Johannes Tieffenthaler with a Masters degree from Heidelberg in 1492, was head of the *Frauenkirche* between 1501 and 1519. Ten books with his provenance are today in the library at Ottobeuren, plus two more in other libraries. The books were printed between 1481 and 1496. He had purchased three from previous owners; one from scholar Johann Haas in 1487, and two editions, both printed in Paris and bound together, from a Johannes Grasser in 1517, an early example of secondhand book selling.<sup>23</sup> Two of his purchases have prices; he paid 9 1/2 florins for Gregorius IX, *Decretales cum glossa*, an imperial folio of 272 leaves, printed in Venice by Johann Hamman in 1491 and p? [sic] florins for Gregorius I, *Moralia sive Expositio in Job*, a royal folio of 364 leaves, printed by Nikolaus Kessler in Basel in 1496.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Wenceslaus Brack, *Vocabularius rerum*. [Basel: Peter Kollicker], 27 Oct. 1483. Folio. GW 4984; ISTC ib01058000, and Johannes Buridanus, *Quaestiones in Aristotelis Ethica Nicomachea*. [Paris: Johannes Higman and] Wolfgang Hopyl, 14 July 1489. Folio. GW 5727; ISTC ib01294000, bound with Johannes Buridanus, *Quaestiones et dubia in Aristotelis Politica*. Paris: Wolfgang Hopyl for Durand Gerlier, [about 1489]. Folio. GW 5753; ISTC ib01293000. Hubay, *Incunabula aus ... der Benediktinerabtei Ottobeuren*, nos. 98, 103 with 104.

<sup>24</sup> Gregorius IX, Pont. Max., *Decrateles cum glossa*. Venice: Johannes Hamman, 23 June 1491. Folio. GW 11481; ISTC ig00466000 and Gregorius I, Pont. Max. *Moralia sive Expositio in Job*. Basel: Nicolaus Kesler, 1496. Folio. GW 11434; ISTC ig00432000.

Johann Wilhalmi was a priest in Memmingen and also did some bookbinding. There are four books with his provenance – two of them today in Ottobeuren’s monastic library.

Eustachius Funck, a pastor from Rettenbach in Ingolstadt, inscribed his name in one book in 1487, Voragine’s *Legenda aurea*.<sup>25</sup> The book had been printed in Reutlingen in 1485, and he had purchased it for one Rhenish florin, and had it bound in Ulm. He came from a Memmingen merchant family.

Christian Geiger, a pastor at the *Heiliggeist* order has his name in two books, both now in Munich, unfortunately with no price or date of purchase.<sup>26</sup>

### 2.3 Some Non-Clerical Buyers

Ulrich Ellenbog (c.1435-1499) was the city doctor for Memmingen, and also doctor to Archduke Sigismund (1427-1496), governor of Tyrol. Some of Ellenbog’s collection, and his interest in the printing press at SS Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg, was documented by Robert Proctor.<sup>27</sup> The earliest printed book purchased with Ellenbog’s provenance inscription is a Cicero printed in Cologne in 1470.<sup>28</sup> Of the 37 editions that can be ascribed to him so far, over half are religious, five are classical literature, eight medical and philosophical, with one each of historical and humanist content, and an almanac. His books were printed in 14 different towns, from as far away as Paris and Lyon to Venice, and, within Germany, from Cologne to Ulm. Four were bound in Augsburg and four in Memmingen, two of these at the bindery at Buxheim. A collection of eleven editions all bound in Augsburg are still in Augsburg.<sup>29</sup> A collection of five editions, four printed in Augsburg and one in Florence, are now in Cambridge University Library.<sup>30</sup>

---

**25** Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea sanctorum*. Reutlingen: [Johann Otmar, before 24 Aug.] 1485. Folio. GW M11267; ISTC ij00113000. Shelf mark MMStadtB 3,170.

**26** Justinus, Marcus Junianus, *Epitomae in Trogi Pompeii historias*. [Venice: Johannes Rubeus Vercellensis and Albertinus Vercellensis] for Bernardinus Rasinius Novocomensis, [before 4 Apr. 1494]. Folio. GW M15642; ISTC ij00620000, and Macrobus, Aurelius Thodosius, *In somnium Scipionis expositio. Saturnalia*. Venice: [Johannes Rubeus Vercellensis], 29 June 1492. Folio. GW M19707; ISTC im00012000; BSB Ink I-671,4 and BSB-Ink M-4.

**27** Proctor, “Ulrich von Ellenbogen”, 163-79.

**28** Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *De finibus bonorum et malorum*. [Cologne: Ulrich Zel, about 1471]. 4°. GW 6884; ISTC ic00564000. Ellenbog purchased this copy in 1474.

**29** AugStSB, shelf mark 4° Ink 219. Many have purchase inscriptions dated 1474.

**30** Oates, *Catalogue of XVth Century Books in Cambridge University Library*, nos. 128, 901, 903, 915 and 919.

Although Ellenbog wrote in his books and usually dated his purchases, he rarely noted the price he had paid for his books. Only one has a price, a chancery folio of 252 leaves that cost 2 ren[ish] fl[orins]: Donatus', *Commentarius in Terentii*, printed by Adolf Rusch in Strasbourg in 1473.<sup>31</sup> He left his collection to one of his sons, Nikolaus, who became prior of the abbey at Ottoheuren. Nikolaus was, like his father, a humanist and in correspondence with other humanists, such as Ludwig Han and Dr Jakob Stopel in Memmingen, Johannes Reuchlin in Basel, Erasmus in Rotterdam and Konrad Peutinger (husband of Margarethe Peutinger, below) in Augsburg.<sup>32</sup> Ulrich also wrote two tracts about the plague, both of which were printed by Memmingen printer Albrecht Kunne.<sup>33</sup>

Dr Johann Wessbach (d. 1507) was a canon lawyer from Memmingen and a citizen of Ulm from 1473. He was a donor to Buxheim of both printed books and manuscripts. There are 13 printed books with his provenance, printed between 1472 and 1500, all except two of them theological. None have prices or dates of purchase.

Another canon lawyer was also Memmingen born, Dr Thomas Dorniberg (1440-1497), friend since student days of Ulrich Ellenbog, and author of the first printed index for a book in 1473.<sup>34</sup> Other Memmingen authors were Ulrich Ellenbog, mentioned above; Ludwig Han, preceptor of the *Heiligeist* order, who wrote *Margarita animae*, printed in 1512 by Kunne, and three of whose books are now in Memmingen Stadtbibliothek with his (slightly later, after 1500) provenance; and Dr Jakob Stopel (d. 1535), who became the city doctor after Ellenbog, a humanist and whose two books, *Die außlegung auff die iij sunnen* and *Repertorium in formam alphabeticam* were also printed by Kunne in 1514 and 1519.<sup>35</sup>

Printer Günther Zainer (d. 1478) from Augsburg gave at least eight manuscripts to Buxheim plus two copies each of many of his printed books.<sup>36</sup>

---

**31** Donatus, Aelius, *Commentarius in Terentii Comoedias*. [Strasbourg: The R-printer (Adolf Rusch?), not after 1473]. Folio. GW 9037; ISTC id00354000 - now in the Huntington Library, California.

**32** Ellenbogen, *Briefwechsel*.

**33** Ellenbog, Ulrich von, *Instruction wider die Pestilenz*. Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne, 1494. 4°. GW 9287; ISTC ie00038000; Ellenbog, Ulrich von, *Ordnung wider die Pestilenz*. Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne, [about 1494-95]. 4°. GW 9288; ISTC ie00038100.

**34** Albertus Magnus, *Compendium theologicæ veritatis*. With table by Thomas Dorniberg. [Speyer: Printer of the 'Gesta Christi', after 23 Aug 1473]. Folio. GW 597; ISTC ia00230000.

**35** Jakob Stopel, *Die Außlegung Jakob Stoppels*. Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne, 1514. 4°. VD16 S 9281; and Jakob Stopel, *Repertorium in Formam Alphabeticam*. Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne, 1519. 4°. VD16 S 9282. Cf. also Kießling, *Die Geschichte des Stadt Memmingen*, 224.

**36** Needham, "The Library of Hilprand Brandenburg", 99 fn. 13; from Ruf ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, 81-101.



There is very little evidence of Memmingen merchants purchasing books, let alone collecting them, although they may have purchased and handed them down through their families. The widow of Augsburg humanist and merchant, Jörg Grossenbrot, however, donated a five-volume Bible to Buxheim in his name after his death.<sup>37</sup> Johann Hütter, from a Memmingen merchant family had his coat of arms on one book, printed by Günther Zainer and now in the BSB in Munich. As an example of Hütter's further interest in books, he also gave a loan of 3,000 florins to printer Johann Zainer in Ulm, in 1487, to be repaid at ten guilders a quarter.<sup>38</sup> A further merchant link comes with another of the early humanists, Margarethe Peutingering (1481-1552). She was born in Memmingen, daughter of Anton Welser and Katarina Vöhlin, both from merchant families. She was married to Konrad Peutingering, from an Augsburg family in 1499 when she was 18. She had been well educated and was in correspondence with other humanists such as Erasmus, and Martin Luther was a frequent visitor to their Augsburg home. She wrote a book about numismatics.<sup>39</sup> Books were a large part of her life and, although none seem to have survived with her provenance, there are over 200 printed books in Augsburg Staats- und Stadtbibliothek with her husband's provenance.

Not all the book owners were male, and the sisters of the *Franziskanerkloster* in Memmingen owned two books, both printed in German - one was Hartman Schedel's *Liber chronicarum* and the other, by Heinrich Suso, *Das Buch genannt Seuse*, printed by Anton Sorg, Augsburg in 1482; both are proudly inscribed that they belonged to the sisters.<sup>40</sup>

There are also a number of provenance inscriptions that have so far proved impossible to unravel.

---

**37** *Biblia latina cum glossa*. Basel: Johann Froben and Johann Petri, de Langendorff, 1 Dec 1498. Folio. GW 4284; ISTC ib00609000. Now in the General Theological Seminary, New York. With thanks to Paul Needham's IPI.

**38** Amelung, *Der Frühdruck im deutschen Südwesten*, 24.

**39** Düring, "Margarethe Peutingering", 138-9.

**40** Schedel, Hartmann, *Liber Chronicarum* [German] *Das Buch der Chroniken und Geschichten*. Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, for Sebald Schreyer and Sebastian Kammermeister, 23 Dec. 1493. Folio. GW M40796; ISTC is00309000 and Suso, Henricus, *Das Buch gennant Seuse* [German]. Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 19 Apr. 1482. Folio. GW M44616; ISTC is00871000 - the latter has the inscription *Diis büch hat uns unßer wirdige müter und schwestern zu memmingen geben das man alhie got auch für ly hüt, wir hands mit uns herbracht*.

**Table 2** Showing main Memmingen book owners from provenance inscriptions

book owner	number of books	printed date range	occupation of owner
Buxheim Abbey	122		religious order
Hilprand Brandenburg	101	1460-1497	canon lawyer
Petrus Mitte de Caprariis	51	1467-1479	canon lawyer
Ulrich Ellenbogen	40	1472-1494	doctor
Augustiner Eremiten	22	1474-1497	religious order
Heiliggeist	20	1475-1500	religious order
Irsee Abbey	19	1469-1496	religious order
Jacob Matzenberger	19	1483-1498	plebanus, Frauenkirche
Johann Tieffentaler	13	1481-1499	Cappelanus, Frauenkirche
Johann Wesspach	13	1472-1500	canon lawyer
Johannes Fastnacht	9	1477-1488	prior, Augustinereremiten
Jörg Bechter	6	1489-1497	
Thomas Knod	6	1472-1480	Spittalmeister, Heiliggeist
Johannes Wilhalm	4	1479-1481	priest
Franziskanerinnenkloster	3	1475-1493	religious order
Ludwig Han	3	1488-1517	rector/author
Cristiani Balitoris	2	1474-1480	
Sigismund Toppler	2	1477-1482	Presbyter
Christian Geiger	2	1492-1494	Priest, Heiliggeist
Jörg Hütter	1	1473	merchant
Eustachius Funck	1	1485	priest, Rettenbach
Johannes Wolff	1	1504	Spitalmeister, Heiliggeist

### 3 Book Production

Memmingen was not only a city of book buyers, but was also a place where all aspects of book production were carried out. By the last quarter of the fifteenth century the writing and printing of books, papermaking, bookbinding, and the rubricating and illuminating, and selling of books were firmly established.

#### 3.1 Manuscripts and Printed Books

There is evidence in the Antonierhaus accounts through the 1450s and 1460s of Petrus Mitte commissioning manuscripts to be written for him. Not all were written in Memmingen but many were, and Adalbert Mischlewski lists many of the Memmingen craftsmen; the scribes, rubricators and illuminators working for Mitte, drawn

from information in the Antonierhaus account books.<sup>41</sup> These included the schoolmaster Jakob Waldner and the priest and organist Johannes Hummel, who copied part three of Thomas Aquinas' *Summa theologica*,<sup>42</sup> as well as the teacher Jodocus Toubel.<sup>43</sup> Jakobus Keller was the scribe, as well as rubricator and illuminator for Jordanus' *Sermones*, written in 1458,<sup>44</sup> and Jakob Rieschz, was paid in 1458 for writing the text of *Liber moralia*, for the cost of the skins, for binding and for rubricating.<sup>45</sup> Beyond Memmingen, Mitte used Wolricus Hornen from Kempten who wrote a large three-volume Bible and a Breviary for him [fig. 2].<sup>46</sup> Another craftsman from Kempten, the priest Ulrich Schenk, was an illuminator.<sup>47</sup> Mitte bought parchment from the Memmingen parchment maker Joss<sup>48</sup> as well as from the master parchment maker, Joseph, in Ulm<sup>49</sup> and from Hans Berler in Kempten.<sup>50</sup>

A little more information about Memmingen craftsmen appears in the next decade with printed books. In 1475 Mitte paid Georio Ramsawer for rubricating, illuminating and binding two of the books he had purchased, and the binding of one was finished with the binding tools of the Memmingen bookbinding workshop Kyriss 176.<sup>51</sup> Georio Ramsawer may have been a binder at Kyriss 176 [fig. 3].<sup>52</sup>

The circumstances that encouraged printer Albrecht Kunne to come to Memmingen from Trent in 1478 are not known. Victor Scholderer suggests that Mitte and the Antonierhaus may have been responsible.<sup>53</sup> Another suggestion comes from Dieter Saam who makes a strong case for Ulrich Ellenbog, who, with his extensive library and strong interest in the printing press in Augsburg, may have provided

41 Mischlewski, *Grundzüge der Geschichte des Antonierordens*, 330-1. Also MMStadtA D 244/2, 74v.

42 MMStadtA D 244/2, 27, 34v, 75v.

43 MMStadtA D 244/2, 58v.

44 MMStadtA D 244/2, 26r and 35r record the various payments to Keller when working on this edition. The manuscript is now in Augsburg SStB., Cod II. 2° 271b.

45 Samma, *Die Bibliothek*, 115.

46 Mischlewski, *Grundzüge der Geschichte des Antonierordens*, 332.

47 MMStadtA D 244/2, 35v.

48 MMStadtA D 244/2, 21, 52v.

49 Samma, *Die Bibliothek*, 110. Sti 244/2, 109v.

50 MMStadtA D 242/2, 106v.

51 Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea sanctorum*. [Basel: Michael Wenssler, not after 1474]. Folio. GW M11185; ISTC ij00082000, MMStadtB shelf mark 3.343 and Gratianus, *Decretum*. Basel: Bernhard Richel, 10 June 1476. Folio. GW 11356; ISTC ig00365000. MMSadtB shelf mark 3.402, both with Mitte's provenance inscriptions.

52 Samma, "Katalog", 29, states that Ramsawer was a *Benefiziat* at the Antonier chapel from 1479-1518.

53 Scholderer, "A French Bibliophile in Germany", 199.



either the intellectual and/or financial encouragement to bring Kunne to the town.<sup>54</sup> Kunne was never a large printing house, and the majority of his publications were quite small; over half of them were quartos, and another third were single-sheet broadsides.<sup>55</sup>

However, Kunne was very much a part of the burgeoning scholarly network in Memmingen at the end of the fifteenth century. His books were purchased by local buyers such as Jörg Bechter, Alexander Mayr, in the 16th century, and Dr Johann Wessbach, and copies of some of his editions were in the library at Buxheim. Also, as mentioned above, Kunne printed for some local authors, and printed the bookplates for the books donated by Hilprand Brandenburg to Buxheim.

Apart from the authors who were book buyers, and whose books have provenance inscriptions as discussed above, Kunne also printed for other scholars, from Memmingen and from nearby towns. Saam describes them and their influence on Memmingen's early printing.<sup>56</sup> One such, Br. Hans Mickel from Buxheim translated Kunne's 1489 Latin edition of *Alphabetum divini amoris* into German for a second edition in 1493, the first German-language text from the Carthusian order to be in print.<sup>57</sup> Another scholar whose work Kunne printed was Johann Tallat/Tollat von Vochenberg alias Johannes Birk, a teacher at the Latin school in Kempten. Kunne printed three editions of his *Büchlein der Arznei* in 1497 and 1498.<sup>58</sup> Saam suggests that Tallat could also be the author of Kunne's *Ars rhetorica*.<sup>59</sup> The printer also worked with Michael Christan, head of the *Kreuzkappelle* in Bernrain, Switzerland, who was corrector and editor of Kunne's edition of Pius II's *In Europam* printed in 1491.<sup>60</sup> Apart from a short tract printed in 1527 with Kunne's type, there was no press in Memmingen until the 18th century.<sup>61</sup>

---

**54** Saam, "Albrecht Kunne aus Duderstadt", 89-91.

**55** Bolton, "A Print Run", 141-9.

**56** Saam, "Albrecht Kunne aus Duderstadt", 92-6.

**57** *Alphabetum divini amoris* [Latin]. Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne, 1489. 4°. GW 1560; ISTC ia00527000, and *Alphabetum divini amoris* [German] *Das abc das götlichen liebi*. Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne, 1493. 4°. GW 1567; ISTC ia00532000. Cf. also Saam, "Albrecht Kunne aus Duderstadt", 96.

**58** Johann Tollat, *Büchlein der Arznei*. [Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne], 1497. 4°. GW M14792; ISTC it00384300; Johann Tollat, *Büchlein der Arznei*. [Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne], 1498. 4°. GW M14793; ISTC it00384400; and Johann Tollat, *Büchlein der Arznei*. [Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne], 1498. 4°. GW M14791; ISTC it00384410.

**59** Saam, "Albrecht Kunne aus Duderstadt", 94. *Ars rhetorica pro iuvenum informatione*. Memmingen: [Albrecht Kunne, about 1490-95]. 4°. GW 2671; ISTC ia01139500.

**60** Saam 95. Pius II, Pont. Max. *In Europam*. Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne [not after Mar.1491]. 4°. GW M33717; ISTC ip00727000.

**61** Jakob Stopel, *Ain tract über die geburt der Mensthen*. Memmingen: Bernhard Schad, 1527. 4°. VD16 ZV 30227. But perhaps printed by Dr Stopel, cf. Möncke, "Ein Memminger Druck von 1527", 55-9.

### 3.2 Papermaking

The introduction of paper to Europe was also an important part of the printing revolution. Although the price of the paper was the highest cost of a printed book, books printed on paper were considerably cheaper than a manuscript, written either on paper or on parchment.<sup>62</sup>

The first paper mill in Memmingen was a corn mill that was converted by Ulrich Frey at *Haienbach*, as a private enterprise in 1478, and run by two (unnamed) papermakers.<sup>63</sup> Victor Scholderer suggests that Petrus Mitte and/or the Antonierhaus may also have had an interest in establishing this papermaking enterprise.<sup>64</sup> Four years later a new, purpose-built, paper mill was built by the town, the *Riedmühle*. It had thirty-six stamping hammers, a workshop and all the necessary equipment. Peter Fort was the papermaker, and paid 20 rhenish guilders a year for a 20 year lease.<sup>65</sup> In 1485 the rent was increased to 30 guilders a year, payable directly to the Hospitallers who had helped finance the new building. In 1493 Fort died and his widow returned the mill back to the Hospital.<sup>66</sup>

Piccard states that the full extent of Kunne's use of Memmingen paper is not known, and the majority of Kunne's books do not show a watermark.<sup>67</sup> However, Kunne did use Memmingen paper to print his edition of Werner Rolewinck's *Fasciculus temporum* [ir00268000] in 1482, and also in a quarto edition Antoninus Florentinus' *Confessionale*, printed in 1483 [ia00811000] [fig. 4]. Interestingly, despite the town's investment in the new mill, some of their account books show that in 1479 and in 1488 the town purchased a number of reams of paper from Ravensburg.<sup>68</sup>

### 3.3 Bookbinding

Memmingen has been identified with at least six binderies according to the EBDB records that cover the period from 1450 to after 1500. They are listed below, with both their Kyriss workshop and their EBDB workshop numbers. So far there are no records of Memmingen bindings on books printed before 1470, although it is likely that there

---

62 Febvre, Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, 114.

63 Piccard, "Zur Geschichte der Papierzeugung", 43.

64 Scholderer, "A French Bibliophile in Germany", 198.

65 Piccard, "Zur Geschichte der Papierzeugung", 44. Also MMStadtA D18.3.

66 Scholderer, "A French Bibliophile in Germany", 198. Scholderer states that the 'Hospital' involved was the Antonierhaus.

67 Piccard, "Zur Geschichte der Papierzeugung", 65.

68 Piccard, "Zur Geschichte der Papierzeugung", 45.

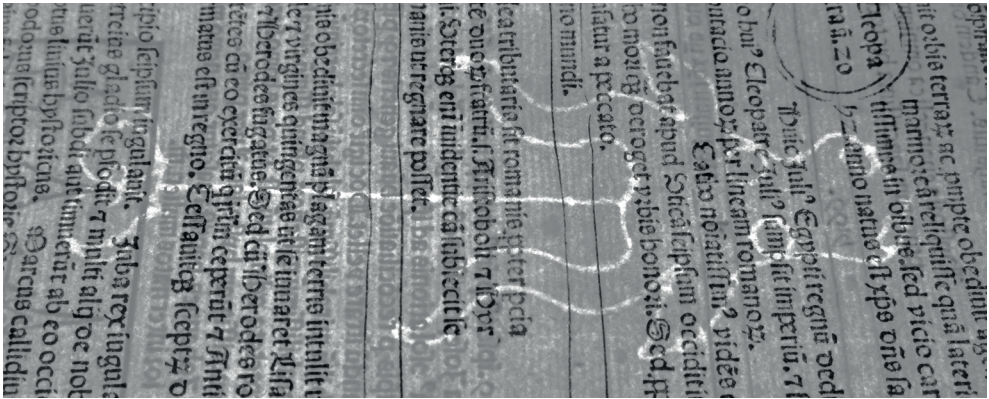


Figure 4 A Memmingen watermark in use between 1482 and 1493, c. 112 × 42 mm, from *Fasciculus Temporum* (MMStadtB shelfmark 3.149)

were binders working before that date – one of Petrus Mitte’s manuscripts (unfortunately undated) has a Memmingen binding.<sup>69</sup> Apart from the 46 bindings found in the Memmingen Stadtbibliothek, currently around 110 further Memmingen bindings have been identified in other incunable collections throughout the world, and there are probably more to be found.<sup>70</sup> The list at table 3 includes the Stadtbibliothek shelf marks of copies of printed books discovered so far that were bound in Memmingen.

**Table 3** Memmingen binding workshops, with approximate dates and number of tools. The earliest dates are from earliest date of printed book in a particular workshops’ binding

Kyriss number	EBDB workshop number	approx. dates of operation	number of tools	shelf marks of bindings in MStB
K109 - Salve Meister	w000037	1473-1491	51	3.33; 3.104; 3.109; 3.146; 3.148; 3.185; 3.247; 3.255; 3.256; 3.273; 3.347; 3.356; 3.359; 3.369; 3.374; 3.378; 3.403; 3.411; 3.424
K110 - Wappen rund	w000143	1480-1517	30	3.200; 3.230; 3.278; 3.294; 3.305; 3.320; 3.366; 3.379; 3.383; 3.392

<sup>69</sup> MMStadtB 2° Cod 2,7.

<sup>70</sup> Information from various printed catalogues and from the regularly updated EBDB.

K111 - Knoten 1	w000142	1479-1516	6	
K176 - Gänseblume 1	w000173	1472-1506	19	3,38; 3,121; 3,149; 3,153; 3.164; 3,241; 3,245; 3,270; 3,343; 3,366; 3.392; 3,402; 3.402; 3,406; 3,409; 3,410; 3,412
K000 - Wilhalmi Meister	w002441	1476-1481	19 (6 the same as K 176)	
l.b.	w003150	1491	6	

Also included are the names of two craftsmen who had been involved with three of the books. Binder, rubricator and illuminator Georio Ramsawer (as mentioned above) with Petrus Mitte's 1476 provenance inscription in Gratianus', *Decretum*, and in 1475 in Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, and there is also an inscription on the colophon page of Vincentius Bellovacensis, *Speculum historiale* by Martino Hüber, rubricator and scriptor, in 1479 - this copy had been bound at workshop Kyriss 109.<sup>71</sup>

Two-thirds of the total 156 Memmingen bound books do not have any provenance, so it is difficult to say how and why they came to be bound in Memmingen. Only eight of the books were printed in Memmingen, whereas 26 of them were printed in Basel, 22 in Strasbourg 20 from Venice and 14 from Nuremberg, with the rest in single figures coming from 14 different towns, in Italy, France and Germany. There are 50 books with provenance inscriptions and a Memmingen link with their owner including 10 that came from Irsee Abbey, perhaps once belonging to Petrus Mitte. Only 13 of the Memmingen-bound books with Memmingen provenance are in the Stadtbibliothek today. The provenance locations beyond Memmingen are almost all fairly close such as Augsburg and Weissenau c. 70 km away, and some from slightly further away such as Ingolstadt, Indersdorf and Mergentheim and Constance - all places in southern Germany.

<sup>71</sup> Vincentius Bellovacensis, *Speculum historiale*. [Augsburg: St Ulrich and Afra]. Folio. GW M50570; ISTC iv00284000, shelf mark MMStadtB 3.356.



## 4 The Book Trade

### 4.1 From Where Did the Book Buyers Buy their Books?

There is evidence that Petrus Mitte bought direct from the printer, as with his first purchases of printed books that he bought from printers Sweynheym and Pannartz in Rome when he was there in 1468, as mentioned above. He may also have purchased other books direct from other printers when he was travelling. Hilprand Brandenburg purchased some of his first printed books direct from printer Johann Mentelin, but also from Mentelin's travelling book agents and those of Peter Schöffer.<sup>72</sup> As the numbers of printers and books increased, so did the trade in books, using the existing commercial channels of travelling salesmen, and trade fairs, such as the 14-day fair at Nördlingen, the closest fair to Memmingen at only 120 km away.

Although not mentioning Memmingen, Peter Drach's account book from the 1480s for his bookselling business in Speyer gives a good idea of the book trade at that time. He lists his use of carters and agents, transporting quantities of books to many towns in southern Germany.<sup>73</sup> One example shows that in June 1484, using his carter in Augsburg, Drach sent books he had purchased there to the fair in Nördlingen; the unsold stock later went on to Frankfurt for the Autumn fair there.<sup>74</sup> Petrus Mitte also had good deals with local carters to Nördlingen and regularly purchased household articles and food from the fair.<sup>75</sup> Books may also have been on his Nördlingen shopping list.

Memmingen book buyers may also have been able to purchase books locally, as suggested by a list that had been printed by Kunne of almost 200 titles for sale around the year 1500.<sup>76</sup> Kunne may have printed the list for another bookseller, but it may also be a list of the books he was able to provide. A strip remains, in MunichBSB, and a full sheet of the text in BerlinSB that gives some idea of the range of titles, covering theology, legal matters, medical subjects, astron-

---

<sup>72</sup> Needham, "The Library of Hilprand Brandenburg", 101, gives greater details of Hilprand Brandenburg's early book purchases.

<sup>73</sup> Geldner, "Das Rechnungsbuch des Peter Drach", lists numerous examples of books being shipped to and from Speyer and to and from Reutlingen, Cologne, Nördlingen and Leipzig, by various carters (65/CCxxiiij). Drach was dealing, amongst others, with booksellers in Nuremberg and Tauberbischofsheim, and a publisher in Leipzig.

<sup>74</sup> Geldner, "Das Rechnungsbuch des Peter Drach", 78/CCxxxj-81/CCxxxij. Schorer, *Memminger Chronik*, 62, also describes a carter from Memmingen travelling with 8 horses and goods to Nördlingen in 1465.

<sup>75</sup> Mischlewski, "Beobachtungen des Memminger Antonierhauses", 192.

<sup>76</sup> *Libri venales Venetiis, Nurebergae et Basiliae impressi*. [Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne, after 1500]. Bdsde. GW 5678; ISTC ik00044500. Both copies, in Munich BSB and Berlin SB, are digitally available.

omy, the classics and almanacs. The heading, in red, states that the books had come from Venice, Nuremberg and Basel, which correlates well with the printing places having the highest number of books that were bound in Memmingen (see § 3.3 Bookbinding).

The majority of Memmingen book buyers seem to have purchased books that had been printed fairly locally. Almost 77% of the 460 books were printed in Germany, with the majority of these coming from Strasbourg at 21%, and Augsburg at 17%, followed by Basel and Cologne both at 12%. 10% of the books were printed in Nuremberg, and Memmingen, Ulm and Reutlingen each made up another 6%, with another eight towns each making smaller contributions.

20% of the total purchased books came from Italy with 68% of these coming from Venice. Rome and Padua provided 10% each, with five other towns making up the remaining 12%.

Only 3% of the books purchased came from France and the Low Countries, with 53% of this group being printed in Paris, 30% in Lyon and the last 15% (two editions) being printed in Louvain.

Honemann made a similar analysis with the books from the Buxheim collection, and found very similar results. So, although the existence of the large number of books at Buxheim might be thought to affect the statistics on Memmingen book owners, the Buxheim statistics proved to be very close, with 80% of their books printed in Germany, and 18% of these printed in Augsburg.<sup>77</sup>

The distance between places of production and places of purchase might be thought to have been a factor but this does not seem to have been the case. The same number of books came from Rome, over 900 km distant, as from Ulm, which was in effect just up the road, 60 km away.

## 4.2 The Subject Matter of Purchased Books

The subject matter of the books was also very similar between the editions in the Buxheim collection and those with Memmingen owners. Unsurprisingly, with a majority of the owners being theologians, theology was the most popular subject at 70%, followed by Canon Law at 11%, Bibles, Breviaries and Psalters, 20%, with the remaining 17% being made up of humanist literature, classics, grammars, geographical and medical books.

---

<sup>77</sup> Honemann, "The Buxheim Collection and its Dispersal", 174-5. It is difficult to be exact with these figures as Honemann (understandably) lumped the final 69 books together stating that they came from 26 different places, without identifying them.

### 4.3 The Prices Paid for Printed Books

Comparing prices between different currencies and countries is difficult. The rhenish florin and pound heller were currencies used in the Germanic states. Petrus Mitte stated in his provenance inscription of 1468 that his costs of 16 ducats (paid in Rome) equalled 20 rhenish florins, which gives a useful, contemporary conversion.<sup>78</sup>

1 rhenish florin = 20 grosschen/schilling = 240 pfennig  
1 papal ducat = 10 grossi<sup>79</sup> (= 1.20 rhenish florin)  
1 pound heller = 20 schillings = 240 pfennig

Only a few of the Memmingen printed books have prices and most of these prices come from Petrus Mitte. By comparing the prices he paid with other records of book prices it is possible to see that Mitte's expenditure was fairly representative. For example, he paid a total of 14 rhenish florins in 1474 for the purchase of Rainerius de Pisa's two-volume *Pantheologia*.<sup>80</sup> Also in 1474 an Ulm purchaser of the same edition, now in Ulm Stadtbibliothek, paid 12 florins for the two volumes plus 24 grosschen for rubricating and 22 grosschen for binding, totalling 14 florins 6 grosschen.<sup>81</sup> The two prices are very close.

Other comparisons can be made with Hartmann Schedel's book list.<sup>82</sup> Bringing the Memmingen prices together to compare with those from Schedel begins to show a cost for books by physical size and the number of pages (see table 4). This kind of analysis was also explored by Martin Davies, where he further explores the costs of the number of leaves per ducat.<sup>83</sup>

---

**78** Hieronymus, *Epistolae*. Rome: Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 13 dec. 1468. Folio. GW 12421; ISTC ih00161000 in the British Library. Cf. also Davies, "Two Book-lists of Sweynheym and Pannartz", 47.

**79** Davies, "Two Book-lists of Sweynheym and Pannartz", 35 fn. 49.

**80** Rainerius de Pisis, *Pantheologia*. [Augsburg: Günther Zainer], 1474. Folio. GW M36921; ISTC ir00006000, AugSStB 2<sup>a</sup> Ink 333 I/II.

**81** Breitenbuch, *Inkunabeln der Stadtbibliothek Ulm*, 238.

**82** Hartmann Schedel's price list is in the BSB, and reproduced in Burger, *Buchhändleranzeigen des 15 Jahrhunderts*, no. 6.

**83** Davies, "Two Book-lists", 52 and 53.

**Table 4** Book prices paid by Memmingen buyers, listed by format and number of pages and compared with prices from Hartmann Schedel's list of 1470

format	number of leaves	price paid	purchaser	Hartmann Schedel's price	date of purchase
octavo	28	9 grosschen	J Bechter		after 1500
quarto	28	3 florin	J Bechter		1521?
	78	5 fl.	PMdeC		1468
	106			1 ducat	1470
	110	5 fl.	PMdeC	19 grossi	1468-1470
	150	12 fl. +	PMdeC	16 grossi	1468-1470
	246	4 fl.	PMdeC		1468
chancery folio	58	2 fl.	PMdeC		
	76	1 rh. fl.	PMdeC		
	252	2 fl.	U Ellenbog		1473
	312	1 fl.	E Funck		1487
	954	3 fl.	PMdeC		
median folio	135	11 fl.	PMdeC		n.d.
royal folio	162	4 fl.		5 ducats	1470
	168	4 fl.	PMdeC	2 1/2 ducats	
	178	4 fl.	PMdeC	3 ducats	
	242			4 ducats	1470
	246	3fl.	PMdeC		1475
	250			3 ducats	1470
	274			5 ducats	1470
	412			7 ducats	1470
	636	16 rh. fl.	PMdeC	10 ducats	1470
	993	14 fl.	PMdeC		1474
	993	14 fl. 6 gr	UlmStB		1474
imperial folio	276	9 1/2 fl.	J Tieffentaler		after 1491
	407	3 fl.	PMdeC		
	413	8 fl.	PMdeC		1476

It is not always obvious if the price includes binding, but, where the price is considerably more than that on Schedel's book list, binding and/or rubricating and illuminating are most likely part of the total cost.

#### 4.4 Prices of Other Commodities

Prices of everyday commodities fluctuated through the second half of the fifteenth century, and Schorer's *Chronik* of the town gives some values. In 1459 a pair of trousers cost one florin.<sup>84</sup> In 1484 a *Viertel* of apples cost between 4 and 6 *pfennig*.<sup>85</sup> In 1490 a day's labour earned 3 *schilling* and a hen cost 10 *pfennig*, as did 100 eggs.<sup>86</sup> The annual rent of the paper mill in 1482 was 20 florins, the same as a two-volume printed book, including the binding, rubrication and transport from Rome to Memmingen (although some years earlier in 1468).<sup>87</sup> A *Maß* of wine varied between three and six *pfennig* from the 1450s to the 1490s, although Neckar wine cost 14 *pfennig* in 1495, and a *Malter* of grain fluctuated between 1 pound 5 *schilling* heller and 4 pound 15 *schilling* heller over this period.<sup>88</sup> Interestingly in 1488 the town raised almost 2,000 pound heller from the sale of indulgences.<sup>89</sup>

There are only a few manuscripts, both dated and with prices, that Mitte purchased. They were not all commissioned and some were bought secondhand. He paid 2 1/2 florins for a secondhand manuscript of 241 leaves, written at the end of the fourteenth century.<sup>90</sup> A mid-fifteenth century copy of Cicero's *Rhetorica nova* cost him 3 florins for 171 leaves of paper and parchment in 1447.<sup>91</sup> Closer in time to printed books was a 223-page, approximately royal folio size, manuscript of Jordanus de Quedlinberg, written in 1457, which cost 11 rhenish florins,<sup>92</sup> and a 254-page, royal folio size, Duranti (before 1460), which cost 8 rhenish florins.<sup>93</sup> The most expensive manuscript was the large, three-volume illuminated Bible (mentioned above), written between 1458 and 1461, which cost a high total of 196 pound heller (equal to 112 rhenish florins).<sup>94</sup>

The earliest prices paid for printed books in this Memmingen collection were in 1468; 246 pages of a quarto-size Cicero for 4 florins, and the same price being paid for a different, 110-page, Cicero edition. Five years later in 1473 Ellenbog paid two rhenish florins for a

---

<sup>84</sup> Schorer, *Memminger Chronik*, 12.

<sup>85</sup> Schorer, *Memminger Chronik*, 43.

<sup>86</sup> Schorer, *Memminger Chronik*, 14.

<sup>87</sup> Schorer, *Memminger Chronik*, 42.

<sup>88</sup> Schorer, *Memminger Chronik*, 45 and 50.

<sup>89</sup> Schorer, *Memminger Chronik*, 47.

<sup>90</sup> Now in AugStSB, shelf mark 2° Cod 194.

<sup>91</sup> Now in AugStSB, shelf mark 2° Cod 22.

<sup>92</sup> Now in AugStSB, shelf mark 2° Cod 271a.

<sup>93</sup> Now in AugStSB, shelf mark 2° Cod 282.

<sup>94</sup> Mischlewski, "Beobachtungen", 193. MStA Sti 244/2, 27r.

252-leaf, chancery folio size, Donatus edition. It is difficult to compare the costs of manuscripts and printed books because there are so few examples. It is also difficult to compare prices of books to the living costs throughout the period. However the prices are given here for comparison with others that may be found in other towns. It seems that, although printed books may have been slightly cheaper in the early years, they were still expensive when compared to everyday costs of living.

## 5 Conclusion

In conclusion, the evidence from provenance inscriptions with a Memmingen link, together with some information from the Antonerhaus account books, shows the growth of book ownership from the 1450s to the 1500s. It is possible to track the purchasing and/or commissioning of manuscripts, by senior heads of the religious houses, to the purchasing of printed books, in increasing numbers, by them and other theologians, doctors, lawyers, authors, humanist scholars, and one or two merchants.

Bookbuyers from the 1470s attracted other book-connected trades, such as papermaking, printing and bookbinding, which in turn brought more scholars into the network, with Kunne printing some of their texts. The book buyers/owners were not in isolation – they were in contact with each other and also in correspondence with other like-minded people further afield; part of the growing intellectual humanist movement that was changing people’s thinking. Although the sixteenth century is not within the remit of this paper, many of the Memmingen people who appear towards the end of the 15th century also appear in the 16th. It is possible that Memmingen’s scholarly book network from the late 15th century onwards helped to lay the ground work for the events of the first quarter of the 16th century, with the Reformation and the Peasant’s Revolt that started in Memmingen.

## Abbreviations

- AugStSB = Augsburg Staats- und Stadtbibliothek  
BL = British Library  
BMC = *Catalogue of books printed in the XVth century now in the British Museum*. London, 1908-2014  
BSB = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek  
CERL = *Consortium of European Research Libraries* (<https://www.cerl.org>)  
CUL = Oates, J.C.T. *A Catalogue of the Fifteenth-century Printed Books in the University Library, Cambridge*. Cambridge (1954)  
EBDB = *Einbanddatenbank*, an online database collection showing incunable bindings and tools based on the researches of Ernst Kyriss. Still growing (<https://www.hist-einband.de>)  
IPI = *Index Possessorum Incunabulorum*, a collection made by Paul Needham of over 32,000 entries of names and institutions who owned incunabula, now being assimilated into MEI and searchable through CERL or [https://data.cerl.org/ipi/\\_search](https://data.cerl.org/ipi/_search)  
Kyriss/ K = see EBDB  
MEI = *Material Evidence in Incunabula*, database searchable through CERL (see above)  
MMStadtA = Memmingen Stadtarchiv  
MMStadtB = Memmingen Stadtbibliothek  
OAB = Ottobeuren Abtei Bibliothek  
VD16 = Das Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts

## Bibliography<sup>95</sup>

- Amelung, Peter. *Der Frühdruck im deutschen Südwesten, 1473-1500*. Stuttgart: Württembergischen Landesbibliothek, 1979.  
Bolton, Claire. "A Print Run of 68 + 1 Copies of a Memmingen Indulgence, c.1504-15". *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 91, 2016, 141-9.  
Breitenbuch, Bernd. *Die Inkunabeln der Stadtbibliothek Ulm*. Weißenhorn: Konrad, 1987.  
Burger, Konrad. *Buchhändleranzeigen des 15 Jahrhunderts*. Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1907.  
Davies, Martin. "Two Book-Lists of Sweynheim and Pannartz". Ganda, Arnaldo; Grignani, Elisa (a cura di), *Libri, tipographi, biblioteche. Ricerche storiche dedicate a Luigi Balsamo*. Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1997, 25-53. *Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana* 148.  
Dees, Robert Paul. *Economics and Politics of Peasant Production in Southern Germany* [unpublished thesis]. Los Angeles: University of California, 2007.  
Düring, Renée. "Margarethe Peutingen, (1481-1552)". *Memminger Frauen, Biographien, Geschichten*, Bd. 2. Verlag: Mering Holzheu Verlag, 2017.

---

<sup>95</sup> My thanks to Christoph Engelhard, archivist at the Memmingen Stadtarchiv, for allowing me to stalk the stacks and to reproduce all the images here, and for supplying me with a copy of Franz Samma's thesis.

- Ellenbogen, Nikolaus. *Briefwechsel*. Vols. 19-21 of *Corpus catholicorum*. Hrsg. Andreas Bigelmair. Münster: Aschendorff, 1938.
- Febvre, Lucien; Martin, Henri-Jean. *The Coming of the Book*. London: New Left Books, 1976.
- Gehrt, Wolf. *Die Handschriften der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg: 2° Cod 251-400e*, Bd.2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984.
- Geldner, Ferdinand. "Das Rechnungsbuch des Speyrer Druckherrn, Verlegers und Großbuchhändlers Peter Drach". *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 5, 1963.
- Hoffmann, Leonhard. "Buchmarkt und Bücherpreise in Frühdruckzeitalter: der Antoniter Petrus Mitte de Caprariis als Käufer der ersten Frühdrucke in Rom 1468/69". *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 75, 2000, 73-81.
- Honemann, Volker. "The Buxheim Collection and its Dispersal". *Renaissance Studies*, 9, 1995, 166-88.
- Hubay, Ilona. *Incunabula der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Augsburg*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1974.
- Hubay, Ilona. *Incunabula aus der Staatlichen Bibliothek Neuberg/Donau und in, der Benediktinerabtei Ottobeuren*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1970.
- Karrer, Phillip Jakob. *Memminger Chronik. oder Topographie und Geschichte der kurpfalz-bayerschen Stadt Memmingen*. Memmingen, 1805.
- Kießling, Rolf. "Schüler, Ärzte, Drucker und Gelehrte - Aspekte der Bildungsgeschichte". Jahn, Joachim; Bayer, H.-W.; Braun, Uli (Hrsgg.), *Die Geschichte der Stadt Memmingen*, Bd. 1. Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 1997, 220-5.
- Mischlewski, Adalbert. *Grundzüge der Geschichte des Antonierordens bis zum Ausgang des 15. Jahrhunderts, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Leben und Wirken des Petrus Mitte de Caprariis*. Cologne; Vienna: Boehlau, 1976.
- Mischlewski, Adalbert. "Beobachtungen zur Erwerbspolitik und Wirtschaftsweise des Memminger Antonierhauses". Kaspar, Elm (Hrsg.), *Erwerbspolitik und Wirtschaftsweise mittelalterlicher Orden und Klöster*. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1992, 175-96. Ordensstudien 7. Berliner historische Studien 17.
- Mischlewski, Adalbert. "Die Antoniter und ihr Haus in Memmingen". *Das Antonierhaus in Memmingen. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Restaurierung (Arbeitshefte des Bayerischen Landesamte für Denkmalpflege 84)*. Ed. von der Stadt Memmingen und dem Bayerischen Landesamt für Denkmalpflege. München: Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, 1996, 13-22.
- Möncke, Gisela. "Ein Memminger Druck von 1527". *Memminger Geschichtsblätter*, 2014, 55-9.
- Needham, Paul. "The Library of Hilprand Brandenburg". *Bibliothek and Wissenschaft*, 29, 1996, 95-125.
- Piccard, Gérard. "Zur Geschichte der Papierzeugung in der Reichstadt Memmingen". *Memminger Geschichtsblätter*, 1963, 42-8.
- Proctor, Robert. "Ulrich von Ellenbogen and the Press of S. Ulrich at Augsburg". *The Library*, n.s. 4, 1903, 63-179.
- Ruf, Paul (ed.) (1989). *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, 3. Bd., 1. T. Bistum Augsburg, 81-101.
- Saam, Dieter. "Albrecht Kunne aus Duderstadt. Der Prototypograph von Trient und Memmingen und die Produktion seiner Offizinen (c. 1474 bis 1520)". *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft*, 25, 1991, 69-175.
- Samma, Franz. *Die Bibliothek des Petrus Mitte de Caprariis, Praeceptors der Antonier in Memmingen, (1439-1479)* [unpublished thesis]. Munich: Ludwig Max-



- imillians University, 1926. Although the original no longer exists a typescript is held in Memmingen Stadtarchiv.
- Sayle, C.E. *Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, McClean Bequest. Catalogue of the Early Printed Books*. Cambridge, 1916.
- Scholderer, Victor. "A French Bibliophile in Germany: Petrus Mitte". Rhodes, Dennis (ed.), *Fifty Essays in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-century Bibliography*. Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, 1966, 196-201.
- Schorer, Christopher. *Memminger Chronik*. Ulm, 1660.
- Spilling, Herrad. *Die Handschriften der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg: 2<sup>o</sup> Cod 101-150*, Bd.3. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1984.

## List of Cited Incunabula

- Albertus Magnus, *Compendium theologiae veritatis*. With table by Thomas Dorniberg. [Speyer: Printer of the 'Gesta Christi', after 23 Aug 1473]. Folio. GW 597; ISTC ia00230000
- Alphabetum divini amoris* [Latin]. Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne, 1489. 4°. GW 1560; ISTC ia00527000
- Alphabetum divini amoris* [German] *Das abc das götlichen liebi*. Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne, 1493. 4°. GW 1567; ISTC ia00532000
- Alphonsus de Spina, *Fortalitium fidei*. [Strasbourg: Johann Mentelin, not after 1471]. Folio. GW 1574; ISTC ia00539000
- Ars rhetorica pro iuvenum informatione*. Memmingen: [Albrecht Kunne, about 1490-95]. 4°. GW 2671; ISTC ia01139500
- Augustinus, Aurelius, *Confessiones*. [Strasbourg: Johann Mentelin, not after 1470]. Folio. GW 2893; ISTC ia01250000
- Biblia latina cum glossa*. Basel: Johann Froben and Johann Petri, de Langendorff, 1 Dec 1498. Folio. GW 4284; ISTC ib00609000
- Brack, Wenceslaus, *Vocabularius rerum*. [Basel: Peter Kollicker], 27 Oct. 1483. Folio. GW 4984; ISTC ib01058000
- Buridanus, Johannes, *Quaestiones et dubia in Aristotelis Politica*. Paris: Wolfgang Hopyl for Durand Gerlier, [about 1489]. Folio. GW 5753; ISTC ib01293000
- Buridanus, Johannes, *Quaestiones in Aristotelis Ethica Nicomachea*. [Paris: Johannes Higman and] Wolfgang Hopyl, 14 July 1489. Folio. GW 5727; ISTC ib01294000
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *De finibus bonorum et malorum*. [Cologne: Ulrich Zel, about.1471]. 4°. GW 6884; ISTC ic00564000
- Donatus, Aelius, *Commentarius in Terentii Comoedias*. [Strasbourg: The R-printer(Adolf Rusch?), not after 1473]. Folio. GW 9037; ISTC id00354000
- Ellenbog, Ulrich von, *Instruction wider die Pestilenz*. Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne, 1494. 4°. GW 9287; ISTC ie00038000
- Ellenbog, Ulrich von, *Ordnung wider die Pestilenz*. Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne, [about 1494-95]. 4°. GW 9288; ISTC ie00038100
- Gratianus, *Decretum*. Basel: Bernhard Richel, 10 June 1476. Folio. GW 11356; ISTC ig00365000
- Gregorius I, Pont. Max. *Moralia sive Expositio in Job*. Basel: Nicolaus Kesler, 1496. Folio. GW 11434; ISTC ig00432000
- Gregorius IX, Pont. Max., *Decretales cum glossa*. Venice: Johannes Hamman, 23 June 1491. Folio. GW 11481; ISTC ig00466000

- Guillelmus, *Postilla super epistolas*. [Augsburg: Günther Zainer, about 1472]. Folio. GW 11930; ISTC ig00642000
- Hieronymus, *Epistolae*. Rome: Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 13 dec. 1468. Folio. GW 12421; ISTC ih00161000
- Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea sanctorum*. [Basel: Michael Wenssler, not after 1474]. Folio. GW M11185; ISTC ij00082000
- Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea sanctorum*. Reutlingen: [Johann Otmar, before 24 Aug.] 1485. Folio. GW M11267; ISTC ij00113000
- Justinus, Marcus Junianus, *Epitomae in Trogi Pompeii historias*. [Venice: Johannes Rubeus Vercellensis and Albertinus Vercellensis] for Bernardinus Rasinius Novocomensis, [before 4 Apr. 1494]. Folio. GW M15642; ISTC ij00620000
- Libri venales Venetiis, Nurenbergae et Basiliae impressi*. [Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne, after 1500]. Bdsde. GW 5678; ISTC ik00044500
- Macrobus, Aurelius Thodosius, *In somnium Scipionis expositio. Saturnalia*. Venice: [Johannes Rubeus Vercellensis], 29 June 1492. Folio. GW M19707; ISTC im00012000
- Rainerius de Pisis, *Pantheologia*. [Augsburg: Günther Zainer], 1474. Folio. GW M36921; ISTC ir00006000
- Schedel, Hartmann, *Liber Chronicarum* [German] *Das Buch der Chroniken und Geschichten*. Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, for Sebald Schreyer and Sebastian Kammermeister, 23 Dec. 1493. Folio. GW M40796; ISTC is00309000
- Suso, Henricus, *Das Buch gennant Seuse* [German]. Augsburg: Anton Sorh, 19 Apr. 1482. Folio. GW M44616; ISTC is00871000
- Tollat, Johann, *Büchlein der Arznei*. [Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne], 1497. 4°. GW M14792; ISTC it00384300
- Tollat, Johann, *Büchlein der Arznei*. [Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne], 1498. 4°. GW M14793; ISTC it00384400
- Tollat, Johann, *Büchlein der Arznei*. [Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne], 1498. 4°. GW M14791; ISTC it00384410
- Vincentius Bellovacensis, *Speculum historiale*. [Augsburg: St Ulrich and Afra]. Folio. GW M50570; ISTC iv00284000